A CRITICAL STUDY
OF
PERSIAN LITERATURE
DURING
KHALJI PERIOD
(1290-1320)

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
PERSIAN

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A Critical Study
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Khānūn Khān
(1326–1330)

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PREFACE
Khalji period occupies very important place in the political, social and cultural history of Medieval India. During this period the Muslim institutions, whether they deal with the political and social set up or the cultural activities of the Medieval times, were touching the highest point of culmination. The political structures which were founded by Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish and Ghayas-ud-Din Balban came to its full development by the hand of second Khalji monarch Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The process of social reform started at governmental level by excellent administrator like Ala-ud-Din was equally shared by the influential saints like Nizam-ud-Din Aulia and his disciples. Sufism and religion had deeply influenced the outlook of people of all walks of life. During all these years a horde of poets and writers and men of different talents migrated to India for security and honour with the result that for the second time, since the eclipse of the Ghurquid dynasty, the centre of Indo-Persian art and literature shifted from Persia to India, and Delhi in the words of Zia-ud-Din Barani "soon attained the rival position of Baghdad, Egypt, Constantinople and Jerusalem. It became the abode of the great scholars of different disciplines and culture".
Despite the significance of the period, no thorough attempt has been made to have a fuller study of the cultural and literary advancement of the Khalji period. Prof. 'Abd-ul-Ghani's book *Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan* and Dr. M.U. Mirza's learned monograph, "Life and Works of Amir Khanun", indeed, deserve mention, but they do not contain a detailed and separate study of any period. Besides many new sources, suggesting new interpretations, have come to light after the publication of these two works.

Dr. Nasir Ahmad, Head of the Department of Persian, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh has devoted most of his time in bringing to light new sources for the study of Pre-Mughal Persian literature and a number of research scholars of the Department are engaged in the study of its various aspects. The present study is intended to form one of its chains.

The thesis comprises five chapters. The Introduction deals with cultural background of Pre-Mughal periods, which is supplemented by an exhaustive list of poets and writers, and their contributions. The first chapter deals with the political, social and cultural conditions of the period under consideration. The second chapter is confined to a study of historical works produced during this time. The third presents a study of mystical works, the fourth deals with General literatures and the fifth treats of poetical works in an elaborate form. I know my own limitations and it is for my examiners to judge how far I have been successful in my efforts.
In the end I have to express my deep sense of gratitude to Prof. Nasir Ahmad, whose invaluable guidance has enabled me to complete my thesis. My thanks are also due to Prof. K.A. Misami of the Department of History of A.M.U. Aligarh, whose precious advice has been of immense help to me. I am also thankful to my teachers of the Department who have been helpful to me. I would fail in my duty if I would not express my thanks to Syed Musafer Ali, Deputy Librarian, Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U. Aligarh. Hasan Zamurrad, Abd-Us-Shahid and Maulana Sibtul Hasan who have ever been generous in providing books required by me.
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ABBREVIATIONS

For the sake of brevity, the following abbreviations have been used:

Some Aspects of Rel. & Pol.  Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during thirteenth century.
Hist. of Ind.  History of India as told by its own Historians.
Muhd.  Muhammad.
Prof.  Professor.
A.H.U.  Aligarh Muslim University.
Cent.  Century.
A.H.H.  A.H.H. Singh
In transliterating the proper names, and Arabic and Persian words, the following system has been adopted:

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Note:

1. 2 compounds have been used.
2. 2 letters have been distinguished by diastrical marks.
VOWELS :

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{a} & \quad (\text{For example, سوز and have been transliterated as sum, rum).} \\
\text{u} & \quad (\text{Words pronouncing like } \text{beč, beug).} \\
\text{i} & \quad (\text{For example, } \text{Shēk has been transliterated as Sheikh).} \\
\text{ai} & \quad (\text{For example, Daulat has been transliterated as Daulat, as Husran).} \\
\text{au} & \quad (\text{A0 has been avoided, though Persian pronounce invariably as such; e.g., } \\
\text{has been transliterated as } \text{Aba-Allah).} \\
\text{u} & \\
\end{align*} \]

Note:

The symbol followed by \( \text{, i}, \text{ u} \) has been denoted by a, i, u.

SPECIAL CASES

\[ \begin{align*}
(\text{a}) & \quad \text{'Arabic} \\
\text{Abdulrahim} & \quad \text{has been transliterated as } \text{'Abd-ur-Rahman,} \\
\text{Mūs'ud-Dīn} & \quad \text{as Mūs'ud-Dīn (names ending in } \text{Allah} \\
\text{are an exception; e.g., } \text{Abdalgha has been transliterated as } \text{'Abd-Allah).} \\
\end{align*} \]

COMPOUND WORDS

\[ \text{Shu'ayb} \]

\[ \text{Sālih} \]

\[ \text{Has invariably been dropped.} \]

\[ \text{Has been transliterated as Shuja'a or as 'Hama.} \]
has been denoted by \( u \), such as Shirin-u-Khusraw.

\( \text{الب منصور} \), as 'Mosé' has been transliterated as Mīsā.
INTRODUCTION
The Muslim rule in India, as a whole, not only added a new chapter to her political and social history, but also opened fresh avenues of experiments and enterprise in the field of culture. It is a panorama of intellectual, literary and cultural interaction which has made India so rich and fertile in presenting varied social and cultural behaviour patterns.

The Muslim conquerors brought with them the unitary concept of God, besides a cultural heritage based on the by-gone Persian mode of life. After the advent of Muhammad b. Qasim (d. 891 A.D.) in the early years of the rise of Islam, the later conquests of India by Muslim Kings, specially Mahmud of Ghazna (d. 1000 A.D.) in the first quarter of the fifth century A.D. and Mu'izz-ud-Din Muhammad b. Sam generally known by his early title of Shihab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori (d. 1004 A.D.) towards the close of sixth century A.D. brought about revolutions in the political and cultural heritage of northern India. During the time of the Ghaznavids Lahore became a great centre of knowledge and learning, and many Scholars, writers and poets gathered there to cultivate ways of life which latter developed into extensive field of Indo-Persian culture. Even before the establishment of the Ghaznavid rule in northern India, Muslim settlers had created, in various part of the country, conditions which reflected the origin and birth of a new culture based on religious traditions of Islam and also on the Iranian culture.

1. See Some Aspects of Rel. & Pol., p. 76.
2. Latin Early Persian Poets of India, pp.1-2
3. Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan, pp.38-39
The Ghorid conquest of India may, however, be called an event of far reaching effects, which gave the invading Muslim hordes the status of the builders of a vast empire which subsequently became instrumental in developing a unique culture in India not quite alien to the native soil. This was a period marked by the establishment of a Capital at Delhi, which was to outshine, in brilliance all other Muslim centres of learning at the hands of a Turkish slave, of the last Ghorids monarch, Shihab-ud-Din Ghori. His slave Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, (d.607 H) succeeded in establishing a powerful Muslim dynasty known as the slave dynasty, with its Capital at Delhi. This centre was to play thenceforth the most effective role in the propagation of Muslim learning and culture not only in India, but also in the adjoining countries for centuries to come.

While discussing the advent of Turkish power in India and the establishment of a powerful centre of culture and learning in Delhi, one should not shut his eyes from the important part played by a significant, though short lived, centre at Ushgh under the control of that brilliant, but unfortunate patron of learning, Nasir-ud-Din Qabaqa. (d.625 H). It was the brilliance of the court of Qabaqa at Ushgh, which subsequently illuminated the court of Delhi under Iltutmish (d.633 H),

1. For Detail, see Fazl-ur-Rahim Persian in Hindustan, pp. 336-339.
the second ruler of the house of the slaves.

These Turk rulers had been Persianised in their thought and behaviour long before they entered India. Their imagination was captivated by the spirit of Persian Renaissance. They were anxious to transport the Persian culture and traditions in every sphere of Indian life. Every detail of their political organisations, whether it may be the theory of Kingship, the court etiquette or the army organisation, breathed Persian atmosphere. The monarchial tradition that was set up by Sassanids of Persia could best to serve the ideological and cultural needs of the Sultanate of Delhi. The Sultan, consequently, derived the ideological vitality and cultural stamina from it. They rescued the great Persian heroes like Jamshed, Kajhusrau, Kajqubad, Bahram, Naughirvan, Khusrav Parvin and others from the Sassanid oblivion and rehabilitated them in the Muslim political consciousness as ideals of social conduct and political behaviour. All sort of traditions genuine and fake —— associated with these heroes were revived under the belief that kingship was not possible without emulating Persian customs and ways of life. Ghiyathud-Din Balban, (d.686 H.) before his accession, gave his sons the popular names of Muslim families ——— Muhammad and Mahmud, but after accession

his grandsons were named as Kaiqubad, Kaikhwurau and Kaimurth, after the Persian kings, Ilutmish and Balban both traced their pedigrees to Affasib. The nomination of Rada (d.638 H.) as a successor of her father, Ilutmish, also shows the great impact of the Persian traditions in which succession of daughter was not an unusual phenomenon.

So far as the administrative institutions of Delhi Sultanate were concerned, the Persian stamp-mark was very deep upon them. The recruiting of slaves for the imperial house hold their maintenance and discipline, all were according to Persian traditions. The armies were modelled on the pattern of medieval Persian armies, with the same arms, equipments and tactics. The book "Adab-ul-Harb Waqf Shuia" written by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir shows the nature and extent of the Sassanid influence on the military ideals and organisations of the Turkish Sultans of Delhi.

Persian customs, etiquettes and ceremonies were in evidence in their social life also. The courts of the Sultans of Delhi were, in every respect true copies of by-gone Persian courts. The celebration of Nau-Ruz festival and the custom of prostrating before the monarch were adopted from the Persian culture. In fact, the Persian culture which got a severe blow by the Mongol

2. Ibid, p.93.
catastrophe was protected well by the Turkish Sultans of Delhi, and when almost all its centres had fallen, India became the last asylum for the Persian traditions.

The development of the Persian language and literature, naturally took place under the patronage of these monarchs, so much so that Persian was made the official language of the country. Though the mother tongue of the Turks was not Persian, their geographical proximity with Iran and their close contact with the Persian speaking people had made them enamoured of the sweetness and richness of the Persian language, and endeared it to them more than their own tongue.

Moreover, Persian by that time had become the language of literature and communication throughout the central Asia and an interest in arts and letters was considered a mark of refinement and sophistication. No monarch, howsoever brilliant his record of military achievements, could hope to become the object of attraction, at home or abroad, without extending his patronage to Persian poets and scholars. So when the Turks came to have a sway over India, they took keen interest in literary activities and generously patronised Persian poets and men of letters.

The unusually benevolent treatment meted out to Persian men of letters by those Turkish rulers, and by their ministers and nobles, greatly contributed to the

1. Some Aspects of Rel. & Pol., pp.33-34. See also Life and Conditions of the people of Hindustan, pp.2,3,4.
popularity of Persian in India, and to the creation of
a ready market for the Persian literary products here.
Attracted by them, a goodly number of poets and men of
letters, from Iran and other Persian speaking regions
of central and western Asia, which were in a state of
political turmoil due to the Supremacy of the Mongols,
migrated to India. Owing to unrest in their native lands,
it was not possible for scholars to find proper patronage
under which they could carry on their literary pursuits.
Migrating to India, they found the desired haven, and
settled down to keep the lamp of Persian burning with
renewed brightness, under the Turkish monarchs of the
slave dynasty.

The survey of the cultural history of medieval
India would be incomplete without discussing the growth
of sufistic movement in India. In fact, it is not possible
to detach sufism from the cultural history of medieval
times. Tasawwuf or Islamic mysticism which was, indeed,
born of the religious fundamentals of Islam, made, probably,
its first appearance on the Indian soil in the beginning
of the fifth and sixth centuries H. It exercised a profound

1. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p.27.
2. For the Sufistic influences on the Social and cultural
influence not only on the religious and social way of life, but also on the domains of thought and writing. An enormous literary output is available under this head. The study of medieval India, therefore, whether it deals with the political rise and fall of the kings or dynasties or looks into the social and cultural life of her people, would be incomplete if it does not include a reference to the mystical movement or the sufistic ideology and institutions.

The sufism of medieval India reflects a particular tendency of its own. It came to India at a stage when its basic structure had already been formed. By the first quarter of the seventh century H., Islamic mysticism, which had actually spread from Iran, entered a phase that marks its organisation. It developed into several orders whose adherents preached a particular sufistic theosophy. Through these institutions, it aimed at the discipline of the soul on the social basis as opposed to individual basis. Thus many 'Silsilas' or mystic-groups cropped up in the form of well organised orders. In this respect the most influential groups were Chishtia and Suhrawardia orders. Their introduction in India assured with the

1. Some Aspects of Rel. & Pol., pp.269-70. See also Life & Conditions of the People of Hindustan, p.XXI, where he gives remark on the writing of Muslim Sufis in Hindustan.
establishment of the Sultanate and in the immediately following centuries. In a very short period of time they spread throughout the country, introduced the mystic institution of the "khānqāhs", the "Jama'īt khānas" and "zāviyas".

The Chishti order which was founded by a saint named Khwaja Abdul Chishti (d. 355 H.) in the fourth century H., was actually introduced in India by Khwaja Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishti (d. 632 H.), who came to India towards the close of the sixth century H. This teachings and spiritual guidance imported by the subsequent Shaikhs of this order such as Khwaja Qutb-ud-Dīn Bakhtyar Kākī (d. 634 H.) Sheikh Farīd-ud-Dīn Ganjshāker (d. 664 H.) and others, gained such a rapid popularity and celebrity that even the kings at the throne of Delhi were greatly moved by their mystical missions and frequently patronized them and paid their homage to them. Iltutmish had a devotional respect for Shaikh Bahà-ud-Dīn Zakariya (d. 661 H.), who was the founder of Sunnawardi Silsila in India. He maintained the same devotional attitude towards Khwaja Qutb-ud-Dīn Bakhtyar Kākī, and paid frequent visits to his residence. Sultan Ghiyath-ud-Dīn Balban too had great regard and reverence for these mystics. Barani

1. Some Aspects of Rel. & Pol., p.175.
2. Ibid., p.175.
3. Glimpse on Mos. Ind. Cult., p. 96, Prof. Mianan (Some Aspects of Rel. & Pol., p. 36) gives the founder's name as Khwaja Abu Ishaq Shami
4. See Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p.166 and also Futuḥ-us-Salātin, pp.109-11
writes about his attachment to Sufis and learned men in
the following strain.

".............«?-*!J V  c'«L4j

After the fall of Balbani rule in 689 H., and
the establishment of Khaliji supermancy the same year,
the traditional influence of Sufis and their institutions,
did not, in any way, abate; in fact, the Sufi doctrines
blossomed forth with a renewed vigour with Shailja Nidham-
2
ud-Din Aulna as its fountain-head.

To literature and culture the contribution of
Sufism has been remarkable. Apart from the theoretical
books on the main theme of sufism, which were written by
the followers of different orders, specially, Suhrawardia
Silsila, the most important literary contributions were
the Mulfudhat-writings. These Mulfudhat were mostly
compiled by the Ghishti Sheikhs. This type of literature
which was chiefly based on informal and personal utterances
of the mystic saints and which varied varied instructions
into the doctrinal theories of Tasawwuf may be treated
as peculiar literary output. It occupies a prominent
place in the cultural contributions of the age under
review.

1. Tarih-i-Firuz Shahi, pp.46.
2. Ibid, pp.345-46.
3. The term "Mulfudhat" or "Mulfudh" is derived from the
word Mufah It stands for a particular branch of Persian
literature in which the utterances or discourses of
Sufi dgnitaries are recorded generally in book-form by
one or more of their disciples present at those talks.
After these general remarks about the social and cultural growth of the pre-Khalji period, it is in the fitness of things to introduce the outstanding biographical, historical, literary and mystical works produced in that period in a chronological order:

A - Historical and Biographical works:

1. Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir: This book is written by Hasan-i-Nīsāni at the instance of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak. The author started it in 602 H. and continued it till 614 A.H. It is a voluminous work more literary than historical written in a highly florid style with the obvious result that the events and movements of the years 587-614 A.H. with which it is mainly concerned on the historical side are difficult to piece together.

2. Luhāb-ul-Albāb: This book was written in 617 H. in two volumes by Muhammad 'Auffi, and dedicated to Husain Ash'ari, the minister of Nasir-ud-Din Qabacha at uchch. This is the earliest and most important biographical work on Persian poets. It preserves the life of a large number of ancient Persian poets and specimens of their poetry.

3. Jawāni-ul-Hashvat: This book was also written by the above author during the reign of Sultan Ilutmish in Delhi sometime in 630 A.H., and dedicated to his

1. A very valuable article on this history has been published by Prof. S. Hasan 'Askari in the Patna Univ. Journal (Arts) Vol. 19, No. 3, 1963, A.D.

2. This book has been published with very useful notes and appendixes, two times: once by Prof. B.C. Browne and Mirza Mohād. Qasvini, and again by Prof. Nafisi while he was at 'Aligarh in 1957 A.D.
minister Mīghām-ul-Mulk Muhammad Junaidi. It is a collection of stories, and is considered a classic of the Persian language.

4. Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Shah: It was a part of the book entitled Bahar-ul-Ansab, a genealogical treatise comprised of almost 136 genealogical tables from prophet Muhammad up to the author's own time. Dr. Sir Demsin Ross published its introduction under the aforementioned title which contains the military exploits of Sultan Mu'is-ud-Din Muhammad b. sam Ghwir against the Ghuzz and an account of Aibak from his boyhood to the time of his accession on the Delhi throne in 602 H. Its author was Fakhr-i-Muddabir, an important writer of the time of Aibak and Iltutmish wrongly confounded by Sir Ross with a subsequent writer Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Shah.

5. Adab-ul-Harb-wash-Shulia': This book is also composed by the above writer, and dedicated to sultan Shams-ud-Dīn Iltutmish. The exact date of the composition of this book is also unknown. It deals with the art of the strategy of warfare and the qualities of horses and also deals with their diseases and their treatment, besides the qualities and duties of kings, directions to the ruler for the selection of suitable state officials.

1. Dr. Mīghām-ul-Dīn of Hyderabad wrote his valuable thesis on the same book which was published afterwards. Prof. Hasani Askari was also published a very useful article of Some Aspects of Javani'.

and their essential qualifications etc. All this makes the work highly interesting and valuable.

6. Tabqāt-i-Nasirī: This book was written by Minhāj-i-Sirāj, in 653 H., and dedicated to Iltutmish's youngest son, Nasir-ud-Din Mahmūd, after whom he had named it. It is a general history and covers the period from the beginning of creation to the fifteen years of the reign of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Mahmūd i.e. till the year 658 H. It contains a valuable contemporary account of the Ghurid conquest of India and subsequent history of early Turkish rule in a plain, lucid and vigorous style.

D. Translate works.

With the changing conditions Arabic was growing less popular, which resulted in ventures to translate various Arabic classics into Persian. Some of the famous works of this sort are briefly described below:

1. Kitāb-i-Galdānā of Bairuni was translated by Abu Bakr Kasani in 610-11 H., the reign of Iltutmish.

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1. Dr. Muntas'Ali Khan of Persian Dept. AMU 'Aligarh has given an elaborate description of the book in his thesis, Persian Prose Writings of the 13th cent.
2. The Tabqāt was first published by the Bengal Asiatic Society Calcutta, and again by the Historical Society of Afghanistan in two volumes in 1963. The whole book has been translated into English with valuable comments by Raverty. A Poet of the book was also published in Lahore by Dr. 'Abdullāh Chaghtāi.
3. A valuable article on it was published by Dr. Nādir Ahmad in the Indo-Iranica.
2. *Chech-Nama* was translated from Arabic into Persian by Muhammad b. 'Ali Kufi at Uchch. It was completed in 613 H.

3. The famous book of *Muḥaḥḥaṭ al-‘Ulūm* of Imam Ghazzali (d. 505 H.) was translated between 620 H. and 633 H., by Muyyad Jajarmi in the reign of Iltutmish and dedicated to the king.

4. *Sirr-i-Maktum* of Imam Rādi (d. 606 H.) was translated into Persian during this period, at the instance of Sultan Ru‘ūm-u’d-Dīn Firūz Shāh (d. 634 H.) son of Iltutmish.

5. *Al Fara’ī Ṭanás Haddah* was translated into Persian by Muhammad ‘Aufi, the author of *Javarna*-ul-Ḥikayat and *Lubāb-ul-‘Albāb*.

6. *‘Avarif-ul-Nerif* of Sheikh Shihāb-u’d-Dīn Suhrawardi was translated into Persian by Ḵatīb of Uchch. It is the first translation of the most popular mystical treatise.

C. Mystical Works.

As referred to above a number of theoretical books dealing with the Sufi doctrines and practices and their sayings, known as *Mufaṣṣal*, were compiled during the

1. It has been published by Dr. Dāvūd Pota.
3. See the Filr-u-Nadhar, July 1963.
period under survey. In the first category fall the books of Sheikh Hamîd-ud-Dîn Nâsauri and Qâdi Hamîd-ud-Dîn. The former left a book entitled 'Usâ'il-ut-Tarîcat on the principle of mysticism containing an advanced and scholarly exposition of mystic thought, and the latter had written three books known as Lava'âh, and Tawâl-i-shah, which were very popular and held in great respect among the mystics and in the higher academic circles. These books are, however, extinct now, but the Mulfîdât, which actually fall in the second category and, mainly written by Chîghti followers, have come down to us with a slight alteration, a list of which is given below:

1. Ana-s-ul-ârâh, the collection of the sayings of Khwaja 'Uthmân Haruni (†617 H.) said to have been collected by Khwaja Mu'in-ud-Dîn Chîghti.

1. Though these valuable contributions have been lost, it is clear from the medieval records that they existed in the seventh and eighth centuries. The book Usâ'il-ut-Tarîcat was available to Abdul-Haqq Muhaddith (ob.1062), and he has given a fairly long extract from it in AKBARUL-ÂKHYAW, and Ferâd çe refers (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi p.341) to Lava'âh and Lava'âh. The Fawâid-ut-Fuad (p.128) also contains a reference to Lava'âh.

2. It is reported that Dia-ud-Dîn, a disciple of Sheikh Sadr-ud-Dîn 'Arif ul-Suhrawardia order collected the sayings of his mystic teacher in 'Lava'âh', Sheikh 'Abd-ul-Haqq has given an extract from it in his AKBARUL-ÂKHYAW(p.61), but this book is also lost.

3. There are two groups of opinion regarding the authenticity of these Mulfîdât. One does not recognise them to be the works of these mystics at all, and considers them to be written at a later period. This group is headed by Prof. Muhd. Habib of Muslim University Aligarh. The other lead by Sabah-ud-Dîn 'Abd-ul-Rehman, a learned scholar of Dar-ul-Musannafin 'Asanga, considers them to be original works of these Mystics of Chîght order, but they think that some additions have been made later on.
2. *Dalā'ī-ul-ʿArifīn*, the collection of the utterances of Ḥāwāja Muʿīn-ud-Dīn Chishti (d. 633 H.) said to have been prepared by his disciple Qutb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

3. *Fawāid-ʿAbdullāh*, the collection of the talks of Qutb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 633 H.), said to have been collected by Farīd-ud-Dīn Ganjshākar.

4. *Asvār-ul-Aulia*, the collection of the conversations of Shaikh Farīd-ud-Dīn Ganjshākar (d. 664 H.), alleged to have been prepared by Baḥr-ud-Dīn Iḥṣāq.

5. *Rahat-ul-ʿUlb*, another collection of the sayings of the above saint, said to have been collected by another disciple Nīzām-ud-Dīn Aulia.

Till now we have dealing with the prose works of the period preceding the Khaljis. It is worth while to have a resume of the poetical literature of the period which has, unfortunately, received scant attention at the hands of the scholars.

Till recently no persian codex was known to exist except the mystical and religious writings of Shaikh Jamāl-ud-Dīn Ḥānswi and the spurious Divāns of Shaikh Muʿīn-ud-Dīn Chishti and Ḥāwāja Qutb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. Fortunately, the poetical works of Sirāji Khwāsāin, who had lived during the reign of Iltutmish, has established the poet's claim to be the earliest poet of Delhi Sultanate whose Divān establishes his claim to be one of the most significant savants of his time, Dr. Muḥir Ahmad, professor and the Head of the Department of Persian, Muslim University, Aligarh, has edited his Divān.
Besides Sirāji, there are a large number of poets, who illuminated the court of the medieval Indian Kings. Some of high reputation are the following:

1. Ḥasan-i-Bībhāni, the author of the Taj-ul-Ma'athir was a very significant poet and examples of his poetry are found in the said book.

2. Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad, who was attached to Aībak has been highly praised by 'Awfī.

3. Cādī Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn 'Alī, another poet of Aībak's court, highly praised by 'Awfī.

4. Ǧasīrī, a poet, who came from Khurasān.

5. Rāhā-ud-Dīn Usḥī, who came from Bukhārā and has been praised by 'Awfī for his versatility.

6. Anīr Ṭubānī, who came from Bukhārā and composed poem in praise of Iltutmīsh.

7. Tāj-ud-Dīn Ṣīrāzī, who was the poet of Iltutmīsh's court, whose poems have been mixed with Anwārī's.

8. Jamāl-ud-Dīn Ḥanṣwī, was a mystic, but he is the only poet whose Dīwān has been lithographed.


10. Tāj-ud-Dīn Bukhārī, who was the teacher of Balban's two sons composed poems in praise of Iltutmīsh and two such poems are quoted in Munīs-ul-Ahrār and Khulāsāt-ul-Aṣhār.
11. Shihāb-ud-Dīn Naḥmawa, whose poems in praise of Rukn-ud-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh and others are quoted by Badā'oni and others, had also composed some poems in praise of Iltutmīsh and one such is quoted in Khulasat-ul-Asḥār.

12. Dīn-ud-Dīn Sīlṣīl, was a poet of Qābācha's court. Some of his verses are quoted in Lubāb-ul-Albāb.

13. Muḥammad 'Aūfī, the most reputed scholar was also a poet and some of his poems in praise of Muḥam-d-ul-Mulk Junaydī are quoted in Jawāms-ul-Hikayat.

14. Fādīl Multānī, is mentioned by 'Aūfī as a poet of Qābācha's time.

15. Shams-ud-Dīn Balakhi, was a very important poet of Qābācha's court, but few of his verses are quoted in Lubāb-ul-Albāb.

16. Minhāj-i-Sirāt, the author of Tabqat-i-Nasiri, was a poet of repute and his verses are quoted in the works.

17. 'Amar Tulakī, also known as Sannānī, was a poet of Rukn-ud-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh's reign. His poems are scattered in various books such as Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Khulasat-ul-Asḥār, Munis-ul-Ahīrār and 'Arafat-ul-'Ashqīn etc. A student of Persian department has collected his verses from various sources which come to about 1000 lines.

18. Ḥakīm Tattārī, whose one poem is preserved in Munis-ul-Ahīrār and Khulasat-ul-Asḥār.
19. 'Izz-ud-Din 'Alavi, was a poet of Balban's court and a number of his poems is preserved in Kunis-ul-Ahrar and Khulasat-ul-Asha'ar.

20. Muhammad Khattat, some of whose poems are quoted in the above two works.

21. Shams-i-Dabir, was probably a secretary. He was also a poet of high rank and was attached with the court of Bughra Khan son of Balban at Lakhnauti.

22. Cadi Athir, was an other poet of the same prince's court. He enjoyed the companionship of Shams-i-Dabir and Amir Khurram unfortunately, no example of his poetry has come down to us.

This is the brief resume of cultural and literary achievements of the seventy century H., which is intended to form a useful background to the study of the political, social and cultural set up of the Khaljis.

The source material for this chapter has been obtained from the following:

(1) Introduction of Lubab-ul-Albab by Prof. Browne.
(8) Some aspects of Religion and Politics during thirteenth century by Prof. K.A. Nighani.
(9) Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan by 'Abd-ul-Ghani.
(10) Early Persian Poets of India by Dr. Iqbal Husain.
(11) Life and Works of Amir Khusrau by Dr. M.W. Mirza.
(12) Glimpses on Medieval Indian Culture by Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan.
(13) Sufism by A.J. Arberry.
(16) A critical evaluation of Persian Prose writings of the thirteenth century in India (an unpublished thesis) by Dr. Muntas Ali Khan.
(17) Saruznini-Hind by 'Ali Aghar Rikmat.
(18) Salatin-i-Delhi ke Maghabni Ruhanat and Tarikh-i-Maghaibhi-Chisht by Prof. K.A. Nighani.
(19) Bazm-i-Mamlukia and Bazm-i-Sufia by Sabah-ud-Din 'Abd-ur-Rahman.
(20) Siraji Khurasani (Article) by Dr. Nagir Ahmad, printed in Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, April 1964.
(21) 'Amid Taulaki (Article) by Dr. Nagir Ahmad, published in Fikr-u-Nadhar, Aligarh, October, 1964.
CHAPTER I

POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS OF INDIA

DURING KHALJI PERIOD

( 629 H. - 720 H. )
Towards the close of the seventh century H. the Sultanate of Delhi faced a major upheaval and the political supremacy which, Ghiyath-ud-Din Balban (d.688 H.) had enjoyed for a considerable length of time, could not be maintained by his unworthy successors. It eventually came to an end and passed into the hands of the Khalji Turks. The infirm administration of Mu'izz-ud-Din Kaikubad, son of Bughra Khan, coupled with the court intrigues and the licentious living of the young ruler, provided the causes for further deterioration of the State machinery.

The sovereign was merely a puppet in the hands of Malik Mughalm-ud-Din, the holder of the office of Vahil-i-Dar.

1. The correct pronunciation is Khalaji, but the prevalent form is Khalji, and that has been adopted here. Khalaj is the name given to the land on either side of the river Helmand in Afghanistan, and the inhabitants of that region were known as Khalaj. See also "Yadasthe-i-Qaswini", (p. 216). Khaljies were Turks by origin belonging to one of those thirty four Turkish Tribes, the list of which is given by Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Shah in his book Tariikh-i-Fakhr-ud-Din (p.47). They had resided from very old times in Khalaj, and assimilated the habits and customs of that country. Some of them came to India as soldiers with the armies of Ghanna and Ghur and many more entered as refugees during Mongol upheaval. They differed from other Turkish tribes in their customs and manners. See also "A History of Khaljies, pp. 11-16.

2. Dia-ud-Din Barani, in his Tariikh-i-Firuz Shahi (p.128), states that the youthful Prince was hardly seventeen or eighteen years of age when he was made to ascend the throne of Delhi.
who, taking advantage of the weakness of the incapable Sultan, virtually ruled in his name and took the whole administration in his own hands. But the eventual end of this wily Amir was not far off. The king having sensed the evil designs of this crafty Amir, resolved to do away with him. Mu'izz-ud-Din was poisoned at his instance. But this did not solve the problem and the governmental edifice began to cave in rapidly as the king had no ability to run the administration of the State. Mu'izz-ud-Din Kaikubad finding himself in difficult circumstances and not being able to control the situation sought the cooperation and assistance of Jalal-ud-Din b. Firuz Yaghrih Khaliqi, an experienced warrior and an able administrator, and appointed him as a minister of war (Arigha-i-Umālik). This sudden rise of the Khaljis at the royal court and that too, at the instance of the Sultan, created party politics of a serious nature, and as a natural consequence the Balbani capital became a hotbed of factionalism and group rivalries. The Turk nobility at the court which regarded itself the real claimant of the throne resisted and challenged this ascendency of the Khaljis and, consequently, the court nobility was divided into two groups. One was headed by Turkish noblemen, Aitmar Kachhan and Aitmar Sarkha and the other was under Jalal-ud-Din Khaliqi, who had by now not only received the lofty

1. Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi, p.170.
title of Shaista Khan by the king, but had also gained considerable strength in the Government by virtue of his meritorious services, amiable character and sweetness of temper. It was, however, at this critical juncture that the king had a serious attack of paralysis and his health was utterly shattered. The Balbani barons, having realized the gravity of the situation chose an infant son of Mu'iz-ul-Din as King. Yet, all this could, in no way, stop the ascendancy of the Khaljis and thus a fight between the Turks and the non-Turks viz Khaljis became unavoidable.

After a series of scuffles, Jalal-ud-Din Khalji and his followers had little difficulty in crushing down the Turk nobles who stood in their way. Mu'iz-ul-Din was done to death in 689 H./1290 A.D. In this way the supremacy of the Khaljis was established.

Jalal-ud-Din was crowned on Jamadi II 689 H. He assumed the title of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Shah Khalji.

1. Mintakaibat-Tavarikh, Dadami, p. 166, gives the name as Shaista Khan, while Khusrau in his several odes uses as Shasti Khan. Barani in his Tarikh Firuz Shahi gives it as Siyasat Khan see p.170.

2. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 173, 175-76.
4. In Miftah-ul-Futuh, Amir Khusrau says: (According to Firuzsha (Vol.I p.63) and Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, (p.175), it was beginning of the year 683 H., but 689 H. is correct.)
He was endowed with kindness of heart, nobility of soul, generosity of nature and courtesy of deportment — qualities that soon removed all suspicion from the hearts of the people and gradually won their confidence. They flocked round the new sovereign and paid homage to him. There was, for the time being, restoration of order, peace and prosperity and it seemed as if the domination of the Khaljis in general and that of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Fīruz Shah in particular, was a welcome change.

Jalāl-ud-Dīn was, however, incapable of a stern rule. His extreme leniency in the governmental administration and his weak handling of the state affairs coupled with his over-flowing generosity and kindness led to serious consequences and it was the same year 689 H., that Malik Chhajju, a nephew of Late Balban, resorted to rebellion against the throne. Other Balbani barons and nobles supported him, even some Khalji chiefs also had sympathy for his cause. The revolt was, however, suppressed and those responsible for it were graciously pardoned. Such a lenient

1. Tarikh-i-Firuzabahi, p. 176.

2. 'Ala-ud-Din Mohd. Kishli Khan alias Malik Chhajju was the nephew of Balban, and considered himself to be rightful heir to the throne. Jalāl-ud-Dīn appointed him Governor of Karra. He was incited by other Turkish nobles to take advantage of the King's gentle and peaceful nature, and to raise the standard of revolt. A large army mainly from amongst the Hindus of his province was gathered and marched towards Delhi in 689 H. (1290 A.D.)

3. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 163-64.
attitude on the part of the king naturally lent itself to be interpreted as a sign of weakness and prepared ground for crimes and conspiracies. Some of the nobles of the court found in this kindliness of the King an opportunity for hatching plots against him. The fully organised conspiracy of a Pseudo-Saint Sayyidi Maula and his partisans was a clear indication of the same.

Another notable event of the reign of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalji, was the march of the Mongols into the Indian territory, in 691 H, which after some skirmishes, ultimately ended in a treaty between the rival forces.

Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalji's reign of about 6 years, which was mostly peaceful came to an end with the rise of his highly ambitious and powerful nephew, 'Ala-ud-Dīn who did not take long in treacherously murdering his noble uncle, although the latter had not only appointed his nephews to high governmental posts, but had also showered favour on him by appointing him Governor of Kara in the year 690 H. This appointment, however, proved a very important event in

1. Sayyidi Maula was a saint. He was one of the most influential mystic during the reign of Jalal-ud-Din. His Khangah became the last asylum of those Turkish noble who have been suspended by the Jalal-ud-Din. Soon it was converted into a hot bed of sedition conspiracy against Khaljis. Qadi Jalal, Hatya paid and Brinjan hatched a conspiracy to kill Jalal-ud-Din and instal the Maula on the throne. However, the conspiracy was divulged, and all conspirators were arrested alongwith Sayyidi Maula. Sayyidi was punished to death being thrown under the feet of an elephant. For detail see also Barani pp.210-211.
the political career of 'Ala-ud-Dīn. He was a man of capabilities. He had fought several battles in which he had proved his prowess as a good warrior. His successful expedition against the ruler of Deogir in the south, added yet another feather to his cap. This gained for him considerable power and strength besides the confidence and admiration of his aged uncle. On his return from the Deccan, 'Ala-ud-Din laid out an organised conspiracy against the ruling sovereign and it was on the 17th Ramadan, H. 635 that Jalāl-ud-Dīn was put to sword in the most treacherous fashion on the bank of the Jamuna which stands out as one of the most brutal and inhuman instances of assassination in the political annals of medieval India.

Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalji’s murder at the hands of his ungrateful nephew and the accession of 'Ala-ud-Dīn on the throne of Delhi soon after, were incidents that marked the complete supremacy of the Khaljīs. 'Ala-ud-Dīn ascended the throne in the month of Du‘l Hijja 23rd 635 H. and assumed the title of Abul Mūdhaffar Sultan 'Ala-ud-Dunya-wad-Dīn Muhammad Shah Khalji. As a very shrewd and far-sighted statesman, he busied himself in bestowing favours and conferring bounties so liberally on his subjects, that

1, 2. Both expeditions were made in the 635 H., when 'Ala-ud-Dīn was governor of Kāra. For detail see also "History of Khaljīs", p. 50.
3. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahī, p. 234.
he soon gained their undivided loyalty and support. He conferred high titles on his officers, indiscriminately and granted handsome salaries to them. An administrative system was set up which drew in nearly all the important nobles of the court and some fresh appointments were also made from amongst the commoners to gear up the governmental machinery.

Despite all these internally essential renovations which were basically meant to overhaul the whole administrative set-up, 'Ala-ud-Dīn was, in the beginning, faced with problems of diverse nature. In the north-western part of the country the menace of the Mongols still cast its threatening shadow and the barbarians were constantly trying to make fresh onslaughts on the Indian borders. The conditions in the Punjab were far from satisfactory. The provinces of Sindh and Multān were in the possession of Arkhai Khan, the elder son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn. The states of Gujrāt, Rajputāna, Orissa, Bengal, Bihar and several other parts of Northern India, besides, of course, vast territories lying in the south, were still out of his subjugation, where his kingship had not yet been established and where the rulers were having independent sway.

1. See History of Khuljis. p. 75.
2. Ibid, p. 75.
3. Ibid, pp. 72, 75.
As for crushing the Mongols, 'Ala-ud-Dīn adopted the same stern frontier policy that was adopted by Balban. In course of time he completely routed the Mongols, drove them out of the country for good, thus making his dominion safe and secure from this source of constant peril. Having achieved this important military objective, he now turned his attention towards internal expansion. He had ambitious designs. The affairs in Multan where his cousins Arkalī Khan and Ruqm-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm were posted, were causing him greatest anxiety in as much as they were posing a great danger and threat to his sovereignty. Arkalī Khan and Ruqm-ud-Dīn enjoyed full independence in their realm and could claim the throne of their father any moment. This state of things compelled 'Ala-ud-Dīn to settle the problem of Multan first and, therefore, towards the close of the year 695 H., he despatched a strong army headed by two able and experienced general, Ulugh Khan and Dhafer Khan to remove the danger once for all. The armies of 'Ala-ud-Dīn under the command of the two generals, however, faced nominal resistance and had little difficulty in defeating Jalāl-ud-Dīn's sons and sending them as prisoners to Delhi, where they, along with their kith and kin, met their tragic end.

1. The first raid of the Mongols occurred in the year 696 H., only a short time after 'Ala-ud-Dīn's accession and repeated in 696, 699, 703, 705 and 706 H. The most dreadful attack occurred in 697 H., in which 'Ala-ud-Dīn was compelled to take the command in his own hands. The Mongols were, however, defeated and dispersed, Farani, p.300 see also History of Khalfis, pp.144 to 179.

Next it was the turn of Gujrat, which was also conquered in the like manner. The expedition into that fertile province took place in 698 H. The Shagela Rajputs who ruled it were defeated and completely routed. The capture of Gujrat towards the close of the 7th century H. firmly established 'Ala-ud-Din's position as a great conqueror. Now his ambitious knew no bounds. He even liked himself to be styled as the second Alexander and also cherished the wild desire of founding a new religion.

Having gained success after success, 'Ala-ud-Din planned further conquests. He removed every hindrance that came in his way. The destinies of almost all defying rulers, were trampled down under the feet of his marching herds.

Ranthambore was conquered in 701 H. and same was the fate of Jaisalmer, another important Rajput State, against which he had taken the command of the army himself. Never fell next and the fort of Chittor, a premier Rajput State, was conquered in 703 H. These conquests kindled in the heart of 'Ala-ud-Din yet another fire for further conquests in Rajputana. Mandu, Ujjain and Chanderi were subsequently captured. By the end of the year 705 H., the greater part of Northern India was over-run and brought under the 'Ala-ud-Din subjugation.

1. Tuhfah-i-Firuz Shahi, p.137.
2. Ibid, pp.368-69.
3. For detail see History of Khaljia, p.100.
4. Ibid, pp.92-93.
7. Ibid, pp.133-34.
Having been encouraged by a series of successes, 'Ala-ud-Dīn desired to fulfil his long cherished dream of conquering the Dacca. No Muslim ruler of India had ventured to invade the Dacca, because of different impediments in the way. But for 'Ala-ud-Dīn nothing was difficult. With the help of Kalik Kafur, his slave, the Sultan was able to see his dream come to reality. The whole country lying beyond the mountain-terrain of Vindhyas was conquered by 710 H. It was, probably, by the year 711 H., that the whole of the Maharashtra, as well as, the whole of the south was brought under his control.

The reign of 'Ala-ud-Dīn may be described as one of the most notable epochs in the history of medieval times by virtue of its efficient administration, the expanding power of the King and the social military, political, and even religious reforms introduced by 'Ala-ud-Dīn. The Sultan possessed of greatest administrative ability and insight. He had a special knack of putting down rebellious and quelling disorders. Any one who ever ventured to raise the banner of revolt against him was severely punished. He was, in short, a military genius who could rise up to any situation demanding prowess and stratagem.

1. For detail see History of Khiljis, pp.181-200.
2. Ibid, pp.201-221.
'Ala-ud-Dīn had an effective and efficient intelligence department and the spies appointed by him reported practically all the matters relating to the social, political and even personal spheres of his country. Wine and other intoxicants were strictly prohibited. The army was reorganised on a fresh, stable footing and a reformatory control system was enforced in the markets. The prices of different essential commodities were fixed.

'Ala-ud-Dīn died eventually on the 7th Shavval, 715 H. (6th January, 1316 A.D.) after twenty years of successful reign, which was full of notable activities, that speak highly of his military prowess and political state craft.

With 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji's death the glory of the Khaljis, which had been at its zenith during the late King's regime, started waning. Malik Kafur, who had a great say in the State affairs, usurped all the power and became the de-facto ruler, although he had seated Shihāb-ud-Dīn, the young prince, on the throne as a figure-head. He tried to keep all other claimants of the throne at a distance and in this effort he succeeded only partially. His rise to power proved as short-lived as it was sudden. Malik Shah,

1. For detail see History of Khaljis, pp. 236-37.
2. Ibid, p.256.
5. Khurrau gives the date as 7th Shavval, 715 H.
6. He enjoyed a short sway of about a month, that he was himself killed by some of his most trusted servants. See also 'History of Khaljis', pp. 319-22.
one of the sons of 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji, succeeded eventually in cutting short the life and the career of this crafty emir.

Malik Shah with the title of Qutub-ud-Dīn Hubārak Shah ascended the throne on the 24th of Muharram, 716 H. (14 April, 1316 A.D.). He was a liberal and kind hearted ruler. Not only was he generous towards his subjects, but he also showed leniency in administrative matters. In the revenue branch he effected certain changes that were just opposite to the rules framed by his father. Due to his extreme leniency in nearly all the spheres of state activities, the efficiency of administration which characterised 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji's regime, was had completely gone. No doubt, he led a few expeditions successfully to Gujrat (716 H./1316 A.D.), Devgir, (718 H./1318 A.D.) and far south, but he could not check the administrative breakdown and the political debacle that was in waiting. In consequence, towards the close of the year 718 H., a conspiracy was unsuccessfullly hatched and an attempt was made on the life of the Sultan. Qutub-ud-Dīn, however, escaped thus foiling the attempt of the conspirators. Some of the conspirators such as Khidr Khan, Shādī Khan, Shihāb etc were among those who were publicly executed. The closing days of his reign

1. History of Khaljis, p.322, Banani wrongly gives 717 H.
2. Ibid, p.323.
4. Ibid, pp. 322, 325, and 333 respectively.
are chiefly marked by his ruthlessness and debauchery. All this went to create dis-satisfaction and horror among his subjects, leading to unrest, revolts and rebellions that ultimately caused the end of this monarch at the hand of Qusru Khan and his Barveri partisans, on the 5th, Rabi-ul-Avval, 720 H. (28th April, 1320 A.D.)

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE AGE

The narration of the military achievements and conquests of the Khaljis, which represent but a single aspect of a manifold picture, would be incomplete, if a brief survey of the social conditions obtaining during the span the thirty years of the Khalji rule is not made.

The Khalji period, which forms an important part of the medieval Indian history, does not, on the whole, present any basic departure from, or change in, the social system with which people were acquainted in Indian for centuries before. In principle, the medieval Indian Society, which remained primarily an agricultural society, did not differ much from its ancient counterpart. The process of social evolution which had been operating since long, could be clearly observed even in the medieval era.

One cannot certainly fail to perceive the basic uniformity

1. For detail see History of Khaljia, p.345.
2. For detail, see Introduction of the Life and Conditions of the people of Hindustan, p.V.
in the Indian Society which, inspite of certain influencing factors brought in by the Muslims in India, had seen little or no change as regards its formal structure. Despite the establishment of Muslim Kingship in India, particularly in Northern India, and the intermingling of the two nations, which were on the face of things, divided on grounds of faith, culture, beliefs, customs, and traditions, appeared a homogeneous people. They followed and maintained their peculiar ways of life, including social customs and usages, without making their homogeneity. In this evolutionary process the ruling nation had, quite naturally, the upper hand. They, no doubt, revolutionised the concepts and beliefs of the native peoples, changing the entire outlook of the ancient Hindu Society. The first to be affected was the well-knit caste system of the natives that started showing signs of disintegration. Their religious and social behaviours also did not remain without gradually assuming different colour and complexion in the process. Yet all these factors may be termed as external forces.

The domestic as well as the public life of an average Indian, whether a Muslim or Hindu, contained features of great similarity. The joint family system for instance, was common to both the communities. Within the frame work

1. For detail, see Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, p.62.
2. Ibid, p.133.
of domestic life the superiority of the male members 
over the female ones was the order of the day. Besides 
the Muslim and Hindu societies enjoyed free hand in 
observing their respective ceremonies, custom and 
traditions, usages, and ways of life which they had 
inherited from their forefathers and which had come 
to them as a social heritage.

During the period under review, the society in 
general, was divided into several classes. It would 
not be, perhaps, wrong to say that there was great 
disparity among various classes and their incomes varied 
greatly. The Sultan who constituted the highest personality 
in the state and who was the leader of the people and the 
main guarantee of the peace was the head of the Society. 
Under him flourished the privileged class of nobility 
which enjoyed highest advantages as compared to other 
classes. Other class of note was that of the clergy and 
the 'Ulama, who had great say in the state-affairs. The 
lower classes, including the domestic attendants and the 
slaves, consisted of the Muslim and Hindu masses.

1. For detail see, Life and Conditions of the People of 
Hindustan, p.133.
Habib, p.XXI.
3. For detail, see Life and Conditions of the people of 
Hindustan, p.58.
5. Ibid, pp.67-72.
6. Ibid, pp. 73-77.
Apart from the social distinctions, however, the system of slavery which prevailed quite obviously even during the period of the ascendancy of the Khaljis, the system of slavery and the common sale and purchase of the slave was in vogue.

As already pointed out, in matters of appointments on high offices, class and social distinctions were taken into general considerations, and normally members of no other class other than that of the nobility were selected for this purpose.

Under the lenient administration of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalji, a degenerate society was prevalent and social evils such as robbery, gambling, wine drinking were common. It was, however, during the time of 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji, that the social conditions changed to a very great extent. He took serious steps to curb down such vices, especially the wine drinking, and prostitution. He made a serious attempt to rid the society of these unhealthy elements. He also disliked social intercourse among the nobles. He kept a watchful eye on their movements, behaviours, and conducts, and occasionally, some very private domestic affairs were decided upon under his personal orders. With a view to reform social conditions, he also adopted such

1. For detail, see Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, pp.73-78.
2. Tarikh-i-Riaz Shahi, pp.183-90.
measures as the marriages of prostitutes, and compelled them to lead a healthy and noble life.

These strict measures only prevailed as long as he lived, and soon after his death, when Qutb-ud-Din Mubarak Shah ascended the throne, some laxity appeared and the laudable efforts of 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji in bringing about useful and healthy reforms existed no more.

CULTURAL CONDITION OF THE AGE

With the fall of Delhi power and the rise of the Khaljis, learning and culture that had been founded on stable grounds, did not fall a victim to the changing political conditions. The influx of the literate continued as before and the royal court of the Khalji sovereigns presented a dazzling scene of cultural activities. It may be pointed out that the cultural and social condition of a certain period of history depends mostly upon the political stability, peace and order of that period. With the accession of Jalal-ud-Din Khalji on the throne of Delhi in 639 H., a period of internecine strife, power politics and court

2. Ibid, pp.333-35.
3. Ibid, p.341, Barani says:

"س اراده و اهتمام سلطان علّة والدين درنامى مسراد مطابان
زا سابنه و معاخدء عبد اجتماع بركان هر قومي و استادان
هر على و ماهران هر هنرى بوده اسمه بحقته دهلى از وجود
آجنان لظيران و وضعانيان سوارد اعمام كشه و دارالله دهلى
ريمه بغداد و غيره سرو همكلاطبيه و برلذي به المدى و "
intrigues came to an end, and a comparatively peaceful regime with a benevolent king as the head of the State, came to be witnessed. In respect of prosperity and tranquility, peace and order Jalal-Ud-Din's rule was an ideal one which encouraged the upward march and growth of culture and learning.

From the study of contemporary chronicle Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Dia-ud-Din Barani, it becomes quite evident that in that atmosphere of cultural magnificence the central figure was that of the Emperor himself. He writes:

"...وسلطان جلال الدين بادعاهه هنروتاتو ام برور وطبع مزون داشه وتوانتي كه دو بيع ونظران بگيد وکرام برهمان بر لطافته طيع وغناهه دهور او ازار خوشتر بود كه امبر خسرو كه سر دفدر شمرخا اولبن وآخرين بود حضران ایام كه سلطان جلال الدين معد (مربع) سالكه دوهد بود بخارا و بعد نواخت ورجز داشه پرود برود هزار و دویست نکه ما جبه پدر امبر خسرو بر امبر خسرو نظر فروده و اسم وجام والقلم خاصه خود داد و جون بیاد خاصه وسد امبر خسرو از طربان درگاه اواکد 1..."

This statement categorically proves and establishes the Sultan's keen interest in an patronage of art, literature, learning and culture. Barani has also

1. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 197.
given a graphic description of the cultural and recreational atmosphere of the court of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khālji, which presented the scene of a luminous assembly on account of the presence of poets, musicians, dancers and reciters of poems. He had a galaxy of courtiers and noblemen who were his companions and freely shared the joys, revelries and merry-makings of the aged yet lively king. Being a poet himself, and possessing a refined taste for art and poetry the king recognised, appreciated and encouraged those who were men of some talent and had specialised in any branch of culture. His companions also included educationists, historians, philosophers and theologians. Despite the fact that Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khālji was essentially a religious person and had great esteem for the saints and the mystics, he was a drunkard too and had a craze for playing chess.

Just like their predecessors, Sultan Chiyath-ud-Dīn Balban the Khālji monarches, especially Jalāl-ud-Dīn Firuz Shah and 'Ala-ud-Dīn extended their patronage to men of letters and the learned. The cultural life of the capital was greatly enriched by the presence of the scholars, jurists, physicians, mathematicians, astronomers and theologians. Both Jalāl-ud-Dīn and 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khālji

1. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 197.
2. Ibid, pp.198.
3. Ibid, pp.198-199.
4. Ibid, as referred by Nihānī in Salatin-i-Rehli kev Nadhābī Rubianat, p. 212.
5. Ibid, p.198.
frequently visited the Khanqahs of the Sufi Saints and paid them homage and respects. Khosru in his I'jaz-i-Khusnavi states that 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji had great respect for the Shaikhs and the mystics.

Barani has given a detailed description of the eminent scholars, theologians, jurists and learned teachers who flourished during the reigns of Jalal-ud-Dīn and also occupied important administrative posts in the state. In this respect mention may be made of such celebrities as Malik Qutb-ud-Dīn 'Alavi, Malik Taj-ud-Dīn Kehremi, Malik Khwaja Naurimi, Malik S'ad-ud-Dīn Amir-i-Bahr, Khwaja Jalāl-ud-Dīn Amircha, Maulana Jalāl-ud-Dīn Bahaddmi and several others. The following statement of Barani speaks eloquently of the cultural advancement of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalji's rule:

1. I'jaz-i-Khusnavi (Vol. VI), p.116, see also Salatin-i-Dhili ka Nakhabi Rubahan, p.267.
2. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 201-202
3. Ibid, pp. 201-202
The Khalji period was pre-eminently distinguished for producing two of the first rate Persian poets who rank high not only in the domain of Indo-Persian literature, but also in the whole range of Persian Poetry —, namely Amir Khusrau and Hasan Sijzi. It is needless here to emphasize an already established fact that Amir Khusrau was the most distinguished of all the poets who flourished during the period under review. Khusrau, who was born in 651 H. and had witnessed the reigns and enjoyed the patronage of no less than seven monarchs, was, far excellence the most domiation literary figure of the age. As has already been pointed out earlier, Sultan Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalji, not only materially favoured Amir Khusrau, but had also appointed him 'Mashaf-dar' in the royal court. He was the chief of the King's courtiers and companions, and used to compose and recite every day newly composed ode for his sovereign. Under the benevolent patronage of the Khaljīs, Khusrau was prompted and inspired to write certain immortal works of his, which glorify not only their great composer but also the golden period in which they were composed. Amir Khusrau's friend Hasan Sijzi, was the other brilliant star on the cultural horizon of the Khalji period.

3. See the succeeding chapter dealing with the historical works and last chapter poetry of Amir Khusrau and Hasan Sijzi.
The rule of 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji, may be easily considered as one of the most important periods in medieval Indian History, for its prosperity no less than for its stability. From the point of view of administration, statecraft and political splendour his reign was glorious. But from the view-point of advancement of art and culture 'Ala-ud-Dīn was no match to his uncle. Personally he was not much interested in poetry and art as is evident from the following statement of Barani

'Ala-ud-Dīn could not patronise poets, scholars and writers in the same degree as his proud predecessor did, but there was not a dearth of eminent shaikhs, men of learning, preachers, historians, physicians, musicians, scholars, writers and poets during his reign. The tenth wonder of the reign of 'Ala-ud-Dīn, in the words of Barani, was that there was a glittering assembly of learned men, literatures, educationists, poets and artists at his court, without much concious efforts on the part of the Sultan

1. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, P. 366.
In that direction.

Muslim rule in India, from the very beginning, presents a peculiar feature of its own. It reflects the preponderant influence of the Islamic religion including its laws and jurisprudence on the political, social and administrative institutions of the State. And this was brought about mainly by the endeavours of the eminent jurists, preacher and religious teachers who had a deep knowledge of the Islamic code of life and had also great say in the affairs of the Government. High official poets, even that of chief ministership, were held generally by Qadis and Mufis and, mostly, the King acted on their

1. Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi, P. 366.

2. It is a relevant point here to refer that the institution of 'Ulama gradually gained such large members that they fell a victim to group, Rivalries, power politics of actionism and intrigues of mean order. 'Ali-as-Din, of course, as a shrewed statesman revolt and re-acted against such things. He, therefore, wished to separate religion from the states. His ridiculous design of founding a new religion was, perhaps, a bitter reaction of and the very idea of establishing a new religion code was probably, a part of those extensive reforms which he intended (and actually succeeded in that) to bring about in his dominion, and in society as a whole. See Some Aspect of Rel. & Pol. P. 171-72.

3. Ibid, p. 158, for brief account of Qadis and Mufis flourished during Khaljis reign see also Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi, pp. 348-352.
advice. Apart from holding such influential posts these
these scholars acted as teachers in various educational
institutions which were run and endowed by the state.

Another salient feature of the reign of Khaljis
in India is the establishment of schools (Madrasahs) in
important cities. This reflects the keen interest that
the Khaljis took in promoting the cause of education and
learning. Eminent scholars were appointed as professors
and teachers in these centres of learning. Shams-ul-
Hulk, who was a man of great knowledge and learning and
who later rose to the office of Chief Ministership under
'Ala-ud-Din Khalji had, earlier, served as a teacher in
an educational institution. 'Ala-ud-Din, despite his
personal academic acquisition, had established a school
in the capital which was attached to the Haus-e-Khas.

1. For example, Jalal-ud-Din Khalji sought the opinions
of 'Ulama and Haftis in connection with the persecution
of Sidi Maula. They gave their opinions against the
ordeal by fire and the king have to give up his idea
(Tarikh-i-Tirumshahi, p.311) Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji
renounced his wild ambitions of founding a new religion
being advised by the 'Ulama of Court. He frequently
consulted Qadi Hughaith in some of his political

Once Mubarak Shah was out of the capital and
the administration was entrusted to Hazrast. People
sought permission from him that the follower (قُتَّل
should recite instead of مَا بَلَغَ أَمْرِهِ بِالْمَلَأِ)
in the prayers of Jum'a. When Maulana Din-ud-Din Sanani was
informed, he wrote a letter to Sultan against this
innovation. (Gazalat Dehli ke Hadabbi Ruhjanat, p.55).

2. Some Aspect of Rel & Pol., p.171.
3. Glimpse on Med. Ind. Cult., p.71 --- Dr. Yusuf Husain
writes that Shams-ul-Hulk imported education over to
Nidham-ud-Din Ali Alia See also Rel. & Pol., p.156.
The Khalji period was also conspicuous from the point of view of architecture and buildings. Enumerating the wonders of the reigns of 'Ala-ud-Dīn Barani states in his book that the period of 'Ala-Ud-Dīn was unrivalled in respect of the construction of various types of buildings, such as mosques, fortresses, minarets and cisterns. In Khasain-ul-Futuh Khusrau sa-sys:

During the period of 'Ala-ud-Dīn the sciences of astronomy and astrology were in great vogue. Barani writes:

1. Barani (Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi, p.341.) says:


3. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp.368-64.
According to the same historian 'Ala-ud-Din's reign was noted for producing a number of reciters and singers who could miraculously fascinate those who listened to their recitations. In this connection Barani mentions the names of Maulana Hamid-ud-Din and Maulana Abdul-Latif, sons of Maulana Mas'ud, the reciter. As for Ghasal reciters, he specially mentions one, Muhammad, who could work wonders with his exquisitely sweet voice in the opinion of the writers of the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji's reign was profusely rich in cultural attainments. The following citation from Barani's History would illustrate this point:

Mubarak Shah Khalji was also a munificent patron of learning and culture. He possessed a rare taste for music and poetry. During his reign peace and tranquillity prevailed all over the country. The King had nothing to do but pass his time in revelry and jollity, drinking wine and listening music. A large number of musicians flocked to the capital and were rewarded lavishly. The court of

1. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p.364.
the king was enlivened by a number of men of letters including Amir Khusrau.

The king often held discussions on the relative merits of the poets belonging to the old and modern periods, allowing free expression to his courtiers some of whom praised Sanai while others preferred Sa'di. He persuaded Khusrau to write a history of his reign and promised to give him an elephant's weight of golds. Khusrau composed the mathnavi "Nuh-Sipihm" in which he described the political, social and cultural advancement of his reign in somewhat greater detail.

Mubārak Shah Khālji had also a keen interest in architecture. A number of mosques and other buildings were erected at the instance of the King during his short rule of four years.

The achievements of the Khālji Sultans in various fields of learning and cultures a brief description of which has been given above, symbolise a great step towards the advancement of medieval culture in India.

We shall now pass on to the examination of the literary attainments of this period. We shall however confine ourselves to the consideration of the notable literary productions in various branches of learning:

1. Life and Works of Amir Khusrau, 124-25
3. See "Nuh-Sipihm" chapter second portion dealing with the buildings constructed during the reign of Mubarak Shah, pp.76-80.
1. Historical Works
2. Mystical Works
3. General Literature including espisttery writings and lexicons.
4. Poetical literature.
SECOND CHAPTER
HISTORICAL WORKS
(1) Miftah-ul-Futuh
(2) Khazain-ul-Futuh
(3) Khidr Khan & Deval Rani
(4) Ruh-Sipih
The period of the Sultanate of Delhi opened fresh avenues for Persian learning and with the encouragement of the Delhi Sultans, sincere efforts were made to provide and create proper atmosphere for serious knowledge. In fact, for all the historical material of medieval time, we are greatly indebted to those historians who flourished in those times. The Muslim rulers in India, from the very beginning, were greatly interested, like the Iranian kings and monarchs, in history and historiography. Historians were employed by the Emperors and honoured with rewards and gifts. In this way this group of writers became an integral part of the Muslim medieval court. They had the privilege of being very close to their sovereigns. Very often on the requests of the Sultans they wrote memoirs dealing with their and their ancestor’s achievements.

Even during the period which saw the political ascendancy of the Khaljis, and which is our special field of study, similar cultural conditions prevailed, symbolising the same tradition and conventions. Jalāl-ud-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh Khalji evinced particular interest in history. Every day, when he had leisure he busied himself in the study of the historical works. On one occasion he himself claims:

1. Tarikh-i-Fīrūz Shahi, p. 314.
His keen interest in historical studies can well be illustrated by the discussions which took place, off and on, between him and his close associates, among whom were some noteworthy historians of the days, one of them being Malik Ahmad Chap, the Naib Ėrbæk, who was also his chief advisor. In knowledge and insight in history, this man was specially gifted. He always advised the King to walk in the footsteps of old Kings, particularly Malik Sanjar and Sultan Mahmūd. Darani gives the following estimate about him:

"After he was crowned king, Jalāl-ud-Dīn instructed Amīr Khusrāw to compose 'Siftah-ul-Futuh' a poetical work treating of his achievements and exploits. 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji, although, devoid of education, sat in consultation with the learned of his court, and discussed with them, relevant matters of history and Islamic law. Darani writes under Amīr Arslan Kulāhi:

Some of his ideas such as his claim to become Alexander the great, his ambition for world conquest and his wild dream of founding a new religion confirmed that he was

2. Ibid, p.361.
substantially aware of the past history. The most important personalities that figure as notable historians during the period under discussion, are Amir Arslan Kulahi, Kabir-ud-Din b. Taj-ud-Din Iraqi and the great scholar and poet Amir Khusrau.

The first of them was well versed in history, and so was Kabir-ud-Din b. Taj-ud-Din Iraqi who wrote Fath-Nama, a historical work in several volumes dealing with exploits and adventures of 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji. This contemporary work written during the life time of 'Ala-ud-Din, was noteworthy for its rhetorical embellishments, high sounding praises of the Khalji monarch and for its florid, ornate and artificial style.

Hubarak Shah Khalji, the successor of 'Ala-ud-Din was no less intrested in Persian learning. The composition of 'Imam-Sinah' by Khusrau was entirely actuated by the poet's earnestness born of his belief that he would be weighed, as promised by the king, against an elephant-load of gold.

1. Parani (Tarikh-i-Purusshahi, p.361) gives the following observation about this his historian:

2. Ibid, pp.361, 362.
3. Parani (Ibid, p.361) gives the following remarks about this book.

Preface, Prof. Muhammad Habib (English translation of Khasain-ul-Futuh, Preface, p.xi) states that this work...
From this brief resume, it becomes clear that the Khalji period was essentially rich in historical works. With a view to project the present discussion on the chief historical works of the period under review into the domain of illustration and elucidation, now propose to discuss the following four works separately and at some length.

1. Miftah-ul-Futuh
2. Mfasain-ul-Futuh
3. Deval Rani Khidr Khan and
4. Huh-Sipahir.

But it would be in a fitness of things to add a few lines on Khusrau's achievement as a contemporary chronicle for all the works discussed here, are his pen portraits. Khusrau was as eminent an historian as he was a poet and scholar. In fact all the subsequent historians for their information whether relating to the king and court or with social and cultural behaviours of the later seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries, very much owe gratitude to Khusrau's historical compositions.

Khusrau, witnessed more or less seventh kings ascending one after another the throne of Delhi. He started his early career as a royal associate (بیان ) to the different princes and nobles and gradually occupied the central place in the court of Khaljis and Tughlaqs. He enjoyed the company of these princes and monarchs not only in the assemblies of pleasure but also in the fields of battle (رید). He was an eye-witness to those historical
events which, he preserved with dexterity in a suburb manner in six of his prose and poetical compositions four of which fall within this period.

They are the only contemporary histories of the period which gives us connected accounts of an interesting period of forty years i.e. from 628 H. to 725 H. Although, being a poet laureate his style is not free from exaggeration and metaphorical description, the facts of history are given with tolerable fidelity. He narrated it with admirable accuracy and wealth of detail.

So far as the nature of treatment is concerned, Khurram never tried to conceal the facts whether it related to himself or to somebody else. For example:

He frankly tells us that his first Mathnavi Qira an-us-Salihain was written in obedience to the royal command in hope of a handsome reward which would free him from all worldly cares. The plan of the book and the scope of its treatment were defined by the king himself. The Khazain-ul-Futuh was written with a view to gaining the favour of 'Ali-ul-Din Khalji. The Deval Rani Khidr Khan was composed at the instance of Prince Khidr Khan who gave him his own rough draft of the story of his love, to render it into verse. The Mub-Silsal was undertaken to receive vast treasure which Mubarak Shah Khalji had promised to give. Similarly the Tughlaq-Nama was written at the behest of Ghiyath-ul-Din Tughlaq. When Jalal-ul-Din Khalji asked him to write the Liffah-ul-Futuh, Khurram told the king that wherever he deviates from the path of truth in accordance with the demand of political
conventions and the accepted standard of the eulogical poems, his inward reproach of conscience stings him. We has therefore, made up his mind to follow the way of truth.

No doubt, living in courtly environment for a long time, such standards of his moral judgement have subsequently under-gone a change as is reflected in his last two historical works viz Khazain-ul-Futuh and Huh-Sipih, but even then their historical importance can not be ignored as a whole. They have the value of their own.

Khusrau, will also be remembered as a portraitor of the social and cultural life of his age. He did not confine his aim, like the other contemporary historians, to writing merely a political history of the kings and court. Besides, being a courtier he was also a favourite disciple of Shaikh Nigham-ul-Din Aulia in whose monastery he came in personal contact with men of various social strata and hence his treatment of the subject is authentic and interesting and his writings are a very valuable study.

1. NIFTAH - UL - FUTIH

The second of Khusrau's historical mathnavis, was completed by the poet on the 2nd Jamad II in the year 630 H. It describes four victorious expeditions of Jalal-ul-Din Firuz Khalji within the course of a year. The poem, comparatively a small one, forms part as we have already seen, of the poet's third Divan, the Ghurrat-ul-Haal, but its volume and importance make it a pre-eminently independent poem.
This poem is written in the hexametric Najaz (Mehduf) and, like so many of his other works, has its heading in verse. It has manifold importance. Historically it is a remarkable composition, as the analysis of the poem clearly indicates, in that it is the most authentic contemporary record of the period it covers. Himself being an eye-witness to most of the events described in the poem Khusrav may easily be described to be an eye-witness chronicler of the incidents mentioned. It is on this account that the poem has been held to be most authentic source of information for the later historians right from Barani downwards.

No political history is capable of preserving so many details of events as are preserved in this book. For example, Jalal-ud-Dīn's campaigns in Khurasan and central Asia, the details of campaigns in respect of the royal march towards meeting Malik Chhajju's army and the return journey to the capital, the names of the generals of his army and other warriors, the position assigned to various commanders names of various arrows and weapons current those days, the names of musicians, which may be useful in cultural study, have been incorporated in this poem.

The Niftah-ul-Futuh is written in an extremely simple style which presents a striking contrasts to his other Mathnavīs. It is more like the plain, matter of fact
style of certain short Mathnavis scattered through Khusrav's Divans. Despite the simplicity of the style and diction it does not lose its literary significance, which is evident from the following:

1. **Forceful description**

Khusrav has the unique quality of describing things forcefully and effectively. This feature of the Mathnavi is fully borne out by the description of the Raja's palace of Jhain (Ujjain) and the description of the festive arrangements made for the reception of the king in Delhi on his victorious return from the campaigns. Nothing better can be done than to quote a few lines relating to each of the two places.

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Khusrau did not shut his eyes from making the simple style of the poem attractive and forceful by employing effective similes and metaphors, examples of which are not few in this Mathnavi. A few examples by way of illustration will serve the purpose:

(III) From this Mathnavi we can easily understand that Khusrau had mastery over various sciences and learning. The following verses quoted from the Mathnavi indicate that he was fully conversant with the astronomical science of the old school. But it must be said to his credit that the poet in him predominates the astronomer:

(IV) The importance of this Mathnavi may also be examined from the linguistic standpoint. By a perusal of Mathnavi we are in a position to find out the poet's wealth of

vocabulary vis-a-vis the language current in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. It would be rather difficult to give an exhaustive list of Khusraw's linguistic stock, but the following words and phrases would suffice for the present:

His language is also figurative and not, unoften, idiomatic. A list of some of his idioms is given below:

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Khasain-ul-Futuh, which may be aptly described as the official history of 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji's exploits and military campaigns, is the second historical work of Khusrau, which was written in 711 H. This is a prose work and is also known as Tarikh-i-'Alai. It narrates the events that took place between the years 695 H. and 711 H. The author himself gives the reason of its composition as follows:

The merit and the utility of this work may be examined from two stand points. Firstly Khasain-ul-Futuh is well-planned work. It is the only contemporary and reliable piece of historical record relating to first sixteen years of 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji's reign. Secondly, the style of Khasain-ul-Futuh is unique and portrays Khusrau as a skilled writer of a florid and ornate prose.

The book is divided into paragraphs of varying lengths, every paragraph dealing with a particular topic heading it and the heading denoting the theme or subject-matter which the reader is going to grip after the next few lines. Every fresh heading begins with what Khusrau calls a 'nishat' and it is generally preceded by a couplet in consonance with the 'nishat' that follows.
Historically speaking, the Khazain-ul-Futuh, which is primarily a history of campaigns confined to the South, not covering the whole history of 'Ala-ud-Din's reign, has been universally and unanimously acclaimed as the best and the most authentic work of history written during the lifetime of 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji.

The outstanding merit of Khazain-ul-Futuh is its authenticity and exactitude which is an ingredient of a reliable historical work. The first sixteen years of 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji's reign have been dealt with the insight of a deft historian.

Khusrau has described the southern campaigns of 'Ala-ud-Din with utmost minuteness and with great details. His power of description is remarkable. Every matter or fact which he takes up is recorded faithfully.

1. Sir Henry Elliot was probably, first man to refer to the Khazain-ul-Futuh and utilize it in the third volume of his history "History of India as told by her own historians". Aiyanger in his "Southern India and her Muhammadan invaders", also drew largely upon it and later on wrote a lengthy and scholarly introduction to the English translation of the work by Prof. Habib.

2. This point becomes all the more creditable for Khusrau when we find that he was essentially a court poet and not a court historian as was Kabir-ud-Din b. Taj-ud-Din Iraqi and who was a recognised historian, and whose work Fath-Nama, which was composed under the personal supervision of 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji, could immortalize the said monarch. 'Ala-ud-Din perhaps, never cherished any such expectation from Khusrau or from any of his historical records.
The *Khazain-ul-Futuh* is a faithful index of the times in which it was composed. The description of the royal Durbar, the war scenes, the movements of the troops, their routes, the names of generals, the most picturesque narration of the march of the royal army, the description of the lands through which it passed are best specimens of his superior descriptive power.

A critical study of this important work would, no doubt, reveal certain limitations and defects, yet as a trustworthy and authenticated historical document its significance cannot be ignored. The author does not go beyond the limits of honesty and tries to record facts as they were.

The exactitude of dates rendered, of course, more explicit and reliable through numerous chronograms, immensely helps us in preparing a fairly good chronology of the period of 'Ala-ud-Din.

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1. Prof. Habib (Preface to the English translation of the *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p.xii), enumerates more than one defect of the *Khazain*—to crown than all it has all the merits and defects of a Governmental publication. He also refers to *Dia-ud-Din* Barani's criticism. He writes that the four virtues (or defects) which Barani deploringly attributes to Kabir-ud-Din are all painfully present in Khusru's work i.e., an artificial style adorned with figures of speech, an exclusive devotion to wars and conquests, the elusion of all facts that were not complimentary to 'Ala-ud-Din, and lastly, an exaggerated flattery of the Sultan.
On reading Amir Khusrau’s prose work one gets the impression that his style in this field of literature sharply differs from the style he had generally followed in his poetical compositions. While in his poetry he is lucid, simple and direct, in prose he embarks upon an artificial and laboured style of writing. Probably he used prose as a vehicle for the display of his literary genius, and produced a work of art rather than a history.

Although, in the Khasain-ul-Futuh he employs much of floridity and ornateness of style as in L’iaz-i-Khusrau, on the whole, its method is evidently different from his verses.

It is, however, certain that the work under review is an appropriate and representative model of Khusrau’s artistic talent, in which the literary personality of the author is much more reflected, than the image of a historian or a faithful recorder of events. It would not perhaps be wrong to comment that the chief aim of Khusrau

1. Prof. M. Habib (Preface to the English translation of the Khasain-ul-Futuh, p. viii) goes so far as to remark that "it is jijune, insipid, tasteless and wearisome". Probably this statement is not based on truth. This may hold good for the style of L’iaz-i-Khusrau, but it cannot be equally applicable to the Khasain-ul-Futuh, which although being laden with rhetorical devices, literary tricks, similes and metaphors, does now here cause disgust for the readers.
in compiling this work seems to have been to blend art
with history.

A salient feature of the *Khazain-ul-Futuh* is the
abundant use of allusions, besides of course, similies,
metaphors and the *Mara'fat-un-Nadhir* and *Tahnia*. The general
style of writing is pleasant and refreshing, with a
charm all its own. The sentences are well-knit and a kind
of artistic beauty runs throughout the text.

In the *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, Amir Khusrau emerges as
the master of language and diction. Besides the Quranic
verses made up of words of 'Arabic origin, the author has
also used a number of words of Hindi. This blending of
'Arabic and Hindi words in the Persian text is remarkable.
This is perhaps meant for providing variety in the narrative,
and also for exhibiting his knowledge of other languages.

Another striking feature of the work is the use of
many single 'Arabic verses, all composed by the poet
himself, some of which are quite original in spirit.

1. Prof. M. Habib (Preface to the English translation of
Khazain-ul-Futuh, pp. viii-ix) has made a severe criticism
on the wearisome style of the said book. The total gist
of his critical remarks is as that the historical
facts, as narrated by Khusrau are generally rendered
concealed under the thick veils of literary and
artistic artifices. At times the literary tricks induce
us to imf ignore the fact at the bottom.

2. See Khazain-ul-Futuh, (Introduction to the text edited
by M.W. Mirza), p. 10.
Thus says of the elephants:

وصارالفيل و الشاران بالفأ

The frequent use of chronograms is another glaring feature of his writing. This device serves a double purpose. Firstly it displays the writer's skillful command over the language, and secondly it gives a particular event utmost accuracy —— a feature which is of singular importance from the point of view of history. In short, one would fully agree with Dr. M. Wahid Mirza who summarises his views as follows:

"From literary point of view the book is as good, or as bad, as any of its kind, the Taj-ul-Mahfair for instance. But it is certainly original in style. Khusrau has utilised in it all the various artifices he has outlined in the Li熬夜-i-Khusravi, the most striking being


2. Elliot is of opinion that the method if a little puzzling, is very helpful in the preservation of dates, which if given in figures or even words, are liable to gross mutilation and transformation in the hand of a careless ascribe. Thus the date of defeat and capture of Ali Beg and Turtaq is given in the following sentence:

و در تاريخ معلوم به كه سا بر ساله اندر و سروباي تر txt

To find the date we have to add together the values of the foot ( = tail or the last letter) of 'Ali Beg i.e. Kaf together with that of silsila to the value of the 'head' ( = first letter) and 'foot' of Turtaq, i.e. ta and gaf. The total is thus 20 + 135 + 400 + 100 = 755 H. See, Life and Works of Amir Khusrau, pp.234,225.
the division of the narrative into paragraphs of unequal length, each composed of analogies derived from a particular thing ———— stars, water, fire and so on. The idea itself is a good one: it introduces variety into an otherwise hum-drum narrative and splits it up into divisions, each devoted to a particular topic, and in this respect it resembles another important innovation of Khusrau's writing part of a Mathnawi in different metres. But one can't help feeling sorry for the loss of time and energy caused by the adoption of such an artificial style in prose, and it is not very easy to follow the sense clearly through all the noses of similes and metaphors. Khusrau, essentially a poet, has produced a work of art rather than a history, and although he has told the historical facts well, he could have told them better in a simpler and less laboured style". The following passage will suffice to give an idea of the style of this history.

The Khazain-ul-Futuh like the I’laj-i-Khusrawi, supplies important source material for the linguistical study. As referred to earlier a number of Hindi words have been used in it. These words were prevalent in the days of Khusrau. Some of these words are also used to-day, some have undergone change and some have fallen into oblivion.
A critical analysis of the element of the book with provide an interesting reading. Besides this, the particular Persian words and phrases and even idioms used in the book, may not be Khusrau's own coinage, but it may be frankly admitted that Khusrau has shown such ingenuity and originality in their employment as most of them seem to be his own. In this respect the Subj of this book differs from his other works. As Dr. Mirza has given the vocabulary of the book in his edition of the book, I shall do no better than to select a few words and phrases as well as idioms which give the book an air of antiquity as well as speciality.

1. Words and phrases:
In addition to these the idioms used by Khusrau in this would deserve special study not only because of their numerical superiority but because they are quite new and original and some of them must have been Khusrau's own innovation.
Amir Khusrau's third book in the series of historical Mathnavis, composed by him, has been called by different titles as 'Ashīqa, 'Ishqīa, 'Ishīqa, but the proper title seems to be "Deval Rānī and Khidr Khan" as offered by the following lines themselves:

This Mathnavi of which the central theme is the romantic love and the tragic fate of Prince Khidr Khan and the beautiful Princess Devaldi, was completed in 715 H., but subsequently in the reign of Ghiyath-ud-Dīn Tughlaq (d. 725 H.) another chapter was added to it. The poet had brought the story to a close with the marriage of Khidr Khan and Devaldi when, however, the Prince was killed by his brother Mubarak Shah. Khusrau started the work again and added 319 lines to the poem which already continued 4200 lines. These additional lines dealt with 'Ala-ud-Dīn's illness, his estrangement from his son, the latter's

1. Deval Rani Khidr Khan, p.9.
confinement in the fortress of Gwalior, Malik Kafur's treachery in blinding him, Mubarak Shah's cruel demand and ultimate murder of Khidr Khan along-with his brothers, Shadi Khan and Ferid Khan.

The poem opens as usual with the praise of God and that of Prophet and the Saint Abibam-ud-Din Aulia. This is followed by a panegyric on 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji whom the poet gives wise counsels, warning him against the evil consequences of oppression, injustice and wine drinking. The poet then begins to eulogise India, describes its conquest by the Muslims, gives accurate and valuable pen-sketches of the kings who had reigned before the reign of 'Ala-ud-Din and praises the language of India. He then undertakes to praise the prosperity, peace and unity of belief prevailing in India in the time of 'Ala-ud-Din. Khusrau, at the same time, mentions 'Ala-ud-Din's success against the Mongols and his victories in the Deccan. Then the real story begins with a description of conquest of Gujrat by Ullugh Khan, the capture of Kowaldai and her love for her daughter Devaldi, campaign of the king to bring that princess, her arrival in the royal palace and the commencement of Khidr Khan's love for her.

According to Khusrau, the princess loved Khidr Khan as intensely as he loved her, and the two confided their secret to certain confidants who helped them to communicate with and see each other frequently. The mother of the prince, however, disapproved of their love and persuaded the king to
send Devaldi to a different residence in the Red Palace. She, at the same time, arranged Khidr Khan's marriage with her brother Alp Khan's daughter and the marriage was duly celebrated inspite of the disinclination of the prince. Khidr Khan, however, could not forget Devaldi and pined for her, so that his mother, alarmed at his grief, at last consented to his marriage with his beloved, and the two lovers were happily united.

When 'Ala-ud-Din fell ill, the story goes, Kafur managed to excite Khidr Khan to Gwalior, where his sole comfort and solace, Devaldi, now his faithful wife, was. Nothing excel the tender devotion with which she nursed her husband after the tyrant Kafur blinded him, and his grief and sorrow for his sad plight was unbounded. When, after the assassination of Kafur, Mubarak Shah ascended the throne of Delhi, he soon managed to hit upon a base excuse to end the life of Khidr Khan, the latter's refusal to hand over to him his wife, Devaldi. The prince fell beneath the sword of a monstrous slave only to be wept and mourned by his aged mother and his devoted wife and was buried in a tower in the fortress. Khusrau is silent about the fate of Devaldi.

The romance is unique in Persian literature in more than one respect. In the first place, it has for its theme contemporary events, all the characters in it being real persons whom the poet knew familiarity. He claims to have witnessed with his own eyes all the incidents he describes. The story, belongs to the domain of history, not mythology which was the favourite subject of the earlier writers, and yet it has all the charm and all the romance and piquancy of the older stories. The facts of history, narrated with great fidelity, have been woven round with such a rich mass of fresh fancies and variegated imagery that the whole turns into a singular specimen of the master-pieces of romantic literature. The entire poem, breathes of patriotism, the artist's love for the land of his birth. It is fragrant with the smell of the kausra, the Karna, the champak and hundreds of other Indian sweets flowers and spices, and also, at the same time, illuminated by the warm, bright Indian sun and the pale, cool Indian moonlight. The poet sprinkles, here and there, words of Indian origin that blend smoothly and beautifully with Persian and give the poem a distinction and an elegance all its own. It is by itself suggestive of the Indian beauties who, as Khusrau says, are like the pink and white beauties of "Khalluik" and "Yaghma" having colour without sweetness, cold as blocks of ice, yet full of charm and graces.

1. e.g. Sanghasan (a palanquin) the name of Indian clothes like Deogiri, etc, the names of Indian musical instruments.
2. Deval Rani Khidr Khan, p.133.
The small tales with which the poet illustrates his point are original and instructive and, very interesting. Throughout the poem, there are interspersed verses, full of pathos, love, passion and wistful longing that can scarcely find a parallel even in the pages of Nizami's famous Khamsa. Besides, the poet shows a thorough knowledge of the working of human hearts, the mysterious ways of love-stricken youths and the jealous care of parents, which make the story an interesting reading.

The poem is altogether different in style and spirit from his early poem, the Gīran-us-Sa'dain. Its subject was more congenial to Khusrāu so that it induced him naturally to try his skill on it. And Khusrāu undertook to compose romance as a labour of love. The charming personality of the prince Khizr Khān, his generous nature and literary patronage and his attachment to Niz̄ham-ul-Dīn Aulia combined together to prompt Khusrāu to undertake the work. The poet had a great esteem and affection for the prince, so much so that when the Prince, gave him a rough draft of his story of love for the Rajput Princess, Khusrāu immediately started the work. It is not without significance that a versatile genius like Khusrāu took, about four months to complete the poem.

The metre selected for this Mathnawi is the hexametric Ḥaḍaṣ (Haḍuf) which is continued throughout the poem without variation. It would be worthwhile to give some of the important characteristics of the Mathnawi.
Guris (کریز) is the special feature of Qasida, but Khushrau has very poetically introduced this feature in this Mathnavi. After giving a description of 'Ala-ud-Din's conquests of Gujarat, Ranthambore, Chittor, Mandu, Samana, Tilangana, Mabar and Maharashtra, he refers to the dignity and fortunes of Khir Khan which were mainly responsible for these achievements:

بعدین گونه که یا به پایه بیاا
چوب بخود جوان پیر ندپر
هفتوزی تهل فتح اندرو میلته ایس
هفتوزی نصع در نیام ایس
هبوز اندرو طلوع ایس آفیش
هفتوزی ایفیش اندر کاراپازیس
هفتوزی میر سد بروگل حسادا
زمانی باش نابغگانیدا این درج
جمال کاران بخت جهانگیر
شودروش که اینه مه یوزیج کسیه
بد و مه مهو دیده دیهیه هلینی
فلط کردم که گردود آفتابی
ویل با این وجود مقبول خوشی
نه روزی خدا که گردود زبر چشم آب
شما بیب باعیال فزه دیزنگه

1. Deval Rani Khidr Khan, p. 74.
At the end of each story (Dastan) he has invariably written two Ghazals in one of which the lover addresses the beloved while in other the beloved gives a suitable reply to her lover. These Ghazals are in harmony with the story so far as the lyrical sentiments are concerned. The most striking feature of these lyrics is that they are in the metre of Mathnawi and for this reason technically they may not be called a Ghazal, but they are packed up with same feelings and emotions to which Khwaju’s Taghazzals (تفرز) generally owe their popularity. The following examples would illustrate this feature.

1. Doval Rani Khidr Khan, pp. 149-50.
Khusrav has started each Dastan with a suitable introductions. The episode of Khusrav's marriage is pre-
pared by a description of the spring season and venal 1
festivals:

The introduction to the episode relating to the murder of
Khıdır Khan is full of such topics as the instability of the
wordly order and the oppressive nature of time and the high-
handedness of heavens.

2. Ibid, pp. 257-60.
Amir Khusrau's style and diction are impressive, particularly when he puts forward sound arguments in support of his statement, which, in some cases, may not necessarily be quite convincing. For example, in the following verses he emphasises that despite the fact that the laws of nature are not subject to change, if there may be some variations, they are only temporary and very soon go back to normalcy:

1. Deval Rani Khizr Khan, pp. 57-58.
There are some verses in which he has put force by his power of imagination.

The descriptive quality: — Khusrav had a great knack of describing the minutest detail of an incident. He has often interwoven fiction with history in the poem in a manner that makes it almost impossible for anybody to surpass him in the art. This is why his poem has been unreservedly accepted as a historical document by the historians of the subsequent generations. In the following verses he has given a good account of Sultana Razia's character:

The following verses dealing with a secret letter of Kh dryer Khan exhibit Amir Khusrav's skill as a powerful creative genius.

1. Royal Rani Khidir Khan, p. 49.
2. Ibid, p. 197.
The following lines in which the poet has given a description of merciless assassination of Khizr Khan are filled with genuine sentiments which speak eloquently about Khusrav’s skill as a poet of high order:

In the following two lines the Heaven is compared to a

**Similes and Metaphors**: This Mathnawi is much reputed for original and uncommon similes and metaphors.

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cheat and the sun and the moon to two leaves of bread.

In these two lines Khurram's comparison of sun and moon of a shield is indeed fascinating:

Examples of some of his compound Similis would catch the reader's eyes in the following lines:

Cultural value of the book: The Mathnawi Deval Rani and Khidr Khan is particularly important in preserving many

1. Deval Rani Khidr Khan, p. 296.
2. Ibid, P. 279.
3. Ibid, pp. 150, 114, 162, 76, 252, 168 respectively.
traits of Indian culture, history and civilization. At the outset there is a chapter on the Muslim rulers of India prior to 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khilji. This is followed by 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khilji's conquests and campaigns, about which we have spoken earlier. Cultural features may be gathered from various stories of the Mathnawi. In the episode relating to the marriage ceremony of Khidr Khan, we can find so many things typifying Indian customs. Amir Khusrau was a great advocate of Indian dialect, as we have noticed earlier. He has spoken so highly of this language as to have claimed superiority of Indian dialect to Persian. The following lines will illustrate the point:

About Hindi poetics his views are expressed in those lines:

2. Ibid., p. 42.
Khusrau did not fail to prove the superiority of Indian beauty to Iranian and Turkish counterparts. His views find expression in the following lines:

بیوگی گی سبز منعه یخیا چند است
که قلیبال تیز بیشان اسما تا دنت و خلاق
جو بکار خوانست و سری را روی
از بیتی نیست نابی به و او
کریشان دم خورد خاتون دوزخ
غمن را غود نمک جانان نباید
بجز نام زمینی نه دارد
وی که چندی و ملاکن چن اند

وه سخرب قسم بیلنام علیه ریو غادوان ذیحیا روح گردانه
خواننگه یم در طلق رواح جه یالان نیبی سهم سدون داص
نیبول بستا معلوم مزین برک کند نا جماله تنسر برد منبی

1. Daval Rani Khidr Khan, p. 136.
هنگار بهره بسته کننده حیاتی جار ترکه لکد بلای ناچار گار آنچه‌ها هندوستان هندوستان گالبونه آهار
پارش دیوگیوری کوت نفرکه نتیجه نزا غلام وی -
4. **Nuh-Sipihr**

The Nuh-Sipihr, also called 'Sultan Nama' is the fourth in the series of the historical Mathnavi, written by Khusrau. It was composed in accordance with the order of the reigning Sultan, Qutb-ud-Din Mubarak Shah son of 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji, in the year 713 H. The poem, as its name suggests, is divided into nine chapters, each corresponding to one of the nine skies of the old astronomy. Each chapter was written in a different metre and opens with the mention of the Sipihr to which it corresponds and ends with a Saqi-Nama and a Ghazal. Khusrau has employed verses to serve as headings for various topics described in the Mathnavi. The introduction contains the praise of God, the Prophet, a description of Prophet's holy ascension (Mi'raj) and a glowing tribute paid to his teacher and guide, the reputed Saint Mijhan-ud-Din Aulia. The poet stresses the importance of a spiritual guide for every one who sets out on the path of truth and spiritualism.

The first Sipihr corresponds to the topmost sky. This opens with a panegyric on Qutb-ud-Din Mubarak Shah, which is followed by the narration of the facts which caused the poet to compose the poem. The same Sipihr assigns the King's accession to the throne to the year 716 A.H. This is followed by a description of the King's expedition to Deogir.

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1. Indebtedness for what follows is acknowledge to Dr. M.W. Mirza, Preface Nuh-Sipihr, Oxford University Press, 1949.
and the punishment inflicted on the arrogant and rebellious minister of Rāh Rām Deo. Its metre is 'Mutaqarib'.

The second Sīpihr begins with a description of Hubūrak Shāh's buildings, followed by a detailed account of Khūsraw Khan's campaign against Tilangāna and Warrangal. Khūsraw also sings the praises of Delhi and tries to establish its superiority over the other important cities of the Islamic World. This chapter is written in Mutaqarib metre and it corresponds to the fixed stars.

The third Sīpihr is very important and interesting. It deals mainly with India and the poet has given very useful pieces of information about India's climate, its flora and fauna, its animals and its sciences, religions, beliefs and languages. The poet has really made plausible efforts to prove India's superiority over the intellectual centres of the Islamic World. Khūsraw starts the praise for India by advancing ten arguments to prove that this country is the Garden of Men, where Adam resided before his fall. He mentions ten points in which the Indians were superior to the rest of the world.

1. Knowledge and learning are common and widespread among them.

2. They can speak all the languages of the world clearly and correctly.

3. Scholars from all parts of the world have come from time to time, to study in India, but no Indian scholar has found it necessary to go abroad in quest of knowledge.
Abu-Ma'shar, the famous astronomer of the 9th century A.D., for instance, came to India and learned Astronomy from Hindu scholars at Benaras, where he stayed for ten years.

4. The numerical system, especially the symbol zero originated in India. As a matter of fact, the word 'hindasa' is a compound of 'Hind' (India) and Assa, a famous Indian Mathematician.

5. The wonderful book of wisdom, "Kalila-u-Dumna", was composed in India, and acquired fame all over the world, having been translated into Persian, Turk, Arabic and Dari.

6. The game of Chess, was invented in India. The elaborate and intricate technique of this game has seldom been mastered by anyone, and it holds a unique position among pastimes of a kindred nature.

7. Chess and Kalila-u-Dumna, both being of Indian origin, have ex proprio vigore, given this country a distinctive place among all lands and have become popular throughout the world.

8. Indian music, which is like a fire that fires the heart and soul, is of a higher order than the music of any other country. No foreigner, even if he stayed in India for a number of years, has been able to grasp its principles thoroughly or even to render a single melody correctly.

9. This music has a peculiar charm not only for human beings, but for animals also. Deer have been hypnotised and caught by means of music alone.
10. Lastly, in no other land is there a wizard like Khusrau, albeit a lowly and humble pansarwyat of the great monarch.

In this very chapter Khusrau has made useful observation in respect of the language he was familiar with. Arabic has a unique position because it is the language of the Holy Qur'an. Despite its systematised grammar, it is very difficult to acquire thorough proficiency in it. Although Turkish has a regular grammar, this language is not studied for purposes of acquiring knowledge. The Persian language has no grammatical system, and though he would have liked to write a book of Persian grammar yet, as everyone knows Persian, it would be a thankless job to waste time on laying down the rules of grammar. Arabic is important because of its religious character. Persian of Persian is eloquent and sweet with the flavour of Shiraz and the Turkish Persian spread in other lands. In India the common language is 'Hindi' but Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Tilangi, Gujari, Bengali Avadhi, Mo'bari and others are various dialects prevalent in the various provinces of India. Sanskrit is exclusive to the Brahmans and though it is inferior to Arabic it is certainly superior to Persian. Then he gives useful and interesting information about Indian animals and towards the end of this chapter he cites various instances of magic and sorcery as practiced in India. This chapter concludes with a graphic description of the capture of
Harpal Deo and is dedicated to the planet Saturn.

The Fourth Sipihr is written in the Ramal metre and corresponds to the planet Jupiter. It opens with a beautiful description of a morning when Iqbal visited the poet and prevailed upon him to collect and leave some pieces of good counsel for his friends. In this chapter the poet has given good counsel to the King, his heir-apparent, the nobles, the soldiers, and to the general public. It concludes with a saqi-name and a Ghazal.

The fifth Sipihr is written in the Khursh metre and is dedicated to Bahram. It begins with a description of the Indian winter which has been claimed to be milder than the Persian winter. The poet then proceeds to give a lengthy description of a hunting expedition by the king. This is followed by a dialogue between the bow and the arrow. This portion, is no doubt, rather dull, but it gives some useful information about various kinds of arrows and bows used in those days. The Sipihr concludes with a saqi-name and a Ghazal.

The Sixth Sipihr is dedicated to the Sun and is written in the Ramal metre. In this chapter the poet gives a vivid description of the grandeur of the spring season and the New Year's Day (Newros). This is followed by the festivity on the birth of Prince Muhamed. Those descriptions are interesting in so much as they supply useful information about the manner in which festive occasions were celebrated.
The Sipihr is full of beautiful similes and metaphors and the lines are of exceptional artistic beauty.

The eighth Sipihr is written in the Raja metre and corresponds to the Mercury. It opens with a description of the autumn season. This is followed by a graphic account of the King's going to play the game of polo and a wonderful display of his skill in this game. This is followed by a dialogue between the ball and the stick. This chapter, as usual, ends in a saqi-nama and a Ghazal.

The Ninth Sipihr is in the Rozaal metre and is ascribed to the moon. The poet gives a poetic description of how the mercury (scribe of the sky) paid a visit to him, admired his skill and accepted his superiority. In the concluding part of this Sipihr the poet begs excuses of the king for his failings and thanks God for having spared him to complete the poem. Then the poet gives the date of the composition and the total number of the chapters. The Mathnavi ends with a Ghazal.

THE SPECIAL FEATURE OF THE MATHNAVI :-

The Muh-Sipihr is an authentic history of the reign of Mubarak Shah. As the Sultan had little of importance in him and ruled for a very short period, the general history doesn't give much about him. So the poet had scanty material with which to build up a glorious epic around it. Accordingly he has manipulated, with great skill, care and fidelity, many a minor detail which historians would hardly have cared to notice in their histories. Khusraw has recorded some of
the events from his own experience, while, for others, he had to approach those who themselves participated in the campaigns which the king and his favourite Khusrau Khan undertook as he himself says:

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and elsewhere:

Khusrau has employed a very simple and graceful style in this mathnavi. It is free from quaint and unfamiliar words, obscure allusions and far-fetched similes and metaphors in which some of the greatest masters of Persian have not sometimes, failed to indulge. Khusrau's mastery lies in the fact that his simplicity and naturalness of style have not resulted in staidness and insipidity.

He has narrated historical events in a straightforward manner, which is in harmony with poetic imagery and artistic beauty. It is this feature particularly which stamps the Nuh-Sipih as a unique poetic work.

Originality in style and thought is a prominent feature of this mathnavi. As seen earlier the poet has split up his poem into nine independent parts and dedicated each one of them to a particular sphere or Sipih, each dealing with a different topic. The second innovation lies in the employment of a different metre for each

1. Nuh-Sipih, p.34.
Sipihr, some of which have seldom been used by any Persian poet in a mathnawi before Khusrau. An interesting phenomenon is that the metre selected for each Sipihr has a close connection with the subject of that Sipihr and is singularly suit for its effective rendering, for example, the "Mutagariib" metre is very suitable for narrating the warlike exploits of the king and his favourite Khusrau Khan. This is why he has employed 'Mutagariib Mahzuf' in the first Sipihr and Salim in the second. But when the poet undertakes to narrate serious subjects, as in the third Sipihr, the metre becomes sober, which has a characteristic ring of solemnity in it or when he depicts the activities of the festive occasions, for instance, the birth of Prince Muhammed, (7th Sipihr) the metre is musical, smooth and fluent.

Khusrau was aware of the fact that it was not only the choice of the metre but also the choice of words that help to produce the desired effect. With the help of a few appropriate words in a couplet the poet was in a position to paint the whole picture before us e.g.:

(Describing the dancers in the Sipihr VII)

(Describing the sound of a drum)

As we have already said, Khusrau abstains from using intricate metaphors and farfetched similes. But it

1. Nuh-Sipihr, p.373.
should not be taken to mean that he is indifferent to the use of such artifices. Oriental poetry is much reputed for similes and metaphors, and no poet, however great, can afford to produce the desired effect without these powerful agencies. But Khusrav has not blindly copied the older masters. He has chosen his own fresh and delightful similes. They are often delicate and subtle which show the poet's keen perception and true artistic sense. It would not be out of place to quote a few lines from the maghnavi which may serve as examples of beautiful similes.

One of the greatest defects of the eastern poetry is that the poet in a temptation to display his learning makes poetry subservient to scholarship. Such poems make more of a versified discourse in learning than a piece of artistic poetry. Khusrau should have been no exception to the general rule, as he had studied the old masters. Yet he remained unaffected by the unhealthy traditions. Although he was occasionally tempted to indulge in a display of learning, he was, on the whole, conscious of the fact that poetry should not be looked upon as a mere medium of scholarly thoughts. So, while making a judicious use of scholarship, he never allowed it to over-shadow the artistic beauty of his composition. The Mathnavi under discussion bears out that Khusrau was well versed in philosophy, astronomy, astrology, music etc, but the verses displaying such knowledge are still forceful and full of grace. There seems to be no affectation and no traces of undue labour. The verses follow their smooth and natural course. The following extracts will illustrate these points:

1. Muh-Siphr, Preface, xliiv - liii
چه داند کسی کاندرين برده جیسه
گر انجم نکا ندنه مردم است/ جز ناچال راز و انجم موائید زاد/ نش را که یادن و دل سازدیش/ هر آن تن کن از گل نعودا یکرد/ چه براش تنهه گل نیبان میکند/ دهده جان و پستاد آن داده باز/ درنین رزیته کردنه پچه بسی/ همه نه تشی بهسای داد/ به دانه بود بانده بهبه کار/ گر اسایب صنعه مطل شود/ درخته از دهد کسی آرامته/ و گر اوه و تبیشه یارد از شمار/ چو در گارده دو روای نعاد/ همه کارهای که دربایته است/ از مصاعب نوی.

صلسله یکات اندز دگر بایته است/ بعد در غرف قدر حبان خاستند/ چون در عالم آشیان و سید/ چو بر قاب قوسین هد در حضور/ چو در یابایه فرق و تماش بود/ هشتی چولاسوی او کام کرد/ چونا رست باخونیش بروی و سید/ چور غفته از مبان زرحمه کاتئات.
KHURSAU'S VOCABULARY: In order to have a clear idea of Khursau's style, it would be worthwhile to give a selected list of his Vocabulary:

- آب غیظ آپ کان کہوک آری آس ہجو ارہہ اسقلان اعتمد آبیگہ اصول ناہتے
- (تومی از ہسپتی اصول رسپتی ) اتنی اتیلاک -الاعین - الفحن الکہ اود ایکر
- ابھی پاشا باری بارا وبارو بھی بھاجہ برجاح بچائہ بن بھک بوروپی بوز
- بھرائے بارہم باری بسین بسمن بھکم بشپی بھرائے بھٹی بھلائ بنائے بنائے
- تاکہ تیبایی ستمج تعین تجھے تحیر خمار خمار جمالان جمالی جدی حیبہ حکمہ جمج
- زنن جوڑ جھرہ باز حال و حالکاں غربانی غربانی خانہ خانہ بن خوید داداو
- دانگ دوکی دابا - دکی دیپن (بہمنی دوکانی) دوکی وام جوڑ رز رز منرف
- رو راگ بھت تول زنیا زمردہ مامہ ناہی نیاہتی زمعی زنگیز زہ دیگی -زہ پیپن
- زنہ - محصانہ سمونہ سمن سرخ بادھ سرخ سوال سسل سلیمہ
- اماہن سمجہ کر سکت کرو کیا چہرہ بھرہ شعل صغیرہ گرد صدی چاری گن
- ضبض ضیاف صلیمان - حسنیا وحدہ نزن خوپ اورہ فوٹو اور فوٹو نبیل نبوت نبیل نبیل
- لینکی کی کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ کہ
- لہور سے مہربانی سکھ مبنی نیودی نیودہ با نقش ونباود ون جلیہ گن
- هندی میں پاکی بیکہ یکان

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CHAPTER III

MYSTICAL WORKS

1. MUGHUL - MA'ANI
2. FAWĀID - UL - FUĀD
3. AFDAL - UL - FAWĀID
4. NUZHAT - UL - ARMĀN etc.
No sphere of Muslim thought is more truly representative of Islam than 'Tassawwuf' or Mysticism —— says Prof. Mahd. Habib. The twelve Muslim schools of mysticism which we find at the beginning of the fourth century A.H. were finally consolidated into two opposed systems during the first quarter of the seventh century A.H. and both systems found their true expressions in the classical text books namely, Fasus-ul-Hikam of Sheikh Mohi-ud-Din Ibn-i-'Arabi (d. 646 H.) and 'Awarif-ul-Marif of Sheikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi (d. 632 H.). For the people of the Sultanate period in India the philosophy of Ibn-i-'Arabi had no appeal. India was exclusively in the grips of Awarif-ul-Marif of Sheikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi and Dhiva-ul-Ulum of Imam Ghazzali, which served as the only two text books for the Muslim mystics. Muslim mysticism was brought into India as a complete system at the beginning of the seventh century A.H. or probably a century earlier. But India has added nothing to the mystic thought since then, for no substantial addition to it was possible. Her contribution has been primarily in the field of mystic practice, and in the way of mystic living.

2. See the above article.
3. See the above article.
4. See Tariikh-i-Firuzshahi, (pp.43-47), where Barani gives the name of the books that were popular on those days.
6. See the above article.
It was natural that the culmination of the Muslim mystic thought in the early seventh century should have led to the organisation of mystic orders. Of these mystic 'Silsilas' (orders) only two: namely 'Suhrawardi' and 'Chishti' succeeding in getting a foothold in India. Suhrawardi order was brought in from Persia and planted in India by Shaikh Baha-ud-Din Zakriya (d. 661 H.), but its activities remained confined mainly to Sindh and the Punjab. A third Silsila the Firdausia founded by Shaikh Sharf-ud-Din Yahiyā Hanori (d. 122 H.), no doubt, established itself in Delhi for sometime but moved away to neighbouring areas not long after. It does not, however, merit much notice. The soil of India proved quite fertile for the Chishtis. The extraordinary success of the Chishti order was due to the fact that it knew better how to adapt itself to the usages and custom of the country in which it had come to settle, and it was also partly due to the personality of the leader.

Shaikh Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti founded the Chishti order in India about 588 H. He settled at Ajmer and started the work of preaching and guidance. Shaikh Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, the successor of Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti popularised this order in Delhi and its surrounding areas. Shaikh Farid-ud-Din

2. Ibid, p. 175.
3. Ibid, pp. 177-78.
4. Ibid, p. 177.
5. Ibid, pp. 178-79.
Ganj-i-Shalimar, the successor of Qutb-ud-Din Baibars Kuli further organised it. It, however, reached its zenith when Sheikh Muhham-ud-Din Aulia, the successor of Baba Farid, became its head. Its branches sprang up almost in every corner of the country, sooner or later.

Khalji period was especially noted for the development of 'Tasawwuf' in India. Both Chishti and Suhrawardi orders were exercising an appreciable influence on the religious and the ethical thoughts of Indian people, which, however, reached their culmination during the period under survey. Sheikh Nuhammad-ud-Din Aulia and Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din Abul-Fath (d. 735 H.), the two outstanding figures of the time were representing their orders in Delhi and Multan respectively.

Sheikh Nuhammad-ud-Din Aulia was born in Badaun in 634 H. His father died when he was only five years old. Henceforth, his mother, who was a pious woman, brought him up under her fostering care. Soon after, they moved to Delhi where Sheikh Nuhammad-ud-Din completed his formal education at the age of twelve. Later he went to Ajodhan and became the disciple of Baba Farid. After the death of Baba Farid

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2. Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi (pp. 341-46), where Barani significantly remarks that as the result of the teachings of these mystics:

"من بين ما سألهم عن أخلاقهم...
The hearts of men having become virtuous by good deeds, the very name of wine, gambling and other forbidden things never came to any one's lips. Sins and abominable vices appeared to people as bad as infidelity.

3. Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi, p. 341.
Wahm-ud-DIn Aulia became his successor and settled in Delhi from where he subsequently moved to Ghiyathpur, a village near Delhi proper.

Sheikh Mihm-ud-DIn Aulia was a man of singular piety and learning. He saw the reign of seven Sultans, succeeding one after another, on the throne of Delhi. But he never visited the royal court, nor allowed them to visit him in his Khangeh. It was under his spiritual leadership that within a short period the reputation of Chishti Silsila spread all over the country. His teachings were most valuable in respect of mystic practice and the mystic way of life.

Sheikh Bulun-ud-DIn 'Abul-Fath occupies the same position in the history of Suhrawardi order which Mihm-ud-DIn Aulia has in the Chishti order. He was the son of Sheikh Sadr-ud-DIn 'Arif (Ob. 676 H.) and grandson of Ihm-ud-DIn Zakriya. Having completed his esoteric and exoteric learning beside his grandfather, he succeeded his father at the age of thirty-six. For nearly half a century he worked incessantly and with single-minded devotion to propagate the Suhrawardi mystic ideas. His relation with Sheikh Mihm-ud-DIn Aulia was extremely cordial. Each respected the other and treated him, as if, he were his Sheikh.

1. TasawwIr fuqahah, p. 341.
2. Ibid., p. 363.
3. For detail, see also Bazm-e-Indka, pp. 261-277.
Besides these inspiring figures, some other mystics, whose sphere of influence extended much during this period, were Sayyidi Maula in Delhi, Shaikh 'Ala-ud-Din in Ajodhan, 1 Sheikh Dia-ud-Din Rumi and Shaikh Bu-'Ali Qalandar in Panipat. 2

Khalji Monarchs were much devoted to these Sufis and held them in great esteem. Jalal-ud-Din Khalji, himself a religious-minded person, showed utmost regard for these Sufis, especially for Nizam-ud-Din Aulia. He was very eager to have an interview with the great Shaikh in his Khangah, for which he even tried to use the influence of Amir Khusrau, but the Shaikh refused to grant him an interview. 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji was also insistent on paying a visit to the Shaikh but the Shaikh sent him a message that if the Sultan entered his house he would instantly quit it. 'Ala-ud-Din was much devoted to the Shaikh that he gave an instruction to 'Abdulla Beg to write down the particular verses which gave spiritual ecstasy (زیت) to the Shaikh in his assemblies of music (至於). He (the king) would himself later on recite those particular verses and derive a unique pleasure from them. 3

1. & 2. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 203 and 341.
2. Sheikh Bu-'Ali Qalandar and Dia-ud-Din are stated to have been the spiritual guides of 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji and Mubarak Shah Khalji. For detail, see Shalatin-i-Dehli Kay Madhab, Ruhjanat, p.269 and 338 respectively.
5. Ibid, pp. 132-33. See also Akhbar-ul-Akhriyar, pp.56-56.
6. Siyar-ul-Aulia, p.135-6 is also stated that Jalal-ud-Din and 'Ala-ud-Din had great respect for Shaikh Bu-'Ali Qalandar of Panipat and both were the disciples of him. See Khazinat-ul-Asfia, Vol. I, pp. 327.
'Ala-ud-Dīn was also a devotee of Shaikh Rukn-ud-Dīn Abul-Fath. Once when the latter happened to come to Delhi, the Sultan went to welcome him outside the city and brought him in his company to the city with great reverence. He presented him two lakh tankas as a token of his devotion, and again five lakh tankas when the Shaikh was leaving for Multan. He frequently invited him to come to Delhi.

Mubarak Shah Bhaiji had also a liking for the Sufis. Although he was not on good terms with Mīḥān-ud-Dīn Aŭlīa, perhaps due to his personal disliking, he got himself attached to all other Sufis of his period, particularly to Shaikh Rukn-ud-Dīn Abul Fath, whom he invited to settle in Delhi permanently. It is also stated that Shaikh Dīn-ud-Dīn Rūmī, one of the Khatīfas of Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrawardī was the spiritual guide of the said king.

The Chishtis were not very particular about writing books. They were content to teach Ḥikāya-ullaman, Kina'ār-San'adat of Imam Ghazzali, 'Avarif-ul-Mirif of Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrawardī, Khāsh-ul-Mabkhub of 'Ali Bujwairī (d. cir. 485 H.) and some other similar compositions of the Suhrawardī order. They were more concerned with the mystic way of life than with the theoretical aspects of mysticism. Most of the

1. See Fazl-i-Sufia, p. 235.
works attributed to early Chishti saints are claimed to have been fabricated later. It was, however, during the period of Khaljis that two works, the *Mubh-ul-Ma'ani* and *Fawaid-ul-Fuad* of Amir Hasan, the disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia appeared on the scene, the former being a small treatise on "love" and the latter a collection of the discourses of Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia. The works of the same sort were, no doubt, produced earlier in the other Muslim lands also, but the credit of giving it a definite shape and separate form goes to Amir Hasan Sijzi, a detailed account of whose career and achievements would follow soon.

The saints of the Suhrawardi order were not indifferent to writing books. As we have seen the founder of the school, Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi himself was the author of those learned treatise, 'Awarif-ul-M'arif, which was very popular with the Chishtis as well. Daha-ud-Din Zakriya, however, produced no work. But Ibrahim 'Iraqi (d. 628 H.) and Hamid Magauri composed particular works which were popular books on mysticism. During the Khaliji period


2. See Introduction of *Khair-ul-Najalis (Text)* edited by K.A. Nidhani and also the Article, Chishti Mystics records of Sultanate period by Prof. Habib in Med.Ind.Qly.V.I, No.2.
the Shaikh of this order who had left a number of books on mysticism is Amir Husein. Some of his works will be noticed later on. As this author has not been studied properly it becomes necessary to give an exhaustive study of his life and works in the following pages.

Amir Husein whose full name was Rukn-ud-Din Husein b. Abi-al-Hasan, also known as Fakhr-i-Sadat, was a powerful and significant mystic poet and writer of the Eighth century A.H. He was a disciple of Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din Abul-Fath, the grandson of Baha-ud-Din Zakriya of Multan and naturally, therefore the early part of his life was spent in Multan at the shrine of his Shaikh in meditation and mystical training. Being a devout Sufi of the Suharwardi order he was devotionally attached to the great Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi, his disciple Baha-ud-Din Zakriya and the latter's son Sadr-ud-Din 'Arif. It was due to his extreme devotion

1. Catalogue of Quaid Library (p. 430) and Suyar-ul-Arifin (Vol.I, p. 25) give the full name as Amir Rukn-ul-Din Husein b. 'Alam and Shaikh Sadr-ud-Din Ahmad b. Najm-ud-Din respectively. But the above mentioned name is correct one as all the Mss. of his books bears the same name. See Nushat-ul-AYWah (Mss. Maulana Asad Library Aligarh).

2. Daulat Shah and Adar mentioned him as a disciple of Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi. Jami observes the following statement: "وَلَدَتْ قَالَ "لَوْ تَأْتِيَنَّكَ مِنْ خَيْرٍ مِّنْهَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهَا وَأْيَدُكَ إِلَى رَبِّكَ " He further informs that according to some books he was a disciple of Rukn-ud-Din Abul-Fath. The author of Suyar ul-Arifin states him to be a disciple of Baha-ul-Din Zakriya. But all this confusion on the part of the early biographers has been created by Mr Husein's eulogy on these three spiritual leaders in his Kanz-ul-Rumma in various Mss. of which we find different readings. Some have eulogy on the personality while the other on more than one and even on three. But the verses clearly indicate that the poet is writing after the death of all of them which testifies to the poet's attachment to Rukn-ud-Din Abul-Fath.
which is evident from his writings, that misunderstanding has been caused in so much, as most of the biographers call him as the disciple of one or the other of the above three mystical stalwarts. But such a historical anachronism as this is not rare in the history of any people. The first two, Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi and Beha-ud-Din Zakriya could not be Amir Husain's guide for the simple reason that the latter was born after the death of both of them. The third was alive when Husaini was born; but his death coincides with the fourth year of the Husaini's age. Thus the latter must have not got the opportunity of being trained by Shaikh Sadr-ud-Din. Husaini was, of course, attached with Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din Abul-Fath in the shrine of Multan.

As Husaini's life is shrouded in mystery, we have to be very careful in giving the particulars of his life. Instead of depending on the confusing and contradictory mass of biographical material, we have to depend more on Husaini's own writings, which in some respects clear the doubt created by some subsequent writers. For his date of birth, we have to go through his Muzahat-ul-Arwaḥ, which was written in 711 H. In this book he fixed his age at forty by the following observations that occur:

1. Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi and Beha-ud-Din Zakriya both died in 632 H. and 631 H. respectively.
2. Muzahat-ul-Arwaḥ, p. 143
3. Ibid, p. 146
From this it may reasonably be concluded that the Mir, was born in the year 671 H. This statement definitely falsifies the writers that call him a disciple of the earlier mystics. Of course, Husaini was born in Gurdìv in the vicinity of Ghor. But at an early age of his life Husaini was attracted by the Suhrawardi Shaikh at Multan, where he subsequently migrated and stayed for a long time. But here again we are confronted with a fresh difficulty. We do not know the exact date of his arrival at Multan. It is impossible to be in complete agreement with Sheikh Jamali, who gives the following observation in his

1. Silver-ul'Arifin:

"For the first time he came to Multan with his father Saiyid Najm-ud-Dīn for purposes of business and was introduced to Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn Zakriya. But he was not much attracted there. After the death of his father, Husaini turned his attention towards Multan and was accepted as a disciple of the Shaikh."

Firishta has also given a similar statement, but it is full of historical discrepancies for as referred to above, Husaini was born much after the death of the Shaikh of Multan.

A modern Persian scholar Dr. Farugh-i-Hikmat has come forward with his own discovery in this respect. He has published a sensational article in the Majalla-e-Rahumana-i-Kitab (Vol. VII part I pp 25) in which he claims that Mir Husaini was a contemporary of Shiyath-ud-Din Balban (657 to 687 H.) But this is rendered preposterous by his own assertion that neither Balban nor any other Sultan's name (of course two exceptions are Shiyath-ud-Din Kurt and Firuz Shah Khalji) finds mention in any of Husaini's writings. As no other writer or historian has given the exact date of Mir Husaini's arrival at Multan, it would be quite wrong to suppose that the Mir came to India before 685 H. (987 is wrong) when he would have been hardly fourteen years. Dr. Farugh-i-Hikmat is again wrong in fixing the reign of Firuz Shah Khalji from 682 to 729 H. although he actually ruled from 682 to 695 H.

It would not be out of place to point out some of the absurdities that have crept in the article of Dr. Farugh-i-Hikmat. In one breath he holds Mir to have been born contemporary with Balban and Firuz Shah Khalji

whose reign has been stated to have lasted from 683 to 729 H. in India, while in the same breath he claims him to have stayed in Iran with Fath-ud-Din Kurt, who ruled in Hrast from 683 to 705 H. and with Ghiyath-ud-Din Kurt whose reign extended from 706 to 729 H. The position is quite clear that Mir stayed in Multan definitely till 717 H. as is evident from the following verses available in part of Gulshan-i-Ras of Mahmud Shabistari:

It appears that from 717 H. till his death the Mir stayed in Hrast with Ghiyath-ud-Din Kurt.

Then again, we have to steer clear of the confusing statements of the biographers with regard to the date of Mir's death. Jami in his Nafhat-ul-Uma, gives date of the death of Mir as 16 Shawwal 718 H. and it was copied in the other biographies such as Najalis-ul-Ushāq

1. Gulshan-i-Ras (Ms. Subhan-Allah Khan's Collection)
   Maulana Azad Library, 'Aligarh.
and Riyad-ush-Sho'ira. Daulat Shah, however, places his death in 712 H. and Haft Iqlim in 717 H. But all these statements must needs be wrong. Since the work Zad-ul-Mu'asirin was composed in 729 H., he must have died after 729 H.

Mr. Husaini was a devout mystic wholly absorbed in divine meditation, not concerned with what was happening around him. He bore a very high moral character which is evidenced by his complete detachment from court life. He was very indifferent to the praise of worldly people, so much so that at only two places two different kings are mentioned. His character has been well depicted by Dr. Farugh-i-Hikmat and some statements from his writings are worth quoting:

3. The following verse occurs at the end of the book:

4. Dr. Farugh-i-Hikmat quoted the following verses in praise of Jalal-ud-Din Khaliq and Shapath-ud-Din Friti, respectively:

The Mār was a prolific writer. He has written a number of books, both in prose and poetry. Of his prose works two are very famous, one of which is 'Nuzhat-ul-Arvālī (to be examined in detail subsequently) and the other is Tazah-ul-Ma’ālī. One of his books, which was apparently in prose, is lost. Of his poetical books much has come down to us: 1) Kang-uz-Rumuz, 2) Zad-ul-Hisafirin

1. The writer has erred in stating his religious belief. Mir Mār’arat was a Sunni and not a Shia. A Sufi of the Suhrawardī order cannot be but a Sunni. This is fully borne out by Amir Husain’s verses written in praise of the four orthodox Caliph in the Kang-uz-Rumuz and Nuzhat-ul-Arvāh.
با سوابق و استاد تاریخی و ادبی جنای همیابید
که پیش از دو بزرگ‌نامه خود بزرگ‌یاد و مولای رحمت به سبب خدمت، از اعظمی شرایط
و مواردی که در سده هفتمین استقلال مبینه می‌جردین، در آغاز سده هفتمین نهایی بروندند بوده است
که پیش از دیگر دانشگاه‌های ایران تمرکر ان در گذشته صداید
و نهزمته داده
گنجیه‌ها از این طریق از حکمت‌های بی‌بیجه و بارکه
پس از کهن زندگانی و مسیح (نیرویی) و منوق و یونانی و فراناژی که از پرستار باستان در
سر زمین ایران زاینده بر این کرده بود گسترش هفتمین اسلام در درهای عیان مخزا و اندیشه
های دانش‌شناس اسلامی پروردهانش با کلی و
زنان ایمان در بی‌بی‌های خاص و گون‌گون
جلوه نموده‌ی پروردهانش است این گنجیه
گران با اصطلاحات و عبارات و اشارات عرفانی

Dr. Farough holds Mr. Husaini in great esteem for
the latter's treatment of the subject - matter and his
mode of expression - For example he observes:

"Again the remarks:

Now we would pass to the consideration of the following mystical works in detail:

1. Mulk-ul-Ha'ani.
2. Fawaid-ul-Fuad.
3. Afdal-ul-Fawaid.
4. Nushat-ul-Arvahe
Mukh-ul-Ma'ani is a small sufiistic treatise
dealing with the interpretation of love and elucidation
of some of the problems of Islamic mysticism, written
by Hasan-i-Dihlavi. It is not a proper and popular treatise
with the result that it has very rarely been mentioned to
be one of Hasan's compositions. Only in the Fawaid-ul-Fuad,
there are two references which clearly prove that Hasan
wrote some book under the title of the Mukh-ul-Ma'ani. The
references are very significant because both of them have
been referred to by the author himself.

Thus there remains no doubt about the authorship
of the treatise. But no manuscript was known to exist in
any library of the world. Very lately Prof. K. A. Nigami

1. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, p. 83.
of Department of History of Aligarh has discovered a manuscript of the treatise in the Aligarh Muslim University Library in the Sir Sheh Sulaiman's Collection, and got it introduced by an article appearing the issue of the University Journal Fikr-u-Nadhar.

A perusal of the treatise showed that the author had himself referred to the name of the treatise in the following words:

"... اباز محمد ازلي و اباد بحرت سلطان مالکه فتر عنی محمد مصطفی على الله علی وسلم والتحية كه محمد سرا بتدام

اباز مصطفی خوشن آشنا تمام گرامت خوشن و منته هوا و

سومنات حسین و حسن را از ولایت ورود این به جهاره آواره

منزل و مقدم کن و این مجمع را که " مع المسای

نام یافته بحق آن مسای که با محمد اباز ارزایی داشقی

جون سل محمد نام برنادر و جون طبل محمد بلند آوازپدیدان.""

The scribe has also noted the title of the treatise both in the beginning and at the end of the treatise.

"كتاب مع المسای

الشيخ الا میر حسن علا السجزي الادهري تدی الله صر....

بفضل تمامی این كتاب بستاب السعی مع العلما تریف شریف

حضرت زیدة الامیرین جناب امیر حسن علا السجزی دلیوی تدی

الله صر حلبی زاسی حضرت سلطان المشایخ نظام الدين اولیا

رضی الله عنه بظالم عدل فقین السکین ضیاءالدین احمد دلیوی

غزره به تمام سید فی التاريخ بست دم شهر و شعبان المنعم

سنی 1394 هجری بم شبه....

1. Muhir-ul-Ma'am (Ms.)
2. Ibid.
All these quotations prove that there is absolutely no difference of opinion regarding the authorship of the treatise.

It is a small treatise comprising about thirty six pages preserved in a unique manuscript. It is written in a clear Nast'aliq hand by one Dia-ud-Dīn Ahmad on the 12th Sha'ban-ul-Muadhān 1297 A.H.

Now a few words may be added as regards the date of its composition. As we are not in the know of the exact date of its completion, its reference in Fawā'id-ud-Fuṣūl makes the task a little simpler. The treatise has been referred to under.

From this it is clear that the treatise was written earlier than this date. But since he was so closely attached to his spiritual guide and he attributes its completion to the favour of his spiritual guide, it is quite correct to suppose that there would not be much deviation between the completion of the book and its presentation to Nīghān-ud-Dīn Auliya. We can reasonably hold that a small treatise like Mulk-ul-Ma'ani would have not taken much time to complete it, and as such it is fair to hold that the treatise was completed either in the first month of 712 H. or in the closing month of 711 H.

As I have mentioned above Mulk-ul-Ma'ani is a small sufistic treatise dealing with the interpretation of love and elucidation of some of the problems of Islamic mysticisn. The author starts with a brief notice on love ( عِشْق ).
He says that each of the three letters ﷴ ﷴ ﷴ which the word ﷴ is composed of, is indicative of particular characteristic peculiar to itself. The first letter ﷴ had a number of meanings. For example its one meaning is (eye) which is the basis of love, as the poet says:

جَمْح

( The eye in the head has turned into an eye of love, whereby we keep it wet as a seed; I dont know what fruit would it bear when it is drenched in water )

On the fortieth night Adam opened his eyes and being confronted with the eternal beauty he grew so ecstatic that he preferred to renounce the heavenly residence and settled in this abode of calamity for it was revealed upon him that "the lessons in love could not have been prepared under the shade of heavenly trees". These can properly be done "in thorny bushes of the underworld".

Love resembles eye in so many ways. Eye has three qualities, whiteness, blackness and light. Love has also the same qualities. It is characterised by poverty, which is a symbol of blackness, as is contained in the saying:

الفَنْرُ سَوادَ الوجهِ فِي الْدَارِينَ ( the poverty is the blackness of face in both the worlds) and again by distress symbolised by whiteness as is ordained in the Qurān ( ... . . . . . . His two eyes grew white of distress), and lastly by divine reflection as has been said " ( "I saw my God in my heart").
The term which is one of the chief qualities of love implies that the lover or the disciple (يُمَّ) should always keep his memory fresh with his spiritual guide (جِهَانٌ) and must always have his mental picture before him. The disciple should always be as closely and sincerely attached to his master as is the lover attached to his beloved. A disciple who is not perfect in love, his claim of faithfulness is wanton. From this it follows that the disciple should hold his spiritual guide in great esteem, follow his orders and shape his life according to his master's wishes. There should be no separation between the disciple and his guide. A man may perform his pilgrimage, but he may be far from achieving his objects. 'Uwais of Qaraqon could not perform his Hajj and was thereby deprived of meeting personality the holy Prophet, but he was so much enamoured of the former that no sooner did he hear of the damage being caused to one of the Prophet's teeth that he broke all his teeth. Every lover should keep before him the example of this ideal disciple.

Then the author makes an attempt to prove the desirability of Sama' (سماء). He proceeds in this way People enquire about the details of Sama' from the latter finds it difficult to satisfy them because of the following points:
(1) The inquirer is in a state of distraction (اخترد) and the replier combines in him all the qualities of love (جمع إوانف عشق).

(2) The enquiry comes from the external mouth, while the reply pertains to heat and hence the two are not compatible.

(3) The enquiry is about the external affairs, while the answer pertains to hidden secrets.

(4) The question is based on intellect, the answer is based on love.

On account of these difficulties the enquirer is never satisfied. There is no doubt that it is not only permissible but at times desirable. The famous Imam Ghazzali has elaborately dealt upon this in his Minhaj-ul-ulum. Many stories are told about the effect of music on Arabian camels. So is the story that as soon as a deer hears a particular music, it is so attracted that it runs towards its hunter and is ultimately caught.

The other meaning of the letter "片面" is a stream. This stream takes its root in the hillock of calamity and flows in the plains of the heart of distressed people. It no doubt causes to grow weeds (superfluous grass).

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   The author has also dealt with the same topic in the Kiniva-i-Sal'adat, pp. 217-230.
   Before him Shaikh Hujjat had also elaborated this point in the Kashf-ul-Mahirub, See pp. 393-420.
in the plains of heart which are stronger than the mountains. The lover should be so strong and sturdy as to weed out these superfluous things which retards the healthy growth of the sapling of love.

Farhad did worry in cutting through the mountain. He should have searched his beloved in the wilderness of grief and calamity. To quote the author in original:

Farhad, thou shouldst seek the fountain of distress in this mountain. Thou art seeking Shirin; leave Shirin to Shirin herself, thou shouldst adapt thyself with the bitter syrup of separation; thou art mistaken to seek union with Shirin in the stroke of the thatchot; thou art wrong in holding the thatchot to cut through the mountain; thou shouldst better strike it against thy own feet; wait till the Parvesh's messenger opens the tongue of his sword on thee and puts an end of thy life with his sword and thatchot).

Lovers are in some respect superior to Hadrat Khidr. The latter's fountain lies in dark, while the
lovers of God have theirs in Divine brilliance; Khidr could not cause Alexander drink from his nectar; while Godly people not only quenched their thirst from the Divine fountain, but also became instrumental in causing to quench others' thirst. Khidr obtained eternal life through his stream; while Godly people were blessed with eternal love. Worldly people would not appreciate it because their knowledge is based on wisdom and repetition and discussion, while Divine people derive strength and knowledge through love. The author then illustrates these points by a story. Then a worldly man goes to his garden, he is impressed by its outward beauty while a saintly people would like to see through it the hand of nature which has caused it to come into being.

When the lover enters the realm of self-forgetfulness, his utterances and actions are not in keeping with the worldly dignity and manner. This point is illustrated by the anecdote of Maes. When Maes was enquired as to what was in his right hand. Obviously Maes should have replied that it was his club (lao). But he gave a long answer as under:

"It is my club, I recline on it; with the aid of that club I collect leaves from tree for my sheep; I use it in so many other things."

Therupon Maes was alarmed. Thou were asked to answer very small and insignificant point. But thy reply
covered a number of points. Thus it is fruitless to complain about his stammering tongue. The fact is that having heard the beloved’s voice he became so confused as to lose the hold of the rein of his horse.

When Moses had wandered years together in the valley of ْ(Tih), only then he could invoke the Divine blessings saying that "thou hast arrived at the fountain wherefrom the love emanates, when one is so blessed he can strike against a rock and a stream would start flowing and cause to bring forth light from green trees."

Another meaning of the letter "غ" is sun. The love is such a sun as never sets. But such a sun causes to dissolve the particle of life. "This sun rises from the horizon of grief and sets into the heart of the lovers"; but every lover would not bear its brunt. Such a love is required to develop the qualities of Christ in himself.

The Sun is also a lover and the yellow colour is a sign of his love. The sun is in love with the river and sets in it. When it is about to set it trembles with fear.

He continues:
Every morning out of love for my beloved I tear the robe of morning and like a mad man turn my face towards the wilderness of Heaven. At length late in the afternoon when the time for union with the beloved approaches, the whole of my body trembles with fear, for those who are close to the beloved are subjected to severe examination.

Then the author cites the illustration of three symbols of love: love of lizard (حرا), of water lily (نل ان) and of particle (زر). The lover would not reach the realm of love as such he is not blessed with the union of his beloved. But mere a reflection of the beloved would satisfy a true lover. The same is the case with the lizard. It would not dare approach the vicinity of its beloved (the sun), but would be affected by the quality of the sun. The latter has burnt the lizard, but it has not been deprived of the sub's light.

The water lily is supposed to be in love with the sun, and in its love it has obtained such a lofty position, as to remain unaffected by mundane things. It is because of its position that its spreads its prayer carpet on the surface of water. Like a true lover it
would not consent to express its feeling of love for the moon, though there is adequate weight in the argument that moon being a reflection of the sun, has better claims to be loved by the lily. But the realm of love would not concede to twosome. In the words of lily itself:

"مُضَارِدِ اللَّهِ مُلْمَثَ عَشْشَ شَرْكِ نَبِيَّ - بَشَرِيَّةَ لَهُ بِجَمِيلِ مَحِيَّرٍ

بَاشْتَدَّ بَاَّرَ نَظُرَ أو يَهْضِي عَشْشَ نَكَّدٍ - دَلِّي دِرَ عَشْشَ دَلَّارَةُ جَالِبٍ

شَهِدَ سَرَّرُفُ بَا مِهِرُ دِيْرَانُ بِيْدَانُ تَغْرُنُدَ "

(The dominions of love would not bear the brunt of partnership. The eye which is reflected under the brilliance of Divine beloved, would regard every beauty insignificant. The heart which is torn in love would not concede to be the seat of any other beloved.)

This is illustrated by the anecdote of Shibli. One day he called his five-year daughter his friend whereupon the girl retorted, "I am your friend, he is your friend. How is it that two friends find a single heart their abode?"

The particle is also in love with the sun but its love is superior in this respect that the lizard and lily were deprived of the intensity of love which keeps the particle in perpetual agony. Besides, both have their existence even in the absence of sun. But quite contrary to this the particle owes its existence to the sun alone. No sooner does the sun appear on the eastern horizon,
than the particle comes out from a corner and begins to shine under the reflection of its beloved. And when the night falls and the sun hides its face behind the curtain of the dreary night, the particle slips into the depth of oblivion. Such is the case of an ideal lover.

Love has various grades. The highest grade is that in which the lover would wish nothing from the beloved, but the beloved himself. Both fish and moth are lovers. Fish would live with its beloved which is water. So long as it is in water, it is alive. It is thus clear that it loves its ownself. Moth has a separate existence but under the intensity of the feeling of love it readily sacrifices its life by getting itself burnt in the candle. Thus it is unmindful even for its life and thus its love is much superior to that of fish. By this example the author tries to show the superiority of because he was a great advocate of the former which is fully borne out by the various passages of the "Fawaid-ul-Fund".

Sun and love have similar qualities; love is unique so is the sun. Sun transforms stone into jewel, so love causes a lover to shed ruby like tears. The gold is produced by the sun, so an imperfect man becomes perfect because of love.

The letter "ع" also means gold (زه). love is such a gold as has been taken out of the mine of "creation" (كن فككن). The love of gold is current only in the city
of friendship and association. Its coin is issued in the name of that king who would adorn his head with the crown of renunciation of Princely throne. It receives its recognition in the absence of honour.

Just as the genuineness of gold is tested in fire and touch stone, so the lover for testing his sincerity and fidelity is subjected to various kinds of distresses and griefs. Sometimes the lovers are thrown into fire and sometimes punished under heavy stone. Abraham was tested in fire and Moses on Mount Sinai, and as both were genuine metal, they came out successful.

Secrets of love are only made known to a true lover alone. This is illustrated by a story. Some persons were returning from the sermons of Shaikh Abu Sa'id Abul Kair. An 'Arif was also passing that way. As soon as he heard the name of the Shaikh, he was so excited that he started dancing, though he had not heard what the Shaikh had said. On the persons enquiry he said that he already knew what the Shaikh would have said in his speech.

The second chapter deals with the qualities of the second letter of عش. It has points which represent disfavour. This is why for a person who is accused of disloyalty is said:

"غرادر دندان درشم دارد" • Love is also (infidel) in so much as it is not kind to anyone. Zulaikha suffered from
the harshness of love with the result that she was so much enamoured of Joseph, someone enquired of her as to why she was shedding so much of tears. Thereupon she replied:

"Jum nam maanq dehno shakht har harshini shafif.
Jag ma ya paro bara kerd.

It is said when Joseph was put into imprisonment Zulaikha erected a house near the prisoncell from which she would have a look at Joseph. On someone’s enquiry she said that Joseph was not an intern in but an embodiment of life (زناني) "I am tied in the love and have arrived at the pinnacle of love, I would very much like to punish self, native and wisdom.

"Darain harem joa do sah fazam ber sah farzand shen ke dar waqt
Ul sajast wosast beram.

Ammi k deh mher wi adno kehd
A yadra kehd sajast az farzand shen

(Every head which is tied with thy love is ultimately hanged at the altar of love).

The letter "ش" has got secrets of love concealed in itself. Then the author proves the superiority of "سن" over "ش". This is followed by a description about the intensity of love. Wound is that which is inflicted by the sword of love; grief is that which a lover’s heart has to bear. Joseph did not suffer from the narrowness of the well. The distress is strangeness, and in the travels the degradation of imprisonment,
the oppression at the hands of his brothers and the accusation of the Egyptian woman so much as Zulaikha and Jacob had to undergo in separation from Joseph. But Zulaikha's love is superior to that of Jacob for the latter's love was based on kindness both. Then the author dwells upon the subject of sincerity as one of the most essential qualities of love without which a lover would not be "كهنده صدق" and " Zulaikha حسن ".

The third chapter deals with the quality of "ق" which is the last letter of the word "عشق". It is one of those letters whose meanings had not been disclosed in the Holy Quran. God has swore in the name of this letter and through this letter God had secretive talk with the Prophet. It is said that in the phrase the letter is apt to be interpreted in two ways: It may either mean "كوه نادر" or "عشق قدرت" (the Caucuses mountain). This mountain surrounds the world and swearing in its name implies that the existence of the world depends on the very mountain. God has also swore by the Quran because the existence and firmness of the religion is based on it alone.

The letter "ق" is very closely attached to love. As God has commanded it to surround the whole world so the "عشق" has extended the sphere of its influence and sway from one corner of the world to the other.
Love is a victorious and triumphant king. Its army has three contingents, and is the triumphant king. It is such a ferocious fighter as would not leave the traces of his advisory's heart and body. It is in the middle of the army and it is such a powerful fighter as would cause the ferocious lion to grow as meek as fox. It is the fighter who is such a fierce soldier as would demolish a fortress single-handedly.

If such an army of love passes through a city of peace, no one will be immune from its destruction. When Solomon's army arrived in the Namal Valley, the ant which was the leader, told fellow ants to hide into their holes lest they should be trampled down by Solomon's army. This was an excuse of the leader in order to acquire vicinity to Solomon which the ant ultimately got.

The lover sees nothing but the beloved; he seeks nothing but him. To him union and separation have no value. This is followed by an anecdote of Mahmūd of Ghazna and Ayāz. One day the back biters complained to Mahmūd against Ayāz that the latter's love is devoid of that intensity which the king's love is reputed for. Ayāz loved his treasure more intensively than he loved the king. His claim for king's love had no reality. On his return from the court he shuts himself into a cell which is full of precious jewels and priceless pearls and satisfied himself by looking at them. The king proceeds
towards Ayaz's house in such a way as none should be aware of his arrival, and peeps into the room through a window and sees that Ayaz is attentively looking towards the royal palace. Then the king asked him to open the door. On opening the door Ayaz burst forth that his prayers in love has been accepted. On King's enquiry Ayaz explained to him that it was his daily routine because he would not remain unoccupied without the king even for a moment. The author finishes the story on the munajat in the following words:

The author adds that the contents of the book were much above his level. He was nowhere. The book could not be completed without his master, Hadrat Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din Aulia's favours. The book closes on a description of the four Divine blessings on the author.
1. He was created a man amongst His creatures.
2. He was created a man and not a woman.
3. He was created a Muslim
4. He was one of the Prophet Muhammad's followers.

The summary of the Mulk-ul-Ma'ani would show Hasan's views on mysticism. He was a devout disciple of Mijhan-ul-Din Aulia and firmly believed in the correctness of Chishti order. He would prefer the conception of Ḥudayr over Ḥudayr's views on mysticism.

The Mulk-ul-Ma'ani is significant both in respect of its contents as well as its style and diction. Its style is plain and simple but literary and charming. Often the language becomes figurative but not intricate and obscure. He is in most case spontaneous though examples of rhymed prose are not few. His similes and metaphors are original and attractive. I shall do no better than illustrate these qualities by direct and original quotations, from the book itself.

1. His style is so effective and forceful that the archaic language does not stand in the way of its appreciation.

Some examples are quoted:

"... in my sight a chime of boundless beauty, so dear to me, so dear to me...

... I saw a chime of beauty, so dear to me, so dear to me...

... I saw a chime of beauty, so dear to me, so dear to me...

... a chime of beauty, so dear to me, so dear to me..."
امتحان در بانی است و سنگ - نا عاشق در همه عمر زر صفت

گاهی بانی مورد هزار بیان و نوپشت انتخاب در نشست کراپر که آذر هم حقیقی یک نوپشت لیستی بانی انتخاب شده گردیده - بین زر جالبی می‌گذشت دانش نوازی خامال بر آن بوده - نز ورود می‌باشد که به همین امتحان گردیده -
او خود پس از این در دوو مقاله شو مه بانده برد - چنان بر
مجد احترام خصوص بینن آنی -

2. Example of the figurative language.

(1) یکی از اشباع امیر بود که می‌تصحیح بر یکی نعمان عالم تزییده و رتبه-
(2) یک محمد مدرس و ابد بحربت سلطان ماهی که علی محمد مصطفی
صلی الله علیه و ناز و انتخاب که محمد سرباز با ایاز سر مخال آشنا
تاج کرده فریاد و باز ها و سر کرده هور و حماد از ولادت و حدود لین
پیجارد آورده مزدیل و مسجد کن -

3. Example of "سخن"

(1) یک در دوید در خشمان سیخته - سبز عشق تکرر دویان گرد - خامه
در خشمان ایستاده قربت و پرستش بلا ملازت باند نمود -
(2) دوید که از مردان این ام تون از دست دومی ممکن به از مد
هزار دریان است -
(3) این به زندگی اسما نمایند مشور زندگانی است -
(4) ای پیت دی دل یکم شن فریاد گرد و خنده سیده زنی خاتارخ
نماده بنت انتظار ضر دویی بر این و آن است به عرب، خدا و بولنجب
(5) دیاده عاشق بیدار دوست رشید باهشت و مسجد محبت بر ایج ذکر
محبب دلش -
(6) بیان این حاله و شایع این مقالات حسن منته بود - من کیم در مهی دعویشت

4. Examples of

Though Hasan had flourished in the 7th century A.H.,
his language does not seem to be as old as he was. This
is partly due to the subject matter of the book and
partly to the simple style that he had adopted. However,
we find a few words here and there which are not so
commonly used these days. A few examples are given
below:

* هر همه - مبتنر حضرت (*۰۵۶۵۳۳), پرند - نوزان آدرین *
* غفل سرد و گفت - پای گیلان - جمهر - کوب *

(حصن تعلیل)
FAWAID - UL - FUAD

(Hasan-i-'Ala-Sijzi)

Fawaid-ul-Fuad is a verbatim record of the fifteen years' discovery and discussion of the great Shaikh Hadrat Nizam-ul-Din Aulina completed by his favourite disciple Hasan-i-'Ala-i-Sijzi, who had occasion to listen to the Shaikh's original utterances. The record starts from Sunday the 3rd, Sha'ban 706 H. and deals datewise till the 19th Sha'ban 722 H. It comprises five small volumes.

The practice in the beginning was that the author attended the meetings of the great Shaikh, devoted careful and eager attention to whatever was questioned and discussed and on reaching home, jotted down the notes, from his memory. Later on he informed his master and obtained his consent and pleasure to continue the work. When the author had accumulated a considerable number of discourses, he submitted it to the master's perusal. The Shaikh took care to examine, filled up blank spaces, which were intentionally left by the writer, wherewer he was in doubt as to the real meaning of the Shaikh's conversation. The Shaikh also exercised his pen to add or strike wherever the clarity or emphasis so demanded.

1. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, p. 31.
Fawaid-ul-Fund occupies a conspicuous place among the most important religious books which the Indian Muslims were accustomed to study. It would be worthwhile to quote a few anthologists in support of this view.

Din-ud-Din Barani the contemporary historian says:

"درین ابام نواب الفرید اور (حسن) دستر صادقان ارادة "

Sheikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Rehlavi expresses his opinion in the following words:

"دریت مکاتب الناظر و لطاف مماین آن کتاب درویان خلاف "

Amir Khusrau says:

"ای حسن کاش تشريف قبیل بسیج تو نواب الفرید کم از تلاش "

Shaikh Abdul Koqq holds Pehlavi expresses his opinion in the following words:

"امیرز نواب الفرید "مقبل اهل دلان عالم عده است و دستر عاشقان کنده و شرق و غرب عالم گرفته "

Ashurina makes the following observation:

"کتاب نواب الفرید "سورت بشری و حسيم مرور کشت امیر خسرو بیوان شفیده کتکا تشريف قبیل و حسین من نسخه و تصنیف آن بمن کن "

Khasinat-ul-Asfin states:

"کتاب نواب الفرید ""مقبل انتقاد "

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1. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p.346.
3. Amir Khusrau with the authority of Khasinat-ul-Asfin.
This extraordinary effort of Hasan inspired others to render similar service to their Shaikhs, with the result that several books were written in imitation of the Faujid-ul-Fudas, but truly speaking none of them reached the latter's standard. It has been ever since its publication one of the most popular books of reference in respect of many aspects of mystical, religious, ethical and social life of the people. The object was to make an effort to define the nature and to explain the meaning of the ideal life which the Muslim is supposed to live in this world. The huge and complex problems of different kinds viz., the Divine scheme of life, the place and purpose of man in the mighty cosmic order, and above all the relationship of man and God, have been presented in an easily understandable and cultivated manner. The Indian Sufis in particular, unanimously turn to this book for seeking light and guidance in matters of discipline. Thus the Faujid-ul-Fudas is one of the basic books which have played an important role in shaping and elaborating the religious outlook of Indian Muslims. The book may be judged from the following stand-points:

1. Historical value.
2. Political value.
3. Mystical value.
4. Ethical value.
5. Religious value.
1. **Historical value**:

The Malfudh literature of medieval India is of great value from the historical point of view. Through these collections we get a glimpse of the medieval Indian society, the mood and tensions of the common man, the inner yearnings of the soul, the religious thought of its higher and lower levels, the popular customs and manners, and above all the problems of the people. The *Fawaiḍ-ul-Fuṇḍ* is one of the most outstanding achievements in this respect. In view of the fact that no social and cultural study of medieval India would be complete without a deep understanding of the point of view of Mīḥṣam-ud-Dīn Aulia embodied in the *Fawaiḍ-ul-Fuṇḍ*, the importance of the latter work need not be over emphasised.

The *Fawaiḍ-ul-Fuṇḍ* is a standard work concerning the life and teachings of the Chishti mystics. The author has made a successful effort to bring into focus and to magnify the basic quality of Sheikḥ Mīḥṣam-ud-Dīn Aulia’s character. Although we may not directly pronounce this book as a study of biography, for certain, the full personality of the Sheikḥ emerges with every detail of the feature. Mīḥṣam-ud-Dīn Aulia strikes our imagination in the living form. We meet in the book a highly inspiring character with an exceptional tone of intimacy, frankness and dignity. On more than one occasion the Sheikḥ describes
the personal incidents of his life without reservation. He is a dynamic figure. Inspite of his deep devotion to lengthy prayers and fasting and incessant rituals, he snatched some time to meet and talk, and grant interview to innumerable host of persons almost every day. Frequently among them were the Hindu divines, well versed in ancient learning and the other wandering saints. We find contemporary scholars and learned men of the age sitting under his roof. The doors were also open to common visitors of every description and of all creeds. Thus we meet in Nigham-ud-Dīn Aulia, not a world-abstaining, seclusion loving and dried up saint, but a powerful and moving personality with the prophetic quality to impress and convert.

The Fawnid-ul-Fuad is not confined to reveal only the inspiring character of Nigham-ud-Dīn Aulia, but it refers to the activities of various great men and renowned saints of different lands and ages. The great man like that of Ibrahīm Adham, 'Abdul Qādir Jilāni Uways Qarani, Hasan Basari, Bayazīd Bistāni, Imām Abu Hanīfa, Imām Ghazzali, Ahmad Ghazzali, 'Ainul Qaddat Hamadani, Imām Malik, Imām Shāfa'i Ahmad-bin-Hambal and many others repeatedly appear on the pages of the book. As the study makes progress every significant saint of Islamic history comes to be mentioned. For instance, Shīkhāb-ud-Dīn Suhrawardi, Abu Sa'id Abil Khair, Auhadi Kirmani, Saif-ud-Dīn Bakherzi,
Matrub Khurshid Jalal-ud-Din Tabrizi, Bahau-ud-Din Zakriya, Junaid Daghadadi, Najr-ud-Din Rubra, Ajjal Shirazi, and a number of Indian Sufis such as Baba Farid Ganjshaker, Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti, Hamid-ud-Din Sawali, Najib-ud-Din Khatib, Shibli Muhammad and many others find a due place in the book.

This book has definitely saved a number of important figures from being gone into oblivion. In this regard Fawaid-ul-Funud may very well rank with 'Attar’s Majdarnah-ul-Aulia and Jamī’s Hafiz-ul-Uda, which have preserved the records of so many saints.

**Political Value.**

The Fawaid-ul-Funud is conspicuous for neglecting the political turmoil of the day and the rapidly changing political scene of which Delhi was the main theatre. However, there are some passing references to some contemporary event. For example there is a reference to a rebellion of Hovatis in the vicinity of Delhi. On one occasion a slight and brief reference occurs of the famine which was of considerable gravity and had spread over the whole of the country. The Mongol invasion was one of the greatest misfortune of human history, in which the part of northern India was also engulfed, but there is hardly more than one notice of this catastrophe. It is untenable that a man
like Nisham-ud-Din Aulina, whose home was the meeting place of the wise, learned and serious men of the age, was unmindful or ignorant of the political affairs and their immediate reaction on social life. The great Sheikh seems to have deliberately precluded himself from discussing matter of political nature. The Sufis has a constructive purpose which was to help in creating a permanent and stable social order beneficial for the large number of humanity. And that object, they believed, could best be attained by averting their attention away from the court and the king.

**Mystical Value.**

Fuvaid-ul-Fund has the great mystical value for it elaborates the teachings and doctrines of the Chishtis, the most popular order in India which has influenced the average Indian Muslims' mind more than anything else. In these discourses the great Sheikh gives instructions about repentance (توبة), stability in repentance (عزم), faith (إيمان), absorption in prayer (استغفار نازر), reciting of the Qur'aan (تلاوت), continual commemoration and performance of religious duty (ورى ووظائف), renunciation of the world (تركه دنيا), fasting and poverty (فطر ونفاذ), meditation in God (منصوب حسن), struggles (جهاد), consent and patience (صل ورضا), trust in God (تركت) respect of spiritual guide etc. as his predecessors had given.
The characteristic feature of Naqshbandiyya
Aulia's mystical teaching is the stress be laid on the
motive of love which leads to the realization of God.

The seekers are of three kinds (1) devotee (2) 
(3) 

The (one who stands) stops steadying on this path but 
again continues. The (retrograde) starts going on 
the path of knowledge but due to some obstacles he stops 
and never continues.

The pitfall of the seekers are seven (1) 
(2) 
(3) 
(4) 
(5) 
(6) 
(7) 

1. When a lover indulges in a thing which is not agreeable 
to the beloved, such an action is called .
2. When the lover excuses for his disagreeable act is 
not accepted then there is a kind of (remoteness) 
between the lover and the beloved. In case the remoteness 
remains in tact then there is a separation ( ) 
between them. At the third stage if the lover's supplications 
and prayers go unnoticed, then the ecstasy in his prayers 
is stopped. It is called . At the fourth stage if 
his shortcomings are not condoned, then he loses the benifits 
of his previous good deeds. It is called .

1. Fawaid-ul-Funud Text, p. 16.
the fifth stage if his faults are not forgiven then there is permanent separation between the lover and the beloved; it is called عداوى • A series of failures on the part of the lover prompts him to change his love into enmity. This last stage is called عنايت • When the seeker is confronted with a risk he should seek the divine blessing, this process is termed as عزيزت • This gradually changes into practice (نسن) • In the early stages of his practices, the seeker feels discomfort but by stages he becomes accustomed to them and begins to derive pleasure out of them. At last he attains that stage of perfection in which he forgets his own-self and feels that everything including himself is an obstacle in the path of the desired goal. Only such a seeker would be considered a perfect lover whom the states of حضرة حبيب and حضرة غیبت are one and the same.

In the path of love the seeker should be fully equipped with the qualities of patience (عبر) and resignation and trust in God (نزول). The seeker should not complain against mishap and calamities. The divine resignation lies in not giving vent to feelings of displeasure. It apparently seems not possible. But such

1. Fawaid-ul-Fund, (Text) p. 17.
2. Ibid p. 18.
3. Ibid pp. 27, 28.
4. Ibid p. 31.
is not the case. A fast traveller while making haste towards his goal would not feel the prick of thorns. Similarly a soldier continues fighting without feeling the pinch of his wounds.

The Trust in God (توكل) is of three kinds. In the first the would not pray for the fulfilment of his desire thing that God being omniscient knows his requirements. The second stage of is illustrated by the example of the child who has his requirement without asking. The third stage is illustrated by citing the example of the dead body in the hand of the washer. Hadrat Nizam-ul-Din Aulia held the last stage of in great esteem. In the opinion of the writer this exposition of is borrowed from Imam Ghazzali's Kiniva-i-S'adat, and I shall do not better than quote the relevant portions from both the books.

Kiniva-i-S'adat  Fawaid-ul-Fund

1. Fawaid-ul-Fund, (Text) p. 53
2. Ibid p. 54.
The Shaikh observes that one's belief or faith (إيمان) is not perfect if one does not hold the world and the mundane desires as worthless as the refuse of a camel, and that he relies on none but God. One who claims to love God and the world both, is an imposter.

The rejection of the world (ترك الدنيا) does not mean that one should strip himself of his clothes or put on a lion cloth and sit idle. Instead, rejection of world means that one may put on clothes and take food. What comes to him he should accept it but not hoard it. He should not place his heart in any thing. Only this is the rejection of the world.

2. Fawaid, p. 58.
The gnostic has to pass through seventy stages one of which is the deprivation and rejections from the fulfillment of his worldly desires. Even in such a case if the seeker of the truth attaches importance to his own-self and holds himself good and virtuous he is sure to be passed for a wicked person.

When the seeker takes vows for abstinence from committing sins, he should do it sincerely and should stick to it. The Shaikh emphasises the importance of observing such practices as are enjoined by Shari'at. For example he exhorts his followers to realise the significance of the five congregational prayers. He was also very particular about his prayers which were offered in congregation. About the Friday prayer he observes that one who does not offer it once, his heart starts growing black and one black spot appears. When he repeats it again then two spots appear in his heart. And in case of repetition for the third time his heart is blackened altogether. (of course patients and travellers are exempted).

One very significant point is that he forbids his followers vehemently from indulging in miraculous performances and says:

1. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, p. 216.
2. Ibid, (Next), p. 25
3. Ibid, pp. 57, 139, 205.
As regards hearing music as lawful Mahbub-i-Ilahi observes that music (ساح) is a harmonious sound which causes sentiments and if such sentiments are for divine meditation it is perfectly justifiable. But in case it prompts to indulge in undesirable acts, then, it is unlawful.

The lawful music (ساح) has three virtues (1) Amur, (2) Alwal, (3) Anhar; and these are cast from three worlds (ملكوت - حربت - مَل) and on three things, vis, spirits (قلوب) and physical organs (جوارح), respectively.

The Sheikh imposes the following conditions when the "music" would be considered lawful. (1) The singer must be a man and not a boy or woman. (2) The content of the song must be free from obscenities and jests. (3) The listener must listen to it only for the sake of God. That is to say he must always keep himself free from carnal desires. (4) The song must not be accompanied with musical instruments. (5) Such assemblies be free from women.

1. Fawa'id-ul-Fuad, (Text) p. 246.
2. Ibid, p. 36
3. Ibid, p. 246
4. Ibid p. 95.
Ethical Value.

Sufism cannot be divested of ethics. This is fully borne out by the *Fawaid-ul-Fuad* which though a collection of discourses of *Hadrat Nizam-ul-Din Aulia*, is full of wise counsels which may form the true concepts of ethical philosophy. As the main purpose of the Sufis has been the service of mankind at large, and the uplift of the masses, it was but natural on the part of these mystics to present their discourses in a manner which may be intelligible to his listeners of average understanding. Thus we find that the *Fawaid-ul-Fuad* on the one hand presents a code of sufiastic doctrine while on the other it is an ideal book on practical ethical philosophy full of wise counsels on daily routine life. I shall try to illustrate this point from the writings of the Shaikh himself as briefly as possible.

The love of humanity was the one of the ethical ideals which in the minds of his disciples. Human submission ( طاعت ) is of two kinds (1) necessary ( نذر ) whose benefits accrue to the doer himself. Prayers, fasting, Hajj and meditation falls within this category. (2) Communicable ( جمع ) includes those whose benefits accrue others. Kindness, favours, benevolence, service of mankind fall within this class. Reward of this class is infinite.

The Shaikh has observed that real pleasure lies in spending money; so long as money is not spent it is vain to talk of real pleasure. The main object for collecting money should be to make provision from the poor and the needy. Money should not be equated with faith. One should not be worried on the loss of money if his faith is perfect.

The Shaikh refers to the five conditions in almsgiving (ṣadaqah), out of which two are to be fulfilled before, two concerns while the alms are in a process of being given, and one is to be observed after giving the alms. The first condition is the money must be obtained from lawful means. The second is that the person to be given should be pious otherwise the money may possibly be wasted in vain pursuits. The third is that the alms should be given very cheerfully. The fourth is that it should be given secretly. The last condition is that the giver should not reveal to anyone of his giving away the alms. To give food to others is a good act, and has been praised in all faiths.

In transaction one should always be accommodating and when he talks to others he should not show a bit of anger or discourtesy. Even if he is subjected to mischief, he should bear it ungrudgingly and never think of avenging the wrong done to him. If someone places thorns in your

1. Fawaid-ul-Fuad (Text), p.49.
2. Ibid, p. 56.
5. Ibid, p. 95.
way and you even do the same there would be thorns everywhere. It is, no doubt, bad to give a bad name to someone. But it is worse to think evil for somebody. If you have malice against someone, try to remove the feeling of enmity and the malice would automatically go away.

Perfections in life may be had of four things: less diet, less talk, less association with people and less sleep. Although the whole depends on the divine will, it is the duty of men to make efforts for the realisation of his objective, namely, the perfection of life.

The Shaikh makes no distinction between the various classes of men. But he can claim to be superior who performs good deeds. Similarly he does not hold men superior to women by dint of their sex. A pious woman is far superior to a man.

The Shaikh attaches great significance to men's intentions. He says that people should do their acts with good intentions because God sees one's intentions and not his act. He adds that sincerity of purpose is very valuable. One who is sincere is preferable to others who are comparatively more indulgent but less sincere.

1. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, pp. 36,37.
2. Ibid, p. 41.
3. Ibid, p. 95.
5. Ibid, p. 4.
The Shaikh has also expressed his view on poetry, and learning and scholarship. Learning and knowledge is noble practice make him practical. The spiritual guide is essential for both so that he may keep them on the path of moderation. Poetry is useful and effective. Such a delicate thing as poetry should not be misused in the praise of kings and nobles. By acquiring knowledge a man becomes noble. Whoever loves knowledge and scholars, his sins are not recorded. Learning by itself is very noble but when misused in the form of making it a means of earning livelihood it becomes ignoble.

The Shaikh has also given wise counsels in respect of association and friendship. He says that Shaikhs are very particular about forming friendship. Before coming into contact with, they make it certain what type of men they are going to form association with. One should keep himself away from illiterate and bad society.

Religious Value.

As the mystical teachings of Ḥāfiz ul-In Aulīa were firmly based on the Islamic Shari'a, a book containing the discourses of the Shaikh would naturally have its own importance in respect of Islamic law. Accordingly the Faṣāid ul-Fuṣul, may not only serve as a useful study on broad principles of Islam, but would present a code of

1. Faṣāid ul-Fuṣul, (Text), p. 49
2. Ibid, pp. 21-44
3. Ibid, p. 182
4. Ibid, p. 23
discipline for a true Muslim. The importance of prayer, fasting and other obligatory and non-obligatory ritual has been dealt with lucidly. The reasons why prayers remain ineffective, have been explained again and again. A careful study of the book would reveal that the aim of the Chishti Shaikhs, particularly Mihham-ud-Din Aulia, was to transform the very fabric of Muslim life which had grown outward and has therefore lost its charm and appeal.

Shaikh Mihham-ud-Din Aulia was a great scholar of Islamic sciences. This is fully proved by his discourses embodied in the Fawaid-ul-Fund. He was well versed in Hadith, Tafsir, Fiqh, Islamic history and mystical philosophy etc. So while giving his discourses to his disciples and others, clear and convincing argument was an exhibition of his deep study in various sciences. He has made special study of renowned mystic scholars such as Imam Ghazali, Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhravardi, Shaikh Abu Sa'id, 'Ali Mujveri, 'Ainul Quddat Hamdani, Hamid-ud-Din Nigauri and many others. The Fawaid-ul-Fund reveals also his sound knowledge of the four schools of Sunni doctrines as well as the divergent beliefs of the Asha'irah and Mu'tazila. Mu'tazilits did not impress him yet he was well aware of the importance of Zakhatshari's Kashshaf. Imam Faidr-ud-Din Qazwini who has not been popular with Sufis in general was one of the subject of his study. Murhan-ud-Din Marghinani's Hidaya was a book of his liking. He was also interested in
Persian poetry. S'adi was his choicest poet whom he quotes frequently. The careful study of the Shaikh's discourses would reveal the depth of his scholarship. It would also be quite clear that of the various sufistic writings he was influenced by the chief mystic classics. *Ibne-ul-'Ulum* and *Karima-i-S'adat* of Imam Ghazzāli and *Awarif-ul-M'arif* of Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrāvardī. However, I would like to give a list of books mentioned in the *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*.

1. **Sufistic Works.** *Awarif-ul-M'arif*, *Malfudhat-i-Daba*  
   3.  
   5.  

2. **Commentaries on the Qurān and Hadith etc.**  
   *Tafsir-i-Imam Hāsiri*, *Tafsir-i-Kashshaf*, *Isaj* and  
   *Handa Hidaya*, *Masāriq-ul-Awar*, *Mulhid* etc.  

3. **Historical Book.**  
   *Tabqat-i-Hāsiri*.  

The *Fawaid-ul-Fuad* bears the evidence to the Shaikh's intimate knowledge of the Qurān and its exegesis.

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Style of the Book.

It would be worthwhile to add a few lines on the style of the Fawaaid-ul-Faad. As it is a collection of the Shaiikh's discourses, its style should necessarily be simple, free from all sorts of artificialities. It has no figure, no similes, no metaphors and no poetic illusions. It presents rare combination of conciseness of expression with fulness of thoughts. Thus the language is generally in full agreement with the subject matter of the book. I will do no better than quote a few passages from here and there.

بعد ازان در تحمیل ترك دنيا بر لفظ مبارك راندن، ثم ترك دنيا آن نست. كم كاس خرده وا برنه، كن لانگره به بند و
و برحد ترك دنيا آنست كم لباس پيبدو وضعم بحوردن اما
آنجه بر سدر و اندازد و بجع اوم قيد و خاطر را متعلق
جمني ندايند. ترك دنيا نست. (ب) 

خواجه ذکریالله پانخیر در ترك دنيا و لذات آن انجن پرست
مغر مورد كه دمت بلند باید گرد و بالآپ دنيا مشمول باشد كشت

1 - Fawaaid-ul-Faad (Text), p. 9
آموزش-تربیت-علمی-پژوهش،-پایه-ای-اپر-شماره-و-شماره-در-دوره-فروردین-تایباد

مبارک راندند.

یک تمرین در هزاران که نهاده بر میز تایپ استخوان، خارج شده دریس. (1)

"بعد از این بیان نفت مبارک راوند نموده چون علم نه مورد ارضا اشکاق خاص آمده و چون طاعت کنن کار، او به‌طور رهبر در نشی‌محل بیبر باید تا هر دواستانی می‌گیرد علم و علم را از تغییر نمود آرزو تا بمب اپتی کشور یکان زدد تکردد. " (2)

"اگزه‌بان رود که شویندی تطین است یکنده چون محکم بی‌هر
کس می‌برند، شاد پی‌هوق است و له نه محسنین پنی‌خویش
پس شریف جمله است یکنده چون آن آپرا کمی‌می‌سارند و به رعا می‌وند
می‌اند آن برهند " (3)

"بعد از این بیان نفت مبارک که راه‌هاد از بیش معی کردن است لیکن مرم
از این جهیز راچید باشید تاهم چی یکند بحث‌ی اگر خریده تا حامی
خوب بی‌پولی یکه را‌عیشی باشید کاره کردن و محسنین هر چه
نظ وک سلمه‌sms خیت کردن چا آمد و بی‌پولی یکه که راچید آرزو و ژم اگر شست در رخ هست". (4)
Despite the fact the style of the book is usually straightforward, the language is somewhat archaic. This feature may be examined as follows:

(a) Grammatical peculiarities.

(i) In the following sentences the verb and though intransitive, has been used positively.

(ii) The word is used as the plural of

(iii) Some idioms have archaic flavour:

Some other features of the language are:

(a) Agreement of noun and adjective according to the rules of Arabic Grammar i.e.

اَنْفَسَةُ نَفْسِهِ - صَفَاتُ عَالِيَةٍ -
(b) Plural of Arabic words have been formed according to both Arabic and Persian as

Indian words

(khet) (کہت)، (لکوته) (لکوته) (جوکی)

(a) Old words and phrases as:

(کہت) (کہت) (لکوته) (لکوته) (جوکی)

کھت (کھت) لکوته جوگی

کسیده، پوردی، پورتی، میت توان بیان، آب، زیاد، عظیم سری، فریج، یا بات،

سنس، نست، شمار، پراتشیلی، گرو، عظیم سری، فریج، یا بات،

اورتی، گرد و زی، ای بوس، یا بوس، ستم کونه، سریاکیه،

دوار، نداکار شریوع، رفن، طبیب، در،

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The Afdal-ul-Fawaid is attributed to Amir Khusrau. The genuineness of the book has been doubted by many reliable scholars of our days. There is very little material indeed to establish the authenticity of Afdal-ul-Fawaid being the work of Amir Khusrau himself.

Of the many scholars who have made a critical and minute study of the book, the name of Professor Muhammad Habib is so convincing that very little ground is left to refute them. His study of the book is so deep and the conclusions which he has ultimately drawn are so logical that there remains very little for scholars of smaller experience to add to him. The following arguments have been advanced to prove the fabrication of the book.

1. The book as compared to the equally popular and famous work of the similar nature i.e. the Fawaid-ul-Fuad, is poor in every respect. It is unthinkable that one of the greatest literary figures of history should produce a book inferior to that of his contemporary and associate Hasan-i-Sijzi.

2. A thorough study of the existing prose works of Amīr Khusrau further gives weight to this agreement. The affid-ul-Fawaid stands in sharp contrast with his other works in respect of style, language and diction. Unless we suppose a total transformation of the author's personality as a possible phenomenon, there could be no other way to include the book among the list of Amīr Khusrau's prose works.

3. The historical evidences are more convincing to repudiate the claim, if any, that Khusrau could have written a book of this name.

None of his contemporaries, such as, Dīn-ul-Dīn Barani, Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Hasan, who were on friendly terms with Amīr Khusrau make a mention that the latter was engaged or was inclined to write any such Malfūdhat. As Hasan-i-Sijjī was already engaged in completing the Malfūdhat of the Shāikh, there seems no reason why Amīr Khusrau exhausted his labour on the same job, which his dear friend and companion was already doing.

4. Amīr Khusrau mentions Khusrau as saying "I wish I could give away all my works in exchange of the single book of brother Hasan, i.e. the Fawaid-ul-Fawāid." That statement goes to show that Khusrau neither collected nor had any idea to collect in future, the utterances and discussions of the Shāikh.

5. There is ample evidence to prove that practice was subsequently adopted by unscrupulous profit makers to fabricate Malfudhat and give them in the hands of half literate and credulous followers. The credulous nature and deeply natural attachment are the two remarkable qualities of the followers of the Sufis. There has always been a great scope of charlatan activities in such situations. Most of the Sufis' records are likely to be mixed up and have actually been mixed up with falsehood. There was nothing strange if an entire book was attempted to be forged and ascribed to a great man. There had been a number of forged Malfudhat current for centuries which passed for genuine record. Under such circumstances it is no wonder that a book like the Afdal-ul-Fawaid was written and attributed to Amir Musrau.

6. The Afdal-ul-Fawaid undoubtedly seems to be the work of a clever hypocrite and he has taken every care to imitate the scheme of the Fawa'id-ul-Fuad in respect of the arrangement of dates and the tone of conversation. The first volume begins with 24 Zilhij 713 H., and consists of a summary of 34 discourses, the second volume begins with Rajab 20 719 H. and consists of 16 discourses.

The author, in the same familiar manner of the Fawa'id-ul-Fuad shows the presence of a number of friends in the company of the Shaikh. He must have either borrowed
such records and reports from the already existing sources, such as the Siyar-ul-Aulia and the Fawaid-ul-Funud from heresay. But forgery peeps through every line, and the Sheikh's companions don't speak like living persons. The author does not dare to make them utter a single word for fear of being detected in his fraud. He is equally careful to avoid historical references under the same apprehension.

The Fawaid-ul-Funud is a book of rare qualities as regards style and impression. It was used by many learned Sufis like Maulana 'Als-ud-Din Mili to revive the memory of his departed and dear master. Equally was the book consulted for instruction and guidance. It was not therefore an easy job to make a plagiarism of such a book. The author of the Afdal-ul-Fawaid made an attempt to conceal his fraud but he failed and one who had studied the character of Nizam-ud-Din Aulia would never regard the contents of the said Afadal-ul-Fawaid as genuine.

Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia was no doubt particular to insist on the value of prayers and always advised his followers to be strict in the performance of religious duties. But he never prescribed that every prayer was numerically equal to such and such solid rewards in paradise. The peculiar feature of the Afadal-ul-Fawaid is that almost a mathematical reward of every prayer has been prescribed for in terms of maidens, gardens, palaces and the other

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imaginary comforts. Every prayer similarly has been stated to be a sure substitute for a number of medicines in a number of diseases. Hardly any scholar will be inclined to believe that Najhum-ul-Din Aulia could have gone to that extent in his conversations.

There are historical falacies of a grave nature which may be briefly mentioned as follows:

1) On 24th Zilhaj 713 H., in the second paragraph Amīr Khusrav announced his first meeting and the formal ceremony of being accepted as a disciple. This story is typical example of the incoherent statement as regards place and time. The fact is that Amīr Khusrav has been ordained by the Sheikh as his dear and chosen disciple much earlier not in Delhi but somewhere else.

2) Sheikh Najm-ul-Dīn Sughra thus spoke when I was present. This is another example of historical inaccuracy. In fact Sheikh Najm-ul-Dīn Sughra had died before the birth of Sheikh Najhum-ul-Dīn Aulia.

3) The discourse recorded about the incident of Sheikh Abu Sa‘īd Abil Khair’s brother being killed at the command of Hajjaj b. Yusuf is also contrary to the

1. Afḍal-ul-Fawaid (Text), Majlis No. 5 (Part II)
2. Ibid., p. 2-3.
3. Ibid., Majlis No., XXV
The distance of time between Hajjaj and the Sufi Sheikh Abu Sa'īd makes the whole story absurd.

Shaykh Nizāhn-ud-Dīn Aulia is mentioned as quoting the book Asrār-ul-Aulia, Awtad Shaykh Farīd, Awtad Shaykh Mu'in-ud-Dīn and Awtad Baha-ud-Dīn Zakriya which actually did not exist in his time and which were fabricated by an unknown author to feed the ignorance and superstition of over-zealous Sufis.

One of the widely read books among the people of lesser knowledge in India has been Qasīd-ul-Aulia. This book seems to have been the major source of such stories as sound judgment and proper reason would hardly like to accept as true.

On one occasion Shaykh Nizāhn-ud-Dīn Aulia has been made to quote at length how the Malfudhat of Shaykh Uthān Haruni were recorded by Shaykh Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishti. This again is not mentioned in earlier and more reliable records of any such 'Malfudhat'.

The author of the Afadal-ul-Fawaid unwittingly copies some points from the fabricated Asrār-ul-Aulia. However the information borrowed from such a book could not be treated as genuine. Mention should also be made here of the fabricated story of Shaykh Farīd travelling to Būkhara and Kirman etc.

1. Afadal-ul-Fawaid (Text), Majlis No. XXVI.
2. Ibid, Majlis No. XIII (Part II) and Majlis Nos. XIV, XII, II (Part I) respectively.
3. Ibid, Majlis No. XXVI (Part I).
4. Ibid, Majlis No. I (Part II).
There are words and ideas attributed to Sheikh Nizam-ul-Din Aulia which were directly in conflict with his professed teachings as depicted in the Fawaid-ul-Fuad. How could Sheikh Nizam-ul-Din Aulia have expressed conflicting views regarding Ibn-i-Mansur Hallaj, Bayazid Bastami and others. Similar opposing statement occur about some important problems for example the office of a qazi etc.

The Afdal-ul-Fawaid may be regarded as an absurd composition which neither presents Sheikh Nizam-ul-Din Aulia nor his great disciple Amir Khusrau in their proper prospective.

NUZHAT - UL - ARWAH

(Amir Husaini)

1. This book has been published in Mujtabai Press, Delhi in the year 1331 H./1912 A.D.
3. Ibid., p.146.

The Nuzhat-ul-Arwaḥ is probably Husaini's earliest work which was composed in India at Multan in 711 H., and thus falls in our period under survey. The author was forty years of age on the occasion of the composition of the said book.

This mystical treatise is very popular and fairly large number of manuscripts of this are scattered in the Indian and foreign libraries. The popularity of this book may again be judged by various commentaries on this work, the most detailed of which is one by 'Abd-ul-Wahid Ibrahim which was completed in 935 H.

It is a prose work but intermixed profusely with verses from his own writing as well as from the writings of the other poets. It deals with the nature and rule of spiritual life (ساي). The author treated with all the aspects of spiritual love in a very abstract way and illustrated them by anecdotes and sayings of holy men. The whole book comprises twenty eight chapters, beginning with the praise of God, the holy Prophet and his four companions.
The first chapter on the beginning of Suluk (ابتداء سلوك) starts with a note that the desire to seek the path of spiritualism is universal. This desire has been compared with a storm rising from heart, with "crop sickness" overshadowing reason, with a thorn stuck with one's skirt or with a wind carrying away the dust of the seeker.

The second chapter dealing with the knowledge of Suluk (سرف سلوك) begins with the admission that the seeker must develop two qualities namely to burn oneself willingly and to adopt oneself to adverse circumstances. These conditions are available in the moth and the candle and on which account they can associate themselves with fire. The candle consumes itself in fire and the moth sacrifices himself before the fire.

The third chapter treating of the stages of Suluk (مقاصت سلوك) begins with the description of the moth. As it does not take other objects into account the latter are jealous of him. But he would remain indifferent to their back bitings and would not distract himself by their treatment with him. Though he is much devoted to the candle, yet often he is tired of the malice of others. But he again consoles himself by the admission that in love, pleasure and displeasure are not to be treated differently.

3. Ibid, p. 25.
The fourth chapter deals with counsels to the seeker (نصح مالك) who should practice to bear hardships willingly and cheerfully which is the first and the foremost requirement for the seeker of this path.

The fifth chapter deals with the beginning of creation (بدرخلقت) in which the author first enumerates various obstructions which obstruct the seeker to see the divine light. Then he suggests means to remove them. The chapter he suggests means to remove them. The chapter may be deemed a supplement to the tenth dealing with the beginning of nature. Although both are not materially different, the mode of treatment of both are distinct.

The sixth chapter deals with unity (وحدة). The author starts with the assertion that sincerity is the primal condition of spiritual love. The seeker should inculcate a habit of knowing nothing but 'one' which is common to all. One is associated with 'الله' and 'النام' according to the Abjad system of reckoning is equal to one only.

The seventh chapter which deals with stripping of seeker (تجريد سالك), the author emphasises that the seeker should be endowed with poverty which demands that he should pay no heed to what he possesses whether spiritualism or other truths. The soul which has been under

1. Hujmat-ul-Arwah (Text), p.27.
2. Ibid, p. 31.
4. Ibid, p. 35.
the influence of love is endowed with two qualities, obedience and carefreeness. The latter is the essence of mysticism and the former, the reality of poverty.

In the eighth chapter the author has tried to prove that love and knowledge and scholarship are two separate things, they should not be combined together. The scholars and men of science are "men of words" while the true love is "men of deeds" and the two are poles apart. In this respect he has gone ahead of Maula-i-Rum who would not recognise Imam Razi as the knower of secrets of religion (رزادار ده). But Husaini is not prepared to recognise the four Imams viz. Abu Hanifa, Imam Shafe'i, Imam Malik and Imam Hanbal in these verses:

1. مالك ازكان عشق بد خبر است
2. عشق را یور حنفیه یکف گفت
3. شافعی رادر برایت نیست
4. جار مصحح دریک آنت نیست

We find that at this place he expresses a contradictory views for previously he has recognised the first Imam as a true seeker of divine truth.

The ninth chapter is on "Perfect contentment" which Husaini interprets quite differently. He means to say that every seeker of Him claims to love Him and tries to understand Him. But He is unapproachable.

2. Ibid, p. 44.
beyond the comprehension of human beings. This has very well been illustrated by the following quatrains.

The tenth chapter on the beginning of the nature (آغاز نظرت) deals with creation of the souls in a symbolic manner. All the souls are the drops of the divine ocean which was not pleased when drops were associated with the Oyster. But when it revealed to it, they are still its part and that it would lose nothing by their separation, the agitated ocean was satisfied. The drops could not see the ocean because the oyster provided an obstruction, then the drops took the forms of pearls and got themselves strung into various forms.

In the eleventh chapter the author has made an attempt to make a distinction between the true love and a imposter by citing various illustrations. One day the shadow complained to the tree about its misfortune and requested it to earn for it a favour from the sun so that it may get its direct light. The tree was agitated and asked it to remain contented with its lot, for it owed its existence to the tree and the latter had been instrumental in bringing it to life. Realisation of its hope lies in recognising this truth. The visibility of the self

1. Nushat-ul-Arwa (Text) p. 46.
2. Ibid, p. 46.
3. Ibid, p. 50.
of tree in shadow is due to light and as such the latter share the former in the light of the sun.

In the twelfth chapter the author has shown that heart is a place of divine manifestation. It is composed of the spiritual and physical elements and is shining in both these conditions. The heart gallops like a swift horse in the space of Divinity and is devoid of incarnal desires. Good or bad, fortune or misfortune, right or wrong, pleasure or displeasure are all alike to it which cares nothing for trivilities.

The thirteenth chapter is on the purification of heart (تصفية دل). The author means to emphasise that worldly things are reflected under divine light and the true seeker should look at things from two stand points. As manifestation of truth, they have reality and as their existence is transitory, no value should be attached to them. The perfection in love, therefore, lies in identifying oneself to Him.

The fourteenth chapter deals with the preliminaries of love (ديباجه عشق). The author starts thus: love has the temperament of fire. It is hot and dry. It keeps heart warm and makes the nature dry. As the fire burns every thing physically, love consumes every internal things. The process of production of both is identical. Fire is produced by

3. Ibid, p. 64.
shaking iron against stone. Similarity the fire of love was produced when poverty struck forcefully against self. The lover is absorbed in meditation of Him and would love dry thing which has some resemblance with Him. Majnum saved a deer from being killed for it resembled Leila and in his attempt he has to part with what he had with him.

The fifteenth chapter deals with realities of love (ভাবনায় সম্মতি). In this chapter Husaini points out certain spiritual conditions and various states of mind which result from grief and calamities. A lover should be as straight as an arrow, only then he is to be accepted for test. Like a brave warrior love attacks the army of malice and dreariness. All desires and hope take their root in love. Love and beauty have external and unbreakable unity. The beauty of the beloved would only be realised by lover. A caliph found no attraction in Laila’s beauty upon which the latter retorted that Laila should be looked at by the eyes of Majnum.

The sixteenth chapter is on ashtoishmen (বিষয়) which arises out of divine knowledge. The more gnostic one is the more ashtoished he is. This idea has been illustrated by three anecdotes one which appertains to the author’s dialogue with an owl who like a true seeker is in search of the hidden soul in the deserted place about which he has heard much but which is inexplainable.

The seventeenth chapter is on the description of love (الْعَشْق). The author starts with a statement by

2. Ibid. p. 74.
Husain-i-Mansur Hallaj to this purport that if one is not watchful of his self and does not keep it too much occupied, the self would occupy him. During the course of discussion the problem of repentence (توبة) and poverty (نفر) are explained in a sufistic way.

In the eighteenth chapter the author addresses to his self (نفس) and admonishes it so as to keep it in his control otherwise, as explained in the previous chapter, it would get control of him. The result would be that he would be dictated by his self and would not be able to know wrong from right.

The nineteenth chapter is on the description of the conditions of spiritualism (ساملاط). In this chapter Husaini tries to explain the actions of the seeker in revelation (كشف) and manifestation (شهود) through taking lesson and meditation. The eye which does look at things and draws no lesson, is not an eye in its real sense. Perfection lies in seeking things as they are.

The twentieth chapter on "جذب‌ی‌ذهاد " deals with how to proceed on the path of spiritualism. The author emphasises that the seeker must have light luggage so that he may go on without feeling its burden. Truly speaking the journey along this path requires no worldly provisions. It can be well traversed only if the traveller has got

2. Ibid., p. 37.
3. Ibid., p. 33.
rid of his self.

The twenty-first chapter deals with the seeker's association and conversation with his master and guide and the former's following the latter in deeds and words (صحبت وصواب). So long as one is not tied to the apron string of a divine soul, he would not succeed in attaining spiritual perfection. The drop of water is turned into pearl and acquires brilliance only when it is associated with Osyster.

The purport of the Twenty-second chapter on severing one's connection with worldly association (محبت خلق (ترک صحبت وصواب)) has been summed up in first three sentences. For a seeker who is capable of spiritual love, association with worldly people is suicidal to him. It is better for him to pine for death rather than to mix with people. A true lover should get himself burnt in fire rather than hanker after mundane things and physical pleasure obtained from association of worldly people.

The twenty-third chapter deals with submission and resignation on divine will (صبر و تسليم). The author emphasises that a true lover has a natural association with pains and griefs. He has nothing to do with physical pleasure and worldly happiness. He always resigns on divine will when some calamity befalls. Even the state of misfortune

2. Ibid, p. 103.
is a source of pleasure to him. The seeker not only bears
the brunt of hardship and mishap cheerfully but expresses
his sense of gratefulness to his creator. Once Hadrat
Bayazīd of Mistān wished not to be endowed with his own
individual discretion.

The twenty-fourth chapter on discovering the reali-
ties of Sulūk (كشف معاني) is a lengthy one. The author
has tried to explain his ideas by recording his own expe-
riences as to how in search of truth he made travels, came
in contact with men of spiritualism but without any result.
Then he took seclusion and spent his time in meditation and
cow down and conversation with so many things in a symbolic way. At last
he reached that love is in a respect, a puzzle of which you
can make neither head nor tail. This idea has been illus-
trated by an anecdote of a person, who parted with his whole
belongings for the education of his child. One day when he
examined his son about his progress, the child translated
the 'Arabic phrase لا أعلم ; نس ددام ' into Persian : which
angered the father so as to beat him mercilessly. The son
failed to make understand the father that it was not lack
of education on his part but the father's putting a wrong
to him.

The twenty-fifth chapter is on pursuing right
course and waking from sleep (ارشاد و انتبهام). The gist of

1. Minhaj-ul-Arwaḥ (Text) p. 112.
2. Ibid, p. 123.
the chapter is contained in two verses whose meaning way summed up as follows:

"Beware of worldly company and association. One should not be deceived by its charming colour and sweet smell. The worldly laughter results in weeping and sobbing."

This has again been illustrated by an anecdote.

A hunter caught some birds. Perchance he had some eye trouble and tears were coming out. The birds thought that he was very kind-hearted fellow. Thereupon a wise bird admonished them saying that they should not be derived by his outward appearance for he was bent upon killing them.

The twenty-sixth chapter is on allusion of spiritual men (اشارت اهل طريفت). The author starts that a lover should always make a difference between the seeker of loaf and the seeker of divine beloved. One who leads a life of pleasure can’t be compared with one who leads a pious and virtuous life. Once a worldly person tried to make friendship with a Dervish. One day when the former expressed his wish to the Dervish, the latter told him that they would not agree with each other for he (the worldly person) had an inclination towards plurality (كثرت) while the Dervish was devoted to unity (وحدة).

The twenty-seventh chapter is on the highest goal of spiritual men (نهبته اهل طريفت). The author starts

1. Mushkat-ul-Arwaah (Text) p. 130.
2. Ibid, p. 139.
with the assertion that man's personality is not revealed because of two fold veils that cover it. The first is his own self (existence) and the other, the two external worlds. So long as he does not remove them, his inner self can not be exhibited. But the process of removing the two fold veils is not so complicated for once the veil of self (existence) is removed the other veil automatically goes away. Then the author proceeds to explain that the true gnostic is confronted with opposite mental states. The Prophet of Islam is stated to be in such an elevated of mind that could neither be shared by any Prophet nor by any angel. But on other occasion he is stated to belong to the circle of human race which is a lot of common man.

In the twenty-eighth and the last chapter the author only states his age to be forty but admonishes himself for having failed to realise the realities of true life which lies in despising world by pleasure.

After summarising various chapter of the book it would be fruitful to add a note on the style of the book. The Mushat-ul-Arwah is written in an ornate and highly florid style on which account the book has grown difficult and intricate, though its sentences are not long and involved. The author is so fond of rhetorics that he is difficult to be understood. Its central ideas are generally rendered concealed under the thick veils of literary and artistic artifices and it is not always easy to grasp.

1. Mushat-ul-Arwah (Text) p. 146,
the central idea of each of the twenty-eighth chapters. His favourable figures are قدس, جنس, ابناهم, سمح, etc. In our opinion in respect of play on sords Husaini is ahead of all the writers I have come across. Of course, Amir Khusrav in his Iljaz-i-Khusravi is the solitary exception. Because of this feature, the book has lost the direct appeal.

The admixture of so many verses which bear symbolic value make the matter worse for instead of illustrate the ideas they complicate them, though the lines by themselves in most case are not intricate and difficult to understand. The author was quite reasonable in the abundant use of Arabic quotation in a book on Islamic mysticism but this aspect also contribute towards making the style rather difficult. I shall quote from only one place to illustrate this point:

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL LITERATURE

INCLUDING

ESPESSORY WRITING AND IXECOIS
About the general Persian literature of the Khalji regime our information is very meagre. Except the prose treatises of Khusrawu nothing has survived of Persian books of this category produced during this period. A note appearing in a Persian journal Majalla-i-Rahuma-i-Kitab (Ferwardin 1340 Solar) in the name of Iraj Afzaher informs us that a book entitled Jam‘-ul-Hikayat (distinct from 'Aufl's Jawami‘-ul-Hikayat) was written in the time of 'Ala‘-ud-Dīn Khalji, a manuscript of which is preserved in the Institute of People's Asia Moscow. But the information is ambiguous in so much as after mentioning the name of 'Ala‘-ud-Dīn Khalji, Mr. Afzaher mentions that of Muhammad Tuglalq, which may lend support to the belief that the author of the book was somehow attached to Sultan Tuglalq. In case this is correct, the book will not come within the scope our study. It is, however, a matter of regret that the best efforts of the present author to obtain a copy of the said book have failed. The tragedy is that the authorities of the Institute sent the microfilm copy of the another manuscript which has nothing to do with the manuscript in question. The Jam‘-ul-Hikayat is stated to be a book on Indian fables and as such it would be an interesting reading

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2. See the above journal.
and a valuable addition to the general literature of this period.

It was not that the fairly long period of thirty years was altogether barren in respect of general Persian literature. Books were written in this period and we are told by Hajib-i-Khairat in his introduction to Dastur-ul-Afadil that Fakhr-ud-Din Qawwas had written a number of treatises in prose which were quite popular in his time. But evidently none of them has come down to us. The works of the other scholars mentioned by Barani, Pirishta, Badauni and others have met with the same fate. Under such an alarming state of things, it may be frankly conceded that in respect of general Persian literature this period is not fertile.

After these preliminaries we pass on to the consideration of I'izz-i-Khusravi, the only specimen of this class of Persian literature, which may safely be placed on a pedestal that can alone be enough to lend grace and colour to the period under discussion and enable it to be put side by side with the richest period of Persian literature in the Muslim Medieval history.

1. Dastur-ul-Afadil (Bengal Asiatic Society Ms.)
I'JAZ - I - KHUSRAVI

(Amir Khusrau)

The Rasa'il-ul-I'jaz or the I'jaz-i-Khusravi is a collection of Amir Khusrau's five Risalas (Treatises) which really form the part of a single book. These parts were written during a long interval. For example he himself mentions at the end of the fourth Risala that he completed that much of the work in 682 A.H.

Probably, he had not contemplated at that time that he would continue the work still further. At any rate it was about twenty seven years after that the author undertook to add to four earlier chapters a fifth one, and it is obvious that he finished the book on this Risala leaving no room for future addition. The date of completion of the work appears at the end of the fifth Risala thus:

في الحاصل ابن كتاب كهل تاريخ روزگار و تاريخ معاني مجتهد است و اضاف تصفیه رسالات را برای تعیین از

1. I'jaz-i-Khusravi, (Vol. IV) p. 334.
After completing all the five Risalas the author proposed to prefix an introduction to the book. This introduction which is a lengthy one deals as usual with the praise of God, the Prophet of Islam, the four orthodox Caliphs, his spiritual guide Shaikh Nigham-ud-Dīn Aulia, 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji and his son Quth-ud-Dīn Mubarak Shah Khalji. Though the work on these treatises had been continuing during the life time of 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji, yet the introduction was completed after the death of the Sultan, otherwise it was not possible for the author to eulogise his son Sultan Mubarak Shah as a full fledged monarch. It would not be out of place to quote his eulogy on both the Sultans:

Juruj Shudh Musheen Bia Aroom Aekh Xamtek Keha Maa Hazr Top halai
Dard Goroom Tashcheen Takh Fazh Biai Chee Bajati Warta Malik
Sultanka Woh Sultanka Nader Qaus Qaansi - Barhan Baha -
Qaansi Nalhaa Zila Halaa Bara Atan Maaldein Malik Rastab Dadidashaq
Walsee Badas Maslaad Malq Alaash Qin - Dhul Dinaa Wala Qin -
Shum Alkhan Slaatkein Zal Allah Io Malq Malachi -

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(In the praise of Sultan Ala-ud-Din)

From these details it is evident that the first four Risalas, if considered on their merit, do not come

within the scope of my investigation which is confined to the period of Khaljis, because these Risalas were completed seven years before the Khaljis came into power. But since the author combined them into a single collection about 719 H. and since the last Risala and the introductions were written about the same time, it has been included in my plan.

The author has assigned the title Resail-ul-I'lajaz to the book which means the treatises of miracles. It is obvious that while assigning the title the author was conscious of the most difficult job which he had creditably completed. It is quite evident that a book with so many limitations and conditions had no parallel in the whole realm of Persian literature. Under such circumstances the pride of the author is understandable.

The work is essentially meant to give specimens of elegant prose suitable for various purposes and to explain to use various artifices that, according to eastern ideals, add a 'scent of flavour' to all compositions, prose or poetic, and was undertaken by the author to demonstrate his prowess in the field of prose as much as to provide instruction for the young literary aspirants of his age. He claims to present in it a style unique and original, distinct from all the old styles which he divides into nine categories. This originality consists mainly in the employment of a series of metaphors, each being sustained throughout one paragraph, addmittedly an innovation of the poet. According to Khusrav the nine different styles of prose current in his time were as follows:-
1. Style of sufis and saints, which is of two kinds:
   (a) of men of gravity and stations (أمّ جبال ومقامات)،
   like that to be met with in the Kashf-ul-Mahjub of 'Ali Rujwairi, Suluk-ul-MuridIn and other similar works.
   (b) of men of 'States' (أعمال حال) like what we have
   in the work of Ahmad Ghazzali or Ain-ul-Qaddat of Hamdan.

2. The style of research scholars (علماء متحف) which is
   simple, forceful and convincing as is found in the
   Persian books of Al-Ghazzali and the Persian translation
   of Ihya-ul-'Ulum by Majd-ul-Din Jajurmii.

3. The style of epistle-writers: neat and elegant, a
   mixture of Arabic and Persian judiciously worked up,
   the best specimen of which is provided by the translator
   of Kalila-wa-Dimna and Faha-i-Bashadi.

4. The style of scholars and savants a technical language
   suited to each of the various sciences is employed.

5. The style of orators and lecturers: It may be 'plain'
   or coloured.

6. The styles of teachers, which is like slippery stones
   placed on the road way by a clumsy workman is avoided
   by the wise but causes many a foot stumble. "The lovers
   of this style are mostly obstinate and deaf to the
   criticism of the wise."

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7. The style of common folk. It is plain, simple and to the point.

8. The style of workers and craftsmen, suited to their various professions. It is free from all affectation or ornament.

9. The style of humorous writers, buffoons and clowns: a style particularly adapted for amusing and creating a sense of the droll and the ridiculous.

The author then proceeds to explain his own style which baffles all writers, the miraculous epistles written in it being like semi-revelation. He gives first the arrangement of the work. It is divided into five Risalas or main divisions, each Risala is divided into so many chapters, and each chapter is subdivided into a number of subjects.

The first Risala opens with a long introduction, detailing the poet's reasons for writing the book. The old style, he says, lacked spice and zest, like the simple fare of the nomadic Turk or the Indian fisherman. The present style is entirely his own. All the Arabic and Persian verses are his own productions. He does not favour the use of verbal artifices. "Iham" and "Khiyal" are two favourite figures of speech. The introduction closes with a warning to scribes to be careful in copying the work and with detailed instructions as to the best methods to be employed in writing a manuscript. He says here also how in India there had been
developing a new style of prose, mixed with sweet artifices like water mixed with julep — a preparation of which the ice cruncher (مُحِنَّك) نابوران and خراسان were quite unaware. He, of course would present here the best specimens of his prose, inspite of all jealous criticisms that his venture would bring upon him.

The author then comes to the proper subject of the Risala — the use of suitable words and the formation of the phrases and sentences. It is significant that he advises the use of a few Arabic words, preferably only such as have got two or more senses, capable of artistic efforts. It is worthwhile to give the details of the chapters and its subjects as given in the book itself.

Chapter I

Chapter two
(خط دوم)

در طریق مختل بر پنج حرف
حرف اول - در استعمال الفاظ کبیر مرکب و همچنین متن خلاصه
حرف دوم - در نمایندی از الفاظ فارسی حرف
حرف سوم - در نشانه‌نگاری الفاظ مرکب و استعمال الفاظ مصطلح
حرف چهارم - در الفاظ که از اندازه بسیار حیز
حرف پنجم - در محدودیت تکرار الفاظ

Chapter three
(خط سوم)

در الفاظ نجات تصرف داده و حروف تنها و انね به دین مناسب
حرف اول - در الفاظ یک معنی و حرف آن در محل که زمان دهنده گرد و
حرف دوم - در لطف و ادوات
حرف سوم - در لطف که از حروف تنها خیز
حرف چهارم - در لطف که از حروف تنها بار بار توانا انگیخت
حرف پنجم - در لطف همزن
حرف ششم - در ترکیب حروف به‌بار
حرف هفتم - در مناقص که از حروف زیاد
حرف هشتم - در نتایج که از افزایش زائده

Chapter fourth (خط چهارم)

در نوادگان کم از الفاظ و اصطلاحات علم حیزد و مشتمل بر جار حرف
حرف اول - در استعمال الفاظ و اصطلاح فقه
حرف دوم - در استعمال الفاظ منطق
حرف سوم - در مقولات عقله
حرف چهارم در الفاظ و اصطلاح علم نظر

Chapter fifth (خط پنجم)

در الفاظ مصطلح و ترکیبات قدیم و تصور از استعمال برای جدید مشتمل

حرف اول - در تصور از استعمال الفاظ و محل نسبت
حرف دوم - در الفاظ اشتهار و اشغال
حرف سوم - در الفاظ منفرد مکانیات
حرف چهارم - در حروف الفاظ براکنده بارسی
حرف پنجم - در کلمات جمع
حرف ششم - در الفاظ تشیع
حرف هفتم - در کلمات معذرت
حرف هشتم - در اشاره‌اللغ
حرف نهم - در تمام که ذره‌خواننده آید

Chapter six (خط ششم)

در مناسبت ترکیب و الفاظ و القاب و اسامی و کتابی که از اول تا آغاز فرهنگ مشتمل بررسه (۳) حرف
حرف اول - در ترکیب الفاظ مناسبی یک‌کیکر
حرف دوم - در نهایت القاب و اسامی
حرف سوم - در ترکیب القاب و اسامی
حرف نهم - در تمام که ذره‌خواننده آید

2. Ibid, pp. 121-142.
3. Ibid, pp. 142-150.
Chapter seventh

(خط هفتم)

حرف اول - كتب مقدمات واجراءات مشتبه بارض حرف (3) حرف
حرف دوم - حروف الجملة في اتصال واجراءات و허واد واعمال و
حرف سوم - في بيان سبب كتب اتصالات واجراءات واعمال واساس بدردان
حرف نجم - في ترجمة في حروف جملة
حرف ششم - في أوراق مشتقات وفناضلا ومشتقات عدادة ووعادات وعمليات

Chapter Eighth

(خط هفتم)

حرف اول - كتب مقدمات واجراءات مشتبه بارض حرف (3) حرف
حرف دوم - حروف الجملة في اتصال واجراءات واعمال واساس بدردان
حرف دوم - حروف الجملة في اتصال واعمال واساس بدردان
حرف سوم - في بيان سبب كتب اتصالات واجراءات واعمال واساس بدردان

Chapter ninth

(خط هفتم)

حرف اول - كتب مقدمات واجراءات مشتبه بارض حرف (3) حرف
حرف دوم - حروف الجملة في اتصال واجراءات واعمال واساس بدردان
حرف دوم - حروف الجملة في اتصال واجراءات واعمال واساس بدردان
حرف سوم - في بيان سبب كتب اتصالات واجراءات واعمال واساس بدردان

The second Risala contains specimens of letters of all kinds. There are in its official letters, firmans, letters of lovers etc. It includes a letter in Arabic addressed to Shihab-ud-Din and another in pure Persian without a single Arabic word. One chapter contains some new proverbs in Arabic and Persian. There is an interesting

letter addressed to Sadr-ud-din praising the sweetness and
flavour of bananas sent by him to the poet, while another
describes the virtues of betel-leaf. Another interesting
section deals with music and musicians as well as the
different instruments generally employed among the musicians.
He mentions one Turmati Khutun, who, through his assistance,
was admitted to the royal court. Other letters relate to
Astronomy, Physics and medicine, chess, hunting, law etc.
This Risala consists of ten chapters and a number of
subjects, the details of which are as follows:

(Chapter first) 1

2. Ibid, p. 249.
3. Ibid, pp. 4 - 45.
4. Ibid, pp. 45 - 70.

 خط اول

درو امله و پردازه و مکتبات فضا و مشایخ و سادات مشتاق بردوحرف
حرف اول - درو امله و پردازه
حرف دوم - در مکتبات اصحاب منصب دیوان و کیه و دیگر اصحاب

(Chapter second)

حرف دوم - در مکتبات اصحاب منصب دیوان و کیه و دیگر اصحاب اشغال مشتاق
بر دو حرف حرف اول - در مکتبات اصحاب منصب دیوان و کیه -
حرف دوم - در مکتبات اصحاب شغال -

(Chapter third)

حرف دوم - در مکتبه که از شیوه تحقیج و علومات تقوم باند مشتاق برده
حرف اول - در کتاب بهره تلف به یاد برخیما دهای محلی بسیار
حرف دوم - در کتاب پسون فسر و بدر
حرف سوم - در کتاب بهره لقب تلم
(Chapter fourth)

خط چهارم: 

در مكتبات متفرقه درب و جواهر و اسلحة و لقب کم نتاج
مشتمل بر جهاد حرفي.
حرف اول: در بیان لاطیف لقب عین نمی‌تواند در غنیم-
حرف دوم: در لاطیف لقب تاج و نر جهان از جواهر بین به‌ساس-
حرف سوم: در برستهای محکم اسلحة و رزانت کردن آثار تیغ و یکان
حرف چهارم: در لقب کم ساج و نمودار انتخاب روزی بحیله.

(Chapter fifth)

خط پنجم: 

در کتب سوی آب، و امپراتور و اولاد و اترب مشتمل بر دو حرفي.
حرف اول: در نمودار کتابیکه به سوی فرزند کنن-
حرف دوم: در کتابیکه ولا سوی و الا کنن.

(Chapter sixth)

خط ششم: 

در کتاب‌های عیرین و نارس مشتمل بردوحرف.
حرف اول: در کتاب‌های عیرین حرف-
حرف دوم: در پنجمی فارسی که پی آمیز عیرین ست.

(Chapter seventh)

خط هفتم: 

در افعال عیرین و نارس مشتمل بر دو حرف.
حرف اول: در افعال عیرین-
حرف دوم: در افعال فارسی-

1. F'as-i-Khusrawi, (Vol. II), pp. 104 - 149.
2. Ibid, pp. 149 - 163.
In the third Risala the author explains and illustrates the use of literal and verbal artifices in prose. Some of these he claims to be his own invention. The Risala consists of two chapters with a number of subjects, the details of which are as follows:

1. *Chapter eighth*:
   
   درهمان خازغيلان عدهتان مشتقان بر دو حروف
   حروف اول - در معاشته نه حیوان مسنور و مشتاقان ناصر برد
   حروف دوم - 

2. *Chapter ninth*:
   
   در اسباب مجلس واقعات مشتق بر جهار حروف
   حروف اول - در لطابق گل کونا کون
   حروف دوم - در مجازی احوال مستان و ارسال شراب و لطابق آن
   حروف سوم - در انشاع اصول و فریدع موسيقی
   حروف جميل - در انگل مشوهات نرد و شطرنج

3. *Chapter tenth*:
   
   در رومات و کتابتهای متفرق مشتق بر دو حروف
   حروف اول - در رقمه دیبان احوال میشست باخلال
   حروف دوم - در کتابتهای مختلف و براگنده

4. *Chapter first*:
   
   حروف اول - در ابهام

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(Chapter second) 

خط دوم: 

در صعوبتی های جدید که بعضی وضع کتاب است و بعض مشترک مشغول بیار افزوده حروف: 

حرف اول - در صعوبت درد بینه 
حرف دوم - در صعوبت دروشتین 
حرف سوم - در صعوبت قلب الیمانی 
حرف چهارم - در صعوبت فارس العرب 
حرف پنجم - در صعوبت مبدل الراسین 
حرف ششم - در صعوبت قطع الحروف 
حرف هفتم - در ول الحروف 
حرف هشتم - در صعوبت اتصال الحروف 

The fourth Risala opens with a long introduction in which the author relates his discussion with two of his learned friends, concerning man, his greatness, the means of acquiring eternal name, and various styles of elegant prose, the style of Nashai'a or spiritual teachers, which may be compared with fire on account of its passion and fiery appeal; that of the old scribes, dull and heavy like earth, that which combines the use of the two great artifices 'Ihan' and 'Khiyal' an innovation of the author, which may be compared to water; and finally a peculiar style, rare and elusive like air, a specimen of which may be found in the letter of Baqr Rājīb to Prince Khādīr Kān.

The Risala illustrates the use of the intellectual artifices and contains sentences and letters bearing on different topics i.e. law exegeses, traditions, and morality; logic and Philosophy; grammar and lexicography. Among them there is a firman issued by 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khilji on his accession to the throne of Delhi, and some letters.
The Risala comprises altogether five chapters with a number of subjects the details are as follows:

1. (Chapter first):

(Chapter second):

(Chapter third):

(Chapter fourth):

1. Ibid. (Vol. IV), pp. 1 - 28.
2. Ibid., pp. 28 - 91.
3. Ibid., pp. 96 - 167.
The fifth Risala contains letters written in the younger days of the author before he evolved the new style that explains in the first four Risalas. This Risala is comprising six chapters. The details of these chapters are as follows:

1. (Chapter fifth)

2. (Chapter first)

3. (Chapter second)

4. (Chapter third)

5. (Chapter fourth)

6. (Chapter sixth)
حرف اول - در تنويم ونامی نجم
حرف دوم - در بیان آباهان

(Chapter third) 1

خط سوم :

در تحقیقات مشتاق بر دو حرف
حرف اول - در افتادن کل
حرف دوم - در توپیغ غله

(Chapter fourth) 2

خط چهارم :

در چهار رشته مشتاق بر دو حرف
حرف اول - در کتابی که پسر رشته نش می‌برسته پایه
حرف دوم - در نشی از خزانه غلب رشته نابی درون باشد

(Chapter fifth) 3

خط پنجم :

در کتابت فرا مشتاق بر دو حرف
حرف اول - در فرا نامه‌ای زبان غیر بر سیب ایجاد
حرف دوم - در تنمیت نامه‌ای زبان خورو سری یافسیدین مقر

(Chapter sixth) 4

خط ششم :

در غیبت خو هزینه مشتاق بر سهار حرف
حرف اول - در خط بندیده با عزل
حرف دوم - در ذکر بهای داشتی لئین نامه‌ای نامی را نام او
حرف سوم - در بیان اهلیت نا اهلدن و نام این سحر السخیر است
حرف چهارم - در برآه و پجران سخیر

2. Ibid, pp. 66 - 72.
3. Ibid, pp. 72 - 85.
Feature: Amir Khusrau was an eloquent prose writer and that his Rısaıl-ul-I'jān is a clear proof of his erudition. In this book, the author has made a great display of his knowledge and learning and of his command over the Persian and Arabic languages. This book, which is a landmark in the realm of epistle writing, sets forth a model which remains unapproached. Attempts must have been made to copy him, but not even a single book is available which may be compared favourably with it. It may be frankly said that these treatises will go on as a specimen of unique Persian composition.

The achievement of Rısaıl-ul-I'jān as a specimen of Persian epistle writing. Its style is unique and original, the chief features of which may be summed up as follows:

1. The author's command over the language will be fully borne out by its style. The author could write in various forms of style. He could write using the allusions and language of "Shah-Nama". He could write using words of Mongolian origin with ease; he could use a style in which a particular word or phrase would repeat in each clause. It would not be out of place to illustrate this point with example from the introduction of the book:

   In the following paragraph the basic words are taken from cloth and clothing.¹

   **ديبا و طراح پشته قب لکم - مکل - بلاف - عیه - پشته**

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¹. *I'jāz-i-Khusravi*, (Vol. I), pp. 11, 12.
In the following paragraph the allusions and references are taken from the pre-Islamic age:

جندیم کرت رستاک - باد ظفر شمار - رالیاق مظفر بر اتراسیبان - ترکستان - نامزد فربود که بزخم شمشید پولادند آثار بر نسبت بر رئین تین ظفر کیخور بیدک دند ونیزه نیزه جهور ضحاکه جاه بینن در عظم بر سیراب وش باز کشادند فنادک از خلق و فرق آن دیوان

سپید سبل خان تا بحور بهزدیان روان بر بیش شمار
براندازه که عد روش صحرا سبای و نماینر برای بریمن فن‌آور و جون سواوی

In the following paragraph some words of Mongol origin are used.

سر بر بدن که فغل عدت برای گردن مونتان در سالم تعیین زنجیر

می آورد تا برره بروده برون بمعروفان زنجیر بر گردن نگ کشت و عالی‌براسی سلسل درخ کشید و بسی ره از شهید در حالت زنجیر که خشنده - خانه از زبانه تغی و خینه تغی برای بریمن میهد اگرچه سطح مسلسل زنجیر خط آزادی ایشان عدت اما چون از پرده، بودنی تین خوش شدید خانه و له زنجیر میگشند دیوان بند که بعنوانه هاره از کاتو حصار عد بر سواهنودن تا آن آیبیان می‌بله سپید عدت و از کلر که منهای دیگر باران خون سر inhibition دخالت و وجود حیب ونه ایشان را در خاکه تخم کردنی تالدهاً

تخم سپید و بیان تناری بر آمد

2. Ibid, pp. 15,16.
In the following sentence word is repeated again and again:

In the following paragraph the word آب and جراح are repeatedly used:

2. Ibid, pp. 17, 18.
This paragraph shows how the author has repeatedly used 1
the names of various birds:

This paragraph gives various kinds of odorous and smelling 2
objects:

References:
1. *I'laq-i-Khusravi*, (Vol. I) p. 22
2. Ibid., p. 23.
This paragraph gives words pertaining to arrow

2. Ibid, pp. 36, 37.
The word "نیب" (beetle leaf) and its property is repeated 1 in this paragraph:

The following paragraph we come across such words as and 2
Those examples bear a testimony to Khusrau's unusual mastery of the language which remains unparalleled.

2. The other feature of his style is that it is predominant with Arabic element in the following forms:
   (a) Abundant use of Arabic words.
   (b) Abundant use of Arabic compound words.
   (c) Use of Arabic form of plural.
   (d) Agreement of noun and adjectives according to Arabic rules of grammar.
   (e) Arabic verses.

The following paragraph will illustrate all these points:

1. I'jaz-i-Khusravi, (Vol. I), p. 73.
3. The style of the book is not simple in so much as the author uses long and involved sentences. The example quoted above will also fully illustrate this point.

4. The use of florid language is another dominant feature of Khusrav’s style. The author very much indulged in artifices which in the days of Khusrav were regarded as a soul of all compositions. It was thus natural for him to use them abundantly, and for which we have sufficient excuses. But the author’s great credit is that he introduced a healthy change by his innovation in so much as he attached more importance to ideas and intellectual figures of speech than to senseless alliterations, quips and puns. The following paragraph will illustrate this point:

5. One of the distinctive features of Khusrau's style is that his vocabulary is much more than any other author of the book of the same size. This again goes to the credit of the author's extraordinary command of the language. It may not be out of place to mention that synonyms and antonyms used by the author in the book under consideration should not go untouched. The following paragraph which has been haphazardly selected from the book would show how many words have been used in it:

حبل يفاضل دارد از ایلام بحبو اتباذد حبل و اطفال عفف
کد آباد ابیات از زادن، اینال آن عظم اند - می‌باید
"زادها الله علی زادها "
خالی آن احترام با از بهم تحامد انا، جنی جنی ذخیره

1. لِینز-آ خسروی، (Vol.II)، pp. 157, 158.
It may be added here that the book has not been received due credit at the hands of the modern scholars, who have adversely criticised its style. It is true that there is not much in it that could interest us today. But we must remember that conditions were quite different in Khusrav's time, and that the ideas of what constituted elegance and beauty in prose have changed considerably since then. He was, moreover, supplying a pressing need of his age by supplying a comprehension work in Persian on the science of epistle-writing so eagerly sought after and so assiduously learnt by all literary men of old days, and we have no doubt that he succeeded quite well. But even for a sophisticated modern reader there are plenty of things scattered in the gem pages of the vast book that
are both interesting and instructive. There are some useful bits of information about the social conditions, the state of learning, the scholars, the sciences, and the political atmosphere of his age. There are again some important items concerning the poet's own biography, and there are pieces of a poignant, though perhaps a bit morbid humour, characteristic of a man of Khusraw's wide experience and sociable nature. Here is for instance a passage that may well remain under the veil of the original:

...
Here are again some appropriate prayers and curses (for a hunter): May the bird of his soul perch on the hand of God, God save him from the hound of Hell. May the crow lay eggs in his fast, may be attached to the nails of wolves. May he become a hog in his grave.

For a man named Gurz-ud-Din:

From a beloved for her dead lover: May his soul lie drunk with the sweat of our stead as long as it (the horses) prances on his grave.

Of a chess player: May he die under the elephant.

Of a very virtuous Shaikh............. "is a bird such that if the egg of satan be placed beneath (for hatching) Gebrair will come out of it."

Title suitable for a befooaf: The ridicule of the age, the laughter of his peers, the accursed of the religion and the faith, the fool of Islam, and the moslem.

For a clown addressed as Najusat-ud-Din, 'the filth of the faith': May satan wet his moustache with his urine and may the devil lay eggs in the hair of his chin.

Here are some satirical phrases: More tender hearted than the despoiler of the dead. More suspicious

2. Ibid, pp.
than the grave digger, Shyer than the nadasht, kinder than blacksmith, gentler than the Governor (عذاب), more lawfully nourished than the usurers. A better confidant than the back biters, more foresighted than the mill-ox, more alert than the sleeping hare. A better confidant than the back biters.

The lithographed addition of Lucimov is fairly correct and bears a brief marginal commentary. Manuscripts are numerous.

**Lexicography.**

India may justly feel proud of its contribution to the development of the art of Persian Lexicography. Although, strictly speaking, lexicography took the form of an art only during the period of Mughals, when such monumental works as Farhang-i-Jahangiri and Farhang-i-Rashidi were composed, it is a fact that the preliminaries of the art were gone through much earlier. The period of 'Ala'ud-Dīn Khalji is significant for having produced the Farhangnama, the first Persian lexicon in India. It has virtually served as the unending basis for almost all the subsequent writers who have written anything on this branch, and have also paid glowing tributes for its author, Maulana Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubarak Shah Chisnawi or, in short, Fakhr-ud-Dīn Qawwas, by a part of whose name the first lexicon was popularly known. The popularity of the lexicon may well be judged by the tributes, the contemporary author
of the Dastur-ul-Afadil has paid to Maulana Fakhru-ul-Din. The most outstanding achievement of Maulana Fakhru-ul-Din is that he has given a few Hindustani equivalents of Persian words and the subsequent writers have adopted this system while writing their lexicons.

Now we pass on to the consideration of Farhangnama-i-Cawwas in detail, the largest part of which has been obtained from an unpublished introduction to the edited text of the Farhangnama by the present author's teacher Prof. Nadir Ahmad.
The Farhangnama-i-Qawwas was most probably compiled towards the end of the 7th or in the beginning of the 8th century A.H. Its author, Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Qawwas was an important poet of the time of 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji (696-719). From this may be concluded that the Farhangnama was compiled during the regime of the aforesaid king. As such it is the next oldest available composition on Persian lexicography (the oldest being Asadi's Lughat-i-Furs).

We have very little information about the author of the Farhangnama. In the Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi of Mia-i-Barani and the Tarikh-i-Firishta the author has been included in the list of those well known poets who were attached to the court of 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji. After introducing Amir Khusrau and Hasan Sijzi, Mia-i-Barani makes the following observation:

"... در این دوره، و علماً علماً برای آن شعرای زمان ردالهی و مورخین عالی و عبد حکم و شهد امامان و مادر بیست و یک عضو علاءی بودند و از دیوان خوشنویسی شاهی باقته‌ای برای نظم شهید و طریب بهدا و میرزای خداوند و علم و میرزاین بر ایوانده و نماین ایوان علی است..."

A recent edition by Maulana Rafi, calls him...

Maulana Rafi, has composed the following line in praise of Maulana Fakhr-i-Qawwas:

(Quoted in Ahmad at-Tabari, 'Ali al-Jahiz, 'Ali Shirazi)

(Urdu, Jan., '43, p. 33.)
Sadr-ud-Din Ali, Fakhr-ud-Din Qawwas, Hamid-ud-Din Raja, Maulana 'Arif, 'Ubaid Hakim, Shihab-ud-Din Ansari and Sadr-i-Dusti who were the poets of the 'Alai period received their allowances for poetry from the Divan-i-'Arâ. And each of them had a special style and trait of his own and had his poetical writings compiled into a Divan, and his prose and poetry speak eloquently about his mastery and skill in poetic art."

After introducing the poets and the historians of the 'Alai regime, Biin-i-Barani has added the following sentence:

"اگر خواهم له جمله مثنان و مثنان و فاسلان و فاعران مشهور (رو) ذکر کنم از بساد بسیار بود آن بانم و آن فاه پاز مناخ"

"If I desire to mention all the significant authors, writers, masters and poets, as they are so many, I would fail, and my purpose would be defeated."

From this it is obvious that besides Khusrau and Hasan the seven poets mentioned by Biin-i-Barani were the choicest masters of their time.

Hajib Khaïrat the author of Pastur-ul-Ifadil has spoken very high about the achievements of Fakhr-ud-Din Hubarakshah. It would be worthwhile to quote him in original. He praises him first in the way:

In the following statement the author calls him:

From all these observations of a contemporary author who himself was a lexicographer, it is quite clear that Fakhr-ul-Din was not only an expert in poetry but a good prose writer and scholar of repute. He had a number of compositions both in prose and poetry to his credit which are unfortunately, lost. The poets of the time composed poems in his praise which again speak eloquently about his scholarly achievements.

2. Ibid, p. 10.
The author's name and other particular:

In the Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi and Tarikh-i-Firishta, the name of the poet, who is supposed to be the author of the Farhangnama, is given as Fakir-ud-Din Qawwas. While in the Dastur-ul-Afzal his full name is given as Fakir-ud-Din Mubarak Shah Ghaznavi surnamed Kamanger. But in the Mould-ul-Fuzala he is severely mentioned as Maulana Fakir-ud-Din Qawwas and Maulana Fakir-ud-Din Kamanger, ('Kamanger' being the Persian equivalent of the Arabic 'Qawwas'), and even Fakir-i-Qawwas. (The term Mubarak Shah Ghaznavi is significantly missing). The short name Fakir-i-Qawwas is invariably mentioned in the Zu'aman-i-Juma. While in the Farhangnama the author's name is given as Maulana Mubarak Shah Ghaznavi known as Fakir-i-Qawwas. But the author himself mentions his name in the preface so the

Farhangnama as:

بحداء یبداک عزاسی مصروف یلامو

1. The author is referred three times in the preface as follows:

The cataloguer of the cat. of A.S.E. Cal. Curson Collection translates into Surname (See p. 362).

2. It only is preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, Patna which has been introduced by Prof. Syed Hasan in the Fikr-o-Nadar, Aligarh July 1932 pp. 80 - 96; (See p. 87).

3. Printed copy p. 5 but in some is missing see the p. 314.

4. f. 1b. نظریه کتب خانه میسالار
The author has not mentioned 'Fakhr' as a part of his full name (This conclusion is based on a single MS, which is an imperfect, incomplete and defective copy full of serious errors). But since this name is so frequently mentioned, it is difficult to ignore it. It seems that the author's name was Hubarak, but he was popularly called Fakhr-i-Qawwas and even Qawwas. Fakhr-ud-Din seems to be his title. But Haji Khalifa has given such information in the Kashf-us-Zamun as is not supported by anyone else:

"فررهنده في اللغة ناري نخرالدين ابراهيم بن قول VLAN ولا مذه القيب محمد بن الشيخ لا لا.

'A composition in Persian lexicography by Fakhr ud-Din Ibrahim b. Qawan al-Qawwas and by his teacher, Shaikh Muhammad b. Shaikh Lala.'

Haji Khalifa has not only given a different name of the author but has claimed the book to be a joint work by the author and his teacher. In giving the author's name Haji Khalifa has been misled probably by the name of the author of another lexicon, Sharaifnama which was composed by Ibrahim b. Qawan Faruqi before 879 A.H.

So far as the joint authorship of the book is concerned, it is obviously incorrect because the author has given his name in the preface, and in the body of the

2. See Panjab Men Urdu pp. 273, 282 but in the کتب خانه محمد سالار p. 130, the date of compilation is 879 A.H.
text the word 'مرفِع' occurs more than once. This evidently proves that Fakhr-i-Qawwas was himself the sole author of the book and that Haji Khalifa's statement regarding the joint authorship of the Farhangnama is erroneous.

The reasons for identifying the poet of the 'Alai regime as mentioned by Darani and Pirishta, with the author of the Farhangnama are as follows:

1. The poet of the 'Alai regime and the author of the Farhangnama have the same name.
2. The poet and the author belonged to India.
3. The poet and the author belonged to the same period. The Farhangnama used as a source book in the Dastur-ul-Afadil composed in 743 A.H. must have been composed much before this date. From this it may reasonably be concluded that the author of the Farhangnama could belong to the time of 'Ala-ul-Din Khalji (d. 719 A.H.)
4. Like the poet of the 'Alai regime, the author of the Farhangnama was a poet which is proved by his verses available in the Farhangnama.

1. According to the late Prof. Shirani (Vide Punjab Man Urdu, p. 273 and the Mahzan, Lahore, March 1929, it was finished in 773 but in the catalogue of Persian MSS. A.S.B. (Curzon Collections), p.371 the following line giving the date of compilation is quoted:

\[
\text{زهگرہ تودہ نہمن پاسہ و جل مرزہ کنھے دستان افاضل}
\]

But Prof. Shirani corrected himself when he wrote his most important review on Prof. Ghani's book: "Pre-Moghal Persian in Hindustan in 1943 (Vide Urdu Jan. 1943, p.102).
All these points adequately prove that the poet was identical with the author of the Farhangnama, as a corollary of which it is proved that the author belonged to the court of 'Ala-ud-Din Bhalji and that the Farhangnama was most probably written during the reign of the above prince.

About the author's alias Qawwas we know nothing except this that it was occasionally changed into "Kamangar" which is an exact Persian equivalent to the Arabic term Qawwas. In the Dastur-ul-Afadil the author is called 'Kamangar' while in the Munivid-ul-Fudala he has been termed both Qawwas and Kamangar. It is not certain whether it was his personal title or that indicating his family or class. The Ghaznavi nishat is indicative of his ancestral home in Ghazni but we have no knowledge about his exact relationship with this important centre of learning.

2. The following sentence occurring in the preface of Dastur-ul-Afadil p. 7 would lend support to the conclusion that it was due to his skill as an archer that he was known as Kamangar:

"فخراً أباً وندش ماركشاب نزني غرب كمانك كمان كمان نزني
سند بديد لا أدرن ين باب مر آرد "

3. Another poet, Shamsul-Din Qawwas is mentioned in the Sihabul-Fira pp. 156, 228 (n), 234 and 235 (n).
From the following statement of the author of the *Pastum-ul-Afadal* it is almost certain that Fakhr-ud-Din was alive in 743 H., in which year the said Lexicon was completed:

"Darayi...... Aib Sahib Avid Sahib saheb heh Muberi Ra Amar Najj Dukhno walawada Rikkar Aab Birooj Az Kabeer Ashtoora Kyaroon Rikkar Dar Br Azan Yapr Naaka Hala Arid.

The following sentence from the same Lexicon would lend support to the above conclusion:

The verb in the present tense and the absence of the *kalamat daalane* are adequate arrangement in favor of the same:

آن نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس نیس

After these introductory remarks about the author we propose to deal with the *Farhangnama* in greater details.

The title of the book:

It appears that no specific title was given to the book. The author has once written in the preface:

فیrathe sahe ah Sahe hasavast

1. The idiom *Rind Aroor* means to be ashamed Kamal Ismail says:

زناز کی ری جملی او زناز کی ری جملی آگر او رهمن از والد کی رته ناہ ی" (Farhang-i-Jananasfi, Vol. 2, p. 123.)
Probably it is from here that the lexicon has been popularly called the *Farhangnama-i-Gawam*. This title appears in the subsequent lexicons such as *Dastur-ul-Afzal*, *Adat-ul-Fudala*, *Zafar-i-Guya* and *Munivid-ul-Fudala*, but the book has also been called as *Farhang-i-Fakhr-i-Gawam*. Though the terms 'Farhang' and 'Farhangnama' are synonymous, yet when the latter term refers to a particular lexicon, it is none except the *Farhangnama-i-Fakhr-i-Gawam*.

The book is divided into five parts called on account of which it has been called The *Zafar-i-Guya* is divided into seven parts ( and on which account it is called . But in the *Nadar-ul-Afzal*, the *Zafar* has been called which is due to confusion on the part of the author of the *Nadar* who has somehow failed to distinguish between *Zafar-i-Guya* and *Farhangnama*.

All this go to show that both the titles and seem to be subsequent additions.

Reasons for compilation:

The preface contains the stereotype story of the insistent requests to the author by his friends to

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1. It is composed by Faidi Sarhindi in 100 A.H. Prof. Muhammad Inqil has edited a part it which has been published in Lahore in 1337s.

2. Introduction.}

One day the author's friends explained their difficulties in studying Firdausi's *Shāhnāma* and made a request to the author to compile a lexicon. The latter had no alternative but to accept the proposal and with a view to preparing the lexicon, he made a thorough study of the *Shāhnāma* and prepared a list of the Pahlavi words and arranged them in a particular order. He also selected words from other lexicons and arranged them accordingly.

Then he sat up to arrange the whole material into five sections called Bakhsh, which was divided into other parts called Guna and the Guna was again divided into small section called Bahra or Dahr.

This statement clearly shows that the author aim was to provide an aid to the study of the *Shāhnāma* in particular and other classics in general. This is why the *Farhangnama* has sometimes been called a lexicon of the *Shāhnāma*. Even late Professor Shirani has stated the lexicon to be a useful book for the study of the *Shāhnāma*.

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1. *Makhzan*, Lahore March 1929

Vide also Urdu, Jan-1943, p. 102

The catalogue of A.S.B. catalogue has pointed out:

An early work on Persian lexicography, dealing with rare words not with in the *Shāhnāma*, here said to be Pahlavi. (Cat. p. 368).
We are not concerned whether the author studied the *Shahnama* thoroughly or not. But the claim of the author that he prepared a complete list of all Persian words in the *Shahnama* is untrue. The special feature of the *Farhang-name* is that every word has been explained and illustrated by suitable examples from early Persian poets. Obviously when a particular word is illustrated with a particular line, that very line would be the source of the word concerned. As such the poets whose verses are quoted abundantly in this lexicon deserve special notice. Some of such poets are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poet</th>
<th>Lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Firdausi</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudaki</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsuri</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suzani</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nishani</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khajani</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although these numbers are subject to alternation, because in some cases the attribution of verses to a particular poet is wrong, even then it may reasonably be concluded that Qawwas did not study Rudaki and Suzani and Unsuri less than what he did in case of Firdausi's *Shahnama*. As we believe that the line quoted is the source of a particular word, we can claim that Fakhr-i-Qawwas derived more words from Rudaki and Suzani and even from Unsuri than he did from Firdausi. This fact cannot be ignored that one
who prepares a lexicon for the *Shahnama*, and with this object in view makes a thorough study of the book and prepares a list of its words selects a few words from such a voluminous book as is *Shahnama*. The worse is that majority of such words are not only included in the *Lughat-i-Farsa* and other old lexicons but the illustrative lines are also quoted therein.

The above discussion clearly shows that the *Farhangnama* is not exclusively the glossary of the *Shahnama*.

**Dedication:**

*Fakhr-i-Qawwas* probably dedicated his *Farhangnama* to some minister of *'Ala-ud-Dîn Khâlîjî* who has been mentioned as:

دستور روشان هم درست بروز دشمن که آصف برخی پیشکاری بزر
جبهه‌ای خواستان دارم ـ

It was on the suggestion of his friends that Qawwâs dedicated the book to him.

**Content of the book:**

*Fakhr-i-Qawwas* has divided the book into five parts, and the parts are subdivided into smaller sections, a complete list of which is given at the end of the small preface. The readers will have a full picture of the book

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1. Preface f. 3b.
with regards to its content and subject matter by prusing the list given below:

1. Pact: بزدان
2. Pact: علفها
گونه نخست - در نام بردندان نام بردندان نام بردندان
به نام بردندان نام بردندان نام بردندان
بردندان خود جنین نام بردندان
گونه سیم - در نام حزندگان جنین
گونه چهل - در نام حزندگان و جنین
گونه چهل - در نام آدمزان و آدمزان
گونه چهل - در نام آدمزان و آدمزان
و گرد ایشان -

بخش پنجم - در نام گیجهای که از گونه است و آدمی و ایشان آید برده گونه

گونه نخست - در نام حاچارد خانه گرد
گونه دوم - در نام آوندها
گونه سوم - در نام خوردن‌ها
گونه چهارم - در نام یوشیدن‌ها
گونه پنجم - در نام پیمان‌ها
گونه ششم - در نام جنگ آمد آن
گونه هفتم - در نام کاریگران و سازه‌ها
گونه هشتم - در نام نمایه‌ها و جنگی که پا به گرد
گونه نهم - در نام مصد -

1. BS. (Preface): بحث
2. In the preface آدمی but آدمی
3. BS. (Preface): بحث
Source of Farhangnama

Falakhr-i-Qawwas himself states to have consulted various lexicon written prior to his work. But he does not mention any particular work. However, we have reason to believe the author of Farhangnama utilised Asadi's Luchat-i-Fura in compiling his work. My assumption is based on the following points:

(a) The meaning of the words are the same as in the Luchat-i-Fura. The following examples are quoted to illustrate this points:

| فرهنگ‌نامه | نیمه‌فرس | کر کر نام خدا است و کروک نیز کهند دنوی دنی در – جو بیجاره
|---|---|---|
| | | گشته‌ند و نیا رستند الح و حصر بی‌همب‌پاش‌ند – فدری (صح دنوی)
| | | گهید بی‌نی ازحال بگذشه بی‌کی الح زکرب حبرای کهند بی‌هرای گفته است
| | | جز تلغ و نیکی آب ندهم الیه

In the following examples are quoted to illustrate this points:
Verses quoted for illustrations are often those available in the *Luchat-i-Fursa*. Besides Firdausi's verses examined earlier, the verses quoted above are exactly the same both in the *Farhangname* and the *Luchat-i-Fursa*.

Some of the errors which somehow crept into the *Luchat-i-Fursa* are also available in the *Farhangname*. Sometimes the verses in appropriately quoted in the
former are copied in the latter; at times the doubtful readings available in the Lughat-i-Fars have been preferred by Qawwas, details of which will be given later.

Characteristics of the books:

The special features of the Farhangnama are given below:

1. It is a Persian dictionary containing exclusively words of Persian origin. It excludes not only such words as have Arabic origin but also excludes the Arabicised words. But it is significant that from some observations of the Muiyid-ul-Fudala it appear that the Farhangnama did contain 'Arabic words. Some of the important statements from the Muiyid are quoted below:

2. The term Farhangnama has been used for Farhangnana-i-Qawwas. In the Muiyid and Zufan when the word Farhangnana refers to any particular lexicon, it is nothing but the Farhangnana of Fakhr-i-Qawwas.
None of these four words which have been noticed in the 
mu'ayyid under رفسل عقیب is contained in the present 
MS. of the Farhangnama. The MS. is defective at the end 
and one full section dealing with 'Persian infinitives' 
is missing. But it would be futile to attribute these 
missing words to the unavailable part of the MS., because 
the missing words have nothing to do with Persian 
infinitives. Since the book was a dictionary of pure 
Persian it could not deal with words of Arabic origin.
From this it naturally follows that the statements of the 
Munivid-ul-Fudala is due to some misunderstanding which 
cannot be explained at present. As the Farhangnama is 
absent from the sources of the Munivid-ul-Fudala it is 
probable that wrong contents appearing in the name of 
Farhangnama in some old lexicons, had somehow found access 
into the Munivid-ul-Fudala.

Besides the above mentioned four words, the 
following words are also excluded from the Farhangnama-
1-Gnana.
Though, as stated earlier, the word *تناشير* is excluded from the present *MS.* of the Farhangnama, the said word has been mentioned thrice in the Husainid-ul-Fudala with a reference to the Farhangnama. This suggests that the author of the Husainid borrowed this information from some authentic and reliable source. But since our *MS.* is silent on this point we are at a loss to make any comment at this stage.

(2) The words have been arranged subjectwise which has its own advantages. But it is certain that this arrangement is defective in so much as it renders the task of consulting a particular word more difficult.
(3) Like the *Lughat-i-Furq* and other older lexicons all shades of meaning are not given in the *Farhangnama*. The author generally prefers to give the literal meaning. In this respect it is very similar to Asadi's lexicon.

(4) The *Farhangnama* contains verses from a number of poets who have appeared on the scene after the *Lughat-i-Furq*, such as: Masud-i-Sa'd-i-Salman, Suzani, Sanai, Hafiz, Khwaju, Nishani, Faiz-i-Faryabi, Mujir-i-Dailgani, Shams-i-Jabasi, Adib-i-Sabir, Sharaf-i-Shafeewah, Attar and others.

(5) Verses from some Indo-Persian poets have been quoted. Among these poets Taj-i-Dabir, Shihab Mihmara and 'Aafi deserve special notice.

(6) The lexicon is very significant in so far as it gives a few Hindi equivalents. These words would be useful in the linguistical study of Indian language. We have been able to discover only eight words in the present MS. These are: 

\[ काल - जमीर - लड़ - क्षुर - लेख - ज्ञेय - कही - बहेल \]

It is however interesting to note that all the Hindi equivalents given in the *Maujvid-ul-Fudala* on the basis of the *Farhangnama-i-Gawas* are not available in the present, MS., and this strange state of affairs could not at present be accounted for the late Hafiz Mahmu Shirani has selected such words from the *Maujvid* and attributed them to the *Farhangnama*.
without being aware of the fact that the solitary 15. of the Farhangname is devoid of all such words.

(7) This lexicon is very significant in so much as it gave impetus to Indo-Persian scholars to compile lexicons with the result that a sizable number of lexicons were prepared in India within a few centuries. This went a long way on the part of Indian scholars in stealing a march over their Iranian counterparts in respect of their contribution to the art of lexicography. The following available lexicographers have directly or indirectly borrowed from the Farhangname:

(a) Hajib Khairat, the author of the Dastur-ul-Afandil compiled in 743. The cataloguer of the Asiatic Society of Bengal catalogue states that in the lengthy introduction the author refers besides with special reference to Fakhr-ud-Din Mubarak Ghaznavi, although there are no direct indications of his personal connection with him (ff. 1b, 4a). The Farhangname is frequently referred to . . . . . . The opening lines are apparently copied from the Farhangname as they resemble the beginning of No. 616 (S. of Farhangname), and there is a reference to Fakhr-ud-Din.
in the British Museum catalogue states as follows:

The author of the *Mat-ul-Fudala* compiled in the present lexicon the matter contained in the following works:

1. *Farhangnāma* by Fakhri-Qawāṣ (mentioned by Firishta as one of the poets of 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji, by *Farhang-i-Jamālī*, Maulana Mubarak Shah Chishtī).

(c) Badr Ibrāhīm composed the *Zafand-i-Guiya* before 537 A.H.

Among the sources of the *Zafand-i-Guiya* are mentioned the following few important lexicons:

*Farhang-i-Asadi, Farhangnāma-i-Fakhri-Qawāṣ, Risala-i-Nasir* and *Farhang-i-Firdawsī*.

1. See *Panjab men Urdu* p. 273.
In the body of the book on may frequently come across the name of the *Farhangnāma* which indicates the author of the Zufan's indebtedness to Fakhr-i-Qawwas.

Besides these there are at least 35 additional places where the author has mentioned the name *Farhangnāma* and has referred to Qawwas's work. Moreover the arrangement of the content in the form of *and* and the use of *at least in the preface to the Zufan-i-Guva* clearly show the extent of influence the *Farhangnāma* exercised on the *Zufan*. In order to illustrate the point a few specimens are quoted from both the lexicons:

*Farhangnāma*

برگنی آفین (اقدام) و بهین و مهین آفید کر

هزار ان هزار با باران و باران

ایل میلی دارکی ایز بن بی روی از کاهه آمر

گیوان و عاریان دز بر از ان بارو نگاه از دریاد

پیورده هوا رو گوش بر آن استوار کاشتند

آن در دل داشتند هم سوی یکدیگر می‌دادند

اماکن آن دریاژ نه کرد و داد سختها

پس زا نی داد

در بزرگ را بر بسم رادر سخن پوستم

.... در پسته و استوه را بر خود بستم

با بزرگان همشین و همرا و نامه خون و

غم بر دو از باشند
برگزین آفریدگار و بر گنده کردگار دل و رود ان
بر پارهای دیاروان
ایبز دوکرک و گنزن اورا بار و از آهو
(گیاهان) و در بر رازان ناپد ارگد
پس هور و گونبر آن آزری بک اشتهاد
و دل بر آن که ام و بست داشتند و بسوی
یکدیگر می دیدند ۰۰۰۰۰۰ کسی از برذ راز
نی کشاد و داد آن سختها پسرا نئی داد
در استه را بر خود بست و سخن را
در سخن پی‌پیسم
دوستان هدل و هماراز ۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰ غم پرداید
و من بر آن داشتم و آن‌هیدان گاشتم که
Muhammad b. Qivān Balkhi Karyi, the commentator of the Nakhsh-i-Aṣrār (the Shahr-i-Nakhshān being composed in 726 A.H.) compiled the Dahr-ul-Fadail in 837. Though the Farhangnama does not find mention among its sources, we have reasons to believe that the author was indirectly benefitted by Fakhr-i-Qawwas’s work. Muhammad b. Qivān had utilised the Zuwan-i-Suva which in its turn was so greatly influenced by the Farhangnama. One of the instances of the latter’s influence would be the abundant use of Hindi equivalents in this early lexicon.

Ibrahim b. Qivān Faruqi compiled:

Sharafī

i-Gaważ
(f) Mahmud b. Shaikh Zia compiled his Tuhfat-us-Falada-i-Islami in 916 and according to Faidi Sarhindi, he made use of the Farhangnama.

(g) Shaikh Lad compiled the Muiyid-ul-Fulala in 925 A.H. Though the author had no copy of the Farhangnama at his disposal, yet he has been indirectly benefited by the Farhangnama more than any other lexicographer. I have come across about 82 places in the Muiyid where the name of Fakhr-i-Qawas's Farhang is clearly written. This shows the extent of influence the latter Farhang had on the Muiyid.

(h) Shaikh Faidi of Sarhindi compiled his Nadar-ul-Afadil in 1001 A.H. in the preparation of which he has indirectly utilised Qawas's Farhangnama. The name of this latter lexicon finds mention in the author's preface to the book.

(i) Sir Jamāl-ud-Dīn Husain Injū compiled his Farhang-i-Jahangirī in the first year of Jahangir's reign in 1014. He utilised the Farhangnama in the compilation of his book and its name finds mention in the long list of the lexicons Injū made use.

1. He says:

But the author of the Muiyid did not directly borrow from the Farhangnama.

2. See pp. 3-4.
The *Farhangnama-i-Gawvān* may serve as an aid to solve some of the lexical and etymological problems in respect of words. We shall quote a few instances.

There is word ٓ٠٣٣٠٣٠٣ meaning sleep and unpleasant dream. Its another shape is ٓ٠٣٠٣٠٣. Dr. Muhammad Mu'in has added in the *Burhan-i-Qati'* (footnotes) that this word is derived from the Avestic word *Bushyasta* (which means ٓ٠٣٠٣٠٣٠٣٠٣٠٣). In the available MS. of the *Farhangnama* an altogether different reading ٓ٠٣٠٣ is available which is nearer to its origin 'Bushyasta.' It is just probable that the word ٓ٠٣٠٣ as appearing in early lexicons including the *Luzhat-i-Fura* may be due to clerical mistake which might have been passed for a correct word only by the subsequent lexicographers.

There are two words ٓ٠٣٠٣ and ٓ٠٣٠٣ both meaning ٓ٠٣٠٣. Professor Henning most renowned scholar of Iranian linguistics has written a scholarly paper on the etymology of these two words which has been condensed by Dr. Muhammad Mu'in in the footnotes of his edition of the *Burhan-i-Qati*. The *Luzhat-i-Fura* and other old lexicons have ٓ٠٣٠٣.
which has been illustrated by the following line attributed differently to 'Unsri and 'Asjadi:

هکرک راور زغن باشد منزل او بمر زغن باشد

The word جیف۵ has been illustrated in the Jahangiri Rashidi by Sanai's following line:

The Farhangnāma-i-Ganjavi provides an earlier example from 'Unsri which has مورزی instead of مورزی. The line runs as follows:

اکر هون داری صف موردگان به بیدن بیرزود در مورزی

In case it is 'Unsri's genuine compositor and the reading of the word is correctly recorded (we cannot be definite about a word on the basis of a single MS. of the Farhangnāma, it would be concluded that was the popular readings since the very beginning.

A third example is that of the word حشیه meaning white. The Farhangnāma has not dealt with the word separately. But under the word تَژ the

2. p. 1333, See also the Ruhān p. 1902 (n).
3. But in the Divan-i-Sanai, the second line is quite different
   (p. 277, Musaffa ed.).
4. f. 49a.
following statement is available:

This is borrowed from the Lughāt-i-Furra p. 170 where the word تز has been explained thus:

The Sihāl-ul-Furra (p.125) makes a similar observation:

From this it is quite clear that the word has been used in all the three lexicons in the sense of a particular colour (white in the case of the Farhangnama).

It is almost certain that مرفزن was the correct reading and this word appearing as مَرْفَزْنَ for طبقات اللغات (Kabul ed. p. 212):

Mr. 'Abdul Hayy Habibi has added a note (p.342) on the word thus (Ibid p.659):
In short the Farhangnāma clears the confusion with regard to the words خشینه and خشینه. The author of Rashidi and subsequently those of Anjumanara and Farhang-i-Miḥram have correctly shown their suspicion with regard to the genuineness of the word خشینه. Fakhr-i-Qawās's statement incorporated in the Farhangnāma removes all the ambiguities in the matter.

(3) The misunderstanding of some of the authors may be cleared by the Farhangnāma. We have seen above how the author of the Zafar-i-Guīya misunderstood the clear statement available in the Farhangnāma. In the Ḥusayn al-Fudāla we find the following statement:

The part of the statement which is based on the Farhangnāma is a confused one. The statement is based on a defective copy of the Farhangnāma in which both the words and their meanings were written so closely that it was often impossible to distinguish between words and their meanings. In the above remark the words appearing after نارد are not related together. These should be read as follows:

2. p. 732.
3. V. 2 p. 221.
4. f. 252a.
In the *Burhan*, though at the words are not found under

*نارض ۶ کن*  
*سارعکه ۶ بشه*  
*روحزه ۶ نیش بشه*

is there to declare the misunderstanding on the part of the author of the *Burhan*.

Till now I have been dealing with the merits of the book. Now some of the demerits of the *Farhangnama* are being discussed in the following pages:

1. The words have no special arrangement under each section; so it is very difficult to consult a particular. This defective arrangement has limited the scope of its utility and study.

2. The *Farhangnama* deals with simple words; compound words and phrases and idioms have been avoided.

3. Short meanings have been given so much so that sometimes the verses do not illustrate the meanings. Some examples are examined below:

The meaning of *اَخْتَیَاه* is *ناهِمَ (unequal)* and this meaning is illustrated by *Niṣaburi*’s following line:

*تَوی گوهر آبادِ چار آخْتَیَاه سلسل کن گوهران در منج* 

---


2. f. 10a.
The word has two meanings: استعمال (four elements). The second is a derived meaning. The elements are called آخشنج only became they are opposite to each other. In the Luchat-i-Furs the first meaning is illustrated with the following line of Abu Shakur:


While in the Sihah-ul-Furs and Nader-ul-Afadil Nishami's line:


is quoted correctly to illustrate the second meaning (and not the first as is found in the Farhangnama). If the author of the Farhangnama had given both the meaning of the word آخشنج, he would have saved himself from committing this error.

The line of illustration is:


The word کیفر denotes the meaning of punishment and the stone on the top of the fortress. Thus it is clear that the above line illustrates the second meaning viz., punishment which has somehow been left out in the text of the Farhangnama.

The meaning of برود is given which has been illustrated with Rudaki's following verse:

جین جین است بین روان رودان الخ

1. p. 59.
2. p. 50.
3. p. 20.
4. p. 56a.
The word 'رزد' has two meanings: First

2nd: In the *Luchat-i-Fura* (p. 36) and *Sibah-ul-Fula* (p. 34) Rudaki's above line is quoted to illustrate the first meaning and not the second as is available in the *Farhangnama*. The second meaning is illustrated in the *Fura* and *Sibah* with Rudaki's following verse:

٢) روز جستن ٢ زبان همچون نوند، روزدن جرين شست سالم سردمد

One interesting point is that the word 'نوند' is quoted under that part which related to human beings. From this it is quite evident that the author was fully aware of its two meanings. It is just probable that the scribe might have missed the point and not the author.

The word 'نوند' has been explained in the *Farhangnama* in these words:

ابوُ - چتران آیکن، وہر، راگنی -

بر کر ان قوی لکن کسی میں سے لے نہیں۔ راست بند اری قطار اشترا انیہ

The complete meaning of 'نوند' is given in the *Sibah-ul-Fura* (p. 262) as follows:

شترا آیکن کہ پوری ایشان انتادا باعد

The above line is related to autumn and the leafless trees have been compared with camels whose hair is fallen, the word 'آیکن' has a close relationship with (river). From this it is quite evident that Qawas having dropped the clause: کہ پوری ایشان انتادا باعد has lost the concordance between the word and its meaning.

l. f. 23a.
The word كهد has two meanings:

first:

گن بادشان کم بناهی نافذ خوانند

second:

آن مرد که زیورم به سارند و او بخزانم برساند

But in the Farhangnama only the first and in the Luchat-i-Furs and Sibahul-Furs only the second meaning is given.

In the Farhangnama the meaning is illustrated with Minjik’s these lines:

مراد کهد زیت است و گن بسایین رها مکن بسر او تا برد سلامت تو

ژتر هو بستاند به هی ند هد محال باشد سم او برآ ملامت تو

These very line are correctly quoted in the Furs and Sibah to illustrate the second meaning. This clearly proves that since Gausas did not give the two meanings, the line is quoted in appropriately. The word بساین has been explained in the Farhangnama thus:

چهار دندان پا ببایند - حضرت کهد -

بسایم دل بسم تنگ - دردم ازدنا بساین نبند

This description is under the section dealing with اندام آدمی. The word بساین means the teeth of men and beast both. But the line quoted above is an illustration of the teeth of beast and not of man. As a particular section of the Farhangnama is reserved for the beasts etc., this word with this meaning should find

1. f. 32b.
2. p. 112.
3. p. 93.
4. f. 30b.
its place there. In case the word was to be taken up here, should have been explained properly and illustrated definitely by another line. In the Luchat-i-Furs (p. 265) and Sibahul-Furs (p. 140) the word ُمشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُشًُش® 1

1. f. 42a.
This line occurs in a Qasida which opens thus:

Dal hai shaher bar sahar  
Ham sahawad  
Issalam az dor.

The line quoted in the Farhangnamah reads in the Diwan thus:

Za'd esha ke deh dard  
Za'ava  
Gan bar dekh man awra sherkh

From this it is quite evident that Qawwas could find no time to consult the original Diwan of Farrukhi. Instead he copied the verse from the Lughat-i-Fursa where the reading of the line is exactly the same as in the Farhangnamah i.e. for 'Sherkh berghir'  

For the illustration of the word 'Unsuri's following line is quoted in the Farhangnamah:

Joon hesta hen berghir  
Ahwaghe  
Jon kara keshad  
Kast niborche

The fact it that the two hemistiches are the second and third districtes of a complete quatrains which is available not only in the Divan-i-'Unsuri (p. 196) but also in the Lughat-i-Fursa (p. 416):

Xun hoda  
Ain baka  
Khweye  
Jon kara keshad  
Kast niborche  
Kast niborche

In case Qawwas had consulted the Diwan, he would have not given the incomplete version.

The following line of Susani has been quoted to illustrate the meaning of  

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2. f. 34b.  
3. f. 21a.
The same line is quoted in the Sībāhul-Fursa (p. 142) for
in the Nadar-ul-Afadil (p. 334) for and
in the Jahangiri (1 : 436) for (with the reading
This line is included in a Qasida in the
Divan-i-Suzani which opens thus:

أي بغض آرامتُن با سعد أكبر همفس
ملاح سعد الملك محمود بن اسعد كری یس

and the line quoted reads as follows:

and the line quoted reads as follows:

Obviously Qawās could not consult the Divān
otherwise which is a rhyme, could not incorrectly
be changed into . The two hemistiches of the follo-
wing line quoted to illustrate the meaning of the word
are taken from two separate lines of two
different Qasidas of Tai-i-Ridvi wrongly attributed to
Anwari. The first hemistich occurs in a Qasida in praise
of Sultan Ruqūl-Din Firūs Shāh which open thus:

ساقی بارباده کو نو روزی عالم است روز خجسته جون رخ یاد معمم است

The complete line reads as follows:

در فصل گل جو موسم سوارست باغ را آخر جرا بنفشه نشسته بانام است

1. Divan p. 222.
2. See f. 33a.
4. See Divan-i-Anwari, p. 51.
Obviously this line is not intended here because it is not illustrative of the meaning of the word 'شپن'.

The second hemistich is taken from a line occurring in the following Qasida.

The line reads as follows:

Evidently it the intended line. However it is quite clear that if the author had consulted the Divan he would have not committed this mistake.

6. Sometimes Fahhr-i-Qawāṣ has given incorrect meaning. The following examples are examined below:

The meaning of the word 'ولانه' is given (beard) and not wound which has been illustrated with the following line:

Qawāṣ has quoted this word under 'انداد آدی', the preceding word being 'بلله' meaning '路演حم', and the following word being 'میسن'.

From this it is quite evident that the word 'ولانه' which is used as the meaning of 'beard' and not wound, though the word 'ولانه' actually means 'wound' as is found in the Mafāsid 2:258, Jahāngīrī 2:66, Rashtī 2:1466, Barān p. 2290 and Masirī p. 736.

1. Divān-i-Amirī, p. 55. From this very Qasida another line is quoted under.

2. f. 31a.
In the Farhangnāma we have:

The word  غردنک آراز نام باهذ فرخی کید while the word  غردنک has been explained in the Fura p.230 and Sīhāh p. 199 respectively as follows:

غردنک نام و همکه بر دو گلو از گزه ( فرمسی ) غردنک اول آراز نام بود که از گلو بر آبد دم گزه وزارتی ( صاحب )

And in the both these lexicons Farrukhi's line is quoted by way of illustration. So far as the meanings and the illustrative line are concerned it is evident that the word  غردنک does not mean gentle voice  آراز نام as is given in the Farhangnāma. It either means the feeble and choked voice at the time of weeping, or exclusively weeping and crying itself.

The word  غوشتاد is explained in the Farhangnāma thus:

غوشتاد  جاگانه کار و انتظار ابوبکر عباس کید سمح و مرکز بهمان گرفت و دیزه فلان و بکر کاران کرد آباآباده پدر شادی

From the line it is clear that  غوشتاد means a place where cows and bulls gather together. Now one may presume that in the above statement the word  کاروان may be a wrong substitute for  کوران. But this would not hold good because in some lexicons we have  کوران. It
would be worth while to examine a few of them:

**Fura** p. 117 and **Sibāḥ** p. 31:

غوشاد جای گاوان و گوسنند ان آمده ابولا‌مس‌گود ان

The **Mī'ār-i-Jamāli** p. 99 and **Jahangīrī** 2:212 have the same meaning illustrated by a line from Fakhrī, the author of the Mī'ār.

**Munīvid-ul-Fudala** 2:34:

غوشاد بهمن جای کاروان و گوسنند ان و دیوان

**Rurban-i-Qātī** p. 1427:

غوشاد جای دورد آمدن کاروان و ثانه گاه باغید و جای خوابیدان

گاوان و گوسنند ان

From these details it is quite clear that the word غوشاد جای گاوان و گوسنند ان originally meant غوشاد جای کاروان و گوسنند ان. But in some lexicon, the word غوشاد جای کاروان and گاوان and گوسنند ان was read as غوشاد جای کاروان and گاوان and گوسنند ان, and this mistake subsequently crept into the later lexicons as another meaning of the word. It is possible that this mistake might be available in one of the sources of the **Farhangnāma**, which was copied out in this lexicon as a clear mistake and it was subsequently taken as another meaning of the word.

The word غوشاد جای گاوان و گوسنند ان has been explained in the **Farhangnāma** thus:

1. f. 49a.
In my opinion the word ُکت (meaning cot), it is not used in this latter sense. The word ُکوت which is interwoven ُکوت, has nothing to do with the royal throne. It is nothing but an ordinary cot to sleep on. The word ُکوت seems to be quite redundant. In Sihahul Furu p. 36 has been stated to mean ُکوت (throne) without the qualifying word ُکوت, with the same illustrative line from Farruhi as is quoted in the Farhangnama. The author of the Muniyid remarks:

In the Bankipur 18. of the Zafan-i-Suiva exactly the same remark is quoted. But both Zafan and Muniyid have committed an additional error by adding ُکوت to it. Besides the Sihah the Luchat-i-Furu gives its meaning as royal throne and not the sleeping cot of the Indians. The illustrative line clears the point:

1. V. 2 p. 95.
2. See the Filah-i-Nadhar, July 1962, p. 37.
The line is written by Abu Shahiur of Balkh in praise of some Iranian king to whom the Omrani day was auspicious. On this account the word 'کار' cannot be supposed to be used exclusively by Indians.

From the above discussion it is quite clear that the explanation of the word as available in the Farhangnama is not free from defect.

In the Farhangnama the word فرسب has been explained in this way:

فرسب جامه ای که بدو پام را پوشاند - رود کی گرید / با مها را فرسب خود کی از گرانیت گو شمرد بر پام

In some lexicons two meanings have been assigned to the word 'فرسب'. For example the Mafiid 2 : 48 and Barhan p. 1460 gives the following two meanings:

اول جواب سلیم که بدان لطف کند در جامه های رنگی که بجهت آرایش بود در دیوار و سقف خانه ها کشاند...*

But in the Luchat-i-Fursa p. 23 and Sikahul Fursa p. 39 only the first meaning with Rudaki's above line is given.

The line also suggests that فرسب is a hard thing which would break under heavy load. This is not possible in case of cloth. Moreover the cloth with which the roof is

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1. f. 54b.
decorated is beneath the roof and not over it. So there is no question of somebody’s standing on it. Thus it is clear that the meaning assigned to the word فرس in the Farhangnāma is not illustrated by the line quoted in it.

7. Qawwas, the author of the Farhangnāma has erred in attributing a good number of lines to wrong poets. A list of wrong attribution is given below:

1. f. 17b
   It is Susānī’s, not Rudākī’s.

2. f. 22a
   It is ‘Abul ‘Abbās’s and not Rudākī’s.

3. f. 22a
   It is ‘Asjadi’s and not ‘Unsārī’s.

4. f. 34a
   In the Fars, it is Kisaī’s and not ‘Unsārī’s.

5. f. 34b
   It is Bahrāmī’s and not Rudākī’s.

6. f. 25b
   It is either Daqīqī or Labībī’s and not Susānī’s.

1. See the Divān-i-Susānī p. 50, Jāhangīrī 1.106, 2:319, Rashīdī 2:1085, 1263 and Farhang-i-Dīkanī under
2. See the Lykbat-i-Fars p. 97 and Ashar-i-Rudakī p. 1000.
3. See the Lykbat-i-Fars p. 267 and Sīhāh p. 123.
4. Fars p. 68 but in the margin of the Fars and also in the Sīhāh p. 59 it is attributed to ‘Unsārī.
5. See the Fars p. 150 and Sīhāh p. 113.
6. See the Fars (9 Text) p. 254.
f. 33b

It is Suzani's and not Abu Sa'idi's.

f. 10a

It is 'Unsari's and not Firdausi's.

f. 34b

It is Firdausi's and not Daqiqi's.

f. 36a

It is 'Unsari's and not Firdausi's.

f. 39a

It is Mas'ud Cheznavi's and not Mas'ud-i-S'ad-i-Salman's.

f. 39b

It is Rudaki's and not Kisa'i's.

f. 40a

It is Rudaki's and not Farrukhi's.

f. 41b

It is Shakir Ruhari's and not Abu Shaikur's.

It is Abu Shaikur's and not Firdausi's.

1. See the Divan-i-Suzani p. 93 and Jahanizini p. 235.
2. See the Fura p. 343 and Sibah p. 225.
4. See the Fura p. 413 and Sibah p. 294.
5. See the Fura p. 369, Sibah p. 287, Bashidi p. 1457.
7. See the Fura p. 40, Sibah p. 46.
8. See the Fura p. 306, Sibah p. 142.
9. See the Fura p. 280, 456 and Usafi Sibah p. 370 (note).
It is 'Ursari's and not Sahib's.

It is Daqiqi's and not Ksali's.

It is Shahid's and not Banai's.

It is Farruki's and not Husravi's.

It appears to be Rudaki's; Abul Masala's authorship doubtful.

In Nadir its attribution is to Firdausi and not Kishani.

It appears to be Isma'il Rashidi. It is also attributed to Rashid and Kamal-i-Isma'il.

1. See the Furs p. 121.
2. See the Furs p. 361.
4. See the Furs p.124, Sihah p. 129, Jahangiri 1:129.
6. Ashar-i-Rudaki p.1050 (n) attributes to Abul Masal.
8. See the Furs p.357.
9. In the Text.
10. The Sihah p.238.
It appears to be of Unarsi and not of Farrukhi.

It is either of Shakir Bukhari or of Dusalik Gurgani but not of Kisi.

It is in the name of Khuravani, but in the Rashidi it is attributed to Dhaif.

It is Marufi's and not Kisi's.

It is not Firdausi's but appears to be Unarsi's, while in one MS of Sihah its author is Asjadi.

In the Sihah p. 192 F.N., as in the Farhangname it is Firdausi's; but in Furs p. 264 and Sihah p. 192 (Text) it is Abu Shakur's.

It is Labidi's and not Asadi's.

It is Abu Shakur's, not Khusravi's.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>1. See the Furs p. 137 and Surumi p. 434.</td>
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<td>2. See the Furs p. 66, Sihah p. 57.</td>
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<td>4. V. I p. 611; See also the Furs p. 140 and Sihah p. 104.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. See the Furs p. 70, Sihah p. 70.</td>
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<td>7. See the Furs p. 128.</td>
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</table>
It is Minjik's, not of Suzani.

It is Farrukhi's, not of Kisi.

It is Minjik's, and not of Khusravi.

It is also attributed to 'Amara-i-Marvazi.

It is either of Zainabi or of Farrukhi, but not of Ziri.

It is Daqiqi's, not Ruiski's.

It is of Bu Tahir Khusravi ni, not of 'Asjadi.

It is either of 'Umar or of Ummadi, but not of Farrukhi. In the Jahnari (1863) it is wrongly attributed to Khaqani.

1. See the Firis p.473; but in the Rashidi it is attributed to Resir-i-Khusrau.
3. See the Firis p.77 and Sibah p. 69.
4. See the Firis p. 144.
5. See the Sibah p.183 (Firis p.274 (n) has Zinati).
6. See the Firis p. 274.
8. See the Firis p. 5, Sibah p.29.
9. See the Sibah p. 25 (n)
f. 65a

جرم غرائم آتش بهاد الغ

It is Khosrovan'i's, not Khaqani's.

f. 65a

جرم خصمان کشف سخت الغ

Its attribution to Firdausi seems wrong.

8. A number of verses are available in the Farhang-name the authors of which have not been pointed out. A list of some of such verses is given below:

f. 10a

بد ارد نیا جون بر فروخت آسم ظلوم

Its author is Suzani. The same is quoted in the Bashidi 2: 869 and is also available in the Diwan p. 72.

f. 11a

پنجه پاربد روبای بفسرد

It is Rudaki's line.

f. 19b

جون كل سین ازمان بضغف

It is Rudaki's and is quoted in the Luchat-i-Fursa p. 310 and Sibah p. 148.

f. 21a

آگر بارند و بسوزند ودهندش بریاد

It is Labibi's, and is quoted in the Luchat-i-Fursa p. 179.

f. 25b

بر آن ساعد از سانفیس الغ

It is M'arufi's, and is quoted in the Luchat-i-Fursa p. 348 and Sibahul-Fursa p. 223.

f. 27a

سوس پرورد به بگداخته

It is Rudaki's, and is quoted in the Sibah p. 144; also see p. 1092.

f. 31a

بجاه سمدم پاز اندرب الغ

It is Shakir Bukhari's; see the Luchat-i-Fursa p. 70, Sibah p. 63.

1. See the Fursa p. 7.
9. Some time instead of the 'word' explained the word occurring in the explanation has been illustrated in the Farhangnama. Some examples are quoted below:

- سروشت - ما به طبع و باریس طبع مثل باخرد نظامی همیه - مثل چوب یوهم کننده آمیخته
  شب جراحت و آتشکه - کم شب تاب و این را جراحت نیز گویند رودکی گفته
  است - کرمکی شب تاب ناگاهی یافت -
The line quoted is an illustration of the meaning of which is an equivalent of the actual word .

10. Some of the words are misplaced in the . Here are a few examples:

The first Gun of the first appertains to the names of under which the last word is which means This is not the place of
this word. The line quoted no doubt contains the
Arabic word (Meaning Almighty):

Under the section dealing with the name of a mountain in Khurasan. Obviously on the basis
of this meaning, it should be here. But on the basis
of the other meaning it should find its place somewhere
else. This word should be explained two times and at
two different places.

Under the same meaning 1 the word meaning 1 has been quoted. This word should
be recorded under the section dealing with The fact is that the word meaning land was
explained here; and since 1 is derived from Qawsas explained it just after 1.

Under the section dealing with is quoted the word meaning a kind of grass
( with this illustrative line:

1. f. 4b
2. f. 15b
3. f. 16a
The **Farhangnāma** deals with vegetables under a separate heading and the above word should find its face there.

This is in brief some of the outstanding points in respect of the demerits of the **Farhangnāma-i-Ǧamāla**. Our discussion would remain incomplete without a brief note on the language of the **Farhangnāma**.

The **Farhangnāma** is a lexicon dealing with Persian words exclusively, and so far as I have been able to judge not a single word of 'Arabic origin is included in it. The author has attempted to use chaste Persian without the admixture of 'Arabic element. In the short preface of the book he has successfully avoided 'Arabic words (except in one or two cases); but where a Persian equivalent of the word to be explained was not available, obviously the author had no alternative but to use the popular 'Arabic word. Despite this, the simple and compound words including the technical words used in the **Farhangnāma** are dominantly of Persian origin.

The quotations from the preface already given would justify our statement. The cita occurring in the preface to the book is an example of chaste Persian:

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1. **ff. 2 - 3.**
(b) Qavvas has used technical and semi-technical words in chaste Persian. These are some of the examples:

- حمام
- نافت
- باب
- فصل
- دیلی فصل
- دار
- دادار
- کردگار
- افید کار
- آن جهان
- این جهان
- یکدیگر
- دنبالی جن دنیا

(c) The Farhangnama provides a good collection of technical and semi-technical words and of useful compounds of chaste Persian used as equivalents to the actual words explained therein, which also
proves that these were the popular forms of the period.

A comparatively longer list is quoted below:

[Text continues in Persian script]
We find an archaic tongue in the language of the Forhangnama with regard to meanings of words and their usage. In the following sentence the word "قبل" has been used in a peculiar way:

\[ \text{قبل} \]

In this sentence "قبل" means "ruler", "قبل" refers to subject and "قبل" means agreeing to pay the tributes. The purport of the sentence is:

is a tax (tribute) which a king or a ruler levies on his subject and the latter agrees to pay it and subsequently pays off.

The phrase "قبل" has exactly been used by Minhaj-i-Siraj in his Tabaqat-i-Noour thus:

1. f. 42a.
2. p. 362.
The style of the Farhangnama is simple; but in the preface we sometimes find instances of rhymed prose. Here are some examples:

The text is in a non-Latin script, likely Persian, and it continues in this format. It seems to be discussing the style of the Farhangnama.
CHAPTER V

POETICAL WORKS

OF

AMIR KHUSRAU AND HASAN DEHLAVI
The period under consideration is claimed to be very important from the literary point of view, as is evident from the following statement of Dīn Baranī relating to the period of 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khālījī:

"در عصر علی تحفیز بودند که بعد از
ابن سینا بیشتر ابن جم و زنان می ابیان
بینه ایند.

This may, however, be deemed to be an exaggeration, as no work of any poet, except Khusrav and Hasan, has come down to us. It is really sad that barring a few verses of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khālījī, Pakhr-i-Qawwas and of Khwaja 'Awaz and a line from Shahab-ud-

1. Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 341-42.
2. Muntahāb-ud-Tawārikh (p.122) gives these three fragments of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khālījī:

باشد که زیبین قدم می‌سونند
باشد که در این جانالر کس باشد
ما ای قدم برسری‌ون می‌فتد
او ودودی سوگ ول ود لدرخازید
این شکستش زان نهاده‌دم دیست
باشد کدال عکشند آساید
آن یک نوشی شتان زولیده نمی‌خواهم
آن زان چرگنارت تنفیسه نمی‌خواهم
سپر هد ده ورام یکندین کرداره‌ای
حسن بیان و بندستان پوشیده نمی‌خواهیم.
Dīn Jauharī not a single verse of any other poet of this period has survived. It is still more surprising that the Persian anthology, prepared during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tūghlāq, hardly half a century after, did not find a single poet of the Khaljī period worth quoting. This fully supports the view that Dīn-ul-Dīn Burānī’s observation could not be accepted as quite correct.

Burānī has mentioned the names of a number of poets who had flourished during the reign of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khaljī. They are Tāj-ul-Dīn ‘Irāqi, Amīr Khusrāu, Mu‘ayyid Tāj-īrani, Pīshār-i-Aibak Duago, Mu‘ayyid Divāna, Sadr-ul-Ālī, Amīr Arsalān Kulāhī Ikhtiyyar Bagh, and Tāj Khāṭīb. But except Amīr Khusrāu, nothing is known about any one of them. Sadr-ul-Ālī continued to enjoy a reputation even in the time of ‘Alā-ul-Dīn Khālji, to whose court he was attached, as has been stated by Burānī and Fīrishta. The poets of the ‘Alāi court figure more prominently in the following statement of Burānī.
Firishta has blindly drawn upon Darani. But in the printed edition of this history we find a little difference of names as for instance Abul Hakim for 'Ubaid Hakim and Shihab-ud-Din Sadr-i-Nashin in place of Shihab Ansari and Sadr-i-Rasti. And from the last sentence:

One may be inclined to hold that the copies of the Diwan of these poets were available in Firishta's time. But this was not actually so. Firishta has only copied it from Barani, without anticipating the serious misunderstanding which the statement was likely to cause.

After introducing the poets and the historians of the 'Alai regime, Dia-ud-Din Barani adds the following sentence:

From this it is obvious that besides Husrau and Hasan the seven poets mentioned by Barani were the choicest masters of their time.

From the introduction of the Jastur-ul-Afadal completed in 743 H. we gather some useful information.

1. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 341-42.
about the poetic activities of this period which may be summed up as follows:

1. **Fakhr-ud-Dīn** was an important poet and writer of this period who has been lavishly praised for his literary achievements (as spoken earlier).

2. At least one line of a poet, called Maulana Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ja’fari, has been quoted in praise of Fakhr-i-Qawās. It is quite probable that this Shihāb might be identical with the one mentioned by Barani and Firishta.

In the *Tarikh-i-Abhamad* of Muhammad Abhamad Khani composed after 633 H., a poet named Khwaja 'Avāz flourished during the regime of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khaljī. He is stated to have composed a *Fath-i-Nama* (Victory - poem) in praise of the Sultan on his conquest of the ancient fortress of Mandawar (modern Mandu) in 631 H. Of this poem only the following ten lines are quoted in the above history. It would be fruitful to quote the historian in original:

In *Tarikh-i-Abhamad* (Rotograph, Dept. of History,
It may be noted in passing that a poet named Qādī Mughith-ud-Dīn Hanswī, as stated by Barani, was attached to the court of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khaļfī. The late Prof. Maulānā Mughith-ud-Dīn Hanswī identifies this poet with one of the poets of the Persian Anthology, which was under preparation during the reign of Fīrūz Shah Tughlaq. A more careful study, however, of the poems of the Maulānā, would show that he could not be identical with Qādī Mughith of Jalāl-ud-Dīn's court. Mughith-ud-Dīn Hanswī was born in 730 H., and he wrote his panegyric in praise of Fīrūz Shah Tughlaq in 753 H., when he was just 23 years old. This clearly proves that Maulānā Mughith-ud-Dīn Hanswī had nothing to do with the Khaļfī period and

1. 'Urdū' (Journal), p. 43.
that his available poems would not shake the force of the conclusion drawn earlier. This leaves us with the fact that the Khalji period was a comparatively darker period in matter of Persian poetry.

Without going any further in these preliminary arts, it would be fruitful to consider the poetic achievements of the two great pillars of Indo-Persian regime, viz. Amir Khusrau and Rasa of Delhi, full thirty years of whose lives have coincided with this period under consideration and during which period some of their best works saw the light of day. Not belonging exclusively to this period, these poets and their achievements are proved to be treated on a comparatively broader canvas covering not only the Khalji period but also the period succeeding it.
Khusrau was one of the most wonderful geniuses India has ever produced, for he was, at once a great poet, a great sufi, a great courtier and a great musician. He was held in the highest esteem by his contemporaries, not only by his fellow country-men but even by the Iranian intellectuals. Among his most illustrious contemporaries, of India as well as Iran, he was regarded so eminent as to be beyond praise and so well-known as to need no detailed introduction.

Khusrau was of Turkish descent. His father Amir Saif-ud-Dīn Mahmūd belonged to a nomadic clan Hazar-i-Lāghin. The original home of this clan was ‘Kish’ a city in Transoxiana. This is why Amir Saif-ud-Dīn has, often been designated Amir-i-Lāghin. During the Mongol upheaval he was compelled to leave his ancestral home with the other members of his tribe. They first came to Qarshi and then came down to Balkh, whence they ultimately proceeded southward and after crossing the Indus entered India early in the seventh century A.H. First they settled

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1. Indebtedness for what follows is acknowledged to: Dr. Muhammad Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*. 
in the North-West part of India. Later on some of them moved on further east and came to Delhi. There they sought employment with the then Sultan, Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish. Among them was Khusrau's father Amir Seif-ud-Din Mahmud.

In India Amir Seif-ud-Din settled down in Patyali, now a small town in the district of Btah. He held a responsible position in the army, and was probably granted some fief there. He married the daughter of 'Imad-ul-Mulk. Three sons were born to him, the second being the famous Amir Khusrau.

Khusrau's full name was Yamin-ud-Din Abul Hasan Khusrau. He was born in 651 H./1253 AD. at Patyali. It is said that when he was born, his father wrapped up him in a cloth and took him to a saint that the child might receive his blessings. No sooner did the saint see the baby then he cried out, "O' Amir Mahmud you have brought to me one who shall surpass Khaqani himself.

Amir Mahmud was himself illiterate yet like a sensible man and thoughtful father, he could appreciate well the advantages accruing from the knowledge of letters. Wisely he made up his mind to give his son the best possible instruction. Khusrau was sent to a Maktab at an early age and some tutors were engaged to teach him at home. But he was a born poet and had
imbibed an extraordinary passion for poetry right from his very cradle. His teacher S'ad-ul-Dīn Muhammad, the calligraphist tried to teach him calligraphy, but he repeated only rhymes and composed verses.

In the beginning the teacher tried to deflect the pupil's mind from poetry, but in course of time recognising his great genius and extraordinary aptitude for versification, he seems to have not only let him have his own way, but actually encouraged him in his pursuit. He felt a reasonable pride in the prodigious genius of his young charge. Khusrav soon became his favourite, and accompanied his teacher in his visits to literary gatherings and house of the nobles, where he was patted and encouraged.

Khusrav was now firmly set on the path of poetry and proceeded space with vigour. But very soon he had to face the first great sorrow of his life. His father died about the year 659 H., when he was only eighth years old. He now came under the guardianship of his maternal grandfather 'Imād-ul-Mulk. The young poet thus grew up in luxury and ease, and passed his

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1. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was an important official during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish and was held in great esteem by the king and his courtier. Balban conferred on him the post of "Rawat-i-Ārd". He discharged the duties of "'Arīd-i-Nāmalik" as well. For detail, see Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 114-15.
youthful days in the society of great men. He listened eagerly to the learned discourses of the scholars, the artistic recitals of the poets and the melodious songs of the musicians, and found ample opportunity for exercising his own poetic talent by writing poems in praise of his grandfather's distinguished guests. It was, probably, in these early days, in the magnificent assemblies convened by 'Imād-ullāh that the poet imbibed a love for music, a science in which he later acquired great proficiency.

Khusrau does not seem to have paid much attention to the regular courses of study. There is no evidence to prove that he underwent any regular course of training in any of the colleges, or he was instructed by contemporary scholars. The only teacher of his whom he mentioned by name is the calligraphist, Kavaja S'ad-ul-Dīn Muhammad, who was apparently responsible for the elementary training of the poet. However, he knew several languages and these language were acquired through an every day intercourse with all sorts of men, Indians, Afghans, Turks and Persians, who came to seek employment as troopers in the army of the king of Delhi. He gained a fairly good knowledge of sciences, like astronomy grammar, theology

and jurisprudence during his visit to the assemblies of the learned and through a frequent association with scholars. He grasped quickly what he heard and stored it in his memory, and thus through his elaborate study managed to learn a good deal.

Even poetry he did not adopt the usual procedure of becoming a pupil to some famous master, but relied almost entirely on his own skill and natural aptitude. He studied assiduously the poetry of popular masters of his day and tried his hand at each of the various styles then commonly in vogue. In his early days he tried to imitate great masters like Anwari, Khaqani, Mighani, S'adi and others. But his native originality and genius always asserted themselves in his works.

Khusravu started his public career equipped with just an elementary knowledge of the sciences, but with an extraordinary talent for poetry, a keen appreciation of things beautiful and pleasant, and above all, ready wit and bright humour that won for him an honourable place in any assembly. He was a born courtier as he was a born poet, and he continued playing the double role almost till the very last moment of his life. His

1. Life and Works of Amir Khusrav, pp. 33-34.
poems charmed the populace and entranced nobles and princes. The eloquence and sweetness of his verses soon earned for him the title of *Tuti-i-Hind* (Indian Parrot). The peculiar composition of a gifted poet and a pleasant courtier and man of the world threw all doors open for him.

The political and social conditions of the country during the Balban’s reign, were ideal for a successful debut. Peace prevailed generally throughout the country and men thought more of poetry and learning than of war-like exploits. On the one hand there was a brilliant galaxy of scholars and savants that came in ever larger numbers to the hospitable capital of Delhi, while on the other hand an equally resplendent group of generous Malik, who vied with one another in their lavish gifts to men of letters and poets, in order to earn for themselves a distinction among their companions. Several of these nobles were eager to patronize a rising star, like Khurram. Khurram’s choice fell on the foremost and the most generous of them *‘Ala-ud-Dīn Kīshlī Khan*, popularly known as Malik Chhajju, the chief chamberlain and the nephew of king Balban. But it was not until after the death of his grandfather *‘Imād-ud-Mulk* (died in 671 H.), when Khurram was almost twenty, that the latter sought the protection of this Malik.

1. Dr. M.W. Mirza gives the name as Jhujhu, but Chhajju is correct one. See *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 131.
Malik Ghajju, both in generosity and rank, certainly excelled all his contemporaries. His power and influence as a nephew of the Sultan were vast, and his assemblies were attended by nobles and princes of the highest position. Khusrau attached himself to the court of Malik Ghajju, and through this attachment achieved wide reputation. Malik Ghajju was, however, of a very jealous temperament. One day Bughra Khan, the younger son of the Sultan, came as a guest to the house of Malik Ghajju. A party was arranged. Shams Dabir and Qadi Athir were also present there, and recited their compositions. Khusrau's verses suited the taste of Bughra Khan so well that he ordered a dish full of silver tankas to be given to the poet.

1. Barani says: there was no rivalry, jealousy or enmity among the Shamsi, Nasiri or even Balbani Malik and Khans for the sake of big feasts, abundance of wealth or high and honourable offices. All their rivalry and envy was in respect of deeds of generosity. If a khan or Malik heard that five hundred persons dined at the table of a certain Malik or Khan, he was envious and tired to feed a thousand at his table. Again, if one of them came to know that such and such Malik gives as charity two hundred tankas when he rides out, he was jealous and determined to give away four hundred tankas when he himself rode out. If one of the nobles bestowed fifty horses in his wine-party and gave robes to two hundred persons, another noble hearing this would feel jealous and would try his best to give away hundred horses and to bestow robes on five hundred persons. See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, pp. 119 - 20.
Malik Chhajju was annoyed at the acceptance of the Tankas by Khusrav, and his face at once showed signs of displeasure. This incident ended the relationship between Malik Chhajju and Khusrav.

The poet was now faced with the problem of finding another suitable patron. Bughra Khan was now the governor of Samana. He has already appreciated Khusrav's talent and naturally Khusrav thought of him in this hour of distress. He betook himself to Samana. The Prince from what he heard and had seen of the poet, was only too glad to receive him under his protection.

But soon afterwards the poet was dislodged from this refuge. He had to make the first long journey of his life. A rebellion broke out in Lakhnauti. Bughra Khan was asked to accompany the Sultan along with his followers. Thus it was that Khusrav had also to share the hardships of the arduous royal march to Lakhnauti. The rebellion was, however, quelled and Bughra Khan was appointed the governor of Lakhnauti and Bengal. The Prince wanted to detain Khusrav, but the latter could not be persuaded to remain there.

Meanwhile Prince Muhammad Qaan subsequently known as Khan-i-Shahid, the governor of Multan, came

1. Darani (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi. pp.66 - 68 ) well depicted the character of this prince.

"The Prince had inherited several of the good qualities of his father. He had none of Balban's sternness and dry puritanism. He was on the contrary a gentle and amiable man fond of poetry and music, and also of pleasure of life. His court was filled (continued on 239)
to Delhi to offer his homage and felicitations to his father Balban. As he was a great lover of poets and poetry, the Prince asked Khusrau and his friend Hasan to accompany him to Multan, and the poet readily agreed. They were assigned the posts of Mushaf-Dar and Davat-Dar respectively.

Khusrau and Hasan remained in Multan for five years till the death of the said Prince under tragic circumstances in the year 623 H. During the five years of Khusrau's stay in Multan, there were apparently several encounters with the Mongols. Ultimately, the Prince met his death at the hands of these cruel assassins. Many of his followers were killed and many were taken prisoners. Among the latter was Amir Khusrau. However, he regained his freedom very soon and returned to Multan. He and his friend Hasan composed an elegy on the sad death of the Prince, and described the campaign and its tragic end very vividly. For months the people mourned and recited the elegies written by Khusrau and Hasan.

(continued from page No. 288)

with wise men and scholars and skilful artists. His boon companions read the ShahNama, the Divan of Sanai and Khaqani, Khamsa of Nishami and learned critics discussed before him the merits of the verses of these great men. Courteous and polite, the Prince was one of the most cultured men of his time. He knew well how to appreciate merit and how to reward it. Never did an abusive word profane his lips and he was never immoderate in drinking wine. He was respectful towards persons of sanctity and would stand in an humble posture in their presence. He was extremely fond of poetry and had a very good taste and a refined judgement. See also Tarikh-i-Piriabta (Vol. I). pp. 78 - 79.
From Multan Khusrau came back to Delhi and later on settled in Patyali. On Kaiqubād's succession to the throne of Delhi in 635 H., the poet was invited to the royal court. Khusrau, however, ignored and avoided the invitation for sometime. He was afraid of the cunning and powerful minister Malik Nīgham-ud-Dīn, who practically ruled the kingdom. Meanwhile Khusrau attached himself to Malik 'Ali Sarjāndār known as Nātim Khān. The latter true to his reputation, heaped favours upon the poet. When the Khān was appointed governor of Oudh, Khusrau also accompanied him, but left the place after two years and returned to Delhi.

Bushra Khān, while in refuge at Lakhnauti, had heard of the black deeds of Nīgham-ud-Dīn, the reckless life of his son, and the growing discontents all over the country. He made up his mind to gain the throne of Delhi, and marched from Lakhnauti towards the Capital. The King also with his nobles arrived there and encamped opposite his father's army. However, the conflict ended happily. Khusrau was also present there and was an eye witness to the whole episode which he subsequently immortalised into his poems the Qīrān-us-Ṣ'adain composed in 638 H. He, henceforth, became the poet laureate of Kaiqubād.
In 689 H. Jalāl-ud-Dīn Firūz Shah Khalji was crowned king. He was a poet himself and was a great admirer of Khosrau’s poetry. Khosrau, as a court poet, passed automatically into Jalāl-ud-Dīn’s service even when he was only a regent. On being enthroned, he bestowed the rank of Mushaf-Dār and the special robe of ‘Amārat’ admitting into the circle of his boon companions. He also granted the poet a pension of 1200 Tankas annually. Khosrau composed the Mathnawi ‘Miftah-ul-Futūh’ for him.

Jalāl-ud-Dīn was killed in the year 696 H. and his nephew and son-in-law ‘Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji ascended the throne of Delhi. Khosrau had already entered into the service of ‘Ala-ud-Dīn, and accompanied the king in his great expeditions. ‘Ala-ud-Dīn was almost illiterate and consequently had little regard for learning and scholarship and did not patronize the literary men as generously as his predecessors had done.

However, even confirmed Khosrau in the office of Mushaf-Dār conferred upon him by Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalji and Khosrau used to receive one thousand Tankas annually.

2. Ibid, pp. 197 - 98.
'Ala-ud-Dīn's reign of twenty years had been the most productive period of Khusrau's life. He completed his third Divān and wrote the well-known Khamsa and attained perfection and maturity in his poetry, and his fame reached not only every corner of India, but also Iran and Transoxiana.

After the death of 'Ala-ud-Dīn in 715 H., his son Mubārak Shāh, a youth of twenty, occupied the throne of Delhi in 716 H. He passed his time in revelry and jollity, drinking wine and listening to music. Poets and musicians received huge rewards and Khusrau was one of the earliest among the former to win royal favours. On the royal suggestion, Khusrau undertook the task of writing the history of the king's reign, and soon completed the wonderful Mathnawi Mubārak.

Mubārak Shāh was assassinated by his favourite slave, Khusrau Khan in 721 H. After a four-month reign of terror, Malik Tughlaq sat on the throne of Delhi with the title of Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn in 721 H. Tughlaq Shāh was a pious and virtuous man, He soon won the hearts of all the subjects and restored order and peace throughout the dominion. He treated Khusrau more kindly and the poet was once more prosperous in his reign than he had ever been before. In 734 H., he made his last journey to the far eastern province of Lakhnauti with Tughlaq Shāh. Meanwhile he received the news of the death of
his master Misham-ud-Din Aulia. The sad news of the final and irrevocable separation after years of love and friendship broke the heart of the aged poet. He rent his garment, blackened his face and betook himself to the grave of the Shaikh. However, he did not survive him longer, and died only a few months after, on Friday night, the 29th of Dulaqad 725 H., and was buried at the foot of his master's grave.

Khusrau's relation with Hadrat Musham-ud-Din Aulia—

Khusrau became the disciple of the famous saint Shaikh Musham-ud-Din Aulia in 671 H. at the age of twenty. He was known to the Shaikh from his early youth and always had a great regard and respect for him. So it was with real pleasure and affection that he received Khusrau when the latter called upon him to enroll himself in the growing circle of his disciples. The Shaikh conceived a strong liking for Khusrau. He gave him the title of Turk-Allah. It is said that he had remarked "I hope on the day of


2. According to some biographers, Khusrau became a disciple of the sheik when he was only eight years of age; but it is not correct, see Life and Works of Amir Khusrau, p. 112.
judgment, to be exonerated of all blame by the fire
that burns in the heart of this Turk." Great attach-
ment developed between the master and the pupil. Khusrau
was such a favourite that other disciples sought Khusrau's
intercession to obtain favours from the Shaikh.
Many stories are told about Khusrau and his
master. A more acceptable version is that the 'Saint'
took out from under his bedstead a dish full of sugar
and scattered it over the poet's head, so that a sweetness,
strange and super-natural crept into his poetry.
Although the poet had achieved the highest
perfection in his poetry long before he became a disciple
of the Shaikh, his association with him gave it a new
strength and vigour. Henceforth, his heart was set on
things beyond sordid worldly intrigues and ambitions.
Although, he continued to sing the praises of kings and
princes all his serious thoughts dwelt in the realm of
spiritual bliss and ecstasy.
The Shaikh on his side had the highest regard
for the great pupil. His kindness and affection were a
source of great strength for Khusrau. It helped him to
bear with patience the sorrows and bereavements of which
Khusrau had his full share.

1. Tadhkira-ut-Shu'ira, p. 239. Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II
Khurasan was one of those few lucky authors who live long enough to see their fame spread far and wide, and to have the satisfaction of their worth being recognised by their contemporaries and to be able to visualise the prospects of an ever-increasing popularity and renown. He had, moreover, the good fortune of being able to collect and arrange most of his works during his lifetime.

There is a considerable amount of discrepancy among the various versions given by biographers as to the number and volume of Khurasan's works. The contemporary historian Barani is vague on this point. According to Jami, one of the oldest authorities on the subject, the number of works was ninety-nine and he has been followed by other biographers. Daulat Shah asserts that Amir Khurasan himself has said in the course of his writing that his verses amount to less than five hundred thousand but more than four hundred thousand. Amin Razi, in his Haft-Iqlim expanded this number up to one hundred and ninety-nine. But these assertions are not free from

1. Barani says, "He has written a whole library in Prose and Poetry". See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p.359.
Most of his works have come down to us and is some of his works are really lost, they would be very very few indeed. Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan has attempted to give a list of forty-five works in which some are spurious and some are not independent books but part of a book.

I would now turn to a short consideration of Khusrau's works that exist to-day in their more or less complete forms in the various libraries of the world. The works may be classified under the following heads:

(a) **Five Devans i.e.**
   1. Tuhfat-us-Sigher
   2. Wast-ul-Hayat
   3. Churrat-ul-Kamal
   4. Daqaq-i-Naqiya
   5. Dihayat-ul-Kamal.

(b) **The Historical Poems i.e.**
   6. Qiran-us-S'adain
   7. Miftah-ul-Futuh
   8. Khur Ram and Deval Rani
   9. Nuh-Siphr
   10. Tughlaq-Nama.

(c) **The Khamsa i.e.**
   11. Matla'-ul-Amwar
   12. Shi'In-wa-Khusrau
   13. Aina-i-Sikandari
   14. Baght Bihisht
   15. Lalha-wa-Hajmoon.

(d) **Divan-i-Chasaliyat.**
   **Prose works :**
   16. Khusain-ul-Futuh
   17. Afdal-ul-Fund
   18. I'jas-i-Khusravi.

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2. This book is, however, doubtful as discussed in preceding
**Tubfat-us-Sihar**

The **Tubfat-us-Sihar** is the first collection of Khusrav's poems which were made about the year 671 H., at the instance of his friend and patron Taj-ul-Din Zaid. It contains the poems which the poet composed from the age of sixteen to nineteen.

The Diwan comprises thirty five Qasidas, five Tarjii's and Tarkib bands, several fragments, and a short Mathnawi descriptive of the poet's unpleasant experiences in the Afghan fortress. Most of the Qasidas are in praise of Ghiyath-ul-Din Balban and his son Prince Mohammad Qa'an, while others were written for some of the nobles of Balban's court, like Hatin Khan, Haman-ul-Din Kishli Khan, Shams-ul-Din, Qasim-ul-Mulk and Aziz-ul-Din etc. One of the Tarkib-bands is an elegy of his grandfather 'Imad-ul-Mulk, while another is a dirge on the death of two pet birds of the poet.

Khusrav in these early poems tried to imitate Khaqani, the great master of Persia. Though he may not have succeeded fully, he gave his poems a grandeur, a flow and a rhythm that characterises the poems of Khaqani.

Anvari and Sanai were the two other masters that Khusrav tried to emulate in his earlier days. There are a number of poems in the **Tubfat-us-Sihar** that are evidently written on the model of Anvari.
The second collection of Khusrav's poems was made by the poet himself in his thirty-second year. It contains a preface, fifty-eight Qasidas, eight Tarjī's and several fragments and quatrains making a total of 3441 verses in all.

The preface written in the same style at that of the first Divān is quite long and supplies a few more details about the poet's career.

This collection, too, was made at the requests of his friends who having preserved carefully his poems, odes and mathnavis handed over to the poet to be arranged in their present form. The introductory verses also in the Divān, and has made use of certain other artifices in the poems contained in it.

Among the Qasīdas are Hukm-ul-Hikam, Alam-ul-Din, Ashar-ul-Anwar and Miswahat-ur-Ruh, while the Tarjī'at contain 'Ain-ul-Ma'ani, Ruyat-ul-Hilal and Nadīqat-ul-Hidagat. Most of the Qasidas are in praise of martyr prince Sultan Muhammad Qaum. Other Qasidas are in praise of God, the Prophet, Misām-ul-Dīn Aulia, Balban, Khāqān Baghra Khan, Nūhrīr-ul-Dīn Kīhī Khan, Shams-ul-Dabīr, Tāḥ-ul-Dīn Alp and Jalāl-ul-Dīn Fīrūz Shah Khalji etc. Hukm-ul-Hikam describes the catastrophe at Multan and the poet's own captivity Miswahat-ur-Ruh depicts the
rigours of the journey in the hot weather. Among the
Tarjis Nos. 6, 7 and 8 are elegies on the death of Prince
Muhammad, Nos. 1, 2 and 3 addressed to the same Prince,
No. 4 is a poem written on the accession of Kuiqubad and
No. 5 is addressed to Kishli Khan.

The Tarjis are followed by forty-two fragments
of varying length and on diverse topics, some of them
addressed to contemporary persons of rank.

Khusrau in this Diwan, too, has followed closely
to the footsteps of Khaqani. The elegies have also their
inspiration from Khaqani's elegies, but Khusrau has given
them a pathos and an indigenous odour that mark them out
as entirely his own. He has also tried his hand at the
new style of Kamil of Isphahan and acquired a great
proficiency in it.

CHURRAT - UL - KAMAL

It is the third and in several respects the
most important of Khusrau's five Divans. It was collected
by the poet in the year 633 H., and it contained poems
composed between 625 H. and 633 H. The poet was helped
and encouraged in the task by some of his friends.

The Diwan like the two preceding ones has been
supplied with introductory verses and a preface which
gives briefly the outline of the poet's biography. It
contains, moreover, some very interesting discussion about the merits of poetry, the preference of Persian poetry over Arabic, the merits of the language and verses of India, the different kinds and classes of poetry and various methods of acquiring mastery over this art. The poet also speaks of his own accomplishments and of some new ideas and artifices introduced by his into poetry.

The Divān has got more than ninety Qasidas and Tarjīs, nine Mathnāvis, numerous fragments and quatrains. The Qasidas contain some of the finest specimens of Khusrāw's poetry. Several of them have been written as replicas to famous poems of Anwārī, Khaqānī, Zahir Faryābī and Kamāl Isfahānī but there are many more which are original.

Among the Qasidas are:

(1) Jannat-un-Mīrān written in imitation of Sanā'ī and containing the praise of God, the poet's conception of Him, and his idea about religious beliefs and practices.

(2) Mīrāt-un-Safa, a well known poem being a replica to Khaqānī "Shūniyya". The poem is written in a didactic strain, and is a very long one. The central theme is the praise of the Prophet.
Darya-i-Abşar, another famous poem, that excited the praise and jealousy of his contemporaries and successors, has for its main theme the eulogy of Shaikh Nidham-ud-Dīn Aulia.

Nidham-ud-Dīn Durrer, and another poem in a marked didactic strain. Other Qasidas are mostly panegyrics addressed to Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalji, his son Arkali Khan and Ibrahim Qadar Khan, 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji and his brothers Ala-ud-Dīn Hatim Khan and some other contemporary nobles.

The Tarjīs contain a very fine poem written in imitation of a poem of Khaqānī containing the praise of the Prophet, a panegyric named Nur-ud-Nur addressed to Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalji on the birth of a son, an elegy on the death of prince Mahmud Khan-i-Khana, oldest son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khalji, another on the death of the poet's own son Muhammad.

The Mathnawi includes Miftāḥ-ul-Futūh, a long letter addressed to Taj-ud-Dīn Zāhid written in 676 H. from Oudh, comprising 263 verses. The Parās-Nāma is a very humorous and interesting poem, written in an easy flowing style, addressed to Amir Qalī Sarjandār (Hatim Khan) describing the plight of the horse given by the
noble to the poet, and requesting the gift of another; short poem describing the splendour of certain princely structures and a very small but original 'sonnet' addressed to a fan.

The fragments, as usual, are of various lengths and treat of very diverse topics. They are followed by Rubais and then comes a collection of Ghazals. The Qasida in Ghurra are some of the finest poems of Khusrau and display an elegance, a flow and a charm that is really wonderful. The imitation of the older masters have in some cases excelled the originals in sheer grandeur and pathos and have equalled them in artistic phraseology, while some of the original poems are among the best poems of Persian.

The book opens with the poems in praise of God and the Prophet, and contains a large number of lyrics arranged in alphabetical order. The number of quatrains is also very large and some of them are in the Shahr-i-Aghub style, a novel feature of Khusrau's works.

The fourth collection of Khusrau's poems was made by the poet himself about the year 716 H. He started on the old plan, wrote a preface and the introductory verses, and made a collection of Qasidas, Tarjis, fragments, quatrains and some short Mathnavis. The preface
was written in a new style which Khusrau had recently evolved in which passages of varying length are composed with analogies drawn from different things and topics.

The preface begins, as usual, with the praise of God and the eulogy of the Prophet followed by the encomium of his Shaikh. Then comes a self-laudatory passage.

The contents of Divan, as the poet himself says in a fragment, are sixty-three Qasidas, six Tarjis, one hundred and sixty-five couplets of Mathnavis, two hundred fragments, five hundred and seventy Ghasals and three hundred and sixty quatrains.

The Qasidas are mostly in praise of 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji; some are addressed to Mubarak Shah Khalji, while still a few are in praise of the contemporary nobles like Almas Beg, Ulugh Khan, Taj-ud-Dīn Dabīr, 'Ilm-ud-Dīn, Nasir-ud-Dīn and others. Some of these poems are evident imitations of older masters. But most of them are original in style and are perfect specimens of Khusrau's improved art.

Of the six Tarjis three are addressed to 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji; one is an elegy on the death of the latter; the fifth is in praise of his brother Almas Beg and the sixth is another elegy written on the death of Nasir-ud-Dīn Mahmūd. The Mathnavi contains a poem addressed to
'Ala-ud-Dīn Khaljī on the occasion of Khizr Khan’s marriage, while another is addressed to the same king. The poet complains of the neglect accorded to him and requests for a royal favour.

The Ghazals begin with a "Hamd" and occupy almost 417 folios. The quatrains are quite numerous, and some of them are very fine.

**NIHAYAT - UL - KANĀL**

The fifth and the last collection of Khusrau’s works and poems were made by him about the close of his life after the death of Ghiyath-ud-Dīn Tughlaq Shah. It is preceded by a very short introduction consisting of the praise of God and the Prophet and an eulogy of Nidham-ud-Dīn Aulia written in an ornate style. The book contains twenty-two Qasidas, five Tarīs, four short Mathnavis and a number of fragments and Ghazals.

The first Qasida is in the praise of God, the second for the Prophet and his four companions, the third names "Nabit-un-N'at" is an eulogy of Shaikh Nidham-ud-Dīn Aulia; while the following five are long poems in a moralising tone, outlining the proper significance of love and the ideal of virtuous conduct etc. The rest of the Qasidas are panegyrics on Mubārak Shah Khaljī, his successor Ghiyath-ud-Dīn Tughlaq and the latter’s son Muhammad Tughlaq, Prince Bahrām, Prince Ibrāhīm and some
of the great men of the time. Two of these poems are specially interesting. One of them named Sahifat-ul-Ausaf addressed to Muhammad Tughlaq describes the charm of Deogir, while the other addressed to Saiyid Taj-ud-Din is a vehemnet protest against a charge of disrespect towards the Prophet’s family levelled against the poet by his opponents.

Of the Tarjis, one is an elegy on Mubarak Shah Khalji, two are panegyrics on Ulugh Khan, Prince Juna (afterwards Muhammad Tughlaq). Another is addressed to the new king and describes the splendour of his coronation, while the fifth is a touching elegy on the death of his own son Taj.

The first Mathnavi is a condolatory letter addressed to Taj-ud-Din who appears to have lost his son, his mother and brother during a short space of time. The second is addressed to Qutb-ud-Din Mubarak Shah, the third to Ghiyath-ud-Din Tughlaq on the completion of Tughlaqabad citadel, while the fourth is a reply to a letter of Taj-ud-Din Sipah-Dar son of Shams-ud-Din.

The Mathnavis are followed by fragments some of which are really interesting.

The Ghazals appear to be not entirely a new collection, but simply a selection from those included in the previous Divans with the addition of some new ones.
Then follow a number of quatrains on varied topics. Some of the Qasidas of this Divan are written in imitation of old masters of Persian poetry.

**QIRAN - US - S'ADATHI**

It is the first long historical Mathnavi written by Khusrav, at the request of Kaikobad, son of Bugha Khan. It was completed in 683 H., when the poet was only 36 years old. The central theme of the poem is the quarrel between Kaikobad and his father Bugha Khan and it is written in the hexametre Sari' the metre of the Nakhan-ul-Asrar of Nighani.

Though the theme of the poem was not a very attractive one, however the poet succeeded wonderfully well in hiding the defect by his pen-pictures, and tried to infuse a new spirit into the old art of Mathnavi-writing. He introduced a new and original pattern of "Abiati Silsila" to serve as headings for the different chapters, and added a number of Ghazals in the Mathnavi. The poem is a charming and interesting one, and it has a great aesthetic and historical importance. For example, it throws light on such topics as description of Delhi, the punishment of the Mongols, the triumphant arches, singing girls and musical instruments etc. In fact the Mathnavi is one out of the finest poems of Khusrav, and critics hold a high opinion about it.
Tuglaq - Ibra

It is the fifth historical mathnavi of Khusrau (the other three have been considered in detail in the preceding chapter), dealing with the events of the short reign of Ghiyath-ud-Din Tuglaq.

KHAISA

In his later career Khusrau attempted to rival Nizami of Ganja by imitating the latter's collections of five Mathnavis, called jointly "Punj-Ganj" or "Kamsa" under the title of Khamsa, because of which he acquired an extraordinary fame both in India and outside it. Khusrau's Khamsa are the following five mathnavis:

MATLA' -UL- AIMAR

The Matla' -ul- Aimar is a reply to Nizami's Mahzan-ul-Ainar, completed in 698 H., in a couple of days. It was written in the same metre as its prototype, and deals almost with the same theme. The total number of verses, as indicated by the poet himself, are three thousand three hundred and ten divided into twenty chapters.

The poem opens with the praise of God, followed by the praise of the Prophet and panegyrics on Nizami-
Dīn Auliya and 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji. The poet explains that he proposes to write about the law, the path of the truth, and shows in the first chapter (Maqāla) the superiority of man over all the other creatures. The second chapter is devoted to the elucidation of the need and advantage of knowledge and discrimination between real scholars and imposters. In the third chapter the poet explains the virtues of speech and the way to utilise this gift. The fourth chapter deals with the unity of God and the five principles of Islam, while an explanation of piety forms the theme of the fifth chapter. The sixth chapter outlines the path of virtue and sufism. In the seventh chapter the poet speaks about various virtues. The eighth chapter deals with love and the nineth with friends and friendship. The tenth deals with duties towards relatives parents and children. The eleventh extols the importance of generosity, while the twelfth consists of counsels to soldiers and warriors and the thirteenth to kings and princes. The fourteenth chapter deals with honesty and dishonesty and the poet is very critical of the dishonest. In the fifteenth, mercy, gentleness and patience have been praised. The sixteenth deals with youth and old age. The eighteenth and nineteenth deals with the transitory nature of the world. In the last chapter the poet sets a code of conduct for the women in general.
SHIRIN - U - KHUSRAU

It is the second poem of the Khamsa which is a reply of Nizami's Shīrīn-u-Khusrau. It was completed in 698 H. The poem consists of four thousand one hundred and twenty four couplets, and was composed in the same metre as its model. The poem differs in detail from Nizami's poems.

The work opens, as usual, with the praise of God and the Prophet and an eulogy on Nizām-u-Dīn Aulia including an encomium on 'Ala-u-Dīn Khilji to whom the poem is dedicated. Then the poet explains the mysteries of the Universe and the importance of love. The story begins with the death of Humay and the accession of Khosrau.

The poet relates in the poem the old romance, in such a highly artific style, that it is a good match to its prototype. At times Khusrau proved to be a greater dramatist and a more skilfull painter of character than Nizami.

LAILA - U - MAJNUN

It is the third poem of Khamsa which was completed in 699 H. It was written after the poem of Nizām in the metre as its model, and contains two thousand six hundred and sixty couplets. The poet tried his utmost to emulate
the style of the old master of Persia as closely as possible, but the story slightly differs from Mīdhami's version.

The poem opens with the praise of God, the praise of the Prophet and the eulogy on Mīdham-ud-Dīn Aulia and Āla-ud-Dīn Khāliji.

The story begins with the birth of Mājnum, his education in a school, his meeting with the charming girl Laila and his love with her. The poet then narrates the story in detail. At the end of the story the poet moralizes on the transitory nature of the world, which follows with the description of his own double loss, the death of his mother and younger brother. Then the poet compares his own poem with Mīdhami's and acknowledges the greatness of that master. Towards the conclusion he gives the date of composition of the poem and the number of verses.

The poem is of course, very simple and its style is tender, and consequently it is the finest poem of Khusrau. The poet succeeded in proving himself to be as a great student of psychology of love and emotion.

ĀTHA - I - SIKANDARI

It is the fourth poem of Khamsa in imitation of Mīdhami's Sikandar-Nama. The poem contains four thousand and forty-five couplets, and was completed in 699 H. The
metre of the poem is the same as its prototype.

This poem also, as usual, begins with "Hami", "N'at" the praise of Sheikh Niğham-ud-Dīn Aulia and then of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji. It follows the poets description of the merit of poetry. Then he mentions the order in which he composed the poems of Khamsa. He refutes the assertion made by Niğhami that Alexander was a prophet describing him as a saintly person. Then he gives some counsel to his son Hāji, and gives an abstract of the whole story treated in the poem. The poet concludes with a long epilogue in which he speaks of his achievements, laments the passage of time and the advent of his old age, gives the date of the poem and the number of verses.

Though the poet tried his best to imitate the great master of Persia, in fact, he has been less successful here. The poem lacks that vigour which Niğhami's poem abundantly possesses. Khusrau also changed the theme slightly.

HASHT - EIHISET :

It is the fifth and last poem of Khamsa, and may very favourable be compared with its prototype, namely Niğhami's "Haft-Pakhir". Shibli has rightly pointed out that its perfections lies in its and in this respect no Persian Mathnavi would match with it.
who could easily be ranked with the foremost masters of Persian poetry, such as Khaqanī, Anvari, Nighrī, Sādī and Hāfizh. Fortunately enough there has been written about Khusrau's achievements as a poet and it would not be possible for me to add anything new to what has been written by scholars like Shibli Nu'mānī, Sa'īd Ahmad of Marahra and Dr. M.W. Mirza and others. I would, therefore, do no better than summarise some of the outstanding characteristics of his poetry especially his lyrical poetry in which he has excelled most. Though it is a fact as Dr. M.W. Mirza points out that it is not possible to point out exactly the fine qualities of Khusrau's lyrics, yet a few suggestions may be made here as to the salient characteristics that have imparted them a unique dignity.

Khusrau was a junior contemporary of Sa'īdī, the first great master of lyrical poetry. By his great genius Khusrau succeeded to stand on equal footing with him and displayed all those qualities which are essential for lyricism. He made the best choice of metres. He selected only those metres in which lyrical compositions assume the most beautiful form. Khusrau was a scholar of music

1. See Sh'ir-ul-'Ajam, (Vol. II), pp. 110-191
2. See, Hirat-i-Khusrau.
and like a great artist he knew how to create melody by the combination of words and the adoption of metres and thus succeeded in producing greater harmony and melody in his poetry. The following verses would have as examples:

سردارم که سلمان نست اورا
فراس کودم غر رز آزانه
به راه انتظام هست چشی.

می ند بیتی از میان برداشت
دن کوی و کار اجنه
این بیتی که کان برداشت
به انتظار داد کرد ابرو.

وان صباغی دائم میان مه
کننم که امر کری اوز دل
دل برداشت نم و لیک.

عاشیق را چگو نانه، باز چنبد
گر شهابین عاشک اباد
که مردی شنیده ام محمود.
Pathos is the essential element of the lyrical poetry. The other distinguishing feature of Khushrau poetry is a successful depiction of his pathos in his lyrical poetry. The strong and amorous feelings of lovers have been effectively painted in his poetry. Khushrau's imagination could paint in strong colours all the painful situations which arise in the life of a lover.
All lyrical poetry is of a subjective nature.

Lyric is the best medium of expression for the inner feelings of a loving heart. A lover has a world of his own in which he passes from the extreme of pleasures to the extreme of pain. Only a master mind can succeed to describe so many secret feelings of a human heart. Khurshid has made a remarkable achievement to give utterances to the so many secret emotions of man-kind, for instance:

Jahan zeen par danish mein
Darsha dadi r darjaji mero
Greni adho gho bho mera
Ham dard hoon bho dard bho mero

Khoon main kaha mera
Yo pade, yo pyala, yo
Ahat mat raheyo mera
Ahat bolo yah shudh, bolo yah tare

Mera loh kaha mera
eel khud par shudh, el khud par
Ahat mat raheyo mera
Ahat bolo yah shudh, bolo yah tare
Khusrau invented a fresh expression for every fresh idea. His fancy captured so many ideas which were novel and striking and which had not crossed the imagination of other masters before him.
Khusrau invented a fresh expression for every fresh idea. His fancy captured so many ideas which were novel and striking and which had not crossed the imagination of other masters before him.
There is very little scope to use intricate similes and metaphors in the lyric. Khusrav, by his genius, overcomes the difficulty and makes a free use of the finest similes and metaphors.
Lyrical poetry deals with the theme of love. It is not easy to use the common place language in the intensely emotional forms of verse. Khosrau makes a bold experiment to use extraordinary conversational styles in his lyric. He has freely introduced the phrases and proverbs of common men without disturbing the charm of his poetry.

مليانی که فلاشی به جن می‌خورد
همین باد من کم کشته زندانی کرده
از کجا آمدی این باد که دیوانه هدیه
ون گل فیضت که از آسمان این به جویم‌کشت
مشبه سفیدیه نقده، همیشه جه کم
که زاده‌ور نر جسم به‌سوی هر افتاد
زوجت کاروان‌های سرمائی خارج کنار هد
مسلمانان کسی نیست، است کاندربه‌مان، افتاد

بی‌بی مورها آن‌ها ترچین دل رسن بست
به‌گرم چه خواهی کرد که فرگون کار بین آید
س آخر زندگی کرون گر در باری هدن غنی
ترب ملک ناک یا، با آنتار می‌گرم
از بی‌بی‌ها، لالد جنال تم مزند
صد بار لالد بر دین، پایستین زده است
ای گی دهن رنگ بند، دنا گر چرخ‌های
گل با تونی ماهن در هر خمین مگر چرخ‌های
در من‌می‌گرم برم هاکت اللاء جنال، دیدن
ما من‌می‌گرم، رنگ سرا، جلال‌الله، که آن‌های شد
زین توش مسی و بی‌حیم کان سخن، چه بود
Khusrau seems to have studied every situation which arises in the affairs of love. For the lovers every situation and event is full of significance and has as much importance as the event of a history. The situation facing the lovers are sometimes happy and sometimes melancholy. The following example may serve as a specimen of "Musaebini" or "Rasheed Bindi".
CONTINUITY OF THEM.

A lyric is composed of verses in which every idea is confined to one single verse in the finished and final form. Continuity of ideas is not generally maintained in the lyric. An idea grows into the highest emotional pitch in one and the same verse. But Khusrau takes liberty to write a continuous type of lyric, in which the same idea is sustained in many verses, a few specimens of such lyrics are quoted as under:

ای صبا به تو نه حاشیہ جو ای گلدی و آن گلدی و آن خنجھکے جندان جونست
باگی م تہر اور این دی خوری اور اور برف و آن زلف بھیشان جونست
جذب بدھو کے ہمپار نپھنڈ مست ایثمہ جنیحیں کہ دیوانہ کندان جونست
ریا زرگر یہ غار کانجی چو خوا آیہ کہ دیوانہ من پہنی ایشان جونست
ریازنامہ کہ دیوانہ کندان ریزدی بیان
بارب آن بیسی کوشک یئند یئند جونست
هم بیجان وسرجاناں کہ گنپی پنگری
کوہسی پنگری جان رائست کہ جان جونست

مہ د من روزیان شکر ستان دارد ای خو اپنوزه کہ جانر لی جانان دارد
لب مل کوئی دیہان بیشتر ہست مست ای مسلمان کہ روزی بڈن ہیشدار
حضر گوری اس آید این دی رنو جنیں کہ پر خورا کہ جشنی جوشان دارد
خون من مصور آئیزمنہ بنیان نیست من گنفم کہ جود اوروزہ بینیان دارد
جلک ہی کوئی تو کنن یئند یئند نہ کر ندن آپ دوجھودن بیجان دارد
بله، کل سمت یاده باید کر گرفته شود. در این اثر، ساختی بر جهت یاده‌ی برقراری، دانگاه سه‌گانه سمت راست بالaten

بیستان بر جرک گرفته‌اند، سه‌گانه در جرک گرفته‌اند. آن‌ها، دلاله بر فرود زبان یاد می‌شود، در سر گ
غنجه در ببیر، فاصله‌ی را بی‌بلو. سه‌گانه در جرک گرفته‌اند، بیستان بر جرک گرفته‌اند. آن‌ها بر جرک گرفته‌اند.

خوا هیچ فاصله‌ی با است. بیستان را بر جرک گرفته‌اند. گذشته آنتزا نه‌یت نه‌یت کرد.

روی گذ شش‌گانه گرفته‌اند.
HASAN SIJZI DEHLAVI

Another outstanding literary figure of this period after Amir Khusrau, is Hasan Dehlavi. Although, Hasan does not rise to the height of Khusrau, nevertheless, his individuality and his independent literary status is firmly established. During his lifetime he enjoyed an ideal companionship with Amir Khusrau and their names are mentioned together. It seems as if the entire literary output of both of them was the fruit of their mutual understanding. It is not possible to separate their names while discussing the intellectual attainments of any one of them. Both shine with equal brilliance on the horizon of medieval Indian literature and culture. Their names inspire equal degree of respect among the poets and intellectuals of Persian speaking regions outside India. The outstanding personalities of Iran show Hasan the same respect as they do towards Amir Khusrau. According to Daulat Shah Samarqandi the lyrics of Hasan served as a pattern for the great writers of Iran, and none of them succeeded to rival him.

Hasan had been ranked with S'adi, Kamal and Hafish by the

1. Tadkarat-ush-Shu'ira, p. 249.
above historian in the following remarks:

If it was the credit of Khusrau to be called Tuti-i-Hind, it was no less significant that Hasan was termed as S'adi-i-Hindustan.

Hasan was born in Badaun, as a verse in one of his Qasidas indicates:

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مرورد فضل ابزدش ارشاد عبیش مرشد
برده بلدیون ورد بدلی منشا داشته
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His birth took place in the year 652 H./1255 A.D. His full name was Najm-ud-Din Hasan. He used Hasan as his pen name. His father was Ala-ud-Din, who migrated from Sijistan to settle in India as Hasan himself says:

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من از فضلای سیستان
گویه وهم از توس ستان
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1. As is referred by 'Abd-us-Salam Nadvi, in an article, "Hasan Dehlvi", published in Na'arif (Urdu), A'zamgarh, Dec. 1934.
2. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 360.
3. Divan-i-Hasan Sijri, p. 20. The editor of Naima'ul-Fusaha writes 651 H., as the year of his birth and gives the following verse by the way of illustration:

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کترن کس ششم در تاریخ مرایی ره، آدم نودی، و جهار
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4. Naima'ul-Fadak, p. 43. Nafudhat-i-Sulai, p. 47. Sprenger, the catalogue of the Oudh Library, also supported the same name.
This is fully supported by the Gulshan-i-Abhar.

"..."

This is why Hasan appends with his name the title Hasan-i-

'Ala-i-Sijzi in Fawaid-ul-Fusul.

No record is available to prove the date of his

family's arrival in India, nor it is clear where they first settled. But since Hasan was born at Busaun, we have reasons to believe that his family must have settled at this impor-
tant centre, for some time. From Hasan's verse it is also clear that at an early age he was somehow transferred to

Delhi. This may lend support to the belief that his father might have temporarily or otherwise migrated to Delhi.

Hasan was brought up and received his elementary

education and training in Delhi, the then metropolis of

Islam and a great centre of learning in that age. But it seems he did not get good opportunity to continue his training and education at an early age. For he is seen seeking an employment in army and leading rather a careless

life. But he cherished poetic ambitions in his first youth.

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1. Gulshan-i-Abhar, p. 43.
2. Hasan-i-'Ala-i-Sijzi literally means Hasan son of 'Ala of

Sijistan. 'Ala is an abbreviation of his father's name

'Ala-ud-Din. The Iqafat between Hasan and 'Ala is used to
denote father's name. The usual bin or Ibn (son of) being
omitted. Hasan's father was a native of Sijistan (Sistan)
and was on that account called Sijzi. Faulty transcription
is responsible for this word being converted into Sanjari.
The following couplet in Fawaid-ul-Fusul (p. 43) can rhyme
properly only if this word is read as Sijzi:

صفحى كه جمعکرد، تختی اعتبار
حسن علا سنجری، یک از امدادگران

and generally acquired perfection in it. It was however, at an advanced age that Hasan turned towards receiving the instruction in Islamic sciences. He acquired good knowledge in the science of Hadīth, Tafsīr and Fiqh. He also studied Persian language and literature and gained perfect mastery in it. He had command both over Persian prose and poetry and had succeeded to cultivate his own style. The abundant use of Arabic words, phrases and quotations are also a proof of his profoundness in Arabic language. Borani mentions that the historical knowledge of Hasan was equally authentic.

Hasan was extremely distinguished among his contemporaries for his cultivated manners. Every writer of his time praised him for his high degree of culture and etiquette. His personality was highly appealing and few could stand at par with him in noble disposition, intelligent conversation, ready wit, freshness and impressing knowledge. At the same time his outlook of life unworldly, which added another dignity to his character.

1. Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi, p. 360.
3. Tarikh-i-Firuzhta, p. 122.
The secret of the Princes and nobles' eagerness to enjoy his learned company, lies in his amiable nature.

Hasan himself did not marry but he had to support a large family, and it was why he was mostly involved in financial difficulties. His friends often suggested to obtain financial help from the sovereigns and nobles whose company he often enjoyed. But his self-respect never allowed him to do so.

When his reputation as a poet grew, then Prince Muhammad Qa'an known as Khān-i-Shahīd, took him along with Khusrau to Multan where Hasan was appointed as Davat-Dār, and served under the Prince for five years. When the

1. Gulsan-i-Ahmār, p. 47. See also Akhbar-ul-Akhbar, p. 100, Khazinat-ul-Asfia, p. 344.

2. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 360.

3. As was the prevalent custom in those days, Hasan had also a number of maid servants and slaves in his employ. Their names have often been mentioned by him in his writings, for instance in one of his lyrics he indicates:

4. For instance in one of his lyrics he remarks:

5. For instance, in one of his lyrics he says:
When the Prince was killed at the hands of Mongols in 683 H., Hasan came back to Delhi and spent sometime in seclusion. But again circumstances compelled him to join the army for a living. But soon it dawned on him that the life he was leading was not worth it. He had seen with his own eyes the wanton killing and plundering by the Mongols, which he well described in his elegy of the said Prince. Eventually he became quite indifferent to the worldly status, and in the year 706 H., at the age of fifty six he decided to become the disciple of Sheikh Mihham-ud-Din Aulia and lead a life of a sufi.

It is not clear how Hasan got his access to the circle of the great Sheikh. Possibly he was introduced

1. Firishtya (Tabeet-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 125). Marikh-i-Firishtya Vol. I, p. 107, Mihham-ud-Din Balkhi, Tabeet-i-Akbari, and other writers do mention him to be attached with the court of Jalal-ud-Din Khalji after the death of the said Prince. But Darani, who was an intimate friend of the poet, does not include the name of Hasan in the rather comprehensive list of scholars and poets of the Jalali regime. It lends support that this was a period of seclusion and anonymity for him.


3. Firishtya's statement that Mihham-ud-Din Aulia and Hasan had already been acquainted with each other in Badaun is not acceptable, as the latter was born long after the former's migration to Delhi.
by Khusrau, with whom he had already associated, and
Farani, the famous historian, was the first link between
these two poets as he himself says:

"از محبته س مبان ایتالان هر در استادا قرایی داد و در خانهای
پر درک آمد و شد کربن کهند "

In the company of the great Sheikh Hasan turned
out to be a strictly religious person and apart from the
observance of essential rituals he absorbed himself in
lengthy prayers at night and was very much particular to
pay alms and salat. He lead a life of an ideal disciple
of Sheikh Mihram-ud-Din Aulia.

1. Anthologists had recorded fantastic accounts regarding
the relation of these two friends. For instance, Pirinshtas
state that one day Khusrau while in the prime of his
youth, was passing through a street in the company of
Sheikh Mihram-ud-Din Aulia and some of his disciples.
Hasan was sitting in the shop of a baker. Khusrau saw
him and was attracted by his manliness. He went to
the shop and asked him "How do you sell bread"? Hasan replied,
"I place bread in one of the scales of balance and ask
the customer to place his money in the other and if
the money is heavier I let him go with bread". Khusrau
asked, "And if the customer happened to be a poor man?"
Hasan replied, "I should accept his love and humility in
place of money". Khusrau was astonished by this witty
reply and mentioned it to his Sheikh. Hasan also conve-
vying a strong passion for Khusrau, left the shop and
started to visit the Sheikh's Khanqah, gradually a great
friendship developed between him and Khusrau when Khusrau
and Hasan were attached to the court of Prince Mohd. Qa'an
in Multan, some scandal mongers cast aspersions on their
character. The Prince forbade Hasan to meet Khusrau. But
it proved ineffective. One day Prince whipped him. Being
beaten up he went to Khusrau.

(continued to page 330)
When 'Ala-ud-Dīn Khalji ascended the throne of Delhi in the year 635 H. Hasan was again invited to the court Malik A'īs-ud-Dīn a general in the royal army, was a great admirer of Hasan and he became instrumental to the poet's introduction. Hasan served to the court of the reigning monarch to whom Hasan attachment continued till his death in 715 H. During this period Hasan was very productive. He wrote his Mulk-ul-Ma'ani, got published the Fuad-ul-Firdaw and compiled his poetical writings into a Divān.

After 'Ala-ud-Dīn's death Hasan volunteered renounced the worldly life and severed his connection with the court.

(continued from page 339)

When the prince heard about it he called for Khusrau and asked, "Khusrav replied, "The Prince asked for evidence. Khusrau put his arm out of the sleeve and said, "The Prince saw that Khusrau's arm bore traces of whipping at same spot where Hasan was struck. Two modern authorities, namely Nas'ud 'Ali Mahvi and Dr. M.W. Mirza both have discarded the so many traditionally known stories as absurd and unhealthy. See Divan Hasan, pp. 27-30 and Life and Works of Amir Khusrau, P. 47-50.

1. Divan-i-Hasan Sijā, P. 59

2. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, P. 360.
On the occasion of the transfer of capital from Delhi to Daulat-a-bad, Hasan was also forced to migrate unwillingly. He pursued his journey in the company of another celebrated man Shaikh Bazhān-ud-Dīn Gharib. Both of them settled at Daulat-a-bad. After sometime when the idea was renounced by Muhammad Tughlaq, and the people were allowed to return to Delhi, Hasan preferred to remain where he was. He lived for a period of about ten years and died in Daulat-a-bad in the year 737 H.

WORKS:

The Anthologists have mentioned Hasan as a prodigious writer. Barani says:

"أوا أسامه تجمّع و نشر بسحاب است"  

Jami states in *Nafhat-ul-Ung* as follows:

" עובדים ابن دوادين متعد و صافي نثر و منظومات"  

His works which are available to-day are:

1. *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*, a collection of Mīhām-ud-Dīn Aulia's discourses,
2. a small sufiistic treatise *Mikh-ul-Ma'am*,
3. *Divan* which is a large collection of his poems consisting of all forms of works, which has been edited and

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1. *Main-ul-Fushe* gives the year of death 735 H., and age 83 years. See the Foot Note, p. 562.
published in 1352 H. Besides these three, there is a small treatise on 'Arabic Grammar attributed to him, which is extinct now.

Hasan describes in his introduction to his Divan that he attempted on versification from the age of thirteen, and continued writing prose and poetry till he was sixty-three years old. He compiled a Divan in 715 H., and published it from Delhi, a copy of which is preserved in the India Office Library, London along with the valuable introduction by the poet himself. The original Divan contains ten thousand verses published in about twenty three years before his death. During the subsequent period of twenty-three years he must have produced and added, but this later addition is not included in the available Divan.

The present edition of Hasan's Divan by Mas'ud 'Ali Mahvi of Hyderabad comprises six hundred and twenty-three pages and bears a learned introduction covering a careful biographical study of the poet extending in one hundred and fourteen pages. The portion of lyrics covers 5499 verses, and the Mathnavi verses are about 1400, the Qasidas 2126, and the quatrains 459 verses. The total number of the verses in Divan are 9483 which is 514 less than the actually described number of 10,000.

1. Divan-i-Hasan Sidzi, p. 27.
The Divan of Hasan as stated above had been published in his lifetime. It gained reputation both in India and Iran and was widely read and respected by all Persian speaking people. Daulat Shah, one of the earliest biographers mentions as follows:

"ديوان خواجه حسن دارين رزگار عظيم و مکم است اریب نظران و ستمدان رالسخن خواجه اعتقادي و الفائقي زاهده از نصر است جون بين خواس و علام اشعار اور شهري عظيم دارد."

In India Divan-i-Hasan was prescribed as a course of regular studies in the educational centres. Mr. Khurd the author of Sier-ul-Aulia writes that he read the lesson from Divan-i-Hasan before a learned man named Qadi Sharaf-ud-Dīn.

POETRY:

Before giving my own views regarding the poetical abilities of Hasan it would not be out of place to quote the views of the various biographers, so that Hasan's poetical excellence may well be assessed. Dies-ud-Dīn Barani, the famous contemporary historian, expresses his opinion in the following words:

(شير حسن) "سلامتی تراکب در دانش سخن آيت بوذه است و از بسط غزلهای وحداع در قالب روانی بسیار گفته است". ـ

1. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 360.
Daulat Shah Samargandi writes:

"سخن پر حال و سخن سخن دارد ... آگهی بر می‌آید ... نیست اما بخاطر بدند نزدیک و روان است ..."

The well known mystic poet Jami enthusiastically praises Hasan for his exceptionally beautiful style and a freshness of expression:

"خواجه حسین را در غزل خز حسن است ... آخر قانونی حال نگرفت و رده‌های غیب اختیار نوده ... دو چشم اجتماع آنها شماره اگرچه دیوانی الزاوی مسنان می‌عادی اکاذب گفتند دشوار است ..."

'Abd-ul-Qadir Radauni the author of Muntakbih-ut-Sawarikh expresses his opinion:

"میر حسن دهیست که دیوان او نیز شریف و غیب غیب عالم کشته و روان عیدآدر چنین شنیده، دیگر صاحب دواعت بوده اند اکبادا و وجودابن دروزکار (حسین و حسن) ذکر آمیز آنها خوانست اباد ..."

The author of 'Arafat-ul-Asha'in showers on him his lengthy praises:

"شیر باره مجزات عیده حکم فروئی اقالیم خسرو دلملو جنبان نظام صرب و همین چرا سیاواکیم ایمیر حسن دلملو گی کشتار زیان بلبل نشان بیان نشان صفحه سیاه مینای هزار اولو گلشن سحاشانی خسرو سنگ سخن صاحب تم خلق حسن بوده 00000 ... در فنون مخالط و شاده تغذیه می‌کنی و ... نظر است ..."

1. Ta'dkiprat-uh-Shaikh, p. 248.
2. Taheristan-i-Jami, p. 106.
4. 'Arafat-ul-Asha'in (18) Asad Library, 'Aligarh.
Waleh Daghistānī is also a reliable anthologist. He makes a selection of thirty one verses from his lyrics and adds his following comments:

Ahmad 'Ali Sandilavi states as follows:

Raza Quli Khan, the author of Majma-ul-Fusaha reckons Hasan among the Sufi scholars and Poets. A recent editor of that anthology, Madhahir Musaffa adds to the biographical accounts of Hasan which covers eleven pages in the foot note of the said anthology.

After quoting the Persian biographers it would be worthwhile to quote opinions of a few notable poets of Persian who have in their own turn spoken very highly about Hasan's poetic attainments.

Hasan's contemporary and intimate friend Amir Khusrau expresses his idea in the following verses:

The notable humorous poet of Iran, 'Ubad Zekani says:

"Amir Hasan Atyi Dard is as good as Amir Khusrav楼宇."

and proudly says in a fragment:

"Aza' ez azeem, aza' ez azeem,

And Asafi says:

Maulana Shibli, the author of Shi'ir-ul-'Ajam (Urdu) is of the opinion that lyrical poetry has been definitely enriched and embellished by Hasan, and his contribution is remarkable. He prefers Hasan to Khusrav in pathos, sentiment and effect.

From these statements it is quite evident that Hasan had attained such a high standard in his poetry as to be reckoned a suitable match to the great Amir Khusrav

1. Shi'ir-ul-'Ajam, pp. 131 - 32
and it would be quite correct to hold that except Khusrav none of the poets of India could claim to have surpassed him in poetic attachments.

Hasan was really a composer of lyric and did full justice to this part. Though he tried his pen in other branches of poetry, his chief fame rests upon his lyrics. Like his friend, Amir Khusrav, Hasan too made an attempt to imitate S'adi. It is accepted on all hands that Hasan copied S'adi most successfully. He is stated to have carried forward the simple and effective style of S'adi, and in this respect he is ahead of his closest friend Khusrav.

Hasan's lyrics are surcharged with sincere feeling and warm passion. His style is simple and elegant and his technique of composition is wonderfully accurate. Like a great artist he infuses a feeling in the words and constructions at his command. Although he was a sufī in his way of life, the pure sufistic ideas do not very much abound in his poetry. It distinctly contains the ideas of love and revelry. The poet seems to be sensibly alive to human feelings and emotions. He has exceptional spirit of resignation which imparts beauty and freshness to his lyrical art. This is the most outstanding quality which has served for him an individual place among the great masters of Persian lyrics. The following specimens of verses selected after a careful and systematic study of his Diwan would illustrate the above points:
باز آ که آویز تو بسیار غریب مرا
جان‌دان از فرائی ترآسان نیودیک
دل در عقلتو گرفتار شد مرا
هاین پیشی بهجت تردیشواردمرا

جان‌دان جه ناز امروزی به غزه فعالی
دل را و جان سوختی حسیست آن‌زایی

جان‌دان زندگی‌جان من پرندج جهان اتارا
دایرکننده داده برفی این جهت کهن

در بانفر ریامداد از بوده پنجره تور
می‌راند فوانین صد پنجره فناد آورارا

دل بفردا بهم تنه امری
همجو دید رنگ کر فردارا

جهت نگارخانه کر گل جهت کر بارون کا
باد به‌های‌های عدیب‌پرمارم کا

دوروزند کر زان مه پیامه جدا
همه نشاط هد ازین بدیب‌پرماه جدا

چه دم شریجان خوش‌تیکه کرد که ها
حس خوبی مار

پاره به دادن سرگردانی عشای خوابی‌ما
شمع به روشن کند جان‌نیازی بروانها

صرف‌مین بیکه‌ما شادای‌ما چو بركشی‌ها
پر انتزاعت فسیلی‌ها دشپر موردی‌ها

سافی‌گامی به ره‌هدا هم‌بودی به‌های‌ما
جنز برخورده بینهان دایری‌زا تور

ان جهت و را گذر عان‌ما به‌های‌ما
دی‌آب حیات جان آخر گری بروای

روی اوراکی یا حس می‌سی
چشم جویی بسی نظاره کن
عبرت هم بی‌بار تیان رفت ای حسین

ای حسن خمودی دم‌بسته تر راه‌می‌دهد لسبدانه که از این اطلاع، جمله باست

زرل فتو شاه مشهور باد

تو تبله وقت نوش حسین را

ماها هم وقت از بهار است

آن می‌کند زند یافرست

دوبی‌پرهیم تامین از حصر بارست کوای نگاره ودیده از دیداریست

نکته عشق از تو آمیرد حسن

زیب‌های در عشق را تعلیم نیست

جون حمایت تر هیچ بسیان نیست

جون تر کل دره‌های گلستان نیست

دوخ بی‌پرهیم چه هوون می‌کرد

در هیجه عشق نست ایمان نیست

دل بدخ‌بیارس رهبر جو بیان بارنیست چه وی‌پریل دار که دروی‌جزمه دلاریست

به‌سامانه می‌گذین بدید آر

جه می‌توان متین برین مردن

کو بدید که فرایش‌های نمی‌گردد

کش می‌توان یافتن نیست خراب نیست

کردن که درکشکا که نفست

روش تو برگرفت و دنیا تنگر بحث

این کارنست کاره و آتاق نیست
Another feature of Hasan’s poetry is that his lyrical composition seems to be inspired by a particular state of mind, which results in influence of style and continuity of theme. Every lyrical piece had been beautifully built up into a harmonious unit. We never lose the rhythmic flow of emotion throughout his poetry. The amorous feelings have been presented in a charming fashion with the assistance of combination of words. The following selected lyrics may be sufficient to illustrate this points:

del dar kn in dar min set
modaro be pesh dar dem set
az zaf dar dar morn set
e az zaf dar dar kohna ta badd
az shadi kard goshten to
cushq puk shumai airdet
ba bendo shokh je telgh rahi
az himar to bendo bari
sirdi to am zin tedarik
doondhe hish to bendo tashid
ain abe shokh hazar bendo set

(1)

duniaz gom to dem zin tan bod
gohi hame dar dem dar fathan bod
kei khon dar dim deh ber zin bai khon
kei dem deh ber amin bod
ain khon jam ho kara gan bod
ba ap maz choor bodum
az al shab ke nahen kordem
ain lucham ke dem mosh fahn
ham naim to dar mar zin bod
hun jend ke dast to sans dar
ba abe abe wend to kordum bod

(1)
هر بار که عشی آدی آخر وقت
بیماره حسن درد می‌زد
نوزاد به بدیه پاد می‌دارد
کفتش به تو وقت گرفه تاز
آن وقت رضید به می‌دارد
چون صح به متما پاد می‌دارد
آن وقت رضید به می‌دارد
قران کریم در حسن را
ای تیرت عبد پاد می‌دارد

پدر نمی‌اند و نش ناز چنان زیر
عر رفت و گرفت می‌دارت بار از نظر
ام تا درون حاضر خود
نم گرفت تا است عشق بینان بیشر
شعله زنانی که دیدنی باشند
بیش ناز نسبت به جهاده آمده
می‌گوییم قهرمان لکف نیک‌آمده
پدر بی‌باشان آن زر شیر
باد پدران نسه کر یاد
که مفراد شریده در پیر
دیگر جون حسنت در صدیک
با هر جزه جنایت که بی‌پر
صومت چا افتراقی من بیومن
از خوشین عید خوانه شاهد
تا به بیچ نهایت خور سند
نظر از جهم از بدور دلال
تشنیت حسن پیشیت من
چه کم مثال در بیوم
از احتر حمیت درد نالم
از دوست هوا تو نایب
تو بهر وصال گل زین بر
میل ان فراق راهه گری
تفرنگ جمال محبت
ما سختگان هنر هاین
ما حس و هوار ناله
ای مرجع نالم

دی درمکره محرم کا به ماروی گر
بنیان شکل دلم امر میسودی گر
بلان لیبند بیرون، ندان بدلیل کی
از زیر سینه وصحب اثران صورتی گر
بیان لیبند بیرون کا به مزردمان کاری
بهبود پیش گیری بعدی من گر
هرکه عزاید کا به مید جهیزه زنای گی
گویند آهن ویژه جریهه سیاه گر
کاهی کل در احیویه رئیس احست
یونکا چا رهست جدیدین خار ایران گر
ای حسن نمر میلیکا کا لئ نصف گر
زنان کا باغارام معاویه، شیام نزن گر

ای شنجد جهیزه کاری لئ نصف گر

His poetry abounds in natural and original similes which add to the charm of lyrics. The following lines would serve as example:

Occasionally, his verses exhibit such comprehensive and illustrative words as would contain the meaning of the full sentence:

Sometimes he uses Arabic words and phrases with great skill and mastery:
Sometimes he uses difficult rhymes and unfamiliar metres, but succeeds in creating attraction and subtlety:

He uses some of the common figures of speeches such as imitation, metaphor, and with a characteristic mastery and skill, and creates a rare taste of subtlety in his verses. The following verses may serve as example:


He has also undertaken, in a number of Ghazals, to repeat one or two words in each of the lines of the whole Ghazal.

زجشت جشم آن دام که از جشم نبندارد
بجشتم که جشن عنم بجشتم نور و نازد
تركات جشم جمشی که به جش از رحمت
چشم را بجع خزت داغ جمشی نسمازد
روان گر دید می جشت ت جشم جمشی خون
اغر جشم تو جشم راز جشم خود نبندارد
زجشت ببک بر گرم چشم تویه کبیر
که ما جشم تو جشم من تو آری چشم مباد
حسن تادید جمشی را بجشتم بر زبان جمعی
بجشتم میزند جمشی اگر جشم تو بنوازد

ماه سه‌که سیر ما اشتغت بکار آمد همی
تگم برهم سراوان، اشتغت سوار آمد همی
دآده چو اشتغت مانش از خار خارا بالشم
درای اشتغت عاشق خشی خلیال وار آمد همی
تا اشتغت او شوران، جون بحر کد لب بر وران
جفع می‌دن در هر زبان گوه نازار آمد همی
تا آهومی هم یکه نفس اند یقین را پیان
ام از شهر مردان جون جرم آراز زار آمد همی
However, in his simple as well as artificial compositions, Hasan does not lose his individuality. His tone and diction can be distinctly recognised throughout his verses. The simple verses display pathos and deep feelings, and those which have been composed to display his erudition are equally decorated with attractive metaphors and rare similies. Hasan himself is confident that he has an eminent place as a poet of genius. He has more than once emphasised his claim in his verses, thus:

وصفى زحمه اکر بذیری
اروا مکه الکلام کیرند
کان بلمبل باو نو گل زار دیگر داد
حس ازیودل خودسخن بهون داد
دی بیدی گزی دادندزادرزمدیود
حس زا در هم جال آقیون گرم
برنامه همچون پیونده بهانه هندور
چندی زهر داد مرا
هندور روشن دستورنه بهیزایان
ابن طرز یبو روشن ستوان بهیزایان

However, in his simple as well as artificial compositions, Hasan does not lose his individuality. His tone and diction can be distinctly recognised throughout his verses. The simple verses display pathos and deep feelings, and those which have been composed to display his erudition are equally decorated with attractive metaphors and rare similies. Hasan himself is confident that he has an eminent place as a poet of genius. He has more than once emphasised his claim in his verses, thus:
Hasan has written a few Qasidas and some quatrains but there is nothing in them to demand a fuller discussion. His individuality as a poet is not revealed in them. He is surely at his best in his Ghazals only which branch is his special field.

Now it is time to add a few words about the language used by him. The words and phrases used by him have an air of archaic strangeness and it would be worthwhile to quote a few of them:

جمهور (یعنی نیک) بُد (بُسی کبز) اُسیز (بُسی اَبی حب) یکسُن تُل (یُبْجَی یکسُن) هر یم (یُبْجَی هم) جزها (یُبْجَی جز) فروگُی (یُبْجَی یُمِنُیده).

1. The Manuscript of his Divan, preserved in Bodleian Library, contains a Romantic Mathnawi called "Rikayat-i-'Ashiq-i-Haqaq" a very interesting love poem. It deals with the love episode of a handsome youth and a young virgin belonging to the city of Haqaq. The whole poem consists of six hundred and six couplets, which was composed in a single night on Monday Ist Dili-Hijj 700 H. Though the poem is modelled on the romance Laila Majnu of Mihhami Ganjvi, the selection of theme is of poet's own. It is a "Hindu tale" selected from one of Indian love tales well known in the country. The poem opens in praise of God, the Prophet and then follows a short eulogy addressed to Sultan 'Ala-ul-Din.
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<td>Dia-ud-Dīn Barani</td>
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