

ON SOURCES AND SOURCE MATERIAL

**Historical Studies — Indian & Islamic
Vol. I**

KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI

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Being

Volume One of

Historical Studies — Indian & Islamic

K.A. NIZAMI



IDARAH-I ADABIYAT-I DELLI

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To
the memory of
my grandfather
Maulvi Farid Ahmad Sahib Nizami
who
taught me to read, taught me to write
and
gave me 'ideals' to strive for in life.

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Preface

More than forty years back, on December 6, 1950, Dr. C.C. Davies of the Oxford University wrote to me after going through my articles in *Islamic Culture* that these should be published in book form. Year followed year and decade followed decade, but I could not find time to put my articles in book form, and the number went on multiplying.

Very often I had to apologize for my inability to furnish off-prints of my articles to my friends. At the Seminar on Mysticism, organized by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations in Delhi on November 11-13, 1991, some scholars – both foreign and Indian – emphatically suggested that my articles be brought out in book form. My friend Dr. S.M. Zaman, Director National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad who came to participate in the Seminar, very kindly offered to get the works published by his Institute as expeditiously as possible. I mentioned this to Mr. Mohammad Ahmad of the *Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli* and he immediately offered to undertake this job. He got a list of the papers made and announced it. I hope and pray that he is able to bring out these volumes with the same promptness with which he has made this announcement.

The volumes are planned as follows:

- A. *Historical Studies: Indian and Islamic* (8 volumes)
1. On Sources and Source Material.
 2. Islamic History and Culture.
 3. Mystic Teachers, Ideology and Institutions.
 4. Religion, Social Life and Culture in Medieval India.
 5. Political and Institutional History of Medieval India.
 6. India's Contact with the Outside World.
 7. Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi.
 8. Sir Syed and the Aligarh Movement.

B. *Maqalat-i-Nizami*, Urdu articles thematically arranged in 7 volumes as follows:

- جلد اول : تاریخ و تمدن اسلام
جلد دوم : تصوف اور صوفیہ
جلد سوم : حضرت امیر خسرو دہلویؒ
جلد چہارم : اردو زبان، ادب اور تاریخ
جلد پنجم : انیسویں صدی کی مذہبی، سیاسی تحریکیں
جلد ششم : بیسویں صدی کی چند ممتاز شخصیتیں
جلد ہفتم : تاریخ و تمدن ہند

Thus all the articles will be brought out in 15 volumes.

It may be mentioned here that no attempt has been made to revise these articles. This was just not possible. Secondly, the transliteration system followed by the journal in which the article originally appeared has not been disturbed. Lastly, some repetition of ideas in themes of identical nature was inevitable. Deletion of repetitive passages would have damaged the argument of individual papers. Articles contributed to Encyclopaedias, – *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *Turkish Encyclopaedia*, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, *Hindi Encyclopaedia* etc. – have not been included in these series.

K. A. NIZAMI

Nizami Villa
Aligarh
1 May, 1993

Psychohistory and Medieval Indian Historiography*

Psychohistory is the latest and perhaps the most significant, addition to the tools of historical analysis and interpretation.¹ The genesis of the new discipline lies in the realization that the social and political contexts are not enough for historical analysis: "Personal life and family settings also predispose historians to given kinds of materials, values, research problems and interpretations."² Emphasizing the need of psychological analysis of the historical source material, Marc Bloch remarks:

Historical facts are, in essence, psychological facts. Normally, therefore, they find their antecedents in other psychological facts.³

The psychohistorian uses the same sources as other historians but observes them with different lenses. His effort is to survey the

* Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari Memorial Lecture, delivered at Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, on 25th March, 1978.

1. See George M. Kren and Laon H. Rappoport, *Varieties of Psychohistory* (New York, 1976), pp. 2, 14, n. 3.
2. George Devereux, *From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences* (The Hague and Paris, 1967).
3. *The Historian's Craft*, tr. Peter Putnam (New York, 1953), p. 149.

world of a historian's mind – likes and dislikes, his ideals and ambitions, his prejudices and predilections, his family surroundings, in short his total emotional milieu – before using the data supplied by him. The aim and conspectus of the new technique of historical enquiry has been thus brought out:

It [psychohistory] seeks evidence of the unconscious in human behaviour as demonstrations, character, slips of speech, hearing and writing, errors, accidents, dreams, neuroses, and psychoses, and human action or inhibition. Second, psychohistory is a genetic approach; it is not only psychological but also truly *historical*. It emphasizes the importance of origins, antecedents, and patterns of repetition. Thus it is developmental – stressing the longitudinal growth and adaptation of the person all his life.... Third, psychohistory is oriented to dynamic psychology in which the present reality interacts at all times with and is related to the individual's personal and social past in the unconscious.... Psychohistory recognizes that the emotional meaning of an event, symbol, or image is determined by the fantasies of the subject rather than being externally ascribed.⁴

A study of the emotional dimensions of medieval Indian historiography and the conceptual framework of its historians is a great desideratum. Fustal de Coulanges, who influenced deeply historical thinking in France by emphasizing the psychological aspect of historical enquiry, has rightly observed that medieval institutions are misunderstood because we do not reckon with "the exigencies of the environment in which they originated, and above all without giving thought to the state of mind and to the beliefs of the men for whom these institutions were made."⁵ Unless the psychodynamics of the Indian historiographical tradition is carefully investigated, it will not be possible to view the history of medieval India in its proper perspective.

4. Peter Loewenberg, "Psychohistory," *The Past Before Us*, ed. Michael Kammen (Cornell University Press, 1980), p. 409.

5. Fritz Stern (ed.), *The Varieties of History; From Voltaire to the Present*: (New York, 1956), pp. 185-86.

The source material available for reconstructing the history of India is varied in content, approach and psychological background of analysis and interpretation. No study of medieval Indian polity, culture or institutions can claim to be complete unless all types of data are taken into consideration and a critical evaluation precedes their utilization. Every individual source of our information supplies facts from some particular angle. Unless all these angles are clearly identified and analyzed in several interconnected ways, no scientific utilization of data is possible. A comprehensive picture of Indian life through the ages can emerge only if the different categories of source material are assessed in their proper psychological context.

The main source of historical information for medieval Indian history is the chronicle literature left by the court historians. From the *Taj al-Ma'athir* of Sadr al-Din Hasan Nizami to the *Siyar al-Muta'akhhirin* of Tabataba'i, almost all historical works have followed the traditions of Iranian historiography. Uptil the 11th century Arabic was the language of all historical works, and usually the Arab method of history-writing was followed. Subsequently, historical works came to be compiled in Persian. The Arab and Iranian traditions of historiography were, however, diametrically opposed to each other in content, technique and approach.⁶

The conspectus of an Iranian historian revolved round the king and the sceptre. As Margoliouth puts it "since the sovereign is the state according to the famous saying of Louis XIV, his biography is the history of his time." But the Iranian historians went a step further. While they enjoyed describing the pomp and panoply of a ruler both in peace and in war, they considered any reference to the common man or his problems as derogatory to the art of history-writing. They usually dedicated their works to the ruling monarchs. The psychology that operated in the compilation of such books of history was to present a ruler's activities in a way that flattered his vanity by extracting admiration from all those who happened to glance through it. Mir Khwand, the famous author of *Rawdat-al-Safa'*, told his patron:

Buildings may be seen,
Ruined by sun and rain,

6. *Arabic Historians*, p. 6.

Erect history's strong foundation,
To escape from wind, rain and desolation.⁷

Thus history was a "monument" for a historian inspired by the Iranian traditions. He indulged in glorification of kings and dynasties regardless of his moral obligation to adhere to truth and testimony. The greater a historian's insight in the moods and ambitions of his patron, the brighter the chances of his winning the royal favour. A historian had to be a psychologist first and everything else afterwards. If he succeeded in winning applause of the gallery for his master, over-awed the contemporary courts by his ornate and florid narration and gave a pleasant colour to events otherwise unsavoury, he found a place in the confidence of his ruler. Flattery is a besetting human vice but it came into full play when a medieval historian undertook to record a ruler's achievements. Exaggeration, overpraise and hyperbolic assessments thus became essential ingredients of this approach.

The Arab historians had an entirely different approach to history and history-writing. The concept of an official historian was alien to the Arab historical tradition. Tabari and other historians refer to literary compilations being ordered by the caliphs but do not mention a single case of a historical work being undertaken at the instance of a caliph. On the contrary, there was an interdict on such compilations.⁸ Nabighah al-Dhubyani, a very known name in Arabic literature, wrote in praise of kings, and the Arab academic world disowned him without any hesitation.⁹ The Arab historians viewed the historical landscape from all possible angles – the court, the hut, the cottage, the market, and the *masjid* – and recorded all sorts of events pertaining to political, social, religious and cultural life. Like the camera of a TV operator, the Arab historian moved all around and recorded all aspects of individual and community life. He disdained writing the history of a *ruler*, instead he wrote the history of an *age*. The technique of arranging historical events according to the successive reigns of various kings did not appeal to the

7. *Rawdat al-Safa'*, tr. E. Rehatsek, vol. i, part i (1891), p. 21.

8. Cf. Awrangzib's order banning the compilation of official histories.

9. Shibli Nu'mani, *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, vol. iv, p. 31.

Arab historians. They classified the events year by year.¹⁰ Tabari, Ibn al-Athir and Abu-al-Fida' have followed this method in their works. The spirit of Persian Renaissance brought about a change in Muslim historiography. The Arabic language was given up and with it the Arab method of writing history was also abandoned. The spirit of Sassanid Persia was invoked to forge a new path. The Persian mind, nurtured in Sassanid traditions, converted *history of the age* into *history of the kings*. Towards the beginning of the 13th century, historical works were written in Persian in all countries from India to Asia Minor under the influence of Persian culture.

When the ideal and the conspectus were different, methodology for assortment of facts and assessment of situations was bound to be different. The Arab historians had to please none except their conscience and so they followed the principles of critique – *Isnad* (chain of all persons involved in transmitting a Tradition from the Prophet) and *Rijal* (verification of the character of all persons through whom a Tradition has come down) – as evolved by the Traditionists (*muhad-dithin*), and which, according to P.K. Hitti, "meet the most essential requirements of modern historiography."¹¹ Even where the application of these techniques was not possible in all essential details, these principles acted as a deterrent on exaggeration and flattery.

Medieval Indian historiography was born in the swaddle-clothes of Iranian traditions. The sultans of Delhi, who derived their ideals of kingship, court etiquette, customs and ceremonials from the Iranian source,¹² could hardly ignore this method of glorification. They were Turks by race but Iranian by culture. Itutmish obtained, after considerable effort, books like *Adab al-Salatin* and *Ma'athir al-Salatin* – Persian treatises obviously on kingship and

10. "The historian of Civilization, Buckle, states that this practice in Europe is not earlier than 1597 A.D." (Margoliouth, *Arabic Historians*, p. 17).

11. Baladhuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, tr. P.K. Hitti (New York, 1916), Introduction, p. 3.

12. Barani, *Ta'rikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 25, 38, 142, et seqq; 'Isami, *Futuh al-Salatin*, p. 11. See also Nizami, *State and Culture in Medieval India*, pp. 142-57.

kingly office – for the instruction of his sons. The Mughal historians mixed the Iranian ideals with the Mongol traditions of *Yasa* (Chingiz's legislation) and *Yarligh* (personal orders of a ruler), but their basic orientation remained unchanged. Obviously a modern writer cannot succeed in unravelling the past unless he probes deeper and deeper into the psychology of the chronicler and the mental make-up of the ruler whose account is presented. Our assessments of Muhammad bin Tughluq, Akbar and Awrangzib – three most interesting yet most complex personalities of medieval India – will remain partial and perfunctory unless the interplay of psychological factors in the approach of the historians is carefully investigated. When 'Isami remarks about Muhammad bin Tughluq,¹³

Bale Khusrawe ra keh na-buwad walad
Ba-khwahad jahan ra kunad hamchu khud
(Verily if the king has no son,
he wishes the entire world to be like himself.)

he provides a psychological insight into the sultan's character, and when Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani recorded in his *al-Durar al-Kaminah* about the sultan that an unfortunate operation had made him impotent, the source of the sultan's peevish temperament becomes patently perceptible to us.

Human psychology is, in fact, a very complex one. A man's moods, motivations and attitudes do not remain the same under all circumstances. Muhammad bin Tughluq was deeply committed to rationalistic approach,¹⁴ but could not control his superstitious instincts when he gave up the idea of completing the unfinished *Minar* of 'Ala' al-Din Khalji because Mubarak Shah Khalji had been murdered soon after undertaking its reconstruction and this he considered ominous.¹⁵ Akbar developed vegetarian habits on one side, and revelled in horrible animal hunts and slaughter on the other.

13. *Futuh al-Salatin*, p. 450.

14. Barani, *Ta'rikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 465. See also Nizami, *Salatin-i Dehli ke Madhhabi Rujhanat*, pp. 327-28.

15. Ibn Battuta, *Rihlah* vol. ii. (Cairo, 1928), p. 18.

Firuz Shah Tughluq sought to enforce *Shari'ah* in many spheres of individual and collective life but could not himself give up wine.¹⁶ These apparent contradictions in human behaviour call for careful psychological analysis. How far was Akbar guided by consideration for the Rajput ladies of his *haram* in adopting vegetarian habits, and how far were his hunts due to his meticulous adherence to *Qabusnamah* which enjoins such hunts and which he was always keen to follow? How far human considerations yielded to requirements of kingly office? How far religion controlled their behaviour and in what respects they rode rough-shod over the *Shari'ah* regulations – a psychohistorian alone can analyze all these situations and motivations in order to arrive at the "historic" fact.

The richness and variety of source material for the history of medieval India is in fact a challenge to the psychohistoric method of investigation and analysis. One can look in this literature for many levels of causation and can seek multiple explanations for a single phenomenon. Apart from political chronicles, we have considerable non-political literature of different types and categories – poetical works, mystic records (*malfuzat*, *maktubat*, general treatises), geographical accounts, autobiographies, *tadhkirahs*, works on religion, science, etc. This varied type of literature refuses to be subjected to a uniform method of enquiry and interpretation. For instance, the conversations of medieval saints (*malfuzat*) constitute a rich source of information for the study of medieval society. But this literature will have to be interpreted in an entirely different way from that used for political chronicles. Here the psychology of the recorder and the behavioral pattern of the saint and the complexion of the audience¹⁷ will have to be studied closely before any effective use of the data can be made. While the political chroniclers concentrated on courts and camps, the compilers of *malfuzat* looked upon the world as a divine manifestation and interpreted it in terms of their transcendental predilections. A political chronicler's vision was hemmed in by worldly grandeur, glory and resplendence which seemed to him the end-all and be-all of all human activity. A mystic

16. 'Asif, *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shahi*, p. 79.

17. Among the recent Sufi saints, Mawlana Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi got all these details filled up in his *malfuzat* records. See, for instance, *al-Khudu'* (Imdad al-Murabi', Thana F'hawan, A.H. 1334), p. 2.

saw life on this planet as an iridescent bubble; he was concerned more with life hereafter than with the mundane problems of this world. And this psychological approach determined his behavioral pattern. On the face of it, the two approaches may appear divergent but in effect they are mutually reinforcing. Unless a historian stood at both ends of the pole, which are equally important to understand the medieval mind, he can hardly see life in its totality. A political chronicler focused his attention on the court, a mystic on the problems of the common man – the woes and worries of destitutes and starving human beings who thronged round him in search of spiritual bliss as an antidote to the agonies of the material world. When 'Afif looked at the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq he could find nothing but peace and plenty, affluence and wealth,¹⁸ but when Shaykh Nasir al-Din Chiragh looked at it from the point of view of a common man he found people in misery and distress.¹⁹ He remarked with a ring of sadness in his voice that during the days of 'Ala' al-Din Khalji every beggar had a quilt or two,²⁰ "but all this is now a tale of the past." Sadr al-Din and Minhaj found in Iltutmish's conquering might his real claim to greatness. Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya' thought that the Hawd-i Shamsi which supplied water to Delhi was his greatest achievement which brought salvation to him.²¹ We have an image of 'Ala' al-Din Khalji in the pages of Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* – inexorable in his judgement and relentless in his method – but in the *malfuz* of Khwajah Karak he appears in an entirely different colour. It is after blending these two assessments that we can know the *real* 'Ala' al-Din.

Poetry reflects the spirit of an age better than the prose literature. The soul of a poet catches like a seismograph the spirit of the age without which history is nothing but a meaningless agglomeration of facts. But the psychology of a poet should be understood before the data supplied by him is used in any historical analysis. Very often he wears a mask which a psychohistorian alone can tear

18. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 98 et seqq.

19. Hamid Qalandar, *Khayr al-Majalis*, pp. 186-240.

20. *ibid.*

21. Amir Hasan 'Ala' Sijzi, *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad* (Nawal Kishore, 1885), p. 119.

off. He showers endless encomia on his patron but in his heart of hearts carries an inveterate hatred of his ways and views. His real self is all along hidden in artificial facade which the tyranny of the situation erects for him. Amir Khusro describes with great *brio* the military exploits of 'Ala' al-Din Khalji's forces in the Deccan but quietly lets out his own reaction to this drama of death and destruction in these words:

*Thumma yurwa'l-'izam fi'l-ard*²²
(Then bones were seen on the earth.)

'Urfi wrote brilliant *qasidahs* in praise of Akbar, but when he frantically invoked the Prophet

Bar-khiz keh shur-i-kufr bar-khast
Ay fitnah nishan-i afrinish
(O Prophet! You have extirpated mischiefs of the world.
Appear now that infidelity has raised its head.)

he let out his own reaction to Akbar's religious experiments. When a poet's conscience is up in arms against his own hypocritical behaviour, he unhesitatingly throws away the mask and speaks out his heart. Faydi attributed every possible human virtue to Akbar, but there were moments when his conscience rebelled and he threw away the cloak and gave expression to what troubled his conscience. He cried out:

Cheh mi-pursid az khunabah-i-man ruz-i hijranash
Musalmanan dilam khun shud ze chashm-i na Musalmanush

(Why do you ask me, O Muslims, about the condition of my heart when away from him; my heart has melted into blood at his un-Islamic looks.)

Who except a man thoroughly disgusted with his own courtly behaviour could say:

Faydi ma-shu fariftah-i qasr-i saltanat
Bas takht ra keh takhtah-i tabut yaftam

22. *Khaza'in al-Futuh*, ed. Wahid Mirza (Calcutta, 1953), p. 152.

(Faydi, do not be enamoured of the royal palace, I have found many thrones turning into biers.)

Thus, psychological coordination and interpretation of data alone can clarify the real ideological position of the court poets and chroniclers. It will be naive to accept every statement at its face value. There is a psychological context for every statement and a historian has to lift the psychological curtain before he can have an uninhibited view of historic reality.

Besides, the study and utilization of data available in poetic literature of medieval India calls for an entirely different methodology to handle it. One will have to go beyond and behind *gul* (rose) and *bul-bul* (nightingale), *wasl* (union) and *firaq* (separation), *Shaykh* and *Brahman*, *Majnun* and *Layla* to understand the real aim and approach of the poet. It was Mir's sensitive soul which foresaw the doom which the 18th century carried on its back and he cried out:

*Qaba'-i lalah-o-gul men jhalak rahi thi khazan
Bhari bahar men roya kiye bahar ko ham*

(In the garments of roses and tulips was reflected the approach of the autumn. In the full bloom of spring, we wept for the spring.)

When Raja Ram Narain Mawzun said:

*Ghazalan tum to waqif ho, kaho Majnun ke marne ki
Diwanah mar gaya akhir ko, wiraneh peh kya gudhri*

(O denizens of the wild, you are well aware. Tell (me) the details of Majnun's death. The 'mad man' has expired, but what has at last happened to the wilderness?)

his heart was bleeding at the death of Siraj al-Dawlah at the Battle of Plassey.

A critical evaluation of the poetic literature with the tools of psychohistory can open a new vista of historical research and interpretation. A poet is hardly ever satisfied with his environment. He

always feels that his talent has not been duly recognized, but he is equally sensitive to the misery of the common man. All our great poets from Amir Khusro to Mir and Ghalib deserve a careful study in the light of psychohistory. Ghalib hailed the rise of British power with the words:

*Muzhdah-i subh dar-in tirah shabanam dadand
Sham' kushtand-o ze khurshid nishanam dadand*

(They gave joyful tidings of the dawn when I was surrounded by the darkness of night. They extinguished the candle and pointed to the rising sun.)

But in that age of transition his condition was that of "reflection of the bridge in a tempestuous river":

*Chun 'aks-i pul ba-sayl, ba-dhawq-i bala ba-raqs
Ja ra nigah dar-o ham-az khud juda ba-raqs*

(Dance like the reflection of a bridge in a tempestuous river; appear in motion but hold to the roots.)

A whole world of psychohistoric experience is reflected in this verse.

A comparative study of the psychology of the poets of different periods will be a rewarding one. The prevailing situation – political, social and economic – quietly but significantly enters their poetry and determines their approach. The poetry of Shihab Muhmara, Khusro, Hasan and others reflects a confident and buoyant spirit. But Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith of Delhi noticed in the poetry of the Tughluq period a pessimistic and gloomy note. To borrow an expression from Fritz Stern, it was an age of "cultural despair."²³

On one side one finds Muhammad bin Tughluq declaring:²⁴

*Mulk-i ma marid gasht
(Our country has become diseased.)*

23. See *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, (New York, 1965).

24. Barani, *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shahi*, p. 521.

On the other, Shaykh Nasir al-Din Chiragh is heard saying:²⁵

Imruz khud in kar shaykhi bazi bachchagan shud
(Today the work of spiritual training has become a child's play.)

Then a poet, 'Ubayd, cries out:

Dastan guyand 'Abid ba chunin tab'-i latif
Chist kash'ar-o-ghazal as tu farawan bar nakhast
Ma kara shi'r-ō-ghazal gu'im chun dar 'ahd-i ma
Shahid-i mawzun wa māmduh-i zar-afshan bar na-mand

Why was the same gloomy note raised from every corner? If sharp and penetrating tools of psychohistorical scrutiny are used, the poetical literature of medieval India would yield useful data. It would be helpful in understanding the spirit of the age and the *pysche* of the people without which no real insight in the processes of historical change and development is possible. There are dozens of *diwans* (anthologies) of poets produced during the time of Akbar but except a few no thorough study of this literature has been made. Not only the *Shahr Ashobs*²⁶ but the entire Urdu poetry of the 18th-19th centuries reflects the changing panorama of time but a psychohistoric analysis awaits a painstaking scholar. The *mathnawis* of Mirza Shawq mirror more vividly the decadent culture of Awadh than any other literary compilation of the period. A psychoanalytical approach can reveal many a facet of that culture.

The value of oral tradition in historical research has not been properly assessed with reference to medieval Indian history. Recent literature on oral history – Willa Baum's *Transcribing and Editing*

25. 'Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi, *Akhbar al-Akhyar*, p. 82.

26. The fact that the first known poem of this type belongs to the age of Shah-jahan (Bihishti Shirazi, *Mathnawi Ashob-i Hindustan* (Nawal Kishore, 1883) is very significant and needs a psychohistoric investigation. The *Shahr Ashobs* of Fughan, Hatim, Asif, Jur'at, Mushafi, Ahsan, Shayftah, Majruh, etc. pulsate with agony at the passing of a social order. To ignore this literature in the evaluation of the Indian social scene in the 18th-19th centuries is to reduce history to an insipid record of soulless incidents.

Oral History, and Ramon Harris's *The Practice of Oral History* – has thrown interesting light on the value and validity of oral history. In fact a whole world of psychological significance is involved in the oral sources of information. How did a tradition originate? How was it carried and broadcast? What were the motivations of those who gave it publicity? How oral reports got into recorded literature? When Baba Farid settled at Ajodhan, the town was inhabited by backward tribes. There were wild animals all around. In the river that flowed nearby fishermen caught and collected fish. Some other smaller professions flourished there. This class of people became instrumental in spreading Baba Farid's teachings. But it could understand mystic thought at its own level. So, large number of incantational verses dealing with different situations found currency and sustained the professional spirit and morale of the people. In Bengal, Pir Badr's name and invocative formula became popular with the sailors. If properly examined in the psychological context, the attitudes and problems of the common man at a lower level would be available through these oral traditions. How these oral traditions got into recorded works may be seen in the *Guru Granth*. A new technique dealing with oral tradition will have to be evolved and psychohistory alone can be a guide in sifting this data.

The technique of "Conversations" used by some historians needs very careful psychological study. Barani uses this technique as an *artist* in his *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shahi*, and as a *political theorist* in his *Fatawa Jahandari*. Every conversation in his *Ta'rikh* brings the thought and personality of the sultan into focus and helps in forming an image of his ideals and achievements. In *Fatawa Jahandari* the same technique is used but with a different motivation – Barani resorts to conversations here in order to buttress his point of view. One cannot help being reminded of Browning's verses while going through these conversations:

*Love you saw me gather men and women
And speak from every mouth
The Speech of Power.*

'Abbas Sarwani resorts to the technique of conversations as a subterfuge to express the Afghan opinion on different matters which could not be indicated otherwise. When one succeeds in unravelling

the psychological background, the value of the data supplied becomes clearer. The medieval practice of using birds and animals as media for communication of ideas – as in *Tuti namah* and other works – has a psychohistoric significance. When direct advice to rulers was not possible, the medium of birds and animals was used. While no ruler realized that he was the real addressee, the lesson went down to his heart. A psychohistoric review of the vast mass of literature produced in medieval India and passed over as non-political, and therefore of no historical value, will bring to focus the attitudes and aspirations, the hopes and frustrations, the fears and frowns of the common man.

Similarly the Hindi literature, particularly the one belonging to the Bhakti saints, calls for an independent apparatus of historical evaluation. The background of the Bhakti saints, their social and religious contacts, and their aspirations and ideals should be examined before this literature is utilized for the purpose of constructing an image of medieval society.

How the psychological dimension assumes significance in medieval historical chronicles may be illustrated through a few examples. Sadr al-Din Hasan, the author of *Taj al-Ma'athir*, came from Nishapur driven out by unfavourable circumstances. In his own words tears were flowing from his eyes "like drops from a tent in the rainy season." He was anxious to hide his head under a safe clime, but one cannot fail to find in the pages of *Taj al-Ma'athir* a genius struggling for recognition. His ornate and florid style is not a sign of his strength, but a symptom of his weakness. He found himself emotionally in distress and sought to make good the position by attempting to meet it linguistically. He had seen great political systems crumble, the whole social and political fabric of medieval 'Ajam had been torn to pieces by the Ghuzz and the Mongols. The spectacle of a decaying civilization and crumbling political order rendered him incapable of portraying the emergence of a new political organization – the Delhi Sultanate. His depressed spirit could not be transformed into one of buoyancy and confidence without which it was difficult to see the contours of the Sultanate. He wrote for Aybak whose sudden and accidental death dashed all his hopes to the ground. He was left with no alternative but to present his work to Iltutmish. Like the *qasidah*-writers of the past who changed the name of the patron and presented the poem to the deceased's successor, Sadr al-Din presented his work to Iltutmish. His *shikayat-i ruz-*

gar (complaint of the times) and explicit dedication confirms the confusion that must have come in the wake of the tragedy. Perhaps to modify his account to suit interests of another ruler he made some overt and covert changes but it was not possible to alter the spirit that permeated the work throughout. With the rise of Iltutmish and particularly with the transfer of the seat of government from Lahore to Delhi, the political milieu had changed, and perhaps Sadr al-Din Hasan could not adapt himself to the change. Lahore looked more towards Ghazna, Delhi was rooted in Indian traditions. His account of Iltutmish, the real founder of the Delhi Sultanate, lacks that depth and understanding which the multi-dimensional activities of the Sultan demanded. His narrative does not rise to the occasion and fails to project a picture of Iltutmish's achievements. His account of the assassination of Shihab al-Din Muhammad Ghuri makes eloquence itself look senseless and vain. Unless this psychological background is kept in mind, his work can neither be properly appreciated nor effectively interpreted.

Minhaj's psychology was more complex. He was brought up by the House of Ghur. His ancestors had been in the service of the Shansabanids. It was but natural that his sympathies were with the Turkish rulers, the Turkish nobles and the Turkish traditions. One can understand his distortion and misrepresentation of 'Imad al Din Rayhan and other non-Turkish elements, but when he uses his finesse and skill to present Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud in borrowed colours, he plays false to the whole tradition, and injects psychological complexities into his narration. It was the inordinate ambition of Ulugh Khan (future Ghiyath al-Din Balban) and his Machiavellian methods to usurp power that forced Nasir al-Din to dismiss him and appoint 'Imad al-Din Rayhan in his place. But Balban had better organized group of Turkish nobles at his beck and call. He created a difficult situation for Nasir al-Din Mahmud who had eventually to dismiss Rayhan and entrust the reins of administration to Balban. Nasir al-Din now found an escapist's refuge in his prayers and penances! Minhaj was placed in a quandary: if he justified Balban's actions it amounted to a condemnation of Nasir al-Din Mahmud; if on the other hand he supported Nasir al-Din Mahmud, it antagonized Balban who was now a force to be reckoned with. Minhaj's clever mind found a solution which could be neatly placed in a framework to explain the development: Nasir al-Din Mahmud was portrayed as a man of the other world – more interested in

vigils, fasts, prayers, and penitences – than in the mundane task of administering a realm. Thus Balban's assumption of power could automatically be explained as a natural necessity of the situation, and no reader would hold Balban responsible for manipulating a situation. Thus, without understanding the working of Minhaj's mind it is difficult to follow the trends of political development and the spirit of his narrative. When Balban observed,

I have three *qadis*. One of them fears God but does not fear me; the other one fears me but does not fear God; a third one fears neither me nor God and he is Minhaj,²⁷

he spoke volumes about the character of Minhaj. Unless the whole life of a historian along with all its psychological dimensions is before us, we can hardly comprehend the nature of the data supplied by him and the threads of subjectivism that lie hidden in his narrative.

Perhaps the two most important historians of medieval India who need a thorough assessment in the light of psychohistory are Diya' al-Din Barani and Abu al-Fadl. Their accounts cannot be properly interpreted unless a reader first understands them, their psychology, their predilections, their predispositions and above all the duality of their minds.

"Psychoanalytical biography," remarks Donald Meyer, "constitutes a perspective or a focus, from which history can organise all its narratives, no matter how vast a range of social data these may comprehend."²⁸ And one has to comprehend data pertaining to a whole era in order to analyze the approach and objectives of Barani and Abu al-Fadl.

Barani belonged to an aristocratic family which had served three main dynasties of rulers during the Sultanate period – the Ilbarites, the Khaljis and the Tughluqs. He lived in a palatial house at Kilugarhi, the most artistocratic locality of medieval Delhi. His father Mu'ayyid al-Mulk and his uncle 'Ala' al-Mulk held important assignments under 'Ala' al-Din Khalji. His maternal grandfather

27. *Sarur al-Sudur*, *malfuz* of Shaykh Hamid al-Din Sufi of Nagaur, *khalifah* of Shaykh Mu'in al-Din Chishti of Ajmer, MS.

28. Cited by Mazlish, *Psychoanalysis and History*, p. 179.

Sipah Salar Husam al-Din was an important officer of Balban. He himself joined the court during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq and remained his *nadim* (confidant) for more than 17 years,²⁹ an honour which only a scholar of very exceptional qualities of mind could enjoy. The sultan frequently consulted him and recognized his knowledge of history. When Firuz Shah ascended the throne, Barani lost all influence at the court and his political career abruptly came to an end. A political miscalculation brought all this disaster on him and he lost all property, all influence and just saved his neck.³⁰

When Muhammad bin Tughluq died suddenly in Sind, Khwajah Jahan placed on the throne of Delhi a boy of tender age because keeping the throne vacant was fraught with many dangers. He was unaware that in Sind Shaykh Nasir al-Din Chiragh and others had already raised Firuz to the throne, Barani gave his direct or indirect support to Khwaja Jahan's action, and thus cast his lot with an *amir* who was heading for the gallows. On Firuz's arrival in Delhi, the position of Khwajah Jahan and his Delhi group of supporters became precarious. Left to himself Firuz would have forgiven these *amirs* who had acted in good faith, but the new group of plebians and upstarts, which had come to the forefront as a result of Muhammad bin Tughluq's policy of promoting lowborn persons to high offices in administration, was bent upon liquidating all old families of nobles. Khwajah Jahan was killed and with him many others were put to death. Despite all the manipulations of his enemies, Barani succeeded in saving his skin. It was Firuz Shah's intervention which saved his life, but he was deprived of his former position, status and property. An *amir* of three generations, a *nadim* of the previous sultan, reduced to a state of abject poverty, disowned by friends, neglected by relatives and despised by enemies. Gloom and frustration consequently seeped into his soul and in deep despair he cried out: "Even the birds and fish are happy in their homes but I am not." The person who now dominated the scene was Khan Jahan Maqbul – an Indian by birth who had risen to high position shouldering out all old and distinguished families from their positions of power and authority. Barani's frustrated mind

29. Barani, *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shahi*, p. 504.

30. See Nizami, *On History and Historians of Medieval India*, pp. 124-40.

begins to develop a whole chain of causal connections. Khan Jahan Maqbul would never have attained the position that he now enjoyed but for the policy of promoting low-born persons followed by Muhammad bin Tughluq. He had broken the monopoly of the old and respectable families by introducing new elements in the aristocracy, mainly from the lower rungs of society. The philosophers, like Sa'd, 'Ubayd, Najm Intishar, Mawlana Najm al-Din, who were constantly with him, were responsible for putting these ideas in his mind.³¹ These philosophers – "mischief mongers, enemies of stability and respectability" – should be rooted out from society and philosophy should be tabooed in the interest of stability. Education should be denied to the low-born because it qualifies them for posts in the administration. They should be kept in a state of perpetual ignorance. Thus, one after another, prejudices enter the texture of Barani's thought and colour his outlook and approach towards life and society. He begins to hate the low-born and the sophists, and opposes the extension of educational facilities to the low-born. The development of this trend of thought was inherent in the situation he was placed in. His prejudices emanate from the compulsions of his frustrated life.

Barani sought in the history of the period the causes of his own rise and fall, and this search introduced subtle threads of subjectivism in his narrative. He found the tragedy of his own life and its causes writ large in the actions and attitudes of the rulers and the *maliks*. He is writing about Balban. All of a sudden his mind finds some situation identical or inimical to his own and he starts talking about himself. "I can compile two volumes regarding the atrocities perpetrated on me by the cruel sky,"³² he says. He describes the private assemblies of Jalal al-Din Khalji and cannot help lamenting his own fate.³³ Such lamentations recur again and again. The historian seems to carry the weight of his own frustrated life on his shoulders throughout the work, and on the slightest provocation bursts out into laments and starts questioning the historical data if it could explain the tragedy of his own life. "The despair that is in

31. Barani, *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shahi*, p. 69.

32. *ibid.*

33. *ibid.*, p. 200.

my own heart," he writes, "flows in tears of blood from my eyes, drips from my pen and stains the paper."³⁴ A book produced in such a mental and emotional climate was bound to be soaked in irremediable subjectivity. His *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shahi*, his *Fatawa-i- Jahan-dari*, his *Ta'rikh-i Baramakah*, his *Hasrat Namah* – all have psychological dimensions and without analyzing them one cannot understand the trend and tenor of his discussions. In the *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shahi* these subjective elements become very interesting and intriguing. He condemns Muhammad bin Tughluq for almost each and every administrative action of his but when he comes to describe his death, his heart begins to bleed.³⁵ Why? There were sultans who died under more tragic circumstances than Muhammad bin Tughluq but he did not express such feelings about them. Moreover, a sigh of relief rather than a mourning cry would have been more in keeping with the general attitude he had taken up towards the sultan. But in the passing away of Muhammad bin Tughluq he heard the death knell of his own life of prestige, power and position. He weeps as much for the Sultan as for his own self. His whole account of Muhammad bin Tughluq seems saturated with such vagaries of psychological moods. He showers encomia on him and gives him a place in the pantheon of prophets and saints, and then suddenly assumes another position and starts hurling bitter invectives at him and finds in him traits of Nimrud and Pharaoh. This strange tribute of love and hatred, again, has its roots in Barani's own psychology. It was not so much the Sultan who was a "mass of inconsistencies" or a "mixture of opposites" but the historian himself was a miserably torn personality. He projected his own psychological states in his assessment of the Sultan's character. It was due to his policy of throwing offices open to talent, his *kathrat-i tahkimat-i mujaddid* (promulgation of innovative measures), his recruitment of the promiscuous mass of people to the "charmed" circle of nobles, his philosophic interest which led to the development of sceptical attitude in him towards the Revealed Books and the Traditions of the Prophet, which created confusion all round and made the position of the old and respectable families, like his own, absolutely untenable. He, therefore, deserved condem-

34. *ibid.*, p. 166.

35. *ibid.*, pp. 525-26.

nation in the severest terms. And Barani starts disparaging the Sultan. But this mood does not last long. As soon as the historian returns from his mental incursion into the age of Muhammad bin Tughluq and suddenly becomes conscious of his present miserable plight, the direction of his emotions begins to change. "I enjoyed status and position during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq."³⁶ A patron and benefactor like him deserves to be praised and the historian starts extolling the Sultan to the skies. When Barani is in his *past*, he has love for Muhammad bin Tughluq, when he is in his *present*, he has nothing but hatred for him. Love and hatred thus alternate with fluctuations in the moods of the historian. The moment one succeeds in "catching the subtle psychological moods of the historian, the entire data supplied by him neatly fits into a proper perspective.

Abu al-Fadl ranks amongst the most gifted historians and epistle-writers of the Persian literature. An erudite scholar and an intelligent philosopher as he was, he deftly wove Akbar's "unspoken wishes" into the matrix of a philosophic system.³⁷

But Abu al-Fadl says that while writing the *Akbar Namah* he decided to "treat the mysteries of truth with a cryptic tongue."³⁸ But why was this method adopted by him? If he believed in all that he was writing, there was no reason for any conflict with conscience. He was apparently at peace with himself. But was it really so or did he find any contradiction in his own approach? Answers to these queries which are vital for a proper appreciation and evaluation of Abu al-Fadl's history lie in the mental and emotional climate of the period, the compulsions under which Abu al-Fadl was working and the inner conflict in his personality. In a letter to 'Abd al-Rahim

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 467, 70.

37. For a detailed analysis, see the writer's *Akbar and Religion*.

38. Abu al-Fadl, *Akbar Namah*, vol. ii, p. 552. Beveridge has explained *zaban-i gomago* as "a tongue that speaks and does not speak, i.e. the words are only to be understood by the initiated." In fact, the term indicates a feeling of hesitation on the part of the author to speak out his heart plainly or to conceal his real meaning behind a plethora of words. No word could better illustrate the mental condition in which Abu al-Fadl wrote his account of Akbar.

Khan Khanan, Abu al-Fadl has given a glimpse of his mind which shows that there was an inner conflict in his soul and he was distressed at having become an opportunist and a self-seeker. He writes:

An iota of the (many) worries and shortcomings (that bedeviled him) is the tragic development that the writer of these lines has fallen in a steep pit of useless pursuits, and (as a result) from a slave of God he has become a slave of *dirhams* and *dinars*. By putting this in black and white he expresses his lament over this (degeneration of his) and makes a public confession of his vain and defective pursuits and encounters, which have kept him involved during the last 34 years, particularly during the last 12 years. Competition with opportunists has left him neither power of endurance nor ability to escape nor strength to abstain.³⁹

That Abu al-Fadl had passed through an intellectual crisis which precocious children like him often experience, is undeniable, but the real challenge to his thought came from the circumstances of his family. His father's Mahdawi leanings brought the wrath of orthodox 'Ulama' upon him. He could never forget that Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabi had once contemptuously turned down the request of the family for *madad-i ma'ash* grant. His ego was hurt and he even did not like his father and brother's insistence on joining the court because he "looked upon external circumstances as destructive of inwardness and limitation as opposed to absoluteness."⁴⁰ In fact, by putting this conflict of his soul in the pages of *Akbar Namah* he has registered in a subtle manner his aversion to join the court and make flattery a perfect art. With his remarkable "acuteness of thought," which Monserrate has praised, he wormed into the confidence of Akbar. If any contemporary knew Akbar fully – in all his moods, emotions, aspirations, ideals and desires – it was Abu al-Fadl. His sharp and penetrating intelligence succeeded in piercing through the thickest integuments of Akbar's soul, x-rayed its every ambition and gave a clear form even to his nebulous aspira-

39. *Har Sih Daftar-i Abu al-Fadl*, Sultan al-Matabi', Lucknow, A.H. 1270, vol. ii, p. 70.

40. *Akbar Namah*, vol. iii, p. 118.

tions. But if Akbar was anxious to have a particular type of image projected on the canvas of history, Abu al-Fadl himself was no less keen to ascertain his master's point of view even on trivial matters. This he did under the innocent pretext of "correction" of conflicting data with the help of His Majesty's "perfect memory."⁴¹ Thus, Akbar's likes and dislikes conditioned Abu al-Fadl's historical approach and determined his selection of data and interpretation of situations even in their minutest details.

It cannot be said with certainty if Abu al-Fadl genuinely believed in Akbar's spiritual powers and religious leadership, or he was simply playing to the tune of his master and just trying to chime in his mood. It is strange that Abu al-Fadl who was criticizing religious superstitions right and left and was condemning the 'Ulama' for their irrational approach, himself indulged in fabricating a paraphernalia of religious grandeur around the person of Akbar which men less lost in ambition would have felt ashamed of. There were, however, some occasions, though few and far between, when he found his own assessment of a situation running in a different channel from the Emperor's, and he very artistically hid himself in a plethora of high sounding words or quietly let out his views in abstract and philosophic language. Wherever his florid style begins to soar higher, wherever his philosophic ideas become more abstruse, he is always facing some psychological situation. In his treatment of Maham Anaga, Bayram Khan, Ad'ham Khan, Husayn Mirza, 'Abd al-Nabi and even Salim, one can read the psychological complications in Abu al-Fadl's approach and the deftness with which he puts a facade of objectivity over the incidents. Abu al-Fadl becomes far more interesting and revealing if every situation of psychological complexity in his narrative is traced down to its very roots.

Medieval Indian historiography would assume new dimensions if psychohistorical tools are used for the analysis and interpretation of data culled from different sources.

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41. *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 32.

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Arnold Toynbee and the Modern Historiographical Tradition

Modern historiographical tradition owes its origin to Arnold Toynbee. Scholars like Oswald Spengler, Fustal de Coulanges, Marx, Engles, Huizinga, Max Weber, Thomas Keith, Ladurie and others have, no doubt, added new dimensions to historical studies and tools of investigation and interpretation, but Toynbee's position remains unique and unrivalled. In fact no historian of this century has made a greater impact on the minds of his contemporaries than Toynbee. His *magnum opus*, *A Study of History* – is a monumental work in which the author has re-lived the entire life of Mankind as a single imaginative experience. Sometimes he plods like a pilgrim along the vast expanse of human activity in Space, at others he looks at the Universe from ethereal heights where Time seems to him as he himself quotes Andrew Marvel on the front page of his book – "Winged chariot hurrying near". After expatiating for decades in the difficult realms of thought, Toynbee produced his *A Study of History* which, despite all the criticism levied on it by some scholars of sociology and history, remains a monumental work, unique in scope, thrilling in content and unmatched in conspectus. In fact it has taken a whole generation by storm.

What makes Toynbee's place so unique and unrivalled among the historiographers of this age is his powerful imagination which had a unique capacity to transform dull and insipid data of history into something living and breathing. Facts which were dismissed by most historians as of little or no significance in the broader framework of history have been invested by him with an incantational charm and significance. In the march of Mankind through the

corridors of Time he has discovered a perspective, a relationship and a rhythm and has constructed on this basis a cosmic philosophy which is as fascinating as thought-provoking. To disagree with some of his assessments and appraisals is simply to affirm the human nature of his effort. For scholars anxious to discover some meaning, purpose and direction in human activity through the ages, his work is like a beacon's light on an uncharted sea.

Discovering the 'rhythm' of human history was a stupendous task. It needed patient collection of data from varied sources, systematic coordination of confusing and sometimes conflicting details, scientific analysis and a search for deeper principles of identity and diversity. Toynbee, who had learnt in his youth from Aeschylus that learning comes through suffering (X p.235), fully equipped himself with the necessary qualification when he entered upon this enterprise. For several decades his mind worked like a computer, analysing and sifting the data and putting it in a framework. He never allowed a fact to get into his mind unless it had found its milieu in his world of thought. Like Browning who had influenced him in his early formative years, he could say:

Love! You saw me gather men and women
And speak from every mouth the speech of power.

It was only when he understood this 'speech of power' that he admitted anybody to the inner chambers of his thought. The labour that must have been involved in an analysis and synthesis of this vast mass of data puzzles a reader's mind. As a great French historian Fustal de Coulanges once observed: "Years of analysis is required for a day of synthesis." A strong imagination which could take its flights into the higher realms and yet remain rooted to the 'world of reality' below, was the first requisite for such a job. His guide in this delicate adventure was Plato, whom he thus pays his tribute: "Plato taught me, by example, not to be ashamed of using my imagination as well as my intellect. He taught me, when, in a mental voyage, I found myself at the upper limit of the atmosphere accessible to the Reason, not to hesitate to let my imagination carry me on up into the stratosphere on the wings of a myth." (X, 228).

A powerful imaginatin often finds itself hemmed in on all sides if it is not supported by a prodigious memory and a relentless

search for fresh data. No careful reader of his work (*A Study of History*) will have any difficulty in disentangling the threads that have woven the variegated and attractive matrix of his thought. The sources of his inspiration lay in such diversified fields of intellectual activity as poetry, archaeology, drama, epics, philosophy, history, biography, psychology etc. He churned all this material in his mind till the cream came to the surface. The term "Challenge and Response" which constitutes key to his genesis of civilizations came from Browning. Archaeological remains kindled in his mind a panorama of the march of civilizations. Like Gibbon whose interest in Roman History was awakened while looking at the ruins of ancient Rome, Toynbee's interest in civilizations was aroused when engaged in archaeological excavations in the early years of his career. Ruins of old buildings conjured up before his excited historical imagination a kaleidoscopic picture of the rise and fall of civilizations. When he read accounts of wars and battles, his mind sifted the material in a broader context. For example, Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World* gave him, as he himself acknowledges, his "first notion of Universal History". "As I read," he says, "I saw Alexander, Hannibal, Attila and Abdur Rahman rise in turn above my horizon; but, while my imagination was being stirred by these titanic figures, my mind was being educated by the intervening synopses of events in which the author had skilfully strung his fifteen great occasions along one continuous chronological thread" (X p. 219). When he read Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, it put the civilizations of the New World on his mental map (X p. 222). Referring to Sir Charles Elliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*, he says: "My geographical horizon, historical vista and gamut of spiritual experience had all been doubled before I had finished reading this great book" (X p. 222). He has expressed his indebtedness to a number of authors like Bryce, Bergson, Aurel Stein, Oman, Namier, Cornford, Zimmern who helped him in preparing his imagination for this gigantic work.

Not only the material but the methodology for his work also came from different classical and modern sources. Aristotle taught him the method of illustrating general propositions about human affairs by recounting apposite historical anecdotes (X p. 229). About Ibn Khaldun he says: "... in his *Muqqadama*, (he) gave me a vision of a study of History bursting the bounds of This World and breaking

through into another World" (X p. 236). C.G. Jung (*Psychological Types*) opened up for him a new dimension in the realm of Life and enabled him to find his way "into the *terra incognita* of the Psyche's subconscious by proceeding from the known to the unknown" (X p. 225-226). In the initial stages of his study when he was groping in the dark in search of method and procedure for his investigations, F.J. Teggart's, (*Theory of History*), dicta that "in the study of Man..... the first step must be a return to the Present" (X 282), showed the path to him.

His work which has, thus, acquired its attractive hue and colour from different mental and spiritual sources, consolidates the intellectual efforts of earlier generations and opens fresh and intriguing vistas for historical investigation and interpretation.

In the history of mankind, it is always some cataclysmic event which stirs up the depths of a sensitive soul and paves way for the production of a masterpiece which, while embedded in the milieu, pierces through the integuments of time and space and builds up the vision for a new heaven and a new earth. Augustine (*City of God*) and Orosius (*Seven Books of History against the Pagans*) were alarmed by the breakdown of society in the Western Roman Empire and the incursion of the barbarians. They enquired into God's will and the divine plan in it. The irruption of the Mongols and the devastation and destruction that came in its wake stirred the souls of Ibn al-Tiqtiqa, Ata Malik Juwaini, Rashid al-Din Fazlullah and Ibn Khaldun and raised the interrogation in their minds: "How has this come out of that?" The First World War posed the same question to Toynbee. Looking at the historical landscape from his desk in the White Hall Foreign Office, he was dismayed by the decline of the power and prosperity of the British Empire and by the threat of more wars. His horizon and his investigations went on widening till he analysed the causes in a wider perspective and on a broader canvas. The origin of curiosity in him had a limited context but in course of time it widened till it transcended all parochial limits and embraced the destiny of humanity as a whole. His imperial instincts gave way to sentiments of love for human species and his mind moved from the tragedy of an Empire to the Destiny of Man.

Toynbee found *states* and *nations* as partial and inconvenient concepts to explain what appeared to him as something deeper and

broader in its implications and impact. He selected societies in preference to *states*, and *civilizations* in preference to *nations* as the basis for his historical investigations. Thereafter the central theme of his research and review was: How civilizations rose? How they reached their maturity and how they declined? He found some 21 such specific civilizations, along with certain peripheral cultures which never attained a creative civilization, and attempted to evaluate through them the basic motivations and principles involved in the rise, growth, decay and disintegration of civilizations. His analysis of the growth of civilizations led him to formulate his fascinating theory of 'challenge and response'. He rejected outright the view that civilizations are apt to be generated in environments which offer usually easy conditions of life to Man (II p. I). This fallacy, he points out, springs from a failure to conceive the genesis of a civilization as an act of creation involving a process of change in time (II I 31). The greater the ease of environment, the weaker the stimulus towards civilization which that environment administers to Man.

In the growth of civilizations, Toynbee discovered a principle of spiritual evolution. He approvingly quotes the following lines from J.S. Smuts (*Holism and Evolution*, London 1927, pp. 185-187) and, in fact, his own thought seems rotating within this framework:

"Evolution is a fact of observation and experience, and it shows a persistent trend; from Matter to Life; from Life to more Life and to higher Life; from higher Life to Mind; from Mind to more and higher Mind and to Spirit [Sic] in the highest creative manifestations... The nature of the Universe points to something deeper, to something beyond itself". (III, p. 127).

Search for 'something deeper' and for 'something beyond' has been the main direction of Toynbee's investigations. The historical process, according to him, is a spiritual matter. Faith in the divine and in God's control of man's destiny is what produces that spiritual activity which he regards as the dynamic factor in human development. In the last volume of his *Study* he thus defines the role of history in the light of his own notions of its scope and conspectus:

"History's contribution is to give us a vision of God's creative activity on the move in a frame which, in our human experience of it, displays six dimensions. The historical angle of vision shows as the physical cosmos moving centrifugally in a four-dimensional frame of Space-Time; and it shows us human souls, raised to a sixth dimension by the gift of the Spirit, moving through a fateful exercise of their spiritual freedom, either towards their Creator or away from Him." (Vol. X p. 2).

He rejects the view that the breakdown of civilizations is due to the loss of command over the environment. Instead he holds that a society breaks down through a loss of harmony between its parts which is paid for by the society as a whole in a loss of self-determination (IV p. 132). This loss of harmony leads to revolutions which overtake institutions that become anachronistic (IV p. 135). Whenever some new aptitude or emotion or idea arises in the life of any society, it comes into collision with a greater or lesser number of the society's existing institutions. The obstructive institution is either brought into harmony with the new force through some constructive social adjustment, or eliminated violently through a revolution, or it may succeed in defying both adjustment and elimination. In the last eventuality some social enormity results from the unnatural 'drive' and is put into the intractable institution automatically by the new force that has failed to master it. Thus through the process of 'challenge and response' a society works out its destiny.

While engaged in a meticulous X-ray of civilizations on the verge of disintegration, Toynbee expounds his brilliant theory about 'Schism in the Body Social' and 'Schism in the Soul' (Vol V and VI). His emphasis on the role of spiritual factors in the birth, life and death of civilizations has provided some critics to remark that he construes the rise and fall of civilization as a struggle in the human soul. Another critic goes a step further and says that Toynbee 'buries the Universe in an Anglican Churchyard'. It was perhaps as a rejoinder to such critics that Toynbee chose for Gifford Lectures in 1952-53, the theme: "An Historian's Approach to Religion".

The fact however remains that while Toynbee rejects vigorously any idea of materialistic determinism in history, he propounds with a scholarship that over-awes a reader, his views about reality of creative spiritual determinism. Notwithstanding the

fact that any appraisal of the rise, growth and decay of civilizations would remain partial and incomplete if it ignores the economic and material factors, Toynbee's work is a monumental effort characterized by freshness of approach, depth of analysis, richness of data and inimitable presentation.

(Contributed to Fakhruddin
Ali Ahmad Memorial Volume)

Some Newly-Acquired Persian Manuscripts of the British Museum

The British Museum contains one of the finest collections of Persian manuscripts in the world. It is not on account of the number of its manuscripts, but their antiquity and rarerness, that the collection deserves a place of distinction among the Oriental libraries of the West.

The history of the growth of the Persian section of the British Museum runs almost parallel to the story of the growth of the British Empire. In the 18th century it had only 150 Persian manuscripts. As the British Empire grew, the number of manuscripts also rose. In the last decade of the 19th century the Museum had 2,961 manuscripts on its shelves. Most of these manuscripts were acquired from India. Amongst the officers who presented their collections to the Museum, the names of C. James Rich, Sir John Malcolm, Col. Robert Taylor, Sir H. Creswicke Rawlinson, Sir John Campbell, Sir C.A. Murray, Alexandre Jaba, Warren Hastings, Rev. John Fowler Hull, Major William Yule, William Erskine, H.H. Wilson, Sir H.M. Elliot and Col. George Hamilton are particularly mentioned. Their collections formed the nucleus of the oriental section of the British Museum.

It was in 1867 that a separate department of oriental manuscripts was set up in the British Museum. Charles Rieu, a distinguished pupil of Silvestre de Sacy, organized this department and

started preparing a catalogue of its Persian manuscripts. The first volume of his Catalogue, which appeared in 1879, introduced 947 manuscripts. Two further volumes appeared at an interval of two years each and brought to notice 1,128 and 461 more titles respectively. In 1895 a *Supplement* was published which introduced 425 additional works. Thus the printed Catalogues deal with 2,961 manuscripts in all. No catalogue has appeared after 1895. This article aims at introducing some of the important Persian manuscripts – particularly those relating to India – acquired by the British Museum during the period 1895 to 1958. The number of manuscripts acquired during this period is 892. The writer of this article owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. G.M. Meredith-Owens of the British Museum for his kindness in providing all facilities for consulting these manuscripts and making available a very helpful *Handlist* which he is preparing.

The two earliest transcribed works acquired by the British Museum during this period are the *Kimiya-i Sa'adat* of Imam Ghazzali and the *Tafsir-i Surabadi*. The manuscript of *Kimiya-i Sa'adat* (Or. 1923) runs into 410 folios of big size and was transcribed in 644/1246. It was bought from Kegan Paul on October 27, 1949. The name of the scribe is given in the colophon as 'Abdullah b. Muhammad b. Mahmud b. Abi Bakr known as Dawar.

Some of the orthographical peculiarities of this manuscript may be noted here: *بدرالکلمه* occurs as *بدرانگ* (ff. 269b, 267b, etc.), *عليه السلام* is written as *عليه السلام* (ff. 248b, 262b, etc.); where *ع* occurs it is written as *ع* (e.g. *معاملت*, *حبيب*, etc.); *ليكن* is invariably written as *عقل و عقل*

It would be worthwhile to collate this manuscript with the printed texts of *Kimiya-i Sa'adat*, for there appear to be many significant variants. For instance, while in the printed text of *Kimiya-i Sa'adat* the tax realized from the non-Muslims is referred to as *jiziyah* (Meerut edition, Hashimi Press, pp. 171-172; Lucknow edition, Newal Kishore Press, pp. 171-172), in this manuscript it is referred to as *گزیبت* (*gazit*) (ff. 120a, b), the original Persian form.

The other manuscript, *Tafsir-i Surabadi* (Or. 1131) is the fragment of a commentary on the Qur'an prepared by Abu Bakr 'Atiq b. M. al-Surabadi al-Harawi, a contemporary of Alp Arsalan (455-465/1063-1073 A.D.). It contains commentary on seven *surahs*

—*Maryam, Ta Ha, Anbiya, al-Hajj, Al Muminun, al-Nur* and *al-Furqan* — of the Qur'an and runs into 170 folios. The British Museum purchased it from Dr. O. Rescher on June 16, 1931.

The earliest known manuscript of *Tafsir-i Surabadi* belongs to the India Office Library. It was transcribed in 523/1129. The British Museum manuscript was transcribed in 535/1140, only 12 years after the India Office manuscript. The following lines would give some idea of the orthography of the book:

خبر است از مصطفیٰ علیه السلام کہ او گفت ہر کہ سورت مریم علیہا السلام بخواند خدائے تعالیٰ اورا بہرستی ثواب
شہیدے بدہد و ازوی خوشنود کرد و خوشنود ابدی —

Persian Translations of Arabic Works

The British Museum has acquired some rare Persian translations of Arabic works during this period. Reference may be made here to translations of the following three Arabic works:

1. *Sirat-i Ibn Ishaq*
2. *'Awarif-u'l Ma'arif*
3. *Ihya-u'l 'Ulum*

The Sirat-i Ibn Ishaq (Or. 6475) is a Persian recension of Muhammad Ibn Ishaq's Arabic life of the Prophet.¹ It runs into 371 folios and was transcribed in 677/1278. The colophon gives the following information:
وقع الفراغ من سيرة النبي عليه السلام يوم الاحد من اوايل شهر المبارك
ربيع الاول سنة سبع وسبعين وستمائة كتبه الغريب ابن صلاح غفر الله ذنوبه في بلد شيراز

The British Museum purchased this manuscript on April 7, 1903. There are several orthographical similarities between this manuscript and those noticed above, e.g. *عليه السلام* is written as: *عليه السلام*

The *'Awarif-u'l Ma'arif* of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi (539-632 A.H./1145-1234 A.D.) was one of the most popular manuals of the medieval Muslim mystics. A large number of commentaries and summaries of this work were prepared in Arabic and Persian. The earliest Persian translation of *'Awarif* was made in Uchch at the instance of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya, a distin-

1. See Storey, *Persian Literature*, pp. 172-173.

guished disciple of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi.² The present translation (Or. 7986), made by Isma'il b. 'Abdul Momin bin Abi Mansur Ispahani in 665/1266, is probably the second oldest available Persian translation of the 'Awarif. It runs into 123 folios and was transcribed in 897/1491. The British Museum acquired this manuscript on April 4, 1914.

Or. 8194 is a fragment of a very valuable Persian translation of the *Ihya-u'l 'Ulum* of Imam Ghazzali, made at the instance of Muwayyid-u'l Mulk, Malik-u'l Wazara, Asaf-u'l 'Asr, Abul Ma'ali Muhammad bin Fakhr-u'l Mulk Sharaf Abi Sa'd al-Junaidi, during the reign of Iltutmish.³ The two introductory leaves given here in facsimile would give some idea of its orthography as well as the circumstances in which its translation was undertaken. On f. 6b the translator claims his work to be more than a mere translation of Imam Ghazzali's classical work. "While Imam Ghazzali has cited Shafi'ite rulings in support of his views," declares the translator, "I have cited other jurists also so that it may be more comprehensive and its utility may increase." Incidentally this also reflects the attitude of the medieval Indian 'ulama towards the Shafi'ite school.

The manuscript contains no date of transcription but a closer examination of paper and orthography leads to the conclusion – as the authorities of the Museum also believe – that it is a 13th century work. It is probably the earliest available manuscript of the Sultanate period.

Persian Translations of Sanskrit Works

Some of the Persian translations of Sanskrit works acquired by the British Museum during this period are also note-worthy. *Lazzat-u'n Nisa* (Or. 7327) is a Persian recension of *Kukshastra*, a work on sexual relationship. The translator, Zia-u'd-din Nakhshabi,⁴ was a very prolific scholar of the Khalji and the Tughluq periods. The manuscript contains illustrations also.

2. MS in the Asafiya Library, Hyderabad. See also Mr. Sakhawat Mirza's article in *Fikr-o Nazar*, July 1963.

3. The name of the translator is not given, but in all probability it is the work of Majd-u'd-din Abul Ma'ali Muwayyid b. Muhanmad Jajarmi.

4. For a detailed account of his life, see the present writer's article in *Burhan*, Delhi, Nov. 1951.

Another very interesting Persian translation of a Sanskrit work is *Rahat-u'l Firas* (Or. 5762). The original Sanskrit work was known as *Salhutra* and dealt with the different species of horses, their training, diseases and treatment. It was made at the instance of Himmat Khan, a noble of Jahangir. The preface gives the following information: روزی به حاضران مجلس که ہر یکے بدلیح الزماں و نادار الاداں تو اند فرمود کہ شناختن اسپاں و علاج امراض افزاس از چه معلوم و مفہوم گردد۔ دریں اثنا بلاغت شعار فصاحت دثار دور بین و قائل موشگافی صاحب غبار جو ابرو صرافی ناظم تراکیب سیما بی حکمت پناہ بعرض رسانید کہ رسالہ لیست بزبان ہندوی کہ آنرا سالہو تر نامند مشتمل بر شناخت اسپاں و علاج امراض -----

It runs into 31 folios only and contains 11 illustrations. The British Museum purchased it from T.R. Biscore on May 15, 1900.

Another interesting work on the same subject is *Kitab Asp Namah*. It comprises 42 folios and contains 17 excellent illustrations from Kishan Singh painter, 'a servant of Maharaj Randhir Singh'. The Museum purchased this manuscript on April 7, 1906. The following lines from the preface supply all the necessary details about the work:

”بر ارباب عقل و اصحاب دانش پوشیدہ نماند کہ کتاب در معرفت اسپاں و علامت محمود و مذموم او دانستن علت و امراض کہ اسپ پیدا می کنند و معالجه آن را حکمائے ہند بزبان سنسکرت شانزدہ ہزار اشلوک یعنی بیت در زمان سابق تصنیف کردہ اند و آن لغت را بغیر ہندتاں و انا کسے نمیداند، بنا بر آن فواید آن مستور ماندہ بود در خلافت بندگ حضرت فلک رفعت ملک خصلت ۔ ۔ ۔ خاصیت کیوان سطوت، بادشاہ جم جاہ خلاق پناہ مروج دین محمدی شہنشاہ عادل الخاناں و السلطان بن سلطان ابوالمظفر شہاب الدین محمد صاحب قرآن ثانی پناہ جہاں بادشاہ غازی خلد اللہ ملکہ و سلطانہ، ہندتاں کہ در دانستن زبان سنسکرت دانا بودند جمع ساختہ کتاب سالوتر اسپاں کہ فرسنامہ ہندوی باشد در ہنگامیکہ این بندہ فدوی در گاہ خلاق پناہ سید عبداللہ المخاطب بہ عبید اللہ بہادر فیروز جنگ بفراہ کفار ملک رانای چتور۔ ۔ ۔ چند صندوق کتاب ہندی از رانا امر سنگہ بدست غازیان لشکر بادشاہ اسلام افتاد و از ان جملہ یکے سالوتر اسپاں بود کہ عبارت از فرسنامہ باشد آن را بزبان فارسی ترجمہ نمود۔“

Poetical Works

The British Museum has purchased during this period some very valuable collections of Indo-Persian poetry. Some of the more outstanding manuscripts are:

- i) *Poetical Works of Amir Khusrau*: There are three collections of Amir Khusrau's poetical works:
 - a) *Ghazals of Amir Khusrau* (Or. 11328), transcribed in 876 A.H./1471 A.D.;

- b) *Diwan-i Amir Khusrau* (Or. 5770). It was transcribed in 893/1488 and contains beautiful miniatures.⁵
- c) *Mathnavi Nuh Sipihr* (Or. 5766). This is probably earlier than all the three manuscripts used by Dr. Wahid Mirza in preparing his edition of this work (Published for the Islamic Research Association by Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1950).
- ii) *Diwan-i Amir Hasan Dihlawi* (Or. 10918), transcribed in 919 A.H./1513 A.D. This is the second oldest available MS of Hasan's *diwan*, the earliest known manuscript being in the Asafiya Library, Hyderabad (No. 390), which was transcribed in 909/1503, only ten years before the present manuscript.⁶
- iii) *Diwan-i Bayram Khan* (Or. 7510), transcribed sometime during the 17th-18th century, contains good miniatures. Though later than the two collections of Bayram Khan's *diwan* used by E. Denison Ross in the preparation of his edition (Bibliotheca India, Calcutta, 1910), these *diwans* are very valuable for purposes of collation.
- iv) *Works of 'Urfi*: There are several collections of 'Urfi's works:
- a) *Kulliyat-i 'Urfi* (Or. 9873), transcribed in 1039-1629.
- b) *Kulliyat-i 'Urfi* (Or. 7055) with annotation, transcribed in 1055/1645.
- c) *Diwan-i 'Urfi* (Or. 7056), transcribed in 1075/1664. These are fairly old manuscripts of 'Urfi's poetical compositions and all future editors of 'Urfi's works will have to utilize them.
- d) *Qasa'id-i 'Urfi* (Or. 7057), with metrical Turkish paraphrase, transcribed in 1246/1830. This manuscript shows that even after Yafi'i, Turkish interest in 'Urfi's poetry remained unabated.
- v) *Diwan-i Dara Shukoh* (Or. 9492), transcribed in 1236/1820. Collation of this manuscript with the one in

5. The Chester Beatty Collection has an illuminated and illustrated manuscript of *Khamsa Amir Khusrau*, copied in Rajab 890/July 1485.

6. Hasan's *diwan* was edited by Mas'ud 'Ali Mehvi and published from Hyderabad in 1352 A.H.

possession of K.B. Zafar Hasan (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, 1939, No. I, pp. 155-173) would be very useful for scholars interested in the life and works of that Mughal prince.

- vi) *Diwan-i Amir Humayun* (Or. 5878), collation of this manuscript with the Patna MS. utilized by Dr. Hadi Hasan. (*Researches in Persian Literature*, Hyderabad, 1958, pp. 110-175), would be helpful in establishing the authenticity of this work.
- vii) *Ghazal of Ferishta* (Or. 5832).
- viii) *Kulliyat-i Faizi* (Or. 5006), transcribed in the 17th century.
- ix) Poems of Abu Talib Khan Mirza⁷ (Or. 6945), relating to his European travels (1798-1803).

Historical Works

Amongst works on Indian history, the following acquisitions of the British Museum may be particularly mentioned:

- i) *Tajul Ma'athir*, (Or. 8376), 15th century MS.
- ii) *Tarikh-i Mahmud Shahi* (History of Gujarat) (Or. 5745), transcribed in 1084/1673.
- iii) *Humayun Namah* of Khwand Amir, (Or. 5850), transcribed in 1079/1668. This is the oldest available manuscript of the work. Hidayat Husain's edition (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1940) is based on a MS. of much later date, also in the Museum (Rieu III, 1024a).
- iv) *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, Barani (Or. 6376), 17th century.
- v) *Zubdat-ul Kawa'if*, (Or. 6632), history of the Nawabs of Awadh to 1287 A.H. by Jaigopal, called Thaqib. Autograph copy written in 1287/1870-71.
- vi) *Tarikh-i Bahadur Shahi* (Or. 6963), a history of the first two years of the reign of Shah 'Alam by Mirza Muhammad Danishmand Khan, copied in 1186/1772-3.
- vii) *Zubadat-u't Tawarikh*, by Shaikh Nurul Haq, (Or. 11677), dated 1044/1634.
- viii) *Waqi'at-i Baburi*, translation by Zain-ud Din Khwafi, 18th century.

7. For Abu Talib Khan Mirza and his works, see Storey, *Persian Literature*, pp. 144, 705, 878, 1245.

- ix) An anonymous account of the Taj Mahal and other buildings of Agra (Or. 6558).
- x) *Gulshan Ara'i* or '*Alam ara'i* – A recension of *Tarikh-i Ilchi-i Nizam Shahi*, transcribed in 1144/1730.
- xi) *Kai-Gauhar Namah* (Or. 5884) – A history of Gakhars down to 1137/1724 by Dunichand, copied in 1854.
- xii) *Zafar Namah-i Shahjahani* by Qudsi (Or. 6648) written in 1056/1646 transcribed in 18th-19th century.
- xiii) *Halat-i Jang-i Malakah wa Sithanah*, (Or. 6649 and Or. 6651 a-b) a versified account of the insurrection in the N.W. Provinces, after 1875.
- xiv) *Zikr-u's Siyar* (Or. 6652) a history of Benaras, from the rise of Raja Mansaram to the accession of Mahipal Narayan (1737-81), by Ghulam Husain b. Himmat Khan.
- xv) *Tarikh-i Malwa* (1401-1530), by 'Ali b. Mahmud Kirmani, called Shihab Hakim (Or. 1140), compiled in the 17th century.
- xvi) *Tarikh-i Khususiyat-i Dar-us Saltanat Shahjahanabad*⁸ (Or. 5846), containing the author's seal and several important inscriptions. It was purchased from H. Beveridge (whose two-page note is also appended to this volume) on October 15, 1900.

Epistolary Literature

Besides the literature noticed above, the British Museum has purchased some very valuable collections of Persian letters. There is a collection of 16 letters to and from Tipu Sultan (Or. 9686). Details of these letters are as follows:

- i) Letters 1-3 from the Governor-General to Tipu Sultan dated November 8, December 10, December 15, 1798,
 - 4 from the Governor-General dated 9 Rajab 1213 A.H.
 - 5-6 from the Governor-General to Tipu dated January 9, 1799.
 - 7 from Tipu to the Governor-General, received on January 11, 1799.

8. Published under the title *Muraqqa'i-Delhi*, Taj Press, Hyderabad.

- 8 from the Governor-General to Tipu Sultan dated January 11, 1799.
 - 9 from the Ottoman Sultan Salim III to Tipu, dated 8 Rabi'-us-Sani, 1213 A.H.
 - 10 from Tipu Sultan to Sultan Salim dated March, 1799.
 - 11 A manifesto of the Porte against the French, September 11, 1798.
 - 12 The Porte's declaration of war against the French, dated September 30, 1798.
 - 13 Farman of the Red Sea issued by the Porte, dated August 1, 1798.
 - 14 Proclamation of the Allies on entering Mysore, dated February 22, 1799.
 - 15 From Lt.-General Harris to Tipu, dated April 22, 1799.
 - 16 Preliminary articles for the re-establishment of peace enclosed in the last letter.
- ii) Written in a very fine *nasta'liq* hand is a volume of correspondence of Saiyid Ahmad Shahid of Rae Bareli (Or. 6635). It was bought from Capt. J.O. Kinsaly on May 16, 1905. The copy is not an old one but seems to have been very neatly and correctly made.
- iii) Or. 7010 contains translations of official correspondence between H. Vansittart, Governor-General of India, and various princes and officials. Most of the letters are to and from Nawab Qasim 'Ali Khan, Nawab Muhammad 'Ali Khan and Nawab Ja'far 'Ali Khan of Carnatic.
- iv) Or. 9236 is a collection of autograph letters of Anand Ram Mukhlis, 'Ali Hazin and others. A *ruba'i* from Dara Shukoh is also appended to this volume. It is considered to be the last composition of Dara. This collection of letters was presented to the Museum by Major D.I. Macaulay on June 9, 1923.
- v) Or. 11275 contains letters of Turner Maçan.
- vi) Or. 7538 contains a series of letters written by Munshi-ul Mumalik Rafi 'Khan 'Adil during the early years of 'Alamgir's reign.
- vii) Or. 9874 is a volume of copies of letters from the Mughal court to governors and other high officials. These letters

- were written between 1771-1773.
- viii) *Or. 9875* contains copies of letters from Shah 'Alam II to Indian and British officials. Most of the letters are addressed to Munir-ud Daulah Bahadur.
- ix) *Or. 987* is a volume of copies of letters addressed to governors and other high officials of the Mughal Empire in the 12th and 13th regnal years of Shah 'Alam II.
- x) *Or. 9877* contains copies of letters written to Sir Robert Barker by Shah 'Alam II and many other Mughal officials in 1771.
- xi) Among miscellaneous works reference may be made to *Irshad-ul Zira'ah* (*Or. 7557*), a treatise on husbandry and gardening compiled in 961/1553; *Badai'-ul Insha* (*Or. 12088*), a treatise by Maulana Yusufi, *munshi* to Humayun; *Farhang-i Hindavi* (*Or. 7004*), a Hindi-Persian dictionary compiled in 1176/1762 and a strip of paper (*Or. 11385 A.B.*) 3' 1^{1/2}" long by 8^{1/4}" containing regulations made by Major Pitman on December 21, 1818 for the settlement of country ceded by Baji Rao in the treaty made between him and Mr. Elphinstone exhorting the inhabitants to be peaceful and law-abiding, promising protection to them, calling upon land-holders to apply to Major Pitman for new charters of their holdings. It is dated Safar 22, 1234/December 21, 1818 and the text is given also in Marathi and Telugu.

(*Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration
Volume, Hyderabad, 1966*)

Durar-i-Nizami – a unique
 - but less-known *malfuz* of
 Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya

Though some compilations of the table talks of sufi saints, like the *Halat-o-Sukhanan-i-Shaikh Abu Sa'id Fazlullah bin Abil Khair al-Maihani*¹ by Muhammad b. Abu Rauh Lutfullah (in circa 540/1145-46), *Asrar-u't-Tauhid fi Maqamat-i-Shaikh Abi Sa'id*² by Muhammad bin Munawwar (before 599/1202) and *Malfuzat-i-Najm-u'd-din Kubra*³ (ob. 618/1221), were made in the Persian speaking world, it was Amir Hasan 'Ala' Sijzi of Delhi who gave *malfuz*-writing a definite literary form and produced his famous collection of the utterances of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*. It so happened that on Sha'ban 3, 707/January 1307, when he was with his Shaikh, an idea flashed across the mind of Hasan: the conversations of the Shaikh with his visitors should be preserved. When the Shaikh approved of the plan, he turned with all sincerity of purpose to recording the conversations that

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1. MS in the British Museum Library (Rieu i,342 b ii). Edited by V.A. Zhukosvky, St. Petersburg, 1899.
 2. Edited by Ahmad Bahmanyar, Tihran, 1934.
 Since it was dedicated to Sultan Ghiyath-u'd-din Muhammad b. Sam, brother of Shihab-u'd-din Muhammad of Ghur, its being available in the academic circles of Delhi cannot be ruled out. Besides, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya who was deeply influenced by the thought of Shaikh Abu Sa'id Abul Khair could not have remained uninformed about this work.
 3. MS in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Ivanow, No. 1250(3) page 599.)

took place in his assembly. The decision was epoch-making as it laid the foundation of a new genre of mystic literature which soon attracted the attention of mystic minded scholars all over the country. Today this literature is a veritable source of our information for the Muslim religious thought and behaviour during the medieval period and no student of history can afford to ignore it.⁴

Hasan's work so neatly reflected the thought of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya that it became the guide book (*dastur*)⁵ of the Chishti mystics, while the saints of other *silsilahs* adopted it as a model for preparing the table talks of their spiritual teachers. Hardly any book during the early medieval period so deeply fascinated the imagination of the contemporaries as the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* of Hasan. Even a literary celebrity of the stature of Amir Khusrau is reported to have offered to exchange all his works for the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*. Inspired by the tradition of Hasan, considerable *malfuz* literature was produced from Uchch to Pandua and from Delhi to Deogir. *Malfuz* writing as an essential part of *Khanqah* routine and discipline continued with unabated interest throughout the centuries till the time of Shah Muhammad Sulaiman of Taunsa (ob.1850) and Maulana Ashraf Ali of Thanah Bhawan (ob. 1943). The latter used it as a powerful instrument for the propagation of his mystic ideas and influenced the life and conduct of the people on a very large scale.

A number of collections of the conversations of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya were made by his disciples. Khwaja Muhammad, son of Maulana Badr-u'd-din Ishaq, compiled *Anwar-u'l-Majalis*; Khwaja 'Aziz-u'd-din Sufi prepared *Tuhfat-u'l-Abrar-wa-Karamat-u'l-Akhyar*; Khwaja Shams-u'd-din Vihari⁶ also compiled a *malfuz* the title of which is not known. Ziya-u'd-din Barani's *Hasrat Namah*, which is not available now, perhaps dealt with the teachings of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya.⁷ The authorship of *Afzal-u'l-*

4. For a discussion of the historical value of this type of literature, see Nizami, *On History and Historians of Medieval India*, Delhi, 1983, pp. 163- 169.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 309.

6. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 318.

7. An extract from *Hasrat Namah* as given in *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* (pp. 346-48), gives the impression of its being a record of the Shaikh's teachings.

Fawa'id is attributed to Amir Khusrau.⁸ Unfortunately no *mal'fuz* except the *Afzal-u'l-Fawa'id* has escaped the revages of time.

Maulana 'Ali bin Mahmud Jandar collected the Shaikh's conversations under the title *Durar-i-Nizami*. Two manuscripts of this *mal'fuz* are available, one in the Buhar Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the other in the Salarjung Museum of Hyderabad.⁹ The text has not been published so far. A very defective and misleading Urdu translation was published by Sayyid Muhammad Yasin Ali Nizami in 1332 A.H./1913. The writer of these lines has edited its text on the basis of the two available manuscripts and intends to publish it soon.

It would be futile to compare the *Durar* with either *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* or the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, both of them being masterly performances which have been admired and emulated but never equalled or excelled. Notwithstanding this the *Durar-i-Nizami* has a value of its own as a contemporary record of the thought of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. Some of the information contained in it is no doubt found in *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* and *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, but this does not detract from its value. The *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* was perhaps not available to 'Ali Jandar while *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* was not yet written. The *Durar* contains stray pieces of information about the life of the Chishti saints in general and that of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya in particular. It gives a good idea of the Chishti mystic ideology and incidentally throws light on the social and cultural conditions of the period.

'Ali Shah Jandar's name occurs in *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*¹⁰ as the author of *Khulasat-u'l-Lata'if* from which Amir Khurd quotes, but no details are supplied about him. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi refers to him¹¹ but says nothing about his life. His quota-

8. Prof. M. Wahid Mirza included it among Amir Khusrau's works (*The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, pp. 225-226), but Prof. M. Habib considered it to be a forgery (*Medieval India Quarterly*, Oct. 1950, pp. 31-35).

9. Buhar No. 183, Salarjung No. 876 no. 43. All references in this articles, except where otherwise indicated, are to the Salarjung MS.

10. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 449.

11. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 94. Both Mir Khurd and Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq give his name as 'Maulana Ali Shah Jandar'.

tion from *Khulasat-u'l-Lata'if* seems to have been taken from *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*. Muhammad Ghauthi Shattari mentions his name as Shaikh 'Ali Shah b. Shaikh Muhmud Jandar and gives some extracts from *Durar-i-Nizami*.¹² He is perhaps the only later hagiologist who seems to have consulted *Durar-i-Nizami*. He includes him among the old disciples of the Shaikh and says that he was always present at the *Khanqah* like an attendant.

However it appears that the work was not generally used by hagiologists and its importance got eclipsed by *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* which came to occupy an unrivalled place in the contemporary *malfuz* literature and was considered indispensable for an understanding of the life and teachings of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. Further, as its material – was almost entirely absorbed by Mir Khurd in his *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, there was little or no need to consult it on any point.

The compiler thus refers to himself and the Shaikh in the preface:

بندۂ امیدوار فضل پروردگار و لطف رسول مختار علی بن محمود جاندار بندہ و
پروردہ درویشاں است و از سر و دیدہ خاک آستانا... معروض می دارد
و باز می نماید کہ آنچه از زبان دربار و لسان گوهرنثار شیخ شیوخ عالم قطب
اولاد آدم الفائز بمقامات الیقین نظام الحق والشرع والدین محمد بن احمد بن
علی البخاری.....

(ff 1,2)

Obviously it means that the Shaikh was alive when 'Ali started compiling this *malfuz*. He says that every week he went to the Shaikh along with Qazi Muhyi-u'd-din Kashani and Maulana Hujjat-u'd-din (f.2b). Qazi Muhyi-u'd-din usually read out some book, mostly of *hadith*, and the Shaikh's discourse centred round it (f.3a). The Qazi was an erudite scholar of his day. Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh was one of his pupils and had learnt *Bazudi* with him. He is reported in *Khair-u'l-Majalis* to have remarked about him:

12. *Gulzar-i-Abrar* MS; Urdu translation by Fazal Ahmad, Agra 1326 A.H., p. 89.

محقق بود و سخن ایشان پیمانی بود که سکه زده

13

No details are available about the life and background of 'Ali b. Mahmud Jandar.¹⁴ He was, it appears, of a deeply religious temperament. One day he submitted to the Shaikh that at night he busied himself in prayers at the grave of Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki but had no spiritual response from him. The Shaikh referred to his own experience which was otherwise. It appears that 'Ali had greater attachment with Qazi Muhyi-u'd-din Kashani, perhaps on account of his extraordinary erudition, than any other disciple or *Khalifa* of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. This accounts for his frequent and respectful references to the Qazi. Amir Khurd writes about Qazi Muhyi-u'd-din Kashani:

بعضے یاراں را کہ بخدمت سلطان المشائخ محل نشستن نہ بودے
منتظر رسیدن قاضی محی الدین کاشانی می بودند تا بطفیل این بزرگ
در مجلس سلطان المشائخ می نشستند و ذوقها می گرفتند۔

15

The *Durar* leaves upon one's mind the impression that perhaps 'Ali Jandar was also one of those persons who came to the Shaikh when the Qazi was there.¹⁶ 'Ali says that the Qazi was the only disciple of the Shaikh to receive whom the Shaikh always stood up. Once the Qazi fell ill and went to the 'city' for treatment. 'Ali Jandar reported

13. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 151.

14. Jandar was a member of the royal bodyguard. Brave handsome and loyal youngmen were generally appointed as *Jandars*. May be that 'Ali's father was employed in the imperial household as a bodyguard. See, I.H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Karachi 1958, p. 63.

A remark of the Shaikh in *Durar* shows that 'Ali was also for sometime involved in government service. Once when he requested the Shaikh for permission to get his head shaved (*mahluq shudan*) like other senior disciples, the Shaikh remarked: "First give up your contact with the court" (f 31b). Ali submitted that being in debt he had to continue it for some time.

15. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 294-295.

16. Ghauthi however says that he was always there at the *Khanqah* but cites no authority (*Gulzar-i-Abrar*).

his illness to the Shaikh who personally went to his house to enquire about his health. A few days later the Qazi expired and the Shaikh went with his funeral and told 'Ali: "If you had not mentioned about his illness to me, I would have not gone to enquire about his welfare and this would have been a source of regret for me till the Day of Judgement."¹⁷

During the course of a discussion he says that on Monday, 13 Ramazan, 708 A.H./1308 A.D., the Shaikh again initiated him into his discipline and condescended to cut a lock of hair from his head. As this report about re-initiation occurs somewhere about the middle of the book, it may be presumed that the discussions referred to in that chapter also took place at that time. Since 'Ali Jandar gives neither the date of compilation nor the dates of the meetings, this date may be deemed as providing some sort of time perspective for the conversations recorded. At the end of the work there is a reference to the death of Qazi Muhyi-u'd-din Kashani in 720 A.H./1320 A.D. which means that either the author continued working on this *malfuz* till that date or due to his attachment with the Qazi appended this note after his demise. A few verses in the epilogue give the date of the death of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, which would imply that the compiler continued to work on it till about 725 A.H./1324-25, or considered it a fitting conclusion to his account of the teachings of the Shaikh. Strange as the coincidence is, it was around this time that Sultan Baha-u'd-din undertook the compilation of his *Fihi ma fihi*, based on his notes of the utterances of Maulana Jalal-u'd-din Rumi.

Did 'Ali b. Jandar have access to the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*? It is difficult to answer this question definitely in the absence of any positive evidence, but facts interpreted circumstantially lead to the conclusion that he did not consult *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*.

Chronologically the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* contains conversations pertaining to the following dates:

17. *Durar-i-Nizami*, f.118a.

Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh also referred in his assembly to the visit of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya to enquire about his health. The Qazi overwhelmed by the Shaikh's consideration for him stood up to receive him and circumambulated round him. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 151.

On Sources and Source Material

- Part I Account of *majalis* held during 707 A.H-708 A.H.
Part II Account of *majalis* held during 709 A.H-712 A.H.
Part III Account of *majalis* held during 712 A.H-713 A.H.
Part IV Account of *majalis* held during 714 A.H-719 A.H.
Part V Account of *majalis* held during 719 A.H-722 A.H.

If 708 A.H. is accepted as the date of compilation of the *Durar*, four of the five parts of *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* would not have come into existence when 'Ali Jandar undertook to compile his work. The *Durar* would then be the first *malfuz* of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya and would have chronological precedence over the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*. If 720 A.H. is taken as the date when 'Ali Jandar put his pen down, at least the fifth part of *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* would not have seen the light of the day. Further it is also not known if *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* was made available to the readers in parts. Perhaps not, and that would account for the originality and precedence of the *Durar*.

Three *majalis* of the Shaikh in *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* pertain to the month of Ramazan 706; *majalis* XXV Ramazan 9; *majalis* XXVI Ramazan 21; *majalis* XXVII, Ramazan 28. Some of the discussions that took place during this period, as recorded by Amir Hasan Sijzi, refer to the following:

1. Baba Farid suggests a prayer to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya who commits it to memory exactly as the *pir* directs, regardless of the rules of grammar.
2. Baba Farid's request to Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar to permit him to perform a *Chillah*, and the anguish of his soul at making a request to his Shaikh which he did not like.
3. Baba Farid's admonition to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya on interrupting him while teaching '*Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*.'
4. Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil's anxiety to somehow procure a copy of *Jami'-u'l-Hikayat*.
5. Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil's reluctance to pray for Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's appointment as *qazi*.
6. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakarriya's advice "to hold fast to one door", and remain attached to one spiritual mentor.

These events and incidents are reported in the *Durar* also but at different places. The first discussion however occurs in the Ramazan meeting of that year.

The author does not mention Amir Hasan Sijzi or his compilation, the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*. Amir Khusrau is however referred to as follows:

بنده کاتب این رساله غفر اللہ بعد از نماز خفتن در جماعت خانہ حضرت شیخ نور اللہ
مرقدہ نشسته بود۔ ملک الشعراء امیر خسرو را پرسید پیش ازین ترا در شطرنج ہوسی می بود
این زمان حال چیست و ہوسی شطرنج چنان مرتبہ بود کہ با خود می گفتم کہ اگر حج اسلام گذارده
شود شطرنج نتوانم گذاشت و اکنون از برکت آنکہ دست خدمت شیخ بدست خود گرفتم
و بیعت کردم ہوسی شطرنج بکلی از دل من محو کرد۔ (f 46 b)

18

This shows that before he got initiated into the discipline of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, 'Ali's fad was chess.

Mir Khurd, the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, compiled his work during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq (762-90/1351-88), years after the compilation of *Durar-i-Nizami*. He was obviously indebted to 'Ali b. Mahmud Jandar whom he refers at one place as his authority for that particular incident.¹⁹

The *Khair-u'l-Majalis* was prepared by Hamid Qalandar in 1354-55. There is no reference to 'Ali Jandar or his work in it.

It may safely be presumed that apart from *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, the *Durar-i-Nizami* must have been one of the important sources of information for the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*. A comparative study of the contents of *Durar-i-Nizami* with *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, *Khair-u'l-*

18. The MS has the words نور اللہ مرقدہ but obviously this is an addition made by some copyist. At a number of places in the manuscript phrases which are used for a dead saint appear; even the opening sentence of each *fasl* refers to the Shaikh as قدس اللہ سرہ العزیز. These are all later interpolations. Besides, Khusrau's verses about the Shaikh are quoted (f 2b) and the Shaikh's plan to go to Patiali, the birth place of Khusrau, during his early years is referred to (f. 72 b).

19. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 148.

Majalis and *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* would reveal the extent of indebtedness to 'Ali Jandar.

The conversations of the Shaikh in *Durar-i-Nizami* have been arranged thematically; not chronologically and instead of the word *majlis*, the word *fasl* has been used to distinguish one discussion from another. The *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* and the *Khair-u'l-Majalis* contain conversations which took place in a particular meeting and cover variety of themes and discussions. Thematic arrangement in the *Durar* has put the Shaikh's view on a particular theme at one place, but it has taken away the warmth of human company by focussing on themes rather than on visitors and their queries. However the *Durar* does not assume the formal and mechanical atmosphere of *Ahsan-u'l-Aqwal* or even *Afzal-u'l-Fawa'id*. The themes have been discussed in a succinct manner, taking for granted the previous knowledge of the reader about many matters.

The themes covered in the *malfuz* are as diverse and varied as the discussions in the latter portion of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, but while Mir Khurd had Jandar's example and pattern before him, Jandar had to plough a virgin field. His account lacks coherent details and systematic analysis. With the data that he had at his disposal and his wide range of scholarship, he could have interpreted the Shaikh's thought much more cogently.

The discussions in the *Durar* reel round traditions of the Prophet, obligations of the scholars, Monotheism, Gnosis, Faith, Revelation, Repentance, Cosmic Emotion, Vision of God, Prayers, Charity, Hajj, Recitation of the Qur'an, Litanies and Rituals, Initiation in mystic fraternity, Company and Seclusion, Resignation, Contentment, Excellence of Character, Humility and Pride, Miracles of saints, Food and Entertainment of guests, Mystic Music etc. The themes are conventional as one finds in theoretical works like the *'Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif* or the *Kimiya-i-Sa'adat*, but the of the Shaikh all through has saved his narrative from becoming dull or dry.

The *Durar-i-Nizami* throws valuable light on the life, thought and personality of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. It reflects his profound interest in the *Hadith* literature. The fact that he used to hold regular discussions on *ahadith* in his assemblies reveals an

important aspect of his academic and religious interest. No other work on Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya brings to focus like the *Durar* his interest in *hadith*. It fully supports a remark of Shah Ghulam 'Ali of Delhi that Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya was a great *muhaddith*. The first chapter of the *malfuzat* deals exclusively with the sayings of the Prophet and the Shaikh's elucidation of their thought-content. Generally those sayings of the Prophet were taken up for discussion which had some social or moral significance. For instance, in the first chapter the traditions which form the burthen of discussion pertain to, *inter alia*, the religious obligation of fulfilling a commitment, table manners, rejection of material pursuits, concentration on spiritual ideals, social etiquette and courtesies, refraining from borrowing, desirability of delaying divorce for twenty months after marriage if the couple fails to adjust, the nature of sin involved in back-biting, the complainant's onus of evidence etc. One can easily discern in these discussions the method of exhortation and advice adopted by the saint.

The books referred to in the *Durar-i-Nizami* give some idea of the Shaikh's knowledge of the religious literature and the dimensions of his thought. The following books are particularly referred to:

1. *I'jaz-u'l-Bayan*, 2. *Jamal-u'l-Ghara'ib*, 3. *Nawadir-u'l-Usul*, 4. Works of Imam Ghazzali, 5. *Sharh Athar-i-Nayyarain*, 6. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, 7. *Adab-u'l-Muhahaqqiin*, 8. *Ruh-u'l-Arwah*, 9. *'Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*, 10. *Ma'alim-wa-Lubbab*, 11. Works of Maulana Fakhr-u'd-din Razi, 12. *Maktubat-i-'Ain-u'l-Quzzat Hamadani*, 13. *Qut-u'l-Qulub* and 14. Zamakhshari's *Kashshaf*.

Of these works the *Ihya-u'l-Ulum*, the *I'jaz*, the *Jawama'-ul-Hikayat*, *Ruh-u'l-Arwah*, *'Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*, *Qut-u'l-Qulub*, *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, *Nawadir-u'l-Usul* and *Maktubat-i-'Ain-u'l-Quzzat* find mention in *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* also. The Shaikh's views about some of the works as quoted in *Durar* are significant. For instance, he says about *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*:

کشف المحجوب از تصنیف شیخ علی ہجویری قدس سرہ است کتابے خوب است، اگر کسے
را مرشدے نباشد چوں این کتاب را مطالعہ کند اورا بسندہ باشد

(f 12 a Buhar MS)

The *Durar* supplies valuable information about the scholars and mystics of Badaon and some teachers of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, like Amin-u'd-din Muhaddith and Shams-u'l-Mulk. The authenticity of the story that Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's

mother was given a choice in a dream to either save her son or her husband, has been doubted by some, but the *Durar* says that Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din used to narrate it on the authority of his elder sister.

The *Durar* contains interesting bits of information about some important figures of the age. Qazi Minhaj-u's-Siraj, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, has been referred to twice and his interest both in *sama'* and in *ahadith* has been specifically mentioned. Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Mubarak Ghaznavi, whose sermons have been quoted by Zia-u'd-din Barani in the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, is shown evincing interest in discovering spiritually gifted persons when he arrived in Delhi. It is reported about Qazi Hamid-u'd-din that he remembered the *Ruh-u'l-Arwah* by heart and used to quote from it extensively in his sermons.

In this *malfuz* we get some very interesting information about *Mustaufi-i-Mumalik*²⁰ Shams-u'l-Mulk, a teacher of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. He was a very accomplished scholar and a gifted teacher but stinginess marred his reputation. "He would have been peerless in this country had he been endowed by large-heartedness", said Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. He possessed huge wealth which was confiscated at the order of the Sultan. When the government officers came to attach his property, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya also happened to be there. He was pained to see his teacher's anguish and worry at the loss of his wealth. Such besetting attachment with material possessions did not behove a teacher of his eminence, the Shaikh felt.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's displeasure at the appointment of Qazi Muhyi-u'd-din Kashani as *qazi* of Awadh has been recorded in *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, but it is from the *Durar* that we know that it was Malik-ut Tujjar Qazi Hamid-u'd-din²¹ who had recommended his appointment to the Sultan.

20. For *Mustaufi-i-Mamalik*, see I.H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pp. 84-85.

21. It appears that Malik-u't-Tajjar Hamid-u'd-din who was a *confidant* of 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji, belonged to Awadh. It was he who told Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh about the circumstances in which 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji had introduced his market control. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 241.

The *Durar* is perhaps the first work which gives us some idea of the life of mystic absorption and contemplation led by Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtyar Kaki (ff 53 ab). Perhaps *Jawami'-u'l-Kalim's*²² source about this disposition of the Khwaja is the *Durar*. Further it appears from the *Durar* that Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtyar Kaki had expired during the life time of Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti of Ajmer.

'Ali b. Jandar has presented the moral and ethical teachings of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya in a very succinct manner. No doubt the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* reflects greater understanding of the depth of the Shaikh's thought and combines brevity of expression with perspicacity of ideas, but as the arrangement is not thematic, it is after a study of the entire text that a picture of the Shaikh's moral and ethical teachings on any particular aspect can be formed. A reader of the *Durar* has before him neatly categorized and systematized information on a number of vital issues connected with religious life. The corner stone of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's moral discipline was that example teaches better than precept. He used to say that the impact of the Prophet's teachings was due to the fact that whatever he preached to others he illustrated its operation in his own life. The Shaikh expected his disciples not to spin fine ideas but to live a life of piety and penitence embodying the principles of the *silsilah* so that all those who came into contact with them got influenced by its teachings.

The *summum bonum* of a mystic's life in the eyes of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya was to bring happiness to human hearts. He used to say:

معرفت بطریق مجاز آنست که دلہائی
شکستگان را دریا بند

(f 12 a)

In his discourses he emphasizes again and again the moral obligation of every human being to strive for the welfare of all people irrespective of any consideration of caste or creed (f 74b etc)

22. *Jawami'-u'l-Kalim*, p. 27.

In order to bring home to his audience the spiritual value of alleviating the misery of the people and bringing happiness to their hearts, he narrated story after story to his audience. One day he gave the following anecdote about Shaikh Bayazid Bistami:

"A man came to him and requested him to show him the path of Divine realization (*ma'rifat*). The Shaikh ordered food to be served to him. He partook it and then left, covered with shame. He reappeared the next day and repeated his earlier question. The Shaikh again served the food to him and he left. The third day he appeared again and put the same question. The Shaikh again served the food. He then submitted: 'I ask you about the way to achieve *ma'rifat* and you give food to me. What is your reply to my question?' The Shaikh replied: "Gnosis lies in bringing solace to the broken hearts."

معرفت ہمیں است کہ چیزی پیش بندگانِ خدائی تعالیٰ بیاری و کسی را جراحتِ رستگاری
و دلہائی شکستگانِ رادریابی -

(f 13 a)

On another occasion he narrated the story of Khwaja Ajal Shirazi. A new entrant to his mystic fold expected him to prescribe some litanies and spiritual exercises. The Khwaja, on the contrary, advised him thus: 'Desire for others what you desire for yourself. Do not wish for others what you do not like for yourself' (f 41a). Through such brief but highly suggestive stories, 'Ali Jandar has brought out the basic features of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's spiritual discipline.

Following the advice of his spiritual mentor, Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya told his disciples that life was right adjustment of loyalties and so one had to fulfil his obligations towards all human beings. He had to make conscious effort to please his enemies (f 15 a b). No one who bore ill-will towards his fellow human beings was destined to reach the spiritual goal, he used to say.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, it appears from the *Durar*, was opposed to accumulation of wealth (ff 64a b, 65 a etc.). He considered it not only a distraction in one's spiritual work, but a

serious impediment in the growth of moral personality. Whatever was in excess of one's immediate requirements was to be distributed among the needy and the poor, was the principle of the Chishti saints.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya believed in large scale contact with the poor sections of the people.²³ He believed that real spiritual benediction lay in mixing with the poor and the downtrodden. He quotes Shaikh Junaid who said that he found God among the poor people in the streets of Medina (f 58 b).

Some of the similies quoted in the *Durar* in order to elucidate mystical concepts are original and perceptive. While explaining the meaning of *tawakkul*, the Shaikh said that one should be either like sucklings who have full confidence in their mothers that they would feed them, or like a corpse in the hands of its washers – they can move it as they please. When a man develops such faith in God he becomes a force and derives strength from the divine source.

Anxious to inculcate a sense of moral responsibility among the people Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya always quoted relevant sayings of the Prophet, and incidents from the life of early saints. Once he quoted a *hadith* to the effect that if a sin is committed somewhere and one who is present there disapproves of it, it is as if he was not present there. If, on the other hand, one is not there, but approves of the sin, it is as if he was present there. "If any act (of immorality) is committed in the West and one living in the East approves of it, it means as if he has participated in it", he said.

Thus the Shaikh created a disgust of sin and immorality among his visitors, and imbued them with a sense of moral responsibility. He urged them to develop high ideals and hitch their wagons to the stars. He says:

23. Amir Khurd quotes a long passage from Barani's *Hasrat Namah* (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 346) now extinct, in which he quotes Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's purpose in admitting all sorts of people in his mystic discipline.

... ہمت بلند دار کہ خواہی رسید زود از

ہمت بلند بمقصود خویش تن

(f 68b)

The Shaikh was critical of parasitic tendencies among people. He recommended a life of active struggle to earn livelihood. Neglect of the obligations of family life was considered irreligious and sinful.

The classification of devotion to God as *lazmi* (intransitive) and *muta'addi* (transitive) has been explained in the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, but it occurs in the *Durar* also (f 93 b). Several stories relating to Gujarat, Badaon and Delhi have been narrated to bring home to the audience the significance and value of serving mankind and earning greater reward on this count on the Day of Judgement than other routine religious rituals. It was a revolutionary concept of religion which raised it from mere ritual to active struggle for the service of mankind. A very renowned mystic lady of Delhi, Bibi Fatima Sam²⁴ is reported to have remarked:

خدائی سبباً بنده خود را از جهت آنکہ پارہ نانی و کوزہ آبی بکسی دہد نعمتہائی
دینی و دنیوی ایثار کنند کہ این نعمتہا از صد ہزار روزہ و نماز نتوان یافت

(f 94 a)

Distribution of food to people without any consideration of caste, colour or creed was the principle followed at the *khanqah* of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. It was repeatedly pointed out that there was nothing more commendable in the eyes of God than distribution of food to the poor and the needy. The Prophet Abraham has been presented as an ideal in this regard.

The Shaikh told his audience that forgiving the wrong doer was better than retaliation. Generally the people reciprocate by doing good to those who do good to them, but one should develop the habit of doing good to all irrespective of the fact whether they did good or evil to them. No human being can expect spiritual

24. For her life see Nizami, *Hazrat Bibi Fatima Sam*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat Delli, 1982.

development unless he has cleaned his heart of all feelings of enmity, anger and revenge towards others. Even prayers and fasts are of no value for one whose heart is full of enmity and anger.

The *Durar*, like the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* and the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, reveals the nonchalant attitude of the saint towards kings, politics and *shughl* (government service). In the very first chapter the Shaikh is reported to have quoted a *hadith-i-Qudsi* in which God says:

من مالک ملوکانم و دلہائی ملوکان در قبضہ قدرت من است، اگر بندگان
من مرا فرمان برند من ملوک را از بندگان ہر بانی می گردانم

(f 2 b)

A meeting of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya with Sultan Mubarak Khalji has been recorded in the *Durar*. Mir Khurd and Hamid Qalandar who have also referred to it must have got this information from 'Ali Jandar.

In short, the *Durar-i-Nizami* which contains valuable information about the life of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya and the Chishti mystic ideology of the period is chronologically the second, if not the first, *malfuz* of the Shaikh and is the source of most of the information that Mir Khurd has supplied in his *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*.

(Written in 1983 for *Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi Memorial Volume*)

A Unique and Unknown Book of Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah — the *Aswilah Wa Ajwibah*

RASHID AL-DIN FADL ALLAH¹ (circa 645-718/1247-1318), the famous wazir of Ghazan Khan (694-703/1295-1304) and Uljaitu (703-716/1304-1316), occupies a unique place in the history of Persian literature. An erudite scholar, well versed in almost all the sciences of the day both *ma'qulat* and *manqulat*, an expert physician with extensive knowledge of herbs and drugs, both Unani and Ayurvedic, a seasoned diplomat with all the arts of fine persuasion, Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah represented the finest traditions of medieval scholarship and culture. Twice he visited India on diplomatic missions and his talented personality impressed both the rulers and the people. His first visit was as an envoy of Ghazan Khan to the court of Sultan 'Ala' al-Din Khalji. The Il-Khanid Sultan was anxious to establish diplomatic and cultural relations with

1. For detailed information about his life and works, see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, iii, pp. 68-87; Storey, *Persian Literature*, pp. 71-78; Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani; *al-Durar al-Kaminah*, iii, p. 232; Brockelman, ii, p. 200; Barthold, *Turkistan Down to the Mongol Invasions*, pp. 44-48; *Mir Islama*, i. 1912, pp. 56-107; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, iii, pp. 1224-25; Blochet, *Introduction a l'histoire des Mongol par Fazl Rachid al-Din*, Gibb Memorial Series, 1910; K. Jahn: *Rashid al-Din's History of India*, collected essays.

Delhi and wanted to procure some herbs and medicines from India.² Rashid al-Din came by the sea-route, laden with many gifts and with a large retinue. Sultan 'Ala' al-Din Khalji sent his nobles and the elite of the city to receive him.³ He bestowed four villages on him and issued instructions to the revenue department to remit its income to the Khwaja in his homeland through trusted merchants.⁴ Abul Fadhli informs us that he was sent, obviously for the second time, by Sultan Khuda Banda to the court of Sultan Mubarak Khalji.⁵ In his letters he speaks about his visit to India and gives a long list of articles which he had brought as presents to the Sultan of Delhi.

2. In a letter written from Multan to Maulana Qutb-al-Din Mas'ud Shirazi, he thus states the purpose of his embassy:

وصف شوکت ایلخانی و شرح صولت خاقانی بگوش طوک امصار و سلاطین اقطار آن دیار رسانم، و ایشان را در
ریبہ انقیاد و جادۂ اتحاد در آرم، و ادویہ نافعہ و اثریہ نایبہ کہ وجود آن در ممالک ایران چون خط اندسی مہیوم و
چون کیمیا و عنقا معلوم است حاصل کنم

(So that the attributes of the majesty of Il-Khans and the details of their valour be conveyed to the ears of the rulers of the great cities and districts of that region and (so that they be brought to the yoke of submission and the path of friendship.) (The other purpose was) to procure efficacious medicines and wholesome drinks which are as imaginary in the lands of Iran as the geometrical drawing and rare as the alchemy and the fabulous bird).

Mukatabat-i-Rashidi, edited by Muhammad Shafi', p. 161.

3. He writes in a letter:

سلطان کامیاب کامگار سلطان علاء الدین خلد اللہ ملکہ، و سلطانہ، و علم علی البرایا احسانہ! کہ سحاب باہرہ در افتانی و
گوہر پاشی از دریائے سخائے او معترف است، و بجز زہار با وجود دست گوہر بار بفیض غمام انعام او مقنی چون
شنید کہ این مخلص در آن منزل نزول و در آن موضع طلول کرده ام ارکان دولت و اعیان حضرت خود را با استقبال
فرستاد و فرمود کہ اورا با عزت و اکرام و بتعجیل و احترام بحضرت ما آورید

Mukatabat-i-Rashidi, pp. 163-164.

4. *Mukatabat-i-Rashidi*, p. 163.

5. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Delhi edition, ii. p. 200.

Khwaja Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah is known to the scholars of Persian history and literature as the author of *Jami'al-Tawarikh*,⁶ a general history of the world from the earliest times to 1300 A.D. with a special account of the Mongols and an interesting section on the life and teachings of Buddha; (ii) *Majmu'a al-Rashid*, a collection of four works entitled (a) *al-Tauidhat*, (b) *Miftah al-Tafasir*, (c) *al-Sultaniya*, and (d) *Lata'if al-Haqa'iq* and (iii) *Mukatabat-i-Rashidi*, a collection of 53 despatches and letters addressed to different persons. His *Aswilah-wa-Ajwibah* has not, as yet, come to light and has not been utilized by the scholars. So far as I know, it has not been listed in any printed catalogue of Oriental or European collections. Rashid al-Din, it may be pointed out, had taken extraordinary care to ensure that his works reached all the relevant academic circles. He translated all his Persian works into Arabic and all his Arabic works into Persian. Barthold says that in both the languages copies of his works were made annually, obviously for distribution and circulation. Under these circumstances, the non-availability of the *Aswilah wa Ajwibah* is rather unexpected. But this should cause no surprise, because we know that the Persian version of even his *Jami'al-Tawarikh* was not available to Akbar and he had to arrange for its translation from the Arabic version.

The *Aswilah wa Ajwibah* is, in certain respects, a unique and monumental work of its kind and bears testimony to the vast range of Rashid al-Din's scholarship. The circumstances in which the compilation of this work was undertaken have been explained in the preface. Sultan Uljaitu used to hold academic discussions and seminars very frequently. After the Friday prayers he carried on his discussions with the 'ulama for hours and hours together. One day he put a question to the learned gathering, but no one amongst those present could give a satisfactory reply. One of the most distinguished scholars of Iran,⁷ Maulana Jamal al-Din, who happened to

6. For two very interesting and valuable illustrated manuscripts of *Jami' al-Tawarikh* see Basil Gray's article in *Ars Orientalis*, Michigan, Vol. I, pp. 65-75.

7. Rashid al-Din uses the epithets *افضل المحققين وقطب العارفين* for him and says that he was "the leader and a peerless figure of Iran" *(مقتدا ويگاد ايران)*
Aswilah wa Ajwibah (M.S.).

be present there, suggested a reference of the problem to Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah. Rashid al-Din wrote a detailed and exhaustive reply to the query and satisfied the Sultan. Another similar situation arose on Safar 7, 711 A.H. when the Sultan recited a tradition of the Prophet and sought elucidation from the 'ulama. Not satisfied with their replies, he turned to Rashid al-Din and asked his opinion. Rashid al-Din's reply proved to be a turning point in his academic career and his reputation travelled far and wide. Scholars and divines—Muslim and non-Muslim—began to write to him for guidance in many academic matters. Nizam Yezdi, a pupil of Rashid al-Din, decided to collect together and edit all the replies given by the great scholar

(روز بروز آن را جمع کرده لفظاً لفظاً نوشته)

This is how the *Aswilah wa Ajwibah* came to be compiled. Subsequently Rashid al-Din himself went through the whole collection and wherever he found any point requiring further elucidation, he added a new section about it, but did not consider it proper to make any changes in the letters originally written.

A unique copy of this work is preserved at the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh (Jawahar Museum Section). It runs into 216 folios of big size (12" X 8"). Its transcription was completed on 15th Jamadi al-Awwal, 944 A.H./1537 in the Khurasani script by some scribe whose name has faded. At some places the script has been damaged by water and dampness, but on the whole the manuscript is legible. There are several seals on it which show that it had been for some time in the possession of the rulers of Awadh. One earlier inscription reads as follows:

کتاب اسولہ واجوبہ رشیدی بابت اموال دانش مند خان ہمدانم ذی قعدہ سنہ ۳ از وجوہ محمد باقر تویل محافظ
خانہ شد قیمت مائے روپیہ۔

Does it mean that it came to the Imperial library as the escheated property of Danishmand Khan, a noble of Aurangzeb?

The entire material of this work has been classified under the following 12 heads:

1. *Tafsir* (Exegesis)
2. *'Ilm-i-ahadith wa'l athar* (science of the Traditions of the Prophet)

3. *'Ilm-i-Fiqh* (science of jurisprudence)
4. *Qisas al-Anbiya* (anecdotes of Prophets)
5. *'Ilm-i-tariqat wa suluk wa kalamat-i-masha'ikh* (mysticism and the utterances of mystics)
6. *'Ilm-i-Haqiqat wa-'Irfan wa Zauqiyat* (knowledge of reality, gnosis and ecstasy)
7. *'Ilm-i-Usul-i-Din* (knowledge of the principles of religion)
8. *'Ilm-i-Ilahiyat* (metaphysics)
9. *'Ilm-i-Tabi'yat* (physical sciences)
10. *'Ilm-i-Mantiq* (logic)
11. *'Ilm-i-T'ibb* (science of medicine)
12. *'Ilm-i-Hi'at* (astronomy)

Some of the questions asked may be mentioned here to give an idea of the scope and conspectus of the work:

1. Why is a king referred to as "shadow of God on earth"?⁸
2. What is the real distinction between "*nabuwat*" (prophethood) and "*bādshahat*" (kingship)?
3. What is the source and significance of the prophetic dreams?
4. What is the difference between the following three types of repentance—*tauba* (.....), *inaba* (.....) and *auba* (.....)?
5. How do the heavenly bodies rotate?
6. Does the *falak* (sky) revolve?
7. What is the reason for eclipse of the sun?
8. What is the significance of the theory of the transmigration of souls?
9. Would resurrection on the Day of Judgement be spiritual or physical?
10. How and why were the royal insignia introduced?
11. How does the river-system affect human life?⁹

8. It may be mentioned that we find similar questions being put in India to Amir Khusrau and Shaikh Sharaf al-Din Yahya of Maner during the 14th century. This reflects the hesitation of the medieval Muslim mind to introduce divine elements in the medieval monarchy.

9. It is interesting to note that Rashid al-Din had written a book also on rural economy entitled *Athar wal Ihya*, which is extant.

12. How do the clouds appear on the sky?
13. What happens to the blood of the dead?
14. What type of diagnosis is possible through the examination of the pulse?
15. What is the significance of anthropomorphic suggestions in the Qur'an?
16. What is the relative position of the head and the heart in mystic discipline?

It is neither possible nor necessary to go into the details of replies which Rashid al-Din gave to these questions. What strikes one most is the facility with which he elucidates problems covering a wide range of enquiry, religious, political, scientific and literary. Had the experimental method been known to Muslim scholars of those days, these researches of Rashid al-Din would have assumed new and almost revolutionary dimensions, but taking as they were, Rashid al-Din's encyclopaedic knowledge could not come out of its traditional medieval grooves.

Apart from its value as a source for evaluating the scholarship and erudition of Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah, the *Aswilah wa Ajwibah* is of great importance in tracing the trends and tendencies of the medieval Muslim thought. If any single work of the 14th century can give a fairly complete picture of the main categories of Muslim thought it is no doubt the *Aswilah wa Ajwibah* of Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah.

Amongst the persons who have addressed these queries to Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah we find such names as (1) Maulana Fakhr al-Din Taftazani, (2) Maulana Nizam al-Din Tabrizi, (3) Maulana Nizam al-Din Tusi, (4) Maulana Majd al-Din Qadi of Tabriz, (5) the Qadi al-Quddat of Baghdad, (6) Maulana Kamal al-Din 'Arab, (7) Amir Nasir al-Din Yahya, (8) Maulana Shams al-Din Hamadani, (9) Maulana Shams al-Din Khojendi, (10) Maulana Shihab al-Din Maqbul al-Rumi, (11) scholars of Astrabad, (12) Maulana Shihab al-Din Zakani, (13) Maulana Sharaf al-Din Khwarizmi, (14) Maulana Kamal al-Din Hasan.

Amongst Indians the only name mentioned is that of Maulana 'Alam al-Din of Multan. There are some queries from a *Hakim-i-*

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Farang, but his name is not mentioned. Amongst the questions put by this *Hakim-i-Farang* are problems relating to physiology, metaphysics, etc.

If the work is edited and published it would not merely add to our knowledge about Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah but would be extremely valuable in understanding the intellectual climate of the middle ages as also the problems which exercised the minds of the Muslim scholars of the 14th century.

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Vol. XI, No. 3,
July, 1966).

Sarur-u's-Sudur, a *malfuz* of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din of Nagaur

The *Sarur-u's-Sudur* is a collection of the *malfuzat* of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri, a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti of Ajmer. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din had settled at Nagaur at the instance of his spiritual master and eked out his meagre subsistence by ploughing a *bigha* of land.¹ He was the first Muslim child to see the light of the day in Delhi after its conquest by the forces of Sultan Mu'izz-u'd-din.² He was a typical representative of the Chishti mystic tradition and did not like to associate with the rulers or the bureaucracy. He refused to accept the grant of a village made by Iltutmish. For him the life of *shughl* (government service) was an abominable chain that fettered the soul. In his opinion wealth and sainthood were incompatibles, and he did not spare criticism of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakarriya, the famous saint of Multan, for accumulating wealth.

Unfortunately the name of the compiler of *Sarur-u's-Sudur* is not clear from the text, but it is definite that he was a son of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mahmud son of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din. We know from other sources that Shaikh Farid had four sons: Shaikh 'Aziz,

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1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 156-57, According to Jamali the plot measured ten *jarib* only and was situated near a river, *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 13.
 2. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, MS, p. 8; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 29.

Shaikh Auhad, Shaikh Sa'id and Shaikh Najib. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* is the work of one of them. The compiler has mixed the conversations of his father and grandfather.

The *Sarur-u's-Sudur* contains interesting details about the life and thought of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri who, as a *khalifa* of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti of Ajmer, had zealously applied himself to the propagation of the Chishti mystic ideals in the heart of Rajasthan. It illustrates the way in which the Chishti saints identified themselves with the local conditions of life and won the affection and good will of the indigenous population. In the picture of Shaikh Hamid's life at Nagaur we get the earliest glimpse of a Muslim family in the countryside during the 13th century. Notwithstanding his scholarship and vast erudition the Shaikh led the life of a poor peasant. His total property was a small mud house and a *bigha* of land, half of which was cultivated in one season; the other half in the next.³ There was a cow in the house and the Shaikh himself milked it.⁴ His wife—a peasant woman—used to spin and prepare cloth.⁵ Thus the family produced whatever it needed and did not extend its needs so as to bring itself into contact with the state machinery. The Shaikh was a strict vegetarian.⁶ He believed in *ahimsa* and did not like to disturb even an ant.⁷ The family of the Shaikh conversed mostly in Hindivi. We find brother being addressed as *bhai*, and mother as *mai*. The conversations of a saint who thus passed his days in an agricultural milieu but carried on his mystic mission with devotion and sincerity cannot be without interest.

The early mystic records contain very little about the life and thought of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti of Ajmer. The *Sarur-u's-Sudur* gives some interesting pieces of information about his family life, his favourite verses etc.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 156-57.

4. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, MS, p. 14.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 157.

6. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, MS, p. 10.

7. *ibid*, p. 52.

It appears from this *malfuz* that most of the important works on Muslim theology, mysticism and literature were available in India as early as the thirteenth century and the Chishti saints of the first cycle were fully conversant with this literature. The *Sarur-u's-Sudur* is invaluable for understanding the intellectual background of the mystics of the age.

We find references to the following works in *Sarur-u's-Sudur*:

1. *Maqamat*, Shaikh Abu Sa'id Abul Khair
2. *Asnad Hilya*, Shaikh Abdullah Tustari
3. *Maktubat-i-Maulana Fakhr-u'd-din Razi*
4. *Tafsir-i-Maqatil*
5. *Kimiya-i-Sa'adat*
6. *Tuhfat-al-Shabab*
7. *Qaduri*
8. *Manzuma*
9. *Kitab-i-Fa'iq*
10. *Maktubat-i-'Ain-ul-Quzzat*
11. *Madarik*
12. *Kashshaf*
13. *Nahv Mufassal*
14. Works of Pir-i-Hari (Khwaja Abdullah Harawi)
15. *Mashariq-ul-Anwar*
16. *Tafsir-i Imam Nasir-u'd-din*
17. *Tafsir-i Zahid*
18. *Nahj al-Balagha*
19. *Kanz-ul-Adab*
20. *Akhbar-ul-Athar*
21. *Misbah al-Duja*
22. *Kitab-i-Kuhna*
23. *Qut-ul-Qulub*
24. *Siyar-ul-Muluk*
25. *Sihah Na't*

The Shaikh had a very definite and clear concept of mystic objectives – objectives which he persistently though quietly propagated at Nagaur. He used to cite Khwaja 'Abdulla Ansari to bring home to his audience the principle that 'bringing solace to human heart' was a greater act of devotion than offering countless genuflexions of prayer.⁸

8. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, MS, p. 17.

Among the Sultans, Iltutmish, Balban, Jalal-u'd-din Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq have been referred to: Iltutmish for his respectful attitude towards Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Nakhshabi whom he addressed as 'father';⁹ Balban for his critical assessment of Minhaj-u's-Siraj;¹⁰ Jalal-u'd-din Khalji has been mentioned in the context of Husam Darvesh. The reference to Muhammad bin Tughluq is not without interest. In fact faint shadow of a contradiction covers this narration. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din believed in a life of complete aloofness from worldly powers, yet his grandson Shaikh Fathullah had to marry Bibi Rasti, daughter of Muhammad bin Tughluq.¹¹ Perhaps the Nagaur branch of the Chishti *silsilah* is the only branch where Muhammad bin Tughluq is referred to with some consideration and this was perhaps due to his relations with the saints of this branch.

The Shaikh was bitterly critical of people who indulged in *ihதாக* (hoarding and blackmarketing). "Their happiness lies in the misery of others", he used to say.¹² He narrates a story:

In days gone by famine spread in a city. A pious man came to his house and asked his wife: "Is there any corn in the house?" She replied. 'Yes, in one bag.' He then asked his wife to open it and take it to the market and sell it. He further asked her to purchase corn every day from the market at the rate at which others purchase it, so that all may be in the same condition. What to do now when such Mussalmans are no more.¹³

It was through such anecdotes that moral lessons were taught to the people. He mentions another story. Once a man entrusted to his friend some corn to be sold in the market at the current rate. The friend withheld the corn for some days expecting some rise in

9. *ibid*, p. 19.

10. *ibid*, pp. 47-48.

11. For details, see Nizami's article 'Some Documents of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq', *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, I, pp. 301-13.

12. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, MS, pp. 22, 58.

13. *ibid.*, p. 58.

the price. When the owner came to know of this, he asked his friend to distribute the entire stock in charity as the whole stock had become *batil* (bad).¹⁴ Having narrated this story the Shaikh laments that in his own days people believe in exploitation.

The Shaikh had totally rejected all materialistic pursuits (*tark-i-duniya*)¹⁵ and was on that account known as *Sultan-u't-Tarikin*¹⁶ but he never permitted anybody to live like a parasite. He exhorted people to be busy in some work and earn their bread with the sweat of their brow.¹⁷

Shaikh Hamid was an outstanding scholar, having a deep and critical insight into the classical literature. His observations about the works of Zamakhshari,¹⁸ Ghazzali¹⁹ and Fakhr-u'd-din Razi²⁰ reveal his vast erudition and critical acumen. The Shaikh was a poet also and is reported to have composed poetry in Arabic, Persian and Hindivi.²¹

Some of the stray remarks found in *Sarur-u's-Sudur* illumine the whole milieu. For instance, the Shaikh once told his audience that Sultan Mui'zz-u'd-din bin Sam (Shihab-u'd-din Muhammad Ghuri) had presented 5,000 books to Maulana Fakhr-u'd-din Razi²² from his collection. This piece of information throws valuable light on the cultural atmosphere of Ghur and the level of academic eminence attained during the time of Shihab-u'd-din.

14. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, MS.

15. *ibid*, pp. 1, 41, *et seq.*

16. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 29.

17. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, MS, p. 30 *et seq.*

18. *ibid*, pp. 44, 61.

19. *ibid*, pp. 5, 31.

20. *ibid*, p. 27.

21. *ibid*, p. 107.

22. *ibid*, p. 27.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, it is said, used a blanket (*galim*) of Kashmir.²³

Incidentally the character of some *'ulama* is also brought to light. Balban's remarks about Minhaj-u's-Siraj, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* are very interesting. Balban is reported to have remarked:

"I have three *qazis*. One of them does not fear me but fears God. He is Qazi-i-Lashkar. The other one does not fear God but fears me. He is Fakhr Naqila. The third one neither fears me nor God. And he is Minhaj." (p. 24).

Husam Darvesh was a very well-known preacher of medieval India. Barani has praised his eloquence, fluency, command of language, ready wit and power of conversation.²⁴ The *Sarur-u's-Sudur* refers to his greediness, his unbecoming behaviour at the court of Sultan Mui'zz-u'd-din Kaiqubad. During the time of Sultan Jalal-u'd-din Khalji people campaigned for recovering the gold he had accumulated during the regime of Kaiqubad. When Husam came to know of this he ascended the pulpit and said:

"I hear that they want to extort gold from me. Yes, but they should get it back from me in the same manner in which I had acquired it."²⁵

(Written for Nagpur Session of the
Indian History Congress, 1950)

23. *ibid*, p. 82.

24. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 131.

25. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, MS, P. 49.

Ahsan-al-Aqwal, a *malfuz* of Shaikh Burhan-u'd-din Gharib

Very little attention has so far been paid to a critical assessment of the Muslim religious literature of medieval South Asia. Our historians have generally surveyed the historical landscape from the foot of the royal throne and have ignored the life and conditions of the people in general. If our history is to be something more than a mere record of political events and governmental changes, we will have to turn to non-political literature of the middle ages, both as a corrective of the impressions created by the court chroniclers and as a source of information for the religious and cultural movements of the period.

Malfuz writing is one of the greatest literary achievements of medieval Hind-Pakistan. Through these records of conversations we can have a glimpse of the medieval society in all its fullness, if not in all its perfection – the moods and tension of the common man, the inner yearnings of his soul, the religious thought at its higher and lower levels, the popular customs and above all the problems of the people.

The *Ahsan-al-Aqwal* is a collection of the conversations of Shaikh Burhan-u'd-Din Gharib (654/741 A.H. 1256/1340 A.D.), made by his disciple Mawlana Hammad bin 'Ammad Kashani in 738 A.H./1337 A.D. It forms a very valuable link to that chain of *Malfuzat* of the Chishti saints of India and Pakistan, which begins

with the *Fawa'id-al-Fuwad* of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya' and come to an end with the *Nafa'is-al-Salikin* of Shah Sulayman of Taunsa (ob. 1850 A.D). I am very grateful to Professor Mohammad Habib who kindly placed at my disposal his rare manuscript of *Ahsan-al-Aqwal*, which I have edited and intend to publish as soon as circumstances permit along with the *Khayr-al-Majalis* and *Sarur-u's-Sudur*.

Shaikh Burhan-u'd-Din Gharib whose teachings have been collected in this book was an eminent disciple of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya and a close friend and companion of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din Chiragh Dihli, Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan. On one occasion when Shaikh Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya was displeased with him (due to certain complaints made against him by 'Ali Zambili and Malik Nusrat, the attendants of Sultan 'Ala-u'd-Din Khalji) Amir Khusrau wrapped his turban round his neck and humbly prayed his master to forgive his friend.¹ Shaikh Burhan-u'd-Din was specially fond of audition parties and he and his associates "danced" in a peculiar manner so that they were called the *Burhanis*.² Long before Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's so-called transfer of the capital, he went to the Deccan and settled at Dewgir. He popularized the *Chishti Silsilah* in the scheme of cultural integration which changed the entire pattern of cultural life in the south. When Nasir Khan Faruqi, the ruler of Khandesh, built Burhanpur in his memory, he simply registered the debt that Deccan owed to him.

Maulana Hammad, the compiler of this work was a devoted disciple of the Shaikh. His two other brothers, Khwaja Rukn-u'd-Din Dabir and Majd-u'd-Din Kashani were also included in the circle of Shaikh Burhan-u'd-Din's disciples. Each one of these brothers contributed something to the mystic literature of the period. Besides *Ahsan-al-Aqwal*, Maulana Hammad wrote *Husul-al-Wusul* dealing with the life and conversations of the Shaikh. Khwaja Rukn-u'd-Din compiled *Nafa'is-al-Anfas*³ and *Shama'il-i-Anqiya' wa Dala'il-i-*

1. *Siyar-al-Auliya'* p. 279-280.

2. *Ibid.* p. 279.

3. Ms. Nadvat-ul-'Ulama Library, Lucknow.

Atqiya.⁴ Maulana Majd-u'd-Din wrote *Ghara'ib-al-Karamat wa 'Aja'ib-al-Mukashafat*. All these works deal with the various aspects of the Shaikh's life and are a valuable source of information for his activities in the Deccan.

The *Ahsan-al-Aqwal* is divided into the following 29 qawls or chapters:

Qawl 1:-	در روش ہائے اصحاب طریقت و سنن ارباب حقیقت
Qawl 2:-	در رعایت آداب مجلس مشائخ برجادہ اولیاء صاحب سجادہ
Qawl 3:-	متضمن حسن عقیدہ اصحاب اعتقاد در حق پیرو سایر زیار
Qawl 4:-	در بیان آداب مرید بخدمت پیرو رعایت آداب در وقت تقریر
Qawl 5:-	در آداب بیعت و بیان نیت خلق و شرائط ارادت
Qawl 6:-	در فضیلت اطاعت پیرو متابعت و انقیاد از قلیل و کثیر
Qawl 7:-	در بیان محافظت خلعت و نفاس پیرو
Qawl 8:-	در بیان معاملہ نفس امارہ و خصائل نامواریہ و نفس اولیاء و اتقیاء و زہاد و عباد
Qawl 9:-	در بیان فضیلت حسن معاملہ با کمال موافقت و معاملہ
Qawl 10:-	در بیان فضیلت محاسن اخلاق و بیان محامد اغراق
Qawl 11:-	در بیان اظہار عظمت اولیاء و اختیار و کرامت اصفیاء
Qawl 12:-	در فضیلت صائم و صیام و رعایت شرائط آن بتمام
Qawl 13:-	در بیان فضیلت صدق و صفاء و احتراز از کذب و ریاء
Qawl 14:-	در بیان تاثیر و در اصحاب نعمت و افر برکت
Qawl 15:-	در بیان احوال باطن اصحاب محبت و فضیلت و شوق و وسیلت حضرت عہ
Qawl 16:-	در آداب قبول فتوحات از مردمان و شرائط اباحت و صرفہ آن
Qawl 17:-	در بیان محافظت خلق اولیاء از لقمہ حرام
Qawl 18:-	در بیان آداب توکل و صبر و تحمل فقر و فاقہ
Qawl 19:-	در بیان اصحاب فضیلت و اصحاب قناعت و افر نعمت
Qawl 20:-	در بیان فضیلت تجرید و ترک از علائق
Qawl 21:-	در بیان فضیلت اتفاق و احسان و تاثیر آن
Qawl 22:-	در بیان علو ہمت فرقہ فقراء
Qawl 23:-	در بیان مذمت طمع و طلب کمذلت حرص و شہوت
Qawl 24:-	در بیان فضیلت صدقہ در باب ہر طبقہ
Qawl 25:-	در بیان فضیلت وضو و نماز و نوافل و اوراد
Qawl 26:-	در بیان آداب مجلس سماع و شرائط اصحاب استماع
Qawl 27:-	در بیان کرامات جناب و افر برکات حضرت مخدوم
Qawl 28:-	در بیان نام اصحاب کرام کہ خدمت شیخ الاسلام را بخواب دیدہ اند
Qawl 29:-	در بیان انفاس نفیس حضرت شیخ

4. Ms. India Office Library and Asiatic Society of Bengal.

There is hardly any aspect of Muslim mystic life during the Sultanate period which has not been discussed in this book. The *Ahsan-al-Aqwal*, taken as a whole, is a very valuable source of information for the early history of the *Chishti Silsilah* in Hind-Pakistan and throws light on the precepts and practices of the *Sufis* as well as on their principles of organization.

Unlike *Fawa'id-al-Fuwad*, the arrangement of this book is not chronological. Maulana Hammad has collected and systematically arranged his Shaikh's conversations under various heads. He starts with a principle, then quotes a *روش* (practice) of the saints of his *silsilah* and then gives *برهان* (argument) in support of the practice. His method is clear and effective. The principles of '*Awarif-al-Ma'arif*', which as a matter of fact formed the basis of the *Chishti* mystic thought in the early middle ages, have been clearly enunciated and carefully illustrated in this work.

Some of the anecdotes relating to Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar (ob. 1173) and Shaikh Abu-Bakr Tusi are very interesting and informative. For instance, it is from this book alone that we know that the *Kafiristan-i-Siyah-Push*⁵ visited the Khanqah of Baba Farid.

The book contains absolutely no reference to the political authorities of the day. The general attitude of the Shaikh towards government service is in keeping with the tradition of the *Chishti Silsilah*. But, like Shaikh Nasir-u'd-Din Chiragh-i-Dihli, he made a distinction between government services of different types. Government servants who were in the clerical line and had nothing to do with the policy of the administration were entitled to be enrolled as mere disciples. Khwaja Rukn-u'd-Din, who was a *dabir*, once expressed his desire to abandon government service, the Shaikh advised him:

تو در سرائے برو، پیمانہ کہ خواجہ احمد معشوق رفتہ است، در سراروی و مصالح خلق را پیردخت رسانی
بہتر از آن است کہ مخلوق شوی و در گوشہ نشینی

5. See Rolf Henkl's interesting article: *The Wooden Sculptures of Kafiristan*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XVI No. 1 1950, and the authorities referred to therein.

From the linguistic point of view one fact deserves to be noted. There are a number of Hindi words and *duhras* in the *Ahsan-al-Aqwal*.

The *Ahsan-al-Aqwal* has neither the depth of *Fawa'id-al-Fuwad* nor the pathos of *Khayr-al-Majalis*, but it is wonderfully clear..... a fact which makes it highly useful for persons not fully conversant with principles of higher mysticism. The *Fawa'id-al-Fuwad* demands from its reader, not only unflagging attention but also penetrating intelligence to unravel the atmosphere in which the Shaikh spoke. The *Ahsan-al-Aqwal* is so clear and lucid that it can be understood even by an amateur mystic.

(*Journal of the
Pakistan Historical Society,
January, 1955*)

The so-called Autobiography of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq

It was in July 1930 that Prof. Mohd. Habib thus drew the attention of the scholars and students of history to the existence of an autobiography of Muhammad bin Tughluq: "The great Sultan was not unaware of the misunderstandings and suspicions by which he had been pursued throughout his career, and like many educated Muslim kings, he wrote an account of his reign with his own hand. The invaluable volume, which would have explained the whole mystery to us, has perished, or, as is more likely, it has been intentionally destroyed. But four or five pages have escaped the hand of the despoiler and may be seen appended to a beautiful volume¹ of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* in the British Museum".² Some eight years after this, Dr. Agha Mehdi Husain made a thorough use³ of this autobiography in his learned monograph on the *Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq* and declared: "The Autobiography illumines and explains many of Barani's obscure passages regarding the psychology and character of Sultan Muhammad. It enables the reader to understand the Sultan's attitude towards his predecessors and particularly towards his own father, Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq. It also explains the causes of the Sultan's complete surrender to the

1. Add. 25, 758.

2. *The Intermediate College Magazine*, Aligarh, 1930, p. 1.

3. He has published a facsimile of these *memoirs* along with an English translation of this *fragment* in his book.

Abbasid Caliph. Furthermore, the Autobiography brings to light the nature of the difficulties confronting the Sultan as ruler of India, and finally it helps us to form an estimate of the circumstances that led to the break-up of the empire and the troubles that overwhelmed the Emperor".⁴

It is surprising that the learned writers never thought of putting to themselves the question whether the fragment in their hands was genuine.⁵ A closer study of this work and an analysis of its contents leads to the conclusion that it is a fake and should be bracketted with that vast mass of fabricated literature—comprising of *malfuzat* (conversations of saints), *diwans* (collections of poetic works), *aurad* (litanies), collections of *wasaya* (precepts) and political treatises – which was produced in medieval India and put into the market as genuine for the consumption of the uncritical and credulous reading public.

The first and by far the most important question that must be asked in this connection is: How was it that a work from the pen of a monarch like Muhammad bin Tughluq remained unnoticed by contemporary and later historians? The Sultan was, undoubtedly, one of those eminent personalities of the middle ages in whom both the Indians and the foreigners were equally interested. His projects had excited curiosity in every mind to have a glimpse of the working of that heated and enthusiastic imagination which had conjured up a world of its own. Almost every section of the Indian population was anxious to know the enigmatic Sultan's complex psychology and to study his reactions to different situations. In fact a work from his pen could not remain in oblivion. If this work was of a purely private nature and was not intended to be made known to the people, Barani at least could not have remained ignorant of it because he was one of the closest associates of the Sultan and had discussions with him on highly confidential and personal matters.⁶

4. *Rise and Fall of Mohd. bin Tughluq*, p. XI.

5. With great diffidence I placed my views about this *fragment* before Prof. Mohd. Habib who agreed with me and told me that he, too, was now of the opinion that like many other works of similar nature, this fragment also is a fabrication. He further informed me that his attention was first drawn to this fragment by Mr. Shuaib Qureshi.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 509, 511, 516, 521-522.

This absence of reference in all contemporary and later works militates against its genuineness. In fact no further argument is needed to establish its spurious character, but since it is not fair to base a positive conclusion on a negative argument, we may proceed to scrutinize its contents.

Muhammad bin Tughluq, as we know him on the authority of contemporary Indian and non-Indian works, was an erudite scholar, well versed in almost every science then known to Orientals. He had an invaluable gift of fluency and, as Barani remarks, no one even felt tired of listening to his conversations.⁷ "He was an adept in the use of similes and metaphors, and his literary discourses, saturated with the influence of Persian classics, extorted admiration from the professed litterateurs of the age. Even the most practised rhetoricians found it difficult to rival the richness of imagination, the elegance of the taste and the ready command over the instrument of language, which he displayed in his literary productions".⁸— This *fragment* does not bear the stamp of this scholarship. There is neither that classic polish nor that imaginative insight which one justly expects from a scholar of Mohd. bin Tughluq's stature. Poor in planning, halting in expression, weak in argumentation, it is definitely a work of an inferior intellect. To attribute its authorship to Muhammad bin Tughluq is to reduce him to a frothy mediocrity, unworthy both of Barani's praises and 'Isami's invectives.

The opinions expressed in this *fragment* betray horrible ignorance of the men and movements of medieval India. Almost every predecessor of Muhammad bin Tughluq stands condemned here! It is indisputable that Mohd. bin Tughluq, who had a ripe political experience and a thorough knowledge of history, could not thus frame an indictment against a whole era and distort his estimates of some of the leading personalities of medieval India, like Balban and 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji, into meaningless philippics. One feels inclined to repeat here the remark which Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh made with reference to the fabricated *malfuzat*:

7. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 463.

8. *History of the Qaraunah Turks*, p. 311.

”بسیار در آن است که مناسب اقوال ایشان نیست“

(There is much in it which is not worthy of their sayings.)

In fact this *fragment* also contains much which is not worthy of Mohd. bin Tughluq. Whatever one might say against him, he was not a braggart. He could not blacken a whole age in order to create a suitable background for his own glorification.

Here Muhammad bin Tughluq is made to observe about Balban:

” و از آن تاریخ باز که بلبن مذکور خود را سلطان غیاث الدین لقب نمود.... و چنین غضبی و تعدی در میان آورد، هر روز کار دین بر زمین ضعیف تر میگشت و احکام اسلام روی را بخطط می نهاد تا بیشتر مردم را تغلب و غضب در سرافشار و چنین فعلی مذموم را سبب جلب منفعت پنداشتند و تغلب بناحق را سلطنت با استحقاق تصور کردند و مملکت از متغلبی بمتغلبی و از عاصی بعاصی رسیدن گرفت و شرائط... امام بحق که عمده شراعی احمدی است از سینه ها مضمحل شد، چه هر که بر سمت آنحضرت مبارک سجده عبودیت تبارک نکند نام آن ملعون از جریده اسلام محو کنند“

(“Since the date when the above – mentioned Balban assumed the title of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din he committed so many outrages and atrocities that religion grew weaker and weaker day by day and the commandments of Islam were not enforced, so that the majority of the people took to committing outrages. Indulgence in this evil they regarded as a source of benefit. Tyranny came to be regarded as a befitting and legitimate title to sovereignty. And so the kingdom passed from one usurper to another and from one rebel to the next rebel. And the recognition (?) of the rightful Imam, which is one of the laws established by the Prophet and the cause of the advancement of the Muslim community along the path of righteousness, became effaced from the hearts (of the people). Whereas whosoever does not show his obedience to the dignity of that saintly person (the Imam), the name of that accursed man must be cancelled from the list of Islam”.)

There can be no two opinions about the unscrupulous means employed by Balban in order to secure the throne and consolidate his power, but to assert that as a result of his policy “religion grew

9. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 52.

weaker and weaker day by day" is misleading. Balban was deeply respectful in his attitude towards the religious practices and the religious classes and, in spite of his emphasis on the dignified parts of kingship,¹⁰ he visited the houses of saints and attended their sermons.¹¹ He was punctilious in offering prayers and very often he kept vigils.¹² His life was, on the whole, simple and austere. It is, therefore, unwarranted to say that he, in any way, exercised an adverse influence on the religious life of his age. Barani has praised the achievements of the age of Balban in the sphere of religion and has called it the¹³ *خير الالعصار* (the best of all ages). It was the age of such religious celebrities as Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar, Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznawi, Shaikh Malik Yar Parran and Sayyidi Maula, every one of whom was a centre of religious and spiritual activity. Barani definitely says:

” از میان برکات ایشان در عهد و عمر سلطان بلبن فیض و رحمت آسمانی بریں دیار متواتر نازل می شد“

14

The statement that as a result of Balban's policy "the majority of the people took to committing outrages" is, again, incorrect and misleading. Balban's ideals of equity and justice are too well known to be recapitulated.¹⁵ He was stern and uncompromising no doubt, but his authority was just, enlightened and tolerant. One utterly ignorant of the spirit of Balban's administration could make this statement which flies in the face of all authentic historical facts.

To ascribe to Balban any attempt to ignore the Khalifa is to express an opinion which is strongly contradicted by positive historical evidence. Balban's faith in the final sovereignty of the Khalifah was so deep-rooted that he continued to inscribe on his coins the

10. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p.

11. *Ibid* pp. 46-47.

12. See *Fawa'id u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 231-232.

13. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 111.

14. *Ibid*, p. 112.

15. *Ibid*, p. 45.

name of the Khalifah even after the sack of Baghdad.¹⁶ In the Garhmukhtesar inscription (dated 682 A.H. 1283 A.D.) he takes pride in calling himself *Nasir-i-Amir-u'l-Muminin*.¹⁷ It is said that he had even advised his sons to seek recognition of their authority from the Abbasids

از برائے بادشاہی خود اجازت خلفاء عباسی بیار¹⁸

There is an accusation in this *fragment* that the Sultans of Delhi were generally neglectful of their obligations to the Khalifah. This, again, is wrong. No Sultan of Delhi, with the solitary exception of Sultan Qutb-u'd-din Mubarak Khalji,¹⁹ ever adopted an attitude of indifference towards the Khilafat.²⁰

The *fragment* gives startling information when it says about Sultan Jalal-u'd-din Khalji:

” مدت پنج سال بظلمت اداہالی اسلام ایس دیار گرفتار بودند ”

(And during the five years (of his rule) the Muslims of this country were afflicted with the darkness of his tyranny.)

From what we know about the character and activities of Sultan Jalal-u'd-din, this statement appears to be an absolute lie. If Jalal-u'd-din erred it was on the side of benevolence and leniency. Barani calls him *السلطان الحليم* (the mild Sultan) and says: "It was quite alien to the Sultan's nature to kill or punish human beings or to seize their wealth by compulsion and force. He never confiscated the property and goods of Mussalmans; he never degraded a man he had promoted and never disgraced and molested the officers and slaves who had served him loyally."²¹

16. *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 134; *The Sultans of Delhi, their Coinage and Metrology*, p. 58.

17. *Chronicles*, p. 136.

18. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 103.

19. *Nuh Sipihr*, p. 286; *Chronicles*, pp. 179-182; *Coinage & Metrology* pp. 96-102.

20. See *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Chapter II: The Legal Sovereign.

21. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 189-190.

The following observations about Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji also deserve to be noted:

” اورا خود نہ از شرائط اسلام خبر بود و نہ از حقوق امامت و سلطنت اثری و در روزگار او از مسلمانی و اسلام را اسی و رسمی باقی نمانده، ہرچہ معروف بود، منکر گشت و آنچه منکر بود معروف شد“

(He neither knew anything about the fundamentals of Islam nor had he the slightest conception about the duties of kingship (?) or government. During his reign no trace of Islam remained. What was legitimate was made illegitimate and vice versa).²²

It is difficult to agree with this estimate of 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji and his age. The Khalji Sultan may or may not have known the fundamentals of Islam,²³ but there can be no doubt about it that he was fully conversant with the duties of kingship. To say that "during his reign no trace of Islam remained" is to make a statement against which one can marshal a considerable array of evidence. Accounts of eminent contemporaries like Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh Dehlavi,²⁴ Amir Khusrau,²⁵ Amir Hasan Sijzi²⁶ and 'Isami²⁷ bear eloquent testimony to the flourishing condition of Islamic institutions and the general prosperity of the Muslim society during the

22. *Rise & Fall of Mohd. bin Tughluq*, p. 172.

23. As a result of Barani's peculiar portraiture of the Sultan it has become a common practice with the historians to blame 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji for having scant respect towards the *Shariah*. Moreover he is depicted as a godless king. Four other eminent contemporaries of 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji—Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh Dehlawi, Amir Khusrau, Amir Hasan and 'Isami—have painted the Sultan in entirely different colours. For a detailed discussion of the problem see my article on the religious leanings of Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din in the journal *Burhan* of Delhi, dated May, June, 1948; also Nizami, *Salatin-i-Dehli Kay Mazhabi Rujhanat*, pp. 259-67.

24. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 241-242.

25. *Duwal-Rani*, pp. 46-47. *Matla'-u'l-Anwar*, p. 24.

26. *Diwan-i Amir Hasan*, pp. 453, 455, 467, 472.

27. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, pp. 300-301.

'Alai period. Even Zia-u'd-din Barani who had nothing favourable to say about the personal religion of 'Ala-u'd-din, thus remarks about the 'Alai age: "The ninth wonder, which was seen in the last ten years of 'Ala-u'd-din's reign, was that the hearts of most Mussalmans became inclined to rectitude, truthfulness, justice and piety and honesty became common in the dealings of men..... The hearts of men having turned to virtue and virtuous acts, the very name of wine, gambling and other sinful things never came to any body's lips; sins and dirty vices appeared to people as bad as infidelity."²⁸

The *fragment* contains a condemnation of the philosophers and a denunciation of the rationalistic approach to life and its problems. We are made to believe that the Sultan's attachment with the philosophers was a passing phase in his life and that very soon his faith in rationalism was shaken and he came back to the path of orthodox religion. As is evident from Barani's account, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's attachment with the philosophers continued throughout his life. No contemporary or even later writer supports the *fragment*. Had it been a fact, Barani at least would have jubilantly mentioned it.

Is this *fragment* part of an autobiography or is it part of some other document of a political character? It has, no doubt, an autobiographical tinge and an undercurrent of *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, but it is too brief and concise to be an autobiography. Dr. Ish-tiaq Husain Qureshi's contention that it is "part of a Persian version of the Sultan's application to the Egyptian Caliph for recognition"²⁹ does not in any way alter the position. Mohd. bin Tughluq could never approach the Caliph with such misleading and false statements. Whether part of an autobiography or part of some political document, this *fragment* is a ludicrous tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end and to attribute its authorship to Mohd. bin Tughluq is to condemn him to unmerited obloquy.

28. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 341 et seq.

29. *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 16.

Some Documents of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq

The following documents of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (724-752/1325-1351) were found appended to a manuscript copy of *Sarur-us Sudur*¹ (*malfuz* of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sufi Sawali Nagauri), preserved in the Habib Ganj Collection of Maulana Azad Library of the Aligarh Muslim University. A detailed account of the life of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sufi and his teachers has been attempted by the writer of these lines in his edition of *Sarur-us Sudur* which will be published shortly. Here a brief reference may be made to the saint and the relations of his descendants with the Tughluq Sultan.

Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sufi² (ob.673/1276), a distinguished disciple and *khalifa* of Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti of Ajmer, was a posthumous child of Shaikh Muhammad al-Sufi, a descendant of Sa'id b. Zaid, one of the ten leading descendants of the Prophet. He was the first Muslim child to see the light of the day in Delhi after its conquest by the forces of Sultan Mu'izz-u'd-din.³ Amongst his teachers the name of Maulana Shams-u'd-din Halwai is particularly

1. For a brief note on *Sarur-us Sudur*, see supra, chapter 6.

2. For biographical notices, see *Siyar-ul Auliya*, pp. 156-164; *Siyar-ul 'Arifin*, pp. 13-14; *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 29-36; also, Nizami, *Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 185-188.

3. *Sarur-us Sudur* (MS); *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 29.

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mentioned. In his early years he led a very voluptuous life but, when he joined the circle of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din's disciples, a sudden change came upon him and he turned to the culture of his soul with all the zest of a repentant mystic. Moved by his devotion to spiritual practices, his mentor gave him the title of *Sultan-u't-Tarikin* (King of Recluses).⁴

Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din lived like a peasant at Sawal, a small village in Nagaur.⁵ His total property was a small mud house and a *bigha* of land. He eked out his meagre subsistence by ploughing this land.⁶ The principle of the rotation of crops being unknown in those days, he cultivated half of his land in one season and the other half in the next. He dressed himself like a typical Indian peasant and used two sheets of cloth to cover the upper and the lower parts of his body.⁷ He kept a cow in his house and himself milked it. His wife—a lady of fervent piety and strong mystic temperament—spent her time in cooking and spinning like a peasant woman. Like most of the villagers amongst whom he lived, Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din was a strict vegetarian. His dislike for meat-eating was so great that he warned his disciples against distributing meat-preparations for blessing his soul after his death.⁸ The family carried on conversation in *Hindivi*.

Touched by his penitence and poverty, the *muqta'* of Nagaur offered a plot of land and some cash to him. The Shaikh apologized saying that none of his elder saints had accepted a government gift. The *muqta'* then reported the matter to the Sultan who sent 500 silver *tankas* with a *farman* conferring a village on the Shaikh. When the *muqta'* presented the royal gift to him, he hastened to inform

4. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 29.

5. For Nagaur, see *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona, November 1940. M.A. Chaghtai's article, *Nagaur a Forgotten Kingdom*, pp. 166-183.

6. *Siyar-ul Auliya*, pp. 156-157. According to the author of *Siyar-ul 'Arifin* (p. 13) the plot measured ten *jarib* only and was situated near a river.

7. *Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 157.

8. *Sarur-us Sudur* (MS).

his wife just to study her reactions to the prospects of a life of material prosperity and comfort. The couple was in such a state of penury at that time that the wife had a tattered *dupatta* on her head, and the saint a grimy loin-cloth on his body. "O Khwaja!", replied his wife, "Do you want to disgrace years of spiritual devotion and penitence by accepting this royal gift? Do not worry. I have spun two seers of yarn. It will suffice for preparing a loin-cloth for you and a *dupatta* for me". Shaikh Hamid was delighted at this reply; he informed the *muqta'* that he had decided not to accept the royal gift.⁹ Himself convinced that sainthood could not be reconciled with possession of material means, he severely criticised some of those contemporary saints who led a life of affluence and plenty. Once Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din put a question to an audience in Delhi: "Who is the Shaikh of the time these days?" To the utter surprise of those present, Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din replied.¹⁰

شیخ روزگار دریں وقت جلیل است، ہر کرا جلیل بسیار است، ہمون شیخ وقت است

(These days *jital* is the Shaikh of the time. Whoever possesses the larger amount of *jitals*, is the Shaikh of the day).

This attitude inevitably brought him into conflict with the leader of the Suhrawardi order in India, Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan. He wrote long and acrimonious letters to him on this subject. Enraged at this blatant criticism of his father's behaviour, a son of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariya travelled all the way from Multan to Nagaur and criticised Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din for not offering Friday prayers. "Nagaur is not a town and so Friday prayers cannot be held here," declared Shaikh Hamid.¹¹

Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din was a man of affable temperament and wide human sympathies which made him a popular figure in Nagaur. His catholicity of views is best illustrated by the fact that he could discern and appreciate spiritual virtues in non-Muslims also.¹²

9. *Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 157.

10. *Sarur-us Sudur* (MS).

11. *Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 158.

12. *Fawa'id-ul Fu'ad*, p. 70.

Shaikh Hamid's son Shaikh 'Aziz-u'd-din Sa'id died during the life time of his father. Of the three sons of Shaikh 'Aziz-Shaikh Wahid-u'd-din, Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mahmud and Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Ibrahim-Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mahmud was nominated to the *sajjada* by Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din.

Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mahmud was held in great respect by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq and was with the Sultan for some time. He was in Delhi when the Sultan issued orders for the construction of buildings near the mausoleum of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din. It is reported:

” در وقتی که برگردم مقدم مطهر حضرت سلطان التارکین عمارت می کردند شیخ فریدالدین محمود در آن هنگام مقیم دهلی بود، از فرط محبت و عقیدت با وصف این همه بعد مسافت سرگرم اهتمام و حسن انصرام کار عمارت روضه، جدا مجد خود می بود و به فرزندان در آن باب و نیز در امر تربت بار تربت شیخ و قبور دیگر عزیزان و نشان دادن نهال های انار و تربت باغ و چیزهای قدغن می فرمود ”

13

II

Muhammad bin Tughluq's relations with mystics have been discussed in detail elsewhere.¹⁴ The Sultan demanded from the mystics unqualified cooperation in his various projects. Amir Khurd says that his motto was : "State and Religion are twins".¹⁵ He consequently deeply resented the mystic isolation from the government of the day. His attempt to bind the mystics to the state chariot had serious repercussions. One very important influence in the making of his religio-political thought was Ibn-i Taimiya. Ibn Battuta informs us that when a disciple of the great Syrian Imam, 'Abdul 'Aziz 'Ardbeli, delivered a speech in his court he was so deeply

13. Introduction to *Sarur-us Sudur*, MS.

14. See the writer's articles, *Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and their Attitude towards the State*, in *Islamic Culture*, 1948-50. See also Introduction to *Khair-ul Majalis*, p. 49 et seq; *Salatin-i Dehli Kay Mazhabi Rujhanat*, pp. 322-384.

15. *Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 196.

moved that he kissed his feet.¹⁶ The Sultan's criticism of some of the mystic institutions and practices was, in fact, inspired by the teachings of Ibn-i Taimiya. It may, however, be pointed out that the Sultan did not subscribe to Ibn-i Taimiya's thought *in toto* on in all its details. He had deep respect for some mystics, like Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Abul Fath Multani, Shaikh Sharaf-u'd-din Yahya Maneri, while, according to Amir Khurd he was a disciple of Shaikh 'Ala-u'd-din Ajodhani,¹⁷ a grandson of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i Shakar. While the relations of the Sultan with the three great disciples of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya – Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh, Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Munawaar and Shaikh Fakhr-u'd-din Zarradi—were far from cordial, it is significant that he maintained apparently good relations with the descendants of both Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sawali of Nagaur and Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud of Ajodhan.

III

Ziya-u'd-din Barani says that soon after his accession the Emperor began to issue one hundred to two hundred *farmans* a day,¹⁸ The first *farman* here belongs to this period. Its date 14 Zil Hij 724/December 2, 1324, might create some doubt about its authenticity as, according to Barani, the Sultan ascended the throne in 725 H./1324-1325. A critical analysis of the available data, however, confirms the date of the *farman*. (i) 'Isami says that the Sultan ascended the throne in 724 H.

ز تاریخ بد مفسد و بیست و چار
که بر تخت بنشت آن شهر یار
19

16. *Rehla*, p. 70.

17. *Siyar-ul Auliya*, p. 196.

18. هر روز صد حدیث و دو بیست حدیث فرمانیش بخط تویق در دیوان خریطه دار که آن دیوان
را طلب احکام تویق نام شده بود می رسید
Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, p. 470.

19. *Futuh-us Salatin*, Madras ed. p. 421.

(ii) Ibne-Battuta says that Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq ruled for four years.²⁰ It is clear from Amir Khusrau's *Tughluq Namah*²¹ that he had ascended the throne on 2 Sha'ban, 720/ September 7, 1320. This would make A.H. 724/1324 the year of his death, and naturally the year of Muhammad bin Tughluq's accession. (iii) It is possible to reconcile the statements of Barani and 'Isami if we place Muhammad bin Tughluq's accession in Zil Hij 724/November-December 1324 and his coronation forty days later, i.e. in 725 A.H./1325.

The grant of villages in Nagaur to the descendants of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sufi in 724/1324, just after his accession was followed by another grant in 732/1331-1332 towards the construction of a gate in the *khanqah* of the saint. Later the Sultan offered his daughter, Bibi Rasti, in marriage to a grandson of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din, Shaikh Fathullah. The latter hesitated to enter into this matrimonial relationship but when pressed further, he accepted the offer. The Sultan, it appears, kept his son-in-law with him but he did not find the atmosphere of the court congenial and desired to return to his tumbling hut and live the life of mystics. He used to recite the following quatrain very often :

دہلی کہ مرا بجائی ناگور نہ شد
 عم گین دل من ہرگز مسرور نہ شد
 ہر چند نگار خانہ دادند مرا
 آں چہر و بوریہ ز دل دور نہ شد

And sometimes he recited the verse :

میرا ہورا دیدھا جی جائے ڈیہہ جاؤں
 ساگر پھوگ کریل خالق سے نیہ لگاؤں
 من چاہی من خالق جاؤں
 ساگر پھوک کریلان کھاؤں

When Muhammad bin Tughluq came to know of the longing of his heart, he allowed him to go home.

20. *Rehla*, p. 50.

21. *Tughluq Namah*, p. 132 et seq.

It appears that Shaikh Farid had gone to Daulatabad also and, in 732/1331-32 when he returned to Nagaur, orders were issued to the officers to give him all possible facilities of travel.

(۱)

فرمان ده ڈیہہ کہ ابوالمجاہد سلطان محمد بن تغلق شاہ بادشاہ دہلی بنام ہر سہ فرزند ان حضرت
شیخ عزیز الدین بن حضرت سلطان التارکین رضی اللہ عنہم انعام کردہ بود۔
تا قلم ارادت عالیہ و مشیت نافذہ ایزدی منور قلوب اولیائی کرامت شعاع بہ معیار
یقین و معطر مشام اتقیائی ستودہ آثار بہ نسیم صبار بشارت ان للمتقین جل جلالہ و عم نوالہ رقم
ادراک فحوائی ان اکرم عند اللہ اتقیکم بر صحیفہ ضمیر و لوح خاطر این بندہ بر کشیدہ و بدست عنایت
خوش ثبت گردانیدہ است، ہمت عالیہ و نہمت سنیہ بر آن مقصور داشتہ می آید کہ جانب
تعظیم مشایخ کبار و تکریم اولیائی بزرگوار کہ ہمہ وقت بقدم فتوی جادہ تقوی را مسلوک
داشتہ باشند و صورت علم را بہ جمال عمل آراستہ و در ظلمت اسما را ہبری مساعدت تہجد
خضوار لبس چشمہ یقین رسیدہ و در ریاض ریاضت از شجرہ مجاہدہ ثمرہ کشف و
مشاہدہ اختیار کردہ مرعی باشد تا از تحصیل معاش و انتعاش کہ قوام و بقائی نفس مردم
بر آن منوط و مربوط است و بیچ کس را در عالم عنصری از ان استغنائی تمام حاصل
نیامدہ، آن طبقہ گرامی را تعلق ضمیر و انقسام خاطر نباشد۔ بریں بنا شیخ، امام
ہمام عالم، عابد، متقی، متدین، ناسک، مسالک، فرید الملت والدین معین الطریق
نصیر الشریعت، معدن الزہاد، منبع العباد قدوة المفسرین، محمود سعید صوفی دامت
فضایلہ کہ بصفات سابقہ متحلی است و در ہمہ احوال و جمیع اوقات در تحری مراضی
ایزد عز و علا ایام عمر عزیز گزرانیدہ و در خانقاہ ادبئی ربی، بحسن تادیبی توسن
نفس امامہ را لکام ریاضت "وامان خاف مقام ربہ و وقت" جلوة عروس
معرفت رابعین الیقین دیدہ اند، بعواطف بادشاہانہ و عوارف خسروانہ اختصاص
دادہ آمد کہ وہ ڈیہہ کہ پٹی از پٹیان کھاری من اعمال خطہ ناگور است، بحکم فرمان ہمالیوں
سید المشایخ و برادر وافر التقوی و افتخار المشایخ نجیب الملت والدین ابراہیم سعید
صوفی و انبائی شیخ مغفور مرحوم وحید الدین خاں صوفی، بوجہ انعام در تصرف
دادند، ہم بر وقف آل برایشان مقرر داشتیم و این "ان کامگار محلی"

بطغرائی شہریاری نفاذ یافت تا ولات و مقطعات و نواب و شمنگان و متصرفان
و کارکنان و گماشتگان حال و استقبال خطہ ناگور دیہہ مذکور چنانچہ ذکر رفتہ مقرر
دانند و بتصرف ایشان باز گزرانند، و از قسم عوارض و موتوات و محدثات مہتمون
مخوس شمرند، بحکم فرمان روند تا پسندیدہ افتد بمشیت اللہ تعالیٰ
(بریں فرمان بخط طغرائی است)

رسالہ تبلیغ بامر الاعلیٰ اعلاہ اللہ و نفعہ شرقاً و غرباً و رسالہ المجلس المعالی
الخان الکبیر الکرم العالم العادل المجاہد الرابط الضابط المقسط الارعی قوام الحق والدين
قاصع الکفرۃ المشرکین قاصع الفجرہ والمتمردين عمدة الايام عقد السلطنة یمن المملکت عین
المتعالی ملک ملوک الشرق والغرب صاحب دیوان رفیع رسالہ الخ قلع خان دام عالیا
فرمان رسانید فی اربع عشر من ذی الحج سنہ ۷۲۲ھ اربع و عشرين سبعایہ -

(۲)

فرمان سلطان محمد تغلق بادشاہ دہلی برائے تعمیر دروازہ خانقاہ حضرت
سلطان التارکین حمید الدین صوفی سعیدی الفاروقی رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہ -
معمور دار و کارکنان ناگور بدانند: این فرمان اعلیٰ نفاذ یافت تا ایشان
مقبرہ کہ در ناگور نسبت ابائی و اجداد شیخ امام ہمام اعلم عابد متقی جہتدی تاسک
مسلك فرید الملت والدين معین الطریقت نصیر الشریعت معدن الزہاد منبع العباد
قدوة المفسرین ملک المشایخ محمود سعید صوفی داست فضائلہ دارد آنرا عمارت
کنانند و خرج آن را از محصول ناگور بدہند - بر حکم فرمان روند تا پسندیدہ
افتد بمشیت اللہ تعالیٰ و عونہ -

(دوبریں فرمان دستخط بادشاہ کہ بقلم طغرا نوشتہ بود این است)

رسالہ بالامر الاعلیٰ اعلاء اللہ و نفدۃ شرقاً و غرباً و تبلیغ صدر امام عالم
بارع متقی مہتدی نور الملک والدین معین الشریعت قدوة العلماء ابو محمد
ادہبی زید فضائلہ فی السادس عشر من ذی الحجہ سنہ ۷۳۲ھ اشنا و
ثلثین و سبعمایۃ -

(۳)

رقعہ مصاہرت سلطان محمد تغلق بادشاہ دہلی بخدمت حضرت شیخ
فرید الدین چاک پران رضی اللہ عنہ

شعر

لقد ابصرت من حسن ولكن

عليك من الوری وقع اختیاری

پادشاہان روی زمین پیش سرا پردہ ما ماویٰ کردہ اند و کسی را زہرہ
آن نہ کہ نام پرستارک ما بردن تواند، پیغام دختر خود خود می گزارم بکرم قبول فرمایند۔

در جوابش حضرت شیخ فریدالدین بیت نوشته فرستادند:
انصاف ده فریدا با او ترا چه نسبت
تومفلس، اوتونگر، اوشاه، توفقیبری

باز بادشاه نوشت:
انا راض بعید عبدک فاقبلنی

باز آن حضرت این بیت نوشتند
ما نسیم نوائی بی نوائی
بسم اللہ الکریم الحریف مائی
(۴)

نسخه مکتوب قتلغ خاں (که) در اثنائی راه رفتن دولت آباد رسیده بود -
خداوند ملک المشایخ قطب الاولیاء فریدالحق والدین ذوالیامن والبرکات ادام اللہ
میا منہ القدسیہ خدمت و عبودیت بنده درگاه اعلیٰ قوام برہان مطالعہ فرمایند۔ احوال بفضل اللہ
تعالیٰ باقبال حضرت خلافت خلعت خلافتہ و برکات عقدہ زکیہ خداوندی مقارن بخر است -
مقصود آنکہ مرحمت مہد علیا خداوند مخدومہ جہاں عصا اللہ تعالیٰ در باب خدمت خداوندی ہر
زمان چندان ارزانی می گردد کہ در تحت تحریر در نیاید افتراح آنکہ قدم مبارک ہرچہ زودتر
رنجہ فرمایند و مکاتبت متضمن صحت ذات مبارک ارسال فرمود تا موجب تسلیت باشد، ہمیشہ
بر سجادہ تقویٰ و زہادت باقی باد - آمین
(۵)

انتخاب فرمان ابوالجہد سلطان محمد تغلق بادشاہ دہلی -
ملک الشرق عمدہ الملک شرف الدولہ والدین قاصح الکفرہ والمشرکین قاصح الفجرہ والمتردین
معدن البلاغہ مجمع البراعہ سید الفضلا قدوة البلغار جامع السیف والقلم سپہدار زمان ملک
الکتاب صاحب دیوان مقطع شہر نور... محمد رشید
بدانند کہ ملک المشایخ فریدالدین ناگوری دام و رعیتہ با جمعیت خیل و تبع از حضرت

دولت آباد بدرگاہ می آید می فرمائیم ملک الشرق و الکتاب عمدة الملك به مجرد وصول این فرمان باجملگی سواران شهر نو در کتھی رود کہ اگر شیخ فرید الدین را آنجا دریا بد باجملگی سواران برابر او شدہ تا ہنڈون با حزم تمام بیاید و در راہ شرائط بواجبی بجا آورده رسانیدن شیخ فرید الدین با خیل و تبع تا ہنڈوان عہدہ خود داند۔

بامر الاعلیٰ اعلاہ اللہ و نفذہ شرقاً و غرباً و بالمشافہتہ فی الثالث من شعبان سنہ ۷۳۲
اشنی و ثلثین و سبعمایہ۔

(۶)

پروانہ

ملک الشرق والغرب قوام برہان و اعظم بار بک فیروز سلطان مکنہ اللہ بحکم فرمان کا مگار ہمایوں اعلیٰ لا زال اعلیٰ این پروانہ اصدار یافت تا کارکنان صدر ناگور مبلغ دو ہزار تنکہ رائج الوقت در وجہ عمارت مقبرہ شیخ مرحوم فرید الدین علیہ الرحمہ و العفران موجب حدی کہ در بطن مشہود است بدہند۔ چون مبلغ مزبور خرچ شود مبلغ دو ہزار تنکہ رائج دیگر بدہند۔ دریں باب تاکید نطلبند و بر حکم پروانہ روند۔ فی السلخ من جمادی الاول سنہ ۷۳۵ ھ خمس و ثلثین و سبعمایہ۔

(Medieval India—A Miscellany,
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The *Futuhāt-i-Fīroz Shāhi* as a Medieval Inscription

The *Futuhāt-i-Fīroz Shāh*¹ of Fīroz Shāh Tughluq has been interpreted by scholars as a memoir, as an autobiography, as a political treatise and as an administrative manual. It has not been studied as an inscription which it originally was and in which lies its real historical significance. In fact, no assessment of its historical value is possible without an appreciation of the fact that it was an inscription and appeared on a mosque. On an octagonal cupola in the Jama' Masjid of Fīrozabad, Sultan Fīroz Shāh inscribed an account of his achievements which he had compiled under the title *Futuhāt-i-Fīroz Shāhi*. Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad Bakhshi informs us;

ورساله از تالیف فیروز شاه که وقایع احوال خود را جمع ساخته فتوحات
فیروز شاهی نام کرده است... آن بادشاه معدلت پناه برگنبد عالی که در مسجد جامع
فیروز آباد بنا نهاده، و مثنی است بر هشت طرف آن گنبد مضمون این کتاب را هشت
باب خیال کرده فرموده است که بر سنگ کنده اند

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1. The British Museum manuscript of the *Futuhāt*, (Rieu, III, p. 920) was transcribed for Sir Henry Elliot in July 1853 at Shahjahanabad under the supervision of Nawab Zia-u'd-din Khan Nayyir Rakhshan. No other manuscript of this work is noticed in any known catalogue. In 1302/1882, Syed Mir Hasan published its text from the Rizvi Press, Delhi. All later editions (a) N.B. Roy, *JRASB*, VII, 1941, English translation in *Islamic Culture*, 1941, (b) S.A. Rashid and M.A. Makhdoomi, *Aligarh Muslim University Journal*, and (c) A. Chaghtai, *Kitab Khana-i-Nauras*, Poona, 1941, are based on this edition.

(There is a brochure in which Firoz Shah has collected an account of the events of his life and which he has named as *Futuh-at-i-Firoz Shahi*. This king, the refuge of justice, erected a lofty dome on the Jama' Masjid of Firozabad which was octagonal. On the eight sides of this dome, the contents of his book, which has been so planned as to run into eight chapters, have been inscribed on stone.)²

This was perhaps the longest Persian inscription of the medieval period. Why did Firoz at all think of such an inscription?

Firoz Shah was keenly interested in the preservation of Indian monuments and had evinced particular interest in the pillars of Asoka. Perhaps the idea of communicating with the people through inscriptions came to him from the Asokan pillars. The identity or inspiration does not end here.

The Delhi-Topra Pillar which was removed by the orders of Firoz Shah from its original site to its present position in Delhi, is the longest of the pillar edicts of Asoka. It gives a sort of a summary of what Asoka did for "the progress of men by an adequate promotion of *Dharma*" and has consequently been called by Thomas as "the testament of Asoka." The *Futuh-at*, likewise, contains an enunciation of Firoz Shah's policy and achievements. Asoka deals with 'the progress of *Dharma*' promoted in two ways—by restrictions of *Dharma* and by conversion (Section 35). The restrictions of *Dharma*, or *dharma niyama* as Asoka calls them, were both positive and negative; the positive virtues being, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, obedience to parents etc. and the negative restrictions being the killing of animals, hurting of living beings etc. Firoz speaks at the very outset about extirpation of innovations and persuasion to perform the obligatory duties. Asoka refers, in sections 17, 18 and 19 of his inscription, to planting of trees, mango-groves, digging of wells and construction of rest houses. Almost in the similar strain Firoz speaks about his efforts in repairing the two main tanks of Delhi — *Hauz-i-Shamsi* and the *Hauz-i-'Alai* — and other public works.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Eng. Trans I, p. 239.

In Section 33 of his edict, Asoka refers to "courtesy to the aged, and courtesy to the Brahmans and Sramanas, to the poor and the distressed." Paras 23 and 24 of the *Futuhat* read as follows:

دیگر به عنایات حق تواضع فقرار و مساکین و استمالت قلوب ایشان در دل ما
تمکن یافت تا هر جا که فقیرے و گوشه نشینے یافتم برائے ملاقات او قدم زدیم و به
دعای استمداد نمودیم تا فضیلت نعم الامیر لباب الفقیر اکتساب کرده شود

(23. Again, through the grace of God my heart was filled with care for the devout and the poor and the desire to win their hearts. Whenever I found a *faqir* or a recluse I went to see him and asked him to pray for me in order to gain the distinction promised by the saying: "Most excellent is the *amir* (king) who comes to the poor or a *faqir*.")

دیگر هر کرا که از اهل دولت عمر طبعی به کمال رسید و مغر گشت بعد ترتیب و به
معاش او را اجازت دادیم و نصیحت کردیم تا در استعداد آخرت مشغول گردد

(24. Again, when any of the nobles of the state completed the natural term of his (working) life and attained old age, I provided for his subsistence and relieved him (of his official duties). I advised him to equip himself for the next world.)

Another important similarity to which attention may be drawn is that on the western side of the column, as Cunningham points out,³ there were stumps of two short octagonal granite pillars which seemed to have formed part of a cloister or open gallery around a fourth storey. The cupola on which the *Futuhat* was inscribed was also octagonal and it is just possible that it might have stood very near the Asokan Pillar.

While it would be egregious to suggest that Firoz Shah had deciphered the Asokan Pillars or had any very specific knowledge about them, the fact, however, cannot be gainsaid that there are cer-

3. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I, p. 35.

tain identical elements in both the inscriptions which should be carefully examined. If Firoz's contemporaries could not read Asokan inscriptions,⁴ they could at least, guess on the basis of tradition, about its contents, as we have done with reference to Mohenjodaro.

These points of similarity with Asokan inscription apart, the *Futuhāt* cannot be considered a complete exposition of Firoz's administrative principles and his cultural and welfare activities. The fact that it was inscribed on a mosque is too significant to be ignored in determining its nature and scope. His personal religious views apart, Firoz Shah had followed a broad and tolerant policy in state matters, based on humanitarian considerations, reducing the rigours of penal regulations, abolishing certain taxes, constructing public works of every variety – canals, bunds, mosques, colleges, houses, wells, inns, towns, reservoirs, hospitals, mausoleums, public baths, minarets, bridges and gardens. His interest in the preservation of Indian monuments and books—was also great. Considered in the context of his broad policy, his *Futuhāt* projects the image of a parochially conditioned mind. This impression will not persist if the fact is kept in mind that it was intended for Muslim public congregating for prayers and that, by its very nature, it could only deal with those aspects of his policy which had some religious bearing and could appeal to the religious minds. This aspect of the inscription is further highlighted by the style followed by the author. Wherever Firoz Shah addresses God he refers to himself in the singular form and wherever he addresses the people he uses

4. 'Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 312.

سلطان فیروز شاہ بسیار زنا را دارن و سیورگان طلبید پیچ یکے خواندن نتوانست

But it appears from 'Afif that they gave some traditional accounts of what they had heard about the pillars.

The anonymous author of *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* also makes the same statement and says:

و در خطے بنشته کہ حروف آں مردم

f 92 b.

ایں عہد و زمانہ ہم نتوانستند کرد

He records different rumours which he found floating down the stream of time. The method employed by Firoz Shah for the transport of these pillars and also the way these were raised and fixed has been given in detail by the author of *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*.

'we'. Further, its local character due to its epigraphic position is significantly made clear by dealing with – barring one or two vague references – his activity in Delhi alone. Even religious buildings constructed outside Delhi have not been referred to in this inscription.

The *Futuhat* opens with the words⁵ *يا فتاح* (*Ya Fathahu*), on the top—this is more in the form of an inscription than a book. The concluding lines:

دیگر آن کسانی که طالب خیر و سعادت باشند این را بخوانند بدانند که این
طریق مستحسن است، و مروت مقتضی این است که به اتباع آن توفیق
یابند ایشان به عمل خود ثواب گردند و ما بدلات خیر ما جور، الدال علی الخیر
کفاحله۔

Moreover, whoever seeks virtue and spiritual happiness and reads this may know that this is the approved course, sincerity demands that they obtain the grace to follow it. May they gain (future) reward for their deeds, and I for showing the right course, "for he who points out the path of virtue is like him who practises it."

In a book this should have been a prologue.

The Sultan says very explicitly that the purpose of this composition was to express his feelings of gratefulness to God. First of all he refers to his efforts to reform the penal law and customs of the country. All inhuman punishments, such as taking out the eyeballs or the eye-lids, the breaking of bones, burning alive etc. were banned by him. He ordered that the names of the previous Sultans be pronounced from the pulpit on the occasion of the Juma' and the 'Eid prayers. He then gives a list of taxes which were abolished by him as these were not sanctioned by the *shari'at*. Some confusion has arisen in the decipherment and transcription of the names of these taxes as mentioned in the *Futuhat*. For instance the same

5. In Burdwan (West Bengal) an inscription commemorating the death of Bahram Saqqa in 970 H/1562, also begins in this way. *JASB*, NS, XIII 1917, pp. 117-82.

word has been read by different scholars as *kitabī*, *kababī* and *kayyālī*.

The *Futuhāt* gives an account of the activities of *Mulhids* and *Ibahatis*. An account of punishments given to Ahmad Bihari, Rukn, Mehdi and others is also given. Reference to these heterodox trends in imperial inscription forces the conclusion that these movements were fairly powerful to attract royal attention.

Attempts made by Firoz Shah to purify the society of many evil practices have also been described. He stopped women from visiting shrines and placed an interdict on people visiting a *kund* where irreligious Muslims also assembled. Orders forbidding the use of silver and gold vessels, printed and embroidered cloth at the court have also been recorded in the *Futuhāt*. Then follows a detailed account of the mosque, *madrasas*, mausoleums and tanks repaired or renovated by him. Referring to the construction work done at the tomb of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya he says:

و جماعت خانہ جدید بنا کردہ کہ آں چنان پیش ازین موجود بنور

(A new *Jama'at Khana* such as had not existed there before, was built.)

This statement resolves a great problem of archaeology. The *Jama'at Khana* near the grave of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya is attributed by the Archaeological Survey of India to 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji's son, Khizr Khan, which means that the building existed during the lifetime of the Shaikh. But the contemporary biographer of the Shaikh, Mir Khurd,⁶ says that it was an open space, desert where the Shaikh was buried. Firoz's statement removes a contradiction felt in archaeological assessment and contemporary statement.

Some of the statements in the *Futuhāt* which appear perplexing are perhaps due to some mistake in decipherment. For instance,

و مقبرہ سلطان معزالدین سام را کہ دیوار غربی و تختہائی در کہنہ و فرسودہ
شدہ بود ہم نو کردہ آمد

6. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 154.

(The mausoleum of Sultan Mu'izz-u'd-din Sam whose western walls and the panels of the doors were old and decayed, were renovated.)

Now it is well-known that the coffin of Mu'izz-u'd-din was taken to Ghur⁷ after his assassination and his tomb is not in India.

The Sultan refers to a State Hospital where free medicine and food was distributed out of a *waqf* fund. Steps taken to placate people who had suffered at the hands of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq have been mentioned with care. Finally a reference is made to the grant of *manshur* (letter of investiture) received from the Caliph.

Even a casual glance at the contents of the *Futuhat* would show that only those measures and activities of the Sultan have been mentioned which had any religious significance. If the data available here is compared with the total political, cultural and other activities of Firoz Shah Tughluq, it would appear that all his activities have not been dealt with in this composition. The reason is obvious. It would have been incongruous to mention in this inscription activities which were devoid of religious implications. It makes no reference to the large number of canals excavated at the instance of the Sultan in different parts of the Empire, the cities founded by him, the gardens laid out at his order, the invention of a clock tower (*ghariyal*), the translation of Sanskrit works on astronomy etc.

It follows, therefore, that if *Futuhat* is taken as an inscription which should be studied in relation to the structure on which it originally appeared, an entirely different assessment of Firoz Shah's policy would have to be made. The *Futuhat* is essentially a religious inscription and should be used as such and not as an exposition of Firoz Shah's administrative policies.

(Presented at a Seminar on
Medieval Inscriptions, Aligarh
Feb. 6-8, 1970. *Proceedings*,
pp. 28 - 33 - Summary).

7. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 128-29.

Amir Khusrau's *Masnavi* on Daulatabad – The *Sahifat-ul Ausaf*

I

In 721/1321 Prince Juna, the future Muhammad bin Tughluq, was commissioned by his father to lead a campaign against the ruler of Warangal, Rai Ludder Deva, who had stopped paying tribute to Delhi. Amir Khusrau accompanied the prince on this occasion. Both on his way to and on his return from Warangal, Juna stayed at Deogir. The poet was so charmed by the beauties of Deogir that he composed a poem *Sahifat-u'l Ausaf* in its praise and presented it to the prince. In certain respects this is a historic poem and supplies the background atmosphere to the decision of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq to make Deogir 'the second administrative city' of his Empire.

II

Deogir's original name was Devagiri (the Hill of God). It was the capital of the Yadavas. Sultan Qutb-u'd-din Mubarak Khalji gave it the name of *Qutbabad*. Edward Thomas has noticed three gold coins of Mubarak Shah minted at Qutbabad in A.H. 717, 719 and 720.¹ Thomas' view that "there seems good reason to suppose

1. *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 179-180.
 Noticing one such coin of Mubarak Shah, Nelson Wright has observed: "There is perhaps no finer coin in the whole pre-Mughal series than the broad square gold *tankah* of high relief struck at Qutbabad Fort." *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, p. 108.

that the term was only momentarily applied to that portion of the many-cited Delhi, which had the honour of constituting the immediate residence of Mubarak Shah,² is based on misunderstanding. As H.R. Nevill³ and Nelson Wright⁴ have pointed out, Qutbabad should be identified with Deogir. Later on Muhammad bin Tughluq rechristened the city as Daulatabad.

III

The first Muslim prince to march against Deogir was Ala-u'd-din Khalji. During the days that he was the governor of Kara he came to know about the wealth of Devagiri and decided to attack it. On 19th Rabi'-ul-Akhir 695/26th February 1296 he set out from Kara but did not disclose his target to anybody. By forced marches he reached the Deccan. Some 12 miles west of Devagiri lay the valley of Lasaura which was ruled by Kanhan, a feudatory of Ram Chandra of Devagiri. 'Ala-u'd-din's first encounter took place with the forces of Lasaura. Two chivalrous women of this small village displayed such dauntless courage and heroism on the battle-field that the forces of 'Ala-u'd-din had to hold back in order to make a more concerted move. In the second encounter however the army of Lasaura was defeated.⁵

Subsequently Ram Chandra and his brave son, Singhanar, were beaten in the Battle of Devagiri. Enormous booty fell into the hands of the invader. According to Ferishta it consisted of –

Gold	600 mans
Pearls	7 mans
Rubies, Sapphires diamonds and emeralds	2 mans
Silver	1,000 mans
Pieces of Silk cloth	4,000 mans

2. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

3. *J.A.S.B.*, N.S. 35 art. 219.

4. *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, p. 109.

5. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, pp. 231-232.

It is difficult to cite any contemporary authority in support of Ferishta's list. Perhaps he has recorded whatever he found floating down the stream of time. Apart from this booty, Ram Chandra promised to remit the revenues of Ellichpur annually to 'Ala-u'd-din at Kara. Laden with gold and silver 'Ala-u'd-din returned to Kara on the 28 Rajab 695 A.H.

Ram Chandra continued to send yearly tribute to 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji for some years but later on he withheld payment. On Ramazan 19, 706/March 1307 Ala-u'd-din Khalji sent Malik Kafur to Devagiri in order to realise the arrears of tribute from Ram Deva. The exploits of Malik Naik in the Deccan have been described in detail by Amir Khusrau in his *Khaza'in-u'l-Futuh*. Ram Chandra was defeated and he sued for peace. Malik Kafur seized the treasure and sent Ram Chandra to Delhi. 'Ala-u'd-din received him with consideration and after six months, in 1308, sent him back to Devagiri with the title of Rai Rayan. "His ready pardon," writes Professor H.K. Sherwani, "and official appointment as governor of Deogiri, with the title of Ray-i Rayan, has been attributed to Ala al-Din's superstitious regard for Deogiri as the talisman of his wealth and power⁶."

IV

Harpal Deva having assumed independence, Qutb-u'd-din Mubarak Khalji decided upon marching to Devagiri immediately after his accession. He was, however, dissuaded by his *amirs* and *maliks* from undertaking a campaign in the distant south soon after his accession.⁷ In 1318 he marched towards the Deccan and reached Devagiri in about a couple of months.⁸ Khusrau Khan achieved great victories. The Sultan severely punished the Rai and his followers. Harpal Deva was flayed alive and his body was hung at the gates of Devagiri.⁹ The Sultan had to prolong his stay at Devagiri on account of rains. Malik Yaklakhi was made governor of Devagiri.

6. *Ency. of Islam*, new ed. Vol. II, p. 179.

7. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, p. 83.

8. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 353.

9. *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, p. 390.

Malik Yakhlakhi rose into rebellion against Sultan Mubarak. The Sultan sent some prominent officers to Devagiri in order to arrest Yakhlakhi and send him alive to Delhi. Yakhlakhi's own officers betrayed him and he was arrested along with his companions and sent in chains to Delhi. Yakhlakhi's ears and nose were chopped off and his supporters were severely punished. Malik 'Ain-u'l Mulk Multani was then appointed governor of Devagiri and Malik Mujir-u'd-din Abu Rija was appointed as his deputy. Devagiri and the country around was brought under control.

V

Delhi lost its hold over Warangal during the time of Khusrau Khan. Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq decided on bringing the territory under control and sent his son Prince Juna with a strong army to reconquer Warangal. Juna marched through Devagiri and invested the fort of Warangal. Before he could achieve any success, two mischief-mongers in his army – 'Ubaid and Shahzada Damishqi – spread a rumour that the Sultan had died at Delhi. The rumour demoralized the army and Juna had to raise the siege and retire to Deogir. Later on reinforcements reached from Delhi and Juna successfully achieved the imperial objective in the south. Warangal was captured and rechristened as Sultanpur. It was sometime during this Warangal campaign that Amir Khusrau wrote this poem on Qutbabad. Who can say that Muhammad bin Tughluq's decision to make Qutbabad (or Deogir) the second capital of the empire was not influenced by Amir Khusrau's delectable verses in praise of that city!

زهی مبارک شری زهی خجسته بلاد
 چه کفر بود در خلق را اگرستی دیو
 که نام یافت ز قطب سپهر قطب آباد
 از آتش دیو کهن دیو کس ز نام نهاد
 بد بدش همه کس زین حد کردی یاد
 بجز سمای سما یون جرخ پاک نژاد
 کنون که بینه اسلام شد ازین بیضه
 ادب نباشد اگر ختیش لقب کویم
 زنی بفرق نکویم که جنت شاد
 مثلث اوز حیات سدس افتاده
 دو نصف جنت شاد ربع سبع شاد
 بهشت کوه درین آسمان گرفته بلند
 گرفت او همه بر آسمان بشکل و نهاد

ز قول ثابت حق و الحبال اوتاد
 دلایش زگر است شد ز قوت دین
 پناه یافته آن قلعه کاسنوار ستاد
 که کس تواریشته بحفظ او اوتاد
 جو سق دانش نعمان بدست ابن زیاد
 شکوه کوه زیادت ز حد بدست کیش
 جو جوی شیر که لبلی به تیش فریاد
 همه عبارتش برین بند لبیده
 بجان کمان دل را بانست جمله در بنیاد
 برد کرد نکر سنگهایش کرد شد است
 ز بس که گشت بدل کفران زمین آباد
 شدت کند فرشته بر سنگش
 عروسکانش از ماده وز کور شده
 عروسکان حصار سی سپر را داماد
 جوانش بزم بود بر لب سانوساد
 ز بس که کرده از نور شرع لوط فساد
 زینش گشته نازی جو خاک از خورشید
 بدان سبب چنین اراستدش اتواد
 زان خورشید انگور دنان بر شمشیر
 شده بخیزد به نسی از عباد و از عباد

نگر مرزبین شهر بافتند که مهر
 نکلند جامه به نبل دود بنه شد بغداد
 هوا خنک است هر مژده نشاط دهد
 بسان نعمت موعود صما لجان بسواد
 بکی است باد نسج او دم آب حضر
 همین هوا سرسین دالان که جان دید کجا
 نسیم این زمی از بزم بر چراغ دزد
 کل حسد غ دینکست عمیر زیاد
 دراز با مل هر مرغ شمش کویم
 همه درود شود خاص و عام را اوراد
 نواد آن بارم خواند باز و کلمات تقضا
 بی روی گل زرد و زعفران بی رنگ
 با من کرد هم از گل سفید هم بسواد
 که خفت رازده بر بوی سوری و شمشاد
 که خفت رازده بر بوی سوری و شمشاد
 نسیم گل که در دباد بوستان گم گشت
 نزار حصه طیب است و نیم حصه زیاده
 ز بوی جوش خباست بر کلی مستر
 که برش که صبا پر گرفت باز افتاد
 کشد به بندگی برد رحمت آزادش
 درین زمین بودار سرد و سوکن آراد
 حدیث بیوه جلو بزم که میونای جهان
 ماندند در درون حنسته پیش از آن که نشاد
 جورد و عیب کند جمله خلق را ارشاد
 بلال موز که از سلخ غزه داد برون
 نبات اینا من کل لذت الفواد
 زهی حلاوت نخل که هست در کام
 که آب از دین کوزه نبات کشاد
 بشکل است پراز شد و شیر حقه زر
 به پیش کوزه حیوانت کوزه جلاد
 ملذت آبی و نار عوان در پیشش
 چه حاجت شکر راستایش فتاد
 ز میونای دگر هم سخن کنم لیکن
 که زادن طرشس هست جان دل رازاد
 دگر ز غم دم قبول خود عجب برگی است

ز مرد بست جوار و اح انبیا ز تخت نمود بس بد بیضا بدست مدخل را داد
 به بختگی جوز ز نخته و چون نقره حنّام که ز بردر همه با قوت و فعل بر دن داد
 رگس ز خون نبی با کشاده چون ز کش جو گشته تیزی دندانش نشتر فصا د
 دی بنامد برک دینت و این ششماه باید ار چه بود تیر ماه و با خر داد
 ز آب چون در اشک مو لبان پیمان ز تاب چون دل پاک مفران بودار
 یمم بجز و حکر کوسکان کوه چپانکه عقیق مانند درین وقت زردوزان اولاد
 چه وصف جامه کنم کا جهان نماند اگر ز به بسلیح کشد پوست اخترا جلا د
 پنجم سوزن صد گز نکند از بس لطف درد بکله خرد نیک سوزن پولاد
 بان قطره آبی نوازش گفتن اگر بکله ز چشم جو قطره معناد
 در سر و د جهان ز خراش هر زخمه جو خنک خویش کند ز هر کماله و فریاد
 عجب نباشد اگر مرده زنده کرد و از ان که لفظ در دل بر نعمه جان باز نهاد
 سماع از عنوان آوازه کر لعل شوق نوای بلبل این است و آن دم بط و خا
 و کر ز مردم شبرین با غدارم نقش شود بنسجه شکر خای خانه استاد
 اگر چه بدوی اصلند دوزخی سلیس بحسن جمله بهشتی و شان حور نژاد
 نویسم از همه اوصاف این دیار سرد خطا نماند کا عدس بوجب مداد
 جو بیت حاصلم این پرد و وصف ختم کنم که هست از ان هم در قدر قیمت این بزر
 کنی که ناخوشی کفر محو گشت از وی و کر همان که خوشش کرد شهر بار جواد
 بلند پایه العمان که بار ستادن است بخت حرف خطایش سپهر است عماد

ستوده فقر و دل نرس بر زم جرخ کبود
 چراغ مملکت و شمع خانه سلطان
 فرا سباب غدیری که نبرد کند
 بخان و مان همه سرهای کاوان کشند
 کشتا بزار چه کمان بر بنبار د از فرمان
 نگاه الکر لوه آهنت و در پیش
 ز خورش جو بلخ بر زمانه شمع است
 سلاش اسن حق است از پیش تبر تقنا
 بشه خصم که شد زان به تیغ او و بران
 سپهر قدر اگر دنداختن آن توبه
 ز اختران بود اعداد شکر ت را وقف
 خیال تیغ تو با لقطع قانع اعمار
 مراد امر تو هم در زبان رسد کوسه
 ز نس که زر همه انبار میدی که جود
 نه دست پیش کند بر تنگها صراف
 ز طواع خدمت تو جاه و مال جمع شود
 چنان جانست ز جود تو تار و دو لطف
 ز بی حساب عطای سخن کند هر دست
 همه ز سر لباسان عیب داد الهام
 که همچو شعله آفتاب ز بر زیاد
 به پشت نهمتن از رخ تیغ ماه شهاد
 جو بر نشیبت جوادی جهان به نشد
 بیک اشارت ابروی سی فلاح و بلا
 جو پیشه پر پر دار باد رخس او بچاد
 اگر جریده سابی دش است او جو خاد
 بسان جوشن است جوشن ز را د
 خطیر باشد و معمور کور با آ باد
 پیش خنجر محراب است جو رو عناد
 چنین بود مصاف تو و فن را اعداد
 نفاذ امر تو با حکم حساب مع اصداد
 که از نیابت کن بافت سرعت ایجاد
 نفاذ بدلی تو آورد بگردگان نفاذ
 نه در شمار درم کف سپر کند نفاذ
 چنانکه فرد جزا حاصل از صلاح سداد
 که از کرشمه بیند اسب سوی مراد
 که حساب که هر دست را بود اشهاد

ترک ننگہ کہ در رختن بہانگ بلند
 قلم در اول خلعت نوشتہ در حق
 زندگے تو کردند شاد تا جوران
 عزیز بچو نوافل بہ بند طاعت تو
 بدست قدر تو سلک لوالکب و اشتر
 سیخ ماہ و قمر جہشمت خبانگہ
 شمارہ دیدہ بخت و احوال ہر آنست
 بخت خضر بہار و نبات را اوصاف
 دمام خاطر من در خیال مدحت نتست
 ازین فہیدہ کہ ناش صحیفہ الاوصاف
 دعای از لب خسرو بوفتد بر زمین
 بہان ہمیشہ کہ از فتح صورت ہم نمود
 ماثر کرمت را ہی کسب انشا د
 دعای اسعدک اللہ پنجمہ اسعد
 بران صفت کہ ز کھر بر خط عشق عباد
 بوند اگر مشل آباد پسرخ را اجباد
 بہان سپج کہ کرد است در کف زیاد
 ز جو بر تن حد چشم نار سر العباد
 چنانکہ احوال غیب است دیدہ چاد
 بدام موج نہ بند و نہنگ را عباد
 جو شاعران عرب در نساہی سواد
 عطار دست دمان جاہلی عمدا
 کہ بر ثنای تو دارد دعای را اوستاد
 بز بردامت جبرت جراع دولت داد

Persian Literature Under Akbar

I

INTRODUCTORY

The age of Akbar (1556-1605) constitutes a brilliant epoch in the history of Indo-Persian literature. It was characterized both by bold adventures in the realm of thought and prolific output of *belles-lettres* in different branches of learning. Barring Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji (1296-1316), probably under no other Indian ruler did Persian literature make such rapid strides as under Akbar¹ whose scholarly taste and liberal patronage of men of letters attracted to his court the literati, scholars, philosophers, poets and artists from every part of the Persian-speaking world – Meshed, Ispahan, Shiraz, Naishapur, Herat, Merv, Gilan, Najaf, Bukhara, Hamadan, Kashan, Qum, Ray, Sabzwar and Tabriz.² Under him Agra could justly claim to have within its confines many of those celebrities whom the author of *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi* significantly calls the *musta'idan-i-Iran*. Even poets who had once spoken about India

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1. It was under him that poets like Amir Khusrau and Hasan Dehlavi produced most of their works. It was also during his reign that Hasan Dehlavi invented the art of malfuz-writing which subsequently became a very popular branch of Persian literature.
 2. Even a cursory glance at the list of poets given by Abul Fazl (*A'in-i-Akbari*, Sir Syed Edition, Vol. I, p. 189 *et seq.*) will bear out this statement.

in this strain:

کای تو بلبیل چمن آرائی کابلی
زاع و عین نه که به هندوستان شوی

could not resist the temptation of basking in the sunshine of Akbar's favours. Foreign poets were constrained to confess:

نیست در ایران زمین سامان تحصیل کمال
تا نیاید سوئی هندوستان حنا رنگین نشد

(The means of acquiring perfection do not exist in Iran:
The henna does not acquire colour till it comes to India.)

It is interesting to note that while Akbar could claim to have in his court several first rate Persian poets, the contemporary Safavid court singularly lacked in poets of talent.³ Two eminent authorities on Persian literature, Prof. Browne⁴ and Mirza Muhammad Qazwini,⁵ have noted this fact with a feeling of surprise that during the two hundred and twenty years of Safavid rule there was not one single poet of conspicuous merit or originality. "It was not so much lack of talent", explains Browne, "as lack of patronage which makes the list of distinctly Safavid poets so meagre."⁶ In fact, the Persian poetic genius found a congenial atmosphere at Akbar's court and flourished there as it had not flourished even in its own homeland.

The Indo-Persian poetry of Akbar's age found its admirers in distant lands. Though strong national sentiments⁷ of the Persians

3. No Safavid poet, not even the famous Shafa'i, can claim to come up anywhere near Faizi, 'Urfi or Sa'ib.

4. *The Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, pp. 24-25.

5. See the Mirza's letter to Prof. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, pp. 26-28.

6. *The Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 25.

7. *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 13. Note the poet's spirit when he thus praises Shah Isma'il Safavi:

فروزنده تاج و تخت کیان
فرازنده اختر کاویان

(The illuminator of the crown and throne of the Kayanians,
The upholder of the star of Kawayan. *Ahsan-ut-Tawarikh*, as cited by
Browne, III, p. 14.

made them rather chary of recognizing the poetic talent of the Indians,⁸ others did not hesitate in giving the Indo-Persian poets their meed of praise. "After Jami," writes Gibb, "Urfi and Faizi were the chief Persian influences on Turkish poetry."⁹ Nefi, the greatest Turkish poet of the 17th century, is specially seen vying with 'Urfi and it is significant that some of the best *qasidahs* and *diwans* of 'Urfi are found in the libraries of Ankara and Istanbul.¹⁰

If it be correct that the spirit of an age can be seen only through the works of its most reflective and creative minds, the value of the Persian literature of Akbar's period can hardly be over-emphasized. It mirrors the spiritual and moral urges and social and political ideals of the age. In fact, Akbar's advent synchronized with an era of great intellectual ferment and social upsurge in India. The Bhakti and the Sufi saints had released forces which aimed at evolving a broad and cosmopolitan outlook on life. Universalism, humanism and religious toleration were the keynote of their teachings. They were eager to transcend the trammels of ecclesiastical formalism and abjure that exclusive thinking which stifles free and independent growth of human institutions. The Persian poetry of Akbar's age breathes this spirit of tolerance and cosmopolitanism. It emphasizes eternal verities and universal truths and has unequivocally condemned formalism and fanatical rigidity. When Naziri declares:

کفر و ایمان نبود شرط نظری در عشق
بتو کافر بنمایم که ولایت دارد

(Infidelity or faith are not the necessary conditions in love, O Naziri. I may show thee an infidel who possesses saintliness) he, in fact, expresses the general attitude of his age. Manohar,¹¹ a Hindu contemporary of Naziri, thus reciprocates the sentiment:

8. For instance, note Riza Quli Khan's views about 'Urfi in *Majma'-ul Fusaha*, II, p. 26.
9. *History of Ottoman Poetry*, Vol. I, pp 5, 127-129.
10. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXX, No. 4, October, 1956, p. 385, e seq.
11. For brief notices see, *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 201 : *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 8.

شیخ مستغنی بدین و برہمن مغرور کفر
مستحسن دوست را با کفر و ایمان کار نیست

(The Shaikh is satisfied with his religion and the Brahman is proud of his idolatry:

He who is intoxicated with the beauty of the Friend has naught to do with idolatry or religion).

Imbued with the same spirit 'Urfi declares:

عاشق ہم از اسلام خراب است و ہم از کفر
پروانہ چراغ حرم و دیر نہ داند

The inscription which Abul Fazl wrote for a temple in Kashmir breathes the same spirit.¹²

Since Akbar was anxious to evolve a national culture and a national outlook, he encouraged and initiated policies in religious, political and cultural spheres which were calculated to broaden the outlook of his contemporaries and infuse in them the consciousness of belonging to one culture. This attempt at cultural synthesis found an expression in the Persian literature also. Under Akbar, Persian ceased to be the language of one class or one culture-group. It absorbed Indian thought and ideas and developed in consonance with the national genius of India. By converting vast mass of Sanskrit literature into Persian, Akbar Indianized the language and set its roots deep in the Indian soil. Doubtless, rulers like Firoz Shah Tughluq (1351-1388) and Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) had evinced some interest in the translation of Sanskrit works on secular subjects into Persian but it was left to Akbar to plan in a systematic and well-organized way the conversion of Sanskrit literature on religion, art and sciences into Persian. *Thus the frontiers of the Persian language were widened and it became the language of all Indian religions.* Notwithstanding Smith's remarks¹³ to the contrary, the fact remains that these translations served a great purpose. They familiarized the Muslim intelligentsia with the Hindu religious

12. Blochmann, p. LV. Blochmann's translation of this inscription is faulty at several places.

13. *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 415.

thought and thus accelerated the pace of rapprochement between the various culture-groups of India. The movement initiated by Akbar flowered under Dara Shukoh whose Persian translation of the Upanishads is justly considered by competent authorities as one of the finest and most faithful renderings of the original.¹⁴

Besides Sanskrit, translations were made from Hindi, Greek, Arabic and Kashmiri languages into Persian. It was inevitable in these circumstances that large number of Hindi words found their way into Persian works and *vice versa*. If one comes across large number of Hindi words in the historical works of Gulbadan and Jauhar and in the poetical works of Faizi and Khan-i-Khanan, as well as the mystic records of the period, one cannot fail to find large number of Persian words in the Hindi works of Sur Das and Tulsi Das. The Emperor's interest in the literature of various languages and his eagerness to get the same translated into Persian gave a filip to the study of languages in India and produced men like 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan who, according to the author of *Ma'asir-u'l-Umara*, could converse in most of the languages of the world.¹⁵

To make the Persian language easier for the Hindus and to adapt it to the linguistic genius of India, Akbar thought of some changes in its script. Badauni writes:¹⁶

” و حروف خاصه زبان عرب مثل ثا و حا عین و صاد و ضاد و ظا از تلفظ بر طرف ساختند، و بعد الله
لا ابد الله واحدى را اهدى و امثال آن اگر مى گفتند خوش مى داشتند ”

(The letters which are peculiar to the Arabic language, viz ث ع
ط ض ص and ظ were avoided. Thus he was pleased if for
people pronounced اهدى and ابد الله

14. Dr. Tara Chand writes: "The credit of introducing the philosophy of the Upanishads to Europe belongs to Dara Shukoh. His translation of the fifty Upanishads from the original Sanskrit into Persian was the first attempt to make them known to people who did not know the Sanskrit language..... In the field of scholarship it is an achievement of the highest order." *Sirr-i-Akbar*, pp. 41 et seq.

15. *Ma'asir-u'l-Umara*, English Trans. : Vol. I, p. 62.

16. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vbl. II, p. 307.

What Badauni considered to be an expression of anti-Arabic feelings of Akbar was really an attempt to bring Persian closer to the family of Indian languages.

Another significant contribution of Akbar's age was in the field of Persian historiography. The Persian concept of historiography reeled round the king and the sceptre and any account of the workers, peasants, artisans and the commonalty was looked down upon as derogatory to the art of history-writing. While the Arab historians believed in writing the history of an epoch and recorded minutest details about the life of the people, the Persian historians before Abul Fazl, on the other hand had remained wedded to the Sassanid concept of history. Abul Fazl made a definite contribution to Persian historiography by infusing in it the spirit of Arab historiography. In Abul Fazl's works the king is no doubt the central figure—the pivot of the whole system—but the common people also find their due place in his narrative. In the *A'in*, "the governed classes are brought to the foreground: men live and move before us, and the great questions of the time, axioms then believed in and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideals then prevailing and successes then obtained, are placed before our eye in truthful and therefore vivid colours".¹⁷

II

AKBAR'S INTEREST IN PERSIAN CLASSICS

Akbar had inherited scholarly tastes and love of books from his father. He kept a part of his library inside the *harem* (مشکوی مقدیس) so that it might be accessible to him at all times. With regard to the arrangement of his library, Abul Fazl writes: "Each part of the library is subdivided, according to the value of the books and the estimation in which the sciences are held of which the books treat. Prose books, poetical works, Hindi, Persian, Greek, Kashmirian, Arabic are separately placed. In this order they are also inspected. Experienced people bring them daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears every book from the beginning to the end. At whatever page the readers stop, His Majesty makes with his own

17. Blochmann, p. vi.

pen a sign, according to the number of the pages; and rewards the readers with presents of cash, either in gold or silver, according to the number of leaves read out by them. Among books of renown, there are few that are not read in His Majesty's assembly hall; and there are no historical facts of the past ages, or curiosities of science, or interesting points of philosophy, with which His Majesty, a leader of impartial sages, is unacquainted. He does not get tired of hearing a book over again, but listens to the reading of it with more interest."¹⁸ Abul Fazl has particularly referred to the following Persian works which were "continually read out to His Majesty":

1. *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri* of Muhammad bin Hasan alias Nasir al-Tusi (ob. 1274 A.D.)
2. *Kimiya-i-Sa'adat* of Imam Ghazali (ob. 1111 A.D.)
3. *Qabus Namah* of Unsur-u'l-Ma'ali Kaika'us b. Sikandar b. Qabus, written in 1082-83 A.D.
4. *Maktubat-i-Sharaf Maneri* of Shaikh Sharaf-u'd-din Yahya Maneri (ob. 1381 A.D.)
5. *Gulistan* of Shaikh Sa'di (ob. 1291 A.D.)
6. *Hadiqah* of Abul Majd Majdud bin Adam Sana'i Ghaznavi (ob. after 1147 A.D.)
7. *Masnawi-i-Ma'nawi* of Maulana Jalal-u'd-din Rumi (ob. 1273 A.D.)
8. *Jam-i-Jam* of Rukn-u'd-din Auhadi Ispahani (ob. 1338)
9. *Shah Namah* of Firdausi (ob. after 1020 A.D.)
10. *Khamsa-i-Nizami: Five Masnawis—Makhzan-ul-Asrar, Khusrau-o-Shirin, Laila-o-Majnun, Haft Paikar and Sikandar Namah*—composed by Maulana Nizam-u'd-din Abu Muhammad Ilyas (ob. 1203 A.D.)
11. *Kulliyat-i-Khusrau: Works of Amir Khusrau* (ob. 1325 A.D.)
12. *Kulliyat-i-Jami: Works of Maulana 'Abdur Rahman Jami* (ob. 1492 A.D.)
13. *Diwan-i-Khaqani: Poetical works of Afzal-u'd-din Ibrahim Khaqani* (ob. 1199 A.D.)
14. *Diwan-i-Anwari: Poetical works of Auhad-u'd-din Anwari* (ob. 1191 A.D.)

These Persian classics represent some of the finest achievements of Muslim scholarship in the sphere of politics, ethics, mysticism and literature. Frequent recitations from these works must

18. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, p. 100.

have fully familiarized Akbar with the Muslim religious and political thought as well as the literary tendencies of the middle ages.

The two works which exercised the most profound influence on Akbar's mind were, according to Abul Fazl, the *Masnawi* of Maulana Jalal-u'd-din Rumi and the *Diwan* of Hafiz. He had committed many of their verses to memory and used to recite them very often.¹⁹ In Rumi's approach to religion and Hafiz's catholicity of views, Akbar found the most powerful ideological support for his own religious outlook.

Akbar's Persian Verses

Recent researches²⁰ have robbed the time-honoured myth of Akbar's illiteracy of all its charm and it is now well-known that he could compose fine verses in Persian and Hindi²¹ and was an excellent critic of poetry.²² Abul Fazl says:

19. و از کتب نظم مثنوی مولوی و دیوان لسان الغیب خود بسعادت رواں می خوانند، و از
حقائق و لطائف آن التذادمی یابند

Akbar Namah, Vol. I, p. 271.

20. For detailed discussion of this problem see N.N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule*, pp. 207-212; Ibn-i-Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 94; J.N. Samad dar's article *Akbar's Illiteracy* in B.O.R., 1920 (iii) p. 334 et seq.; Mahfuzul Haq's article in *Islamic Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 39-50; M. Roy Choudhury's articles in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vols. XVI, No. 4, pp. 726-736 and XXXII No. I (March 1956), pp. 81-89.

21. "He has also", writes Abul Fazl, "strong glorious thought in the Hindi language, which may be regarded as masterpieces in this kind." *Akbar Namah*, Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 520.

Dr. Saryu Prasad Agrawal has quoted some of Akbar's Hindi verses in his book ... *अकबरी दरबार के हिन्दी-कवि* (Hindi Poets of Akbar's Court) p. 27 et seq.

22. See *Sh'ir-u'l-'Ajam*, Vol. III, p. 5.

Once, on hearing the following verse of Fighani:

میسایار و خضرش رہنما و ہمغاں یوسف فغانی آفتاب من بدیں اعزاز می آید

(With Jesus as a comrade, Khizr as a guide and Joseph riding by his side—in such fashion comes my glorious sun, O Fighani) Akbar at once suggested an emendation:

فغانی شہسوار من بدیں اعزاز می آید

(In such fashion comes my glorious horseman, O Fighani)

و طبع الہام پذیر آنحضرت بگفتن نظم ہندی
و فارسی بغایت موافق افتادہ در دقائق
تخیلات شعری نکتہ سنجی و مویشگانی می فرمایند

(The inspired nature of His Majesty is strongly drawn to the composing of Hindi and Persian poetry and is critical and hairsplitting in the niceties of poetic diction)²³

Muhammad 'Arif Qandhari has quoted the following verses of Akbar:

خون او دشت را چو لاله گرفت	ہیئتہ بادشاہ کالہ گرفت
ساقی تند خو پیالہ گرفت	باش ہشیار ای حریف کہ باز
ابر داماں ز سنگ ژالہ گرفت	بہر خوزیزی گل و لالہ
دلبر دیگر از بتالہ گرفت	بودشہ را پری و شاں بسیار
ہند را با خط و قبالہ گرفت	شاہ اکبر بہ بین ز لطف آلہ

Abul Fazl has quoted the following verse as one of Akbar's best compositions:

نیست زنجیر جنوں در گردن مجنوں زار
عشق دست دوستی در گردنش افکنده است

(In poor Majnun's neck is not a chain to restrain his madness,
Love hath put the arm of friendship round his neck.)

Some contemporary and later *tazkirahs* like *Nafa'is-u'l-Ma'asir*, *'Urafat-u'l-Ashiqin*, *Riaz-u's-Shu'ara*, *Tazkirah-i-Roz-i-Raushan* – refer to a few more couplets of Akbar. Some of these verses have been collected by Prof. M.A. Ghani²⁶ and Dr. Hadi Hasan²⁷ in their studies. It may, however, be pointed out that the authorship of

23. *Akbar Namah*, Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 520.

24. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Arif*, (Copy of MS in Rampur Library) p. 121.

25. *Akbar Namah*, I, p. 271.

26. *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, Part III,

some of these verses is doubtful, while some of them are obviously wrongly attributed to Akbar. The 'Urafat-u'l-Ashiqin, for instance, ascribes the authorship of the following verses to Akbar:

خداوندی که ما را خسروی داد دل دانا و بازوی قوی داد
بعدل و داد ما را رهنمون کرد بجز عدل از خیال ما برون کرد
بود و صفش ز فهم و عقل برتر تعالی شانه الله اکبر

(The Lord Who has given us Sovereignty and a prudent heart and a strong arm, He guided us in righteousness and justice and has kept out from our mind everything except justice.

(His praise surpasses man's understanding: Sublime is His Position, *Allahu Akbar*.)

Bada'uni, on the contrary, says that these verses were part of a *Khutbah* which was composed by Faizi.²⁸

III

PERSIAN POETRY UNDER AKBAR

Though Akbar's age produced good and valuable prose literature, it is really in its poetry that it shines forth. "Prose may or may not be literature", writes Kroeber, "with poetry the only question is whether it is great, mediocre or ineffectual literature. This has been the common opinion of men, as is shown by the fact that what peoples conceive as the great or golden ages of their literature are regularly strong in poetry."²⁹ The age of Akbar, Prof. Ethe has rightly said, is the Indian summer of Persian poetry.

V.A. Smith, who read some poetry of this period in its soul-less English translations, believed that "there is not a single sentiment worth quoting" in it and that the works of the poets of this period are disgraced by filthiness and "they have prostituted the word love

28. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, II, p. 268.

29. *Configurations of Culture Growth*, p. 454.

to the service of unholy passion."³⁰ These observations, to say the least about them, are misleading.

The poetic literature of Akbar's age is not merely prolific, it is brilliant also. It is characterized by a remarkable freshness of approach, technique and thought. Gibb has found the novelty of style in the introduction of a number of fresh terms into the conventional vocabulary of poetry and in the deposition of rhetoric from the chief seat and the enthronement of loftiness of tone and stateliness of language in its stead.³¹ Generally speaking, the Persian poetry of the preceding generations was characterized by *وضعیّت* (artificiality); it lacked spontaneity and fervour and was more of a 'rhymed prose cut into equal lengths' than a rhythmic expression of emotions. The poetry of Akbar's period is deep and throbs with a warm fund of emotions. There is a quest for fresh subjects and fresh modes of treatment. 'Ishq (love) which has so often been misunderstood by scholars like Smith, has given an unique emotional appeal to the poetry of Akbar's age. This love is not sordid, mean or material. It has a spirituality about it and is charged with that power which leads man on and makes him hitch his wagons to the stars. In keeping with the general sobriety and restraint of Akbar's court, this poetry is remarkable for its restraint and dignity and is an exponent of higher values of life. It does not degenerate into cheap effusions of amorous passions. It has energy and depth. In 'Urfi's poetry, for instance, independence of spirit, force of convictions, love of freedom and high ideals touch their highest pinnacle. In his hands love is not a base or degraded sentiment, it is an incentive to higher aims of life. Iqbal once preferred him to Hafiz and said³²:

زنده از صحبت حافظ گریز
باده زن به عرفی هنگامه خیز

He teaches man the dignity of man. He hates parasitism and exhorts man to carve out his destiny with his own blood. It is by developing one's potentialities rather than begging from others that

30. Akbar, the Great Mogul, p. 416.

31. History of Ottoman Poetry, Vol. I, pp. 5, 127, 129.

32. Asrar-i-Khudi, (First Edition 1915).

one can develop his personality. It is not in narrow and fanatical spirit of retribution and revenge but in large hearted and generous spirit of love and toleration that the dignity of man lies:

صد جا شهید شود دیت از دشمنان خواه	گر مردہتی ز مردت نشان خواه
بشکن سفال و در دہن انداز و نان خواه	بتناں زجاج و در جگر افشاں و نم مجوی
ماہ از زمین مجوی و وفا از آسمان خواه	خاک از فلک خواه و مراد از زمین مجوی
بشکن کلاہ و مسند و گوہر زکان خواه	تر صیح تخت و تاجت اگر خسروی دہد
گر تیر و زہرہ کشتہ شود نوحہ خوان خواه	گر ماہ و آفتاب ہمیرد عزا میگیر
لب را کلو بگیر و ز قاتل امان خواه	شریان ز پوست برکش و در کام تیغ نہ
یعنی کہ بال و پر بکن و ساکنان خواه	طاؤس ہمتی سر منقاد تیسز کن
خنجر بسیلہ تیز کن از کس فسان خواه	مجلس بنوحہ گرم کن از بی نواہ مجوی
بر خاک بوسہ زن ز حرم آستان خواه	گر کعبہ ات با تیر لب آرند لب بدوز

If there is any truth in Arnold's observation that noble and profound application of ideas to life is the most essential part of poetic greatness, 'Urfi may undoubtedly be ranked amongst the great poets of all time.

In Faizi poetry becomes what Carlyle calls 'musical thought'—thought which sings itself; emotions which dance in rhythm and feelings which move in tune and time as naturally as the heart beats. He addresses the man thus:

کز آسماں بزرگ تر از خاک کمتری	ای نقد اصل و فرع ندانم چہ گوہری
نور تر است از پی سیارہ مشتری	قیمت شناس گوہر خود باش کا سماں
عناق توانی از پر عصفور بشکری	گر ہمت تو باش کشاید بصید گاہ
با خود ہلا ہی کن و با غیر شکری	خواہی بسر معنی ایشار در رسی
در ویشی کہ خندہ زندہ بر تو نگری	بر استاں صدق بدرویشی آورد

In Naziri's verses the melody of diction and the sweatness of style reaches its perfection. He has loaded every rift with an ore and it appears that he can depict feelings and ideas 'like a painter, giving them a life-like touch'.

در سینہ دارد آتشی پیراہن چاکش نگر	چشمش برای میرود مرثگان نمناکش نگر
خونی کہ مرثگان ریختہ بر دامن پاکش نگر	دامی کہ زلف انداختہ در گردن سیمیش بین

شرم از میاں برفاسته مر از دہان برداشته
 از کوئی معشوق آمدہ شوریدگان در حلقہ اش
 دل بردہ در دل باختن معشوق عاشق پیشہ بین
 وحشی غزالی کز صبارم در بیاں میخورد
 گفتار بی پرستش بہ بین رفتار بیباکش نگر
 از صید آہو میرسد شیراں بنفتر اکش نگر
 بگرفتہ در انداختن بازوی چالاکش نگر
 رام نظیری می شود در ہوش و ادراکش نگر

Faizi, 'Urfi and Naziri are only the taller trees in a forest. There were many others—like Ghazali Meshedi, whom Akbar appointed his first poet-laureate; Qasim Kahi who compiled a complete reply to the *Bustan* of Sa'di—who made valuable contributions to the literature of this period. Many works of the poets of Akbar's age have no doubt, been destroyed by man and moth; but the *diwans* of 'Urfi, Faizi and Naziri shall be read by men so long as the Persian language is read and understood—

*Not marble nor the gilded monuments
 Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme.*

Persian Poets and their Works

Akbar's court was a great rendezvous of poets. "Thousands of poets", informs Abul Fazl, "are continually at court, and many among them have completed a *diwan* or have written a *masnawi*."³³ He has selected the following 59 as "the best among them":

1. Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi
2. Khwaja Husain Sanai of Meshed
3. Huzni of Ispahan
4. Qasim-i-Kahi
5. Ghazali of Meshed
6. 'Urfi of Shiraz
7. Mali of Herat
8. Ja'far Beg of Qazwin
9. Khwaja Husain of Merv
10. Hayati of Gilan
11. Shikebi of Ispahan
12. Anisi Shamlu
13. Naziri of Naishapur
14. Darwish Bahram
15. Sarfi of Kashmir
16. Sabuhi, the Chaghtai

33. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Text, Vol. I, p. 189; Trans., p. 618.

On Sources and Source Material

17. Mushfiqi of Bukhara
18. Salihi
19. Mazhari of Kashmir
20. Mahvi of Hamadan
21. Sarfi of Sawah
22. Qarari of Gilan
23. 'Itabi of Najaf
24. Mulla Muhammad Sufi of Mazandaran
25. Juda'i
26. Wuqu'i of Naishapur
27. Khusrawi of Qa'in
28. Shaikh Raha'i
29. Wafa'i of Ispahan
30. Shaikh Saqi
31. Rafi'i of Kashan
32. Ghairati of Shiraz
33. Halati of Turan
34. Sanjar of Kashan
35. Jazbi of Kurdistan
36. Tashbihi of Kashan
37. Ashki of Qum
38. Asiri of Ray
39. Fahmi of Ray
40. Qaidi of Shiraz
41. Pairawi of Sawah
42. Kami of Sabzwar
43. Payami
44. Sayyid Muhammad Fikri of Herat
45. Qudsi of Karbala
46. Haidari of Tabriz
47. Samri
48. Farebi of Ray
49. Fusuni of Shiraz
50. Nadiri of Turshizi
51. Nawa'i of Meshed
52. Baba Talib of Ispahan
53. Sarmadi of Ispahan
54. Dakhli of Ispahan
55. Qasim Arsalan of Meshed
56. Ghayuri of Hisar
57. Qasimi of Mazandaran
58. Sheri
59. Rahi of Naishapur³⁴

34. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, pp. 618-680.

Nizam-u'd-din Bakhshi³⁵ has referred to 81 poets; while Bada'uni³⁶ gives an account of 168 poets of Akbar's time. More than a dozen poets—amongst whom Zuhuri and Qummi deserve special mention—did not visit Akbar's court but sent their *qasidahs* to him. Since Akbar was a seasoned critic of verse, poets of exceptional merit alone succeeded in finding a place in his court.

It is really unfortunate that most of the poetical works of this period are either lost or lie unnoticed in private collections. Some works of the following poets are found in Indian and foreign libraries:

1. **Sana'i Meshedi**
(*Diwan-i-Sana'i*: Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 680; India Office, No. 1449, 1450; British Museum No. 309; Bodleian, 1015-1049; Berlin 722, 899-900 etc.; Bankipore No. 250; Hyderabad).
2. **Hijri**
(*Diwan-i-Hijri*: India Office No. 1441).
3. **Naziri Naishapuri**
(*Kulliyat-i-Naziri*: Asiatic Society of Bengal 705-707; India Office 1489-1492; Sup. British Museum 316; Bodleian 1074-1075; Berlin 701,908; Bankipore 276-278).
4. **Nau'i**
(*Kulliyat-i-Nau'i*: Asiatic Society of Bengal 698,699; India Office 1485; Sup. British Museum 313, 376, 419; Bodleian 1064-1066; Berlin 696; British Museum 674; Bankipore 272).
5. **Raha'i**
(*Diwan-i-Raha'i*: India Office 1439; Bodleian 1037).
6. **Bahram Saqqa**
(*Diwan-i-Saqqa*: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 669-670; India Office 1436; Hyderabad 304, 23, 432).
7. **Mushfiqi**
(*Diwan-i-Mushfiqi*: India Office 1446; Bodleian 1044; Asiatic Society of Bengal 766).

35. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 484-520.

36. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 171-388.

On Sources and Source Material

8. **Mazhari**
(*Diwan-i-Mazhari*: Asiatic Society of Bengal 702).
9. **Sanjar Kashani**
(*Diwan-i-Sanjar*: Asiatic Society of Bengal 703; India Office 1488; Berlin 909; British Museum 675).
10. **Qaplan Beg**
(*Diwan-i-Qaplan Beg*: Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 734).
11. **Shifa'i**
(*Kulliyat-i-Shifa'i*: India Office 1531-1533; Asiatic Society of Bengal 729; Bodleian 1093; Berlin 913-915; British Museum 822; Bankipore 298-300; Hyderabad 397;
Diwan-i-Shifa'i: Asiatic Society of Bengal 730;
Masnawiyat-i-Shifa'i: Asiatic Society of Bengal 731).
12. **'Urfi**
(*Diwan-i-'Urfi*: India Office 1451-1463; Bodleian 1051-1054, 1991; Asiatic Society of Bengal 683,684; Cambridge 289-290; British Museum (Sup.) 310-311; Berlin 901-905; Bankipore 253-258);
Majma'-u'l-Akbar: Asiatic Society of Bengal 685).
13. **Ghazali Meshedi**
(*Diwan-i-Ghazali*: Bodleian 1033; British Museum 661-663; Asiatic Society of Bengal 674).
14. **Faizi**
(*Diwan-i-Faizi*: British Museum 450, 670; Indian Office 1464-1479; Asiatic Society of Bengal 692-693; Leipzig 128; Berlin 906; Bankipore 261-264;
Markaz-u'l-Adwar: Asiatic Society of Bengal 695, Bodleian 1057;
Nal-u-Daman: Asiatic Society of Bengal 696).
15. **Qasim-i-Kahi**
(*Diwan-i-Kahi*: British Museum; Lucknow MS; edited by Dr. Hadi Hasan (Iran Society, Calcutta, 1956).
16. **Maili Hervi**
(*Diwan-i-Maili*: British Museum 666 etc.; Bankipore 243; Asiatic Society of Bengal 686, 687).
17. **Khwaja Husain Mervi**
(*Diwan-i-Mervi*: Asiatic Society of Bengal 682).
18. **Qasim Arsalan**
(*Diwan-i-Arsalan*: Asiatic Society of Bengal 678; Bankipore 249).

19. **Nasir Hamdani**
(*Diwan-i-Nasir Hamdani*: Indian Office 1484).
20. **Asaf Khan Ja'far**
(*Masnawi Farhad Shirin*: Bodleian 1068-1071).
21. **Kashifi**
(*Diwan-i-Kashifi*: India Office 1443).
22. **Shafi'i**
(*Masnawi Shafi'i*: Bodleian 1055).
23. **Qudrati**
(*Diwan-i-Qudrati*: Bodleian 1056).

Biographical details about the poets of Akbar's period may be read in *Nafa'is-ul-Ma'asir*, *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, *A'in-i-Akbari*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Haft Iqlim* and other contemporary and later histories and *tazkirahs*. Here a few characteristics of their thought and style may be indicated.

Characteristics

I. Most of the poets of Akbar's reign were free thinkers. Like Faizi they could say:

بگیر محضر دیوان فیضی بنگر
سخن طرازی رند هزاره مند مہبہ را

(Take Faizi's *Diwan* to bear witness to the wonderful speeches of a free thinker who belongs to a thousand sects.)

Some of them came to the Mughal court because they were persecuted in their homelands for their religious views.

Ghazali Meshedi, the first Poet-laureate of Akbar, was a man of unorthodox religious views. Disgusted with his "heresy and irreligiousness" الحادوی دینی the people of 'Iraq made an attempt on his life but he somehow escaped to India.³⁷

Qasim-i-Kahi, another distinguished poet of this period was known for the catholicity of his views. He mixed freely with all sorts

37. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. III. p. 170.

of people—*qalandars*, mystics, free thinkers, etc., and visited different places of worship. He had visited Somnat also where he heard a Hindu quoting as follows: "I was raw, became mature, and was burnt."³⁸ Bada'uni's remark that:

ہمہ عمر بالمجاد و زندقہ صرف کردہ

39

(He spent his whole life in heresy and impiety.)
throws light on his religious views and inclinations. Abul Fazl informs us:

و با چندین وارستگی و پردہ آرائی گیتی خداوند
خویش را از مریدان بر شمردی

(Partly from his own love of independence and partly from the indulgence of His Majesty, he counted himself among his disciples.)⁴⁰

Ja'far Beg, another distinguished poet of this period, was also a member of Akbar's *Dine Elahi*⁴¹. It is said about Abtari Badakhshani that he was deeply influenced by the pantheistic philosophy of Shaikh Muhi-u'd-din Ibn-i-'Arabi. He had committed to memory some portions of *Futuh-at-i-Makkiya* and *Fusus-ul-Hikam*. His free and unfettered religious thinking led him to believe in the correctness of Pharaoh's faith. Some people contemptuously addressed him as 'Pharaoh's Advocate' (وکیل فرعون)⁴²
Nizam-u'd-din Bakhshi, who is generally very cautious about his estimate of men and movements, remarks about Qasim-i-Arsalan that he held broad views on religion (.....⁴³ Tashbihi

38. *Diwan-i-Qasim Kahi*, edited by Dr. Hadi Hasan, p. ii.

39. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 173.

40. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 195; Blochmann, pp. 636-637.

41. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, p. 643.

42. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 188.

43. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 492.

Kashani⁴⁴, Sani Khan Hervi⁴⁵ and Waqu'i Naishapuri⁴⁶ were inclined towards the Nuqtawi sect⁴⁷. Daghishtani condemns Tashibihi as a heretic; Bada'uni charges him of seducing others also to heresy.⁴⁸ Wuqu'i is reported to have been a believer in the transmigration of souls.⁴⁹ Thus most of the poets associated with Akbar's court held heterodox views on religious matters.

II. Almost all poets of Akbar's court were erudite scholars, well-versed in different branches of learning—philosophy, religion, history, astronomy, literature, etc. Some of them, like Qasim-i-Kahi and Khanjar Beg, were keenly interested in music and had expert knowledge of the technicalities of that art; some of them, like Ashraf Khan and Mir Dauri, were expert calligraphists of the age; others, like Nur-u'd-din Muhammad-i-Tarkhan and Ulfati, were distinguished for their attainments in geometry, astrology, etc. Some of them, like Pairavi and Juda'i, had earned a fame in the art of painting.

This versatility of talent and variety of tastes have given freshness and vitality to the poetic literature of this period. In Akbar's days poetry was neither a recreation of the illiterate nor a hobby of the idler. It was a serious profession for those who had earned eminence in different branches of learning and possessed a highly developed sense of aesthetic and artistic appreciation.

44. See *A'in-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, p. 666; *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 204-206; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 504.

45. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, pp. 531-532; *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 206-207.

46. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 378-381; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 505; *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, iii, pp. 687-97.

47. For details about the Nuqtawi sect, see *Nuqtawiyān ya Pasikhāniyān*, Dr. Muhammad Sadegh Kia (Tehran). See also, *A'in-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, pp. 502-504.

48. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 204.

49. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 378-379.

III. The poetic output of Akbar's age has a place of its own in the history of Persian literature on account of its valuable contributions in all the three main branches of Persian poetry—*masnawi*, *ghazal* and *qasidah*.

In *masnawi*, the names of Firdausi, Nizami and Khusraw have the aureole of immortality about them. Akbar's age added Faizi's name to this list. He was the second great poet after Amir Khusraw whose talent has been recognized by the Persians also. 'Ali Naqi Kamara, the court poet of Shah 'Abbas, compared him with Zahir and Khaqani and declared:

کیم با اورسد در شاعری دعوائی ہم چششی
کہ دریں خانقاہم من مرید و اوست پیر من

Bada'uni did not like him for his religious views but he too was constrained to pay eloquent tribute to him on his delectable composition of *Nal Daman*. "It is indeed a *masnawi*" he says, "the like of which, for the last three hundred years, no poet of Hindustan, after Amir Khusraw of Delhi, has composed."⁵⁰

Sa'di, Khusraw, Hasan and Hafiz were the classic masters of Persian *ghazal*. Akbar's age added to this list the names of Naziri, 'Urfi and Faizi. Naziri, the chief lyric poet of the time, was second to Hafiz alone. The inimitable charm and grace of his diction raised him head and shoulders above his contemporaries in India and Persia. 'Ali Quli Daghistani calls him "*Khaqan-i-Iqlim-i-Sukhanwari*". 'Urfi was another master of the *ghazal*. Though his genius has worked wonders in *qasidahs*, he himself was proud of his *ghazal*. Some of his *qasidahs* possess the fire and force of *ghazal* and are characterized by intensity and effervescence of emotion.

IV. Cosmopolitan ideas find an energetic and profound treatment in the poetic compositions of this period. Doubtless, many Persian poets of the preceding generations had, under the influence of the great mystic teachers of Persia and Central Asia, given expression to similar ideas, but these ideas did not form a regular burthen of their songs. With the poets of Akbar's period, cosmopolitanism

50. *Muntakhat-i-Tawcrikh*, Vol. II, p. 296.

became a popular theme on which they harped again and again. Note particularly the following verses:

Manohar says:

نمی دانم خدا یا کفر و دین چیست
گرفتار گمندی این و آن چیست

یگانه بودن و یکتا شدن ز چشم آموز
که هر دو چشم جدا و جدا نمی نگرند

از اثر یک نگاه اوست
هم بت و هم بتکده و هم بت پرست

Tifli writes:

ز سجده صنم ای برهن مشو نو مید
که هست آئینه بخت داغ پیشانی

Nami says:

در مذهب ما بجمله یکاں می باش
در دائره کفر یایساں می باش
این است طریق عشق جانانه ما
زنار بگردن و مسلمان می باش

Naziri says:

گر عکس روی تویش در آئینه دیده
توحید شیخ و شرک برهن بچاشناش

'Urfi says:

چنان بانیک و بد عرفی بسر کن کز پس مردن
مسلمانان بزمزم شوید و هندو بسوزاند

Saqi says:

ساقی سرفتنه را گریبان گشتم
چون کعبه مقام کفر و ایماں گشتم

V. The poets of this period frequently emphasize the esoteric aspect of religion and speak disparagingly about dogmatism and for-

malism in religious matters. Ghazali Meshedi says:

در کعبه اگر دل سوی غیر است ترا
طاعت همه فسق و کعبه دیر است ترا
در دل بحق است و ساکن بیکده
می نوشش که عاقبت بخیر است ترا

Manohar says:

بت خانه و کعبه هر دو نزد من کفر است
بارا به یگانگی ایزد کار است
زاهد کعبه پرستی تو و مادوست پرست
تو باین عقل مسلمانی و من بر همینم

Faizi writes:

شکر خدا که عشق بتان است رهبرم
بر ملت بر همین جو بر دین آذر
بت چیست؟ رخ نگاشته معنی بین
کاندر کلیسائی ضمیر است مضموم
استاد بر همین که ز بت خانه خیال
در سجده حضور فرود آوردم سرم
آن که میکرد مرا منع پرستیدن بت
در حرم رفته طواف درود یوار چه کرد

کعبه را ویران مکن ای عشق کا بنجایک نفس
گه گه پس ماندگان راه منزل میکنند

'Urfi says:

فقیهان دفتسری رامی پرستند
حرم جویان دری رامی پرستند
برافکن پرده تا معلوم گردد
که یاران دیگری رامی پرستند

ساکن کعبہ کجا دولت دیدار کجا
ایں قدر هست کہ در سائب دیواری هست

'Itabi says:

در گلخن هوا دل فرزانہ سوختیم
قندیل کعبہ برد در بت خانہ سوختیم

Naziri says:

ترا بکعبہ مرا کار بادل افتاد است
بکعبہ بت کدہ من مقابل افتاد است

VI. The 'ulama and the hairsplitting theologians—with whom most of the poets of this period were in conflict—are condemned and their approach to religion and religious problems is trenchantly criticised.

Referring to the externalist scholars who had forgotten their real duty, Faizi says:

در شاہرہ قافلہ تا راج می کنند
انانکہ داشتند بکف شمع رہبری

Naziri says:

اگرچہ فضلہ از فاضلان حامل دہر
بہ طمع جاہ و غنار کرد، مذہبی ایجاد
پس از حصول مرادات، حال آن فاسد
مثل چو باغ ارم گشت و حسرت شداد

VII. Few poets after Amir Khusraw have expressed patriotic sentiments and described Indian scenes with such enthusiasm and vigour as the poets of Akbar's reign. Besides, they use innumerable Hindi words and phrases. Dr. Hadi Hasan very correctly remarks: "In poets born in India, the Indian element is naturally more pronounced: it reaches its peak in the works of Faizi who is among the few Muslim Sanskritists India has produced."⁵¹

51. *Mughal Poetry*, p. 10.

Faizi writes about the people of Gujarat:

خراب عشوة خواباں احمد آبادم
 کہ ہچو سایہ بدنبال آن نیفتادم
 غلام او شدم و خط بندگی دادم
 از و باد بردم کشتہ چون آدم
 نمی روند جوانان دہلی از یادم
 بہ حسن مردم گجرات (یا کم نیست ولی

Praising Kashmir he says:

ہزار قافلہ شوق می کند شبگیر
 بتارک الہ از آن عرصہ کہ دیدن او
 ہوائی او متنوع چو فکر ت نقاش
 غبار او بتوان خواند چشم را دارو
 بہ تن موافقت آب او چو بادہ و گل
 نسیم او ز سر آب تیز می گزرد
 درو بہ جانی گیاز عفران ہی روید
 بھر طرف روی از بحر فیض مالا مال
 نہ اعتدال ہوائش شگفت نیست شگفت
 بہ حیرتم کہ چہ آمار قدرت ازلی است
 کہ بار عیش کشاید بہ عرصہ کشمیر
 ورق نگار خیال است و نقش بند ضمیر
 زمین او متلون چو صفو تصویر
 گیاه او بتوان گفت روح را اکسیر
 بہ جان مناسبت باد او چو شکر و شیر
 کہ باد را نتوان داشت پالی در زنجیر
 کہ آب و خاک طرب را چنین بود تاخیر
 ہزار چشمہ جوشندہ چون دل تخریر
 کہ گزند ہمہ غاب از نہال زریر
 بہ ہر نظارہ بنا زد نظر بہ صنع قدیر

There are many verses in the works of the Persian poets of this period in which Indian eloquence, Indian customs and Indian buildings are praised. Mushfiqi writes:

عرصہ ہند شکر ستانی است
 طوطیانہش شکر فروش

Qasim Arsalan writes about the Ajmer fort:

بر دسیل آن قلہ پر شکوہ
 ہزاراں چو الوند و البرز کوہ

Historical Value of the Poetical Works

The historical value of these poetical works cannot be over-emphasized. First, they help us in understanding the spirit of Akbar's age. Dr. Tara Chand writes: "The buildings of Fatehpur Sikri are the expression of the same spirit as inspired the *Dine Elahi*. The Panch Mahal was the translation into stone of the Allah Upanishad."⁵² The same may be said about the poetry of Akbar's court. It breathes the spirit of *Dine Elahi* and mirrors the spiritual

52 See Next Page

and moral urges of the people. To understand the mental climate in which the *Dine Elahi* was promulgated, it is necessary to scrutinize the poetical works of this period.

Secondly, many poets of this period delighted in writing chronograms which help us today in determining the dates of many historical events, campaigns, conquests, constructions, compilations, births and deaths. To quote only one instance, Faizi's *diwan* contains chronograms on the following events:

Date of the marriage of the heir apparent
Birth of Shah Murad
Date of the conquest of Ranthanbhor
Date of the construction of the imperial mosque
Death of father (Shaikh Mubarak)
Death of brother
Death of Sabihi
Death of Shaikh Kapur Majzub
Death of Mulla Alam Kabuli
Death of Maulana Ghazali
Date of the conquest of Gujarat
Date of the construction of the royal Khanqah
Date of the compilation of Sawati-ul-Ilham
Coronation of His Majesty
Death of Mulla Qasim Kahi.

Thirdly, these works contain information which helps us in understanding some incidents and individuals more intimately. Only two instances will suffice to make the point clear:

(i) Bayram Khan Khan-i-Khanan's attitude towards Akbar has been the subject of great controversy. Whatever information we get in the contemporary records about the circumstances of his conflict with the Emperor really represents the imperial point of view. Bayram's own *diwan* throws considerable light on his feelings towards Akbar. Begging for royal mercy he writes:

52. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture* p. 248.

شاه من از برای خدا زس گدا مرغ
چون نسبت محبت مانی نہایتیست
سوگند میدہم ز برای خدا مرغ
اندک حکایتی کہ شنیدی ز ما مرغ
از ما نرفتنہ در نظرت یک خطا مرغ
یا خون من بریز ہمیں لحظہ یا مرغ
دانی کہ نیست دلبر ما بیوفا مرغ
بیرم اگر چه نیست وفا رسم دلبران

His "spiritual agony" finds expression in the following verses:

ایکم من از غم زلف نگاری
سینہ روزی پریشاں روزگاری
اسیری، درد مندی، بے نصیبی
فقری، بی کسی، بی اعتباری
زقید عزت ہستی خلاصی
بخاک نیستی افتادہ خواری

(ii) The extent to which Akbar was respected as a religious leader may be estimated from the following verses of Faizi:

شاہی کہ بعقل ذو فنون خوانمیش
در راہ خدائی رہمنوں خوانمیش
ہر چند کہ سایہ خدایند شہاں
اولور خداست سایہ چون خوانمیش

Again he claims:

ایں سجدہ نا قبول سودت ندید
اکبر بشناس تا خدا بشناسی

Manohar writes:

توسنی بردہ سند شوق در میدان عشق
می رسی ایمن بمقصد رہبرت چون اکبر است

Nau'i writes:

بشاہی خوی درویشاں گرفتہ
طریق رہ نما کیشاں گرفتہ

IV

HISTORICAL LITERATURE

The age of Akbar was prolific in historical literature. The real charm of this literature lies in two things: first, it represents Persian language in its various shades and forms—colloquial, simple, laboured and ornate,—prose and verse; secondly, it contains a study of the historical landscape from different angles and reflects all points of view—imperial, sectarian and feminine.



A manuscript copy of *Tarikh-i-Guzidah* belonging to Faizi.
 (Muslim University Library).

*The Humayun Namah*⁵³ of Gulbadan Begam (ob. 1011 A.H/1608 A.D.) shows command of the Mughal ladies over the Persian language. Turkish was no doubt the native language of Gulbadan and her husband⁵⁴ and it must have been the home speech of her married life, but it is remarkable that she could write Persian with equal ease and grace and one need not be surprised at the speculation that it awakened in Mrs. Beveridge: "Did she compose in Persian or in Turki."⁵⁵

It was at the request of her nephew, Akbar, that Gulbadan undertook to write about Babur and Humayun.⁵⁶ As she was a child of 8 years when Babur died, she had to supplement her recollections from other sources also. Her account of Babur is brief, but it contains a sufficiently detailed account of Humayun's chequered career. Probably the original *Humayun Namah* contained an account of Akbar's reign upto his 22nd regnal year, as is clear from the following note on the manuscript in the hand of Shahjahan:

این تاریخ کہ مشتمل است بر مجمل احوال حضرت صاحب
قرآن گیتی ستان و اولاد اجداد آنحضرت و سوانح ایام
حضرت عرش آشیانی انار الہ برہانہ تا سال بیست
و دوم در عہد دولت شاہ بابا تصنیف شدہ ،

("This history which contains a short account of His Majesty Sahib Qiran Sitan (Timur) and his glorious descendants and the events of the days of Arsh-Ashiani (Akbar) down to the twenty second year of his reign, was written in the time of Shah Baba (Akbar).")

How and why this last portion has disappeared cannot be stated definitely.

53. Persian text edited with English translation by Mrs. A.S. Beveridge (Oriental Translation Fund, 1902).

54. She was married to Khizr Khwaja Khan, a Chaghtai Mughal, who was Amir-ul-Umara under Humayun. See Blochmann, *A'in-i-Akbari*, pp. 394 n-395 r.

55. *Humayun Namah*, p. 79.

56. *Humayun Namah*, (Text) p. 3.

Gulbadan's work fills an important gap in our historical knowledge. Here we get a glimpse of the Mughal *harem* in all its fullness, if not in all its perfection—the tastes and tempers of the Mughal ladies, their intellectual and physical attainments, the nature and extent of their interest in political matters and the customs and ceremonies of the seraglio. Gulbadan is sometimes criticised for the tantalizing brevity of her accounts of wars and conflicts. But this criticism recoils on the critics who seem to believe in a very narrow concept of history and disregard the limitations to a lady's knowledge and interests. The real value of Gulbadan's work lies in supplying details which no one except a lady could have supplied. Humayun fell in love with Hamida Banu and offered to marry her. Hamida hesitated to accept the offer. Gulbadan thus describes the incident:

غرض کہ تا چهل روز از جهت حمیدہ بانو بیگم مبالغہ و مناقشہ بود،
بیگم راضی نشدند، آخر حضرت والدہ ام دلداری بیگم نصیحت
کردند کہ آخر خود بہ کسی خواہی رسید بہتر از بادشاہ کہ خواہد بود،
بیگم گفتند کہ آری بہ کسی خواہم رسید کہ دست من بگریبان او
برسد، نہ آنکہ بکسی برسم کہ دست من میدانم کہ بدامن او نرسد

57

(To cut the story short: For forty days the Begam resisted and discussed and disagreed. At last her highness my mother, Dildar Begam, advised her, say: "After all you will marry some one. Better than a king, who is there?" The Begam said: "Oh Yes, I shall marry some one, but he shall be a man whose collar my hand can touch, and not one whose skirt it does not reach.")

No court-historian or chronicler could have supplied this information.

Gulbadan's description of Hindal's marriage is so vivid and graphic that it brings to mind every detail of the Mughal marriage ceremonies.⁵⁸

57. *Humayun Namah* (Text), p. 53.

58. *Humayun N* (Text), p. 52 et seq

The style of *Humayun Namah* is "unaffected and spontaneous". Maulana Shibli considered it superior to *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* and *Ruqqat-i-'Alamgiri* in its inimitable spontaneity, short and pithy sentences and colloquial touch.⁵⁹

Next to the *Humayun Namah* of Gulbadan, the *Tazkirah-i-Humayun wa Akbar*⁶⁰ dictated by Bayazid Bayat and the *Tazkirat-u'l-Waqi'at* compiled by Jauhar are typical illustrations of the Persian language as it was written and spoken by persons who had no pretensions to learning.

Since Akbar was keenly interested in history and wanted to preserve the account of his ancestor's achievements in India, he issued the following order:

از بنده ہائی درگاہ ہر یک را کہ سلیقہ تاریخ باشد نویسند
بلکہ از ایام سلطنت حضرت جنت آشیانی ہمایوں بادشاہ
اگر کسی را در خاطر چیزی مانده باشد، درج نمایند۔ و
نام نامی ماتمام سازند

61

(Every one of the attendants of our court who is gifted with the talent for writing history should write one, and if anybody knows something about the reign of His Majesty Humayun Badshah, he should record it and finish it with our illustrious name.)

Abul Fazl forwarded a copy of this *parvana* to Bayazid, then *Bakawal Begi* (Superintendent of the Royal Kitchen). Bayazid was an old man at that time.⁶² A stroke of paralysis had rendered him

59. *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Part IV, p. 56.

60. Edited by M. Hidayat Husain (Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1941).

61. *Tazkirah-i-Humayun wa Akbar*, p. 1.

62. See Next Page. با آنکہ بایزید را خطی و سوادى نبود و مسودہ ہم نہ انست ... و چون
ایام جوانی گذشتہ و ایام پیری در آمدہ بود و حافظہ را قوت چندانی نماندہ ،

incapable of compiling anything. Nevertheless, he obeyed the royal command. Abul Fazl provided him with a clerk whom he dictated his reminiscences at Lahore in 999 A.H./1591 A.D. Though weak and invalid, his powerful memory helped him in recreating the past and he gave a vivid account of all that he had heard or seen.

Nine copies were made of this work and were placed in the Imperial library and the libraries of Abul Fazl, Gulbadan Begam, and the two princes.⁶³

Bayazid's book opens with an account of Humayun's flight to Persia. Though Bayazid had joined his service much earlier, it was in Persia that he first met Humayun. Thereafter he got many opportunities of coming into contact with the Emperor, Mughal nobles and princes. His account is based on personal and intimate knowledge of the events of Humayun's life. He supplies interesting information about Humayun's invasion of Hindustan in 1555-56, the struggle between Humayun and Kamran and the Mughal-Afghan conflict. Besides, his work is replete with interesting information about the social life of the Mughal aristocracy in the sixteenth century. He could not, of course, maintain the sequence of events and his language is often 'shaky and rustic'⁶⁴ and his discussions are often rambling and discursive, but the real value of his work lies in the fact that it represents the natural, unaffected and spontaneous expression of a person who was not a scholar and whose paralytic condition had completely deprived him of that mental energy and alertness which was needed to chisel his phrases before actually dictating them to the scribe.

Though Abul Fazl has not acknowledged his indebtedness to

For biographical details see, *Persian Literature*, Storey pp. 537-538; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* VXX 1924. no. 7 p. 490. It may be pointed out here that Bahram Saqqa whose *diwan* has been noticed earlier, was his brother. For Bayazid's references to his brother, see *Tazkirah* p. 234 et seq.

63. *Tazkirah-i-Humayun wa Akbar*, p. 377.

64. *Journal of Indian History* IV Parts 1-3, Madras 1926, p. 43-60.

Bayazid, it appears that he made extensive use of this work in the preparation of his *Akbar Namah*.⁶⁵

The *Tazkirat-u'l-Waqi'at*⁶⁶ of Jauhar comes under the same category as the work of Bayazid. Jauhar did not belong to the class of *ahl-i-qalam*. He was Humayun's *Aftabchi* (ever bearer), but in that capacity he had excellent opportunities of studying the character and temperament of Humayun. He has recorded even the most trivial incidents connected with the life of his master whom he had served for nearly twenty-five years. When the idea of writing a history of Humayun struck his mind, he looked into the *Diwan* of Hafiz for augury. The following verses decided his mind:

<p>نقش هر پرده که زد راه بجائی دارد که خوش آهنگ و فرح بخش نوائی دارد خوش عطا بخش و خطا پوش خدائی دارد تا هواخواه تو شد فرہمائی دارد پادشاهی که به همسایه گدائی دارد درد عشق ست و جگر سوزد وائی دارد هر عمل اجری و هر کرده جزائی دارد شادی روی کسی جو که صفائی دارد و زربان تو تمنائی دعائی دارد</p>	<p>مطب عشق عجب ساز و نوائی دارد عالم از ناله عشاق مبادا خالی پیر دردی کش ما گر چه ندارد ز روزور محترم دارم کس نگس کند پرست از عدالت نبود دور گرش پرسد حال اشک خویش به طیبیاں بنمودم گفتند شوخی از غزه میاموز که در مذہب عشق خوب گفت آن بت ترسا پس باده فروش خسرو حافظ در گاہ نشین فاتح خواند</p>
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"Let no one reprove me", asks Jauhar, "for degrading the importance of history because I write such things. In another case I would not have written them, but since they were done by an Emperor, and I myself saw and heard them, I thought it right to conceal nothing." The real charm of Jauhar's work lies in these trivial

65. Abul Fazl mentions Bayazid in *Akbar Namah* (Vol. II, p. 238-253). His name occurs in the *A'in-i-Akbari*, under the title of Bayazid Beg Turkman (Blochmann p. 563).

66. It has not been edited so far. For Mss. see *Persian Literature*, Storey pp. 536-537.

67. Rotograph of Ms in British Museum Add. 16, 711. f. 2 b. 3a. The *Diwan-i-Hafiz* gives this *ghazal* with slight variations. The fourth verse comes after the fifth one given in Jauhar's *Tazkirah*; instead of محترم there is محترم and instead of نغز گفت there occur the words خوب گفت

details. Even Bayazid was not in a position to study Humayun from the angle Jauhar has approached him. In his pages we get an opportunity of knowing Humayun more intimately and more closely than in any other work of this period. Besides details of a personal nature, the *Tazkirat-u'l-Waqi'at* abounds in many references to contemporary political events. He is the only historian who tells us about the differences between Humayun and the Shah of Persia. As he had undertaken to write this book 32 years after Humayun's death, some lapses of memory were bound to mar the historical value of his narrative. But taken as a whole, his work is an extremely reliable and authentic record of Humayun's life and activities.

Jauhar writes in plain and unvarnished colloquial Persian. In the age of Abul Fazl, Zuhuri and Rumlu it would have been presumptuous on the part of Jauhar to present his work in such naked simplicity before the Emperor and so, he approached Illah Dad Faizi Sirhindi to clothe his simple and straight-forward speech in the garb of ornate and flowery language.⁶⁸

Illah Dad Faizi belonged to a family of established literary reputation.⁶⁹ He himself possessed a good knowledge of philology.⁷⁰ When Jauhar approached him with the request to recast his work, he hesitated at first and apologized but, when Jauhar insisted, he undertook the work⁷¹. Faizi's recension is known as *Humayun*

68. See *Humayun Shahi* (Rotograph of Ms in India Office Library, Ethe 222) ff 2a, b.

69. His father Ali Sher Sirhindi was known as *Asad-ul-'Ulama*.

70. He had compiled a Persian dictionary, *Madar-ul-Afazil*.

71. He writes in the epilogue:

هر چند از تو اثر حوادث ایام و نکابت تراکم نوایب شهر و عوام آتش فکرة منطقی و آب طبیعت
جامد و منتفی بود و خاطر کلیل و ذرین علیل مسامحت می نمود و مع هذا چون ساعی اوداعی بود که
بآن درگاه عرش اشتباه تحفه برد امتثال این امر نمود بموجب المامور معذور و العذر عند کرام الناس
مقبول این کلام نامربوط که چون طلائی مغشوش بقلب مخلوط بود بر محک طبیعت و قادیان شاه
مالک و بلاد عرض نمود -

(Rotograph of Ms in India Office) last page.

Shahi and its manuscripts are available in the India Office Library, British Museum and the Bibliotheque Nationale. A careful collation of Jauhar's *Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'at* with Illahdad's recension of this work would throw valuable light on the canons of literary criticism and the differences in the colloquial and written Persian in the sixteenth century.

Apart from this recension of Jauhar's work, Illahdad Faizi wrote an independent work on Akbar at the suggestion of Nawab Murtuza Khan Shaikh Farid:⁷² To this work he gave the title *Akbar Namah*. He was fully conscious of his responsibilities as historian. Discussing the utility of historical writings he remarks:⁷³

” تاریخ علمی است ہوش افزائی طبائع پاک و عبرت بخش اہل ادراک کہ معظم کتب ربانی و عالی صحف آسمانی بذکر آن مشحون است و فوائد کثیر و منافع خیر در مطاوی آن مخزون احوال گذشتگان از باب تدبیر حوادث و وقائع ایشان را مذکری است کافی“

Major portion of this work seems to have been compiled on the basis of Nizam-u'd-din's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and Abul Fazl's *Akbar Namah*. But Faizi Sirhindi's style is a happy compromise between the two extreme literary tendencies of the period as represented by Abul Fazl and Nizam-u'd-din. He is graceful without being ornate, and simple without being insipid. He writes with singular ease and felicity. There is a remarkable clarity in his thought and expression. Apart from its general historical value,⁷⁴ Faizi Sirhindi's *Akbar*

72. His name is mentioned thus:

عالیجناب معالی نصاب منظر اخلاق مرضیہ مصدر سنن سننیہ ، طراز کسوت آل عبا فروغ دیدہ
ملت بیضا صاحب السیف و القلم مدبر الزاق بنی آدم رکن السلطنت القاہرہ عضد الدولہ
الباہرہ مقرب المحضرت السلطانیہ معتمد الدولہ الخاقانیہ عزہ ناصرہ کامگاری بختی الملکی
نواب شیخ فرید بخاری مدالہ تعالیٰ ، ظلال جلالہ -

Rotograph of Ms in British Museum f 5b.

73. *Akbar Namah* (Rotograph of Ms in British Museum) f 5 a.

74. Note particularly Faizi's account of Akbar's campaigns against the Raushaniya leader, Jalala.

Namah is a mine of information for reconstructing the life and achievements of Nawab Murtuza Khan Shaikh Farid and several other Mughal nobles of the period.

If Jauhar and Bayazid introduced large number of anecdotes in their historical works on account of their lack of learning, Rizqullah Mushtaqi who was a great scholar, poet and saint of his period, deliberately reduced history to a bundle of anecdotes and stories⁷⁵. The *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi* "is a disorderly collection of narratives and anecdotes"⁷⁶ relating to the period of the Lodis, the early Mughal Emperors and some provincial rulers. It, no doubt, contains useful information about some nobles, scholars and saints of the 15th and the 16th centuries, but there is very little literary charm in it.

While the works of Gulbadan, Bayazid, and Jauhar represent one aspect of the Persian style of the period, Abul Fazl's *Akbar Namah* and the *A'in-i-Akbari* stand on the other extreme. Abul Fazl left the traditional style of medieval Indian historians who wrote in severe and simple prose⁷⁷ and followed the historians of the Mongol and the Timurid period⁷⁸ who considered hyperbolic language and quaint and stiff phraseology to be the real test of scholarship and literary perfection. Among his contemporaries Hasan Beg Rumlu had followed the same ornate, tedious and artificial style in his *Ahsan-u't-Tawarikh*. Abul Fazl's style is majestic and in keeping with the dignity of the Emperor whose account he was commissioned to write but it goes without saying that this florid and artificial style, full of metaphors, similes and synonyms is unsuited to a manual of administration as the *A'in* is. But, as Jarrett says: "The merit and the only merit of the *A'in-i-Akbari* is in what it tells and

75. Faizi Sirhindi makes a respectful reference to this work and says that since death prevented Mushtaqi from bringing his narrative down to the reign of Akbar, he picked up the thread and brought it upto date.

76. *Persian Literature*, Storey p. 513.

77. Sadr-u'd-din Hasan Nizami (author of the *Taj-u'l-Ma'asir*) and Amir Khusraw (*Khaza'in-u'l-Futuh*) are the two exceptions.

78. e.g. the *Tajziyat-u'l-Amsar wa Taziyat ul-A'sar* of 'Abdullah Wassaf, the *Mu'jam fi Asar-i-Muluk-il-'Ajam* of Fazlullah Husaini, the *Tarikh-i-Guzidah* of Hamdullah Mustaufi.

not in the manner of its telling which has little to recommend it. It will deservedly go down to posterity as a unique compilation of the systems of administration and control throughout the various departments of Government in a great Empire, faithfully and minutely recorded in their smallest detail, with such an array of facts illustrative of its extent, resources, condition, population, industry and wealth as the abundant material supplied from official sources could furnish. This in itself is praise and fortune of no common order and it needs not the fictitious ascriptions of unparalleled powers of historiography in its support."⁷⁹

Abul Fazl laboured over the *Akbar Namah* for more than seven years. "I spent", he writes, "much labour and research in collecting the records and narratives of His Majesty's actions and I was for a long time interrogating the servants of the state and the old members of the illustrious family." Even in this labyrinth of verbosity one cannot fail to discern the working of a sound historical imagination. In fact, nothing at all resembling the *A'in-i-Akbari* was ever compiled in Asia or Europe.⁸⁰ Some 13 years before the French Revolution, when France was witnessing great financial crisis, Le Pere Tieffentaller published extracts from the rent rolls given in *A'in* (Book Third) in his *Description Geographique de l'Indostan* (1776).

In between the *Humayun Namah* and the *Akbar Namah*, one can safely place the *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* of Mulla 'Abdul Qadir and the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Bakhshi. Mulla 'Abdul Qadir was one of the most erudite scholars of his age and had taken prominent part in the literary activities of Akbar's period. His *Najat-ur-Rashid* shows that he could also try his hand with commendable success at the ornate and florid style which was so popular in his day. But in his *Muntakhab* he has followed a style which is, on the whole, very plain and simple but piquant and with an inimitable touch of ridicule and satire. In spite of his excursive and fanatical thinking, the book has a charm of its own. Bada'uni's outlook and viewpoint was unfortunate for the period and so he had to keep his history a secret. When it was published during the reign

79. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. vii.

80. *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 4.

of Jahangir, the Emperor ordered all copies of the work to be searched and burnt, but the book was destined to survive and act as a corrective to the panegyricism of Abul Fazl.

Nizam-u'd-din's *Tabaqat* is written in plain and straightforward style and "is the first that was composed upon a new model in which India alone forms the subject matter of the work, to the exclusion of the other Asiatic countries."⁸¹ Nizam-u'd-din had no view point and no prejudices. This has enhanced the value of his work from the historical point of view but it has also resulted in making it a dull and dry record of facts.

Haji Muhammad 'Arif's book is another important historical work of this period.⁸² 'Arif was the *Mir-i-Saman* of Bayram Khan Khan-i-Khanan.⁸³ He stood by his side when almost all others had deserted him. After his patron's execution he went to Basra, Baghdad and Hejaz and returned to India after performing the Hajj. Later on he joined the service of Muzaffar Khan Turbati. His attachment with Muzaffar is evident from his work also where he frequently refers to the Emperor as *Zafar-ma'ab*, *Muzaffar-Nishan*, *Muzaffar-liva* etc.⁸⁴

Though 'Arif was well-acquainted with some of the Persian historical and literary classics of the middle ages—e.g. the *Taj-u'l-Ma'asir*, *Zafar Namah*, works of Nizami, Firdausi, Sa'di and Khusraw—his own style does not give an impression of masterly control over expression. He writes with whip and spur and, though he has expressed his disapproval of the style of Hasan Nizami and Yezdi, he himself treads on the same path.⁸⁵ His frequent use of puns and verbal quibbles jar harshly upon the feelings of the

81. Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* Vol. V p. 178.

82. Ms in the Rampur Library.

83. *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi* Vol. II p. 1 et seq.

84. *Tarikh-i-'Arif Qandhari* (Copy of Ms in the Rampur Library) pp. 6.11, 21 etc.

85. Note the following passage (pp. 8-9) as an specimen of his style and his opinion of *Taj-u'l-Ma'asir*.
See Next Page.

reader. There is so much of redundant verbiage in it that the book can be reduced to nearly one half of its present size without any loss of meaning.

Defects of style apart, 'Arif's work is a valuable source of information for the reign of Akbar. No contemporary writer has quoted as many verses of Akbar as he has.⁸⁶ His account of Akbar's buildings is detailed and informative. His discussions about the activities of his patron Muzaffar Khan, are revealing and candid. On several points his statements contradict Abul Fazl who seems to have deliberately suppressed facts unpalatable to his master. Regarding Hemu's execution he says:⁸⁷

اول شمیر باورسانیدند ملقب بغاری شدند و اندک رمقی مانده بود که خاں اعظم اعنی پیرم
خاں نیز شمیری زده او را بدار البوار فرستاد -

Abul Fazl held Bayram Khan responsible for the execution of Tardi Beg. 'Arif however says:⁸⁸

85. بر متصدیان دیوان سخن وری که ثقیل از خفیف و کثیف از لطیف و نقد از غش و صاف از
خش و نیک از بد و قبول از رد دانند و شناسند پوشیده نیست که مباشران مناشر تحریر که تالیفی
در آثار و اجفاز و شوکتی آراسته اند یا طراز تصنیفی بعنوان مفاخر و ماثر صاحب اقتداری پیراسته در
ادائی مقصود بها ممکن داد فصاحت و بلاغت داده اند، منجمد صاحب تاج الماثر که طراب سرائی
عبارتش ریاض دواں افاضل است و رشحات نهال قلمش مروی ریاض فضائل و مصنف تاریخ
آن مظفر که مبانی شعاع بحمال معنی افروخته و جواهر لطائف نکات در روح فقرات اندوخته طیب
الانعام و این قلیل البضاعه در لوح خاطر به خامه تخیل نگاشته که پیروی و متابعت ایشان کند
و در صفت انشا و ابداع و تراکیب این کتاب دست بفرزاک قوانین و اسالیب زندا اما سبب
تقاعد و عدول این بود که تاج الماثر بوستان نیست در انواع گل و ریاحین از تشبیهات استعارات
استعارات ترتیب داده و از هر سو درختان خیالات خاص با فواکه نفایس لطایف آرائش کرده
و چون جویندگان حکایت و طالبان قصه و روایت از راه مطالعه در آن مجال یافتند پس بتماشائی
بلاغ صنایع و پرکاری اشتغال نمودند.....

86. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad 'Arif* (Ms), p. 121.

87. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad 'Arif* (Ms), p. 46. Cf *Akbar Namah* Vol. II p. 41, wherein Abul Fazl says

آن خدیو خود مندی و خداوند خردمندان.... بر زبان حقائق ترجمان گزارانیدند که بکشتن
گرفتاری اسیر همت علیار خست نمی دهد.... آخر پیرم خاں خود شمیر آبدار عالم را از لوث استی
او پاک ساخت -

88. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad 'Arif* (Ms), p. 45.

بعد از پرسش و مشاورت بخانقہ پیغمبر محمد خاں شیروانی در ماه ذی الحجہ سنہ مذکور
بقتل رسید۔

Since 'Arif compiled his work in *circa* 980 A.H./1572 A.D.—as the internal evidence shows—there is no reference to the religious experiments of Akbar. In fact Akbar's orthodoxy has been highlighted and he is praised for his religious leanings. In a section of his work⁸⁹ he has exclusively discussed the rare qualities and achievements of Akbar. He particularly refers to his humility while dealing with the poor, his stern and implacable sense of justice, his anxiety to eradicate immorality and sin from the society, his generous treatment of the foreign merchants,⁹⁰ his interest in religious discussions with the 'Ulama,⁹¹ manufacture of excellent embroidered cloth and similar other things.

Another very important historical and biographical work of this period is the *Nafa'is-u'l-Ma'asir*⁹² of Mir 'Ala-u'd-Daulah Kami Qazwini. Qazwini belonged to a family of historians and literateurs. His father, Mir Yahya, had written a general history, *Lubb-u't-Tawarikh*; his brother, Mir 'Abdul Latif was Akbar's tutor. Naqib Khan, the famous historian of Akbar's age (about whom more in the next section), was 'Abdul Latif's son. It was Shah Tahmasp's policy of religious persecution which forced this family to leave Azerbaijan and seek shelter in India⁹³.

89. *Tarikh*, pp. 32-44.

90. غریب نوازی است کہ در زمان دولت او تجار ہر دیار بہ مالک ہندوستان آمدہ بخاطر
خواہ بیع و شراعی نمایند۔
p. 35

91. *Tarikh*, p. 37.

92. It is a chronogram which gives the date (971/1565-66) when the author started compiling this book: (ایمان بہیت با... میوا فتوح و تاریخ بہ سال شروع).
Rotograph of Ms in British Museum Or. 1761-f 9b).
The earliest known Ms of this work is in the library of the Muslim University Aligarh. It was transcribed in 1085 A.H./1674 A.D.

93. See *Nafa'is-u'l-Ma'asir* (Rotograph of Ms in British Museum Or. 1761, f. 6b et seq.) where he refers to unfavourable circumstances of his homeland ناپسند
کاری روزگار بنظر See also *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* Vol. III pp. 97-99.

The *Nafa'is-u'l-Ma'asir* contains "notices of about 350 poets, mainly of the 10th/16th century, arranged alphabetically in 28 *bait*s (one for each letter), a fragment relating to the history of Gujarat in the year 980-5, and a *maqta* dealing in three *matlabs* with the history of Babur, Humayun and Akbar."⁹⁴

Qazwini's contribution to the literary history of the period is invaluable. No contemporary writer has supplied so comprehensive and so critical an account of the Persian poets of the 16th century as he has done in this *tazkirah*. His discussion of the early history of Persian verse and the relation between music and poetry is interesting and scholarly.⁹⁵ Bada'uni has mainly relied on him for his account of the contemporary poets in his third volume of the *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*.⁹⁶

The historical part of the *Nafa'is* is interesting but contains very little new information. Referring to the condition of India during the reign of Akbar, he quotes Khusraw's verses:

خوشا هندوستان و رونق دین
شریعت را کمال عز و تمکین

and calls Akbar قاصح آثار الکفر والضلال⁹⁷ (annihilator of the vestiges of *Kufr* and heresy).

Qazwini was a master of Persian prose. His *Nafa'is-u'l-Ma'asir* is a model of clear, polished and unstrained prose. His wide range of learning, his knowledge of Arabic and Persian classics⁹⁸, and his keen and critical faculty has considerably enhanced its literary charm.

94. *Persian Literature*, Storey, p. 801.

95. Rotograph of Ms. in British Museum (Or. 1761) f5 et seq.

96. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* Vol. III p. 170.

97. Rotograph f. 7b.

98. We find in his work references to Qur'an and its various commentaries, books on *Fiqh*, history, poetical works of Khusraw, Jami and others.

No account of the Persian historical literature of Akbar's reign will be complete unless a reference is made to the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*.⁹⁹ It is not so much in its subject matter as in the conception which lay behind its preparation, that its real value lies.¹⁰⁰ In 993 A.H./1585 A.D. Akbar gave orders for the compilation of a history of Islam from the death of the Prophet down to his millenium. Mulla Ahmad who was initially entrusted with this work, writes:

درین تاریخ مسی بتاریخ الفی... جلال الدین اکبر بادشاه غازی خلد اللہ ملکہ و سلطانہ... این بندہ در گاہ و نخلص بلا اشتباه احمد بن نصر الہ متاوی بتالیف آن اقرار گشته - چند امر بمقتضای حکم لازم الادغان التزام کرده شد - یکی آنکہ عبارات این تاریخ باید کہ خالی از تکلفات منشیانہ و تشنعات مترسلانہ دعاری از اقتباسات کلام عرب و اشعاری کہ موجب انتشار فہم تو انہر شد باشد، و دیگر آنکہ در ابتدا ظهور دولت ہر صاحب سلطنتی باید کہ محل از احوال اباد اجداد و کیفیت وصول او بمرتبہ سلطنت مذکور گردد -

(I, Ahmad b. Nasrullah Tattavi, a servant of this court and a well-wisher of undoubted sincerity was assigned by Jalal-u'd-din Akbar Badshah Ghazi-may God perpetuate his country and kingdom - the duty of compiling this history, *Tarikh-i-Alfi*. Some orders which were issued by His Majesty have been kept in mind while compiling this work. One of them was that the text of this history should be free from ornate and artificial literary embellishments and free from Arabic quotations and verses not easily comprehensible. Secondly, at the beginning of the account of every king, a brief account of his ancestors and the circumstances which led to his assumption of royal power should be given.)

Consequently the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* is written in a very simple and straight-forward style. But this simplicity has been more than undone by the confusion caused by adopting a new era. Akbar had in-

99. For Ms. of this work see *Persian Literature*; pp. 120-121, Dr. A. Halim's article: *Some Indian Collections of Tarikh-i-Alfi*. Proceedings of the I.H.R. Com. pp. 108-113. Prof. Mahfuz-ul-Haq's article: *Discovery of a Portion of the Original Illustrated Manuscript of Tarikh-e-Alfi, written for the Emperor Akbar* (*Islamic Culture*, July 1930).

100. For the different ways in which the contemporaries hailed and interpreted the completion of one thousand years of Islam's history, see *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* Vol. II, pp. 301-306; 318-319, *Elliot and Dowson*, Vol. IV, p. 150; *Maktubat-i-Mujaddid-i-Alfi-Sani* Vol. II Letter 4 Vol. I, Letter 234.

structed the compilers to begin this history from the death of the Prophet. This substitution of the *Rihlat* era for the *Hijri* era has led to many mistakes of omission and commission by the compilers, the scribes and the modern historians. Dr. A. Halim, who has carefully collated some of the Indian collections of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, remarks: "The method of treatment is crude and primitive. Like the ancient Greek and early Arab histories, events are massed serially under each year and the histories of all Mahomedan countries are discussed without a break with only a remark "and other events of the same year". It is in fact a descriptive chronological chart in which sometimes important events are omitted."¹⁰¹

Reference may also be made here to another important historical work of this period, the *Tuhfat-i-Akbar Shahi* of 'Abbas Khan Sarwani. It was compiled at the instance of Akbar. The author was related to Sher Shah and was, therefore, eminently fitted to undertake a work of this nature. But for 'Abbas, Sher Shah would have gone down in history as 'Sher Khan, the rebel'. This work has, correctly observes Dowson, "fortunately preserved the means of forming a judgement of his (Sher Shah's) character and talents."¹⁰² Dowson, however, considers it more a biography than a history properly so called. 'Abbas has no individuality so far as his style goes.¹⁰³

Besides these works which rank very high in the historical literature of medieval India, the following works which were also compiled during the reign of Akbar deserve to be mentioned:

1. *Zikr-ul-Muluk*¹⁰⁴ by Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi. It is a concise history of India from Shihab-u'd-din Muhammad Ghuri to Akbar. As the author had some other literary works in hand, he could not bring the work up-to-date. Nawab Murtaza Khan Shaikh Farid requested Shaikh Nur-u'l-Haqq (son of Sh.

101. *Some Indian Collections of the Tarikh-i-Alfi* I.H.R.C., p. 113.

102. Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* Vol. IV. P.

103. For a critical evaluation of this work see Dr. K.R. Qanungo's article in *Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal* 1931, pp. 90-99.

104. For Mss. of this work, see, *Persian Literature*, p. 441.

'Abdul Haqq) to complete his father's work. Nur-u'l-Haqq's *Zubdat-u't-Tawarikh*, which was completed during the reign of Jahangir, is really a continuation of Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq's work.

2. *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriyah*: an illustrated history of Timur and his successors to the 22nd regnal year of Akbar. A beautifully illustrated Ms of this work is preserved at the Bankipur Library.¹⁰⁵ Sri Ram Sharma says: "So far its illustrations have received more attention than the text. It is the earliest written account of Akbar's reign and as such a very valuable commentary thereon."¹⁰⁶

V

TRANSLATIONS

Akbar instituted a Bureau of Translation and engaged a posse of hard working men of letters to translate works from different languages. Abul Fazl says: "Philologists are constantly engaged in translating Hindi, Greek, Arabic and Persian books in other languages."¹⁰⁷ The following works were translated from Sanskrit into Persian:

1. *Mahabharat*:¹⁰⁸ It was translated under the supervision of Naqib Khan,¹⁰⁹ Mulla 'Abd-u'l-Qadir, Shaikh Sultan

105. *Catalogue* Vol. VII, p. 551.

106. *A Bibliography of Mughal India*, p. 54.

107. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Tr. Blochmann, p. 110.

108. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, p. 110.

109. Mir Ghiyas-u'd-din 'Ali, known by his title of Naqib Khan, was the son of Mir 'Abdul Latif Qazvini, brother of 'Ala-u'd-Daulah, the author of *Nafa'is-u'l-Ma'asir*. Naqib Khan was a great scholar of history. He knew the seven volumes of *Rauzat-u's-Safa* by heart. Jahangir has praised his prodigious memory. Bada'uni who was Naqib's school-fellow says that no man in Arabia or Persia was as proficient in history as Naqib. "He is now strenuously employed", writes Bada'uni, "night and day, in the imperial service, and for a whole generation past has been engaged in reading works on history, books of story, and anecdotes and legends, both in Persian and in Hindi." See *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* Vol. III, p. 99; *Blochmann* pp. 497-498.

Thanesari,¹¹⁰ Mulla Sheri¹¹¹ and Faizi.¹¹² Akbar took keen personal interest in this work and carefully checked and compared the translation with the original. Bada'uni informs us: "For two nights His Majesty himself translated some passages of the *Mahabharat*, and told Naqib Khan to write down the general meaning in Persian: the third night he associated me with Naqib Khan... But the Emperor took exception to my translation and called me a *haram khur* and a turnip eater."¹¹³ This translation was called the *Razm Namah*.¹¹⁴ It was fairly illustrated and Akbar, whose purpose in getting this work translated was not merely to satisfy his curiosity but to acquaint others with the Hindu religious thought, ordered his Amirs to take its copies.¹¹⁵

2. *Ramayana*: It was translated into Persian by Naqib Khan, Mulla 'Abd-u'l-Qadir and Shaikh Sultan Thanesari.¹¹⁶ Bada'uni says that he completed this translation in 999 A.H./1589 A.D. after four years' labour. He also wrote a preface to it at the order of the Emperor.¹¹⁷

110. See, *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* Vol. II, pp. 320-321.

111. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, pp. 110-111.

112. Abul Fazl has named only the first three persons. Bada'uni (II p. 320) adds the last three names also. For Faizi's versified translation of Gita, vide *Ma'arif*, October 1947, pp. 296-300.

113. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* Vol. II, p. 302. Lowe's translation of this passage is inaccurate and misleading.

114. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* Vol. II, p. 321; *A'in*, Blochmann, p. 111. For Mss of this translation, see Rieu i 57; Ethe 1928-46; Bodleian 1306-12 etc. Asiatic Society No. 1329.

115. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* II, p. 321.

116. *A'in*, Blochmann, p. 111, *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* II, pp. 336-37.

117. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* II, p. 366.

3. *Atharban*: Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi¹¹⁸ translated it into Persian. The purpose of this translation and the circumstances under which it was undertaken have been thus described by Bada'uni: "In the year 983 A.H. (1575 A.D.) a learned Brahman, Shaikh Bhawan, had come from the Deccan and turned Mussalman when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the *Atharban*. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islam. As in translating I found many difficult passages which Shaikh Bhawan could not interpret either, I reported the circumstance to His Majesty, who ordered Shaikh Faizi and then Haji Ibrahim to translate it. The latter, though willing, did not write anything. Among the precepts of the *Atharban*, there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he read a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter L (ل) and resembles very much our *La-illaha-ha-illah*. Besides I found that a Hindu, under certain conditions, may eat cow flesh; and another, that Hindus bury their dead, but do not burn them. With such passages the Shaikh used to defeat other Brahmans in argument: and they had, in fact, led him to embrace Islam."¹¹⁹
4. *Lilawati*: It was an excellent work on arithmetic and Faizi translated it into Persian.¹²⁰
5. *Tajak*: A well-known work on astronomy. It was translated into Persian by Muhammad Khan of Gujarat.¹²¹
6. *Haribas*: It contained an account of Krishna and was rendered into Persian by Mulla Sheri.¹²²

118. For brief biographical notice, see *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* III, p. 139.

119. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, pp. 212-213.

120. *A'in*, Blochmann, p. 112.

121. *Ibid.*

122. *Ibid.* For Mulla Sheri, see *Blochmann*, p. 679; *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* III, p. 249-252.

7. *Kalilah-wa-Dimnah*: "By order of His Majesty", writes Abul Fazl," the author of this volume composed new version of the *Kalilah Dimnah*, and published it under the title '*Ayar-i-Danish*. The original is a masterpiece of practical wisdom, but is full of rhetorical difficulties; and though Nasrullah Mustaufi and Maulana Husain-i-Wa'iz have translated it into Persian, their style abounds in rare metaphors and difficult words."¹²³ This was a work which had been handled by earlier masters of the Persian language,¹²⁴ but Abul Fazl's version was, in many ways, a better attempt.
8. *Nal Daman*: Faizi rendered the Hindi story of *Nal Daman* into Persian verse.¹²⁵
9. *Singhasan Battisi*: Bada'uni undertook to translate it in 982 A.H./1574 with the help of a Pandit appointed by the Emperor. When Bada'uni completed a page he showed it to the Emperor who approved it. On completion, it was named *Namah-i-Khirad Afza*.¹²⁶ Several Persian translations of this work are extant, but, as Storey says, "none of them seems to be definitely identifiable with 'Abd-al-Qadir's."¹²⁷

123. Blochmann, p. 112.

124. This book, originally in Sanskrit, was brought to Persia in the 6th century, A.D. and translated into Pahlawi. From Pahlawi it was translated into Arabic by Ibn-ul-Muqaffa in 750 A.D., and from this Arabic version it was rendered into many other languages of the East and the West. Qani'i Tusi, a contemporary of Maulana Jalal-u'd-din Rumi versified it into Persian. In the 15th century Husain Wa'iz Kashifi rendered it into Persian under the title, *Anwar-i-Suhaili*. From this version Abul Fazl prepared his '*Ayar-i-Danish* for Akbar and Ali Chelabi his *Humayun Namah* for Sultan Sulaiman I. See Browne, Vols. II and III, pp. 347, iii.

125. Blochmann, p. 113.

126. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, II, pp. 183-184.

127. *Persian Literature*, p. 437.

10. *Bahr-ul-Amsar*:¹²⁸ This Persian translation of a Sanskrit book of tales was made by Bada'uni. Some portion of it was translated earlier for Sultan Zain-u'l-'Abidin of Kashmir. Bada'uni modernized the translation. "I hope", writes Bada'uni, "to have this book well finished in the course of the next two or three months."¹²⁹

Besides Sanskrit, translations were made from Turkish, Kashmiri, Arabic and other languages. The *Babur Namah* was translated from Turkish into Persian by 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan,¹³⁰ and was presented to Akbar on his return from a visit to Babur's tomb in Kabul. Bada'uni informs us that Abul Fazl had undertaken to translate the Bible into Persian.¹³¹ Maulana Shah Muhammad Shahabadi translated into Persian from the Kashmiri language a detailed history of Kashmir.¹³² The *Mu'jam-u'l-Buldan*, a monumental work on Geography, was translated from the Arabic original into Persian by several Arabic scholars, like Mulla Ahmad Tattavi, Qasim Beg, Shaikh Munawwar and others.¹³³ According to Bada'uni ten or twelve Indian and Iraqi scholars had collaborated in

128. The name of the Sanskrit original is not mentioned. Lowe however thinks that it was probably the *Rajatarangini* (II p. 415 fn).

129. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, II, pp. 401-402.

130. *A'in*, Blochmann, p. 112.

Partial translations of the *Babur Namah* into Persian were made by Shaikh Zain Khwafi (o.b 1533), Mirza Payandah Hasan Ghaznavi (after 1586) and Mohd. Quli Mughul Hisari.

131. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 260.

132. *A'in*, Blochmann, p. 112: This work was probably the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, a metrical history of Kashmir in eight cantos. (M.A. Stein edited the Sanskrit work (Bombay 1892) and translated it into English (Westminister 1900). Bada'uni was asked to rewrite it in easy style and he completed this work in two months. (II, p. 374). Probably the MSS mentioned in *Ethe* 508: *Rieu* (i) 296a: and Ivanow 1698 — are of this Persian translation.

133. *A'in*, Blochmann, p. 112.

For brief biographical notice of Mulla Ahmad, see *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, II, p. 364.

this work.¹³⁴ Akbar also gave orders for the preparation of a condensed Persian version of the *Jami'-u't-Tawarikh*.¹³⁵ An Arabic work on *Hayat-ul-Haywan* was translated into Persian by Abul Fazl and Shaikh Mubarak.¹³⁶ Krishna Das prepared a Persian-Sanskrit Dictionary at the instance of Akbar.¹³⁷

Besides contributions in the various branches of Persian literature discussed above, the age of Akbar is conspicuous for producing valuable epistolary and *tazkirah* literature. A survey of this type of Persian literature will be made in a separate article.

Medieval India Quarterly
Vol. III, Nos. 3 and 4,
January - April 1958.

134. Bada'uni was also assigned part of this work (1/20th of the whole) and he completed it in one month. Vol. II, p. 376. This translation, writes Storey, does not seem to be preserved (p. 438).

135. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, II, p. 384.

136. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, *Ibid*, II, p. 204.

137. ادبیات فارسی میں ہندوؤں کا حصہ p. 41.

Faizi's *Masnavi* on Akbar's Conquest of Ahmadabad

I

Akbar's second Gujarat campaign is, in certain respects, one of the most brilliant exploits of his reign. On August 23, 1573 the Emperor left the capital and dashed towards Ahmadabad where the old provincial nobility was reasserting its power and had almost defeated the imperial forces. Within eight days (according to Faizi) he was in Ahmadabad and, after accomplishing his objective, triumphantly returned to the capital on October 5, 1573. "Considering the distances traversed," remarks Smith, "Akbar's second Gujarat exploit may be described safely as the quickest campaign on record."¹ It was but natural that this campaign captivated the imagination of a poet like Faizi who composed a short *masnavi* to commemorate the event.

1. *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 120.

Beveridge remarks in a foot note (*Akbar Namah*, Vol III, p. 73): "Akbar's feat, considered merely as one of rapid travelling, was not equal to Colonel Townley's ride from Belgrade to Constantinople when he traversed 820 miles in 5 days, 11 hours, "having the whole time to contend with the wind, rain and mud, and having into the bargain two bad falls." *Grant Duff's Notes from a Diary*, p. 8. But, of course, Akbar had to bring his troops along with him."

II

Gujarat was a province of great strategic and economic importance in the middle ages. Its ports—Cambay, Broach, Diu, Surat, Gogo and Daman—were centres of brisk trade and the greater part of Indian trade with Arabia, Persia and the Red Sea passed through them. The soil of Gujarat was so fertile that Abul Fazl compared it to a garden.²

It was in 1197-98 that a successful expedition against Gujarat was led by Qutb-u'd-din Aibek and considerable success was achieved by him; but it was during the reign of Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji that the wealthy and prosperous Rajput kingdom of Gujarat was finally extinguished and was annexed with the Sultanate of Delhi. For a century after that (i.e. from 1298 to the invasion of Timur in 1398), it remained under the Sultanate of Delhi. In 1392 Muzaffar Khan was sent to restore law and order in the province. He set up an independent kingdom in 810 A.H./1407 A.D. and assumed the title of *Sultan*. The Muzaffarid dynasty, which was thus established, ruled over Gujarat for more than 150 years and attained great fame and popularity. The rulers of Delhi used to say:³

مدار بادشاه دہلی برگندم و جوار است و بنیاد بادشاه گجرات بر مرجان و مروارید کہ ہشتاد
چہار بندر در تحت شاہ گجرات است

The last great king of this dynasty was Bahadur Shah (1526-1537). He conquered Malwa in 1531, captured Chittor in 1533 and repulsed the attacks of the Portuguese on Diu. In 1535 Humayun attacked Gujarat and it became part of his transitory conquest. Two years later Bahadur Shah was drowned off Diu and a period of anarchy followed there.

III

When Akbar turned his attention towards Gujarat, anarchical conditions prevailed there. There were seven warring principalities over which Muzaffar Shah III exercised nominal authority. Nizam-

2. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 239.

3. *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 247.

u'd-din Bakhshi informs us: "In the Court of the Emperor conversation continually turned upon the state of affairs in Gujarat and information was often brought about the ruin of its towns and cities. Now that His Majesty's mind was quite set at rest by the suppression of nobles, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarat."⁴

It was at the invitation of I'timad Khan⁵, who was besieged by Sher Khan Fuladi at Ahmadabad, that Akbar left for Gujarat on July 2, 1572 and, passing through Ajmer, Nagpur, Sirohi, Pattan and Jotana reached Ahmadabad on November 20, 1572. Muzaffar having submitted, Akbar made over the government of Ahmadabad and of all Gujarat north of the Mahi to Aziz Koka, the *Khan-i-Azam*, and marched towards the southern parts of Gujarat where the Mirzas were in power. This region was placed in nominal charge of I'timad Khan and the Gujarati nobles. He then went to Cambay and met the merchants from Rum, Syria, Iran and other foreign countries. Here he learnt that the Gujarati nobles, whom he had left at Ahmadabad, were eager to throw off his yoke and that *Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk* had escaped to Idar. Akbar ordered the arrest of the Gujarati nobles and distributed them for custody among his officers. Then he went to Baroda to deal with Ibrahim Husain Mirza. The Mirza fled. Akbar then proceeded to Surat and besieged the fort which ultimately capitulated on February 26, 1573. The 'Sulaimani' canons⁶ which Akbar found in the fort were removed to Agra. At Surat Akbar entered into a treaty with the Portuguese

4. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 235-236.

5. Commissariat remarks : ".....to a sovereign 'consumed', as Akbar was, 'by ambition of Empire', the opportunity of adding so famous a province to his dominions must have appeared very attractive." (*History of Gujarat*, Vol. I p. 506). But there were many other factors which determined Akbar's policy with reference to Gujarat. (a) Many rebellious Mirzas had settled there and had consolidated their power in Southern Gujarat. (b) Extension of Mughal power in the Deccan depended on control over Gujarat. (c) The Portuguese influence in Gujarat was assuming threatening proportions and the anarchical conditions that prevailed there had facilitated Portuguese control over the sea ports.

6. These cannons had been brought by sea by Sulaiman Sultan of Turkey "when he came with a large army intending to take possession of the ports of Gujarat". *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, pp. 145-146.

which ensured the safety of the pilgrims to Mecca.

Akbar returned to Agra on June 3, 1573 under the impression that Gujarat was completely subjugated. But soon after his return reports began to pour in that under the leadership of Muhammad Husain and Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk insurrection had broken out and the governor admitted his inability to deal with the insurgents. This situation was a challenge to Akbar's imperialistic temperament. Though his army was exhausted at this time, he ordered immediate preparations for an expedition against Gujarat. He mounted a dromedary on August 23, 1573 (24th of *Rabi' ul Akhar* 981 A.H.) and with a small suite rushed towards Gujarat. This campaign is the theme of the present *masnavi*.

IV

Abul Fazl has described at length the second Gujarat campaign of Akbar in his *Akbar Namah*.⁷ Faizi's *masnavi* should be read in the light of these details. Of course, Faizi has not packed his verses with factual data. He had picked up a few striking aspects of the campaign and has concentrated upon them. But he has been remarkably successful in recreating the atmosphere in which the campaign was undertaken.

As noted earlier, Akbar had entrusted the province to Mirza 'Aziz Koka. But soon after his return Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk entered into an alliance with Rai Narain, *zamindar* of Idar, and the sons of Sher Khan Fuladi and began to create trouble. When 'Aziz Koka turned his attention towards them, Muhammad Husain returned to Surat from Daulatabad and created further trouble. Recalcitrant elements gathered such momentum that the imperial forces found themselves utterly helpless. Driven to extremes, 'Aziz Koka sent Sultan Khwaja to the Emperor with a report of the situation. Akbar immediately decided to lead an expedition and go post towards Gujarat. 'He opened the door of the treasury and poured abundant

7. *Akbar Namah* (English translation, Vol. III, pp. 59 *et seq.*) Nizam-u'd-din Bakhshi (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, 'ol. II, pp. 264-273), Mulla 'Abdul Qadir Badauni (*Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, pp.) and 'Abdul Baqi Nihawandi (*Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, V. p. 793 *et seq.*) have also supplied detailed information about this campaign.

money into the laps of his servants in presents and in assistance.' Shuja'at Khan, Raja Bhagwan Das, Sayyid Mahmud Barha and Rai Ram Singh were put in charge of the *harem* while Yusuf Khan and Makhsus Khan accompanied the Emperor.

On August 23, 1573 (Sunday) Akbar mounted on 'a swift and softly-going' she-camel and proceeded on his long journey towards Gujarat. Some of his officers accompanied him on she-camel, others started on 'fiery hooped' horses. "He travelled fifty miles through the stifling heat without drawing rein." Halting at Toda⁸ and Mu'izzabad,⁹ he reached Ajmer on Tuesday. There he prayed at the tomb of Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti and then continued his march. He made brief halts at Mirtha¹⁰, Jitaran, Sojat,¹¹ Jalawr, Pattanwal and on the eve of Monday reached the town of Disa, 20 *kos* from Pattan. At Pattan the troops were arranged in order. Next day he reached Cotana where Raolija, a servant of Sher Khan Fuladi, was prepared for battle. But Akbar decided to ignore this fort because 'if they paid attention to the taking of this fort, the task might be drawn out to some days,' and pushed ahead. When he arrived within three *kos* of Ahmadabad, Asaf Khan was sent to announce to the imperialists the arrival of the Emperor. As Akbar marched further, he mounted the horse, *Nur Baiza* (white light). According to Abul Fazl this long journey, which the caravans took two to three months to complete, was accomplished in nine days.

Akbar's army was not more than 5,000 horse, while the rebel army which, according to Badauni and Nizam-u'd-din, was composed of Mughals, Gujaratis, Afghans, Abyssinians and Rajputs, numbered 20,000 men. Confident of their position, the rebels pressed on the siege under the expectation that Sher Khan Fuladi would also join them.

8. Goda Bhim, 70 M.W. by S. Agra (Elliot V. 362n) and consequently under 50 from Fatehpur Sikri. It is in Jaipur. It was the birth place of Mulla Badauni. Beveridge III, p. 62.

Marked Mozabad in map to Bayley's *Gujarat*. 30 m S-W. Jaipur (Elliot).

Mertha is in Jodhpur.

Sojat is in Jodhpur.

Akbar ordered his army to cross the river Sabarmati. His officers, however, considered it more strategic to remain on this side of the river till the army of Gujarat arrived. Akbar rejected all cautious counsels and plunged his horse into the swollen river and "charged like a fierce tiger." Shah Mirza and Badakhshis and men of Transoxiana appeared on the battle-field to give battle. Akbar sent a message to his army through Raja Bhagwan Das saying that the enemy appeared to be numerous 'yet the favour of God towards His suppliant in the Divine Court is greater than man can conceive.' When the two armies engaged the cries of *Allah-o-Akbar* and *Ya Mu'in* raised by the imperial forces, rent the atmosphere. Akbar stood on the battle-field with only two personal attendants, Tara Chand and Alam Khan. One rebel struck his sword at the head of Akbar's horse. The horse reared but Akbar "laid hold of the neck with his left hand and pushed him down". Another rebel aimed a blow with his sword at Akbar's thigh. It was at such a critical moment in the combat that the royal centre arrived and Shuja'at Khan and others drove off Muhammad Husain and the imperial forces won the day. Muhammad Husain was later captured and was brought before Akbar who gave an order 'that his hands which were tied behind his back should be released and fastened in front'. He was then handed over to Man Singh.

Soon afterwards appeared the army of Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk. Akbar mounted a steed and gave orders for the beating of drums. When the army came in sight, Akbar, at the instance of Raja Bhagwan Das and Rai Singh, ordered the execution of Muhammad Husain in order to shake the morale of the enemy and strike awe and terror into the heart of their supporters and sympathisers. The army of Ikhtiyar-u'l-Mulk became confused and panicky. Ikhtiyar-u'l-Mulk himself tried to escape but he stumbled and was slain by a trooper who rode him down. "A work of many thousands of years", Abul Fazl remarks in his characteristically hyperbolic manner, "was accomplished in nine days". Twelve hundred men lay dead on the battle-field, and nearly 500 were found dead in the fields and meadows. Akbar issued an order for erecting a tower with the heads of the rebels.

After disposing of the affairs of Gujarat, "the victor, spear in hand, rode proudly into his capital", on Monday, October 5, 1573.

"By the divine aid the march to this distant country (Gujarat), its conquest, and pacification and return were accomplished in forty three days," concludes Abul Fazl.

Akbar's Gujarat policy passed through three distinct phases. In the beginning he seems to have been eager to win over the Gujarat nobles and consolidate his power *through* them. He had not left the soil of Gujarat that the failure of this policy became evident to him. His next step was to appoint a powerful viceroy to consolidate Mughal hold over Gujarat without in any way disturbing the economic and political set-up of Gujarat. This experiment also failed. Now he entered the third phase of his policy which was carried out through Shihab-u'd-din. The kingdom of Gujarat was broken into 16 administrative units or *sarkars* and this step, besides providing administrative facilities, broke the backbone of the old Gujarat nobility.



The present text of the *masnavi* has been prepared on the basis of two manuscripts – one in the British Museum and the other in the personal collection of the present writer.

The manuscript belonging to the British Museum¹² (Or. 1948) was transcribed at Simla in July, 1850. It contains a notice of the poet's life and the subject of the poem by Nawab Zia-u'd-din Ahmad Khan *Nayyar-i-Rakhshan*. This Ms. is referred to as .

My Personal copy of the poem was transcribed in Rabi'-ul-*Awwal* 1207 A.H./1792 A.D. by one Kishan Singh. This Ms has been referred to as ب .

References to two other manuscripts of this *masnavi* are found in the *Oriental College Magazine*¹³ and the *Ma'arif*.¹⁴ The Punjab University Library Ms, referred to in the O.C.M., is not dated. The

12. *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, C. Rieu, Vol. III, 1001 a.

13. February 1928, p. 13.

14. October 1927, p. 295,

manuscript reported in *Ma'arif* belongs to a private collection.

Title :

The British Museum manuscript has no title. It contains the following inscription:

” مثنوی تصنیف ابوالفیض فیضی در کیفیت فتح نمودن جلال الدین اکبر بادشاه احمدآباد گجرات
و قتل محمد حسین مرزا “ -

The Lahore Ms. has the title:

داستان اکبر بادشاه

My personal Ms. contains the following heading :

داستان از ” شاه نامه “ فیضی در جنگ اکبر بادشاه به اختیار الملک گجراتی

For the sake of a convenient title, Storey calls it *Zafar-Namah-i-Ahmadabad*.¹⁵ Probably this poem formed part of the *Shah Namah* composed by Faizi.

Text :

My manuscript ends with the couplet:

بمن ده که چون بر کشم زان شراب
شود بر دل من ازاں فتح باب

The British Museum Ms., though it also contains the following line after the above-quoted couplet,

ختم شد مثنوی تصنیف فیضی متضمن حالات فتح گجرات احمدآباد

has an additional epilogue (تمتہ) comprising 31 verses. These verses are found in the *Latifa-i-Faizi*.¹⁶ In a letter Faizi refers to the

15. - *Persian Literature*, p. 540.

16. This is a collection of letters and *arzdashts* drafted by Faizi and compiled by his nephew Nur-u'd-din Muhammad 'Abdullah.

Gujarat campaign and quotes these verses. These verses have been collated with two manuscripts of *Latifa-i-Faizi* preserved in the Muslim University Library.¹⁷

ہوالمدالصدقہ

چو سلطان انجم زفاور زمین	برسم عرب گشت محل نشین
کف انداز شد بختی آسمان	زمستی بر آورد کف از دہان
کشیدند از خط صبحش مہار	کہ پیوند خود نگسد از عطار
شہنشاہ بر اورنگ شہنشاہی	بسر تاج اقبال ظل اللہی
سداطین مسند نشین جا بجا	ز روی ادب استادہ بہ پا
بیکسو وزیران دانش پذیر	بہ تدبیر بر عقل کل نکتہ گیر
بیکسو فقیہان عالی مقام	حکایت کنان از حلال و حرام
بیکسو حکیمان فطرت اساس	وسطرلاب دانان اختر شناس
بیکسو دبیران معجز رقم	دقائق شناسان لوح و قلم
بیکسو ہزاران میدان کین	کہ از ہم در انسد گا و زمین
بیکسو ندیمان شیریں سخن	چو طوطی شکر ریز و شکر شکن
ہمہ ملک و ملت از وہا نسق	برونش بخلق و درونش بحق

در بیان آمدن قاصد از طرف خان اعظم بہ بارگاہ

جلال الدین محمد اکبر شاہ بادشاہ ۳

کہ ناگہ یکی قاصد تیز گام	رسانید از خان اعظم پیام
کہ بگراتیاں اند پر مکرو ریو	بصورت چو مردم بمعنی چو دیو
ہمہ متفق با محمد حسین	کج اندیش و ناراست از جانبین

۱ ب + بر آوردہ + ۲ الف : ہزیران + ۳ ب + در بیان ... بادشاہ + نظر ارد

17. One manuscript (F. Adab) 59: transcribed on 17th Rabi'-u's-Sani 1170 A.H.) belongs to the Lytton Section; the other (No. 92, transcribed in 1220 A.H.) belongs to Sir Shah Sulaiman Collection. The former has been referred to as ... and the later as ...

دوی چند با ہم بر آیمختہ
 شهنشاه را این سخن کار کرد
 نخستیں طلب کرد جمازہ را
 ہمہ ساز باناں کر بستہ چست
 کشیدند چون کہکشاں تنگ را
 شتر چون فرشتہ شترشتہ ز نو
 قد خود بہ تعظیم کردہ دوتا
 بتعظیم بر سینہ بہنہادہ دست
 ز سرفتنہ نو بر آیمختہ
 بر زم آوری عزم یلغار کرد
 در آفاق افگند آوازہ را
 بہ ویس قرن کردہ نیست درست
 بہ بستند چون ہر دمہ زنگ را
 بانڈگ زمان رفتہ بسیار دور
 کم بستہ از بہر خدمت دوجا
 ز راہ ادب یاد و زانو نشست
 در تعریف شتر^۳

خدیو عجم شاہ عالی تبار
 شتر زین سواری سرافراز شد
 بسوی زمامش پوشہ دست برد
 برون تاخت از آگرہ گرم حرب
 شتر مکتب مکتب انبیا ست
 شہنشہ سواری جمازہ کرد
 چو گلزار روی زمین ساختند
 ز بلبل تماشا۱ آں برد ہوش
 نماندند ہر دوز خود ہوشیار
 شتر ہر زمان شوری آیمختہ
 بزرگان کہ حرف شتر راندہ اند
 صفات شتر گر بگیرم بہ پیش
 چو درویش پوشیدہ بر تن^{۱۲} گلیم
 چو شاہ عرب بر شتر شد سوار
 شتر بان بعشرت حدی^۱ ساز شد
 ز نام ارادت بدستش سپرد
 چو خورشید کز شرق تا ز دغرب
 سواری برو نسبت^۴ مصطفاست
 رہ و کسم^۵ پیغمبری^۶ تازہ کرد
 گل و خار با ہم قرین ساختند
 شتر نیز چون ابر شد در خروش
 یکی مست گل شد یکی مست خار
 چو دیوانہ کف از دہان ریختہ
 شتر را ب سیرت ملک خواندہ اند
 دقاتر شود ہمد شتر بار^۷ پیش
 ریاضت کش^۸ او برد بار و سلیم

۱ اب: ایلغار ۲ ب: در اندک ۳ ب: در تعریف شتر ۴ ندارد ۵ ب: ہر ۶ ب: بیرون
 بفریب ۷ ندارد ۸ ب: سنت ۹ ب: پیغمبران ۱۰ ب: تماشا ۱۱ ب: عمر
 ۱۲ اب: وار ۱۳ ب: افگندہ در بر ۱۴ الف: کن -

ز کف داده سر رشته اختیار
قوی هیولی از قدم تا بفرق
کمان گردن و تیز رو چو تیر
شتر را همین سرفرازی بسند

سوار شدن بادشاه در فتن به احمد آباد^۲

چو بر^۳ اشتر آمد شه کامیاب
چو شاه ولایت شتر پیش راند
شتابان بره^۴ ناقه شاه بود
بگردش شترها رواں یک بیک
شترها بر آورده شور و شغب
همه کوه کوهان و صحرا نورد
عرق ریخته ز اشتران چون مطر^۹
جرس زیر گردن شترهای شاه
چو اهل عرب از^{۱۱} یمین و یسار
یلاں بر شتر ترکش اندر کمر
کتل کرده اسپان تازی همه
سیه تازیان خوی^{۱۲} چکانده براه
دراں^{۱۳} زرد هانی هلالی رکاب^{۱۴}
ز اسپان ابلق همه منتخب^{۱۶}
هم از نفرهای نیز سیاب دار
کبودش ز ابلق^{۱۸} به انگیز تر

چو از کوه طالع شود آفتاب
بسرعت تر از فکرت خویش راند
شتابنده^۵ چو ناقه^۶ الله بود
چو بر گرد کعبه^۷ گروه ملک
فضائی عجم گشت پراز^۸ عرب
هم از کوه و صحرا بر آورده گرد
چو باران رحمت که ریزد ز ابر
تو گویی^{۱۰} که در برج قوس است ماه
ز اشتر سواران هزاران هزار
شتر چون شتر مرغ در زیر پر
پری وارد در عین بازی همه
چو باران که ریزد ز ابر سیاه
شده گرم چون زرده^{۱۵} آفتاب
شتابنده چون ابلق روز و شب
چو سیاب نگرفته یکجا قرار
ز خنگ کبود فلک تیز تر

۱ ب: ز ۲ ب: سوار به احمد آباد ندارد ۳ ب: چو ندارد ۴ ب: تره ۵ ب: شتابان
۶ ب: دره ۷ ب: گشته بر عرب ۸ ب: این شعر ندارد ۹ ب: اشتران سطر ۱۰ ب: گفتم
۱۱ ب: دره ۱۲ ب: سپه - فی ۱۳ ب: دوان ۱۴ ب: رکات ۱۵ ب: زره ۱۶ ب: می
نیست ۱۷ ب: نقره بانیر سیاب دار چو سیاب یکجا نگیرد قرار ۱۸ ب: به ندارد -

شہنشاہ شتابان براہ سفر چو عمر گرامی شتابندہ تر

رسیدن بادشاہ در احمد آباد گجرات

بیک ہفتہ در احمد آباد رفت
 رسانند ارباب معنی بعض
 بر ارباب کشف و کرامت جلی است
 در آنجا^۴ یلان نبرد آزماں^۵
 یلان چون شترها دو اندند پر
 ز خیل سپاہی کہ ہمراہ بود
 ہمہ یکہ تازان چابک سوار
 ہمہ شیر مردان روز مصاف
 ہمہ جنگ چویاں بیداد کوشش
 ہمہ پاکبازان مبرا ز عیب

تو گوی کہ بر مرکب باد رفت^۲
 کہ شاہ ولی را بود طی ارض
 کہ شہ را بحق رتبہ اولی است^۳
 بمانند از ماندگی جا بہ جا^۶
 شتر گشت چون عنکبوتی شتر
 ہمیں شصت^۷ کس بلکہ پنجاہ بود
 کہ خود را زده ہر یکی بر ہزار
 ہمہ نیزہ داران^۹ جوشن شکاف
 ہمہ سنگ خایاں پولاد^۸ پوشش
 رسیدند ناگہ چو مردان غیب

بیان جنگ بادشاہ با محمد حسین مرزا و گجراتیاں

مخالف پی جنگ آمادہ بود
 سپاہش فزون تر ز مور و ملخ
 شہنشاہ^{۱۳} رخس ظفر تیز کرد
 یلان باد پایاں بر انگختند
 سپاہ مغل با محمد حسین
 دلیران گجراتیاں^{۱۶} سبز رنگ
 ہز برانہ^{۱۷} شمشیر کین^{۱۸} سرفراشت
 ز گجراتیاں^{۲۱} و مغل ہر کہ^{۲۰} خفت

میاں را بکس بست استادہ بود
 بمیدان^{۱۱} آن ہر یکی شوخ و شیخ
 سمند جہاں گرد ہمیں کرد^{۱۴}
 ہم باد و آتش^{۱۵} بر آمیختند
 چو شوخان عیار پر شور و شین
 سرا سردر آئینہ فلک رنگ
 بصحرا ہمہ سبزہ^{۱۹} و لالہ کاشت
 زمین زیر لعل و زمرد نہفت

اب: رسیدن.. گجرات، ندارد ۲۴ الف: تو گوی شہنشاہ چون باد رفت ۲۴ ب: این شعر ندارد
 ۴ ب: در بی رہ ۵۴ ب: از مانی ۶۴ ب: جایانی ۷۴ الف: شست ۸۴ الف: این شعر
 بعد از دو شعراست ۹۴ ب: باران ۱۰۴ ب: فولاد ۱۱۴ ب: بیان گجراتیاں، ندارد ۱۲۴ ب:
 میزان ۱۳۴ ب: جہانگیر ۱۴۴ ب: میت جہانگیر و کرد ۱۵۴ ب: در آمیختند ۱۶۴ ب: گجراتی
 ۱۷ ب: ہز بران کہ ۱۸۴ ب: سرفراشت ۱۹۴ ب: و ندارد ۲۰۴ ب: و ندارد ۲۱۵ ب: بسکہ

زمین گشت سرسبز و بشگفت گل
 ہمہ دشت و صحرا پر از لاله شد ۲
 چو گلگون می از شیشه سبز رنگ ۳
 زمین پر ز شگرف و زنگار شد
 چو دریا ز تاب و تف ۵ خود بجوش
 نہاں ہجو آتش در آہن ہمہ ۶
 بر آورده سرچو نہنگان در آب ۷
 قلم وار گردیدہ ۸ شگرف ریز
 شب فتنہ را شمع راہ

چو بالائی خواب ۱۲ بدل کردہ ۱۳ راہ
 بہ پرواز چون مرغ روح از بدن ۱۴
 رواں شد زہر قطرہ دریائی خون ۱۵
 چو از چرخ گردندہ تیر نظر ۱۶

بیان جنگ محمد حسین مرزا با بادشاہ و گریختن و گرفتار
 شدن بدست مبارزان و بقتل رسیدن بمصلحت امیران ۱۸

کشیدہ بدعوی زبان سنین
 کمانی ۱۹ بدوش ۲۰ و سنانی ۲۱ بچنگ
 ہوسس ہیں کہ رو بہ کند قصد شیر
 تفاوت بہ بین آن کجا این کجا ۲۲
 کہ کنجشک را قصد شاہین بود
 کہ از ۲۴ یک نظر دیدہ اش آب شد
 عدد کرد چون سایہ او گریز ۲۵

فتادند و گجراتیاں و مغل
 مغل بسکہ پرکالہ پرکالہ شد
 ز گجراتیاں ریخت خونہا بچنگ
 دران عرصہ از بسکہ پیکار شد
 نہنگان دریائی ۴ کیں در خروش
 بی جنگ پوشیدہ جوشن ہمہ
 بجوشن دلیران پر از تف و تاب
 سنان ریختہ خصم چون از ستیز
 بہر سو درخندہ زمین علم
 سنان دلیران دران قلب گاہ
 خدنگ دلیران ناوک فگن
 ز بس رفتہ پیکان بہ تنہا درون
 خدنگ ۱۹ دلیران گذشت از سپر ۱۶

ز رہ کردہ در بر محمد حسین
 بر انگختہ رخس سرکش بچنگ
 بقصد شہنشاہ آمد دلیر
 سلیمان کجا مور مسکین کجا
 مثال مخالف بشہ این بود
 شہنشاہ درو دیدہ ۲۳ و در تاب شد
 چو خورشید شاہ جہاں گشت تیز

۱ ب: ۱۰ و ۱۱ ندارد ۲ ب: زمین بر سرخوف در سالہ شد ۳ ب: این شعر ندارد ۴ ب: این شعر ندارد
 ۵ ب: دریا ۶ ب: تف ۷ ب: این شعر ندارد ۸ ب: گردیدہ ۹ ب: قلم ۱۰ ب: نہاں
 ۱۱ ب: در ۱۲ ب: جویان ۱۳ ب: کردہ ۱۴ ب: این شعر ندارد ۱۵ ب: این شعر ندارد
 ۱۶ ب: خاک ۱۷ ب: نظر ۱۸ ب: بیان ایران و ندارد ۱۹ ب: کمان ۲۰ ب: دو
 ندارد ۲۱ ب: سنان ۲۲ ب: تفاوت از ان درجہ تا این کجا ۲۳ ب: دیدہ ۲۴ ب:
 از ان ۲۵ ب: از ان یک نظر دیدہ اش آب شد -

مغولان و گجراتیاں مکہ مار
 دویند رزم آزمائیاں ز پیے
 زگرداں روئین تن و گزشت
 سنان در زره کرد روزن فیلاً
 بیفتاد ازاں نیزہ با اضطراب
 گرفتند زور آوراں زندہ اش
 یکی از براو زره بر گرفت
 یکی بر زمین زد ز فرقش کلاه
 شہنشاہ گفتا کہ آبش دہید
 اگر اد بدی کرد با ما ولیک
 باین بیوفا نیک خوئی^۹ کنیم
 وزیران بخسرو^{۱۰} نمودند عرض
 کسی را چو کاکل سرفتنہاست
 ہر انکس کہ ماری^{۱۲} بدست آیدش
 بدشمن رہ دوستی کی نکوست
 بقول^{۱۵} وزیران سرانجام^{۱۶} کار
 بفرمود کہ تیغ گردن زدند^{۱۷}
 ز فرمان او ہر کہ گردن کشید
 جنگ کردن سپہدار محمد حسین مرزا با مبارزان بادشاہ^{۲۰}
 حوآن فتنہ بنشست از تیغ شاہ
 سپہ دار گجراتیاں اختیار
 زره پوشش گجراتیاں بکمرہ
 چو سرعات ا
 نمودند چابک رواں قصد وے
 زاد عوی یکی نیزہ اش زد بہ پشت
 کہ در چشم دشمن در آزند میل
 چو شیطان کہ افتد ز رجم^۲ شہاب
 کشیدند بر بستہ چو بنزدہ اش^۵
 دگر^۶ خود پولادش از سر گرفت
 یکی موکشان برد تا نزد شاہ
 بہد اماں جائی خواہش دہید
 بدی از بد آید نکوئی ز نیک
 بدی ننگریم و نکوئی کنیم
 کہ شاہا بود دفع این فتنہ فرض
 سرش را نا بریدن سراسر خطاست^{۱۱}
 درست از گزار^{۱۳} شکست آیدش
 کہ دشمن بود دشمن و دوست دوست^{۱۴}
 سخن یافت بر قتل دشمن قرار
 دم تیغ بر فرق دشمن زدند^{۱۸}
 بجز تیغ بر گردن خود ندید^{۱۹}
 دگر فتنہ برخاست از رزم گاہ
 کین کردہ آمد پی کار زار
 تپان^{۲۱} مرغ در آہنی^{۲۲} پیجرہ

۱ ب: این شعر ندارد ۲ ب: بد ۳ ب: را براہ قلیل ۴ ب: چہرہ ۵ ب: این شعر
 ندارد ۶ ب: یکی ۷ ب: پائین ۸ ب: بر آن ۹ ب: چہر جوئی ۱۰ ب: بخرد
 ۱۱ ب: کسی کو چو کاکل سرفتنہات سرش را ز سر ما بریدن خطاست ۱۲ الف: بازی
 ۱۳ ب: ندارد ۱۴ ب: این شعر ندارد ۱۵ الف: ز قول ۱۶ الف: بانجام ۱۷ ب: بنزدہ
 ۱۸ ب: زدند ۱۹ ب: این شعر ندارد ۲۰ ب: جنگ بادشاہ ۲۱ ب: تپان ۲۲ ب: پیجرہ
 الف: آہنیں

رسیدند جائیکه بود است شاه^۱
 چو آتش که از باد گردد بلند
 چو شاه رُسل بر سر او سحاب
 بازوی خود^۲ چتر گردان او
 برو خود چون قبه نور بود
 زره چشمه و شاه کوه وقار
 ملائک برو دیده با دوختند
 شهنشاه شیر نیستان شده
 رسیدند و کشتند^۸ و انداختند
 شکسته سرو گردن او دست و پائی^{۱۱}
 سر سرکشان را پلارک زنان
 سواران پی دشمنان پی زدند^{۱۲}
 چو اسپان شطرنج بیدست و پائی^{۱۴}
 پری وار مردم بر آورده پر
 صف مار را مور^{۱۵} پنداشته
 چو سرفاب و صعوه گریزان ز باز^{۱۸}
 که هر جانب از کشتگان^{۱۹} پشته شد
 بجز مردنش هیچکاری نماند
 بریدند آخر سر اختیار
 چه گویم که "نور علی نور"^{۲۰} شد

ز نرفته سر کرد از گرد راه
 شهنشاه سر گر کین^۲ و سمند
 اتاق^۳ بغرق شه کامیاب
 ملائک بهر سو نگهبان او
 سرش از هوا و هوس دور بود
 درخشان زره^۶ در بر شهر یار
 تو گوئی ز نورش بر افروختند
 نی نیزه هر سو شتابان^۷ شده
 یلان تیغ بر کف برون تاختند
 سران دران دران عرصه غم فزائی^۹
 سواران تبرزن^{۱۲} بتارک زنان
 دلیران بشمیر کین میزدند
 فتادند اسپان رزم آزمائی^{۱۵}
 خدنگ از بدن کرد نا پر گزر
 شه آن لشکر از پیش برداشته
 مغولان و گجراتیان یک تاز
 چنان لشکر دشمنان کشته شد
 حدود را بخود اختیاری نماند
 بر بی اختیاری دران کارزار
 دو دشمن بیکبار مقهور شد

۱ ب: این شعر ندارد ۲ ب: بر ۳ الف: اطاقه ۴ ب: سر ۵ ب: نبرد ۶
 ب: زره ۷ ندارد ۸ ب: خرامان ۹ ب: و ۱۰ ندارد ۱۱ ب: قزاق
 ۱۲ ب: و ۱۳ ندارد ۱۴ ب: پان ۱۵ ب: زین ۱۶ ب: مور ۱۷ ب: مور
 ۱۸ ب: دلیران بکف تیغ کین میزدند سواران تازنده رانی زدند ۱۹ ب: آزما
 ۲۰ ب: بیدست پان ۲۱ ب: مور لا ماز ۲۲ ب: کشته ما ۲۳ ب: و ۲۴ ندارد
 ۲۵ ب: نور اسلی -

ملک مرده گوئی از بالا رسید
 قفاگفت صد آفرین شاه را
 در اندک زمان کرد فتح غریب
 بہر شہر بردند پیغام فتح
 اگر دیگری می ز ساغر کشید
 کہ منشور "انا فتحنا" رسید
 قدرگفت "نصر من اللہ" را
 عیاں گشت معنی "فتح قریب"
 ہمہ می کشیدند از جام فتح
 ولی تیغش از کاسہ سر کشید

دعائیہ^۳

ز شاہان پیشین عالی نہاد
 ز ہی دوست بخشائی^۴ دشمن گذاز
 دل دوستان ہر نفس شاد ازو
 بہر سو کہ بگرفت راہ سفر
 جہان پرورا تا ز تاثیر بخت
 ہمائی بدانگونہ با تخت و تاج
 ز اقبال بر تارکت تاج باد
 بیا ساقی آن می کہ مرد آزماست
 بمن دہ کہ چون در کشم آن^۵ شراب
 ندارد کسی این چنین فتح یاد
 کہ ہم جاں ستان است دہم دلنواز
 دل دشمنان^۶ در غم آباد ازو
 قدم بر قدم رفتہ فتح و ظفر
 شہاں را شرف باشد از تاج و تخت
 کہ از ہفت کشور ستانی خراج^۷
 پیاپوسیت تحت محتاج باد
 چو خون عدو خوردن او رواست
 شود بر دل من ازاں فتح باب

(ختم شد شنوی تصنیف فیضی متضمن حالات فتح بکرات احمد آباد)

داخل شدن بادشاہ در شہر احمد آباد بفتح و فیروزگی و

جلوس سریر سلطنت فرمودن، تتمہ منظومہ فیضی

ہماں دم اہالی و حکام شہر
 ہمہ کردہ آویزہ دست خویش
 کہ در شہر بودند مشہور و ہر
 کلید در گنج شاہان پیشین

۱ ب: گویاں ۲ ب: من ۳ ب: "دعائیہ" ندارد

۴ ب: بخشادہ

۵ ب: جان نواز ۶ ب: دوستان ۷ ب: این شعر ندارد ۸ ب: برہ ۹ ب: زان

ز شادی سراز پائی نشناخته
که ما نسیم سرتا قدم در گناه
بصد گونه داریم بشرمندی
بجز بندی بندگان را چه کار
اگر نیک و را بد از آن توایم
اگر می گذاری و گری کشی
بد و نیک در زیر فرمان تست
زبان قاصر از شرح او صاف اوست
ز عین عنایت سرافراز کرد
ز دریائی حکمت گهرا فشانند
جہاں از من است و جہانپاں منم
کلید جہاں را بمن داده اند
دم تیغ من حجت قاطع است
که ذات خداوند را سایام
که میسوزد از آفتاب ستم
در اں سایه اش تا ابد پرورد
ز باد تکبر دل افسرده
که نشیند آن آتش از هفت آب
من اینجا رسیدم بفرمان حق
برو شحنته عدل والی کنم

رسیدند از سر قدم ساخته
سر خود نهادند بر پائی شاه
ز عمری که نگذشته در بندی
رسیدیم در خدمت بنده وار
هم نیک و بد بندگان توایم
گذشتیم از آن ناخوشی و خوشی
و شاه جهان و جہاں ز آن تست
شہنشاہ از انجا کہ الطاف اوست
چو ہر صدق ایشان نظر باز کرد
پسی از دل نکتہ دان نکتہ راند
کہ قائم مقام سلیمان منم
مرا بہر شاہی فرستادہ اند
دلیل^۱ بر اثبات حق ساطع است
من آن آفتاب فلک پایہ ام
کسی را کہ بینم در اندوہ و غم
برو سایہ معدلت گستم
و گرمست باد ہوا خوردہ
بتابم برو گرم چوں آفتاب
چو فرمان من راست^۲ عنوان حق
کہ بگرات از ظلم خالی کنم

۱ س و ش: اگر -

۲ س: دلیل -

۳ ش: فرمان اراست -

بر اندازم آئین بیداد و زور
بذریا کنم غرق اہل فرنگ
رہ بستہ کعبہ را وا کنم
گر آئینہ روشن با اسکندر است
چو حکام و اشراف و اعیان ملک
شنیدند آن نکتہ ہائی بلند
کشیدند در گوش خود ہمو در
ز ہی بخت و رائی شہ بحر و بر
در حکمت از شاہ حکمت گزار
روم تا بسرحد دریائی شور
برم از دل اہل اسلام زنگ
سکندر صفت سیر دریا کنم
مرا تیغ ز آئینہ روشن تراست
کہ بودند ہر یک نگہبان ملک
کہ سرزد ز جان و دل ہوشمند
کز اں گوش شاہ چون صدف گشت پر
سکندر نظیر و ارسطو نظر
سزد بہر گوش خرد گوشوار

تمت

فرہنگ

اباق: دو رنگ عموماً واسپ دو رنگ خصوصاً کہ یکی سپید و دیگر سیاہ یا صندلی باشد۔ - عرب ابلک۔

اتاقہ: لقاف پر کلاہ و جیفہ و این ترکی است و بالفظ زدن و افتادن و داشتن مستعمل۔ - حکیم زلالی گوید۔

اتاقہ سرکشاں را از سرافتد

چو بلبل از درخت گل درافتد

اخترشناس: مہندس و منجم

پلارک: بفتح اول و چہارم، شمشیر و جوہر تیغ و نوعی از فولاد از "رشیدی" و "سراج" و "جہانگیری" و "برہان"۔

خنگ: بالکسر و کاف فارسی، اسپ سفید، چون بہ سیاہی و سبزی مائل باشد سبزہ خنگ گویند و اگر سفید خالص باشد نفزہ خنگ گویند

رحم: بالفتح، سنگ زدن و سنگسار کردن و نفرین و عیب و تہمت نمودن
ریو: بازی و فریب۔ ملاحظہ فرمایید۔

نخورده ز مردانگی ریو نفس

شدہ کشتہ در دست او دیو نفس

سحاب: ابر بہار

سرقاب: بالضم، طائر معروف کہ بر کنارہ آبہا نشیند، وجہ تسمیہ آنکہ مادہ اش بخلاف طیور دیگر بوقت مہوود حیض کند۔

صعوبہ: بالفتح، در "منتخب" نوشتہ کہ مرغیست برابر گنجشک کہ سینه سرخ دارد، و در کشف اطائف و "مدار" نوشتہ کہ طائر معروف بہ ہندی مہولا گویند۔

مصاف: جانی صف بستن و در فارسی بہ معنی صف و بالفظ کشیدن و شکستن مستعمل است۔ - میر معزی گوید۔

بدان صفت ز درازی کشید در دو مصاف

کہ وہم کس نرسد از میان ہی بکنار

NOTES

1. *Jamaza* : According to Abul Fazl, Akbar's name for a female camel, but the word is Arabic. See Blochmann, p. 143. *Akbar Namah* (Beveridge) Vol. 111, p. 63.

2. *انا فتحنا* : *Qur'an*, S. XLVIII : I.

"Surely we have given you a clear victory."

Refers to the Truce of Hudaibiyya.

3. *نصر من الله وفتح قريب* : *Qur'an*, S. LXI : 13

"Help from Allah and a Victory near at hand."

APPENDICES

(I)

Faizi's Chronogram on Akbar's Conquest of Gujarat

The following chronogram was composed by Faizi on Akbar's conquest of Gujarat :

که باد از دولت او چشم بد دور	خدیو ملک اکبر شاه غازی
با نظار سعادت بود منظور	بهنگامی که والا کوکب بخت
بر آن کشور مظفر گشت و منصور	سپه انگینت بهر فتح بجات
کشایش بخش طبع مست و مستور	عجب ملکی که باشد شهر بندش
فریب یک دو نا فرزانه دستور	شه آن ملک را معدوم کرده
ز لوح چین سترده نقش فغفور	بزور کذلک افسون و نیرنگ
نوشتند از نوید فتح منشور	باقبال شهنشاهی در آن ملک
کلید گنج شاهان را بگنجور	بفرمان شهنشاهی سپردند
یکی شد از لباس زندگی عور	یکی افکند بر سر چادر امن

ای بی باد مامور از عدالت
که شد تاریخ هم بجات معمور

See *Diwan-i-Faizi* (Ms. Muslim University Library); *Diwan-i-Faizi* (Mufid-u'l-Khala'iq Press, Delhi 1268 A.H.) pp. 185-186; *Diwan-i-Faizi* (Iftikhar Press, Delhi) p. 168.

(2)

Faizi on the people of Gujarat

The following verses of Faizi on Gujarat and the people of Gujarat are given in the *Latifa-i-Faizi* :

خراب عشوه خوابان احمد آباد
که همچو سایه بدنبال آن نیفتادم
غلام او شدم و خط بندگی دادم
از و مباد بروم کند چون آدم
چرا بروم نروم من هم آدمی زادم
نمی روند جوانان دہلی از یادم
بزم جرعه کش دہلوی فرستادم

منم که کشته ہجراتیاں بیدادم
ہی قدی ز سرناز جلوہ نہ نمود
بہر طرف کہ خرامید سرو آزادی
چو رشک گلشن فردوس احمد آبادست
بروں ز رفتن از آنجا تصویرست حال
بحسن مردم گجرات یاد نیست ولی
حدیث عشق تو فیضی کہ نقل متان است

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(3)

An Account of Faizi's Life and Works

The following account of Faizi and his poetry, which we find appended to the British Museum manuscript of the present *masnavi*, was written by Nawab Ziauddin Ahmad Khan *Nayyar-i-Rakhshan* of Delhi (ob. 1835). The Nawab was a versatile scholar of the nineteenth century well-versed in all the religious sciences, astronomy, poetry, history and geography. In poetry he was the chief disciple of Ghalib. For his biographical account, see *Talamiza-i-Ghalib*, Malik Ram (pp. 285-293).

For a detailed account of Faizi's life and poetry see: *A'in-i-Akbari*, pp. 235-42; *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh* ii, pp. 405-6.; *Nafa'is-u'l-Ma'asir* (MS); *Ma-asir-ul-Umara* ii, pp. 584-90; *Nigaristan-i-Faris*, Muhammad Husain Azad pp. 100-106; *Ma'asir-u'l-Kiram*, Azad Bilgrami, pp. 15-21; *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. V, pp. 163-164; *Shi'r-u'l-'Ajam*.

شطری از حالات مؤلف مثنوی بقلم در آمده

شیخ ابوالفیض فیضی فیاضی بن شیخ مبارک ناگوری و برادر کلان شیخ ابوالفضل علای قہای
در سنہ ۹۹۳ ہجری بموجب حکم اکبر بادشاہ در تہیہ تالیف خمسہ یعنی کتب پنجگانہ بحور مختلفہ
مانند شیخ نظامی گنجوی، و امیر خسرو دہلوی، و مولوی جامی، و ملا ہاتفی، مشغول شد، و خواست
کہ مقابل "مخزن اسرار" مثنوی "مرکز ادوار" نام و مشاکل "لیلی مجنون" "نل دمن" و
مجازی "سکندر نامہ" "اکبر نامہ" و مبادل "شیریں خسرو" "سلیمان بلقیس" و مشابہ "ہفت
پیکر" "ہفت کشور" در رشتہ نظم منسلک گرداند۔ چنانچہ از ہمہ بیشتر بموجب اشارہ بادشاہ
مثنوی "نل دمن" را کہ داستان از کہن افسانہ ہائی ہندوستان است در سنہ ۳۹ اکبری مطابق
سنہ ۱۰۰۳ ہجری در عرض مدت چہار ماہ بہ چہار ہزار اشعار آبدار بہ انجام رسانیدہ و بخدمت

بادشاہ گذرانیدہ، مورد تمسین و آفرین گردید، و خطاب ملک الشعرائی یافت، و مطلع آن مثنوی
 این است۔

ای درتگ و پوی تو ز آواز عنقای نظر بلند پرواز
 و آن کتاب در تمام عالم مشہور است، و بعد از ان مصروف بکراں رسانیدن مثنوی "مرکز ادوار"
 شد کہ ہمدران نزدیکی در سنہ ۱۰۰۴ اکبری مطابق شہر صفر سنہ ۱۰۰۴ ہجری بامراض مختلفہ در سفر جان داد،
 و موجب کمال حزن بادشاہ و برادرانش شد، لیکن شیخ ابوالفضل علای فہامی برادر خوردش بعد
 وفات وی اشعار آن مثنوی جمع نموده کہ ہمگی زیادہ از دو ہزار ابیات باشد و بر آن خاتمہ نوشتہ
 یا انجام رسانید، لیکن در ان جز نصائح و مواعظ کلام داستانی یا مطلع دیگر نیست و مطلع
 آن مثنوی این است۔

گنج ازل راست طلسم قدیم بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم
 و اکبر بادشاہ نام آن مثنوی "مرات القلوب" نہاد، و این کتاب بسیار کیاب است۔ باقی
 ماندہ مثنوی کہ بسبب فوت وی ان ارادہ در دلش خون شد، میخواست کہ در بحر "سکندر
 نامہ" مثل ملاہاتفی کہ "تیمور نامہ" تالیف نمودہ وی در ہما نقدر اشعار بتدی از فتوحات
 نامی و صوادراحوال مشاہیر اکبر بادشاہ بنظم در آورده بہ "اکبر نامہ" موسوم گرداند۔ چنانچہ
 شیخ ابوالفضل نیز ازین ارادہ وی در خاتمہ "مرکز ادوار" آگاہی میدہد، و ہم در
 خاتمہ دفتر اول "اکبر نامہ" و دفتر سوم کہ مشہور بہ "آئین اکبری" است اشارہ آن
 مینویسد، و خود شیخ فیضی نیز در بعض رقعات کہ بہ اجاب نوشتہ ازین عزم خود آگاہی
 میدہد۔ بالجملہ از ان کتاب متخیلہ یعنی "اکبر نامہ" منظومہ موبہومہ فیضی جز این مثنوی
 خورد ترک کہ در صدر مرقوم شدہ و قریب یکصد و ہشتاد شعر باشد۔

در بیان یلغار نمودن بادشاہ از فتحپور گجرات احمد آباد بسواری شتران

کہ در عرض نہ روز در انجا رسیدہ، و بلواتیاں را کہ محمد حسین مرزا و برادرانش بودند
 و دیگر گجراتیاں را شکست داد، و بفتح و فیروزی داخل شہر شدہ، جلوس فرمانی سریر
 سلطنت گشت، در سنہ ۱۸ اکبری مطابق سنہ ۹۸۱ ہجری فقط۔ پس جز ازین مثنوی مختصر
 دیگر کلام شعری ہم درین بحر از شیخ فیضی مذکور بمطالعہ در نیامدہ، لہذا معلوم شد کہ آنقصہ
 نظم "اکبر نامہ" بسبب وفات وی ناتمام مانده، و ہمچنین است حال مثنوی چہارمیں وی
 کہ موسوم بہ "سیلمان بلفقیس" اندیشیدہ بود، و از ان بحر و مثنوی قریب یکصد شعر یا قدری
 بیشتر از ان در دفتر دوم "اکبر نامہ" در مقام ذکر فوت شیخ فیضی برادرش شیخ ابوالفضل نوشتہ

است کہ مطلع آن مثنوی این است -

الہی پرده تقدیس بکشائی سلیمان مرا بلقیس بنسائی

و خیال این مثنوی نیز بسبب فوت وی در دلش خون گشته، باقی ماند مثنوی پنجمین کہ موسوم بلکہ موہوم بہ "ہفت کشور" نموده بود، آنہم بسبب مردنش بر منصفہ ظہور جلوہ نموده، بلکہ از وی یک شعر ہم بجز نام بخلاف دیگر مثنویاں گوش زد نشده، و نہ در پیچ تذکرہ و تاریخ بنظر در آمدہ، اطلاعا تحریر یافت۔ ورائی از یہاں شیخ رادیوانی بس ضخیم قریب بدہ ہزار شعر کہ ملو از رباعی و غزل و قطعہائے تاریخی و سادہ و قصائد مدحیہ بادشاہ عصر و در مواعظ و ترجیعات و ترکیبات و مرانی است و موسوم بہ "تباشیر الصبح" نموده و دیگر کتاب رقعات اوست، در نشر فارسی مشتمل بر عرائض اسمی بادشاہ متضمن حالات دکن و دیگر اطراف وقتی کہ بسفرت آنجناب مقرر شدہ، نزد راجہ علی خاں فاروقی والی خاندیش و برہان نظام الملک والی دولت آباد رفتہ بود، نوشتہ و موسومہ دیگر امیران نامور و علمای معاصر و حکمای نامی و شعرائی گرامی قلمی نموده مندرج آہست، و نیز شیخ موصوف در علم عربیہ و ادبیہ دستگیری کامل و استحضار قوی داشتہ، چنانچہ شاہد حالش تفسیر مکتوبہ اوست کہ "سواطع الالہام" نام دارد۔ در عبارت عربی در صنعت تعطیل یعنی حروف غیر منقوط از بانے بسملہ تاتائی تمت بکمال فصاحت و بلاغت و متانت و زرانت مکمل و محتمم نموده، در سنہ ۱۰۰۲ ہجریہ مطابق سنہ ۳۸ اکبری بکران رسانندہ، و الحق آن تفسیری است کہ درین مدت یکہزار و دو صد سال مثل و سہ پیچ کس از فضلای مہجر اسلامیہ در ضبط تحریر نیاوردہ، و رقم نمودن نتوانستہ۔ اولش این است۔

احامد الحماد و محمد الاحامد

البتہ قریب یکصد جزو متوسط خواهد بود، و ہمچنین در ہمیں عبادت و صنعت یک مختصر رسالہ دیگر دارد کہ "موارد الکلم" نامش نہادہ و در سنہ ۹۸۵ ہجریہ بہ اتمام رسانندہ و آن رسالہ در تہذیب اخلاق و مواعظ و ترجمہ ہائی بعض اقوال نبوی و دیگر اولیاء و اہل اللہ است۔ اولش این است۔

الحمد للہم الکلام الصاعد و آنقریب نہ دہ اجزاء متوسط باشد واضح درک عالی باد کہ این جملگی شش جلد کتب فارسیہ منظومہ و منشورہ و ہر دو جلد عربیہ

مؤلف شیخ مذکور نزد این پیغمبر زہد و پند ان ضیاء الدین احمد خان المتخلص بنیر و
رخشاں موجود است، اطلاقاً بخدمت فضیلت درجت گزارش رفت۔

تفصیل اسامی کتب فیضی

دیوان تہا شیر البصر نام
کتاب رقعات نثر فارسی

رسالہ موارد الکلم
مثنوی نل دمن

تفسیر سواطع الالہام
مثنوی مرکز ادوار

(*Medieval India Quarterly*,
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Sources for the History of Uttar Pradesh

The history of a vast country like India with its manifold geographical configurations, diverse culture-patterns, linguistic variations and multiplicity of ethnic backgrounds, can be written only when micro studies are available for analysis and synthesis of data in a broader framework. Regional studies are, and shall remain, a necessary adjunct to our understanding of the history and culture of India. The undercurrent of basic unity which runs through the history of India can be appreciated better if the matrix of regional cultures and economies is taken into consideration. For a proper understanding of the history of our country it is imperative that data is collected on the regional basis but interpreted at a national level. This would ensure unity of our historical traditions and would prevent fragmentation of historical approach.

This seminar will serve a great need of the time because it is a step in the direction of the identification and collection of data on an extensive regional scale and, pursued with vigour, it can provide the basis for effective scientific interpretation and evaluation of the history of our country.

With the dawn of freedom our historiographical concepts have undergone a change and the scope of historical inquiry has been vastly extended. The kings and the courts round which our historical studies have centred for centuries are no longer the be-all and end-all of historical investigations. What we are more anxious to investigate today is the life and conditions of the *people*. A brisk

search for new historical material and utilisation of non-traditional sources alone can provide the constructional material for rewriting the history of medieval India. This would also need evolving new techniques of handling the data culled from non-traditional sources. Each species of historical material should be called upon to furnish a particular kind of historical evidence and an apparatus of critique relevant to the species should be evolved to test their 'historicity'.

The three centuries of the history of the region on which we have to concentrate at present constitute a significant epoch in Indian history. The Mughal Empire touches its highest watermark during this period and then decline sets in. The last quarter of the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th century appears as a watershed in the history of India – the old order slowly passes out, yielding place to the new. In the decades that followed, British imperialism spread out its tentacles and society, culture and polity were exposed to challenges at every step. All these changes in the social milieu and the political environment are reflected in the literature of the period. A critical awareness of the methodological and conceptual problems involved and application of the tools of psycho-history can open fresh vistas of interpretation and analysis of this literature.

I would at present draw your attention only to four spheres in which concerted effort should be made to collect, classify and coordinate source material of every type: land, including space conditions, culture, religion and polity.

Land with all its ancillary problems – like soil conditions, irrigational facilities, crops, prices, revenue demands, state-peasant relationship, ownership of land and the structure and organization of village communities – need patient and careful investigation. A number of questions bearing on urban life can be answered only when data about agrarian life is sifted and analysed. What factors brought about coordination between the rural and the urban economies? How did production in the villages determine or influence price-structure in the cities? These and similar other problems necessitate quantification of data on an extensive scale. Notwithstanding the difficulties that beset formulation of hypotheses on the basis of quantification, it is undeniable that, used with caution it can help illumine many aspects of agrarian economy.

A thorough search in the region for literature pertaining to *siyaq*, *zamindari* records, *faramin*, *madad-i ma'ash* grants, documents of different types (*dastak*, *patta*, *parwana* etc.) is the need of the hour. The literature produced under the rubric *siyaq namahs* and *dastur-ul amals* is replete with data of great historical value. While the *dastur-ul amals* throw light on the revenue administration and its problems, – measurement of land, weights and coins, assessment and remission of taxes and appointment of officers, etc., the *siyaq* literature gives principles on which the revenue structure stood, the nature of taxes and the connotation of terms. For instance, the *Farhang-i-Kardani* of Jagat Rai Saksena (Ms in Aligarh), compiled in 1679, supplies valuable information about Agra, Allahabad and Awadh. The *Dastur-ul Amâl-i-Todar Mal* (Ms in Rampur) gives boundaries and revenues of these areas. The *Dastur-ul Amal-i Alam-giri* (Ms British Museum), and *Dastur-ul Amal-i-Shahjahani* (Ms British Museum) contain useful information about rural conditions in Agra and other places. The *Siyaq Namah* of Anand Ram. b. Hiranand (Nawal Kishore 1879), the *Khulasat-ul Siyaq* of anonymous author (Ms Aligarh); and several other collections have a significance from the point of view of the history of this region. The *Mir'at-ul-Istilah* of Anand Ram Mukhlis (Ms British Museum), the *Mir'at-ul-Auza*, and Khwaja Yasin's Glossary of Revenue Terms contain valuable information about the connotation of revenue terms, the categories of land, crops and the *jama' dami* figures of different *subahs*. Sir Syed's *Qadim Nizam-i Dehi* provides a glimpse into the medieval rural set up. Systematically tapped this literature would provide a perspective for the history of agrarian relationship in Uttar Pradesh during the medieval period.

With the abolition of *zamindari* an organized effort to collect all types of records from erstwhile *zamindars* has become an urgent necessity. In some *zamindar* families there was a tradition of maintaining diaries of events – the day to day problems faced in the villages, the attitude of cultivators, dues realized, arrears and conditions of crops etc. In certain families these records cover continuous and uninterrupted account of two centuries or more. Delivering his lectures on the *Handling of Historical Material* at the Allahabad University in 1917, Professor Rushbrook Williams had made an observation about the records of merchant families, which equally applies to diaries of *zamindars*: " In addition to supplying details of domestic life which would have otherwise escaped our notice, they

help us to trace in a particular locality the working of those economic factors which effect so profoundly the porosity of a people We can also trace the causes of the gradual decline in prosperity of one district, and follow through years its slow decay; we can observe the rise of another district to affluence and importance, and note the changes which come over society through the impoverishment of the landlords and the advantages gradually acquired by the labouring population in the economic struggle for existence." (*The Handling of Historical Material*, p. 34).

With the publication of Rudolph Kjellen's *Statensom - Lifsform* (The State as a living form) in 1916, study of space conditions as an important conditioning factor in the evolution of historical and political institutions has become a definite science and many western scholars have turned their attention to geopolitical studies but, unfortunately in India, with the solitary exception of Dr. K. M. Panikkar's *Geographical Factors in Indian History* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay) no really worthwhile work has been done on this aspect so far. A geopolitical study of the region now known as Uttar Pradesh, is a great desideratum. Why did the Doab region occupy a pivotal place in the economy of northern India? How were empires sustained by the economic stability of the Doab? What geopolitical factors led to the rise and decay of cities in this region? How far demographic distribution influenced the course of political events? What was the role of Katehar and Rohilkhand in the political developments of the period? An answer to these questions needs collection of material from different sources in which documents, literary works, even poetic collections have to be used. Indication of the distance of Agra from 32 cities and of Allahabad from 11 cities in *Dastur-ul Amal-i Todar Mal* is not without significance. A study of the socio-economic conditions in the region now known as Uttar Pradesh, calls for a systematic recourse to multifarious types of literature, to which I will briefly draw your attention.

Literature available in the form of *Insha* collections is a mine of information for the social and economic conditions of the period and deserves to be patiently studied and deftly handled. A collection of the letters of Shah Muhibullah of Allahabad throws invaluable light on the religio-political thought of the period. Dara Shukoh wrote to the saint asking him if any discrimination between Hindus and Muslims was permitted in the matter of administration. Shah

Muhibbullah wrote back in reply that any such discrimination would be against the true spirit of religion and that a government should be equally beneficent to all, irrespective of their religious faith.

فقیر کجا نصیحت کجا حق آنست که اندیشہ رفاہیت خلق خدا ایمن کز خاطر حکام باشد
چہ مومن و چہ کافر کہ خلق خدا پیدائش خدا است و سید این مقام کہ صاحب اس مقام
ہر کسے از صالح و فاجر و مومن و کافر ترحم کند رسول خداست صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم چنانکہ بیان
یافتہ در فتوحات وارد است در قرآن وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ

There are large number of *Insha* collections which contain invaluable bits of information about different aspects of social, cultural and economic history. Unfortunately even printed *Insha* literature has not been intensively utilised by the students of history. A few instances may be cited. *Insha-i Bahar-i 'Ajam*, compiled by Amanat Ali of Faizabad in 1811, refers to the activities of recalcitrant *zamindars* of the region; the *Insha-i Dilkusha* of Syed Nisar Ali of Bareilly compiled in circa 1794, contains interesting details about the changing fortunes of *madad-i ma'ash* grants, increasing interest in the purchase of orchards as a safe investment, heavy pressures on debtors etc. A letter written by a wife to her husband who had sent a *hundi* of one hundred rupees but she found the amount inadequate to meet the expenses on winter clothing and the salaries of نوکراں شاگردان is full of interesting details about the life of the people. Similarly *Maktubat-i Shah Wali-Ullah*, *Insha-i-Mehdi*, *Insha-i-Irshad*, contain information about many important social, political and economic events of the period. I have referred to only a few. There are dozens of *Insha* collections which await the attention of the scholars of history. The history of Awadh will appear more lively and animated when the epistolary collections of *nawabs*, nobles, mystics and poets are carefully used.

Travelogues of scholars and poets are another very valuable source of information for the cultural and economic history of the region. The *Safar namahs* of Anand Ram Mukhlis and Rafi'uddin of Moradabad and *Waqai'-i 'Abdul Qadir Khani* of 'Abdul Qadir Rampuri contain details about the cultural condition of different cities, the industrial arts of Amroha, Rampur, Sambhal, Moradabad etc. etc.

No study of social life can be complete unless the development of education, the nature of institutions, the economic position of the teachers is systematically analysed. If the information available in *tazkirahs* about the scholars and institutions is coordinated with documentary evidence, available in the form of *madad-i ma'ash* grants, and the epigraphic and archaeological evidence, it can help in understanding the educational pattern in U.P. as also the circumstances in which this class was left high and dry when British influence was established in India. A building at Akbarpur, near Moradabad, contains inscriptions which show that Abul Fazl had also received his education at that place, and a *madrakah* continued to function there for long. Such information needs to be patiently collected. Only then, the role of *madrakahs* in the cultural life of the locality can be determined.

Some of the *tazkirahs* of the period, like *Ma'asir-ul-Kiram*, *Sarv-i-Azad* of Ghulam Ali Bilgrami, *Tazkirah-i Chamanistan-i Shu'ara* of Lachhmi Narayan Shafiq contain invaluable information about social and cultural conditions of the region. Some political or semi-political works which may yield useful information in this connection are: *Chahar Gulzar-i Shuja'i* of Harcharan Das of Meerut, which gives information about the *mansabdari* system and the revenue administration (Ms British Museum). The *Balwant Namah* (Ms British Museum) contains a history of the Rajas of Benares. The *Mir'at-i Waridat* of Mohd. Shafi' Warid of Nagina in Sambhal *sarkar* (Ms Aligarh), the *Jauhar-i Samsam* of Mohsin Siddiqi of Awadh (Ms British Museum), *Shah Namah-i Munawwar Kalam* of Shiv Das of Lucknow (ed. by Prof. Syed Hasan Askari) are other important works and many aspects of socio-economic life of the region will be illumined if this literature is effectively tapped.

If it is true that poetry reflects better than prose the aspirations of the people, the need to tap and utilise the poetical literature available in Persian, Hindi and Urdu cannot be over-emphasized. But the canons of criticism with reference to poetic literature cannot be the same as for prose. Sometimes a poet uses the language of metaphor to express his feelings which due to the fear of government or of society he cannot ventilate in plain language. When Mir remarked:

قبائے لالہ و گل میں جھلک رہی تھی خزاں
بھری بہار میں رویا کے بہار کو ہم

he spoke volumes about the decadent society of his day. One conversant with the spirit of Urdu poetry can evolve tools for the utilisation of poetic literature produced in that language. Very often *gul*, *bulbul*, *ariz*, *rukhsar*, *hijr* and *wisal* represent the inner anguish of a poet's soul and his reaction to social conditions which his poetic sensitivity fails to accept.

There are poetical works known as *Shahr Ashubs* which throw considerable light on the problems of the people, their disgust with the authorities of the day and dismay at schism of the soul and the body politic. The accounts relating to Awadh, Akbarabad and Rohilkhand in this *Shahr Ashub* literature are valuable sources of our information and should be tapped by students of cultural and social history.

Some of the poetical works of the period reveal how social transformation was taking place and gradually a new class was emerging replacing the old aristocracy. Nothing reflects better than the poetic literature of the period the pangs of a new social order. How certain professions were becoming popular, why certain arts and crafts were losing their appeal, may be read in this literature. Besides, poetic literature throws light on the social life and festivals of the people. Nazir Akbarabadi's description of festivals in Agra is too graphic to be ignored by any student of history.

Among the Hindi poets of the 18th century Sudan of Mathura, Giridhar, the greatest master of the Kundaliya metre in Hindi poetry (K.B. Jindal, *A History of Hindi Literature*, p. 196), Bhikari of Awadh, Dulah of Doab, Beni of Rai Bareli, and several others deserve particular mention and a historical analysis of their works is a great desideratum. The contribution of Hindu poets to Persian literature during the time of the Nawabs of Awadh was very significant and properly pursued the study would yield fruitful results.

The Riti school of Hindi poetry (1650-1850) which included within its scope the various cults like *Rasa*, *Alankara* and *Dhwani*,

deserves attention of the students of history for analysing the main currents of literary and religious thought during the period.

No evaluation of medieval society can claim to be complete unless the religious life, trends, attitudes and movements of the period are carefully studied. Very often discontent against medieval governments and medieval social conditions found expression through the medium of religion. What sometime appears to be due to spiritual anguish of a person, is often the result of his discontent with the conditions prevailing in the outer world. The *Anwar-ur Rahman*, (life and teachings of Shah 'Abdur Rahman of Lucknow) throws invaluable light on Lucknow society of the day, and the circumstances which accentuated the interiorization of religious rites in him. Some of the important centres of the Bhakti movement were in U.P. Proliferation of the Bhakti ideals led to the establishment of small centres in several *qasbahs* and towns. The activities of these centres should be investigated. For instance the Kabirpanths and Dadupanths have valuable literature which remains unutilized so far.

Similarly the Muslim mystic movement had important centres, *zawiyahs*, *khanqahs* and *daerahs* in this region which were brisk centres of spiritual and cultural activity. The *khanqah* of Shah Muhibbullah in Allahabad, the *dargah* of Shah Pir in Meerut, the mausoleum of Shaikh Abdul Quddus in Gangoh, Shah Niaz Ahmad in Bareilly, Shah Mina in Lucknow and a host of others have played an important role during the centuries and a proper evaluation of the life of the people is not possible unless the literature pertaining to these mystic centres is studied and scrutinized. Shah Pir like Syed Muhammad Ghaus of Gwaliyar, was fond of keeping cows, a sort of *gowmath*. A unique manuscript of his *malfuzat* is in a private collection in Rampur. Shah Muhibbullah's centre was known for its propagation of pantheistic philosophy, the earliest exposition of which is found in the Upanishads. One of the major influences on Dara Shukoh's thought was Shah Muhibbullah whose works, are mostly commentaries on the classical treatises of the great pantheist thinker of Islam, Shaikh Muhiyyuddin Ibn Arabi. Aurangzeb thought of burning his book *Taswiya*. Significantly enough the most vigorous centre where the views of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi Mujaddidi Alf-i Sani were rejected was Allahabad. Sirhind repre-

sented the tradition of opposition to pantheistic ideas, Allahabad was a citadel of this ideology. The conflict between these two schools of thought assumed such dimensions that even Bernier noticed the tension. It is surprising that neither the letters of Shah Muhibbullah nor his other works, have been printed so far. The role of U.P. in one of the greatest ideological tensions in the 17th-18th centuries would remain inexplicable unless this literature is brought to light. It represents the forces of integration in the history of medieval India.

Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan who for the first time declared the Vedas to be a revealed book, had his main centres of work in Rohilkhand. His letters throw considerable light on the contemporary spiritual and social scene.

So far whatever literature about the Mahdavi movement has been published, has come from Hyderabad. It is unlikely that Jaunpur has entirely no Mahdavi records. Perhaps fear of persecution by orthodox sections led the Mahdavis to keep their literature secret. The role of Mahdavi *daerachs* needs careful investigation. Some scholars have hinted at the role of Mahdavis in the development of vernacular literatures. This aspect deserves investigation in the light of Mahdavi records available in U.P.

Regional studies would assume great significance if histories of cities are also compiled and material is collected from epigraphy, archaeology and folk lore. In our country utilisation of oral evidence, coming down in the form of folk lore, traditions, has not developed. Lately western scholars have turned to analysis of folk lore etc., as a veritable source of information for the life and attitude of the people. It is said that Akbar's mind towards Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti of Ajmer was drawn when he heard singers at Mundhakar reciting Hindi verses in praise of the saint. The literature dealing with cities like Farrukhabad, Akbarabad, Badaon, Sahswan, Amroha, Shahjahanabad, Lucknow, Bilgram etc. though produced much later deserves careful scrutiny because many of the sources mentioned in these works are extinct now. Moreover these city-histories reflect the self-image of people living in a particular area. Invaluable records about Bilgram are preserved in the *Tarikh-i Bilgram*. On the basis of these histories some sort of connected account of local industries, arts etc. can be prepared.

Local documents are of immense value in constructing a picture of society during the 17-19 centuries. Our Department has *Shamsabad Documents*, *Bilgram Documents*, *Amroha Documents* etc. These documents are of value in tracing the history of certain families of these localities. If documents are arranged and classified citywise many interesting formulations would emerge. Similarly the need to classify epigraphic information pertaining to U.P. cannot be over-emphasized.

A history of the Industrial Arts in U.P. during the 18th and 19th century can be prepared on the basis of non-political literature, particularly collections of letters, table talks of mystics, and accounts of foreign travellers like Palsaert, Thevenot and others. The information supplied by Thevenot about working of gold upon a gate and crystals by the artisans of Agra is interesting. As the families of craftsmen jealously guarded the secrets of their workmanship and the art was handed down from father to son, it is necessary to work out the history of artisan families in U.P.

It is not possible to indicate here all the possible sources which should be tapped to construct the history of this region, particularly the socio-economic conditions during the 17th-19th centuries. Many new sources will be identified as the seminar proceeds. It may however be added that historians should be continuously and simultaneously engaged in analysis and synthesis of data. But as the great French historian Fustal de Coulanges once observed: "Years of analysis is required for a day of synthesis."

(Key note Address at Seminar on
'Sources for the History of Uttar Pradesh',
Allahabad, 28 February, 1985)

A Historiographical Survey of Arabic and Persian Sources for the History of Kashmir

This paper aims at a synoptic overview of the literature available in Arabic and Persian on the history of Kashmir and seeks to assess its historiographical value.¹ If we exclude the indigenous Persian historical literature produced during the 18th and 19th centuries, which in itself constitutes a category and deserves careful analysis of method and motivation, we find four distinct traditions determining the approach and content of the historical literature pertaining to Kashmir:

1. *The Raja Tarangini Tradition*: Though written in Sanskrit, Kalhana's work¹ had deep impact on the historiographical traditions of Kashmir. It cut across the linguistic barriers and penetrated the Persian histories. For all histories of Kashmir, whether written in Sanskrit or Persian, and covering the period from earliest times to the middle of the 12th century, this is the only source of information and all historical studies have for centuries rotated round it.

1. English translation with Introduction and notes by Sir Aurel Stein, 2 Vols., London, 1900.

2. **The West Asian Assessment:** The Arab scholars like Mas'udi² (ob. 957), Muqaddasi³ and Idrisi⁴ (ob. 1166) represent the West Asian view of Kashmir. Kufi's *Chach Nama*⁵ though available now in its Persian recension only, represents the same tradition. This literature touches only the fringes of Kashmir history and culture and does not contain any intimate view of the socio-economic structure of Kashmir.
3. **The Central Asian Appraisal:** The Central Asian appraisal of the history of Kashmir is contained in the Arabic work of Alberuni⁶ and the Persian works of Rashid-ud-din Fazlullah,⁷ Sharaf-ud-din Yazdi⁸ and Mirza Haider Dughlat.⁹ Unlike the West Asian view, it is characterized by a closer study of Kashmir life and so far as it goes it is comprehensive and informative. But the historical landscape of Kashmir is surveyed here more from Central Asian point of view than Indian. The main interest of these scholars lies in the history of the Buddhist creed and the situation created by Ilkhanid conversion to Islam.
4. **The Mughal Approach:** The Mughal conquest of Kashmir under Akbar in 1586, marks an spurt in historical writings on

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2. *Kitab Muruj al-Zahab wa Ma'adin al-Jauhar*, Arabic text with French translation by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-77.
 3. *Kitab Ahsan al taqasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim*, edited by M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1906.
 4. *Kitab Nuzhat Al-Mushtaq fi Khitraq Al-Afaq*, portion relating to India edited by S. Maqbul Ahmad, Aligarh, 1954.
 5. Edited by Dr. Daudpota, Delhi, 1939. English translation by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, Karachi, 1900.
 6. *Alberuni's India*, translated by E. C. Sachau, London, 1914.
 7. *Rashid al-Din's History of India*, ed. by Karl Jahn, Mouton & Co, 1965.
 8. *Zafar Namah*, edited by Maulvi Allahdad, Calcutta, 1888.
 9. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, translated by N. Elias & Denison Ross, London, 1895.

Kashmir. Akbar, who was himself keenly interested in history, had instructed the compilers of *Tarikh-i Alfi* to investigate and determine the circumstances which led to the rise and fall of dynasties. Perhaps this pragmatic consideration determined his approach towards the history of Kashmir also. His successors followed suit and Kashmir became not only an area of historical interest and enquiry for the Mughals, but inspired many poets and gave birth to considerable lively poetry of Faizi, Talib Amuli, Muhammad Jan Qudsi and others.

It is significant that the three earlier traditions quietly merged in the Mughal approach to the history of Kashmir. Akbar's interest in Kashmir's past led to interest in *Raja Tarangini*, his keenness to preserve the identity of Mughal history ensured continuation of the Central Asian point of view. Glimpses of West Asian tradition may also be seen in Mughal accounts, but imperialistic interests determined the trend and tenor of the historical accounts given by the Mughal historians.

As our concept of history does not now reel round the court and the camp alone, it is necessary to study the life and conditions of the common man, his ambitions and attitudes, his predilections and preferences, his moral and intellectual urges. For this extended approach of history we will have to explore sources other than political chronicles. A recourse to non-political literature like the mystic treatises, *malfuzat* and *maktubat* on one side, and the poetry, folklore and songs of the people on the other, is now the crying need of the hour. A comprehensive picture of Kashmir society and culture is possible only when literature of varied types is taken into consideration. It would involve an extensive search for literature of all types and categories to construct bit by bit and step by step a picture of Kashmir through the ages. Even the effort to prepare a bibliography of lost literature would not be without reward as it would help in determining the conspectus of Kashmir scholars and the interests of the ruling elite. For instance, Nizam-ud-din Bakhshi's information that Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin had compiled a book on artillery¹⁰ is significant in itself, though the book is no longer avail-

10. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 439.

able. While referring to Zain-ul-'Abidin's interest in agricultural development of the country, Nizam-ud-din says:¹¹

در تعمیر ولایت کشمیر و تکثیر زراعت و کندن جو بہا آں
توفیق کہ او یافت پہنچ کس را از حکام کشمیر دست نداده بود

The historians of Kashmir have to bring to light all aspects of the Sultan's activities with reference to irrigation and agriculture. The efforts of Japanese scholars like Yamamoto, Matsuo Ara and Tsukinowa,¹² have revealed the nature of waterworks in Delhi during the Sultanate period. Is it not possible that an identical survey of canals, reservoirs, aqueducts, etc. in Kashmir during the medieval period is undertaken and information contained in Persian chronicles is supplemented by archaeological and epigraphic evidence? Such a survey would illumine many aspects of the economic history of Kashmir.

Further a detailed study of the external relations of Kashmir during the medieval period is yet to be made and for this political chronicles, travelogues, *tazkirahs* etc. of other neighbouring countries will have to be carefully consulted. The fact that the Ilkhanid Sultan Ghazan Khan had learnt the Kashmiri language¹³ is not without significance. A glimpse of this international relationship may be had in *Tabaqat-i Akbari*.¹⁴ Researches in this sphere have to be pushed further. Among the gifts sent by the rulers of Kashmir to other countries are included¹⁵ *شمال و کاسیہ ہانی بلوری*. To trace the history of different arts and crafts – carpets, jewellery, copper work, glass work, wood work, furs etc., little bits of informa-

11. *ibid*, III, p. 435.

12. *Delhi: Architectural Remains of the Delhi Sultanate Period*, Vol. III: Water-work, by Tatsuro Yamamoto, Matsuo Ara and Tokifusa Tsukinowa, Tokyo, 1970.

13. *Tarikh-i Ghazan Khan*, p. 171.

14. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 440.

15. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 440.

tion will have to be culled from different sources. For instance, it is from a *malfuz* of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sufi of Nagaur, a Khalifa of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti, that we know that Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya had a Kashmiri shawl.¹⁶

1. *The Raja Tarangini Tradition*

The *Raja Tarangini*, written in the middle of the 12th century (1148-9 A.D.), marks the beginning of the tradition of Kashmir history. Kalhana utilized inscriptions, popular traditions etc. to prepare his account of Kashmir. Both from the point of view of the utilization of source material and a connected perspective of Kashmir history, Kalhana is doubtless unique. His most significant contribution was that he evolved a historical perspective out of the existing literature which hardly seemed "historicable", to use a term coined by Gottschalk. In fact it is necessary for a modern scholar to investigate how Kalhana handled the existing literature and moulded it on a pattern, unprecedented and original. The impact that Kalhana made on the historical thinking in Kashmir may be gauged from the fact that his work became an ideal and a pattern for others to follow. Nobody thought of traversing afresh the area covered by Kalhana. They simply abridged or re-stated whatever he had presented. A judicial adviser of Sultan Zainul Abidin (1420-70), and a learned Brahman Jonaraja¹⁷ (ob. 1459) wrote a continuation of his *Raja Tarangini* and carried his narrative upto 1459. The work was undertaken at the instance of the Sultan who was keenly interested in history. Though the link period of his book, i.e. from Kalhana to the period just preceding his own there is little of value, he supplies interesting details about his own times, though fact and fiction sometimes get mixed up in his work. Jonaraja's pupil Pandit Srivara who was on the best of terms with Zainul Abidin and was brought up by him as his son and was the teacher of Hasan Shah (1472-84) pushed the tradition further and wrote *Jaina-Raja Tarangini*. The involvement of the Kashmir Sultans in maintaining Kalhana's tradition is significant and shows their intention to understand Kashmir history and culture in all its depth and dimension.

16. *Sarav-as-Sudur (Ms)*.

17. *Edited by Peterson, Bombay, 1896.*

The data supplied by Srivara about Zainul Abidin himself is very valuable. He credits his master with the introduction of the use of artillery in Kashmir.

The *Rajavalipatika* of Prajabhatta picks up the thread from Srivara.

Kalhana and Jonaraja had painted on a wider canvas and in a broader chronological framework but after them the trend was towards writing history of limited periods: Srivara gave an account of less than 30 years (1459-86), Prajabhatta dealt with 27 years (1486-1513). It appears that Prajabhatta had heard the rumblings of a distant storm, when he complained of "tumult in the kingdom". Ten years after Akbar's annexation of Kashmir (1586), Suka took up the work of Prajabhatta. Prajabhatta's work was unfortunately lost but Suka's work has survived.¹⁸

The *Rajatarangini* tradition did not end here. It inspired the Persian historians of the Mughal period who looked to Kalhana for pre-Muslim history of Kashmir. Mulla Shah Muhammad Shahabadi's *Tarikh-i Kashmir* is an instance in point.

Hardly has any historical work continued to inspire for so many centuries as *Raja Tarangini*. In Delhi Sultanate, Barani did not cover the field which had been traversed by Minhaj but in Kashmir, historians continued to incorporate with certain omissions and deletions, the work of Kalhana. But in this assortment of data some considerations seem to be operating which should be identified. It is also to be seen if Kalhana's comprehensiveness of approach, collection of data from diverse sources, did influence his followers or not. The *Raja Tarangini* tradition has to be studied as an active and articulate tradition in Kashmir history. The motivations which determined the approach of those successors of Kalhana through the centuries who abridged or synthesized his material, need careful scrutiny.

2. *The West Asian View:*

Strangely enough the knowledge of Arab geographers and com-

18. J. C. Dutt has translated into English the works of Jonaraja, Srivara and Suka.

riters of encyclopaedias about Kashmir was not intimate and even their informants were not personally acquainted with the region. Abul Fida does not refer to Kashmir; while Muqaddisi, Idrisi and Shahryar bin Buzurg¹⁹ refer merely to its geographical location and give its distance from different important towns of India. Mas'udi gives a long account but his narrative contains both chaff and grain. Neither he nor Idrisi knew the name of the capital of Kashmir, which they refer to as "the town of Kashmir". It is, however, clear from Idrisi that the capital town of Kashmir was considered "one of the famous towns of India".²⁰

Dimashqi divides Kashmir into Outer and Inner and says that the outer part comprises more than seventy thousand villages and the inner part more than a hundred thousand villages.²¹ A study of the rural scene of Kashmir during the medieval period is a great desideratum. Archaeology, epigraphy, chronicles and folklore all will have to cooperate in such a study.

The author of *Masalik-ul-absar* was informed by a traveller that diamonds of good and rare quality were found in Kashmir.²² While all these Arab accounts view Kashmir from Cairo, Damascus or other places, the author of *Chach Namah* looks at it from India but his knowledge also is not very deep and basically he represents the West Asian approach. He refers to the spread of Islam and the building of mosques and pulpits 'from the sea to the limits of Kashmir', as early as the 8th - 9th century.²³ The way in which Idrisi and Kufi refer to Kashmir and Qannauj gives an impression of close cultural and commercial contacts existing between these two places.²⁴

19. *'Ajaib-ul Hind*, p. 2.

20. India and the Neighbouring Territories in the *Kitab Nuzhat al-Mushtaq Fi Khitraq al-Afaq* of Al-Sharif Al-Idrisi, translated by S. Maqbul Ahmad, Leiden, 1960, p. 64.

21. *Nukhbat al Dahr fi Aja'ib al Barr wa'l Bahar*, translated by M. A. F. Mehren, Copenhagen, 1874.

22. *A Fourteenth Century Arab Account of India under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq*, pp. 69-70.

23. *The Chach Namah*, translated by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredun Beg, p. 6.

24. Idrisi, p. 64.

Some references to the position and resources of the ruler of Kashmir 'at whose royal threshold the other rulers of Hind have placed heads', need to be critically examined.

But this whole information available in Arabic works remains basically uncoordinated and desultory. It can at best give us an idea of the Kashmir geography during the medieval period. However some interesting formulations about cultural and economic conditions of Kashmir may be attempted if the entire Arabic source material is chronologically sifted and thematically arranged.

3. *The Central Asian Appraisal:*

The Central Asian appraisal of the history of Kashmir is by far the most valuable and revealing. There were geographic and historic reasons for this awareness. During the eleventh century there was an attitude of isolationism among the people of Kashmir which was the outcome of its geo-political situation. Referring to the powers that controlled the area, Alberuni says:

"The south and east of the country belong to the Hindus, the west to various kings, the Bolar-Shah and the Shugnan-Shah, and the more remote parts upto the frontiers of Badakhshan, to the Wakhan-Shah. The north and part of the east of the country belong to the Turks of Khoten and Tibet."²⁵

Under these circumstances the instinct for self-preservation became active and led to segregational behaviour. Alberuni says that the people of Kashmir were particularly "anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it."²⁶ As a result of this attitude, Alberuni informs us, commerce suffered. If in northern India it was caste which in the opinion of Alberuni had effected contact with the outside world, in Kashmir it was the geopolitical factor which had encouraged isolation and effected commercial relationship. According to Alberuni

25. Alberuni, I, p. 206.

26. *ibid.*

the people of Kashmir did not allow any Hindu whom they did not know to enter the country.²⁷

The point whether Alberuni visited Kashmir or not needs investigation. At a number of places his observations give the impression of personal contact with the people of Kashmir.²⁸ He had even written some books for the people of Kashmir.²⁹ However Alberuni's account throws valuable light on some important aspects of the intellectual and religious history of Kashmir. He informs us that it was Vasukra, a native of Kashmir, who started explaining the Vedas and committing them to writing "because he was afraid that the Vedas might be forgotten and entirely vanish out of the memories of men".³⁰ Regarding alphabet (*Siddhamatrika*) he says that some people consider it as having originated from Kashmir. He refers to another distinction of the inhabitants of Kashmir. They "mark the single leaves of their books with figures which look like drawings or like the Chinese characters, the meaning of which can only be learned by a very long practice."³¹ Obviously the reference is to the use of numerals by the people of Kashmir. Alberuni's account of Kashmir leaves one in no doubt about the pre-eminent position of this region in the world of Indian scholarship.

Alberuni's knowledge about the social life and customs of the people of Kashmir is not devoid of interest. He says that generally the people were pedestrians, the nobles however used palankins

27. *ibid.*

28. At one place he remarks: "The people of Kashmir with whom I have conversed on the subject give a different statement." (II, p. 181). He remarks at another place: "The distance from Lahur to the capital of Kashmir is 56 miles.....What other latitudes I have been able to observe myself....." (I, p. 317) means his personal knowledge. While describing the mountain Kularjak, he says that the distance between this peak and the plateau of Kashmir is two farsakh. "The fortress Rajawari lies south of it, and the fortress Lahur west of it, the two strongest places I have ever seen." (I, p. 208).

29. *Alberuni's India*, p. XXIV.

30. *ibid.*, I, p. 126.

31. *ibid.*

called *katt*. He describes plantations on the borders of swamps, refers to Turkish tribes which inhabited the area and were called *Bhattevaryan*. Regarding trade relations he informs us: "This (Rajawari) is the farthest place to which our merchants trade, and beyond which they never pass."³² Alberuni and Kufi supply some indirect evidence for assessing the economic and commercial situation of Kashmir.

Alberuni describes rainfall in the region,³³ and observes: "Kashmir has no *varshakala* (tropical rains in summer) but continual snowfall during two and a half months, beginning with Magha, and shortly after the middle of Caitra continual rains set in for a few days, melting the snow and cleaning the earth."³⁴

While some other sources refer to contact between Qannauj and Kashmir, from Alberuni we know about contact between Gujarat and Kashmir. He says that every day they brought a jug of Ganges water and a basket of flowers from Kashmir for the Somnath temple.³⁵

It appears from Alberuni that festivals in Kashmir had either historical or climatic basis. On the second of the month of Caitra a festival was celebrated by the people of Kashmir called Agdus to commemorate the victory gained by their King, Muttai, over the Turks.³⁶ About another festival he gives the following information :

"Jivasarman relates that the people of Kashmir celebrate a festival on the 26th and 27th of this month (i. e. Bhadrapada) on account of certain pieces of wood called *gana* which the water of the river Vitasta (Jailam) carries in those two days, through the capital Adhishthana."³⁷

32. *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 208.

33. *ibid*, I, p. 211.

34. *ibid.*, pp. 211-212.

35. *ibid.*, II, p. 104.

36. *ibid.*, II, p. 178.

37. *ibid.*, II, p. 181.

Alberuni's is in fact the first detailed account of Kashmir that we get in Central Asian sources. He wrote at least 125 years before Kalhana. A comparative study of Alberuni and Kalhana may be of value in understanding the social milieu of Kashmir during the 11th and the 12th centuries.

With the rise of Mongols and as a result of the problems that came in its wake, Kashmir entered another phase of its history. In the 13th and 14th centuries Kashmir like other Central Asian lands became the centre of a great religious crisis. The Ilkhans, who were Buddhists earlier, got converted to Islam and the entire region came in the grip of an unprecedented religious ferment. That Muhammad bin Tughluq was also contemplating to send missionaries to Kashmir³⁸ shows the nature of activity going on there.

Rashid-u'd-din Fazlullah (ob. 1318), the famous Ilkhanid Wazir, wrote about Kashmir inspired as much by his global concept of history as the intriguing phenomenon of Buddhist conversions in Central Asia and Kashmir. He writes:

"Now that the world from one end to the other is under one or the other branch of the Chingiz Khanids, philosophers, astronomers, scholars and historians of all sects and religions connected with Khita, ancient India, Kashmir, Tibet, Uighur, as well as other people like the Turks, Arabs and Franks are before our eyes in large numbers and every one of them has books containing the history, chronology and religious thought of those countries and they are also conversant with these subjects."

He devoted Chapter VI of his *Tarikh-i Hind wa Sind* to an account of the rulers of Kashmir. It is significant to note that while Rashid-u'd-din's four general chapters about India are mainly based on Alberuni whom he calls 'pride of scholars', his chapter on Kashmir is based on his personal investigations. Kashmir's significance at that time was in the wider context of medieval religious thought, particularly Buddhism. The Buddhism of Iran, Karl Jahn has sug-

38. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 288.

gested, stood to a great extent in the shadow of Kashmir and India than of eastern Buddhism.³⁹ This basic fact of Central Asian history explains the interest of Rashid-u'd-din in the history of Kashmir.

Rashid-u'd-din's Indian informant was Kamalashri Bakhshi whom we know from Rashid-u'd-din's account as an expert on the history of India and Buddhism.

Arghun (1284-1291) and his son Ghazan (1295-1304) were, until their conversion to Islam, ardent promoters of Buddhism. Ghazan's conversion to Islam in 1295 led to destruction of Buddhist centres in Central Asia.

Karl Jahn says that for political reasons Kashmir and parts of India "were incorporated more closely in the Ilkhanic than in the Great Khanic sphere of influence".⁴⁰ Muhammad bin Tughluq's desire to propagate Islam in Kashmir was perhaps due to his contact with Ilkhanid Sultan Abu Sa'id with whom he had correspondence and whose letters are preserved in *Bayaz-i-Tajuddin Wazir*.⁴¹ Nizam-u'd-din Bakhshi refers to Abu Sa'id's relations with the rulers of Kashmir though the name of the ruler has been wrongly mentioned by him.⁴²

The historical portion of Rashid-u'd-din's book relating to Kashmir is a short and superficial summary of the country's past, but reveals undoubted acquaintance of Kamalashri with the mythological and historical conditions of his fatherland. Kamalashri follows on the tracks of Kalhana and opens no fresh perspectives. It appears that Rashid-u'd-din found in his time two historiographical traditions in operation with reference to Kashmir – one represented by Alberuni and the other by Kalhana. He wove them into a pattern by throwing Kamalashri's account in between.

39. Rashid-u'd-din's *History of India*, p. XXXIII.

40. *History of India*, p. XXXIV.

41. *Bayaz-i Tajuddin Wazir*, ed. by Iraj Afshar and Murtuza Timuri, Tehran, 1353.

42. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 440.

Mirza Haider Dughlat wrote his history to preserve the memory of the Mughals who in his opinion were speedily declining and their power was becoming 'a dream of the past'.⁴³ He did not know what a brilliant future lay for the Mughals in India. He was serious about his job of writing the history of the times. The first part was written in Kashmir in 1544-46. (The second part which was written in 1541-42 contains autobiographical details). His chapters dealing with a geographical description of Kashmir, its wonders, conversion of Kashmir to Islam, the Sultans of Kashmir and the religious sects of Kashmir are interesting and informative so far as they go.⁴⁴ Regarding cultivation in Kashmir he says:

"The cultivation is: (1) by irrigation (*abi*), (2) on land not needing artificial irrigation, (3) gardens, and (4) level ground, where the river banks abound in violets and many coloured flowers."⁴⁵

He refers to lofty buildings constructed of fresh cut pine. "Most of these are five storeys high." The passages in the markets and streets of the city were paved with hewn stone. He mentions some crafts like stone-polishing, bottle-making, gold-beating etc.⁴⁶ His account of Nurbakhshis is rather critical.

Mirza Haider did not approve of the information supplied by Sharafuddin Yezdi in his *Zafar Namah*.⁴⁷ "He is not consistent", remarks the Mirza and continues: "He had never been there himself, but derived his information from travellers who had not a proper regard for accuracy."⁴⁸ However Yezdi's following

43. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, tr. p. 1.

44. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 423-437.

45. *ibid.*, p. 425.

46. *ibid.*, p. 434.

47. *Zafar Namah*, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 177-180.

48. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 430.

information is revealing:⁴⁹

در میان کو ہزار . . . دہ ہزار قریہ معمور ہست -
در تمام آن ولایت صد ہزار دیہ محل عمارت و
زراعت است

4. *The Mughal Approach:*

With the establishment of Mughal authority, a new phase begins in the historical writings of Kashmir. Akbar had a fascination for history and had put a number of scholars at the court to historical writings. At his instance Mulla Shah Muhammad Shahabadi had translated *Raja Tarangini* into Persian. But perhaps this translation was not considered upto the mark and Abdul Qadir Badaoni had to do it again in 1590-91. Another Persian translation by Maulana Imdad-ud-din is referred to by Sujan Rai in his *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*.

It appears that Akbar had taken possession of and preserved some literature which was produced in Kashmir under the Sultans. Satum had written a comprehensive account of Zain-ul 'Abidin but it is not available.⁵⁰ Books written on music and other arts also have not survived.

The value of Mughal histories for the history of Kashmir should not be under-estimated. They give information which is not available elsewhere. The relations of Bahlul Lodi, Sultan Mahmud Gujrati and others with the rulers of Kashmir have been referred to by Nizam-u'd-din.⁵¹ Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin's knowledge of the Jogi science has also been pointed out by him.⁵²

49. *Zafar Namah*, p. 178.

50. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 439.

51. *ibid*, III, p. 440.

52. *ibid.*, p. 441.

The Persian sources like *Tarikh-i Kashmir* of Mulla Shah Muhammad Shahabadi (written in 1591), was inspired by Akbar; the *Baharistan-i Shahi* (from earliest times to 1625) is the work of a Nurbakhshi saint associated with Syed Abul Ma'ali who was responsible for civil commotion in Kashmir during the reign of Yusuf Shah Chak. The *Baharistan* supplements the Sanskrit works of Prajabhatta and Suka for the periods 1486-1505 and 1537-57. The *Tarikh-i Kashmir* of Haider Malik Chadura who was in the service of Sultan Yusuf Shah Chak, and had gone in exile with him to Bihar in 1586, by a strange coincidence won the confidence of Jahangir and joined Mughal service. These three works though written by the Kashmiris have an imprint of Mughal influence.

The Mughal histories compiled by Abul Fazl, Nizam-u'd-din and Badaoni supply some very interesting details about the history of Kashmir. Nizam-u'd-din tells us that one Habib was the first to manufacture muskets in Kashmir. Nizam-u'd-din tells us that one Habib was the first to manufacture muskets in Kashmir. According to him he was peerless in his art.⁵³

”جیب آتش باز کہ تفنگ در کشیر
او پیدا کرد... در فن آتش بازی نظیر
خود نداشت“

Badaoni brings to light some saints and literary figures of Kashmir who made a contribution to the intellectual and cultural history of the area. The Mughal historians did not hesitate to recognize the achievements of the Sultans of Kashmir. Nizam-u'd-din supplies information which throws light on economic conditions in Kashmir.⁵⁴ Likewise important bits of information are scattered in other Mughal chronicles. All this information has to be pieced together in order to form some idea about the life and conditions of the people under the Sultans. Regarding fixation of prices under Zain-ul

53. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 439.

54. *ibid*, III, p. 435.

'Abidin, he says:⁵⁵

نرخ نویسی در زمان او پیداشد

Some of this information is undoubtedly derived from Jonaraja but it is worthwhile to see what type of information was culled from Kashmiri sources by the Mughal historians and what other data was ignored or suppressed.

It may be pointed out here in passing that the historians of the Delhi Sultanate supply very little information about Kashmir, but whatever bits of information we find in these works need not be ignored. Minhaj mentions Kashmir only once, in passing, in connection with Sultan Bahauddin Sam, of the Shansabanid dynasty of Tukharistan, that the boundaries of his kingdom extended in the east 'as far as the frontier of Kashmir.'⁵⁶ In the *Lubabul Albab* of 'Afi, written during the time of Iltutmish, Kashmir occurs in the verses of two Persian poets – Hakim Sharaf-uz Zaman Qatran al-Azdi al Tabrizi and Zia-u'd-din Abd al-Rafa'y al-Harawi. The former says in a *qasidah*:⁵⁷

اے بخوبی بر بتان کابل و کشمیر میر
ماندم از بس کآوری در و عداها تا خیر خیر

Zia-u'd-din Abd al-Rafa'y al-Harawi says:⁵⁸

گلبن حکایت از بیت کشمیر میکند
سوسن نشان ز لعبت فرخار میدهد

Amir Khusrau refers to the Kashmiri language as one of the main languages of the country.⁵⁹ An important literary work of the

55. *ibid*, III, p. 436.

56. *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Raverty Tr., p. 431.

57. *Lubab-ul-Albab*, ed. Browne, II, p. 216.

58. *ibid.*, II, p. 333.

59. *Nuh Sipihr*, p. 179.

Sultanate period which shows that under Muhammad bin Tughluq there was keen interest in knowing about the social and cultural life of Kashmir is the *Basatin ul Uns* of Ikhtasan. His story is derived from Kashmir and the references to the life of the people there are interesting. This work is important as much to understand the political and cultural perspective of Muhammad bin Tughluq as the life of medieval Kashmir.⁶⁰

No historiographical survey of Kashmir can ignore the non-political literature in evaluating its history and culture. The aspirations of the people and the spirit of the age can best be studied in the non-political literature. But this literature would call for the application of tools of enquiry and analysis different from those used for political chronicles.

The most outstanding name in this connection is that of the saint of the Kubrawiya order, Syed Ali Hamadani (ob. 1385). With him begins an era of great spiritual activity in Kashmir. The fact that he entered Kashmir with several hundred disciples who settled in different parts of the region is too important to be ignored. Only through efforts to collect mystic works, *malfuzat*, poetic compositions and letters of these saints can one construct an image of the social and spiritual atmosphere of Kashmir at a very crucial period. Paying tribute to Syed Ali Hamadani's impact on Kashmir, Iqbal says:

خطہ را آن شاہ دریا آستیں
دار علم و صنعت و تہذیب و دین

How his impact was felt on education, arts and crafts, culture and religion can be estimated with some exactness only when his works are carefully analysed and interpreted. For instance his *Zakhirat-ul-Muluk* would yield considerable material of historical significance if any critical study of the work co-relates his theoretical exposition with the actual socio-political milieu. No thought exists in a vacuum and the saint's observations therefore have a relevance for the

60. My colleague Mr. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi is working on *Basatin-ul Uns*.

society in which it was written. His *Risala Aurad-i Fathiya* and *Risalah Fathiya* contain many valuable pieces of information for the student of cultural and religious history. Without tapping all this literature no critical assessment of the social and religious trends in Kashmir can be undertaken. When he entered Kashmir he had already assimilated the mystic tradition of the time. Frequent references in his *maktubat* to the verses of Khwaja Farid-u'd-din 'Attar and others reveal his awareness of the thought of the early mystics. He even prepared a summary of the *Mantiq ut Tayyar* of 'Attar (*اختيارات منطق الطير*). His exhortations about education are significant and reveal the nature of his activity. His commentary on the *Fusus-ul Hikam* of Ibn-i Arabi is one of the earliest commentaries of that important mystical treatise. No history of the development of Muslim religious thought in Kashmir can be written without reference to this commentary and a careful analysis of the thought of Sayyid Ali Hamadani in this context. How he rejects, accepts and amends some of the Buddhist trends of thought which were in the air will also have to be investigated in the broader framework of Kashmir history during the medieval period.

The letters of Sayyid Ali Hamadani are also of great historical value. Among the persons whom he addressed these letters are the rulers of Badakhshan and Kashmir. In the political sphere his relations with Timur and the factors that led to estrangement with him need careful analysis.

The Nurbakhshi and Rishi traditions in the history of Islamic mystical thought in Kashmir also deserve careful study. In this connection literature on Nubakhshis, the songs and sayings of the Rishis, their contact with non-Muslim population, their humanistic approach and efforts to build up a society free from tensions will have to be studied in depth.

Professional historians at one time looked askance at oral research but in recent times its value has come to be better realized. After blending the documentary and oral source materials, a more lively picture of Kashmir during the medieval period can be prepared. The songs and sayings of mystic teachers, itinerants, etc. can be profitably utilized for this purpose. William Baum's *Transcribing and Editing Oral History* and Ramon Harris' *The*

Practice of Oral History have shown what material of sociological significance can be gathered from such sources.

The history of Kashmir will have to be supplemented by the poetic literature.⁶¹ If Kroeber's observation in his *Configurations of Culture Growth* that poetry reveals better than prose the spirit of an age is correct, the value of a critical study of poetical literature produced in Kashmir cannot be gainsaid. But the tools of historical criticism and evaluation which will be applied to this literature would be different from those applied to political chronicles or mystical records. A continuous process of analysis and synthesis of the source material drawn from different and diverse sources alone can help in the preparation of a comprehensive history of Kashmir.

(Key Note Address at a Seminar on
Contemporary Sources for the History of Kashmir
at Srinagar, on May 16, 1983)

61. Mirza's *Tazkirah Shu'ara-i Kashmir* (edited by Syed Husamuddin Rashidi, Iqbal Academy, Karachi,) is informative so far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. There is greater scope of work on earlier poets from the cultural and historical points of view.

The Heart of Voltaire

In March, 1762 an aged Protestant of Toulouse, Jean Calas, was sentenced to death by torture, on a *false* charge of having murdered his son in order to prevent his conversion to the Catholic Church. The executioner shattered the bones of Calas's limbs and chest with blows of an iron bar, bound him to the wheel and then drew out his body several inches beyond its normal length. Water was then poured down his throat until his body swelled to twice its natural size. The Church priests stood near by demanding confession. "I am innocent", cried Calas. "Wretch", shrieked David, the fanatic Magistrate of the City, "there is the fire which will burn your body to ashes! Speak the truth". Calas could speak no longer, but his lips kept framing the words: "I am innocent". Calas's tortured body was burnt.

Voltaire heard of this atrocious punishment from a member of the Calas family. It put his own heart on the rack, and roused him to the supreme effort of his career. He took up cudgels against the Church and cried out: *Ecrasez L' Infame* (Crush the infamous thing). In whatever he wrote – pamphlets, tracts, personal satires, fables, philosophical romances, poems, and epistles – he exhorted his readers to *crush the infamous*. A genius of mockery¹ as he was, he believed that "nothing is so effective in crushing superstition as ridicule." He launched his most sharply barbed shafts at the super-

1. Vide Victor Thaddeus's delightful book "Voltaire, Genius of Mockery", (Brentano's Ltd. 1928).

stitious priests and the degraded institutions of religion.² Priests and clergymen were naturally offended. They could hardly allow this laughing castigator of Christianity to escape scot-free. Failing to weak vengeance on the living man, they exacted retribution from the dead. His body was tossed to and fro like a shuttlecock, while strange adventures befell his heart.

Voltaire died on the 30th of May, 1778 at Paris. Only a few hours before his death, his nephew Abbe Mignot sent for the parish priest, Father Gaultier and the Cure of St. Sulpice. They came with a retraction, hoping that Voltaire would sign it and then receive the last sacrament; but, in a state of half-insensibility he petulantly motioned them away. The clergymen cursed him bell, book and candle, and forbade his Christian burial. The Archbishop of Paris was approached but he bluntly refused to allow his interment. Now, the *Academie* sent petitions to the Minister for Public Affairs, the famous Count de Maurepas. The minister could not countermand the order of the Archbishop and therefore rejected the petition with the remark: *The devil has carried Voltaire off.*

The relatives were for a moment in a quandary as to what to do, but soon they hit upon a plan. Madame Denis, Marquis de Vilette and Abbe Mignot dressed his corpse in a dressing gown and night cap, placed it bolt upright in the carriage, and in the dead of the night they secretly drove to the Abbey of the Bernardians at Scellieres in Champagne, a hundred miles or so from Paris. The name of Voltaire was as good as unknown to the solitary monks of this place. Here Voltaire was interred on the 2nd of June. Only a small stone marked his resting place, with the bald inscription: *Here Lies Voltaire.*

A couple of hours after the burial, the prior received the following Communication from the Bishop of Troyes, to whose diocese Scellieres belonged:

"I have just learned, monsieur, that the family of M. de Vol-

2. Andre Maurois writes: "Voltairean became a regular adjective, defined in one famous dictionary as a man who has feelings of mocking incredulity regarding Christianity." (Voltaire p. 146).

taire, who died some days ago, have decided to transport his body to your Abbey for interment. I hope very much that you have not yet proceeded to that interment, which might have disagreeable consequences for you; and if, as I trust, the burial has not yet taken place you have only to declare that you cannot proceed in it without express orders from me."³

It was too late. Orders were now issued to dig up the body and "throw it to the kennels". It was too much. Powerful friends of the dead man prevailed upon the Church to refrain from this insult.

But there was no rest to the earthly remains of this mighty and unquiet spirit. Thirteen years passed, and at its height the Revolution recognized its intellectual father. His tragedy *Brutus* became its manifesto on the stage, and every performance of it was a political demonstration.⁴

In 1790 the Revolutionary France decided to nationalize the Church property. "Sell all the ecclesiastical property", declared a lady, "We will never get rid of the wild beasts till we have destroyed their lairs."⁵ Voltaire's dream was realised after his death. He had struggled all through his life to disarm the Church and end theocracy. In November 1790, Charles Vilette appealed to the people 'in the name of the country' to bring to Paris the remains of Voltaire with revolutionary honours. "This translation will be the dying sigh of fanaticism," he declared.⁶

On June 1, 1791, the National Assembly made Louis XVI sign the decree which ordained that the ashes of his great enemy should be transferred from Champagne to the Pantheon of France. On July

3. Victor Thaddeus. Voltaire, *Genius of Mockery*, p. 263 Thaddeus (p. 263), H.N. Brailford (Voltaire, p. 244) and Alfred Noyes (Voltaire, p. 616) say that this interdiction reached a few hours after the burial. Tallentyre (*The Life of Voltaire*, Vol. II, p. 330) however says that it was received the next day.

4. Brailsford, p. 245

5. Madelin, *The French Revolution*, p. 140.

6. Tallentyre, p. 336.

6, a funeral car, decked with laurels and oak leaves escorted by a detachment of the new National Guard left for Champagne. The tomb was opened, and there, says an eye-witness, "lay Voltaire as if in sleep, so still and calm was his face; but as the air swept over it, it suddenly changed, and could no longer be recognized." Charles Vilette was present on this occasion and he picked up the heart from the urn. The car carried the ashes to Paris. As it passed through the villages, the villagers came out to greet it with wreaths of flowers and laurels in their hands. On July 10, the cortege reached Paris. The sarcophagus was placed on an altar on that tower of the Bastille in which Voltaire had been twice a prisoner. On the altar was the inscription: *On this spot where despotism chained thee receive the homage of a free people.* The funeral car was then drawn through Paris in a big procession. It first stopped at the Opera House. The operatic company sang that song in Voltaire's *Samson* which had become the song of the Revolution:

Wake, ye people! Break your chains!

After the Opera House, the car reached the Tuileries. Every window was filled with spectators, except one. "Behind that, closed and barred, sat the most unhappy of monarchs, Louis and Marie Antoinette, awaiting doom." At last the Pantheon was reached and the ashes of Voltaire were buried near the tombs of Descartes and Mirabeau. On the walls of the Pantheon was the inscription: *To great men the fatherland – in gratitude.*

In 1814 the Bourbons came to power again. Their hatred for Voltaire was hereditary. The Royalists and the priests conspired and rifled the tombs of Voltaire and Rousseau. Between one and two in the morning the marauders bundled their sack of bones into the hackney-coach and hurried out of the city to a waste ground where they emptied the sack. According to Jacob Bibliophile, who assiduously pried into the matter, quicklime was heaped upon the bones so that they would be eaten out of existence.

In 1864, when the French Republic had been firmly established, the sarcophagus in the Pantheon was opened to verify rumours of what had happened, it was found to be empty.

While his body was being thus entombed and disentombed, the heart too had to experience many terrible vicissitudes. Charles

Vilette was formerly Marquis de Vilette. He became an ardent revolutionary in 1790. He considered Voltaire as the morning star of the Revolution. It was out of excessive love for the Prophet of Revolution that he had stolen his heart. He wished to own all the things associated with Voltaire. He induced Madame Denis, the principal heiress of Voltaire, to sell the Chateau Ferney, where he promised he would erect a magnificent monument for the heart. Poor Denis was entrapped by the subtle insinuation of this crafty man. Vilette got possession of the beautiful Ferney and all its costly furniture. He forgot his promise and it was under the glazed Dutch tiles of an old stove that one could read inscribed:

His spirit is everywhere, but his heart is here.

Soon after, Vilette sold Ferney to an English gentleman, deluding him that the heart still lay within the stove, whereas Vilette had removed it to his house in Paris.

Charles Vilette was not a man of consistent political convictions. He was subject to violent paroxysms of love and hate. Strangely enough his passion for Voltaire was suddenly transformed into a bitter hatred. He scornfully cast off the heart into the lumber room. But soon the fit of hatred was over and the relic was again put with great reverence in his saloon which bore the sign:

The Chamber of the Heart

Charles Vilette died in 1793. He bequeathed the heart to his son who in his turn gave it to a bishop. In 1860 a lawsuit was filed against the Bishop by the descendants of Vilette. The case was heard by the assizes of Clermout and the decision was pronounced in favour of the Marquis Vilette's heir. He now placed the precious relic in a beautiful silver case. In 1864 when it was proposed that the heart be restored to other remains; the sarcophagus at Sainte Genevieve (the Pantheon) was opened but it was found empty. At last, the heirs of the Marquis made a present of the heart to the *Academie Francaise*. Even today the heart is there.

*(Meerut College Magazine,
March 1943; The Aligarh
Magazine, Winter Number, 1950)*

Arab Accounts of India

India's relations with the Arab world go back to hoary past. Long before the rise of Islam, there was brisk commercial contact between India and Arabia and the Arab traders carried Indian goods to the European markets by way of Egypt and Syria. Elphinstone has rightly observed that from the days of Joseph to the days of Marco Polo and Vasco de Gama the Arabs were the captains of Indian commerce. There were large number of Arab colonies on the western coast of India and many Indian settlements in the Arab countries. Ubul, for instance, was known as *arz-ul-Hind* on account of the large number of Indians who inhabited that region. When Islam spread and the Arabs got converted to Islam, these colonies continued to flourish as before. The Indian rajas appointed Muslim judges, known as *hunarman*, to decide their cases and provided all facilities to them to organize their community life. Commercial contact led to cultural relations and while large number of Arab navigational and other terms were adopted by the Indians, Indian customs, institutions and practices found their way to Arabia. Philologists have traced three Sanskrit words – *mishk* (musk), *zanjbil* (ginger), and *kafur* (camphor) – in the Quran. An Indian raja is reported to have sent Indian pickle to the Prophet. The Prophet's remark that 'he received sweet fragrance from India' has been quoted by many later writers. Azad Bilgrami has dealt in his *Subhat-ul-Marjan* with many traditions of the Prophet in which reference is made to India. According to Ibn Khallikan, Imam Husain's son, Imam Zainul Abidin, was born of an Indian mother. Imam Bukhari informs us that once when Hazrat 'Aisha (wife of the Prophet) fell ill, her nephews called an Indian physician for her treatment.

On Sources and Source Material

Lately the discovery of Geniza records has brought to light many interesting details about Indo-Arab relations in the field of trade and commerce. These documents throw invaluable light on commercial activity between India and the Mediterranean countries from Hama to Tangiers.

Indo-Arab relations entered a new phase when Mamun established a *bait-u'l-hikma* at Baghdad and initiated a programme of translations from Sanskrit to Arabic. As a result, a class of bilingual scholars – which knew both Arabic and Sanskrit – came into existence. India at that time stood at the pinnacle of its cultural glory and intellectual achievements. Indian contributions in the field of mathematics, medicine, rhetorics etc. had won the approbation of the Arab intellectuals who transmitted Indian contributions in different fields of art and science to the outside world. Arabia thus acted as a channel for transmitting Indian science to distant lands. Then followed a movement for the study of Indian culture and social life. The accounts about India found in the works of Shahrastani, Mas'udi, Ibn Khurdazbih, Sulaiman Tajir and others are extremely valuable. This tradition came to an end with Alberuni. In fact he was the last, not the first as is commonly believed, in that long chain of scholars who undertook a study of Indian culture and traditions in the light of original source material.

Perhaps no Indian ruler attracted as much attention of the Arab scholars as Muhammad bin Tughluq. It is interesting to note that while Indian scholars had nothing but condemnation for him, the foreign scholars had nothing but praise for his unbounded generosity, vast erudition, intellectual achievements and administrative genius. The accounts of *Subh-ul-Asha*, *al Durar-al-Kaminah*, *al-Ayan-ul-Asr*, *Masalik-ul-Absar*, etc. are not only full of valuable details about the social, political and geographical conditions of India during the 14th century, but help us in studying the Delhi Sultanate in the wider perspective of Afro-Asian history.

Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi was the first scholar who made an extensive and critical study of Indo-Arab relations and did pioneering work in the field. His *Arab-O-Hind kay Ta'lluqat* is a classic of historical research and painstaking collection of material. Some years back the *Dar-ul-Musannifin* published two volumes of extracts from early Arab accounts about India. Though not without

Arab Accounts of India

some textual errors, these volumes are very helpful in evaluating Indo-Arab relations during the medieval period. Maulana Athar Mubarakpuri's works on early Arab states on the Indian coast and India during the time of the Prophet contain lot of useful material.

Dr. Mohd. Zaki has drawn attention to the contribution of Arab scholars to our understanding of Indian cultural traditions, religious attitudes and social habits. He has given in the Introduction a useful summary of the information found about India in the early Arab records. He has incorporated English translations of *Masalik-ul-Absar* and *Subhul Asha* as published by Dr. Otto Spies several decades back and has added accounts of Muhammad bin Tughluq from *Kitab-ul-Wafi bil Wafayai*, *Al-Durar-al-Kaminah* and *Muqaddimah* of Ibn Khaldun. Mr. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, and Qazi M. Ahmad had published in 1971 a translation of *Masalik-ul-Absar* based on a revised text published by Prof. Khurshid Ahmad Fariq. All this literature has been taken into account.

It is hoped this collection would be found useful by all students and scholars of Indian and Islamic history.

(Foreword for *Arab Accounts of India*,
prepared by Dr. M. Zaki
Published under *Crescent Lotus Series*, 1981)

"The Ghunyat-ul-Munya"

A study of music during the medieval period of Indian history has been a great desideratum in our historical researches. Perhaps ignorance of technical details has stood in the way of undertaking a comprehensive study of the subject. The present work which deals with the technique and procedure, art and science, of harmony and rhythm appertaining to song, dance and drama during the medieval period is, therefore, a contribution of abiding value to the study of socio-cultural history of the peirod.

I have been in close touch with the analysis and editing of this text as the work on it progressed. As such, the difficulties which beset the editor have been in full view of all of us. Of these difficulties the most challenging one has been the circumstance that collation and comparison of the text was not possible as only one copy of the work was available. Moreover the author, although he based his discussions on Sanskrit classics, preferred to lean more on Prakrit – in necessary cases – even on popular rendering of the terms. This added to the task. I am gad that Mr. Sarmadee has successfully overcome all these difficulties, and has been able to give us an excellently edited text of *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*. He has done the job of an editor with meticulous care and conscientious application which deserves the approbation of all scholars of history. He has prepared English ranslation of the entire book and has further added to its value by incorporating copious footnotes and detailed appendices. Enlarged replicas of about two dozen coloured drawings found incorporated in the photocopy of the original have made the text extremely useful. These drawings are very intimately executed representations of the instuments of music, of all the four categories in common vogue at the time. 'Afif, a contemporary of the author of

the present work, has noticed almost all of these – collectively calling them as *Alat-i-Tarab* and *Tabl-u-Damama*, meaning instruments of the concert art and the military band, and individually naming them as well. In themselves these authentic sketches raise a vital point of history, too. For instance, a look at the number of holes in the flute and on the finger-board of *Vina*, may reveal the changing facets of this art at its very base during the later Tughluq period.

Mr. Sarmadee has rendered an unique service to all scholars and students of medieval Indian history by editing this rare work on a difficult but fascinating subject. His intimate knowledge of the subject – practical and theoretical – has been an asset in deciphering and interpreting many a obscure passage in the manuscript. I am sure this edition of *Ghunyat-ul-Munya* will be of immense value to scholars engaged in researches on the socio-cultural history of medieval India.

(Preface for *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*,
edited by Mr. Shahab Sarmadee, 1978.)

Abdul Qadir Badaoni

"*The Muntakhab-Al-Tawarikh*" remarked Von Noer in his German study of Akbar, "is one of the most valuable sources for the biography of Akbar, the invectives and detractions of its author being often more informing than the laboured praises of Abul Fazl." And he was, no doubt, correct.

Love and hatred are the two strongest passions in man and both refuse to see a man in his original light and shade. Abul Fazl's love of Akbar – that 'paragon of greatness' – made him see nothing but virtue and wisdom in whatever he did or planned to do. Badaoni looked upon him as a 'renegade' who, surrounded by sycophants and minions, crossed the Rubicon and indulged in religious experiments. Neither the one nor the other gives the whole truth – simply because the motivations of both were different. Abul Fazl wrote to please his master whose likes and dislikes have therefore determined his selection and rejection of data; Badaoni wrote to please his fanatic 'conscience', and so his own prejudices find a projection in the book. Only a very intelligent probe can lead a reader to the inner chambers of Abul Fazl's thought where his assessments of men and movements were made. He is guarded, careful and uses the language of "go mago". Badaoni's assessment of his contemporaries betrays his personal rancour, jealousy and prejudice. But his psychology was simpler. He said whatever was in his heart, and he could be brave by proxy.

Psychohistory can provide effective tools to a modern writer to analyse the thought and personality of both these contemporary historians of Akbar. Unless the psychological background of their writings is carefully investigated, it is not possible to use scientifically

the data supplied by them. Dr. (Mrs) Zarrin Abbas has done valuable work which will facilitate a psychohistoric analysis of Badaoni's work. She has very carefully studied his thought, his personality and his motivations in the light of the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* and the *Najat-ur-Rashid*. Such a study was a great desideratum and Dr. Zarrin Abbas deserves the felicitations of all students of Mughal history for filling this gap with such insight and depth of understanding.

Unfortunately we have become so used to prefabricated jackets of theories that once we place a historian in a category we ignore all further investigations about his thought and motivations and consider human behaviour to be a unilinear phenomenon. Despite all the limitations of a court chronicler and all his apparent dedication to Akbar's views, one cannot fail to discover in the pages of Abul Fazl instances of disagreement with Akbar. Similarly, notwithstanding all his criticism of Akbar's religious experiments, Badaoni had not the remotest sympathy with the enemies of Akbar's throne. Akbar the ruler was Badaoni's hero; Akbar the religious leader was the target of his criticism. On careful delineation of these two trends of thought in a single individual, depends the proper evaluation and interpretation of data supplied by him. Dr. Zarrin Abbas's effort has been to make a clear and objective analysis of Badaoni's historical approach. She has been remarkably successful in her effort.

With the publication of Badaoni's *Najat-ur-Rashid* many dimensions of Badaoni's thought have come to light. What the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* is for the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Ziauddin Barani, the *Najat-ur-Rashid* is for the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Badaoni. We find in *Najat-ur-Rashid* a theoretical exposition of Badaoni's views on various problems of religion and politics. Under a given situation in Akbar's reign, his assessment derives its inspiration from his theoretical knowledge as propounded in *Najat-ur-Rashid*. Badaoni was opposed to rebellion, he condemns it theoretically in *Najat-ur-Rashid* and sticks to this position while dealing with the rebellions of Akbar's reign. He criticises Akbar for his religious experiments in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* and provides a theoretical justification for his criticism in *Najat-ur-Rashid*.

One can disagree with the views or approach of Badaoni, but his conspectus of history was a positive contribution to Indian historiographical tradition. He surveyed the historical landscape not merely from the foot of the royal throne, but viewed it also from the hut, the *maktab*, the *madrasah* and the *khanqah*. No other single work of the period provides so comprehensive information about the social, intellectual and religious trends of the period.

Dr. Zarrin Abbas has very patiently and objectively analysed every trend in Badaoni's thought. She has evaluated his contribution to history and historiography and has given us a full portrait of his personality. I hope this book will be read with interest by all students, as well as general scholars, of Mughal history.

(Foreword for
Abdul Qadir Badauni
by Dr. Fauzia Zarrin Abbas, 1987)

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