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PREFACE

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BANĀRAS, the most sacred city of the Hindus, is a miniature India. Among other numerous places of interest and historical importance it also contains a great number of sepulchres, the best known of which is that of Shaikh 'Ali Hazīn, at Fātimān.

The history of the Shaikh—like that of all the other great men—is inextricably interwoven with fiction. Anecdotes—some of them really very funny—have crept up and been handed down from generation to generation. Some of these anecdotes have been recorded in the *Nigāristān-i-Fārs* by Muḥammad Husain Āzād who to our greatest surprise, in face of his undisputed scholarliness, has neither doubted their authenticity nor probed into the sources of his information. And his zest has led Āzād into pitfalls. For example, he puts the well known controversy between Abu'l Faḍl and 'Urfī in the mouths of Hazīn and Ārzū. See *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 214. For the real facts see : *'Ud-i-Hindī*, p. 42, where Ghālib quotes from memory the contents of a letter from Jalālā-i-Ṭabāṭabāī to Shaidā-i-Hindī.

Be that as it is. The visitor to the tomb of Hazīn, today, is presented with the following by an elderly *mujāwar* (superintendent of the tomb)

for his family the post of *mujāwar* for four generations : Shaikh Hājī¹ was the minister of Yaman.² He was an expert geomancer.³ One day the King of Yaman asked his attendant to fetch him a glass of water. The latter did so. Without an outwardly reason whatsoever the King bid the attendant bring another glass. This surprised Shaikh Hājī who forthwith began to divine. After he had drawn his conclusions, he said to the King : "Your majesty has acted very unjudiciously in asking the attendant to bring you another glass when there was nothing wrong with the first one : it portends ill-omen." "What does it mean ?" enquired the King. "The meaning hereof is, O King," said Shaikh Hājī, "that this very attendant will murder your majesty and usurp your throne." The attendant, who was at this time by the door, overheard the conversation. Then he entered the room and gave the second glass of water to the king who drank it.

Time rolled by and the conversation between the king and his minister always preyed upon the mind of the attendant. Finding a chance one day, he stabbed the King and occupied the royal throne.⁴

¹ Corruption of Hāzīn, though of course, Hāzīn was a Hājī.

² Hāzīn had never been in Yaman save for a few days when he visited it on his return journey from the pilgrimage. He was not even remotely connected with the court of Yaman.

³ For his powers of working miracles see pp. 117-9 *infra*.

⁴ This somewhat resembles the usurpation of the throne of Īrān by Nādir Shāh who on joining the service of Shāh Ṭahmāsp was called Ṭahmāsp Qulī (i.e. the servant of Ṭahmāsp). Though the means by which Nādir Shāh and Ṭahmāsp Qulī were quite different.

The new King immediately sent a few soldiers to arrest and produce before him Shaikh Hāji whose mental prowess he feared much. Shaikh Hāji was at this time engaged with his science. While divining the events of the day he suddenly discovered the murder of the King of Yaman by his attendant and the despatch of the soldiers in his own pursuit. On discovering this, he ran up to his wife,⁵ gave her the story of the murder of the King and informed her of his own unsafety, in a few sentences, and taking leave of her in a hurried manner ran out of the house. Just near the house he met the men of the King who asked him if he knew where Shaikh Hāji was. "Must be in his house," replied the Shaikh and resumed his flight. The soldiers entered the house and interrogated his wife of the whereabouts of her husband. She told them that the man that they had accosted at the door but a few moments ago was none else but her husband. But now it was too late for the soldiers. So, they informed the King of the whole affair who sent fresh soldiers in his pursuit. Further search, however, proved futile.

Shaikh Hāji, in the meantime, was making the best of his speed, avoiding all eyes. The evening found him in a thicket. Overpowered by hunger and thirst and exhausted by his day's journey, he reclined himself against the trunk of a tree.⁶ From an

⁵ From the following pages (133-135) we shall see that Hazīn never married in his life.

⁶ A tree also plays an important role in the construction of Fāṭimān. See p. viii.

adjoining hole he heard a voice reciting a *merthiya*.⁷ This made him weep and sob which attracted the attention of the King of the Jinn who was holding a *majlis*⁸ in his palace under the hole.

The King of the Jinn, thereupon, sent out one of his slaves to find out the cause of the weeping. The slave came out of the hole and on meeting Shaikh Hājī asked him as to why he was weeping. Shaikh Hājī told him that his lamentation was due to the hearing of the *merthiya*. "Do you know any *merthiyas* yourself?" asked the slave. "I do," said Shaikh Hājī. "Would you like reciting one in the *majlis* of the King of the Jinn if I can get you permission from my master?" asked the slave. "By all means," replied Shaikh Hājī. "But to a word of warning: if the King is pleased with you, he will command you to ask of him anything that you like. Ask not for ought when he bids you do so for the first time, nor yet for the second time. But when he bids you do so thrice, ask him to grant me to you: for, I am worth all that he can give you—nay even more," said the slave. "So shall it be," said Shaikh Hājī. Thereupon the slave entered the cave and on emerging again he requested Shaikh Hājī to follow him.

On entering the hole, Shaikh Hājī found himself amidst a royal court. After exchange of salutations,

⁷ i.e., the elegies on the martyrs of Karbalā, especially Imām Ḥusain.
⁸ Assemblages of the Shī'as during the ten days of Muḥarram when they mourn the martyrdom of the martyrs of Karbalā.

the King of the Jinn asked him to recite a *merthiya*. Now, Hājī was well-versed in the art of *merthiya-khwānī* and endowed with a sonorous voice. The King was mighty pleased with his performance and required him to ask for anything that he liked. Shaikh Hājī, however, kept his peace; nor did he ask for anything when the King desired him do so for the second time. At the third time he respectfully requested the King to grant him the slave that had invited him to the royal audience. On hearing this the King was very much upset. "Ask for anything else," said he to Shaikh Hājī, "and thy wish shall be granted." "Your majesty! grant me the slave if you would grant me anything at all, else please it your majesty to grant me leave to depart," said Hājī. "That is no fault of thine but that of our slave who hath tutored thee thus. But in face of our royal pleasure we do grant him to thee. Take him where thou wouldst," said the king. Thereupon Shaikh Hājī and the Jinn took leave of the king, and came out of the hole.

"May I overthrow the kingdom of Yaman?" asked the jinn. "No!" said Hājī. "And may I kill the King?" asked the jinn again. "No, neither that," said Shaikh Hājī. "What would you like me do then?" enquired the jinn. "I would like you to take me to Banāras," said Shaikh Hājī. "Would you please close your eyes," requested the jinn. Hājī closed his eyes. Then the jinn asked him to open his eyes which Shaikh Hājī did—and behold there

they were in Banāras together.

From that moment onward the jinn used to reside in the left-side room of Shaikh Hājī's house and whenever Hājī required anything he had simply to extend his hand into the miracle room and would bring out the thing.

It so happened that, one night, Shaikh Hājī was sleeping under a myrtle tree standing at the spot where his tomb is situated now. In a dreadful dream he dreamt that night that drops of blood were dripping from the leaves of the tree and that all his clothes were drenched in the blood. Frightened to death he sprang to his feet, with a horrible scream on his lips, and tried to interpret the dream. In so doing, it suddenly flashed on his mind that Bibī Fāṭima was expecting of him a memorium in her honour. Shaikh Hājī, therefore, caused Fāṭimān to be constructed there.⁹

Another and somewhat earlier but no less funny version of the story is as follows:—

Hazīn was a minister of the king of Īrān:¹⁰ while Nādir, a youth, was an ordinary attendant there.¹¹ One day the king and his minister (Hazīn)

⁹ Fāṭimān is a small room surrounded by a larger one, which in its turn is covered by a still larger one. Fāṭimān is still in tact, and is adjacent to the southern wall of Hazīn's mosque.

As to the real facts about Fāṭimān and the nomenclature, see pp. 139-145 *infra*.

¹⁰ Hazīn was never a Minister of the king of Īrān, Yaman, India, or, in fact, any other place on the surface of the earth.

¹¹ Long before the accession of Shāh Tahmāsp—in the reign of Sulṭān Husain—Nādir had immortalized his fame by defeating near Mashhad the Uzbek Tartars who invaded Khurāsān in 1720. In the

were trying hands at a game of chess. Meanwhile Nādir, who was standing close by, was commanded by the king to fetch him the hookah. Nādir did so. The king had some puffs at the hookah and then resumed his game. But while the king was smoking, a live coal fell on the foot of Nādir who, however, did not attempt to throw it away. It burnt the skin and flesh and was consuming through the bone when the king was perturbed by the stench. On discovering the source of the odour he enquired of Nādir: "Why do you allow the fire to burn you thus?" To this Nādir replied: "I would fain have my foot burnt by the fire than disturb the royal pastime by my movements." "*Az īn qurramsāq bū-i-Shāhī mī āyād*" (this procurer stinks of royalty), remarked Hazīn. The words offended Nādir considerably but he did not give vent to his wrath.

It so happened, that in the political struggle for supremacy ensuing on the death of the king,¹² Nādir was successful in ascending the royal throne of Īrān. Now he wanted to avenge himself on Hazīn for the use of the word "*qurramsāq*" for him. This put

above battle Nādir was in command of all the forces of the Beglerbegī of Khurāsān. See Fraser: *The History of Nādir Shāh*, pp. 73-79. Nādir joined Shāh Ṭahmāsp when he was a grown-up man and already the leader of a band of 20,000 men and after he had regained his own dominions from his uncle whom he murdered in about 1726-27. On entering the service of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Nādir was made a Lieutenant-General. See Fraser: *The History of Nādir Shāh*, pp. 82-89. He was appointed General in 1727-8. *Ibid.*, p. 90. Also see *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 80.

¹² The last king of Īrān, Shāh Ṭahmāsp II, was deposed by Nādir Shāh.

Ḥazīn into flight. He came to India and began to reside in Delhi.

In Delhi we have the many anecdotes of his poetic-minded servants and especially the versified answers of his servant Ramadānī.¹³ But Ḥazīn could not reconcile his own delicate nature¹⁴ to the atmosphere of the court of Delhi and in consequence he left for Banāras where his tomb is to be seen up to the present day."

A third account of the life of Ḥazīn—as curious as the previous two and perhaps influenced by the second one—is to be found in the *Sham'* (monthly) January 1927, pp. 12-23.

This narrative (pp. 14-20) is a strange admixture of truth and falsehood; and is on the whole worthless stuff. This article was contributed to the journal by V. N. Mehta, Esq., I.C.S., Collector, Banāras (nowadays Member of the Board of Revenue, United Provinces) who had caused it to be written down by Professor Zafar Ḥusain Dābiṭ. Professor Dābiṭ is himself uncertain of the element of truth in his article. See p. 20 (end). Dābiṭ's doubts have also necessitated a lengthy note by the editors of the journal. See pp. 22-23.

The facts in the article I have utilised in the main body of my work: some of its inaccuracies I

¹³ For some of these anecdotes see *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*. The descendants of Ramadānī, an ignorant batch of weavers, are still to be found in Banāras.

¹⁴ In India Ḥazīn is generally reputed to be very delicate-natured. For the real state of affairs see: "His Nature," pp. 123-4 *infra*.

will now try to expose after reducing them into a constructive narrative of unusual brevity.

According to the narrative: Ḥazīn was the preceptor of Prince Ṭahmāsp II, son of Shāh 'Abbās II.¹⁵ Nādir at that time was an ordinary soldier in the army or perhaps held the position of an attendant.¹⁶

One day in the course of teaching the prince. Ḥazīn felt thirsty and asked for a glass of water. Nādir brought him water in a cup placed in a plate. Ḥazīn began drinking water but Nādir did not put the plate under the cup (as was customary in those days) and some water fell on the cloak of Ḥazīn. He cast angry looks on Nādir and possibly may also have reproached him.

Nādir took away the cup, but he immensely disliked the demeanour (and solecism) of Ḥazīn and never again came into his presence.

After some days Nādir left Īrān for his native land Afghānistān.¹⁷ He was fully aware of the state of Īrān and the habits of its inhabitants. He instigated the people of Afghānistān to rise in a rebellion against Īrān and became the king of that place.¹⁸ Ḥazīn had to quit Īrān for fear of him.

Nādir had formed a very bad opinion of Ḥazīn ;

¹⁵ *Sham*, Jan. 1927, p. 14. Ṭahmāsp II was the (third) son of Shāh Ḥusain and not of Shāh 'Abbās II. See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, IV, 616.

¹⁶ *Sham*, Jan. 1927, p. 14. Nādir was never a soldier in the army of, or in personal attendance on, Shāh Ṭahmāsp II. See foot-note 11 *supra*.

¹⁷ *Sham*, Jan. 1927, pp. 14-15. Actually the process was reverse.

¹⁸ *Sham*, Jan. 1927, p. 15. A rank calumny. Nādir Shāh's role in the history of Īrān was that of a saviour—not of a destroyer.

for, when Nādir came to Delhi he told a man to call up Ḥazīn. The man replied : "Ḥazīn would not come either due to fear of you or on account of his own magnanimity."¹⁹

When Ḥazīn came to know of what had passed, he migrated to Lucknow.²⁰ Not feeling immune from Nādir Shāh in Lucknow, Ḥazīn proceeded to Banāras where he was visited by Mahārāja Balwant Singh.

The narrative proceeds to relate the offer of some rupees and sovereigns by Ḥazīn to the Mahārāja and the Mahārāja's grant of some land including Aurangābād²¹ and some other lands to Ḥazīn.

At the end we have an entertaining account of the Nāwāb-wazīr Shujā'-ud-Daulah's visit to Ḥazīn. It terminates with an account of the poet Saudā's visit to Ḥazīn in Banāras²² a few days after the battle of Baksar.

¹⁹ *Sham'*, Jan. 1927, p. 15. Ḥazīn was hiding in Wālih's house. See p. 91 *infra*. Nādir, therefore, could not have possibly called for Ḥazīn.

²⁰ *Sham'*, Jan. 1927, p. 15. This fact is not mentioned anywhere else.

²¹ Aurangābād is a place near Banāras.

²² Saudā's meeting with Ḥazīn is based on hearsay and not on any reliable documentary evidence. The story as constructed from Munshī Muḥammad Anwar Ḥusain Taslīm's epilogue to *Kulliyāt-i-Saudā*, Newul Kishore edition 1289/1872, pp. 489-490 ; Āfāq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, pp. 27-28 ; *Sham'*, Jan. 1927, pp. 17-18 ; and Shaikh Chānd's *Saudā*, pp. 45-46, is as follows :—

On coming to India, Ḥazīn asked the people for the name of some master-poet of the time. They mentioned to him Saudā. When Saudā came to know of this, he himself went to see Ḥazīn in the latter's house. (See Āfāq, Taslīm, and Chānd. *Sham'*, Jan. 1927, erroneously places the meeting in Banāras. Obviously, Saudā could not ignore Ḥazīn in Delhi where they lived together for 14 years.)

The first two accounts reproduced above represent no more than the unbridled excursions of fanciful minds foreign to true scholarship and equally ignorant of history and facts.

When Hazin was informed of the visit of Saudā, he said: "What business has Saudā (literally madness) got here. Let him go to the market and be flung at with clods by the boys (lit. eat clods of the boys). [The beauty of the words lies in the association of the hurling of clods by boys on madmen. It should be remembered that Saudā also means madness.] Saudā, then, informed Hazin, that it was Mirzā Rafī-ud-Dīn, poetically surnamed Saudā. On hearing this Hazin called him in and requested him to recite some verses of his. Saudā replied: "I compose in Urdu and have come to listen to you." Hazin read out his Maṭla' (1st verse):

در شست چو برداشت کمانی و کمینی
نکذاشته یک صید زمانی و زمینی

Saudā praised the verse and assumed silence. Thereupon Hazin said to Saudā: "I have recited my verse, now please let me hear yours." Since Saudā had versified the very idea erstwhile, he recited:

ناوک نے تیرے صید نہ چھوڑا زمانے میں
تڑپے ہے مرغ قبلہ نما آشیانے میں

As Hazin was not well-versed with Urdu, he asked Saudā to tell him the meaning of تڑپے. Saudā explained it to him in Irānī as می تپد. Hazin then asked him to recite it over again. He was very much moved when he heard it for the second time. He slapped his knee (in excitement) and thus addressed Saudā: "Mirzā Rafī! you have wrought a miracle; you did not spare even the مرغ قبلہ نما (i.e., the compass; literally means the Qibla-indicating bird). Thereafter Hazin rose up, embraced Saudā, and made him sit close to himself. Hazin then asked Saudā for further verses and Saudā recited:

ایوان عدالت میں تمہارے یا شاہ کیا دخل ہے ظلم کو عیاذاً باللہ
شیشے کا جوہی طاق سے ریپٹے ہے پاؤں پتھر سے بھٹی آتی ہے صدابسم اللہ

Being at a loss to understand the meaning of ریپٹے, Hazin asked the meaning of the word from Saudā who explained it to him. Hazin enjoyed it immensely and remarked: "در پوچ گویان ہند خوب میگوئی"

(among the prattlers of India you compose well.)

The fabricators of these legends have miserably confused the little that they knew about Ḥazīn, Nādir Shāh and the histories of Īrān and India. They had neither the capacity nor the determination and desire to differentiate between facts and fiction.

In his life of Saudā, Shaikh Chānd deals with two *riwāyats* or hearsay accounts which need special mention :

The first one refers to the conferment of the title of Poet-laureate by Ḥazīn on Saudā (p. 45) and is based on Taslīm's epilogue. The learned author has advanced two arguments in refutation of it (pp. 45 and 46). The second one refers to Saudā's relinquishment of Īrānī in favour of Urdū due to Ḥazīn's remark : "در پوچ گویان ہند خوب میگوئی" (*Saudā*, p. 99).

As a combined result of the two *riwāyats*, we are envisaged with a tricky problem : Did Ḥazīn confer the title of poet-laureate on Saudā or did he simply dismiss him with the remark :

"در پوچ گویان ہند خوب میگوئی"

The answer seems to be that, Ḥazīn was much impressed with the Urdū poetry of Saudā and he praised him highly. Ḥazīn, however, formed a poor opinion about the Īrānī of Saudā and hence his remarked referred to above. Whether Saudā gave up composing in Īrānī at the advice of Ārzū or some other Īrānī poet or Ḥazīn (see *Saudā*, pp. 40 and 99) this much is sure, that Saudā did not know Īrānī well.

The advice of Ārzū cannot be meaningless. Besides, Saudā acknowledges his own weakness in Īrānī in a *qit'a* quoted by Shaikh Chānd (pp. 40-41). Incidentally, in the *qit'a*, Saudā also acknowledges the perfection of Ḥazīn :—

میں ایک فارسی دان سے کہا کہ اب مجھکو
ہوئی ہے بندش اشعار فرس ذہن نشین
* * * *

کہا یہ بعد تامل کہ دوں جواب تاجھے
جو میری بات کالے یار تاجھکو ہووے یقین
* * * *

اگر فہیم ہے تو چشم دل سے کر کے نظر

زبان کا مرتبہ سعدی سے لے کر تا بہ حزیں
کہاں تک ان کی زبان تو درست بولیگا
زبان اپنی میں تو باندھ معنی رنگیں
دیار ہند میں دو چار ایسے ہو گذرنے
جنہوں نے باز رکھا مضامک سے اپنے تئیں

To the expounders of these and similar theories, today, the only authority for their authenticity is an uncultured illiteracy and unscientific antiquity.

However, in face of the scanty and inaccurate information published about Ḥazīn so far and the vast stores of unexplored material, justice demanded an authentic and detailed treatment of the life and works of this great author which has been attempted in this work.

The present work, which has now assumed a separate individuality of its own, was originally intended to serve as an introduction to my edition of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn's "*Treatise on the Nature of Pearls, with an introduction, English translation, and foot-notes*" which I prepared in 1934 A.D. but which has not been published so far.

The earlier idea was abandoned on account of the enormous proportions which this work assumed; rendering it disproportionate for the object of

چنانچہ خسرو و فیضی و آرزو و فقیر
سخن انہوں کا مغل کے ہے قابل تکسیر

Saudā also acknowledged his ignorance of Irānī and his inability to correct the selections compiled by Ashraf 'Alī Khān and referred the latter to some other Irānī scholars of the day. See *Āb-i-Ḥayāt*, pp. 165-166; and *Saudā*, pp. 57-58.

The reasons for all this are to be found in the *Tadhkira-i-I'jāz-i-Sakhun* by Sarkhush who says: "Saudā did not come from a Delhi family. His ancestors were Kābulīs who might have been speaking a mixed Pashto and Irānī dialect. Saudā used to compose poor Irānī verses in his youth whence it is not surprising that Ḥazīn should dub him as a پوچ گو. The tragedy of all this is that Saudā happened to be a pupil of Ḥātim whose own language was not a standard one."

Thus we see that the great poet of Urdū was a poor poet of Irānī.

introduction to a small treatise. It was then thought proper to publish it in a separate volume and many additions have been made to it since 1934 A.D.

It is astonishing to note that the internal evidence contained in the numerous writings of Ḥazīn—other than his *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*—has not been utilised so far ; though some more of his works have also been published ere now. I have, therefore, spared myself no pains in eliciting all possible evidence.

The task of writing on Ḥazīn proved fruitful, in accordance with my expectations, because :—

(1) A large amount of contemporary material on Ḥazīn exists in India, and (2) many unknown works of Ḥazīn are extant in the libraries of India.

In spite of all that has been mentioned above, I have presented my work in the form of condensed notes under cross-headings ; although nothing would have been easier than to enlarge it to thrice its present volume.

It became imperative to give exact information about the names of books mentioned in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl* because of certain unfortunate mistakes committed by Mr. F. C. Belfour, who has rendered many of the names unintelligible by translating them and through improper transliteration in his text and translation of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*. For example, Belfour translates "*Kitāb-ul-Uṣūl-ul-Kāfī*" (Text, p. 68) as "*the book called Osol Kafi*" (Tr., p. 75) ; "*Sharḥ-i-Lumm'a ad Dimashqiya*"

(Text, p. 52) as "*Sharh Lumaa of the Damascan*" (Tr., p. 57); and transliterates "*Mughanī-ul-Labīb*" (Text, p. 20) as "*Maani-Ellibib*" (Tr., p. 19).

The translation of names—however scholarly and conscientiously done—leaves room for ambiguity and uncertainty. Therefore, I have chosen the direct method of giving the name as they are.

Also, with due regard to the antiquity of the times he worked in, and the difficulties that faced him in the form of scarcity of material and books of reference, Mr. Belfour's foot-notes—whenever given—are ultra brief and often incorrect.

Unfortunately, in his "*Hālāt-i-Hazīn ma'-i-Intikhāb-i-Kalām*" *Shirwānī Ṣāhib* has also erred in giving the names of famous standard classical works.

For example, he gives *الهيئات شرح تاجريد* instead of *الهيئات شرح تاجريد* (p. 16); *مقدمة الحساب* instead of *خلاصة الحساب* (p. 16); *امور عامة شرح تاجريد* instead of *امور عامة شرح تاجريد* (p. 18); and *طبعة مشقيه* instead of *طبعة دمشقيه* (p. 18).

I have, therefore, thought it expedient, and tried my best, to give exact information about the books mentioned in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl* whenever I could do so.

Also, Mr. Belfour's negligence and carelessness in the matter, and the confusion wrought by some later writers, has compelled me to explain important geographical names.

I have partially depended on the translation of

Mr. F. C. Belfour, comparing it carefully with the Bombay, Lucknow, and Banaras text editions and noting down the points of difference.

“The biographical literature of Persia is lamentably scanty,” says Master in the Introduction to his Translation of Ḥazīn’s *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (p. i), “and there is no work which can give us the complete biographical sketches of all Persian authors. Consequently, it is extensively difficult to attempt to write a complete life of any Persian writer. Fortunately for us, our author has given us his autobiography which furnishes us with ample material to enable us to write a short sketch of his life, adapted to the scope of this little work.” The autobiography of Ḥazīn, popularly known as the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, may serve quite a useful purpose for one merely extracting material for a short introduction to the translation of a few chapters; but the more earnest student has to take greater pains and consult more books as the autobiography takes us down to 1154 A.H. only and leaves uncovered the period from 1154 A.H. to 1180 A.H. viz., from the date of its composition to the date of Ḥazīn’s death.

As a whole, this work is a systematic summary of Ḥazīn’s *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, supplemented by numerous contemporary and later biographical works, and books of reference.

Bannu, 15-8-44.

S. K. K.

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L I F E

THE biographee is universally known as 'Alī Ḥazīn. This name consists of two components : (1) 'Alī—which is his popular name ; and (2) Ḥazīn—which is his *nom de plume*.

The designation 'Alī Ḥazīn does not include his real name, viz., Muḥammad—a name by which Ḥazīn signs himself in all his compositions. It is, therefore, an obvious mistake on the part of Shāh Nawāz Khān¹ to call him 'Alī. Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat² and Abdul-Laṭīf³ incorrectly give his name as Muḥammad 'Alī. Muḥammad Riḍā⁴ calls him Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī by mistake. 'Alī is his *alias*.

Now, it is not a common practice to mix a part of the name of a poet with his *takhalluṣ*. But such instances are on record. For example, Sirāj-ud-Din 'Alī Khān, with the *nom de guerre* Ārzū⁵ is called Khān Ārzū everywhere. This is an example from India and relating to the illustrious contemporary and chief opponent of Ḥazīn. For an instance from Īrān, we may refer to the name 'Umar Khayyām. Here,

¹ *Mir'āt-i-Āftāb Numā*, Ḥabīb Ganj MS., Pers. 32/33, f. 168.

² *Majma'-ul-Fuṣahā*, p. 94.

³ *Tuḥfat-ul-Ālam*, p. 518.

⁴ *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS., Or. 1811, f. 65b.

⁵ d. in 1169/1756. *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 386. For Ārzū and his literary combats with Ḥazīn, see *infra*.

'Umar is the philosopher's name and Khayyām is his takhalluṣ.

His full name is Muḥammad,¹ called 'Alī, son of Abī Ṭālib,² son of³ 'Abd Ullāh,⁴ Hazīn's full name. son of 'Alī,⁵ son of 'Aṭā Ullāh, son of Ismā'il, son of Ishāq, son of Nūr-ud-Dīn⁶ Muḥammad, son of Shihāb-ud-Dīn⁷ 'Alī, son of

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Banāras ed., p. 2, omits Muḥammad.

² See: His *Father—infra*. In the *Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātidha-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*, R. A. S. B. Ms., 1778 (f. 266) he is called Abī Ṭālib (أبي طالب). In the *Hadā'iq-ush-Shu'arā*, Curzon Collection Ms. 702 (f. 42b), the name is given as Shaikh Muḥammad Lāhijānī mutakhalluṣ Zāhid. In Master's Introduction to the Tr. of Hazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (p. 1) he is called Abū Ṭālib.

³ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Banāras ed., p. 2, and *Tārikh-i-Banāras* by Maḥzar Ḥasan, p. 378, omit *bin* after Abī Ṭālib.

⁴ See: His *Grandfather—infra*.

⁵ See: His *Great Grandfather—infra*. The Punjab University MS., Pe. II. 20, f. 30a omits 'Alī.

⁶ The author of *Shudhūr-ul-'Iqyān*, Shams-ul-'Ulamā Dr. Hidāyat Ḥusain's MS. (f. 228) and F. C. Belfour in his Tr. of Hazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (p. 1) have committed an error by adding *bin* after Nūr-ud-Dīn. The word *bin*, in this position, does not occur in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Punjab University Ms., Pe. II, 20 (f. 30a); *Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātidha-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*, R.A.S.B. MS. 1778 (f. 266b); *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, 'Abd-us-Salām (Lytton Library) MS. 600/21; Lucknow ed., p. 3; Bombay ed., p. 3; Banāras ed., p. 2; *Safīna-i-'Ishrat*, Bānkīpur MS. 699 (f. 186a); Āfāq's *Tadhkira-i-Hazīn* (p. 4); and Master's Tr. of Hazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (p. 2). Also see footnote 7 *infra*.

⁷ Here again, F. C. Belfour (Tr. of Hazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. 1), has erroneously added *bin* after Shihāb-ud-Dīn. This addition is not warranted by the Punjab University Ms., Pe. II, 20 (f. 30a); *Shudhūr-ul-'Iqyān*, Shams-ul-'Ulamā Dr. Hidāyat Ḥusain's MS. (f. 228); *Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātidha-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*, R. A. S. B. MS. 1778 (f. 266b); *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, 'Abd-us-Salām (Lytton Library) MS. 600/21; Lucknow, ed., p. 3; Banāras ed., p. 2; Master's Tr. of Hazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (p. 2); *Safīna-i-'Ishrat*, Bānkīpur MS. 699 (f. 186a); and Āfāq's *Tadhkira-i-Hazīn*, p. 4. And because the correct form (i.e., Shihāb-ud-Dīn 'Alī) occurs in the very next sentence of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Belfour's Tr., p. 3; Lucknow ed., p. 4; Bombay ed., p. 1; and Banāras ed., p. 2.

There is a divergence among the biographers of Hazīn as regards the

'Alī,¹ son of² Ya'qūb, son of 'Abd-ul-Wāhid, son of Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad,³ son of Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Alī,⁴ son of Shaikh Tāj-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm, known as Zāhid-i-Gīlānī,⁵ son of Roḥan Amīr, son of Bābil, son of Shaikh Pindār (or Bundār) al-Kurdī as-Sanjānī.⁶

Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī received his *nom de guerre* "Ḥazīn"—a pen-name so true to his doleful life—from Shaikh

Nom de guerre.

intermediaries that link him to his great ancestor Shaikh Tāj-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm, known as Zāhid-i-Gīlānī. These links are 15 according to *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin*, Bombay ed., Vol. II, p. 615; *Miftāḥ-ut-Tawārikh*, p. 348; and *Khulāṣat-ul-Afkār*, Bānkīpur Ms. 712, f. 219a, and 18 according to *Khizāna-i-'Āmīra*, p. 193; Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 227; *Yad-i-Baidā*, Bānkīpur MS. 691, i. 65 and *Safīna-i-Khushgū*, Bānkīpur Ms. 690, f. 182a—to mention only a few names.

The errors of Belfour are due to his basing his edition of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* on 2 MSS. only: of which one happens to be the unreliable MS. of Mr. Keene. E. G. Browne has erred by following *Khizāna-i-'Āmīra*.

¹ M.C. Master's Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. 2, omits 'Alī. In the *Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātidḥa-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*, R.A.S.B. MS. 1778, f. 266b, he is called Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Alī.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Banāras ed., p. 2; *Tārīkh-i-Banāras* by Maḥzar Ḥasan, p. 378; and Āfāq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, p. 4, omit *bin* after 'Alī.

³ *Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātidḥa-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*, R.A.S.B. MS. 1778, f. 266b, omits "son of Muḥammad."

⁴ Āfāq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, p. 4 and Master's Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. 2, omit 'Alī and call him 'Jamāl-ud-Dīn' only.

Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Alī was elder than his consanguine brother Shams-ud-Dīn. He had attained to old age and grown grey hair in the lifetime of his father, Shaikh Zāhid. At the time of his death, Shaikh Zāhid, however, appointed Ṣafī-ud-Dīn (the founder of the Ṣafawī dynasty) and not Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Alī as his successor. At the death of his father, Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Alī became attendant of the shrine of Shaikh Zāhid. See *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiya*, Berlin ed., pp. 85 and 100-101.

⁵ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 4; Belfour's ed., p. 1; and Banāras ed., p. 2. In the *Natā'ij-ul-Afkār*, Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 51/19 (p. 170) he is incorrectly called Shaikh Zāhid-i-Gīlānī Suhrāwardī.

⁶ *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*, Bombay ed., Vol. III, pt. IV, p. 325.

Khalīl Ullāh of Tāliqān¹ [ignorantly called Talcan (Taliqan) of Khalīl by Master,² and, Khalīl Ullāh Tāi'fānī by Āfāq].³ Khalīl Ullāh occasionally composed verses and sometimes commanded Hazīn to recite anything that Hazīn had composed.⁴ This relates to the time when Hazīn was under the instruction of the Shaikh. Khalīl Ullāh was an ascetic who wore for forty years the same rag; and died a few years after the death of Shaukat Bukhārī who died in 1107 A. H.⁵ Hazīn stuck to his title all his life long.

According to Hazīn's own statement⁶ he was born on Monday, the 27th of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 1103 A.H. (January 17,⁷

Date of Birth.

¹ طالقان : از شمال و مشرق محدود است بمازندران از جنوب بساو جبالغ و از مغرب بقزوین طالقان ناحیه ایست کوهستانی . برای تفصیلات رک : جغرافیای مفصل ایران ج ۲ ص ۳۵۳-۳۵۵ و نزهة القلوب ص ۶۵-۶۶ .

² Master's Introduction to his Tr. of Hazīn's Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl, p. i.

³ Āfāq's Tadhkira-i-Hazīn, p. 7.

⁴ See : Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl, Lucknow ed., p. 12.

⁵ See : Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āshirīn, Lucknow ed., p. 984:—

شوکت بخارائی : در سال هزار و یکصد و هفت هجری
بدار وصال انتقال نمود بعد از چند سال که عارف ربانی شیخ
خلیل الله طالقانی رحلت نمود متصل به تربت او مدفون
گردید .

For the life of Khalīl Ullāh see : Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āshirīn, Lucknow ed., pp. 953-954.

⁶ Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl, Lucknow ed., p. 10.

⁷ 7th January according to Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 159; Introduction to Master's Tr. of Hazīn's Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl, p. i; and Sham Jan. 1927, p. 14. Browne's Literary History of Persia, Vol. IV, p. 277 has 19th January.

1692 A.D.) at Iṣfahān.¹

Hazin's father, Abī Ṭālib, the second² son of Shaikh 'Abd Ullāh was born in the year 1058 A.H.³ At the age of twenty [in the year 1078 A. H.], Abī Ṭālib was seized with a desire to visit the learned men of 'Irāq, and with that intent repaired to Iṣfahān. Abī Ṭālib did so in the lifetime of his father who fearing lest Abī Ṭālib may fix his abode in that city, sent him no more money than was sufficient for his necessary expenditure, so that Abī Ṭālib had not the means which he wanted for the purchase of books, and copied many of them himself. His library consisted of 5,000⁴ books. He had corrected all and written commentaries on most of them. He had copied seventy of them himself—including such voluminous works as *Tafsīr-i-Baidāwī*,

¹ "Iṣfahān, an important town in Persia, formerly the capital under the Safawids, now the chief town of the province of Irak 'Adjami."

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 528-529; and *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Īrān*, Vol. II, pp. 409-429.

² By inference. See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 5:—

سه پسر از ایشان [شیخ عبد الله] متخلف شد: شیخ عطاء الله
و شیخ ابوطالب و شیخ ابراهیم شیخ عطاء الله که ولد اکبر بود
شیخ ابراهیم که کمترین برادران بود.

³ Because he died in 1127 A.H. aged sixty-nine. See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow, ed., pp. 6-7.

⁴ Master in the Introduction to his Tr. of Hazin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* p. i, incorrectly says 4,000.

⁵ "It only remains to speak of the commentaries on the Qur'ān, that of Zamakhsharī (d. 1143 A.D.), which is entitled the *Kashshāf* and that of Baydāwī (d. 1286 A.D.) are the best known and most highly esteemed in the Muhammadan East." *A Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 144-45.

Qāmūs-ul-Lughāt, *Sharḥ-i-Lum'a*,¹ the whole of *Tahdhīb-i-Hadīth*,² and others of the like. At his father's death Abī Tālib gave up the thought of returning to Lāhijān;³ bought a house at Iṣfahān; and added to its size. Abī Tālib died in 1127/1715 at the age of 69 years.⁴ He was buried in the famous cemetery called Mazār-i-Bābā Rukn-ud-Dīn, close to the tomb of Maulānā Ḥasan Dāniṣhmand⁵ of Gīlān.⁶ Hazīn has written an elegy on the death of his father. Six verses of the elegy are quoted in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 10 and repeated on p. 920 of the *Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn*, Lucknow edition.

The following compositions of Abī Tālib are mentioned in Hazīn's *Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātidha-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*, R.A.S.B. Ms. 1778, f. 274a:—

(1) *Risāla fī Tahqīq-ul-Ḥarakat*—Hazīn wrote a

¹ *Al-Lum'a ad Dimashqiya*: by Muḥammad ibn-i-Makkī al-'Āmilī ash-Shahīd, d. 782/1382. The book contains the conception of law according to the Imamites. The author has himself written a commentary on it entitled *ar Rauda al-Bahiya*. See: Brockelmann, II., 108. In the *Mashhad Cat.*, "Fiqh", Chapt. V, p. 61, the commentary is attributed to Shaikh Zain-ud-Dīn. Also see: *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astār 'an Asmā'al Kutub wal Asfār*, A. S. B. ed., p. 350.

² *Tahdhīb*: composed by Tūsī. It is one of the four standard works of the Shī'as on Hadīth. The other three being: *Istibṣār*, *Kāfī*, and *Faqīh*. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Akḥbār", Chap. IV, p. 21.

³ "Lahidjan: A town in Gilan to the east of the Sufid-Rud and north of the mountain Dulfak."

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 8; and *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Īrān*, Vol. II, pp. 270-271; and *Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb*, p. 163.

⁴ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 6-7.

⁵ Belfour's Tr. of Hazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. 15, omits Dāniṣhmand.

⁶ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 9-10.

"Gīlān, a province of Persia south of the Caspian Sea and North of the Elburz Chain."

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II., p. 170; *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Īrān*, Vol. II, pp. 263-280; and *Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb*, p. 162.

commentary on the treatise. (2) *Risāla fī 'Amal-il-Musabī' Wal Mutasi' fī Dā'irat-i-Alif, ba, jīm min at-Ta'ālīm*—This was explained by Ḥazīn. (3) *Risāla fī Qau'l-i-Arastū . . .* is a treatise discussing Aristotle's statement : " Why is rain-water lighter ? " It has been translated by Ḥazīn. (4) *Risāla fī Bayān-i-" Qul-ir-Rūḥ min Amr-i-Rabbī "*—translated by Ḥazīn. (5) *Risāla fī Taḥqīq-i-Mā Hu-al-Ḥaqq fī Masalat-il-'Ilm*—translated by Ḥazīn. (6) *Risāla 'Arafatu'l Lāh. . .*—translated by Ḥazīn.

Ḥazīn's mother was the daughter of Ḥājī 'Ināyat Ullāh, a native inhabitant of Iṣfahān.

Mother.

During Abī Ṭālib's stay at Iṣfahān, as already mentioned before, Ḥājī 'Ināyat Ullāh took a fancy for him and on Abī Ṭālib's return from the pilgrimage gave him his daughter in marriage. Ḥazīn's mother died in about 1129 A.H.¹ She was survived by her mother who died in 1134 A.H.²

Ḥazīn had three brothers only : and was the eldest of them all. Of the other three one

Brothers.

died in his infancy and the two in their youth³ in 1134 A.H. towards the end of the

¹ " بتاریخ سبع و عشرين و مائة بعد الف والدرلامه طاب ثراه چنانکه گذارش یافت بجوار رحلت حق پیوست و ازان حادثه اختلالی در احوال پدید آمد بعد از دو سال والده مرحومه نیز رحلت نمود."

Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl, Lucknow ed., p. 49.

² " القصة در اواخر ایام محاصره [اصفهان در سنه ۱۱۳۴ هجری]

هر دو برادر و جده در گذشتند."

Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl, Lucknow ed.

³ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 7-8.

siege of Iṣfahān. Hazīn does not mention the names of his brothers in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*.

Shaikh 'Aṭā Ullāh was the eldest son of Shaikh 'Abd Ullāh and an uncle of Hazīn.

Uncles.

He was famous for his knowledge of Fiqah and Ḥadīth. He was pious and religious. He died in old age without leaving any issue.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm was the youngest son of Shaikh 'Abd Ullāh and another uncle of Hazīn. He was a famous calligraphist of his time and was well-versed in epistolary composition and *belles-lettres*. He was a poet and also composed enigmas.¹

Shaikh Ibrāhīm is the author of the Scholia entitled *Rāfi-ul-Khilāf* on the *Kitāb-i-Mukhlif* of 'Allāma Ḥillī; and another Scholia entitled *Kashf-ul-Ghawāshī* on *Kashshāf*² up to the chapter "Akḥfāf"; and another treatise in explanation of the *Kitāb-i-Uqlīdas*.³

Shaikh Ibrāhīm died at Lāhijān⁴ in 1119/1707 and was buried in the same place.⁵ Shaikh Ibrāhīm left behind him a son named Shaikh Mufīd and two daughters. After some time the son also died in the prime of his youth.⁶

¹ *Ibid*, p. 5.

² Confer foot-note 5 on p. 5 *supra*.

³ *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 951.

⁴ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 6; and Banāras ed., p. 4.

⁵ In the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 6, Hazīn says about him:

ده سال پیش از والد علامه در لاهجان برجت ایزدی پیوست
This yields the year (1127 - 10 =) 1117 A.H. It is, of course, incorrect and rough calculation.

The *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 952 gives the exact date of Shaikh Ibrāhīm's death, viz., 1119 A.H. and says that, he was buried at Lāhijān.

⁶ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 6. Also see, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 371.

Badī'-ul-'Aṣr,¹ popularly known as Hājī Rabi'² and poetically surnamed Anjab, had Maternal Uncle. told Muṣḥafī (the author of '*Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*') that, Hazīn was his (Anjab's) sister's son.³

Why Hazīn should not mention such a reputable relative in his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* or *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn* is surprising! There are not, however, any chronological impossibilities to justify the doubts of Muṣḥafī; nor has he any reasons for the same.

Shaikh 'Abd Ullāh, Hazīn's grandfather, was the only son of 'Alī ibn 'Aṭā Ullāh. Grandfather. Shaikh 'Abd Ullāh acquired his education from his father. He was a pious man and had renounced the world. He was satisfied with a little of what accrued to him from his profession and landed property and distributed the rest among his friends and the needy.⁴

Shaikh 'Alī, the son of 'Aṭā Ullāh, Hazīn's Great-grandfather. great-grandfather, was a teacher of Khān Aḥmad Khān, the King of Gīlān. Due to Shaikh 'Alī's literary attainments, Aḥmad Khān was very reverent towards him.⁵ Shaikh 'Alī is the author of *Sharḥ-i-Hadīth-i-Mi'rāj*; *Īrānī* commentary on the *Qānūn*;⁶ written at the

¹ For his life see: '*Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Aurangābād ed., pp. 5-6.

² Called Hājī Rabi' Maghribī Dehlawī in *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, p. 78. According to this authority "Anjab came to Delhi in his youth and settled there. In poetry he was a disciple of Murtaḍā Qulī Beg Iṣfahānī." See *idem*.

³ See: '*Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Aurangābād ed., p. 6.

⁴ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 5.

⁵ *Safīna-i-'Ishrat*, Bānkīpur MS. 699, f. 186b.

⁶ *Qānūn*: composed by Shaikh Abū 'Alī bin 'Abd Ullāh Sināī, born

request of Khān Ahmad Khān; *Risāla-i-Ithbāt-i-Wājib*; *Risāla-i-Hall-i-Shubhāt-i-Jadhr-i-Aṣamm*; an extensive commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ* of Fārābī; ¹ and a dīwān of about 2,000 verses. His *takhalluṣ* is *Waḥdat*.²

Shaikh Zāhid, named Tāj-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm, was a disciple of Saiyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn³ of Gīlān,⁴ the disciple of Abu'l Qāsim Junaid Baghdādī⁵ whose chain of Shaikhs reaches the first Imam, 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib.⁶ Shaikh Zāhid was the spiritual director of Shaikh Safī-ud-Dīn the ancestor of the Ṣafawī Kings.⁷ Shaikh Zāhid married one of his daughters, named Fāṭima, to Safī-ud-Dīn.⁸ Fāṭima bore three sons to Safī-ud-Dīn.⁹

in 373 A.H.; died in 427 A.H. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Ṭib" Chap. XVI, p. 29.

¹ The *Fuṣūṣ* of Fārābī is known as the *Risālat al Fuṣūṣ fi'l Hikmat*; edited Dieterici and Hyderābād. *Brockelmann I*, 212.

"Muḥy 'l-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Alī Ibnu'l 'Arabī (or Ibn 'Arabī) was born at Mursiy. . . . We know little concerning the events of his life, which seems to have been passed chiefly in travel and conversation with Ṣūfīs and in the composition of his voluminous writings. . . . Two of these works are especially celebrated . . . the *Fatūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, . . . and the *Fuṣūṣu l-Hikam*, or 'Bezels of Philosophy' The *Fuṣūṣ*, a short work in twenty-seven chapters, each of which is named after one of the Prophets, is no less highly esteemed, and has been the subject of numerous commentaries in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish." See Nicholson's *A Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 399-401.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 4.

³ *Habib-us-Siyar*, Bombay ed., Vol. III, Pt. 4, p. 325.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 6. The *Nusakh-i-Jahān Ārā*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 141, f. 197b, gives Tabrīz instead of Gīlān.

⁵ The *Nusakh-i-Jahān Ārā*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 141, f. 197b gives Shaikh Jamāl-ud-Dīn Ahramī instead of Junaid Baghdādī. Junaid died in A.H. 298/A.D. 911. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 203.

⁶ *Nusakh-i-Jahān Ārā*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 141 f. 197b; *Habib-us-Siyar*, Bombay ed. Vol. III, pt. 4, p. 325.

⁷ Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 115.

⁸ *Habib-us-Siyar*, p. 6.

⁹ *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiya*, Berlin ed., p. 36.

Shaikh Zāhid was born in 615 A.H.¹ He died in Rajab² 700 A.H.³/March 1301 A.D., aged eighty-five. He was buried by Ṣafī-ud-Dīn at Siyāw Rūd⁴ in Gīlān. For his external appearance see *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiya*, Berlin ed., p. 20. His *Ak̄hbār* have been the subject of a treatise by Ḥazīn.⁵

We shall see, later on, that Ḥazīn was patronized in Īrān by Sultān Ḥusain Ṣafawī⁶ and his son Shāh Ṭahmāsp II.⁷ This is entirely due to Ḥazīn's own personality. For, the royal favours of the Ṣafawī emperors from the earliest times down to 1059 A.H.⁸ were exclusively

¹ *Ibid*, p. 28.

² *Ibid*, p. 93.

³ *Ibid*, p. 93; and *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*, p. 6. According to the *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 424, he died in 735 A.H. This is incorrect. For, 735 A. H. is the date of death of Ṣafī-ud-Dīn. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 372 and *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiya*, Berlin ed., p. 36.

⁴ *Nusakh-i-Jahān Ārā*, Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 141, f. 197b; *Khulasat-ut-Tawārīkh*, Tehrān MS., f. 6b. The *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*, p. 6, reads Siyāward.

⁵ See; *Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātid̄ha-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*, R. A. S. B. MS. 1778, f. 271b.

⁶ Ḥusain bin Sulaimān, the Ṣafawid, Shāh of Īrān, 1694-1722. Murdered by Aṣhrāf in 1729 A.D. See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 341-42.

⁷ "Ṭahmāsp II, third son of Shāh Ḥusain, proclaimed heir-presumptive during the siege of Iṣfahān by the Afghāns (1135/1722); . . . made a treaty with Peter the Great, . . . held out at Farḥābād in Māzandarān . . . and was joined there by the future Nādir Shāh, who brought him 5,000 men, . . . Ṭahmāsp . . . undertook successfully the siege of Eriwān and was defeated by the Turks at Koredjān, near Hamadān in 1144/1731; in the following year he concluded peace by ceding Transcaucasia . . . Nādir protested against the conclusion of the treaty, marched on Iṣfahān, seized Ṭahmāsp and sent him to be imprisoned . . . putting on the throne a son of the Shāh, aged eight months, under the name of Shāh 'Abbās III. . . ." See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 616.

⁸ *Viz.* the date of composition of *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiya* by Shaikh Ḥusain Zāhidī, the descendant of Shams-ud-Dīn who was a son of Shaikh Zāhid.

showered¹ on the relations of Hazīn descended from Shaikh Zāhid (in a line of descent distinctly different from that of Hazīn's) through his son Shams-ud-Dīn by his (Shaikh Zāhid's) second wife who was the daughter of Akhī Sulaimān of Gil-khwārān.² This Shams-ud-Dīn was the brother of Fāṭima, the first wife of Ṣafī-ud-Dīn,³ and the son-in-law of Ṣafī-ud-Dīn by his second wife.⁴ Thus, the matrimonial relationship between Shams-ud-Dīn and Ṣafī-ud-Dīn was two-fold.⁵ Hence, the royal favours.

Hazīn's family originally lived at Astārā,⁶ till one of his ancestors Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn 'Alī quitted Astārā and Home.

¹ See *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiya*, Berlin ed., pp. 103-115.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85 and 101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵ It should be noticed that there are two discrepancies in the *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiya*. First, Ṣafī-ud-Dīn is called the husband of the daughter of Akhī Sulaimān (See *Ibid.* Berlin ed., p. 36 where the reading is Zukrahī Sulaimān). The daughter of Sulaimān was married to Shaikh Zāhid. Secondly, the daughter of Ṣafī-ud-Dīn that was married to Shams-ud-Dīn is called the daughter of Fāṭima. Such a marriage is illegal and unlawful in Islām. See *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiya*, p. 36.

⁶ استارا: بندر استارا که سابقاً جزء آذربایجان بوده و راهی از اردبیل بان متصل میشود در شمال کرکانرود و در روی خط سرحدی واقع شده، و بواسطه رود کوچک استارا بدو قسمت منقسم میشود: که شمالی آن آستارای روس و جنوبیش آستارای ایران و توقفگاه کشتی های است که از بندر پهلوئی به باکو میروند و قسمتی از محصولات آذربایجان از آنجا بخارج چل میشوند.
رک: جغرافیای مفصل ایران ج ۲ ص ۲۸۰.

Reading Astārā as "Astā rā" and translating it "to Astā" is a mistake originally committed by F. C. Belfour (Tr. of Hazīn's, *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*,

took up his abode at Lāhijān, the loveliest city of Gīlān; and from that time forward Lāhijān became the permanent dwelling of Ḥazīn's ancestors.¹ Ḥazīn is, therefore, called al-Lāhijī or al-Lāhijānī² in addition to az-Zāhidī and aj-Jīlānī. He is also called Iṣfahānī. In one instance that I came across, he was called Banārasī. He is incorrectly called Qazwīnī in the *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 226.

At the age of four [*i.e.*, in the year 1107 A.H.], Ḥazīn was appointed to instruction by his father. Ḥazīn began his education under Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shīrāz³ who had come to Iṣfahān. The Mullā after the Bis'millāh, made him repeat three times the following verse: "Lord enlarge my breast, make what Thou hast commanded me easy unto me, and loose the knot of my tongue, that they may understand my

Beginning of
Education.

p. 1), and repeated by Master (Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. 2); *Nigār*, February 1930, p. 22; and Shīrwānī Ṣāhib (*Life of Ḥazīn*, p. 8). It is erroneously called "Ashtā rā" in *Safīna-i-'Ishrat*, Bānkīpur MS. 699, f. 186a.

Astārā is mentioned again in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 77; Belfour's ed., p. 157. It is curious to note, that, the name is mentioned correctly in Belfour's Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. 170, where a note on the same is also given.

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 4; and Shīrwānī's *Hālāt-i-Ḥazīn ma'-i-Intikhāb-i-Kalām*, p. 9.

² Mr. Ārvī incorrectly states in *Nigār*, February 1930, p. 23 and October 1935, p. 13, that, Ḥazīn was called Iṣfahānī because he had been brought up at Iṣfahān although he was born at Lāhijān. Also confer Tassy's *Memoire sur les particularites de la Religion Musulmane dans l'Inde*, p. 112, footnote 1.

³ "Shīrāz, a town in Persia, capital of the Province of Fārs in a vast plain to the south of Ispahan."

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. III, pp. 376-377; and *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Īrān*, Vol. II, pp. 218-222.

speech!"¹ Then the Mullā read the *Fātiḥa* (i.e., the first Chapter of the *Qur'ān*) and caressed him.

In two years' time, i.e., by the year 1109 A.H., Ḥazīn was capable of plain reading and writing. He persued many Īrānī books both in prose and verse; and being put to learn grammar and etymology and jurisprudence, he soon acquired them. He was then taught some logic.²

The following is a short account of the teachers from whom Ḥazīn directly gained and learned; notwithstanding a whole number of literati and dignitaries with whom he had mere disputation or association. Though Ḥazīn also mentions his teachers in his *Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātidha-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*, R.A.S.B. MS. 1778 ff. 267a-268a, the following list is entirely constructed from the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*:

“What I did not learn at lectures,” says Ḥazīn,³ “I read and committed to memory in private, and asked my father the difficult passages.”

At the age of eight, in the year 1111 A.H., his father appointed Ḥazīn to improve his *Qir'at*. He studied this art for two years [upto 1113 A.H.] under Maulānā Malik Ḥusain Qārī; and followed a few treatises on the art.⁴

At the age of ten i.e., from the year 1113 A.H., Ḥazīn's father himself instructed him and Ḥazīn

¹ *Qur'ān*, XX, 25-28.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 10-11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

read the following books under him : Jāmī's *Sharḥ-i-Kāfiya*¹; Nizām's *Sharḥ-i-Shāfiya*²; the *Tahdhīb*; *Sharḥ-i-Īsāghochī*³; *Sharḥ-i-Shamsiya*⁴; *Sharḥ-i-Muṭāli' dar Mantīq*⁵; *Sharḥ-i-Hidāya*; *Hikmat-ul-'Ain*⁶ with commentary; Compendium of *Talkhīṣ*⁷ (Rhetoric); the whole of *Muṭawwal*;⁸ *Mughnī-ul-*

¹ *Sharḥ-i-Kāfiya*, called *Fawā'id-i-Diyā'iya*, is an Arabic commentary of Mullā 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Jāmī, d. 898 A.H. It is a famous printed book commonly in use among the students. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Ṣarf wa Naḥw" Chap. XII, p. 14, *Āṣafiya Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 696.

Al-Kāfiya, the subject of the commentary, is a small book on grammar; composed by Ibn al-Ḥajib d. 646/1248. *Brockelmann*, I, 303.

² *Sharḥ-i-Shāfiya*: is an Arabic commentary by Nizām-ud-Dīn Ḥasan bin Muḥammad Naishāpūrī. . . . This commentary has been repeatedly printed and is in use among the students. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Ṣarf wa Naḥw" Chap. XII, pp. 17-18.

Al-Shāfiya, on which the commentary is written, is a work composed by Ibn-al-Ḥajib d. 646/1248. *Brockelmann*, I, 305.

³ *Kitāb al-Īsāghochī*; by Abharī, d. 663/1264. *Brockelmann*, I, 464; *Mashhad Cat.* "Mantīq" Chap. II, p. 2.

⁴ *Sharḥ-al-Shamsiya*; is a book on logic by Qutb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad bin Muḥammad ar-Rāzī, d. 766 A.H. in Dimashq. The *Sharḥ* was composed at the instance of Khwāja Ghīyāth-ud-Dīn. See: *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astār 'an Asmā'al Kutub wal Asfār*, A. S. B. ed., p. 341.

⁵ *Sharḥ-al-Muṭāli' fil Mantīq*: by Qutb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad bin Muḥammad ar-Rāzī, d. 766 A.H. It was composed at the instance of Khwāja Ghīyāth-ud-Dīn. See: *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astār 'an Asma'al Kutub wal Asfār*, A. S. B. ed., p. 353.

⁶ *Hikmat-ul-'Ain*: is a book on metaphysics and physics by al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī, d. 675/1276. *Brockelmann* I, 466; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Mantīq" Chapt. II, p. 49.

⁷ *Talkhīṣ-ul-Miftāḥ*: is a book on 'Ilm-ul-Bayān. It is an extract from the 3rd part of *Miftāḥ-ul-'Ulūm* of Sakkākī. It is composed by Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Qazwīnī, known as *Kātib-i-Dimashq*. There are many commentaries on the book, but the best known are (1) *Mukhtaṣar-ul-Ma'ānī*; and (2) *Muṭawwal*. The former is a commentary shorter than the latter. *Peshāwar Cat.*, pp. 206-207; *Brockelmann*, I, 295; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Ma'ānī" Chap. XIII, p. 2.

⁸ *Sharḥ-i-Muṭawwal*; by Mas'ūd (called Sa'd, in *Mashhad Cat.*, "Ma'ānī" Chap. XIII, p. 13) bin 'Umar at-Taftāzānī. It is a commentary on the *Talkhīṣ-ul-Miftāḥ* of Qazwīnī. *Sarkis' Mu'ajam*, p. 637; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Ma'ānī" Chap. XIII, p. 13.

*Labīb*¹; the *Ja'fariya*²; *Mukhtaṣar-i-Nāfi'a*³; *Irshād*⁴; *Sharā'i'-al-Aḥkām* (in Fiqah); *Kitāb man lā Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*⁵; *Mu'allim-ul-Uṣūl*⁶ and some other treatises.

He read the greater portion of the book called *Tahdhīb-ul-Aḥkām*⁷ of Shaikh Tūsi in the lyceum of Āqā Hādī, the son of Maulānā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Māzandarānī.

Hazin read from his father *Tafsīr-i-Ṣāfi*⁸ of

¹ *Mughnī-ul-Labīb*: is an Arabic work composed by Abū 'Abd Ullāh Muḥammad bin 'Abd-ud-Dīn Yūsuf bin Hishām Anṣārī, d. 762. It is one of the greatest books of Naḥw and is in use among the students. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Ṣarf wa Naḥw", Chap. XII, p. 37.

² *Ja'fariya*: is an Arabic work composed by 'Alī bin 'Abd-ul-'Āl Kirkī. It is a well-known book. There are many commentaries on the work. It has also been printed. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Fiqah", Chap. V, p. 32.

³ *Al-Mukhtaṣar an-Nāfi'*: is a book on jurisprudence according to the Imamites, composed by Najm-ud-Dīn Abī Qāsim Ja'far, d. 676 A.H. It is an abridgement of the book called *Sharā'i'-ul-Islām*, Sarkis' Mu'ajam, p. 790; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Fiqah" Chap. V, p. 115; *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astār 'an Asmā'al Kutub wal Asfār*, A. S. B. ed., p. 498.

There are many well-known books under the name, e.g., those by Shihāb-ud-Dīn and Taftāzānī.

⁴ *Irshād-ul-Idhhān ilā Aḥkām-al-Īmān*; is a work on jurisprudence by Shaikh Jamāl-ud-Dīn, d. 726 A. H. *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astār 'an Asmā'al Kutub wal Asfār*, A. S. B., ed. pp. 38-39.

⁵ *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruh-ul-Faqīh*; is a book on law composed by al-Qumī, d. 381/991. For MSS. of the same see *Bānkīpur Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 183; Vol. II, p. 221. The book has been printed. Also see *Brockelmann*, I, 187; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Akhbār", Chap. IV, p. 82; *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astār 'an Asmā'al Kutub wal Asfār*, p. 563.

⁶ *Mu'allim fī Uṣūl al Fiqah*; by Imām Fakhr-ud-Dīn ar-Rāzī. *Kashf-uz-Zunūn*, Vol. II, p. 459.

⁷ *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*: by Tūsi. MSS. of the work are preserved in Bānkīpur Library (Nos. 266 and 480); *Brockelmann* I, 405.

⁸ *Tafsīr-i-Ṣāfi*; the full name of the book is *aṣ-Ṣāfi fī Tafsīr-al-Qur'ān*. It is in Arabic. The commentator is Mullā Muḥammad bin Muḥammad Muḥsin al-Faiḍ Kāshānī known as *'Ilm-ul-Hudā*. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Tafsīr" Chap. III, pp. 20 and 46.

Maulānā Muḥammad Muḥsin¹ Kāshānī.

On their way to Lāhijān, Ḥazīn read from his father *Ilāhiyāt-i-Sharḥ-i-Tajrīd* and *Zubdat-ul-Uṣūl*,² whenever they alighted at a stage.

On their (Ḥazīn and his father's) arrival at Lāhijān, Ḥazīn visited his uncle and all the men of learning, rank, and ability there. His father employed himself in conference and disputation and Ḥazīn attended his classes as one of his pupils.

By his father's direction, Ḥazīn studied the treatise called *Khulāṣat-ul-Ḥisāb*³ under his uncle. Ḥazīn visited Lāhijān in 1113 A.H., at the age of ten and remained there for a year, viz., 1113-1114 A.H.⁴

On their return from Lāhijān to Iṣfahān in 1114 A.H., Ḥazīn's father gave him instruction in the treatise entitled *Tashrīḥ-ul-Aflāk*,⁵ and an epitome or two in astronomy.

For a space of about three years, Ḥazīn was

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Belfour's ed., has: "Ḥasan".

² *Zubdat-ul-Uṣūl*: composed by Bahā-ud-Dīn al-'Āmilī, d. 1030-31. It has been printed. See Sarkis' *Mu'ajam*, p. 1263; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Uṣūl" Chap. VI, p. 13; *Kashf-ul-Ḥujub wal Astār 'an Asmā'al Kutub wal Asfār*, A. S. B. ed., p. 303.

³ *Khulāṣat-ul-Ḥisāb*, by Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn 'Āmilī. The book contains one Muqaddamah and 12 Chapters. It has been printed repeatedly. *Peshāwar Cat.*, No. 1693; *Qāmūs*, p. 1263; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Riyādī", Chap. VII, p. 18; *Kashf-ul-Ḥujub wal Astār 'an Asmā'al Kutub wal Asfār*, A. S. B. ed., p. 208.

⁴ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 951 and *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 24.

⁵ *Tashrīḥ-ul-Aflāk*: composed by 'Āmilī. It deals with the elements of astronomy. Lithographed, Delhi 1294 A.H. and 1312 A.H. *Brockelmann II*, 414; *Kashf-ul-Ḥujub wal Astār 'an Asmā'al Kutub wal Asfār*, A. S. B. ed., p. 123.

instructed by the aforesaid Shaikh Khalīl Ullāh of Ṭāliqān from whom he derived his *takhalluṣ* "Hazīn". In the days when Hazīn was under his instruction, Khalīl Ullāh had retired to Iṣfahān and he died there.¹

At the death of Shaikh Khalīl Ullāh, Hazīn's father consigned him to the instruction of Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn of Gīlān, who had been a pupil of Mīr Qawām. With him Hazīn studied for some time and read a portion of the book *Iḥyā'-ul-'Ulūm*;² several treatises on the astrolabe; and the Sharḥ-i-Chaghmīnī.³

In Iṣfahān, Hazīn studied the *Tafsīr-i-Baidāwī*; the *Jāmi'-ul-Jwāmi'* of Ṭabarsī;⁴ and the *Umūr-i-'Āmma'-i-Sharḥ-i-Tajrīd*,⁵ in the lecture-room of

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 12 read with *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āshirīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 953.

² "Some of the most important Arabic works of reference on Sufiism are . . . the *Iḥyā'ul 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, or 'Revivification of the religious sciences' by Ghazālī (d. 1111 A.D.)." *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 338.

³ Sharḥ-i-Chaghmīnī: Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Chaghmīnī Khwārazmī wrote *Mulakhkhaṣ fī Ilāhiyāt* in 808 A.H. It deals with the kinds of bodies—terrestrial and celestial. It is known as Chaghmīnī; and very few people know the real name.

Qadizāda Rūmī wrote a commentary on it in 813 A.H. In its published form, the book and commentary are known as Shahrḥ-i-Chaghmīnī. See *Peshāwar Cat.*, No. 715, etc.

⁴ *Jāmi'-ul-Jawāmi' fī Tafsīr al Qur'ān*; composed by Ṭabarsī, d. 548/1153. He composed the book in 542/1147. MS. preserved in India Office 64. Brockelmann I, 405; *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astār 'an Asmā'al Kutub wal Asfār*. A.S.B. ed., p. 152. In *Mashhad Cat.*, "Tafsīr" Chap. III, p. 23, the book is called *Jawāmi' al Jāmi'* and described as an abridgement of the *Tafsīr* called *Majma'al Bayān*.

⁵ Sharḥ-i-Tajrīd-ul-Kalām: is a commentary on the *Tajrīd-ul Kalām* of Naṣīr-ud-Dīn 'Alī aṭ-Ṭūsī, composed by Ibn-ul-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, d. 726 A.H. See *Qāmūs*, p. 240.

Mirzā Kamāl-ud-Dīn Ḥasan¹ of Fasā.²

Ḥazīn read the *Istibṣār*³ of Shaikh Ṭūsī and *Sharḥ-i-Lumm'a ad-Dimashqiya*⁴ with Ḥāji Muḥammad Ṭāhir of Iṣfahān who was one of the greatest lawyers of his time.⁵

Soon afterwards at the desire of Shaikh 'Ināyat Ullāh of Gīlān who was a friend of Ḥazīn's father and was at that time occupied in teaching at Iṣfahān, Ḥazīn read with him the *Mantiq-ut-Tajrīd*, and the *Najāt*⁶ of Shaikh Abū 'Alī bin Sīnā.

Next Ḥazīn attended Amīr Saiyid Ḥasan of Ṭāliqān, who lectured him on the *Fuṣūṣ-ul-Ḥikam* of Shaikh-ul-'Arabī, and a commentary on the *Hiyākil-un-Nūr*.⁷

In those days Ḥazīn felt a desire to learn medicine and he read some part of the *Qānūn* from Ḥakīm Masīḥā'ī.

¹ Belfour's Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. 56 has "Ḥusain".

² "Fasā, known in earlier times as Basa-Sir, a town in Fars, four days' journey S. E. of Shiraz."

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 80; *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Īrān*, Vol. II, pp. 237-238; and *Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb*, p. 125.

³ *Istibṣār*: The full name of the work is "*al-Istibṣār fī mā Akhtatdfa min al-Akḥbār*." It was composed by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan at-Ṭūsī, d. 460. See *Bānkīpur Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 185; *Brockelmann I*, 405; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Tafsīr", Chap. III, p. 23; and *Kashf-ul-Ḥujub wal Astār 'an Asmā'al Kutub wal Asfār*, A. S. B. ed., p. 42.

⁴ See footnote 1, p. 6 *supra*.

⁵ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*. Lucknow ed., p. 26; *Shudhūr-ul-'Iqyān fī Tarājim-ul-A'yān*; *Shams-ul-'Ulamā Hidāyat Ḥusain's MS.*, Vol. II, f. 214.

⁶ *Kitāb al Najāt*: dealing with Logic, Physics, and Divinity. It is an extract from *Kitāb-ush-Shifā*. Printed in Rome in 1593; and Cairo 1331 A.H. *Brockelmann*, I, 454.

⁷ *Hiyākil-un-Nūr* by *Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrāwardī Maqtūl*. Printed in 1335 A.H. See *Mu'nis-ul-'Ushshāq*, Delhi ed., p. 12.

Soon afterwards he attended Mirzā Muḥammad Ṭahīr,¹ son and successor of Mirzā Abu'l Ḥasan of Qā'in and for a length of time studied and investigated some treatises on astronomy,² the *Sharḥ-i-Tadhkira*³ (on astronomy), the *Tahrīr-i-Uqlīdas*,⁴ the *Tahrīr-i-Mijastī*⁵ and *Qawānīn-i-Hisābiyah*.⁶

Hazīn now felt a desire to inform himself on the questions and truths of the different religions, and concerning the followers of the various sects. He became intimate with the doctors of the orders of Christians and their Padres and especially with one named Khalīfa Awānūs, a man of profound learning. From Khalīfa Awānūs, Hazīn learned the Gospel, and obtaining commentaries⁷ upon it, he thoroughly investigated the articles of their faith, and principles of religion, and read a great number of their books.

Among the Jewish inhabitants of Iṣfahān, Hazīn gained the confidence of one named Shu'aib, and

¹ Ṭahīr d. about 1144 A.H., viz. 10 years before the date of composition of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*. See *Ibid*, Lucknow ed., p. 28:—

تا ده سال قبل ازین در حیات بوده و رحلت نمود.

² *Rasā'il-i-Hi'at* according to *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 28; and Bombay ed., p. 28. The Banāras ed., p. 24, on the other hand, has *Risāla Hai'at*.

³ *Sharḥ-i-Tadhkirah* by Khafri. See *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astār 'an Asmā'al Kutub wal Asfār*, A. S. B. ed., p. 328.

⁴ "For *Tahrīr-i-Uqlīdas*" see Brockelmann I, 511.

⁵ *Tahrīr-i-Majastī* by Abū Ja'far Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Ṭūsī, d. 672/1273. Brockelmann I, 511.

⁶ *Shudhūr-ul-'Iqyān fī Tarājim-ul-A'yān*, Shams-ul-'Ulamā Hidāyat Husain's MS. has: *Qawānīn-ul-Hisāb*.

⁷ So, according to *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 28-29. The *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rāmpūr MS. 52, f. 58, on the other hand, incorrectly credits Hazīn with translating the Pantateuch and the Bible.

took him to his house. From Shu'aib he learned the Bible and had the interpretation of it written for him, and informed himself of the truth of all that they maintain.¹

Hazīn acted in the same way with regard to the varieties of the Islamic belief. He read the books of every sect, and considered what each had to say, discreetly and anxiously remarking on their arguments.

Next Hazīn went to Shīrāz where he attended the lectures of Shāh Muḥammad Shīrāzī, on *Kitāb-ul-Uṣūl-ul-Kāfī*,² and during most of the hours of both night and day Hazīn was studying by his side.

Hazīn read the *Ṭabī'āt-i-Shifā*,³ *Ilāhiyāt-i-Sharḥ-i-Ishārāt*,⁴ *Hawāshī-i-Qadīma*⁵ wa *Jadīda*, etc. under Ākhund Masīhā'ī of Fasā, the Shaikh-ul-Islām of Fārs.⁶

Hazīn read Hadīth, the *Kitāb-i-Wāfī*⁷ of the late

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 29.

² *Kitāb-i-Uṣūl-ul-Kāfī*: is one of the three parts of the book *Kāfī* written by Muḥammad Ya'qūb al-Kalīnī ar-Rāzī, called Ra'īs-ul-Maḥaddithīn by the Shī'as. The book *Kāfī* is considered by them as a standard one, and consists of the three parts: *Uṣūl*, *Furū'*, and *Rauḍa*. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Akhbār" Chap. IV, p. 64; *Peshāwar Cat.*, No. 623A; and *Bānkīpur Cat.*, V, 1, 179.

³ A part of the book called *Shifā* composed by Abū Sīnā.

⁴ *Sharḥ-al-Ishārāt* by Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan at-Ṭūsī, d. 672 A.H. *Kashf-ul-Ḥujub wal Astār 'an Asmā'al Kutub wal Asfār*, A. S. B. ed., p. 322.

⁵ *Al-Ḥāshiyat-ul-Qadīma*: is ad-Dawwānī's supercommentary on Qūshjī's commentary on Naṣīr-ud-Dīn at-Ṭūsī's theological treatise entitled *Tajrīd-ul-Kalām*. See *Cat. of Buhār Library*, by Hidāyat Ḥusain, p. 103.

⁶ For his life see *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn*, Lucknow ed., pp. 942-949.

⁷ *Al-Wāfī*: composed by Maulānā Muḥammad Muḥsin Faiḍ Kāshānī. The book consists of 15 volumes, *Mashhad Cat.*, "Akhbār" Chap.

Mullā Muḥsin, and other sciences under Maulānā Luṭf Ullāh Shīrāzī.

He read the book called *Talwihāt*¹ of Shaikh Ishrāq, and a portion of the *Qānūn* under Maulānā Muḥammad Bāqir, known by the title of "Ṣūfī".

Hazīn met with a Dastūr of the Magi in Beidā² and learnt from him all that the Dastūr knew concerning the principles, doctrines, and history of his sect.

On his going to Ardakān³ Hazīn gained the solution of some difficult questions from Maulānā 'Abd-ul-Karīm Ardakānī.

And last of all, Hazīn also attended the lectures of Maulānā Muḥammad Ṣādiq of Ardistan⁴ and read under him many famous and unfamous books on Theoretical and Practical Philosophy. The Maulānā

IV, p. 103. In the *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astār 'an Asmā' al Kutub wal Asfār*, A. S. B. ed., pp. 598-599, the author is called Muḥammad bin Murtaḍā called Muḥsin al-Kāshī.

¹ *Talwihāt fil Hikmat*: See *Mu'nis-ul-'Ushshāq*, Delhi ed., p. 13, II, No. (1); and *Brockelmann*, I, 437. 2.

² بیضا: طول آن ۴۸ و عرض ۱۸ کیلو متر است، از شمال محدود به کامفیروز و از جنوب بحومه شیراز و از مشرق به کربال و از مغرب باردگان می باشد.

برای تفصیلات رک: جغرافیای مفصل ایران ج ۲ ص ۲۲۵-۲۲۶ و نزهة القلوب ص ۱۲۲-۱۲۳.

³ "Ardakān, (modern pronunciation also Ardekun), town in Persia situated 32½ N. Lat. and 53, 50 E. Long. (Greenw.)."

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 426-427; and *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Īrān*, Vol. II, p. 227.

⁴ "Ardistan, a Persian town which in the Arabic Middle Ages belonged to the province of al-Djibal (Media)."

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 427; and *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Īrān*, Vol. II, p. 425; and *Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb*, p. 68.

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died in 1134 A.H.¹

Ḥazīn could write the various forms of hands very beautifully.² He was an expert Penmanship. in the following forms of penmanship—Thulth, Nuskh, Raqā', and Shikastah.³ He also used to write in the Shafī'āī hand.⁴ According to *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*⁵: "Abu'l Qāsim (the father of the author of *Naghma-i-'Andalīb* who had become a disciple of Ḥazīn in a dream) suddenly got in the morning a *dīwān* of the Shaikh bearing his (Ḥazīn's) signature and written in the Shafī'āī script."

Ḥazīn is especially known for his Shikastah. Many of his extant writings are in this hand. According to 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān,⁶ Ḥazīn wrote the various forms of penmanship so beautifully, that his writings served as a model for the calligraphists of the age.

The author of *Tadhkira-i-Ḥusainī* (P. 106) tells us that Ḥazīn knew the Zhend and Pāzhend perfectly well. This solitary statement has not been corroborated by any other authority. There exist, however, a few compositions of Ḥazīn, dealing with the religion and beliefs of the Magians. Ḥazīn probably learnt the Zhend and Pāzhend from the Magians with

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 47.

² *Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51, f. 104b; and *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 65b.

³ *Tadhkira-i-Ḥusainī*, p. 106.

⁴ *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716, f. 545.

⁵ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66b.

⁶ *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, Bānkīpur MS. 704, f. 211a.

whom he came into close contact for some time.
See p. 22 *supra*.

Ḥazīn refers to the excursion of his heart only once. To sum up his statement:¹
Love-affair. He was attracted, in his youth, by the beauty and allurement of an accomplished lady. As a result of Cupid's arrow he developed a severe rheumatism. Amongst other physicians, he was treated by Mirzā Sharīf. Ultimately Ḥazīn recovered the heart that he had lost; whereas in the course of the treatment the physician lost the life that he had loved.

As a result of the pangs of love, Ḥazīn was under severe physical and mental affliction for a space of two months. But at the end of that period he recovered and returned to his occupation of teaching and learning.

The life of Ḥazīn is fully covered by the twelfth century A.H. The first portion of
His Time. his life consisting of 43 years (1103-1146 A.H.) was chiefly spent in *Īrān* and is completely covered by the first half of the twelfth century. The second portion consisting of 34 years (1146-1180 A.H.) was spent in India and is roughly covered by the latter half of the said century.

A literary or political history of the time of Ḥazīn in *Īrān* and India is, thus, a similar history of the first and second halves of the twelfth century A.H., respectively.

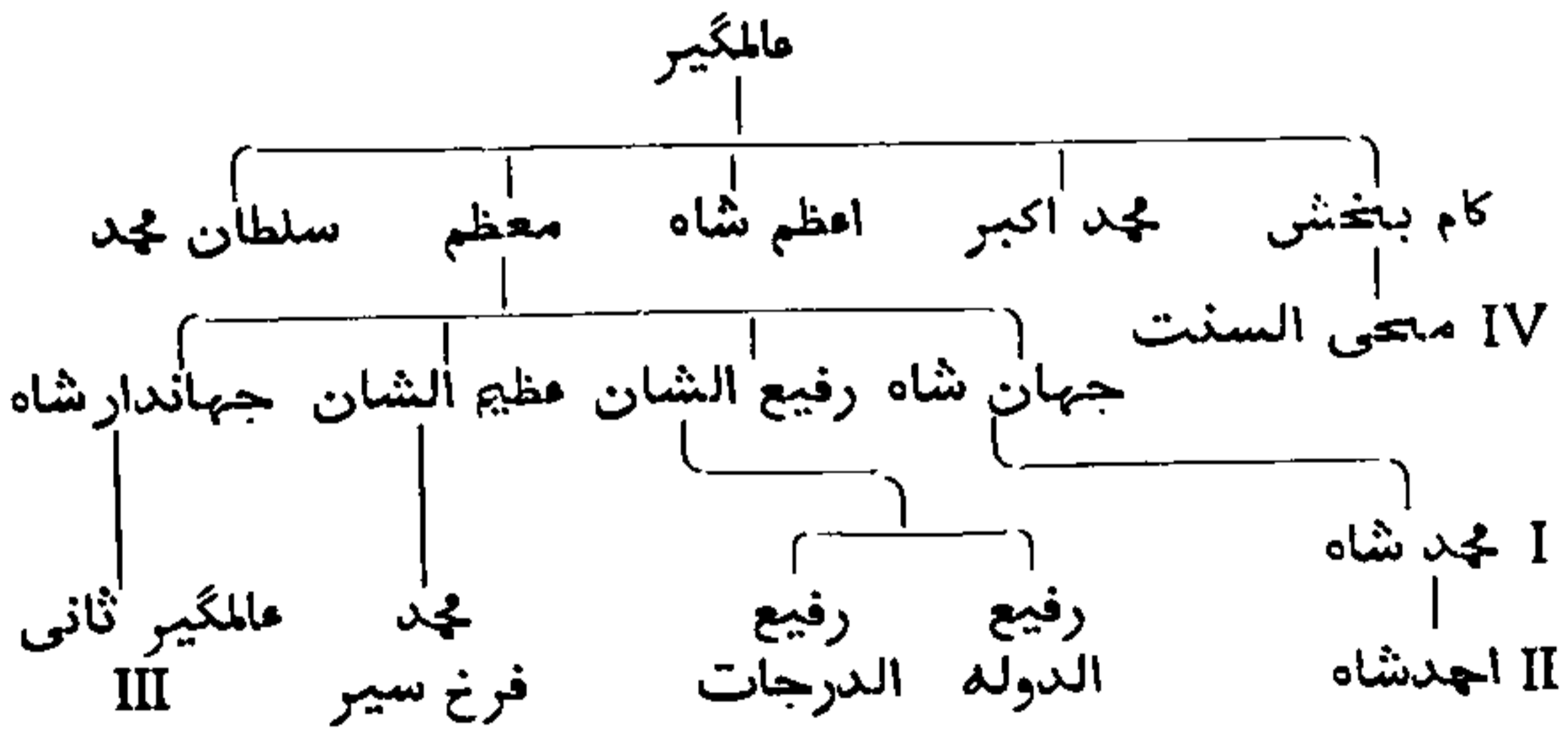
¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 30-31.

I do not, however, propose to go into the details of either ; as sufficient material on both the subjects is easily forthcoming to the more zealous reader.

For the political history of Īrān during the first half of the twelfth century A.H., I would particularly refer the reader to the *Ātashkadah* of *Ādhar* besides the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl* of *Hazīn*.

As regards India, only two names are of use and interest to us : viz., Muḥammad *Shāh* and *Shāh 'Ālam*. A most comprehensive account of the reigns of these kings is to be found in the *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirīn* of *Ghulām Husain*. For *Shāh 'Ālam* the student is referred to *The History of the Reign of Shah-Aulum* by W. Francklin, 1798 A.D.

I would only give here a geneological table of the emperors of India from the time of 'Ālamgīr I to Bahādur *Shāh* II. In the following table the Roman numerals refer to the order of succession :



As regards the condition of literature in the time of *Hazīn*, nothing better can be done than to give

the following opinions:—"Four hundred years ago the Persian language (or at any rate the written language,) was to all intents and purposes the same as it is today" ¹ "From the literary point of view this century [1111-1215 A.D.] is perhaps the most barren in the whole history of Persia," ² "The eighteenth century of our era (A.D. 1722-95) was the poorest in literary achievements." ³ Writing about the century 1100-1200 A.H. Āzād ⁴ says: "For Īrānī writing (literature) this century was equally unfortunate both in Īrān and Transoxania. Genuineness of purpose had been exiled of phraseology. The very defect was considered to be perfection itself." According to Dīnshāh J. Īrānī: ⁵ "For these four hundred years (1500-1900 A.D.) the poetry of Persia had become stereotyped the desire to keep within the boundary set down by classical poets made their followers imitate and copy them only, for four hundred years.

Reviewing the literary atmosphere of India at the time of arrival of Hazīn in this land in 1146 A.H., Nawwāb Amīn-ud-Daulah 'Azīz-ul-Mulk 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān Bahādur Naṣīr Jang Khalīl, who was a literary man himself and a keen observer of the literary activities (especially in the latter half of the twelfth

¹ E. G. Browne's, *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 159.

² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁴ *Sakhundān-i-Fārs*, p. 91.

⁵ *Poets of the Pehlavi Regime*, Bombay ed., p. 107.

century), observes in his *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*¹ (composed in 1198/1783): "At the time of his (Ḥazīn's) arrival in India there was not left any trace of knowledge or sign of learning; because of the King's (i.e., Muḥammad Shāh's) perpetration of sport and play and the nobles' indulgence in pampering of the body and self-indulgence. Men of all professions, having transgressed their limits and relinquished their former rules, were committing inauspicious deportments and originating abominable and unpraiseworthy fashions."

It was in tempestuous and turbulent times like these that Ḥazīn wrote and composed, both in Arabic and Īrānī; and on all conceivable subjects of the day. The disturbance caused in Īrān by the Afghans, Turks and Russians and the indifference of the Ṣafawī kings toward panegyrics on the one hand, and the invasion of India by Nādir Shah² and the jealousies of the Indian poets on the other, were serious handicaps in the career of Ḥazīn in Īrān and India respectively. It was in unfavourable times like these, that, Ḥazīn composed his four *dīwāns* and the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*—compositions that can easily bring laurels to the writer of any age. And though most of his compositions are at the best mere translations, commentaries and imitations, he has also some very genuine compositions of which any author can rightly be proud.

¹ Bānkīpur MS. 704, ff. 210b-211a.

² Died in 1160/1747. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 288.

Hazīn commenced his poetical career at a very early age. Between the age of six¹ and eight² (1109-1111 A.H.) he could compose verses. Hazīn's father, who intended to educate his boy in all the branches of Muslim literature and turn him into a genuine scholar, forbade him from burning the candle of his talents at the pedestal of the Muses. Hazīn's teacher then was also opposed to his versification.³ But the future poet showed a marked inclination for poetry, and in spite of his father's prudent precepts and his teacher's strict injunction, directed his attention towards versification, and composed verses which he secretly wrote down; concealing them both from his father and teacher.

Later on when Hazīn was under the instruction of Shaikh Khalīl Ullāh Tāliqānī the Shaikh's encouragement added fuel to the fire.

¹ Because he could not write before this, since he commenced his studies at the age of four and learnt to write at the age of six. See *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 10.

The significance of Hazīn's ability to write lies in the fact that he used to write down what he composed.

² The next date mentioned at which Hazīn's father directed him to practise Qir'at. See: *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 11.

³ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 11:—

چون استاد مطلع شد مرا ازان منع نمودی

Hazīn tells us in one of his verses that he was forbidden by the Preceptor of Intellect not to versify; lest it may bring him infamy:

میگفت ادیبِ عقل که باشعر خو نگیر
ترسم فرو برد سرِ کلکِ ترا بعار

Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn, Lucknow ed., p. 245.

Hazīn's father, however, gave him his permission to poetise and made him a present of his own pen-case when one day he witnessed Hazīn's skill on the occasion of Hazīn's composing an ode consisting of subtle extempore verses in the presence of a number of learned men,¹ which earned him the praises of all those who were present at the discussion.

¹ According to *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib*, Rāmpur, MS. 57, f. 263: "Maulānā Hasan was one of the company, and Hazīn composed those verses at his instance." The first part of the statement referring to Maulānā Hasan's presence may be true. But the second part is definitely wrong. For, Hazīn himself tells us that he composed the ode at his father's behest. See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 15; Bombay ed., p. 15; and Banaras ed., pp. 12-13.

Only 3 verses of the said ode are preserved in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 15-16. The *Ghazal* is given in the *Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn*, Rām Nagar MS. 84/163.

The verses of Hazīn were occasioned by an objection to the use of the word "Qāmat" in the following *Maṭla'* of Mullā Muḥtasham Kāshī

ای قامتِ [گردن] بلندِ قدان در کمندِ تو
رعنائی آفریدهٔ قدِ بلندِ تو

See: *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 15-16.

Waḥshat in the *Makhzan*, June 1909, pp. 12-13 says that the word "Qāmat" objected to by Abū Tālib, the father of Hazīn, does not occur in a copy of the *dīwān* of Mullā Muḥtasham Kāshī which Waḥshat had seen and according to which the *Maṭla'* runs:

ای گردنِ بلندِ قدان در کمندِ تو
رعنائی آفریدهٔ قدِ بلندِ تو

The same view is held by Ārwī in *Nigār*, March 1930, p. 34.

It is curious to note, that, a well-known *maṭla'* of a well-known poet should be incorrectly recited in the assembly of learned men and objected to by a well-known scholar; and that no one should try to have recourse to the original *dīwān* for ascertainment. This was before 1127 A.H. (i.e., the date of death of Abī Tālib). It is still more curious, that, the mistake should remain undiscovered until 1154 A.H. (i.e., the date of composition of *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*) and should be repeated by a vigilant scholar like Hazīn.

The mistake was first noticed by the author of *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib*.

Hazīn had no teacher in poetry. In his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn* and *Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātidha-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*, he does not mention any such teacher. Muṣḥafī¹ also tells us that Hazīn had no teacher in poetry. We cannot, therefore, believe the statement of Husain Qulī Khān² and T. W. Beale³ that Hazīn learnt to compose correct verses from Maulānā Muḥammad Masīḥ of Fasā. Moreover, Hazīn himself⁴ tells us, that he read logic, astronomy, arithmetic, physics, divinity, etc., from Maulānā Muḥammad Masīḥ of Fasā. No mention is made of Hazīn's learning poetry from Maulānā Muḥammad Masīḥ.

Maulwī Muḥammad 'Alī⁵ and Iftikhār⁶ simply say, that, Hazīn was a pupil of Muḥammad Masīḥ Fasāī.

In Irān Hazīn was recognized as a competent judge of the relative merits of poets while he was only twenty-nine years of age. A typical example is as follows:—

While at Iṣfahān, Hazīn was asked by a letter from Abū Tālib Shūlistānī⁷ to express his judgment

¹ *Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*; Rāmpur, MS. 52, f. 56b.

² *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bānkīpur, MS. 716, f. 545.

³ *Miftāḥ-ut-Tawāriḥ*, p. 348.

⁴ *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 943.

⁵ *Haft Āsmān*, A. S. B. ed., p. 162.

⁶ *Tadhkira-i-Iftikhār-ush-Shu'arā*, Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 51/27 f. 54.

⁷ *Shūlistān*.—"Country of the Shul," a district (buluk) in the province of Fārs.

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 391-92, and *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Irān*, Vol. II, pp. 89-90.

on the poetry of Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Abd-ur Razzāq¹ Iṣfahānī and his son Kamāl-ud-Dīn Ismā'il,² and to decide whose composition of the two held a superior place; as regarding these a dispute existed among a number of persons and that both sides had agreed to abide by Ḥazīn's decision. To this letter Ḥazīn wrote a versified answer on the night of the 7th of Shawwāl 1132 A.H.³ Ḥazīn decided in favour of the son.

Ḥazīn did not attach any value to the poetry of the modern poets like Ṣā'ib, Salīm and Kalīm.⁴ He held a low opinion about the poets of India and considered them as mere poetasters. For example, he writes about Abu'l Faḍl⁵ and Faiḍī⁶:

در زاغانِ هند ازین دو برادر بهتر تری ندخاسته.

“Among the crows of India one better than these two brothers has not been born.”

Ḥazīn did not like the poetry of Nāṣir 'Alī⁷ or the prose of Bedil.⁸ So, because, they use subjects that are metaphorical and meanings that are far-fetched.

¹ d. 588 A.H./1192 A.D. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* p. 196.

² d. 635 A.H./1237 A.D. See *Ibid.*, p. 207.

³ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 36-38.

Ḥazīn's answer has been repeated in the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., pp. 918-19.

⁴ *Safīna-i-Khushgū*, Bānkīpur MS. 690, f. 182a.

⁵ Murdered Friday the 4th Rabī' I, A.H. 1011/13th of August A.D. 1602. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 24.

⁶ d. 1004 A.H./1595 A.D. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 125-26.

⁷ d. 1108 A.H./1697 A.D. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 294.

⁸ d. about 1116 A.H. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 344.

This sort of composition is liked by the Indians but not by the Iranians. So, Hazīn used to remark about them :

نظم ناصر علی و نثر بیدل بفهم نمی آید، اگر مراجعت ایران
دست دهد برای ریشخند بزم احباب ره آوردی بهتر ازین نیست.

(The poetry of Nāṣir 'Alī and the prose of Bedil are incomprehensible. Were I to return to Īrān, I cannot take with me a better gift than these for entertaining the assembly of my friends.¹)

During Hazīn's stay in India (1146-1180 A.H.), the chief poets of the country used to recite their best verses to Hazīn and to solicit his corrections. But out of decency and gravity he used to praise them all. If importuned, he used to change the words in a manner which doubled the beauty of the composition.²

During his stay at Delhi (1149-1161 A.H.), Hazīn has written some pungent satires³ against India and its people; ⁴ the

His Satires and their Rejoinders.

¹ *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 212.

² *Āfāq's Tadhkira-i-Hazīn*, p. 27.

³ Master in his Translation of Hazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Introduction p. iii, speaks of only one satire of Hazīn. This is incorrect; as we shall presently see.

⁴ For his satires on India and its people see: *Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn*, Lucknow ed., pp. 168-69; 190-93; 219; 265; 313; 569; 754; 755; 774; and 925. The worst satire seems to be the following Rubā'ī on p. 754:

در هند اگر کسی نرنجد از راست
گویم طبقاتِ خلق را بی کم و کاست
پتجست که شش نمیتوانش کردن
پاجی و دیوث و قاصبه و خیره گداست

(Footnote Continued)

Here are verses from an unpublished satire on the customs in India. The satire is to be found in *Diwān-i-Hazīn*, Lytton Library MS. 1/32, ff. 92b-96a :

f. 92b
 هر خیره سری که گشت در هند
 ز آمد شدِ سفلگانه پاکار
 سرمایه کند خوشامدی چند
 با یکدو سه چون خودی چو شد یار
 دندانِ طمع شود سراپا
 در آمد و شد بود چو منشار
 چون خایه بوالهواس گردد
 معجزایِ روشناسی در بار
 مغزش شود شمیم دولت
 روزی دو چو بگذرد بناچار
 f. 93a
 نواب شود بطالع سعد
 سردار شود به بختِ بیدار

In the following verses *Hazīn* censures the *nawwābs*. He gives a fine description of the paraphernalia of the *nawwāb* and of his arrogance and follies. We are told that such a *nawwāb* indulges in worthless poetry and pretends to know all the Sciences. *Hazīn* continues:

f. 94b
 دیگر ز قواعدی که در هند
 فرض است بکیشی هر سبکسار
 دعویِ نجابت و بزرگیست
 گرم است نسب تراش بازار
 f. 95a
 این جا پسر پدر کسی نیست
 از سفلگی و خجالتِ عار
 هر شیپره آفتاب زاد ست
 هر مسخره از تبار کبار
 اولِ دعوی بود سیادت
 بر بستنِ خود بآلِ اطهار

King and his courtiers¹ and the people of

سید گردد بلا کامل
 آید سوی شهر چون ز کهسار
 در شبِ جعه زاده باشد
 او خود [به] شود رسولِ مختار
 در نام و نسب قریشیانند
 هندو بیچگانِ مصلحت کار
 و ممکن او نشد سیادت
 شهزاده گیش بود سزاوار
 * * * * *
 f. 95b از خود خجلم ز دیدنِ هند
 شرمنده ام از وبالِ این عار

But in any case Hazin feels thankful to God and proceeds to say

ممنون نیم از کسی بجز دل
 مرهونِ خسی ^{نیم} بدینار
 f. 96a نفس الامر است آنچه گفتم
 خو کرده قلم بصدقِ گفتار
 * * * * *
 تلخ است حق و سری ندارد
 با داروی تلخ طبع بیمار

¹ Here are verses against the king and his courtiers found in *Diwān-i-Hazin*, Lytton Library MS. 1/32, f. 97b:

خسرو عهد درین سال نکو
 بیشتر سال نکو میجوید
 الفت انداخته با سگ بیچگان
 همه را یار و صاحب گوید
 * * * * *
 وین عجب ترکه همین تاریخ است
 همنشینان به از خود جوید

The last verse contains the date of composition 1154 A.H.

Kashmīr.¹

As regards Ḥazīn's satires on the Kashmiries the situation is a simple one. For some unknown reason Ḥazīn wrote some satires against the people of Kashmīr who revenged themselves on him by inducing Mullā Sāṭī' and other Kashmīrī poets to write satires against Ḥazīn. The controversy with Kashmīrī poets can also be traced to a later time. While residing at Banāras Ḥazīn wrote a *qiṭ'a* against the people of Kashmīr. Soon afterwards, this was answered by an extremely foul *qiṭ'a* from Pandit Gobind Rām Kashmīrī, Lakhnawī, poetically surnamed Zīrak. The language of Zīrak's *qiṭ'a* is so very unclean and unchaste that I would not reproduce it here out of reverence for the memory of Ḥazīn. The more inquisitive reader will find the *qiṭ'as* of Ḥazīn and Zīrak in *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, pp. 273-274.

As regards Ḥazīn's satires on India and its people : it is not quite easy to establish a cause for the same. According to *Wahshat*² : Ḥazīn wrote the satires because he had to bear many hardships in India ; and,

¹A hitherto unpublished *Qiṭ'a* contained in the *Diwān-i-Ḥazīn*, Lytton Library MS. 1/32, f. 98a and repeated on ff. 101a-101b is written against the people of Kashmīr. It begins as follows :—

کس ندیده بوطن مردن کشمیری را
 بیجهان چون صف مورند روان دانه طلب
 یک ازین قوم ندیدست دو نوبت کشمیر
 بر نگرود چو ز سوراخ بر آید عقرب

²*Makhzan*, July, 1909, p. 10.

because, he had not been respected as it ought to have been done.

The actual reasons seem to be, that, Hazin did not have a nice time in India on account of his bad health and constant variation of weather conditions in India to which he was subjected by his constant tours which in turn were necessitated by local conditions, including jealousies of some of his associates.

Now, it has been mis-stated in most of the *Tadhkirahs* on the life of Hazin, that, his pungent satires on India and its people, and the King and his nobles and poets aroused against him bitter animosities which resulted in the composition of, and rejoinders to, numerous works of criticism on the poetry of Hazin.¹ The *Tadhkirah*-writers mention only two poets who wrote against Hazin. One is Khān Ārzū² who composed the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*³ and the *Iḥqāq-ul-Ḥaqq*. In the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn* Ārzū has pointed

¹ It is astonishing to note, that, no such action was taken against Saudā who wrote an entire *qaṣīda* against his contemporaries at Delhi. For the *qaṣīda* see: *Life of Saudā*, Deccan ed., p. 197. Nor was any importance attached to Saudā's satire on the court of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi). For the satire see *Ibid.*, p. 265.

² Ārzū seems to have developed a critical mentality. He criticized the verses of Hazin which were vindicated by Ṣahbāī, Āzād, etc. He found faults with Khāqānī who was championed by Hazin. And, lastly, he objected to certain expressions employed by Hākīm who was defended by Wārasta in the treatise called *Jawāb-i-Shāfi*. For *Jawāb-i-Shāfi* see *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University*, p. 234 and *Rieu.*, p. 503.

Ārzū died in 1169/1756. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 386.

³ A rare copy of the work is preserved in the Punjab University Library MS. Api/VI. 73A.

out the mistakes¹ in four hundred² verses in the *Dīwān* IV of Ḥazīn, which are either defective, or of disjointed composition, or opposed to the usage of the ancients and the moderns.³

In the preface⁴ to the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*, Ārzū ironically states, that, the verses which he has recorded are those which he could not understand on account of his defective intelligence;⁵ and with a view that the same be corrected by Ḥazīn.⁶

¹ Ārzū's own mistakes have been pointed out in the *Maṭla'-us-Sa'dain* by Siyālkotī Mal Wārasta. An example of *ضعف تالیف* (i.e., loose style), illustrated by a verse of Ārzū, is to be found on *idem*, p. 84.

² The number given in the *Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā*, f. 53a, is 500.

³ See *Tadhkira-i-Husainī*, p. 106.

⁴ See *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*, Punjab University MS. Api/VI. 73A., ff. 1b.—2a. See also *ibid.*, f. 32b.

⁵ Although ironically said so, Ārzū is not altogether untrue. Whereas many of his objections are the outcome of sheer malice, there are others which he really could not understand. This verse of Ḥazīn (*Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 148) may very appropriately be said to be addressed to Ārzū:—

کلام من از فهم شاعر فزونست

مگر ارمغان حکیمان فرست

⁶ عرض میشود که درین ایام مطالعه دیوان بلاغت بنیان جناب فصاحت مآب شعری اوج نکته پردازی و دبیر فلک سخن سازی بقیة السلف حجة الخلف نتیجة متقدمین و خاتم متاخرین شیخ محمد علی متخلص بحرین که تخمیناً از مدت ده سال بسبب هنگامه ایران وارد هندوستان جنت نشان که داخلش "من دخله کان آمناً" گویانست گردیده و از طنطنه شاعریش گوش اصغر و اکابر پر گردیده اتفاق افتاده و استفاده تمام دست بهم داده لیکن در بعض اشعار که بسبب قصور ذهن بمعانی آن نرسیده و فائز بمقاصد آن نگردیده ترددی و اغلاقی روی داده ناچار در تحریر

Hazīn has written a rejoinder to the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*. It is entitled *Rajm-ush-Shayātīn*. (See list of compositions of Hazīn *infra*).

The *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn* was composed in about 1156 A.H. *viz.*, approximately ten years after the advent of Hazīn in India.¹

In the year 1267 A.H. Maulwī Imām Bakhsh Ṣahbāī Dehlawī wrote an exhaustive rejoinder to the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*. The rejoinder is entitled *Qaul-i-Faiṣal*. It deals with three hundred and thirteen out of the four hundred objections raised by Ārzū. In the preface to the *Qaul-i-Faiṣal*, Ṣahbāī says, that, at first he kept aloof while people took different sides. But at last, at the request of some friends, he composed the present work from an entirely impartial point of view. But a careful perusal of the *Qaul-i-Faiṣal* shows, that, Ṣahbāī is a little prejudiced in favour of Hazīn.

را بروی قلم مشوش رقم خود کشاد و نیز پاره از مصاریع را که
از جهت ناسازی فهم خویش نارسا فهمیده گاهی باندک تغیر
تبدیل گردانید و گاهی خود بهم رسانید پس این را از عالم خطای
بزرگان گرفتن که در واقع خطای بزرگیست تصور نباید فرمود بلکه
برای لغزش سخن که دستمایه شعرای هند است پیدا نمود
امیدوار است که اگر احیاناً بنظر شریف او در آید از خلل و
زلل بر آید۔

Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn, Punjab University MS. Api/VI. 73A. ff. 1b.,—2a;
and on f. 32b Ārzū says:

امید از کرم کریم آنست که حل این اشکال باستعانت
شیخ زود دست دهد

¹ See footnote 6, on p. 37.

Ṣahbāī falsifies most of the objections of Ārzū and justifies Ḥazīn by quoting in support of him, verses from numerous Īrānī poets of well-established repute. But Ṣahbāī also maintains some of Ārzū's objections; especially, when he is helpless to help Ḥazīn. On one occasion Ṣahbāī says: ¹

نظارگیان این نسخه دریافته باشند که صهبائی هیچمدان
 کمر همت را چست بسته در هر مقام قصد آن دارد که توجیهی
 برای کلام شیخ بهمرساند اما چه کند که در امثال این مقامات
 سپر می افکند.

Ṣahbāī also meets Ārzū's objections to the verses of Ḥazīn in his *Ghawāmid-i-Sukhan*, pp. 683 and 731. Other scholars have also decreed most of the objections of Ārzū to be unjustifiable:—

(1) According to *Wahshat* ²: “Some of Ārzū's objections are appropriate, but mostly they are unjustifiable.” (2) *Azād* ³ says: “Most of the objections are due either to prejudice or else to ignorance—the one being a fault worse than the other.” (3) *Hākīm* ⁴ remarks: “Most of the objections to the verses of Ḥazīn in the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn* are unjust; but sometimes the objections are correct.” (4) *Mirzā Luṭf 'Alī* ⁵ tells us: “The objections raised by Ārzū create misgivings in the minds of the common-folk, no doubt; but the more intelligent can immediately discern the hostility.”

¹ *Qaul-i-Faiṣal*, Lucknow ed., p. 135.

² *Makhzan*, July 1909, p. 10.

³ *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 223.

⁴ *Mardum-i-Didah*, Ḥabīb Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 51.

⁵ *Gulshan-i-Hind*, pp. 23-24.

Arzū has also written another book called *Iḥqāq-ul-Ḥaqq* in which he has objected to the verses of Hazīn other than those which he criticized in his *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*. It is a work smaller in volume than the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*.

Maulwī Ṣahbāī has written a rejoinder to the *Iḥqāq-ul-Ḥaqq* too. It is entitled *I'lā'-ul-Ḥaqq*. In the *I'lā'-ul-Ḥaqq* Ṣahbāī replies to only eleven objections. It covers pp. 757-770 of the *Kulliyāt-i-Ṣahbāī* (Nizāmī Press, Cawnpore).

As perhaps the *Iḥqāq-ul-Ḥaqq* represents the second offence² of Ārzū against Hazīn, Ṣahbāī is very harsh on him and uses the following phrases for Ārzū¹:—

معركة ساز. عرصه لاف، عنان گسیخته نفس سوزیهای گزاف
تهمت زده امتیاز باطل و حق، صاحب نسخه احقاق الحق

after praising Hazīn on pp. 758-760.

Ṣahbāī meets the objections of Ārzū on pp. 761-769 and says, that, far from there being any need for producing any verse in Hazīn's support, Hazīn should himself be regarded as an authority;³ though in practice Ṣahbāī does actually reproduce verses of famous Iranian poets in vindication of Hazīn.

It is also interesting to note in this connection, that, irrespective of recognizing Hazīn as one of his

¹ *I'lā'-ul-Ḥaqq*, Nizāmī Press, p. 760.

² The *I'lā'-ul-Ḥaqq* was written while Ṣahbāī was still contemplating the composition of *Qaul-i-Faiṣal*. See *Kulliyāt-i-Ṣahbāī*, p. 763.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 769.

authorities, Mirzā Ghālib lays no value to the poetry of Ārzū.¹

Wārasta² has met the first objection of Ārzū in the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn* and has justified Ḥazīn's usage of the word *هایها*.

No biographer of Ḥazīn has noted the composition of the *Iḥqāq-ul-Ḥaqq*. Those who mention the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn* take it to be the only book of criticism written by Ārzū against Ḥazīn.

Various reasons are ascribed to the enmity that existed between Ārzū and Ḥazīn and resulted in the composition of the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*: (1) According to Ḥusain Dūst:³ “Ḥazīn's utter disregard of the Indian poets is the cause of enmity.” (2) According to Muḥammad Riḍā:⁴ “The poets of India became jealous of Ḥazīn's popularity and wrote satires against him; bringing Khān Ārzū to the forefront. The Shaikh liberated himself from their hands through a Qit'a the final verse of which runs as follows:

کس زبان مرا نمی فهمد دوستان را چه التماس کنم

(3) According to T. W. Beale:⁵ “Ārzū met Ḥazīn The jealousy between the two poets induced Ārzū to write the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*.”

¹ See *‘Ud-i-Hindī*, p. 130.

² *Muṣṭalihāt-ush-Shu'arā* by Siyālkotī Mal Wārasta, Newwul Kishore ed., p. 397.

³ *Tadhkira-i-Husainī*, p. 106.

⁴ *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66a.

⁵ *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 386.

According to this statement the jealousy is a mutual one; but Ārzū takes the initiative. The statement is hollow *prima facie*.

True, Ārzū must have felt jealous of Hazīn who eclipsed his merits; but the real reason for the enmity is a personal and long-drawn one. It is as follows:—

“Mīr Muḥammad Afdal Thābit (d. 1151 A.H.) and Sirāj-ud-Dīn ‘Alī Khān Ārzū went to see Hazīn who, however, did not pay them much attention. They felt it and left him. In a symposium they objected to the following verse of Hazīn:—

هر گه که بیاد دهنّت غنچه نشستم
اندیشه مرا سر بگریبان عدم داد

When Hazīn came to know of it, he remarked: “The Indians have nothing to do with Irānī,” and added: “Silence is the answer to fools.”¹

Other versions of the above narrative are as follows:—(1) “When Hazīn came to Delhi in 1147 A.H.,² Ārzū went to see him. Hazīn paid him due deference. But imputing arrogance to Hazīn, Ārzū took offence to himself³ and returned to his home

¹ *Hadā'iq-ush-Shu'arā*, Curzon Collection MS. 702, f. 42b.

² The date is incorrect. See *infra*.

³ Things would have taken a much easier turn if the visit of Ārzū (which actually took place in about 1149 A.H.) had taken place after the visit of Shāh ‘Ālam, Shujā'-ud-Daula and Qāsim Khān to Hazīn sometime before 1764 regarding which Raymond (Tr. of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirīn*, Vol. II p. 524 footnote 275) says: “Nor did he [Hazīn] stand up for them, whereas both these princes, as well as the emperor, had bowed profoundly to him.” More descriptive is Raymond's earlier account (in the Tr. of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirīn*, Vol. II. p. 176 footnote 84) where he says: “. . . . Mighty sovereigns like Shudjah-ed-daulah and Mir-cassem-qhan, having

sick at heart. Perusing the *Dīwān* of *Ḥazīn*, he alleged numerous verses to be meaningless and collected all the objections in a treatise which he entitled *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*." See *Gulshan-i-Hind*, p. 23. (2) According to Saksena: ¹ *Ārzū* composed the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn* being offended at a show of discourtesy by *Ḥazīn* and actuated by jealousy.

To trace the enmity further: Someone boastfully recited the following *ghazal* of *Ārzū* before *Ḥazīn*:—

عشق روزی که بدل خلعت سودا بخشید
جامه داری بمن از دامن صحرای بخشید
خجل از روی حبابم که باین تنگی ظرف
آنچه در کیسه خود داشت بدریا بخشید

"On the day when Love granted to the Heart the honorific dress of passion (*i.e.*, the day of creation)

It made me the keeper of the wardrobe of the desert (*i.e.*, I roam about at large)

I'm ashamed of the face of the bubble; for, with all the thinness of its pot

It granted the river all that it had in its purse (*i.e.*, I could not annihilate myself in the path of God)."

Ḥazīn carelessly recited:

خجل از چشم حبابم که بیک ظرف تنگ
آنچه در کاسه خود داشت بدریا بخشید

made him [*Ḥazīn*] a visit together, he received them sitting; and they, on being bid, took their seats kneeling, and at four yards' distance and when he thought proper to dismiss them, they advanced respectfully, kissed his knee, made a profound bow and returned backward. He gave them each a *Qhylaāt* and a *Dopata*, which they received as a high honour."

¹ *A Literary History of Urdu Literature*, p. 47.

“ I'm ashamed of the eye(s) of the bubble ; for, in spite of
a tight pot
It granted the river all that it had in its cup.”

And added:

این بابا از کیسه تا کاسه و از تنگی تا تنگی فرق نمی کند
و باز خود را شاعر گوید۔

“ This fellow cannot differentiate between a purse and a
cup and thinness and tightness and yet he calls himself
a poet.”¹

According to Mazhar Hasan's *Tārīkh-i-Banāras*,
p. 424: Hazīn praised the verse but when the poet
pressed him to correct it he merely changed the
words *روی* and *کیسه* to *چشم* and *کاسه* respectively and
thus doubled the beauty of the verse ; because shame
is connected with the eye and not the face and
because charity from one with a cup (*i.e.*, a beggar) is
more commendable than that from one with a purse
(*i.e.*, a rich man).

There was no dearth of reporters. The animadver-
sion of Hazīn was communicated to Khān Ārzū who
was very much upset. Now, the assembly of Hazīn
was accessible to only a few picked scholars who
observed all etiquettes and who certainly lacked the
bad manners to criticize Hazīn's verses under his

¹ *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 212.

Etymological quibbles seem to have played no unimportant part in
the life of Hazīn. While passing through Sewistān and Khudāābād in
1147 A.H. a man read out to him a verse which contained the word
“ qālīn ” (with the final *nūn*). Hazīn said, that, it was without the *nūn*.
Āzād, to whom the man afterwards repaired, opined otherwise. See
Khizāna-i-'Āmira, Lucknow ed., p. 34.

own roof. Unable to criticize Ḥazīn directly, Arzū, therefore, found his way to the shop of the book-binder where Ḥazīn used to send his books for binding. Arzū objected to the figure of a snake which Ḥazīn had drawn round a ghazal written on the cover of a book; meaning thereby, that, the ghazal was a treasury and the snake was its guardian. Arzū objected to this, saying, that, instead of being drawn on books, a snake's head is fit to be trodden under the foot. Arzū also wrote down some other objections and later on verbally taught his students some objections against verses of Ḥazīn.¹

The dispute developed and the matter worsened.² Arzū wrote to Ḥazīn some verses of Khāqānī

¹ *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 213.

² We are told by Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād in the *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 214, that, Khān Arzū's supporter, Shāh Ladhā Bilgarāmī, went to Ḥazīn and without disclosing the identity of the composer asked him to correct the following verse :

بتي دارم كه باشد از حيا مشاطگي ننگش
حناگر پای او بوسد ز شوخی می پرد رنگش

"I've a beloved who disdains the tirewoman through modesty.
If henna kisses her feet, their colour flies through petulance."
On hearing it Ḥazīn retorted :

معلوم می شود كه از كاسه ليسان حرامزاده اكبر آباديست

"It appears that he (i.e., the composer) is one of the plate-lickers of the Villain of Akbarābād"; meaning thereby that he is a follower of Khān Arzū Akbarābādī.

This, however, is an anachronism. Because, Shāh Lutf Ullāh, commonly called Shāh Ladhā and poetically surnamed Aḥmadī (see *Safīna-i-Bīkhabar*, f. 1) died on the night of Sunday, 14th of Jumāda I, 1143 A.H. according to *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 112. Thus, the death of Shāh Ladhā had taken place three years before the arrival of Ḥazīn in India.

which appeared to him to be incorrect.¹ Hazīn explained them; saying that, the objections were merely due to a misreading (تصحیف) of the words.

In a verse Hazīn had used the word تمیز in rhyme with فعیل. Ārzū objected to it saying, that, it measured with تفعیل. Someone informed Hazīn. After keeping quiet for a while Hazīn remarked: (though the poor ass is without discrimination).

There is a double beauty in Hazīn's remark. (1) It vindicates the usage of the word تمیز by quoting the first hemistich of the following *mathnawī*² of Shaikh Sa'dī:—

مسکین خر اگرچه بی تمیز است
چون بار همی برد عزیز است
گاوان و خران و بار بردار
به ز آدمیان مردم آزار

“The poor ass though lacking discrimination
Is liked because it carries load.
Load oxen and asses
Excel man-tormenting fellows.”

(2) It is a euphemistic way of calling Ārzū an ass. In his *Muthmir*,³ Ārzū deals with the fourth kind of اطراد و شذوذ and quotes verses of Hazīn whom he describes as a poet of Īrān who had come to India some time ago.

¹ According to *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, pp. 59 and 213: “Ārzū had written a commentary on the verses of Khāqānī.” This is incorrect. Ārzū had only objected to some verses of Khāqānī. See Hazīn's *Letter to Ārzū*, *infra*.

² See *Gulistān*, Dīn Muḥammadī Press, p. 85.

It is allowed to use تمیز (without the 2nd ی) so as to measure it with فعیل. See *Sukhandān-i-Fārs*, p. 229.

³ *Muthmir*, Punjab University MS. Pi VI. 73A. f. 34a.

Ārzū never ceased to criticize Ḥazīn. In his *Majma'-un-Nafā'is* (composed in 1164 A.H.), in his account of Ḥairatī, Ārzū says :¹ " Ḥairatī has composed this verse :—

ماند در زلف تو دل وای برین صید ضعیف
که بدام افتد و از خاطر صیاد رود

(My heart is entangled in thy tresses ;

alas for the feeble fowl

That is caught in the net and forgotten by the hunter.)

Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn, who has come to India from Īrān a long time ago, had composed this verse :—

ای وای بر اسیری کز یاد رفته باشد
در دام مانده باشد صیاد رفته باشد

The insurrection-creating friends of India recited a verse of Mullā Zuhūrī which had an identical meaning. But now it is evident that the meaning of all the three verses is the same. Anyhow, the above-mentioned verse of Ḥazīn is inappropriate. There is too much carelessness in his poetry."

In one place in the *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*,² Ārzū very boldly and honourably admits his mistake in criticizing Ḥazīn. Ārzū quotes the following verse of Āqā Shapūr Tīhrānī : -

از خار خار اشکم در سینه دل بتنگست
چون بلبلی که خارش از آشیانه روید

In connection with this verse Ārzū says : "Khār Khār is used in the idioms in the sense of Inclination and Wish for a Coveted Thing. And from Khār Khār Ashk mentioned above, it appears that it has been absolutely used in the sense of Confusion

¹ See *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, ff. 167-68.

² *Ibid.*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. 424.

of Mind and Interruption of Nature. If so, the following hemistich of Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Hazīn :
 خار خار غم ایام چه خواهد بودن
 which I raised in the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn* has been answered."

Ārzū wrote the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*. Hazīn responded with the *Rajm-ush-Shayāṭīn*. Ārzū also wrote the *Iḥqāq-ul-Ḥaqq* which did not bring forth a rejoinder from Hazīn but which has been answered by Ṣahbāī in a treatise entitled *I'lā'-ul-Ḥaqq*.

Another poet, who has criticized the poetry of Hazīn, is Mīr Muḥammad 'Azīm, poetically surnamed Thabāt,¹ son of Mīr Muḥammad Afdal, poetically surnamed Thābit.² In the course of a few days Thabāt gathered 500³ couplets from the *Dīwān* IV of Hazīn which are alleged to be copied from the *dīwāns* of others *ad verbum*.⁴

Thabāt's work was composed in about 1161 A.H. The date is certainly between 1155—1161. A.H. The former (*i.e.*, 1155 A.H.) being the date in which Hazīn published his *Dīwān* IV and the latter (*i.e.*,

¹ d. 1161 A.H./1748 A.D. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 338.

In the *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. 122, Ārzū is not definite about the date of death of Thabāt. Ārzū merely says that Thabāt died two years ago. As the *Majma'-un-Nafā'is* was composed in 1164 A. H., the date of death of Thabāt falls in (1164 A.H. - 2 =) 1162 A.H. which is incorrect.

² d. 1151 A.H./1738 A.D., See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 338.

³ *Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51, f. 107a; and *Tadhkira-i-Husaini*, p. 107.

The number given in the *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. 170 and *Mardum-i-Didah*, Ḥabīb Ganj typed copy, 51/26, p. 50 is two hundred verses.

⁴ *Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51, f. 107a.

1161 A.H.) being—according to the Colophon—the date of composition of Wālih's *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā* which mentions Thabāt's work.¹

Wālih, however, added to his work the account of Wafā in 1162 A.H.² (Wafā came to India in 1162 A.H.)³ Thus, strictly speaking, the *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā* was completed in 1162 A.H. But as in the alphabetical order (which is observed throughout the book) the name of Ḥazīn occurs very early and as Ḥazīn and Wālih arrived in India (in 1146 A.H.) long before 1161 A.H., we are left with little doubt that the account of Ḥazīn was written long before 1161 A.H.

We learn from the *Tadhkira-i-Husainī* (p. 108), that Thabāt died soon after the composition of the work:—

در همان نزدیکی [ثبات] از دنیا رخت هستی بیرون کشید
As Thabāt died in 1161 A.H.,⁴ we therefore conclude, that he composed his work just before his death, viz., in 1161 A.H.

I have not been able to see a copy of Thabāt's work. But Wālih⁵ makes extracts from the work. He reproduces fifty-seven objections of Thabāt in which Ḥazīn is alleged to have copied from other poets. Likewise the *Tadhkira-i-Husainī* (p. 108) gives four examples of Ḥazīn's copying from Masrūr,

¹ *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51, f. 107a.

² *Ibid.* f. 105a.

³ See: *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. 125.

⁴ See footnote 1 at p. 48.

⁵ *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51, ff. 107a-108a.

Jāmī and Muḥammad Sūfī. One example of Ḥazīn's copying *ad verbum* from Jalāl Asīr is to be found in the *Maṭla'-us-Sa'dain* (p. 181).

On his own part Ḥazīn vehemently repudiates any notion of his deliberately stealing the ideas of other poets. But he meekly acknowledges "Tawārud" (*i.e.*, accidental concurrence of ideas) in his verses.¹

The following words of Thabāt quoted in the *Mardum-i-Dīdah*² are perhaps taken from the Introduction to Thabāt's work:—

شیخ مذکور فاضل است و صاحب تصانیف، لکن هیچ تصنیفی
ازو در علم حکمت و کلام بنظر نیامده، بعد مطالعه احوال مصنفات
معلوم خواهد شد، آری شعری میگوید.

The cause of the composition of Thabāt's work is, that, on a certain occasion, one of the chiefs wrote a verse of Thābit, the father of Thabāt, to Ḥazīn. To this Ḥazīn replied, that, besides the disjointedness of the verse, the subject-matter had been stolen by Thābit from such and such a poet.³ On seeing the letter of Ḥazīn, Thabāt was cut to quick and he took this drastic step accordingly. So, according to Wālih⁴ and Ḥusain Dūst,⁵ Arzū⁶ and Ḥākīm⁷ ascribe the following cause to the composition of Thabāt's work:—

¹ See *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., pp. 906-907 and p. 913.

² *Mardum-i-Dīdah*, Ḥabīb Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 50.

³ As to Thābit, he held the stealing of verses in the highest disgust: as we learn from his verses quoted in the *Maṭla'-us-Sa'dain*, p. 81.

⁴ *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51, f. 107a.

Wālih d. 1170/1757. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 414.

⁵ *Tadhkira-i-Husainī*, pp. 107-108.

⁶ *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. 170.

⁷ *Mardum-i-Dīdah*, Ḥabīb Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 50.

Nawwāb Sher Afgan Khān,¹ the son of Ghairat Khān, prided in being the student and disciple of Mīr Muḥammad Afdal Thābit and had engraved in his seal : *Sher Afgan Khān Murīd-i-Thābit ast* (with the pun upon the word "Thābit" which is the pen-name of Mīr Muḥammad Afdal and also means 'constant.')

At Thābit's death in 1151 A.H., Ḥazīn gained the confidence of Sher Afgan Khān. This aroused the jealousy of Thabāt who forthwith collected 200 (copied) verses of Ḥazīn.

Although both the contemporary authorities, viz., Wālih on the one hand, and Arzū and Hākīm on the other, were personally acquainted with Ḥazīn, we must accept the statement of the former and reject that of the latter because :

1. Wālih had the privilege of knowing Ḥazīn from at least 1146 A.H. right up to 1161 A.H. (i.e. the date of composition of *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā* and of Ḥazīn's migration from Delhi.

2. Wālih had a better opportunity of learning it from Thabāt who helped Wālih in the composition of his *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā*. Thus, the

1. Arzū was also a whole-time acquaintance of Ḥazīn (1149-1161 A.H.); but he was more of an enemy than a friend and prone to attribute every action of Ḥazīn to an ignoble cause ; while Hākīm's acquaintance of Ḥazīn is limited to two short interviews in Banāras many years later.

2. Arzū had also a chance of learning it from Thabāt who showed him his *dīwān* for correction. Hākīm had no such opportunity.

¹ See : the account of Bāsītī in the list of the pupils of Ḥazīn ; *infra*.

account of Thabāt's composition and its cause must have passed Wālih's eyes and received his approbation.

3. The statement of Wālih is more rational and is easily reconcilable with the date of composition of Thabāt's work.

3. Ārzū's statement is laborious. According to him Thābit died in 1151 A.H. when to the greatest disappointment and disgust of Thabāt, Sher Afgan Khān joined Ḥazīn the same year.

If so, why should Thabāt wait for ten tedious years (*i.e.* from 1151 A.H. to 1161 A.H.) and demonstrate his anguish at a time when public opinion was poisoned against Ḥazīn, and after Ārzū had published his *Tanbih-ul-Ghāfilīn*? This conundrum is partially elucidated by Muṣḥafī¹ who tells us: " Sher Afgan Khān visited Ḥazīn at Banāras and showed Ḥazīn his *dīwān* in order to be informed of its merits and demerits."

Presuming it to be the date of commencement of tutorial relations between Sher Afgan Khān and Ḥazīn, and accrediting the statement of Ārzū for the time being, the date of composition of Thabāt's work is conclusively and very appropriately placed in 1161 A.H. which is both the date of Ḥazīn's

¹ *Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Aurangābād ed., p. 15.

migration to Banāras and Thabāt's death. But the composition of Thabāt's work in 1161 A. H. is a conclusion at which we have already arrived through a different and altogether independent chain of arguments. See *supra*. Hence our perplexity remains intact; and, instead, we are confronted with another set of no less inexplicable difficulties; namely: Thabāt's disconcertment at Sher Afgan Khān's becoming a pupil of Shāh Muḥammad Bāsiṭ in 1160 A.H.;¹ Thabāt's continuous failure to win the confidence of Sher Afgan ever since the date of Thābit's death in 1151 A.H. right up to his joining Ḥazīn in 1161 A.H.; and the sudden outburst of Thabāt's rage subsequent thereto.

All these facts together leave no truth on the face of the argument advanced by Ārzū and Ḥākim.

4. Wālih's account is concurrent. He writes in 1611 A.H. which is the most probable date of composition of Thabāt's work; and later than which he could not have composed it, because he died the same year.

4. Ārzū's account is late. He writes in 1164 A.H., i.e., three years after the death of Thabāt. Ḥākim's statement is later still as Ḥākim composed his *Mardum-i-Dīdah* in 1175 A.H.

¹ See *Subḥ-i-Gulshan*, p. 50.

The third poet who is said to have written against Hazīn is Saudā. He is mentioned by Shafīq¹ only. Shafīq says, that Saudā had written against Hazīn a Mukhammas satire of 19 Bands (*i.e.*, 95 verses in all) without a Maqṭa'. Shafīq has not been corroborated by any other writer. He has been quoted only once by Shaikh Chānd.² The satire is extinct now. Shafīq ascribes no reason for its composition.

Fath 'Alī Khān composed the *Ibtāl-ul-Bātil* in vindication of Hazīn. It consists of a few pages and is mentioned twice in *I'lā'-ul-Haqq*. See *Kulliyāt-i-Sahbārī*, pp. 765 and 769.

As regards Hazīn's satires on the king and his courtiers³ : it is impossible to justify Hazīn's action. The king had been very kind to Hazīn. He granted him cash and estates through 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Nawwāb Amīr Khān, poetically surnamed Anjām, which Hazīn accepted; offered him the prime-ministership which he refused; called him to his presence which he did not comply with; and himself set out to meet him which Hazīn avoided.

Amongst the courtiers, Hazīn was patronized by Anjām, a minister of the king; and had friendship with Ummīd, a nobleman. Hazīn had also many other friends at the court of Delhi⁴ Why should he then write satires against the king or his courtiers who in the words of Wālih had not even told him

¹ *Chamanistān-ush-Shu'arā*, Hyderābād ed., p. 341.

² *Life of Saudā*, Deccan ed., p. 126.

³ See footnote 1 at p. 34.

⁴ For all this see *infra*.

“ There are eyebrows over your eyes ” (i.e. had not offended him in the least).¹ Hazīn's satires against the king and his courtiers is an offence with which he will remain charged up to the last day.

Hazīn was a mystic in his every-day life : and mysticism, which predominates his poetry, is its most distinguishing feature.

As only his fourth *dīwān* has survived to us, we are obliged to base our conclusions with regard to the poetry of Hazīn on verses found in that work alone.

Taints of mystical tendencies are discernible in the life of Hazīn at a very early stage. So, because he received his early education from Shaikh Khalīl Ullāh Ṭāliqānī who was an accomplished saint ; and, because, Hazīn pursued the works of numerous *ṣūfī* poets ; some of whom he imitates. The occult atmosphere of India added a new stimulus to his dormant aptitudes. Consequently, he composed mystical poetry of a high order.

Let us now revert to the conditions prevalent in *Īrān*. With the merciless persecutions of the Sunnis by Shāh Ismā'il, the *Ṣafawī*, and due to the emperor's religious fanaticism, most of the population of *Īrān* converted to *Shī'aism*. Especially after the renaissance, the poets of *Īrān*, who were by that time mostly *Shī'as*, renounced mysticism which is considered by them to be repugnant to their religion but which

¹ *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā* reads ابرويت.

in fact owes its very existence to the Iranians.

The unavoidable result of all this is, that latter poetry of the Iranians is void of all the subtleties and beauties of the mystical poetry of their great predecessors, e.g., Ḥāfiẓ and Sa'dī who, by the way, were Sunnīs. This revitalized Shī'aism, on the other hand, resulted in the attainment of a very high standard in composition of elegies. Reflections of the same are to be found in the most pathological but less historical elegies of the two chief elegy-writers of India—Anīs and Dabīr, both of whom were Shī'as by faith.

Unlike his compatriots in Īrān, Ḥazīn, however, kept aloof from the common practice. True to his life, he clothed his verses in mysticism. His poetry, like that of Ḥāfiẓ, thus, is full of the charms of mysticism and the inseparable benefits of being capable of interpretation as expressive of worldly pleasures or divine love according to the idiosyncrasies of his reader.

Hence it is, that Ḥazīn's sweet verses still supply pleasure to the hearts of his readers.

Ḥazīn was a versatile genius—a poet, a saint, and a scholar. His versatility is evidenced by his compositions ranging from brochures of a few pages to bulky volumes¹ that he has left behind. As a poet he has left us 4 dīwāns of which only the fourth one is extant. He has also left

Unpopularity.

¹ According to *Khulāṣat-ul-Afkār*, Bānkīpur MS. 712, f. 219, he has left four dīwāns of about 35,000 verses and one hundred treatises bearing on different subjects.

behind many mathnawis. As a saint he is still commemorated every Thursday. And his scholarship is readily realized by having a glance at the different subjects¹ on which he has written and the success with which he has handled them.

To India, today, Ḥazīn is pre-eminently known as a poet. But in his lifetime, unfortunately, he did not enjoy the popularity that was due to him: though he was a natural poet; was born at Iṣfahān—the seat of learning in the twelfth century of the Muslim era; was brought up in a literary atmosphere; received his education from the most eminent scholars of his day; composed in his own mother-tongue; and his verses imbibe all the beauties of mysticism and fruits of wide experience accumulated at the cost of extensive and hazardous travelling.

The reasons are not far to seek:

1. Poetry produced under the Moghuls in the twelfth century A.H., in India, is degenerate, stereotyped, and imitative. There is nothing new, creative, or original about it. At the time under review, writers of prose and poetry, alike, were busy in reproducing the thoughts and ideas of earlier masters. To be at all readable they had to represent their mimicry in a novel way. Thus, in contradistinction to their predecessors, the modern writers adopted the

¹ According to *Safīna-i-'Ishrat*, Bānkīpur MS. 699, f. 187b, Ḥazīn has written a book on every subject. He used to receive queries from Īrān, Lahore, Akbarābād (Āgra), and Kashmīr and to answer them right up to 1175 A.H., (*viz.*, the date of composition of *Safīna-i-'Ishrat*) when on account of infirmity he had not even the power to lift the pen.

inconvenient and altogether unwholesome method of presenting their thoughts in an ornate, pedantic, verbose, and hyperbolic language. They employed far-fetched similies and abstruse metaphors. Abū Tālib Kalīm, Bedil, Nāṣir 'Alī Sarhindī and Ni'mat Khān 'Ālī are the models for the writers of the day. But the question of all questions is how does Hazīn stand in relation to them ?

In prose, the style of Hazīn is easy and simple. His diction is entirely free from artificiality and ambiguity. His prose, especially his autobiography, is considered today to be a model for the prose-writers. His poetry is Sufistic, elevated, and sweet but all the same smooth. Hence, Hazīn is not palatable to the Indian taste of the twelfth century A.H.

2. Another more⁷ potent and significant reason for the unpopularity of Hazīn is his satires on Indians and the civil war that was consequently waged against him by some of the foremost poets of India. See *supra*.

The best criticism on the poetry of Hazīn would have been by poet-historians contemporary with him. But all of them—in the fashion of their time—have nothing but praises for him. The only exception to the rule is Khān Ārzū who has criticized Hazīn's poetry ; not to mention Hākīm Beg Khān Lāhorī who blindly imitates Ārzū. But even Ārzū and Hākīm mention Hazīn's name with reverence. Moreover, Ārzū's impression of Hazīn is too biased to carry any weight ; and Hākīm has

nothing particular to add about the poetry of Ḥazīn.

Subsequent biographers conventionally and blindly follow in the footsteps of their predecessors. For example, the author of *Naghma-i-'Andalīb* (f. 67a) gives his opinion thus: "After Sa'dī¹ no eloquent has equalled Ḥazīn. His prose is better than his poetry and his poetry excels his prose." In all sorts of (poetry)—qasīda, mathnawī, ghazal, rubā'ī, wāsokht, or hazl—whichever he handled, Ḥazīn raised the earth of poetry to heaven."² "The author of *Tadhkira-i-Ḥusainī* (p. 108) considers Ḥazīn second to Mirzā Ṣā'ibā: and the best of all his contemporaries.

Maulānā Shiblī who, in his *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, might have profitably stated something about the poetry of Ḥazīn is absolutely dumbfounded; and does not even mention him. To the average reader it would appear that Shiblī has neglected Ḥazīn because he mentions only those poets who have either invented a new style or perfected an existing old one. So far so good. But there is something more—something personal—that has probably led Shiblī to ignore Ḥazīn altogether. This personal incident has been recorded by Saiyid Sulaimān Nadwī⁴ and has

¹ d. 691/1292. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 339.

² According to *Ārāi'sh-i-Mahfil*, p. 88, Ḥazīn equals Zuhūrī and Nazīrī in prose and poetry respectively.

³ *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66b.

⁴ Saiyid Sulaimān Nadwī is the compiler of *Makātīb-i-Shiblī*, i.e., a collection of letters addressed to the compiler and various other people by Maulānā Shiblī

remained unnoticed up to this time. It is as follows:—

In a letter¹ addressed to Maulwī Muḥammad Samī', dated April 24, 1884 A.D., and obviously written from 'Alīgarh (as the letter preceding it is dated 'Alīgarh, April 19, 1884 A.D.) Maulānā Shiblī says, that he composed an ode with the *radīf Chikunam* beginning with the following verse²:—

گر م عقل نگیرم من حیران چکنم
میدهد مغیچه ام باده فراوان چکنم

In answer to the following ode of Hazīn:—

میشود دل چو گل از عیش پریشان چکنم
غنچه سان گر نکشم سر بگریبان چکنم
داده جمعیت دلهای اسیران بر باد
نکنم شکوه ازان زلف پریشان چکنم
دل بان چشم فسون ساز که چشمش مرصاد
من گرفته زدهم با صوف مژگان چکنم
طعنه بر بی دل و دینان من ای زاهد شهر
دل و دین میبرد آن نرگس فتنان چکنم
سر و سامان بود ارزانی ناقص خردان
من که دیوانه عشقم سر و سامان چکنم
چند گوئی که بدل مهر بتان پنهان دار
بوی یوسف رود از مصر بکنعان چکنم
من نه آنم که بدنبال دل از جا بروم
میکشد سوی خود ان سرو خرامان چکنم
میزنم خوبش بان شعله بیباک حریص
بیش ازین نیست مرا طاقت هجران چکنم³

Some of his students ridiculed the ode of Shiblī and remarked, that it was a vain pursuit to try to

¹ *Makātib*, Vol. I, pp. 70-71, letter No. 12.

² *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 70.

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 565.

imitate the master (i.e., Ḥazīn). Shiblī, however, held his own.

These two odes—after expunging the concluding verse of each—were, therefore, submitted to Khawāja Azīz-ud-Dīn, poetically surnamed 'Azīz,'¹ and Nayyar² Dehlwī to express their opinions as to which of the two odes held a superior place.

Both the judges regarded the ode of Shiblī to be the composition of an Īrānī. Nayyar praised it abundantly and placed it at par with the poems of ancient masters.

The above might have been a fit account for the biographer of Maulānā Shiblī to record. But it should not be construed to diminish, in the least, the esteem of Ḥazīn in our hearts. Firstly, because, it is a dangerous practice to generalize in this hap-hazard manner and pass verdicts on the merits of the two poets on the basis of individual odes when we

¹ In his own days, 'Azīz was an accepted master of Īrānī.

² Nayyar was another scholar of Īrānī. In the following *qit'a-band* in a ghazal, Ghālib enumerates Nayyar among his distinguished contemporaries:—

ای که راندی سخن از نکته سرایان عجم
چه بما منت بسیار نهی از کم شان
هند را خوش نفسانند سخنور که بود
باد در خلوت شان مشکفشان از دم شان
مومن و نیر و صهبائی و علوی و انگاه
حسرتی اشرف و آزردہ بود اعظم شان
غالب سوخته جان گرچه نیرزد بشمار
هست در بزم سخن همنفس و همدم شان

Khulliyāt-i-Ghālib (Īrānī), Lucknow ed., p. 505.

have the complete works of both in our hands. Secondly, because, neither is the ode of Hazīn, proffered for the occasion, the best specimen of his poetry; nor does all the poetry of Shiblī (who was undoubtedly the greatest poet of Iranī in his time) conform to the standard of his particular ode under consideration.

Whatever might have been its other consequences, one irresistible conclusion is, that the result of the contest, at that early date (*i.e.*, 1884 A.D.), must have considerably lowered the poetry of Hazīn in the eyes of Shiblī; which might, perhaps, sufficiently account for Shiblī's ignoring Hazīn in his writings altogether.

Shirwānī Ṣāhib's criticism on the poetry of Hazīn is a reliable one.² But, unfortunately, it is too vague and brief. According to him: "Hazīn equals the accepted masters of the art of composing ghazal."¹ Shirwānī holds a low opinion about the Mathnawī of Hazīn.³ He places Hazīn in the twelfth group of poets.³

The best criticism on the poetry of Hazīn is by Wahshat published in the Makhzan for July 1909. According to this authority⁴: Hazīn's special field was ghazal and rubā'ī; in both of which he had attained perfection. His style of poetry is best suited for ghazal and is fit to be imitated. It combines depth

¹ Hālāt-i-Hazīn with selections from his poetry by Shirwānī, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁴ Makhzan, July 1909, pp. 12-13.

of thought, clearness of speech and construction, elegance of words, relish, pang, amorous purpose of conversation, and sufism ; which has greatly added to its value."

Ḥazīn was a born poet. According to Muṣḥafī,¹ Ḥazīn had no teacher in poetry and has written² : "At the age of 7 [*i.e.* in 1110 A.H.] I composed an ode in answer to Shaukat Bukhārī who also praised me³ : and at the age of 9 [*i.e.* in 1112 A.H.] I composed, and publicly recited, a qaṣīda in answer to that of Mirzā Ṭāhir Waḥīd⁴—whereupon Nawwāb Waḥīd-uz-Zamān embraced me and praised me abundantly."⁵ This was in his childhood. In his youth : Ḥazīn displayed his power of extempore versification by producing verse by verse a whole ode in answer to Mullā Muḥtasham Kāshī.⁶ In his manhood : Ḥazīn had the honour of having Nawwāb Sher Afgan Khān and Rāja Rām Nārā'in among his students. He was also imitated by Mīr Soz, Saudā, Jur'at, and Dhauq.⁷ And after Ḥazīn's death Mirzā Ghālib,⁸ the poet-laureate of Hindustānī and a famous poet of Īrānī, used to seek advantage from

¹ d. 1240/1824. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 246; and *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rāmpur MS. 52, f. 56b, Aurangābād ed., p. 21.

² I have not been able to trace the source of information of Muṣḥafī.

³ An apparent anachronism; for Shaukat Bukhārī d. in 1107 A.H. See footnote 5 at p. 4.

⁴ d. 1108/1696. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 396.

⁵ *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rāmpur MS. 52, f. 55a; Aurangābād ed., p. 21.

⁶ For his life see: *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 276.

⁷ See *Āb-i-Hayāt*, p. 197: They imitated this *matla'* :

میگرفتیم بجانان سرراهی گاهی اوهم از لطف نهران داشت نگاهای گاهی

⁸ d. 1285/1869. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 140.

the verses of Ḥazīn.¹ At the end of his *Īrānī Kulliyāt*, Ghālib recognizes Ḥazīn as one of his five teachers² and as one of his authorities.³ In his *mathnawī* entitled *Bād-i-Mukhālif*, Ghālib mentions Ḥazīn as one of his teachers :

ای تماشایان ژرف نگاه هان بگوئید حسبه الله
که چسان از حزین به پیچم سر آن به جادو می بدهر سر

“ Oh, deep-sighted spectators !

Here, say, for God's sake

How should I turn away from Ḥazīn,

Who is famous for his magic-verses in the world? ”⁴

In *Īrān* Ḥazīn passed an honourable and respectable time. He was distinguished by His patronage. high esteem and veneration in the eyes of Sultān Ḥusain,⁵ and was in the good graces of Shāh Ṭahmāsp⁶ the son of Sultān Ḥusain. Shāh Ṭahmāsp visited Ḥazīn in his house several times⁷.

¹ See : *Sham'-i-Anjuman*, pp. 394, 410, and 466.

² *Kulliyāt-i-Ghālib*, p. 554 ; and *Shirwānī*, p. 36.

³ See : *‘Ud-i-Hindī*, pp. 18 and 130. In the *Kulliyāt-i-Ghālib*, see pp. 394 and 532 (ghazals) for verses of Ghālib acknowledging the superiority of, or at any cost, claiming equality with Ḥazīn.

غالبا عین حزین است به هتجار بروز p. 394

موج این ببحر مکرر بکنار آمد و رفت

اندرین شیوه گفتار که داری غالب p. 532

گر ترقی نکنی شیخ علی را مانی

⁴ See : *Makhzan*, December 1909, p. 22.

⁵ d. 1142/1729. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 362-63.

⁶ *Tuḥfat-ul-Ālam*, p. 52 ; *Mira'āt-i-Āftāb Numā*, Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 32/33, f. 168a.

⁷ *Nishtar-i-Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716, f. 545 ; *Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Mādī*, Ḥabīb Ganj MS. Pers. 51/12, S. q. Ḥazīn ; *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 79-80.

In India also, the King, Muḥammad Shāh, the nobles, and all the people loved Ḥazīn and were kind towards him.¹ Muḥammad Shāh often desired to call Ḥazīn to his presence and to be delighted by his verses. But Ḥazīn did not agree.² Muḥammad Shāh also repeatedly requested Ḥazīn for permission to go to him and visit him. But even to this Ḥazīn refused to condescend.³

When Ḥazīn's independence became fully known to Muḥammad Shāh, the King himself rode for Ḥazīn's house once or twice. But, on hearing of the King's approach, Ḥazīn made the excuse of visiting the tomb of Khwāja Qutb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī⁴ and rode away before the King's arrival.⁵

'Umdat-ul-Mulk Amīr Khān, poetically surnamed Anjām,⁶ is the first man to entertain Ḥazīn on his own behalf and on behalf of the King. On Ḥazīn's arrival at Delhi, Anjām secured for Ḥazīn a fief of fertile lands from Muḥammad Shah; wherewith Ḥazīn passed his life happily. According to

¹ *Safīna-i-'Ishrat*, Bānkīpur MS. 699, f. 187b; *Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'ara*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51 f. 105a; *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rāmpur MS. 52, f. 57a; *ibid.*, Aurangābād ed., p. 22.

² *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rāmpur, MS. 52, f. 57a.

³ *Tadhkira-i-Husainī*, p. 106; and *Safīna-i-'Ishrat*, Bānkīpur MS. 699, f. 187b.

A beautiful description of Muḥammad Shāh's visit to Ḥazīn, based on verbal evidence, is given in *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 210.

⁴ d. 633/1235. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 321.

⁵ *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rāmpur MS. 52, f. 57a; and *ibid.*, Aurangābād ed., p. 22.

⁶ Murdered in 1159/1747. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 71.

Muḥammad Ridā,¹ the fief granted to Hazīn by Muḥammad Shāh on the recommendation of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk consisted of a few villages. Aḥmad 'Alī² tells us that the estate was worth Rs. 40,000 and situated near Akbarābād (Āgra). Ārzū³ says, that it valued 2,000,000 *dāms*.

We learn from Aḥmad 'Alī,⁴ that Muḥammad Shāh, on one occasion, made Hazīn a present of Rs. 500,000 through 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Nawwāb Amīr Khān Anjām.

According to Husain Dūst:⁵ 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, on his return from Ilāhābād [in 1156 A.H./1743 A.D.],⁶ gained the confidence of Hazīn and offered him a subvention of a few lakhs⁷ which Hazīn accepted. 'Umdat-ul-Mulk then handed over the grant to a certain man, with the instructions to pay over the proceeds to Hazīn at each harvest time.

In the unreliable *Nigāristān-i-Fārs* (p. 210) it is stated, "On a few occasions Muḥammad Shāh wanted to grant Hazīn some lakhs of rupees but the Shaikh always used to reply: 'I have come here to visit India; not to beg.'" Again, we are told by Ārzū⁸

¹ *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, British Museum MS. Or. 1811, f. 66a:—

و دیہات چند در طیول شیخ مقرر گردانید

² *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib*, Rāmpur MS. 57, f. 263a.

³ *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. 170.

⁴ *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib*, Rāmpur MS. 57, f. 263.

⁵ *Tadhkira-i-Husainī*, p. 106.

⁶ *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, p. 77; and *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 71.

⁷ In *Mardum-i-Didah*, Habīb Ganj, typed copy 51/26, p. 49, the subvention is said to be worth about 100,000 *dāms*.

⁸ *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. p. 170.

and Ḥākim :¹ " On 'Umdat-ul-Mulk's return from Ilāhābād [to Delhi in 1156/1743], Ḥazīn made a shameful retreat from Lahore to Delhi in the hope of his merits being recognised." This is incorrect. There is no record of Ḥazīn's being at Lahore in 1156 A.H., viz., the year when Anjām returned to Dehlī from Ilāhābād. Also, as elsewhere stated, the attitude of Ḥākim (who faithfully follows Khān Ārzū's Majma'-un-Nafā'is) is antagonistic towards Ḥazīn.

In the *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib*,² on the other hand, it is stated that, on hearing about the arrival of Ḥazīn, 'Umdat-ul-Mulk went to see him and entertained him to his house with due consideration ; and served him well.

At 'Azīmābād Ḥazīn commanded the respect of Rāja Rām Narā'in, the governor of the place, who was a pupil of Ḥazīn. Rāja Balwant Singh, the ruler of Banāras, was extremely reverent towards Ḥazīn and used to visit him in his house sometimes.³

Ḥazīn had taken to the noble profession of teaching even in the lifetime of his father, i.e. before he was 24 years of age. But his undiminishing zeal to acquire knowledge at the threshold of every scholar necessitated distant and constant travels and allowed

¹ *Mardum-i-Didah*, Ḥabīb Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 49.

² *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib*, Rāmpur MS. 57, f. 262a.

³ *Āfāq's Tadhkira-i-Hazīn*, p. 26.

him little time for conducting regular classes or having any number of regular students.

From the siege of Iṣfahān in 1134 A.H. to the eve of his departure for India (*viz.*, the 10th of Ramaḍān, 1146 A.H.). Ḥazīn was seldom at a place for more than a few days: unless, of course, when taken ill;—there being no chance of teaching in either case.

Thrice we find him on the high seas; and lastly, dragged into the political disturbance in about 1146 A.H. This prolonged political upheaval disturbed the literary atmosphere of Īrān beyond imagination. Relations and libraries were lost; and writers that survived the calamities were left to shed tears over their misfortunes rather than write the biographies of their contemporaries or prepare lists of their students.

Hence, it is not surprising if we cannot name more than one or two students of Ḥazīn in Īrān. Besides, Hazīn was labouring under the double disadvantage of being in the forties and in his own land where native talent is seldom recognised till after the death.

Conditions, however, changed entirely after Nādir Shāh's departure from Delhi in about 1152 A.H. Here under a peaceful atmosphere Ḥazīn added the respectability of being a grey-bearded foreigner to his other qualifications;—factors which count a great deal with a sentimental race like the Indians. About the second factor Salīm Ṭihrānī

says:—

نیست در ایران زمین سامان تکمیل کمال
تا سوی هندوستان نامد حنا رنگین نشد

"There aren't in the land of Īrān the means of acquiring perfection.

Henna did not become coloured before coming to India."

Hence, we find the following list of the pupils of Ḥazīn in India:—

Named Banda 'Alī Khān, was the son of Mīr Ḥabīb Ullāh¹ Ghairat Khān, the son of Mīrak Khān. Bāsiṭī's mother was the daughter of Sher Afgan Khān. He was born at Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) and joined the court of Muḥammad Shāh. He received the title of Sher Afgan Khān (which formerly belonged to his maternal grandfather) and was made a Shash-hazārī. He went from Delhi to Lakhnaū in 1160 A.H. and became a disciple of Shāh 'Abd Ullāh Bāsiṭī from whom he derived his title. He was at first the pupil of Mīr Thābit Ilāhābādī and used the *nom de plume* Sabqat. On Thābit's death in 1151 A.H., Bāsiṭī became the pupil of Ḥazīn and remained so till the death of Ḥazīn in 1180 A.H.² Bāsiṭī met Ḥazīn at Banāras and showed him his *dīwān* in order to be informed of its merits and demerits. Ḥazīn told him, that it was fit to be washed from cover to cover. Bāsiṭī accordingly threw it into a river. Ḥazīn further advised him to compose quatrains occasionally

¹ 'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā, Aurangābād ed., p. 15, omit Ḥabīb Ullāh.

² See *Subḥ-i-Gulshan*, p. 50; 'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā, Aurangābād ed., pp. 14-15, and *supra*.

which Bāsiṭī thenceforth used to do.¹ Bāsiṭī died in 1199 A.H. He has composed an anthology of all the poets. For his life also see *Nishtar-i-'Ishq* and *Gul-i-Ra'nā*.

Named Mirzā Haidar, was a resident of Jāi's in Bījān. Oudh. He was a painter and calligraphist. He died in the middle of the thirteenth century² of the Hijra.

Kumār Chet Singh who afterwards ruled as Mahārāja of Banāras (1770-1781 A.D.) after his father, Mahārāja Balwant Singh (1740-1770 A.D.), was a pupil of Hazīn. He often used to go to Hazīn and picked up a good deal of Īrānī.³

Named Mirzā Muḥammad Hāshim Artīmānī, was the son of Mirzā Raḍī, the son of Mirzā Ibrāhīm Adham. At first he used the *nom de plume* Hāshim which he later on changed for Dil.⁴

Shaikh Gulshan 'Alī, the son of Shaikh 'Aṭṭār Anṣārī Jaunpūrī, was born in 1117 A.H. He came to Delhi in 1143 A.H. and became the pupil of Mīr Muḥammad Afdal Thābit. At the death of Thābit [in 1151 A.H.] he had his verses corrected by Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn Faqīr. When Hazīn came to Delhi in about 1149 A.H., Gulshan became his pupil. He died in the end of

¹ See *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Aurangābād ed., p. 15.

² See *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, p. 111.

³ For detail see *Sham*, January 1927, p. 15.

⁴ See *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, p. 216.

the twelfth century of the Hijra and has left behind about 5,000 verses.¹

We do not know the name of the boy. His father, Lāla Mādhū Rām, was an influential trader in Banāras. The boy was a favourite of Shaikh Ḥazīn. In the year 1186 A.H. when Achhe Miyān² visited the tomb of Ḥazīn, the son of Mādhū Rām was bearing all the expenses of the place.³

Mirzā 'Abd-ur-Ridā Iṣfahānī, with the *takhalluṣ* Matīn, was the son of Shaikh 'Abd Ullāh Najafī and a descendant of Malik Ashtar Najafī. He was born at Iṣfahān. He associated with Mīr Najāt and other scholars for some time. He came to Delhi in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh and had poetic contests and disputes with Mīr Muḥammad Afdal Thābit. Then he migrated to Lakhnaū, Murshidābād, and Ilāhābād successively. He died in 1175 A.H./1761 A.D. He followed Ḥazīn in most of his verses and Ḥazīn used to praise Matīn's poetry. He has left behind a *dīwān* of

¹ See *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, pp. 586-87.

² Achhe Miyān is the nickname of Saiyid Shāh Āl-i-Aḥmad (d. 1235 A.H.). He visited the tomb of Ḥazīn in 1186 A.H. on his return from Tikārī in Bihār where he had gone to visit his maternal uncle Nawwāb Nūr-ul-Ḥasan Khān. The memoirs of Achhe Miyān called the *Āthār-i-Aḥmadī* were composed by Ḥakīm 'Ināyat Ḥusain in c. 1250-1260 A.H. No definite information about the *Āthār-i-Aḥmadī* can be obtained, because, the only two copies of the book, so far known, are in the possession of the descendants of Achhe Miyān in Mārharā and Hyderābād who seldom allow anyone to see the MS. which is sacred to them. I obtained extracts of the relevant portion through the late Saiyid Aḥsan Mārharwī; after a great deal of botheration and inconvenience.

³ *Āthār-i-Aḥmadī*, Muḥammad Miyān Mārharwī's MS.

12,000 verses.¹

Named Rāja Rām Narā'in, was a resident of a small village in the suburbs of 'Azīmābād. Mauzūn.

He succeeded his father as a Dīwān of Nawwāb Mahābat Jang. He was appointed the Governor of 'Azīmābād and granted the title of Rāja by Mahābat Jang. He was deprived of the governorship of 'Azīmābād and imprisoned by Nawwāb Qāsim 'Alī Khān on his succession to the Masnad in A.H. 1174/A.D. 1760. He was released by 'Ālijāh at the time of his defeat at the hands of the English in 1178 A.H. and thrown into the river Ganges.²

The Dīwān of Mauzūn is full of subtle verses acknowledging the superiority and mastership of Hazīn. Here are some of Mauzūn's verses mentioning Hazīn :—

	Page
ز ارشادِ حزین باشد تسلی طبعِ موزون را	20
فزودم در جنابِ او قرارِ خاطرِ خود را	
ز ارشادِ حزین تا زین نمودم اشهبِ معنی	27
بگردد من رسیدن نیست موزون شهسواران را	
مناسبت بیجنابِ حزین چه موزون را	33
فروغِ شمس کجا پرتو چراغِ کجا	
ز کارِ ناله فرو ماند طبعِ موزون را	37
ز حالِ من که رساند خبرِ حزین مرا	
بسوز دل بس ناله حزین موزون	60
دوای درد تو در نسخه شفائی نیست	

¹ See *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, p. 604; and *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 247-48.

² See *Subh-i-Gulshan*, p. 469; *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*, p. 218; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 328; *Gul-i-Ra'nā*, Curzon collection MS. 511, ff.

موزون ز خطر در ره باریک معانی	84
اندیشه مکن مثل حزین راهبری هست	
گفتم که همه درد بود ناله موزون	85
گفتا که به تعلیم گرش شیخ حزین بود	
بفکر این غزل اکنون خیال طبع موزون را	156
باحیای سخن لطف حزین در کار می باید	
چو یار ناله موزون شنید میفرمود	158
چرا چنین نبود بنده حزینم بود	
بجاست ناز خود امروز طبع موزون را	161
که در دم غزلی شیخ را جواب رساند	
چنان موزون به پیش مصرع شیخ این غزل ماند	164
صفا از آب شیرین شور را کمتر نمی باشد	
یافت چون ناله موزون مرا گفت حزین	165
نشود پیش لب ت زمزمه تار سفید	
ناله موزون اگر کردم توان معذور نیست	166
در بساط این شعله از آه حزینم مانده بود	
خاک قدم حزین مرا بس	175
موزون سر کیمیا ندارد	
افکند حزین سایه خود بر سر موزون	195
رو منت خود را ز سرم بال هماگیر	
نکته سنجان همگی سحر طرازند ولی	196
بود از فیض حزین شعر تو موزون اعجاز	
تا سخنهای من از فیض حزین موزون شد	227
بغزل شهره و محسود هزاران گشتم	
بعزم میکند موزون مرا حزین فرمود	235
بکار خیر چه حاجت که استخاره کنم	
طبع موزون مرا فیض حزین نیسان کرد	242
که بهر بحر رسیدیم گهربار شدیم	

444a-445b., and *supra*. According to *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, p. 734, he was drowned in 1177/1763.

	Page
بفیض تربیت حضرت حزین موزون نظیر طرز نظیری و صائبا شده ام	247
بود در طبع موزون نشه از شعر حزین دائم	255
زمستی های صهبای ازل میخانه خویشم کسی چو ناله موزون ما بفیض حزین	278
بدوش خویش نبرد است این ردای سخن حزین افتاد موزون بر درت امیدها دارد	294
بکمال او ز لطف خویش فرما فیض ادراکی	

“ When Hazīn first entered ‘Azīmābād, Mauzūn went up to him and showed his *dīwān* to Hazīn. The *takhalluṣ* Mauzūn was conferred on him by Hazīn. The *dīwān* that was shown to Hazīn passed into the hands of Qāsim ‘Alī Khān along with the other articles of Rāja Rām Narā’in that were confiscated. No one knows what has become of it. In these days a man has collected, from here and there the rough drafts that were lying scattered about; as well as the verses that had been examined by Mauzūn, and compiled them into a *dīwān*. This is an altogether defective copy.”¹ Mauzūn’s *dīwān* has been printed by Newwul Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1870 A.D.

The political achievements of Mauzūn from the subject-matter of an article published by Saiyid Hasan ‘Askarī in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1938 (Pts. I and II); December 1938 (Pt. III); and March 1939 (Pt. IV). The article is chiefly based on *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*—a large collection of disarranged private and official letters, sanads,

¹ *Gul-i-Ra’na*, Curzon collection MS. 511, f. 444b.

short orders, and news-letters; mostly written by, or addressed to, Rāja Rām Narā'in and other contemporary personages; belonging to Rāi Mathūrā Prashād of Mahārāj Ghāt, Patna city. As such, the article, it is with regret to say, gives very little information about Mauzūn as a poet.

Named Saiyid Khairāt 'Alī Dehlawī, originally belonged to Faiḍābād. He died after the age of seventy.¹

Mushtāq.

Mirzā 'Alī Naqī Khān was the son of Qāsim Khān. He was also for some time the student of Maulwī Muḥammad 'Iwad Jaunpūrī. He was born in Lahore and brought up in 'Azīmābād. He has left behind a Kulliyāt of 10,000 verses. He also sometimes used the *nom de plume* Lisānī.²

Naqī.

Named Mīr Muḥammad Samī' Dehlawī. His father had migrated from Bukhārā to Delhi. On Ḥazīn's coming to India, Niyāzī became his pupil and derived his *nom de plume* from Ḥazīn.³

Niyāzī.

Mullā Muḥammad 'Abd Ullāh, commonly called Mullā Muḥammad 'Umar, poetically surnamed Sābiq, of Banāras, was a pupil of Ārzū⁴ and Ḥazīn.⁵ He was on very intimate terms with Ḥazīn. He used to visit the

Sābiq.

¹ See : *Subh-i-Gulshan*, p. 411.

² *Ibid.*, p. 537.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 571.

⁴ Āfāq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, p. 29.

⁵ *Ishārat-i-Bīnīsh*, R.A.S.B. MS. 61, f. 22 (Margin).

The cataloguer has committed an error by calling Māhlī a student of

residence of Ḥazīn every day and to recite to Ḥazīn all that he had composed. Ḥazīn, in turn, used to recite his own verses to Sābiq. Sometimes both of them composed in the same rhyme.¹ From the specimens of their *ghazals* given in Āfāq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, pp. 29-30, it is evident from the *Maqṭa'* of Sābiq that he has imitated the *ghazal* of Ḥazīn. For the meeting of Sābiq and Ḥazīn on another occasion see *ibid.*, p. 30.

Named Muḥammad Aḥsan Khān Dehlawī, poetically surnamed Sāmi', was the descendant of either Rāja Bīrbal or Todar Mal of Akbar's Court. His grandfather was converted to Islām. He learnt to compose verses from Mirzā Bedil. Then he used to take his verses to Shaikh Ḥusain Shuḥrat for correction. Lastly, he practised that art under Ḥazīn. Sāmi' died at the age of sixty.²

Shaikh Āyat Ullāh, poetically surnamed Thanā, belonged to Shāhjahānābād (Delhi).
 Thanā I. At the time when Ḥazīn came to Delhi and put up in the residence of 'Umdat-ul-

Arzū and Ḥazīn. This is due to a miscomprehension of the original Irānī text (*Ishārāt-i-Bīnīsh* f. 22):—

حسن : مولوی محمد حسن علی ماہلی..... اول سری بہ
 بنارمی کشید و بنخدمت ملا محمد عمر کہ از شاگردان خان آرزو
 و شیخ علی حزین بود کتب عمدہ فارسی گذرانید

The above passage means, that Māhlī paid a visit to Mullā Muḥammad 'Umar who was a pupil of Ārzū and Ḥazīn; and not that Māhlī was a pupil of Ārzū and Ḥazīn.

¹ Āfāq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, p. 29.

² *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, p. 284.

Mulk, Thanā used to take his verses to Hazīn for correction. He imitated Hazīn. He died a few years before the composition of 'Iqd-i-Thuraiya'¹ Thanā proved himself a worthy successor to Hazīn—his great predecessor. After the death of Hazīn, Thanā was recognised as one of the masters of the Īrānī language. He was one of the poets to whom Saudā referred Ashraf 'Alī Khān for correction of his anthology after the latter had despaired of Makīn.²

Thanā II. Named Habīb Ullāh, was a resident of Kashmīr.³

Shahīd. Maulwī Muḥammad Bāqir Shahīd Ṭīhrānī ... settled down in Aurangābād ...

After some time he set for the pilgrimage and in the course of the journey he met Muḥammad 'Alī Hazīn in the port of Tatta.⁴ He became a pupil of Hazīn in poetry. He died on the 11th of Rajab 1178 A.H.⁵ at Aurangābād.

Walīh. 'Alī Qulī Khān, poetically called Wālih, was born in Iṣfahān. He was intimately loved by Mirzā Ja'far Rāhib and Hazīn who taught him many points in the art of versification.⁶ Later on, while in India, Wālih and Hazīn drifted away as we learn from the Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā (under Hazīn).

¹ See : 'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā, Aurangābād ed., p. 19.

² See Āb-i-Hayāt, pp. 165-66 ; Shaikh Chānd's Saudā, pp. 57-58.

³ See Subḥ-i-Gulshan, p. 99. ⁴ Most probably in 1146 A.H.

⁵ For details see Natā'ij-ul-Afkār, Lytton Library MS., ff. 248-49. Mahbūb-uz-Zaman, pp. 525-30 ; Mardum-i-Dīdah ; Gul-i-Ra'nā ; and Urdū, July 1937.

⁶ See 'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā, Aurangābād ed., p. 61.

Ḥazīn's diction is quite simple in most cases. As he was purely religious and deeply versed in Arabic literature, his rich and expressive vocabulary is borrowed from that language. In his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, it is peculiar to note, Ḥazīn makes Arabic plurals of Īrānī words, e.g., سرد سیرات and گرم سیرات; and observes Arabic plurals of syntax in Īrānī, e.g., شهرهای معتبره. Another peculiarity of his diction is the use of some Hindī words which were in common use among his contemporary Īrānī poets in India.¹

“In prose, Ḥazīn's style of writing is direct and clear while his words are free from any artificial arrangements. His sentences have very few metaphors. At his best he wrote as he talked, but sometimes his sentences are too long, and contain too many clauses which spoil their unity. However, his style is neither laboured or heavy nor pompous or artificial.”² He was pious of heart; independent of nature; amiable; and sober.³ His poetry is idiomatic, sententious, simple, and easy; based on advice, philosophy and sufism.⁴ Love is the chief component of Ḥazīn's constitution. Love-poetry escapes from his lips unwarily. He enjoys his verses himself while the disesteem of the world makes him low-spirited.

¹ Master's Introduction to his translation of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. IV.

² *Idem*.

³ *Makhzan*, July 1909, p. 11.

⁴ See *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 210.

Agreeable melodies emanate from his desire-laden heart little by little and trickle down his tongue. But who is there to understand? ¹

The *ghazal* of Ḥazīn imbibes all the meritable qualities of the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiẓ,² Sa'dī,³ and Jāmi,⁴ whom he faithfully imitates. In the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow edition, Ḥazīn imitates Sa'dī, p. 358; Qāsim-i-Anwār,⁵ pp. 360 and 637; Fughānī,⁶ p. 489; Rūmī,⁷ pp. 327, 445, 465, 508, 471, 534, 559, 661 and 680; Ḥāfiẓ, pp. 400, 413, 506, 517, 579, 597, and 604; Jāmi, p. 550; Sanā'ī,⁸ pp. 402, 437 and 619; and Waḥdat, p. 599.

The two odes of Maulānā Rūmī imitated in the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow edition, pp. 508 and 559, are to be found in the *Dīwān-i-Shams-i-Tabrīz*,⁹ Lucknow edition, 1887 A.D., pp. 157-58 and pp. 227-28. See *Ḥayāt-i-Maulānā Rūm* by Shiblī Nu'mānī, p. 25. This statement is repeated with details in the *Hālāt-i-Shams-i-Tabrīz* by Munshī Muḥammad Dīn, pp. 45-46.

Ḥazīn's ideas are sublime and his language is chaste. A marked feature of his *ghazal* is its pathos—a clear indication of his painful life. He was

¹ *Makhzan*, July 1909, p. 11.

² d. 791/1389. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 148.

³ d. 691/1292. See *Ibid.*, p. 339.

⁴ d. 898/1492. See *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.

⁵ d. 835/1431. See *Ibid.*, pp. 315-16.

⁶ d. 925/1519. See *Ibid.*, p. 91. Ḥazīn considered Fughānī superior to Jāmi. See *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS., Pf. I. 24, f. 682.

⁷ d. 672/1273. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 194.

⁸ d. 525 probably. See *Ibid.*, p. 351.

⁹ d. 645/1247. See *Ibid.*, pp. 376-77.

considered to be a model for pathetic poetry. Munshī Amīr Aḥmad Mīnā'ī Lakhnawī says :

شعر پر درد جو لکھنے پہ طبیعت آئی
سامنے آئے مرے روح حزیں بیٹھ گئی

“ When I desired to write painful verses
Hazīn's soul came and sat before me.”¹

His *qaṣīdas*² are chiefly in praise (*ḥamd*). Hazīn has also imitated some of the famous *qaṣīdas* of Khāqānī, but has lagged behind the novel metaphors and vigorous expressions of the great master.

His *qaṣīda* beginning :

شد جان و هوش و صبر و خرد را زکار دست

is written in the same metre as the *qaṣīdas* of Kamāl Iṣfahānī and Salmān Sawijī as he himself says in the *maqṭa'*³ :—

در بحر این قصیدہ بسی غوطہ زد کمال
اما ندادش این گہر شاہوار دست
سلمان بسی بچشمہ فکرت فشرد پای
اما نیافت بر سخن آبدار دست

In his *U'adī'at-ul-Badī'at*, Hazīn has imitated Thanā'ī's *Hadīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat* but has not been able to do justice to himself. His *Kharābāt* is written in imitation of Sa'dī's *Bostān*; but according to Shirwānī⁴ is a much inferior work.

¹ *Maḥzan*, October 1909, p. 25.

² According to *Ārā'ish-i-Maḥfil*, p. 88 : his *qaṣīdas* are better than those of 'Urfī.

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 179.

⁴ *Hālāt-i-Hazīn*, p. 34.

Ḥazīn had been endowed with a wonderful memory. Writing in his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (Lucknow ed., p. 10) in 1154 A.H. he says that he still remembered some of the things of the days when he was a suckling. It was from memory that he wrote his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*.¹ In his *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āshirīn*, Ḥazīn has reproduced from memory hundreds of verses of some of the poets whom he mentions. It is also from memory that he reconstructed his *Fars Nāma*, *Maṭmah-ul-Anzār*, *Chaman-o-Anjuman*, *Kharābāt*, and *Tadhkirat-ul-'Āshiqīn*. See *infra*.

It does not seem profitable to trace here, from place to place, the earlier travels of Ḥazīn undertaken prior to 1154 A.H.; as a detailed description of all his travels up to that date is to be found in his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*. As, however, little notice has been taken of his travels subsequent to that date, I would like to give a somewhat more detailed account of his travels after 1154 A.H. For the sake of continuity let us begin a bit earlier.

During his travels, Ḥazīn visited most of the cities of *Khurāsān*,² *Dār-ul-Marz*, 'Irāq, *Fārs*³ and

¹ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 30.

² *Khurāsān* : Country of the "rising sun", from *Kur* "sun" and *asan* "rising."

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 966-67, *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Īrān*, Vol. II., pp. 179-211 and *Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb*, p. 147.

³ *Fārs*. . . . the ancient Persis or Persia in the narrowest sense, the ancestral home of the Persians, the province of Persia in the south-east of the modern *Īrān* with its capital *Shīrāz*, bounded in the north by 'Irāk

Ādharbāijān.¹ After two previous futile attempts mentioned in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (Lucknow ed., pp. 44 and 71) he finally started to perform the pilgrimage in 1143 A.H./1730-31 A.D.² He performed it in 1144 A.H./1731-32 A.D.³

The biographers of Hazīn are not agreed on the year in which he performed the pilgrimage. According to some he did so in 1143 A.H. According to others he only started to perform the pilgrimage in that year. According to yet others he went to the holy sanctuary in 1144 A.H. The year in which Hazīn performed the pilgrimage is, therefore, to be determined.

We know that he started for the pilgrimage in 1143 A.H.⁴ We also know that Hazīn returned from Mecca in Muḥarram 1145 A.H./June 1732 A.D.⁵

—
 'Adjamī, in the south by the Persian Gulf, in the east by Kirmān and in the west by Khuzistān.

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 70, *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Īrān*, Vol. II, pp. 214-42, and *Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb*, pp. 112-13.

¹ Ādharbāidjān,—a province in the empire of the Caliphs, bounded on the south-east by al-Djibal (the ancient Media), on the south-west by the eastern part of the province Djazira (the ancient Assyria), on the west by Armenia, on the north by the province of Arran (. . . . the countries of the Caucasus), and on the east by both shore-lands of the Caspian Sea, Mughān and Gīlān.

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 134-35. *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Īrān*, Vol. II, pp. 150-78; *Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb*, p. 75.

² *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716, f. 546; *Natā'ij-ul-Afkār*, Ḥatīb Ganj MS. 51/19, p. 170; *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51 f. 104b; *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, Bānkīpur MS. 704, f. 210b; *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, p. 193; and *Haft Āsmān*, A.S.B. ed., p. 162.

³ *Sham'-i-Anjuman*, p. 131.

⁴ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 97 and 99; *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51, f. 104b; *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716, f. 546; and *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, p. 193.

⁵ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 99.

We also know that the fact of Ḥazīn's performing the pilgrimage is mentioned only once in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (Lucknow ed., p. 99). We have to see whether Ḥazīn performed the pilgrimage in 1143 A.H. or 1144 A.H.

The year 1143 A.H. is impossible. Because, while at Bandar 'Abbās¹—prior to his departure for Mecca—Ḥazīn was informed through letters from Shāh Tahmāsp and other military friends about the defeat of the Iranians by the Turks and the consequent treaty of Hamadān.² This conclusively shows that Ḥazīn did not quit the shores of Īrān before 1144 A.H., viz., the year of defeat of the Iranians at the hands of the Turks near Hamadān.³

According to Master:⁴ "In 1144 A.H., when Nādir Shāh had taken Ādharbāijān from the Turks, Ḥazīn visited Iṣfahān and Shirāz and being unable to see the miseries of his countrymen, started on a pilgrimage."

The natural conclusion is that Ḥazīn prepared himself to perform the pilgrimage in 1143 A.H. (as is evident from the words:

در سنده یک هزار و یک صد و چهل و سه بزیارت بیت الله
میان عزیمت بر بست -

¹ Bandar 'Abbās.—a Persian seaport situated 56°-20' east lat. (Greenwich) and about 27° north lat. in the south-east of the province of Fārs, near Kirmān frontier.

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 699 and *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Īrān*, Vol. II, p. 247.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 99.

³ See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 616.

⁴ Master's Introduction to his translation of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. iii.

in the *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*)¹ but could only perform it in 1144 A.H. the year for the whole of which he was at Mecca.

Hazīn performed the pilgrimage in 1144 A.H. going from Bandar 'Abbās to Sūrāt; staying at Sūrāt for two months; proceeding to Judda; and thence to Mecca. Hazīn returned from the pilgrimage *via* Laḥsā, Bahrain, and Bandar 'Abbās in the month of Muḥarram 1145 A.H./June-July 1732 A.D.²

From Bandar 'Abbās Hazīn sailed for India (to be more exact Sindh) on the 10th of Ramaḍān 1146 A.H.³/14th of February 1734 A.D. in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh.⁴ Hazīn arrived at Tatta⁵ in the beginning of the month of Shawwāl⁶ (March) 1146 A.H./1734 A.D.

Shāh Nawāz Khān,⁷ Ghulām 'Alī Āzād,⁸ and Mirzā Aḥmad 'Alī⁹ would give us to understand

¹ *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716, f. 546.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Bombay ed., p. 99.

³ *Ibid.*, Lucknow ed., p. 116; *Mira'āt-i-Āftāb Numā*, Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 32/33 s.q., "Hazīn."

⁴ *Histoire de la Litterature Hindoui et Hindoustani* by Garcin de Tassy, Vol. I, p. 227; *Ārā'ish-i-Maḥfil*, Calcutta ed., p. 88; *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, Bānkīpur MS. 704, f. 211a.

Muḥammad Shāh d. 1161/1748. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 272.

⁵ *Tatta*, the capital of the preceding district (Tatta), situated on the banks of the Indus mention is made of Tatta so early as 92 of the Hijra, or A.D. 714 Even so late as 1742 A.D. when visited by Nādir Shāh, it was a place of considerable trade, since which date its decay has been uninterrupted. See Hamilton's *East India Gazette*, Vol. II, pp. 625-26.

⁶ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 116.

⁷ *Mira'āt-i-Āftāb Numā*, Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 32/33 s.q. Hazīn.

⁸ *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 225.

⁹ *Kitāb-i-Nujūm-ul-Āsmā fī Tarājim-ul-'Ulamā*, Lucknow ed., p. 283.

that Ḥazīn reached Tatta in 1147 A.H. While Saksenā¹ would have us believe that Ḥazīn reached Delhi in 1147 A.H. All of them are wrong: Ḥazīn reached Tatta in 1146 A.H. and Delhi in about 1149 A.H.

Firstly, because the voyage from Bandar 'Abbās to Tatta could not have taken Ḥazīn more than a month.

Secondly, there is no evidence to the contrary in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* to show² that Ḥazīn was forced to disembark and stay at any place during the course of his voyage from Bandar 'Abbās to Tatta.

Thirdly, whereas Āzād's statement in the *Sarw-i-Āzād* (p. 225) is confused, he clearly states in another place, viz., *Khizāna-i-'Āmira* (Lucknow ed., p. 194), that Ḥazīn was in Bakkar in 1147 A.H. where he exchanged interviews with Āzād and offered Āzād a copy of his (Ḥazīn's) verses in his own hand.³ If Ḥazīn had reached Tatta in Shawwāl 1147 A.H./February-March 1735 A.D., how could he be in Bakkar in the same year (1147 A.H.)—nine months later;³ as Shawwāl is the 10th month of the Muslim year. Moreover, it is interesting to note, that the meeting of Ḥazīn and Āzād took place at Bakkar, somewhere in the latter half of

¹ *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 47.

² See *infra*.

³ Because on his way to Bakkar, Ḥazīn stayed at Tatta and Khudā-Ābād for two and seven months respectively. See *infra*.

the year 1147 A.H. For Āzād was at Bakkar on his way to Delhi from Sewistān¹ which place he left in the middle of the year 1147 A.H.² As Āzād was in Lahore on the 7th of Rajab 1147 A.H./3rd of December 1734 A.D.,³ his meeting with Hazīn at Bakkar must have taken place in Jumāda I or II 1147 A.H./September-November 1734 A.D.

Fourthly, in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*,⁴ Hazīn says, that from the date of his arrival in India up till then he had seen the whole of the country from there (i.e., Tatta) to Shāhjahānābād in the past eight years. As the date of the composition of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* is the latter end of the year 1154 A.H. we thus get the exact date of his arrival in India, namely, the latter end of the year 1146 A.H.

Fifthly, none of the later dates tallies if we accept the date 1147 A.H.

The reading of the text in '*Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*'⁵ is rather vague on this point. It runs: "Hazīn came to Tatta and Bakkar at the age of 42 according to one statement and at the age of 46 according to Mullā Muḥammad Nazīr 'Alī Hamadānī." These give us the years (1103 + 42 =)1145 A.H. and

¹ Sewistān—a large province of Balochistān . . . extending southwards from Qandahār . . . It is divided into the districts of Jhalawān to the south and Saharawān to the north, which includes Nooshky in the desert and Mustang and Shāl to the northward. See Hamilton's *East India Gazette*, Vol. II, p. 526.

² See *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, p. 124.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 116-17.

⁵ '*Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rāmpur MS. 52, f. 56b; *ibid.*, Aurangābād ed., pp. 21-22.

(1103 + 46 =)1149 A.H.; both of which are wide away from the mark.

At Tatta Ḥazīn stayed for more than two months.¹ Leaving Tatta by a boat, he crossed Sewistān and reached Khudā-Ābād,² where he stayed for seven months.³ From Khudā-Ābād Ḥazīn again took a boat and reached Bakkar in (Jumāda I—II) 1147 A.H./1734 A.D. He stayed at Bakkar for one month⁴ (up to Sha'bān 1147 A.H./December-January 1734-35 A.D.). From Bakkar Ḥazīn slowly made his way for his destination Delhi *via* Multān where he stayed for two years (up to Sha'bān 1149 A.H./December 1736 A.D., and Lahore where he stayed for about three months (up to Dhī'l Qa'da 1149 A.H./March 1737 A.D.)

Ḥazīn reached Delhi in the end of 1149 A.H. roughly; as is referred to in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*⁵, in the following passage:—

مجملاً از حین ورود به شاه جهان آباد تا حال تحریر که
آخر سال اربعه و خمسين و مائة بعد الف است سه سال و
کسری گزشته که درین بلده اوقات بسر رفته .

“In short, from the time of entering Shāhjahānābād up to the moment of writing, which is the latter end

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 117.

² Khudā-Ābād, ruined town in the Dādū taluka of Lārkanā District, Sind, Bombay, situated in 26°40' north and 67°46' east 16 miles north-east of Sehwan on the North-Western Railway, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XV, p. 284.

³ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 117.

⁴ *Khizāna-i-Āmīra*, p. 193; *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 225.

⁵ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 117-118.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

of the year 1154 A.H., it is something more than three years that I have been living in this city." This gives us (1154 A.H. - 3 + x =) 1151 A.H. which is the date of Ḥazīn's coming to Delhi for the second time and taking an abode there—as we shall see presently. 1151 A.H. minus 1 gives us 1150 A.H., i.e., approximately the year of Ḥazīn's arrival at Delhi for the first time.

The year 1147 A.H. given by Ḥusain Qulī Khān¹ as the date of the arrival of Ḥazīn in Delhi is at once disproved by a consideration of the dates immediately preceding. The meeting of Ḥazīn and Ārzū placed by Beale² in 1147 A.H./1734 A.D. in Delhi is also incorrect. The date 1151 A.H. given by Master³ is also inexact. According to Niẓāmī,⁴ "Ḥazīn came to India after it had been plundered by Nādir Shāh in 1737 A.D./1146 A.H." Every bit of this statement—including the Christian year 1737 A.D. as corresponding to the Muslim year 1146 A.H.—is incorrect, except the year 1146 A.H. which by chance turns out to be true: being the year in which Ḥazīn came to India. In the *Yad-i-Baiḍā*⁵ it is stated: "In these days he has come to the capital, Delhi." This should not be construed to mean that Ḥazīn came to Delhi in 1148 A.H. which is the date

¹ *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716, f. 546.

² *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 386.

³ Master's Introduction to his Translation of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. iii.

⁴ *Qāmūs-ul-Mashāhīr*, p. 200.

⁵ *Yad-i-Baiḍā*, Bānkīpur MS. 691, f. 65.

of composition of the improved edition of the *Yad-i-Baidā*. Because the information contained in this book was supplemented even after 1153 A.H. See article on *Āzād* published by Sayyid Wajāhat Ḥusain in the *J. R. A. S. B., Letters*, Vol. II, 1936, No. 2, pp. 128-29.

In his *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Panjab University MS. PF. I. 24, f. 681. *Ārzū* says that *Ḥazīn* came to India about 15 years ago. Counting from the date of composition of the work, viz., 1164 A.H., it gives the exact date 1149 A.H.

On reaching Delhi, *Ḥazīn* put up in the house of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk.¹ After more than a year's stay in India² and about a month's (*Dhi'l Qa'da-*

¹*Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Aurangābād ed., p. 22. *Ḥazīn* has composed the following enigmatical chronogram on the death of *Anjām* :—

بشبیونی دلِ غم‌دیده در خروش آمد
 که شور و لوله حشر در جهان افتاد
 * * * * *
 چو قرعه بر شرفِ دولتِ وصال زدند
 درین میانه بنامِ امیرِ خان افتاد
 * * * * *
 قلم بتعمیه کرد این رقم بتاریخش :
 ز فرق فخر و شرف تاج زیب و شان افتاد

(ش + ز) = 1466 - (7 + 300) = 1466 - 307 = 1159 A.H. (فخر و شرف)

²In the following passage in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 121 :—

قهرمانِ قضا بدھلی رسانید و مدتِ یک سال افزون اقامت
 نموده هجومِ هموم بی آرام ساخت و عزم بر بیرون رفتن ازین
 ممالک مصمم شده .

the words *افزون اقامت نموده* do not go with the words : *قهرمانِ قضا بدھلی رسانید* immediately preceding it, as that brings us near 1150 A.H. If so, how could *Ḥazīn* be in Lahore in 1149

Dhi'l Hijja 1149 A.H.) stay at Delhi.¹

Hazīn was disgusted with the country and he returned to Lahore in Dhi'l Hijja 1149 A.H. with a view to go back to Īrān or Khurāsan.² At Lahore he heard the news of the arrival of the Qizilbāsh army with a view to subjugate the fort of Qandahār,

on his return from Delhi, if he was at Delhi in 1149 A.H. (roughly). See p. 91.

¹ Because we learn from *Letter XXVII* addressed to Nawwāb Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, that Hazīn reached Lahore in Dhi'l Hijja 1149 A.H.

² و مدت یک سال افزون اقامت نموده هجوم هموم بی آرام ساخت و عزم بر بیرون رفتن ازین ممالک مصمم شده مراجعت بلاهور کردم و پیش نهاد خاطر این که از صوب کابل به قندهار رفته مملکت خراسان هر گوشه که اتفاق شود عزلت گزینم، مقارن وصول به لاهور خبر رسیدن لشکر قزلباش به قندهار به قصد تسخیر و استرداد از ید افغانه و محصور ساختن آن قلعه رسید، و مرا عارضه بیماری سخت بر بستر ناتوانی افکنده مدتی امتداد یافت و هوا گرمی گرفته ایام برسات و شدت بارش این دیار در رسید و اقامت در لاهور ده طول انجامید -

Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl, Lucknow ed., pp. 121-22.

According to *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. P.F.I. 24, f. 170: "Hazīn wanted to return to his motherland as no one recognized his merit then; and, because his delicate nature could not agree with the hardships of the time."

The remarks about the delicacy of Hazīn's nature are unacceptable. Hazīn was used to hardships from a very early time: and with Nādir Shāh there in Īrān, his return could not have meant anything but a speedy and tortuous death. Yet, Hazīn was more willing to court an honourable death elsewhere than to lead a disgraceful life at a court where intrigue and flattery played a paramount part and which he describes in one of his *qaṣidas*. See *Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn*, Lucknow ed., pp. 190-93. Also see *Tuḥfat-ul-Ālam*, p. 52:—

و باز به آن حال دو سه مرتبه بقصد عود بایران تا بلاهور
و آن نواح رفت و بسبب عوائق رفتن میسر نیامد -

to liberate it from the hands of the Afghāns, and to besiege it.¹ Qandahār was at that time under the domain of Ḥusain, the brother of Maḥmūd. Nādir Shāh² marched his armies against, and besieged Qandahār on the 9th of Dhi'l Hijja 1148 A.H./21st of April, 1736; and conquered it on the 14th of Dhi'l Hijja 1149 A.H./15th of April, 1737 A.D.³ Hence the year of Ḥazīn's arrival at Lahore is 1149 A.H. Ḥazīn's *Letters* XXV and XXVII addressed to Nawwāb Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān show that he reached Lahore in Dhi'l Hijja 1149 A.H. This date fits absolutely with those mentioned in *Letter* XXVII referred to above. While at Lahore, he was taken ill and confined to bed for a long time.⁴

From Lahore Ḥazīn moved to Sulṭānpūr where he stayed for a few days; and thence he went to Sarhind. On hearing the news of the coming of Nādir Shāh, Ḥazīn retreated to Delhi. On Nādir Shāh's arrival at Delhi on the 9th of Dhi'l Hijja 1151 A.H., he concealed himself in the house of 'Alī Qulī Khān Wālih.⁵ On Nādir Shāh's departure from Delhi on the 7th of Ṣafar 1152 A.H., he went back

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 122.

² d. 1160/1747. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 288.

³ See *Wāqi'āt-i-Anand Rām Mukhlis*, Lytton Library MS. 112, ff. 3a-3b.

⁴ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 122 and 136.

⁵ *Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51, f. 105b; *Khizāna-i-Āmira*, p. 194; *Nishtar-i-Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716, f. 547.

to Lahore.¹ At Lahore Zakariyā Khān,² the Governor of Lahore, wanted to harm Hazīn, but on a letter from Wālih, Ḥasan Qulī Khān Kāshī³ (the brother of Wālih and a messenger from Muḥammad Shāh to Nādir Shāh) safely conducted him back to Delhi.⁴ At Delhi Hazīn concealed himself in the house of Qizilbāsh Khān (Ummīd).⁵ He retired from the city in the company of two or three attendants after some days.⁶ In the meanwhile he had written (in his poetic and prose compositions) many insulting and ridiculing verses on India and the Indians. This displeased some literati who put down derogatory remarks about Hazīn in their own compositions and thus led many ignorant people to disacknowledge the merits of Hazīn.⁷ The remarks of Hazīn infuriated some of the poets of Delhi who

¹ According to *Tuḥfat-ul-Ālam*, p. 520, Hazīn went to Lahore twice or thrice with a view to return to Īrān.

² d. 1158/1745. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 426.

³ Sic in *Khizāna-i-Āmīra*, p. 194; *Naghma-i-Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66a, has Kāshānī.

⁴ *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51, f. 105; *Nishtar-i-Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716; and *Khizāna-i-Āmīra*, p. 194.

⁵ *Naghma-i-Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66a.

Ummīd d. at Akbarābād in 1156 A.H. See *Chamanistān-ush-Shu'arā*, Hyderabad ed., p. 28.

⁶ بشهر در آمدم و بعد از ایام چند از آن شهر شوریده اوضاع

با دو سه خدمتگاران گوشه گرفتم

Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl, Lucknow ed., pp. 137-38.

⁷ *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, Bānkīpur MS. 704, f. 210b.

Hazīn is not mentioned in the list of contents of the *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, Bānkīpur MS. 704. See *Bānkīpur Catalogue*, Vol. VIII, pp. 137-42. In the aforesaid catalogue (18) Mullā Jāmī; f. 138b; is followed by (19) Sayyid Maulānā Ḥusainī Sadāt with the *takhalluṣ* Husainī. This is incorrect. The order should have been: (18) Jāmī; f. 138b; (19) Hazīn; f. 210b; (20) Ḥusainī; f. 138b; and so on.

wrote answers to his satires. Finding his stay there inadvisable, Ḥazīn left Delhi in 1161 A.H.¹ and moved to Akbarābād. Staying there for a few days he determined to go to Bangāl² and with that object he went to (Muḥammadābād) Banāras.³ He reached Banāras in 1161 A.H. as we are told by Āzād.⁴ Moreover, there exists in the Rāmpur State Library a *bayād*⁵ of Ḥazīn written at Banāras in 1161 A.H. This conclusively shows that Ḥazīn was at Banāras in 1161 A.H.

Then Ḥazīn set for 'Azīmābād in Patna—not with the intention of leaving India as we are told by Ghulām Ḥusain,⁶ but at the request of Rāja Rām Narā'in, poetically surnamed Mauzūn, the Governor of 'Azīmābād, who was a pupil as well as a friend of Ḥazīn.

¹ *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 225. According to *Kitāb-i-Najūm-ul-Asmā fī Tarājim-ul-'Ulamā*, p. 284: Ḥazīn left Delhi in 1171 A.H. This is incorrect. See *supra*. According to *Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51, Ḥazīn was at Delhi at the time of the composition of the MS., viz., 1161. See *supra*.

² *Bangal*—the largest and most populous province of British India. See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 695-96. According to *Mardum-i-Didah*, Ḥabīb Ganj typed copy, p. 49, and *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, Bānkīpur MS. 704, f. 211a, it was with a view to proceed on a pilgrimage that Ḥazīn went to Bangāl.

³ *Benaras*: or Banāras (also called *Kāshī*), a holy city of the Hindus, United Provinces, on the right bank of the Ganges. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 693.

⁴ *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 225.

⁵ *Bayād-i-Ḥazīn*, Rāmpur MS. 38. This is a beautiful MS. The Rāmpur MS. is the only copy of the *bayād* known to me.

⁶ *Siyar-ul-Muta'akkhirīn*, p. 615:—

چند بار آن عالی مقدار تا به عظیم آباد رسیده عازم بدر
رفتن از خاک سیاه هند بود تقدیر مساعدت نه نمود.

Mahābat Jang, Shahāmat Jang, and Şaulat Jang sent many letters to Hazīn, repeatedly requesting him to come ; but every time he made an excuse and did not agree to go and stay with them.¹

There are many indications of Hazīn's returning to 'Azīmābād more than once. One letter in the Dastūr-ul-Inshā', Rāi Mathūrā Prashād's MS., f. 180b, tell us that Hazīn was present in the Hawelī near the 'Īdgāh in Patna city on the 6th of Dhi'l Hijja, 5th year of the succession, i.e., the 15th of November 1752 A.H./1166 A.D. Another undated letter in the same collection, f. 284b, also speaks of Hazīn's arrival at Patna.²

Hazīn stayed at 'Azīmābād for a few days. He left 'Azīmābād because the atmosphere of the place did not suit him.³ The following descriptive account of Hazīn's advent in Patna is to be found in the Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām :⁴ " Due to wilful starvation and advanced age, he had been reduced to extreme weakness and leanness when he first entered 'Azīmābād. Moreover, his infirmity and sickliness did not allow him to proceed further. So he stayed in that city for a few years." This is incorrect as we find him back in Banāras after a couple of years. Also according to Āfāq :⁵ " Hazīn lived at 'Azīmābād for many years." This statement is also

¹ Siyar-ul-Mata'akhhirin, p. 615.

² Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1938, p. 85. Also see *Ibid.*, December 1938, p. 766.

³ Safina-i-'Ishrat, Bānkīpur MS. 699, f. 187b.

⁴ Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām, Bānkīpur MS. 704, f. 211a.

⁵ Āfāq's Tadhkira-i-Hazīn, p. 25.

hollow in every respect for the reason stated above ; and, especially if *Āfāq* means that Ḥazīn stayed at 'Azīmābād for many years on first entering it. There is, however, every possibility of Ḥazīn's returning to 'Azīmābād and then staying there for some years. In fact, there is some indication of his staying at 'Azīmābād for some time in his Letters, which please see. Also see *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, Bānkīpur MS. 704, f. 211a :—

بالجمله شيخ اين هر دو شهر [عظيم آباد و بنارس] را
مسکن و مقر خود قرار داد و بر گشتن بعمل می آورد .

Giving up the thought of Bangāl, Ḥazīn returned from 'Azīmābād to Banāras in about 1163 A.H. He selected Banāras for his abode and built for himself a tomb there.¹ Muḥammad Riḍā² says : “ He built himself an abode with a garden and a mosque as well as his tomb.”³ According to Durgā Dās :⁴ “ He built there two mosques, his tomb and some other buildings.” Both Muḥammad Riḍā and Durgā Dās are wrong. Ḥazīn built at Banāras his tomb ; two mosques ; a house ; and a garden. No mishap has happened to the tomb. Of the two mosques only one remains—that to the right of the Rauḍa of Bībī Fātima. This is a small mosque made of mud. It was meant for Ḥazīn's private use only. The other mosque existed on the left of the Rauḍa. It was also a small

¹ *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716, f. 548.

² *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus., MS. Or. 1811, f. 66a.

³ *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716, f. 548, incorrectly says that the tomb is known as Faṭimān. For Faṭimān see *infra*.

⁴ *Safīna-i-'Ishrat*, Bānkīpur MS. 699, f. 188a.

mosque. Now that site is occupied by a bigger mosque constructed by Ḥakīm Muḥammad Ja'far in 1336 A.H./1917-18 A.D. Space for the bigger mosque was provided by demolishing the original smaller mosque and the western room of Ḥazīn's house. This unwise step was taken in order to provide room for the people who assemble in Fāṭimān, in the compound of the tomb of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn, on various occasions; and all of whom could not be accommodated in the smaller mosque at the time of offering prayers. In so doing Ḥakīm Muḥammad Ja'far and his associates have destroyed, for ever, historical buildings which were important both from the view of their antiquity and association with Ḥazīn.

About the original mosque there is only one documentary reference available in Saiyed Maḥzar Ḥasan's *Tāriḫ-i-Banāras* (p. 426) published in 1916 A.D./1334-35 A.H. It is as follows:—

“This mosque was constructed in 1167 A.H. when Ḥazīn was 64¹ years of age. The Shaikh composed the following chronogram:—

جبه بر خاک نه درین مسجد کز برای عبادتست این جا
بهر تاریخ این بنا هاتف گفت درگاه حاجتست² این جا

“Put thy forehead on the ground in this mosque
Because this place is meant for worship.
For the date of this building the Guardian-Angel.
Said: “It is the court for (obtaining) needs.”

¹ Maḥzar Ḥasan in his *Tāriḫ-i-Banāras*, p. 426, incorrectly gives 66 years.

² In the text it is incorrectly written as *حاجت است*. Read thus it gives the date 1168 A.H. But scansion does not permit this reading. Hence it must have been written as *حاجتست* in the original inscription.

ا + ج + ن + ی + ا + ت + ت + س + ت + ج + ا + ح + ا + ه + گ + ر + د
 4 + 200 + 20 + 1 + 5 + 8 + 1 + 3 + 400 + 60 + 400 + 1 + 10 + 50 + 3 + 1
 = 1167 A.H.

As already mentioned above, only the eastern room and some western portion of the house remain now. The garden has disappeared altogether. It was purchased by Qitlaq Sultān Begam for the tomb of her husband. See *infra*.

All the above-mentioned buildings are situated in the compound called Fāṭimān.

Ḥazīn had an immense liking for Banāras about which place he says :—

از بنارسِ نروم معبدِ عام است اینجا
 هر برهمن پسری^۱ لچھمن و رام است اینجا

“I wouldn't quit Banāras; here there's a universal temple;

Every Brahman boy here is a Lachhman or Rām.”

It was on account of political reasons that Ḥazīn renounced Īrān for India.² Accord-
 Cause for leaving Īrān. ing to Ḥazīn's own statement he was suspected³ of having a hand in the rebellion of the people of Lār resulting in the murder of Walī Muḥammad Khān Shāmlū, poetically surnamed Masrūr, the Governor of Lār,⁴ appointed by Nādir Shāh. On the other hand, Wālih (a contemporary

¹ *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811 f. 66a has بیچہ

² “He fled into Hindustān from his native country to avoid the persecution of Nādir Shāh in 1146 A.H./1733 A.D.”

Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 159. Also see *Tuḥfat-ul-'Ālam*, p. 520.

³ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 107.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Belfour's ed., p. 214.

writer and Hazīn's quondam friend, whose account of the event and those immediately following it, given in the *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā*, fully agrees with that of Hazīn given in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*) definitely charges Hazīn with the above-mentioned crime, and holds him responsible for it.¹ Wālih proceeds to say that, leaving Hazīn at Bandar 'Abbās, he came to India. But after ten days Hazīn also joined him at Tatta and on enquiry told him that the very incident had rendered his stay in Irān impossible, and that, consequently, he had left for India.²

Some of the ridiculous reasons assigned to

¹ See *Riyād-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 630/51, f. 104b:—

به بلده لار تشریف آوردند، بعد از یک دو ماه اهل آن شهر بسرکردگی میرزا باقر کلانتر هجوم کرده وقت طلوع صبح بخانه ولی محمد خان مغفور شاملو متخلص به مسرور که آن وقت از جانب قهرمان ایران حاکم بوده ریخته خان مشارالیه را مقتول و از آنجا به نزد شیخ آمده اظهار عمل شذیع خود نموده و قرار به مخالفت قهرمان ایران داده لوائی مخاصمت افراختند..... حضرت شیخ و کلانتر مزبور و مردم شهر به حراست حصار قدم افشردند، چون مردم قلعه آن شهر با این جماعت متفق نبودند کار بایشان تنگ شده پای ثبات شان لغزید، آخر الامر نصف شب از یک طرف شهر بر آمده متفرق گردیدند، و جمعی از آنها دستگیر و بعضی طعمه شمشیر شده و برخی جان سلامت بردند، لهذا تهمت قتل ولی محمد خان و حدوث این فتنه بر گردن شیخ افتاده بهزار زحمت خود را بسواحل عمان رسانیده.

² *Idem.*

Ḥazīn's coming to India are as follows :—(1) Ḥazīn came to India in search of livelihood ; after squandering away his father's property.¹ (2) It was destiny that brought him here.² (3) Ḥazīn came to Delhi charged with a crime.³ (4) In the *Nigāristān-i-Fārs* two contradictory and equally unacceptable reasons are ascribed to Ḥazīn's coming to India. They are : Firstly, that he repaired to India after having despaired of the conditions in Īrān ; and to arrange the affairs here (see pp. 207-208). Secondly, that Ḥazīn came here to take help from India as Bābur⁴ and Humāyūn⁵ had done before ; and to liberate Īrān from the atrocities of Nādir Shāh⁶ and the Afghāns (see pp. 209-210). (5) Ḥazīn was expelled from Īrān by Nādir Shāh because the former happened to

¹ *Qāmūs-ul-Mashāhīr*, p. 200.

² *Yad-i-Baiḍā*, Bānkīpur MS. 691, f. 65.

³ *Khulāṣat-ul-Afkār*, Bānkīpur MS. 712, f. 219a.

⁴ d. 937/1530. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 91-92.

⁵ d. 963/1555. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 162-163.

⁶ In the following quatrain given on p. 762 of the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*. Lucknow ed. :—

تا چند زمانه فتنه اندوز شود
هر گوشه کمان کین سیه توز شود
زیبید که جهانیان به پشیمی نخرند
ملکی که بکام پوستین دوز شود

Ḥazīn hits at the low origin of Nādir Shāh. Āzād in his *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 209, is doubtful about the origin of Nādir Shāh. Sykes in his *Persia*, p. 93, throws sufficient light on the point.

In the *Bayān-i-Wāqī'*, Imperial Library of Calcutta MS. 50, f. 92, the same rubā'ī is quoted. From this rubā'ī the author of the *Bayān-i-Wāqī'* deduces that Imām Qulī Beg, the father of Nādir Shāh, was a *postin-sewer*. He proceeds to say that the edict of Ḥazīn is not to be

be a friend of the Ṣafawīs.¹ (6) Ḥazīn came to India at the time of the usurpation of Īrān by Nādir Shāh; in order to take for Īrān help from Muḥammad Shāh: being well aware of the claims of the Ṣafawī emperors² over the Timurid emperors (of India)³ and quite ignorant of the nature of the rulers, amīrs, soldiers, and subjects of the country,—none of whom would make the acquaintance of any one without an object.⁴ (7) “Ḥazīn came to India due to: (a) the dominion of Nādir Shāh over the land of Īrān; and (b) the disagreement of the times and his nature.”⁵ The latter portion of Ārzū’s view does not seem to be sound. And (8) when Nādir Shāh conquered Īrān, Ḥazīn became disgusted with that place and hurried towards India.⁶

relied upon as he happened to be an enemy of Nādir Shāh and had left Īrān out of fear of Nādir Shāh.

It is a well known historical fact that, on his accession to the throne, Nādir Shāh declared Sunni-ism to be the state religion of Īrān and engaged in a general persecution of the Shī’as.

The atrocities of the Afghāns over the Iranians (especially on the Shī’as of Lār) are recorded in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 102-104. Ḥazīn says that, in the persecution, the Shāfi’is (which is one of the 4 sects of the Sunnīs) were spared. See *ibid.*, p. 104. All these oppressed people repaired to Ḥazīn for help. See *ibid.*, pp. 102-105.

¹ *Naghma-i-Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or., 1811, f. 66a.

² I have translated the word “Salātīn” by “emperors.”

³ This refers to the help taken by Humāyūn from Shāh Tahmāsp of Īrān when the former was expelled from India by Sher Shāh Sūrī.

The reading in the *Tuḥfat-ul-Ālam*, p. 520, is “Salātīn-i-Bāburiya”. The Mughal emperors of India were, no doubt, the descendants of Bābur but they were not generally called Bāburia or Baburies. On the other hand, they were simply called Mughals—from their original home in Mangolia, and Timurids—from Amīr Tīmūr who was the ancestor of Bābur.

⁴ *Tuḥfat-ul-Ālam*, p. 520.

⁵ *Majma’-un-Nafā’is*, Punjab University MS. PF. I. 24, f. 169a.

⁶ *Safīna-i-Hindī*, Bānkīpur MS. 715, f. 22b.

As regards the fact of his departure from Bandar 'Abbās Ḥazīn says: "In Bandar 'Abbās there were a few servants of Khān-i-Mu'azzam (i.e., Nādir Shāh). Just then there arrived a few men of Muḥammad Khān. Both the parties were aggressing and rebelling. One day a few helpless people were oppressed very much. At seeing this, my perturbed mind lost all its forbearance; my heart sank; and I determined to leave that land."¹

By his assiduous refusal both to see the emperor Muḥammad Shāh and to allow the emperor to see him, Ḥazīn permanently lost the emperor's favour.² Ḥazīn also infuriated the poets of the imperial capital (especially Ārzū and Thabāt by speaking ill of the former and criticizing the deceased father of the latter). He further lost the sympathies of the people of India in general and the inhabitants of Delhi in particular on account of his pungent satires on India. According to Saiyid 'Abd Ullāh:³ Ḥazīn did so due to the troubles that he experienced in the course of his travels, and his own nature. Ḥazīn's flimsy satires on the people of Kashmīr created for him yet another multitude of enemies.

All these facts together, coupled with the murder of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk on the 23rd of Dhīl Hijja 1159 A.H. and the death of Muḥammad Shāh on the 27th

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 115-116.

² See *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Aurangābād ed., p. 22.

³ *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, May 1929, p. 45.

of Rabī'-ul-Awwal 1161 A.H., left Hazīn unprotected and unshielded for the time being and rendered his stay at Delhi impossible; and eventually he left it for Banāras¹, in 1161 A.H.² never to return again.

During his stay at 'Azīmābād, Hazīn went out, one day, to see the city. He saw the river Ganges flowing to the north of the city and the canal called Jilla to its south. This reminded Hazīn of the deluge in Multan.³ He thought to himself: "Should both the river and the canal flood at any time, the city of 'Azīmābād which is situated between the two will invariably be overflooded. It is not, therefore, wise to stay at such a place." Hence, he left 'Azīmābād for Banāras. Thus according to Āfaq.⁴ But according to Durgā Dās:⁵ Hazīn left 'Azīmābād because the atmosphere of the place did not suit him.

The emperor 'Alī Gauhar, the nā'ib-wazīr Shujā'-ud-Dawla⁶ (the Nawwāb of Oudh), and 'Alījāh Qāsim Khān paid a visit to Hazīn.⁷ "Shudjah-ed-doula and Mir-cassem having repeated the visit, as if to take their leave, were honoured with Qhylaāt of a rich Dopata

His visitors.—
'Alī Gauhar.

¹ See *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib*, Rāmpur MS. 57, f. 263.

² *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 225.

³ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 120 for description of the inundation of the Sindh and the loss in Multān.

⁴ Āfaq's *Tadhkira-i-Hazīn*, pp. 25-26.

⁵ *Safīna-i-Ishrat*, Bānkīpur MS. 699, f. 187b.

⁶ Shujā'-ud-Dawla was the son of Mansūr 'Alī Khān Safdar Jang. . . . he was born in the year A.D. 1731/A.H. 1144 and after the death of his father succeeded to the Government.

⁷ See *Infra*.

each;¹ and this was bound round their turbans not by the holy man himself, but by his steward.²

On his way to India Ḥazīn met Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmi³ in Bakkar in 1147 A.H. (See *supra*). On this occasion Ḥazīn presented a copy of his poems written with his own hand to Āzād.⁴ Of these poems the following verses are quoted in the *Nigār*:⁵

پیش از ظهور جلوه خانانہ سوختیم
 آتش به سنگ بود کہ ما خانہ سوختیم
 * * * * *
 نکرد غرق طوفان کشتی بی لنگر عاشق
 بود دریا نمک پرورده چشم تر عاشق
 * * * * *
 به جلوه های رسا سرفراز می آئی
 مگر ز غارت عم دراز می آئی
 کبر به خلوت خاص صدف نمی آید
 چنین کہ در دل اهل نیاز می آئی

Rāja Balwant Singh of Banāras was very fond of Ḥazīn. He used to respect him and provide for his needs. Balwant Singh used to visit Ḥazīn. The Shaikh also used to meet the Rāja very sincerely and tried for the perpetuation of the life and rulership of the Rāja; as is evident from the recommendation that Ḥazīn

¹ In another place (Tr. of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirīn*, Vol. II, p. 176, footnote 84) Raymond says: "He (Ḥazīn) gave them each a Qhylaāt and a Dopata . . ."

² Raymond, Tr. of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirīn* Vol. II, p. 524 footnote 275

³ d. 1200/1756. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 86.

⁴ *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, p. 194; *Yad-i-Baidā*, Bānkīpur MS. 691, f. 65.

⁵ *Nigār*, March 1930, p. 24.

made to Shujā'-ud Dawla as already narrated in the account of the aforesaid Rāja at the time of his intention to conquer the fort of Chinār Garh and Shujā'-ud-Dawla's taking notice of it.¹ A brief account of Hazin's recommendation of Rāja Balwant Singh to Shujā'-ud-Dawla is as follows:—

At the time when Nawwāb Şafdar Jang deprived Mīr Rustam 'Alī of all the Chahār Sarkār and handed them over to Rāja Mansā Singh and Shaikh 'Abd Ullāh, he also separated the fort of Chinār Garh and handed it over to Mirzā Aḥmad Beg who was an Īrānī. Mirzā Aḥmad died in 1166 A.H./1752 A.D. and left a young son named Āghā Jānī. In consideration of the services rendered by Aḥmad Beg, the Nawwāb allowed Āghā Jānī to succeed his father and to remain in command of the fort; and appointed Āghā Mīr (a servant of his father) to act as his agent.

At the death of Şafdar Jang in 1169 A.H./1756 A.D., Rāja Balwant Singh got an opportunity and conspired with Āghā Mīr. But somehow or other Shujā'-ud-Dawla came to know of it. Marching with an army with the intention of deposing the Rāja, he camped at Jaunpūr. Out of fear of the Nawwāb, Rāja Balwant Singh left his residence at Gangā Pūr and went along with his family to the hilly tract of Laṭīf Pūr. The Nawwāb pitched his tents in Banāras. Nawwāb Shujā'-ud-Dawla was highly displeased with the misdemeanours of Balwant

¹ See *Tārīkh-i-Banāras* by Maḥzar Ḥasan, p. 425.

Singh and had determined to deprive him of the whole State. At Shujā'-ud-Dawla's order a boat-bridge was put across the Ganges and the artillery and infantry were set in pursuit of the Rāja.

When Nawwāb Shujā'-ud-Dawla went to see Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazīn at Fāṭimān, the Shaikh gave him a bit of affectionate advice, saying : " Rāja Balwant Singh pays his instalment of gold in time and keeps his subjects prosperous and happy. He should not be ruined. Moreover the hilly paths are difficult to traverse and the army will not find it easy to pass through them. What is the good of taking undue trouble over a small affair and destroying the creation of God ? " But being extremely angry at the time, the Nawwāb did not listen to his advice. For details see Mazhar Ḥasan's *Tārīkh-i-Banāras*, pp. 191-193.

At the time that Ḥazīn entered Banāras, the place was under the sway of Mahārāja Balwant Singh. The Mahārāja desired to despatch a nobleman of his court to enquire of Ḥazīn whether he had come down to Banāras merely as a traveller or had a mind to settle there. The courtier submitted that he had not got the guts to do it. The Mahārāja thereupon determined to go himself. He went to Ḥazīn and questioned him about the state of affairs. Ḥazīn replied : " I am a traveller no doubt : but if you allow me to do so, I would construct a hut here and live therein. The Mahārāja consented to it on the term that Ḥazīn would coach his son, Kumār Chet Singh. Ḥazīn agreed to

it on the condition that the Kumār would himself come up to Hazīn to take his lessons.¹

Mahārāja Balwant Singh loved hunting and was extremely fond of chasing lions. He was dissuaded from doing so by Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Hazīn in whom he had a firm faith and whom he used to visit now and then. The Shaikh used to tell the Mahārāja : "The poor animals graze a little grass and do a bit of copulation. Why then destroy a hundred sweet souls of the animals for a moment's joy²?"

Poetically surnamed Khushgū met Hazīn twice. The earlier meeting took place at Bindra Ban Dās.³ Delhi. On this occasion, Hazīn was reciting and abundantly praising the following rubā'ī of Mu'izzī :⁴

ای شاه زمین بر آسمان داری تخت
سست است عدو تا تو کمان داری سخت
چله سبک آری و گران داری رخت
پیری تو بتدییر جوان داری بخت

"O king of the earth! thou hast thy throne on heaven;
Soft is thine enemy when thy bow is stretched hard.
Light is thy charge and heavy thy stay
Thy counsel is old : thy fortune young."

Another meeting of Hazīn and Lāla Bindra Ban Dās, the author of *Safīna-i-Khushgū*, took place at Banāras, on the return of Hazīn from 'Azīmābād.

¹ *Sham'*, January 1927, p. 15.

² For details see *Tārīkh-i-Banāras*, Bānkīpur MS. 608, f. 113a.

³ For his life : see *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, ff. 197-198.

⁴ *Safīna-i-Khushgū*, Lytton Library MS. 34, Vol. I, S. V. "Mu'izzī."

Khushgū sent a few verses to Hazīn and requested an audience which was granted. On that occasion Hazīn recited some verses of his own of which we quote the following two:¹ —

فـرـیـب زـنـدـگـانـی خـورـده نـاکـم اسـت مـیـدانـم
 درین خـواب اذیـتـه نـتـوان دـید آـرام اسـت مـیـدانـم
 * * * * *
 انا ذکـه خـاک راد قـرا تـوتـیا کـنـد
 بی پـوده کـو بـدیده در آئی چـها کـنـد

Ghulām Husain, the author of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, met Hazīn at Banāras where he went to see him after taking leave from his friends. Ghulām Husain was then in the retinue of 'Ālijāh, who after his defeat by the English had withdrawn himself to some place about 6 or 7 Karoh from Banāras. See *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, pp. 743-744. The defeat of 'Ālijāh and his withdrawal to Banāras took place at the end of Rabī' II or beginning of Jumāda I, 1177 A.H.

Ghulām Husain used to visit Hazīn for about 5 months commencing with the above date and terminating with the return of 'Ālijāh to Banāras in the company of the emperor Shāh 'Ālam² and Shujā'-ud-Dawla in the middle (or end) of Ramadān, 1177 A.H.³

¹ See *Safina-i-Khushgū*, Bānkīpur MS. 690, ff. 182b-183a.

² d. 19th November A.D. 1806/7th Ramadān A.H. 1221, See *Oreintal Biographical Dictionary*, p. 361.

³ *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, p. 746. Āfāq in his *Tadhkira-i-Hazīn*, p. 33, places the departure of Ghulām Husain from Hazīn on the 3rd of Jumāda II, 1179 A.H./17th of November, 1765 A.D.

Was the son of 'Abd-ul-Ghanī Beg Kashmīrī. At first he was an office-bearer in the Kingdom. Finally, due to his contented nature, he relinquished his office thinking it to be incompatible with his disposition. He used to pass his days in a dervish's garment in Delhi. He looked only to the exterior and was provident. He used to meet everyone with a great lowliness and humility. He was delicate of imagination like his father. He used to recite his verses with perfect affection and affliction.

Along with a few followers of his he went to see Shaikh 'Alī Hazin one day. The Shaikh was bored by his meeting and remarked high-mindedly : "I used to hear that dacoities fall in India : it may be the same."

Girāmī died in 1156 A.H. See *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Punjab University MS. APF. I, 15, f. 475b.

Hakīm Beg Khān Lāhorī visited Hazin on two successive days at Banāras. In the *Mardum-i-Didah*¹ Hākīm says : "On the first interview I had not taken with me any of my verses. Hazin asked me to recite some of my verses but I replied that I did not remember any. I went to him again in the morning on the following day; carrying with me some of my latest verses. Hazin gave me a leaf of his latest verses in memorium."

¹ *Mardum-i-Didah*, Habīb Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 50.

Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain had met Ḥazīn. Ḥusain was a resident of Ajudhya.¹ He made the friendship of Ḥazīn at Banāras.² He died at Banāras in 1205 A.H. and is buried close to the tomb of Ḥazīn.³

Named Nawwāb Amīn-ud-Dawlah 'Azīz-ul-Mulk 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, with the *takhalluṣ* Khalīl, the author of *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, visited Ḥazīn at Banāras. Khalīl says⁴ that Ḥazīn used to live his life by enjoying the pinings of esoteric pain and shedding tears. Ḥazīn paid special attention to Khalīl and presented him with some autograph treatises.

Named Mirza Muḥammad Fākhir Makīn, was the son of Muḥammad Aṣhrāf. Due to the invasion of the forces of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī and the approach of numerous misfortunes, Mirzā Muḥammad Fākhir Makīn Dehlawī left Delhi for Lakhnau in the year 1173 A.H. From Lakhnau he left for Banāras in order to meet Ḥazīn. Lastly, he returned to Lakhnau.⁵

While examining the anthology of Aṣhrāf 'Alī Khān, Makīn objected to the use of the word *تَرْثِيب* in a qit'a of Mīr 'Āqil Kautharī, saying: " *زیب* is an Irānī word. To form *تَرْثِيب* and *مَرْثِيب* out of it is

¹ *Subḥ-i-Gulshan*, pp. 135-136.

² *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, p. 178.

³ See *Subḥ-i-Gulshan*, pp. 135-136 and *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, p. 178.

⁴ *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, Bānkīpur MS. 704, f. 211a.

⁵ For details see *Natā'ij-ul-Afkār*, Lytton Library MS. 36, f. 418.

a sign of ignorance. Alas! that people should commit such errors. "Saudā, while criticizing this remark in his *Risāla-i-'Ibrat-ul-Ghāfilīn*, under the heading Ta'rib wa Tafrīs, says: "The objection of Fākhir Makīn is a hit at the ignorance of Shaikh 'Alī Hazīn, because Ashraf 'Alī Khān had copied this qit'a of Kautharī from the bayād signed by Hazīn." Saudā justifies Hazīn by quoting from Khāqānī and Awhādī and referring to Amīr Khusrau.¹

The following verses of Hazīn contained in the *Tadhkira* of Ashraf 'Alī Khān were also criticized by Makīn :—

میگرفتیم بجایان سر راهی گاهی
 او هم از لطف نهان داشت نگاهی گاهی
 چه عجب گر نگهش داشت سر الفت ما
 برق را هست نوازش و گیاهی گاهی
 دو سه روزیست که نزدیکه نگه وین عجب است
 نه توانی ز من آمد نه گناهی گاهی

In the 2nd hemistich of the 1st verse, Makīn substituted the word *بما* for the word *نهان* used by Hazīn. See *Risāla-i-'Ibrat-ul-Ghāfilīn* (printed along with the *Kulliyāt-i-Saudā*) Newwul Kishore ed. Sept. 1887 A.D./Dhi'l-Hijja 1304 A.H., p. 54. In the 2nd hemistich of the 3rd verse Makīn replaced *ثوابی* by *خطائی*. The usages of Hazīn are defended by Saudā in the *Risāla-i-'Ibrat-ul-Ghāfilīn*, p. 55.

Two more verses of Hazīn objected to by Makīn are also to be found in the *Risāla-i-'Ibrat-ul-Ghāfilīn*, p. 55.

¹ See Saudā. Deccan ed. p. 351.

The meeting of Makīn and Ḥazīn is also mentioned in the *Sham'-i-Anjuman* (p. 416) and *Gul-i-Ra'nā* (Curzon Collection MS. 511, f. 369b) and *Rūz-i-Rūshan* (pp. 647-48).

Makīn attempted to improve the verses of Ḥazīn in the reign of *Shujā'-ud-Dawla*.¹

"During the stay of *Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Raḍā-i-Matīn* in Lakhnau, the *Shaikh* and *Mirzā Fākhir Makīn* used to occupy the seats foremost of all the other poets in the symposiums held there. Someone injured the feelings of *Mirzā* through an initial verse of a poem. The *Mirzā* remonstrated in a complaining *qaṣīda* in the metre of *Anwarī's qaṣīda*. The *qaṣīda* is entitled *Miḥḍar-ul-Amān*. The name of the *qaṣīda* yields the date of composition 1171 A.H.² In the *qaṣīda* Makīn says³ :—

کاملِ نکتہ سنجِ غیرِ خزینِ به علی گسر درین زمان باشد
 ہم بجایِ متین کسی نرسد هر چه گوئی جای آن باشد
 غیر ازین یک دو خسرو معنی که سخن پای تخت شان باشد
 دیگری را چه زهره در بر من که چنین گوید و چنان باشد
 خنده خواهد بریش خویش زدن خود چو او شاخ زعفران باشد

Makīn died on the 21st of Muḥarram 1221 A.H.⁴

His name is Mir Saiyid 'Alī. He belonged to

Mushtāq. Iṣfahān. One day Ḥazīn invited him to undertake a journey to India. Mushtāq replied : "Accompany me to the

¹ *Ūd-i-Hindī*, 'Aligarh ed., p. 132.

² This date shows that Makīn had also been to Lakhnau in 1171 A.H.

³ *Gul-i-Ra'nā*, Curzon Collection MS. 511, ff. 369b-370a.

⁴ *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, p. 647.

bath. Let us sprinkle its water there ; let there be a fire in the hearth and let us have fans in our hands : that is the very atmosphere of India." Mushtāq died a few years before Hazīn.¹ He died in 1170 A.H.²

A mad poet of Jaunpūr came to see Hazīn in Banāras and out of a claim for equality of status he took his seat on the very bed which was reserved for Hazīn.

The Shaikh disapproved of it and remarked :

“درین بزم ره نیست بیگانه را” (In this assembly there is no place for strangers). Qarīn replied :

“که پروانگی داد پروانه را؟” (whoever gave permission to the moth?) The Shaikh was highly pleased on hearing this and inquired about his state of affairs.

Qarīn recited this verse :

سرم از سنگ طفلان لاله زار است جنون گم کرده ایام بهاری

(My head is a tulip-bed through the stones of the boys ;
Madness has destroyed the days of spring).³

Qāsim Khān. See 'Alī Gauhar, *supra*.

Mirzā Muḥammad Ja'far, poetically surnamed Rāhib, was born at Iṣfahān. He was a Saiyid and a descendant of the Ṣafawī emperors. He was for some time a class-fellow of Hazīn. He is the tutor of 'Alī Qulī Khan Wālih.⁴ He was born in the year 1118 A.H. at Iṣfahān and died in 1166 A.H.⁵

¹ See 'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā, Aurangābād ed., p. 52.

² Rūz-i-Rūshan, p. 628.

³ See Tārīkh-i-Bandras by Maḥzar Ḥasan, p. 424.

⁴ See 'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā, Aurangābād ed., p. 29.

⁵ Khizāna-i-'Āmira, Lucknow ed., pp. 246-247.

M. Raymond, a French Creole who has assumed the Muslim name of Ḥājī Muṣṭafā and who translated the *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirīn* into English under the pseudonym of Nota Manus, according to his own statement¹ visited Ḥazīn twice in 1764 and 1765 A.D.

Raymond. See 'Ālī Gauhar ; *supra*.
Shujā'-ud-Dawla.

Ḥazīn made the friendship of Mirzā Muḥammad Ridā', poetically surnamed Ummīd, and popularly called Qizilbāsh Khān Ummīd, in Delhi (c. 1150-1159). They used to enjoy the company and verses of each other. One day Ḥazīn went to see Ummīd in the latter's house. At the very moment Ummīd was busy drinking wine. Unaware of the fact, Ḥazīn proceeded in the direction of the house. Perceiving no other place of rest or concealment, Ummīd threw down the curtain of the house and on the approach of Ḥazīn recited the following verse from within :

شیخ تشریف ببر بنوم شراب است اینجا
دامت تر نشود عالم آب است اینجا

"Please return, Oh Shaikh! it is a drinking banquet here.

Lest your skirt gets moist ; it is drinking bout here."²

Ummīd came to Delhi in 1150 A.H. and died there in 1159 A.H.³

¹ Raymond's Tr. of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirīn*, Vol. II, p. 176, footnote 84.

² *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716, ff. 165-166.

³ See *Sarw-i-Āzād*, pp. 209-210. According to *Chamanistān-ush-Shu'arā*, Hyderabad ed., p. 28, Ummīd d. in 1156 A.H. at Akbarābād.

Nūr-ul-'Ain Wāqif¹ visited Shaikh 'Alī Hazīn at Banāras. Before Wāqif could divulge his identity Hazīn enquired of him : "بواقف واقفی؟" "Are you acquainted with the acquaintance?" or, "Are you acquainted with Wāqif?" To which Wāqif replied : "واقفم." "I am acquainted : " or, "I am Wāqif."

After some formal talk Hazīn asked him for his verses. Wāqif read out his verse :

بہمراہ پدر تا چند ای زیبا پسر گودی
الہی بی پدر گودی الہی بی پدر گودی !

"How long would you roam about with your father, O lovely chap!

Would! you become fatherless! Would! you become fatherless!"

Hazīn improved it thus :

بہمراہ پدر تا چند ای کافر پسر گودی
خدا سازد یتیمت تا گران قیمت گھر گودی !

"How long would you roam about with your father, O infidel chap!

God make you orphan (unique); that you become a precious pearl!"

Then Wāqif recited the following verse :—

سیہ چوری بدست آن نگارِ نازنین دیدم
بشاخِ صندلین پیچیدہ مارِ عنبرین دیدم

"I saw black wristlets on the wrist of that coquettish beloved :

I beheld an embergris cobra coiled round a Sandal shoot."

¹ d. about 1190/1776. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 414.

Hazīn remarked:

در تمام ولایت بگردیدم شعر دمدار اکتون شنیدم

what is the need for all this length?— only the following would do:

سید چوری بدست آن نگاری بشاخِ صندلین پیچیده ماری

“Black wristlets on the hand of that beloved
Is a snake twisted round a Sandal shoot.”

Wāqif accepted both the corrections.¹

According to *Wahshat*:² Wāqif read out the following verses at the request of Hazīn who enjoyed them greatly:

هر آنچه بشکفت الا دل من ای وا دل من ای وا دل من
یارب چه سازد با سنگ طفلان نازک دل من مینا دل من

“Every bud blossomed, except my heart.

Alas my heart! alack my heart!

O God, what should with the stones of the boys do

My delicate heart;—the flask of my heart!”

Seal-ring.

The following inscription was inscribed on the Seal-ring of Hazīn:

‘*Alī ibn-i-Abī Ṭālib*.³

It served the double purpose of (1) being a seal-ring containing Hazīn’s *alias* (‘Alī) and his father’s name (Abī Ṭālib); and (2) bearing the full name (‘Alī ibn-i-Abī Ṭālib) of the 1st Shi’ite Imam (peace be upon him).

¹ See *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 226. Also see *Tārikh-i-Banāras* by Mazhar Hasan, p. 423.

² *Maḥzan*, December 1909, p. 23.

³ ‘*Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rāmpur MS. 52, f. 58. *Ibid.*, Aurangābād ed., p. 22; *Mardum-i-Didah*, Habīb Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 48. *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. PF. I. 24, f. 169a.

The inhabitants of Banāras—whether Hindus or Musalmans—were extremely reverent towards Hazīn. They came over long distances to see him ; and prided in having seen him.¹ Hazīn lived at Banāras for a long time in such a manner that people suspected him of receiving Divine help and of knowing alchemy,² and having the jinn under his control ; for he spent thousands of rupees every month.

Āzād's³ explanation for Hazīn's thriftlessness and extravagance (without there existing any ostensible means of his income) is :— (1) Hazīn's qanā'at (self-contentedness) ; (2) the help that he received from Muḥammad Shāh ; and (3) the secret help that he received from the chiefs of the time, especially the Nawwābs of Oudh, Murshidābād, Bihār, and Bangāl.

Āzād's explanation, reproduced above, is not a nice one. (1) We have to further explain that, due to his qanā'at Hazīn remained satisfied with a very little portion of his income and squandered away the rest ; (2) the reference to Muḥammad Shāh takes us to a much earlier time. But this minor discrepancy can be bridged away when we recollect the permanent fiefs which Muḥammad Shāh had granted to Hazīn ; (3) there was no need for Hazīn's receiving secret help from any chiefs or Nawwābs. He could openly accept gifts from them—which perhaps he

¹ *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib*, Rāmpur MS. 57, f. 263.

² *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, ff. 66a-66b. Also see *Safina-i-Khushgū*, Bānkīpur MS. 690 f. 182a.

³ *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 216.

did so often ; and (4) in Banāras itself he received a large landed property (including Aurangābād) and other occasional help from Mahārāja Balwant Singh.

All the servants of Ḥazīn were men of noble birth, scholars of Arabic and Īrānī, well-groomed, well-related, and each one drawing between one to two hundred rupees per month. Ḥazīn did not converse with them, due to his natural obstinacy and the people thinking him to be proud became jealous of him.¹ According to Āzād :² Ḥazīn's servants cross-examined all his visitors by talking with them. If they considered the visitors worthy of audience they informed the Shaikh, else they dismissed them from without.

The people of Banāras also believed that Ḥazīn was a thaumaturge having certain revelation and the gift of miracles. They even say that the sun also submitted to him ; and that he could work—at his will—other miracles no less ordinary.³

It is mentioned in the *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 65a, that Ḥazīn had composed books on talisman, necromancy, captivation and augmenting.

Ḥazīn's occultism is proved from the following inscription⁴ :—

¹ *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66b.

² *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, pp. 210-211. This fact is illustrated there with examples.

³ *Memoire sur les Part. de la Relig. Musul. dans l'Inde*, p. 113; *Ārā'ish-i-Mahfil*, p. 89.

⁴ See Ḥabīb Ganj MS. Pers. 50/95, f. 106.

در دشت بلالہ جامِ لبریز رسید شیرین بیجہالِ مکشرا نگیز رسید
 خارا زخراشِ تیشہ آسود حزین فرہاد از کوه رفت و پرویز رسید
 ہر گاہ این رباعی را کہ متضمنِ اسمی عظیمست بر مار گزیدہ
 یا کز دم گزیدہ یا ہر چہ سمیتی داشتہ باشد خواہ سمِ حار و
 خواہ بارد چون بخوانند و خوانندہ آب دهن بر موضع گزیدہ بمالد
 فوراً دفعِ مضرتِ سم شود ہر چند افعی باشد، و اگر مدتی گذشتہ
 باشد و سم باعضا سرایت کردہ تا یازدہ بار تکرار نماید مضرت
 نرسد و از ہلاکت نجات یابد بعونہ سبحانہ۔

“ In the desert to the tulip a brimful cup is come ;
 With a resurrection-causing beauty Shīrīn is come ;
 The granite is relieved of the scratching of the adze O
 Hazīn !
 Farhād is gone from the mountain ; and Parwīz is
 come.”

“ Whenever this tētrastich, which contains an Ism-i-A'zam, is chanted over anybody bitten by a snake or a scorpion or anything poisonous—whether the poison be hot or cold—and the chanter applies his spittle on the place bitten, the harm of the poison will be repelled immediately ; no matter however venomous it be. And if some time has passed and the venom has permeated to the limbs, it should be repeated eleven times. There will be no harm and the person will be saved by His grace ; praised is He !”

All the Īrānī passage reproduced above is written on a piece of paper afterwards glued to the Habīb Ganj MS. Īrānī 50/96, f. 106. It is stated on the top of the inscription—in a different hand and ink of course—to be in the handwriting of Hazīn : and

a comparison with other accepted handwritings of Ḥazīn also leads to the same conclusion.

The following anecdote regarding the death of Mīr Ṣādiq, commonly called Miran, who was killed by lightning while lying asleep in his tent, on the night of Thursday, 19th Dhī'l-Qa'da 1173 A.H.,¹ and Ḥazīn's knowledge thereof, is related in the *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirīn*, p. 689:—When this news reached the glorious and august majesty, Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn (may God make him inhabit the highest heaven), he had a knowledge of all the circumstances and said: "Do you see the musketry of the World Above—how it fires into the canopies little by little."

Ḥazīn was a Shī'a by birth and faith. In his Religion. Dīwān IV² there are many fine qasīdas addressed to Ḥaḍrat 'Alī, Imām 'Alī Musā Riḍā,³ Imām Aḥmad bin Musā al-Kāzīm, and Imām Mahdī⁴—peace be upon them all. Ḥazīn's construction of his house, grave, mosques and garden at Fāṭimān; his composition of *Risāla-i-Imāmat*; *al-Ighāsat fi'l Imāmat*; *Risāla fi'l Imāmat*; and *Qasīda-i-Lamiyya* lend further support to this assertion. But Ḥazīn was not at all bigoted. There is not a word against Ḥaḍrat

¹ *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirīn*, p. 688. The *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 252, has 18th Dhī'l-Qa'da 1173 A.H. which is incorrect.

² For the dīwān see *infra*.

³ d. Friday 9th Ṣafar 203 A.H. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 57.

⁴ Disappeared 265 A.H./879 A.D. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 230.

Abū Bakr, Ḥaḍrat 'Umar, or Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān— (peace be upon them.) Orthodox though he was, Ḥazīn had a very broad-minded outlook and attitude not only towards all the various sects of Islam which he thoroughly studied and scrutinized, but also towards Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Sabaism; all of which he studied and investigated. He has also to say nothing against Hinduism—a religion which he had ample opportunities of studying during his 34 years' stay in India (1146 A.H.—1180 A.H.) and the major portion of it in the heart of their sacred city Banāras. (This is particularly interesting in face of the fact that he hypercriticizes Indian life and has written satires on the Indians.) On the contrary in one or two places Ḥazīn praises the solitude of the Brāhmans.¹

The following verse of Ḥazīn given in the *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*² is in praise of a Brahman boy :—

برهن زاده ز نار بندی برده ایمانم
که سودا میکند با کفر زلفش دین و دنیا را

Ḥazīn has also the following qit'a in praise of the Hindu beauties of Banāras :³

پری رخان بنارس بصد کرشمه و رنگ
پی پرستش مہدیو چون کند آہنگ
بہ گنگ غسل کنند و بہ سنگ پا مالند
زہی شرافت سنگ و زہی لطافت گنگ

¹ See *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 355.

² *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 67a.

³ See *Āfāq's Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, p. 32.

As a Muslim, Ḥazīn had an abundant affection for the worship and service of God, and took wonderful delight therein, keeping with lively devotion the holy days and nights and seasons. He was assiduous in the repetition of the appointed invocations. He did not neglect even the supererogatory acts of devotion and practical tradition.

In practice, Ḥazīn led the life of a Ṣūfī.¹ His excluded manners, extreme piety, perfect contentment, and whole-hearted hatred of all worldly glories and falsehood, are clear indications of a mode of life not unlike that of the Ṣūfīs.

According to Bahbahānī:² “Ḥazīn could not escape the censure of the people and was accused of believing in Waḥdat-ul-Wujūd (Pantheism); in spite of the fact that he had withdrawn from the world.” Bahbahānī strongly condemns the creed of Waḥdat-ul-Wujūd and quotes in his support³ a passage from the book *Mabdā'-wa-Ma'ād* of Mullā Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī. He proceeds to say:⁴ “After the practice of the gnostics and with a view to gain access to the intellects of his readers, Ḥazīn in his treatise [probably the *Taḥqīq-i-Ma'ād-i-Ruḥānī*] has quoted

¹ See *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rāmpur MS. 52, ff. 57-58; *Memoire sur les Part. de la Relig. Musul. dans l'Inde*, p. 113, footnote 1.

According to *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rāmpur MS. 52, ff. 57-58; *Ibid.*, Aurangābād ed., p. 22: “He had a great faith in Ghauth-ul-'Āzam Shaikh Muḥay-ud-Dīn Gīlānī, so much so that he was called Qadirī.” This is incorrect. There is nothing to corroborate it.

² *Mir'āt-ul-Aḥwāl-i-Jahān Numā*, R. A. S. B. MS. 278, f. 339.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 339.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 339-340.

a few allegories concerning Wujūd and the excessive affinity of the Creator to the creation—such as that of the river and the drop of water ; the ink and the words, etc. Some of the deficient—especially some of the theologians of Lakhnau—seized the apparent vocables and without any scrutinization and reflection arraigned him (*i.e.*, Hazīn) and some of the other eminent scholars such as Mullā Muḥsīn Kāshī, Shaikh Mitham Biḥrānī, and even Shaikh Bahā-i-'Amilī, of Sufism and asserting Waḥdat-ul-Wujūd. After explaining how Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī escaped the tongues of the deficient, and giving a quotation from Ḥaḍrat 'Alī, Bahbahānī proceeds to say: ¹ “ This is not all. The Shaikh (*viz.*, Hazīn) was also accused of renouncing the prayers, and it was, said that he had abandoned praying. So, because no one had seen him offer the prayers.” “ This,” says Bahbahānī, “ is, in fact, a strong proof of the height of Hazīn's rank and the profoundness of his accomplishment and learning. And I have proved it by experience that in this land, the more virtue and perfection a man has, the more are the people that envy him and bear him malice and enmity. More marvellous is the fact, that some of the foolish people have said that the Shaikh did not believe in the resurrection in spite of the fact that in his treatise (on Ma'ād) he had explained it very explicitly and perfectly.

¹ *Mir'āt-ul-Aḥwāl-i-Jahān Numā*, R.A.S.B. MS. 278, f. 341.

Hazīn is variously described as delicate or evil-natured. He was characterized by some of those peculiarities of temper which we too frequently have occasion to lament in men of genius. In fact, Hazīn was peevish in his latter life. The obvious reason for that is the vicissitudes of times and the tyranny of unfavourable circumstances.

Hazīn was born in a happy little family of scholars with a decent family income. Careless of pecuniary troubles, he led his boyhood, youth and early manhood in acquiring and imparting the fruits of knowledge. So long we find him as happy a man as ever one could be.

Then comes the turning point which turned his glee into gloom. We find him a constant prey to tragic shocks and unbearable hardships; and an unmistakable target to innumerable and interminable griefs—sufficient to undo any man. He lost his father in 1127 A.H. and his mother 2 years later (in 1129 A.H.) His surviving two brothers died in the prime of their youth in 1134 A.H. His native land, Īrān, to which he was so patriotically attached, was rummaged and devastated at the hands of the Afghans, Turks, and Russians, and the royal Şafawī family of his patrons exterminated by Nādir Shāh. Hazīn also lost many friends throughout Īrān. His library and all his possessions were lost in the sack of Işfahān, his birth-place. He was obliged to leave Işfahān, in 1135 A.H. Homeless and helpless he

travelled about for ten years with numerous bodily ailments added to his manifold mental afflictions. Lastly, in the new regime under Nādir Shāh, he was charged with high treason and compelled to leave Īrān for Hindustān in 1146 A.H. for fear of his life.

After many sufferings *en route*, he entered Delhi in about 1149 A.H. full of hopes : and was accorded a cold reception.¹ Broken-hearted at the failure of the people of India to recognize his merits, he intended to leave Delhi after one year's stay in India ; preferring to go back to Khurāsān or even to risk his life to Īrān than to stay in Hindustān. But fate would not have it so, and he had to stay all his life long in a place which he loathed so wholesomely. Later on, he lost the sympathies of the king, the courtiers, the court-poets, and the people of India in general and of Delhi and Kashmīr in particular.

The people of Kashmīr—against whom Ḥazīn had written some satires—revenged themselves on him by inducing Mullā Sāṭi' and other Kashmīrī poets to write satires against Ḥazīn. He was ridiculed in the public eye and left alone in a dangerous situation with hordes of enemies all around.

Then, bereaved of the royal patronage, he was obliged to leave Delhi for Banāras in 1161 A.H.

This in a nutshell is the account of the circumstances that turned Ḥazīn into an irascible, easily-excitable, and peevish man.

¹ See *Mardum-i-Didah*, Ḥabīb Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 49.

Character. Hazin was possessed of great self-respect. His proud and supersensitive nature did not allow him to court the patronage of kings and nobles. "As to myself, I had no disposition or ability for the acquisition of worldly riches; nor have I now: to have recourse to any person, and display to him my wants, to accept his favours or generosity, however many sincere friends I might 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."¹

Hazin had also a great love for humanity. "For myself, my nature is so framed that I cannot countenance any folly or iniquity, 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 a prohibition."² Also, to quote Hazin's own words, "In the province of the 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 well knew the people of India, and disgusted with their demeanour, was in utter hopelessness of any intellectual or discretion in them, I burnt with grief at the condition of the weak and depressed

¹ Belfour's Tr. of Hazin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, p. 113.

² *Ibid.*, p. 225.

subjects.”¹

Hazin was high-minded, sweet-tempered, of a delicate temperament, tender-hearted, and constantly lamenting. He could not stand Samā'. He talked in a low tone and used to introduce elegance and eloquence in his explanations.²

Throughout the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, Hazin praises himself and his compositions. He praises his *Qir'at* (*Ibid.*, p. 11) ; his *Sāqī Nāma* (*Ibid.*, p. 16) ; his *Dīwān I* (*Ibid.*, p. 32) ; his *Muddat-ul-'Umr* (*Ibid.*, p. 42) ; and his *Kharābāt* (*Ibid.*, p. 81). But perhaps his own verse justifies him when he says :³

لاثق مدح در زمانه چو نیست خویشتن را همی سپاس کنم

“ Since none in the world is worthy of encomium
I keep praising myself.”

Hazin asserts his supremacy over Hassān, Saḥbān, Anwarī, Tūsi, Raudakī, Niẓāmī, and Sa'dī. See *Kulliyāt-i-Hazin*, Lucknow ed., pp. 207, 236, 860, 895 and 905.

Hazin was primarily destined to sway the pen than to wield the sword. But he never spared himself a chance of serving his motherland.⁴ In addition to his patriotism, Hazin was also a sound judge of military affairs. In about 1135 A.H. he showed his sound knowledge

¹ Belfour's Tr. of Hazin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, p. 291.

² See *Āthār-i-Aḥmadi*, Saiyid Muḥammad Miyān Mārharwī's MS.

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Hazin*, Lucknow ed., p. 909.

⁴ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 66-67.

of politics by advising the courtiers of the king Sultān Ḥusain to leave over Iṣfahān to the Afghans: for, the whole of Īrān being at their back, they could have driven the Afghans out of the country. But nobody listened to Ḥazīn, and consequently they brought ruin on themselves.”¹

And again: During their stay at Banāras the king (Shāh ‘Ālam) and the Wazīr-ul-Mamālik (Shujā’-ud-Dawla) visited Ḥazīn one day. Ḥazīn enquired of them about the cause of their coming to Banāras. The Nawwāb (i.e., Shujā’-ud-Dawla) replied: “We are determined to expel the English from the province of Bangāl and the Peninsula of India.” The Shaikh smiled and said: “Fighting with these Indian armies (most of whom have not yet learnt to draw the scimitar or to hold the shield in hand, and have not seen the face of the battle-field or the wallowing of the liver-rent bodies) against the English (who are the world-masters in teaching warfare; and whose servants—according to what we see and hear—are constantly practising the items of warfare and learn very well the exercises of fighting with the gun which they have adopted as an implement of war) will probably not come off well, and turn to be the cause of your disgrace. Therefore, take care, and do not aim at contending against them. Follow the means of peace as long as you can. For they (i.e., the

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 52-53; Master's Introduction to his Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. ii.

English) would also like to remain in peace with you. But if you consider a war to be unavoidable, do not contemplate a battle array. But having chosen the selected horsemen and infantry out of your numberless armies, a number of horsemen should run on them. As the majority of their army consists of infantry, they shall not be able to compete with the horsemen in running. When they have been besieged and their supplies of victuals cut off, perhaps the order of their composure may fall into disorder, and you may envisage victory." The Nawwāb highly disliked the tone of the answer but out of respect he did not open his lips in answer and got up hastily. The Shaikh drew a sigh and said: "God protect the caravan whose leader is unaware of his own good and evil."¹

Somewhat different and abridged accounts of the above narrative are as follows: (1) When some time before the battle of Baksar, Shujā'-ud-Dawla (the Nawwāb of Oudh who intended to fight the English and support 'Ālijāh) came to see Hazīn, the latter in the course of the meeting very wisely and without hypocrisy advised the Nawwāb to refrain from attacking the English and to remain in peace with them, saying, "You are going to fight the English but you will not defeat them; for, though their armies are small in number they are

¹ *Tuhfa-i-Tāza*, Bānkīpur MS. 609 (ff. nil); *Ibrat Nāma*, Bānkīpur MS. 587, Vol. I, ff. 97b-98a, and *Balwant Nāma*, Rām Nagar MS. 124/23, ff. 90-91.

well disciplined.”¹ (2) The emperor ‘Ālī Gauhar alias Shāh ‘Ālam, Shujā’-ud-Dawla and ‘Ālijāh went to see Ḥazīn in 1764 A.D. But Ḥazīn advised them not to fight the English as the armies of the king, Shujā’-ud-Dawla (the minister) and ‘Ālijāh were undisciplined and untrained in the art of field tactics.²

Both in Īrān and India Ḥazīn was respected on account of his nobility, sanctity, and scholarship; and although he spent most of his time in or about the court and in company of kings and nobles he never wrote verses in their praise.

In the entire *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn* we fail to trace out even a single verse addressed to a king or noble.³ All his qaṣīdas are in praise of the Imāms. In a qaṣīda addressed to his father Ḥazīn says:⁴

دراندم بمدح بزرگان قلم	ز فرماندهان عرب یا مجرم
مگر مدح پیغمبر و آل او	که هر کس بگوید خوشا حال او
اگر سود دنیا غرض داشته	وگر از طمع دانه میکاشتم*
تفاخر کنان سروران جهان	خریدار بودند شعرم بجان
زبان می کشودم به نام یکی	شکر می فشانددم به کام یکی
نبودی دریغ از منشی ملک و مال*	ولی بود بر همت من و بال*

¹ See *Naghma-i-'Andalib*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66b; and *Memoire sur les Part. de la Religion Musal. dans l'Inde*, p. 113.

² *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, p. 746.

³ *Safina-i-'Ishrat*, Bānkīpur MS. 699, f. 188a has also noticed this point.

⁴ See *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 804.

By virtue of his not being a court-panegyrist, Hazīn considers himself superior to (1) Khāqānī :

نقصِ همتِ نگر که خاقانی زیرِ پایِ قزل سر اندازد¹

(2) Zahīr :

لوح از حدیثِ فیرتو شسته نیمِ ظهیر تا خامه ام طرازِ قزل ارسلان دهد²

and (3) Salmān :

سلمان نیم که خامه معنی نگار من آرائشی جریده نویانیمان دهد³

As he was never attached to any court as a panegyrist, life did not go smoothly with Hazīn. He was advised to take to court-life :

یکی از عقل زند لاف که بایست گرفت
دامنِ عاطفتِ شاهِ عطا بخشش و وزیر
آن یکی میدهم پند که در هند معجوبی
کام بی تربیتِ قدر شناسانِ امیر
یک ازین رخ کزدم مات که بایستی داد
مهرة طرح باین فیل نشینانِ کبیر
وان دگر ساز کند نغمه که بایستی ساخت
پرده مصلحتِ وقت ملائم چو حریر
سفله طعنِ غرورم زند و نخوتِ طبع
خر بطنی نسبتِ فخرم دهد و جاهِ خطیر
سخن بی سرو بن را نتوان شرح نوشت
سر اندیشه فرو برد بنخود کلکِ دبیر⁴

¹ *Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 183. It is a hit at the following verse of Khāqānī addressed to Qazil Arsalān :

زیرِ پایِ غم تو خاقانی پیل بالا سر و زر اندازد

See *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 428.

² *Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 186.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

This is not a new phenomenon in any way. About 500 years ago, we find Shaikh Sa'di in exactly a similar situation and being advised in the same strain :

گویند سعدیا بہ چہ بطال ماندہ
 سختی مبرکہ وجہ کفالت معین است
 یک چند اگر مدیجہ کنی کامران شوی
 صاحب ہنر کہ مال ندارد تغابن است
 بی زر میسرت نشود کام دوستان
 چون کام دوستان ندهی کام دشمن است¹

This shows that court-life in India in the 12th Century A.H. was very similar to that in Iran in the 7th Century A.H.

Hazin always remained of an independent nature.

Non-acceptance of
 Prime-Ministership
 and his indepen-
 dence.

Sycophancy, of all, was an art that he could not practise. "He was repeatedly solicited by the emperor

Muhammad Shāh (through the intercession of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk and other courtiers), to take over charge of the post of prime-ministership, but on each occasion Hazin declined to comply; because, he abhorred to stoop to worldly things and because he perceived the instability of the government.²

¹ Shiblī's Hayāt-i-Sa'dī, pp. 24-25. Shi'r-ul-'Ajām, Vol. II, p. 64.

² Cf. Siyar-ul-Muta'akkhirin, Vol. II, p. 615.

The fact of Hazin's refusal of the prime-ministership, along with the one reproduced in an Urdu translation in the daily Zamindār (dated the 29th of January, 1935, p. 3, column 4, under the heading Fukahāt and repeated in the same paper dated the 3rd of July, 1938, p. 5, column 5 under the heading Laṭā'if-ul-Adab) and one or two others, is the sole additional information alleged to be contained in a copy of the Tadhkirat-

When the minister Shujā'-ud-Dawla came to him (before the battle of Baksar in 1178/1764),¹ Ḥazīn did not pay him more than half a bow and said: "A whole bow is meet for kings; and escorting is reserved for the Mujtahids and 'Ulamā."²

It may be incidentally remarked here, that, independent though he was of the potentates, Ḥazīn was highly respectful towards the 'Ulamā. For example, he had a very great respect for Ḥājī Badī'-ud-Dīn about whom he used to say: "The whole of 'Azīmābād on the one hand is equal to Ḥājī Badī'-ud-Dīn on the other." "One day when Badī'-ud-Dīn was returning to his native place from Banāras where he had gone to see Ḥazīn, the Shaikh escorted him to the gate at the time of seeing Badī'-ud-Dīn off. At the time of the departure, Ḥazīn felt very sympathetic and blessed him abundantly."³

Throughout the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* and in most of his letters, Ḥazīn complains of illness. It is not, however, worthwhile to reproduce the time, place and duration of his illnesses. Suffice it to say that, due to his incessant travels which exposed him to varying weather

ul-Aḥwāl in the possession of Iḥsān Ullāh, the editor of *Zamīndār*, which he is scrupulously guarding from any sort of examination. The copy, I was told, also contains some verses of Rāja Rām Narā'in, a pupil of Ḥazīn. Apparently, the copy was prepared at the order of Rāja Rām Narā'in and the additional information interpolated at his instance. Anyhow, its publication is not likely to set the Tames on fire.

¹ Two other accounts of Shujā'-ud-Dawla's meeting with Ḥazīn are recorded in the *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 215.

² See *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66b.

³ *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn*, Vol. II, p. 620.

conditions and his constant worries coupled with his abstinence, Ḥazīn had permanently impaired his health. He had developed a sort of gout and often suffered from fever. Whereas we know all about his health in Īrān from his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, we have also to depend on his letters for information about his health in India which seems to be bad from his youth onwards. It is a well known fact, that, intellectual luminaries seldom have athletic bodies.

Ḥazīn remained a celibate throughout his life.

Celibacy.

In his youth, his parents and others urged him to marry. But he refused to give his consent out of his excessive love for learning and occupation therein. Nor did he marry at any subsequent stage. For, it is not mentioned in his autobiography. Moreover in his translation of Ghulām Ḥusain's *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn*, Vol. II, p. 176, foot-note 84, Raymond tells us about Ḥazīn as late as 1765 A.D.: "He (i.e., Ḥazīn) told me that he had never loosened the cordon of his drawers neither upon a lawful nor an unlawful occasion (such was his expression), and of course that he had never meddled with a woman."

We can hardly hope that Ḥazīn married in the last 2 years of his life, when he was already past 74 years of age and a constantly sick man. Especially so when we see that no mention is made of his marriage in any subsequent biography dealing with Ḥazīn's life.

Ḥazīn's misogamy resulted in the extinction of a

Regarding which Ḥazīn proceeds to say :

” و این سخن فقیر در نیافتم تا بعد از چند سال که فتنه و
خرابی در اصفهان پدید آمد “

“ I did not comprehend this speech, nor till after some years, when the disturbance and ruin of Iṣfahān took place.”

Towards the end of his life Ḥazīn retired to Banāras with only a few necessities; and perceiving in himself no more power of action he caused his tomb to be constructed¹ where he went sometimes on Thursdays to sit there and distribute some alms.² “ He used to pray there on Thursdays. Every Thursday he used to change, and give in charity the cover of the tomb.”³

At Banāras he passed his time in solitude. He did not visit the house of any one—rich or poor. He did not receive anything from anybody; rather he gave frequently to the poor as his means permitted.⁴ He passed an irreproachable life, and did not cherish any desire except that of union with God.⁵ He gave up all hope of ever returning to his native land. He was convinced of passing his

¹ *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716, f. 548; *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, p. 194; and *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirīn*, Vol. II, p. 615.

² *Memoire sur les Part. de la Relig. Musal. dans l'Inde*, p. 112 and *Ārā'ish-i-Mahfil*, Calcutta ed., p. 88.

³ *Naghma-i-'Andalib*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66b.

⁴ *Memoire sur les Part. de la Relig. Musal. dans l'Inde*, p. 113; and *Ārā'ish-i-Mahfil*, Calcutta ed., p. 88.

⁵ *Memoire sur les Part. de la Relig. Musal. dans l'Inde*, p. 113.

days and dying in India as he himself says :

بهند گشته زمین گیر ناتوانی ما
رسیده است به شب روز زندگانی ما

“ My weakness has become a paralytic in India.

The day of my life has drawn towards its night.”¹

According to Beale :² he was equally admired and esteemed by the Muslim, Hindu, and English population of the place.”

One waṣīyat of Ḥazīn is to be found in the Last Will. R.A.S.B. MS. 225, ff. 113a-113b. It is a short note of ethical contents.

It consists of pithy sentences. It is written in Īrānī with, of course, a little bit of Arabic in the beginning. According to the initial line, it is the last will of Ḥazīn addressed to some friend :—

وصیت که جناب شیخ صاحب و قبلة شیخ محمد علی حزین بنا
بر بعضی احباب خود نوشته بودند۔

This waṣīyat was written by Ḥazīn at the age of 70 years in 1173 A.H. :—

هفتاد ساله زندگانی سپری شد و با کسی بدی نکردیم و از
کس چشم نیکی نداشتیم³ بهمین سرمایه شکر آفریدگار داریم³

The above, however, is not the last will of Shaikh Muḥammad ‘Alī Ḥazīn ; strictly speaking so. Ḥazīn’s last will has been recently lost.⁴ References

¹ *Makhzan*, July 1909, p. 12.

² *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 159.

³ R.A.S.B. MS. 225, f. 113a.

⁴ A copy of the *Waṣīyat Nāma* was handed over to H. H. the Nawwāb of Rāmpur by Mirzā Fayād of Aurangābād, Banāras—the present superintendent of the tomb of Ḥazīn—at the time of H. H.’s visit to Fāṭimān. This might have been the original copy executed by Ḥazīn.

to the same are, however, to be found in the Ejectment suit and the Appeal; for which see *infra*. A copy of the *Waṣīyat Nāma* may be found out in the old Revenue Records in Banāras.

In the Suit it is called the "*Waṣīyat Nāma* which the late Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn executed in favour of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥasan."

In the Appeal the last will of Ḥazīn is called *Ṣurat-i-Ḥāl* and is said to have been appended to the same. According to the Appeal, the *Ṣurat-i-Ḥāl* described at length the various buildings in Fāṭimān.

The *Waṣīyat Nāma* was executed in 1177 A.H. See *infra*.

Ḥazīn died in the midnight¹ of Thursday,² the 11th³ of Jumāda I, 1180⁴ A.H./15th of October, 1766 A.D.

Death.

Another copy of the *Waṣīyat Nāma* is in the possession of Saiyid Ḥasan 'Askarī, Professor of History, Government College, Patna.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*. Rāmpur MS. 443, f. 2052; *ibid.*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1824, f. 317; and the *Tabṣirat-un-Nāzirīn*, Bānkīpur MS. 606, f. 650. The *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, Lucknow ed., p. 200 has "night."

² *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, Lucknow ed., p. 200, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*, Rāmpur MS. 443, f. 2052; *ibid.*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1824, f. 317.

³ *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, Lucknow ed., p. 200; *Tabṣirat-un-Nāzirīn*, Bānkīpur MS. 606, f. 650. 10th: according to *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*, Rāmpur MS. 443 f. 2052. 13th: according to *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* II, p. 310; and *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1824 f. 317.

⁴ *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, Lucknow ed., p. 200; *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 277; *Khulāṣat-ul-Afkār*, Bānkīpur MS. 712, f. 219a; *Tabṣirat-un-Nāzirīn*, Bānkīpur MS. 606, ff. 648 and 650; *Siyar-ul-Muta'akkhirīn*, Vol. II, p. 615; *Riyāḍ-ul-Afkār*, Bānkīpur MS., f. 41b; *Memoire sur les Part. de la Relig. Musal. dans l'Inde*, p. 113; *Qāmūs-ul-Maṣhāhir*, p. 200; *Haft Āsmān*, p. 164; *Mira'at-i-Āftāb Numā*, Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 32/33, f. 320; *Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Mādī*, Ḥabīb Ganj MS. Pers. 51/12 s. v.

Place of Death. Hazin died in Mahalla Kachi Sarā'i.¹

According to Muḥammad Ridā² : " Hazin went to the lavatory one day where, in the course of performing the

Circumstances of his Death.

Hazin ; *Tārikh-i-Muḥammadi*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1824, f. 317 ; Maḥzar Hasan's *Tārikh-i-Banāras*, p. 432 ; *Miftāḥ-ut-Tawārikh*, p. 348 ; *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 216 ; *Ārā'ish-i-Maḥfil*, p. 89 ; *Sham'-i-Anjuman*, p. 131 ; *Poets of the Pehlavi Regime*, p. 75 ; *Histoire de la Litt. Hindoui et Hindoustani*, p. 227 ; *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bānkīpur MS. 716, f. 548 ; *Manchester Catalogue*, p. 809 ; *Brockelmann's Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, Supplementband II, p. 613 ; *Bibliotheca Sprenger*, No. 1413, p. 79 ; *Munich Catalogue*, p. 39 ; Master's Tr. of Hazin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Introduction, p. iii ; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 159 ; *Sprenger's Catalogue*, I, 135 ; *India Office Catalogue* No. 677.

According to *Safina-i-Hindī*, Bānkīpur MS. 715, f. 23a, Hazin died in 1178 A.H.

Sir William Ousley in his *Oriental Collections*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 36 ; *Travels* No. 1, p. 417 ; and *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 408, places the death of Hazin in about 1779 A.D./1193 A.H. without giving his authority in any place. This mistake is also repeated by E. G. Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 115 ; but the correct date (1766-7) is given by Browne further on in *ibid.*, p. 227. Belfour in his Tr. of Hazin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, preface p. v, has also erred by following Ousley.

Mira'āt-ul-Aḥwāl-i-Jahān Numā, R.A.S.B. MS. 278, f. 339 ; and *Tuḥfat-ul-Ālam*, p. 521 give 1181 A.H.

Natā'ij-ul-Afkār, Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 51/19, p. 171 and *Kitāb-i-Najūm-ul-Asmā' fī tarājim-ul-'Ulamā*, p. 284 give 1183 A.H. as the date of Hazin's death.

According to Raymond : (Tr. of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, Vol. II, p. 524, foot-note 275) Hazin was 82 at the time of his death. This yields (1103+82=) 1185 A.H.

All the dates except 1180 A.H. are incorrect.

¹ See fly-leaf of *Kulliyāt-i-Hazin*, Rām Nagar MS. 84/163 where it is written :—

بتاریخ دهم ماه جادی الاول بوقت نیم شب روز چهارشنبه ۱۱۸۰
سنه یکهزار و یکصد هشتاد هجری در محله کچی سرای شیخ
صاحب و قبله شیخ محمد علی حزین اصفهانی صاحب این دیوان از
جهان فانی رحلت نمودند انالله وانا الیه راجعون

² *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66b.

ablutions, a corner of his mantle got polluted. He cut it away with a pair of scissors and told the people that his days had been tolled that day. And without suffering from any disease he completed his worldly and religious affairs and testaments and covering himself in a mantle in the afternoon¹ he surrendered his ghost."

Hazīn lived for 76² years 10 months and 13
Duration of Life. days.³

Hazīn was buried when 2 parts of the day had
Time of Burial. passed.⁴

Hazīn is buried at Fāṭimān in the tomb which
Place of Burial. he built for himself during his life-time.

Fāṭimān is an uneven tract of land mostly covered by graves of different shapes and sizes and constructed of different materials. Amongst other things it also contains the Rauda of Bibī Fāṭima,⁵ the wife of Hadrat 'Alī. The whole place derives its name from Bibī Fāṭima. The Rauda of Bibī Fāṭima is supposed to contain some of her sacred relics. It is said that among other relics of the saints that Hazīn possessed, there also was a cup of Bibī Fāṭima, the daughter of the Holy Prophet. It was

¹ Cf. p. 137, foot-note 1.

² *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*, Rāmpur MS. 443, f. 2052 has 80 years; *ibid.*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1824, f. 317 has 85 years.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*, Rāmpur MS. 443, f. 2052 and *ibid.*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1824, f. 317 has one month and 10 days.

⁴ *Idem.*

⁵ Also see: Preface, foot-note 9.

placed in Fāṭimān in the Rauḍa which only women can visit. The wife of the mujāwar¹ (Superintendent) of Fāṭimān told me that on 4 or 5 occasions that she entered the Rauḍa, she found it absolutely empty. This is not surprising. Whatever relics there were in the Rauḍa were taken possession of, and misappropriated by Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq, son of Mirzā Ḥasan, the executor of Ḥazīn; as long ago as 1207 A.H. as we learn from The Suit² :—

و موکل مدعا علیه که بی اثبات و بی حکم عدالت مرا بیدخل کرده
و آمدنی نذرات نقد و جنس و تبرک و غیره را ضبط نموده و بتصرف
آورده -

Fāṭimān also contains the imprint of the right hand of Hadrat 'Alī. It is made of a slate-coloured stone and is placed in a lowly room just outside the boundary of the tomb of Ḥazīn.

We have the following useful information in The Appeal (see *infra*) conveyed to the court by the Qāḍī-ul-Quḍāt (*i.e.* the Lord Chief Justice) and the jurisconsults while expressing their opinion as to the rights of the contestants :—

“The spot where Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn erected his tomb was, apparently, a thorny, uneven and unlevelled land, and that the Shaikh after having improved and brought it into a cultivable state, allotted a part of it to the tomb, and declaring the rest to be a mosque, he made a *waqf*

¹ For the Mujāwar's narrative of Ḥazīn and Fāṭimān see Preface.

² For details see His Executor.

of it. Contiguous to the spot in question are an apartment attributed to the Āstāna of Haḍrat Saiyid-un-Nisā Faṭimat-az-Zahrā and the Place of the Palm attributed to his eminence Haḍrat Shāh-i-Mardān (i.e., 'Alī). These are there since times immemorial. This circumstance has been fully dealt with in the Ṣurat-i-Hāl which he (Ḥazīn) has himself written and a copy of which is inserted among the proceedings."

Ever since the death of Ḥazīn there have been uninterrupted and incessant encroachments from all sides on the lands constituting Fāṭimān. The earliest instance on record is the sale of 7½ bigas of land by Maḥabbat 'Alī to Qitlaq Sulṭān Begam, widow of Prince Jawān Bakht, for the grave of the deceased husband of the Begam for a sum of Rs. 20 per mensem¹ :—

بیست روپیہ ماہانہ مسماۃ قتلوق سلطان بیگم بیوہ شہزادہ
جوان بخت بعوضِ ہفت و نیم بیگہ زمین دادہ محبت علی مزبور
برای مقبرہ شہزادہ شوہر بیگم مزبورہ برای محبت علی و وارثانش
مقرر کردہ بود۔

This relates to the northern portion of Fāṭimān which consisted of a garden, and which now forms part of the graveyard of Prince Jawān Bakht.

The eastern portion has been occupied by the graves of the Sunnis and the bracelet-sellers.

The southern portion has been encroached upon by the weavers of Banāras and the bracelet-sellers

¹ See The Appeal.

who have built residential quarters thereon. Information about this portion is to be found in 2 important documents : one is a Parwāna given under the seal of Rāja Chet Singh to the effect that 7 bīgas of land situated in the suburbs of Ḥabīb Pūrah, Ta'aluqa of Lotha, had been gifted out and declared free of all charge from the beginning of 1185 Faṣlī.

This Parwāna was written on the 15th of Ṣafar year 19 of Julūs-i-Wālā.

A true copy of the Parwāna (possessed by Mirzā Fayād of Aurangābād, Banāras) which I have been able to consult was given at the request of Mirzā Qāsim 'Alī on the 3rd of April 1789 A.D. by Kiel, Collector and Magistrate. It bears a 4-anna stamp. At the top it also bears the seal of Qādī Taqī 'Alī Khān and at the bottom right-hand corner a seal of the "Court of Collector and Magistrate, Benares."

The second is a Royal Mandate attached to the Criminal Suit No. 94, Thāna Chauk, under Sections 426 and 351, I. P. C., in the Suit for trusteeship by Muḥsin 'Alī Mirzā *versus* Mirzā Āghā 'Alī, resident of Maḥalla Fāṭimān Police Station, Banāras District. It was decided on the 12th of December '08 A.D. in the Court of Dubler Gwyen [?], Magistrate 2nd Class, Banāras.

The subject-matter of this Parwāna is almost synonymous with that of the previous one in continuation of which it is given ; except that the area mentioned here is 7½ bīgas instead of 7. It came

into force from the beginning of 1189 Faṣḥī. This Parwāna entrusted the land to Shaikh Mujib, Mutawwalī of the place.

It was written on the 13th of January 1783 A.D. corresponding to the 9th of Ṣafar, year 24 of Julūs-i-Wālā.

A true copy of the Royal Mandate (in possession of Mirzā Fayāḍ of Aurangābād, Banāras) which I have been able to consult was granted to Mirzā Qāsim 'Alī on 22-10-'08. It bears an 8-anna stamp and is signed by the "Revenue Record Keeper."

On the west Fāṭimān is bound by the 'Īdgāh.

The Mutawwalīs of Fāṭimān have been selling portions of the place on various pretexts. Amongst other things, places are sold to the heirs of the orthodox Shī'as for construction of graves for their dead. In some cases sites are bought up by living persons for construction of their graves when they are no more. The best buyers under both the categories are the Shī'a prostitutes who overbid one another in getting a place nearest the Rauḍa, in an earnest belief that the sins of all those that are buried near the Rauḍa will be forgiven for the sake of Bibī Fāṭima and that thus they will be able to go to Paradise no matter how great or abominable their sins have been. It is therefore that we find the marble graves of the 2 prostitutes named Husain Bakhsh (died 1283 A.H.) and Bī Yaman (died 1872 A.D.) standing on a highly raised platform close to the tomb of Hazīn and almost eclipsing it.

Once the average price paid for a piece of land sold for a grave was Rs. 200. But now the average price has fallen down to Rs. 20 only.

The difference in the prices can be explained as follows :—

Maḥabbat, one of the earliest Mutawwalīs used to get an income of Rs. 400 per annum from the trust property. This sum of Rs. 400 per year included the sum of Rs. 20 P.M. paid by Qitlaq Sultān Begam (see *supra*) ; and the sum of Rs. 10 per mensem in cash which Rāja Chet Singh had granted for the expenses of lighting a lamp on the grave of Hazīn (see *The Suit infra*) :—

ده روپيه نقد برای خرج روشنی چراغ و غیره راجه چیت سنگه
جهت خرج مقبره شیخ صاحب مقرر نمودند۔

This sum of Rs. 10 per month which was being received from the East India Company was misappropriated by Muḥammad 'Alī, son of Maḥabbat in his own name (see *ibid.*) :—

آنچه در ماهه نقدی مقرر نموده راجه چیت سنگه بود و حالا
از سرکار کمپنی انگریز بهادر بدستور قدیم مقرر است محمد علی پسر
محبت مذکور آن نقدی را بنام خود مقرر نموده۔

Besides the sums of Rs. 20 and Rs. 10 P.M. referred to above Maḥabbat and his sons also used to get other income from the lands as well as used to receive gifts and even used to cut away the trees standing on the estate (see *the Suit*) :—

و هر دو نقدی را و آنچه حاصل و نذرات آنجا می بود همه
محبت و پسرش بتصرف خود می آرند و روشنی چراغ و مرمت

مزارِ شیخِ صاحبِ و مکاناتِ متعلقهٔ مقبرهٔ هرگز نمی‌کردند بلکه اشجار را می‌بریدند۔

The present Mutawwalis are far worse off. In course of time the family has grown up. The sums fixed by Qitlaq Sultān Begam and Rāja Chet Singh are being no more received ; the gifts have dwindled away ; and Fāṭimān itself has been reduced to a small barren strip of land by the forefathers of the present day Mutawwalis. Hence they have to live upon selling sites for graves.

As it is today, the tomb of Ḥazīn is nearest the Rauda of Bībī Fāṭima.

The tomb of Ḥazīn is a simple grave built of red Tomb. stone on a raised platform. There is nothing elaborate or pompous about it. It is not even covered. A couple of feet away to north is a pedestal in which an earthen lamp is lit on nights.

On the tablet of the tomb there are the following sentences and verses which Ḥazīn caused to be carved thereon in his lifetime :—

On the top of the table is الله, the holy name of God, followed by يا محسن قد اذك المسئی, then there are the words

العبد الراجی رحمة ربه محمد المدعو بعلى ابن ابی طالب الجیلانی

At the foot of the table is the following verse :—

روشن شد از وصالِ تو شبهایِ تارما صبحِ قیامتست چراغِ مزارِ ما

“Our dark nights have brightened up through your union ;

The morn of Resurrection is the torch of our tomb.”

On the eastern side of the tomb is this verse :—

زبان دان محبت بوده ام دیگر نمیدانم

همین دانم که گوش از دوست پیغامی شنید اینجا

“ I've been a pupil of love and know nothing else ;

Only this much I know that, the ear heard a message from the friend here.”

And on the western side is the following verse :—

حزین از پایِ ره پیمای بسی سر گشتگی دیدم

سر شوریده بر بالینِ آسائش رسید اینجا

“ Through the path-traversing foot O Hazīn I've seen many troubles.

The mad head came to the pillow of peace here.”

Just above the word رسید in the second hemistich of the verse on the western side we have the date 1180 A.H. As the date is written in Arabic figures, the final zero is put under the figure 8 and not to its right. The whole of the inscription is in a good condition.

The tomb was visited by vast multitudes on the nights of Mondays¹ and Thursdays.² But with the passage of time it has lost a good deal of its original significance. It is not visited by any one except a casual traveller on Mondays, and the number of visitors seldom exceeds fifty on Thursday when the Shī'as offer their evening prayers in a mosque in the compound, and afterwards hold the *majlis* and engage in *marthiya-khwānī*. But

¹ *Mira'at-ul-Ahwāl-i-Jahān Numā*, R.A.S.B. MS. 278, f. 339.

² *Kitāb-i-Nujūm-ul-Asmā'*, p. 287.

during the ten days of Muḥarram all the place and the surrounding area is thickly crowded. Religious meetings are also held at Fāṭimān on the 20th of Ramaḍān and during the first 10 days of *chihlam* which falls in Ṣafar.

Ghulām 'Alī Khān Āzād has composed the following chronogram on the death of Ḥazīn¹:—

علامه عصر و شاعر خوب افسوس که از میانه برخاست
تاریخ وفات او نوشته "از فوت حزین حزین دل ماست"
ل + د + ن + ی + ز + ح + ن + ی + ز + ح + ت + و + ف + ز + ا
1 + 7 + 80 + 6 + 400 + 8 + 7 + 10 + 50 + 8 + 7 + 10 + 50 + 4 + 30 +
ت + س + ا + م
40 + 1 + 1 + 60 + 400 = 1180 A.H.

This chronogram is not incorrect as pointed out in the epilogue of the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn* (Lucknow ed., p. 1030) and Āfāq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, p. 34. The confusion has been occasioned by the word *ما است* which is incorrectly written as *ماست* in the *Khizāna-i-Āmīra*, Lucknow ed., p. 200. The word is written correctly (*ما است*) in the *Khizāna-i-Āmīra*, Lytton library MS. 920/20, f. 108b, which is supposed to be the original of the printed Lucknow ed. In the *Tabṣirat-un-Nāzīrīn*, Bānkīpur MS. 606, f. 651 also it is written as *ما است*; though the 2nd ا has been supplied in another ink and perhaps in a later hand. It should be noted, however, that, in chronograms the numeral values of letters are

¹ See *Khizāna-i-Āmīra*, Lucknow ed., p. 200; *Tabṣirat-un-Nāzīrīn*, Bānkīpur MS. 606, f. 651.

determined by the form in which they are written and not as to how they are read or pronounced.

We have the following chronogram by 'Abd-ul-Ghafūr Khān Nussākh¹ :—

پی سالِ ترحیلِ فوتِ حزین نوشتہ "غمِ جاودانِ حزین"

ن + ی + ز + ح + ن + ا + د + و + ا + ج + م + غ
1000 + 40 + 3 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 1 + 50 + 8 + 7 + 10 + 50 = 1180 A.H.

Shaikh Nawāz Muḥay-ud-Dīn Wāmiq Bilgarāmī has composed the following enigmatical chronogram on the death of Hazīn² :—

بہر تاریخِ وامق از سر آہ گفتہ ام بلبلِ ریاضِ جنان

آہ = ۱۱۸۰ or the beginning of آہ is ۱ = 1. Therefore the chronogram numbers:—

ن + ا + ن + ج + ض + ا + ی + ر + ل + ب + ل + ب + ا
1 + 2 + 30 + 2 + 30 + 200 + 10 + 1 + 800 + 3 + 50 + 1 + 50
= 1180 A.H.

Another anonymous enigmatical chronogram is as follows³ :—

تہی گشت ہیہات روی زمین ز شیخِ محمد علی حزین

ز = 7. is روی زمین

ز + ح + ی + ل + ع + د + م + ح + م + خ + ی + ش
300 + 10 + 600 + 40 + 8 + 40 + 4 + 70 + 30 + 10 + 8 + 7 +
ن + ی
10 + 50 = 1187; 1187 - 7 = 1180 A.H.

Another chronogram by a resident of Bilgarām is contained in the following hemistich⁴ :—

یک ہزار و یک صد و ہشتاد سال = 1180 A.H.

¹ See *Ganj-i-Tawārīkh*, Lucknow ed., p. 25.

² *Tabṣirat-un-Nāzīrīn*, Bānkīpur MS. 606, f. 651.

³ *Haft Āsmān*, p. 164; and *Miftāḥ-ut-Tawārīkh*, p. 348.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i Muḥammadi*, Rāmpur MS. 443, f. 2052; *ibid.*, British Museum MS. Or. 1824, f. 317.

The numeral value of the hemistich is also equal to 1180 :—

ی + ک + ه + ز + ا + ر + و + ی + ک + ص + د + و + ه +
 10 + 20 + 5 + 7 + 1 + 200 + 6 + 10 + 20 + 90 + 4 + 6 + 5 +
 ل + ا + س + د + ا + ت + ش
 300 + 400 + 1 + 4 + 60 + 1 + 30 = 1180 A.H.

“He (Ḥazīn) spent a thousand rupees per month, but at his death he was found to be reduced to his last thirty-four mohurs or double guineas, whether his familiar sensible of his approaching end, had ceased his supply, or his servants, had made away with the rest.” So, according to Raymond.¹ But the explanations of the familiar ceasing the supply or the servants making away with the rest are superfluous. We, naturally, expect no hoarding on the part of Ḥazīn, once that we realize that he was not a worshipper of gold ; and, that he spent his income like an extravagant lord.

Mirzā Ḥasan was Ḥazīn's executor. Archæological as well as documentary evidence is available concerning Mirzā Ḥasan. Now we proceed to the archæological evidence :

At a stone's throw from the tomb of Ḥazīn towards the eastern boundary of Fāṭimān, and lying at the south-west corner of the Sunnī Imām Bāra (now in the possession of the Churṡāre or bracelet sellers) there is a tomb made of red stone of which

¹ Raymond's Tr. of Hidāyat's *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, vol. II, p. 524, footnote 275.

the outer pillars have already crumbled down but of which the main body is still in tact, although not immune from the inclement effects of the seasons to which it is exposed all the year round.

The inscription on the tomb is reproduced below as neither the tomb nor the inscription have been noticed hithersofar :—

هو

العبدالراجی رحمة ربه

اللهم لك الحمد الحسن منى الصلوة والتسليم على حبيبك ووصيه
وعترته وذريته بالتعظيم هذا عبدك الحسن ببايك المقيم فروح وربك ان
وجنات نعير الله هو الرقيب وكان دنا او كان قصا فلم يدعنا و منا
برحوم¹ لعبده و على التاريخ يووى الحسين الرقيب مثوى حسنا.

1199

دریغا که رفت از جهان میرزای
که گفتیش دوران توی زیب و زینم
حسن آنکه میگفت: "مخدوم شاهان
منم زانکه از خادمان حسینم
بر آن آستان سوده ام جبه زین رو
چو خورشید و مه سرور مشرقینم
بمژگان بسی رفته ام خاک آن در
ازین آبرو دهر را زیب و زینم
کشد ناز ازین رتبه خورشید و ماهم
رسد فخر ازین پایه بر خاقینم"
جناب حزین قدس الله سره
وصی کرد و گفتش: "توئی نور عینم"

¹ Original reads : بزحوم

ندا آمد از عالم غیب گوی
 بگوش دل از شاه بدر و حنینم
 که تاریخ فوتش فروغ این رقم زن
 بجنت حسن همنشین با حسینم
 سنه یکهزار و یکصد و نود و نه هجری المقدس^۱
 کتبه سید محمد

The above inscription yields the following information:—Mirzā Ḥasan^۲ whose remains are buried in the tomb, was the Executor of Ḥazīn. Mirzā Ḥasan died in 1199 A.H. The elegy on his death was composed by Furogh,^۳ and along with the other Arabic lines reproduced above was engraved on his tomb-stone by one Saiyid Muḥammad. Mirzā Ḥasan—as is indicated by the prefix “Mirzā”—was a Shī'a. He was very religious and had been to the shrine of Imām Ḥusain. The date of death (1199 A.H.) is contained in the chronogram :

بجنت حسن همنشین با حسینم

From the use of the word “Nūr-i-'ain” in the elegy it seems that Ḥasan was junior in age to Ḥazīn.

We have also some documentary evidence about Mirzā Ḥasan besides the archæological evidence given above. Let us now examine the documentary evidence : The earliest reference to Mirzā Ḥasan is to be found in the *Āthār-i-Aḥmadī*, Miyān Muḥammad of Mārahra's MS. According to this authority :

^۱ Original has : للقدس

^۲ The word “Mirzā” occurs in the 1st verse ; and “Ḥasan” in the Arabic lines as well as in the second verse.

^۳ Probably Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī Iṣfahānī born in 1140 A.H. died in 1210 A.H. at Banāras. See *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, p. 521.

Mirzā Ḥasan was Ḥazīn's partner-in-trade. He had caused a ship to be built for Ḥazīn. His own expenses and those of Ḥazīn were defrayed out of the profits accruing from the income of the ship.¹

Some valuable information about Ḥasan² is to be found in the Civil Cases Records. Two of them are particularly interesting :—

One is the Ejectment Suit :

Muḥammad 'Alī, son of, and counsel for Maḥabbat 'Alī³, Plaintiff *versus* Indar Jīt counsel for Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq.⁴

This suit was instituted on the 23rd of Jumādā-ul-Awwal 1207 A.H. and decided on the 1st of Ramaḍān 1207 A.H./13th of April 1793 A.D. This case shall hereinafter be called the Suit.⁵

The second is an Appeal:⁶

Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq Appellant *versus* Muḥammad 'Alī, Nawāzish 'Alī, Hādī 'Alī, and 'Ināyat 'Alī sons of Maḥabbat 'Alī Respondents.

¹ *Āthār-i-Aḥmadī*, Miyān Muḥammad Mārhravī's MS.

² In the Suit and the Appeal discussed below he is indiscriminately called Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥasan and Mirzā Ḥasan. But because the latter name is also supported by archæological evidence, it is the only correct name of Ḥazīn's executor.

³ Maḥabbat 'Alī was a servant of Ḥazīn. See *supra*.

⁴ Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq was the son of Mirzā Ḥasan.

⁵ A true copy of the Suit is possessed by Mirzā Fayād of Aurangābād, Banāras, the present superintendent of Ḥazīn's tomb.

⁶ It is extant in a true copy possessed by Mirzā Fayād of Banāras. It consists of an English scroll 7'×9½" containing 163 lines written on 5 sheets of paper all pasted together. Wherever pasted together, it bears a seal covering each half page. It is followed by an Īrānī translation beginning on the 5th sheet. It is 3'—8½"×9½" with 65 lines. There also exists a separate Hindi translation of the same.

Munshī Amin-ud-Dīn counsel for Appellant.
Mīr 'Alī Husain Counsel for Respondents.

This appeal came before William Couper, a judge of the Sadr Civil Court, who decided it on Thursday the 6th of December 1798 A.D./27th of Jumādā II, 1213 A.H. after a full consideration of : (1) All the proceedings and documents of the case sent by the Judges of the Court of Appeal, Banāras District; (2) the questions and answers of the parties, submitted in the presiding Court in Appeal i.e., the plaint of the Appeal, the answer by the Respondents; answer to the Respondents by the Appellant; and the answer by the Respondents to the Appellant; (3) Report of the the Registrar of the Sadr Civil Court ; and (4) the decision of the Moulvies of the 'Adālat-i-Şadr, received in answer to William Couper on the 7th of November 1798 A.D./28th of Jumādā I, 1213 A.H.

The case which gave rise to the present Appeal was first decided by Nawwāb 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān in the 'Adālat-i-Şihr. On Appeal it came before the Mukhtār-kār-i-Banāras, who handed it over to the Criminal Court for further suggestions and investigation. On the establishment of the present Civil Court in Banāras City, the Judge of the afore-said Court decided the case in accordance with Section 93 of Act XXII of 1795 on the 5th of February 1796 A.D./26th of Rajab 1210 A.H. The judgment which is reproduced by the Court was appealed against by the sons of Maḥabbat 'Alī in the Court of Appeal,

Banāras District, in *forma pauperis*. The decree passed by the 'Adālat-i-Shihr was set aside by the Judges of the Court of Appeal on the 15th of March 1796 A.D./6th of Ramaḍan 1210 A.H. and a fresh decree was passed in favour of the sons of Maḥabbat 'Alī.¹ Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq appealed to the Sadr Civil Court against this last-mentioned judgment and requested the appointment of an arbitrator. The Judges of the Sadr Civil Court considered the case to be one of purely Islamic Law and hence they sent all the documents to the Qaḍī-ul-Quḍāt and the Jurisconsults of the Court and requested them to express their opinion on two points² after giving them their fullest consideration and satisfying themselves. William Couper finally based his judgment on the exposition of the law by the Moulvies and granted a final order and decree in favour of the sons of Maḥabbat 'Alī.³ To this Appeal I shall hereinafter refer as the Appeal.

Mirzā Ḥasan was appointed as his Executor by Ḥazīn in 1177 A.H./1763-64 A.D. Because in the Suit instituted on the 23rd of Jumādā I, 1207 A.H./6th of January 1793 A.D. Maḥabbat says:—

من از مدت سی سال بموجب ارشاد شیخ علی حزین که
بجین حیات خود مرزا محمد حسن وصیت کرده بودند

¹ This judgment is also reproduced in *The Appeal* under discussion.

² These two points are also given in *The Appeal*. So is the answer given by the Qaḍī.

³ Died on the 13th of Rajab 1207 A.H./24th of February 1793 A.D. See *The Suit*.

..... و بعد رحلت شیخ صاحب مغفور مرزا محمد حسن سندات
معه تولیت آثار شریفه و مقبره مذوره بنام من و اولاد نوشته دادند
..... تا اینوقت معه عیال و اطفال بران مکان قابض ام.

1207-30 gives us 1177 A.H. Also in the Appeal it
is said :—

محبت علی پدر این رسپانڈنٹان بدهوی مزاجت محمد صادق
اپیلانٹ در تولیت مزار شیخ محمد علی حزین و دیگر آثارهای شامل
آن که محبت علی مزبور آن را از مدت سی سال بموجب سند
مرزا محمد حسن وصی شیخ محمد علی حزین بدخل خود داشت.

Mirzā Ḥasan remained the Waṣī (Executor) of
Ḥazīn for only 3 years (1177—1180 A.H.) because
on the death of Ḥazīn in 1180 A.H., Mirzā Ḥasan
executed an Instrument of Trust in favour of
Maḥabbat 'Alī—a servant of Ḥazīn. See the Suit :—

و بعد رحلت شیخ صاحب مغفور مرزا محمد حسن سندات
معه تولیت آثار شریفه و مقبره مذوره بنام من و اولاد نوشته دادند.

Mirzā Ḥasan left behind a son named Mirzā
Muḥammad Ṣādiq who is one of the parties in the
long and continuous cases referred to above.

COMPOSITIONS

[In the following pages the abbreviation R.D.F. is used for *Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātidha-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*, R.A.S.B. MS. 1778, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition.]

Al-Lubāb fī 'Ilm-il-Hisāb—the work is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 268b, written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Anīs-ul-Fuā'd fī Haqīqat-il-Ijtihād—deals with the reality of Ijtihād. Regarding the book Hazīn says in the R.D.F., f. 268b, that a book like this had not been written before. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Ar-Rumḥ-ul-Maṣqūl fī Ta'n-i-'Alā akthar-i-Qawāi'd-il-Uṣūl—is a book on Uṣūl-i-Fiqh. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

At-Ta'līqāt 'alā Mabḥath-il-Falakiyāt min ash-Shifā—is a supercommentary on a chapter of *Shifā* by Abū Sinā. This is a work mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 269b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

At-Ta'līqāt 'alā Kitāb-il-Muṭārahāt—is a commentary on the *Kitāb-il-Muṭārahāt* of Shaikh Maqtūl. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 269b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

At-Ta'līqāt 'alal-Fuṣūṣ—is a supercommentary on the book called *Fuṣūṣ* composed by Mu'allim-uth-Thānī Abī Naṣr-al-Fārābī. This supercommentary is

mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

At-Ta'liqāt 'alā Kitāb-in-Najāt—is a supercommentary on the *Kitāb-un-Najāt* of Shaikh Abū 'Alī Sīnā. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

At-Ta'liqāt 'alā Maqāmāt-il-'Ārifīn min Sharḥ-il-Ishārāt—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b. Written in Arabic. This book is extinct.

At-Ta'liqāt 'alā Ghawāmiḍ-il-Majistī—is a supercommentary on the book called *Tahrīr-ul-Majistī*. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

At-Ta'liqāt 'alat-Talwīḥāt—is a supercommentary on the book called *at-Talwīḥāt* composed by Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl. The work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

At-Ta'liqāt-'alat-Tadhkira li Ibn-i-Rushd—is a supercommentary on the book named *Tadhkira* composed by Ibn-ur-Rushd. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

At-Ta'liqāt 'alā Sharḥ-il-Maqāṣid—is a supercommentary on the book called *Sharḥ-il-Maqāṣid*. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Ar-Raddu 'alat-Tanāsukhiya—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct in these days.

Ad-Da'wāt-uṣ-Ṣāliḥāt wa asmā'-Ullāh-il-ḥusnā—was written at Mashhad [in 1140 A.H.] It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. The book was written in Arabic and is now extinct.

An-Nāsikh wal Mansūkh—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Aṭ-Ṭūl wal 'Ard—is a book mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. The book which was written in Arabic is now extinct.

Al-Mashāhid-ul-'Ulya—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Al-Lam' fī Izhāq-il-Bida'—is a composition mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Al-Maqala fī Bayān-in-Nuqṭa—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Akḥbār ul-Mutanabbī wa Dhikr-o-ba'd-i-Ash-'āriḥ-i'l-Fā'iqa—This work deals with the traditions of Abū Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī Aḥmad bin il-Ḥusain bin 'Abd-iṣ-Ṣamad al-Ja'farī al-Kūfī with a short account of some of his super-excellent verses. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. It is written in Arabic and is now extinct.

Akḥbār-ul-Muḥāqiq-iṭ-Ṭūsī—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b, written in Arabic. This work is extinct nowadays.

Akḥbār-i-Zāhid il-Jīlānī—deals with the *Akḥbār*

of Ḥazīn's ancestor, Shaikh Tāj-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm called Zāhid-i-Jīlānī. This work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. This work which was written in Arabic, is nowadays extinct.

An-Nasab-ut-Tālīfiya—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. It is written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Aḥkām-ush-Shakk-i-was Sahw-i-fiṣ Ṣalāt—It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Adh-Dhukhru wa Sa'adat fil 'Ibadat—In the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a, Ḥazīn says, that, he had composed a book of this name. Written in Arabic. This book is extinct nowadays.

Al-Lama'atu mir'ati'l-lāh fī Sharḥ-i-āyat-i-Shahida'l-lāh is a brief note on the meaning of the verse III, 16, of the Qur'ān; written in answer to a letter from a friend. It is written in Arabic and was composed at Ardabīl, prior on Ḥazīn's journey to Khurāsān in 1139/1726-7. So, according to the *R.A.S.B. Cat.*, Supplement 2, p. 65. This is based on the colophon of MS. 1043, f. 3b. The date 1136 given in *Curzon Collection Cat.*, p. 487 is incorrect as the *Curzon Collection MS. 752 (4)* is worm-eaten and the upper part of the figure 9 (in the date 1139) is missing. But in spite of that it appears more like 9 than 6. Beginning :

الحمد لله الهم الحمد والشكر لواهب الشكر... الخ

Al-Khawāṣṣ-ul-Mujarraba—is probably a medical work. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b.

The work which was written in Īrānī is nowadays extinct.

Al-Mawāyid-us-Samāwiyya - is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Al-Munāzarāt wal Muḥāḍarāt—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. The book was written in Īrānī. It is extinct now.

*Adāb-ul-'Uzlat wal Khalwat*¹—This work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Adāb-ul-Mu'āsharat—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, ff. 373a-b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

At-Tālīf bain an-Nās—is a composition mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Al-Mawāhib fī Lailat-ir-Raghā'ib.—is a work discussing the saying of Farfūriyūs :

الخيرات منها ما هي شريفة و منها ما هي ممدوحة ومنها ما هي
بالقوة كذلك و منها ما هي ناقصة

It discusses the whole of the statement of Farfūriyūs. Hazīn says, that he composed the work in a single night. This work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.* ff. 274a-b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Al-Kusūf wal Khusūf—is a book mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275b. The book which was written in Īrānī is nowadays extinct.

¹ The *Kitāb-i-Nujūm-ul-Asmā' fī Tarājim-ul-'Ulamā* omits : والخلاوة

At-Ta'liqāt fiṭ Ṭabī'ī wal Ilāhī—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. It was written in Arabic. The book is now extinct.

Al-Marāṣid fir Rā'ij-i-wal Kāsid—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Aṣ-Ṣirāṭ-us-Sawī fi Ghawāyat-il-Baghawī—is a book in exposition of the mistakes of Imām Baghawī. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Ad-Dibāj fi Ibānat-i-Aghlāṭ iz-Zajjāj—is a book in exposition of the mistakes committed by Zajjāj. See *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. Nowadays extinct.

Al-Fuṣūl-ul-Balīgha—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. It is written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Al-Faḍā'il fi Iḥyā'-i-Sanan-il-Awā'il—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct now.

Akḥbār-i-Ismā'il bin 'Abbād—deals with the *Akḥbār* of Ismā'il bin 'Abbād aṭ-Ṭāliqānī and what Ḥazīn could get of his writings and rare verses. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. The work is extinct now.

Akḥbār-i-Abī-Tamām wa ba'd-i-Ash'ārihī—contains the *Akḥbār* of Abī Tamām aṭ-Ṭāyī Ḥabīb bin Aus and some of his verses. The book is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Akhbār-ush-Shaikh Safī-id-Dīn il-Hillī wa Nawādir-u-Ash'ārihī—is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 271b. Written in Arabic. Nowadays extinct.

Ādāb-u-Da'wat-il-Asmā' wal Adhkār—is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272a. Written in Irānī and is nowadays extinct.

Al-'Ilājāt-ul-Gharība—is a medical work. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272b. The book was written in Irānī. It is extinct now.

Ar-Radd-u-'alan Naṣārā fil Qaul-i-bil Aqānīm—is a book written in refutation of the affirmation of Trinity by the Christians. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272b. The book was written in Irānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Al-Jam' bain-al-Hikmat-i-wa Shari'at—is a book written on the Agreement of Philosophy and the Sacred Law and repulsion of the suspicion—as is supposed by the common-folk. Mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273a. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct now. Cf. *Tawfiq*; *infra*.

At-Takhliya wal Mutakhalliya—is a work mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273b. It is written in Irānī and is extinct now.

Al-Ighāthat fi'l Imāmat—See *Risāla-i-Imāmat*; and *Risāla fi'l Imāmt*; *infra*.

Al-Farq bain-al-Lams wal Mass—is a treatise in differentiation of the senses of feeling and touch and what relates to it and results in it. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 274b. Written in Irānī. Nowadays extinct.

Al-Mufaṣṣil fī Khabar-il-'Aql wat Tawakkul—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274b. It is written in *Īrānī*. The book is extinct.

Bashārat-un-Nubuwwat—in this book Ḥazīn quotes from the *Pentateuch*, the *Gospel*, and the *Psalm of Joshia*, and the *Book of Isaiah*, the passages indicative of the prophetship of the Prophet Muḥammad. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. It is written in *Īrānī*. The book is extinct.

Bahjat-ul-Aqrān—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 207b. The book is extinct. It was written in Arabic.

Chaman-u-Anjuman—is a *mathnawī*¹ composed twice. The earlier work is extinct. In the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed. it comprises pp. 823-838.

In the *Āṣifiya Cat.*, Vol. II, p. 1486, *Chaman-u-Anjuman* (*Āṣifiya MS.* 154) is alleged to be composed in 1155 A.H. This is incorrect. The prose article which immediately follows the *mathnawī* in the *Āṣifiya MS.* and on which the date is based, is in reality the epilogue to Ḥazīn's *Dīwān IV* and has nothing to do with the *mathnawī Chaman-u-Anjuman*. The cataloguer of the *Āṣifiya Library* has mistaken the epilogue to *Dīwān IV* for a *Khātima* to *Chaman-u-Anjuman*.

¹ Ḥazīn's *mathnawīs* are preserved in a fine collection entitled "*Masnawīāt-i-Munjamala-i-'Alī Ḥazīn*" (The collected *Mathnawīs* of 'Alī Ḥazīn) in the King's College Library, No. 124.

According to *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, f. 211a, Ḥazīn composed 5 *Mathnawīs* in different metres, bearing different names, and containing 1514 verses in all. This is incorrect as will readily be seen.

In his letter No. 266 dated the 20th Dhī'l-Qa'da 1356 A.H., in answer to mine dated 11th January, 1938, the Librarian very kindly supplied me with an extract from the supposed Khātima which on comparison proved to be an extract from the epilogue to Dīwān IV. This was confirmed in the Librarian's letter No. 272 dated 20th Dhī'l-Ḥijja in answer to my letter dated the 15th Feb., 1938.

Du'ā-i-Yamānī—the only reference to the work is to be found in the Āthār-i-Aḥmadī. It is one of the compositions of Ḥazīn that Shāh Āl-i-Aḥmad brough with himself from Banāras to Mārahra. See Āthār-i-Aḥmadī, Miyān Muḥammad of Mārahra's MS.

Da'āi'm-ud-Dīn—this work is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 268b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct now.

Dastūr-ul-'Uqalā—as is stated in the Curzon Collection MS. 502, f. 118a, Ḥazīn composed this work at Delhi in Rabī'-uth-Thānī 1153 A.H./June-July 1740 A.D. at the persistent request of a friend. It is a work on administrative ethics and cognate matters. This work is also mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272a. It is written in Īrānī.

Dīwān I.—¹ The first and the earliest dīwān of Ḥazīn consisted of odes, mathnawīs, qaṣidas, and quatrains. It consisted of seven or eight thousand verses. The exact date of its composition is

¹ Ārvī incorrectly states in the Nigār, February 1930, p. 31, that Ḥazīn composed 5 dīwāns. Ārvī describes only 2, i.e., dīwān I and II.

unknown. The *Dīwān* is extinct.

Dīwān II.—Ḥazīn composed his second *dīwān* at Isfahān. He did so before the death of his father in 1127 A.H.¹ According to Master's Introduction to his Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. ii, the date of its composition is 1128 A.H. which is incorrect *ipso facto*. It consisted of about 10,000 couplets. It is extinct.

Dīwān III.—At Shīrāz Ḥazīn collected his verses which formed his third *dīwān*. The exact date of its composition is not known. The approximate date 1130 A.H. given by Master (Introduction to the Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. ii) is conjectural. It is probable but not exact. However, Ḥazīn did so during c. 1129-1134 A.H. For, we know, that, he migrated to Shīrāz after the death of his mother in 1129 A.H.² and that having completed his *dīwān* he returned to Isfahān some time before the beginning of 1134 A.H.³ The *dīwān* consisted of three or four thousand verses.⁴ It is extinct.

Dīwān IV.—⁵ Ḥazīn collected in a fourth

¹ See *Supra*.

² See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 49.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵ The *Ḥadiqat-ul-Afrāḥ*, p. 446, speaks of only this *dīwān*. One of the oldest and very reliable copies of this *dīwān* richly embellished with gold work, is the Rāmpur MS. 213 written by Muḥammad Bāqir, son of (the late) Abū Ṭālib at Delhi in 1155 A.H. This copy was presented to Ḥazīn who corrected it and wrote down some of his latest verses on the margins. Ḥazīn's handwriting also appears on f. 9 where he laments against the times; and in an Arabic note on f. 11 saying, "Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqir

dīwān his verses other than those collected in the three previous dīwāns; as he himself says:—¹

wrote this dīwān at Delhi in 1155 A.H. etc.” and on f. 10 where it covers a whole page, and of which the contents are invocatory.

Another reliable copy is the 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 866/103 containing a few qaṣīdas and ghazals from dīwān IV. It was caused to be written at the instance of 'Alī Qulī Khān (Wāliḥ) and corrected by Hazīn. The present copy was written by order of Ṣāhibzāda Muḥammad Ghīyāth 'Alī Khān on the 8th of Shawwāl, 1263 A.H. See colophon of 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 866/103.

Another valuable copy is the Bānkīpur MS. 1925. It contains the following autograph note by Hazīn on the title-page:—

هو ربنا اتنا لدنك رحمة و هين لنا من امرنا رشدا -
زد نقش سخن سكه جاويد بنامم از صفحه دلها نشود مگو كلامم
نعمه الواثق بعروة الله الوثقى محمد المشتهم بعلى الزاهدى الجيلانى

A contemporary note on the title-page says, that, this is an abstract of the poet's 4th dīwān (خلاصة الديوان الرابع). The copy is transcribed by 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad.

The supposed oldest copy of the *Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn* (containing his dīwān and some mathnawīs), the Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 48/34, purporting to have been copied by Bismil Shāh in 1145 A.H. (See *Shirwānī*, p. 33), is in spite of its misleading colophon and a fictitious note on the fly-leaf a clear forgery; the colophon says, that, it was written by Bismil Shāh alias Allāh Dād Beg, son of Muḥammad Amīn Beg, son of Murād Ullāh Beg, on Wednesday, the 14th of Dhī'l-Hijja 1145 A.H.

The note on the fly-leaf has the name ظل سبحانى خليفه الرحمانى which in itself is a sufficient proof of the forgery as Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī did not rule before 1161 A.H. It proceeds to say, that, Hazīn had written in his own hand his *Kulliyāt* without omitting a word in order to present it to Nawwāb Quṭb-ud-Daula Quṭb-ul-Mulk and that Nawwāb Aḥmad Khān Bangash caused the copy to be transcribed at Farrukhābād in 1145 A.H. and entered it in his library. It is interesting to note, that, Aḥmad Khān Bangash became the ruler of Farrukhābād on Friday, the 10th Ramadān 1163 A.H./2nd August 1750 A.D. (*Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 41); and that, Quṭb-ul-Mulk died in 1134 A.H. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Further, the copy contains his two Mathnawīs (*Safīr-i-Dil* and *Wadī'at-ul-Badī'at*) both of which were composed in 1173 A.H. See *infra*.

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 147.

و چون دامنی از گهرهای یتیم دران سه عقد شاهوار در نیامده
پربشان ریخته بود سلطان وقت خازن اندیشه را بانتظام آن گماشته
درین درج گرا نی گذاشت.

He gathered the scattered material while staying at Mashhad.¹ Ḥazīn reached Mashhad after its conquest by Shāh Tahmasp² in 1140 A.H. and left it in Ṣafar 1142 A.H.³/August, 1729 A.D. Hence, the date of collecting the materials of the *dīwān* is c. 1140-1142 A.H. It is most probably 1140 A.H. Firstly, because, Ḥazīn has also composed his *Shajarat-ut-Tūr fī Sharḥ-i-Āyāti'n Nūr* at Mashhad in 1140 A.H.; and secondly, because, Ḥazīn began the compilation in the beginning of the period of his arrival at the mausoleum of Imām Ridā in Mashhad:—

و چون با آنکه دو نوبت بل سه نوبت اشعار این ضعیف در
حیطه جمع و تالیف در آمده بسیاری از مسودات مهجور و ابتر
گشته... نکته س ایان آشنا و رموز دانایان کتاب مهر و وفا خواستند
که چند بیت پریشانی که بود نیز به جمع و تالیف گراید... لهذا
در تحریر ترتیب شروع افتاد.⁴

The date 1141 A.H. given by Master in the Introduction to his Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. iii, is conjectural. It is probable but not exact.

¹ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 80.

The date 1141 A.H. given by Master in his Introduction to the Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. iii, is conjectural. It is probable but not exact.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 79.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁴ See *Dīwān-i-Ḥazīn*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS. 866/103, ff. 1a-1b.

Hazin completed (*sipari shud*) the arrangement—or as we may say these days—published his *dīwān* in 1155 A.H.¹ Evidently, Hazin had finished the composition of his *Dīwān IV* in 1154 A.H. at any cost; since it is mentioned in his *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*² composed in 1154 A.H. :—

و اشعاریکه در آن مدت گفته شده جمع آوردم و این دیوان چهارم
خاکسار است .

It contains *qaṣīdas*, odes, quatrains, and *rubā'īs* etc., amounting in all to one thousand and odd pieces.

According to Husain Dost,³ the copy that he saw consisted of about 20,000 verses. This, of course, is an under-estimation.

At one time the number of verses composed by Hazin was not quite 30,000 verses :

تا قرب سی هزار اشعار لغزیم در صفحه زمانه نوشتیم یادگار⁴

Then it reached the figure 30,000 :—

سی هزار است در چهار کتاب نظم کنک بدیع آثاری⁵

But it soon exceeded that number as Hazin never ceased to compose verses. His latter verses composed after the publication of his fourth *dīwān*, and consisting of odes, quatrains, etc. are preserved in the different copies of the MS. of his *Dīwān IV*

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 149.

هزار و یک صد و پنجاه و پنج هجری بود
که گشت نسخه دیوان چارمین سپری

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 30.

³ *Tadhkira-i-Husaini*, p. 108.

⁴ See Introduction to *Dīwān IV*, Lucknow ed., p. 149.

⁵ See Lytton Library MS. 132.

compiled at different dates. The number of pieces, therefore, varies in number in the different copies of the MSS. of his *dīwān*. Consequently and accordingly, we have the following forms of the second hemistich of the verse dealing with the number of pieces in his *Dīwān IV* :—

(1) قصیده و غزل و قطعہ و رباعی آن

ہزار و سی بہ حساب آیدت چو بر شمیری¹

(2) قصیده و غزل و قطعہ و رباعی آن

ہزار و شصت و یک آید ترا چو بر شمیری

(3) قصیده و غزل و قطعہ و رباعی آن

ہزار و یک صد و دہ آیدت چو بر شمیری²

(4) قصیده و غزل و قطعہ و رباعی آن

دو صد فزون ز ہزار است و سی چو بر شمیری³

It is Ḥazīn's only *dīwān* published in India. It is also his only extant *dīwān*. It has been published along with the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn* Lucknow ed., (pp. 257-689); and along with the *Kulliyāt* is out-of-print nowadays.

The *Dīwān IV* of Ḥazīn also contains verses in Arabic⁴ which are not looked upon with the same respect as his *Īrānī* verses.⁵ Ghulām 'Alī Khān Āzād the author of *Khizāna-i-'Āmira* too,

¹ See *Shefta* Collection MS. 126/160.

² See *Ruq'āt-i-Ḥazīn*, Punjab University MS. Pe. II. 20, Letter XII (ff. 74a-74b).

³ See Lytton Library MS. 1/32, f. 18a.

⁴ *Sham'-i-Anjuman*, p. 131, places the number of his Arabic verses at about 20,000.

⁵ *Sham'-i-Anjuman*, p. 131.

objects to the use of هوى in the sense of "friendship" occurring in the first verse of a ghazal of Hazin beginning :—

يا بديع الجمال مذاهوبك قلبى المبتلى تبحير فيك

It is written in imitation of Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn 'Āmilī's famous qaṣīda rhyming in ك and beginning with the following verse :—¹

يا ندعى بمهجتى افديك قمر و هات الكووس من هاتيك

The ghazal given below is the best in Hazin's dīwān :

طعنه هرگز بدل آزاری خاری نردم
 خنده چون گل به وفاداری یاری نردم
 بحر را حوصله ام غرق خجالت دارد
 موج بیطاقت خود را به کناری نردم
 بچه تقصیر فلک خاک به چشم ریزد
 هیچ گاه دامن مژگان بغباری نردم
 چون به هم بزمی اغیار توانم تن داد
 منکه در حادثه هرگز در یاری نردم
 بر سرم فوج خزان از چه سبب می تازد
 خیمه چون لاله بدامان بهاری نردم
 ناوک ناله من خونى امیدى نیست
 ترکش سینه قهی گشت و شکاری نردم
 پاس ناموس هنرمندی فرهادم بود
 در ره عشق اگر دست بکاری نردم
 جرم قافله ام هرزه سرا نیست حزین
 حرف بیتابی دل را به دیاری نردم²

¹ See Khizāna-i-'Āmira, pp. 198-199. The ghazal of Hazin is to be found in his Kulliyāt, Lucknow ed., pp. 537-538.

² Kulliyāt-i-Hazin, Lucknow ed., p. 583.

The *Dīwān* of Ḥazīn published as a part of the *Kulliyāt* by the Newwul Kishore Press is a reliable but incomplete copy. Many things have been omitted in the printed edition, e.g., (1) the qit'a on some customs in India,¹ beginning :

هر خیره سری که گشت در هند ز آمد شد سفلکانه پا کار

(2) The qit'a in censure of the Kashmīrīs,² beginning :

کس ندیده بوطن مردن کشمیری را
ببجهان چون صف مورند روان دانه طلب

and (3) the *ghazal*³ beginning :

چشم کشوده است در فیض نوبهار از داغ ریختست دم طرح لاله زار

A comprehensive idea of the omissions in the *dīwān* (Lucknow ed.) can be had from the following comparative chart prepared by *Shirwānī Ṣahib* :—⁴

Subjects	Habib Ganj MS. 48/32	Habib Ganj MS. 48/34	Kulliyāt Luck. ed.
<i>Ghazals</i> ...	1472	1444	909
<i>Qaṣīdas</i> ...	47	46	40
<i>Mathnawīs</i> ...	7	7	6
<i>Qit'as</i> ...	45	61	39
<i>Rubā'īs</i> ...	485	484	267
<i>Elegies</i> ...	20	...	4

¹ See footnote 4 on p. 32.

² See footnote 1 on p. 35.

³ See *Āfāq's Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, pp. 31-32 and *Tārīkh-i-Banāras*.

⁴ *Hālāt-i-Ḥazīn ma'-i-Intikhāb-i-Kalām*, Allgarh ed., p. 33.

If a complete copy of the *dīwān* were to be prepared it will probably include verses composed as late as 1180 A.H. For, we have seen, that the pen of Hazīn was never at rest right up to his last moment.

A complete copy will thus include at least the following additional number of pieces over and above those contained in the *Kulliyāt* Lucknow edition : *Ghazals*—563 ; *Qasīdas*—7 ; *Mathnawī*—1 ; *Qit'as*—22 ; *Rubā'īs*—218 ; and elegies—16. See chart above.

Popularity of his Dīwāns.—Hazīn's first three *dīwāns* are extinct. Writing in 1164 A.H., *Khān Ārzū* says¹ : “ The *Shaikh* [Hazīn] says, this *dīwān* which enjoys popularity is *Dīwān IV*. And the first 3 *dīwāns* were destroyed in the plunderings of the Afghans. ” Eleven years later—in 1175 A.H.—*Hākim Lāhorī* holds the same view and reproduces the very words of *Ārzū* in his *Mardum-i-Dīdah*.² [Perhaps the first 3 *dīwāns* of Hazīn were destroyed in the sack of *Iṣfahān* in 1135 A.H.]

With regard to the first *dīwān* we must further note, that, Hazīn possessed no copy of it till as late as 1165 A.H. when he states so in his *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn* (Lucknow ed., p. 946).

¹ *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I, 24, f. 170.

² See *Mardum-i-Dīdah*, *Habīb Ganj* typed copy, p. 49:—

بالجمله شينغ ميگويد : ” اين ديوان كه شهرت دارد ديوان چهارم
است و سابق سه ديوان در فقراتِ افانده تلف شد ”

Out of his four *dīwāns* Ḥazīn speaks only of the first one : saying, that, it became popular among the readers.¹ The fourth *dīwān*, however, is extant in numerous MS. copies bearing different dates and is very commonly met with. This in itself is a clear and sufficient proof of its popularity.²

In India, today, Ḥazīn is famous on account of his fine odes. In his lifetime Ḥazīn considered versification a blemish that eclipsed his other accomplishments :

طرفی از شهرت و از شعر که بسته اینست
 که سخن قدر مرا کرد بعالم مستور
 ذلت شعر فرو برد مرا در دل خاک
 زیر این گرد کسادی شده ام زنده بگور³

With regard to *Īrān* the following passage of the author of the *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib* may be taken into consideration :—"The majority of (my) friends who have come to India from the mother-land (*Īrān*) say, that, the verses of the *Shaikh* are not liked in the mother-land. It is curious! What can be the cause of dislike in face of the sweetness and simplicity of his verses?"⁴

Faras Nāma.—(called *Risāla-i-Faras Nāmah* in the Br. Mus. MS. Add. 23,562, II, ff. 49-67) is a

¹ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 32.

² The author of the *Mardum-i-Didah* in a venomously prejudiced article on Ḥazīn says about his *Dīwān IV*, that, it is not up to the degree as it is considered to be and vouchsafed by Ḥazīn's supporters. See *Mardum-i-Didah*, Ḥabīb Ganj typed copy, pp. 49-50.

³ See *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 908.

⁴ *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib*, f. 262b.

treatise on farriery. Hazīn says, that he had composed in his youth and in his native place (Iṣfahān), an extensive work on farriery in about 1127 A.H., and that unable to procure a copy of it in India, where he was residing, he had now written what he calls a mere sample of his former work. The earlier *Faras Nāma* is referred to in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Belfour's ed., p. 97. For MS. see Bānkīpur MS. 407, ff. 165b-205b. The *Faras Nāma* is written in Īrānī.

Farhang Nāma—is a mathnawī, lithographed at Newwul Kishore Press, Lucknow and comprising pp. 871-877 of the *Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn*. The mathnawī is written in Īrānī.

Fi Tahqīq-i-Raf' Shubhāt-il-Mushabbiha—is a short note in Arabic, on the unity of God. Beginning : اللهم ارنا الحق حقاً و ارنا الباطل باطلاً

Fī Tahqīq-il-Ism-il-A'zam—is a note in Arabic, explaining the nature of the Deity and is called " *Lubbu'l-Lubāb li-Uli'l-albāb* " in the colophon; written at the request of Muḥammad bin Muḥammad. Beginning : الحمد لله وصلوة على عباده الذين اصطفى
For MS. also see Curzon Collection MS. 502

Fī Tahqīq-i-Istihālat-i-an-Yakūna li-ma'lūlin Wāhidin Shakhṣīn aw nau'īn 'Ilatān.—is a short note of theosophical contents on the investigation of the impossibility of there being two causes for an effect : be it individual or species : في تحقيق استحالته ان يكون لمعلول واحد شخصي او نوعي علتان -

Beginning as follows:—

بعد الحمد والصلوة يقول النخ قد سألني بعض اجلة الاصحاب
عن بيان ما يطبق به شركاء الصداقة من استحاله ان يكون معلول
واحد شخصى او نوهى ائتان مستقلتان سواء كانا مجتمعين -

Composed by Ḥazīn who gives his name in the beginning of the treatise. It is written in Arabic. It is not dated. For MS. see Curzon Collection MS. 502 (6) ff. 141a-141b.

Fawā'id-i-Chihil-o-Yak-o-dīgar A'māl-o-Awrād—

This is one out of the 4 compositions of Ḥazīn which Shāh Āl-i-Aḥmad called Achchhe Miyān brought with him to Mārahra from Banāras where he dropped for some time while returning from Tikārī where he had gone to see his uncle Nawwāb Saiyid Nūr-ul-Ḥasan Khān.

The work seems to be a majmū'a (compendium) of a few *a'māl* and *awrād*. The only reference to this work is to be found in the *Āthār-i-Aḥmadī*, Miyān Muḥammad of Mārahra's MS.

Please also see Ḥazīn's composition entitled *Risāla-i-'Amaliyāt-i-Khāṣṣ*.

Fātiḥa.—This is a little known composition of Ḥazīn. The only copy known to me is the British Museum MS. Or. 7556 (1). This is an uncatalogued MS. It consists of six folios in all. From f. 1b to f. 4a it contains *fātiḥas* (benedictions) on: (1) the Holy Prophet; (2) 'Alī; (3) Fāṭima; (4) Ḥusain; (5) 'Alī Asghar; and (6) benediction for acceleration of the appearance and emergence of Abu'l Qāsim Muḥammad, the son of Ḥasan.

On f. 4a there begins the mathnawī dealing with the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusain. The Fātiḥa begins :
 فاتحة بروحٍ يرفقوح مقدسٍ معطرٍ . . .
 begins :

محرر آمد و ماهِ عزا نمود هلال شگفت غنچه ماتم ز شاخسار ملال

Fī Tahqīq-il-Ma'ni'l Wāhid—is a short note on the unity of God composed in the city of Āmil in Ṭabaristān (see Curzon Collection MS. 502, f. 138b) in the year 1134/1721. Beginning :

الحمد لواهب العلم والحكمة و بعد يقول فقير عفو ربه الغنى
 ابن ابو طالب الجيلانى محمد المدعو بعلى ما رايت بعض طلبة العلم . . .

Farā'id-ul-Fawā'id—is a work composed at Isfahān.

Fawā'id-ul-'Ulya—Of this book Ḥazīn had completed only 20 chapters at the time of the composition of the *R.D.F.* See *Ibid.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Fath-ul-Abwāb—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct nowadays.

Fawā'id-ut-Tib—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct now.

Fadl-ul-'Irāq—is a book mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Fadā'il-ul-Qur'ān—This treatise is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274a. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Fath-us-Subul—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. It is written in Īrānī. The book is extinct. Also confer *Risāla-i-Imāmat*. According to *Kashf-*

ul-Hjub-i-Wal Astār 'an Asmā'il Kutub-i-Wal Asfār, No. 2192, page 397, it contains one *Muqaddama* and three *Fawātiḥ*, and begins as follows :—

نحمدك يا مفتاح الابواب افتح لنا ابواب رحمتك و افض علينا
ابواب فضلك النخ

Hidāyat-ul-Umam fil Hudūth-i-Wal Qidam—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. It is written in Arabic. It is extinct now.

*Hawāshī bar Sharḥ-i-Hikmat-ul-Ishrāq*¹—is a scholia on the commentary of *Hikmat-ul-Ishrāq*. Composed in Iṣfahān.

Hāshiya bar Umūr-i-'Āmma-i-Sharḥ-i-Tajrīd—composed at Beidā. It is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b under the title *At-Ta'līqāt 'Alā Umūr-il-'Āmma min Sharḥ-it-Tajrīd*. Written in Arabic.

Hāshiya bar Ilāhiyāt-i-Shifā—written at Iṣfahān.

Hāshiya bar Sharḥ-i-Hayākil-in-Nūr—is a treatise that was written at Iṣfahān.

Hayāt-ul-Ikhwān—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Ibtāl-ul-Jabr wat Tafwīd—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Jilā-ul-Afhām—is a work on the science of mensuration. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f.

¹ *Hikmat-ul-Ishrāq*, by *Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrāwardī Maqtūl* died in 587 A.H. See *Brockelmann*, I, 437.

269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct now.

Jawāmi'-ul-Adab—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 268b. It is written in Arabic. It is extinct now.

Jawāmi'-ul-Kalim—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct nowadays.

Jām-i-Jam—is a book on meteorology written in Īrānī. It was a detailed work written before the *Treatise on Meteorology* (which confer *infra*). The *Jām-i-Jam* is now extinct. The book dealt with atmospheric phenomena ; and is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b.

Jawāb-i-Ruq'āt-i-Shaikh Ḥasan (Marḥūm)—these are five letters in all. They are preserved to us in the Bānkīpūr MS. 407, ff. 105b-110b :

In *Letter I* (ff. 105b-106a) Ḥazīn says : " The armies of the enemies are swarming very close to the city ; God knows what will happen hereafter." Ḥazīn does not name the city but probably he is writing from 'Azīmābād. In this letter Ḥazīn mentions a certain Ākhund ; Ghīyāth-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ; and Shaikh 'Alī. *Letter II* (ff. 106a-107a) is in answer to a letter dated the 11th of Ṣafar which Ḥazīn received on the 2nd of Rabī'-uth-Thānī—the day on which he wrote the present letter in answer to the aforesaid one. Ḥazīn says that for more than two years, he had been suffering from severe and fatal diseases. In the letter under reply he had been asked for a verdict regarding abstaining or doing otherwise

from a defiled article. In answer he says: "What weight have my actions during my stay in this country?" Then he proceeds to give the verdict of the Legislators and the Truthful in the matter. *Letter III* (ff. 107a-108b) is written on the 11th of Rajab. It is written from 'Azīmābād. He expresses his sorrow at hearing of the calamities and disturbed conditions in the Punjab and Delhi. Speaking of 'Azīmābād Ḥazīn says: "The state of these boundaries is very inconvenient and disagreeing. May God never compel a Muslim to see them." At the end Ḥazīn says, that, in spite of his sickness and infirmity, he is enclosing a rough draft in answer to the question of the proponent. He requests the addressee that after reading and copying the same he may hand it over to Bāqir 'Alī Khān; if Bāqir 'Alī desires to obtain a copy. *Letter IV* (ff. 108b-109b) describes how he began an explanation of Ḥadīth after perceiving a little improvement in his health and how he had to quit it and leave it incomplete. This letter is written on the 18th of Ramaḍān. On the date of writing, Shaikh Maḥzar 'Alī came and took leave of Ḥazīn intending to go to 'Azīmābād. *Letter V* (ff. 109b-110b) says that Ḥazīn had begun writing the explanation of the Ḥadīth but he had to give it up on account of ill-health.

Al-Jawābāt 'an Masā'il sāla anḥā ash-Shaikh Aḥmad—consists of answers to questions asked by Shaikh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad as-Ṣamirī al-'Umānī.

It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, ff. 270a-270b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Al-Jawāb ilas Saiyid Naṣr Ullāh—consists of an answer written to Saiyid Naṣr Ullāh al-Ḥāirī in connection with some passages in the compositions of Shaikh Ibn-i-'Arabī. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Al-Jawābāt 'anil Masā'il-iṭ-Ṭabariya—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Jarr-ul-Aṭḥqāl wa mā yunāsibu Lahū—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in Irānī. This work is extinct.

Kharābāt—is a mathnawī composed twice. The earlier work (referred to in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 81) was composed in imitation of Sa'dī's *Bostān*. Hazīn had undertaken its composition at Mashhad about the same time as his dīwān (which *vide*). Only one thousand and two hundred verses of the mathnawī were written down but it was never completed. Seventy-two verses of it have been reproduced in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (Lucknow ed., pp. 181-185) ; containing 13 verses in addition to those given in the *Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn*, Lucknow ed., pp. 839-861. It is written in Irānī.

Kitāb-ul-Waṣīya—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, ff. 268b-269a. Written in Arabic. Nowadays the work is extinct.

Kashf-ut-Talbīs fī Hadm-i-Asās-i-Iblīs—In this

book Ḥazīn has dealt at length with the impossibility of Qiyās. Mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Khulāṣat-ul-Mantiq—the work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 268b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Kitāb-ul-Ansāb—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Khawāṣ-u-Ba'd-is-Suwar-i-wal Āyāt—is a book written in Najaf. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Khalq-ul-A'māl—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. The work is extinct now.

Kunh-ul-Marām—is a treatise on the explanation of Fate and Destiny and the Creation of Acts; written at Multān (c. 1147 A.H.—1149 A.H.). See *supra*. It is written in Arabic. The book is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 268b.

Kitāb-ul-Mawārith—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb fi Tahqīq-ir-Royā wa Uṣūl-i-'Ilm-it-Ta'bīr—is a book in investigation of dreams and the principles of the science of their interpretation. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-ul-Ma'ādin—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, . 273b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Kitāb-ul-Ad'iya wal Adwiya—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in *Īrānī*. It is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-uz-Zakāt—is a book on alms ; mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274b. Written in *Īrānī*. It is extinct.

Kitāb-ul-Fuṣaḥ—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 268b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Kitāb-un-Nuṣrat—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-un-Niyyat— is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct now-a days.

Kadd-ul-Qalam fī ḥall-i-Shubhat-i-Jadhr-il-Aṣam—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-ul-'Ain—It is a commentary on the *Qaṣīda-i-'Ainiyya* (i.e., ending in ε), composed by Saiyid Ḥumairī. This commentary is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Kitāb-o-Hishām bin il-Ḥakam wa Munāzaratihī— is mentioned in the *Kitāb-i-Nujūm-ul-Asmā' fī Tarājim-il-'Ulamā*. The *R.D.F.* omits the name of this book. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-o Nawādir-i-Abi'l-Ḥusain Mahyār. . . wa Akhbārihī wa Dhikr-o-Ba'd-i-ghurrat-i-Ash'ārihī— deals with the *nawādirāt* of Abī Ḥusain Mahyār al-Kātib ad-Dailamī and his *Akhbār* and mentions

some of his excellent verses. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. This work is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-o-Mā Jarā Bihi'l Qalam—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-ul-Hulbāt—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. It is written in *Īrānī*. The work is extinct.

Kitāb-ud-Dalālat 'ala-al-Khair—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. It is written in *Īrānī*. The book is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-ul-Asnā—is written in investigation of the Qur'ānic verse *ثم دنى فتدلى فكان قاب قوسين او ادنى* LIII, 8-9. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in *Īrānī*. The work is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-ut-Ta'rīf fi Ḥaṣr-i-Anwā'-il-Qismat—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in *Īrānī*. The book is extinct.

Kitāb-ul-Ḥayāt wal Mamāt—in this work Ḥazīn recommends Action and condemns Idleness. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in *Īrānī*. The book is extinct.

Kitāb Fildhat-il-Akbād—is a segment of the treatise of Abī 'Abd Ullāh al-Ma'sūmī on 'Ishq. Abī 'Abd Ullāh is the greatest companion of Shaikh Abū 'Alī ibn-i-Sīnā. To Ma'sūmī's this work Ḥazīn has made additions and added explanations. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. The book which was written in Arabic is nowadays extinct.

Letter to Abū Ṭālib Shūlistānī—written from Iṣfahān on the 7th of Shawwāl 1132 A.H. in answer to Shūlistānī's letter in connection with the poetry of Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Abd-ur-Razzāq Iṣfahānī and his son Kamāl-ud-Dīn Ismā'il. See *supra*. For the text of this letter see : *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 36-38 ; and *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., pp. 918-919.

Letters and Notes—Ḥazīn's letters and notes are preserved in the Subḥān Ullāh MS. 991.5528/36, ff. 1a-7a. This MS. consists of seven items :

At the beginning there are two letters about the transitoriness of the world and the recommendability of contentment. Then, there are a few verses and other sentences which Ḥazīn has written at the end of a *bayād* of a friend. The fourth is a letter at the death of the son of a friend. The fifth is a consolatory letter to a friend written on the seventh of Ramadān. The sixth is a condolatory letter addressed to a noble. And the seventh consists of a few items about poetry etc., which Ḥazīn wrote at the beginning of the *bayād* of a friend where he had also recorded his own verses.

Maṭmah-ul-Anzār—is a *mathnawī* composed twice. It was composed after 1153 A.H. : after Ḥazīn had attained the age of 50.¹ In the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., it comprises pp. 863-869. It

¹ Vide *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 864 :

ره سپر عمر ز پنجه گذشت خاتمه بر دفتر هستی نوشت

was composed in imitation of Nizāmi's *Makhzan-ul-Asrār*. See *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, Vol. V, p. 188. The mathnawī is written in Irānī. It is written in the metre بحر سریع مطوی موقوف = مفتعلن . مفتعلن . فاعلات or فاعلن . See *Haft Āsmān*, p. 161.

Maktūbāt-i-Ḥazīn—consists of Ḥazīn's letters addressed to (a) Nawwāb Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān,¹ son of Zabār Dast Khān, son of Nawwāb Ibrāhīm Khān,² son of Amīr-ul-Umarā 'Alī Mardān Khān;³ (b) Mirzā Ḥasan 'Alī, called Nawwāb Ashraf-ud-Daulah Bahādur, son of the late Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān (written to him after the death of his father); and (c) some other friends.

These letters which were written in the band of Ḥazīn and which were lying scattered about were collected by Ashraf 'Alī Khān Ustājalū, poetically surnamed Gustākḥ, son of Mirzā 'Aṭā 'Alī Khān, son of Mumtāz-ud-Daulah Nazīr 'Alī Khān Bahādur Ṣamsām Jang, son of 'Imād-ud-Daulah Mukhtār-ul-Mulk Jahāngīr Qulī Khān Bahādur Iḥtishām Jang; and are preserved in a copy in Subḥān Ullāh MS. 891.5528/9 dated Lucknow, Thursday the 6th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal 1225 A.H. *Letter V* deals with the metre : بحر هزج مثنیٰ سالم جزوی محذوف [9]. *Letter VIII* is written in reply to information sought about a certain class of theological works. Ḥazīn gives the names of 4 books. *Letter XI* is written after the

¹ See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 340.

² See *ibid.*, p. 57.

³ d. 1067/1657. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 57.

publication of his treatise on *Dirham wa Mithqāl waghaira*. See *Risāla dar Awzān-i-Mithqāl-o-Dirham-o-Dīnār Waghaira ; infra*. *Letter XII* is a recommendatory one. Ḥazīn communicates the desire of Muḥammad Riḍā *Khushnawīs* who wishes to be appointed in the office vacated by the addressee's former teacher. In *Letter XIV* Ḥazīn refuses to change his house. Firstly, because he dislikes a shift ; and, secondly, because he always contemplates returning to his motherland. *Letter XXII* is written from Lahore in Jamāda I. *Letter XXV* is written from Lahore and expresses Ḥazīn's desire to go to Multān. *Letter XXVII* says, that, at the time of writing this letter, viz. the 22nd of *Sha'bān* [1150 A.H.], Ḥazīn had been in Lahore for nine months.¹ He remembers his days at Delhi. *Letter XXVIII* is written from Lahore on the 24th of *Ramaḍān* [1150 A.H.] *Letter XXX* is written from Lahore on *Ṣafar* 5 [1151 A.H.]. It expresses Ḥazīn's desire to proceed to Multān. *Letter XXXI* is written from Lahore on the 15th of *Ṣafar* [1151 A.H.]. Ḥazīn is restless to go to Multān. In *Letter XXXII* Ḥazīn still desires to go to Multān ; and is, therefore, obviously written from Lahore [and in 1151 A.H.].

All the above 32 letters are written to Nawwāb Ṣadr-ud-Dīn in Delhi. The following letters are written after the death of Ṣadr-ud-Dīn to his son

¹ Ḥazīn, therefore, reached Lahore in about *Dhul-Hijjah* 1149 A.H. Also confer his *Travels*.

Mirzā Ḥasan 'Alī Khān called Nawwāb Ashraf-ud-Daulah. They are 4 in number.

Letter XXXIII is written from Lahore in reply to the letter of Ḥasan. Ḥazīn regrets the untimely death of Ḥasan's father and advises him to seek perfection and not to be upset by that event.

The letters to Ḥasan are followed by letters to other nobles. In *Letter XXXVII* Ḥazīn mentions Mirzā 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm whose letter he also answers and Saiyid 'Imād-ud-Dīn Khān Ṣāhib whose letter he promises to reply tomorrow (*i.e.*, on the day following). In *Letter XXXIX* Ḥazīn sends his salaams to Nawwāb (Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk); his sons; Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān; and Maulānā 'Abd-ul-'Azīm, and his son and all other friends. *Letter XL*—In this letter Ḥazīn sends his salaams to Nawwāb Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk, his sons, and Saiyid 'Imād-ud-Dīn. The letter is written in Ṣafar. *Letter L* is written on Tuesday the 6th of Ṣafar. *Letter LI* is written to Ghulām Ḥusain; beginning: اعتمادی غلام حسین بعافیت باشند

It is written on Friday the 11th of Ramaḍān; in return to a letter received one day before (*i.e.*, on the 10th of Ramaḍān.) In this letter Ḥazīn says: A friend wrote to me about my heavy expenses. What should I do? It cannot be helped. I have not got a religious and faithful servant and cannot attend to anything myself. I have not got the guts and time to do it. Material business and account has never been worthy of my consideration: nor is it

now. My meal consists of a single morsel ; and I am wearing on my person a coarse-cloth 3 or 4 years old. I do not spend on myself save very little. But all this debt is due to the heavy expenses of this country ; especially those of travel. For, I cannot stay at one place so as to be enabled to reduce the retinue and paraphernalia. Even if for a year or two I adopt a residence, it is like an inn where I am staying like a traveller.

Ghulām Ḥuṣain—the addressee of this letter—helped Ḥazīn with a hundi for 1,000 rupees which Ḥazīn acknowledges. He also acknowledges the friendship and favours of Mirzā Muḥammad Afdal Sāhib and Nawwāb Majīd-ud-Daulah Bahādur.

Ḥazīn wanted to accompany the Nāẓim of Īrān who was returning from India to Khurāsān and Īrān. See Letters XVIII and XX. At the time of writing letter XVIII the Nāẓim was in the suburbs of Multān and while writing letter XX the Nāẓim had neared Qandahār. In this letter Ḥazīn tells us that he entered Lahore on Saturday the 12th.

Maikhāna—is a mathnawī mentioned in the 'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā, Rāmpūr MS. 52, f. 58, and *Ibid.* Aurangābād ed., p. 22. The mathnawī, if it ever existed, is now extinct. Not mentioned anywhere else.

Maṣābiḥ-ul-Izlām fī Irā'at-il-Kalām—is a treatise on the art of Kalām and cognate matters. As stated in the introduction to the treatise, Ḥazīn commenced it on the 1st of Ramaḍān 1157 A.H./8th of October 1744 A.D. and completed it in 5 days on the

5th of Ramaḍān 1157 A.H./12th of October 1744 A.D., at Delhi. The book is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. Copies are preserved in the Āṣifiya Library, MS. 188 and Subḥān Ullāh MS. 891.5528/36. Thabāt, as quoted in the *Majma'-un-Nafāi's*, Punjab University, MS. P. F. I. 24, f. 170 and *Mardum-i-Dīdah*, Ḥabīb Ganj Typed copy, p. 50, says about Ḥazīn: هیچ تصنیفی ازو در علم حکمت و کلام بنظر نیامده. This is a clever remark—meaning that Ḥazīn is ignorant of Philosophy and Kalām. The existence of the present treatise certainly gives a lie to the statement of Thabāt which could not have been made as early as 1157 A.H. (*viz.*, the date of composition of the present treatise). See *supra*. While Ḥazīn's *Mufarriḥ-ul-Qulūb* is a work of a still earlier age. The *Maṣābīḥ-ul-Izhlām fī Irā'at-il-Kalām* is written in Īrānī.

Muddat-ul-'Umr—was a compendium or magazine (majmū'a) of literary things wherein Ḥazīn desired to record all his rare acquisitions in the realm of literature, and to supplement it by additional fruits of knowledge as he acquired them. It was his idea to continue the work all his life long. A portion of the book was written while Ḥazīn was travelling through Fārs. In the beginning of the year 1135/1772¹ it amounted to 7,000 couplets,

¹ Mr. E. G. Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 278, says, that Ḥazīn began his *Muddat-ul-'Umr* in 1135 A.H. According to *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 205, he collected it in 1135 A.H. Both these statements are wrong. The reading of the text in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*,

when the book, with his library and all his other possessions, was carried away in plunder, in the sack of Isfahān¹ in the same year (1135 A.H.). It is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 268b. It was written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Mufarriḥ-ul-Qulūb—is a treatise on Medical Experiments and Corollaries. It was written at Kirmānshāhān.²

Madārij-ul-'Ulya—is a composition of Hazin mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Mukhtaṣar-ul-Badī' wal 'Arūd wal Qawāfī—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Mi'rāj-un-Nafs—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, ff. 270b-271a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Lucknow ed., pp. 41-42 is :—

در سفر فارس مقداری ازان نوشته شد و همچنین تا ابتدای
سال خمس و ثلاثین و مایه بعد الف تاخمیناً بهفت هزار بیت
رسیده بود.

which means that, "in the beginning of 1135 A.H., it amounted to about 7,000 couplets," and not that, "he began it in 1135 A.H." or that, "he compiled it in 1135 A.H."

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 42. In the *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 205, it is wrongly said that the book was carried away when the Afghans invaded Shīrāz.

² *Kirmanshah*—a town lying in a plain among the mountain ranges that border the Iranian plateau on the south-west, now the capital of a Persian province between Kurdistan on the north and Luristan on the south.

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 1034-35 and *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣāl-i-Īrān*, Vol. II, pp. 451-458.

Maqālāt-u-Ba'd-il-Mashā'ikh—is a record of the sayings of some pious men. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 271b. It is written in Īrānī and is extinct.

Mukhtaṣir-ud-Da'wāt waz Ziyārāt—is a composition mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Ma'rifat-ul-Bārī wa mā Yata'allaqu bihī—is a treatise dealing with gnosis of God and the matters appurtenant thereto. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272a. Written in Īrānī. This work is extinct nowadays.

Ma'rifat-ut-Taqwīm wa Aḥkām-in-Nujūm—is an astronomical work mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273b. Written in Īrānī. Nowadays extinct.

Ma'n-aṣ-Ṣamad wa Tafsīr-u-Surat-it-Tauḥīd—is a work in explanation of Chap. CXII of the Qur'ān. The work is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 270b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct nowadays.

Ma'rifat-ul-Ajsām wa tanāhīhā—is a work mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Mikyāl-ul-'Ulūm—is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Mawā'iz-ul-Ḥukamā—is a treatise mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273b. Written in Īrānī. Nowadays it is extinct.

Maktūb dar Jawāb-i-Ārzū—is a letter written by Ḥazīn to Sirāj-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū. It is written in reply to, and in connection with,

Arzū's comments upon some verses of Khāqānī Shirwānī. Hazīn has vindicated the usages condemned by Ārzū. Before tackling the subject proper, Hazīn says that he had received the letter asking him the meanings of the verses of Khāqānī and the objections raised to some of them. Hazīn dubs Khāqānī as Ḥassān of the East. Then he complains of his own infirmity to concentrate on subjects of this nature. He proceeds to say, that it is immaterial in these days—especially in India—if a man does not understand the verses of Khāqānī; nay even the number of the 5 daily prayers. Such being the state of affairs, he advises Ārzū to give up these pursuits and to exert in something which will bring him worldly gain. But if, perchance, he (*i.e.*, Arzū) were to think of things sublime and intended to achieve substantial (*i.e.*, spiritual) gain, he should realise that that has a few preliminaries. First of all one should discard ambition and understand the ways and methods of perfection and acquisition and should know with certainty that there is nothing in sensuality, talking nonsense, making pretensions and vertiginousness and talkativeness. "This," says Hazīn, "is the intelligent and sympathetic answer to the question."

Hazīn proceeds to say that he has no mind to compose tales of commentaries on verses, especially when he has to write them down. "If you had been present," says Hazīn, "it would have been easier to remove your doubts by a few hints. But

since it transpires that you conceive to understand things ; and pretend to have a hand in, and possess everything ; and that poor Khāqānī also appeared very low and contemptible to your sagacious nature, I am writing these few sentences in spite of their incongruity with my state, and difficulty of performance, in the hope that God, the Almighty, bestow the garment of effectiveness on my truthful and unselfish words and cause them to remove this danger and conceit which is the commencement of compound inferiority. There is no place for opening the lips in objection ; and this maqṭa' [verse] of the ghazal [qaṣīda] is appropriate to this discussion :

بذکر چه ناخیز پسری کز وجود تو
دارالخلافه پدر است ایرمان سرای

Here Ḥazīn beautifully introduces one of the verses of Khāqānī¹ objected to and proceeds to justify it.

This letter is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a, under the name

رساله حل بعض الاشعار من كلام الخاقانی

For MSS. see *Manthūrāt*, Bānkīpūr MS. 2351, letter No. 42 ; and Subḥān Ullāh Khān Collection MS. 297.3/11, ff. 36a-40a. The Subḥān Ullāh MS. does not contain the introductory remarks of Ḥazīn and begins with an elucidation of the objections straightaway.

A beautifully written copy of the Letter with gold-ruled margins and 'unwāns transcribed at Haiderābād, 1279, is preserved in the Lytton Library

¹ For this verse of Khāqānī see *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 214.

MS. 3/46. According to this MS. it is a "letter written by Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn in answer to that of Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn Faqīr who was one of the able men of India and was very proud of his knowledge and skill. It is written in Īrānī.

Nūjḥ-ut-Talab fī Istikhrāj-i-Dil'-il-Muka'ab wa Istikshāf-i-Mu'dalāt-il-Hindisa—is a mathematical work ; mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. It was written in Arabic and is nowadays extinct.

Nawādir-ul-'Arab wa Akhbārohum—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Paimāna—is a mathnawī. It is mentioned in the *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rāmpūr MS. 52, f. 58 ; but is omitted in *ibid.*, Aurangābād ed., p. 22. The mathnawī, which is not mentioned anywhere else, is nowadays extinct.

Qaṣīda-i-Lāmiya—It is called "Lāmiya" because it rhymes in J. In the prose preface to the qaṣīda Ḥazīn states that, towards the end of his life, while he was residing in India, and was overpowered by physical and mental infirmities and afflictions, it occurred to his mind, one night, to compose a qaṣīda in the manner of the ancients who had composed subtle "Lāmiyas" in praise of the rulers of their times. He says that he chose the praise of Ḥadrat 'Alī as the theme of his qaṣīda and completed it before half the night was over.¹ The qaṣīda is in Arabic. Ḥazīn has also written a commentary on the qaṣīda under the name *Sharḥ-i-Qaṣīda-i-Lāmiya* ;

¹ See preface to his *Qaṣīda-i-Lāmiya*, *Shefta* Collection MS. 107/140.

which *vide*.

Risāla dar Awzān-i-Mithqāl-o-Dirham-o-Dīnār waghaira—is a short tract on the weight of coins and on legal measures in Khurāsān. In the R.A.S.B. MS. 502, ff. 141 ν -143 ν it is called *Dar Tahqīq-i-Awzān-i-Shar‘i-o-‘Urfī* and begins :

الحمد لله وسلام تسليماً و بعد افقر فقراء باب الله
على ابن ابوتالب الجيلانى

In the R.D.F., f. 271b, it is called *Al-Mi‘yār fil Awzān-al-Sharī‘a*. In the Bānkīpūr Catalogue, Vol. III, p. 232, it is called *Risāla-i-Awzān-i-Shar‘*. It is written in Īrānī.

Risāla dar Khawaṣṣ-ul-Ḥaiwān—also called *Tadhkira-i-Ṣaidiyya* or *Risāla-i-Ṣaidiyya*, is a treatise on zoology. The contents of the treatise according to copies extant in the various libraries are as follows :—

Muqaddama. Legal prescriptions relating to the hunting and killing of animals, and to those which it is lawful or unlawful to eat.

Bāb I. Account of some animals of land and sea, arranged in alphabetical order according to their Arabic names.

Bāb II. Origin of animal life and its nature.

Bāb III. Senses and faculties of animals.

Khātimah. Legitimate object of the chase.

In the R.D.F., f. 272b, it is called *Kitāb-uṣ-Ṣaid wadh Dhabāi‘h wa Khawaṣṣ-il-Ḥaiwān*. (The Bānkīpūr MS. 407, ff. 120b-164a, is dated 1178 A.H. See *ibid.* f. 164a.) Written in Īrānī.

Risāla dar Chigūnagī-i-Marwārīd—is a small treatise on pearls composed in 1158/1745. It has been preserved to us in the rare Subḥān Ullāh Khān Collection MS. 553.8/3; transcribed in 1225/1810 at Lucknow. References to the treatise are to be found in *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 65b; *Kitāb-i-Nujūm-ul-Asmā' fī Tarājim-il-'Ulamā*, Subḥān Ullāh Khān Collection MS. 920/12, f. 82a; and the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. In the last-named work it is called *Kitāb-i-Ma'rifat-ul-Laālī*. Written in Īrānī.

Risāla-i-Ḥudūth-o-Qidam—is a treatise in prose. In a brief introduction to the treatise Ḥazīn states, that he composed it in response to a letter from Bahā-ud-Dīn Muḥammad questioning him (Ḥazīn) about the Reality of the Doctrine of Ḥudūth and Qidam and the source of the controversies appurtenant thereto; and in order that it may serve as the means of dispelling the doubts. In the *Curzon Collection* MSS. 502 and 1043 it begins as follows:
 الحمد لله على آلائه و نشكره على نعمه و بعد ما كرر اين سواد
 It is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b, where it is called *Mabḥath-ul-Qidam wal Ḥudūth*. It is written in Īrānī.

R.A.S.B. MS. 52 (6), ff. 141-141v—is a short note of theosophical contents.

Risāla-i-Taujīh-i-Kalām-i-Qudamā-i-Mujūs¹ dar

¹ The *Shudhūr-ul-'Iqyān*, Hidāyat Ḥusain's MS. f. 288 has القدام. The *R.D.F.*, f. 268b reads: qudamā'-al-Majūs.

Mabda'-i-'Ālam—or Treatise on the Explanation of the Assertions of the Ancient Wise Men among the Magi on the Beginning of the World. It was written at Iṣfahān. The *Risāla* is written in Arabic. It is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 268b.

Risāla-i-Ibtāl-i-Tanāsukh barā-i-Tābi'in—is a treatise falsifying the theory of Transmigration of the Soul written for the benefit of the Blind Followers. It was written at Iṣfahān. This treatise is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. It is written in *Īrānī*.

Rajm-ush-Shayātīn—is a rejoinder to Ārzū's *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn* : composed by Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazīn. See *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, pp. 213 and 218.

Saiyid Muḥammad 'Abd Ullāh in his articles on *Siyālkotī Mal Wārasta* (published in the *Oriental College Magazine* for May 1929, pp. 43-65), erroneously attributes the authorship of the *Rajm-ush-Shayātīn* to *Wārasta* (see pp. 46 and 65). As regards the cause of compilation of the work, S. M. 'Abd Ullāh says that Ḥazīn had many followers in India and that *Wārasta* was one of them. Hence, *Wārasta* composed the *Rajm-ush-Shayātīn* in refutation of Ārzū's *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn* (p. 46). Later on (pp. 48 and 65), the learned author has confused the *Rajm-ush-Shayātīn* of Ḥazīn with the *Jawāb-i-Shāfi* of *Wārasta*. On p. 48, he calls it *Jawāb-i-Shāfi* or *Rajm-ush-Shayātīn*. On p. 65, Saiyid 'Abd Ullāh describes the book and adds : "In the *Gul-i-Ra'nā* a book called *Jawāb-i-Shāfi* is attributed to

Wārasta. Perhaps *Rajm-ush-Shayātīn* and *Jawāb-i-Shāfī* are two names of the same book." Thus, we see the source of deception of the Saiyid Ṣāhib.

Jawāb-i-Shāfī is a work of Wārasta written in answer to Ārzū who had raised objections to some of the expressions employed by Ḥākīm. It was written at the time of the return of Ḥākīm to Lahore. See *Khizāna-i-Āmirah*, Newwul Kishore ed., pp. 201-202. Also see *Cat. of Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University*, p. 234 and *Rieu.*, p. 503.

Ārwī in *Nigār*, March 1930, p. 36, has also committed the mistake of describing *Rajm-ush-Shayātīn* as a composition of Wārasta Mal Siyālkotī in answer to Khān Ārzū's *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*.

The *Rajm-ush-Shayātīn* was preceded by a preface from which Āzād quotes the words : *یع از جرگه حرامزادگان اکبر آباد* in his *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, Lahore ed., p. 213. From the above quotation and also from Āzād's statement in *ibid.*, p. 218, it appears that he had seen the work.

The *Rajm-ush-Shayātīn* is not mentioned anywhere else. The book is extinct. It was written in Irānī.

Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātidha-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud— is an anonymous work of Ḥazīn. It consists of three different parts of varying lengths. At the beginning there is a complete pedigree of the author (ff. 266b-267a). It is followed by an account of the teachers whose lectures Ḥazīn attended and the books which he pursued in his studies (ff. 267a-268a).

At the end there is a list of his publications (ff. 268a-276a). The list of his publications is divided into two parts. In the 1st part (ff. 268a-271b) Ḥazīn names his Arabic composition; and in the 2nd part (ff. 271b-276a) he gives the names of his books composed in Īrānī. The book is written in Arabic. It is preserved to us in the rare but extremely useful MS. 1778 in the Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Beginning :

الحمد لله فاني اردت ان اكتب بعض طرفى الى مشائخى
واذير بعض كتبى الخ-

It has been copied by one Mahkū Lāl of Banāras. The MS. abounds in mistakes which show that the copyist was not well-versed in Arabic. Fortunately, the portion of the MS. dealing with Ḥazīn's compositions (*viz.*, ff. 268a-276a) has been published in the *Kitāb-i-Nujūm-ul-Asmā' fī Tarājim-il-'Ulamā* (pp. 288-293), which has greatly facilitated my work of reading the MS. A careful comparison of the MS. and the *Kitāb-i-Nujūm-ul-Asmā' fī Tarājim-il-'Ulamā*, has revealed that the MS. is not the original of the printed work; because (1) the *Kitāb-i-Nujūm-ul-Asmā' fī Tarājim-il-'Ulamā* is more correct; and because (2) it contains some words and names of books which are not to be found in the *R.D.F.*

*Risāla-i-Taḥqīq-i-Ghinā'*¹—is a Treatise on the Investigation of Vocal Music composed at Beidā. In the *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rāmpūr MS. 52, f. 58, it is called

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Bombay ed. p. 40, has 'Inā.

Risāla dar 'Ilm-i-Mūsīqī. In the R.D.F., f. 269a, it is called *Kashf-ul-Ghitā' fī Tahqīq-il-Ghinā*. It is written in Arabic. Confer *Risāla fīs Samā' wa Ādābihī*.

Risāla dar Jawāb-i-Su'āl-i-Arba'in Roz-i-Shahādat—is mentioned in the *Nujūm-ul-Asmā'*, Subhān Ullāh MS. 920/12, f. 82b.

Risāla dar Hillat-i-Tambākū-o-Kashīdan-i-Qalyān—is a treatise on the lawfulness of tobacco and smoking the hookah. It is mentioned in the *Nujūm-ul-Asmā'*, Subhān Ullāh Khān Collection MS. 920/12, f. 82b.

Risāla dar Tahqīq-i-Jahl-i-Basīṭ-o-Murakkab—is a treatise on simple and complicated ignorance. It is mentioned in the *Nujūm-ul-Asmā'*, Subhān Ullāh Khān Collection MS. 920/12, f. 82b.

Risāla Lawāmi'a Mushriqah dar Tahqīq-i-Ma'nī-i-Wāhid-o-Wahdat—is a short note in Arabic in the form of a letter on the unity of God; written at Dārāb in 1133 A.H./1720-1 A.D.; as stated at the end of the Curzon Collection MS. 502, f. 141; beginning :
هو الله الذى لا اله الا هو الخ بعد ' فقد وصل اليها كتابك الخ

This work is also mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 270a. It is written in Arabic.

Risāla-i-Imāmat—concerning the treatise the author says, "In Mecca, the revered, by reason of an intimation made to me in a dream, I wrote a treatise on the Imāmat."¹ As Hazīn was at Mecca in 1144 A.H. (see *supra*) the treatise was, therefore,

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 99.

composed in 1144 A.H. In *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā* (Rāmpūr MS. 52, f. 58 and *ibid.*, Aurangābād ed., p. 22) it is called *Fath-us-Subul* and is said to deal with the excellence of the Imāmiya sect and the preference of Sufism over all other sects. This is incorrect. For, *Fath-us-Subul* is a composition of Ḥazīn quite distinct from the *Risāla-i-Imāmat*. *Fath-us-Subul* is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. The *Risāla-i-Imāmat* is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b, under the name *al-Ighāthah fi'l Imāmat*. The *Fath-us-Subul* is written in Īrānī. The *Risāla-i-Imāmat* is also written in Īrānī.

Rumūz-i-Kashfiya—a great part of the work was written at Mashhad¹ c. 1140-1142.² It is written in Arabic. It is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 268b, where it is called *Rumūz-i-Kashfiya*.

Risāla dar Haqīqat-i-Nafs-o-Tajarrud-i-Ān—is treatise on soul and renunciation; written at Kirmānshāhān. Ḥazīn wrote it at the request of a certain friend (see Bānkīpūr MS. 407, f. 9a.).

According to the *Curzon Collection Cat.*, p. 357 and *R.A.S.B. Collection Supplement II*, p. 66, it is a treatise on the physical nature of man and its relation to the material world. It has been compiled outside Kirmānshāhān. The date of compilation is about Ramadān 1139/April-May, 1727. Beginning:

انی عقل بکنده لا یزال تو رسد' . . . و بعد' چون علت غائی
آفرینشی

¹ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed.

² See *Diwān IV*, composed at the same time.

It is also called *Risāla dar Tahqīq-i-Nafs-o-Tajarrud-i-Ān*—It is preserved in the R.A.S.B. MS., 52, ff. 128v-134v. It is also mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 271b. It is written in Īrānī.

Risāla fi Wujūb-i-Mash-ir-Rijlain—is mentioned in the *Mira'āt-i-Aḥwāl-i-Jahān Numā*, R.A.S.B. MS. 278, f. 337 and *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astār an Asmā'il Kutub wal Asfār*, p. 284, No. 1522.

Ruq'a-i-Hazīn—or Hazin's Letter to a Friend. This is preserved to us in the *Riyād-ul-Afkār*, Bānkīpūr MS., f. 41b. There is no mention of the name of the addressee, and place or date of writing. It begins with the words صاحب من بسلامت. It is written in answer to a letter in which Hazīn had been asked to send some earthen flasks. This again gives no clue³ of the place of writing or destination.

The internal evidence, however, is significant; though not informative. It is written from a small city, where only one potter manufacturing these articles is pointed out by Hazīn. The potter had no ready supply. It is, therefore, obvious that the place from which the letter is written was not very famous for flasks or a big market for the same. Hence, Hazīn could send only 85 flasks and two hookahs. These articles were short of the quantity and inferior to the quality required.

The letter is written in direct style and ordinary diction. It is written in Īrānī.

Risāla-i-Mantiq—is a treatise on logic. It was

composed at Beidā.

Risāla dar Jafar—is a treatise mentioned in the *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, Lahore ed., p. 218, only.

Rāḥ-ul-Arwāḥ—or “The Wine of the Souls” is a book mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Risāla-i-Manāsik-ul-Ḥajj—Ḥazīn wrote this treatise during the course of his journey to Ḥijāz. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Riyād-ul-Ḥikmat—is a book mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Risāla-i-Maʿrifat-ul-Qiblah—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Risāla fī Jawāb-is-Suʿāl ʿan-il-Arbaʿat-il-Mutanāsiba—is a treatise written by Ḥazīn in answer to a question regarding the Simple Rule of Three. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Risāla-i-Zād-ul-Masālik—is a treatise mentioned only in the *Athār-i-Aḥmadī*, Miyān Muḥammad of Mārahra’s MS. It is said there to be one of the compositions of Ḥazīn that Shāh Āl-i-Aḥmad took with himself to Mārahra.

Risāla fī Jawāb-i-Masaʿlat fīʾl Wuḍūʾ—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Risāla fī Dhikr-i-Aḥwāl-i-Afdal-id-Dīn Muḥammad—is a treatise dealing with the life of

Afdal-ud-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qāsānī; mentioning some of his letters and short tracts. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, ff. 274b-275a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Risāla fī Jawāb-il-Masā'il—is a treatise in answer to the problems which Ḥazīn received from Khurāsān. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct nowadays.

Risāla fī Jawāb-il-Masā'il—is a treatise in answer to the problems which Ḥazīn received from Jilān or more properly Gīlān. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Īrānī. The treatise is extinct.

Risāla fi'l Jawāb-i-'an-is-Su'āl—is a treatise written in answer to a question which Ḥazīn received from Constantinople. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Īrānī. The work is extinct nowadays.

Risāla fin Nawāfil-il-Lailiya—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Risāla mā Yu'malu fī Lailat-il-Jum'a—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. The treatise which was written in Īrānī is nowadays extinct.

Risāla al-Ḥusn wal Qubḥ-ul-'Aqliain—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Risāla-i-Madārij-i-Ḥurūf—is a treatise composed at Iṣfahān.

Risālat-ul-Farq bain-al-'Ilm wal Ma'rifat—is a

book mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct nowadays.

Risāla fī Tahqīq-i-Ba'd-il-Masā'il—is a treatise dealing with some points of the Religious Law regarding which there is a controversy between the followers of the Prophet Muḥammad. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct nowadays.

Risāla fī Bayān-i-Khawāriq-il-'Ādāt wal Mu'jizāt wal Karāmāt—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Risāla dar Ghusl—is a treatise on ablutions explaining the meaning of the Qur'ānic verse : V. 8. It is in the form of a reply to a question. In the introduction to the treatise Ḥazīn says, that, an interrogator asked me : “ The word *الى المرافق* apparently denotes conclusion and extremity, as in the Qur'ānic verse : *فاغسلوا وجوهكم وايديكم الى المرافق* : Why do then the *Shī'as* begin from the elbow and wash backwards ? ” Now follows the answer given by Ḥazīn.

The name of the author and the date of composition of the treatise are wanting. Copies are preserved in the *Curzon Collection MSS.* 1043(2) and 752(5). Written in Īrānī. It is also mentioned in the *Kashf-ul-Hujub-i-wal Astār 'an Asmā'il Kutub-i-wal Asfār*, p. 291, No. 1570. In the *Curzon Collection Pers. Cat.* 1926, p. 488, No. 752(5) ff. 360-363v, it is mentioned among the doubtful compositions of Ḥazīn. Beginning :

الحمد لله و سلام على عبادة الذين اصطفى

Risāla-i-Qaḍā-o-Qadar - is mentioned in the *Mira'āt-i-Aḥwāl-i-Jahān Numā*, R.A.S.B. MS. 278, f. 337.

Risālat al-Karr wa Aḥkām-ul-Miyāh—is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273a. It is written in Īrānī and is now extinct.

Risāla-i-Taḍ'īf-ush-Shaṭranj—is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273a. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

*Rawā'iḥ-ul-Jinān*¹—is a work written at Iṣfahān. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 268b.

Risāla-i-'Amaliyāt-i-Khāṣṣ—the only reference to the work is to be found in Maḥzar Ḥasan's *Tārīkh-i-Banāras*, p. 426, where a copy of the work is said to be extant in the library of the late Ḥakīm Muḥammad Ṣādiq of Dolhī Pūr, Banāras.

According to the *Tārīkh-i-Banāras*: "It is a Practice of the Invisible Hand which brings a man an income of Rs. 40 per day out of which one spends Rs. 39 and retains Re. 1 only which again becomes Rs. 40. It is written in the *Risāla* that one who wants to practise it should take up his habitation in a place where he cannot hear the voice of a human being."

The *Risāla-i-'Amaliyāt-i-Khāṣṣ* closely resembles the *Fawā'id-i-Chihil-o-Yak-o-dīgar A'māl-o-Awrād* described above. Perhaps they may be one and the same thing.

¹ In the *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 218, it is called *Rawā'iḥ-ul-Ḥayāt* which is incorrect. See R.D.F., f. 268b.

Risāla-fi-Dalālat-il-fi'l-il-Muḍāri'-il-Muthbat—is a grammatical treatise dealing with the *Fi'l Muḍāri'* *Muthbat*. Ḥazīn also enumerates the sayings of others in support of the assertion of Abī Ḥuyān, that it is common to the Present and the Future. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274b. Written in *Īrānī*. The book is extinct nowadays.

Risāla fi Tadvīn-i-ba'd-i-mā Katabtu ilal Aṣḥāb—is a treatise mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274b. Written in *Īrānī*. The book is extinct.

Risālat-i-Ḥaṣr-i-Ḍaruriyāt-id-Dīn—is mentioned in the *Kitāb-i-Nujūm-ul-Asmā' fi Tarājim-il-'Ulamā*, p. 292. This treatise is not mentioned in the *R.D.F.* It is written in *Īrānī*. The book is extinct.

Risāla Tazkiyat-un-Nafs—in this treatise Ḥazīn deals with the statements of (1) Aristotle; and (2) Plato. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in *Īrānī*. The book is extinct.

Risāla fi Bayān-il-Quwwat-il-Qudsiya—in this treatise Ḥazīn deals with the *Quwwat-i-Qudsiya* and of its possibility in human beings. He discusses the sayings of the *Mashā'iyīn* and the opinion regarding apocalypse and of revelation according to the verdicts of the *Ishrāqiyūn* and the *Ṣūfīs*. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in *Īrānī*. The book is extinct.

Risālat al-Baḥth ma' ash-Shaiḫ Suhrawardī fi'r Royā—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275b. Written in *Īrānī*. The book is extinct.

Risāla-i-Aqsām-ul-Muṣaddiqīn bi's Sa'adat-il-

Ukhrawiyya —is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275b. The treatise which was written in *Īrānī* is nowadays extinct.

Risāla fi'l Imāmat—in this treatise *Hazīn* deals with the stipulations of *Imāmat*. It seems to be different from the treatise called *al-Ighāthah fi'l Imāmat* which is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. See *Risāla-i-Imāmat*. The *Risāla fi'l Imāmat* is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275b. It is written in *Īrānī*. The work is extinct.

Risāla fis Samā' wa Ādābihī—is a short treatise on singing. A copy is preserved in the John Ryland's Library Manchester MS. 816, ff. 6b-8b. It is written in *Īrānī*. See *Manchester Cat.*, p. 809. Hence, it is a work different from the *Risāla-i-Taḥqīq-i-Ghinā* which is written in Arabic; and which confer.

Ruq'āt-i-Hazīn—This is a set of 24 letters preserved in the Punjab University MS. Pe. II. 20, pt. III, ff. 68b-80a. These contain some of the earliest letters of *Hazīn*. They are mostly written to Dehli from different places. The clue to the destination of the letters is to be found in the following words in Letter XV :—

چند کلمه در جواب مرزا عبدالرحیم مرقوم است، مکرر مرقوم فرموده بودند که قاصد او چنین و چنان از وقتیکه مکتوبش موقوف بتقویم رسید تا این وقت نوشته از او نرسیده بود و مرا هم حالت جواب نوشتن نشده، درین وقت دو کلمه نوشتم، از قاصد و نامه خود اینجا اثری نیست تا کدام صادق القول از صداقت کیشان دهلی چیزی بخدمت عرض کرده باشد.

This letter also contains the names of *Hakīm-ul-Mulk*, *Saiyid 'Imād-ud-Dīn Khān Shāhib*, *Muḥammad*

Ṭāhir Khān Ṣāhib, and Maulānā 'Abd-ul-'Azīm ; who are also mentioned in most of the following letters.

That these letters are addressed to one and the same person is indicated by the similar mode of address : *صاحب والا مقام سلامت* but in a case or two Ḥazīn begins with : *جذاب من*

Letter I—(ff. 68b-69a) is a general letter. Ḥazīn sends his salams to Nawwāb Ṣāhib Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk, the children of Saiyid 'Imād-ud-Dīn Khān Ṣāhib, Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān, and Maulānā 'Abd-ul-'Azīm. *Letter II*—(ff. 69a-69b), written on the 20th of Dhi'l-Qa'dah, is in explanation of the rhyme of *مشكين* and *مسكين*. Ḥazīn had used the two words to rhyme together. It had been objected to by some one. Hence, the remarks : "What I have written is not meant for these people or in the hope that they should comprehend it. I have written it for those that are worthy of it." In support of his usage, Ḥazīn quotes only one verse each of Khawājū Kirmānī and Khawāja Ḥāfiẓ ; and suffices with that. *Letter III*—(f. 69b), is written on Sunday the 16th. It is in explanation of his delay in writing letters. *Letter IV*—(ff. 69b-70a), is in acknowledgement of the receipt of two letters in Lahore ; and one letter through Mīr Abū Ṭālib. Ḥazīn says, that he had recommended, in writing, the son of Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān to the addressee. *Letter V*—(ff. 70a-70b), is written on Monday, the 1st of Dhi'l-Hijja. Ḥazīn says, that to halt in the course of this journey

is especially dangerous for one whose name is a common word on the lips of the people (meaning himself, of course).

Referring to the advent of Nādir Shāh and his association therewith by the people, Ḥazīn says : " One of the extraordinary things is that the people declare, in astonishment, that it is due to my stay." *Letter VI*—(ff. 70b-71b) : In this letter Ḥazīn expresses his desire to go to Īrān ; and laments his stay and sickness. He mentions Ḥājī Ghulām Ḥusain, Mirzā Imām Qulī, and Ḥājī Allāh Wardī Khān. *Letter VII*, is written on the 28th of Jamāda I. It is a political letter referring to the march of the armies of Nādir Shāh and cognate matters. Ḥazīn tells us, that the couriers of the Nāẓim who had arrived first from Chol, had left from a place one stage away from Tabrīz. He had granted 6 months' leave to the armies and was himself staying at Chol with a small party. It is not known what was written to the Nāẓim by the 2nd batch of couriers who arrived a few days ago. They never disclosed the secret. They had arrived in 2 months' time and left from Hamādān. There was perfect composure in his army. They said, that they were bound for Baghdād ; and receiving letter of the submission of Aḥmad Pāshā. Further on, the letter says : The Nāẓim of Multān has gone to Bhakkar with about 700 infantry and cavalry. His nā'ib, Zāhid Khān Afghān, has been given word and vicegerency which he has accepted. Momin Khān and others tried hard to comfort him (i.e., Zāhid Khān) and

keep him back. But they could not do so and only heard abuses. And he (Zāhid Khān) left the place.

In this letter Ḥazīn tells us that he had written a few sentences to Sher Afgan Khān in all love. *Letter VIII*—(f. 72b) is written on Sunday. It is written in response to the letter dated Saturday. From this letter we learn, that Ḥazīn was keeping quiet in a desolate corner. He was extremely astonished by his mental debility and other troubles; especially those caused by troublesome journeys.

Ḥazīn expresses his inability to give any information about the condition of the suburbs and roads; saying, that such information can be gathered from inside the city only and not from where he was residing. The letter ends with salams to Nawwāb Ṣāhib Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk and others. *Letter IX*—(ff. 72b-73a), written on Saturday the 10th of Sha'bān. Ḥazīn tells us, that it had been raining since two or three days and that he had received the answer of Muḥammad Tāhir Khān. *Letter X*—(ff. 73a-73b): This letter is written on the 28th of Dhi'l Ḥijja. We are told that it had been raining incessantly for 6 months from the 1st of Rajab without a break even for an hour or two. The people who had the nature of calves, had died on the top of one another in the water. As regards the dead bodies, they were partly devoured by dogs and partly washed away by the flood.

The letter also deals with some religious matters and the Fast. *Letter XI*—(ff. 73b-47a), is an unimportant letter; written on the 22nd of Shawwāl.

Letter XII—(ff. 74a-74b): The letter begins with the informal address "Jān-i-Man." In this letter Hazin says, that he has counted the qaṣīdas, quatrains, and qiṭ'as in his dīwān. They amounted to 110 and may be, 1 or 2 more. He requests the addressee to correct the (2nd) hemistich of the preface dealing with the number of pieces in the dīwān as follows: هزار و یکصد و ده آیدت چو بر شمری

It also contains a request to correct the list of contents at the end of the dīwān.

Referring to Nādir Shāh, probably, Hazin proceeds to say: "It is not befitting to put into writing the exact news received about Īrān. No fresh news has been received about the person nominated, except that one of the men of the Sardār, who has come here to demand the treasury, was saying yesterday, that he has left Bhakkar and proceeded further. *Letter XIII*—(ff. 74b-75a), written on the afternoon of the 21st. Hazin says: "This morning I received the letter dated the 14th. In the afternoon I received the letter of 'Alī Qulī Khān. They had been delayed on the way. *Letter XIV*—(f. 75a), contains an account of the Marhaṭṭa and Jāṭ insurrection. Hazin says: "More than 20 days ago, it was definitely ascertained that the Marhaṭṭas were at a distance of 30 karohs—which is one-day journey of theirs. Now this ruined city is in the protection of God." After lamenting the condition of the citizens, Hazin says: "People say, that the enemy is in a collected state and demands the revenues of the Province. Some men

of the Jāṭ are also in intercourse with him. Perhaps the Jāṭ may join hands with him. It is not known yet, what will happen. But the Jāṭ is endeavouring to get prepared. *Letter XV*—(ff. 75a-75b) : This is a letter written after the foregoing one. We are told, that the refugees are pouring in, in a pitiable and detestable condition.

The addressee had conveyed to Ḥazīn the news of the death of Ḥājī Allāh Wardī Khān for the second time. Mention is made of Saiyid 'Imād-ud-Dīn Khān Ṣāhib, Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān Ṣāhib, Maulānā 'Abd-ul-'Azīm, and Mirzā 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm. *Letter XVI*.—(ff. 75b-76a), written on the afternoon of Friday, the 1st of the month ; when Ḥazīn received three letters at the same time. This letter informs us, that the enemies (*i.e.*, the Marhāṭṭas) are at a distance of 5 karohs. Some 4 or five days earlier 100 cavalrymen of theirs entered the city. The Nā'ib made them alight in his own house. They possessed a document to the effect that such and such a troop-leader who accompanied those 100 persons should be paid Rs. 100 and all the rest Rs. 5 per day for their expenses. They have openly sent 40 persons to Mathrā and their outward explanation is, that they have been sent to guard the city. They fought with the soldiers and killed some. *Letter XVII*—(ff. 76a-76b) : This letter is written on Friday, the 1st of Rajab [1169 A.H.] from Banāras where Ḥazīn had stayed for about 3 months. Ḥazīn tells us, that he reached Banāras in a state of sickness and distress. On account of

the obstinacy and rebellion of the official,¹ who is such for a long time, the victorious armies came here with a determination to put an end to him and bent on deposing and subduing him. The official fled to a secure place and mountain-forts without putting up a resistance or fight. The armies began to plunder, set on fire, and to destroy the fields ; and left nothing. Those who were young and agile also fled away whereas the old and infirm remained behind. This state of affairs continued until they made a compromise with the official who returned to Oudh only three or four days before the present letter was written.

Hazīn tells us, that, two or three months ago, he heard that Shaikh Hasan left for 'Azīmābād, in a state of panic, and without informing anybody and that Hazīn received his letter from that place. *Letter XVIII*—(f. 76b) : This letter consists of only a few sentences as Hazīn had nothing fresh to pen and was also feeling very much run down. *Letter XIX*—(ff. 76b-77a), written on Sunday, the 21st from Sarā-i-Ambāla where Hazīn had just reached after a troublesome journey. Hazīn tells us that he stayed at Pānīpat for a day and having bought 5 or 6 bows he distributed them among his destitute companions and spent the day in teaching them archery. Since it was impossible to pass through

¹ Obviously referring to the rebellion of Rāja Balwant Singh of Banāras; the invasion of Shujā'-ud-Daula; the flight of Balwant Singh from Gangā Pūr to Latīf Pūr and the subsequent return of Balwant Singh. So, the letter was written in 1169 A.H./1756 A.D. See *supra*.

Karnāl, he also engaged 12 brave Indian Musketeers and set on the journey. In 'Azīmābād, which is at a distance of 16 or 17 karohs, they were attacked by robbers. It was afternoon and the sun was blazing hot. Ḥazīn proceeds to say, that at the end of the journey he was overtaken by serious illness. *Letter XX*—(ff. 77a-77b): This letter is written from somewhere near Lahore where Ḥazīn intended to go and to proceed further (towards Īrān); if possible. In the words of Ḥazīn: "Some Sardārs in Shāhjahānābād intend returning. If at the time of the receipt of this letter they have not left already, please inform them through one of your acquaintances, that at the time of entering Lahore, they should inform me of their arrival and intention as to when they will depart. *Letter XXI*—(ff. 77a-78b): This letter is written from Banāras on the 4th of Sh'abān [1169 A.H.] exactly one month and four days after Letter XVII, which was written from Banāras on Friday, the 1st of Rajab. Ḥazīn tells us again, that having fled from 'Azīmābad, he reached the city (of Banāras) in a state of illness and severe disease; that in accordance with Divine ordinance and the ill-fortune of the Official, the victorious armies of the King reached there, i.e., Banāras and wrought a havoc. Ḥazīn witnessed the devastation until the time that the armies returned; having reinstated the Official. Ḥazīn proceeds to write: "After the arrival of Nawwāb Shujā'-ud-Daula near Banāras, Nawwāb Qulī Khān came within a distance of 7

karohs of the army and put up in the foot of the Chanāda fort. He departed from the same place and by the same route, and returned to Illāhābād. I could not see them or their companions except Mirzā Dāu'd and Mirzā 'Umwī who came to Banāras one day and met me.

After entering Banāras I heard, that, on account of the excess of damage and wounds, Shaikh Ḥasan without informing anybody, left Oudh for 'Azīmābād in the night and by an unknown route." Hazīn also tells us, that, on account of the presence of Mahābat Jang there, the confusion in 'Azīmābād and Bangāl had increased a thousand-fold. *Letter XXII*—(ff. 78b-79a), is a repetition of *Letter XIX*. *Letter XXIII*—(ff. 79a-79b), is written on the 24th (of Ramaḍān) in reply to 2 letters dated the 13th and 16th (Ramaḍān¹); one of which also contained a letter from Mirzā 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm. Hazīn says, that there were absolutely no rains in the beginning of the month and it had been very hot. But now it had been raining repeatedly since 10 days. *Letter XXIV*—(ff. 79b-80a), written on Friday, the 7th (of Shawwāl) in answer to a letter dated the 20th of Ramaḍān which Hazīn received on Thursday, the 6th of Shawwāl. Hazīn says to have answered the letters of Mirzā Imām Qulī and Mirzā 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm.² Hazīn had also received a letter from Hājī Ṣādiq, telling him that Mīr Samī' had not arrived. It was extremely

¹ Since *Letter XXIV* is written on Friday, the 7th of Shawwāl in answer to the letter dated the 20th of Ramaḍān.

² For receipt of 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm's letter see *Letter XXIII*.

hot at the time of writing. Obviously, an epidemic had broken out. For, Ḥazīn tells us that, he was engaged in looking after the sick. Ḥazīn sends his salams to Muḥammad Ṭāhīr Khān Ṣāhib. He also sent to the addressee a few verses composed after '*Ishā*'; requesting the addressee to hand them over to Sher Afgan Khān; after he had copied them.

Risāla fī Taḥqīq-i-Ṣalāt-il-Jum'a—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275b. Written in *Īrānī*. The book is extinct.

Sāqī Nāma—is a *mathnawī* poem. It consists of about one thousand verses. It is interesting to note, that Ḥazīn wrote the entire poem (as well as numerous other verses) with his left hand, as for some time he was unable to use his right hand which he had injured as a result of falling from his horse while urging it in the desert in company of a number of friends. It begins with the following verse:

خدایا توئی آگه راز و بسر بهشت از تو دارند پاکان هوس

"Oh, Lord! Thou knowest the secret; and none else:
The pure expect the paradise of Thee."

It is one of the earliest compositions of Ḥazīn. He composed it at *Iṣfahān*; before going to *Gilān* in 1113 A.H. See the account of his teachers *supra*. It is written in *Īrānī*.

Safīr-i-Dil—is a *mathnawī*. Ḥazīn composed it at the age of 70;¹ The date of composition, 1173 A.H.,

¹ سر آمد ز عمر تو هفتاد سال نیاسود کلک و زبانت ز قال

—*Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*. Lucknow ed., p. 821.

is given at the end of the mathnawī :

نی سوده تاریخ اتمام یافت قلم با صغیر دل انجام یافت
 ن + ا + ل + د + ر + ی + ف + ص + ا + ب + م + ل + ق
 +100+30+40+ 2 + 1 +90+80+10+200+4+ 30+ 1 + 50
 ت + ف + ا + ی + م + ا + ج
 + 3 + 1 +40+10+ 1 +80+400=1173 A.H.

It has been lithographed at the Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow and comprises pp. 791-822 of the *Kulliyāt-i-Hazīn*.

The Curzon Collection MS. 299 (f. 23b) is dated the 27th of Muḥarram, 1175/the 28th of August, 1761; written at 'Azīmābād; copied by one Nand La'l.

The mathnawī is written in Īrānī.

Sharḥ-i-Qaṣīda-i-Lāmiya—is an Īrānī commentary on his own *Qaṣīda-i-Lāmiya*, which Ḥazīn had composed in praise of Ḥadrat 'Alī (see Bankīpūr Cat.).

The commentary was written at the request of some friends.¹ "Ḥazīn has composed a qaṣīda in response to the *Qaṣīdat-ul-'Ajam*," says Ghulām 'Alī Āzād;² who also points out two mistakes in the very first verse of the qaṣīda.

The Cat. of the R.A.S.B. describes it as "a commentary upon the Arabic qaṣīda rhyming in J, of which the authorship is ascribed to 'Alī ibn-i-Abī Ṭālib, the first Shi'ite Imām." This description is erroneous. The qaṣīda is certainly the composition of 'Alī ibn-i-Abī Ṭālib. But the author

¹ See Preface to his *Qaṣīda-i-Lāmiya*, Shefta Collection MS. 107/140.

² *Khizāna-i-'Āmira*, p. 199.

is 'Alī ibn-i-Abī Ṭālib, poetically surnamed Ḥazīn and not 'Alī ibn-i-Abī Ṭālib, the first Shi'ite Imām. The error of the cataloguer is due to the synonymy of the names.

A copy of the Qaṣīda, with its Sharḥ and the prose preface is preserved in the Shefta Collection (Lytton Library) MS. 107/140. The Bankīpūr MS. of Sharḥ-i-Qaṣīda-i-Lāmiya is dated 1178 A.H. It is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275b. The Sharḥ is in Īrānī.

Shajarat-ut-Ṭūr fī Sharḥ-i-āyati'n-Nūr—is a commentary, in Arabic, on the Qur'ānic verse XXIV, 35, written at Mashhad in 1140/1727-28. Beginning: *نعمدك يا نور النور افوق كل النور الخ*. According to the Curzon Collection MS. 752, Ḥazīn had written it at the request of a friend:—

...لاستدعاء بعض الخلان من سالكى سبيل العرفان سلكت فيه
مسلك الایجاز لاختیاری لبالحقیقة علی المآجاز.

The work is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a.

Sharḥ-i-Risāla-i-Kalimāt-ut-Taṣawwuf¹ is a commentary on the Kalimāt-ut-Taṣawwuf of Shaikh Ishrāq; written at Iṣfahān. Confer Sharḥ-i-Risāla.

Saif-ul-Lāh-al-Maslūl 'alā A'dā'-i-Āl-ir-Rasūl—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Fuṣūṣ-ul-Ḥikam—is a commentary on the book called Faṣūṣ-ul-Ḥikam, composed by Ibn-i-'Arabī.

¹ Kalimāt-ut-Taṣawwuf: MS. in India Office, 1922, MS. 5; Cf. Massignon, p. 112 and M. Harton, *loco citis*, p. vi note 1.

Siyar-o- 'Abd Illāh... wa Akhbārohū—is a book dealing with the biography and traditions of 'Abd Ullāh bin Badīl bin Warqā', al-Khazā'ī al-Azdī. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Abrahamic. It is extinct nowadays.

Sharḥ-i-Maṭla'-ul-Anwār—is a book on *Ḥayat*. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-ba'd-i-Fuṣūl-i-Aflātun-il-Ilāhī—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Irānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Sabab-ul-Ikhtilāf-i-fil-Akḥbār-i-wa Bayān-o-Tarīq-i-Jam'ihā—is a book describing the differences between traditions and the method of reconciling them. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Sīrat-ul-Muta'allimīn—is a treatise enumerating the morals of the scholars. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Irānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Sharḥ-i-Risāla fī Tahqīq-il-Ḥarakat—is a commentary on the treatise called *Risāla fī Tahqīq-il-Ḥarakat*, composed by Abī Ṭālib, the father of Ḥazīn. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274a. The *Sharḥ* is written in Irānī. It is extinct.

*Sharḥ-i-Risāla fī Qaul-i-Arastū...—*is a commentary on the treatise composed by Ḥazīn's father Abī Ṭālib in which he discussed Aristotle's assertion: "Why is rain-water lighter?"

The commentary is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274a. Written in Irānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Sharḥ-i-Risāla-i-Abī Yūsuf... fī Tahqīq-in-

Nafs—is an explanation of Abī Yūsuf Ya'qūb bin Ishāq al-Kindī's treatise dealing with *Nafs*. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274b. Written in Īrānī. The work is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-'Uyūn Akhbār-ir-Raḍā—the work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 268b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Risāla—is a work in explanation of a treatise of Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn Maqtūl. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 268b. Written in Arabic. The work is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Risāla-i-Ḥakīm 'Isā bin¹ Zar'a—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Sharḥ-il-Qaṣīdat-il Mamdūda—is a commentary on Ḥazīn's own qaṣīda ending in Ī. The qaṣīda was written in the suburbs of Mecca in 1144 A.H. and the commentary was prepared at Laḥsā in 1145 A.H.² Ḥazīn gifted it out to Saiyid Ḥusain al-Makkī of the Al-i-Ṣaḥrā. See *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. The *Sharḥ* which was written in Arabic is nowadays extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Ba'd-i-Khutub—is a commentary on some of the Addresses of Hadrat 'Alī. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Du'ā' 'Arfaḥ—is a commentary on the *Du'ā'-i-'Arfaḥ* of Imām Ḥusain. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. It was written in Īrānī; and is

¹ MS., f. 269b omit bin after 'Isā.

² Because Ḥazīn performed the pilgrimage in 1144 A.H. and returned to Bandar 'Abbās via Laḥsā and Baḥrain in 1145 A.H. See *supra*.

nowadays extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Qaṣīdat-il-Jīmiyya-il-Fāwiḍiya—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Miṣbāḥ-ish-Sharī'at—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Īrānī. Nowadays extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Risāla fī 'amal-il Musabī' wal Mutasi' fī Dā'irat-i-alif, bā, jīm min at-Ta'ālīm.—is a commentary on a treatise of Abī Ṭālib, the father of Ḥazīn. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Khuṭba-i-Shiqshiqiya—is an explanation of the *Khuṭba-i-Shiqshiqiya* of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī. It is mentioned in the *Nuḡūm-ul-Asmā'*, Subḥān Ullāh Khān Collection MS. 920/12, f. 82b.

*Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*¹—is also known as “*Sawāniḥ 'Umrī-i-Shaiḫ 'Alī Ḥazīn.*” It is the well-known autobiography of Ḥazīn from his birth in 1103 A.H./1692 A.D. to the date of its composition in 1154 A.H. /1741 A.D. Ḥazīn wrote it at *Shāhjahānābād* (Delhi) at the close of 1154 A.H. at the age of 51 years. In the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*,

¹ The *Tārīkh-i-Wāqī'āt-i-Īrān-o-Hind*, India Office MS. 1306 (Ethe 1714) is nothing more than a mere abbreviation of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*.

In this MS. (f. 2a) Ḥazīn says, that he intended to record some of the events and history of Īrān and India, whereas in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* he says, that he wanted to record some of his own memoirs. Ḥazīn also omits some sentences in order to serve his purpose. On f. 3a of the *Tārīkh-i-wāqī'āt-i-Īrān-o-Hind*, he simply calls himself Muḥammad, called 'Alī, poetically surnamed Ḥazīn and drops out his complete pedigree given in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*. But for these and similar minor differences the texts of the *Tārīkh-i-wāqī'āt-i-Īrān-o-Hind* and the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* do not differ in any vital degree.

Luckow ed. p. 143, Ḥazīn says that at the time of composing the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* he was 53 years of age. This mistake is repeated by Rieu (see *Rieu's Cat.* vol. I, p. 381). Critically speaking, Ḥazīn's statement is careless and incorrect. In 1154 A.H. he could not be more than 51 years of age, as he was born in 1103 A.H. The natural explanation is, that Ḥazīn wants to impress his old age on us, and in so doing he does not mind calculating his age a year or two ahead of the actual date. This phenomenon is even more manifest when in 1155 A.H. he says in the prose preface to his *Dīwān* IV, that he is now past 55 years of age. Ḥazīn is, however, mathematically exact, when, while speaking about his father he says: "During the 25 years that I have spent with him I have never seen him do an act odious in the religious law." But here, of course, he includes both the years of his own birth (1103 A.H.) and that of his father's death (1127 A.H.).

Ḥazīn completed 5/6th of the work in two nights.¹ It is written in simple and clear style unlike the literature produced under the patronage of the Mughal emperors.² So, because Ḥazīn had not attached himself to the court and was not writing under any influence.

The *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* " contains a variety of personal and historical anecdotes and excellent

¹ The reading in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Bombay ed., p. 119, however, is: **وروز و شب**

² Master's Introduction to his Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. iv.

observations on men and manners, besides an interesting account of his travels and remarks on many modern literary productions".¹ "The account of contemporary scholars and men of letters (many of whom perished during the siege of Iṣfahān in 1135/1722) with whom he was personally acquainted constitute one of the most valuable features of this interesting book".²

It furnishes us with valuable and detailed information about contemporary historical events of the time of which Ḥazīn was an eye-witness, which are scarcely found in any other work, and to which the latter portion of the book is devoted at large; e.g., the latter part of the Ṣafawī period and the rise of Nādir Shāh. It contains first-hand information about the Afghān invasion and fall of Iṣfahān in 1135 A.H.

The book is particularly invaluable from the point of view that the author is not one of the court poets who are always liable to distort facts. The author's judgment is perverted a little by his religious fervour which caused him to misrepresent the Turks somewhat, and by his inordinate patriotism which made him too enthusiastic in praise of his country.³

Referring to the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Ḥākim⁴ says:

¹ Master's Introduction to his Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. vii.

² *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

³ Master's Introduction to his Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. iii.

⁴ *Mardum-i-Dīdah*, Ḥabīb Ganj typed copy, p. 49.

"The Shaikh has written a treatise dealing with his pedigree and travels. In the work he makes high pretensions from which it appears that the writer's utmost purport in writing it is to scorn India and its people." The statement of Hākīm is too niggardly. As regards the composition of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Hazīn tells us: "All that is written in these leaves, and attention towards writing the substance of these events, was not the custom of my pen and the habit of my mind ; or suitable to my circumstances, desirable to my soul, and gladdening to my nature. Rather, I had no mind for it, as my thoughts and vision highly disliked and avoided it. Because, irrespective of the inconsistency between my circumstances and story-telling, the baseness of rank, paucity of profit, and meanness of these discourses, it had also other impediments and blemishes which were not agreeable to me. For, it generally happens, that, in the eyes of the ignorant some things resemble ostentation which is the stock-in-trade of the ignoble and regarded by me as the origin of all baseness. And praise and thanks be to God, the excess of my aversion and declination from this habit is natural and to such an extent that it has been the cause of my vileness and obscurity in the world". Hazīn proceeds to say, that he wrote these pages in Delhi, at the close of 1154 A.H., in order to while away his sleepless nights. See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 118-119.

Shaikh Chānd in his *Life of Saudā* (p. 46) unjustly calls the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* the "Mother

India of its time'. Even the most cursory reading would have revealed to Shaikh Chānd that Hazīn has declined to write anything about India or its people in the book. The time spent by Shaikh Chānd in passing remarks about the books of others could have been more profitably utilised in finding out the date of death of Saudā.

It may be pointed out, with regret however, that Hazīn mentions very few dates in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*.

The *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl* has been published with an English Tr. by F.C. Belfour, London 1830-1831. Another English Tr. has been published by M.C. Master under the title: The Translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Ahwāl* of Mowlānā Muḥammad Shaykh Alī Hazīn. It has been published from Bombay in 1911 A.D. This translation is an incomplete one, and proceeds only up to Hazīn's refusal to marry after his return from his first futile attempt to perform the pilgrimage.

The text of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl* has been repeatedly lithographed at Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow and Cawnpore, 1893 A.D. It has also been lithographed in Bombay, 1322 A.H.; Banāras 1851 A.D.; and Muslim Press Delhi, 1319 A.H.

Tadhkirat-ush-Shu'arā—is a biography of Iranian and Indian poets; composed by Hazīn. It is mentioned for the first time in the *Nigāristān-i-Fārs* (pp. 211 and 218). I have not seen a copy of this *Tadhkira* or heard it mentioned anywhere. Āzād (p. 211), however says, that, he had seen the work.

Āzād also gives quotations from the *Tadhkira* in his *Nigāristān-i-Fārs* (pp. 211-212). According to Āzād, Ḥazīn had written only 2 or 3 lines about each poet (p. 211) and amongst other poets has also mentioned Nizāmī Ganjawī, Abu'l Faḍl, and Faiḍī (pp. 211-212). It is definitely a work other than the *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn* as is proved from the quotations referred to above and *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 218.

Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn—is a biography of contemporary poets composed in India in 1165 A.H./1751 A.D., in the space of nine days.¹ "The author wished only to record the lives and poetry of his Shī'a friends and contemporaries, and had, therefore, commenced his memoirs from the date of his own birth in Rabī'-uth-Thānī 1103 A.H.²

It contains notices upon a hundred contemporary poets most of whom the author had met and whose verses he quotes from memory.³

But for the *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn* we would not have known a great number of Iranian poets that flourished between 1103-1165 A.H. and the literary history of Īrān would have remained much the poorer for it.

The *Tadhkira* is divided into two classes (*firqah*), the first of which contains the 'Ulamā who wrote

¹ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 1025.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 933; and J.R.A.S., Vol. IX, 1848, p. 147.

³ *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 281

Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āṣirīn, Lucknow ed., p. 938; and *Br. Mus. Cat.*, Vol. I, f. 373a.

verses and consists of 20 memoirs, and the second poets by profession and consist of 80 memoirs.

The author says, that, he wrote the *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āşirīn* in order to divert his mind from the sorrows of exile.¹

It has been lithographed at Newul Kishore Press along with the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*.

The colophon of the Bankīpūr MS. 407 (f. 76b) is dated the 23rd of Jumāda I, 1178 A.H. It is copied by one Barakat Ullāh.

The contents of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āşirīn* are given at length in the Sprenger's Cat., pp. 135-141. This work is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in Īrānī.

Tadhkirat-ul-'Āshiqīn—is a mathnawī² composed twice: (1) at Işfahān before 1127 A.H. (i.e., the date of death of Ḥazīn's father). It consisted of about 1,000 verses, of which the first 12 are quoted in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed.³; and (2) in India.

In a prose preface prefixed to this and three other mathnawīs preserved in the Br. Mus. MS. Or. 356 (f. 160) Ḥazīn says, that, the original drafts had been scattered in various countries, and that he had now written a sample of each, in order to com-

¹ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āşirīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 938.

² His mathnawīs are preserved in a fine collection entitled "*Mathnawīyat-i-Munjamala-i-'Alī Ḥazīn*" (The collected Mathnawīs of 'Alī Ḥazīn) in the King's College Library No. 124.

According to *Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām*, f. 211a, Ḥazīn composed 5 mathnawīs in different metres, bearing different names, and containing 1514 verses in all! This is incorrect as will readily be seen.

³ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 48.

ply with the desire of a noble friend in India.¹ The beginning and end of the *mathnawī* have been lithographed at Lucknow and form pp. 889-902 of the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*. It begins as follows :

ساقی ز می موحدا نه ظلمت بر شرک از میانه
با تیره دلان چو طعمه نور در نیم شبان تجلی نور
در ده که ز خود کرانه گیرم بی خود ره آن یگانه گیرم

From the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn* (Lucknow ed., p. 901) we gather, that, Ḥazīn composed the *Tadhkirat-ul-‘Ashiqīn* (after 1143 A.H.) after the age of 40.² This is certainly inapplicable to the earlier work composed before 1127 A.H. With regard to the later one, it must be taken liberally : for Ḥazīn, as we know, came to India in 1146 A.H. at the age of 43. It therefore follows that he must have composed it after 1146 A.H.

Treatise on the Elementary Principles of Astronomy—Ḥazīn wrote it at the request of a friend while he was sick and infirm. He completed it in *Jumāda II*, 1179/1765-66 ; at Banāras. Beginning :

بعد از ستایش و سپاس اینزد پاک و درود نا محدود النخ

It has been preserved to us in the R.A.S.B. MS. 1778, ff. 250a-265v. It is written in *Īrānī*.

Tahqīq-i-Ma‘ād-i-Ruḥānī—is a treatise on the theological and mystical meaning of the doctrine of resurrection, based on appropriate *ḥadīth* etc., beginning :

وله التجدد فی الاخرة... و بعد در اشارات بلذات و الم النخ

¹ *Br. Mus. Cat.* II, f. 716b.

² *Vide Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 901.

چل سال ز عمر بیوفا رفت تن مازد ز جنبش و قوی رفت

In both the Curzon Collection MSS. 1043 and 752 the name of the author and the date of composition are missing. But at the top of both the MSS. we have the words *ومنہ دام بقاۃ* and it follows one of Hazīn's works.

Treatise explaining the Meaning of the Qur'ānic Verse XXXVI, 78. In the Bankīpūr MS. 407, this treatise follows after the treatise called *Tahqīq-i-Ma'ād-i-Ruhānī*. It is a treatise explaining the meaning of the verse :

قال من یحیی العظام وہی رمیہ

"Says he: who will give life to the bones when they are rotten?" Qur'ān, XXXVI, 78. It is written in Irānī. Beginning :

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ نَعْمَدُهٗ وَبِهٖ نَسْتَعِیْنُ كَسَانِیْكَ سِرْمَايَهٗ
حصول معارف حقیقیہ علی ما ہی علیہ و قوت ادراک حقائق شرعیہ
و عقلیہ ہمگی یا بعض را نیافتہ یا نداشتہ باشند النخ -

The colophon of the Bankīpūr MS. 407 is dated Saturday 19th Rajab 1178 A.H. and is said to be copied at Murshidābād. See f. 244b.

Tafsīr-i-Surat : Hal atā 'alal Insān – is a treatise in explanation of the Qur'ānic verse LXXVI, 1. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. It is written in Arabic and is nowadays extinct.

Treatise on Meteorology—this is a short treatise explaining the different phenomena of this kind, beginning : *سپاس و ستائش مر خدایرا حل شانہ*

In the preface to the treatise Hazīn says : "I was questioned about some of the atmospheric existences. When I had explained them properly, I was

requested to reduce them to writing." Ḥazīn advised them to read his book called *Jām-i-Jam* which he had formerly composed in Īrānī. See *Supra*. He proceeds to say, "It is not now the exigency of my time to attend to these petitions. But as I do not wish to disappoint the proponent, I am writing these few lines and hope that they will prove useful."

The treatise is preserved in the R.A.S.B. MS. 1778, ff. 242b-249b.

Tajwīd-ul-Qur'ān—is a work mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 270b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Tajrīd-un-Nafs—is a work mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 271b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Tarjumat-o-Du'ā-iṣ-Ṣabāḥ—is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272a. Written in Īrānī. It is nowadays extinct.

Tarjumat al-Jaushan-iṣ-Ṣaghīr—is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272a. Written in Īrānī. This work is extinct.

Tarjumat-ud-Du'ā'-il-Ma'rūf bil 'Alawī-il-Miṣrī—is mentioned in the R.D.F., ff. 272a-b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Tafsir-i-Surat-il-Ḥashr—is an explanation of the *Qur'ānic verse LIX, 2*. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Tawfīq—according to the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, it is a treatise on the Agreement of Philosophy and the Sacred Law; written at Iṣfahān. The R.D.F., f. 273a, describes another book called "*Al-Jam'i bain*

al-Ḥikmat-i-wash Sharī'at...." (Book on the agreement between Philosophy and Religion and repelling the presumption of differences as supposed by the common-folk.)

Tarjuma Risālat-ul-Afyūn—is a translation of the treatise on Opium by Shaikh Abū 'Alī Sīnā. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Tarjuma Mantīq-ut-Tajrīd—is a translation of the famous book called *Mantīq-ut-Tajrīd*. This translation is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Īrānī. This book is extinct.

Tarjuma Uqlīdas—is a translation of the famous arithmetical work called *Uqlīdas* (for which see foot-note 116). Along with the work of translation Ḥazīn has also concerned himself with supplying further explanations. The translation is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Taqsim-ul-Asmā' wa Ma'ānīhā—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Tarjuma-i-Risāla fī Bayān-i-"Qul-ir-Rūḥ min Amr-ir-Rabbī"—is a translation of Ḥazīn's father Abī Ṭālib's treatise dealing with the Qur'ānic verse XVII, 87. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274a. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct nowadays.

Tarjuma Risāla 'Araftu'l Lāh.... is a translation of Ḥazīn's father Abī Ṭālib's treatise dealing with the saying of 'Alī : 'Araft-ul-Lāh-a-bi faskh-il-'Azā'im-i-wa ḥall-il-'Uqūd, that is to say: "I have

known God by His discarding my resolutions and
tying my ties. The work is mentioned in the
R.D.F., f. 274a. It is written in Īrānī. The book is
extinct.

Tajaddud-ul-Amthāl—is a work mentioned in the
R.D.F., ff. 275a-b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Tahqīq-ul-Azal wal Ābad was Sarmad—is men-
tioned in the R.D.F., f. 270b. Written in Arabic.
The book is extinct.

*Tarjuma Risāla fī Tahqīq-i-Mā Hu-al-Haqq fī
mas'lat-il-'Ilm*—is a translation of the treatise com-
posed by Ḥazīn's father, Abī Ṭālib. It is mentioned
in the R.D.F., f. 274a. Written in Īrānī. It is
extinct nowadays.

Uṣūl-ul-Akhlāq—is a treatise mentioned in the
R.D.F., f. 275a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Uṣūl-ul-Mantiq—it is written after the fashion
of Ainiq. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272b.
Written in Īrānī. The treatise is extinct nowadays.

Wujūb-un-Naṣṣ-i-'ala'l Imām—is mentioned in
the R.D.F., f. 272b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Wadī'at-ul-Badī'at or Badī'at-ul-Wadī'at—is a
mathnawī composed in imitation of the *Ḥadīqat-ul-
Ḥaqīqat*¹ of Sanā'ī in about 1173 A.H. Because, on
f. 5 of the R.A.S.B. MS. 862, Ḥazīn mentions, that,
he is about 70 years old at the time of writing. As
Ḥazīn was born in 1103 A.H., the poem must have

¹ Ḥabīb Ganj MS. Pers. 34/3, f. 663a :—

مندیب قلم ز طبع حزین
طلبیدی حدیقه دومین

Ḥadīqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat; by Sanā'ī, Translation of the 1st book of *Ḥadīqah*, ed.
by Stephenson. See *Der Islam*, Vol. 22, p. 101.

been composed in about 1173 A.H. See also *Habib Ganj MS. Pers. 34/3, f. 663a*:

عمرم در جوار هفتاد است مشیت خالی مرا پر از با دست

It begins :

كلما في الوجود ليس سواه وحده لا اله الا الله

The colophon of the *Bankipūr MS. 407* (ff. 249b-301b) is dated the 19th of *Rabī'-uth-Thānī*, 1178 A.H.

Hazin had already composed 50,000 verses before composing the present *mathnawī*.¹

بعد پنجه هزار شعر گزین که در آمد بدفتر تدوین
عمرم در جوار هفتاد ست مشیت خالی مرا پر از با دست



¹ *Habib Ganj MS. Pers. 34/3, f. 663a.*

APPENDIX

DOUBTFUL COMPOSITIONS

Risāla dar Tārīkh-i-Hidustān—is classed by Ivanow (R.A.S.B. Pers. Cat. 1924, p. 797, No. 1749) among the doubtful compositions of Ḥazīn. The reason advanced by the Cataloguer for doing so is, that, "In style it resembles the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* after which it follows in the *Majmū'a* (i.e., the R.A.S.B. MS. 225). "The argument of the Cataloguer holds no ground in face of the following facts:—

(a) The MS. does not bear the name of the author. This is significant in face of the fact that Ḥazīn generally gives his name either at the beginning or end of his compositions.

(b) The *Risāla dar Tārīkh-i-Hindustān* is mentioned neither in any of Ḥazīn's compositions nor in any other book mentioning Ḥazīn.

(c) The MS., according to the colophon, was completed on the afternoon of Monday the 10th Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 1180 A.H./16th August, 1766, at Ḥusainābād; i.e., exactly one month and twenty nine days before the death of Ḥazīn and at a place about 80 miles from Banāras. Now Ḥazīn (1) is known to have grown unable to move, out of weakness, towards the end of his life; and (2) believed to have stayed in Banāras for some time before his death having given up travelling due to weakness and advanced age. In fact, there is no evidence to show, that, Ḥazīn was ever at Ḥusainābād.

(d) The resemblance in style is no criterion for the authorship of a work.

The MS. has been misdescribed by the cataloguer as "A short note on the Muslim invaders of India chronologically arranged". It is not confined to an account of the Muslim Invaders of India. But is a general history of the Iranian Invaders of Sind and Hind from the earliest times up to the invasion of India by Ahmad Shāh Abdālī. It deals with 21 invasions. The last date mentioned is 1173 A.H. (f. 111b) :

در سنه ثلث و سبعين و مائة بعد الف [احمد شاه] رو بدھلی
مردہ امرای شریر و لشکر مرہتہ را کہ درین جا بودند مقتول و
مذہبم ساختہ -

The last historical event mentioned in the book is the struggle of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī against the Marhattas near Akbarābād (Āgra) f. 112a:—

و الحال در نواحی اکبر آباد مشغول دفع متمردان و انتظام این
ملک ویران است -

The book begins with an account of the time of Mahārāj bin Kishan bin Lawāb who was dethroned by his courtier named Bahu. Mahārāj sought the help of Dāhhāk who sent Garshāsp, the son of Atard, to the help of Mahārāj. Garshāsp defeated and killed Bahu and reinstated Mahārāj. The book begins:—

لوافق سیر معتبره دفعاتی کہ لشکر ایران بسند و هند در
آمده در این مقام بایجاز و احتصار تمام... نیت مینماید -

I am clearly convinced that the book has no relation with Hazin.