ALI HAZIN
A Critical Evaluation of his Poetic Writings

ABSTRACT

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
PERSIAN

BY
Mrs. Noor Afshan Kirmani

DEPARTMENT OF PERSIAN
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH
1986
The introduction throws light on the initial stages of when I had to think hard in choosing the topic of my thesis. An explanation has been given in the beginning for this choice which also includes my special attraction for the Indo-Persian poetry. The spade work done in this connection, involving a broad-survey of both historical as well as cultural and literary sources, has also been mentioned.

The first chapter of my thesis gives the socio-political background of Hazin's poetry. Since Hazin spent his life both in Iran and India, a brief history of contemporary period of both the countries is reviewed and the social as well as the literary conditions have also been discussed. The development of literature and art, like any other kind of development, depends much on the socio-political conditions of a country. As a matter of fact, the Safavid dynasty in Iran and the ruling Mughal dynasty in India, were passing through almost similar circumstances of their fall. As the two ruling dynasties had cordial relations from the very beginning, the Iranian immigrants were accorded warm welcome in India.

The Iranian monarchs preceding Sultan Husain could not successfully meet the challenges of the expending Iranian
economy and took resort to the increasing measures of taxation. So happened with Sultan Husain too. The peasants, who were already over burdened with taxes started deserting their lands and, in order to tie them up with their lands, Sultan Husain adopted stringent measures of severe punishments. This created chaotic conditions in the country. The short-lived seven years' of Afghan rule also did not result in any sort of amelioration in the lots of the teeming millions.

Nadir Shah did liberate the country from the foreign yoke and also temporarily pacified the people but could not bring prosperity to his countrymen. He himself, once the hero of Iranians, started committing all sorts of atrocities over his own people. It was during his rule that Shaikh Ali Hazin and a large number of Iranians left their country. These political upheavals went a long way in shaping Hazin's personality. Many times, and at many places, the Shaikh, wherever he came to know of the atrocities committed by the officials, intervened and pleaded the cases of the innocents and succeeded in getting the peoples' grievances redressed. It was this intervention of the Shaikh and his resentment against oppression and cruelty that made him a suspected rebel in the eyes of the government.

The conditions in India were no better than those prevailing in Iran where from a lot of people, including Hazin, had fled. The Court of Delhi was fraught with factionalism and conspiracies of nobles struggling for their own interests and power. Mohammad Shah, the then ruling monarch and his successors, subsequently found themselves at the mercy of the powerful nobles.
and courtiers.

Despite degeneration and degradation mentioned above, the literary atmosphere was not so bad and a large number of Indian poets of distinction as well as of Iranian origin were present in the Court of Delhi.

Hazin's whole family had been attached with the Safavid kings and so was Hazin with Sultan Husain and his son Shah Tahmasp II. But he never accepted any government position or patronage either in Iran or in India. However, the Shaikh criticised India and its people in general and those of Delhi and Kashmir in particular. His criticism crossed the confines of prose and the Shaikh wrote many verses against India and the Indians. This made Hazin's stay in Delhi difficult and after more than a decade, he had to leave Delhi for Benares where he passed the rest of his life.

The second chapter deals with the life history of Shaikh Hazin, his family background, his exceptional devotion to studies and his contacts with the outstanding learned persons which went into the shaping his career and poetic temperament.

Shaikh Ali Hazin was born in 1103 A.H. at the royal residence of Isfahan. Hazin had a healthy mind and sharp memory. He was able to read and write when he was only four years of age. Hazin's father, himself also a very learned man, introduced Hazin to outstanding scholars. He also attended the classes of his father and uncle as one of their pupils. Hazin also learnt the
the art of composing verses but kept them secret from his father for some time.

Shaikh Ali Hazin was a Shi'a by birth and faith and has written many 'qasidas' in praise of the Imams. But, at the same time, he was so broad-minded and accommodative, at least in religious matters, that he did not write any thing against the first three Caliphs not accepted by his sect. The Shaikh had a real love for reading. He not only studied the books on Islam and its various sects, but also made a thorough study of the religions of the Christians, the Jews, and the Magians etc.

Shaikh Hazin was busy in learning and peaceful academic pursuits in Isfahan when the events took a turn. The Shaikh's father passed away in 1127 A.H. followed by the death of his brother and the grandmother. Due to the mis-management of the ancestral property at Lahijan, the family income also reduced to the minimum. Lastly came the siege of Isfahan and occupation of the capital by the Afghans in which Hazin's library containing about five thousand volumes was plundered and many of his valuable writings, were lost for all times to come.

After spending forty-three years of his life in Iran, the Shaikh came to India. But the vicissitudes of time had left such indelible impressions on his mind that he could not adjust himself to the new country. Hazin thought to go back to his motherland many times but luck would not have it so and Hazin died in 1180 A.H. at Benares and was buried there. Despite a few weaknesses in his personality, the Shaikh was a dignified and religious-minded person.
The third, fourth and fifth chapters on poetry review the total contribution of the poet which includes different genres such as 'Qasida', 'mathnawi' and fragments. As ghazal happens to be the main field of Hazin, a separate chapter takes it up for closer analysis. The salient features of Hazin's 'ghazal' along with their nature and poetic quality have been highlighted with relevant quotations from the text.

Due consideration has been given to the forces at work behind his poetry and the important poets of the past who exercised their influence on the poet's thinking as well as modes of expression. For instance, Jalaluddin Rumi and Hafiz, among other several poets, were found to be Hazin's chief mentors in poetry. A thorough study of the above-mentioned two poets reveal many common ideas and attitudes with Hazin. For a comparative study, 'ghazals' written in the same rhyme and metre by those poets and their poetic responses to various situations have been noted down side by side to speak for themselves. Hazin's affinity with such classical masters of Persian poetry has provided him with much better credentials, as he was a product of the artificial period of Persian poetry. Hazin's immediate predecessors such as, Kalim and Sa'ib etc. have then been discussed and their impact on Hazin's poetry has been identified. In making a final assessment of Hazin's 'ghazal', this background
study has helped in accounting for his best poetry which has remained shrouded under the cover of sub-standard and artificial verses. After discussing various aspects and thrashing out the whole work of 'ghazal', an attempt has been made to identify the distinctly valuable and lasting part of that work. Critical comments on the traditional line of thinking and the individual and personal element of the poet go side by side.

The last chapter throws light on the style and diction of the poet with special reference to Sabk-i Hindi which was very common at that time. A detailed analysis has been carried out regarding the nature and dimensions of Sabk-i-Hindi. I have traced the origin and development of this style from the very beginning and have mentioned its different aspects both negative and positive. Giving abundant illustrations from various poets who can be claimed to be the precursors and fore-runners of this much maligned but still admired style, I have traced its development to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Sabk-i Hindi was in full swing. I have also pointed out the misunderstandings about this special style found among the writers and have tried to give a correct and well-documented picture of it. In this connection several Indo-Persian poets, supposed to be the special representative of Sabk-i Hindi
have been discussed. As far as Hazin's own style and diction is concerned I have made a psycho-analytical study of his personality and have noted its different and some times conflicting traits. Such traits and poetic attitudes have then been related to the misfortunes and tragic circumstances of the poet's life. The element of pathos, homesickness and satire being the chief features of Hazin's poetry are taken up for discussion and then established by the internal evidence found in his collection of poems.

Hazin was a scholar poet. He has also made profound observations about important which are both spiritual and mundane. At times he was jubilant and full of high spirits. His poetry also exhibits his large heartedness, humanism and self-respect. At the same time, he indulged in sarcasm, bitter feelings and strong indignation against his contemporaries, especially the Indian people. All these currents and cross-currents have been closely examined and placed in their right perspectives. Discussion, on controversial matters have been well documented and references are given in the footnotes. At the end of the thesis a comprehensive bibliography with full information about the time and place of the publication of books has been provided.
Dated: 03.08.1995

This is to certify that I have gone through the thesis entitled "ALI HAZIN - A Critical Evaluation of his Poetic Writings" submitted by Mrs. Noor Afshan Kirmani.

The work done by the candidate is of original nature and suitable for submission for the award of Ph.D. Degree in Persian.

M. Khalid Siddiqi
Supervisor
ALI HAZIN
A Critical Evaluation of his Poetic Writings

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
PERSIAN

BY
Mrs. Noor Afshan Kirmani

DEPARTMENT OF PERSIAN
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH
1986
CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION 1-- 5

2. SOCIO-POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN IRAN AND INDIA DURING HAZIN'S PERIOD 6-47

3. LIFE HISTORY OF SHAIKH ALI HAZIN 48-81

4. CRITICAL EVALUATION OF HAZIN'S POETRY 82-139

5. HAZIN AS A 'GHAZAL' WRITER 140-168

6. HAZIN'S STYLE AND DICTATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SABK-I HINDI 169-209

7. SELECTED 'GHAZALS' 210-219

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY 220-224

9. SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION 225-227
INTRODUCTION

Literary criticism has not been a very common practice in the field of Indo-Persian literature. Most of the research work done in this area has been confined to the editing of old Persian manuscripts found in abundance in the Indian libraries. Consequently, there are certain Persian scholars who even hesitate in recognising the work of literary criticism as a standard research work. The reason is simple. They feel uncomfortable about a work which has no or little connection with their tradition. Even in Iran, literary criticism has lately been introduced as a result of the growing impact of Western knowledge. They have, however, rapidly picked up the new trend and have written books on critical evaluation of several classical and modern writers. Their works of literary histories and even editing of old manuscripts are not without an under-current of sharp and analytical approach to the subject-matter. In India, the situation is even worse. Besides a few books, such as, She'r-ul Ajam and those very few written on Khusrau, Bedil, Ghalib and Iqbal, there is no literature worth the name in this regard. About the Indo-Persian poetry, most of the 'tadhkirahs' written up to the nineteenth century as well as our modern research works give only the life-sketches of poets and make sweeping remarks about their poetry without any evaluation or analysis of the poetic contribution.

It is in this background that I had to struggle hard simply to decide whether I should embark upon a journey which scarcely provides any foot-prints to follow. It was a hazardous task. Yet my love for the Indo-Persian poetry and my ambition to highlight its sterling qualities impelled me to take up this task. I feel that justice has not been done to our rich poetic heritage in Persian and our great poets are either lying in oblivion or they are better known and appreciated outside India.
The choice of the present topic, 'Ali Hazin--A Critical Evaluation of His Poetical Writings' also deserves some explanation. Shaikh Mohammad Ali Hazin, though not among our greatest poets, was, nevertheless, a noted poet-scholar of the nineteenth century India. His poetic output as well as his controversial nature appeared to me specially useful in understanding the 'much-maligned' but still challenging nature of the poetry belonging to the whole period in which he flourished. This poetry has been labelled as 'Sabk-i Hindi' and has been a target of attack by the Iranian scholars, especially of modern times. But in India the 'Sabk-i Hindi' poetry has not only a special appeal for the literary-minded persons but it has established a separate colony in the form of Urdu poetry. The greatest Urdu poets have zealously emulated the style and the contents of the Persian poetry known as 'Sabk-i Hindi'. It was in this spirit that I selected Hazin, a comparatively less important poet than several other stalwarts. I do not know whether some work has been done or is being carried out at present on this particular topic. In any case, as far as the critical appreciation is concerned, this point is not very important because many scholars can make their attempts of critical evaluation and yet arrive at different conclusions. However, a research work seems to have been done by Sarfaraz Khan Khotak and is now available in print under the title 'Mohammad Ali Hazin--His Life and Works'. After reading this book I found that it is not concerned with literary criticism and does not cover the area of my study. It does give a biographical sketch of the poet and makes a good survey of his books, most of which are now extinct. I took the help of this book also in forming my views about Hazin's total reported works.

The present work comprises five chapters. The first one deals with the socio-political conditions as prevailed in Iran and India during the eighteenth century. It will be seen from the contents of the chapter that though two different and idea-
logically distinct dynasties ruled the two different countries, the socio-political conditions were almost the same. The Courts of Isfahan and Delhi were very much involved in group politics distracting the minds of the monarchs of the decaying dynasties. Different faction and party leaders were involved in serving their personal ends at complete neglect of their responsibility and loyalty to their kings. The rulers had lost their effective control over the Empires and every person who could influence the monarch, whether capable or incapable, used to run the administration according to his own whims and wishes. Lots of historical books had to be consulted to construct a picture of the poet's time. Needless to say that this does not form the origin part of my research work. I have collected material from whatever sources I could get to fill up this picture. It was inevitable for me to lean heavily on the History of Persia (both the volumes) by Sir John Malcolm and the 'Persians' by Alessandro Bausoni because these works are supposed to be original and standard on the subject with special emphasis on socio-political conditions of Iran.

As for the socio-political conditions obtaining in India during Hazin's period, I have borrowed the material from relevant volumes of 'Fall of the Mughal Empire' by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Besides, I read many 'tadhkirahs' of poets written in India during the period of the poet in order to acquaint myself with the literary atmosphere and the intellectual pattern of a decaying society.

The second chapter gives the life history of Sheikh Ali Hazin. Here again, I have not given my own conception or interpretation except to collect the facts of his life beginning from Iran and stretching over the long journeys undertaken by the Sheikh. Fortunately, we have an autobiography by Sheikh Ali Hazin entitled 'Tadhkirat-ul Ahwal' giving minute details of his early life spent in Iran. I have depended on this book and retold what Hazin himself has recorded with of course many omi-
sessions of unnecessary details. The real difficulty arose when I had to build up his life history from where the author had left. The author winds up his 'tadhkireh' in 1154 A.H. while he passed away in 1180 A.H. Thus, a period of more than a quarter of a century remained uncovered. For this part of his remaining life history I had to glean through various contemporary 'tadhkirehs,' especially, Khezana-yi Amirah by Ghulem Ali Azad Bilgrami, Safina-yi Khushru by Brindaban Das Khushru, Riad-ush Shu'ra by Ali Quli Khan Waleh Daughstani and Mardum-i Didah by Abdul Hakim Hakim.

The third, fourth and fifth chapters form the original part of my thesis. They cover critical appreciation of Hazin's total extant output in poetry. The third chapter takes into consideration the whole area of Hazin's poetry except 'ghazals.' In Kulliyat-i Hazin we come across 'qasidas,' 'mathnawis' and fragments which are of secondary importance in comparison to 'ghazals.' But they had to be thoroughly studied in order to determine the total value of Hazin's poetry. As for the 'mathnawi' I have given, as far as possible, their full contents in order to do justice with his narrative poetry.

The fourth chapter discusses Hazin as a 'ghazal' writer—a position which he prominently occupies. I have tried to bring out the salient features of Hazin's 'ghazals' and have then proceeded to analyse the various factors constituting his poetic outlook. The important happenings of his time and his own emotional and intellectual experiences which went into the shaping of his poetic attitude and the pattern of his thinking have been identified and related with his poems. In making my critical estimate I have tried to be independent and judicious. After all, Hazin does not belong to the group of the greatest poets of Persian even as a 'ghazal' writer where his performance is the best. Accordingly, I had to be continuously cautious in determining the value of his poetry. Poetic quality or, for that matter, any other quality, has its intrinsic as well as relative worth. My difficulty was that in relating Hazin with his great predecessors I found him shrinking in size but, at the same time, I felt attraction in his 'ghazals' which had a special charm of
their own. I took note of such poetry and examined it to highlight its appeal. A critical analysis at this level does not help much if it is purely mechanical. One has to go deep into the emotional experiences of the poet and his creative process—a very subjective kind of exercise which I had to perform.

As far as the success of my efforts is concerned, it is for the readers to decide. My only satisfaction is that I have made an honest attempt. I am really grateful to my learned teacher and the supervisor of this work, Dr. Sami-uddin Ahmad, Senior Reader in the Department of Persian for his continued guidance and illuminating critical remarks which kept me on the right track of thinking and writing at every stage of this thesis. I must also thank Professor Waris Kirmani, Chairman, Department of Persian for his encouragement and patronage. Lastly, I must gratefully acknowledge the help of my husband, Dr. M. M. Ahmad, Reader, Department of Commerce for typing the manuscript and providing a good deal of relevant material to me.

Mrs. Noor Afshan Kirmani

Mrs. Noor Afshan Kirmani
CHAPTER I

SOCIO-POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN IRAN AND INDIA
DURING HAZIN'S PERIOD

(i) Conditions in Iran

The history of Iran has a glorious account of heroes, conquerors and empire-builders. After the Arab conquest, the country produced world's renowned thinkers, poets and writers of social sciences and humanities. For our purpose, however, it will suffice to begin the historical introduction with the establishment of the Safavid dynasty for which our poet, Sheikh 'Ali Hazin, had great attachment. As a matter of fact, his religion, culture and his whole philosophy of life is rooted in the Safavid period.

The Safavid dynasty ruled over Iran for about two and a half centuries. Sheikh Mohammad 'Ali Hazin's fore-fathers had very much been attached with the Safavid kings. Hazin's time, particularly the period of 43 years which the Sheikh spent in Iran, coincides with the period of the last Safavid king Sultan Hussain (1692-1722), the short-lived seven years' rule of the Afghans, the so-called rule of Shah Tahmasp II, his dethronement and putting up on the throne of Shah 'Abbās III, the infant son of Shah Tahmasp II by Nādir Shāh. Both these kings played in the hands of Nādir Shāh and for all practical purposes,
Sultan Husain was indeed a very weak and inefficient king. In the beginning he was very pious and for most of his time absorbed himself in offering prayers and the recitation of the Holy Qur'an and seldom found time to look into the affairs of his government. He was under the influence of Mulla Bājar Majlisi called by the Shi'ites as Khātim-ul-Muḥadditheen. At Majlisi's instance, Sultan Husain ruthlessly crushed the Sunni sect and demolished a number of the 'Khāngāhs' of the Sufis. But Sultan Husain's grandmother and many of his liberal courtiers did not like all this and put the Sultan on the track of drinking and womenising. The Sultan became absorbed in all these things so much so that again he seldom found time to look into the affairs of the government. Thus, the whole administration passed into the hands of the eunuchs and they did all they deemed fit. The Sultan completely drunken and confined only to his harem, nobody was there to take the eunuchs to task.

In fact, during the first half of the seventeenth century, especially in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās the great, Iran had made advancement in many directions. But, at the end of the seventeenth century, the growth in Persian economy had considerably slowed down and impoverished the peasants with a
consequent decrease of revenue to the state. However, the
demands of the civil service and feudal aristocracy increased
as a result of the financial and commercial developments during
the preceding era. The only way for satisfying these increasing
demands which the last king could perceive was to increase
taxes. Consequently, old taxes were doubled and trebled and
three new forms of taxes were introduced. A much-hated censuses
was also maintained and those who tried to evade the taxes had
their property confiscated or otherwise severely punished. The
circumstances were so straightened and the severity of punishment
was so great that the measures resulted in farmers deserting
their lands. In order to tie them to the land, Sultan Husain
issued a 'farman' in 1710 which only created chaos and anarchy
in the country. Shaikh Hazin notes in his Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl
that "in the case of his family's hereditary lands in various
parts of Gilān, as a result of the devastation of the region and
of the fact that there was no one capable of looking after the
land, after my father's death, the income decreased, until the
entire annual return was insufficient to pay the essential
expenses for more than a few months." This situation caused
discontent not only among the peasant farmers but also among
the feudal landlords of whom Shaikh was one. This loosened the

1 Tadhkiratul Ahwāl, English Translation by Belfour, p.
bonds of loyalty to the central government? It can, thus, be safely concluded that in addition to the personal weaknesses and errors of Sultan Husain, it was the general deterioration in the economic conditions of the masses which brought about a down fall of the Safavid dynasty. Under these instable political conditions no sort of development was possible. It has rightly been remarked that "the period between the Safavids and the Constitution of 1906 can be regarded, at best, as one of incubation, at worst, as one of complete decadence. In Europe and to some extent in India and elsewhere, the eighteenth century was immensely creative; in Iran it was one of the darkest and dullest periods for literature and the arts."

The idea of the deteriorating economic conditions of the country can be had from the fact that during the first six or seven years of Shāh Sulaimān's reign customs duties collected in the ports of Bandar 'Abbās and Kong, near Hormuz, varied between 900-1000 tūmāns as compared with 2,444 tūmāns during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II. The discovery of sea routes and the development of European navigational expansions were responsible for the sharp decline in Iran's foreign trade. The increasing use of sea routes by the Europeans resulted in a decrease of vast quantity of goods traffic along great Asiatic caravan routes.

1 Alessandro Bausani. The Persians- from the earliest days to the Twentieth Century, p. 145.

2 Ibid., p. 15.
in general and the Iranian routes in particular. The trade
with countries on the shores of Indian Ocean fell into the
hands of the Dutch and Indian merchants. In order to increase
income from foreign trade as well as to break the Dutch
merchants monopoly Sultan Husain concluded two treaties with
France in 1708 and 1715. The treaties provided the first
instance of a thorough-going capitulation agreements being
conceded to by Iran.

A reference has already been made to the religious
fanaticism of Sultan Husain and the persecution of Sunni sects
at his hands. As a matter of fact Sunni population still lived
within his domains especially in Kurdistan, Azerbaijan,
Afghanistan, Fars, the very heart of Persia, and Lur. This, apart
from indicating Shia-ism as far from being the undisputed national
religion of Iran even at the end of the Safavid dynasty, also
shows the religious intolerance of Sultan Husain for his
coreligionists. The intolerance induced the Sunni population
not only to give aid to the invading Afghans but also to bring
a fatwa from Mecca for the legitimacy of Waging war against
the heretical overlord' Consequently, war broke out between
the royal forces and various Afghân chieftains, especially
the Ghilzâ of Gândhâr and the Abdâlis of Herât. One, Mîr
Mahmood, son of Mîr Owais, occupied Kirmân in 1720 and in 1722
after the battle of Gûlnábâd entered the Safavid Capital Ișfahân
and deposed Sultan Husain. Shâh Tahmâsp II, the successor of
Sultan Husain, who fled before the victorious Afghāns, declared himself to be the king of Iran. One amīr of Afshār tribe, who later on came to be known as Nādir Shah, to show his devotion to Tahmāsp, took the title of Tahmāsp Quli Khān and put himself at the head of the Iranian forces. Māḥmood was assassinated in 1725 by one of his cousins and was succeeded by another Afghān Ashraf. Tahmāsp Quli Khān successfully fought on all fronts and the short-lived seven-year rule of Afghāns over Persia also came to an end in 1729. However, much against the wishes of his general, Tahmāsp continued hostilities with the Ottomans and had to accept humiliating conditions at their hands. Infuriated at this, the general deposed Tahmāsp II and put his infant son 'Abbās III on the throne and concluded the war with Ottomans by conquering ᾳzerbaijān and Georgia.

It will be clear from the above facts that the deteriorating economic conditions resulted in liquidation of Iran and induced the surrounding alien powers to invade the country. In simultaneous attacks on Iran by the Russian Ottomans and Afghans, the Afghans became victorious, though their rule was short-lived. Despite the appalling conditions that existed at the end of Safavid rule, Afghan domination did not prove to be a liberation but was only an example of conquest by the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes. In the beginning there was some amelioration in the conditions of the most oppressed classes but the general public was in no way better than before and
ultimately the public at large went against the Afghan rule and revolted against it.

In fact, the Afghan rule over Iran started with horrors and calamities. The siege, in itself, of the capital city Isfahān was more terrible in its effects than the most savage violence. After three or four months, the circumstances of the besieged became greatly distressed, and provisions fell short in that vast town, filled with such innumerable crowds of people. Gradually no provisions were at all to be found. According to another author, "the flesh of horses, camels, and mules, was so dear, that none but the king, some of the nobles, and the wealthiest citizens could afford to purchase it. Though the Persians abhor dogs as unclean, they ate greedily of them, as well as of other forbidden animals, as long as they were to be obtained. After these supplies were gone, they fed upon the leaves and bark of the trees, and on leather, which they softened by boiling; and when this sad resource was exhausted, they began to devour human flesh. Men, with their eyes sunk, their countenances livid, and their bodies feeble and emaciated with hunger, were seen in crowds, in devouring to protract a wretched existence by cutting pieces from the bodies of those who had just expired. In many instances, the citizens slew each other; and parents murdered their children to furnish the horrid meal. Some, more virtuous, poisoned themselves and their family, that they might escape the guilt of preserving

1 Belfour F.C. The Life of Shaikh Mohammad Ali Hāzin pp 122-23
life by such means. The streets, the squares, the royal gardens were covered with carcases, and the river Zinderood was so corrupted by dead bodies, that it was hardly possible to drink its waters. These evils were increased by the cruelty of the Afghans, who put to death, without distinction of age or sex, all who tried to escape from this scene of calamity.¹

Though Mahmood became the king of Iran, the kingdom was constantly threatened by the Russians on the north-west and by the Ottomans on the South-West. As far the internal security, in the beginning Mahmood adopted very good measures and, to some extent, won the sympathies and confidence of the Iranains. But his heavy hand on the already distressed local population in the matters of collecting revenue made him unpopular. The inhabitants of Qazvin, Khonsär and other towns insurrected and Mahmood's forces had to retreat. Mahmood was left now with about fifteen thousand of his forces with which to control a vast kingdom of Iran. He and his people were detested not only on account of the ravages they had committed but also from the difference of their language, their manners and their religion, Under the circumstances, the probable revolt of the inhabitants of Isfahân was an immediate danger. Mahmood resolved to remove it by most savage and cruel means.

¹ Sir John Malcolm, The History of Persia from the most earliest period to the present time vol. I pp. 435-36.
Ilahmood had suffered from a feeling of insecurity. He thought that it was only by physically eliminating his enemies that he could hope to survive. As it happened, he acted quite in accordance with this whimsical thought. To get an idea of his desperateness and tyrannical belief, one need only to recount here some of the atrocities perpetrated by him against the Iranian people. He commanded a feast to be arranged to which most of the ministers and nobles were invited. No sooner they arrived than they found themselves under attack from all the sides. No one was spared on this occasion.

Among the casualties was also a boy of twelve years who had tied his place in order to find refuge in the house of an Afghan Chief. Subsequent to that, the dead bodies were placed in an open area outside the palace with the intention of terrifying people into submission. But the matter was not left here. To come yet was a still more gruesome tragedy.

It was feared that the children might some day desire to revenge the blood of their fathers', and the very next day, they were whisked away from their school to a place somewhere on the periphery of the city. The tragic drama of their murder was enacted there. The number of these children was well over two hundred. Ilahmood thus went on
from one crime to committing another, of an even more serious kind, on one pretext on the other. But his real design of reducing opposition by inhuman methods soon stood to be exposed. He had taken three thousand of Shāh Husain's guards in his service. He created the illusion in their mind, that they deserved honour and respect and, as a mark of favour, commanded the arrangement of a dinner for these guards in one of the squares of the palace. But, while they were assembled for the dinner party, a party of Afghan warriors fell on them. There were again no survivors. The Afghans were actually served orders to kill each and every Iranian who had ever been in the service of the former government.

All these crimes and tendency to suppress opposition by brute force speak of Mahmood's incompetence to deal otherwise with his situation. Becoming more and more desperate Mahmood proved to be less and less capable of facing the difficulties before him. While, on the one hand, unrest and discontentment was increasingly in evidence among his Afghan Chiefs like Ashrat and Amīnullah on account of his failure to attack the city of Yezd, the rumour was spread on the other, that he had neglected his soldiers and was inclined to Iranian customs and religion. This had only the effect of compounding his fear and as a consequence of
which he came to distrust even his own people, what to speak of the enemies. While he was thus in the grip of anxiety and tension, intelligence reports spoke to him of the escape of Shāh Ḫusain's elder son from Isfahān. But before the news could be contradicted, he issued orders to the effect that all the males of the Iranian royal family be exterminated with the exception of Sultan Ḫusain. Thirty nine princes were collected in a court of the palace and they were murdered by Mahmood himself helped by three of his confidants. Mahmood occupied the Iranian throne only for a brief period of three years and died under the dreadful tortures of mind and body at the prime of his youth. According to another source, Mahmood was slain by his cousin Ashraf.

Mahmood was succeeded by his cousin, Ashraf, the son of Mir Abdullāh and nephew of Mir Oweis. Before describing the events of Ashraf's reign over Iran, it will be useful to take stock of the conditions obtaining in the country and the designs cherished by the courts of Constantinople and the Petersburg against Persia.

Shāh Ṭehrānsp II, the son of Sultan Ḫusain, from the date of his father's imprisonment, assumed the title of a king, but his efforts to regain the crown of his ancestors were very weak and inefficient. The Iranian prince tried, at different periods, to negotiate with Turkish and Russian
disobedient Nāli of Georgia, but his enterprise only aided the Turkish government in their design upon that province, which they took while Gilān and the town Bāku fell into Russian hands. However, Tahmāsp succeeded in concluding a treaty with Russia by which the Emperor of Russia agreed to expel the Afghans and establish Tahmāsp upon the throne of Iran in addition to the supply of Russian army and the future extension of trade and commerce between the two countries. In return for the service of the Russians, the Persian prince agreed to cede in perpetuity to Russia the towns of Derbund and Bāku with the provinces of Dāghistān, Shirwān, Gilān, Mānanārān and Astarābād. While these negotiations were carrying on in Petersburg, all Kurdistan acknowledged the authority of the Turks and the fall of Erivan Khooe, and Marāgha, made them masters of the whole of Armenia and parts of Azerbaijan. The cities of Gunjān and Kirmānshāh were taken over by the Turks in the following year. A treaty was also concluded between the Emperors of Turkey and Russia for the partition of some of the finest Iranian provinces but some extraordinary events prevented the treaty ever being carried into execution. These designs were cherished by the enemies of Iran before Ashraf actually took over as king.

When Ashraf took over the reigns of his government, the Afghans were confident that his temper, valour and activity would soon enable them to overcome their enemies. But contrary to their expectations, his very first measures showed that he dreaded the leaders of his own tribe more than the Iranian. He put to death the good and generous Almās, the commander of Mahmood’s guards, the ambitious Amān-Ullāh and several other chiefs who had helped Ashraf to occupy the throne and had started working to this end before the death of his predecessor, Mahmood. He also confiscated the immense wealth of the influential chiefs to fill the royal coffers.
Ashraf, however, concluded successfully a treaty with the Turkish court by which the Afghan prince recognised the Turkish Emperor as the spiritual head of all the Muslims. In return, the court of the Constantinople recognised Ashraf the legitimate king of Iran and ceded the whole of Kurdistān, Khūzistān, a part of Azerbaijan and several cities in Iraq in favour of the Afghan prince and also recognised his right of sending a caravan with pilgrims annually to Mecca. But the Afghan ruler could not enjoy the fruits of this treaty for long. He made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain possession of Qandhār which was held by the brother of Mahmood. The failure created a division among the Khilji Afghans which prevented the Afghans in Iran from being reinforced in future even by their own tribe. Malik Mahmood, the governor of Sīstān, proclaimed himself as king and gained possession of almost all Khurāsān except Herāt which formed a separate and independent principality under the chief of Abdāli Afghans.

Shāh Tahmāsp II, who was in Māzandrān, improved his prospects and established his small court at Farahābād with the help of Kujūrs of Asterābād. He was joined by an Afshār Chief, Nādir who defeated a body of Afghans and recovered the important city and district of Nīshāpur. Thereupon, Shāh Tahmāsp made great successes in Khurāsān. Both Mashhad and Herāt were also reduced and the whole of Khurāsān was compelled to recognise the legitimacy of Tahmāsp as the king of Iran.
After the battle of Damghan in which Ashraf had suffered a severe setback, Tahmasph's forces under the command of Nādir began to advance towards the city of Isfahan. The Afghans, unable to face the numerically superior enemy forces, found themselves on the retreat. They met successive defeats mainly because they constituted a small foreign force trying to rule a big country with moreover no home government to fall back upon in case of a crisis. Disappointed and distressed, the Afghans had to flee. "But Ashraf, before he fled, stained his hands with the blood of the unfortunate Sultan Husain whose 'misfortunes were greater than his crime.' Ashraf also 'carried off' all the female of the royal family except the wife of Sultan Husain who had remained in disguise ever since Mahmood had taken over the Capital. During the seven years of their rule, the Afghans did little that could be said to be praiseworthy. It was, for the most part, a reign of terror and woeful experiences for the people. On reaching Tehran and on learning of the 'evacuation of Isfahan by the Afghan prince Ashraf,' Shāh Tahmāsp urged his commander to 'pursue the Afghans' to the end. Shāh Tahmāsp was all the more impelled because every day brought him the accounts of excesses and atrocities committed by the fleeing Afghans and the general success of the Iranian forces. The shrewed and intelligent/

1 Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, p. 469.
however, required the power of striking his own name over the coin levying money to bring the war to a speedy issue. Shāh Tahmasp sensed that compliance of that demand meant little less than ceding the sovereignty; but the soldiers would act under no other chief and on the recommendations of the principal nobles granted the measure. The Afghans assembled near Persepolis to give Iranians a battle, but fled the moment they were attacked and entered Shīrāz in great confusion.

Here, Ashraf tried to negotiate with Nādir for a safe retreat to his own country but in vain and fled with two hundred of his followers which gave a signal for the general dispersion of his army. About twenty thousand of the Afghans fled in different directions and only a few of them reached home safely as most of them were massacred by the furious masses. Ashraf himself, after escaping numberless dangers, when wandering in a desert, was slain by the son of 'Abdullāh Khan Baluch who sent his head with a very large diamond found on his person, as a present to Shāh Tahmāsp.

Thus terminated the life of an Afghan noble who united manly qualities. His barbarous disposition was more the result of his situation rather than of his character. His countrymen deemed him wise, moderate and brave. Even the Iranians term Ashraf to be the best of his oppressors. However, within seven years about one million population of Iran
perished, her finest provinces were rendered waste and the proudest of her edifices were levelled to the ground. But the complete destruction of Afghans did not restore the sovereignty of Persia to Shāh Tahmāsp. It rather resulted in the extinction of the little power which he previously enjoyed because his own general first usurped power and then took the title of monarch of Iran.

From an economic point of view, the conditions at the end of the seventeenth century, were anything but disappointing. There was almost a complete breakdown of economy accompanied by a fresh 'exploitation of the peasants' and 'an impoverishment of the land! A host of circumstances, namely increase in taxes and excise duties, the feudal lords, and the oppressive policies of the govt. in general eventually came in the way of the century's progressive trends making an impact on the country as a whole. As a consequence, the cities could not find unified markets' nor the capitalist economy, then developing, could become the predominant form of production. Healthy economy was limited, during this period, only to the cities of Isfahān, Shirāz, Qazvīn, Hamadān, Kirmān, etc. and Southern Azerbaijan(Tabrīz and Ardabil). "Apart from Qandhār and the Shi'ite holy city of Mashhad, the cities of Khurāsān, once the cultural and economic centre of Iran under went an economic decline, partly because of the falling off their trade with Central
Asia, which was now in the hands of a hostile power."  

It has already been mentioned that Nādir dethroned Tahmāsp II because of the latter's hostile policy and war against the Turks leading to a disgraceful treaty with them. Shāh Tahmāsp, though succeeded by his infant son, was now a prisoner, Nādir sent him to Khurāsān accompanied by all his ladies and with every other comfort that was deemed necessary for the enjoyment of pleasurable life. After the death of the infant king in Iṣfahān, on the eve of Nawrūz, the 21st of March, 1736, Nādir collected all the nobles, courtiers along with their attendants, and addressed them in the following words "Shāh Tahmāsp and Shāh ṬAbbās were your kings, and the princes of their blood are the heirs to the throne. Choose one of them for your sovereign, or some other person whom you know to be great and virtuous. It is enough for me that I have restored the throne to its glory, and delivered my country from the Afghans, the Turks, and the Russians."  

Having explained everything in clear terms, he desired to retire to his estates in Khurāsān. On being urged to become himself their king, he at first insistently refused and eventually accepted the kingship of Iran.  

After his elevation to the throne, Nādir spent some time in Iṣfahān and remained absorbed in military preparations. An Afghan revolt took place in Qandhār but Nādir subdued it in

1 Alisandro Bausani -The Persians, p. 153  
The Afghan fugitives, however, were being harboured by the then decaying Mughal court of Delhi. Nādir Shāh had complained about it in his letters to the Mughal Emperor and on not having received any reply on the subject, he even sent special envoys to Delhi for the purpose but in vain. After the death of Aurangzēb in 1707, the Mughal court of Delhi was in a bad shape. Muhammad Shāh, the then ruler, for most of his time was confined to his harem with a mistress in his arms and a glass of wine in his hands. For a long time the letter was not replied because of the divided opinions of the noblemen and the courtiers. Some of the courtiers were of the opinion that a reply to the letter should be sent while others pleading that there was no point in sending a reply. By this time, Nādir Shāh sent another man with another letter on the same subject. The messenger supplicated many times for the reply but the court of Delhi gave no reply. He could not even return safely to his king and was slain by some miscreant. This prompted Nādir Shāh to carry out a swift campaign which resulted in the conquest of Ghazna, Kābul, Peshawar and in January, 1739, Lāhore. After that Nādir Shāh proceeded towards Delhi. The fighting between the qizilbāsh forces of Nādir and the Mughal forces took place at Karnāl and the Mughal forces fled after a battle of two hours. Nādir Shāh then came to Delhi and stayed there for fifty-eight days. He collected enormous treasures, jewels and spoils and
also took the 'Peacock Throne'. Even after such a great conquest he did not sit idle and subdued Balkh, Lukhara, Khwarazm & Ilburz.

As a staunch Sunni, Nadir Shah did not like Shi'ism. He did not repose any trust in the Iranian people in general because majority of them now happened to be Shi'as. Because of this distrust and suspicions, he had to rely mainly on the Afghans and Tartars constituting the bulk of his troops. The Persians were so much suspicious in the eyes of Nadir Shah that no one of them was likely to be spared by him if he ever came to possess any extraordinary influence or power in the army. The outcome was a widespread feeling of fear and insecurity, and finally rebellion. It was especially found in the provinces of Fār, Shirvān and Kāzandrūn. Nadir Shah could never tolerate it. This had the effect of aggravating his feelings only further. It proved to be so outrageous that he started killing people almost indiscriminately and at the slightest whim. The inhabitants of whole cities were now the target of his wrath, and the people were so much scared that they started fleeing to far off places to find shelter in cenars, deserts and forests. According to one story, he had even proposed, when he was on his way to subdue one of his rebellious nephews in Sīstān Provinces, to put to death every Iranian that was found in his army. He was at that time in a state of frenzy, heading to insanity. It was now the turn of some of his principal officers to hatch a murderous conspiracy against him because they had also found their names in the list of his victims.
Although the reign of Nādir Shāh is remarkable 'for conquests' and 'political reorganization', the general state of affairs in the country was far from satisfactory. Again it was the people in the countryside who happened to be the worst sufferers. More than half the area of Isfahān alone comprising a thousand villages had been ravaged and lay in a state of utter despair. The sources of irrigation particularly - canals, dykes and Kariz - had been either neglected or rendered useless. An inscription on the doorway of the mosque of Vanand (Nakhsbān) datto 1732-33 states! "Because of the famine and distress of this unhappy time, the people were in hell, for in the course of a single year the village of Vanand and others in the neighbourhood were three times invaded and laid waste and many believers, both men and women, were either killed or led into captivity, while the other servants of Jod were dispersed, crossed over the river Araxes, and settled on lands on the other side! In these days, on the one hand, there was an increasing failure of trade and on the other, the burden of taxation with neither the Turks nor, the Afghans in their turns having made any serious effort to reduce it. What was still worse, was the loss of many lives in Isfahān, Shīrāz, Yezd etc.

Although the Afghans had left, there was no relief to the population; a feeling which also finds expression in the memoirs of Ḥazīn. Compared to the end of the seventeenth century, the 'real value of currency' had fallen to about a tenth part, with the prices shooting up proportionately. In his book 'Tāriḵ-i ʿAlam-ṣaʿa-ya Nādīrī', Mūḥammad Kāzim illustrates the rise in prices by giving the difference in the prices of grain pertaining to these two times.

On the death of Nādir Shāh utter confusion prevailed in the country. Ahmad Khan Abdāli with the help of army made
an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Iran. Thereupon, he captured Qandhar city. He also seized the immense treasures coming from Kabul, Sind and Delhi to the Iranian camp and founded his separate kingdom. Within Iran, the conspirators of Nādir's murder put his nephew Ali-Adil Shāh on the Iranian throne. But he was put to death by his own army. This time thirteen of Nādir's sons and grandsons as well as all other princes except Shāh Rukh, the son of Riza Quli Khan, were also put to death. Shāh Rukh was immediately dethroned by Mirza Syed Mohammad who ascended the throne of Iran under the name of Sulaimān. But Yūsuf 'Ali the general of Shāh Rukh, massacred Sulaimān's followers and also put him to death, thus restoring the Iranian throne to Shāh Rukh once again.

The bloody action of Yūsuf 'Ali was not liked by two chiefs, one Kurdish and the other an Arab and by their combined efforts, Yūsuf 'Ali was slain. But after a few days both the chiefs confronted each other wherein one of them was killed while the other submitted to Ahmad Khan Abdālí and was afterwards slain. After some resistance Mashāqd also submitted to Ahmad Khan Abdālí. But the intelligent prince instead of conquering Iran separated the Afghan kingdom from Persia for all times to come and Shāh Rukh again occupied the throne of Persia.
Shāh Rukh, though blind, enjoyed the small kingdom of Iran. His government was supported by the revenues collected from the residents of Mashhad and its adjoining territories. He also received annual offerings from various chiefs and other nobles who considered him as their king. However, the country, at large, remained in the state of civil war and chaos. The main contestants were the near as well as distant relatives of Nādir Shāh, the Afshārs, the Qājārs and the remaining last of the Šafavids.

Abul Fataḥ Khan was the governor in Iṣfahān on behalf of the blind king Shāh Rukh. At this time, ʿAli Mardan Khan a chief of the Bakhtiāri tribe, in order to elevate Shāh Ismāʿīl, the nephew of Sultan Ḥusain Šafavi, called all the nobles, including Karīm Khan Zand, under his standard and took possession of Iṣfahān. Though Karīm Khan Zand obtained no command under Nādir Shah, he enjoyed an equal rank with ʿAli Mardan Khan because of his good sense and courage. The nephew of Sultan Ḥusain was crowned at the age of nine years under the name of Shāh Ismāʿīl and it was agreed that one of the chiefs will be appointed as minister while the other one will be the commander of the army. While the forces of these two chiefs were busy in occupying Iṣfahān, many parties under various pretenders to the throne tried to distract the armed forces but ultimately the inhabitants reconciled to the new government.
Ali Mardan Khan was very old man and had no children. The good conduct of Karīm Khan had made him popular. This excited jealousy of 'Ali Mardan Khan which ultimately brought them to open confrontation. In the contest between the rival forces, 'Ali Mardan Khan was assassinated by a noble Mohammad Khan. It made Karīm Khan Zand the undisputed master of all the southern provinces of Iran who, later on, ruled the country for about thirty years. He is still cherished in the memories of the people as one of the very good rulers of Iran.
Aurangzeb ruled the Mughal empire for fifty years and died at an advanced age of ninety. During his reign the frontiers of the empire were extended far and wide. Throughout his long reign he never bowed to any pressure whatsoever. He did not spare the Muslim Sultanates of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkunda and abolished the special status which these principalities had enjoyed under his predecessors and brought them under the complete fold of the Mughal Empire. He camped far away in Deccan for a long time to crush and subdue the Maratha power. However, after his death these crushed powers raised their heads and reorganised. Of the three surviving sons (Mohammad 'Azam, Mohammad Kām Bakhsh and Mohammad Muazzam), Aurangzeb had conferred the title of Shāh 'Ālam on Mohammad Muazzam for his excellent services to his father. After the Emperor's death Mohammad Muazzam ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh after defeating his brother Mohammad 'Azam.

Unlike his father the prince happened to be very kind and considerate, even in very important matters of administration. He was a good administrator and tried to stabilise
the government by adopting a flexible attitude, unfortunately. This only led to inner-fighting and group politics and weakening of the Central power. His rule came to an end in 1712 on his death.

Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh left four sons viz. Moizuddīn Jahandār Shāh, 'Āzīm-ush Shān, Khajista Akhtar and Jahan Shāh. On the death of their father fighting for power started among the brothers and ultimately Moizuddīn Jahandār Shāh after defeating and killing his three brothers succeeded to the throne. He crowned himself under the title of Abul Fath Moḥammad Moizuddīn. But just after his accession he indulged in drinking, dancing and all kind of debauchery and violence. Lāl Kunwar, a dancing girl whom he had taken as his concubine, was always seen in the company of the monarch in every place. Later on, the monarch conferred on her the title of Imtiāz Mahal. But with the help of Saiyid brothers Farrukh Siyar (son of 'Āzīmush Shān) replaced Jahandār Shāh. Saiyid brothers had served under Aurangzēb and later on under Jahandār Shāh.

Farrukh Siyar himself was a weak and fickle-minded man and rendered himself to the whims of ministers. Throughout his reign the court of Delhi remained fraught with factions, plots, intrigues and counter-intrigues. The rival groups of nobles and courtiers engaged themselves in destroying each other. Now three distinct rival groups, that is, Turāni, Irani and Indian, had emerged and all the groups in complete
neglect of the interests of the empire fought for their own interests. As a matter of fact, all the three rulers after Aurangzeb owed their crowns to the support of powerful nobles and courtiers. Shāh Ẓālam Bahādur Shāh was indebted to Munīm Khān, Jahandār Shāh to Zulfiqār Khān and Farrukh Siyar to Saiyid brothers for occupying the throne of Delhi. It can thus be rightly concluded that after the death of Aurangzeb to the final liquidation of Mughal Empire in 1857 every ruler who occupied the throne of Delhi was indebted to some powerful noble's help in securing the throne.

Though the process of disintegration had started just after the death of the emperor Aurangzeb, it spread like a wild fire during the twenty-eight years' of Moḥammad Shāh's reign till he died in 1748 and was succeeded by his son Aḥmad Shāh (1748-1754). The Marathas, kept under effective control by emperār Aurangzeb, now raised their heads and between 1742-1745, four Maratha invasions took place. They over ran the whole of the country except Delhi and its adjoining areas and played havoc with the people for quite a long time. This reign of terror finally came to an end with the crushing defeat of the Marathas by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī at the battle of Pānipat in 1761.

Moḥammad Shāh ascended the throne of Delhi at the age of seventeen. For about seven years before he occupied the
throne, he was confined to the palace harem and had neither received education nor training which could enable him to effectively run the administration of the empire. The young emperor was extremely handsome and well-built and with strong and large possessed a good deal of foresight. But the wazirs, nobles and courtiers who had become used to displacing the hitherto ruling monarchs, practically crushed his urge to rule for himself. He, therefore, withdrew from the public business leaving all the state affairs to his nobes and ministers.

Right from Bābar, the founder of the Mughal Empire to the Emperor Aurangzēb, all the predecessors of Moḥammad Shāh were very shrewd bold, strong and courageous—never hesitating even to risk their lives for the safety and solidarity of the empire. But that was not so in the case of Moḥammad Shāh. During his twenty-eight years of reign, he hardly went out of Delhi except for his merry-making and pleasure trips to the nearby town of Loni and Garhmuktēshwar. His only two military movements include his engagements with Nādir Shāh and ʿAlī Mohammad Ruhēla wherein he suffered disgraceful defeat. In fact, the monarch was so much absorbed in wine and women and took so much opium, charas, bhang and other intoxicating drugs that he burnt all his youthful passions and was a complete wreck at the age of forty. Afterwards melancholy settled upon the monarch and,
in the hope of getting some spiritual satisfaction, he started frequenting the society of 'faqīrs' many of whom received titles from the emperor. He used to hold long discourses and discussions on spiritual matters with the hermits. Many of his nobles and 'amīrs' joined him in this pursuit.

Muḥammad Shāh, throughout his reign, was a puppet in the hands of his nobles and ministers who possessed charming manners and strength of will. He would assent to every good advice of any of his favourites but could never have the courage to take any of his nobles or the courtiers to task. He preferred to pursue the policy of putting off action from day to day till the crisis precipitated and the things took their own turn. The ministers of the nobles divided the areas and political power among themselves and always manoeuvred things as if no supreme head existed over them.

Because of the inner fighting among the highest nobles of Muḥammad Shāh, revenues from various parts of the empire had stopped and the salaries of the soldiers for months and sometimes for years together stood in arrears. While the resources of the government had almost exhausted, the nobles had amassed immense wealth.

Muḥammad Shāh was succeeded by his only son Ahmad Shāh who occupied the throne of Delhi for about six years. But he
too was not given any sort of training or education which could enable him to take up the affairs of the government. He was never sent at the head of the royal army as his predecessor heirs used to be. Moreover, he was brought up in the palace harem and was totally ignorant of administration and war alike. Simultaneously, palace eunuchs, nobles and 'amīrs' who had already seized enormous powers of administration from his predecessors, played their own destructive part. This, however, could be achieved only by keeping the monarch busy somewhere else. This objective, they achieved by confining the young prince to his palace harem and keeping him busy with wine and women and all sorts of licentious activities. The monarch, by and by, became so much absorbed in palace activities that he could hardly give any time to any important business with sincerity and devotion.

The things came to such a pass that one eunuch Jāvēd Khān, whom the monarch had appointed as superintendent of the Palace harem, became in-charge of almost every thing. All the matters used to be referred to him and he decided them in accordance with his own poor natural judgement while the monarch enjoyed all sorts of sensuous pleasures in the harem completely unchecked or undistracted. The palace harem was full of all sorts of debased women and men and Ahmad Shāh practised all sorts of shameful deeds. Jāvēd Khān, later on made a separate women's preserve for the monarch in
an area of four square miles by excluding all the males from it. The king used to enjoy the company of women for a week or month as he pleased.

Apart from the emperor's personal weaknesses the overall condition of the Court of Delhi was also deplorable. The monarch never showed his face at the head of his army even when his personal safety and imperial interest so demanded. His panic flight from Sikandarābād abandoning all the women of his family to captivity and possible dishonour, at a mere demonstration by the Marathas, has branded his name with infamy in Indian history for all time. The central government had become almost bankrupt, the payment to soldiery was in arrears, the military had become impotent, the monarch had lost complete control over his nobles and courtiers. He did not have the courage to say anything he felt right in the face of nobles but secretly sided with some of them. While all the old and experienced nobles and courtiers hated eunuch Jāvēd Khan, he had influenced the mind of the monarch and the queen-mother to such an extent that every matter was referred to him. Ultimately fighting broke out between 'Imād, one of the courtiers and the emperor himself. 'Imād after sometime deposed Ahmad Shāh and brought to the throne of Delhi 'Alamgīr II. Explaining the condition of Ahmad Shāh's reign it is remarked;
After Ahmad Shāh's accession in the course of time matters came to such a pass that a descriptive list of all articles in the imperial stores, the arms, carpets, cooking utensils and dinner plate, books and band instruments of every other kārkhāna was prepared and those articles were sold to the shopkeepers and peddlars and most of the money thus realised was spent in paying the troops. This opened the door to the most unseemly and unspeakable mockery and insult by the public... Oppulence was turned into distress. The Central Asian (vilayati) soldiers and the Emperor's household troops forcibly carried off the valuable articles of all kinds from the house of wazirs,'amīrs,' sultans, traders and artisans' shops (and sold them), thus reducing the nobles to disgrace. The 'amirs' had no help but to wear only the clothes they stood in and to eat off in earthen plate. When the Emperor ordered an enquiry, it was found that the soldiers salary was three years in arrears. What chance was there of anything remaining in the Treasury? It became a reign of petty tribal chiefs (mulūk-at-ṭawāffī).  

A brief account of some of the successors of Aurangzēb has been given in the preceeding pages. A summary of their reckless activities, sensuous pleasures and their consequent indifference to the affairs of their government have also been briefly narrated. But the effects of their evil-deeds were

1 Fall of the Mughal Empire. p. 217
not confined only to themselves. Gradually they filtered
down to the ministers, nobles, 'amirs', courtiers and the
upper strata of the society and resulted in the ultimate
destruction of the Mughal Empire. In the following pages
an attempt has been made to deal with the general
deterioration.

In line with their masters, the courtiers and nobles
also absorbed themselves in luxurious life. As these nobles
and courtiers or factions thereof had already usurped a
lot of powers of their monarchs, they embezzled and
misappropriated public money and took to bribery. These
people had become so powerful and the monarchs so debased
and demoralised that they never dared openly disapprove the
actions of any of them but secretly sided with the rival
groups. In certain respects they had raised themselves
almost to the status of the emperor under whom they served.
These high officials utilised these funds in almost all
sorts of unproductive items like marriages and other social
gatherings.

Music, dancing, drinking, singing and debauchery
had become the order of the day. In the houses of the nobles,
functions were held where other nobles and courtiers, their
sons and the princes were invited along with their beloveds.
Revelries continued till late in the night or up to early hours of morning. Tents were pitched and the carpets spread for the lovers of such gatherings. Dancing and drinking had become so popular that it was almost impossible to hold any function, whether of a social or religious nature, without dancers and singers. Many princes and sons of the nobles showed immense love for music and dancing. In Delhi alone, large number of singers and dancers had gathered and were invited to ceremonial functions by the upper strata of the society. Muslim society had become so much corrupt and alarming that Shāh Wali Ullāh, the great reformer and religious leader of that time, had to issue a warning in the following words:

"O 'Amīrs' Do you fear God? You have indulged in the transient luxuries of the world. You have deserted those whom you were to guard so that you may destroy and devour some of them. All your intellectual faculties are focussed on taking fine meals and enjoy women of delicate frames. You do not pay heed to anything but tasteful food and big houses."

As for the development of art and literature, Urdu poetry made much headway. But it was highly influenced by the Persian poetry where the beloved was always a male. Because of the strict observance of 'purdah', the poet did not have a reach to female. Under the circumstances, the poets

1 Shāh Wali Ul Ye Siyāsī Maktūbāt, v.6
always wore the web of their songs around the beardless boys who were mostly of the Turkish or Mughal origin. Poetry was a very forceful media of communication of the nobles and the courtiers for exalting themselves. Most of the aristocrats and even men of lesser status patronised poets and kept a number of handsome boys in their company. The attendance of such boys became the centre of public attention and a matter of pride and dignity for those who kept them. They had become so effeminate that they tried to inculcate many feminine qualities in themselves; they used all sorts of cosmetics which the women did, and wore bracelets and ear-rings and applied 'kājal.' These boys did not practically do anything either for themselves or for the society. They always wasted time in the company of their patrons in attending Mushāiras, flying kites, hawking birds and taking rounds of the markets, especially in the evenings, in the company of their patrons.

The general economic condition of the masses had become very bad. Because of the bankruptcy of the Imperial Exchequer and mis-management and misappropriation of funds new taxes were levied on the already hard-pressed peasantry. Even then sometimes the salaries of the soldiery remained in arrears for months and sometimes for years together. Of the general public, the condition of the Muslims themselves was
worse, Islam, known for its equality, equity and justice, was not practised in the real sense of the term. The high officials and the upper strata of the society were very conscious of the purity of the blood and looked down upon the low born. While the sons of the nobles, 'amīrs, sultans and courtiers enjoyed all the facilities of higher education and training in the fields of arts, literature, science, mathematics, astrology etc., the sons of the poor could only be trained in the trades and professions of their ancestors. This only resulted in hatred between the upper educated class and the lower uneducated class of the Muslim society.

As already pointed out, in the literary domain, the period was dominated by Persian which was not only the court language but had percolated deep into the remote corners of the country. Never before in the history of Islamic rule, Persian language had become so popular and had produced so many books written by both Muslims and non-Muslims as it did in this period. Persian had become the medium of all kinds of writings in prose and poetry throughout the whole of the Northern sub-continent as well as most of the Southern parts. Different communities living in India, including the Jāts, Sikhs, Marathas, wrote letters in Persian and considered Persian manners to be a sign of refinement and nobility. Histories of several non-Muslim regimes like
the Marathas and the Sikhs were written in Persian. The upper class imitated the Persian style of dress and address, constructed the houses resembling Persian architecture and decorated their chambers with paintings of the Persian style. Medical prescriptions were written in Persian, official orders were issued in Persian and religious decrees (fatwas) were also circulated in Persian. In this connection, there is an interesting remark by a foreign critic about the Islamic thinkers of India which runs as follows:

"The book of God is in the Arabic language and these people of God (Islamic thinkers of India) wrote and spoke Persian."

Persian language and literature occupied a central place in the educational system. Its knowledge was compulsory for those who wanted to build up their career as government servant or in any other capacity. In the vast countryside, small pockets of educated people known as 'qāšbās', that is, small towns, had sprung up as centres of Persian learning. Poetic sittings were regularly held in such places where extracts from the classics of the Persian poetry such as Shāhnāma and Sikandarnāma were recited and discussions followed on their poetic merits.

An important feature of this period which indirectly fostered Persian language, was the huge expansion of different Sufi orders and their growing influence on the public mind.
There was a rapid growth in the number of Sufi 'khanqahs' which had formed a network in the length and the breadth of the country. Innumerable people, including the highest nobility and royal personages attended these 'khanqahs'. Naturally, these people felt attracted to read the Sufi literature which was available in the form of Persian 'malfūzāt' and Persian poetry.

The period under study has been considered very significant in respect of Persian books written on various topics especially lexicography, 'tadhkira' of poets and history.

The emergence of Urdu language and literature during this period can also be attributed to the impact of Persian. Urdu poetry and its various forms are all an imitation of Persian Poetry. It emerged as a true successor to Persian and became very popular among the people. In the eighteenth century and onwards most of the Urdu poets were also poets of Persian and tried to emulate the style and contents of Persian poetry. It is said that the first Urdu poet named as Wali Dakhani took to writing 'ghazals' in Urdu on the advice of Sadullah Gulshan (d. 1727 A.D.), a Sufi poet of
Persian. Gulshan gave this advice because he felt that the emerging Urdu language would be a better medium of poetic expression because Persian language had exhausted its capacity of rhetorics and most of the poetic ideas had already been expressed in the centuries-old span of time. Still the creative work in both the languages continued simultaneously and poets of both the languages were considered to belong to one and the same tradition. It will not be out of place to mention here an anecdote describing a meeting between the famous Urdu poet Sauda (d. 1781 A.D.) and Shaikh Ali Haazin. Sauda had gone to pay his respects to Haazin and also get the latter’s approbation for his Persian poetry. Sauda recited one of his ‘ghazals’ beginning with the following ‘matl’a’:

سیمی برست کان سنکار نا زیسن دیدم
بسب لیکن سنگھ کہد ما ر گنگھ ا ر ا دیدم

Haazin, however, disappointed Sauda by his acidic and blunt observation after hearing his ‘ghazal’. He curtly remarked:

در پرچ گروهان سنہ نوبت گئی گئی

Objecting to the use of unnecessary words, Haazin made a wonderful improvement by reducing both the lines of the
couplet and yet retaining its full meaning. The corrected couplet now stood as under:

سَمِّيَتْ بَيْتُكَ وَسَأَلَتْ قَدْ رَأَيْتِ
بِتَِّالْعَرَبِ الْبَحْضُنِينِ يَزْمَهِ دٍ رَأَيْتِ

Sauda had no choice but to agree to what the proud Iranian poet had commented.

The literary and cultural atmosphere of India during Hazin’s time was extremely favourable and fertile for the Iranian immigrants although it was a period of the decline and disintegration of the mighty Mughal Empire. Fresh arrivals from Iran, whether poets or administrators, were given a VIP treatment and accommodated at the highest level while the Iranians treated the Indians like an inferior people. That is why Shaikh Ali Hazin, despite his insulting remarks about the Indians, was given a warm welcome wherever he went from Delhi to Banaras. In literary controversies also, when Hazin condemned reputed Indian poets, most of the Indian Scholars not only accepted his views but wrote articles in his support. We can have some idea of the demoralisation of Indian Scholars and critics from the controversy over Bödil’s poetry. Hazin made Bödil’s poetry a special target of his harsh criticism and pointed out many defects of language in it. Hazin, being an Iranian, might have been right in his adverse comments about the idiomatic usage but
the verdict of history went against Ḥazin as Būdil is regarded a much greater poet than the Iranian Ḥazin himself and his reputation is even higher in Persian speaking countries, such as, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Now the point to note is that Indian scholars, such as, Āzīd Bīlghāmī, Māḥmmad Āzīm Thābit, Imām Bēkhsh Ṣāḥbāī and several other authorities supported Ḥazin instead of defending Būdil. It was only Ẓāhīr-ī Ārzu who challenged Ḥazin and justified the idioms and construction of words used by Būdil. Anyway, the controversy generated a lot of tension and Wāleh Dāḡhistānī, another Iranian scholar and a fast friend of Ḥazin, had to admonish the latter. Wāleh's statement is worth quoting as it gives a faithful and impartial description of the socio-literary atmosphere of that time. It was extremely favourable to the Iranians. He writes:

1. Waris Kirmani, Dreams Forgotten, p. 36.
2. Ṣāḥbāī wrote a treatise entitled 'Qaul-i Fāisal' in defence of Shaikh Ali Ḥazin.
Hazin, despite the controversy, continued to be admired and respected by Indian scholars. Azad Hilvari, while referring to a couplet by Hazin, bearing derogatory remarks about the Indians, does not fail to defend Hazin against Khān-i Arzu's objections. His words are as follows:

"..."

Azad then goes on to cut down one by one Khān-i Arzu's objections and his own replies to those objections on behalf of Hazin.

While concluding my comments on the socio-political conditions and the impact of Persian language and literature on these conditions, it would not be out of place to bring in my support the observations made by a contemporary scholar which sum up the entire discussion. He writes:

While concluding my comments on the socio-political conditions and the impact of Persian language and literature on these conditions, it would not be out of place to bring in my support the observations made by a contemporary scholar which sum up the entire discussion. He writes:

1. Farsi Zaban-o Aday, pp. 32-33
CHAPTER II

LIFE HISTORY OF SHAIKH 'ALI HAZIN

Hazin's full name was Mohammad 'Ali. His father Abi Taliq was a descendant in the 16th generation of Shaikh Tajuuddin Ibrahim, known as Zahir Gilani. The Shaikh received his pen-name, 'AZIN' from his teacher Shaikh Khalil Ullah of Talijan. Shaikh Khalil Ullah occasionally composed verses and sometimes asked Hazin to recite anything that he had composed. Hazin stuck to this title throughout his life.

One of the Shaikh's ancestors, Shaikh Shihabuddin 'Ali, having quitted the town Astara, took up his residence at Lahirjān in the province of Gilān (Lahirjān was the seat of Government at that time. From that time onward, Lahirjān remained the permanent dwelling place of the Shaikh's ancestors Shaikh Jamaluddin 'Wahdat', the great grandfather of the Shaikh, was one of the distinguished scholars of his time. Ahmad Khan, the king of Gilān, out of regard for the ability of Shaikh Jamaluddin, honoured him in many respects and took several degrees of science at his instruction. Shaikh Jamaluddin had only one son, Shaikh Abdullah, who acquired the various science

from his father and was endowed with the qualities of piety and of abstinence from the worldly pleasures. Shaikh 'Abdullah was survived by his three sons namely, Shaikh 'Ata Ullah, Shaikh Abi Ṭālib and Shaikh Ibrāhīm. Praising the qualities of his uncle Shaikh Ibrāhīm, Shaikh Moḥammad 'Ali Ḥazin remarks that, "I was yet in my childhood, when arriving with my father at Lāhijān I had the happiness to enjoy the company of my estimable uncle, and in truth, whether for excellence of qualities, or purity of morals, cheerfulness of temper, or brilliancy of conversation, I have, to the present day, seen few to compare with him."¹ Ten years before the death of the Shaikh's father he passed away leaving one son Shaikh Mufid and two daughters behind him. Shaikh Mufid also died in his youth.

Hazin's father Shaikh Abi Ṭālib received most of his early education from Mulla Ḥasan, the Shaikhul Islām of Gīlān. When he was twenty years old he migrated to Iṣfahān in order to keep company with the learned men in Iraq. In Iṣfahān he continued his studies under Āgha Ḥusain Khonsārī and Rafiai Yezdi and became proficient in Mathematics. The Shaikh devoted so deeply to reading and disputation that till the end of his

life he continued steadily in the same course. A large number of contemporaries of the Shaikh got high degree of knowledge from him in many fields of study. His ability and knowledge can be imagined from the fact that he had more than five thousand volumes in his library. He corrected all of them and wrote commentaries on most of them, illustrating the greatest part of them with marginal notes. He copied with his own hand about eighty volumes including such voluminous books as 'Tafsir-i-Baqawi', 'Qamus-ul-Lughat'; 'Sharh-i-Luna'; the whole of 'Tahdhib-i-Hadith'. The reason for such straightened circumstances was the celibate attitude of Shaikh 'Abdullah towards his son. Fearing that Abi Talib might permanently settle down in Isfahan, his father sent him no more money than was necessary for his expenditure, and that too at different times, during the year. Sometimes the Shaikh's father did not have money even to purchase the books and copied many of them himself.

While the Shaikh was still getting education at Isfahan his father passed away. After his death the Shaikh dropped the idea of returning to Lahijan and, having bought a house at Isfahan, settled there. After sometime he set out for performin

1 Beltour, F.C. The Life of Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali Hazin, p.10
2 A Standard work of Shias on Hadith by 'Allama Hilli.
Hajj and, in the same journey, visited various places in Syria. On his way back he visited Baghdad and other holy places of Iraq. Having arrived at Isfahan, the Shaikh married the daughter of Haji Ināyatullah of the same place.

Hazin, according to his own statement, ¹ was born on Monday, the 27th of 'Rabi-ul-Aakhir, 1103 A.H., that is, 17th of January, 1692 A.D. at the royal residence in Isfahan. Abi Talib's progeny was limited only to four sons, the eldest of whom was Hazin. One of his brothers died in infancy and the other two in their youth in 1134 A.H. towards the end of the siege of Isfahan. The Shaikh does not mention the names of his brothers in the Tarikh-i Ahwāl wa Tadhkira-yi Hāl.

Hazin, in fact, belonged to the family of learned scholars, Sufis and poets. A reference has already been made to the depth of learning of his father, Shaikh Abi Talib. He wrote many books which have been mentioned by Sheikh Mohammad Ali Hazin in his Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātīda-va Tansīfāt-i-Khud! They deal with different subjects including theology and literature and speak of the wide knowledge and versatile nature of his father's personality. It can not be claimed with certainty that his books are still preserved somewhere. Their study would have been very useful for the modern scholar in understanding different sciences of the medieval times.

¹ Tarikh-i Ahwāl wa Tadhkira-yi Hāl, p.10
Hazin's uncles, grandfather, great grandfather and so on were all distinguished scholars in one field or the other. For example, Shaikh 'Ata Ullah, the eldest son of 'Abdullah and uncle of Hazin, was famous for his knowledge of 'Fiqh' and 'Hadith'. He was also known for his ascetism and died at an advanced age without leaving any issue.

Shaikh 'Ibrānim, another uncle of Shaikh 'Ali Hazin, was also a famous calligraphist and well-versed in epistolary composition and belles-lettres. Shaikh 'Ibrānim died in 1707 A.D. and was buried at Lāhijān. He was survived by one son, Shaikh Mufid and two daughters. But Shaikh Mufid, as already mentioned, passed away in the prime of his youth.

Likewise, Shaikh 'Ali, the great grandfather of Shaikh Mohammad 'Ali Hazin, was a teacher of Khan Ahmad Khan, the king of Gilān. The king was very much influenced by Shaikh 'Ali's literary attainments and had a great regard for him. Shaikh 'Ali is the author of the commentary entitled 'Sharh-i-Hadith-i-Mi'rāj'. The commentary was written at the request of Khan Ahmad Khan. The Shaikh also wrote another extensive commentary entitled Risāla-i-illation-i-Jadhr-i-Asamm on the Fusūs of Fārābī.¹ He also wrote another treatise

¹ The Fusūs of Fārābī is known as the Risālat-al-Fusūs til Ḥikmat.
known as Risāla-i-Itubāt-i-Mājīb, in addition to composing a 'diwan' consisting of 2000 verses. His pen-name or 'takhallus' as already mentioned, was 'Waḥdat!'

It may be mentioned at this stage that Ḵazīn is called by many names such as, Ḵazīn Lahiji, Lahijānī, Zahidi, Ǧilānī, and Banārasi etc. As a matter of fact, Ḵazīn's family originally lived at Astara till Shaikh Shihābuddīn ʿAlī, one of his ancestors, left Astara and took up his residence at Lahijān. From that time onward Lahijān remained the house of Ḵazīn's ancestors.

When Ḵazīn was only four years old, he was placed for instruction under Mulla Shah Ṭoḥāmā Shirāzi. In about two years' time he was capable of reading and writing. He took so much interest in his studies that no occupation was more dear to him than to read and write and he perused a number of Persian books, both in prose and verse. Ḵazīn mentions the names of his teachers in his Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātīdāh-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khūda as well as in the Tarīkh-i Aḥwāl wa Tadhkhira-yi Ḥāl. At the age of eight, his father directed him to improve his 'Qirāt' under Maulāna Malik Ḥusain Qārī. In addition to learning Grammar and etymology, Ḵazīn took particular interest in the study of logic and attracted his teachers' attention still more.

1 Nigarīstān-i-Fārs, p. 226.
When Ḥazîn was ten years old, his father himself became his teacher. Ḥazîn’s father taught him many books on different subjects. The Shaikh read many books from his father when he accompanied him to Lāhijān in 1113 A.H. and stayed there for one year till his return to Isfahān. While on their way to Gīlān, according to Ḥazîn’s own statement, ‘at every stage, wherever we alighted, I read with my father the Theological Part of Sharḥ-i Tajrīd and the Zubdat-ul Uṣūl. This indicates the sincerity and exceptional devotion of Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥāzin for his literary attainments. He rightly remarks that, ‘what I did not learn at lectures I read in private, and committing it to my memory I used to ask my father the difficult passages. But few indeed of the most studious scholars have found the means of perusing the quantity of various books and treatises of fixed science, which in a short space of time passed under my view’.

1. Jāmī’s Sharḥ-i Kāfiya, Niẓām’s Sharḥ-i Shāfiya, Tahdīb wa Sharḥ-i Isāghūji, Sharḥ-i Shamsiya, Sharḥ-i Muṭal’-e dar Māntiq, Sharḥ-i Hīdāya, Hikmat-ul ‘Alîn, Mukhtasar Talkhīs, the whole of Muṭawwal, Mughni-ul Labīb, the Ja’fariya, Mukhtasar Mu’āllim-ul Uṣūl and many other treatises. For further details see Tarīkh-i Aḥwāl wa Tadhkira-yi Ḥāl, p. 11
2. Tarīkh-i Aḥwāl wa Tadhkira-yi Ḥāl, p. 23 & F.C. Belfour, p. 50
Shaikh Mohammad 'Ali Hazin's ancestral property was in Lahijān. Shaikh's father had gone to Lahijān to look after his property and took Hazin also with him. Both the persons stayed at Lahijān for about one year. During this stay, Hazin learnt many books from his father. While coming back from Lahijān, Hazin studied from his father Tashrīḥ-ūl-Aflāk on the way. Again, at iṣfānān, the Shaikh came into contact with the following learned persons:

1. Mirza Kamāluddīn of Fasa
2. Ḥāji Muḥammad Tāhir of Iṣfahān
3. Shaikh Ināyat-ullāh of Gīlān. He was a disciple of Shaikh Wawām and a friend of Shaikh's father.
4. Amīr Syed Ḥasan of Tāliqān.
5. Āgna Jamāluddīn Moḥammad Khonsārī, the oldest son of Āgna Ḥusain Khonsārī.
6. Ākund Maula Moḥammad 'Sirāb' of Gīlān. He was one of the Mujtahids.
7. Mirza Masīrī.
8. Mirza Moḥammad Tāhir, son of Mirza Abū Ḥasan of Qāyīn.

The above account of Shaikh's meeting with learned persons goes to show his abundant love for knowledge. Whether he was staying somewhere or travelling, Hazin never missed an opportunity to learn. He developed this habit
right in his childhood and remained busy with the process of learning and teaching throughout his life.

As Shaikh's father himself was a very learned and pious man and was held in high esteem for his abilities among his contemporaries, he always conducted his son to the company of learned and pious people. Consequently, Shaikh Hāzin came into contact with a large number of eminent persons while still young. A summary of the persons whom the Shaikh contacted with the intention of learning is as follows:

1. Maulāna Moḥammad Bāqar Najlīsī of Isfahān. He was one of the most famous theologians and the Shi'a lawyers and the Shaikh-ul-Islām of Isfahān. He died at an advanced age of 72 years. Shi'as call him Khātim-ul-Muhaddithīn. He has written a large number of books on different aspects of Shi'a religion.

2. Mirza 'Ala-ud-Dīn Moḥammad known by the surname of Gulsitānī.

3. Shaikh Ja'far Qāzi. He was the disciple of ʿAgha Ḥusain Khonsārī and later on became the Shaikh-ul-Islām and the Grand Vazir.

4. Shaikh 'Alī, the younger brother of Shaikh Ja'far Qāzi.

5. Maulāna Ḥāji Abu Turāb. He was the friend of Maulāna Moḥammad Bāqar Najlīsī and was famous for his knowledge in matters of law. His legal decisions are supposed to be authoritative.
6. Ākhund Masīhāl 'Shahīd' Son-in-law of Āgha Husain Khwānsārī
8. Āgha Razi-uddīn Moḥammad, son of Āgha Husain Khonsārī.
10. Maulāna Shamsuddīn Moḥammad, son of Maulāna Moḥammad Saʿīd of Gilān.
11. Āgha Mehdī.
12. Maulāna Hāji Moḥammad of Gilān.
13. Maulāna Moḥammad Bāqar of Khurāsān. He was a Mujtahīd.

While going to the province of Gilān in the company of his father to see his family members, the Shaikh came into contact with the following persons:

1. Mirza Ḥasan, son of Maulānā ʿAbdur-Razzāq. The Shaikh met him at Qum.
2. Hāji Moḥammad Sharīf.
3. Mīr Moḥammad Ibrāhīm of Qazvīn.
4. Mirza Qawāmuddīn Moḥammad of Saʿīf (Near Qazvīn).

During their stay for one year at Lāhijān, Hazīn visited his uncle and many other men of learning belonging to that place.  Hazīn's father engaged himself in conferences and disputations and Hazīn attended his classes as one of his pupils.
At his father's direction, Hazin studied the treatise called *Khulaṣat-ul-Hisāb* under his uncle. Amongst other teachers, Hazin read the greatest portion of the book called *Tāndhib-ul-Abkām* of Shaikh Ḥūsain in the Academy of Āgha Hādi. For about three years Hazin studied under Shaikh Khalīl-Ullah, who gave him the pen-name "Hazin." On his death, Hazin studied a number of books of eminent scholars on various aspects of religion as well as other fields of study like Mathematics, Medicine, Algebra, Astronomy, Law, Logic etc. Among his teachers on different fields of study, mention may be made of Shaikh Sahā-uddīn Gilānī, Mirza Kamāluddīn of Ṭasa Shaikh Ināyatullah Gilānī Ākhund Māshāḥū, Mulla Mōhsin, Maulāna Lutf-ullāh Shīrūzī, Maulāna Abūl Karīm and Maulāna Mūḥammad Sādiq Ardistānī.

Soon afterwards Hazin decided to have a comparative study of religions and investigate questions and truths concerning the followers of different sects. He came into contact with one Christian named Khalīfa Āwānūs, a man of profound learning. Hazin studied from him the Gospel, and having obtained a commentary on it, he read a large number of their books and fully investigated the articles of their

---

1 *Tārīkh-i Ahwāl wa Tadhkira-yī Hāl*, pp. 28-29
faith and principles of their religion. Similarly Hazin became impressed by one named Shu'āb, a Jewish inhabitant of Isfahān, and took him to his house. The Jew taught Bible to Hazin and also wrote an interpretation of the same book for him. As for the Islamic beliefs, Hazin made an extensive study of all of them and then put them into practice. He gave careful consideration to the books of each sect and tested them on the basis of reasoning and rationality.

Hazin also mentions his meeting with a Dastoor of Māgi at Beida from whom he learnt all that the Dastoor knew concerning the principles, doctrines and history of his sect. There are a few compositions of Hazin which deal with the religion and beliefs of the Magians with whom he came in close contact for quite some time.

It has already been pointed out that Hazin learnt reading and writing within a short span of two years. Simultaneously he developed deep interest in composing verses also. His aptitude in this branch went on increasing but he kept his verses secret from his teacher and father for quite some time.

---

1 Tarikh-i Ahwāl wa Tāchkira-yi Hāl, p. 29
One day in Abi Ḥālib's house, some intellectuals were present and ʿAṣim also was called to join them. During the course of their discussion on various topics, one of them recited the following couplet of Mulla Moḥtashim Kāshāni.

ای نامیت بست قرآن در کلیم لا
دعای آنزیم رو بردن لا ۱

When some of the company expressed their approval, Shaikh Abi Ḥālib said that he had seen the Diwan of Moḥtashim. In the recited couplet, the second hemistich was right and the first was not conformable to nature and gave reasons therefor. The company acknowledged what he said as true. Thereupon, turning to his son, Shaikh Abi Ḥālib said, "I know that you have not yet abandoned poetry. If you can compose a couplet in the same ode, do so." ʿAṣim instantly produced the following matla (Opening couplet):

۲

1 Tārīḵ-i Aḥwāl wa Tadhkira-yi Ḥāl, p. 15
2 Ibid., p. 15
The company burst into applause. While they were still enjoying the 'matl'la' another couplet came to Hazin's mind, and he repeated:

\[
\text{شرخ نشک فورا مرنن کوی عاشقان}
\]

\[
\text{بًشین کر ار نورد گا پنا سبتر} 1
\]

Upon this couplet Shaikh Abi Talib also praised his son saying that what was missing in the verse of Mulla Mohtashim, was found in Hazin's couplet. Hazin recited yet another:

\[
\text{شکل شر به است کاردل ار عشش روئش در}
\]

\[
\text{شا بی ررس خا چر سکل پیچر} 2
\]

In the same way, after a little pause, Hazin composed another couplet and went on till he had recited a complete ode. Shaikh Abi Talib who was very much against his son's habit of composing poetry gave him permission for it and presented his own pencase to Hazin to write down that ode.

Shortly after this event, Hazin's right hand fractured and it took about a year to heal up. During this period Hazin took pen in his left hand and composed a number of verses.

1 Tarikh-i Ahwāl va Taḥkira-yi Lū p.16
2 Ibid. p. 16.
As pointed out earlier, Hazin kept his verses secret both from his father as well as from his teacher because, in the beginning, both of them were against Hazin's becoming a poet. Hazin writes:

1. 

He also alludes to the same admonition in one couplet:

2. 

It was only his instructor, Shaikh Khalīl-ullah Tāliqānī who added fuel to the fire of Shaikh Hazin's strong inclination for poetry.

It is, however, amazing to note that Hazin had no teacher in poetry as such. He himself does not mention anywhere in his writings the name of any of his instructors from whom he learnt the art of versification. In spite of all this Hazin was considered as an expert of poetry. When he was only twenty-nine years of age, the following interesting

---

1 *Tīrīkh-i Ahwāl wa Tadhkira-yi Ḥāl*, p. 11
2 *Kulliyāt-i Ḥazin*, p. 245
event took place.

There existed a controversy regarding the poetry of Jamāluddīn 'Abdur Razzāq Isfahānī and his son Kamāl-uddīn Ismā'il as to whose composition of the two held a superior place. People of the field were taking sides with both of them but agreed to the decision of Shaikh Ḥazīn. Abu Ṭālib Shūlīstānī wrote a letter to Ḥazīn to express his judgement on the matter. Ḥazīn sent a versified reply to this letter and expressed his opinion in favour of the son.

Another important aspect of Ḥazīn's artistic attainments is that he was well-versed in different types of writing. Ḥazīn might have learnt the different styles of penmanship from his uncle Shaikh Ibrāhīm whose writings served as models. Shaikh Ibrāhīm could write in seven forms of penmanship. He used to copy with such a nicety that it was difficult to distinguish between the original and a copy thereof. Ḥazīn is particularly known for his Ḥikasta. His extant writings are in that style.

Ḥazīn has also given an account of his love affair. In his youth Ḥazīn was attracted by the beauty and allurement of an accomplished lady which drove his heart to distraction.

---

1 Safīna-yi Shaikh 'Ali Ḥazīn, p.8
One of his verses alludes to the intensify of his love:

 بنم دی لشایان زیمال روست لیگ
 دو جهان بهم برکر سر شور و شریماه.

In prose he also refers to this event in strongest term:

"An undesirable perplexity fell amidst the inmost recesses, and secret feelings, of my nervous frame, and from my unsettled heart tumult and disturbance arose. The most extraordinary circumstance was, that the vanquished and down fallen at the feet of that princes of the fair, exceeded all number and description; and I was ever repeating this couplet!"

(sweet rose! not alone am I an object of wonder to the gazing crowd. Hundreds of thy distracted lovers gather crowds by their frantic gestures)

This reminds us of a beautiful couplet from Hāfiz:

من برا نا گل عارفین یلدل سرایهم و بس
کم عند لبخند تو از همر طرف دیارا نام.

---

1 Belfour, E.C. The Life of Shaikh Ḥaṭim ʿAlī Ḥazin, p. 65
2 Ibid. 65-69
3 Dīwān-i Hāfiz, p. 115
Sometime afterwards a severe affliction befell Hazin and many doctors tried to cure him through Chinese medicines. But the severity of Rheumatism or pain in the joints was so much that it affected different parts of Hazin's body and he could hardly move them. None of the doctors treating Hazin through Chinese wood or root succeeded. One Mirza Sharif undertook to treat Hazin through a different process and was successful. By and by Hazin fully recovered but the physician himself was seized with the same complaint and became bed-ridden.

On this occasion Hazin composed an ode beginning with the following couplet:

مَرْجُومٌ عَشَّاقٌ، مَرْكُوكْ، مَرَكَمْ، مَرْكَمْ، مَرَكَمْ، مَرَكَمْ، مَرَكَمْ،

Mirza Sharif expired after sometime.

Hazin, was a Shi'a by birth and faith. It is a matter where reason, appeal, knowledge or conviction does not work at all. A man of Hazin's calibre and learning who thoroughly studied Islam and its various sects and had the full knowledge of the principles, practices and faith of other religions also remained Shi'a because he was born in an

1 Belfour, P.C. The Life of Shaikh Mohammad 'Ali Hazin, p.69.
Orthodox Shi'a family. Even today we find learned persons and many noble prize winners not changing their religion simply because it is a religion of their forefathers. Conversion of weaker groups of the people to a particular faith is either because they did not profess any religion or if they followed one, the other community ill-treated them to such an extent that they changed it out of hatred.

True to his faith in Shia'ism, Hazin, in his fourth *dīwān*, has written many *qaṣīdas* in praise of Hadrat 'Ali, and other Imāms. The construction of his house, mosques, grave and garden at Fatīmān in Benāres also lend support to his faith in Shia-ism. Despite all this, Hazin was not at all a narrow-minded person. Not even a single word is to be found in his writings against Hadrat Abu Bakr, Hadrat 'Umar, Hadrat Uthmān, the first three caliphs not accepted by his sect. Hazin did not limit this broad-mindedness only to Islam but he extended it to all the religions and different sects thereof. Above all, Hazin has nothing to say against Hinduism which he studied at length during his more than thirty years of stay in the country --especially in the sacred city of Benāres. This fact assumes special significance in the face of Hazin's hypercriticism of India and the Indian people --writing many satires on them.
The reason seems to be the fact that in Hazin's time India was generally represented by Muslims because they were not only the rulers but were also in the forefront in literatures, sciences and administration. In feudal times, there were only two classes, the educated upper class and the illiterate downtrodden class. Hazin had to deal with the former class which was mostly Muslim. Whatever complaints or grievances he had were actually against that class. Accordingly, when Hazin refers to India or Indian, he means that class which consisted of Muslims. As for the Indian soil, its ancient religion and its toiling illiterate Hindu masses are concerned, Hazin not only had no grievances against them but had a soft corner in respect of them because they did not clash with him in any field. Being fed up with the sophisticated and intellectual atmosphere of Delhi and other centres of urban society, Hazin ultimately took refuge in Benares, the sacred city of Hindus and found solace there. He not only chose to pass the rest of his life there but also decided to have his eternal sleep in its soil. He composed a special couplet to be engraved on his tomb at Benares which runs as follows:

\[
\text{سَرُ شَوَرَمُ مُّنَٰہٰٰ تِبِّيِّنَٰ اَسَانُ وَاسُلُٰتُ اَسِیْا،}
\]

1 Safīna-yi Shaikh 'Ali Hazin, p.54
We find yet another couplet in his writings which explicitly mentions his preference for that city and glorifies its religious nature.

Due to the circumstances of his life and his rather tense personality, Hazin was a misfit in the contemporary society. He may be called a misunderstood and solitary figure and that explains his coldness towards the Indian poets and scholars and his overall disgust against India. He is reported to have turned down several offers of patronage and financial help by kings and nobles of his time. Being an Iranian as well as a learned man and poet he became a harsh critic of Indian-born poets of Persian who had no living contact with the current language and wrote dead and sometime out of date idioms. On the other hand, Brahmins and Hindu scholars had nothing to do with this rivalry and their natural way of life and secularism impressed Hazin and made him their admirer.

As a Muslim, Hazin lead a life of Sufi. In fact, he belonged to the family of Sufis. But he was very assiduous in the repetition of all appointed invocations and took exceptional delight in the worship and service of the Almighty. His perfect piety, his disdain of all worldly gains

glories, his full surrender to God's will and extreme contentment with whatever accrued to him in the natural course of life all go to show his simplicity in life. Though Hazin had almost withdrawn from the world, his critics did not spare him. He was accused of believing in Wahdat-ul-Wujud or Pantheism and giving up praying also. Some people have also alleged Hazin to be a non-believer in resurrection in spite of the fact that in his writings Shaikh has explained it quite clearly and exhaustively. We should not give much important to such allegations as this has happened with many scholar and persons of upright character. They have been made a target by the mediocres simply out of jealousy and Hazin could not be an exception.

The nature of Shaikh Mohammad Ali Hazin has been described by different ways. Those who liked the Shaikh have described him as a man of delicate nature and refined manners while others have complained against his harsh temperament, ill treatment and bad behaviour.

Hazin, indeed, belonged to the family of scholar-cum-Sufis which, fortunately enjoyed the patronage of the ruling Safavid dynasty of Iran. Besides, the Shaikh's family had decent income from their property in Lahijān. Quite care-free from the pecuniary problems, Hazin spent his boyhood in search of knowledge. During his early life, Hazin was as happy a man as could be expected of anybody. Then the vicissitudes of time took turn and Hazin's glee was turned into gloom.
In 1127 A.H., when Hazin was hardly twenty-five years of age, his father passed away. Two years later his mother also died. Hazin's two brothers also passed away in the prime of their youth. On the death of his uncle, the property income from Lāhijān also came to an end because of the mis-management of the servants and so on. Then came the siege of Iṣfahān by the Afghāns wherein his library and all other possessions were plundered. One of Hazin's Dīwāns' entitled as 'Muddat-ul-Umr', for which Hazin lamented throughout his life, was also lost. After the Afghāns' take-over of Iṣfahān, his birth-place, Hazin had to say good-bye to it. The Shaikh had to travel for about ten years in search of peace which he could not find. Of the places which the Shaikh visited during this period, mention may be made of Khurram-ābād, Hamdān, Nīhāvand, Dezful, Shuster, Kirmanshah, Baghdad, Karbala, Najaf, Kazmain, Mashhad, Kurdistān, Āzerbajjān, Gīlān, Mecca and Bahrain. It is to be noted that during the siege of Iṣfahān, the Shaikh was seriously ill and in the same condition he had to leave his beloved Iṣfahān. During these travels, the Shaikh had to suffer a lot of mental and physical afflications and tortures because of the vageries of weather, difficulties of the unfamiliar ways and the chaotic conditions prevalent in Iran due to the invasions of Afghāns, Turks and the Russians. Moreover, under the new regime of Nādir Shāh, the Shaikh was charged with high
treason and for the safety of his life, Hazin had to leave his motherland which he loved so much.

Compelled by the aforesaid circumstances and bearing a lot of sufferings en route, the Shaikh came to India. Hazin entered Delhi in about 1146 A.H. in the hope of high hospitality and warm welcome but received only disappointment. Further, the people of Delhi did not like the Shaikh, as a result of which he decided, despite the risk of his life to leave Delhi for Khuräsn only after one year. But circumstances and fate would not have it so and the Shaikh had to stay all along his remaining life in a country which he did not like. Due to some reasons, explained elsewhere, the Shaikh also lost the sympathies of the king, the courtiers, court-poets, the people of the country in general and those of the Kashmir and Delhi in particular. Ultimately, it became difficult for Hazin to live in Delhi and in 1161 A.H. he left this city for Benäres. The above-mentioned circumstances made Hazin an irritable and rash person.

Hazin was a man of hyper-sensitive and benevolent nature. Self-respect was most dear to him. These characteristics never allowed him to court the patronage of the kings or their courtiers. Commenting on his own nature, he writes:-

'As to myself, I had no disposition or ability for the acquisition of worldly riches; nor have I now: and to have recourse to any person, and, displaying to him my wants, to accept his
favour and generosity, however many sincere friends I may have among the exalted sovereigns and the most beneficent princes of mankind, to me, with my nice sense of honour and delicate high mindedness, would be impossible. My inclination is to confer benefits, and to spread gifts among the whole human race. With such a propensity, to live empty-handed and shorn of ability to the extent of my wish, is the most disagreeable and vexatious of all things, and the hardest of misfortunes! 1

That Hazin had love and sympathy for the whole humanity is evident from the following quotation:-

"For myself, my nature is so framed that I cannot countenance any folly or injury, and for cruelty and oppression have no endurance. To succour the afflicted, to relieve the oppressed, and to protect the weak, I am irresistibly impelled, and should I be unable to the performance, rest to me is impossible and life is a prohibition." 2 A similar instance of Hazin's benevolence is recorded when he was still in Iran. After the blockade of Isfahān, Hazin escaped and spent two years in Khurram-ābād. The population of Khurram-ābād had fled the town because of the fear of invasion of Turks. On that occasion, Hazin went to Hamdān, already conquered by the Turks. The Shaikh came to know of a lot of sufferings and atrocities there. Hazin courageously talked to the Turkish officials pleading the cases of innocents

---

1 Belfour, R.C. The Life of Sheikh Mohammad Ali Hazin, p. 113.
2 Ibid p. 225.
and got a huge group of prisoners freed. Likewise, to quote Hazin's own words, 'In the province of Punjab, especially in the city of Lahore, a terror like that of the resurrection arose. Seized with a violent illness I was confined to my bed in that town; and as I knew well the people of India, and their character, I burnt with grief at the condition of the weak and the depressed subjects.'

The above discussion brings us to the conclusion that Hazin was a tender-hearted, high-minded and brave man. He had delicate temperament and was soft-spoken. In his explanations, the Shaiikh used to introduce elegance and eloquence and talked in a low voice.

Despite the aforesaid qualities it has to be admitted that Hazin was somewhat arrogant and proud of his knowledge and poetry. He never considered any country of the world better than Iran nor did he recognise anybody superior to him in matters of knowledge and versification. In his autobiography Hazin praises his Qir'at, his Sāqi-Nāma, his first Diwān, his Kharābat etc. Self-praise is always bad but the way Hazin justifies it makes it still worse:

---

3 Kulliyāt-i Hazin p. 909
Had Hazin confined himself only to self-praise, perhaps learned people of the age would have pardoned him. But Hazin crossed his limits by criticising not only his distinguished Indian contemporaries but also their country and its people at large. For example about India and its people in general, he remarks:

(a) The climate of India is very bad.

(b) The conduct and manners of its inhabitants are even worse. They are selfish and lack commonsense. Disloyalty is is rooted in their being.

(c) Its economy is in bad shape and life is extremely difficult and that nobody can live without plenty of money, power and citizenship. Even after taking these things granted life there is not pleasant.

(d) Even the barest necessities of life are not available without struggle and patience.

(e) No good personal attendants are available.

(f) Servants are lazy and inefficient and ten of them cannot do the work equal to that of a single person of any other country. The more you increase the number of servants, the worse is the productivity.

(g) All the highways of this country are always unsafe and dangerous.

(h) The country is so bad and desolate that no one from Iran and Rome at least would like to settle down in India, except when there is no other alternative place to live as narrated by Tusi in his 'Garshasp Nama'.

As a matter of fact, when Ḥazin came to India, the ruling Mughal dynasty was on rapid decline. The centuries-long rule of the Ṣafavid dynasty of Iran had already been put to an end by Nādir Shāh. During the days of Muḥammad Shāh though, the conditions for growth and development of art, poetry and other literacy activities were not as conducive as during the periods of his predecessors viz., Akbar, the great, Jahangīr and Shāh Jahan, there remained a good number of learned scholars and poets—both Indian and of Iranian origin in the court of Delhi itself. For example, in addition to Wāleh Dāghistānī, Shohrūt Shīrāzī, Muḥammad Raza Qizilbāsh Khan Ummīd etc. who originally came from Iran, there was quite a sizeable number of Indian poets of distinction such as, 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Amīr Khan Anjām, Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣif Jāh I, the founder of the former Hyderabad State, Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir Beidil, 'Abdūl Jalīl Bilgrāmī, Āzād Bilgrāmī, Mirzā Mazhar Jānjāna, Waḥchāt Thānesari, Muḥammad Faqīh, Darmand, Shaikh Kamāl-uddīn Ḥaqīr, Mīr Muḥammad 'Azīm Thābāt, Mīr Muḥammad Afzal Thābit, Amānāt Rai Amānāt, Sirāj-uddīn 'Alī Khān Ārzu, Mīr 'Alī Naqī Eijād, Mīr Aẓmatullāh Bēkhabar Bilgrāmī and Kishān Chand Ikhlāq, author of Hāmēsha Bahār. It is true that many of them had died at the time of Ḥazin's coming over to India but majority of them were living at that time.  

1 Safīna-yi Shaikh Ḥazīn, p. 36-37
Hazin spent most of his life in and around the courts and in the company of kings and nobles but he always remained a man of independent nature. Hazin never wrote verses 'or qaṣīdas' in praise of kings and the courtiers. Indeed, he hated court panegyrics and considered himself superior to Zahir, Fāryābi, Salmān and Khāqānī because they were qaṣīda-writers.

In view of his learning and noble birth, people advised Hazin to take to court life but he refused to oblige his counsellors. The following verses are worth quoting in this respect.

1 Kulliyāt-i Hazin, pp. 191-92.
In the seventh century A.H. Shaikh Sa'di was also advised to take the same course as is evident from the following qita'a:

Reference has already been made to the proud nature and arrogance of Shaikh 'Ali Hazin. But this treatment he used to give to the people in power or to the courtiers and that too according to their positions. He respected the religious people like anything. When Shuja'-uddaulah, prior to the battle of Baksar in 1764 A.D., came to see Hazin, he did not pay him more than half a bow and said, 'a whole bow is meant for the kings and escorting is reserved for the 'Mujtahids' and the 'Ulemas!' Similarly, Hazin had a great respect for Hājī Bahā-uddīn for whom he used to say: the whole of 'Azīmaābād on the one hand is equal to Hājī Bahā-uddīn on the other! One day when Bahā-uddīn was returning to his native place from Benāres where he had gone to see Hazin, the Shaikh escorted him upto the gate at the time of seeing Bahā-uddīn off. A similar

1 Kulliyāt-i Shaikh Sa'di, pp. 830-31
The incident is narrated by Shāh Hidayat-ullah Wāḥdat Kābuli. In 1150 A.H., he had come to Shāhjehan-ābād from Aurangābād Deccan for some work. When he went to see Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazin, first he did not even stand from his seat to receive him. But when he said that Maulvi Mohammad Bāqar Shahīd had said 'Salām' to you, the Shaikh stood up and embraced Shāh Hidayat-ullah Wāḥdat Kābuli and took his meal with him. The Shaikh further asked if Bāqar Shahīd still continued to write poetry and if so, to quote any of his couplets whereupon Shāh Hidayat-ullah recited the following couplet of Maulvi Mohammad Bāqar:

\[\text{After the meeting when Shāh Hidayat-ullah took leave, the Shaikh stood up and saw him off.}\]

Hazin came from a family which, in one way or the other, remained attached to the Safavid rulers of Iran for more than two centuries and enjoyed patronage and privileges.

---

1 Maulvi Mohammad Bāqar Shahīd is one of the predecessors had migrated from Iran and set up his residence in Ahmadābād (Gujrāt). At the time of Hajj he met Shaikh Ḥazin at Tatta. He was so much influenced by the Shaikh that he became disciple and 'Murid' of the Shaikh. In his youth he had migrated from Gujrat to Aurangābād Deccan.

2 Safina-i-Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazin, pp. 30–31
Hazin himself was very much attached to Sultan Husain Safavi and his son Shah Tahmasp (after Mahmood dethroned Sultan Husain and put him under house-arrest) and their courtiers. He was involved in many political decisions also. But he never accepted any position. He was very straightforward and very much against false praise of anybody. He was repeatedly solicited by the emperor Mohammad Shah (through the intercession of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk and other courtiers), to take charge of the post of Prime Ministership, but on each occasion Hazin declined the offer by saying that he did not want to involve himself in politics.

Despite Hazin's love-affairs with an accomplished lady mentioned earlier, he remained a bachelor throughout. In his youth, Hazin's parents and others persuaded him to marry but he did not give his consent because of his excessive love for learning and teaching. It has happened in the lives of many devotees that they could not keep a balance between family life and their devotion or dedication. Although Islam lays great emphasis on a balanced life and recommends full discharge of responsibilities towards family, it is surprising that Hazin preferred to live unmarried. This is yet another fact which made the Shaikh short-tempered in his later life. It also resulted in the extinction of a
branch of illustrious scholars descended from Shaikh Zahid-i-Gilani through Hazin's great grandfather, Shaikh Ali bin Ata Ullah. Hazin's death as bachelor proved the truth of his father's desire so prophetically forecast and so pathetically pronounced on the morning of his death in the following words:

In his autobiography, Tarih-i Ahvāl wa Tadhkira-yi Hāl, as well as in his letters, Hazin complains of his illness. Space does not allow to detail the duration of his illness at different times and places. Right from his early thirties, Hazin, more often than not, due to compelling circumstances, started undertaking travels and was exposed to the vagaries of weather which adversely affected his health. His abstinence only worsened it resulting in permanent impairment. In India, a scrutiny of his letters shows that Hazin's health was bad right from his youth. He had developed a sort of gout and often suffered from fever. But it is also a well known fact that intellectuals and learned scholars seldom have sound health and athletic bodies and as such, Hazin was no exception to this general rule.

---

1 Tarih-i Ahvāl wa Tadhkira-yi Hāl, p.9
Towards the end of his life Hazin retired to Benares with few necessities of life. Now he was no more capable of any action. He constructed a tomb for himself and used to go and pray there on Thursdays and distribute alms. In Benares, Hazin passed life in seclusion. He had completely stopped paying visit to any one, rich or poor. He did not receive anything from anybody, rather he frequently gave money to the poor as far as his means permitted. Here, he had given up any hope of returning to his motherland and cherished no desire except his union with the Almighty. He was convinced of passing his last days in India and die in India as he himself says:

In his own words, 'My elemental frame, crushed by the assemblage of grief and diseases, and the powers of my soul, flagged and fallen away to indolence and neglect, have sunk the head within the breast fold of lowliness. Now, weak and helpless, I sit listening for the note of departure.'

1 Kulliyāt-i Hazin p. 313.
CHAPTER - III

CRITICAL EVALUATION OF HAZIN'S POETRY

The statement of Shaikh 'Ali Hazin as given in his Tadhkiratul Ahibāl shows that he had compiled four collections of his poetry. Writing in his autobiography he declares:

"I collected the verses written during this period which forms the fourth 'Diwān' of this humble servant."

While giving this information Hazin must have been less than fifty-two years of age because he had stopped writing his autobiography after that age. But the Shaikh lived on up to seventy-seven years of age. The intervening period of twenty-five years, although marked by ill-health, must have produced some poetry which we are unable to set apart. His present 'Kulliyāt' printed at the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow comprises 'Qaṣidas', 'Ghazals', 'Qīt āts' and 'Mathnavis!' The 'Qaṣidas' number about forty. A cursory glance at them establishes the fact that no 'qaṣida' is written in praise of any noble or king. Instead, they are exclusively

1 Kulliyāt-i Hazin p. 80
devoted to the praise of Hazrat'Ali and other Imāms! The poet himself points out to his indifference towards the wealthy and authoritative people. Relevant couplets pertaining to this claim are given below:

There can be little doubt in the truth of this claim made by Hazin because he was really averse to the material wealth and worldly power. He kept himself so persistantly away from these things that his seclusion as well as delicate temperament became well-known among the people. ShaiKh was a learned poet which is reflected very well in his 'qāšidās' but his learning and erudition, in sharp contrast to 'Khāqāni' the giant 'qāšidā'-writer of Iran, has not eclipsed his heart-felt emotions and his spiritual ideas. Hazin, to be short and precise, is not pedantic. Casting aside his knowledge and learning, he prays before Almighty God in the right earnest and with a humility and pathetic note that can move the stones. While praising the divine qualities such as

1 Kulliyat-i Hazin p. 190
munificence, love and all-pervading splendour, he disdainfully looks at the worldly show of wealth and power. He does not recognise anybody except the Almighty God as his Protector and Patron. The base of Hazin's poetry is love not knowledge but he embraces real knowledge and reaches the stage of gnostics where conventional religion disappears and the boundaries of 'Kaba' and Idol-house do not remain an obstacle. He declares:

\[\text{Hazin describes the world as wilderness or, at best, a place of ambition and sensuousness. He rejects both and exhorts his readers to concentrate on the blissfulness of spiritual life and get rid of distractions resulting from the material life. He thinks the combination of the material and spiritual tendencies to be destructive and opposed to each other and hence, unable to co-exist in one heart.}\]

As has been stated earlier, the Shaikh, inspite of his disdainful attitude to India and her Persian poetry, continued

1 Kulliyât-i Hazin p.154,
2 Ibid p.154
to follow the style of Persian poetry known as 'Sa'd-i-Hindi'. In 'qasidas' also a similar position can be noticed. Instead of imitating the great 'qasida'-writers of the Ghaznavid and the Seljuk periods, he seems to be rather influenced by 'Urfi although temperamentally he was different from the latter. The above-mentioned verses of Hazin have been taken from a 'qasida' written in praise of the Prophet which has the same rhyme and metre as found in the renowned 'qasida' of 'Urfi written in praise of the Prophet beginning with the following couplet:

This, however, cannot be taken as full proof of Hazin being influenced by 'Urfi, more so, because several other writers including the great Anwari had also composed his famous 'qasida' in the same scheme of rhyme and metre which begins with the following line:

But the matter does not rest there. It is not only the scheme of rhyme and metre which reminds one of 'Urfi's influence on Hazin. The latter's impact on Hazin can be noticed much deeper both in style and attitude. The following extract

1 Qasid -i 'Urfi p.
from Hazin's 'qasīda' amply reflects the forceful expression and egotistic nature of 'Urfi.

Apart from this 'qasīda' Hazin has imitated 'Urfi in many other 'qasidas' also. Himself a good poet and critic, Hazin was able to pick up the best 'qasidas' of 'Urfi for imitation as for instance the one beginning with the following couplet:

\[ \text{نا تو سرت قدرت باندی بازمی‌برم،} \\
\text{ما به‌خیم‌های معلوم چشم را.} \]

'Urfi's 'qasīda' in this scheme of rhyme and metre is supposed to be one of his finest poetic works and, by virtue of its high-thinking sublimity and chiselled diction, may be included among the greatest 'qasidas' of the Persian language. It begins with the following couplet:

\[ \text{زندگی به‌هیه‌هیه نبندی که‌گویی کام‌بانی نمی‌دانم،} \\
\text{نمی‌می‌دانم که‌گویی هیه‌هیه‌ها نمی‌دانم.} \]

1 Kulliyāt-i Hazin p.153
2 Ibid p.193
3 Qasāid-i 'Urfi p.
There is one more 'qasīda' of Hazin worth mentioning which was written in imitation of 'Urfi's well-known 'qasīda' beginning with the following couplet:

١ مدخلاً از آبی ورید ودریان رفم درم از هم‌وران ازی واکان رفم  

'Urfi's 'qasīda' begins with the following couplet:

٢ رفم آ ف‌سم ندریشناان رفم  

We can go on citing many other examples in this regard but they now seem to be unnecessary because of the paucity of time and space. The common trends between both the poets can be identified in their flights of imagination, ego, disdain for the worldly life, self-glorification at the cost of other poets and what is more important, an unflinching devotion and love for the fourth Caliph, Hazrat'Ali.

It is, however, difficult to place Hazin among the great 'qasīda' writers of Persian. Rather, we are afraid he may not be included among the second best line of 'qasīda'-writers. Still, there is some element of sincere feeling and, of course, craftsmanship too, which attracts the attention of readers. The history of Persian 'qasīda', especially in the classical period, is a glorious chapter illuminated and brightened up by the genius of such writers as Minūčehri, Farrukni, 'Unsuri, the poet laureate of Mahmood, Khāqānī and Anwari. But since

---
1 Kulliyat-i Hazin p.195
2 Qasaid-i Urfi p.
we are attempting at a general survey of Hazin's poetic
collection we had to take this genre also into consideration.

A similar position exists in Hazin's 'mathnawis' also.
They cannot be regarded as very good poetry, or for that matter,
his own best performance which undoubtedly is found in his
'dhazals'. As 'Mathnawi' belongs to narrative poetry we will
content ourselves by giving summaries of some and making short
comments on them. There are six 'mathnawis' in his 'Kulliyat'
under the following headings:

1. Şafîr-i-Dil
2. Chaman-o-Anjuman
3. Knarâbât
4. Dibâcha-i-Mahmul Anzâr
5. Farhang Nâma
6. Tadnkirat-ul-Āshiqin

The first 'mathnawi' entitled Şafîr-i-Dil begins with
the traditional verses of 'Hamd' and 'N 'at'. Its verses lack
the pathetic note and high quality of the great 'mathnawi'-
writers such as Firdausi, Niţâmi and Sâdi and it would not be
fair to Hazin to make an assessment of his contribution to
'mathnawi' while keeping these great poets in mind. One
important thing to be noted about Hazin is this that he has
not only praised 'Al-i-Rasool' (Members of the house of the
Prophet) but he has also extolled the virtues of the companions
of the Prophet which of course includes such companions also
who are condemned by most of the people belonging to his sect.
Two couplets are mentioned here by way of evidence:

Two couplets are mentioned here by way of evidence:

Other verses of this 'mathnawi' describe miraculous events as are well-known among the people. For instance, he writes that the upper portion of Naushārwān's palace trembled and fell down at the time of the Prophet's birth. Similarly, he mentions the famous miracle of the Prophet as a result of which the moon was split into two parts. So far as poetic quality is concerned it has already been mentioned that it is not up to the mark. After the verses dealing with 'Hamd' and 'N'at' Ḥazin pays his tribute to the human faculty of speech. He declares that the quality which distinguished human being from animal is his power of speech. Due to this quality a person's name continues even after his death. A poet, according to him, is the king of the world and is gifted with many virtues. But, at the same time Ḥazin attacks the so-called poets of his time who are, according to him, pretenders. They have converted this world into a frightful place. Ḥazin expresses his disgust on such false poets but consoles himself with the idea that this world is an admixture of good and bad elements. It is a world where the Prophet of Islam is confronted with Abu Jehl, Imām Ḥussain is beheaded by a soldier of Yazīd's.

1. ʿulliyāt-i Ḥazin p. 796
army and so on and so forth. Man should not, therefore, become upset with these confrontations. Hazin then goes on to pay tribute to love and declares himself to be a slave of love. According to his thinking a man's ultimate worth is determined by love. If the spark of love is in his heart the man, although a drop, can assume the dimensions of an ocean. Love can dispel darkness. Love is responsible for sunshine, and the pious heart remains alive because of love. Hazin then narrates an anecdote in this connection. It is said that an insightful saint once narrating the story of Zulâkha to a miserable and poor man pointed out that the said lady was deprived of her all beauty and charm in her old age. Consequently, people tried to avoid her and the whole group of her lovers and admirers disappeared. Inspite of her old age, however, Zulâkha possessed the spark of love in her heart which helped her to regain her beloved Hazrat Yusuf. This reunion subsequently blessed Zulâkha and she became young once again. The poor man was so much impressed by this story that he also developed love in his heart and he achieved gnosisism. His house became a place of pilgrimage for the mankind and he lived a happy and blissful life thereafter. After narrating this story Hazin re-affirms to cultivate love in his heart and to propound it through his poetry. Reminding himself of the powerful pen of 'S'âdi, he resolves to wield the same pen with renewed vigour. He declares Nizâmi Ganjavi to be his guide in poetry and seeks his blessings.
A commendable part of this 'mathnawi' consists of verses which Hazin has written in praise of his father. We really become impressed by the tender feelings of love and respect expressed in these verses by the poet for his father. Generally, a person is attracted by the urges of his flesh and blood and his ambitions or sensuous desires. We find poets yearning to gain favour of kings, nobles and courtiers, of singing about the physical charm of a beloved. Even the love of one's wife and children may be attributed to his sensual desires. The love of parents however is above the carnal desires and is essentially pious and sublime. Islamic religion has, by the same reason, graded this love with divine love and worship and is supposed to be a means of deliverance in the hereafter. Shaikh Ali Hazin's temperament was basically pious and spiritual instead of being inclined towards carnal desires. The verses written in praise of his father provide irrefutable proof of this fact about Hazin. While writing about his father he grows eloquent and his poetry reaches unprecedented heights because it had the support of his nature and instinct. Some of these verses are quoted below to speak for themselves:

1 Kulliyat-i Hazin p. 802
Hazin was fully conscious of this fact and has specifically mentioned that had I praised the kings and rulers I could have accumulated great wealth but I have rejected it scornfully. I feel that by praising my father and ancestors I am only discharging the duty of my faith. This statement proves that Hazin gave greater importance to his faith than to the material wealth. Here are some of his verses explaining this point of view:

We now come across some verses dealing with 'munājāt' which reflect Hazin's piety, modesty, humility and religious

mindedness. The diction is soft and simple, the feelings sincere and the words melodious. They go home into the heart. Incidentally, the 'munājāt' literature in the Persian language is so rich and high that it is difficult to find a better 'munājāt' poetry in other languages. The 'munājāt' poems composed by S'adi, Rūmi, Nizāmī, and Jāmi can be included in the classics of world literature. It is simply because of this context that the 'munājāt' poetry of Hazin remains subdued. They fail to make much impact on the minds of those who are used to the high standard set by the above-mentioned stalwarts. One cannot, however, ignore their beauty and poetic worth in his independent judgment. Some verses are given below in evidence:

Later on Hazin gives this comments on the importance of 'dhikr-i-Ilāhi! His conviction is that one should keep one's tongue always busy in praise of Almighty God. This is very rewarding. Exhorting his reader to counting of beads and other similar practices pertaining to 'dhikr-i-Ilāhi', Hazin also lays great emphasis on propagation of faith and

1 Kulliyāt-i Hazin p.805
and gives convincing reasons for that in the following verses:

The 'mathnawi' further on becomes didactic perhaps in an unsuccessful attempt of imitating S'adi. The poet starts preaching to the kings. The verses written on this topic are hackneyed and stale and bear no comparison with the edifying and sublimating poetry of S'adi. Even after the lapse of seven centuries S'adi remains as fresh and inspiring as he was in his own times. It will not be out of place to quote a few couplets of S'adi on this occasion for comparison.

Addressing the ruling monarch of his time Sadi declares:

\[ \text{Kulliyat-i Hazin p.806} \]

\[ \text{Kulliyat-i Shaikh Sa'di. Tehran. 1338 Shamsi. n. 294} \]
We are also putting down some verses from Hazin's 'mathnawi' to enable the reader to compare both:

What is more disappointing is the high sounding title which Hazin gives to these poor verses. The title is as follows:

This makes the matter worse and leaves an impression on the reader which is just the reverse of what Hazin expects. The remaining part of the 'mathnawi' under review mostly consists of anecdotes. They also seem to have been written in imitation of S'adi in which they miserably fail. The anecdotes narrated by Hazin are boring and dull. In the first anecdote a muscle man is described in a very weak and pitiable condition. Hazin asks him "what has happened to you now? You were at one time strong enough to overpower the lions, and the whole world was screaming under your feet". The man replies, "Perhaps you are not aware of the ways of this world. That was the time of my youth and now my hair have become gray due to old age."

1 Kulliyat-i Hazin p. 807
The next anecdote describes a wealthy man to have gone to sleep in a drunken state. Towards the end of the night the roof fell on him causing his instantaneous death. A beggar sleeping in the open remarked after hearing about this tragedy, "Thanks God I sleep under the sky and feel safe from such calamity. One can only fear of sun and shower from the sky. This can never break one's bones as do the bricks and stones coming from the roof!"

The third anecdote tells us that the Iranian king Faridun once developed pain in his ear. He told his courtiers that I am sure some oppressed person must have wept to which my ears did not listen. The present pain in my ear has come as punishment of the same negligence on my part.

The fourth anecdote shows an oppressor in bondage who cries out to the poet and asks for his help. The poet is moved at the oppressor's pitiable condition who was surrounded by a hostile mob. But soon after the poet realises the fact that this man has been an oppressor and if let loose, he may again revert back to his old practice. The poet then admonishes him and asks him to repent so that the Almighty God may have mercy on him.

In the fifth anecdote a bad character and drunkard adopted an orphan as his son in order to get his property. He brought him up till he became young. Unfortunately, this
adopted son came out to be a big rascal and started squandering the wealth of his father. Not content with this, he also plundered the house of his new father and converted his wife into a slave. The new father had now become old and tired of his life. He had developed an aversion against material wealth and other ambitions of life partly because of his adopted son's behaviour. One day he called his son and told him thus "Now you are my "pīr" (mentor) and I am your "murīd" (disciple). You deserve this distinction because of bringing this change in me. Even a "pīr" having the attributes of Jesus Christ could not have succeeded in turning my heart away from the worldly attractions as has done your evil behaviour." This anecdote seems to be a poor version of the famous anecdote of the 'Gulistān-i-S'ādi' in which S'ādi's teacher used to forbid his illustrious pupil against listening to music. But S'ādi would not listen to him. One day he was invited to a musical sitting where he had to listen to a musician whose voice was intolerably harsh. S'ādi was so disgusted by this experience that he vowed to never listen to music in future.

Most of the anecdotes of Hazin are not really anecdotes. They are more like sermons illustrating moral precepts. For instance, the sixth anecdote comprising only four couplets shows two men preparing to fight each other. One of them, while putting on helmet and armour, is summoned by his father. The
father then counsels his son in these words, "If you are really a wise man then put on the armour of peace and wage a war against your 'nafs'.

The seventh anecdote depicts Hazin's picture when he was young and restless. In his ambition to conquer the whole world, Hazin wandered throughout the Islamic lands and gained considerable experience in travelling. He met 'Sufis', saints and scholars, entered into discussions and discourses with them but was not satisfied. To his surprise an old Magian happened to meet him during this period and gave him consolation and peace of mind by his counselling. The verses of this anecdote are very helpful in understanding the nature and temperament of Hazin. Some verse are quoted here by way of illustration:

1 Kulliyát-i Hazin p.812
Similarly, on the one occasion Hazin reminds a proud and powerful man of his weak origin and mortal nature and advises him to function like a shady tree under which others may rest. He should be prepared to help the needy and the poor and refrain from creating obstacles in others' path by his show of strength.

The eighth anecdote gives an account of Naushērwan, the famous Sassanid emperor. The said emperor resolved to do full justice to his people as soon as he ascended the throne. He engaged himself with the work of public welfare and gave up his own luxurious way of life. On being enquired by somebody as to why he had given so much importance to justice, especially when no other king of the past had done so, Naushērwan replied "once in my childhood I was accompanying my father on a hunting expedition. I saw that a man broke the foot of a dog and the dog became restless in pain. It was not much later that a horse kicked the same man and broke his leg. Soon after during the same hunting the horse's foot sank in the earth and his leg could not be pulled out without a fracture in his leg. I saw a special connection among these events which showed that an oppressor definitely and quickly gets punishment for his evil deed. The fact opened my eyes and I made up my mind never to oppress anybody in my life.

In the ninth anecdote Hazin accompanies some friends on a journey and together they reach a city whose ruler was a
great tyrant and the inhabitants of that city were groaning under his oppression. Incidentally, the ruler of the city got a toothache. The pain was so intense that the tooth had to be taken out. Still the pain did not subside, rather, it became shooting. Subsequently, all his teeth were removed. The inhabitants of the city were highly pleased at his affliction. One of Hazin's fellow-travellers was greatly astonished at this public rejoicing and narrated the following story to his friends in that connection:

"In the lands of Rûm there was a nice old man of gentle nature and compassionate heart. He too dropped a tooth which was picked up by his slave and buried somewhere under the earth. The people around the country raised a mausoleum over that buried tooth which became a place of pilgrimage for the people. Throughout the whole night food used to be cooked in big utensils. Heaps of flowers were presented at the place and the mausoleum was kept illuminated. This was in sharp contrast to what had happened to the tyrant mentioned above on whose suffering people had rejoiced! The treatment of both the teeth at the hands of the public should serve as an eye-opener to all.

In the tenth anecdote, an old miser had accumulated great wealth. At the time of his death somebody came to him and said, "You had collected this wealth for nothing. You did not give even a loaf of bread to the hungry. You did not pay to
The labourer. You did not eat yourself and did not allow anybody else to eat either. You kept the whole wealth locked. Now you are going away leaving your whole wealth for others. I am really astonished at your performance that the only part of the wealth you kept for yourself is the shroud while all your wealth would go to others.

The famous Sufi saint named M'aruf-i-Karkhi is described in the eleventh anecdote. Somebody advised him to seal off the stock of his grains in order to save it from insects' eating. The saint got angry over the advice and pointed out that it is very unfair and cruel to deprive the ants and other insects from their food because they are so weak and small. Only a wicked man would perpetuate cruelty over the weaker ones. Moreover, one should also keep in mind that one day one may become the food of these ants and insects.

In the twelfth anecdote Hazin comes across a saint in night. His face was so radiant that the place surrounding him was overflowing with light. Hazin was amazed to see this unusual phenomenon. He asked the saint to explain why there was so much light around him although the night was dark? The saint replied that you are surprised at the light while I am surprised at the darkness. I feel that the whole world is a manifestation of God's light and therefore, there should not be darkness anywhere. To be frank I am neither a saint nor a
man possessing any miraculous power. I am just an ordinary man. It so happened with me that once I earned two coins as my wages which I spent in kindling a lamp on the grave of somebody. From that date onward my dark nights became bright with light and wherever I go a light follows me.

The thirteenth anecdote describes Hazin paying visit to the tomb of the famous Sufi poet Ḥaṭṭār while the fourteenth anecdote narrates the story of a wicked person who had spit at the face of a saintly man. Instead of being angry the saint became very happy. He rubbed the spittum on his forehead and prostrated on the ground to express thankfulness to God. Afterward he declared that the spittum of a 'Musalmān' was a decoration of my face. I take it as an honour and hope that Almighty God will exonerate me on the day of Judgment.

The fifteenth anecdote also describes a similar story of another wicked person who used to abuse a pious and God fearing man. The pious man, when abused, thanked God. He pointed out that he was a worthless slave of God and as such felt happy over the fact that there was still somebody who could carry his name on the lips.

The 'mathnawi' Chaman-o-Anjuman: The 'mathnawi' entitled 'Chaman-o-Anjuman' comprising only sixteen pages of his 'Kulliyāt' gives a lengthy introduction with only the last two pages describing the poet's romance. The beginning of the
'mathnawi', as usual, gives verses describing the glory of God 'Hamad! The second part of it, based on 'munājāt! has really some good verses with a personal note. They are touching and full of devotion and give expression to the poet's sorrows and sufferings and sincere prayers. Since the verses form the best part of this 'mathnawi' they are quoted as under:

1 Kulliyāt-i Hazin p. 824-25
One cannot, however, help feeling that Hazin, when at his best, falls short of the high standard of 'munājāt' poetry set by not only the great Iranian masters like S'adi and Nizāmi but also the Indian born poets like Khusrau and Ghalib. It would be worthwhile to quote a part of Ghalib's verses on the same theme as they not only establish his poetic excellence but also the difference in the attitude of both the poets towards God. Ghalib's verses are decidedly more sharp, modern and assertive as a result of the impact of the western ideas and the changed social climate of his time. The verses are given as under:

من اندر پالیاں دو، اندہ راہیں
زندگی د، پر، ام و پر، پر، ہو۔
کرآن پاہے، چبہر، افز، و پنے
دل دشمن و، جب، بند، سو، فن۔
بے پوئیز، رعہ، ہاں، بانے
ن س اسی کر، انتبھی، گیا، گیا۔
ند داستان سرائے نہ، کہنَا، نہ
ند، قصی، پیری، چھگیا، پر، پر، با۔
بے پوئیز، ایا، ساہکر، در، با۔
سیاہ تر، بی، ره، کم، سرین۔
سراب، بہر، بہر، بن، شرین
تجھا، جہ، ہم، بہر، میں۔
دیا، جہ، دیا، ہم، جہ، میں۔

پیچ گویمچی، پچَ پچخام گفت ست

بی دودست بسوی، بسیم سایه

سفا لید جام مین از می تی

افجها پیرا از ابر، جیسین می

پی ورمان و مین در گرم هر پر و داساز

چیزی آزکی و راد پر بی درگرگ

دم مش قیز رقی بسیم بنوز

بی نامز آورا جس دل نبود

وگریا فرامبار شکست

آذر فرم دشند کوی جرخت

پیه توامی زردی حسن کلود مین

زی پر اور گویم چیتا، رم گلشش

زنی بیکر و رانکار گریشش

بی نامز دیم بی چو بی دکان

سراز مخت ناکان، زیر زن

لیپیق درم دینوا، دیشت

دل را سیم پو واشش

دستچنددستی چیتا، کرم بارم، هد

هر بار، زرده بارم، هدید

کرم بوان دیل، را نمی پرآلنگی

پیچ گویمچی پچپچ خام گفت ست
After 'munājāt' Hazin comes to 'nāt' and 'manqibat' and devotes four chapters praising the Prophet of Islam and Hazrat ‘Ali, the fourtn Caliph. Hazin grows eloquent in

1 Kulliyāt-i Ghālib p 416-17
praise of the latter as he felt special love and devotion for him. Naturally, we feel more warmth of emotion and flow in these verses. This is followed by two poems in glorification of 'ishq' and praise of young age. The first of these poems describes a strange experience of the poet. He begins the poem by expressing his sense of admiration for 'dil' or heart. According to the poet, heart is the seat of God's splendour and a source of poetic and spiritual experiences. Then he describes his meeting with a saintly person who was by all means a gnostic. The gnostic tells Hazin about his dream which is as follows:

"One day while meditating on the divine beauty and feeling intoxicated by the wine of love I sank deeper and deeper till I went to sleep. Then I saw several gnostics and saints in my dream. They had assembled together discussing mystical doctrines. In the meantime one of them became ecstatic and started singing verses of high excellence. Being amazed at the sublimity and spiritual overtones of the verses I asked about their author. The saint replied that he was singing the verses of Shaikh 'Ali Hazin!' Hazin felt so elevated and inspired by this story that he made up his mind to compose a poem which could reach the level of the verses described by the saint. The 'mathnawi' 'Chaman-o-Anjuman' is a result of the same impulse. He describes
his own state of mind in the following verses:

The last part of this 'mathnawi' introduces the story which deals with Hazin's early life and his love affair. After lavishing praise on love Hazin says that in the beginning of my youth I fell in love with a beautiful damsel who was not only possessed with physical charm but was also an educated person and could talk about many intellectual matters. The 'mathnawi' Chaman-o-Anjuman comes to an end at this point.

The 'mathnawi' Khārabāt: Hazin composed this 'mathnawi' in 'bahr-i-mutaqāri', the famous 'bahr' or metre in which most

1 Kuiliyāt-i Hazin pp 833-34
important Persian 'mathnawis' such as Shāhnāma-i-Firdausi, Sikandarnāma-yi-Nizāmī and Büstān-i-S'ādi were composed. This 'mathnawi' has also observed the traditional rule of addressing the cup-bearer in the opening verses. Hazīn nas, thus, proved that he is following the tradition of 'Saqūnāma' as laid down by the great master Nizāmī Ganjavi. Beginning the 'mathnawi' with the following couplet:

Şanâha āsêt bārî fardābâst bār
Kashâst az dumalâm lohâfat bâr

He goes on to address the cup-bearer 'sāqî' in the typical style of Nizāmī:

Bâde saqiakân jan bi yâqût râng
Kajûn gol dar flîrîm yâmânâng

Bâzârîn sâm dar bâb-e dâr râ
Bâzârîn sâm dar bâb-e dâr râ

Bâzârînamast dar dârîr Gilâ
Bâzârînamast dar dârîr Gilâ

Bîll bâqâ' kâ marâ in kâsim
Bîll bâqâ' kâ marâ in kâsim

Bîr mâyî dar flîrîm dâr bâqâ'ân shâq
Bîr mâyî dar flîrîm dâr bâqâ'ân shâq

He then exhorts himself to writing poetry and describes the importance and greatness of this creative art. The next poem

1. Kulliyât-i Hazin p. 840
of this 'mathnawi' is actually something like 'shahr āshob' in which the poet has criticised the moral and spiritual deterioration of his time. Firstly, he condemns the material world and reminds the reader of its transitory nature. Whatever one sees here is not real and dependable according to Hazin. Inspite of this false appearance the poet is shocked to find people indulging in crimes and sins. More surprising is the fact that those who claim to be the custodians of morality and pious conduct are themselves involved in committing all kinds of misdeeds. Consequently, neither the Shaikh's 'masjid' nor the Sufi's 'Khanqah' is safe. The poet then turns his attention to his own conduct and counsels himself to reform himself rather than finding fault with others.

Further on he becomes nostalgic and remembers his teachers, friends and great persons whom he had seen in his childhood. He becomes sad by thinking that most of those people have vanished with the passage of time and he is left alone to brood. He concludes the poem with a request to the 'sāqi' to offer him a cup of wine so that he may be relieved of the painful memories of the past. In the next poem Hazin describes the advice of his teacher to try to become a self-made man. The teacher is reported to have pointed out to Hazin that one should not boast of the past glory of one's ancestors but should make an effort to earn fame and glory for
oneself. A man can become great only by his personal qualities and not by what his ancestors had done.

In the next poem Hazin tries to become a self-styled teacher or preacher of the ruling monarchs of his time. The advices and counsels which he has recorded in the poem are the same as repeated time and again by many other poets before him. There is nothing new in his approach nor he seems to possess the dignity of style and beauty of diction found in the earlier masters. The poem, nevertheless, is significant as certain scholars have attributed it to have been addressed to Shah Tahmasp of Iran. Of the many advices, one is of paying special attention to learned scholars and keeping away from the ignorant. The relevant verses are as follows:

1 Safina-yi Shaikh Ali Hazin, p. 15
The 'mathnawi' comprises a few anecdotes also alongwith the didactic parts. One of the anecdotes describes Hazin's journey in winter night. It was a terrible experience. Hazin had to traverse his path through wilderness under heavy snow and biting cold. The country was unknown and Hazin did not know where to take shelter. Feeling his life in danger due to severe cold Hazin went into a wine shop to take shelter. The

1 Kuliiyat-i Hazin pp.845-46
shop keeper was a rude man and embarrassed Hazin by his unfriendly behaviour. Hazin made no reply to his blunt questions and sat quietly near the fire-place. In the meantime another young man came running into the shop and asked for shelter. The new comer was being chased by some police officer and was trembling with fear of him. Hazin gave consolation to the new arrival with the remark that instead of fearing the police officer he should have actually feared God. The man got satisfaction and contentment by this advice and his fear of the police officer disappeared.

Another anecdote gives an account of the mule on which Jesus Christ used to ride. This mule was very lazy and could not cover even two 'farasang' in the whole day. In the night Jesus Christ gave him fodder and water and tried to make him fully comfortable. But the mule did not drink water due to some reasons. Christ had to bring water to his mule again and again as a result of which he could not sleep. One person who was watching this exercise asked Christ as to why he was offering water to the beast again and again. Jesus pointed out that as the beast was unable to communicate, it was all the more necessary to take care of his needs. Since I am the custodian of this poor animal God Almighty will never approve my carelessness or indifference to the poor animal.
The next poem is regarding greed. The poet has used the figure of personification in the poem. He describes greed as a person who is ugly and evil-natured. He asks greed personified to tell him about his father. Greed replies that doubt in destiny is my father. His habit is to turn away from God who is really source of all profit and loss. The poet further asks him to inform him about his business. Greed says that my business is misdeed and disgracefulness. 'What is the outcome of all this' the poet further wants to know. Greed replies 'frustration and disappointment!'

We, then, come across another anecdote related to the famous Sassanian king named Bahram Gur. During his reign once there occurred a big famine on account of drought. Innumerable people faced starvation which could have resulted in mass deaths. The king rose to the occasion and made such an excellent arrangement that nobody could suffer any inconvenience. He ordered all the means of transport to be deployed for bringing grains from China, Bulgaria and other adjoining countries. Incidentally, a traveller died on the way because he could not get food in the wilderness. The king was so much perturbed by this news that he wept for forty days and prayed to God to forgive him for his death by starvation.

The next poem tells us about a unique tradition set by the earliest kings, to wit Snehsh, Keumarth and Jamsheed.
When they became angry with some wise man they would make him sit among the ignorants. They would also imprison him with some foolish man. This was, according to Hazin, the most severe punishment because the wise man would prefer death to keeping the company of a fool. That is why the Prophet (Peace be upon him) had said that a wise man who became the laughing stock of the fools and ignorants and the wealthy man who voluntarily deprived himself of comforts deserve sympathy of all mankind.

The next anecdote describes the poet's meeting with the Prophet Khidhr when the former was on the verge of death because of extreme thirst. The Prophet came to him and gave a cup of water which had a divine taste.

The next poem is a composition of a famous story about the great Sassanian emperor Naushērwan. The said emperor saw an old man with grey hair and wrinkled face planting a tree. Being amazed at the old man's planning for future, the emperor enquired thus:— "How long will it take for the tree to give fruit"? The old man replied that it might take a very long time. The emperor then put a further question. "Do you expect to live on for such a long time to enable you to taste the fruit?" The old man smiled and said, "Your majesty, I am not a greedy man and I am not doing it out of any lust but just for the sake of enjoyment which I get by working. Moreover,
there is another point also. I have been eating fruits of trees I had never sown. Why should I not now sow for others to eat. The king was extremely pleased by this reply and rewarded him with an elephant's load of money. The old man again smiled and submitted: 'Have your Majesty seen any tree which can give fruits so instantaneously as you have done? The king was again very much pleased and impressed by the intelligence and honest nature of the old man and gave him in reward twice the money he had given earlier.

The next anecdote is about Yahya Barmaki, the famous vazir of the Abbasid Caliph. While inspecting the imperial army the vazir noticed a young soldier who was placing a lion's skin on the saddle of his horse. The vazir did not like this false show and told the young soldier that it was better to prefer kernel to skin. What is there in the skin of a lion. One should try to get a heart of lion. The 'mathnawi' ends with verses written in the glory of God and invoking his favour.

'Mathnawi' Dībāche-i-Mathemahul Anẓār: The 'mathnawi', as its title shows, is just a preface. The opening verses are written in self-praise. The poet extols his own virtues and boasts of his poetic excellence in an exaggerated manner. Although he is reminding himself of his glorious performance in the past just to get the inspiration in the present moment, the element of egotism is too pronounced to be overlooked. Here are some
The poet then proceeds to compose verses on the traditional themes 'Tauhid', 'N'at' and Manqibat: This is followed by a description of the effort and exhausting struggle which precedes the composition of poetry. According to Hazin no poetry of a high order can be created without deep introspection and sincerity of emotion. The 'mathnawi' ends with certain observations on sufi-ism with special reference to the philosophy of 'Wandat-ul Wujūd! The poet also divides the scholars into three categories. He condemns the third category. The relevant

1 Kulliyat-i Hazin p. 863
verses are quoted below to explain the three categories:

Farnangnama: The 'mathnawi' entitled Farnangnāma written in Banr-i-Mutaqārīd seems to be conceived and executed in the traditional line set by the great master of Persian 'mathnawi' that is Nizāmī Ganjavi. The opening part of it is unmistakably under the influence of Nizāmī. It is written in praise of God 'Hamd' and follows the same line of thinking as that of Nizāmī in Sikandarnāma. The main thrust of the poem is on the incomprehension nature of God and His ways of working.

1 Kulliyāt-i Hazin p. 869
This reminds one of the excellent verses of Nizāmi written in praise of God

Islamic religion, and for that matter perhaps other religions also, advise human beings not to probe much into the existence of God. Islam has generally prohibited man from this kind of intellectual exercise. Instead, the Muslims are directed to confine themselves to what the Prophet of Islam has told them.

1 Kulliyat-i Ḥażīn pp. 871-72
and to hold fast to the way of life recommended by him.

Hazin, accordingly, concludes his 'Hamd' on the following note:

The poet then turns towards the praise of Prophets, 'N'at and glorification of the fourth Caliph, Hazrat 'Ali, 'Manqibat' paying tributes to their greatness and expressing gratitude and devotion of the poet. After praising God, the Prophet and Hazrat 'Ali, it is significant that the praise of the art of poetry comes fourth in order of merit. Hazin grows eloquent in describing the excellence and unique power of this great art which he terms as 'Satāish-i-Knāqān-i-Sukhan'. He compares poetry to elixir of life and to eternal wealth. The poet according to him, is the master of the whole world. It is the crown at the head of the firmament. It is the treasure of heart without which the latter is no more than a handful of dust. Human heart is like a cloud while poetry is like a pearl. Man can be distinguished from the animals only because of his power of speech. However, not every human being, can do justice with this celestial gift and hence silence is better for such persons than to make a speech. Only selected persons are

1 Kulliyāt-i Hazin p.872
capable of expressing the excellence and hidden qualities of speech. These selected persons are no other than the poets. Hazin's verses, in praise of poetry astonishingly bear resemblance to those written by Ghalib. Relevant extracts from both the poets are reproduced below for the purposes of comparison:

Hazin

Ghalib
Hazin then composes some verses by way of introduction to his own poetry which is devoted to the praise of beauty, sword, horse and battle-field. A clear influence of Nizāmi's Sikandernāma is visible in these verses. Hazin describes the fighting in a battle-field with the same vigour and force as we find in Sikandernāma. Hazin writes:

And again, a scene depicting hand-to-hand fight:

A few verses of Sikandarnāma are quoted below to prove the resemblance of both:

As usual, a chapter of this 'mathnawi' is set apart on the unfaithfulness of the world, and some on preaching embodied in didactical poetry. Hazin warns his readers not to fall a prey to the temptations of worldly life. The more one cares about physical comfort the greater he suffers on the spiritual side. One should, therefore, refrain from ambitious and lustful activities. It is advisable to pass life in seclusion instead of mixing up with characterless and ignorant

1 Kulliyat-i Hazin, p. 76.
2 Sikandarnāma, p.
people. Hazin warns that the span of life is short and one should take care of the eternal life which is lying ahead after death. He warns to be more cautious against such friends who are basically your enemies but have put on a friendly appearance. If, however, you cannot/without company you should at least chose a person who could lead you on the correct line. That is to say that you can have a friend only on the condition that he is the better of you. Claiming himself to be an experienced and elderly man he regards himself fit for giving useful advices to the reader. One such advice which he so importantly advances, is the oft-repeated observation about the helplessness of man at the hands of destiny. He warns that even if you ransack heavens and earth in your effort you cannot get a particle more than what has been reserved for you by the destiny. He also reminds that God likes those persons who keep content with their lot.

The next poem gives a political advice to the king advising him to accept reconciliation without delay as the opportunity may not be available in future. Secondly, he tells the king to keep the door open for friendship with the enemy even though he might have inflicted heavy loss on him. Thirdly, when an enemy is at your mercy give him the full benefit and do not be hard on him. The poet draws the attention of the king to the fact that a weak ant can sometimes kill a lion and an
Some observations made by Hazin on war and peace are amazingly modern in outlook. For instance, he points out that waging a war is aimed at providing comfort and relief to the world. It is not based on enmity against the people. War is justified only as a reformative measure. It can be compared to an operation or amputation of any part of body when it becomes useless or dangerous for the rest of the body. This, according to Hazin, is the philosophy behind all punishments and violent measures. He exhorts the king to serve the larger public interests as best as he can. If he cannot fulfill this obligation he should give up his crown and throne. Ruling a country, as the poet rightly remarks, is not an easy job. It is full of hard work, risks, adventures and ceaseless efforts. In this connection Hazin narrates an anecdote by way of illustration which is as follows:

Once, 'Abbas, the Great, the emperor of Iran, was passing through the country-side to crush some rebellion. He was at the head of a large army fully equipped and in battle array. Suddenly, his eyes fell upon a farmer who was sleeping under the shade of a tree. Being awakened by the tumultuous noise of the army the farmer was immediately on his feet and paid respects to the king and prayed for his long life and prosperity. Being pleased by this behaviour Abbas the Great summoned the farmer before him and told him that he felt envious of his peace and comfort. The king informed the farmer that the latter
was more fortunate as he enjoyed a carefree life while emperor Abbas himself felt that he was over-burdened with all kinds of worries and unable to steal even a short time for rest. The farmer replied that my comfort and peacefulness are a result of the emperor's care and vigilence. He should not, therefore, be sorry for his troublesome life as it is aimed at providing prosperity to the mankind and hence he shall be rewarded for this in the life hereafter.

The 'mathnawi' comes to close with laudatory verses about Iran and Iṣfahān. He compares the world with a shell and Iran with a pearl. Its land is blessed by raining clouds, and the dust particles of its wilderness are like pearls. Rather, its dust itself is like Jesus Christ who gives new soul to the dead body. Every brick of this country has the light of faith in it. Great emperors like Farīdun, Kaous and Kai Khusro had adorned its throne and its canals are full of milk instead of water. As for Iṣfahān, the capital of Iran in Hazin's time, it had enjoyed tremendous reputation in the later middle ages and many poets lauded its beauty and splendour. It has been declared, as the proverb says, 'Iṣfahān niṣṭ Janān! Another poet goes even further in exaggerating its praise in the following words:

The famous poet Hakīm Shīfāī had even composed a full 'mathnawi' in praise of that city. Three verses of that 'mathnawi' are quoted here:

Hazin was perhaps a greater lover of Isfahān than other poets, more specially so because circumstances of his life had forced him to leave his native town and live in forced exile outside his motherland. He joins these poets in paying tributes to his home town in a moving and pathetic language. According to him Isfahān occupies the same place in world as the human heart in the body. Its land is paradise and its smell exhilarating. Alexandar and Khidhr would not have turned towards the elixir of life 'Ād-i-Hayāt', had they tasted the water of Isfahān. Sitting thousands of miles away from his dear country, Hazin visualises the flowers, trees like 'chunar' and 'shamshād'; its fruits and water ways, and becomes ecstatic and lavishes praises on them. Of special importance is his reference to the wisdom and learning of the Iranian scholars and men of letters whom he declares to be the kings of the whole world.

The concluding poem of the 'mathnawi' is composed on the

1 Safīnā-yi Shaikh 'Ali Hazin, p. 4.
advantages of silence. Hazin deems it proper to keep silent if one has not got the talent of speech or oratory. The second point to which he draws our attention is that even though one is a good poet and does not have the right audience and proper atmosphere to respond, one should not recite poetry. Hazin himself feels a victim of this situation complaining that the world is full of ignorant people and those who had the real taste for poetry had passed away. Consequently, he advises himself to seal off his lips and not to utter a single word of his poetry. His own statement is as follows:

1 Kulliyat-i Hazin p. 887
'Mathnawi' Tadhkirat-ul Āshiqīn: It is a short 'mathnawi' comprising the introduction, N'at, Manqibat, an allegory and concluding verses. The best and the longest part of the 'mathnawi' is introduction. It has been composed after the manner of Nizāmi with repeated addresses to the cup-bearer or 'sāqi'. From the poetic point of view, the introduction is really superb. Hazin soars high to catch the lyrical spirit and the romantic style for which Nizāmi is famous. Feeling depressed and down-trodden in the real life, Hazin escapes into the world of imagination and conjures up a fantastic assembly of musician and cup bearer. He invokes their spirit to relieve him from the worldly sufferings by the power of music and wine. He yearns for that company in order to get rid of both the worlds. His sole object is to get the union of his beloved and also to make up for whatever loss he has suffered in the past. The poem has definitely a mystical overtone as the poet admits his disillusionment with both the mosque and the idol-house. In other words, he is rejecting the conventional religion and yet he wants to hold fast to the true religion which can lead to the Beloved without the involvement of the Shaikh and Branman. He openly declares:

[Translation of the poem]

روضه نیو ماردر سیر
سمبستا خیال خرید
سایید بیگان بیبی خیر
کر گر در پری میلی بیستینی
Making himself still more clear, he asks the musician to strike one or two suriastic notes and help him to get out of the first person and the second person 'man-o-tul! The spirit of singing, dancing and drinking so well-expressed in lyrical verses of this poem transforms it into transcendental love almost overlapping with the philosophy of 'Wahdat-ul Wujūd!

The following couplets deserve well to be cited as illustration of Hazin's poetic attitude:

1. Kulliyāt-i Hazin p. 891
2. Ibid. p. 892
In fact this poem reflects the deeper strands of the poet's personality and reveals the conflicting urges of a colourful life on the one hand and the disappointment and sufferings which Hazin experienced in the course of his struggle for such life, on the other. He gives a beautiful description of the spring season with its flowers and nightingales, the musical and poetic sittings of young age which have become a nostalgia in his declining years of exile. He, therefore, ardently requests the musician and the cup bearer to give him back the same entertainment and not leave him in the grip of the present day life which is depressing and grief-sticken. This unhappy experience leads him to revolt both against religion and atheism. He wants to drown his miseries in wine and poetry as life has become not only meaningless but full of torture. Addressing the cup-bearer, he declares in the concluding verses:

 Franzayad Risi kaya yet juz no
 sani bimiyi lenempti yi
 mazari dina nafs na ra
 dar darye deri dar amin "g".

 Horb bora naya dan kash
 azirad kini kafu li kafum
 baati kim wodd bana amin"d."
There is nothing of special significance in the following poems of 'Hamd', 'N'at' and 'Manqibat' as the poet repeats the same ideas as expressed in the earlier poems on the same subject. An allegorical poem following the 'manqibat' is worth mentioning as this device was not very common in oriental poetry although many stories both in prose and poetry may be interpreted as allegory in general terms. In English literature, allegory has been given an independent status and has become much popular because of John Banyan's allegory 'The Pilgrims Progress'! Hazin's allegorical story, in sharp contrast to his English counterpart, is not tense and religious in nature. On the contrary, it is practical, realistic and worldly wise. The allegorical story goes like this.

A goat owned by a farmer once managed to escape and went up on the terrace of his house. The animal was moving on the roof from one side to the other and looking down on the street below. Incidentally, a wolf was passing that way. It looked up at the goat with a greeting smile. Feeling itself safe and secure on the roof, the goat started taunting and abusing the wolf. The wolf felt great insult and remarked thus, 'O insolent fellow your rudeness and hurtful attitude is not from your tongue. Actually the terrace of this house is responsible for your abusing language and insulting behaviour!'
Hazin then observes that conditions similar to this story are prevailing in the present times. Lots of monkeys and goats and other animals are raising their heads from all sides and making life a hell for the high-born and the well bred. How long can one stand such provocations and live in sheer humiliation?

FRAGMENTS

The last part of the 'Kulliyāt' comprises fragments on different themes related to the poet's life. Some of them are of didactic nature while others have been written in condemnation of India and its people. The first two fragments, as usual, are dedicated to the praise of the Prophet and the fourth Caliph. The poetry written under this caption is important and helpful in understanding Hazin's nature and the circumstances in which he passed the latter part of his life in India. They give a wealth of information regarding many events of his life and the literary controversies in which the poet was involved. Of special interest in this connection is a fragment written as an apology. This seems to have been written in the context of a controversy which was going on between Hazin and the famous Indian scholar, Sirājuddīn Ḍāli Khan better known as 'Khan-i-Ārzu'. It had started as a result of Hazin's derogatory remarks about Ḍēdil's poetry.
Hazin is reported to have remarked that Bādil's 'ghazal' is a riddle for an average Iranian and if it is recited in Isfahān it will only provoke laughter among the audience. Now Bādil was a great poet, indeed greater than Hazin and was held in high esteem in India and in Afghanistan where he had stayed for sometime with his friend Nawab Shukrullah Khan. Indian scholars took it as an insult not only for Bādil but for all the Indo-Persian poets. Khan-i-Ārzu spearheaded this resentment and wrote an article exposing many verses of Hazin which were grammatically wrong and a repetition of what other poets had composed. Hazin found himself caught in a trap because Khan-i-Ārzu had quoted specific examples to prove his point of view. Hazin had no way out but to write this fragment to clarify his position. While admitting the repetition of theme, he points out that after all he is a great poet and above such shortcomings as have been levelled against him. He expects the people to take into consideration his outstanding contribution to poetry and brush aside such minor errors as it is part of human nature. He then gives a lengthy discourse in poetry on his poetic excellence and declares that had his critics experienced my painful creative process and were aware of its subtle nature they would never have objected to my shortcomings. Here are some of his verses:
Hazin is very fond of exploiting the virtues of his own poetry. While admitting it to be the common weakness of most of the poets who have glorified themselves, Hazin appears to suffer from this weakness more than other poets. In writing his poetry, he does not maintain a sense of proportion and what is worse is that he praises himself and his poetry at the cost of others. We have already given some specimens of this kind of poetry earlier in order to prove our point of view. Here, the fragments under review are very striking.

example of self-praise. Some of the fragments have been written just for the sake of self-praise and nothing more. They are lengthy poems exaggerating the merits of his poetry up to a point when one feels loosing his patience. If there is any diversion from this praise it is for condemning the general reading public including his fellow poets also. I quote here two full fragments to prove this allegation:

136
لا انت می‌دانم بچه نیست
پرچم‌گوی دنیای این بلند آباد
کرده باشم مقام خود را بپیت
سرگرمیان جدید این استیت
فرس طبع چون بر انشم
گلف معمولیان جوان گنگ
رعشه پر شده گرفت و بهان
در دوران آگاهی اندیش
گرجهان پر کم زبان گنگ
که امید در زنا داده کن
کس زبان ماهی فیصد

2. Thid p. 909.
Another feature of these fragments is the pathetic note giving expression to Hazin's grief-stricken life and his home-sickness. This trend can be noticed in almost the whole of his poetic output. The fragment written in reply to the invitation of Shah Tahmasp II as well as the beautiful fragment composed as an elegy on his father's death may be taken to be the offshoot of the same tendency. One can only praise the noble and gentle feelings which Hazin has expressed in his poetry regarding his motherland, his family and the Iranian people at large. We are moved by the extreme love of all that was Iranian and the poet's yearning for the soil of his motherland, its birds and flowers, fauna and flora and its ancient culture. It is unfortunate that patriotism today has become a political concept dividing mankind into hostile if not warring groups. As a matter of fact, most of the vices of modern political system can be traced to this distorted concept of patriotism. It is in this context that Hazin's patriotism, pure, simple and innocent assumes great significance for us. If one can be a patriot like Hazin, many dangers looming large on our world and threatening its annihilation can be dispelled. But while having such esteemed patriotism, Hazin is not free from certain blemishes and shortcomings. He seems to be stronger in condemning other countries and peoples than loving and praising his own country and people and of course extolling his own virtues as a scholar. The following verses do not
elevate Hazin in our estimate despite his high-sounding claims for himself. They appear ludicrous to a serious-minded reader:

Hazin, however had a great respect for learning and scholarship which is borne out by the fragments written on pen and wisdom or 'Hikmat'. He was equally respectful to poets and writers but condemned such poets who borrowed their themes from others. We have an interesting fragment on page 913 of the Kulliyat in which he has compared such poets to those hens who hatch the eggs of the ducks. Subsequently, the chickens coming out of the eggs leave the mother-hen and go into the water to swim with the ducks. The hen is left only with the cracked shells of the eggs.

1 Kulliyat-1 Hazin p.917
CHAPTER IV

HAZIN AS A ‘GHAZAL’-WRITER

While commenting on Hazin’s 'ghazal' one feels that this beautiful genre of poetry has failed to give fuller expression to the poet's emotions and feelings. It appears as if the intensity of feeling, although on the bursting point, could only communicate a faint vibration through its couplets. One such couplet quoted below is significant as it sums up this comment:

This suppression may be largely due to the poetic trend that was prevailing during Hazin's time. It has been mentioned earlier that Hazin was a product of a period when 'sabk-i-Hindi' (Indian style of Persian) not only in India but in Iran also. It was an artificial style which laid more emphasis on rhetorical devices and ornamentation rather than heart-felt experiences and emotions. In an atmosphere so surcharged with artificiality, the poet like Hazin had to sail up the current. The result was that he felt tired and exhausted. Hazin can be compared with Gray, the English poet of the eighteenth century, who wanted to write romantic

1 Kulliyāt-i  Hzin p.313
poetry at a time when classicism was approved by all.
In his effort for expression he received a setback and as
Mathew Arnold has rightly observed, could never speak out.
Hazin was undergoing a similar experience in India which is
evident from the couplet mentioned above. When we take
into consideration Hazin's life, his learning and his
high-mindedness we feel that he attempted to make his
poetry a medium of self-expression and not just a mean of
recreation and enjoyment. Few poets could have read so many
books and enjoyed the company of so many learned scholars
as Hazin did. This had made him a serious-minded thinker
inclined towards moral and religious philosophies. Moreover,
he was suffering from the feeling of home-sickness. The
last thirty-four years of his life were spent in India whose
people and climate were not very conducive to him. He
passed his life in worrying and grumbling. He lived like
a bird in cage who was looking out to get freedom any moment
and this state of affairs continued till he breathed his
last. He made an unsuccessful attempt to reach home but
could not go beyond Lahore because of the bad weather
conditions and insecurity of the journey. The following
couplet gives a pathetic description of his state of mind:

1 Kulliyāt-i Hazin p. 454
In prose also he has expressed similar feelings. Writing in his autobiography, he makes the following observation:

This feeling of loneliness as well as home-sickness is of basic importance in Hazin's 'ghazal'. Time is supposed to be a great healer but in Hazin's case it was just the reverse. With the passage of time the poet's pessimism went on increasing and ultimately, it turned into a hatred against India and anything belonging to India. There is no dearth of such verses in his 'Kulliyāt' which express his longing for Iran and Isfahān as well as his repulsion against India. Some couplets are quoted here by way of evidence:

1. "بہندگت نہ گیا گیا تو گل تلگائی ما یک دانگ افتاد گز گزدہ
پنان رہن رہن دو رنگ کٹپنگی ما ژبرو تعلیم چاک چاک مارے گا
بیکھا ہے برفما منہا مچا کر دلیل ما" 1

2. "کندلا" ہو تھا تو ہو کر شاواگ کہ
پہلے ہو کر پایا تو ہے کہ پنہر
پانی ملائی تھا تو ہے تھا
پہلو سب دیوار آنگا مگر دن نام
بیکھا ہے برفما منہا مچا کر دلیل ما" 2

3. "میں تو ہے تو ہے تو ہے کہ پنہر
پہلے ہو کر پایا تو ہے کہ پنہر
پانی ملائی تھا تو ہے تھا
پہلو سب دیوار آنگا مگر دن نام
بیکھا ہے برفما منہا مچا کر دلیل ما" 3

1 Kulliyāt-i Ḥazin p.143
2 Ibid p.313
3 Ibid p.536
Hazin had a tormented soul which demanded full expression but the poetic trend of that time did not permit freedom of expression and recommended only traditional and formal type of poetry. Composition of 'ghazal' was supposed to be a highly sophisticated art in which the poets displayed their craftsmanship and novelty of ideas. This exercise was highly appreciated and commended at that time. It has been associated with the 'school of Fughānī', the famous fifteenth century Persian poet. Hazin himself alludes to this:

As a consequence Hazin's 'ghazal' had to entertain many traditional ideas which had no relationship with real feelings. It exhibits exaggeration, unrestrained flights of imagination, allegorical devices, alliterations and several other rhetorical performances. Some couplets are quoted below:

Rhetorical devices (Mira'tun-Nāzīr)

1. Kulliyāt-i Hazin p.489
2. Kulliyāt-i Hazin p.415
1. Milliy-i İncin, p. 599.  
2. Thid n. 356  
3. Thid p. 472  
4. Thid n. 356  
5. Milliyet-i İncin, pp. 380-381  
6. Thid p. 420  
7. Thid p. 430  
8. Thid p. 438

1. نشر علی‌الدین یحیی آفندی
2. دانشکده مدرسة خرازیان بست
3. "Pubличне"
4. (در مورد این کتاب چاپ نمی‌شود)
5. بیان اهداف آن
6. مراسم بازدید آنتونیو زنیت
7. دیاردو آنتونیو افونسیو کنولت
8. منی افرین
9. خیانت مبهم کردیست
10. از این افکار آن افتاده است
11. آن گروه‌کلیه‌ای بین آن کردیست
12. فیلئویک فلسفه ("Afітіni vеlеfіn")
13. طاق میان‌انسان نمی‌تواند بود 
14. شبکه‌های سطحی راست باید لمس
15. (در مورد)
16. کفردین را می‌دیل نه ضعیفی بود
17. کرگداد از آن ماه‌ها بیانانه
18. میرحسین بی‌پناه بزرگ‌اند
Generally speaking the above-mentioned couplets represent the overall style of Hazin's 'ghazal'. Apparently this style seems to be the same as was prevalent among the Persian poets of the Mughal period. But this is not the whole truth. Hazin's 'ghazal', if studied in depth, reveals certain original and thought-provoking qualities. His real poetry can be identified in such couplets. It bears the essence of his poetic experiences and inner feelings of his heart. Such verses, though less in number, than the traditional verses, nevertheless, enhance the value of Hazin's poetry and make him immortal. They prove the fact

---

1 Kulliyät-i Hazin p.
2 Ibid p. 389
3 Ibid p. 337
4 Ibid p. 472
that despite unhealthy and artificial trends of his time, Hazin was able to keep the emotional spark alive. His ultimate worth as a poet and his artistic temperament shall have to be determined with reference to this short but powerful output. There must be a large number of such poets in Persian as well as in other languages who are buried under a big mass of traditional and stereotyped poetry. This mass of poetry has over-shadowed their qualitative contribution which can only be brought to light by a careful selection.

The first notable feature of Hazin's poetry is its lyrical quality. Rising above the existing artificial trends, it reaches new heights reminiscent of Hāfiẓ, Rūmi and Sinai. Hazin was a learned scholar and a genuine poet. He had studied thoroughly the poets of the golden period of the Persian poetry and had imbibed their richness and variety. Many verses of Hazin can be quoted to prove this. Hazin seems to be specially influenced by Hāfiẓ and Rūmi. The latter poet is well known because of his famed 'mathnawi'. Yet his 'ghazal' is also considered to be of high quality. The collection of his 'ghazals' known as 'Diwān-e-Shams Tabrīz' is regarded as one of the finest collections of Persian 'ghazals'. Rūmi's importance as a 'ghazal'-writer can be
ascertained from the following story. It is said that once the prince of Shírāz asked Sādī to recommend the best Persian 'ghazal' for him to read. Sādī, the father of Persian 'ghazal', chose one from 'Dīwān-i Shams Tabriz'. There is no doubt that in addition to the thought content and intellectual insight Ṣū'ūmī's 'ghazal' displays a special kind of ecstasy and lyricism. This ecstasy and lyricism reappear in Ḥāfiz with a heightened intensity. Ḥāfiz's 'ghazal' frequently reflects this quality. Moreover, there are couplets in which Ḥāfiz has mentioned Ṣū'ūmī again and again as his mentor. Relevant couplets are quoted below:

1 Brown, E.G., Literary History of Persia Vol. II p. 523
2 Kulliyāt-ı Ḥāfiz p. 465
3 Ibid p. 445
4 Ibid p. 471
5 Ibid p. 508
6 Ibid p. 534
Similarly, Hazin has imitated many 'ghazal' of Hāfiz and referred to his name repeatedly. There is a famous 'ghazal' of Hāfiz beginning with the following couplet:

Hazin, while writing his own 'ghazal' in the same rhyme and metre has paid tribute to Hāfiz in the last couplet which is as follows:

In another 'ghazal' Hāfiz comes again:

In yet another 'ghazal' he has not only imitated Hāfiz but also included one of his lines in the 'maqt'a' which is as follows:

1 Dīwān-ā Hāfiz p. 183
2 Kulliyāt-ī Hazīn p. 413
3 Ibid p. 517
4 Ibid p. 579
There are many 'ghazals' of Ḥāfīz and Ḥāzin having common schemes of rhyme and refrain. Only the opening couplets of both are given below to avoid unnecessary details:

There are many 'ghazals' of Ḥāfīz and Ḥāzin having common schemes of rhyme and refrain. Only the opening couplets of both are given below to avoid unnecessary details:

1. Ḥāfīz

2. Ḥāzin

1 Dīwān-i Ḥāfīz p.201
2 Ibid p.148
3 Ibid p.134
4 Kulliyāt-i Ḥāzin p.461
5 Ibid p.470
6 Ibid p.495
Hazin respectfully mentions the names of many great masters of Persian poetry which shows that he had studied the classics and had assimilated the spirit of eminent Persian poets. While writing a 'ghazal' in imitation of Iraqi's famous 'ghazal' Hazin acknowledges his influence modestly and open heartedly:

1 Diwan-i Hāfiz p. 135
2 Ibid p.254
3 Ibid p. 281
4 Ibid p. 313
5 Kulliyāt-ī Hazin p.500
6 Ibid p. 506
7 Ibid p.526
The great Sufi poet Sinai was also a favourite of Hazin and has found place in the latter's references. One example is given below:

Hazin's melodious style, lyrical expressions and ecstatic outbursts are reminiscent of the great masters of 'ghazal' whose influence he has imbibed. A few 'ghazals' and some scattered verses are quoted below by way of illustration:

---

1. Kulliyat-i Hazin p. 437
2. Ibid pp. 259 - 60
Who will not feel the simplicity and emotional fervour of Hāfiz and other earlier masters in the above-quoted 'ghazal'? It would be unfair to attribute it to the artificial school of Fughānī.

One more 'ghazal' notable for its originality and sharpness is given for the reader to judge by himself:

The above-quoted 'ghazal' is conspicuous for its personal touch and individualised experience. The love affair which has been described in successive verses is by no means a traditional matter. It is something real and factual which has happened in the life of the poet. This continuity of theme and description of factual love was not

1 Kulliyāt-i Ḥazin pp. 422 - 23
in practice in Hazin's time. The poets of that time usually expressed poetic ideas which were collectively approved and appreciated. This *ghazal* therefore, represents a romantic subjectivity in an age which was used to classical poetry. It proves further that Hazin was not an artificial lover like Nasir Ali, Waghif and Qatil but that he had experienced real love and had tasted both the pangs of separation as well as the joy of the union. That he had a confidence in his personality as a lover is well-illustrated in the following couplet:

```
پر کی سارگینی نور میں گھومن یہ مناک کر چاہتا ثنا جو

Side by side with this full-blooded love and its seriousness and intensity there is an element of wit and humour also which makes his poetry all the more impressive. If Hazin had been just an epicurean type of man and a slave of passion, his wit and humour would not have appeared so impressive. Hazin was a serious-minded scholar, a staunch follower of his religion and a man who had suffered a lot during his life time. It is in this background that we cannot help praising his amazing capacity of wit and humour. Two couplets are given below in illustration of this quality:

```

1 Kulliyat-i Hazin p 430
2 Ibid p. 571
3 Ibid p. 382
A highly learned man like Hazin, generally becomes dry in temperament and remains serious because he understands the ultimate end of human life and its mortal nature. He starts thinking in terms of human destiny in this short-lived world and becomes a victim of philosophical speculation. Whether a scholar or a Sufi or a poet, the more he thinks on such matters the greater is the damaging effect of it on the mind and body. That is what the great Rûmi tells us:

In such state of mind, man becomes totally unable to enjoy life or appreciate wit and humour. If poets, their writings become surcharged with high seriousness. A number of poets like Milton, Wordsworth, Rûmi, Ḥāfīz and Jāmi can be cited in example. They remained high but tense in their poetry. Still, higher and more lovable have been such poets who were both serious-minded and capable of making witty and humourous observations. They not only depicted life as a tragedy but also saw its comic aspect and hence were able to laugh at their own misfortunes and sufferings. Shakespeare, Ḥāfīz and Ghâlib come under this category.

In Shakespeare we find comic characters like Falstaff side by side with Hamlet and Brutus, the great tragic heroes.
Hāfiẓ despite his Ṣuffi-ism and deeply contemplative mind retains a sense of wit and humour. An specimen is given as under:

1. سن طالت رزاق را با طلق نوا ام لفت کتین فض مگر گویم وروم دیاب ادلی

Ghālib's sense of humour even goes beyond normal limits to make fun of the Shāikh and other clergymen:

2. انسویردشت مور شم در دستور زنی سخن کیریان این دارایی یال و دیاب

To be frank, Hāzi's wit and humour is more refined and subdued as compared to that of Ghālib. He exercises restraint in his humourous remarks and instead of laughing at his objects he keeps content with just a meaningful smile. This only shows his fine taste and cultivated mannerism. When we look at the sufferings and the tragic events of Hāzi's life, his wit and humour which never lacks a sense of proportions, shoots forth like a meteor in darkness. This leads us to another aspect of Hāzi's personality and also character. He never gave too much importance, atleast in the realm of poetry, to his personal misfortunes and grief. Had there been any other person in his place he would have perhaps not been able to survive the vissitudes and misfortunes for such a long time. He was a high-minded person who could

1 Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ p. 483
2 Kulliyāt-i Ghālib p. 45
rise above personal sufferings and transform them into a broad and universal outlook. Instead of worrying over his own private affairs, he shared the sufferings of the whole mankind. The following couplet is a clear testimony to this fact:

Like all noble persons, Hazin was always prepared to suffer and sacrifice for others but himself never expected outside help from any person except the Almighty God. His own urge to serve others was the result of his unique way of perception. To him the world and its people appeared to be innocent like angels and, therefore, entitled to sympathy. But when Hazin was himself in trouble which needed other peoples' help and sympathy the whole world appeared to him to be a wildness and its inhabitants of no use. He had experienced great hardships and suffered a lot at the hands of selfish people but it could not diminish his generosity and sympathetic nature. He was always prepared to extend a helping hand to those who needed it without expecting any reward or recognition for it. The following couplet depicts very well this saintly attitude of our poet:

1 Kulliyāt-1 Hazin p. 421
2 Kulliyāt-1 Ḥazin p. 403
The idea behind this couplet is in sharp contrast to the traditional poetry of Hazin's time which was mostly an exercise in rhetorics with nothing serious to communicate. This couplet expresses a great personal experience of a noble soul. It also reveals a unique trait in human psychology which applies to many people. We come across many verses in Hazin's poetry which reflect very delicate and sensitive experiences of life. Such verses establish that Hazin's poetry, far from being artificial, has a strong relationship with the real life. It would be unfair to say that Hazin did not compose verses having artificial themes but what I am struggling to establish is the fact that Hazin has not overlooked or ignored the serious and thought-provoking aspect of life. His observation has never failed to record the real experiences of practical life. This quality is found only in great poets. Hazin has not infrequently produced such verses and has tried to keep a balance between the lyrical and the sharply intellectual poetry.

The above-quoted verse points out to the fact that false and motivated praise is more damaging than the criticism and taunting from the enemy because the derogatory remarks of an enemy are generally attributed to his malice and are, therefore, ignored. But when somebody showers false praises to flatter somebody else, the credentials of both of them become doubtful.
On another occasion, Hazin puts forth a point of view which may be taken to be just the reverse of the earlier couplet. This only shows the diversity of his observation:

Here the context has altogether changed as a result of which the same thing which he had condemned earlier is justified on this occasion. This proves that Hazin never followed a set line of thinking but modified it as and when the occasion so demanded. We are reminded of the great poet Hāfiz who had declared:

And again, the famous Urdu poet Anīs warns his reader in respect of the same experience which Hazin has expressed.

Hazin has actually composed the above-mentioned couplet keeping in mind the nature and psychology of his own class that is the poets who scarcely acknowledge the merit of other fellow-poets on account of professional rivalries. Hazin's discerning eye does not fail to note this weakness of his
own class. He, therefore, recommends that a poet should not forget praising himself because his fellow professionals will never give him his due. He thinks that modesty in this respect is no less than folly.

An important aspect of Hazin's 'ghazal' is its tolerance and broad mindedness. This trend is generally found in many Sufi poets because it is the corner stone of 'taṣawwuf! In Hazin, however, this broad mindedness emanates from his erudition and gentle nature as other 'Sufi' themes are not found in abundance in his poetry. By his prolonged thinking and contemplation Hazin had reached the conclusion that gnosticism is not the monopoly of any particular religious community. Anybody who devotes himself sincerely and meditates continuously can achieve spiritual satisfaction and contentment. It is not dependent on any special place of worship or any particular way of prayer. He openly declares:

Evolving out of centuries old practice and devotion, 'Sufism' has developed innumerable themes which have been incorporated in the voluminous output of 'Sufi' poets. Hazin does not attempt on such stereotyped topics. His poetry

1 Kulliyāt-i Ḥazin p. 355
leads us to spiritual contentment without involving in sectarian conflicts. The Indian leader M.K. Gandhi used to preach that communion with God is necessary to get peace of mind. But what kind of God? There are different concepts of God as given in different scriptures. Again, there is the question of adopting some path to reach God. Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism and Brahmanism have identified their own ways of reaching God which are different from each other. Rather, sometimes they are contradictory to each other. Consequently, if a man wants to reach God by treading the path of a particular religion he is obsessed by the feeling that he might be walking on a path misleading from the point of view of the other religion. Many persons are lost and doomed in this confusion. That is why Gandhi had emphasised that one should adopt the ancestral religion and worship God fearlessly. He will certainly be rewarded with salvation. The famous Urdu poet Ghalib had already made a similar observation in his famed couplet:

وزا دوا ای سی پر اسوا ایاں ای ایاں ہم میرے سما نے سمن نوں کہ کہ کو ہاں کرا کو

Needless to say that an unflinching faith and conviction is a pre-requisite to this. Shaikh 'Ali Hazin seems to support the same line of thinking when he declares;

1 Kuşliyat-i Hazin p. 355
There is no dearth of such poets who have confined their poetry to merely expressing sensuousness of adolescent period. Even when they get out of it and attain ripe age they continue to write about wine, nightingales and feminine charm. The following couplet of Shaikh S'adi applies well on these poets:

There is no doubt that such poets do write some good poetry which is based on their personal experience of young age but when they cross this period and still go on writing about matters which they no more experience they become artificial, stale and hackneyed. Their poetry becomes out of date and turns into an exercise in rhetorics. What distinguishes a great poet from these mediocres is that with the passage of time and advancing age they gain on the side of intellectual development. That is what Mir Anīs tells us in the following couplet:

This change in mental outlook brings about an insight which is at once spiritual and mundane. This insight is of far greater value than the urges of flesh and blood pertaining to the period of immaturity. Hazin too, like all other great poets transcends the limitations of immature thinking
and sets before himself a high ideal of poetry. The following couplet indicates this change:

\[ \text{دلم راز محرم گیت لانهان بریدا م \text{بایاجری بیهکی من پیام گرسنت}}. \]

In Ḥazin's poetry the concept of love 'Ishq-i-majāzi' itself is quite high. He does not adopt cheap methods to achieve the union of his beloved. Rather, he is prepared gladly to suffer all the hardships which come in his path. That is why Ḥāfiz had declared long before Ḥazin:

\[ \text{پیکم که بچیر تو نی سازد \text{از فلک وصل نو بردی بیار}}. \]

Like a valiant lover Ḥazin can go through all the ordeals for the sake of his beloved without the slightest hesitation. Indeed, he feels pleasure in such ordeals. One entire 'ghazal' of Ḥazin reflects this attitude and is soaked in the ecstasy of love:

\[ \text{از توهان سعیت دیردانسقات \text{از توهان سعیت پیرقادریست}}. \]

He regards love and worldly life to be two different things opposed to each other and recommends the sacrifice of the

1 Kulliyāt-i Ḥazîn 361 ff.
2 Ibid p. 600
latter to achieve the former:

لحنان لرُمُم ابتزت زا ۸۰۰ فتنهٔ گوشی را پیچت ردیار سوءیقت

The frenzy of love does not remain confined to the traditional love of the nightingale or the moth but is of much higher intensity and appears to be burning like a flame:

۳۰۰ ام از این کل آرزو طبیعتی ساکردهک مبنبل و پروراد سوءیقت

The burning passion for the beloved, according to Ḥazin, can give eternal life to the lover. The fire of love is comparable to the elixir of life:

۴۰۰ از رز سبزه طیازه دیوان سعیت امرت پایین کمیت درم با ناباد سوءیقت

The climax of the situation is that the union of the beloved itself becomes a fire for the lover. Being consumed in its flames, the lover cries out:

۵۰۰ زرد سامحه هال لو تارآتش به سپیم فروش گذشته ست بنشین تو زماد سوءیقت

But this is not the whole story. Ḥazin is capable of deriving physical pleasure also from his love. In one of his beautiful 'ghazals' he reminds his beloved of the good old days

1 Kulliyât-i Ḥazin p. 600
2 Ibid
3 Ibid
4 Ibid
when she was herself mad in love for Ha'zīn. Instead of expressing conventional ideas about love, Ha'zīn has depicted a realistic picture of his love-affairs. The references given in its verses are at once factual and full of aesthetic sensibility and poetic emotions. Ha'zīn reminds his beloved of the time when she was madly in love with him and yearned for a favourable response to her emotions. Love-affair, however, was not a one-way traffic as Ha'zīn too felt attracted to her beauty but exercised restraint. The misfortune which later on befell Ha'zīn was, according to him, due to sheer bad luck. His mistress was not at fault and she remained faithful throughout.¹

By reading this 'ghazal' we come to another conclusion that Ha'zīn was not just a lover. His personality and appearance had certain qualities which attracted the beloved also. His poetry and aesthetic taste had added glamour to it. This is testified by his another couplet mentioned below:

٢

¹ See 'ghazal' on page 13 of this chapter.
² Kulliyāt-i Ha'zīn p. 430
The reason for this attraction and popularity lies in the fact that in addition to being an scholar and a learned man he could also be a high spirited and optimistic man. This quality sustained him for such a long time in a foreign country and alien surroundings:

One more 'ghazal' is being mentioned on this occasion which is notable for its bachchalanian and sensuous nature:

1 Kulliyát-i Ḥazin p. 438
2 Ibid p. 527
As mentioned earlier, Haain was at times a high spirited man. Basically, however, we have to admit, despite several of his couplets to the contrary, that Haain was an optimistic and forward-looking man. He had tremendous faith in a bright future and always hoped for the best.

Two more couplets of the same 'ghazal' are worth mentioning as they can be included in the finest selection of Persian poetry:

One can detect the influence of Hāfiz in the 'ghazals' of Haain. He too, like Hāfiz, believes in deriving utmost pleasure of life. He argues that life is short and the days at our disposal are numbered. We can either pass this time joyfully or make it a hell. This philosophy has a psychological truth. We all know that one's happiness

1 Kulliyat-i Ḥāzin p. 438
2 Ibid
does not entirely depend on one's material condition. A rich man can be sad and miserable while a poor one can be happy. It is mostly a subjective matter. The glorification of wine and the praise of cup-bearer 'sāqī' appears in the same context in Ḥazin's 'ghazal'. Drinking helps a man to overcome the sufferings of life. The beauty and attraction of the cup-bearer creates an urge to live on. People gathering at the wine shop are sincere and friendly. Priests and ascetics who give a show of piety, are at bottom hypocrites. It is much better in Ḥazin's view to drink than to worship in hypocrisy. He openly gives his verdict in this connection:

The dimensions of this liberality go much wider taking into its orbit religious tolerance, search for truth and sincerity of purpose. Belfour's statement, though contestable, is nevertheless near the truth. He writes:

"His (Ḥazin) liberality in religious opinions (although he seems sincere in his attachment to the religion he professed) exceeds that of any Musalmān writer with whom I am acquainted; and is eminently conspicuous in the praises

1 Kulliyāt-i Ḥazin p. 399
he bestows on some learned and amiable Magians whom he met within Ye zd and other towns of Persia; his tribute of approbation was never withheld from any who could justly claim it, of whatever sect or nation.

One must, however, be cautious in accepting this verdict. Although it is further supported by the view of another famous Orientalist Sir William Ousley who says: 'that of many hundred Musalmān authors whose work I have perused, he is one of the few (Five or perhaps Six) entitled to the epithet 'Libral!

I say one should be cautious regarding such sweeping remarks because there have appeared among the 'Musalmān' community not only five or six but hundreds of such authors in Persian, Arabic Turkish, Urdu and several other languages who were not only more liberal than Ḥāzin but they could be included among the most liberal thinkers and writers belonging to all mankind. Confining ourselves to only such 'Musalmāns' who wrote about India we come across such luminaries as for instance Alberūnī, Ṣamīr Khusro, Emperor Bābar, Abūl Faḍl Faḍī and Ghālib etc.
To determine and evaluate a particular style, be it prose or poetry, one has to search for its roots and origins decades before it finally emerged forth and took on a definite shape and formal name. No doubt there exists a link between all the literary styles, from the olden times to the modern age, and we cannot examine any of them in isolation from others. Every style is product of the long-drawn process of evolution of language and literature and owes its existence to innumerable social, cultural, intellectual, political and literary change. It would be wrong to imagine that any particular style just springs forth all of a sudden without having any links whatsoever with the earlier modes of expression and thought.

Curiously enough, a number of our literary historians and critics, while examining and analysing the comparatively new literary phenomenon of "Sabk-i Hindi" have overlooked this fundamental of literary criticism. Some confusion seems to prevail in their minds regarding the origin of this much-maligned still-admired 'Sabk' or style. They tend to
think that this is a style which suddenly reared its head in the Indian sub-continent during the sixteenth century and flourished thereafter. This is actually not true. The point which needs stressing is that the originator of this 'Sabk' or style is neither Naẓīrī, nor Zuhūrī, nor Faidī, nor any other poet of the sixteenth century either of India or Iran. It has older and much more respectable credentials; for its inception can be traced back to the thirteenth century (Eighth century of Hijra) and to Khusrau's 'diwān'. No doubt, it was then but in a rudimentary and undeveloped stage; yet the embryo was there and it only needed time to grow up into a full organism. Zayn-ul-Abidīn Motamin, expresses the same view in the following words:

A few verses from Khusrau, each typifying some special and well-known feature of 'Sabk-i Hindi' will suffice to prove the point:

**Simile— with a blend of the real and the fanciful:**

1. Simile— entirely and wildly fanciful:

**Elegance of diction:**

**Simulated Pathos:**

2. Ibid p. 140
3. Ibid p. 140
4. Ibid p. 140
Unmelodious Word Collection:

Shā'īb, the great promoter of 'Sabk-i Hindi' says that the people are attracted to his poetry because it reminds them of Ḥāfiz:

بِنْذَرُ صَاحِبِ اِسْلَامِ مَيْ کُنَّہُ مِنْتَخَلَق
کِیْلَ مِیْ دُحْدَہِ اَنْظُرُ حَافُظُ شِیْرَاز

After Khusrav and Ḥāfiz, poets like Kamāl-i Khujandi took up the same strain and this general tradition, from simple to the ornate, became the new style of the poetry throughout Iran, especially in the Herāt Court. Kamāl-i Khujandi says about the novelty of thought and expression in his poetry:

کَانَ اِسْتِعِارَ اِلْقَرَأَاتِ جَعْاَجِیْا
گَرَفَتْ مِرْبَعٍ وَهُدِیَّ وَعَلِیْا
جُرْحَاییِّ اَرْحَمُ عَالِمَ خَاصِّ دَانَ
خَیالَتَ آَرْجُوْنِ غَدِیرَ ۱۶۳۱

1. Diwān-i Khusrav Dehlavi, p. 113.
2. Ṣaḥīb, Tehran, ۱۳۳۶ Shamsi, p. 603.
Similarly, Ḍāyer Shāhi (d. 857 Hijra) says:

As is evident from the above examples, this poetry is much closer to 'Sahk-i Hindi' than to the more classical styles so much so that sometimes we come across couplets reflecting all the glory of 'Sahk-i Hindi' and reminding us of Ṣā'īb and Kalīm. For example, a couplet by Ḍāyer Āli Shēr Nawāī in praise of Jāmi is as follows:

2. Ibid p. 456.
3. Ibid p. 726.
The above-quoted verses are fine amalgamation of 'Sabk-i Irāqi' and 'Sabk-i Hindi'.

Jāmi's emphasis on diction and artistic devices at the cost of thought-content made an impact on the following generations and led them to indulge in artificial poetry of the genre now described as 'Sabk-i Hindi'.

'Sabk-i Hindi', which had already taken root in Iran with the emergence of the Herāt School, established itself in India and consequently in neighbouring Persian speaking countries, as the literary vehicle of the court poets and the prose writers. Even while in Iran, 'Sabk-i Hindi' had embodied a particular way of feeling and a heightened imagination, novel to Iranian poetry. In India, its complex texture gained new heights, and new metaphors and phrases, studded with rhetorical devices were introduced to give expression to quaint ideas and exaggerated emotions.

Every Persian scholar is well acquainted with the traditional style of the old masters of 'Ghazals' like Sa'udi. It represented the perfection and consummation of the same symphony which Rūdaki played so softly and so sweetly in his 'Yād-i yār-i Mehrban'. With the emergence of 'Sabk-i Hindi', this soft and dulcet tone of the Persian 'ghazal' was changed. Its diction became more ornate and
it lost the echo of the wistful yearnings of a lover for his beloved. Instead it acquired a certain freshness of expression and a novelty of the mode of presentation. The debut of this art of poetic ornamentation is the chief characteristic which distinguished 'Sabk-i hindi' from the old styles and gives the most distinctive quality to the Persian 'ghazal' of that period. For example, Sa'di expresses himself simply and effectively in the following couplet:

Devar o Nahi ho mere bhi koi
Bazar khush khan saa'ib ka koi 1

Sa'ib versifies the same idea but, of course, in a different style, in the following couplet:

Zuberkar zayri gharb az ehsaas-e sordari
Khakan daraa-jet dair khizaran khan beshi

Again, a comparison of the following two couplets of Hafiz and Sa'ib will be of much help in this respect:

Ghazal-e Khazal-e nasgh-e tagh va musdum
Hosarkhan ro naran ber khavasm 2

Janan ~=gurkan sal az roosali baze' azman
Kohder dar chirwana va kahan ber khavasm bald 3

1. Kulliyat-i Shaikh Sa'di, Tehran, 1338 Shamsi, p. 806
2. Divan-i Khan-yi Hafiz, Tehran, 1348 Shamsi, p. 264
3. Kulliyat-i Sa'ib, Tehran, 1336 Shamsi, p. 248
The truth of the matter was that the 'ghazal'-writers of the period were conscious of the monotony of the subject-matter of 'ghazal'—love and love alone—and tried to compensate for it by the novelty of their expression and by making their love story differ from the others in its minute details. Ideas and events that had been expressed a thousand times before gained a new charm under their fantastic imagination and fanciful language; and the age-old story of love acquired a new freshness to it, as the great love-poet of Shirāz, Ḥāfīz, remarks in the couplet quoted below:

\[ \text{کی پر سبیل نفت غیبی دا بین عبید} \]

\[ \text{اندرکی کی سخانی ناگر است} \]

This familiar 'Qiṣṣa-yi gham-i 'ishq', when expressed in a symbolic way with the help of the original and intricate similes and metaphors is totally metamorphosed; and as an ordinary face looks pretty and exciting behind a flimsy veil, similarly an old idea when seen through the magical mist of imagination, appears new and striking. In the following couplets the same old dish has been served but with a new

---

dressing, the effect is not only palatable, it is delightful:

Be it an affected and artificial way of expression, but the total effect is definitely charismatic and mystifying and offers greater satisfaction to the highly sophisticated intellect of today. At the same time, and even if we are particular to the more ornate form of expression, we still have to admit that sometimes this art of words does degenerate into word-play and is carried a bit too far. Unfortunately, the followers of 'Sabk-i Hindi' play this game in every field, whether it be prose or poetry, a lyric or panegyrical, a moral

1. Vaili Moravi, as cited in Dreams Forgotten, Delhi 1934, p. 158.
3. Ibid p. 115.
exhortation or an elegy, a talk of romance or historical 'mathnawi'. This zeal for poetic art leaves them with the result that sometimes it becomes ridiculously artificial and mars the whole effect.

Not only did the verbal expression undergo a change but there was a total transformation of the whole thought-content. The masters of this style were found of playing with quaint lines or Kalîm himself says in the following couplet:

1

\[
\text{ناکفس می‌ورم، بسیار برجست را}
\]

Again, a comparison of the following couplets of Kalîm and Šā'īb will go a long way in moving the point further:

2

\[
\text{ازد سبز حدین توب رنگ بار بار
یک نیزه خون گل زهرا وار گرست}
\]

3

\[
\text{سرگ از چشم تروم زورد هدایت نرسی
درد دندان دارد گزشت زهرا وار از گلم
نیم نیب فلز خون یب دارم بنن ناسانی}
\]

\[
\text{کر گریسی محکس کر گرم دوم اندار
سگ باز بزرگ ضعف طالب سن
کوب عصافتان کیمیا یار رسید}
\]

1 Dīwān-i Kāmil Kāshānī, 1362 Shamsi, Tehran, p. 86
2 Ibid. p. 131.
The greatest contribution of 'Sabk-i Hindi' to Persian 'ghazal' was that its followers, great 'ghazal'-writers like Ḡūlām b. Kālīm, Ṣadī and Ḡūlib, freed the 'ghazal' from its customary shackles of love and gave it entirely new dimensions. From the time of Ṣudūkī to the age of Ṣā'īb, 'ghazal' was essentially not more than a lyric — a love-song expressing the longing of the lover for the beloved, the indifference of his loved-one towards him and the marvellous beauty of his darling. Ṣa'dī tried to broaden the horizon by including moral themes in the sonnets. Ḥāfiz further improved upon it and made 'ghazal' an expression of Sufistic and mystic thoughts.

But it was 'Sabk-i Hindi' which gave a new dimension to 'ghazal' by widening its scope to embrace such objectives and philosophical themes as mysticism, didactics, social texture of human life etc. In this sense, 'ghazals' of this period became unlimited in their range and variety for they nearly touched all aspects of human experiences, from those which are most narrowly individual to those which involve the broadest interests of the whole humanity. The following couplets of Kālīm and Ṣā'īb may aptly be educed in evidence:

1. "مغرب زیبی که رسید کاری بجز کال یک برای کسان را کردن سکوت نمی‌آید"
2. "مکن زمان تا کمی نبود و باربتن مسا"  

1 Fūlīyāt-i Ṣā'īb, Tehran, 1336 Shamsi, p.104.
For a proper understanding of Ḥazin's style and diction in poetry it is important to keep in mind this literary background and also to make its historical survey. Broadly speaking, we can fix the fifteenth century of the Christian Era, as a line of demarcation for the literary background of Ḥazin's poetry. This period is generally regarded as a period of 'Sabk-i Hindi' in Persian poetry and if we trace the origin and development of this general style we shall have to take a start from this point in history. 'Sabk-i Hindi', of which Ḥazin was a typical poet, has sometimes been mis-understood to stand for the whole of the Persian poetry produced in India. This would be a wrong assumption. In broad terms, Persian poetry has been divided into three main styles which are more historical than geographical in nature. In other words, they are the product of a special time in history although they might have been related to some geographical areas also. To begin with then, the first style of Persian poetry has been named as 'Sabk-i Khorāsāni' because it was practiced at the beginning of

1. Diwān-i Kalīm, Chān Arzhang, 1362 Shamsi, p. 181
the Persian poetry which originated and spread in Khurasan, that is, the present-day Afghānistān and Central Asia. Later on, the centre of Persian poetry shifted to Central and Southern Iran as a result of the Mongol onslaught. Great poets like S'adi and Ḥāfiẓ flourished during this period. Hence, the style of Persian poetry at that time came to be regarded as Sabk-i-Shirāzi or Sabk-i-Īrāqi. We can also call it Sabk-i-Īrāni as it emanated from Shirāz and the adjoining areas which formed the heart-land of Iran. But the historical process is never static or confined to a particular place. Towards the beginning of the Sixteenth century, the centre of Persian poetry once again shifted, this time, to India. Persian poetry written thereafter came to be termed as 'Sabk-i-Hindi! With the advent of the Mughal rule, Persian poetry received a great impetus and a large number of poets, writers and scholars migrated from Iran to India resulting actually in a dearth of Persian writers in Iran and other Persian speaking countries. Malikush-Shiʿara Bahār, an eminent Persian authority of modern times testifies to this fact. Writing in his book Sabk Shināsī he declares that Delhi and Āgra in India had become greater centres of Persian poetry and places of patronage for it than even Iṣfahān and Shirāz.¹

It follows from the above discussion that Sabk-i-Hindi cannot exclusively be attributed to the whole of Indō-Persian poetry because this poetry had begun as early as the eleventh century in India and the earliest poets such as, Abul Faraj-i-Rūni and Mas'ūd S'ad-i-Salmān wrote in a simple style quite different from Sabk-i-Hindi. Moreover, during the Mughal period which forms the background of Ḥazin's poetry Sabk-i-Hindi was not only practised in India but was in full swing in almost all the Persian speaking countries. This is established by Abul Faḍl who gives a long list of immigrant poets from Iran and Khurāsān all of whom wrote in the popular style termed as Sabk-i-Hindi. This position continued till the time of Shaikh Ḥazin and even afterwards. Sabk-i-Hindi can, therefore, be regarded as a style of Persian writing which embraced the whole of the Persian speaking world as well as non-Persian speaking countries like India and Turkey and was in full swing for about four centuries continuously.

Having determined the nature and dimensions of Sabk-i-Hindi we now come to determine its distinguishing features which gave it a distinct colour and identification. Persian scholars have noted that fifteenth century poets like Jāmi and Fughānī displayed certain characteristics which can be regarded

1 Abul Faḍl, Ḥin-i Akbari, pp. 168-83.
as the beginning of this style.\(^1\) They wrote under the influence of what has been termed as 'Hirat School' existing in the later Timurid period and enjoying the patronage of the adventurous, jubilant and artistic minded princes of that dynasty. The poets of that period, in sharp contrast to the declining Ṣūfī trend of their time, were high-spirited and composed 'ghazals' expressing their aesthetic outlook and pleasure-seeking mood. "They wrote about flowers and nightingales, enjoyed feasting and drinking and depicted the colourful assembly of the beloved."\(^2\) With the change of this outlook, the style and diction of their poetry also changed. The poets concentrated on saying something in a new idiom and fresh metaphor. The poetry written hitherto was simple and powerful and expressed heart-felt emotions. The new poetry which was later to be termed as Sabk-i-Hindi rejected the simplicity of style in the first phase. The earlier masters who compared the face of their beloved to the moon or a flower had now become stale and incapable of entertaining the lovers of poetry. The new poets, therefore, made an attempt to introduce novelty of ideas in their poetry to attract more and more attention. This naturally implied uncommon similes and quaint metaphors as well as an inflated imagination. Exaggeration and overstatement of facts became the dominant quality. The poetic

\(^2\) Waris Kirmānī, Dreams Forgotten p.12.
diction subsequently became artificial and ornate. The cruelty of the beloved and the oppressed and helpless plight of the lover were highlighted beyond proportions. Such peculiarities were baffling for those who were used to plain and direct expression in poetry and were not familiar with the social and political conditions obtaining in India that went into the formation of the Indo-Persian tradition. One reason for this complexity and indirect way of writing poetry, especially the 'ghazal' was that the Indian sub-continent was a vast mass of land inhabited by various communities having different religions and culture. On the sociological plain we find different kinds of currents and cross-currents simmering beneath the surface and influencing the political set-up of the country. It was not like Iran, Afghanistan and other Central Asian countries where mostly Muslims lived and shared common religion and culture. The Mughal Empire in India was confronted by complex situation and the administration had to evolve a philosophy which could satisfy various communities and integrate the different textures into a colourful design. The centre of government in Delhi and Agra tried to achieve this objective through various means which, to a very large extent, included literature. The court-poets of Akbar, therefore, tried under the leadership of Abul Faḍl and Faiḍi to introduce a new school of poets which could suit the contemporary requirements
of their time. 'Abdul Bāqi Nihāwandi, the famous biographer of 'Abdūr-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānan has referred to the new school of poetry founded by Ḥakīm Abul Fath, a distinguished noble and patron of Akbar's period. This school of academy encouraged the poets to secularism and free thinking in defiance of the orthodox and reactionary ideas and values which were followed by the earlier poets. Obviously, it was a hazardous task and had to be implemented cautiously under the cover of metaphorical language capable of being interpreted in more than one way.

This can be the main reason and the basic motive which resulted in the complicated and artificial style of Persian 'ghazal' labelled as Sabk-i-Hindi. The poets of this period had built up artificial dykes of poetic diction to keep away the critics and opponents and to protect themselves from the orthodox 'Mullas' who dominated in the administration and held important posts. Even prose which is supposed to be a direct and plain medium of communication, could not remain free from this veiled expression. Abul Faḍl's prose bears testimony to this fact. Some scholars have noted that he wrote in an evasive manner and could be fully understood only by those whom he wanted to understand it.

The elaboration and ornateness resulting from the over-refinement, social and political conditions had its several manifestations. The work of 'Sad-i Kundi' laid great emphasis on 'tāzā-sūyo' (i.e. to introduce either new themes or to write improved on what the earlier masters had written). His attempt for novelty of expression sometimes resulted in fantastic, queer and ludicrous output. It also produced monstrous exaggeration. Poetry has always approved exaggeration but not to the extreme which came to be witnessed in his period. Persian 'qasidas' have always been famous for flights of imagination in praising the kings and other patrons. But that was something which appealed even to the most serious-minded reader. 'Unṣuri, for instance, writes about his patron king Sultan Muḥammad:

مرحببو حضور از دریا کشتی
دل آب وزنان مع گستر
کی در سرس نپناه کشی
کی ببرم جان وقیت گرم

The men of the earlier period were not like this kind of ones although strictly speaking it will not be true. The poet claims that 'on his hearing two lifts, the tongue and

1. Dīvān-i 'Unṣuri, 1341 Shu'ri, Tehran, p. 64.
the heart, the former I have reserved for the king and
the latter for my beloved. Now the 'qaṣīda' in Sabk-i-Hindi
would go beyond all proportions in praising any object.
Two couplets of a 'qaṣīda' by 'Urfi Shīrāzi are given below
in evidence.


To give an identical example I am reproducing a full
'ghazal' by Nāṣir 'Ali Sirhindī, a near contemporary of Shaikh
'Ali Ḥazīn, which represents Sabk-i-Hindi in its various aspects

1 Qaṣāid-i-'Urfī, p. 3
Most of its couplets are far from reality and exhibit an attempt to go beyond normal thinking. For instance, the third couplet describing the physical weakness of the lover, says that he cannot walk even one step and intends to reach the heavens through his sighs. The sixth couplet shows the poet's preference of the strongest type of wine which can only be distilled from the fire of hell. Naturally, this kind of poetry was confounding to those who lived outside India and were not acquainted with the poetic trends then existing in this country. A number of instances can be cited like this but we would devote ourselves to the positive elements of Sabk-i-Hindi poetry which have either been ignored or played down. A significant quality of Sabk-i-Hindi poetry can be noticed in the psychological treatment of its characters. The personality of the beloved in the Sabk-i-Hindi 'ghazal' is more refined, mature and intelligent than that of the earlier beloveds who used to be simple, innocent and open-hearted.

1 Diwan-i NASIR 'Ali, p. 74
The new beloved not only attracted lots of people of all kind but also held regular assemblies of her lovers and knew how to deal with such private gatherings and handle rival lovers with caution and care. She could forward suitable excuses and explanations to an aggrieved party. In this connection the following couplets are worth mentioning:

1. This Ghazal is generally attributed to Qatīl but latest researches have found only the 'maqta' in Qatīl's Divān. The second couplet belongs to Fākhīr Makīn while the third one with slight variation in words is found in the diwān of Mailī Haravi. See Wāris Kirmānī, Dream's Forgotten, pp. 158, 383, 391.
masters but it gained on the intellectual side and made improvement over the heritage of earlier poets. We have already pointed out to the introduction of psychological element in the 'ghazal' poetry. Yet another element of far greater importance was the contribution to Sufi thinking. Previously, Sufi poetry in 'ghazal' was mostly confined either to transcendental love or to neo-Platonic philosophy or to the concept of 'Wahdat-ul Wujūd' as propounded by Ibn-i 'Arabi. With the spread of Sabk-i Hindi, Sufi thinking became more complicated and can be identified in two different courses simultaneously running among the 'ghazal'-writers. The first course rejected the pessimistic and helpless attitude of 'taṣawwuf' and introduced a dynamic and self-assertive element. This can be especially noticed in the sixteenth century poetry when the Mugahl Empire was in its full bloom. The poets of this period, especially Faidi, 'Urfi and Nau'i challenged the age-old hackneyed ideas about human destiny and human effort. 'Urfi, for instance, attacked the fanaticism of 'Mullas' in the following couplet:

\[ \text{1 Dīwān-i 'Urfi, Kānpūr, 1915, p. 50} \]
And again

Urfi also laid emphasis on human dignity and preached self-respect. He does not believe in getting Paradise either through begging or through business. He declares:

1. 
2. 
3. 

Again, Paidi proudly declares:

4. 
5. 

This trend gave a new direction to the old Sufi thinking. It may be related to the ideology of Jalāluddīn Rūmī,

1 Qaṣa'id-i Urfī, Kānpūr, 1872, p. 76
2 Ibid. p. 70
3 Diwān-i Urfī, p. 15
4 Kulliyāt-i Paidī, p. 27
5 Ibid. p. 27
the crowning Sufi poet of the thirteenth century, who was a great champion of human effort and initiative. The second important Sufi trend, as reflected in the Indo-Persian 'ghazal', can be noticed in Bêdil, the great poet-philosopher of India and a contemporary of Shaikh 'Ali Hazin. The Sufi philosophy of Bêdil and his world view is very deep and overlaps Buddhist and Vedantic philosophies. He can well be called a precursor of Sartre, the well known French philosopher of modern times. Pondering over the pitiable and solitary nature of man in the universe he declares:

\[ \text{But while Bêdil did make a major thrust in Sufi thinking and the whole orbit of Persian poetic thought he left a beneful influence on the poetic language about which Hazin was not unjustly critical. On his own part Hazin wrote simple language and valiantly fought for its usage in poetry. In the following pages we shall examine how far did Hazin succeed in this attempt.} \]

(2) Hazin's Style and Diction

Hazin's imitation of the Indo-Persian poets is too visible and pronounced to be overlooked even in a cursory glance of his poetry. There is a famous 'ghazal' of Naṣīrī opening with the following 'matla'a':

\[
\text{چه فلکه از نور و نزدیکت پاره‌زن}
\]

1. Hāzin, while imitating this 'ghazal' repeats almost the same idea in his 'matla'a:

\[
\text{چه می‌خواد از نور و نزدیکت پاره‌زن}
\]

2. Incidentally, the form and rhyming scheme of this 'ghazal' has been adopted by several Indo-Persian poets, including the great Khurṣīd who had composed his 'ghazal' beginning with the following 'matla'a':

\[
\text{چه می‌خواهم از نور و نزدیکت پاره‌زن}
\]

3.  

---

1 Ḍiwān-i Naṣīrī, p. 294.
This is just one example out of many to prove the point mentioned earlier that the framework of Hazin's poetry and also the scope of his thinking scarcely goes beyond the 'Sabk-i Hindi' and that it can be understood and appreciated only in relation with the masters of Indo-Persian poetry. This does not in any way, minimise Hazin's importance and excellence as a poet. In fact he was able to project, though on a lesser plain, his own personality and to give somewhat distinct colour to his 'ghazals' by his genuine feelings and command over the poetic idiom. Even when writing in the contemporary popular style which implied exaggeration, fanciful ideas and ornamentation, he could give a personal touch and a melodious sadness to his verses. Some of his couplets, for that matter, display the highest lyrical quality.

Being an Iranian and master of his language, Hazin never fell a prey to the vague and tortuous diction of the eighteenth century Indian poets of Persian. The simplicity of his expression and flowing language with beautiful ideas has a direct appeal and goes home into the hearts of his readers.

1 Kulliyāt-i Hazin, p. 454.
I am reproducing just one 'ghazal' which has been casually selected and, therefore, cannot be claimed as his best performance. The lyricism and the aesthetic quality of its verses speaks for itself.

No wonder that Ḥazin ridiculed and fell foul of Bādil and other poets of India having obscurity and inverted style such as reflected in the following couplet:

Still the main thrust of Ḥazin’s poetry, as of many other poets of Sabk-i- Hindī, remained “what oft was thought

1 Kulliyāt-i Ḥazin, p. 607.
but never so well expressed," a dictum forwarded about
poetry by John Pope, the noted poet-critic of the English
language and a contemporary of Ḥazin. It is precisely because
of rejecting this practice that Būdīl proved to become a
greater, if not more popular poet, than Ḥazin. Ḥazin tried to
reshape the set ideas and rearrange the approved idioms and
metaphors as was common at that time. As a matter of fact,
direct reference to the beloved and other personal matters were
not supposed to be decent in poetry. This was not a new
practice. Centuries before, Jalāluddīn Rūmī had remarked in
his famed 'mathnawi'

Persian poets have always expressed their deep and
variegated experiences in the garb of love poetry. So did Ḥazin.
Despite being a serious-minded scholar and a religious man,
Ḥazin expressed his feelings in the conventional frame-work of
love poetry:

1 Kulliyāt-i Ḥazin, p. 605.
Now, to what extent could Hazin introduce his personal and, therefore, original element into this conventional set-up shall be the subject of our critical analysis in the following pages.

We have already discussed elsewhere certain traits and aspects of Hazin's personality, such as, his home-sickness, his deep disgust with his surroundings in India, his idealism and high-mindedness and, above all, his sense of loneliness and separation from his own soil. Hazin again and again expressed his longing and his helpless plight in a direct and simple style. In such moments he rose above all sophisticated norms of rhetorics to give vent to his heart-felt and suppressed feelings resulting in his finest poetry. But this was not always the case with him. After all, Hazin lived in a period when classical rules and urban mannerism were strictly observed in poetry. His verses, therefore, bear noticeable impact of the conventional poetry. Some of the popular devices of Sabk-i Hindi found in his 'qazals' are noted below. A common practice among the Persian poets of the later middle ages was word-play. Obviously such exercises in rhetorics spoiled the spirit of pure poetry as the poet had to concentrate on craftsmanship and chiselling and setting of words in order to bring about poetic excellence. The following verses may be cited in example:

1 Kulliyat-1 Hazin p. 472.
Yet another 'ghazal' is quoted to show that Hazin strove to prove his mastery and command over the poetic diction by choosing a lengthy 'radif'.

It is not difficult to understand even for a layman that a 'radif' having so many words leaves little scope for the poet to communicate his ideas freely. Instead of having the option of choosing the words to suit his ideas he has to reverse the process by choosing the ideas to fit into the order of words.

Depiction of beloved's cruelty in monstrous proportions has been one of the chief characteristics of Sabk-i Hindi. Hazin's 'ghazals' give ample evidence of this feature as will be clear from the following verses:

1 Kulliyat-i Hazin, p. 356.
Another rhetorical device, very popular in Hazin's time, was that of 'tamsil'. This device has mainly been attributed to Šāib Isfahani who is acknowledged as its master, if not the innovator. Many eighteenth century poets felt pride in successful imitation of Šāib and attempted 'tamsil nigāri' in their 'ghazals'. This device resembles the allegorical style in which a feeling or an experience is communicated in the first line of a couplet and is further supported or testified by giving a concrete example in the next line. Here is a couplet of Šāib himself illustrating 'tamsil nigāri':

1 Kulliyāt-i Hazin, p. 449.
2 Ibid. p. 389.
3 Ibid, p. 337.
4 Kulliyāt-i Šāib, p.
Hazin too, like many of his contemporaries, tried his pen on this artistic device. The following couplets can be cited by way of examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ورزش که در ازما وارید نمی‌شود} & \quad \text{هنگامی که آمیزه‌ی باربی باشد} \\
\text{من آسانه‌تر بهم ترس می‌کنم} & \quad \text{می‌توانم بازمانم اندم} \\
\text{شکست باد و اسما به‌ناهیانم} & \quad \text{استاد می‌باشد} \\
\end{align*}
\]

It would be in fairness to Hazin and also in the fitness of critical appreciation to quote some examples from his poetry where he has followed the conventional line and produced verses just to display his command on the rhetorical devices popular in his time. Two couplets are quoted in example of 'ṣanat-i tazād'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{از زمره‌ی زمین بزنم بزنم} & \quad \text{از زمره‌ی زمین بزنم بزنم} \\
\text{گریزکی در نیاپرداز می‌رود} & \quad \text{گریزکی در نیاپرداز می‌رود} \\
\text{دستان نویسنده‌ای دارد} & \quad \text{دستان نویسنده‌ای دارد} \\
\end{align*}
\]

1 Kulliyāt-i Ḥazin p. 438.
2 Ibid. p. 599.
3 Ibid. p. 356.
Another example of typical Sabk-i Hindi is found in the artificiality of the following couplet:

\[
\text{اين از ایب حصرت الطیب فرارست هر فیضم}
\]

\[
\text{کونگر از را آب به کسان تازار.}
\]

In fact, this couplet has more than one rhetorical device. The most striking one is exaggeration or 'mubāligha! The poet says that every wound of his heart will cry for water even if it is thrown into the spring of Paradise or 'kausar'. Then there is the word play in the use of 'ab' which means both water and lusture. A third device of 'tazād' may be identified in the words 'al-'atash' and 'kausar'.

A very common practice of novelty of expression 'tāzā gui' already mentioned as a hallmark of Sabk-i Hindi can be noticed in the following two couplets:

\[
\text{از سبز این را آفند دزاسات}
\]

\[
\text{شیخ امینه بی نادگننادست}
\]

1 Kulliyāt-i Ḥazin, p. 472.
To sum up them, in Hazin's time, a display of the above-mentioned qualities was supposed to be the backbone of poetry and ideas had dropped to a secondary position. What is important to note is that Hazin stands out among all his contemporaries, for being least affected by this practice. His verses are amazingly simple and lucid. The reason for this independence lies in the fact that Hazin was at once a scholar and a poet of strong convictions while most of the poets of that time were either attached to the royal court or to some noble, and wrote 'ghazals' for general entertainment. Their effort in poetry was directed to embellish their diction and to bring about novelty in versification in order to please their patrons and the public at large. Quaint and uncommon ideas with several figures of speech were introduced to compensate the absence of thought-content and sincere emotions. Hazin did not need this kind of substitute as he kept himself away from the sophisticated society. Also, being a serious-minded scholar, he did not need the help of artistic devices to cover up the coolness of thought and feeling. Accordingly, his 'ghazal' is more reminiscent of the simplicity and emotional ease of the earlier masters like Sādi, Irāqi and Khusrau than that of the poets of Mughal and Safavid periods. But this comparison applies only to Hazin's style and diction. As for the subject-matter is concerned he could not make any addition or improvement over the poetic heritage he received from the earlier masters while
the great Mughal poets like 'Urfi, Nażīrī and Bēdil made a significant contribution to Persian poetic thought.

The controversy regarding Bēdil and Hazīn is well known and is of great help in determining the style and outlook of both in respect of the poetic art. A parallel example of these two poets can be noticed in the famous Urdu poets Mīr and Ghālib. Mīr believed in simple poetry and expressed his personal feelings in the spoken language. He is reported to have once remarked that he learnt the art of Urdu language on the steps of Jamā'ī Masjid where the common people assembled and talked with each other. Ghālib scorned over this attitude of Mīr and refrained from common ideas and common language. For him, poetry was a vehicle of highest ideas and profound thinking which could not be adequately expressed in the language of the masses. Like Bēdil, Ghālib too was ridiculed for using difficult language not easily understood and appreciated in 'mushā'irās'. Although a scholar and a widely read man, Hazīn never bothered to express his scholarship and philosophical thinking in poetry. Like Mīr who boasted of being a product of Delhi and expert in the spoken language of his city, Hazīn also felt pride in belonging to Īsfahān, the capital of Šāfavid Iran and wrote his verses in the Persian language commonly understood in Īsfahān. It would
be unfair to expect from him that kind of deeply philosophical poetry which was written by Bādil and Ghālib. These poets made adventures with the poetic language by distorting it to express the deeper strands of their thought and poetic vision. On the basis of evidence provided by the large number of books he studied and also wrote (see chap. II), we can claim that Hazin was perhaps more well-read man than Bādil and Ghālib but he did not utilise that knowledge in forming his own world view or in the expansion and enrichment of his poetic vision. This was because Hazin did not possess the mental capacity and genius equal to that of the above mentioned great masters. Even when writing intellectual poetry, he could think only about Platonic love or the traditional Islamic mysticism known as 'taṣawwuf'. These topics were already used by most of the Persian poets and Hazin only followed the beaten track both in language and ideas. Here are two couplets in example of Platonic love:

1  Kulliyāt-i Hazin, p. 420.
Another couplet refers to the oft-repeated idea of the unity of Almighty God:

لا يَنْتَفَعُ الرَّجُلُ مِنْ ذُرِّيَّةٍ مِنْ ذَرِّيَّةٍ لَّيْكَ إِلَّا أَنْ آمَنَ بِاِلْهِ وَيَتَّبَعِيْهُ آمَنَ بِالْهِ وَيَتَّبَعِيْهُ

Yet another couplet on 'tasawwuf':

بيْنُ مَا حَمَّلَنَّهَا بِالْحَرَّمِ حَمَّلَ مَا حَمَّلَنَّهَا بِالْحَرَّمِ

seems to have been directly borrowed from the following couplet of Ḥāfīz:

سَرَخَاءُ كَارِمَةَ وَسَادَتُ كَرَمَةً كَرَمَاً تَسْرِي غَرْسَكَ كَرَمَاً تَسْرِي غَرْسَكَ

The focus of Ḥāfiz’s poetic vision remained the same traditional love appearing in physical, transcendental and Platonic form. But his love poetry in either shape is more appealing, warm and lyrical because of the simplicity and forcefulness of his style and diction. Ḥāfiz himself was quite conscious of this fact and mentions his 'Diwān' as a talisman of the bond of word and meaning:

حَمِّنَ اذْدَرَرَمَ حَكْبَ بَشْرُحَانَ وَلَكْ يَتَّبِعُكَ مَعْلُومٌ أَلَّا نَفْتَهُ يَرْقُبُ مَعْلُومٌ أَلَّا نَفْتَهُ

1. Kulliyāt-i Ḥāfiz p. 430
2. Ibid p. 438
3. Divān-i Ḥāfiz p. 93
4. Kulliyāt-i Ḥāfiz p. 593
A significant aspect of Ḩazīn as a poet is that despite being a learned man he is never pedantic and very occasionally didactic. That he might have been a preacher or a dry puritan in dry to dry life we do not deny but he certainly forgot all about his learning and piety as soon as he took up his pen for composing poetry. There we find the real artist, the open-hearted poet, the sincere friend prepared to share with the reader his personal sorrows and sufferings and his most private experiences. He is plain and frank enough to admit about such moments when he wants to be left alone to brood over his misfortunes:

 ...

He goes on to write couplet after couplet interwoven in the same pensive mood:

1. "Fulliyat-i Ḩazīn, p. 593.
2. Ibid pp. 593-94.
The chief characteristic of Hazin's style, therefore, may be regarded simplicity and lucidity of poetic diction. This is all the more admirable in view of the ornate and artificial style which had enveloped the sixteenth century poets and the later generations including those living in Hazin's time. We cannot, however, declare that Hazin's poetry was totally free from rhetorical devices. First, it was impossible for a poet to cut himself completely away from the existing trends of his time. Second, even a good poet, when composing something in a direct and simple manner, writes in a poetic language and also uses the poetic idioms. In such situations, his inspired thinking may bring forth certain imageries, metaphors and even figures of speech with an effortless ease. Imageries are inherent and sometimes part of the embellished thought. This kind of ornamentation is natural and adds beauty and suggestive power to the poetic composition. On the other hand, a deliberate effort to decorate the language with rhetorical devices generally results in charmless and unpleasing verses. The rhetorical devices in Hazin's poetry appear to be a part of his creative process heightening the total effect and illuminating the imagination embodied in the verses. Here is a couplet with 'şanat-i tazād' bringing two opposite things together, i.e., enemy and friend but one can
hardly feel any deliberate attempt behind these views:

Another example of 'con't-i husn-i te'lllil' is found in the following couplet:

Instead of the beloved's feet touching the water, the poet says that the water has laid its head on the feet of the beloved and this boldness on the part of the water has dissolved the former. Now the point to be noted is that these figures of speech do not interfere in the lucidity and emotional flow of the couplet. Indeed, they are not even noticed in a casual reading unless one tries to look for them more carefully.

and also, Nizam kept himself above the niceties of style and expression. He sang about love and wine even when he was individually suffering from the vicissitudes and misfortunes of love. One of the surest signs of a great artist is

2. Ibid p. 455.
that he transforms the particular into the general and the local into the universal. Hazin gives ample proof of this in his 'ghazals'. Transcending his personal grief he meditates over the sad plight of human beings in this world. What else can we expect from a real poet.
گم دیه‌ی افساس‌تی ما
قفس مستغیبت‌تی ما
دست چندرکان صدام
علم‌تی ها عاصم‌تی ما
سرنعت بخش می‌لید
کرده‌ی سودای ضعیف‌تی
خغر افداه موده‌ی ازل
پیونداز به‌نگه‌ی شبانه‌ی ما
خش و خشک‌تی آبی‌تی ما

در محبت دراز با‌دوزن
عمر غماهی جاودانی ما

 geme که که نه نه نه
کبایست عاطفه که یادی‌ن帘
بجا قفسه‌ی طنان لاباری چند
سفر با‌یا آن سو با‌یدار کنن
پزار نبش اسان دیگر دامی
کنار و نب خداست پک‌فانه‌ی
آخرین‌هه میردریغ کنن
نفیسی خود صمیم‌کن دیست

1. Fultiyat-1 Hasin, pp. 312-13
خزان جهت مهارت الیزراشود
نبناه از جمله شیبان نرسد
ارگ یادگیری از اعتمادی
درک تنهایی نشست می‌شود

کیفیتی از زبان لغت می‌پرورد
تعادل بین رضایت فلسفه و شیوه پاسخ
چگونه باید از دست خالی خواهان خواهد شد
معنی ریشه‌شناسی در کلمات

بودگرایی از نظر دانشجوی
فکر متفاوت از پژوهشی ریزق نیست
گزینش دنیای ارزیابی می‌کند
کافی است با آزمایش گویش یافته

زمینه‌گویی بیش از زبانی بیان شده‌اند

1. Kulliyat-i Nazin, p. 313
2. Ibid, p. 320
زمان‌ها دوستان زنگ‌خوانی نمی‌فرامی‌دادند.
آن‌ها مهارت‌های خود را بی‌بی‌دادند.
موجب به‌دست‌آوردن بارداری‌ها بود.
درباره‌ی دوست‌ها به‌آن‌ها بی‌بی‌داشتند.

فیض به‌نیا خورده شما را دوباره در یاب.

خوشن‌العابید زنگ‌خوانی هم‌بها داشت.
از رنگ‌های خورشید قاره کنونی نخست
جرگه‌ی ملودین بی‌بی‌شدیدن‌ها داشت.
درمبی‌هایی سبز درشت خشک‌شد.
سروبازی‌ها در پرده‌ساز هم‌باشت
خیمه‌هایی سفید در پرده‌ساز هم‌باشت.
پی‌بی‌کریک‌ها در پرده‌ساز هم‌باشت.
هنگام‌ها دوست‌ها در پرده‌ساز هم‌باشت.
درکی‌ها در پرده‌ساز هم‌باشت.
درهم‌ها در پرده‌ساز هم‌باشت.
گرختن‌هایی ندایی رنگ‌نامه‌ای داشت.
آتش‌های زیبای پررنگ‌حا داشت.

1. Kulliyat-i Hazin, p. 323
میزان پخش گربه‌های بروزش حیت گزارش‌های بروزش
از خانه‌های خسته مخلوط
این سلردی شرایطی می‌تواند شدت 1.

د) رساهه و خشن‌گرایی
د) دل می‌بوده‌ایم آگاهی و خرس
د) جای‌نوازی انتساباً خرابات
د) خسارت نگرانه که دارد
د) درگیری در جنگ است
د) از این شرایط می‌شود

د) این می‌تواند از عمارت می‌آور
د) اکتا فروختن دستی‌اند خرابات 2.

دور از دور رودی از خوران با ضبط
در حال راه داری آتش در خانه پر شد
در حال سیاهی محض دیرالمورد

1. Kulliyat-i Hazin, pp. 324-25
2. Ibid p. 327
سپن درای فانلی، ها ماینت می‌خواند.

1. کلیه‌ی حافظ، انجیلین، علیه، دارم
2. تبید، pp. 593-94

کسی گرز به نیم‌یادان از خودن فشنا

2. حزین ارجمند، جلسه کنده‌ی‌میل دارم.
اشک لد در آتش آن گنگ فکشانند
عاقل فهم هر ویدیار روند کرده داد
خوی دیسال بین در زور وقت
آن شوق به زنان که پَر می‌پرست
امروز فیعض دری نفر نپرست
ای گری پرغم ننشاندی پرست
سیاسیخاطر نب اسرد داد
نور نپرست سیم خار ندانست
دشتی کردم اش جغرافیا رود

کاری کرست کدنگا عفافیانه
به فن فراست صدی اس کرست نکند
آزادگان جنوب بدر گری کردن
این سد دلی کردن نما کردن
ارفضاد کردگان هرابانی کردن
براسن رضایت صرختیان شقن
تا ابر تنگ را پیش آن چه‌گونه
نقد نشگه رگین افسرهاظران
ردی ناگه هور نر و ناشفان
سرپرستی تخت آن هر مدعی کردن
یافست نسبت چه در ارس ست

1. ُلیْیَینَتِ-ی هُوزین، ص. ۴۷۱
خان مرادیه در آنت‌گرمحمم
این خان را کسی دیگر نمی‌خندن

بتا به شوهد در شورگان‌زدن

(7) از دید رانگاب، دادنی کنند.

1. نخست از آشتیان بچکردن نام‌برده
بازم یافتن باید آن سروکینقا
نظر دیده ریش می‌کشیدان چوگونی‌کی
نواده‌ای لایه‌ای ریشه می‌کنیدن نیز.

2. کباده خوش‌کندگون‌اند بی‌ сахارت
غورچین بل پورا عشی بنگ‌بند
زنده اخلاق‌خسته سرکردن کار
زبان رهایی خامشکش‌هار سیمرن‌های

حذف آزمده دارد بن‌کمالان را‌فلاین

دل نارگ وزن ازخویت خشک‌پا

1. "ulliyat-i Hazin, pp. 439-40
2. Ibid p. 455
بعض اعمال نابردگان راه حزین

1. نسب عشق تابع و مصالحوس

طعنه برخی آناری‌خان که ۴۴ مجموع سیاست خوزروم جمله دارد
پی تفسیر غیاث میر به نیزند
پی کمال امید و امان بی‌خاک و زند
منکر در هادش مرگ و راه دارد
خوسرو جلد بر افشار بخاری نخست
به مرزه فاریک اهل سبیل‌نامه
ناکذب نام‌هی چنین اسیک‌بانت
جنس نافذ‌ان ایره داشت حمیص

حرف میثابی دل را بداری نخست

1. " kulliyat-i Huzin, pp. 527-28
2. Ibid p. 583
مستند درباس طلبا در آمد
ستور بود چون زنی نگار ما
جه درکمک سروراز شنی نیست
احترام خواهی تو گو ی روی خړا
کو او بچه یغی نقوی و زیادیان من
کو او یغنی خونی نامم نشکن
کو او نغمه یغی اتفراره شمار
کو او کریستمن شم شین سیغی

ای دیچ اولی گنگاررگشادیم
ای دل نیبنا پر هنقدر داد
پارست ایگردن بپچیرنیزادن خشین
پارست ایگردن سکین نارنگین
پارست ایگردن لاخضیب خشین
پچ پرتوست کریجی پراغلله
عیامت سواد ناد آن غالبیگشت
سمن بابی لادیستیست غنیار

خود را به نیاز خریدار آمده
مستان بار سروراز هر آمده
یوز بنی بهار و رازیان آمده
کریستم دیک فراهمی بداریم
مست وغراب اندرون به آمده
فقش‌تیکوی نزار آمده
کو سی تنزر بر سروراز آمده
هم‌خان سوژوی نگم‌مانده آمده
آن یارسی بهت افیار آمده
گو عمر دیه جبد آمده
دکه‌میت فرم ذخیره‌ت آمده
درداس مصوب در خوار آمده
آشکش مرتفع رخ آمده
یک بیوسته است ذکف آن از آمده
یک لغوی مر شنیمی بدار آمده
یک جربه نزان جمال بفرار آمده
در حریم نهاد را در اثر علت آن

1. Fuliyyat-i Nazin, pp. 629-30
2. Ibid. pp. 642-43
BIBLIOGRAPHY

English Sources:

'Abdul Ghani, Mohammad
History of Persian language and literature, Allahabad, 1929 A.D.

Arnold Matheu
Essays in Criticism, (Ed.) Littlewood, London, 1956 A.D.

Bausani, Alessandro
The Persians from the Earliest Days to the Twentieth Century, London, 1975 A.D.

Belfour, F.C. (Trans)
The Life of Sheikh Muhammad 'Ali Hazin written by Himself, London, 1830 A.D.

Browne, E.G.
A Literary History of Persia, Vol I, Cambridge, 1929 A.D.

Browne, E.G.

Khatak, Sururuz Khan
'Ali Yehsin—His Life and Works, Lahore, 1944 A.D.

Kirmeni, Waris
Evolution of Ghalib's Persian Poetry, Allahabad, 1972 A.D.

Kirmeni, Waris
Dreams Forgotten—An Anthology of Indo-Persian Poetry, Delhi, 1954 A.D.

Malcolm, Sir John

Malcolm, Sir John

Parva, Yehid
The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau, repri, Delhi, 1976 A.D.

R. Kussel & F. Islam
Three Ughal Poets, Cambridge, 1963 A.D.

Kumi, Jalaluddin
'Tawhidi-yi 'Ughawi, (Ed.) R. Richardson, London, 1925 A.D.

Sorbar, Sir Javed
Fall of the 'Ughal Empire, Volumes Delhi, 1971 A.D.
Manuscripts:

Arzu, Sirajuddin Ali Khan | Divan-i Arzu, Maulana Azad Library
Arzu, Sirajuddin Ali Khan | 
Aazad Bilram, Ghulam Ali | Hajma-un Kafis, Maulana Azad Library, Bakhipur MSS. No. 237, Aligarh
Bekhaber, Amzatullah | Yaqin-i Daniah, Maulana Azad Library, (Zakhira-yi Shab Munir Alam), MSS. Box 4/2, Aligarh

Hazin, Shaikh Mohammed Ali | 
Hazin, Shaikh Mohammed Ali | Tadhkira-ul Adil, Maulana Azad Library, (Habibganj Collection) MSS. No. 35/9, Aligarh

Sandilvi, Ahmad Ali Hashmi | Makhzanul Charib, Maulana Azad Library, (Bakhipur) MSS. No. 51/6/6, Aligarh
Shefique, Lechmi Narain | Gul-i Ra'na, Maulana Azad Library, (Bakhipur) MSS. No. 234, Aligarh
Waleh Dughistani, Ali Quli Khan | K망qush Shur'a, Maulana Azad Library, (Habibganj Collection) MSS. No. 51/3-4, Aligarh
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urdu-Persian Sources:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abul Faql, Ali</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ahmad, Semi-uddin</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ali, Ne'mat Khan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ali, Ne'mat Khan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ali, Ne'mat Khan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ansāfri, Nurul Ḥasan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Āṣif Jīh, Miṣām-ul Mulk</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Āzād Bilātīmi, Ghulom Āli</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Āzād Bīlātīmi, Ghulom Āli</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Āzād Bīlātīmi, Ghulom Āli</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Āzād, Muhammad Jāzīn</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Badānānī, Abdul Qādir</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bādil, Virza 'Abdul Qādir</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bādil, Virza 'Abdul Qādir</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bārā, 'Alī-ush Shu'rā</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chehrizā, Mohammed Abdul Allāh</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fāqīh, Abul Fāqīh</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Firdausi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gurqūm-i, Mohammed Qudrat Allāh</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Huflī, Shīrūzī</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hāfar, Abdul Latīm</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hāzin, Shīrkh Khwān-i Āli</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hāzin, Shīrkh Khwān-i Āli</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hezin, Sheikh Mohammad Ali

Hezin, Sheikh Mohammad Ali

Hezin, Sheikh Mohammad Ali

Hindi, Yagwân Dês

Ikran, Sheikh Mohammad

Kalan, Abu Tālib Khan, Hammad-ud in

Khan, Muhammad Sāqi Usta'd

Khan, Mawā Syed Muhammad Siddiq Hasan

Thun, Shahnawáz

Khânī

Khushau, 'Irinâben Dês

Khurrau, Amir Dehlâvi

Khâjna, Thâli-ullâh Akhtar

Lodi, Shâh Thun

Lmâncheh

Mir, Jâdi Ir

Mehâqam, Zayn-ul 'Abidin

Mabî Âdî

Mabî Ùdî

Mârvi, Jâdi Faqir Ahmad

Faqir
Nihâvandi, Abdul Bâqi
Mizâni Senjari
Nu'âni, Shihli
Râhmân 'Ali

Şâbe', Muhammad
Muzaffar 'Ussrîn

Shâh Pirâza
Shâh 'Urza

Shebâi, Maulvi
Imâm 'Alâsh

Shâh Wâli-ullah
Shâh Wâli-ullah

'Ur'fi Shîrûzî
Zoe Ansârî & Abul
Faîd Seher

Zuhûrî

Sa'di Shîrûzî

Mathir-i Rahîmi, Calcutta, 1931 A.D.
Sikandernâma, Kanpur, 1874 A.D.
She'r-ul 'Ajâm, Azamgarh, 1920 A.D.
Todikirn-yî 'Ulma-yî Hind, Kawal Kishore,
1914 A.D.
Roz-i Roshan, Bhopal, 1297 A.H.

Kulliyat-i Shîh, Lucknow, 1880 A.D.
Kuliyât-i Shîh, (Ed.) Pîroz Koîî Amâni,
Tehran, 1336 Shamsh

Divân, Lucknow, 1887 A.D.

Anfâs-ul 'Arifîn, Dehli, 1315 A.H.
Shâh Wâli-ullah ke Siyâsî Vaktubât, (Ed.)
K.A. 'Uzzâmî, Vaktubât-i Burhân, Dehli, n.d.
Divân-i 'Ur'fi, Kanpur, 1915 A.D.
Khurram Shînâsî, New Dehli, 1975 A.D.

Divân-i Zuhûrî, Kanpur, 1897 A.D.

Kulliyat-i Shaikh Sa'di, ed. Mohammad Ali
Farôghi, 1338 Shamsh, Tehran.
SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

The following system has been adopted in transliterating proper names and Arabic and Persian words:--

(A) Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zh</td>
<td>kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>zh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(B) Vowels

Long vowels

\[ \begin{align*}
\varepsilon & \quad \text{as in یک} \\
\ddot{u} & \quad \text{as in یور} \\
\ddot{a} & \quad \text{as in یاب} \\
\end{align*} \]

Short vowels

\[ \begin{align*}
\varepsilon & \quad i \\
\varepsilon & \quad u \\
\ddot{a} & \quad aw \\
\ddot{a} & \quad ai \\
\end{align*} \]
NOTE: The names of well-known places and personages have been written in their current spelling. Final 'h' has been dropped except in proper names.