

PERSIAN POETRY
OF
THE KINGS OF INDIA

A Thesis for Ph.D. (Persian)

1933

BY

S. Y. HASHIMĪ.

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Preface.

When I consulted my instructor, Sir W.D.Ross, as to the subject of my dissertation for the Ph.D. degree in Persian, my own inclinations, not unnaturally, tended towards a theme treating the relationship between Persia and my home-land India. Personal interest had suggested to me a critical review of Persian poetry in India, but acting upon Sir W.D.Ross's expert advice I restricted the subject to its present scope.

In the course of my work I found to my regret that insufficiency of material would not permit me to deal with every royal poet exhaustively, and I came finally to the arrangement which I followed in these pages. The main substance of the work includes only those Indian kings who have left behind enough verses on which to base an appreciation. The rest, embodied in two appendices, have been divided into two groups: first, royal poets of whom only a few poems could be quoted, and secondly, kings and princes who, though hardly poets in the customary sense are yet known as authors of occasional verses.

The names of Indian royal poetesses have been added to complete the enumeration, and I have allowed myself an exception in dealing with Aurangzib's daughter, Zibu'n-Nisa, in a separate Appendix D. Although she cannot be counted into the category of poets implied by my subject, I hesitated to suppress all mention of her for the interest yielded by the question of her authorship.

concerning a complete Diwan of about six hundred poems.

As for the selection of poems to be cited as illustrations of the merits and defects of their royal authors, little was left to my choice because with most of them the material is rather limited. Wherever possible, I have tried to give consideration to their literary value as well as to their historical interest. This, I hope, will be justified by the exceptional position which these poets take in their ordinary life whereby an allusion to remarkable incidents wins in importance, a reason which further induced me to pay attention to such poems for which a date of origination could be fixed.

As a rule, the selected poems have been arranged in closed groups, and only in a few instances additional verses have been introduced into the appreciation when their general appearance did not further an inclusion among the typical poems, but special points in them allowed a better discussion of the subject on hand. For the same reason I abstained from quoting full poems in cases where a selection could serve my purposes of criticism.

Verses wrongly attributed to royal poets have usually been dealt with while discussing those authors, and I have made an exception only with a few poems, transferring them to a separate appendix in order to save the continuity of my text.

The English versions of the poems are my own and I have, to the best of my abilities, tried to combine literal translation and clearness. I am regretfully aware of my shortcomings as the beauty of rhyme and rhythm must necessarily be lost in

the attempt, and I can only offer them as a help towards their interpretation, for which purpose the explanatory notes may be of further assistance. In some instances I have here also attempted to explain the meaning of mystic verses which I offer in the same spirit as my own interpretations.

For the English text the rules of transcription as laid down by the Royal Asiatic Society and adopted by E.G.Browne have been followed with some minor exceptions.

Words which are essential for the continuity of the English text, though not contained in the Persian original, have been added in round brackets (...). In some exceptional cases, where a verbal translation might have been misleading or too unfamiliar, an appropriate English word has been substituted and the Persian original has been enclosed in /.../ .

Wherever possible, dates have been given in the years of the Muhammadan as well as the Christian era, thus: Babur 888/1483 - 938/1530. If only one date occurs, e.g. (d.1530), it is implied to mean the year of the Christian era.

No strict standard has been followed for the appreciation of the royal authors. The works of Persian scholars offer no precedents in this respect to which I might have looked for my guidance. Under these circumstances I considered it the best course to introduce parallel poems of renowned authors as a standard for my literary as well as aesthetic criticism. If a consideration of the authors' exalted station in life could not be avoided altogether, an explanation may be found in the unusual circle of royal poets in which we are moving here.

It is a peculiar feature of this thesis that, apart from their outer connection of poetry and kingship, the royal authors dealt with in the different chapters present quite independent themes. A period covering eight centuries had to be treated, and a great number of works had to be introduced, be it as the main, or as an auxiliary source. The bibliography has, consequently, grown into an unusually large volume, but I abstained from inserting separate accounts at the end of each chapter as to my opinion the loss of compactness would not have been compensated by the gain of shorter individual bibliographies. Too many works, moreover, appear on more than one occasion and would have to be mentioned again and again. In a few cases I could not avoid to quote two different copies of the same work when the one happened to contain a necessary reference missing in the other and vice versa. A few parallel compositions have been quoted from my private notes taken during the course of my studies of Persian poetry.

It remains for me to acknowledge gratefully the expert advice and kind encouragement given to me by Sir E.D.Ross, my instructor, who, in spite of his extremely busy days, has gone through the whole of my thesis and whose suggestions have been an invaluable help in my work.

The School of Oriental

Studies, London,

S. Y. Hashimi.

May 24th, 1933.

Introduction.

Our task - standard of appreciation - influence
of the royal poets - their sources of inspiration -
the main royal poets - conclusion.

§1. "History", says Macaulay, "at least in its state of perfection, is a compound of poetry and philosophy." Applying this with a little variation to our present theme, our task would appear to be twofold. To seek out the kings in their magnificent audience halls, reciting their verses to flattering courtiers and ambitious statesmen; in the privacy of their own rooms where personal feeling might guide their pen more candidly; on their battlefields, victorious or fugitive; on their paths of humiliation, soliciting shelter and aid, or owning defeat; and on their death-beds, whether in a splendid palace, a gloomy dungeon, or facing the sacred Ka'ba at Mecca.

Our second task, on the other hand, would be to sift the material thus collected, to strip the authors of their royal garments and look behind them for the human character, to ordain them their real and permanent place, no longer dependent upon the mundane power of their exalted position and the enthusiasm of their courtiers, but solely upon the value of their poetry, upon the greatness of mind that conceived the ideas, and the perfection of learning that wrapped them into befitting words.

The interval of time between their days and ours will allow

us to view them dispassionately, to criticise unsparingly their faults of negligence, of insincerity, of blind submission to fashion; but it will further allow us to look for their merits without the misgivings of partisanship, or the fear of displeasure from rival kings.

§2. All the same, the standard by which to judge these royal poets must to some degree be different from that by which one would appreciate the so-called professionals, and in fixing it the advantages and disadvantages accruing to their poetry from their superior position must be borne in mind.

Brought up in environments which were highly favourable to literary and poetical pursuits, fostered in the old tradition of patronising the art, equipped with the best education the learned of their age could impart, living in a time when verse-making was a fashionable accomplishment, and destined, most of them, to lead romantic lives of strife and adventure, they appear singularly favoured by the Muse.

But the balance is held even by a series of disadvantages which, curiously enough, arose from the same source, their noble birth. Beginning with Babur, who was driven from his ancestral throne and set out to conquer himself a new kingdom, the long line of royal poets in India can hardly show a monarch who enjoyed a peaceful reign throughout. Most of their time, consequently, was devoted to affairs of the state, to military expeditions, offensive or defensive, or spent in exile, and thus left them little leisure for the aesthetic pleasure of poetry.

Nor was for many of them the composition of a poem more than the gratification of a whim, an amusement in which they indulged as a pastime and because fashion demanded it. Their works can scarcely be said to bear throughout the mark of that genuine passion which urges the poet to form his thoughts in rhyme and rhythm.

Most of all, however, was their exalted station a great handicap to improvement when it deprived them of outspoken and frank criticism. If we are accustomed to hear that few poets can accept a critical review of their work with grace, it is hardly to be wondered that no one cared to stand up in court and point out to his sovereign in which respect his efforts had failed to fulfil the requirements of good prosody. An instance has been preserved where a court poet was indiscreet enough to submit such a criticism with regard to the measure of a verse composed by Akbar. He was given occasion to repent his imprudence in prison. The decree of infallibility was applied as much to royal verses:

قصیدہ اکبر کے کلام

"verses of kings are kings of verses"

as it was to royal administration; but while failures here would necessarily make themselves evident through the results, those of prosody, not patent nor open to criticism, deprived the offender of a powerful stimulant towards an improvement of the poetic gifts.

Advantages and disadvantages, however, were mainly in the balance. The royal poems, as we shall see in the following pages were works of art, whether they were dictated by a heart overflowing at the sight of Nature's beauty, or a mind that worried over the secrets of the Universe, by the desire to please a friend with beautiful words or to mourn his absence, or even by a passing inclination to compose elegant passages in conformity with the common vogue. Without considering for the moment the question to which degree of perfection the royal poets of India arrived, it can by no means be denied them that their works not only prove conclusively their attachment to the art and their honest attempt to bring themselves down to the level of their subjects and share with them the intellectual life of their time, but that they admit them into the rank and file of inspired poets.

When Babur writes:

The spring arrived and the heartless, who is
without friend,
Has no concern with tulip-garden, and no desire
for the spring.

I have seen abundance of mischief in the world,
but
Thy eye is a mischief which is nowhere (else)
in the world,

or Kamran worships:

I became dust on thy highway, pass over me,
Before the time that the breath of death gives
me over to the wind.

I am that poor one, distraught in love, who in
this old temple
Gave the gains of the Universe for thy affliction,

writers may sound to our ears when they praise their sovereigns' literary activities, the note of flattering insincerity is as unmistakable as the superficiality with which they tried to review them, using high-sounding passages without troubling themselves much with looking for real merits.

It shall not be said, however, that the royal interest too was regarded as a mere matter of form. Histories and Tadhkiras indulge in descriptions of episodes where the kings showed their talents of criticism and judgment. Their courts were adorned with scores of poets whose company the monarchs sought to discourse with them the niceties of poetical ideas or to listen to their recitations with keen enjoyment and alert intelligence.

Even kings who cannot be counted in the category of royal poets displayed an interest which can hardly be accounted for in general terms of care for the welfare and advancement of their subjects, but needs for its explanation the deep-rooted devotion to the art which had been their inheritance through many generations.

Thus Mahmud of Ghazna and Firuz Tughluq are known as the founders of academies where promising young poets received a thorough training. This interest and devotion extended from the person of the sovereign to the nobles of his court who were eager to follow his example. The names of many patrons of noble birth occur in different annals and among them may here be mentioned 'Abdu'r-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and Mu'min of Astrabad who not only offered to the disciples of the Muse their hospi-

or when Aurangzib's handsome daughter, Zibu'n-hesa, sings:

O waterfall, for whom art thou crying?
From whose grief has thy brow become
wrinkled?

What pain was yours that, as with me, it
has ended (thus, and now)
Thou art knocking thy head against rocks
and art weeping?

it will at once be clear that they are poets of no mean merit.

§3. Yet their direct influence upon the contemporary and later Persian poetry in India is negligible and it would be a hard task to put forward instances in which compositions of royal authors have inspired their admirers to imitation or assimilation. This need not necessarily be taken as a criterion for the standard of their verses. Their subjects looked to the kings for guidance in affairs which affected their economics and politics rather than their science and art. They naturally expected them to take an interest in everything, but were satisfied to see this take effect in a generous patronage which gathered a notable assembly of famous men at the steps of the throne and gave further splendour to the name of the monarch and his country. They would welcome an even more active interest and applaud a sovereign who displayed his understanding by keen and witty criticism, or exercised his royal prerogative of bestowing poetic names and titles upon the worthiest.

But the actual composition of poetry would be considered outside the scope of royal duties and hence, justly or unjustly, beyond their province. However enthusiastic the contemporary

writers may sound to our ears when they praise their sovereigns' literary activities, the note of flattering insincerity is as unmistakable as the superficiality with which they tried to review them, using high-sounding passages without troubling themselves much with looking for real merits.

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tality and patronage, but were the founders of institutions for the training of poets.

§4. The poetic atmosphere which the kings encouraged from tradition or inclination has in return doubtlessly encouraged them to test and develop their own poetic gifts. Curiously enough, however, the influence exercised by contemporary court poets is far weaker than should be expected from the constant personal contact between them and their august patrons. It may, indeed, be limited to the poets under Shah 'Alam and the Qutubs' protection. It appears, moreover, and throws an interesting side-light on the motives for patronage, that the court poets were considered under an obligation to sing the praise of their royal masters. Vanity, and the desire to become immortalised in poems, played no small part, and the resulting jealousy, to quote one instance from Mir'atu'l-Khayal, brought about Muhsin Fani's dismissal (d.1081/1670) from Shah Jahan's court when he had composed a poem in praise of a rival monarch. The same vanity may be traced as the source of inspiration - if inspiration it may be called - for many a poem in which the royal poet glorifies his own person or accomplishments.

But far greater was the influence exercised by poets of the present and past whose fame had spread to such an extent that their verses were cited everywhere and accepted as standard works worthy to be the ideal by which the others formed their own compositions. Poems in imitation of Hafiz will be met again and again in the collection of almost every royal poet. Khayyam

and Jamī are among the others who have inspired many of the kings.

To trace, apart from these outside influences, the inner sources of their inspiration must naturally prove more difficult. Human nature is complicate, and two souls would react almost with certainty in two different ways to the fortunes and misfortunes thrown into their ways by Fate. And further, a beautiful landscape, the sight of a handsome girl, may evoke the emotions of one and not touch the heart of the other; a profound thought, a deep mystic problem may stir the one into ecstatic reverie and leave the other helpless. Indeed, a superficial study of his works may make many a royal poet appear a pretender whose life was irreconcilable to the message of his poetry.

To bring the king and the poet, the warrior and the idealist, into a harmonious whole, we must regretfully consider as beyond the scope of this work. But much will be gained if a study of their verses will have the effect of bringing us into contact with the train of thought underlying them and representing the ideal world in which their authors longed to live, or for which they hoped after the conclusion of their earthly pilgrimage.

§5: As the author of verses which simply and truly reflect his character and his career, Babur takes a dominant place. Some of his poems display the warrior-spirit of the great conqueror, others allow an insight into his romantic mind that yearns for the friend or is happy in his company. Mysticism

is not for him, but he bows before the godly-men and asks their benediction as "the broken-hearted sincere".

More brilliant perhaps in perception and expression, but less sincere in appearance are the poems of his son Humayun. They are indeed strange reflections of a troubled life. One wonders if he feigned Shi'ism or believed in it, if Bairam was really his faithful friend or suffered as a useful companion, if the blinding of Kamran was reluctantly ordered as an act of state policy or secretly enjoyed as a triumphant conclusion after a life of such unrest. But no doubt attaches to his mystic inclinations which inspired most of his poems and bring them gradually from the depth of his humiliation as a suspected fugitive at the Persian court, through the slow success of the reconquest, to the climax of his reinstatement upon the throne and the surprising, yet logical, retirement from the affairs of this world.

To his half-brother Kamran, his antagonist by nature and fate, goes the distinction of supremacy over the royal poets. Like all the others, he is not an original thinker and cannot free himself from the bonds of imitating his great ideals, Hafiz and Jami, but he has a singular command over the language and a wonderful power of vividly perceiving an idea, of grasping it as though it was real, and of making his audience see and feel it too. The world has done scant justice to him, the role, which his suspicious nature forced him to play in history, was too questionable not to cast a shadow upon his whole character. Still, his poems are no idle lies: as a poet he presents himself

with whom he shares the same ideal, Hafiz. His strong character, which saw him successfully through the years of a prosperous reign, is clearly reflected in his poems as well. Not essentially a mystic, he yet proved himself a devout soul, free from bigotry and his greatest merit was, perhaps, that he succeeded in upholding the purity of the Persian language in his domain through his own example and munificent patronage.

§6. Whatever the position may be which the kings will have to take in the rank and file of Persian poets, their merits cannot be overlooked. If History will mostly neglect this aspect of their lives as irrelevant, it is to be hoped that to occupy ourselves for a short while with a study of their poems, where they must necessarily be to some extent 'off their guard', will bring them still nearer to our understanding and, it is further hoped, not to their detriment.

List of Abbreviations:

(not containing standard dictionary abbreviations)

Add. British Museum Manuscripts Additional; B.M. British Museum; I.O. India Office; Kull. Kulliyat; Or. British Museum Oriental Manuscripts; R.A.S. Royal Asiatic Society.

		No.			No.
A'in	...	2	Khayr	...	75
Akb.Nam.	...	4	Khushgu	...	91
Aqlim	...	70	Lahauri	...	29
Asfiya	...	102	Lata'if	...	78
Badayuni	...	27	L.P.'s "Babur"	...	54
Bugh	...	95	Madhkira	...	81
B.'Ajam	...	148	Mahbub	...	82
Bev.Mem.	...	62	Majmu'a	...	180
Blochman's A'in	...	51	Makhzan	...	84
Browne II	...	79	Nafa'is	...	86
" III	...	89	Pers.Mem.	...	45
" IV	...	83	Rashidi	...	42
Brakine's Babur	...	58	Rieu	...	156
Ersk.Mem.	...	60	Riyad	...	90
Farah	...	37	Safina	...	118
Firishta	...	11	Sakina	...	119
Franklin	...	59	Sarkar	...	56
Ghani	...	71	Shah Jahani	...	94
Gladwin	...	138	Sh.'Ajam	...	93
Hasanat	...	105	Sprenger	...	162
J.A.S.E.	...	142	Tabriz	...	223
Jauhar	...	34	Taw.Qutub	...	43
Johnson	...	151	Tuzuk	...	46
J.P.H.S.	...	143			

The numbers correspond with those of the
Bibliography - see pp.293 ff.

Addenda and Corrigenda:

Page XIII, line 19: for "Firuz Tughluq" read "Muhammad Tughluq".

Page XX and elsewhere: for "Aqlim" read "Iqlim".

Page 15 F.N.* / : for "Aqlim fol.33b" read "Sprenger (p.310), who quotes the chronogram which brings out 923 as the correct date."

Page 47 F.N.2 : add: "A few pages from a valuable work, Tarikh-i-Ibrahimi (Or.20449.III.fol.64a-65a), mention Humayun's visits to several shrines in Persia."

Page 155 : after F.N.2 to quatrain II add: "but see Kalamatu'sh-Shu'ara fol.98b. which attributes the quatrain to Isma'il, Ghafil, Mazindarani, which corroborates our doubt on page 154 line 19."

Page 158 and elsewhere: for "Bodelian" read "Bodleian".

Page 167 F.N.1: correct and add: "The last verse of Dara's poem:

occurs with very slight variations in Fighani's Diwan Or.4482, fol.316b (not the copy mentioned under No.192 of the Bibliography). This verse as well as the trend of Fighani's poem prove that Dara's ode was written not under the influence of Raqim Meshhadi's poem (Or.3487 fol.159a), but Fighani's verses:

Dara's poem should be treated not as a Ghazal but as a Fragment incorporating a verse from Fighani's Ghazal, a practice which is not uncommon among Persian poets. For an instance of such a Tadmin see Hayderi Tabrizi's poem incorporating Hafiz's verse (Khushgu fol.37b)."

Page 176 and elsewhere: for "Abi'l-Khayr" read "Ibn Abi'l-Khayr" and compare Bibliography p.306 under No.254.

Page 217 and elsewhere: for "qutub" read "qutb". The word is pronounced both as qutub and qutb (Johnson p.969) and I preferred the former as "tb" without the interception of a vowel seemed to me foreign to English pronunciation. But as "qutb" has been generally followed by the Western scholars I accept it as the more popular reading. I am indebted for this correction to my instructor, Sir E.D.Ross.

Page 224 line 12: add as F.N.2 after "king of Anatolia" :

"Tarikh-i-Qutb-Shahi by Qadir Khan Munshi (Or.1947 fol.33a) gives this version but also another, which he thinks more probable, viz. that Sultan Quli Qutb descended from one Mir 'Ali Shakkar of the Baharin Turks."

Page 271 under Muhammad Tughluq: add: "Elliott (vol.III.pp.579-80), on the authority of Masaliku'l-Absar fi Mamaliku'l-Amsar by Shihabu'd-Din Damishqi (697/1297 - 749/1348) found at the B.I.Paris, states that Muhammad Tughluq founded an academy of poets with Sadr-i-Jahan as its principal."

Page 279: dele on lines 12 and 13 "founder of a poetic academy at Delhi" as well as the foot-note.

Page 296: insert after No.57: "History of India as told by its own historians, by Sir H.M.Elliott, vol.III.London 1871"

Page 303: insert after No.188: "Bidil, 'Abdu'l-Qadir (d.1133/1720), publ.Lucknow 1886. See also under No.236."

Page 305 F.N.1: add, "see title-page and preface of the Berlin edition 1904, edited by Paul Horn."

Page 293 and elsewhere: for "-nama" as a suffix to works such as "'Alangir-nama" and others read "-Nama".

First Chapter.

B a b u r

888/1483 - 938/1530.

Introductory - Early and later Timurid periods - Babur, short account - Babur, the author - notices valued - Babur, the poet - sources - his poems - appreciation - his Turkish verses, a consideration - his Persian poetry, a valuation - topical - lyric - devotional - conclusion.

Introductory:

The study of any momentous epoch of upheaval or reconstruction, political or literary, in the history of a nation can never be complete without a thorough grasp of the various acting and reacting influences which brought about the culmination. Of such epochs the time and age of Babur was one. In order to have a general idea of his time, therefore, a short sketch of the history of the period preceding the one with which we are mainly concerned will be useful.

The power of the Mughals in Central Asia practically ended with the death of Abu Sa'id in 1335. A few months later was born Timur, the great ancestor of our illustrious Babur. Timur's early life and adventures need not detain us, and it is sufficient to know that, at the age of twenty-four, he started his victorious campaigns from Transoxiana and, like a scourge, overran all Southern and Western Asia.

Early Timurid Period (1335-1405):

During the forty-five years between Abu Sa'id's death and Timur's birth (1335-80) Persia and Central Asia were divided mainly between the following dynasties, which were extirpated once for all by Timur:

1. The Muzaffarids (713/1313 - 795/1393).

Several princes of the line were distinguished alike by their taste and talents; their patronage of learning and letters drew to their courts numerous poets of distinction. Shah Shuja' (1357-84), the most famous of them, was himself a poet and his chief claim to fame lies as a patron of the immortal Hafiz.

2. The Jala'irs (736/1335 - 812/1409).

Two of its kings, Oways (1356-74) and his son Ahmad (1382-1409) were poets.

3. The Kurts (643/1245-6 - 783/1381)

of whom Shamsu'd-Din II (d.1329) was a poet.

4. The Sarbadars (737/1337 - 790/1388).

But, curiously enough, this period of great anarchy, misery, and bloodshed produced many remarkable poets, a galaxy of talents, whose works form a landmark in the history of Persian literature.

The following are some of the important poets of the Early Timurid Period:

1. Ibn-i-Yamin (d.769/1368), noted for his philosophical Fragments;
2. Salman of Sava (d.779/1378), noted for his Qasidas; in the line of Ghazals he may best be described as a fore-runner of Hafiz;
3. 'Ubayd-i-Zakani (d.772/1371), the great satirist and parodist;
4. Shamsu'd-Din Hafiz (d.791/1389). Easy in style, mystic in expression, and fascinating in ideas, Hafiz stands unrivalled as a Ghazal writer in the field of Persian poetry, and has ever since been followed by high and low alike. Over and above these charms which his works possess, they are also noted as ~~a most~~ ^{easily} accessible source for taking auguries. His merit as a poet combined with this real or supposed Divine gift has made him the most popular Ghazal writer of Persian poetry^{1/}.

Babur's Time:

Later Timurid Period (1405-1502):

Central Asia of Babur's time was divided into numerous small principalities ruled by the Turks, Mughals, and Uzbek chiefs, each trying to conquer and vanquish the other. But this period of great turmoil and disorder was not without its literary interest. The existence of numerous little courts, each anxious to rival with and excel the other, was favourable to the development of literary talent, poetical particularly.

^{1/} See Additional Note No.1.

since literati who failed to win appreciation from one patron could easily find a rival who might prove more appreciative of his merits.

With the exception of Jami (1414-92), the Later Timurid Period produced no Persian poet of influence. Even he had little to add to the style and beauty of Persian poetry, as he kept mainly to the lines established and standardised by his great predecessors, Firdausi (324/935 - 416/1025), Nizami of Ganja (535/1140 - 599/1203), Sa'di (580/1184 - 690/1291), and Hafiz, who had still a great hold on the poetic taste of the period. The Persian poetry then produced is remarkable, however, for its simplicity of style and beauty of expression. We find in this period no great Qasida writer of abiding fame, but one of its distinctive features was the increasing interest in the composition of chronograms and riddles.

On the side of prose special attention was paid to the production of books on mysticism, history, and biography. Among the last, dealing mainly or incidentally with the lives of the poets, the following deserve mention as they describe the spirit of the age in which Babur's Memoirs with their frequent comments on poets were written.

Tadhkiras:

1. Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'ara, by Daulat Shah Samarqandi (d. about 1490); composed in 892/1487.
2. Majalisu'n-Nafa'is (Turkish) by Mir 'Ali Sher Nava'i (844/1440 - 906/1500); composed in 896/1490-1.
3. Nafahatu'l-Uns, by Jami; composed in 881/1476.

4. Majalisu'l-'Ushshaq, by Sultan Husayn Mirza (1468 - 1506);
composed in 908/1502-3.

Histories:

5. Mujmal, by Fasihi of Khwaf (b.777/1375, alive in 849/1445);
composed about 1442^{1/}.
6. Khulasatu'l-Akhbar, by Khwandamir (d.941/1534-5); composed
in 905/1499-1500.

The last named is important as a probable source^{2/} for Babur's notices of the nobles, learned men, and poets of Sultan Husayn Mirza's time.

The Persian language, though generally patronised by the House of Timur, was slowly being replaced by Turkish. Mir 'Ali Sher Nawa'i, the learned minister of Sultan Husayn Mirza, "did more than any other man to raise Chaghatay Turki to the dignity of a literary language^{3/}". Shaybani Khan (d.1510), the great antagonist of Babur, "in spite of his supreme ignorance", was another keen patron^{4/}, and so was Babur who, had he enjoyed a peaceful reign, would perhaps have done more for his ancestral language than 'Ali Sher.

In Central Asia of Babur's time "poetry was a favourite pursuit", remarks Erskine, "and we hardly find any man of note in that age who had not cultivated the art to a greater or lesser degree^{5/}". Kings and princes, who once patronised the

^{1/} Browne III.p.426. ^{2/} See Or.1292. I am led to believe this on the following grounds: (1) the portion of Babur's Memoirs containing the notices was written long after 905; (2) most of the notices are not based on personal knowledge; (3) the line adopted by Babur in his notices is the same as that pursued by Khwandamir
^{3/}Browne III.p.453. ^{4/}See Tuhfa-i-Sami fol.19a-b.
^{5/}Erskine's Babur n.83.

art in others, now freely cultivated it in an endeavour to become good poets themselves^{1/}. "Wit and learning", as Lane-Poole views it, "the art of turning a good quatrain off the spot, quoting the Persian classics, writing a good hand, or singing a good song, were highly appreciated in Babur's world, as much perhaps as valour, and infinitely more than virtue"^{2/}. The allied arts of music and painting were also freely cultivated. Devotional respect towards mystic life and saint-worship were the orders of the day. There were particular families of holy men who commanded great respect for their sanctity and piety.

The state of India at that time was considerably different from what it has been in later ages. The whole country was divided into numerous small principalities. The weak rule of the Saiyids, and the turbulent reign of the Lodis, threw the whole country into chaos in which literature and arts were not the least to suffer. The Muslims of Northern India, towards the close of the fourteenth century, had lost all their distinctive vigour and manliness, and were slowly being absorbed by their Hindu neighbours. Persian language, which for centuries had held its own against the Indian vernaculars, was now losing ground before the easy Hindi; painting and sculpture had practically ceased to exist because they savoured of idolatry.

It was at this juncture that Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat in 1526, and was hailed in India as the saviour of Muslim art and culture; he gave them a fresh lease

^{1/} For Babur's contemporary royal poets see infra p. /2.
^{2/} L.P.'s "Babur" p.11-12.

of life from which they continued to flourish for more than two centuries. He brought with him all the good that Central Asia of his time possessed - valour, love of learning and art - and infused a new spirit into the country which he had conquered.

Babur - short account:

Zahiru'd-Din Muhammad, son of 'Umar Shaykh Mirza, the sovereign of Farghana, was born in 888/1483^{1/}. His name Zahiru'd Din was chosen by Khwaja Nasiru'd-Din 'Ubaydu'llah, a celebrated spiritual guide of his age in Transoxiana. The Chaghatays had some difficulty in pronouncing the Arabic name, so they called him Babur, a name which his parents adopted, and it soon formed part of his official designation^{2/}.

No sooner he succeeded his father at the early age of twelve (1494) than he had to face the rebellion of his relatives and nobles, who in the end dispossessed him of his ancestral kingdom. Thereafter he, with a small army of followers, managed to conquer Kabul in 909/1503, and India in 933/1526, where he founded what is known as the Great Mughal Dynasty. He died after a short reign in 1530^{3/}.

Deprived of paternal care at such a tender age, it was

^{1/} His birth took place on 6th Muharram; Munir found the date in the chronogram: نشر محمد (Rashidi fol.121a) which was later incorporated in a poem by Husami (Firishta I.p.354), ending:

اندر نشر محمد زادان نشه مکرم . نایم مولد نشر محمد اندر نشر محمد

For an interesting note on the correct pronunciation of the name (بابر and not ببر) see Sir E.D.Ross's Remarks on p.V of the Introduction to Babur's Diwan.

^{2/}Rashidi fol.121a. ^{3/}For the circumstances of his death in which he is said to have made his life a votive offering for his son Humayun, see Akb.Nam.I.pp.116-7.

hardly possible for Babur to have completed his princely education before that time. We must assume, therefore, that his early training, whatever it was, had been thorough, because it was on its background that Babur in his later days acquired efficiency in various sciences and arts. Lane Poole well remarks:

At the age of five he was betrothed to his cousin 'Ayesha ('A'isha). The next six years must have been spent in education, and well spent, for he had little leisure in after years to improve himself and his remarkable attainments in two languages he wrote imply steady application. Of this early training we hear nothing but it is reasonable to suppose that an important part of it was due to the women of the family^{1/}.

Babur - the author:

The wide compass of Babur's education would appear from the various subjects which he has treated in the following works:

1. *Mubin*^{2/} (Turkish) - A Mathnawi on Hanafi Law written for the education of Kamran Mirza^{3/};
2. A treatise on Music^{4/};

^{1/} L.P.'s "Babur" p.22. ^{2/} Rashidi fol.121b. It has wrongly been named "Fiqah-i-Mubin" in Nafa'is (fol.26b) and "Fiqah-i-Baburi" by Sprenger (Z.D.M.G.1682 in Bev.Mem.p.438). The correct name is given in Akb.Nam.(I.p.118) and Badayuni (I.p.343) which is followed by Mrs.Beveridge (Mem.p.438). A like error is found with regard to the language. Erskine (Mem.II.p.431) asserts that it was in Persian, and his editor, Mr.King, adds that this has been the source of Prof.E.Beresine's translation in his Chrestomathie Turque Tom.I. In fact the Mathnawi was composed in Turkish and Beresine has only copied its extract in his Chrestomathie - p.226-7 (No.XIV) and Preface p.XII (14). I am indebted to Mr. J.Leveen of the British Museum for helping me in its translation.

^{3/} Chrestomathie p.227 verses No.6 and 15.

^{4/} Ersk.Mem.II.p.431. I have not been able to find its corroborative original evidence.

3. Diwan^{1/};
4. Versified Turkish translation^{2/} of Khwaja 'Ubaydu'llah's^{3/}
"Risala-i-Walidiya";
5. Turkish Memoirs;
6. A book on Turkish prosody, composed in 934/1527-3^{4/}.

Most of the above are now lost, a few exist in parts, and the only work that has been saved from the ravages of time are his invaluable Memoirs. They are in the form of a narrative of his life, written from time to time, "containing the minute account of the life of a great Tartar monarch, along with a natural effusion of his opinions and feelings, free from disguise and reserve, and no less free from all affectation of extreme frankness and candour"^{5/}. It is like "a diary as a man writes for his own private delectation rather than for the perusal of his own confidential friends, much less subjects; and probably no king ever wrote, or at any rate suffered to be circulated such Confessions"^{6/}.

^{1/} It was finished in 925/1519. Pers.Mem.fol.222a. For the recently discovered Diwan see infra p. 18-9. ^{2/} It was begun on 27th Safar 935 (30th Nov.1529) - Pers.Mem.fol.341a. ^{3/} d.in 895/1489-90. - Majalisu'l-'Ushshaq fol.133b. ^{4/} Rashidi fol.121b. Most probably this is the same treatise to which he refers in his Memoirs (Pers Mem.fol.325a-b). Also Akb.Nam.I.p.119. Beveridge (Eng.Trans.I. p.279) gives it the name of "Mufasssal". This is apparently a mistake because the original passage in the Akbar-Nama runs:

دانشمند را در عرض رساندن شریف است و از این کتاب بهشت منقول که شرح آن توانا بود

"And from his Majesty there is an eminent treatise on Prosody, and on the whole it is a detailed (comprehensive) book, which may be reckoned as a commentary on the science."

Thus it is clear that منسل is not the name, but its adjective.
^{5/} Elphinstone's History of India.II.p.117. ^{6/} Browne III.p.455.

"They contain", says another authority, "the personal impressions and acute reflections of a cultivated man of the world, well read in Eastern literature, a close and curious observer, quick in perception, a discerning judge of persons, and devoted lover of nature"^{1/}.

"The great charm of the work is the character of the author", says Erskine, "whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart, and the same easy and sociable temper, with which he set out on his career, and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste, nor diminished his sensibility to the enjoyments of nature and imagination"^{2/}.

Moreover, the work which throws considerable light on the taste and genius of its author has numerous passages of poetic interest which singularly enliven the Memoirs. In the midst of a narrative he will break off to describe his reckless and romantic passion for a camp youth^{3/}. In the thick of his misfortunes he would compose a poem to console himself:

There is no violence or injury of fortune that
I have not experienced,
This broken heart has endured them all. Alas!
is there one left, that I have
not encountered?

4/

At another time he would take an active interest in a repartee and compose a satire^{5/}. He would even humanise his battles with

1/ L.P.'s "Babur" p.12. 2/ Erskine's Babur I.p.523. 3/ See infra p. 4/Turkish poem - Ersk.Mem.II.p.19. 5/ See infra p. 27. In 910/1504 he became so disgusted with the debauchery prevalent in Kulkana (Kabul) that he composed this satire (Pers.Mem.fol.114b):

آدمش از آن دلف که به باد کرا آید چو باد
ساکر نگارم بدویم بهر ناله چو باد

Parodying Hafiz's couplet (Diwan p.93):

ز دهر از کرم و زدن بدست گویار
تا خراب شد چو باد چو باد

a breath of poetry, be it a conciliatory verse^{1/} or a threatening poem^{2/}.

He had a special skill in quoting suitable verses. To heighten the effect of a tragic story he would quote Sa'di^{3/}:

مخدوم در درون زخمش . که زخمش درون عجب سرگند

Beware of the smoke of the internal wound,
For a wound though hidden will at last
break out.

Or Nizami^{4/}:

چو بد کردی به کسی ز افاقت

When thou hast done evil, do not feel secure
against calamity.

Of all his quotations the most suitable one was from Firdausi, with which he addressed his spiritless officers in India:

بنام تو میمیرم در دست . در انام با بد تو من در دست

5/

If I die with fame, it is right,
Let fame be mine, since the body is death's.

His speech, adorned with the verse, did what centuries before Alexander had failed to accomplish.

1/ While besieging Nakhshab in 1512, he wrote the following on an arrow and discharged it into the fort (Badayuni I.p.444):

خزانه از کمان کرم نم شده . گزینم و برده بودم با کرم راه را

2/ See infra p. 24. 3/ Pers.Mem.fol.20a.

4/ ibid.fol.21a.

5/ ibid.fol.311a.

Babur - the critic:

Of great value in the Memoirs are its portraits of the contemporary Persian poets, the most notable among whom are:

A. Kings and Princes^{1/} :-

1. Sultan Husayn Mirza.
2. Muhammad Husayn Mirza, ... his two sons,
3. Gharib Mirza,
4. Kochak Mirza, ... his nephew.
5. Shaybani Khan.
6. Baisanghar Mirza, Asadi.

B. Nobles:-

1. Hasan 'Ali Jala'ir,
2. Mir 'Ali Sher Nawa'i.

C. Professionals:-

1. Asafi,
2. Banna'i,
3. Hatifi, 'Abdu'llah,
4. Hilali Astrabadi,
5. Mir Husayn Mu'amma'i.

Some of these portraits are not mere sketches, but possess real critical value and give us true estimates of the characters. The following comparative table, containing a few notices, will show his superior skill as a critic of poetry over two notable Tadhkira writers.

1/Besides the above, his royal contemporary poets were:

1. Sultan Salim I of Turkey (1512-20);
2. Shah Isma'il I of Persia (1502-24);
3. Sikandar Lodi of India (1489-1517);
4. Yusuf 'Adil Shah of Bijapur India (1490-1510);
5. Isma'il 'Adil Shah of Bijapur, India (1510-34).

Bahr Man. Ad. 26200.

ت و قریب از آن است که در آنجا...

موجب بود و غریبی...

از دست ...
در آنجا ...
حسنت ...

(Ad. 155. a)

اصحی از دست ...

سبزه ...

نیز ...
و ...
Specimen (Ad. 162. a)

اصحی - در آنجا ...

دارد ...

انوار ...

درباره ...

Sau Manza.

Ad. 7670.

ت و قریب از آن است که در آنجا...

کسی که ...

نمای ...
در آنجا ...

(Ad. 14. a)

اصحی ...

منبع ...

در آنجا ...

در ...
Specimens. (Ad. 91. a)

اصحی - در آنجا ...

فرد ...

نقشه ...

کجا ...

Ali Ad. Daghihani

Ad. 16729.

ت و قریب از آن است که در آنجا...

موجب بود ...

نمای ...
در آنجا ...

(Ad. 38. a)

اصحی ...

فرد ...

در آنجا ...

Specimen. Ad. 43. a.

اصحی - در آنجا ...

فرد ...

نقشه ...

کجا ...

Bahr (contd).

که در اندامها و توالی آنها، مانند حامله شدن، را خیلی در قفسه سینه و به صفت
صفت نوزادان خود یک فرد را دیده‌ام. نوزادان بسیار به صورت است و مثل
نارنجی و به جهت ترف عینند. خانه توکی ۱۷۰. می‌گویند از این است نخستین
بوده است. در علم عروق و قافیه خطاست (pl. 164. a)

No specimen

Saur Miza (contd).

بر اثر تفت شدن است که به غریب در میان ۵۸۰-۵۸۵ (pl. 585. a)

Long Selectini pour the Mathurawi
d. Davida follow.

Shi An. Daghistani (contd).

نمی‌دانم که نوزادان به نوزادان می‌زنند. در علم عروق و قافیه خطاست
که در اندامها و توالی آنها، مانند حامله شدن، را خیلی در قفسه سینه و به صفت
صفت نوزادان خود یک فرد را دیده‌ام. نوزادان بسیار به صورت است و مثل
نارنجی و به جهت ترف عینند. خانه توکی ۱۷۰. می‌گویند از این است نخستین
بوده است. در علم عروق و قافیه خطاست (pl. 164. a)

Selectinis follow.

(pl. 521. a - 522. a)

Babur:

1) Shah Charib Mirza, son of Sultan Husayn:

Although his features were ugly he had a fine genius, and though his body was feeble, his verses were agreeable. He used to have Charibi as his pen-name, and had also composed a Diwan. He used to write Turkish and Persian verses. This couplet is from him:

I saw a fairy-face on the way and became
mad after her, what does she live? I
What is her name, where does she live? I
do not know her abode.

2) Asafi: By reason of being the son of a minister he assumed the poetic-name of Asafi. His poem is not devoid of either style or idea, although it is destitute of love and ecstasy. His claim was, "I have never composed any of my Ghazals with the intention of collecting them". Probably this was affection. Except Ghazals he composed little else.

3) Hilali: He is alive to this date. His odes are plain, colourful, and less exhorting. He is also the author of a Diwan, and has a Mathnawi in the Khafif measure^{2/} named Shah-u-Qada (King and Saint). Although some of his verses are bold,

1/ Mrs. Beveridge thinks (Rev. Mem. p. 261) that his poetic-name was "Churumti". But it seems a mistake because in keeping with the Oriental poetic custom the nom de plume "Charibi", which in itself reveals the author, is much more probable.
2/ The measure of the Mathnawi is (Gladwin I. 83):

Shah Mirza:

Shah Charib Mirza:

Extraordinary in arts and accomplishments, and learned in all kinds of polite sciences, he always set high ideals on the achievements of efficiency; but in the prime of youth he abridged his hand from the society of old and young and turned to the garden of nonentity. This first-line is his:

The affliction of that 'piece-of-the-moon' has
again become a calamity for my heart,
Alas for that sick one whose pain has relapsed.

Asafi: He assumed the pen-name of Asafi because his father was for long the minister of Sultan Abu Sa'id. In clearness of sound intelligence and in vivacity of right nature he had definite distinction among the poets of his age and the learned of exalted dignity. With a graceful gait and arrogance he raised the standard of elegance. He had a complete Diwan of Ghazals, and composed a Mathnawi after Makhzan^{1/}, but it acquired no fame. His death occurred in 885/at Herat.

Hilali: Although his ancestors were from the Chaghatay Turks he grew up in Astrabad. After coming out from under the rays of childhood he went to the side of Khurasan and rose from the horizon of Herat. In fact he was not inferior to any of the learned men of his age, and added the efficiency of poetry to

1/ Makhzan of Nizami of Ganja.

Taghistani:

Shah Charib Mirza:

He is among the sons of Sultan Mirza, very intelligent and wise. He had no parallel in writing verse or prose. This couplet is his:

I have become ruined and enamoured of one
of tender years,
His figure is a tiny plant, and what a delicate tiny plant it is!

Asafi: He is the son of Khwaja Muqim who was the minister of Abu Sa'id Khan^{1/}. He is among the eloquent and efficacious men of his age, and carried the ball of excellence before many of his contemporaries. His Diwan is still extant in the field of the world, and his verses are often recited and well-known in the present age. His death occurred in the time of Sultan Husayn Mirza in 928 A.H.^{2/}

Hilali: He is the Sun of the sky of eloquence, and the Full-Moon of the patron of rhetoric. His origin is from the Turks. They say that in the beginning he used to compose frivolous and meaningless verses.... Mir 'Ali Sher ordered him to acquire sciences in the school that he had founded, and for fourteen

1/ Timurid, died in 1468.

2/ Both dates are wrong. For the correct date, 913/1507, contained in a chronogram composed by himself shortly before his death, see Aglim. fol. 33 b.

yet the subject matter of this Mathnawi, because of its being patchy, is extremely hollow and vicious. The poets of the past, who have composed Mathnawis treating of love, have made man a lover and woman the object of love. Hilali has made the Dervish a lover and the king his beloved. The upshots of the verses in which he has described the actions and words of the king are that he has made the king a slave-girl and a whore. For the purpose of one's Mathnawi to get a youth figure as a beloved of a king and to praise him like whores and slave-girls is extremely improper.

He had a strong memory, and they say that having memorised numerous verses from the two Khamsas, he has acquired some knowledge in prosody and rhyming.

those accomplishments. In Mathnawi he he strung three books on the thread of verse, one of which is "Shah-u-Darwish". In comparison to most of the Mathnawis of the masters, as regards flow of words and relish of ideas, its blackness is an elegance of the garden, rather it is its envy.

'Ubayd Khan Uzbek killed him thinking that he was a Shi'a in 939 A.H.

years looked after the training and living of Maulana Hilali.

His birth-place is Astrabad, Mathnawi "Shah-u-Sada", and "Sifat-u-'Ashiqin" are from him. Taqi Ahmadi has written that he (Hilali) has also composed Mathnawi "Layla-u-'Ajnun". The writer has not heard from anybody that he (Hilali) ever wrote "Layla-u-'Ajnun". Over Ghazal, Qasida, etc. he has a command.

During the time that 'Ubaydu'llah Khan Uzbek conquered Herat, Raqa'i Lang, Shamsu'd-Din and others becoming greedy of his wealth accused him of heresy, and 'Ubaydu'llah Khan ordered his death.

Notices valued:

Although Babur's notices do not conform to the modern rules of criticism, they are undoubtedly more apt and pointing than those given by the other two, and it is a matter of additional credit to Babur to have given such reviews in his Memoirs which are essentially different from a Tadhkira.

To examine one set, on Hilali:

From Babur's notice we get a sufficient idea in respect of Hilali as a Ghazal writer. The criticism on his Mathnawi, though harsh, is just and proper.^{1/} Sam Mirza does not enlighten us at all. Daghistani furnishes us with some informations with regard to Hilali's life and works, but he, too, fails to give any opinion with regard to the unusual subject matter of the poem.

Although Babur's review is deficient for the absence of specimen verses^{2/}, this omission is excusable as his are Memoirs and not a Tadhkira. In fact, he fully conforms to the rules laid down by Ahmad 'Ali for the guidance of the Tadhkira writers:

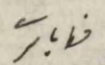
3/ *حاج تذکرہ دارا بکدربوز جہاں نام لکھتے شعر را خود دربار اشعار و لغبات ادرع بدید زیرا که
رسانان نیز در بیان تذکرہ و بیان اشعار تمام کرده اند - ما بسفر را انتخاب اشعار مرادگار لکن ما
تذکرہ را نه*

"After stating the poet's name, parentage, and pen-name, a biographer should also give his own opinion in respect of his (the poet's) verses and compositions, because the masters of the art have laid down distinctions between a biography of poets and an anthology. For the writer of an anthology it is necessary to give selected verses, but not for a biographer."

^{1/} From Browne (IV.p.234) we hear that Hilali has found a warm defender in Etche - Morgenlandische Studien, Leipzig, 1870, pp.197-282. ^{2/} Most of Babur's notices contain specimen verses, and his notice on Hilali is one of the few in which he omits them. ^{3/} A nameless, but valuable manuscript in the possession of one Nizam 'Ali, Lucknow, composed at Multan some time between 850/1446 and 885/1480.

The rule, though not commonly followed, seems still more appropriate in a case like Hilali's who happens to be the author of numerous verses. The practice of quoting one or two specimen ^{completes} ~~verses~~ cannot possibly give an idea as to the merit of such a poet.

In the allied arts Babur was behind no one in his age. Besides being a good musician himself, he was also the author of a treatise on the subject, several of his airs are said to have been in a pleasing style, and have survived him^{1/}. His keen interest in yet another art will be evident from the fact that he took with him his full collection of paintings from Central Asia, which influenced the art in India greatly^{2/}.

He also acquired a great skill as a calligrapher, since in those days a good hand was considered an accomplishment. In 910/1504 he invented a style called after him 'Baburi-hand' ()^{3/}, in which character he wrote the Quran and sent it to Mecca^{4/}.

Babur - the poet - sources:

Before noticing Babur's Persian poems a brief examination of its available sources will be extremely useful.

From his Memoirs it appears that he compiled a Diwan of his Persian and Turkish poems in 925 A.H. (July 1519)^{5/} which so far has not been discovered. A manuscript copy of his Diwan, found recently and published with an introduction by Sir E.D.

^{1/} Erskine's Babur p.522. ^{2/} J.Martin, Miniature Painting and Art of India, Persia and Turkey (London), vol.I.p.79. ^{3/} Pers.Mem. fol.130a. ^{4/} Badayuni I.p.343. For a probable specimen of Baburi-hand see his Diwan plate XIX, also Bev.Mem.App.Q.pp.LVIII-LXIV. ^{5/} Pers.Mem.fol.222a.

Ross in India, is undoubtedly not identical with the one mentioned in the Memoirs because it lacks all his poems composed before 915/1549.

The existing Diwan bears the following date in Babur's handwriting:

1/ در ۱۰ ماه رجب ۹۱۵

It contains passages from Risala Walidiya (Plate I-XIII)^{2/}, numerous Turkish and six Persian quatrains, and one Persian couplet. Out of these Persian poems one is found in the Memoirs, and one in Madhkira. As regards the rest, of which the Diwan is our only source, two are given here; the remaining two quatrains and one couplet are at places undecipherable and hence omitted^{3/}.

On Plate XVII (p.20) occurs the following interesting couplet:

4/ گنجانه بود که سوختن خاک و سوزنی
فتوا ببلغم بود لغو سپید در دانی در دانی

I have no desire for coral or pearl,
For a poor man water and bread are enough.

From sixteen words in the couplet nine belong to the Hindustani language. This shows how the new ruler was trying to adapt himself to his new environments.

In the absence of his complete Diwan, and on account of the mistake made by the Tadhkira writers and one of the histori-

^{1/} Babur's Diwan. Colophon Plate XIXB. With regard to Babur's Turkish quatrain (Plate XIX.B) we find Shah Jahan's endorsement that it was in Babur's handwriting. ^{2/}Plates I-XIII.pp.1-14.
^{3/}Babur's Diwan pp.16 & 20. ^{4/}ibid. p.21.

ans in confusing our Babur with Babur, grandson of Shah Rukh, only those verses and poems have been ascribed to our poet which are either found in such indisputable sources as his Memoirs or the Diwan, or have been repeatedly attributed to his authorship by the Tadhkira writers and the historians.

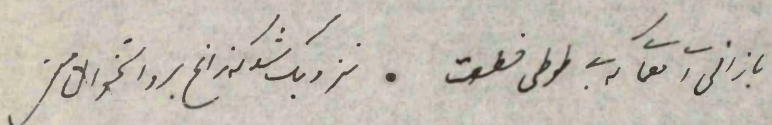
Besides the Diwan, the sources fall under two heads:

1. Memoirs^{1/} and Persian histories,
2. Persian Tadhkiras.

Among the Persian histories the following contain some of his poems:

1. Akbar Nama, by Abu'l-Fadl, completed about 1004/1595-6.
2. Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, by 'Abdu'l-Qadir Badayuni, finished in 1004/1595-6.
3. Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi, by Qasim Hindu Shah, commonly known as Firishta, finished in 1015/1606.

Firishta cites two verses as instances of Babur's poetry, but both raise the question of authorship and need consideration.

(1)  2/

The strongest authority against Firishta's version is Babur

^{1/} The three Persian translations of the Memoirs offer a good opportunity to find out the correct reading of some of the poems. (1) By 'A.Rahim Khan-i-Khanan (d.1626-7), translated in 998/1589. See Add.26200. (2) By Zayn (Or.1999), a contemporary of Babur. It is a mistake to call it a translation as some have done; it is in fact a short historical sketch of Babur's daily life in the words of Zayn (Or.1999). This should not be confused with Tarikh-i-Baburi by the same author, a manuscript of which exists in the Rampur Library (India) - Beveridge in J.R.A.S.1901.p.75 - This seems to be the Tarikh-i-Baburi referred to by Nizamu'd-Din in his preface to Tabaqat-i-Akbari as a work distinct from the Memoirs (Rieu p.220) and also by Badayuni I.p.472. (3) By Mirza Payanda Hasan of Ghazna. Add.6590.II.fol.102-241. 2/vol.I.p.394; see also Majma'u'l-Fusana I.p.19.

himself who in his Memoirs attributes the above to one Hasan Ya'qub^{1/}.

(ii) As regards the second, Firishta gives an interesting narrative which is with slight variations found in some later works and requires a closer study. Says Firishta:

2/ در سردان مایل به دامن خورشید که از شیب برین بنام بود خوش بود یک در سنگ کند شراب از کوهانی بر می کرد
 دبا بر درم خوشی می داشت و در آنجا نهمین طریقی با کرد و داد و استیلا می داد. و این سبب خود را
 در آن زمان خوشتر نشان کند و بود و بود و در دنیا و دنیا و دنیا خوشتر است
 بآب بر عشق خوشتر که عالم را دبا و است

Outside Kabul, on the skirt of a meadow which was a semblance of High Heaven, he had a small cistern carved into stone and filled it with purple wine. In the society of the men of good nature and intellect he set up an assembly of pleasure and did justice to merriment; and got this couplet of his own engraved on the side of the cistern, which was like the River of the Paradise:

The New-Year, the spring, the wine, and
 the beloved - all are pleasing,
 Enjoy (them), Babur, as the world is not
 to be had again!

The part of the story referring to the chiselling of the couplet is Firishta's invention, and we cannot quote a better eye-witness than Jahangir to contradict him:

3/ زین به نغمه که در دراز کوه جنوب در مایل واقع است مشهور است که شاه غنچه از سنگ برادرانند و خوشتر از دیگر
 کسانی بر آنجا نشسته شراب نوشان فرمودند و مانند یک خوشتر بود و یک خوشتر از دیگر سنگ کند و اندک قریب در
 سن و سالی شراب می گرفتند و نام مبارک خود را با نامی بر دروازه می کردند که منصف به کوه است
 در بر داشت و غنچه می کردند و غنچه با نام مبارک خود را با نامی بر دروازه می کردند که منصف به کوه است

Near a seat on the /skirt/ foot of a hill to the South of the city of Kabul, which is known as Takht-i-Shah, they have made a stone terrace where Firdaus-i-Makani (Babur) sat and drank wine. In one corner of the rock they have excavated a round cistern which would contain about two Hindustani maunds of wine. He caused his /blessed/ august name with the date to be carved on the walls of the terrace, which is next to the hill, in the following words:

" The Royal Seat of the Asylum of the World
Zahiru'd-Din Muhammad Babur
Son of 'Umar Shaykh Gurkan,
May God Perpetuate His Kingdom. 914 (1508-9) "

As Jahangir gives such a detailed description of the place, it is unlikely that he would omit a reference to the couplet, had it existed^{1/}, the more as he is known to show a predilection for quoting verses.

The question of authorship, which still remains open, becomes settled by the Tadhkira writers^{2/} definitely attributing it to Babur Mirza, grandson of Shah Rukh. Their version, supported by Jahangir's evidence, though negative, deprives our poet of a beautiful verse.

^{1/} Firishta's story has been accepted in toto by Ghani (I.p.55); Bagh (fol.119b) gives the same account, but attributes the couplet to Mirza Babur, grandson of Shah Rukh; Lane-Poole (L.P.'s "Babur" p.151-2) follows Firishta's version, but does not touch the question of authorship.
^{2/} Riyad.fol.74b; Tadhkira-i-Musayni p.64; Makhzan fol.62b.

Babur's verses are found in the following Tadhkiras:

<u>Name:</u>	<u>Date:</u>	<u>Author:</u>
1. Lata'if Nama (B.M.MS.Add.7669)	896/1490	It is the Persian translation of Mir 'Ali Sher's (844-906/1440-1500) Majalisu'n-Nafa'is. Fakhri Sultan, who translated the Majalis, came to India (Sind) under 'Isa Tarkhan (1556-67).
2. Tuhfa-i-Sami (B.M.MS.Add.7670)	957/1550	Sam Mirza (killed in 1576) son of Shah Isma'il Safawi
3. Nafa'isu'l-Ma'athir (B.M.MS.Or.1761)	973-82/ 1565-74	Mirza 'Alau'd-Daulah Qazwini, Kami, a poet of Akbar's court.
4. Madhkir-i-Ahbab (B.M.MS.Or.11151 uncatalogued)	974/1566	Hasan Khwaja, court poet of 'Abdu'llah Khan Uzbek (d.1597-8). This very rare work deals mainly with the Central Asian poets of Turkish and Persian.
5. Haft Aqlim (B.M.MS.Or.203)	1002/1593	Amin Ahmad Razi, who came to India under Akbar.
6. Khayru'l-Bayan (B.M.MS.Or.3397)	1036/1626	Husayn B.Ghiyathu'd-Din Mahmud, who never came to India.
7. Tabaqat-i-Shah-Jahani (B.M.MS.Or.1673)	about 1046/1636	Md.Sadiq, lived at Delhi court. The work was dedicated to Shah Jahan.
8. Safina-i-Khushgu (B.M.MS.Or.4672)	1137-47/ 1724-34.	Bindraban Khushgu.
9. Riyadu'sh-Shu'ara (B.M.MS.Add.16729)	1161/1748	'Ali Quli Daghistani, who came to India about 1731.
10. Tadhkira-i-Husayni	1163/1749	Mir Husayn Dost of Sanbhal (India).
11. Tadhkira-i-Bagh-u-Ma'ani (Or.1761)	1174/1760	Naqsh-i-'Ali.
12. Majma'u'l-Fusaha	1284/1867-8	Rida-Quli Khan.

Majalisu'n-Nafa'is of Mir 'Ali Sher does not mention Babur; Fakhri Sultan, however, in his addenda to the translation (Lata'if-Nama) notices him and gives two of his verses^{1/}. In Tuhfa-i-Sami we find Babur's Turkish verses only^{2/}. Khayru'l-Bayan^{3/} and Tadhkira-i-Musayni^{4/} wrongly ascribe to our Babur some verses of a Ghazal which are found in Makhzanu'l-Gharaib^{5/} in the name of Babur Mirza, grandson of Shah Rukh.

His Poems:

Babur's poems^{6/} may be classed under two heads:

- (1) those composed on occasions known to us, and
- (2) those for which no date or occasion can so far be fixed.

Selected poems from under each head are given below.

Babur's poetic life seems to have begun with an unusual romance in 905/1500, when he was seventeen years of age. Strange though it may appear to read of young Babur's infatuation for a youth from his camp, the insertion of this interesting narrative, quoted in Babur's words, hardly needs an apology. His description of the episode reveals the charm of lyrical poetry in all its passages, and would doubtlessly prove of great value to the psychologist who cares to inquire into the intricacies of the young mind that has yet to discriminate between friendship, hero-worship, and erotic love.

^{1/} fol.117b. see also infra p.31. ^{2/} fol.16b. ^{3/} fol.413b. ^{4/} p.64, beginning:

روم از کینه لولایان کجاست . دگر دهم از جنمای نفس می زنده کجاست

^{5/} fol.62b. Makhzan, though not always accurate, is more reliable. In this particular case it may safely be relied upon as it gives the complete Ghazal of which others give a few verses, and narrates some historical facts of Babur Mirza's life. In the end it gives the chronogram of his death which brings out the correct date, viz. 861/1457. ^{6/} This monograph contains every poem for which Babur's authorship could be ascertained, except the three verses from his Diwan which were undecipherable.

در بعضی ایام یکدیگر از اردو باز آمدند بابر می نام - نام ارجح به طور مناسب انتخاب شده بود - (شوترکی)

بیشتر از این به هم مایل نشدند و در این کلمه از لغت و شنیدند هر دو لغت نمی شنیدند و نمی فهم - در آن محله ها گمان و در آن بخت

از نادر کی گفتم -
هم کس حول من خواب و می نشن در احوال
هم محبوس جز تو به ارجح و به پر دامبار

احیاناً بابر می شناسد اما من از بخت جدا و حجاب به طرف و بابر می شناسد و نمی توانم کرد چه با بخت و اضطراب

کتابت توانم کرد - از بخت اضطراب خاطر شکر اید و نمی توانم گفت چه امکان اندک از روشن بودن کتابت توانم کرد

به کعبه مقدسه خود کردن را می بود - یک روز در آن میر و کعبه جمیع حواری بودند و یک کوه می اندم - به کعبه و بابر

رد به رود من و اخو در از بخت و فعالیت آن طور مانده شد و نزدیک بود که از هم جدا شوم - رفت گمان کردن با کهن گفتن را

خود امکان نبود - به هم حجاب و خوشی نوشته شد - به بخت و موصل به خاطر رسید

شوم شرمند و بابر خود را در نظمی بنم - افعال شود من بنم و در بنم

ابر بخت محیب حال واقع شد - از طبعال عشق و محبت و افعال حواری و ضنون سر بر نه دو کوه و باغ و باغچه کسری ارج

ز ادغات به شما و بگانه - نه بردا خود و غیری ارج (شوترکی) ما غافل و پویشنا به نشسته داشت می رفت - ما

با غافل و محبت را کوه به کوه می شنم - نه در گفتن اعتبار بود نه در گفتن - نه در گفتن قرار بود و نه در گفتن

In these days there was a camp boy named Baburi, his name, too, had a strange similarity.

I became wonderfully fond of him,
 Nay, to speak the truth, mad and
 distracted after him. 1/

Before this I never had any inclination for any one, neither had I ever heard of or expressed love or passion. In that situation I sometimes composed a verse or two of Persian. I composed then:

"Never may a lover be so wretched and dishonoured
 as I am,
 (And) never may a sweetheart be so pitiless and
 indifferent as thou."

Sometimes Baburi came to visit me, when from shyness and modesty I could not look directly towards Baburi's feet, nothing to speak of indulging in a passionate discourse or a talk with him. From confusion of mind I could not thank him for his visit, where was the possibility of reproaching him for his departure; where was the self-command in me to receive him!

One day during this love affair, while I was passing through a lane with few attendants, all of a sudden Baburi met me face to face. On account of shame my condition became such that I was well-nigh beside myself, and there was no possibility of looking straight (at him) or saying a word. The matter passed with much confusion and shame. This couplet of Muhammad Salih came to my mind:

"Whenever I see my friend, I become ashamed,
 My companions look at me and I look another way.

This couplet wonderfully suited my condition. From the violence of love and passion, and the effervescence of youth and madness I used to wander about bareheaded and barefoot through lane, garden, and orchard. I had neither any regard for friend nor for stranger. I had neither any attention for myself nor for others.

During the fit of passion I was mad and deranged,
 nor did I know
 That such is his state who is enamoured of a
 fairy-face. 2/

Sometimes like mad men I roamed about over mountains and deserts. Sometimes I wandered about from street to street in search of mansions and gardens. I could neither go nor sit. I could neither walk nor stand.

"I had neither strength to go, nor power to stay.
 To such a state did you reduce me, O my heart!" 3/

1/ In order to keep up the trend of the narrative, I have given the Turkish verses only in their English translation from Erskine, *Memoirs of Babur*, I.p.126. 2-3/ Turkish couplet. *Ersk.Mem.* I.p.127.

The next available poem in chronological order does not follow for another seventeen years, during which time our poet has apparently not been inactive as we find him publishing his Diwan in 1519.

In 925/1519 Babur stormed and took Bijour^{1/}, the stronghold of the Sultan of Sawad. On 14th Muharram of the same year (16th Jan. 1519) he gave Khwaja Kalan^{2/} a Tughal (banner) and sent him as a governor to Bijour. After a day or two he despatched to him the following affectionate fragment:

قرار دیکھ کر بہادر کا مقصد نہ بدھو را • گزند مجھ کو دراز نہ بنو را راخ 3/
 بہمنگر آئے زمانہ جہ جابہ سازد کس • بجور در جہاں را راخ

Such was not my agreement and promise to the friend,
Separation stung me and made me wretched at last.

Who can do anything against the blandishments of time?
Bijour^{5/} has torn the friend from me at last.

The third, a satirical couplet composed at a poetic contest in 932/1525^{5/}, is omitted here as it offends the rules of decency. The occasion, however, is important as never afterwards Babur wasted his "thought again on such low utterances"^{6/}.

^{1/} A fortified town situated on the road to Jandol. ^{2/} He was a learned and hardy counsellor of Babur.... Later he was appointed governor of Ghazni" - Erskine's Babur. I. p. 444.
^{3/} Pers. Mem. fol. 337a. ^{4/} There is a play on the words *بجور* (Bijour) and *بجور* (through tyranny). The figure of speech is known as

تخفیف نام غرضی در المعنی. ^{5/} Pers. Mem. fol. 237a. ^{6/} Ibid. fol. 237a.

Babur sent the following quatrain as a token of his devotion along with presents to one Khwajgi (d.949/1542), successor of Khwaja 'Ubaydu'llah Ahrar:

در کجا نفس گمراه خفته کردیم • بنشین ای الله زان حال خودم شرمنده ایم
کعبه نظر با تو محال خفته دل فرما • خواجگی را مانده ایم در خواجگی را بنده ایم

1/

We have wasted our lives in the pursuit of
the strayed self,
We are ashamed of our deeds before godly-men.
Cast one look at the broken-hearted sincere,
for we
Are bound with the Khwajgi and are slaves of
the Khwajgi 2/.

In 1526, after his victorious march to India, Babur sent this threatening poem to Nizam Shah, who was then holding Biana, a fort which lay South-West of Agra:

با کبر و شهنشاهی • با کبر و شهنشاهی
با کبر و شهنشاهی • با کبر و شهنشاهی

3/

Do not fight with a Turk, o Mir of Biana,
The skill and bravery of the Turk are well-known.
If thou doest not come soon and listen to advice,
That which is apparent, what need is there to
describe it?

1/ It appears in Babur's Diwan (p.16. Plate 14a) without reference to the presentation, although allusion to it is made in the poem itself. The details are found in Madhkira (fol.25b) and Tuzuk (p.149). For a fanciful episode woven round the origin of the poem see Shah-Jahani fol.166a-b, which fixes the date of its composition as 1526.
2/ Babur's humble attitude may be traced to the fact that his father 'Umar Shaykh had been Ahrar's disciple (Madhkira fol.25b).
3/ Pers. Mem. fol.289a., also Diwan, Plate 14a and p.16.

To commemorate his victory in 934/1528, Babur built a tower at Chanderi and composed this chronogram:

1/ لبو شد ضام هند بری . برزگنا دار حرب
2/ فتح ارم حرب قلم او . گشت نام فتح دار الحرب

For a time the place of Chanderi was
Full of pagans, and styled the Seat of Hostility.

I conquered its fort with arms,
Its date was found in "Fath-i-Daru'l-harb"
(Conquest of the Place of Hostility). 3/

No dates can so far be ascribed to the rest of his poems.
The first three, if we may consider them a group, make him appear one who well knew how to combine his mundane activities with a piety to suit his purposes.

4/ رافع شنت هم از شنت به دست . جل شنت عمل علم بجهود است به دست
دخ بگفتی دار من خود شدم . امیدم دار من شوم و دست به دست

When there is no comfort for me, what benefits
a hook in (the) hand?
When there is no Action, of what use is Know-
ledge? It is barren.

- 1/ Pers. Mem. fol. 330b & 331a. 2/ The date found is 934/1527-8.
3/ According to Islam signifies a non-Muslim government, in-
tolerant to the religious practices of the 'Faithful'.
4/ Babur's Diwan p.18 and Plate 15b. شنت به دست is a Persian idiom
which means "to get all what one wants", cf. Za'iri:

ز آنکه دست شنت به بود دست زارگری شنت به دست اند و باز دست دارند

The text reads شنت all through although it would help to a better rendering to have دست (in hand) in the first line, بدست (is bad) in the second line, and again بدست (from hand) in the fourth line thus making it: شنت به دست . In the fourth line there is a subtle allusion to the Sufistic belief that a disciple through his successive spiritual teachers reaches the Prophet and so God (Asfiya p.25) for according to the Qur'an the hand of the Prophet is the hand of God (Qur'an: Chapter XLVIII. Section 1.)

Thou didst grasp my hand and from this I am
happy,
I hope I shall be delivered from hand to hand.

1/ افتم در بند تو از دستم شد است .
حالت دلالت میزد شد است
مانی در خانه ز دور خبر دین
دلخواه تو تر جفت میزد شد است

Thy sincerity and faith has become bright,
Thy condition and ways have been (tested and)
proved.
As there is no longer any hindrance, cheer up!
The discipline has been determined according
to thy wishes.

2/ در پیشگاه اگر چه از غریبهانم
کعب از دل و جان مستعد است نیم
دست خوشای از درویشی
شاهم به بند درویش نیم

Though Dervishes are not of us,
Yet we are their believers with heart and soul.

Say not that kingship is distinct from Dervishism,
We are kings, yet the slaves of Dervishes.

To conclude the selection nothing is more worthy than the
verses quoted below which reveal the charming personality and
sentimental character behind the ambitious prince:

3/ اوجبار درویش را که بار نیست
در دلا از راه و سوار نیست
در دلا ز ما نشسته ای و بدوام د
چشمی تو نشسته ای که در دلا ز ما نیست

The spring arrived and the heartless, who is
without friend,
Has no concern with tulip-garden, and no desire
for the spring.

1/ Babur's Diwan p.22 and Plate 18b. 2/ Akb.Nam.I.p.118 and Nafa'is
fol.27a. Cf.Ni'matu'llah Wali (Diwan fol.86b):

نیت گاه از خدا بند
 که در دلا ز ما نیست
 گریه در دلا ز ما نیست
 که در دلا ز ما نیست

3/Aqlim fol.129b. It seems to have been part of a Ghazal. Rumi has
a Ghazal (Tabriz p.50) in the same rhyme and metre.

I have seen abundance of mischief in the world,
but
Thy eye is a mischief which is nowhere (else)
in the world.

منظر، خیال، ماه، در یک در سر است . من غلام آن در سر دهم که عاشق برده است

1/

Continuous thought of the Moon-faced is in
my head,
I am the slave of that fairy-faced who is the
cherisher of the lover.

در دماغ تو منم، بیدل حاصل بود . دماغ عشق تو را در صفت در دل بود

2/

At the time when I had the resplendent spot
on the heart,
I bore the scar of thy love like tulip's spot
on the heart.

ملاک می کند ز قضا تو دانستم . در گم ز من از سر خیز می توانم

3/

I knew that separation from thee will kill me,
Else I could depart from this city.

تا به زلف بستم دل به تنم . از پریشانی عالم رستم

4/

Since I bound my heart with her young locks,
I was freed from the worries of the world.

ز بانای او دندو برستم . بهایم بر بزمی گویند هستم

5/

I am a haunter of taverns, drunkards and wine-
worshipper,
Whatever they call me, I am the same in the world.

1/ Nafa'is fol.26b. For better idea and alliteration cf. Za'iri:

بهر دلی آن در سر دهم که در سر دهم . به دهم که در سر دهم که در سر دهم

2/ Nafa'is fol.26b-27a. Hafiz has a Ghazal (Diwan p.157) in the same rhyme and metre. Cf. Za'iri. The improvement is remarkable:

بدر دهم که دماغ تو را در دل بود . لطف صد بلبله سببانی بیدل حاصل بود

3/Akb.Nam.I.p.119; Lata'if-Nama fol.117b; Riyad fol.75a; Bagh fol.119b, which mentions instead of 4/Akb.Nam.I.p.119.
5/Lata'if.fol.117b.

Appreciation:His Turkish verses, a consideration:

Babur can well say of his Persian poems what Ghalib^{1/} said of his Urdu compositions:

نہ اس کے ہر شاعر کی مانند کسی نے اردو کی نظمیں نہ لکھی ہیں۔
 نہ اس کے ہر شاعر کی مانند کسی نے اردو کی نظمیں نہ لکھی ہیں۔

Look to Persian (verses) so that thou mayest
 find points of diverse interest;
 Pass over Urdu (poems) as that is a collection
 not to my taste.

It is really in Turkish poems that Babur's skill is truly reflected. "In Turkish poetry", says Mirza Hayder, "after Mir 'Ali Sher Napa'i none equalled him. He has composed a Turkish Diwan of extreme elegance and vigour... He also composed a tract on Turkish prosody, superior in merit to any written before on the subject^{2/}".

Here he has introduced ideas which are very rarely found in the works of Persian poets^{3/}. For instance:

In spring the fields entrance the heart,
 The tulips take the eye with beauty.

Happy he who can wander in green pastures,
 At this season how charming the spectacles
 they offer.

4/

Again:

Happy he who in the season of Spring
 Finds all the materials of joy ready to
 his hand.

If they be not there for us, let us gather
 them for ourselves,

I with luscious dainties, and thou with wine. 5/

^{1/} Asadu'llah Khan Ghalib, a celebrated Persian poet of Delhi, 1797-1867. ^{2/} Rashidi fol.121b. ^{3/} Just to allow a glimpse into the ideas of his Turkish poems, the English translations of some are given. ^{4/} Abushqa - Some verses of the Emperor Babur, by H. Beveridge, Asiatic Review 1911. Part I. p.100. ^{5/} ibid. p.99.

The following he addressed to his "very own sister", which is so rare in Eastern poetry:

Breeze of the morning, approach my smiling flower,
Or rather my Moon, glorious as the Sun;

Go, full of love, and convey from Babur
Good morrow to my very own sister.

1/

He seldom wrote in Persian, not because he was unfamiliar with the language, far from it, but only because he loved Turkish more and wanted to patronise and promote it. In his strong love for his ancestral language he even transgressed sometimes the rules of politeness in correspondence, and wrote Turkish verses in reply to the Persian poems of his courtiers^{2/}.

His Persian poetry, a valuation.

Topical:

His Persian compositions, as we have seen above, are of two kinds: (1) occasional or topical verses; (2) lyrical and devotional poems. The former, including fragments and chronograms, go far to show his skill in and command over the language. The adroit use of the word in the Fragment which he sent to Khwaja Kalan^{3/} contains a fine example of the Figure of Speech known as *تجسیر* (Tajassir) or *تجسیر* (Tajassir). The following is a good instance of "Irsalu'l-Tamthil"^{4/} or *Mathal*.

باز تر است که منم از سحر جان . جان دل در دانه گلی ترک میانست
گزاردن آنی در لغت نه گلی خوشتر . آنجا که میانست چه چاش میانست

4/

^{1/} ibid.p.100. ^{2/} See his notes to Khwaja Kalan - (Pers.Mem.fol. 286b-287a) and to Bannai (Pers.Mem.fol.76a-b).
^{3/} See supra p.27. ^{4/} See supra p.28.

He was also a skilful chronogramist. On the death of his faithful playmate he composed this Fragment:

فوت شو زبانی

۹۵۷/۱۵۵۱

1/

His chronogram on the conquest of Chanderi is another fine specimen of its kind^{2/}. He also quotes several others which shows his interest in this branch of poetry^{3/}.

Lyric:

His lyric verses and devotional poems form a still better criterion for his art. They reveal the real character of the author who, with undiminished sensibility, is as easy of temper as he is easy of style, and who can adapt himself as well to the circumstances as he can adapt his language to the subject matter.

As one having had a romance, Babur's verses disclose all the passion of the 'experienced' lover; they reflect a genuine feeling and warmth, so rarely found in others.

He is one who seems to have always a soft corner in his heart for the "love-cherishing beauteous":

منزل مرا چنانچه در دلم در سر است
من غلام آن چهره بودم که غافل بود

4/

Continuous thought of the Moon-faced is in
my head,
I am the slave of that fairy-faced who is the
cherisher of the lover.

In Hafiz we find the same idea. He says, indeed, what would have suited Babur better:

^{1/} Pers. Mem. fol. 86b. ^{2/} See supra p. 29. ^{3/} For instances see Pers. Mem. fol. 11. 45a-b and 122b. ^{4/} See supra p. 31.

غفلت ز سر مست تو تا مبادارند
خواب از لب لعل تو سوتبارند

1/

Crowned heads are slaves of thy intoxicated
narcissus,
The sober are reprobates from the wine of
thy ruby (lips).

According to Babur, this "love-cherishing" does not consist in anything but cruelties and tyrannies. Like a true lover, who loves for love's sake, he seems to care little for the hardships that it may bring upon his head, rather he welcomes them. He is not like 'Ashiq who, in spite of a similar wish, advises himself a separation from his sweetheart:

دلدار کے جو نوت تم کشتہ سبار . کسر ادا کنند استبداد کشتہ سبار
عاشق کی کشتہ ساز دشمن جان . بنزار کشتہ سستی خوشتر سبار

Nor is he like Kaki whose prayer is only for the lovers:

زوق عشق از مال عاشق کم سبار . سرگرم عشق است در عالم سبار

Let not desire of love become less within the
soul of (the) lover!
He who is without love let him not be in the
world.

Rather he feels like Hafiz:

مست ممر انانی در کشتہ نیست
بیمع عارضه شخص تو در دند سبار

The safety of the Universe lies in thy safety,
Let thy /man/ lover not suffer the pains of
any disease!

May more, Hafiz's wish is rather vague, but Babur is bold enough to declare:

1/ *نہ کس حوالہ فریبی نشی در اہباد . جمع کتبہ مجوزہ جامعہ دہلی*

Never may a lover be so wretched and dishonoured
as I am,
(And) never may a sweetheart be so pitiless and
indifferent as thou.

Most probably in Kabul, where

2/ *In Spring the fields entrance the heart
The tulips take the eye with beauty,*

there must have been moments in his life when he keenly felt the absence of a 'friend', for he sang:

3/ *امیدوار بودند را کہ باشند . بردا دلہ زار در ہوا بہار نیست*

The Spring arrived and the heartless, who is
without friend,
Has no concern with tulip-garden, and no desire
for the Spring.

The way in which he displays his indifference towards the bounties of Spring around him shows that the fire of love which only once in his life he had cherished, when under its effect he "used to

1/ See supra p.25. Cf. Shapur (Diwan fol.117b):

ادلش عشق است دین از انرا از خجالت خشم . کس چنین بینام در اغانا ز سواکی مبار

And also 'Ashiq (fol.152a-b):

مع جوہر کس چکر وی تیان خوار مبار . کبر از در در نیست گشتا مبار

دندان برین در جہر تن می کشند . بار کس بن عمر بجم و کشتا مبار

2/ Turkish verse. See supra p.32. 3/ See supra p.30; compare his Turkish verse (Ersk.Nem.I.p.166):

"I have found no faithful friend but my soul,
Except my own heart I have no trusty friend."

wander about bareheaded and barefoot through lane, garden, and orchard", was still there although not as burning flames, yet smouldering embers.

Even his diverse princely enjoyments and revels, during which "he would sit by the side of a cistern filled with red wine, while the fairest damsels danced around"^{1/}, do not seem to have obliterated from his memory the eye that he had once loved:

2/ در روزگار منتهی به دور و نامدار
چشم تو منتهی است که در روزگار منتهی

Most likely it must have been on some such occasion that he had composed the above verses and also the following:

خوابانی در زندگ برستم
بسالم بجز کسی گوشت منم

The dms of war and the worries of his unsettled life dulled that loving passion in him during his last days, but, as it appears, he was never happy to have lost it: woefully he mourns its absence:

لدم داغ تو اندم که بیدار حاصل بود
داغ فتن تو را لام فتن در دل بود

Devotional:

Babur displays no profound mystic ideas in his Persian poems, and the little that we have shows only his strong attachment to the saints of his age. Even this discloses no mystic tendency of

^{1/} L.P.'s "Babur" p.152.

^{2/} See supra p.30.

a sincere disciple, as we find it in the poems of his son Humayun, rather they betray the spirit of a world-seeker who is anxious to receive the blessings of godly-men. For instance:

در رتبه نزار اگر چه نه از خوشبختانم . . . کتب از دل دجال منقذالتانم
 و در رتبه گویا من از درویشی . . . شامی که نند به درویشانم

Again:

در کمال انفسر کرده محو منافع از دلم . . . بشنید اهل الفقه از افعال خود شرمند ام
 کتب نظر به مصلحتان خرد دل زما . . . خواجگی را مانده ایم و خواجگی را بند ام

In the following he shows a better spirit:

راحم تبت به از شست به دست . . . چو تبت علی علم بچو دست بدست
 دلم بگرانی و از سر خورندم . . . امید دارم به شوم دست بدست

Even here it is not the "disinterested love" that prompts him, but it is only his anxiety to achieve the goal.

Conclusion:

If on the basis of the few verses a literary criticism of Babur's poems is difficult, much more so it is to express an opinion with regard to their demerits, because the verses preserved in various sources appear to be his selected best.

His Persian verses do, nevertheless, supplement his manifold attainments to a great degree, because Babur the poet is inseparable from Babur the man. No true picture of his life, therefore, can be obtained by studying only his career as a prince who lost

one kingdom, and, with spirits undaunted, won and founded another and a greater one. In fact, poetry appears to have been the guiding factor of his life. Starting with a strange romance, which seems to have left a permanent impression on his mind, he tried to keep alive the spirit throughout. Either as a soldier in the thick of fight, or a prince among the flattering courtiers, either as a sybarite in the midst of fair damsels, or as a jurist exposing law^{1/}, we always find him singularly inspired by the Muse.

The fewness of his verses is amply compensated by the breath of sincerity which pervades them; his poetry was not a veil to cover his sentiments, but only a means to express them. He is as keen a critic of himself as he is of others. This gift places him far ahead of his age and, in combination with his poetical talent and scholarship, assigns him a definite position among the rank and file of his Persian contemporaries.

Further, he did not evince only a personal interest in the art, but as an heir to an old tradition of patronage he brought in his train several poets of distinction with whom began the "Indian Summer of Persian Poetry".

To free India from anarchy, and to give its Persian literature a fresh start, were two tasks entrusted by Nature to Babur. His capability to fulfil these was tested through a series of misfortunes and calamities, and it is greatly to his credit that he stood the test with remarkable firmness. Most probably while writing his beautiful quatrain:

^{1/} Pirishta I.p.394 (باب در بیان نظم و نثر). See also his work *Mubrai* p. 8. *Supra*.

افشودم و عقیده‌ها تو در تو روشن شد. اکت
 حالت و طریقت اکت مبرهن شده اکت
 مایل چو نماند ز دور بر خبر دبا .
 و نخواه تو تر بیت مصبر شده اکت

Thy sincerity and faith has become bright,
 Thy condition and ways have been (tested and)
 proved.
 As there is no longer any hindrance, cheer up,
 The discipline has been determined according
 to thy wishes,

he was voicing the Divine call to him, and his life shows that
 at its end he could look upon those tasks done, and done well.

Second Chapter.

H u m a y u n

937/1530 - 963/1556.

His age - Humayun, short accounts - his literary activities - his critical taste - Humayun, the poet; influences - sources of his poems - his poems - appreciation; his critics - his style and diction; comparisons - his masterpiece - his non-mystic poems, an attempt on reconciliation - his mystic poems - drawbacks - conclusion.

His age:

In the last chapter we have had a bird's-eye view of the state of Persian poetry in Babur's time. Although no appreciable change occurred in the general tone and tendency of the art during the time of Humayun and Kamran, there were some minor influences which deserve a mention before we study their poems.

In connection with Babur we had to notice, though casually, the condition of Persian poetry in Transoxiana, but with Humayun we can discard it for the apparent reason that he had nothing to do with his father's home-land. The "scene of action", therefore, changes a little and we have now to concern ourselves solely with the state of poetry in India and Persia during those days.

Persia of Humayun's time was under the rule of Shah Tahmasp Safawi (1524-76) who, prudent and courageous as a monarch, was yet an unscrupulous bigot hating "everything connected with Accomplishment, and the representatives of these Accomplishments".

Although himself a poet^{1/}, he had no love for poetry. During his rule the Muse completely deserted Persia, and her place was taken by harsh and fanatic theologians^{2/}, or equally dry threnodists, commemorating the sufferings of the Imams^{3/}. No better portrait of Tahmasp's reign can be painted than what is contained in the following verse of Buqu'l 'Ishq:

بہ نسبت شیرازی ارماند . کاتب و نقاش و ترنم دہن دوز 4/

They have obtained promotion with ease:
The scribe, the painter, the Qazwini, and
the ass.

Although at that time India was in a state of turmoil, the condition of poetry there was quite different from that in Persia. Thanks to the patronage of Humayun, Sher Shah and Salim Shah of the Suri dynasty, and Bahadur Shah of Gujrat, India continued to attract a great number of poets from Persia who found there an appreciation denied to them in their own home-land.

Numerous poets are mentioned in Tuhfa-i-Sami and other contemporary biographies and histories, yet there is hardly one worthy to be placed in the first rank. The poetry, Ghazals particularly, produced between 1530 and 1550, both in India and Persia, has no prominent representative to claim an outstanding position in the field. Humayun's odes, with which we shall deal in the following pages, form no exception to the general standard of this period; the genuine mystic tendency found in his poems,

^{1/} Some of his verses are found in his Memoirs (Calcutta 1912). For his poems see also Atashkada p.21. ^{2/} Mirza Muhammad in Browne IV.pp.26-8. ^{3/} Browne IV.p.28. ^{4/} Ibid.p.97.

however, raise their value appreciably above the common level. Kamran, who belongs to the same age and is noticed next, shines like a star on the otherwise starless firmament of poetry during those two decades, and in so gloomy an atmosphere it is a real pleasure to read his poems.

Humayun - Short Account:

Humayun, eldest son of Babur, was born in 913/1507^{1/}. His early youth was unsettled owing to his father's restless adventures; nevertheless, a singular attachment sprang up between the two, which found a splendid expression in the paternal sacrifice. The son rose from his sick-bed only to succeed his heroic father in 1530.

He had hardly ruled for a decade when he had to face the rebellion of Sher Shah (1540) and the simultaneous revolts of his brothers, Kamran and Askari, of whom the first held the government of the Punjab and the portion of his father's domain now known as Afghanistan. Unable to meet the double attack, Humayun fled for his life to Persia (1544). Another decade elapsed before he succeeded in regaining his throne (1555) with the aid of the army supplied by Shah Tahmasp. This success, however, he did not live long to enjoy. Broken in health owing to lifelong misfortunes, and disinterested in worldly affairs, he died (1556)^{2/} of a fall from a terrace on his way to attend the Evening Prayer.

3/ *بدر نازم شمس در شمس . اندک انساب بنام زباج*

After the Morning Prayer, and before the Evening Prayer
My My world-illuminating Sun set down the storey.

^{1/} Pers. Mem. fol. 200a. ^{2/} For chronograms commemorating his death see Badayuni I. pp. 466-7. ^{3/} Madhkira fol. 28a. Most probably the verse is by Humayun (ibid).

His literary activities:

We know nothing in particular about Humayun's education, but it seems that in his early youth he developed a taste for Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology under his tutors Mullas Abu'l-qasim^{1/} and Ilyas^{2/}. This manifested itself rather whimsically during his early reign in the arrangement whereby he received his courtiers in seven halls named after the planets and on their corresponding days^{3/}. He is also the author of Nikat-i-Hikmat, a work in Persian, most probably on Astrology^{4/}, which does not seem to be extant now.

Humayun was well versed in Turkish besides Arabic and Persian, but unlike his father he seemed to have little regard for the language of his ancestors as a medium for his poetic thought^{5/}. There is only one Turkish couplet so far known to have been written by him^{6/}.

His critical taste:

This indifference towards Turkish, however, was amply compensated by his interest in Persian literature where he figures both as a poet and a critic of poetry. Although not as keen a judge as his father, Humayun had a fine critical taste.

Once while in Persia, Mulla Hayrati (d.961/1554) presented him with a Ghazal beginning:

^{1/}Tarikh-i-Humayun fol.24b. ^{2/}Badayuni III.p.131. ^{3/}Humayun-Nama fol.130-35 and Madhkira fol.26b,28a.4/Sprenger (pp.484-5) during the course of his notice of Diwan-i-Hasan Harvi (left India in 979/1571) refers to the latter's chronogram on the above work. ^{5/}From A.S.Beveridge (J.R.A.S. -1907- pp.131-44) we learn that two copies of Babur's Memoirs, viz. the one in the Advocate Library, Edinburgh, and the similar one in Haydarabad, contain informative marginal commentaries in Turkish by Humayun. ^{6/}Madhkira fol.28a and Nafa'is fol.40a.

1/ گداز عشق چنانکه حکم می کند . عشق بر لاله بدواغ دردم می کند
 هم جویدانه بنفشه سرمد مادرش را . که اگر شتر دردم بال دردم می کند

Sometimes from the love of idols the heart and
 sometimes the liver burns,
 Love burns into me every moment /with/ a fresh
 scar.
 Like the affairs of (a) moth with the candle,
 is mine (with my idol)
 That if I go further my feather and wings might
 burn.

Humayun at once corrected him:

می دردم شتر بال دردم می کند

By dropping one word (که - that) the verse had become compact.

On another occasion when Jahi Yatmi recited his satire:

2/ در آنست که بنفشه شتر استیزد . بر که با ما بهشتیزد به بد بهشتیزد

Alas for him who quarrels with the band of poets,
 Whoever quarrels with us quarrels with calamity,

Humayun remarked, "why dost thou not say:

هر که با ما بهشتیزد به خدا بهشتیزد

Whoever quarrels with us quarrels with God."

Once, says Naqsh-i-'Ali, a poet presented a Qasida to Humayun
 which began:

آه تلخ در دلت بر سر است از استدانان

1/ Tarikh-i-Humayun fol.12b. According to Mir'atu'l-'Alam (fol. 265a):

علا بر کما از غزل را به لغو اصلاح آورد

"Mulla Hayrati brought this with a view (to receive) correction".
 For the Ghazal see Hayrati's Diwan (Cr.282 fol.98b). See also
 Khushgu fol.199b.

2/Badayuni I.p.478. Jahi died in India in 956/1549 (ibid). The
 correction shows the intensive religious sentiment of Humayun.

O thou, may the crown of the state be on thy head from the beginning (of the world) to (its) end.

Humayun asked if the poet knew prosody, and on receiving a reply in the negative, said: "If you did, I would have ordered your death", because the line, if scanned, would run:

1/ آتاج در سقین + لت برکت - سقین
وزن سقین + آتاج - سقین

Humayun, the poet - influences:

In order to appreciate Humayun's poems fully, a few incidents of his life, which seem to have influenced his poetry, deserve notice.

Babur's Memoirs make no mention of Humayun's poetry, and as the journal ceases from the first day of the year 936 A.H. (7th Sept. 1529) we can assume that until then Humayun had composed no poems, or at least had displayed no practical interest in that art^{2/}. His first poem to which any definite date can be assigned is one which he wrote to Sher Shah in 1538. Thereafter we find him composing poems on various occasions.

The first influencing factor was the unusual death of his father, Babur, who sacrificed his very life for his dear son^{3/}.

^{1/} Bagh fol. 123a-b. But see Shibli (Sh. 'Ajam III. p. 9) who without quoting his authority attributes the criticism to Jahangir.

^{2/} *لت برکت* would mean "hammer on thy head". This is doubtlessly a hazardous conclusion, but the following grounds warrant it: Babur's Memoirs are replete with notices of contemporary poets, kings, princes and others, but nowhere do they mention Humayun as a poet. Even when he sends his poems with a letter to Humayun in 1528, Babur does not indicate his addressee's practical interest in the art (Pers. Mem. fol. 352a).

^{3/} Akb. Nam. I. p. 116-7.

As the available records of Humayun would show, this by itself left little or no impression on the young mind. Later days, however, brought the incident back to him when the ill-treatment from his brothers contrasted so sharply with the noble sacrifice of his father. This moved him deeply and caused most probably the pessimistic strain in many of his poems, as for instance:

1/ ایدل با بزرگواران است . با فاطمه از اندوه بهر سینه است
 تنه از گزند در غل صحت . آب گل که از دگر دانه است

O heart, there is no friend from whom the heart
 gets comfort,
 Nor one who obliterates sorrow from the mind.

Hear this word, "in the Garden of Life
 There is no flower which emits the fragrance of
 Fidelity".

His initiation in the order of Sufism by the famous saint Shah Bahlul^{2/} is originally responsible for the mystic ideas in Humayun's poetry. This was probably the occasion which brought about a profound change in his course, as would appear from the difference between the ideas contained in the above in which he, in a way, accuses the whole world of faithlessness, and the following in which he takes upon himself the full responsibility for his misfortunes:

1/ Khayr fol.414b. 2/ Shah-Jahani fol.170b-171a. Sh.Bahlul (d.964/1556) was the brother of the famous Md.Ghawth of Gwalior. This Bahlul does not seem to be identical with Bahlul whose Diwan we find in the B.M. (Or.280) nor with one mentioned in Akb.Nam.I.p.223. For Humayun's faith in other saints see Shah-Jahani fol.174-182a. - For his attachment to the Ahrari saints of Central Asia see Madhkira fol.27a according to which Babur's father 'Umar Shaykh was the disciple of 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar (fol.25b).

1/ *مست از نور دشمن، از آل شیه جهان ال خوشتر*

Before me is a veil from the Light,
Hence the kinsman has turned a stranger.

During his stay in Persia (1544-54) he composed several poems soliciting the Shah's aid for the conquest of his lost domains. The Shah promised his help on condition that the royal guest should embrace the Shi'a faith; if not, he threatened to "flay alive Humayun and all the members of his party"^{2/}. It appears that he accepted the new faith as a matter of policy, but never meant to follow it seriously^{3/}:

4/ *ابداً من اضطراب دشمن رنج . حال دل فردا مگر با مع لب لب
کار کج تر جان خفا، انداز . هر چه شغل است، برادر عجب*

O heart, do not be restless before the friend,
Do not tell any physician the condition of
thy heart.

The affair which thou didst have with the
oppressor

Is a difficult story and a strange matter. 5/

1/ Nafa'is fol.40a. 2/ Jauhar fol.71b-72a. According to him Humayun replied to the Shah:

ابداً از خود نام تمام تنم و دارا چندان از تو بار شایسته . در هر چه هست به اراده خدا عزوجل است

Pirishta (I.p.246), however, thinks that Humayun willingly accepted the condition. The truth seems to lie between the two versions. Having been initiated in the Sufi order, it was not strange for Humayun to have shown greater attachment to 'Ali and his family than an average Sunni (Jawahiru'l-Asrar by Adhari. Add.7607.fol. 60a-b). Even his quatrain beginning:

بسته زبان نبوده اولاد علی

(see p.58. infra) does not betray such ultra-Shi'ite belief that a Sunni Sufi would seriously object to it. See Additional Notes No.2. 3/We are led to think so because one of the conditions, that Humayun would cause the Shi'ite Khutba to be read in India (Pirishta I.p.446), was never fulfilled. Nor was another that Qandhar should be handed over to the Persians, which they had to take by force in 1558 (See Sarkar I.p.130-6, where several authorities are cited. 4/Akb.Nam.I.p.368; Nafa'is fol.40a and Makhzan fol.520b. 5/Most probably the quatrain refers to this policy. If so, it was presumably composed during his stay in Persia

After his return to India in 1555 he seemed to have lost all interest in life and became an ardent Sufi. The mystic tendencies reflected in most of his poems suggest that they might have been composed during those days.

The last, but not the least force which influenced Humayun's poetry was his attachment to Bairam Khan, who most faithfully adhered to the cause of Humayun throughout his unfortunate days. Bairam was not only a great general, but also a loyal friend, a learned scholar and skilful poet of Persian and Turkish. If the sentiments of several poems addressed to him by Humayun^{1/} can be taken as a guide to the king's friendship, Humayun must indeed have held the true companion of his good and bad days in high esteem.

Sources of his poems:

Before noticing Humayun's poems, a brief examination of their available sources will be useful.

Abu'l-Fadl, writing in 1004/1595, testifies to the presence of Humayun's Diwan in Akbar's library^{2/}; but it does not seem to be extant and therefore a search for his poems had to be made in various Histories and Tadhkiras. The difficulty was augmented by the fact that besides our poet there were the following three others who used 'Humayun' as their pen-name. The Tadhkira writers uncritical as they often are, have confused them with our poet.

1. Amir Humayun^{3/}, Poet-laureate of Sultan Yagub (1477-90), the son of Uzun Hasan;
2. Humayun, Majid Hamadani^{4/};
3. Humayun of Samarcand^{5/}.

^{1/} See infra pp. 42, 55, 60. ^{2/} Akb. Nam. I. p. 368. ^{3/} Lata'if fol. 47b.
 Selections from his Diwan are found in Add. 7824-(6).
^{4/} Makhzan fol. 526b. ^{5/} Lata'if fol. 103b.

The sources for Humayun's poems may be divided as follows:

1. Persian Histories,
2. Persian Tadhkiras.

The following table shows them in chronological order:

A. Histories:

<u>Name:</u>	<u>Date:</u>	<u>Author:</u>
1. Ahwal-i-Humayun Padshah (printed).	probably 962/1554	Gulbadan Begum, Babur's daughter.
2. Tadhkiratu'l-Waqi'at B.M.MS.Add.16711	995/1586	Jauhar, Humayun's Cup- bearer during the exile. The work was commenced in 995/1586.
3. Humayun Shahi B.M.MS.Or.1890.		Recension of the above by Ilaahdad.

B. Tadhkiras:

4. Atashkada-i-Adhar	1174/1760	Lutf-i-'Ali Adhar; he never came to India.
5. Makhzanu'l-Ghara'ib B.M.MS.Or.4610	1213/1803	Ahmad 'Ali, under Shah 'Alam (1759-1806).

C. Works of which details have been given under Babur supra pp.20-3.

6. Akbar-Nama	11. Madhkir-i-Ahbab
7. Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi	12. Haft Aqlim
8. Lata'if Nama	13. Khayru'l-Bayan
9. Tuhfa-i-Sami	14. Safina-i-Khushgu
10. Nafaisu'l-Ma'athir	15. Riyadu'sh-Shu'ara
16. Tadhkira-i-Husayni.	

Histories:

Although Tadhkiratu'l-Waqi'at was written by one who was for many years with Humayun, it should be relied upon with some reservations. Among the poems ascribed to Humayun by him we find a well-known Fragment of Salman of Sava^{1/}.

Gulbadan gives only one quatrain of Humayun addressed to Sher Shah, but it is important inasmuch as it is the first poem to which a date can be assigned.

From Abu'l-Fadl, who had Humayun's Diwan at his disposal, one should expect more. Among the few poems that he quotes one quatrain has special interest as two versions of it occur^{2/}.

Of the poems attributed to Humayun by Firishta (I.p.451)^{3/} the following quatrain needs verification because we find it also in the Diwan of Bairam Khan^{4/}:

چو طبع الحیف فرشتی مرزونی	•	آند اندر خفا مرزونی
بیاثر جبار مرز حردان مرزونی	•	بیاثر تر بنم ز ما مرزونی

Both external and internal evidence lead us to believe that it is by Humayun and has been included in the Diwan of Bairam Khan by oversight:

Firishta and Riyadu'sh-Shu'ara, both ascribe it to Humayun. The

^{1/} Jauhar fol.66a.margin.The Fragment begins (Kull.Salman.fol.303b

عزرا ارم صفت ما عشتای صفتی

The mistake has been followed by Khayr.fol.414b; Atashkada p.29 and Makhzan fol.520b. Even Ghani (II.p.23), writing so late as 1930, commits the same error.

^{2/} See supra p.68.

^{3/} also Riyad fol.504a. ^{4/} p.47. This seems to have been composed under the influence of Salman's similar quatrain (Kull.fol.397a):

دی دیده بدل گفت که دلیل مرزونی زان سلفه لب بر مرزونی
مرز دیده ام ز سر بران در خونم اخرونه دیده بر مرزونی

former avers that it was originally sent by Humayun as a post-script to the Mathnawi, while according to the latter he wrote it in reply to Bairam's letter. Whatever the occasion, they both agree in definitely attributing it to Humayun's authorship, and there is nothing on record to contradict them. A close comparison of the quatrain in question with another which is found in Bairam's Diwan will be of use in discussing the internal evidence:

1. Quatrain in question:

آند اسر نام خودی • جل طلف خوشتر خودی
بافتو نغمه زبانه برز • با تو به یاد سر خردل خودی

O thou, who art the friend of
the afflicted soul,
Thou art well-balanced like
thy own delicate disposition

I am never without thy re-
membrance,
How dost thou feel in the me-
mory of one grieved like me?

2. Bairam's quatrain:

1/ آند به ذات به سجده • از بهر ترا وصف کنم از دنی
جله سیدانی به توجله می زند • جلای بر کسی اندر از اتم خوبی

O thou, who art in person a
shadow of the Incomparable,
Thou art more than I can praise
thee /with/.

Since thou knowest how I pass
my time without thee,
Why dost thou ask how I feel
in thy presence?

The form of address in No.2, "Who art in person a shadow of the Incomparable", is the same as "Zill-i-Ilahi (Shadow of God)", and is generally used for kings. In No.1. we do not find any such respectful form. From No.2. we gather that it has been addressed by an inferior to his superior, while No.1. appears to have been written by a superior disclosing a sense of intimate friendship for his inferior^{2/}. The second line of the first

1/ Diwan p.47. According to Firishta (I.p.451) it was sent by Bairam to Humayun in reply to the other quatrain. 2/It was nothing uncommon for the Mughal kings to address their confidant generals in that way. See Babur's poem addressed to Khwaja Kalan - Pers.Mem.fol.204a and p.27 supra.

quatrain reveals a similar sentiment to the one contained in another quatrain by Humayun^{1/}. Both being in the same rhyme and metre, but having different forms of address, it is difficult to ascribe them to the same poet. This being clear, it is reasonable to accept Firishta's version supported by Riyadu'sh-Shu'ara.

Tadhkiras:

Hajalisu'n-Nafa'is by Mir 'Ali Sher does not give any notice of Humayun; Fakhri Sultan, however, in the addenda to his translation mentions Humayun and gives one of his verses.

2/

بنجم شد غم نو در دلم چه جابه کن • محب غم است مگر دل ز سنگ مانده

The affliction dwells in my heart, what remedy
can I apply?
It is a strange sorrow, perhaps I will make my
heart of granite.

Sam Mirza, the author of Tuhfa-i-Sami, which comes next in chronological order, disappoints with only one couplet by Humayun:

3/

آن نه سر در است که در بام سرازیر است • شمع سبز است که بر درانه او مانده است

It is not a cypress which has raised its head
in the garden,
It is a green candle of which the ring-dove
is a moth.

The largest number of Humayun's poems is found in Nafaisu'l-Ma'thir. Although Kani has not given his source, he may safely be presumed to have based his informations on the Diwan of Humayun, the existence of which in the royal library is testi-

^{1/} See p. infra. ^{2/} Lata'if fol. 118a. ^{3/} fol. 17a-b.

fied by Abu'l-Padl.

Some of the poems attributed to Humayun by Haft Aqlim and Khayru'l-Bayan are identical with those found in earlier works. The latter follows Jauhar in wrongly ascribing to Humayun Salman's Fragment referred to above and further commits the mistake of attributing to king Humayun the following couplet of Amir Humayun (fol.414b):

1/ نه با بی در صحن سواد من صد بار بر نیاید
کتر شهادت من در گنج برباد بالونیز

This mistake makes us a little cautious in accepting its version as regards the rest of the poems. The plaintive note in the one^{2/}, and the flattering tone of the other^{3/}, make it probable, however, that they might have been composed by Humayun during his exile in Persia.

Both the quatrains in Safina-i-Khushgu are the same as those found in Akbar Nama. All the poems given by Daghistani in the name of Humayun are contained in earlier works except one^{4/}. This again, like the one we have seen above, has been included in Bairam's Diwan^{5/} erroneously. A close comparison of the quatrain in question with another which is also found there will be of use in arriving at a definite conclusion with regard to the authorship of the former.

1/ Diwan-i-Amir Humayun. Add.7824.(6). fol.130b. 2/ See p. infra
3/ See F.N. p. infra. 4/ Riyad.fol.504a. 5/ Diwan p.47.

1. Quatrain in question:

آباد لطف طبع و پاکیزه گهر . در محله اهل فضل و ادب است
 گنجی نغمه امید که ز نور خود . مزاجت دل شیری مجید

O friend of delicate nature,
 and refined quality,
 And, o support of the learned
 and the skilful!

Open thy eye of hope so that
 from the light of (thy)
 exalted presence

I may bring to an end that dark-
 ness of ^{thy} separation.

2. Bairam's quatrain:

آفرین طبع و پاکیزه گهر . در یک نور تر از ادب است
 از نور خود نور خوری بنا . تا ابد آن شیری مجید

O king of holy nature and
 pure stock!
 O the best of the holy-sighted
 skilful!

From thy own light show me
 the light of thy
 presence

So that I may cast that dark-
 ness of separation out
 of doors.

In the quatrain in question we find (O friend!), a form
 of address used for a friend, while in the second the words

(O king!) go far to prove that it must have been addressed
 by Bairam to a king, who should be no other than Humayun.

In Humayun's Mathnawi, Bairam is addressed in the same term
 of endearment:

شاد باد اختر خاگر بار . نغمه کرد و بکردار در بار 1/

May the soul of the friend be ever happy,
 May grief not approach (my) friend or (his)
 home.

Both quatrains are in the same rhyme and metre, and almost half
 the words appearing in one are repeated in the other. All this
 makes it highly improbable that both quatrains had the same
 author.

1/ See p. infra.

Tadhkira-i-Husayni attributes two Ghazala with the following first lines to king Humayun^{1/}:

(1)

دست دهنم دلوانم و لبتال مرا

(2)

دزد و صفت بیک عشوه سحر زار و را

Both are given in the Diwan of Amir Humayun^{2/}. In Atashkada we find only the Fragment of Salman, wrongly attributed to our poet^{3/}. Most of the poems mentioned by Makhzanu'l-Ghar'ib are contained in earlier works. We are indebted to its author, however, for giving us the more correct reading of the oft-quoted quatrain of Humayun which he addressed to Shah Tahmasp^{4/}. The Makhzan is also the only source for Humayun's couplet:

5/ در با دم در دمه دانه دل در دست . گوشت ما می است به صبح ما بر است

We are generous and our eyes are a mine of pearls,
Although our hand is empty, our body is full.

His poems:

Humayun's poems may be classed under two heads:

1. Those composed on occasions, and having reference to some incident of his life, known to history;
2. Poems the occasions for which can so far not be determined.

Selected poems from under each head are given below; those omitted are of little historical or literary value.

^{1/} p.363. ^{2/} Add.7824 (6) fol.124b and 125a. ^{3/} p.29. See also supra p.51. ^{4/} p.57 infra. ^{5/} fol.520b. This might have been composed by him during his exile in Persia.

The first poem to which a date can be assigned is his quatrain which he is said to have sent to Sher Shah in 1539 while in camp at the banks of the Ravi near Lahore.

1/ در آینه گرج خود نمای باشند . پیوسته ز خویشتر جوانی باشند
خود را به شاه غمزدید محجب است . ای بر بوالعجب کار خودای باشند

Although one can show one's self off in a mirror,
That (reflection) remains always distinct from
one's own self.

To see one's self in the form of another is
arrogance,
This Marvel is the work of God.

On his way to Persia, in 1540, Humayun sent the following to Shah Tahmasp:

2/ ارشاد صفا که نه نیک با نیست . احصال در هم معنی سر با نیست
شاید که محاسب به محاسبی خوانند . ننگ که صفا داده در سایه نیست

O king of the world, the nine skies are the
steps of thy stairs,
Kindness and generosity have always been thy
stock!

All kings desire the shadow of Huma,
See that Huma has come under thy shadow.

1/ Ahwal-i-Humayun Fadshah p.48. In the third line 'Ajab -
wonder), which has been followed by Beveridge in his English
translation (p.145) seems an inferior reading to 'Ujub -
arrogance). In the first couplet and حوازی form and حوازی form
arrogance). In the first couplet and حوازی form and حوازی form

2/ Humayun Shahi p.244; also Makhzan fol.520b.

There is a good deal of difference among the Mughal historians with regard to the occasion on which the above was composed. According to Jauhar the quatrain was presented to the Shah by his sister as a proof of Humayun's Shi'ite tendency and to win his sympathies. According to Badayuni (I.p.445), who quotes only the second couplet, it was sent to the Shah by the fugitive monarch while on his way to Persia. Badayuni is supported by Firish-ta, according to whom the poem presented by the Shah's sister for this purpose was different from the one quoted in Humayun Shahi^{1/}. Jauhar's version seems improbable because, on the one hand, the quatrain appears more like the flattering quotation of a suppliant fugitive^{2/} and, besides, it has little bearing on the occasion to which he refers, as it displays no Shi'ite tendency which is emphasised in Firishta's quotation.

The difference in the reading of the quatrain also deserves notice. The above is from Makhzanu'l-Ghara'ib with the exception of the second line which has been taken from Humayun Shahi (p.224). In the latter the quatrain appears thus:

^{1/} The quatrain presented by the Shah's sister was:

تیم تر حال ندیده اولدویمکی . تیم نیمه شا و با بار علی
چول سر ملاحت ز علی غی خوشد . کرم نیمه در و خود بار علی

(Firishta I.p.246 and also Riyad fol.504a).

^{2/} For a like poem addressed to the Shah by Humayun note:

آفتیم خورشید بر تان در بیت . جواب جانا مال خم ابر بیت
سرایه منیر شمس تان در بیت . سر رشته دلکش بر تان موی بیت (Khayr fol.414b)

For the idea see Salman of Sava (Kull.fol.382b):

در بیت اوستم ابر بیت جواب جان . اهل صفا را روی زین نیمه جواب بیت

Compare also Hafiz (Diwan p.301):

آفتیم هر که منیر اولدویم . آد مال صفا نیمه زان سویت
اودر که تیر تو بکواندرد . فردا بکوانم دیده بکواندرد

کاش ملک را اینها بدست
 احسان دردم بخت سرایه نیست
 نه آن جهان همه مایه خوانند
 بنزدک ممالک حاکم در سایه نیست

Humayun Shahi's version of the first and fourth lines and the Makhzan's version of the second line seem to be incorrect for the following reasons:

- (1) *نه ملک را بدست* has more Eastern spirit of poetic exaggeration than mere *اسلای بدست*
- (2) *در دست دولت و در دست همه سرایه نیست* as given by the Makhzan (fol.520b) carries no definite sense, and *احسان دردم بخت سرایه نیست* is more to the point.
- (3) The reading of the third line as above is the same in Humayun Shahi, Badayuni, and Makhzan.
- (4) After having retained the third line as above, it is difficult not to accept Badayuni's version of the fourth line, supported by the Makhzan. *بنزدک معاند و بدست* is more in accordance with the sense than *بنزدک ممالک حاکم در سایه نیست* as it is not the Huma which the kings desire, but the shadow of Huma.

Of the three poems which show Humayun's intimate relation to his faithful and confidant general Bairam Khan, one is a Mathnawi^{1/} which Humayun wrote to him after the conquest of Qandhar in 1554. From the thirteen couplets of which the poem consists the following have been selected as of particular interest.

^{1/} For the other two see supra pp.52 and 55.

Metre:

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----|
| 1. | که دل اوستال از آل بدخود | باز فتح ز غیب رسد خود | 1/ |
| 2. | برخ بادوست فتنه | شکر لطف که باز شد دانم | |
| 3. | سبوح باغ فتح را بیدم | دشمن ترا بکام دل دهم | |
| 4. | دل اعدا بباغم است اورد | از نور روز بهرم است اورد | 2/ |
| 5. | غم نکود بر دربار دوا | شاد باد استخفا طوا | |
| 6. | عزم خیر ملک سندانم | بعد از آن که گمرا سندانم | |
| 7. | هر چه خواهم از آل زبانه خود | هر دلمه تنافه خود | |
| 8. | گوید این خبر نعل اسب | این خواهم از آل کز اسب | 3/ |
| 9. | رو ببال را سخن گردان | والهی مسموم گردان | |

1/ Firishta I.p.451.

2/ The word is Turkish and means a

"festival" (Redhouse - Turkish Dictionary - London 1880). It has nothing to do with Bairam Khan, as Ghani (II.p.19) thinks, except that it has been used to illustrate the Figure of Speech known as Tajnis Kahtti. Ghani incorrectly translates: "To-day is Bairam's New-year's day".

3/Bairam's Qasida (Diwan p.23) from which some verses are given below seems to be either the motive for or the answer to the above Mathnawi:

گویم هر گاه بر نامم رسد . که ز درونم بر نامم رسد
 اگر از غم دوری دورم میگردی . ندم بر در تو جان دلو بهر میگردی
 ز آل درویش و کاهنگا صبر ترا . اجابت است بر این خبر نعل اسب

Sometimes from separation I weep with loud cries,
 Sometimes from pain I weep with doleful lamentation.
 From the affliction of remoteness and pain of
 separation

Poor Bairam has lost his life, though he has not
 seen thy face.

From those in the throes of pain a prayer for the
 perpetuity of thy beauty

Is heard (by God) with the Amen of the Trusted
 Gabriel.

1. From God came victory into view again
Whereby the hearts of the friends are
cheered. 1/
2. God be thanked, we are happy again,
And smiles on the face of the friend
and companion. 2/
3. We saw the enemy to our satisfaction,
We plucked fruits from the garden of
victory. 3/
4. To-day is the feast of New-year's day,
The hearts of the friends are without
grief to-day.
5. May the soul of the friend be ever happy,
May grief not approach (my) friend or
(his) home.
6. Thereafter we attend to the Indian
campaign,
And design to subdue the country of
Sind.
7. Every closed door will then be opened,
And what we desire will be more than
fulfilled.
8. Whatever we wish from Time and Earth,
The Trusty Gabriel will say "Amen".
9. O God, let me acquire it,
And let me win both the worlds. 4/

1/ غیب - "absent" or "invisible" now denotes "Invisible World" or "God".

2/ ہر دوستانہ فائدہ - "to enjoy the society of". Cf. Jahl:

ہر دوستانہ فائدہ کی گرامر . گرد و آسپاس جو بندہ کی گرامر

3/ i.e. "their sad plight satisfied us".

4/ For the poem written by Humayun as a postscript to the above see supra p.52.

The origination of the last poem of this series is described in Akbar Nama with many details.

After dwelling at some length on the Emperor's significant inclination to talk often about his impending "Journey to the Holy Land" and his desire for death, topics which he had previously detested, Abu'l-Fadl continues:

1/ در همان نزدیکی که متوجه به سنگ بنابر شوند به لطف از مستعدان خطا بی خبر بودند که امروز بعد از فراغت عبادت
سحری مانده و سلف را در لطف و محبت غیبی این بابی بزرگان داد

بارب به کمال لطف خاتم گردان • و انفع بمقتضی خواهم گردان
از فضل خفا کار دل انگار شدیم • دیوانه خود خوان در مملکت گردان

And near about the time when he was to turn his face to the World of Eternity, he addressed some of his attendants, "To-day after finishing the morning prayers an (ecstatic) feeling had come (over me), and the Invisible Inspirer put this quatrain on my tongue:

O Lord, surround me with (Thy) plentiful
choicest Grace,
Acquaint me with the Truths about (Thy)
choicest people.

By tyrannic wisdom I have become wounded
in heart.
Make me Thine own mad (lover) and set me
at liberty.

1/ Akb.Nam.I.p.362; also Aqlim fol.132b and Khushgu fol.199b.

Poems, to which so far no date can be assigned:

Metre:

1. کار من بامویش افتاده است . در درونم آتش زده است 1/
2. خانه ام آتش زده است و صبح . بر آتش مویش افتاده است
3. دل در آریال بدمویش کند . تا دم بالا کشی افتاده است
4. ما در دل خواستیم نفس بزن زمان . جل بدیم سرخشی افتاده است
5. غفلت و سرگردانی مجربیدار بمان . جل صد بول بدمویش افتاده است

1. With a Moon-like beauty my lot has fallen,
Within me fire is kindled.
2. My house is lit by the face of the beloved,
Reflection is cast by a Moon-like beauty.
3. O sweetheart, my heart draws me in every
direction,
Since it has fallen in love with a ravisher
of hearts.
4. I will achieve the object of my heart now,
Since a merry-headed has fallen into my
hands.
5. O idols, do not search for wisdom and
sense in me,
As HUMAYUN has fallen senseless.

1/ Nafa'is fol.39a. This might have been composed under the influence of Jami's ode (Diwan p.156 publ.Lucknow 1876):

دخوب تو مشو افتاده است . حال خشن در خوش افتاده است

For the different meanings of Radif see infra p.

2. Cf. Faydi (Diwan p.24): *ملم از دماغ تازه می سوزد باز در خانه آتش افتاده است*
4. is "tipsy", implying the stage of cheerful liveliness and not of stupid inebriation. Cf. Hafiz (Diwan p.151):
مونی نام ز درویشی هست نه . نشاء خشن زندان بهتر که سوزن باشد

Metre:

1. گذشت از دل گشته نادر سخنر • رسید بر مرز دل خسته لذت انش 1/
2. معصیت سخنر نشان گزند • محبت نباشد از اهل دل نشین سخنر
3. اگر ز عفو در بزم عزت او • که هرگز از این سبب کلام خوش
4. در این گفت او خوشدلی بجای • ز شادی و جهان شکر در او خوش
5. اگر به سخنر عشق می رسند • هزار جان را می رسد بر دستر

1. The arrow of his tyranny passed through my
distracted heart,
The pleasure of the affliction has reached
my wounded heart.
2. If he shows an inclination to kill lovers,
That is no wonder from his sincerity and
kindly disposition.
3. Who dare approach the Shrine of His Honour!
Even the Trusted Gabriel is not allowed
access to His Sanctuary.
4. I exult in the labour of his love,
His sorrow and affliction are better than
the joy of both the worlds.
5. If he steps in to inquire after lovers,
At his every step a thousand revered souls
should be sacrificed.

1/ Nafa'is fol. 39a.

Note: For parallel Ghazals see infra p.

3. The idea seems to have been borrowed from Sa'di:

از کجاست که بر سر من • ز دماغ بختی بلبلد سر من

Metre:

1. چشم بر رخ رندان دوشم . ز اهرم نشینتر سوختم 1/
2. دی رقیب فرود جان را رقیب . من ز غمت از زمان از دوشم
3. سر دهری را د جانم ب . من ز عشق اکنون دوشم
4. کلاه باد باشد کلاه بخت . عشق او را چو کلاه اندوشم
5. حاصل کوشش را در باجم . ناله و غمش را دوشم

1/ Nafa'is fol.39b-40a.

2. The distinction between *دشمن* and *دشمن* has been better explained by Khusraw (Kull.fol.458b):

صودل اندر زلف سگون نشین . گویند در شب و باغ از وقت است

3. In *دوشم* the prefix *دا* signifies "again" (Johnson p.1348);

Cf. 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bidil: (Kull.p.264 Bombay 1296/1879):

خسرو بر دل نه اندازد بیکه ما دوشم . بکده باغ و دشتیم ان مع به بود دوشم

4. The second line may also mean "paid the debt of his love with his life".

5. Cf. Dara Shikoh (Farah fol.75b):

خوشتر کبودان فتوتانم . مع بر دم رجم بافتنم

Gladly I hastened towards the field of poverty;
Although I lost all, I carried all.

1. I fixed my eyes on the friend's cheek,
With my warm and fiery sigh I vexed him.
2. Yesterday the foolish rival burnt down the
soul,
Then from jealousy I set fire to myself and
shone.
3. My sweetheart often treated me coldly,
Now from his love I burn myself away.
4. How can it be proper that I should make
this statement
When I have preserved his love in my soul!
5. I gambled away the gains of the Universe
Before I learned the secrets of Love.

Note: The following Ghazal (Diwan fol.209a) by Ashki Qummi
(d. in India 972/1564) has much in common with the above:

شبم بر رخ او در به بر رخ دوزخ . . . شعل مهر از رخ او خود از دوزخ
بر سر کج دیده را از نورل ترنگان نور . . . شعل مهر از رخ او خود از دوزخ
سوزخ ترنگانها خود را چون شمع از کوز دل . . . دایغ بر دل صولک با دایغ لعل کوز دل
کر دوام آتش بیگانه دل گل رخشا . . . بزم آتش را که محرم در غمخ اندازد

The night that I fixed my eye on the Moon in
remembrance of her face,
I made the torch of the Moon shine bright with
the lightening of my sigh.
With the needle of my eyelashes from the eye-
lids
I sewed a robe for the thought of that fairy-
faced.
From the burning of the heart I burnt myself
from head to foot,
When in remembrance of that candle-faced I burnt
down with the mark (of love) on the heart.
ASHKI, I have scattered over the feet of that
delicate rose
The silvery tears that I collected during the
life-time from his affliction.

Quatrains:

Metre:

- 1/ 1. از تو که نصف به نعمت قدرت است . دادی ترا دو هنر گمان پرده نگر است 1.
- هم سرت اندر دوست داری گسرا . هم محبت اندر گسرا دارد در دست

1. God, in Whose potent possession the
Heaven is,
Has given thee two things, and both
are good:

Disposition with which thou shouldst
love some one,
(And) form for which some one should
love thee.

Metre:

- 2/ 2. یا رب بهر خواهی درویشی د . ایکرا شکر و دل شکسته را در دل د 2.
- عزیزت را گویم بهر خواهی د . جز که رفا نرود الفان د

2. O God, grant me the good wishes of the
heart of the Holy Men,
Give remedy for this wounded and broken
heart.
There is no limit to my saying 'Give this
or that'.
Give me that wherein lie Thy good wishes!

1/ Tadhkira-i-Husayni p.363; also Riyad fol.504a.

2/ Aqlim fol.132b.; Khushgu fol.199b.

According to the Sufis the position desired by the poet is called رافعی برضا or نهم درقا, when that stage is attained, the seeker has no will of his own left in himself, his own merges into the will of God. Cf. Khawafi:

خود را از دست رافعی بهر خواهی د . تا بهر خواهی بهر خواهی د

The following is interesting for its two equally reliable and appropriate versions. According to Akbar Nama^{1/}, which is followed by Makhzan^{2/}, the poem runs:

1. (b). (a)

2. (d). (c)

1. O thou, whose tyranny in the world is
well-known,
The day I do not experience oppression
from thee is severe.

2. Whatever affliction reaches the heart from
the oppression of the sky,
I care not so long as I have the grief of
thy love within me.

Nafa'is, an equally reliable source, leaves out (b) and (c) and presents the poem thus:

1. (d). (a) ^{3/}

2. (f). (e)

1. O thou, whose tyranny in the world is
well-known,
I care not so long as I have the grief
of thy love within me.

2. If thou sheddest my blood and passest
over me,
That, too, is really kindness to me who
am heartless.

^{1/} vol.I.p.368. ^{2/} fol.324b. ^{3/} fol.40b. Most probably the author had two versions of the poem with two common lines which have been preferred by one authority and rejected by the other. The verses may also bear a reference to Shah Tahmasp's threat (see supra p.48) and his universal Sunni prosecution. If so, the date of the poem could be fixed to the time of Humayun's stay in Persia (1544-54).

Appreciation:His critics:

Although Humayun's poems are few, they are sufficient in number to form an idea about his poetic attainments.

The Mughal historians and the Tadhkira writers speak of Humayun only in words of praise, but their appreciation must not be taken as a true criterion of his merits. Abu'l-Fadl's opinion, however, deserves consideration:

1/ در ان علم ریاضی و کثرت ادب و مذهب و توحید عالی به خود نشو و نما میفرستند. و از انجا که طبع موزون از انفا لغز و نغمات سمیع است در فنون ادب و ادوات ندکی راجع از حقیقت و جواز مجاز در سبک نظم ننشدند.

In the branches of the science of Mathematics the rank of His Majesty was high... He had also sublime regard for poetry and poets. As metrical turn is among the peculiar characteristics of a sound temperament, he, in his spare time, threaded his divine or secular inspirations on the string of verse.

Abu'l-Fadl with his usual rhetoric means far less than he says. Couched in beautiful, though deceptive, words his meaning can never be misunderstood; as an advocate of a highly florid style, he could have no high opinion of Humayun as a poet whose diction was essentially simple and lucid. We cannot agree with the Tadhkira writers in giving Humayun a position among the renowned poets, nor can we accept the "courtier's" criticism from Abu'l-Fadl. Humayun, as we shall presently see, was a poet of his age and his expressive mystic verses secure him even a

marked position among his contemporaries.

His diction and style - comparisons:

Humayun's diction is simple and his poems, though sometimes lacking in force, are never devoid of warmth of feeling.

For instance:

1/ گفت دیوانه زار و سوا
که غم عشق را نه کرد و را
از غم جگر در شکست
الف تا غم شد اسفند و را

Said a mad man with an air of affection:
"Who has ever remedied Love?"

After the curve of her curly ringlets
My straight figure has been doubled.

His language is chaste, and he appears to have a sufficient command over it. The following Ghazal, in which he has used the Radif in different meanings, may serve as an example ^{2/}:

1. ما را با کسی انداخت } ما را من با کسی انداخت } to have affairs with some one

Cf. Sa'ib (Kull. p. 201):

و گشت از منبر و بنا ما در درخت } ما را بر کس با چراغ گنجها انداخت }
درد دل از تر انداخت } درد دل از تر انداخت }

Cf. Ashki (Diwan fol. 43b):

محبت نباشد اگر در دهن از جانم } جو در دل من غم و به از تر انداخت }

2. سیه انداخت } بر تو انداخت } - is the same as
خانم از تر شد از تو محبت }
دگر تو در من نه انداخت }

Cf. Sa'ib (Kull. p. 572):

بر تو کردم کرد و نثار انداخت }
دگر تو در من نه انداخت }

3. گریه شد } دل با کسی انداخت }
دل را در دل بهر کسی شد }
ناله با کسی انداخت }
Cf. Khawafi

^{1/} Nafa'is fol. 40a.

^{2/} For English translation see supra p. 64.

4. ما در آغوش تن من این زبان
چون بگویم سرخشی افتاده است } با سرخشی افتاد } Cf. Fighani (fol. 324a)
5. عقل و شکر از من بگویم آید
بر آن صوابی بگویم آید } شکر شد و سرخشی افتاد } Cf. Bidil:
- بگویم شکر شد و سرخشی افتاد

His similes and metaphors are often real though common and, being suggestive, their impressions tend to last long. A good instance is offered in his following couplet:

آن نه درود که در باغ سرافرازم است . شمع سبز لعل که بر دانه لونه افت است 1/

It is not a cypress which has raised its head
in the garden,
It is a green candle of which the ring-dove
is a moth.

He is not a lover of words and avoids using poetic license or colloquial phrases which might appear elegant and expressive to others. The following comparison will be of interest in this connection:

Humayun 2/

از تو رنگ افتاد شد است
از رفت ماه در نقاب شد است
تا رفت زلف بخت شد است
سپهر زلف در نقاب شد است

Salim I. 3/

از رخ عفت زلف بود افتاد
مغفبتان عارفی زلف اندر نقاب
حسرت زلف همتان زلف بود سائبان
عم جور با میان عکس زلف در شراب

1/ see supra p. 53. 2/ Nafa'is fol. 39b. 3/ Diwan p. 33.

Thy face has become the envy	.	O, thy face of the colour of
of the Sun,	.	the pomegranate flower is
	.	the envy of the Moon and
	.	the Sun,
On account of thy face the	.	Alas that such a cheek should
Moon has become veiled.	.	be under (a) veil day and
	.	night!
	.	
It is not thy face which is	.	The beauty of thy face (is) a
behind thy musky locks,	.	garden over which the locks
	.	hang like (a) canopy,
It is (a) fresh hyacinth which,	.	The shadow of thy lip is like
has become (a) veil over	.	the ladder of Life.
the rose.	.	

Humayun's sentiments are familiar, natural, and appealing. He does not say what the face of his sweetheart is like, but only suggests that it is the envy of the Sun, and leaves the rest to the imagination of his readers. In the second couplet he compares the locks of his sweetheart to a fresh hyacinth and makes us picture before our mind's eye a rose concealed behind it.

Salim, on the other hand, sets out by stating that the face of his sweetheart has the colour of a pomegranate flower, but then spoils the effect of the simile by suggesting that as such it is the envy of the Moon and the Sun. In the second couplet he compares the locks to a canopy, not a very happy simile anyway; the second line is, to say the least, a strange comparison. One more instance:

<u>Humayun</u> ^{1/}	.	<u>Ashki Qummi</u> ^{2/}
<p>محببت باغچه افشاد در درون من آتش افشاد</p>	.	<p>محببت باغچه افشاد در درون من آتش افشاد</p>
With a Moon-like beauty my lot	.	No wonder if smoke rises from
has fallen	.	my soul,
Within me fire is kindled.	.	As in my distressed heart fire
	.	is set.

^{1/} For the complete Ghazal see supra p.64. ^{2/} Diwan.fol.43b.

Simple as is the idea expressed by Humayun, its beauty lies in the contrast - the fire of Love lit by the placid grandeur of Moon-like beauty. Ashki, on the other hand, gives a vague statement, his words are grand, but they give us no idea as to the origin of the fire.

What Humayun values most is the expression of simple, common feelings, in which respect he is superior to many of his contemporaries. A close comparison of his quatrain with another by Bairam Khan will illustrate the point:

Humayun: 1/

Bairam Khan: 2/

چول طبع لطف خوشتر موز دانی	ایا که نه بنشینم هر خرد دانی	از هر چه ترا صفت کنم از دانی	دایه نبدات به بخونی
ایاتو بهادرمز خرد دل چو	بهادرمز خرد دل چو	چول می برگی در زانم چو	چول میدانم به تو چو می زرد

Humayun, plain and natural, says what he really feels for his faithful friend; Bairam, on his part, has not only not reciprocated Humayun's sentiments, but has written a poem which should better have formed part of a Qasida.

His masterpiece:

Of all Humayun's Ghazals the following, which may be considered his masterpiece, is the only one the exact parallel of which I have been able to find among the works of two standard poets. Though the comparison of one isolated poem, particularly when it happens to be a masterpiece with the poems of others, which might not have been composed under similar circumstances, can never yield satisfactory results, it gives, nevertheless, some idea of the merit of the poet and his capability to treat his subject.

1. Khusrav B.N.Add.21104.fol.870b (Kull.).

2. Humayun:

3. Naziri:

Khusrav' states only that his heart recoils

arrows but no sigh arose from him; he falls.

1. The tyrant without whose affliction my heart
is unhappy
Complaint against his tyranny does not come
right in the house (i.e. is inauspicious).

2. He has shot (a) thousand arrows of amorous
glances at my heart,
Even then no sigh arose from me over his
affliction.

3. If from the hand of death I obtain respite,
By the dust of his feet I will not lift my
literally head from his step.

4. I wrote thousand letters with the blood of
the eye, but
To this country the pigeon of his shrine
does not come.

5. KHUSRAV, if in devotion thou becomest famous
to only in the world,
Of what use is it, unless thou dost rely on
his generosity.

Humayun:

Masn'ia'u'l-'am'athir, Or.1761.fol.39a.

Naziri of Nishapur (d.1021/1612)

(Kulliyat,p.139. Jackson 1874)

1. The arrow of his tyranny passed through my
distracted heart,
The pleasure of the affliction reached my
wounded heart.

2. If he shows an inclination to kill lovers,
That is no wonder from his sincerity and
kindly disposition.

3. Who dare approach the shrine of His Honour!
Even the trusted Gabriel is not allowed
access to His Sanctuary.

4. I exult in the labour of his love,
His sorrow and affliction are better than
the joys of both the worlds.

5. If he steps in to inquire after lovers,
At his every step a thousand revered souls
be sacrificed.

1. Embellished down on his cheek and curly
locks are enluminities,
That mischief is there which the pen has
not written in my destiny?

2. If on any night thou engagemst his affections
by lamentation,
With every expectation reliance can (then)
be placed on his generosity.

3. If thou appliest lancet to my vein, I do not
feel it,
From foot to head I am enraptured in the
pleasure of his affliction.

4. I am captive in the curl of his knotty locks,
Alas, I could not scatter (my) life on his
step.

5. NAZIRI'S heart flew in the love of some one,
Why should the pigeon of his shrine not go
round the Ka'ba!

The following arrangement will facilitate the comparison:

1. Khusraw:

هزاران کفر زده زلف بر دلم
که معاه ز من بر تابد از الم

2. Humayun:

گذاشت از دل گهر نه ناز و خنجر
رسید بر کز دل چرخ زلف الم

3. Naziri:

اگر زنی بر کم شمع با خنجر
ز کمان تا بر کم گوید الم

Khusraw' states only that his heart received a thousand arrows but no sigh arose from him; he fails, however, to give the reason why he did not sigh. Was it due to his indifference to pain, or was it because the wound inflicted was not effective? Naziri, on the other hand, gives the reason but, with due respect to the poet, his language on this particular occasion is not happy. The use of *شبت زنی* (stinging) for *شبت زنی* (lancet-pricking) does not evince his usual skill^{1/}. The phrase though literally correct, is not appropriate; elsewhere the same poet conveys this in the right way:

2/ نازن تا بنم بر کمان من گم
رخه دامن دل می نشود جا به جا

Humayun is pithy. Unlike Khusraw he limits the number of arrows to only one, nor does he leave us in the dark how the incident happened. There is one more interesting point of comparison between the three couplets. Khusraw addresses his sweetheart,

^{1/} B. 'Ajam pp. 476-7.

^{2/} Kull p. 44.

Naziri unnecessarily introduces a third person, while Humayun makes a general statement which, true for all time, is more appealing.

One more set of couplets:

1. Khusraw:

در اگر زینت اهل جند من اهل باجم
نخاست بشکر که سر بر بندام از خوش

2. Humayun:

اگر به پرستش می نهند
نهار بال را می نند پرستش

3. Naziri:

به سجده زینت را در خفا
در رخ جانم تو نام نهاد بر خوش

To Khusraw Love is co-extensive with Life and, although he significantly omits to give its beginning, he faint-heartedly fears its termination from the hand of Death. Humayun, on the other hand, though he restricts his devotional sacrifice to the friend's advent, has a thousand lives to sacrifice. Naziri, to say the least, has failed to maintain any sensible connection between his lines.

On the whole Humayun's Ghazal is as good as Khusraw's, and undoubtedly better than Naziri's. In matter of diction and style Humayun is dignified though simple; he has carried throughout his ode one single idea which has made his Ghazal partake of the nature of a poem, and consequently we find in it a sequence of thought which is absent from those of the others. His insertion of a couplet (III) having direct reference to God has given his Ghazal a reality which the others have failed to maintain.

O heart, do not be restless before the friend,
Do not tell any physician the condition of
thy heart.

(p.48)

Considering the great ordeals he had to go through, Humayun can hardly be blamed for this attitude which he felt himself deeply as he expresses it in his couplet:

The affliction dwells in my heart, what remedy
can I apply?

It is a strange sorrow, perhaps I will make my
heart of granite.

(p.53)

The words seem to echo the battles which had to be fought before he was reinstated upon his throne, and no less the agony of Kamran's torture whose blinding Humayun had to order, whether from reasons of State or personal resentment is of little consequence for the feelings of the monarch who was responsible for it.

Paradoxical though it may appear, Humayun's armies were victorious, but their leader failed. He had valued his paternal inheritance sufficiently to humble himself before the Persian Shah and ask for his aid. He had courageously encountered the rebels and subdued them thoroughly. But his character lacked the redeeming grace of philosophy. Life with all its miseries and cruelties was too much for him and, once he had come to this conclusion, he took the only possible consequence by retiring from the affairs of kingship and public life.

His mystic poems:

To understand so much, should make it easier to reconcile the deeds of his life to the high ideals of his mysticism. One may even advance the suggestion that the bulk of his mystic verses came into existence at the end of his career, after the successful conclusion of his bid for the power that belonged to him by right of inheritance.

Such a theory would at once do away with any discord which might otherwise become disturbingly obvious when one compares Humayun the king and Humayun the mystic. But literary research has so far not succeeded in fixing dates to most of his important mystic poems, and we shall, therefore, have to contend ourselves with admitting the possibility of a conqueror who had formed in his heart, and expressed in his verses, the highest ideals, but who was then still too human to abstain from his worldly pursuits.

It would further be idle to conjecture as to the ultimate reason why Humayun finally retired. It might have been the satiation following his success, and again it might have been contempt for the prize which life had to offer. This question will probably remain unsolved, but it is of little importance for a valuation of his poetry and the mystic ideas they contain.

Humayun's poems, no doubt, lack that warmth of expression which we find in a passionate lover; his life had held no romance, but whatever romance might mean to the ordinary mind in the way of influencing the imagination, was in him fully made up by the impressions he had received from his own mis-

fortunes, the unnatural treatment by his brothers, the inhospitality of the Shah and, above all, the mystic teachings of the saints. Those impressions had led him to a genuine consciousness of Divine Love for which we look in vain in the usual amorous poems.

There can hardly be a sublimer expression of devotion than:

1/ *ای دل ز حضور یار فروری کن • در خدمت ابدین دلخوری کن*
بیشب بنبال است خرم بخت کن • بر روز به وصل یار نوروزی کن

O heart, be happy in the attendance of the
 friend,
 In his service burn the heart with sincerity.

Every night sit cheerful in the thought of
 the friend,
 Every day in union with the friend enjoy a
 New-year.

When he first set out on the path which was to lead him towards the desired goal, he realised his own imperfectness and the necessity to part from his friends:

Before me is a veil from the Light,
 Hence the kinsman has turned a stranger. (p.43)

There were moments of worried anxiety when he reasoned with himself:

My sweetheart often treated me coldly,
 Now from His love I burn myself away.

How can it be proper that I should make
 this statement
 When I have preserved His love in my soul! (p.65-6)

and plaintively commented on the difficulty of his search:

1/ سال در طلب کوه خود بدم . رخ بنام و ندانم کی از بزم در بدری

For years I am (wandering) from door to door
in search of a good face:
Show Thy face and free me from this wandering
from door to door.

Knowing himself to be imperfect he asked God for that disinterested attachment which belongs to the highest order of Love. Like a resigned lover he has no choice left in himself. Says he:

Give me that wherein lie Thy good wishes. (p.67)

Humayun knew that the disinterested love is the only remedy for the pains of Separation. In Hafiz's verse a doubt seemed still to be lingering when he wanted to know:

2/ بگرانم که بگریم سبب در زبان . نغزی غفل در بر سینه در لعل بود

Then I turned that I may ask the cause of the
pain of separation,
The law-giver of wisdom was dense with regard
to this proposition.

But Humayun fully realised that worldly wisdom could never lead him to the goal:

By tyrannic wisdom I have become wounded
in heart.
Make me Thine own mad (lover) and set me
at liberty.

(p.62)

Thus he came to care little for the troubles of life because his heart was full of the Divine Love and its afflictions:

Whatever affliction reaches the heart
from the oppression of the sky,
I care not so long as I have the grief
of thy love within me.

(p.68)

Nay more, in his boundless devotion he went so far as to prefer pain and sorrow to "the joy of both the worlds":

I exult in the labour of his love,
His sorrow and affliction are better than
the joy of both the worlds.

(p.64)

In this respect he displayed a profounder spirit of resignation than is betrayed in Khusraw's verse which only boasts:

نزد آن رخسار زینت برداشتم • که مع او ز من بهر نایب از آتش

1/

He has shot a thousand arrows of amorous
glances on my heart,
Even then no sigh arose from me from his
affliction.

His search and his boundless devotion had not been in vain and he found the secret at last, though at a very great expense:

I gambled away the gains of the Universe
Before I learned the secrets of Love.

(p.65-6)

^{1/} See supra p.74.

Drawbacks:

The monograph would be incomplete without giving the few defects which we find in Humayun's poems.

His diction, though simple, lacks that musical note which we find and so much appreciate in the works of poets like Hafiz and Khusraw. His style is generally sublime and lucid, but at times he fails to reach his usual height^{1/}. Although his mystic ideas reveal the feelings of one gifted with sincere Sufistic conception, his thoughts generally are wanting in spontaneity, and his Figures of Speech are very seldom original.

The greatest defect of Humayun's poetry lies in the absence of guiding advice from them. Between the jubilant acceptance of life as God's gift, as he expresses it beautifully in his verse:

God, in Whose potent possession the Heaven is,
Has given thee two things, and both are good:

Disposition with which thou shouldst love some one,
(And) form for which some one should love thee, (p.67)

and the self-torturing asceticism of his other line:

His sorrow and affliction are better than the joy
of both the worlds, (p.64)

there stretches a gap that leaves the reader with a feeling of bewilderment. One looks in vain for a theory which should enable one to soften the blows of life and triumph over misfortunes. Mankind will ever be readier to agree with Dara Shikoh when he says:

خانی شد شایب، ریشی جزایب

1/

Thy annihilation will not serve God,

1/ See supra p.65 and his Ghazal on p.460 vol.1. Firishta
2/ See infra p.174.

than with the austere negation of life demanded by Humayun, the more as he cannot offer a helping hand to guide us on the path which he himself had taken.

Conclusion:

Humayun began writing poems presumably late in life, while his misfortune was the main factor of inspiration, and death took him away at a comparatively early age when he had enjoyed a peaceful reign of only a few months. Under the softening influence of more tranquil days, spent in the society of the learned, his poetry might have risen higher both in letter and spirit. His verses have undoubtedly more than academic interest and, as they stand, they are of no mean literary merit. Their appeal lies in their simplicity of style and their sense of mysticism. We may dispute Humayun's claim for being "exhaustive"

1/ آنچه در وصف جزادگو بند . حمد در شرح در بهال من لبت

Whatever they (may) say in praise of His
Beauty,
All that is (contained) in my explanation
and speech.

But they do provoke profound thoughts, and when we view them in the light of the change that his sufferings wrought in him in his later days, we have to agree:

2/ آنکه در بهال با لعل من لبت
بر که باشد به جگر انداز . بخود از ناله و فغان نظر راند

(There) is a fire in the midst of my soul,
Whoever there is in the assembly of the drunkards,
He is ecstatic from my cry and lament.

And so far his claim goes undisputed.

Third Chapter.

K a m r a n M i r z a

937/1530 - 964/1557.

Short account - his issue - Kamran, the poet - sources - his poems - appreciation; introductory - his style and diction - his sense for poetic niceties - his mystic ideas - his philosophy - Kamran and Hafiz - Kamran and other poets - his defects - conclusion.

Short account:

Kamran, second son of Babur by his fifth wife Gul Rukh Begum whom he had wedded in 914/1508, was born within a year or two of the marriage^{1/}.

Little transpires of his early education except that he displayed a religious propensity for which Babur wrote "Mubin", a versified treatise on Hanafi Law^{2/}. Kamran was initiated by Muhammad Muhyi'd-Din Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Haq^{3/}, and his interest in Sufism and devotion to his teacher earned him the title of "Shaykh Muhammadsm" from his father^{4/}.

Kamran's whole life, from the death of his father in 1530 till he was blinded, was spent in constant wars against his half-brothers, Humayun and Hindal. It is not within the province of this work to inquire who among them was more to be blamed,

1/ Bev. Mem. App. J. p. XXXV. 2/ see supra p. 3/ Grandson of 'Ubaydu'llah Ahrar, d. 957/1550 (Shah-Jahani fol. 167a).

4/ Aqlim. fol. 137a:

” زید دکنی بزرگ ذریکته فی بابہ رشتہ و در ذریکته فی بابہ رشتہ و در ذریکته فی بابہ رشتہ ”

but there are strong reasons to believe that full justice has never been done to Kamran by the Mughal historians who were more anxious to please Humayun and his descendants than to sift the truth. Badayuni, to whom allowance may be given for his usual partiality towards the orthodox, is the only exception; says he:

1/ مرزا کامران پادشاه در زمان حیات عالی - حواء و خورشید و ماه و ستاره و کواکب و اجرام
و فضائل و کمالات و درشت داری و ادب و شجاعت

In his later years Kamran became a bigoted Sunni which was perhaps due to his wars with Shi'ite Persians^{2/}. In 1545 he was defeated and taken captive. Having been blinded by the orders of Humayun, he was permitted to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, where he died in 964/1557^{3/}.

His issue:

It will not be out of place to make a passing mention of Kamran's son and daughter because both were poets, and we shall have no occasion to quote their verses later.

He had five daughters and one son. One of the daughters, Gul Rukh Begum, Jahangir's mother-in-law, was a poetess. Makhzanu'l-Ghara'ib quotes the following couplet of hers:

4/ عجب که آن خورشید و ماه و ستاره و کواکب و اجرام
در دست او است و در دست او است

1/vol.I.p.453. 2/ For an interesting anecdote illustrating his anti-Shi'ite feelings see Firishta I.p.460. 3/Akb.Nam.I.p.331. Qasim Kahi (d.988/1580) found the date from the following Fragment of his chronogram (Badayuni.I.p.452):

پادشاه کامران به کعبه راز

4/fol.381a. For the idea in the second line compare Hafiz (Diwan p.57:

خانه از باد خزان در حسن و در رخ - کند مغول از کعبه و گل بهار کعبه

Nowhere that flower-faced wanton is
without rivals,
It is true that in this world there
is no flower without thorn.

The son, Abu'l-Qasim Mirza, was a skilful poet, and used "Shaukati" for his pen-name. His following couplet is in the same rhyme and metre in which we find a Ghazal of Mirza Kamran^{1/}:

2/ بارش که در زلفش زده است .
شتر غم بل غزن بازده است

Every time that the friend has combed her
jessamine-like curly locks,
She has inflicted (fresh) wounds from the
sorrowful lancet on my sad heart.

In 1561 he was killed by the order of Akbar; when the executioner arrived, Abu'l-Qasim Mirza recited the following extempore verse:

3/ خفا به تنم مرز اندیشد بکمر .
بجوامع از سخت مرد افطاب مگر

O Sky, do not make so much hurry over
my murder,
I shall die from thy tyrannies, do not
be agitated.

With the death of Qasim the tragic records of Kamran's family ended. History may accuse him of bad faith against his brother, and throw him into oblivion for his supposed or real political misdeed, but in Persian literature his name shall ever remain immortal for his beautiful verses.

^{1/} see infra p. 97.
Firishta I.p.355.

^{2/} Makhzen fol.210b.

^{3/} ibid. and

Kamran - the poet:

Kamran had all the good qualities of his father. He was a great soldier, a learned scholar, a patron of learning, and a skilful poet of both Persian and Turkish. Though not an original thinker, he was undoubtedly a better poet than Babur or Humayun; and it is a matter of great regret that so far his merits have little been recognised by the world.

Kamran is the author^{1/} of a Diwan consisting of short poems both Turkish and Persian, numbering one hundred and sixty-two^{2/}. Every form of poetry is represented therein except Qasida and Mathnawi. His poem addressed to Humayun^{3/}, however, is a near approach to the form of Qasida; likewise we find his interest in the composition of Mathnawi reflected in his verses which seem to have been intended as the beginning of a poem in imitation of Jami's "Yusuf and Zulaykha"^{4/}, and in what may be considered a "Short Mathnawi", given in these pages.

^{1/}The manuscript copy exists in the Bankipur Library (No.237. vol.II.pp.145-56) published 'Azamgadh 1929. The notice in the catalogue (p.155) contains an interesting remark which shows that the fly-leaf bears the autographs of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and also points to the colophon

دورانِ صغرتِ الاعلیٰ صفاتِ تاملِ عن الافات، السید

which proves that the Diwan was compiled during the author's life-time.

^{2/}There are one hundred and seven Turkish, and fifty-five Persian poems. Regarding his merits as a bilingual poet, note Aqlim fol.138b:

دردِ کامران در بغلِ شاهی بر دربارِ لاری کمر

^{3/}See infra p.90.

^{4/}See Additional Note No.3.

Sources:

Although the Diwan was published during the life-time of the poet, strangely enough it does not contain some of his earlier works which have been traced to the following:

A. Histories:

- | | | |
|--|---|-----------------|
| 1. Akbar Nama ^{1/} ; | } | see supra p.50. |
| 2. Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi; | | |
| 3. Humayun Shahi; | | |
| 4. Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh; | | |
| 5. Zafaru'l-Walid bi Muzaffar Wa Alih ^{2/} - Arabic History of Gujrat - by Abdu'llah Muhammad Bin'Umar. From the introduction (p.VII) we learn that the author was born in 1540, came to India under Akbar, and wrote the work in 1555. He quotes one Fragment by Kamran (l.p.319) which is nowhere else to be found. | | |

B. Tadhkiras and Anthologies:

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. Majmu'a, a very valuable Persian anthology (manuscript) in possession of Sir E.D.Ross, dated 922/1516 ^{3/} ; | |
| 2. Riyadu'sh-Shu'ara ^{4/} ; | } see supra p.50. |
| 3. Makhzanu'l-Ghara'ib ^{5/} . | |

^{1/} From a note by Mr. Beveridge in the J.R.A.S. London (1903.pp. 115-22) we learn that on a manuscript copy of Akbar Nama, owned by S.'Ali Bilgrami (Hyderabad) there appears a Ghazal of Kamran which he sent to Humayun in 1544 when he (Kamran) was in the custody of Adam Khan.

^{2/} Published London 1910.
Appendix E.1. 4/fol.383b.

^{3/} For a notice of the work see
5/fol.377b.

His poems:

We first notice Kamran's poems of which occasions are known and to which a date can be assigned. They begin with the following which is the first of the two addressed to Humayun^{1/}. This was sent to him when Kamran took over the Punjab in 1531.

Metre:

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---|------------------------|----|
| 1. | حسرت تو دسبم از دل ببار | • | طاعت تو رخ و محمل ببار | 2/ |
| 2. | بر بخت باری ز رایت خضر | • | کحل چشم من از دل ببار | |
| 3. | حاکم تو از روی خضر | • | جای او دیده کسوف ببار | |
| 4. | مندی غمگین تو خضر | • | صد مورد از دل ببار | |
| 5. | برگ تو خمر کز دست | • | اد از بر دانه سر ببار | |
| 6. | کاران که جهان را | • | خسرو و محمل ببار | |

^{1/} For the other poem, ending: *کادان از غزل تو به جا بگرفت* . باشد در سال که تو آواز بگفت

^{2/} see Diwan pp.10-11. Diwan p.2. All couplets except the fourth are also found in Akb.Nam.I.pp.125-6, wherein the occasion and date 942/1536 are mentioned. The Ghazal seems influenced by Hafiz's ode (Diwan p.93) beginning:

حسرت تو نیمه در دل ببار • *رویت به سال که گون ببار*

cf. 'Urfi's Qasida (p.94) beginning:

صاحب میر تو محمل ببار • *عبدغفر از رخت محمل ببار*

3. Cf. Ahmad Jam (Diwan p.12):

حال دوت بهر باد است صیوانا • *که نقش مررت بهیست خیمه خون را*

In Akb.Nam. the first line reads:

گرد مان از روی خضر

1. May thy beauty increase each moment!
May thy fortune be auspicious and
prosperous!
2. May every (particle of) dust which
rises from thy path
Become the light of the eye of my
sorrowful self!
3. May the dust which rises from the
path of Laila
Get a place in the eye of Majnun!
4. Like me, thy obedient slave,
Let there be hundreds like Darius
and Faridun.
5. May one who has not gone round thee
like a compass
Be excluded from this circle!
6. KAMRAN, as long as the world lasts,
So long may Humayun be king of the
world!

But this cordial relation was not destined to last long. While Sher Shah was in revolt, Kamran fell ill and the symptoms of the malady made him suspect Humayun of an attempt to poison him. Thus the breach began^{1/} which, though patched up repeatedly remained to the end.

Once, while a fugitive guest at the Suri court about 1542, Kamran's skill and knowledge of Persian poetry were tested by Islam Shah, and his critical ability was much admired^{2/}. Disgusted with the provocation^{3/} which he received on several occasions from the courtiers, Kamran one day recited this sarcastic verse off-hand before the Shah:

^{1/} For verses exchanged between the brothers during this time see Akb.Nam. I. p. 278. ^{2/} See infra p.
^{3/} Badayuni I. p. 390.

1/ گزشتن ازین گردان را در روز . بکرانی نماند را در روز

The revolution of the revolving sky has ground
the lofty-headed to dust,
And made the deficient dominate the well-behaved.

Soon afterwards he fled and took refuge in Malwa.

After his arrest in 1545 he met Humayun and on this occasion cited extempore:

2/ ز خردان خرد نه بر عیب . ز خردان خرد نه بر عیب
نهیج ادرام شتر تو آید . نه از راه دخیل آید

Do not accuse if I commit a fault,
The fault of the young is no defect
or disgrace.

Now I have brought before thee (two)
intercessors:
A pale face, and a tear-shedding eye.

The forgiveness, however, was not forthcoming and Kamran was blinded by Humayun's order. Jauhar^{3/} gives a graphic description how Kamran endured the torture courageously, but the details make one understand the humbled dejection in which he received Humayun a few days afterwards with the following verses:

4/ کلاه گزشتن ازین برکت سید . که سایه هم جودش در نقشه برادر

The fold of the Dervish's turban brushes the sky,
As a monarch like thee has thrown (his) shadow
on his head.

1/ Badayuni I.p.390. The Figure of Speech used in the first line is *تکرار* (Alliteration). 2/ Humayun-Shahi p.324.

3/ fol.124a. 4/ Akb.Nam.I.p.330. But see Firishta (I.pp.354-5) who quotes the following quatrain which Kamran recited on that occasion

از در برکت لعل نه گفت جز آن . نه اشکات به غریب که در ریتان
کلاه گزشتن لعل به تاب سید . که سایه هم جودش در نقشه برادر
In *کلاه گزشتن* we have *تکرار*

Thereupon Humayun embraced him and wept like a child. Kamran then recited off-hand:

1/ *بر باغم از تو هر چه رسد بخت است . گرنه در خفا در خفا*

Whatever comes on my life from thee is a
cause for thanks,
Be it an arrow of cruelty or a dagger of
tyranny.

His verses with which he later on greeted his former servant, Ikhlas Beg, tell a heart-rending story how Kamran strove to fortify himself against his pitiful plight:

2/ *بر چرخه حکیم خشت بر خشت است . بنات به خفا به خفا*

Though my eyes have drawn a veil over thy
face,
Yet I can still see thee with the eyes that
have often seen thy face.

1/ Akb.Nam.I.p.330. 2/ ibid.p.329. Cf.his own verse composed long before this occasion (see supra p.99):

دیده با یاد خشت از در جهان بر خشت است . چشم بر خفا از خفا

We come now to a selection from his mystic and lyric poems to which so far no definite dates can be ascribed:

(1)

Metre:

1. سنبه سحر او چو تو ز تنی عجز ارام . ز ناله سوز غم تو گم گم که توئی ارام 1/
 2. ایست قد زلف در میان تو خرمم . در لعل قرآن جویدم الف لام
 3. خنجه تر صفی خنجه آناه سوز . شرمم که از بر خنجه بری رخن اسلام
 4. ناخالی تو در دام زلف تو افتادم . سحر صدفش مرغ که افتاد در دام
 5. نایم بر دشت تو دهمم خادوم . بولک نعل سحر که خندد در طمع
 6. از لعل تو که نه در لعلم چو غازی
 ببرد ز تو که در لعلم در بر ختم به نامم

1. O Hindu Child, since thou hast taken away
 comfort from me,
 I catch hold of the sacred end of thy lock,
 as thou art Rama!
2. I reckoned them as signs of (thy) figure
 and locks, indicating thy two graces,
 When I saw Alif and Lam () in the
 beginning of the Quran.
3. Thy eye has started such a disturbance,
 I am afraid by this tumult thou mayest
 take away the splendour of Islam.
4. Since thy mole has been put (as a bait)
 into the net of thy locks,
 The bird of high dignity alone is good
 enough to fall into this net.

5. We fell (into its trap) when we saw
silver (locks) on thy shoulder,
Like a beggar who, unable to resist,
falls (a prey) to vain greediness.
6. We did not attain the object from the
ruby, and like (a) gallant soldier
Bade thee adieu and went away disappointed.

1/ Majmu'a fol.56a. The fifth couplet has been omitted because I could not decipher it. It appears in the following form:

انجم از فرشتات بر دل کسیر سال رفت . در ملک نرفت از اثر نه در کس بهرام

1. Rama - the handsome god of the Hindus and the hero of Ramayan. It is now used as a synonym of 'sweetheart'.

may also be explained as (so that thou mayest become tamed). In (رام) and (رام) we have (See Browne II. p.50) and also (نخبر) according to Mu'inu'l-Qawa'id p.67.

2. ال, two of the three letters called "Muqatti'at", appearing in the beginning of the Chapter "Cow" (بقر) in the Qur'an. The commentators have explained the term in numerous ways. Alif (الف) reminds the poet of his sweetheart's straight figure, and Lam (لام) of the two braids flung from the back over the chest. In (زبان) the sound in ن must be pronounced dental to suit the measure, but grammatically it should be the nasal sound. The figure adopted here is Husn-i-Ta'lil.

3. The Sufistic interpretation of the verse would be:
"O God, the love for Thee aroused by Thy Glory has upset the human estimate of religion so much that the sectarian idea of Thee loses its splendour."

4. (مصدره النبی) - Gabriel, from his residence at (مصدره النبی) Cf. Sa'di:
and not allowed to go beyond.

The use of (سیر) as "alone" has no precedence known to me.

6. (بدرود کردن) - to bid adieu.

I admit my inability to follow the significance of (چنانچه)

- like (a) gallant soldier.

(2)

Metre:

1. *جل به غوغه شدیم که رهبر ما* . *بعد از سرتنگ در منزل درگرا* 1/
 2. *کار ما چو در درخت ز امید ننگ* . *چو ز بلی سوز خردا نشنا بدگرا*
 3. *با بلی سست شب تیره در زن به بجز* . *در آرزوی الحقت نه خود سرا*
 4. *خو از قهرم بعد در غم غنفت تو نیست* . *هم بهم در در غم به دل غم بردا*
 5. *فداه از شوق دلم می طبع و غفلت* . *می رسوز خود دلم طراز دهر ما*
 6. *کار دل تو غم از آنز معوان که* . *که بجز شتر نه رسوز ندانم سرا*

1. As no one became the guide to our goal,
(Let) hereafter the dust of the Magian's
door and our head be together.
2. As our affairs did not prosper from the
locked door of the saint,
(e) hope that hereafter the door open to
us may be from the tavern.
3. The pack-horse is slow, the night dark, and
the highway-man in ambush,
Alas, if the guide of thy blessing be not
our leader!
4. We are inured to the pang and affliction
of thy love, send
Every moment pain and sorrow to our sorrow-
nourishing heart.
5. How strange that our hearts beat with longing
and we are agitated,
Perhaps the tiding of union reaches from our
heart-ravisher.
6. KAMRAN, we burn with the fire of some one's
separation,
Into whose lane never reaches a particle of
our dust.

^{1/} Diwan p.1-2.

2. *بر* means "hope". Cf. Hasan of Ghazna (B. 'Ajam p.168):

3. *بیشکین* seems to be a misprint for *بیشکین*

6. Cf. Faraj (fol.16a): *از به زود غش بخت است* *بعد از سرتنگ در منزل درگرا*

(3)

Metre:

- 1/
1. کبریا را نیز بگردانست شادمانه است . از دایه خود را که به باله زد و است .
2. عاقبت کشید به این زنجار است . کشتن غنم بود اندک سخنانی .
3. که یک سوره عشق و شکر سازد است . عجب قدری فقه صفای فتنه .
4. لطف از تنه ای مجاز است . لب ال ایست ایست به خط .
5. گریه شد و شکر از شکر موزد است . طعنه پیر از زنجاری دارد .
6. جنب در ملکه آن زلف مکن است . بینه سحر غم نشود برادرش .
7. گریه در دهر زمان سحر صبار است . لاف از آن سبب شکر بانی مجسمه دارد .

1. That cypress has thrown her scarf again over
her body,
Perhaps some one has struck with his hand of
desire at her scarf.
2. It is the attraction of love that the Moon of
Canaan
Has at last struck with his hand at Zulaykha's
garment.
3. How long wilt thou speak ill of me? Hear the
story of San'an:
With one (flash of) splendour the daughter of
the fire-worshipper has waylaid him.
4. Thy lip is that Water of Life which, with
Khidr-like down on thy cheek
Has ridiculed the skill of Christ's miracles.
5. Why does the world have the light of Illumin-
ation.
If the flame has not set Mosaic fire to its
heart.

6. He does not become bound to the chain of
affliction, who like me
Has struck his hand into her jessamine-like
locks.
7. Why has KAMRAN lost his senses to the fire-
worshipper's child,
If he has not drunk the cup of wine in the
Magian temple.

¹/Diwan p.5.

1. *دانش برآوردن* - In India and Persia Muslim ladies put a sheet of fine cloth over and above their bodice, *دانش برآوردن* is to throw both ends of the sheet round the breast to the shoulders.
2. *نحان* - referring to the story of Joseph. Can'an or Canaan of the Bible.
3. This is an uncommon allusion to a Shaykh, 'Abdu'r-Razzaq, who renounced Islam for the love of a Magian girl, but was brought back to the Faith and then converted the girl. See *Kashfu'l-Lughat* by 'Abdu'r-Rahim (Add.5611) fol.174a-b. For different works dealing with the story see Rieu. Supp. No.376, and B.M.Turkish Catalogue p.185b and 302b, and Browne's Catalogue V (58)9. For the idea cf. Salik (B.'Ajam under *نحان*).
4. *سینه نود شکر برآوردن* - *سینه نود شکر برآوردن* may also mean *سینه نود شکر برآوردن* (B.'Ajam p.372) but the translation as given seemed more suitable in connection with (Water of Life).
- سینه نود شکر* seems to be a misprint for *سینه نود شکر*.
5. *کلیت بهر* is "world". Cf. Niyazi:
- کلیت بهر* *کلیت بهر* *کلیت بهر* *کلیت بهر* *کلیت بهر* *کلیت بهر* *کلیت بهر* *کلیت بهر* *کلیت بهر* *کلیت بهر*
6. The couplet is not found in the Diwan; it has been taken from Aqlim (fol.158b).

(4)

Metre:

1. / کند سحر غم حیران تو از بنیاد من . / نفوس کس که ز راه تو زیاده افتاد من .
2. / فکر نشستم بر آه تو بهر گنگد . / بنفشه زاندم که درم با دهن بر باد من .
3. / غم آن فصل نشیند از در پر کس . / حاصل کس در دکان دایم و شاد من .
4. / درو با باد خست از در جهان بخت . / چشم بر باغ خواجه دل بست من .
5. / باز کس لب شیرین تو می باز . / می شود نازده غمنا خند تو باز .
6. / سر آینه نامحرم از تو طبع هر دو . / این قدر کس که بگوید رنگت مستدام .
7. / در آن فصل مشک جمل باغ می آید . / نایم از عکس به شفا روز سرد از اید .

1. The torrent of the affliction of the separation
from thee has uprooted me.
Cast a look as I am perished in thy way.
2. I became dust on thy highway, pass over me,
Before the time that the breath of death gives
me over to the wind.
3. I am that poor one, distraught in love, who in
this old temple
Gave the gains of the Universe for thy affliction.
4. In remembrance of thy face I closed my eyes to
both the worlds,
I did not open the eyes for the face of the
beauteous of the world.
5. A bitter tumult over thy sweet lip rises again,
Perhaps (for) me Farhad's custom is (being)
renewed.

Mathnawi:

Metre:

1. / همه نوخ شد. ابرو بست
 1. لاله خونش بگریه از رو بست
2. گل زلفت نور جان زده پاک
 2. به تو انداخته خود را سبز خاک
3. ز نیمه غنچه ز نو غنچه بخون
 3. از درون انتر دل دارم برودن
4. سکه سبزه گلف انداخت
 4. سبزه بزرگ را سبزه انداخت
5. بسیار از شوق تو ناله در باغ
 5. مردم انداخته انال در باغ
6. ما که از شوق تو داغ داریم
 6. از معیبه و معزراغ داریم

1. The New Moon is curved after thine eyebrow,
The tulip's liver is full of blood on account
of (love for) thy face.
2. The rose has its collar torn by thy hand, and
In thy separation it has cast itself into the
dust.
3. Every fold of the bud is submerged in blood
by thee,
It has thrown out the fire of the heart from
inside.
4. Thy sight is cast towards green-herb, (and)
The green-herb has fallen on thy way.
5. The nightingale is lamenting in the garden
with desire for thee,
It is always crying here and there in the
garden.
6. We, who have a scar (on the heart) from
affection for thee,
Have cessation from all the world.

Fragment:

Metre:

1. اکبر اور شہنشاہِ سخن کہ از آن بهره در شوی شایسته 1/
2. دل به کار جهان نہ کہ از آن کار در بار جهان چه کار اید
3. کار محضی است در دنیا کار در بار جهان چه کار اید

1. O brother, hear from me a discourse,
Perhaps thou mayest benefit thereby.
2. Do not put the heart into the affairs
of the world, as from that
The burden of affliction will increase
on the heart.
3. Attend to the affairs of the world-to-
come, else to thee
Of what use will be the business of
(this) world!

Quatrains:

Metre:

1. 1/ اکابران با رکعت برسان . در خلوت وصل ادبایم برسان
 بر صفا وصال دشمنان نشتر بند . بختی از کجای دشمنان برسان

O wind, give my greetings to that friend,
 Carry my message to the seclusion of his
 union.

Pass over the morning of his union and the
 evening of his lock,
 That is to say, carry my morning and evening
 greetings.

2. 2/ یارب ز کرم در بر اویم کن . زنگ غم از دل منم بزد
 بوندت از صدف غم منم بکن . از هر جهانی که خود را احسن

O my God, out of mercy open a door to my
 face,
 Remove from my sad heart the rust caused
 by (my love for) others (besides Thee).

Cut off my connection from all attachments,
 Show me the way towards Thee from both the
 worlds..

Saqi-Nama:Metre:

1. بیاسانی ای که حال بدوست . که حال خرم مراد دوست
 2. من که در حال بهرین است . به قصد حال خرمین است
 3. بیاسانی ای جامع گنج است . که گفت زود بگو غنای فرا
 4. بیاسانی ای که نامی رسد . زود بگو غنای غلامی رسد
 5. بجز نه که گویم خردش است . که بهمانه بخورده شکست
 6. من که به اینها بد مرا . بود صفتی او را بد مرا
 7. بیاسانی ای که سوال بهار . که دایم غنای دل و فضل بهار
 8. من که در جوانی از رفت . زمانه ای از جوانی از رفت
 9. من که در حال غلامی است . فسخی و طوبیایم من است

1/ Diwan pp.33-35. The following comparison would show Hafiz's influence on Kamran who starts and ends his poem in the same strain as does the great poet, written not in a spirit of imitation, but as an appreciation of his indebtedness to his ideal. This would appear from the personal touch in Kamran's poem which we do not find in Hafiz's, and from the fact that Hafiz's verses are scattered over a long poem consisting of 103 couplets.

- Hafiz (Diwan pp.347-51)
 بیاسانی ای که حال بدوست . دل از حال بهر حال بدوست
 که در منزل درود جانم است . در هر جا که شادمانی کم است
 بیاسانی ای که حال بدوست . که است فراد که حال بدوست

 من که از غنای خلویم رسد . نشانی از بهر نام رسد
 بهر نامی از بهر نام رسد . بهر نامی از بهر نام رسد
 بهر نامی از بهر نام رسد . بهر نامی از بهر نام رسد

 من که در جوانی از رفت . خفت اند از عالم از رفت

1. Come, o Saqi, (give me) that wine which is
soul-nourishing,
As my afflicted soul deserves it !
2. Give (it to) me, as the world is in enmity
with me
(And) is after my afflicted life.
3. Come, o Saqi, (give me) that world-reflecting
cup
Which removed troubles and enhances pleasure.
4. Come, o Saqi, (give me) that wine which
frees (me from) raveness,
And releases me from this world and the next.
5. Give (it to) me so that I may say, shouting
and intoxicated,
"The measure-glass of Life shall break!"
6. Give (it to) me so that fatigue should not
come over me,
It should bring intoxication (in me) for him
(sweetheart) and make me beside myself.
7. Come, o Saqi, and bring that Water of Life,
As it is the time for pleasure and is the
spring season.
8. Give, as the days of youth passed away,
The time for the purple wine passed away.
9. Give (it to) me, as the Time is my slave,
The singer and the minstrel are to my satis-
faction.

Appreciation:Introductory:

The legacy of poetic culture left by Babur seems to have been best managed by Kamran who not only maintained the standard reached by his father but with his remarkable talents considerably improved upon it. If we are to believe Da'udi, Kamran must indeed have possessed a keen critical faculty and extensive knowledge of poetry:

1/ . ما دراز از ادبش و انی دشمنی طغند است دشت و دنگد ابریندم بدر در مجلس اسلامش . گردیده بود در مجلس اول اسلامش ،
 برادر از بنظر طریح زامان به ثبت که از شوال عراق دوم از اهل هندستان دهم از اهل هندستان افغان اور گشت .
 این جهل نشو گشت . که دراز از گفت از خورشید شرمی بر سرید و از می فرماید که اشعار گشت . اسلامش گشت .
 منجمد هم بدینم از ابریک اشعار گشت . که دراز از گفت . بخت اول که خواندند از اهل عراق است دست دردم که خواندند ،
 از اهل هند است دست سوم از اهل افغان است . اسلامش . در محلی طغند از کمال ذرات درازان از سنای محمودند .

Mirza Kamran had a sound judgment in the adorning and understanding of verses. This subject had been mentioned twice in the court of Islam Shah: in the first meeting Islam Shah, in order to test the judgment of Mirza Kamran, recited three couplets, one of an 'Iraqian, the second of an Indian, the third of an Afghan, and questioned him, "What kind of poetry is this?" Kamran Mirza asked, "Do you inquire of the merit of the verses, or do you ask whose verses these are?" Islam Shah said, "I want to know whose work these three couplets are." Kamran Mirza replied, "The first couplet that you have read is from an 'Iraqian, the second that you have cited is from an Indian, and the third is from an Afghan." Islam Shah and all those who were present praised the perfect judgment and discernment of Mirza Kamran.

With such unusual gifts and acquisitions, it is no wonder that he became a well-known poet of his age^{1/}, and that his Ghazals were even considered good enough to be taken as a model.^{2/}

His style and diction:

Kamran practised almost every branch of poetry, but his chief claim to fame lies as a writer of Ghazals in which he has achieved outstanding merit. Like those of Hafiz they are full of Pathos and emotion, and make a strong appeal to the heart; they also bear a striking resemblance to the odes of the Great Poet in their smoothness of style and flow of diction which please the ear.

Rumi is generally reckoned to have been the first to depart from the conventional style of introducing a number of different and incoherent ideas in one Ghazal, and to carry throughout, in the form of a narrative, the same thought which makes his Ghazals partake of the nature of a poem. Hafiz comes next and, with his characteristic charm and fascination, improves upon them by choosing words and similes which appeal to all alike.

Kamran follows Hafiz and often carries throughout his poems one single idea which lends them the character of an ode. He very rarely adopts in his Ghazals the commonplace practice of introducing indiscriminately incoherent subjects of sorrow and rejoicing, union and separation. This characteristic becomes evident from his following Ghazal:

^{1/} Badayuni I. p.453 (see supra p.86) : مزار گلزار دانش به نور دانش روشن گشت

^{2/} See F.N. to 'Abdu'l-'aziz Khan's poem on p. infra.

Metre:

1. 1/ ساکان خوارانه بیک خدارا . رحم کن ای سرفراز به سر دمارا
 2. از آتش جو سیمج دل تو نرم نگردد . بکین رضا ننگ لاله غمخوارا
 3. در امحی نون خفته تو دلخنی . خوشتر کن بهنگاه دل غم بر دمارا
 4. شیر بر لب الهی است آب حیات . برشته لبان طوطا ز آل اب خدارا

1. O saucy wine-bibbing infidel, for God's
sake
Have mercy on this burnt one (who is)
destitute.
2. Thy heart never melts by my silver-like
tears,
O silver-checked, stony-hearted, and
tulip-faced.
3. From thee I entertain greed for a (look
from the) corner of the eye, that is,
Give consolation with a look to my sorrow-
nourishing heart.
4. Sweet child, thy ruby-like lips are the
Water of Life,
For God's sake, a drop from that water
upon the thirsty-lipped!

Kamran's style gains in clearness by the absence of diffi-
cult and Arabicised words. Like his great master he successfully

1/ Diwan p.4. The poem bears resemblance to Rumi's ode (Tabriz p.12) and Hafiz's Ghazal (Diwan p.9). See Additional Note No.

1. نخواره - wine-bibber. Cf. Hafiz (Diwan p.35):
نخواره را در گشته درندم و نلوم باز . در اندکم بر ما نیست در کرد و در نام است
 3. Tehran 1306/1888) - p.66) Cf. Hafiz means "kind look". ابا سودم کو خنجه با نهند . نخام فک را به نلوم کند

tries to depose rhetoric from the chief seat that it had occupied for centuries, and enthrone in its place loftiness of tone and stateliness of language. The flow, force, and profound subtlety of his diction often make his Ghazals like those of Hafiz^{1/}.

The lucidity and flow in the following are noteworthy, the more so in that the Radif is not easy to handle:

2/ باز دایمان خود راں کرد به بالاد زو است . کس بدان من گدشت نماز است
ملکت بهر داور بختی دارد . گریه شد ز ریشتر اشک مویزد است

Some of his verses go beautifully in pairs^{3/}:

1. (Diwan p.22) به با که در بهج نو غزله حول است . بسین بسین ز بحر نوال من چون است
2. (Diwan p.13) دامن غواش در کاشاق . حیات نذیر اندان بخت
3. (Diwan p.17) به بالاد بکده به خنجر افتد دین . به رخ نه نگاه به غور و کس
4. (Diwan p.20) رخ ز نو دلار زار است . چشم نو در دروغ از غری

The chief merit of his style lies in his choice of brisk and lively words. He introduced into Persian poetry similes and metaphors which seem original and fresh. For instance:

1. (Diwan p.22) کس ز غواش است اندر شراب . مع جوهر کونف بر آرد آب

The reflection of the down on the cheek
is cast in the wine
Like a cloud hovering over water.

1/ See infra p.

2/ For the complete Ghazal and translation

see supra p. 3/ As the beauty lies in the form only, the translation is omitted.

2. *بشتر قدر تو بنفشه با عطر شتر سندی . نیکو بر گل اره و بهار و بهار* (Diwan p.26)

Before thy figure the violet with all modesty
Reclining on the flower (-bed) has risen out
of respect for thee.

- 1/ *اگر باد به ال با بهار معلوم برسان . در غنوت وصل او بیاد هم برسان*
بر هم وصل و شت از غنوت بگذر . یعنی که در کام و شام هم برسان

His allusions do not stand all by themselves, he tries to assimilate them in his ideas by connecting them to their topic:

- 2/ *خدا را از بهر بیکی خیزد . با او بهر بهر خیزد*

Some of his Ghazals abound with classical allusions:

- 3/ *بشتر عشق بود اندک متعاقبی . عاشق است به راه زلف تاز و است*
لطف ال ایجاب است که با خف و خفت . لطف بر شوقه ایجا ز بهار و است
لطف بهر و اندک بختی دارد . گریه شد ز لطف از لطف و است
بسیار بختی تمه صفای شوق . که بخت بهر و خف و شوق و است

The last allusion, may it be noted, is very rare.

1/ Translation on p.103 (1).

2/ Translation on p.91.

3/ Translation on p.97.

His sense for poetic niceties:

With Kamran love is not only an undertaking of emotion, but also an issue of intellect. With a poet's fancy he vividly brings before our mind's eye its various aspects and intricacies, the expression of blandishments, the pangs of separation, and the joys of union.

His sense for poetic niceties can best be illustrated by comparing a few of his verses with similar lines of other notable poets:

1) It is common among the Persian poets to say that the fire of their sweethearts' separation burnt them to ashes. We have below four different expressions of the same feeling:

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| Nizam Dast-i-Chayb: | 1/ کیم در دوزخ شعله ز شمع سوخته ایم . طمع ملکش تنواری گشت ز خاکستر |
| 'Ashiq: | 2/ سوخته ز آتش عشق که جانم سوزی دار . می توان با شمع از گری می خاکستر |
| Faraj: | 3/ رتبه سوخته عشق ملوک است سوز . صدف رنگ تو دل برکت ز خاکستر |
| Kamran: | 4/ گدازان سوخته از آتش بچ اکت . که با کوی شمع روزنه خاکستر |

Nizam is not very clear, 'Ashiq says more about his sweetheart than about himself; Faraj is splendid, but his mode of expression partakes of pride more than humility; Kamran, on the other hand, is sublime and expresses a feeling which the others have not reached.

1/ Diwan fol.76a.
4/ Diwan p.2.

2/ Diwan fol.64b.

3/ Diwan fol.16a.

- 2) Another idea, to express the difficult task of a lover:

- Ashki Qummi: 1/ من زعم عالم از غم حوال ان تاهل . بز خود اسال کمال ماس فتنه دارا
 Harun: 2/ جند کونم، مبادا فتنه کن بار را . تا کدر ان کنده ماس فتنه دارا
 Kamran: 3/ بار جهان صدمه دگر از دهم بار را . بار بپاس کن بر زکایت رشوارا

Qummi's difficulty is more or less that of a cynic, Harun's is vague, but Kamran's is real and, like a man full of hope, he also invokes the help of God.

- 3) And another, valuing the sweetheart's sight:

- Hilali Astrabadi: 4/ دیرل دبار مایل ^{بشدت} . از خدا فرید علی دین دبار را
 Kamran: 5/ کاوان تا دگر از دگر جگر در نظر . تا به نام تو نشو دهم دین دبار را

Kamran possesses already what Hilali is striving for. Hilali's first line has a vaguely epigrammatic appearance which spoils the lyric effect of the couplet, while Kamran surpasses him with a devotion admiring the sweetheart to the exclusion of everything else.

- 4) And the last, alluding to the annihilation of the lover:

Kaki (Bakhtiyaru'd-Din):

- 6/ زلف برآوده ز اندکم که آید . در نه حول زلف برآید برآدم
 'Ismat Bukhari: 7/ که برآوده زلف برآید برآدم . تا که راه تو هم آید برآدم
 Kamran: 8/ خد شمع برآوده زلف برآید . بنظر از اندکم که دید بارش برآدم

While following Kaki's idea we can appreciate the play on the word *ٻٻ* but at the same time we have to presuppose that the lover is already burnt to ashes, for which there is no warrant in the text. 'Ismat's " *ٻٻ* " is meaningless because we know nothing of his previous demolition. Kamran is vivid and comprehensive, in one breath he gives all about his ruin and its cause, the ultimate wish that a lover would express under such circumstances, and his "certain ending".

His mystic ideas:

Kamran's verses disclose sublime mystic ideas, not only because in the words of John Payne, "every true poet is a mystic in the sense that he sees life and the world through a haze of imaginative glamour", nor, further, because the Sufistic terminology has a strong attraction for Persian poets, but for the main reason that in his early manhood he had displayed a strong leaning towards mysticism which, though obliterated during his later days of struggle for secular power, had a marked influence on his devout mind all through his life. It was this "lingering devotion" which caused in him frantic outbursts of consuming passions for Divine Love and found its expression in the form of poems.

Kamran's mystic ideas, though simple, contain the sentiments of an ardent lover in quest of the Great Truth. We can best understand him by following the various stages of his mystic expressions:

Hafiz, standing on the "Bank of the Sea of Life", exclaims in his own inimitable way:

شب تارک و بزم موج در دریا فتنه عائل 1/
 کجا دانند حال ما بکند حال ما

He has complaints against the phenomenon of Nature and envies those who have crossed the "Sea", but gives us little to know the quarter from which he expects help. Kamran, though not on voyage, has the same difficulties on land:

بازگشت شب نهره در نهرن به کهن 2/
 در آغوش لطف نه شود بر سر ما

Kamran's complaints are directed against all - Nature, himself, and Man - the three great obstacles on the way to God, and unlike Hafiz he invokes His help.

According to Kamran, Man is a world by himself, and in a quest for God he should go deep down into the sea of his own soul, and should never care for the "bank" or for those who have already crossed:

ز آغوش غم نه بر سر شدم 3/
 در بحر و با بندهای من در من

From weeping I am drowned in the sea of tears,
 In this river I have no desire for the beach.

Because he, like a true Sufi, believes in the Universal Light:

1/ طوطی دل را بجز از غش تو • هیچ در آنست و در آنست

According to the Sufi the "ego" in man is the only hindrance between him and God, and no sooner a man succeeds in the annihilation of this egoism than he becomes at one with God.

Hafiz beautifully explains the idea:

2/ سال عاشق و مستون مع مانع است • تو خود حجاب خودی حافظ از ملک بر خیز

Kamran thinks likewise:

3/ غمزه بان در بیان چهره ندارد در • که بردارد ز شکر این بر نه ندارد

But with Kamran even "Love" is a hindrance in His way. He wants man to attain that stage of Selfless Love where even that obstacle is overcome. Za'iri has the same idea:

سال ما و ادنا مع محبت حجاب است • که از سر مع بر نه باشد بر ادعت جانان

But Kamran expresses it more aptly:

4/ راه دل که در داز تو بر دل • سال با سر بندهم به کمال

Now all this being done, the sojourner reaches the goal, and then he puts before God his claim for His Love.

It is interesting to compare Kamran's claims with those of two other great mystics of their age:

فصل در بیان توکل و استقامت

در بیان توکل و استقامت

در بیان توکل و استقامت

در بیان توکل و استقامت

در بیان توکل و استقامت

در بیان توکل و استقامت

فصل در بیان توکل و استقامت

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در بیان توکل و استقامت

در بیان توکل و استقامت

From these poems a few sets of parallel verses will facilitate a comparison:

A - Qutub:

دانو دهر دم رفت بهر گزند
خوشتر از بنای بیری بنام

Hafiz:

زلف بر باد دهقاندهی بر باد
ناز بنام مکر نماننی بنام

Kamran:

نگ نغم بهرگاه تو بهرگز بند
بیشتر از اندم که دهر نادنا بر باد

There appears one remarkable difference between the "love lament" of the three: Qutub suggests, Hafiz commands, but Kamran submits. Kamran's sentiment is the one naturally expected from a lover.

B - Qutub:

نام دنیا مگر دنیا در گویست و ارم
نامم بر آتش تو تنم به آتش

Kamran:

نام من از دنیا که در گویست و ارم
عاشق بوی دل را بهر گویست و ارم

While Qutub has foregone his worldly dignity, and that when he had become sure of his Object, Kamran, who is already poor and distraught in love, has sacrificed everything which might help him to reach his goal.

C - Hafiz:

شرم از دست بندگان تو نمود حلال
دست بگرم که ز معجز نور با افتاد

Kamran:

سند سلیم غم معوال تو از بنام
نظر کس که به راه تو ز با افتاد

Hafiz:

خبر بر از مژده نمانی از بزم ممل
قد بر از آرزو از سر کوی از ارم

Kamran:

ماران شکر اندر بزم ممل
فانغ از طبره کشد و ز سر از ارم

The poets share their ideas in each set and express them equally well, but their different temperaments appear again from Hafiz's command and Kamran's submission.

His philosophy:

Kamran does not set out in any of his poems with the clear purpose of presenting a philosophical theorem. In fact, the widely differing views which he seems to have taken of life according to its varying successes and failures make it impossible to assign him to a distinct school of philosophy.

His lyric poems bear witness to his keen sense of observation and thereby betray much of the author's enjoyment of life which alone could bring their grace and charm into existence.

His Saqinama, which he seems to have composed at the height of his power, has a Khayyamian touch right through. For instance:

1/ به ساقی ای که خامی است ز دنیا و عشق غلغلی دور
کن تو درد دل غلام من است منی در طرب به کام من است

And in some of his verses he is almost Anacreontic:

2/ تن که در جوانی گزشت ز مال و زر غموانی گزشت

Fate, however, would not suffer him to get away unscathed, and it is then, after his defeat, that Kamran takes life otherwise and accepts his humiliation with stoical equanimity:

3/ بر بزم از نورج رسد با منت است گزنا دل و جفا در خنجر است

while the following verses display even strong ascetic feelings:

دل به کار جهان که از آن با دغ بر دل تو افزاید
که عشق لب و خون ترا که در دمار جهان چه کاراید

This scope of philosophical conceptions, blended with his remarkable mystic ideas, make it the easier to understand why Hafiz gained such a strong hold upon Kamran's mind that his influence can distinctly be traced in many of Kamran's verses.

Kamran and Hafiz:

Before considering the nature of Hafiz's influence on Kamran, a few words about the conventionality of Persian poetical composition will be necessary.

Persian poetry is essentially artificial and conventional in nature, "not only the metres and ordering of rhymes, but the sequence of subjects, the permissible comparisons, similes, metaphors, the varieties of rhetorical embellishment, and the like, are all fixed by a convention dating from the eleventh or twelfth century of our era^{1/}". This limitation is the more apparent in Ghazals where, with the necessary repetition of Radif, the poet has to conform to the Qafias in hand, and the fewer the rhyming words (*زنجی*), the greater the chance that the poet has to repeat almost verbally the ideas already expressed by others and, consequently, is allowed little scope beyond what rhyme and metre permit.

Kamran's attempts to assimilate Hafiz, who appears to be his sole ideal, should therefore be regarded in the light of these restrictions. His Diwan is full of instances in which he has displayed a remarkable faculty of assimilation aiming at improvement. There are cases, however, in which his honest attempts have failed to reach the great height of Hafiz, but he has never failed badly.

^{1/} Browne II.p.84.

The following comparison will show his attempts of assimilation.

A - There are instances in which his language misses the expressive beauty of Hafiz:

Hafiz:		Kamran:	
1. در دانه محنت مانع پر کاسم	1/	گشتی که منت مانع رخسارم در دانه	2/
لطف آنچو تو اندیشی حکم آنچو تو فرمائی		من سنبه فرمائی بر نویم که فرمائی	

But even notable poets have failed to reach Hafiz:

'Ashiq:	لشنت بر در فرشت ناه فرمائی	3/ بر اصل تو حدسال مازن خسته	3/
Nashat:	با سر نبط فرمال تا حکم چه فرمائی	4/ تو بادشاه فرمان در خون دزبائی	4/
and, though different in measure:			
Radhiq:	بر دم بدو ایستای تا باز چه فرمائی	5/ حاشا که نغم ما که بر لب کاس منت	5/
Hidayat:	بسی تو کس که مال و مع چه فرمائی	6/ به لب سب مرا جال ز حرمت بود	6/

2. Another instance:

Hafiz:		Kamran:	
مبتلا به نغم و گفت و اندوه و زرق	7/	گر با خند گل دهنه آبر ببار	8/
ای دل ای نام و افتاد تو چه جز منت		ایرم که به افتاد تو چه جز منت	

And again Hafiz proves superior:

9/ میراک:	ایرم نام و افتاد تو چه جز منت	9/ ای دل از لبت تو بر بادشاه منت	9/
Kuchak:	گویم نام و افتاد تو چه جز منت	10/ ناه که نام و زرق با کج از عشقت	10/

1/ Diwan p.294. 2/ Diwan p.18. 3/ Diwan fol.275b. 4/ Diwan fol.87a.
5/ Diwan fol.337b. 6/ Diwan fol.183b. 7/ Diwan p.57.
8/ Diwan p.7. 9/ Diwan fol.35b. 10/ Diwan fol.33a.

B - The following would prove his successful attempts:

Hafiz:

1/ تندمجنه باطنی مصلح دل است
برای چند بهای منبر بر شانه چند

Kamran:

2/ اندر زنده فرزند کو با سبای
چند در گداز شاد به دشتی چند

where others did not reach Kamran's level, for instance:

Khawar, son of Fath-'Ali Shah of Persia:

3/ آخیا جو دل ندر بهر دگر و از سورا
می نوال کرد و شاد بهر شانه چند

Khawari:

4/ خور غنیم که نیم در خود لطف پسین
می نوال نام دلم و دایه و شانه چند

Shah Shuja', king of Afghanistan:

5/ رفت مسکده که لب لب بر لب می کشند
اگر ز مال شادم از آل سل بر شانه چند

C - Lastly, there are instances in which Kamran happily achieved his ideal of improvement:

1.

Hafiz:

6/ هر کس به بجز تره سازد
از علقه وصل تو بر دل ماور

Kamran:

7/ سر که گردن جو در کاره گشت
اواز بر دانه بر دل ماور

Kamran has succeeded in carrying his metaphor of 'circle' by the use of five words, viz. *بهرین - دایره - گشت - بر کار - گرد*. Hafiz, on the other hand, misses the metaphor in his first line.

1/ Diwan p.92. 2/ Diwan p.10. 3/ Diwan fol.42b. 4/ Diwan fol.111b.
5/ Diwan p.71. 6/ Diwan p.93. 7/ Diwan p.2. Cf. 'Urfi (Qasa'id p.95)

خدا را که بهر خوش زند . از عروق در عهد سر دل ماور

Hafiz:

Kamran:

1/ بابا ساقی ال جامع گیتی سنا که محنت زرد است و غنیمت زرا
2/ بابا ساقی ال با انشروا من سن موکون با بزم از غم خلاص
بابا ساقی ان نه که خامی اید نشان ره بزم خامی دیر
ز دنیا و قبی خلاصی دیر

While Hafiz is content to be freed from his sorrow as a means of reaching the assembly of the choicest, Kamran remains at that disinterested love which might place him over the considerations of this world and the next.

Kamran and other poets:

While dealing with Hafiz's influence on Kamran, we had occasion to notice his position as compared to others in the light of his master. Although we have abundant material for his comparative study independent of Hafiz, it seems hardly necessary now to dwell upon this point, the more as such comparisons have repeatedly occurred while appreciating Kamran's style and ideas. To conclude, however, it will be of interest to examine his position in his own royal circle.

Among the works of royal poets only five odes have been discovered which are parallel to such of Kamran's. The first lines of his Ghazals are given below with references of the parallel poems marked in the foot-notes:

1. 3/ بار جهان صمیم و صحرای دیرم با بر را
2. 4/ چشم بر آله و دایم رشدها بکشد

1/ Diwan p.34.

2/ Diwan pp.346, 347.

3/ See Diwan p.3 and compare Sultan Salim of Turkey Diwan p.18-9.

4/ See Diwan p.11. and compare Khawar, son of Fath-'Ali Shah of Persia, Diwan Or.3484 fol.42b. and Shah Shuja', king of Afghanistan (d.1258/1842) - (Diwan p.71).

3. 1/ آقدرمکن تو سرودمان حسن
4. 2/ نه بنانده جمال خود از دسته سمانی

In the absence of common ideas a detailed comparison between these poems apart from their external features and general merit will not be possible. Of these the ode written by 'Azizi has been selected as it was composed in imitation of Kamran's Ghazal^{3/} and therefore affords a good basis for this purpose.

'Azizi:

Kamran:

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|--|
| 1. | 4/ آقدرمکن تو سرودمان حسن
عاجز شوئے تو شمع ابوالحسن | • | آقدرمکن تو سرودمان حسن
آقدرمکن تو سرودمان حسن |
| 2. | حسن ترا ایستد آبت جگر نال و فط
نال و فط ایستد اندر درشانی حسن | • | آقدرمکن تو سرودمان حسن
سرودمکن تو سرودمان حسن |
| 3. | برم عزیز کی بود بر خط بلبل با رفت
روز سباهت بر باد نشو جویان حسن | • | شعر و فخر انانده ما را در خط
تا تو برادره سرور جهان حسن |

The similes and metaphors used by 'Azizi in all the three verses are quite unhappy and disconnected. The first verse, which should better have formed the heading of a Diwan, is a poor com-

1/ See Diwan p.16 and compare 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Khan 'Azizi, son of 'Ubaydu'llah Khan Uzbek, and king of Turan. Madhkira fol.21b.

2/ See Diwan p.17-8, and compare Fath-'Ali Shah, Khaqan, Diwan foll.78b and 80a.

3/ Madhkira fol.21b. (این غزل از دیوانه کامران است)

4/ Madhkira fol.21b-22a-

pliment to his sweetheart's beauty which, according to the poet, is only a part (*شماره*) of the palace. The first line of the second verse is a bad construction which, if paraphrased, would run *آفت صبر خال و خط (نور) زنت صبر تر است*. In the second line the idea, though good, has been definitely marred by the repetition of *خال* and *خط* which also occur in the first line. The first line of the third verse is again a bad construction, to be paraphrased *غر تر از برگه خط به لبها و دهر گفت*. It also betrays the poet's ignorance of the meaning of *خط* and its poetical location and, as it stands, is liable to be treated jocularly. The metaphor of "dark day" or "night of separation" is hardly correct for, according to the Persian idea, the colour of the down on the cheek is considered beautiful when it is green^{1/}.

Kamran, on the other hand, has successfully carried the metaphor of a garden and its atmosphere through the first two verses, and those of the third verse have also been aptly treated. The Ghazal is short, but full of interesting poetic ideas. 'Azizi's ode stands no comparison to it in any respect.

His defects:

Kamran's poems are not faultless and, though it may be stated that his merits outweigh the defects, a study of his poetry cannot be a true picture without the insertion of the shadows.

During the course of our study of Kamran we had occasion to see his attempts to compose poems in answer to those of the renowned poets like Hafiz and Jami. Even if we try to explain

^{1/} Cf. Ghani (Diwan p.88): *جز تر به صبر زار و زار دهر دهر است ز من برگه زنت*

away his boldness to match them on their own grounds as the expression of an ingenious spirit, there still remains his lack of creative originality, a drawback which essentially deprives our poet of a position in the rank and file of the masters at whose height he was aiming.

The same attempt of "flying too high" makes him sometimes indulge in far-fetched ideas which tend to obscure his verses.

For instance:

1/ در جبهه سحر ازال را دود صبر قرار . اند می کشد خرام ال کرد و فخر رفتار را

He fails to show the similarity between the nature of the two gifts. Another instance:

2/ مارال در غم و رخ ان طره غزال . از غم کردل بتال تو به جز سبب

Here the meaning is vague and the two lines are apparently unconnected. Some of his metaphors lack naturalness. For instance:

3/ گوشت را در کتب من محسوس نیست . گرم جگر سبب است من بهر جان دودید

The tears "running in all directions" is very unhappy. Ashki has a beautiful idea:

4/ اشک من از اشکی نمیدانم رنبت من نشسته . تا نگویم برود او هرگز من دودید

In some of Kamran's verses we find unnecessary repetitions.

For instance:

5/ گرز تو ملک است و من باین سبب . نسبت دلم ز غم تو چاک نیست

His language is not always polished as would appear from the following couplet in which the superfluous of has

1/ Diwan p.3.
5/ Diwan p.8.

2/ ibid.p.7.

3/ ibid.p.9.

4/ Diwan fol.130a.

been inserted to suit the measure, without regard to the smoothness of the line.

1/ باشد تو چو نخل ابدست عجب تنب • از خد تو سر نخل ابدست ببر ابد

And the following verse shows a repetition in and which is known as *انتهات*, and is considered a defect:

2/ هر کو کرد و دست به صفت درج ادم • هر جا که نیند با سر مار قد اوست

Conclusion:

Kamran's poems, as they are contained in the preceding pages, have been selected and reviewed to give a true picture of him as he passed through the various stages of his checkered life.

His role as a warrior and heir to an unsettled kingship in the North is apt to make him appear a scheming rebel against the authority of his half-brother, as also against the adversities of his ever changing fortune, a theory which is supported by the defiant tone in some of his verses.

His lyrics, on the other hand, go far to show a brighter side of his character: the dauntless soldier driving his worries away with the pleasures of the table:

1/ Diwan p.12. Hidayat, a notable poet of Persia (commits the same mistake (Diwan fol.123a):

دستان ازل در عجز لطف جبار • تا نخل دل ارا قد او ببر ابد

But 'Isamat Bukhari avoids it (Diwan p.234a):

باشدم نغمه دیر با مار ابد • در نخل محبت گل مقهور ابد

2/ Diwan p.8.

مکن گویم دور ال بکنز سن است . بے قصد حال جز بکنز سن است
 ببا سانی ال عالم گیتی است . که مختار دولت و بخت و شرف و خوار

the keen observer of God's beauty as reflected in Nature:

که در ال شکل قدش جل به نظر می آید
 فارغ از مملو شدن روز سر از ارم

and, most of all, the mystic who came to the ultimate conclusion:

جبل به بقدر نیست مع کسی رهبر ما
 بعد از آن خالق هر چه بگوئیم ناله او را

Dabur the man and the poet are inseparable, Humayun the prince appears distinct from Humayun the poet, but in Kharan his restless personality and his poetry seem to part only to meet again and again, as if it were by a deep internal law of development, moving towards the necessary end.

Fourth Chapter.

From Akbar to Aurangzib.

963/1556 - 1118/1707.

Introductory - Akbar, his interest in poetry and literature - his poems - Jahangir; his literary activities - Memoirs - his poems - Shah Jahan; his literary activities - his poems - Aurangzib; his literary accomplishments - his poems - conclusion.

Introductory:

The "Great Mughals", occupying the throne between 1556 - 1707, have left behind little to justify their inclusion in the list of Persian poets of distinction. Their names, however, are too closely connected with their age to be passed over without a notice of their influence upon the poetical atmosphere, and an enumeration of such poems as have been ascribed to them.

In order to have a general view of the poetry of the time we had to notice in the first chapter the state of circumstances in Persia and Central Asia. In the second, for the same purpose, we had to see the state of the Muse in Iran and Hind; in the present chapter, however, we shall have to confine ourselves to what went on in India alone. There, culture, poetry, and mysticism which had completely deserted Persia at this time^{1/} found a ready asylum. Thanks to the generous patronage of Akbar and his successors, the century following Humayun's death can

^{1/} Mirza Muhammad in Browne IV. p. 27.

justly be termed the Golden Age of Persian poetry in India on account of the galaxy of poets attracted by the munificent patronage of the courts. Desirous to try their fortune, they came from Persia and found an appreciation which was withheld from them in their own country. They produced what the late Professor Ethe has happily termed the "Indian Summer of Persian poetry"^{1/}.

Akbar:

Akbar, though illiterate himself, had high regard for literati including the poets, and this, coupled with his cultured taste, drew to his court numerous Persian poets of distinction^{2/}. Among these, Ghazali (1529-72), his Poet Laureate, deserves a special mention. His poems throw much light on the philosophy of his time; as a freethinker and a poet, endowed with original talent, and master of a simple style, he greatly influenced the thought^{3/} and poetry of his period. Another is Faydi (d.1595), a native of India, who is generally considered one of the two Indian poets whose verses would pass as those of a Persian^{4/}. He was the first to revive the idea of establishing an Indo-Persian school of poetry which centuries ago Khusraw (1253-1354) had planned without finding enough support for its success. This revival made headway under Akbar's patronage who aimed at the fusion of the Hindu-Muslim culture and is even known to have composed Hindi poetry^{5/}.

^{1/}Browne IV.p.168. ^{2/}Badayuni, in his volume III, mentions about one hundred and seventy poets of Akbar's court. ^{3/}See Sprenger p.127 and 411. ^{4/}The other is Khusraw. ^{5/}For his only Hindi poem so far known see p.194 of Kabita-Kaumadi (Hindi Part) by Ram Krishna Tripathy - Calcutta (Samawat) 1977.

Jahangir: This time the 'market of Persian poetry' was practically by Jahangir, who had the advantage of learning over his father, displayed a still keener interest in poets^{1/} and, although the poetry produced under him does not show works of outstanding merit, their tone and style in general improved and became more embellished. Among the numerous poets who flourished under him mention must be made of Talib, his Poet Laureate (d.1651), Naziri (d.1612), and 'Urfi (d.1590) who is noted for his forceful style and diction. The high opinion which 'Urfi had of his own poetry, bordering on conceit, may be held responsible for a similar trend found in his imitators^{2/}.

Shah Jahan:

Shah Jahan, in spite of his comparative personal disinterestedness in poetry, kept the tradition of his predecessors in patronising poets at his court^{3/}. The three most notable poets of his reign were Kalim (d.1651), Muhammad Jan Qudsi (d.1646), and Sa'ib (d.1669). The last named is noted for the ingenious use of the Figure of Speech known as Husn-i-tal'il (poetical aetiology). Particular attention was devoted to the writing of Qasidas, as they pleased the 'Magnificent Monarch' and, though devoid of originality, they show a marked elegance of style.

1/ A Tadhkira of his court-poets is found in Majma'u'sh-Shu'ara-1-Jahangir-Shahi by Qati'i (Bod.Cat.MS.No.371) and also in Shah-Jahani.

2/ e.g. see 'Urfi (Qasa'id p.30):

3/ *نازشر سدی بنش خاک شیر از ارم بر* . . . *اینها هم در دربار وادی است*

see also his another "Fakhriya" () ibid.p.71.

3/ For a long list of the poets of his court see Kalamatu'sh-Shu'ara by Afzal Sarkash, and Shah-Jahani.

All this time the "market of Persian poetry" was practically in the hands of the Persians whose proud privilege it was to maintain the requisite standard of taste in the country; but with the accession of Shah Jahan the Indians, both Muslims and Hindus, under the patronage of the Indian nobles of the court became alive to the necessity of forming their own distinctive school, planned and promoted by Khusrav and Faydi. This movement received a great impetus when the native poets under the guidance of men like Mu'min of Lahore and Fani of Kashmir, recognised the advantage of uniting against the hostile attacks of their Persian critics^{1/}.

Aurangzib:

Among the Muslims there is a well-known legend that Solomon's death was not realised by the Jinns, who continued the construction of the Temple under the impression that he was still alive, until after a year, when the worm ate through the staff on which Solomon had rested, the body collapsed^{2/}. This tradition well illustrates the state of affairs which followed the century under the rule of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, who with their munificent patronage had created a prosperous atmosphere which for decades protected the art from the results of Aurangzib's antipathy. 'Alangir's marked preference for the

^{1/} e.g. see Makhfi (Diwan p.201):

حزین دارم که یارب بجل در غزلها شنید
مهر علی فخرم به خند ز رضوان ام

^{2/} Quran chapter XXXIV. section 2.

Persian nobles^{1/}, however, allowed them to maintain their position and thus to promote and patronise Persian poetry in their circle. While the royal court was conspicuous by the absence of poets and bards, those of Mir Jumla and Asaf Jah were full of them, and they well managed to keep the art alive in spite of the lack of royal patronage. The names of Fikri, Ghiyathu'd-Din Mansur of Ashkmish, and Fitrati (1640-89), the two notable poets of the period, cannot be overlooked.

Considering the splendid atmosphere of poetry by which the "Great Mughals" were surrounded, it is not to be wondered that they should now and then devote their leisurely hours to the composition of verses which, though few, reflect the Golden Age in which they lived and with which they are so closely connected.

^{1/} See his last will, paragraph 7 p.5., incorporated in the Letters - Eng-trans. by J.Earls. Calcutta 1788. The Persian text is common.

A k b a r

963/1556 - 1014/1605.

His interest in poetry
and literature:

Akbar, son of Humayun, was born on 14th Sh'ban in 949/1542 on the night of the Full Moon. In 962/1554 he ascended the throne at the age of thirteen under the title of Jalalu'd-Din^{1/}. He died after a long and prosperous reign in 1605.

While yet a boy, he was put by his father under no less than six tutors^{2/}. Abu'l-Fadl has tried his best to explain away the truancy of Akbar, but "the truth, as far as can be seen through Abul Fadl's rhetoric seems to be that Akbar was an idle boy, fond of amusement, and that he would not learn his lessons. This is corroborated by Jahangir's description of him as an unlettered man, and one who in his youth was fond of the pleasures of the table. It seems probable that Akbar never knew how to read and write^{3/}". But his illiteracy was like that of the Athenian who, to quote Macaulay, though he had

1/Jauhar fol.54b. V.Smith on the authority of Jauhar thinks that Badru'd-Din was Akbar's real name (Akbar.p.19.Oxford 1919), but Jauhar's diction does not support the inference:

رفت تر لر مغریت ش زانم خدایه ملک ، به شبنم ان شب جبارم برده ، شت جبارم را بدیدم گویند بگشت زان کواکب نازنی
عبد الوهاب والون سرود عالم از روز در خانه قشرب سرور خطاب بطلال الکواکب و بدو الهی شرفت

2/ For his tutors see Akb.Nam.I.p.270, 316, 317; Beveridge who (I.p.518.F.N.) gives several names from various sources, and Firishta I.p.448, 459, 469.

3/Beveridge's Eng-trans. of Akb.Nam.I.p.518.F.N. As an illiterate man Akbar's following "quotation of Scriptures for his purpose " (A'in II.p.233) is interesting:

بجز آن بودند که بگویند که در دنیا نیازی نیست که خواند و بنویسد

few volumes, could yet talk every morning with Socrates.

By his munificent patronage of learned men Akbar was able to collect round himself the choicest men of Persia, Central Asia, and India. And "although he was illiterate", says Jahan-gir, "so much became clear to him through constant intercourse with the learned and the wise, in his conversations with them, that no one knew him to be illiterate, and he was so acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose compositions that his deficiency was not thought of^{1/}". Further, according to Abu'l-Fadl, Akbar was well-versed in music, an accomplishment which should have made him popular in any company^{2/}.

As regards Akbar's poetic interest Abu'l-Fadl adds:

3/ . طبع اجماع پذیر الفوت به گفتار نظم هندی و فارسی نهایت برافش آید . در دستان شکر شری نگر
 . برکتی می فرماید . از کتب نظم هندی و در بیان لسان العیب خود به سباحت روان می خواند و از
 . ضامن و کاف ان اشعار می پند در زبان هندی نیز سانی نگین منظوم یافته اند
 . که با زبان هندی خوانده بود .

The inspired nature of His Majesty is highly suitable to the composition of Hindi and Persian poetry, and in the niceties of poetical ideas he is hair-splitting and critical. Among the books of poetry he recites off-hand the Maulwis' Mathnawi and the Diwan of the Mystic-tongued (Hafiz) and takes delight in their niceties and beauties.... And in the Hindi language, too, he has versified colourful meanings which may be regarded as a model of this art.

^{1/} Tuzuk. p.14.
F.N.3 supra p.

^{2/} A'in I.p.48.
4/

^{3/} Akb.Nam.I.p.270-1. See also

He also cites two instances of Akbar's display of critical taste

(1) 1/ • اورے نیرم ارانہ بود کجا از سرانندگان عابدان کفایت میرخواند

• سبها بارز خوشتر عجب با دهم نسل خوش •
• شانی آفتاب من بدتر از منی امید •
• میرزبان تو بر باریت "اگر چای" آفتاب من "شهباز من" خوانند نژاد را باشند

One day (while) the assembly was adorned, one of the singers of the auspicious assembly read out the following couplet:

With Christ as friend, Khizr as stirrup-holder, and Joseph as fellow-rider, Fighani^{2/}, in such a glory my sun comes.

The (king's) pearl-shedding tongue passed (the remark): "If in place of 'my sun' you read 'my champion-rider' it would be appropriate".

(ii) 3/ • اورے رباعی علیک ایضاً کہ در زخم حکم ابوالفتح •
• دشت ابدی که حکم حمام گنج بود بوز عیال رسید

• میردور آدم که دسانز آمد •
• آتش بدین عالم او بحر رفت •
• دینی امور بحر رفتی ام باز آمد

• فرمودند آتش دنیا را اگرانی می کنند •
• اگر من میرخواند شتر باشند •
• در دشت را می رفت

One day Mulla Talib Isfahani's^{4/} quatrain, which he had composed as an elegy on Hakim Abu'l-Fath^{5/}, and congratulatory on Hakim Humam's arrival, reached his auspicious (Majesty) by way of submission.

My love for the two brothers has proved consoling.

That went on his journey, and this returned from his journey.

That went and life followed him.

This came, and my departed life returned.

He said, "The word 'Dunbala' is jarring if they read like this; it would be better

"He went, and with his departure my life expired".

1/A'in. II. p. 238. 2/of Shiraz, d. 926/1519. 3/A'in II. p. 238.

4/Akbar's court-poet who was still alive in 1616 - Badayuni III. pp. 265-6. 5/d. 997/1588-9.

It should be mentioned in this connection that the royal critic disapproved strongly of being criticised himself. This would appear from an anecdote, preserved by Sprenger^{1/}, relating how Akbar imprisoned Shamsu'd-Din of Baghdad, one of his court-poets, for no other offense than having argued on a prosodic error in one of his Majesty's verses.

Akbar took a keen interest in the poets under his patronage and considered it his royal prerogative to bestow poetic names upon them in the choice of which he seems often to have exercised his witticism^{2/}. They also show that he was no idle observer of the poets, a fact which is further proved by his following remarks:

- (1) باز بگردش دوا اصل اور در شعر زبان 3/

A juggler performs with his feet and hands,
and a poet with his tongue.

- (2) کریم خود در کلام نفیس می کند با یکا می خواند با یکا اور در فو نشین و آسان 4/

He who suitably introduces the verses of
another in his own composition or appropriately
quotes them, discloses the poet's merits and
his own.

- (3) جل و اکثرش بر تار است - از شعر در شباهه خاطر پذیرد زبانی 5/

Since poet's foundation is on wire, his per-
formance does not receive acceptance in the
vestibule of mind.

^{1/} p.40. The anecdote occurs in his notice of Khulasatu'l Ash'ar wa Zubdatu'l-Afkar by Taqi'u'd-Din. The B.M. copy Or.3506 of this valuable Tadhkira is incomplete and no complete copy has so far been discovered. ^{2/} He bestowed, for instance, the title of Tausani (swift as a horse) upon Manohar who according to Badayuni (III.p.201) possessed extraordinary intelligence. ^{3/} A'in II. p.233. ^{4/} ibid. ^{5/} ibid. It seems to mean "since poets build on phantasy, their creations cannot be seriously accepted".

1/ باید که هرگز سرگز از قلوب جانان و باغ محرقام نبرو سید و نه خواندن آن مگر شربت کز لعل واد (4)

They should scribe one quatrain of Khayyam after every ode of Hafiz, otherwise the study of the latter is like drinking wine without a relish.

His poems:

The verses attributed to Akbar are found in the following works^{2/}:

- | | |
|------------|-------------------------|
| History: | 1. Akbar Nama; |
| Tadhkiras: | 2. Haft Aqlim; |
| | 3. Safina-i-Khushgu; |
| | 4. Riyadu'sh-Shu'ara; |
| | 5. Makhzanu'l-Ghara'ib. |

Although Abu'l-Fadl, the only Mughal historian to notice Akbar as a poet, has much to say about his master's poetical taste, he disappoints with quoting only one of his verses. This, as also one couplet and a quatrain found in Haft Aqlim, may safely be accepted as warrantable because both are contemporary works. Curiously enough, Daghistani, who wrote his work in 1748, has several verses of Akbar not to be found in any earlier work. There are reasons to believe, however, that with the exception of three all the others have been wrongly included under the name of the Emperor^{3/}. These three, though of doubtful authority, are given below as there is no evidence to exclude them.

^{1/} A'in II. p. 238.

^{2/} For their particulars see pp. 20-3 & 50.

^{3/} See Appendix A. 1p. 261-4

The following is the couplet quoted by Abu'l-Fadl:

نسبت زنجیر خون در گردن مجنون زار . غش رفت و دوش در بروش انگشته رت 1/

It is not the chain of madness round the neck
of the afflicted Majnun,
Love has thrown round his neck a loving arm.

Haft Aqlim is the earliest source for these two compositions
of Akbar:

گر که دردم ز محبت موجب خوشی لی بود . رنج خون من از دیده دردم خالی بود 2/

I wept on account of affliction from thee, (and)
it became the cause of happiness.
I shed blood from my eye as my heart was empty.

دوشنبه که گوی می خوردم . بمانم به جز از خردم 3/
آنون ز خمار سر زانم . زرد لوم دور سر زانم

Last night in the quarter of wine sellers
I bought a cup of wine for money.

I am still feeling heavy in my head from
crop-sickness;
"I gave money and purchased headache".

And Riyadu'sh-Shu'ara is the first to attribute the following
to Akbar:

(i) شبنم ملوک بهر درش علی نهاد است . کمان فطوح ز دینه بیل نهاد است 4/

Do not call it dew which has fallen on the
petals of the rose,
Those drops have fallen from the nightingale's
eye.

1/Akb.Nam.I.p.270-1. 2/Aqlim fol.137a. and Khushgu fol.16b.
3/Aqlim fol.137a; Riyad.fol.40b; Khushgu fol.16b.
4/fol.40b; also Makhan fol.43a.

(ii)

میز خنجر نمی خورم طارید . میز قنبر نمی زخم نه اید

1/

I do not drink coffee, bring wine,
I do not play on the harp, bring a lute.

(iii)

از بار نه خنجر لستم جانم . نه راه به مسجد نه نشستم جلم
نه در صف ما نه ز سندان جایم . نه لائق دوزخ نه بهشت جلم

2/

From the burden of sin my back bent down,
what shall I do?
Neither to the mosque nor to the synagogue
there is access for me, what shall I do?
Neither in the rank of infidels nor in that
of Muslims (is) my place.
Neither I am fit for hell, nor worthy of
heaven, what shall I do?

1/ Riyad fol.40b. 2/ ibid. The influence of Khayyam's quatrain (fol.8.4.b) on the above is unmistakable:

نه لائق دوزخ نه در نور نشستم . انزور اندامی را از جهنم نشستم
چرا که ما ز دوزخم و جهنم و جمل خنجر نشستم . نه دوزخ نه بهشت نه امید نشستم

In Quatrains de Khayyam by J.B.Nicolas (Paris 1867 p.33) there occurs *نشستم* for *نشستم* in the second line, which seems to be the correct reading.

J a h a n g i r

1014/1605 - 1037/1627.

His literary activities -Memoirs:

Jahangir, son of Akbar, was born in 977/1569. Nothing has come to light about his early educational career except that his first tutor was Faydi, and that besides Arabic and Persian he had also acquired sufficient knowledge of Turkish^{1/}. During the last years of his life he gave himself up to excessive drinking which considerably told upon his body and mind, and accelerated his end which took place in 1627.

Jahangir began writing his Memoirs^{2/} soon after he came to the throne in 1605. They are a monumental work in Persian literature allowing us an insight into the author's imaginative mind, and form, moreover, the main source for his poems.

A critical study of Jahangir's poetical activities will be facilitated by placing his Memoirs side by side with those of his great-grandfather. The difference of language in the two works presents some difficulties of comparison from the literary point of view. Nevertheless, there are some points which afford interesting material for comparison, and at places for contrast,

^{1/}Tuzuk p.52. ^{2/}The Memoirs are divided into three parts: (1) from the beginning of his reign to the last quarter of the seventeenth year, written by himself; (2) from the seventeenth year to the beginning of his nineteenth year, written by Mu'tamad Khan by order of the Emperor; (3) from the nineteenth year to the end of Jahangir's reign, written by Mu'tamad in his own name, forming part of Iqbal Nama. Muhammad Hadi has also contributed some portions, but his work is little more than an abridgment of Iqbal Nama. Published Aligarh 1864.

between the two great historical records.

The style of Babur's work, as appears from its English and Persian translations, is quite simple; and his descriptions of objects and places, though minute, are not entertaining. Jahangir's Tuzuk, on the other hand, has a polished style, and its accounts and descriptions of objects and events are catching and interesting. Jahangir takes great pains in describing his objects with picturesque details to make the reader share with him the sentiments which moved his own heart, and has a special gift of quoting suitable verses to heighten the effect of his words. Babur, on the other hand, appears everywhere as the curious and acute observer who chooses his quotations as the means by which to make his subject matter still more clear.

But for our purposes the chief point of comparison between Jahangir's and Babur's Memoirs lies in the critical notices of the poets that they contain. In this respect Jahangir stands no comparison with Babur. His notice on Manohar may be given as an instance:

1/ (منوحر) او از قوم کجوا است و پدر من در خرد ساسانی باو عنایت بسیار می کرد و فارسی زیبا می بود.
 با آنکه از دنیا بادم او را که منم به هیچ یک از قصید او نمی توانم کرر خالی از غنیمت نیست و شعر فارسی می گوید
 این بیت از ویست
 غرض از غنیمت سبب عین بود که
 به نور مغرب فرشتید تا خود نماند

He is one of the tribe of Sekhawat-Kachhwahs, and on him in his young days my father bestowed many favours. He knew Persian language^{2/}, and although from him back to Adam the power of understanding cannot be attributed to any of his ancestors, he is not without commonsense. This couplet is from him:

1/ Tuzuk p.8. 2/ Literally - فارسی زبان means 'Persian linguist' which, of course, Jahangir can never be said to have meant.

The object of the creation of shade is only
this that no one
Should place his foot on the light of the sun.

The critic betrays a contempt for Manohar which is not justified. He does not give Manohar's poetical name and his quotation seems to have been taken from Manohar's Qasida, which might have been addressed to Jahangir himself, and as such lacks that interest which a common verse from a Ghazal would have provided. The true worth of the above would appear from its comparison with Badayuni's notice who is a historian and notorious for his prejudice against "infidels":

۱/ . تو تنی . منو غلام دارد دلورونکران راجا سمنهار است که ملک را از سمنهار است و این همه ملک در سخن او تا بزرگان سرز بین است
• صاحب حسن و غریب و ذهن بکعب است اول در احوال و مظهر خوار و عزیز و بزرگان سرز اسنوم خطاب یافت بدین
• با بزرگوار و شرف است و سبک است همین که سمنهار است گفت . بر چند مرتبه طبع باورش معنی بخود . طبع نفیس دارد و در این
• بشهر از دست سه . بنوع مستغنی بدین و بر بعضی مژده کند
• مست حسن و زیاده را با سمنوار و با بزرگان جمع

Tausani - his name is Manohar, and he is the son of Lonkaran, Raja of Samthar, a famous salt tract, and all this Attic salt in his poems is the effect of that land. He possesses wonderful (personal) beauty, and extraordinary intelligence. They called him at first Muhammad Manohar, thereafter he got the title of Mirza Manohar. In order to give him honours and distinction, his father used to glory in calling him Muhammad Manohar, although it was against the royal wish. He has a poetic genius. This couplet is from him:

The Shaykh is boastful of his religion, the
Brahmin brays of his idolatry.
He, who is intoxicated by the beauty of the
friend, has naught to do with
religion or idolatry.

Jahangir's notice on Manohar has been selected as a typical example^{1/}. His reviews are mostly casual and off-hand, and confined to those poets who were known to him. They stand, therefore, no comparison to Babur's notices which, as we have seen are critical and independent, and include even those poets whom he had never come to know personally.

The literary value of Jahangir's Memoirs is clearly set off by a comparison with another work of the same nature by Shah Tahmasp of Persia (1524-76). From the historical point of view Tahmasp's Memoirs are undoubtedly as valuable, but as a piece of literature they do not afford half as much interest as Jahangir's. Tahmasp's language is simple and dry, and there is hardly a passage in the whole work which excites imagination or provokes thought. The Memoirs of Jahangir reveal a devout soul, an imaginative spirit and liberal mind, while those of Tahmasp betray an ambitious statesman and a rigid sectarian.

His poems:

Jahangir's Memoirs are also the source for his poems, including four couplets, two quatrains, and one Ghazal. The following have been selected as of some literary interest, and the rest omitted as they refer to particular occasions and are mediocre.

In 1605, when Babur's quatrain beginning:

در روز آفتاب گریه می‌نماید
در روز آفتاب گریه می‌نماید

2/

^{1/} For a similar meagre notice on Naziri, a notable poet of the age, see Tuzuk (p.91) and compare with a better notice in Bada-yuni (III.p.375) as well as A'in (I.p.250) and Riyad (fol.428a).
^{2/} See supra p.28 and Tuzuk p.149.

sent by Khwaja Hashim was received at court, every one present was asked to write a reply. Jahangir himself wrote the following

1/ اکبر را مهر و سحر از بهشت است . اکبریت ما ز بودت ای درویش است
چند کند ز زردت دلم شاد شود . شادیم از آنکه لطف از حدش است

O thou, whose kindness to me is boundless,
O thou, the State owes its existence to thee,
o Darvish!

Since from thy good tidings my heart has
become happy,
We are glad that thy kindness passes all bounds.

In 1609 (Friday 13th Muharram 1017 A.H.) "a certain idea came to" his mind and this rhymed Ghazal was produced:

Metre:

2/ 1. مژ حلقم که از نغمت بر جا رسد . ناخنم نارسیده در بر در رسد
2. ستانه می خراسی دست نه مال . دستم می کشم که مبادا نظر رسد
3. در وصل کشت منم در صحرای سواد . داد از صبر غم که در سر رسد
4. سوخته شدم آنم که بگویم راه وصل . فریاد از آن زمان که در اثر رسد
5. رفت نیاز دگر جانگیر بر سر . ایستادم شکر نور که رسد

1/ Tuzuk p.149. The second couplet contains a serious grammatical error known as *shakr*. In the first line the pronoun used is singular while in the second line *shadim* is plural.

2/ Tuzuk p.76. For its comparative study see Chap.VII p. ۸۵۵ infra.

1. What shall I do to make the arrow of thy
affliction reach the heart,
So that the eye (look) which has not reached
(me yet) might come one after the other?
2. Thou walkest (as if) intoxicated, and the world
is intoxicated from thee.
I burn rue lest (an) evil eye should reach thee.
3. I am frenzied in union with the friend, and am
disturbed by his separation.
Alas for the grief that has overwhelmed me!
4. I have become astounded (in the desire) to walk
the path of union.
Alas for the time when the news reaches me!
5. JAHANGIR, the time for humility and offering is
every morning.
There is hope that the flame of the light of
morning may reach.

S h a h J a h a n

1037/1627 - 1068/1656.

His literary activities:

Prince Khurram, better known as Shah Jahan, was born in 1010/1592. He showed little interest towards Turkish, the language of his ancestors^{1/}. Unlike his father, he was more practical than contemplative, and preferred physical training to mental culture^{2/} with the result that, though he could not make any advances in learning, he soon became an excellent swordsman and an expert in all field sports. From Aurangzib^{3/} we hear that Shah Jahan used to keep a record of various moral anecdotes and sayings which had roused his interest. He had hardly recovered from the grief over Mumtaz Mahal's death when he was imprisoned by his son Aurangzib and died shortly afterwards in 1665.

His poems:

The following poems are attributed to him^{4/}:

His first poem is one which 'the proud author' of the celebrated Mausoleum of the Taj Mahal has composed^{5/} in its praise. From its twenty-five verses a selection is given below:

Metre:

1.

عزیز و عزیزان بنام خداوند
که بآتش افروزانند سحر

6/

^{1/} Lahauri I.p.132. ^{2/} Ibid. pp.132-4. ^{3/} Add.6588 fol.47b.

^{4/} For a poem wrongly attributed to him see App.A. p.

^{5/} As the Taj was built in 1648, we can fix the date of the poem near about that time. ^{6/} So far known, I am the only fortunate possessor of the poem which I obtained from a manuscript in India, described in App.F. 2 p. 157. Most of the verses are full of scribe's mistakes and hence only a selection is given.

2. خود منای جویای شبت . سطر جوزدگر عزیز گشت
 3. اگر محراب بود بر در دنیا . شود هم چون نوربان گناه
 4. اگر عالم بود بر در دنیا . کند نام خوش را نشند
 5. نیک رفتن خود از در شبت . که دیشم گم کرد و مهر جفت
 6. خواستد از کی سال حیات . بری در کند رفتن مرد ابر
 7. خود بر عادت بنام روزگار . که حاضر شود قدش بر دمار
 8. رستخس محمد چون زمین بایزاد . جو اسبان با دلاں اسوار
 9. جو دشت بنام از بنام گشت . خرابی ز در حیف و عجز گشت

1. Praiseworthy is the holy tomb of the Sheeba
 of her age,
 Which has become a cradle for all the women
 of the world.
2. It is a place illumined as the garden of
 Paradise,
 And full of fragrance like the ambered
 Firdaus^{1/}.
3. If a criminal seeks protection within its
 doors,
 He obtains forgiveness and purification
 from sin.
4. If a sinner comes to this garden,
 He gets his records of evils washed off.
5. The sky looked for its bread to that threshold,
 The Moon got her evening meals and the Sun
 his breakfast.
6. God, the giver of the Bread of Life,
 Distributes 'Bread' to men on this threshold.

^{1/}The Eighth and highest Paradise according to Muslim belief.

7. The Time has laid the foundation of the
building
So that God's Glory may be manifest.
8. Its foundation shall live as long as the Earth,
It is as strong as the Faith of the Holy Men.
9. When the hands of Eternity laid its foundation,
Ruin jumped to its feet and fled to the desert.

Shah Jahan's next poem was written in 1659 as an answer to the unfortunate Dar's pathetic ode beginning:

دل را بخش ای مبتفرانه سوختم 1/

Shah Jahan's verses, touching in their simplicity, are tuned to the same mournful and longing note, and wake compassion the more when one remembers that it was sent by a father who was held in captivity by his rebellious and triumphant son, Aurang-zib.

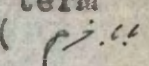
Metre:

1. آراف دل دجالت نور خیم بابا . آ زب نعت نوز دارا شکوه بابا 2/
2. شاه جنت نام در شرق غریبش . در بند بند نام دارا شکوه بابا
3. دراز سر بدو شد ای شاهم کجاست . این بندر بکشد دارا شکوه بابا
4. محبوب دار خیم ننه سفید زخم . کوف بهر یادم دارا شکوه بابا
5. گفتم زبت ببری دست را بگری
نخ روم از زغری دارا شکوه بابا

1/ See infra p. 167.

2/ Farah fol. 74a-b.

1. O comfort of heart and soul, o light of
 (thy) father's eye,
 O elegance of the Seven Countries^{1/}, thy
 father's own Dara Shikoh! 2/
2. Shah Jahan is my name, (my) fame (has spread)
 to the East and the West,
 In imprisonment and in chains I lie, o thy
 father's own Dara Shikoh!
3. Dara separated from me, where is that beloved
 of mine gone!
 This India has become Karbala^{3/}, thy father's
 own Dara Shikoh!
4. Like Jacob's^{4/} my eye has become white from
 sorrow,
 I find (my) Joseph in Egypt, thy father's own
 Dara Shikoh!
5. I (had) expected that thou wouldst assist me
 in (my) old age,
 (But now) I am (almost) dead from poverty, thy
 father's own Dara Shikoh!

^{1/} meaning the seven climes, i.e. the world, see Johnson p.1395.
^{2/} Dara Shikoh-i-Baba, literally means "Dara Shikoh of (thy) father", see Johnson p.201. This being an unhappy translation I have put it as "thy father's own Dara Shikoh" as the nearest approach. It may also denote a title of respect e.g. Baba Fighani. In India, however, it has come to be used as a term of endearment applied to boy-princes e.g. 'Baba-Kharram' () used for Shah Jahan in Lahauri I.p.132.
^{3/} The place where Husayn, grandson of the Arabian Prophet, was killed in 680/111 A.D.
^{4/} The allusion is to the well-known story of Jacob lamenting for his son Joseph whom "his brothers" had sold into captivity.

The last of Shah Jahan's poems is a quatrain found in one of the letters of Aurangzib^{1/}:

هر کس به فکر خود صفا خواهد داد انکه خویش را اصلاح خواهد داد
 هر جا به شکسته بود شنید برنگر شنید که صفتی به سدا خواهد داد

1. Every one will purify his conscience
And will give polish to his mirror.
2. Wherever there is one broken, assist him,
Hear, the very cup will give a sound.

2/

^{1/} The reference to this quatrain is found in the Eng.trans. of Aurangzib's Letters by J.Earls (p.7) Calcutta 1788. I was unable to trace this in any of the six collections of Aurangzib's letters mentioned on p.152 infra. The original quatrain, however, appears in another of his letters without reference to its authorship - Ruqq'at-i-'Alamgiri pp.29-30.

^{2/} The poet's meaning becomes obscure by his attempt to express his beautiful idea with too few words. I interpret the lines:

1. Leave every one alone to purify his own conscience,
And thus make his heart shine like a mirror.
2. But if you meet one who needs your assistance,
help him:
If you keep your ears open, you will soon find his
weakness as you discover a broken cup
by tapping and sounding.

A u r a n g z i b

1068/1657 - 1118/1707.

His literary accomplishments:

Muhyi'd-Din Muhammad Aurangzib, sixth issue of Shah Jahan, was born in 1027/1618. There was little chance for the young Aurangzib to receive the princely education befitting his position and rank owing to his father's wanderings who had incurred the displeasure of Jahangir and fled for his life. In 1627, however, Jahangir died, and then arrangements were evidently made for his regular education^{1/}.

Besides Arabic and Persian, in which he was proficient, he knew also Chaghatay Turki^{2/}. His Nasta'liq and Shikasta styles of writing, both of Arabic and Persian, were excellent. While yet a prince, he once copied the Quran and sent it to Mecca^{3/}. His education in the works of the standard Persian poets is evident from his familiar quotations of the verses of Nizami, Sa'di, Hafiz and others. He was also trained in music^{4/}, an art which he disliked much in his later days. He was not fond of poetry like his grandfather, nor of history like his father; his favourite study were theological works: the Quran, the Traditions, the Canon Law, and the like. As a pious Muslim he committed the Quran to memory^{5/}. He once attempted to compile a work containing the moral sayings of his father, Shah Jahan^{6/}.

^{1/} For his tutors see Lahauri I.p.345 and Bernier's Travels pp. 154-56. ^{2/} Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri p.533. It appears that Aurangzib could also freely converse in Hindi - 'Alamgir-Nama p.1095. ^{3/} ibid.p.1093. ^{4/} Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri p.526. ^{5/} ibid.p.532. ^{6/} Add.6588 fol.47b.

A passing mention must also be made of the radical change which Aurangzib brought about in the style of the correspondence. Royal Persian letters had ever been written in a florid and ornate language^{1/} since the time of Muhammad of Ghazna, both in Persia and India. It was Aurangzib who first departed from the long-established usage and by his own simple letters^{2/} introduced a new style which was soon taken up as a model both by Persian and Indian scholars.

In 1556 he came to the throne under the title of 'Alamgir, after imprisoning his father and murdering his two brothers, Dara and Murad. The tragedies shook the whole capital^{3/}, and Aurangzib was not slow to recognise it. It was for this reason, it seems, that he kept Shah Jaan's traditions of generosity alive for some years. He rewarded his supporters far above their expectations, even Raushan Damir, a poet, received five thousand rupees as a gift for his chronogram composed to commemorate Shuja's defeat in 1069/1658^{4/}. The first coronation was performed with the usual dancing and singing and the reciting of verses^{5/}.

^{1/} For the Persian idea of a letter-writer see *Chahar Maqala*, by Nizami 'Arudi Samarqandi. Discourse I. pp. 12-3. London 1323/1910.
^{2/} The following is the list of their available collections:
 1. *Huqq'at-i-'Alamgiri*, publ. Cawnpur 1389;
 2. *Adab-i-'Alamgiri*, collected by Sadiq (d. 1129), Or. 177.
 3. *Waq'a'i Karam*, collected in 1132/1719. Add. 26239.
 4. *Kalamat-i-Tayyibat*, compiled in 1131/1718, Add. 26238.
 5. *Ramz-o-Isharat-i-'Alamgiri*, compiled in 1152/1739. Add. 26240.
 6. *Dasturu'l-'Amal-i-Agahi*, collected in 1156/1743. Add. 18881.
^{3/} *Muntakhabu'l-Iubab* II. pp. 35-7. ^{4/} *ibid.* p. 50.
^{5/} *ibid.* p. 76.

But this state of affairs did not last long, for in the eleventh year of his reign, when he considered his position safe after the death of Shah Jahan, he appeared in his true light and dismissed his court poets, singers, and musicians; and their places were soon taken up by the Mullas and theologians. In 1586, according to Khafi Khan^{1/}, "he abolished the practice of composing or hearing poets". But this unqualified statement cannot be accepted, for Aurangzib's own notes and letters are filled with poetical quotations. Muhammad Sadiq's version seems to be nearer the truth:

2/ در مسایرت نظم و شعر نیز ببرد تمام اما به نحو مستفید صادق "الشعر بنسجم النادى" توجیه به اینست
شعر به نایده نداشتند اما به شنیدن اشعار روح جمهر رسد الاثر به تقض به بر غفلت باشد

In the skill of (writing) verses and prose he (had) also full share, but according to the Truthful Evidence (Quran)^{3/} "It is the misled who follow poets", he had no consideration for listening to useless poetry not to speak of laudatory poems, except a verse which included advice.

After a life of continuous warfare, marked by family strife and bloodshed, he was destined, in 1707, to die a death of mental agony in bitter repentance of his sins by which fate had forced him to build up his success. Looking back upon his life, it is little to be wondered that a career like his should,

1/ Muntakhabu'l-Lubab p.215:

2/ Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri p.532. Sir Sarcar (History of Aurangzib. vol.1.p.7), without quoting his authority, informs us that once Aurangzib asked for the Diwan of Mulla Shah (for Mulla Shah see infra p. 159).

3/ Quran.chap.XXVI. sec.11.

inspite of his learning, kill in him the creative spirit of a poet and make him indisposed for the language of Love which poetry preaches. This also explains his predilection for didactic verses, finding in their exhortations an advice and hope which must have been consoling to his troubled mind.

His poems:

The contemporary historians, who have so much to say for his prose^{1/}, do not mention even a word about his ever actually composing a line.^{2/} No reference is made to Aurangzib in any of the earlier Tadhkiras, produced between 1063/1657 and 1163/1749, although they do notice some of the Timurid kings and princes. Even among the various similar works produced after 1163/1749 there are only two which name him among the poets: Tadhkira-i-Husayni (composed in 1163/1749) and Nagma-i-'Andalib (composed in 1261/1845). One of the verses (No.III infra), attributed to him by 'Andalib, is found in Aurangzib's letter to prince 'Azam without a remark to warrant its authorship. It occurs just as numerous others occur in his correspondence. Under these circumstances it is doubtful if he ever composed a poem worth the name. But as there is nothing definite to contradict the versions of Husayni and 'Andalib, those attributed by them to Aurangzib are given below.

^{1/}Ma'athir-i-'Alamgirī p.532 and 'Alamgir-Nama p.1094.^{2/}Even in the history of the later Mughals we do not find a reference to that effect.

- (I). 1/ دی روزی که طلب می کردیم • خبر زد • تا بر سر آنش دیدیم
 گفتیم که اردی از ترس از دست • گفت که درین باغ و خندیدیم

Yesterday we were wandering in search for a rose,
 We saw a withered flower writhing with pain.

We asked, "What didst thou do that they are
 tormenting thee (thus) ?"

It replied, "I only laughed for a while in
 this garden."

- (II). 2/ بر لبست که ما زین تن تو کرد • جلی بر شدی ما جلال تو کرد
 در طعنه شب بر آنی کردی • در روشنایی روز حال تو کرد

(It) is old age and not infidelity, it cannot
 be concealed.

When thou hast become old, a deed befitting
 youth cannot be done.

Whatever thou hast done in the darkness of the
 night, let it pass,

The same cannot be done in the light of day.

- (III). 3/ آه خرام بگرد خوام • ز بر قدم هزار جانست
 Walk slowly, rather do not walk,
 Under thy step are thousand lives.

- (IV). 4/ فخر را شمع البرز است که زان شب سوزد • زبند نخل را بر در می باید بستند

If the drop of my tear clotted on the point
 of (the) eyelashes

It is all right, the tale-bearer should be
 hanged on (a) gibbet.

1/Tadhkira-i-Husayni p.208. Cf. Hariz (Diwan p.368) whose influence is apparent:

گل را دیدم شعله بر گشت نهی • گفت نشود آتش را دور دوری
 من طعنه در بستم ترا از زنت • آه آه بنویسم پیوسته در گشتی

Husayni also attributes a couplet to 'Alamgir which is too indecent to mention.

2/Naghma-i-'Andalib fol.24a. 3/ibid.; the couplet is found in his letter to Prince 'Azam (Ruqq'at-i-'Alamgiri p.7).

4/Naghma-i-'Andalib fol.23b.

Conclusion:

It must be admitted that these four "Great Mughals" show little to justify their inclusion as far as the harvest of poems is concerned which could be reaped from the preceding pages. No true picture can be gained of the men behind the verses as with Babur, no reflection of a battle between human ambition and idealistic perfection as with Humayun and Kamran. With the exception, perhaps, of Shah Jahan's lament for his son Dara Shikoh, the poems seem almost impersonal and may have been written by anyone besides the author.

But if we look upon this period of a century and a half as a gap extending from Kamran to Dara Shikoh, it is to be hoped that the four Emperors, with whom we were concerned in this chapter, would appear as the slender bridge which connects the borders. If the urge of composing poetry was not as strong in them as in their forefathers, they were yet no idle onlookers, or patrons of the art for prestige's sake. They respected the masters, as the influence of Hafiz and Khayyam on their verses would prove; they showed their earnest concern for upholding the purity of the art; and there can be no doubt that Persian poetry in India is indebted to them in an age during which its disciples would not have flourished to such a degree but for them.

Understanding this, it would not be incongruous to conclude that to pass them over would have been more unjustifiable than to take a little extra pain with the few poems left by them in order to follow the path of Persian poetry without interruption.

Fifth Chapter.

D a r a S h i k o h

born 1024/1615, killed 1069/1659.

His age - his life - his religion - his works -
 his poems - appreciation; introductory - his mystic
 poems - his non-mystic poems - his style and diction -
 his position and merits - his defects - conclusion.

His age:

Muslim rule in India was at the zenith of its glory under Shah Jahan. The long and peaceful reigns of Akbar and Jahangir had created a healthy atmosphere throughout the country under which every branch of literature, science, and art flourished. The spirit of tolerance displayed by these monarchs towards all religions brought into existence a new school of thought, headed by men like Tulsi Das^{1/}, which, free from all restraining prejudices, tried to find a via media to bridge the long-standing difference between the followers of the various religions.

Sufism, with its characteristic religious toleration, was not slow to extend its helping hand towards the champions of that school. The result was a strong fusion between the hitherto conflicting literary, social, and political forces in the country. The best evidence of the religious fusion is the literature produced in the early Mughal period. A passing notice of the following works will be of interest on the point.

^{1/}d. 1621.

1. Shariqu'l-Ma'rifat, a work on Vedantaism by Faydi (954/1547 - 1004/1595)^{1/};
2. Mir'atu'l-Haqa'iq^{2/} by 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chishti (d.1682), composed under Jahangir, dealing with Hindu mysticism;
3. Tarjuma-i-Raudatu'r-Riyahin^{3/} by Fadlu'llah, under Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah of Golkunda^{4/} (1612-26);
4. Damishq-i-Kh~~u~~yal^{5/}, a work on Sufism by a Hindu named Bal Krishna, composed about 1674.

A few more words about Sufism. The Muslim kings of India revered the saints, and the Timurids particularly were devoted to them. The personal favours of the kings, coupled with the strong movement started during Akbar's reign against orthodoxy, strengthened the position of the Sufis to a considerable degree. The promotion of learning encouraged by the court created among them a literary class which was not slow to utilise the opportunity for the propagation of its doctrines by writing books on mystic dogmas and biographies of saints. Among them the prolific writer 'Abdu'l-Haq (953/1551 - 1052/1642), a follower of the Qadiriya order of Sufism, is a prominent figure. Under Shah Jahan the literary activities of the Sufis took a wider field because not only was the Emperor very much attached to the Sufis, but two of his offsprings, Dara Shikoh and Princess

^{1/}I.O.MS.No.1355, but see Bodelian Cat.No.1278, wherein by mistake it has been ascribed to Abu'l-Fadl. ^{2/}Or.1883.IX.
^{3/}I.O.MS.No.1523. The original (Arabic) work by 'Abdu'llah (d.1366) treats Sufistic dogmas and lives of saints. ^{4/}He belonged to the Shi'a sect which is notorious for its antipathy against the Sufis, see Browne IV.p.27. ^{5/}I.O.MS.No.3482.

Jahan-Ara showed great respect to them and displayed keen interest in their literature. The latter was the authoress of a work named Mu'nisu'l-Arwah^{1/}, on the life of Mu'inu'd-Din Chishti of Ajmere (d.633/1235).

Among the numerous works produced immediately before or during Dara's time the following seem to have influenced his mystic works:

1. Maraju'l-Bahrayn^{2/}, on Sufism, by 'Abdu'l-Haq (d.1052/1642);
2. Zadu'l-Muttaqin^{3/}, biographies of the saints, particularly of Qadiriya order, composed about 1003/1594 by the same;
3. Ma'qulatu'l-Auliya^{4/}, a work similar to Dara's Hasanatu'l-'Arifin, by Muhammad Mu'in, composed about 1052/1642;
4. Majmau'l-Auliya^{5/}, biographies of saints, by 'Ali Akbar Husayni, composed in 1043/1633 and dedicated to Shah Jahan;
5. Persian translation of Yoga Vasishta, a holy book of the Hindus, done at Dara's instance in 1066/1655^{6/}.

During Dara's age mystic poetry was not commonly practised, nevertheless, the prince's munificent patronage drew to his circle several competent mystic poets, among whom Mulla Shah^{7/} (d.1072/1661), the preceptor of Dara, deserves special mention.

1/Or.250. 2/Add.26295.I. 3/Or.217. 4/I.O.MS.No.2010.
 5/ibid.No.1647. 6/see its review by S.Narain in J.F.H.S. vol.II.p.31-3. The B.M.-copy (Add.5637) is the translation. Rieu (p.61) wrongly thinks that it was done under Akbar in 1006/1597; as it is not mentioned in A'in-i-Akbari (composed about 1010/1601) among the translations made for Akbar (see Blochman's A'in I.pp.104-5) Narain's version must be accepted as more probable. 7/Safinatu'l-Auliya fol.86-118; Sarkar (I.p.298.F.N.) is not correct in thinking that Mulla Shah and Shah Lisau'llah were two different persons. For his Diwan see Or.360 and Mathnavi I.O.MS.No.578. See also infra p. 161.

Although his poems lack the charm and music of Hafiz, they are full of genuine mystic inspiration. More than half of his Diwan consists of quatrains. Another mystic poet who wrote mainly quatrains and seems to have influenced Dara's thoughts was Sarmad (d.1071/1660), a Jewish convert to Islam and Dara's friend^{1/}.

His life:

Dara Shikoh, eldest son of Shah Jahan, was born in 1024/1615^{2/}. We hear about him for the first time when ^{he} together with Aurangzib, ~~his~~ was brought as a hostage to Jahangir's court (1626/1036)^{3/}. His regular education, therefore, must have begun after the accession of Shah Jahan in 1627^{4/}. There are no grounds to assume that it was Shah Jahan who encouraged Christian priests or Hindu Pandits to approach Dara with their doctrines; his "Search after Truth", therefore, must have been carried out on his own initiative. The path that he wished to follow was not new. He had the ideal of Akbar in his mind, and it seems that he wanted to achieve with his learning and culture what Akbar had failed to do on account of his illiteracy, namely the unity of the great religions in his domain.

^{1/} Ishaq in Ruba'iyat-i-Sarmadi, publ. Delhi (1888) pp.2-3.
^{2/} The date 1022/1613, found in Rieu p.54 is a mistake as in Sakina fol.5a Dara says that he received the order in his 25th year (1049). ^{3/} Tuzuk pp.397,410. ^{4/} The circumstances under which the mystic tendency originated in Dara is unknown. It appears, however, that from his early youth he visited Shaykh Balawal, a Qadiri saint (d.1046/1636) -Sakina pp.198-9. But the latter was not his teacher (ibid.p.199) as Etche (col.312) incorrectly states.

We are not concerned here with the political aspect of Dara's character; suffice it to say that during the war of succession, which ensued when Shah Jahan fell ill in 1657, virtual suzerainty of the Empire was bestowed upon him by his father^{1/}. He did not live long to enjoy the regal authority as in the same year he was defeated and taken prisoner by Aurangzib. Adding insult to injury, Aurangzib ordered him to be paraded through the streets of Delhi, and after a mock trial had him executed in 1659.

His religion:

There is a great deal of difference of opinion with regard to Dara's religious convictions^{2/}. It is a point which is of no little concern in following his poems, and therefore deserves notice.

Dara, as he himself admits, belonged to the Hanafi^{3/} school of the Sunni persuasion. In 1049/1639^{4/} he was initiated by Mulla Shah Lisanu'llah. The date of his initiation coincides with that of the production of his maiden work Safina, and thereafter we find him continuously writing on mysticism. It seems, therefore, that his early training must have created in him a predilection towards Sufism, and hence a toleration of all religions. In Majma'ul-Bahrayn, his last work to which a date can be assigned, he says that after embracing Sufism he had ascertained in his intercourse with the Hindu Faqirs that

^{1/}'Amal-i-Salih. Add.26221.fol.643 a-b. ^{2/}Bernier (Travels p.6) thinks that Dara had no religion; and Beale (Orient.Biog.Dict. p.118), who quotes Catou, thinks Dara died a Christian.
^{3/}Safina p.12. ^{4/}The exact date is 12-12-1049. - Sakina fol. 5a.

their diversion from the former was merely verbal^{1/}.

If a man's writing can be any guide to his religious belief, Dara's works militate against the opinions of Bernier and Catou. He was a tolerant Muslim, and his only fault was that he was born in an age of trickery and deceit which won the crown for Aurangzib and sent Dara to the scaffold.

His works:

The following works are attributed to him, and from these it would appear that he was proficient not only in Arabic and Persian, but was also well versed in Sanskrit and Hindustani.

1. His maiden work seems to be Safinatu'l-Auliya, a book of 204 pages^{2/}, containing the lives of the Muslim saints and composed in 1049/1639^{3/}, when Dara was only twenty-five. It is written in an easy style^{4/} and interspersed with verses of the saints who happened to be poets.

2. Next in the order of works to which a date can be assigned is Sakinatu'l-Auliya^{5/}, composed in 1052/1642^{6/}. It consists of 264 pages containing the life of Mir Muhammad or Mian Mir or Mian Jiva (938/1531 - 1045/1635)^{7/} and his disciples. The work is better in style than Safina, and is also interspersed with verses.

3. Risala-i-Haq-Numa^{8/}, composed in 1055/1645^{9/}. The object of the pamphlet was to describe the devotional practices of the

1/ fol.232a.

2/ of the style of the work (ibid.p. 216.

4/ Dara's own view of ^{تجدید عبارت اراکین مقید نه شدہ فارسی سان دیکھ لکھ تونہ}):

^{تجدید عبارت اراکین مقید نه شدہ فارسی سان دیکھ لکھ تونہ}

5/ Or.223.

6/ ibid.fol.5b.

7/ ibid.fol.15a-b and 85a.

8/ Publ.Lucknow (1174/1881) - (It has also been translated into English by S.C.Vasu -Allahabad 1912).

9/ ibid.pp.4 and 20.

Qadiriya order. The language employed is simple and mystical; here, too, verses are dispersed freely.

4. Hasanatu'l-'Arifin^{1/}, a work of 36 pages, composed in 1064/1653^{2/}. Dara's object^{3/} was to reply to the accusations of heresy made against him by the Mullas of the age^{4/}. It quotes the sayings of "high-seated and eminent men of sanctity" on the ecstatic state of the soul, and contains numerous verses among which only a few seem to be of Dara's composition.

5. Majma'u'l-Bahrayn^{5/}, a tract of about 20 pages written in 1065/1654^{6/} with a view to reconcile Sufism with Hindu mysticism^{7/}.

6. Sirru'l-Asrar^{8/}, a translation of the four Upanishads, completed by Dara with the help of the Pandits of Benares in 1067/1656^{9/}, with a Persian glossary (fol.17-18) of Sanskrit words. The translation seems extremely happy and well-balanced, and shows the command of the translator over both the languages.

7. Bhagvat Gita^{10/}, this was another religious book of the Hindus translated by Dara^{11/}.

1/ Publ. Delhi 1309/1891. 2/ ibid. p.36. 3/ ibid. p.2. 4/ In his following quatrain (Hasanat p.18) he refers to the accusations:

از بطن برادرش برآید . من گفت صبی در برادر رسید
از خوش نفس و شادمانیست . با برائی و دلی که از او رسید

5/Add.18404.II.fol.231-48. 6/ibid.fol.243a. 7/ibid.fol.232a. This should not be confused with a work of the same name (Add. 23580.II) on Sufism by Shamsu'd-Din Ibrahim, written in 714/1314. 8/Add.5616., it is also known as Sirr-i-Akbar, see Add.18404.I. fol.1a. 9/Add.5616 fol.20a. 10/I.O.MS.No.1358. Rieu (p.59) wrongly attributes an identical copy (Add.7676) to Abu'l-Fadl. 11/ibid.fol.1a. For earlier translations see (i) Munich Cat. p.140.No.350; (ii) Add.5651 by Abu'l-Fadl; (iii) Bankipur Cat. vol.XVI - p.129.

8. Tariqatu'l-Haqqat^{1/}, a small tract of 35 pages in prose and verse on mystic philosophy.

The following works are attributed to Dara Shikoh, but it seems that they no more exist now:

9. Hajat-i-Shikoh, a work on medicine^{2/};
10. Nadiru'n-Nikat^{3/};
11. Diwan^{4/};
12. Autobiography^{5/};
13. Mathnawi^{6/};
14. Anthology^{7/}.

Dara's Seven Dialogues in Hindi^{8/} with one Baba Lal^{9/}, resting mainly on the ascetic life and its different aspects, were collected at his instance and later translated into Persian by Chander Bhan Brahmin^{10/}.

Dara's correspondence on mystic problems with two contemporary saints, Shaykhs Muhibu'llah and Dilruba, is preserved in Fayyadu'l-Qawanin^{11/}.

1/ Publ. Gujranwala 1895. No date can be ascribed to this work.
 2/ Narain in J.P.H.S. vol. II. pp. 24-5 (1913-14). It is difficult to ascribe a work on medicine to Dara as he never seemed to have shown any predilection for that science. There are two medical works probably dedicated to Dara:

(i) لب در شکر می (Rieu p. 842) and (ii) مسابح در شکر می by Nuru'd-Din Shirazi

(Eng. trans. by M.D. Price, London 1835). The mistake might be due to the titles of the works. 3/ J.P.H.S. vol. II. pp. 24-5.

4/ Kalamatu'sh-Shu'ara fol. 104a. 5/ J.P.H.S. vol. II. p. 25.

6/ Makhzan (Urdu Periodical) Lahore, Sep. 1907.

7/ One of the sources of Makhzanu'l-Ghara'ib (Or. 4610) fol. 17b.

8/ Bankipur Cat. XVI. p. 132, also Berlin Cat. p. 1028 No. 2.

9/ Publ. Delhi 1885. 10/ Rieu p. 841. It should not be confused with two versified translations of the dialogue by Anandghan

I.O.MS. Nos. 2914 (VI) and 2879 (IV).

11/ Or. 9617. I. Nos. 37-44.

In a manuscript list of works in the library of the Raja of Benares we find 'Tarikh-i-Dara Shikoh' with a short descriptive notice:

1/ . مشور ذر احوال و محجرات مغرت سیدنا نام و صفات الحباب و دروازہ امام و صفات ادبکام نظام و کتابیات
فواصق و کرامات الشہان - نام صنف دارانکوه - حجم کتاب پنجمین صفحہ جزو

The description corresponds only in parts with Safina; we may presume, therefore, that they are two distinct works.

His poems:

Dara, or Qadiri of the Tadhkira writers^{2/}, was the author of a Diwan and a Mathnawi which are not traceable. Some of his works are interspersed with verses and poems, but there is nothing in their context to attribute them to his authorship. There are, besides the poems composed during his last unfortunate days^{3/}, some ten quatrains^{4/} and a Ghazal^{5/} which can with certainty be ascribed to him.

According to the order so far followed it is both proper and interesting to notice those topical poems first which he is said to have composed during his last struggle with Aurang-zib^{6/}.

1/ Or.1672.XI.fol.268. 2/ Qadiri was his poetic name -

برجہ افتخار بہ سلطنت دارہ شریعت - Kalamatu'sh-Shu'ara fol.103a and

Bagh fol.143a. 3/ The only source for these poems is Tarikh-i-Farah Baksh by Muhammad Fayd Baksh (Or.1015) completed in 1233/1817. 4/ We may look for the reason of Dara's adopting quatrains as the main vehicle for his mystic expression in his association with Mulla Shah and Sarmad (supra p. 160). 5/ Almost all of these are found in Hasanatu'l-'Arifin, composed in 1064/1653. 6/ For beautiful free translations of these verses see W. Hoey's Eng.trans. of Farah Baksh (Allahabad 1888-9)

To begin with, a poem of his may be given which reflects an almost prophetic wish to be spared the vexations of a family strife. Judging from its trend, it should have been composed around the time when the question of succession was first raised, and the sentiments expressed in its verses are well in keeping with Dara's reluctance to take over the reins of government from his father's hands.

1/ سر زنگنه دلف دلف به سر پادشاهی به سرم نشاند گو با هر کس بر نه پای
به سگند در سبیل به بری جابجا هم . که نشاند دلف در دست من و ملک بنوائی

My mind does not take fancy for royal throne,
In my head is cast the strong desire for
(walking) barefoot.

O wind, bear my message to Alexander and
Solomon:
"Let the realm of indigence be mine, and
throne and wealth for yourself".

But when he heard of the imprisonment of Shah Jahan and the accession of 'Alamgir, he was unable to contain himself in his flight, shed tears of despair and wrote:

2/ سر زنگنه کرد از جفا ما را . نگر سب در دلف و تاج شامی
توئی دلم به باطن قتله بر سر راه . ز هر چه خواه نشان دگر که خواهمی

O sky, cruel, unprincipled, and tyrannous,
I do not tell thee, "give me throne and
royal crown".

1/ Farah fol.74a. 2/ ibid. Cf. Khayyam (Quatrains fol.10a.2):

بجز زنجیر و باطل را که عالم نام است . در آنگاه ایمنی هم دشنام است
بزم است که دامنده صد چشمه است . گوشت که ناله صد برام است

It rests with thee, this Old Inn lying
 on the way,
 To take it from whomsoever thou shouldst
 desire, or give it to any one
 thou shouldst wish.

After his defeat at Deoria (1659) he sent this poem to his captive father, which allows for two interpretations: in its mystic meaning it reveals the disappointed idealist who had to resign to his cruel fate; it may also mean to have served as a secret message informing his father of the fruitless attempts to win the sympathy of "friends and strangers" against Aurangzib.

1. دل را به عشق الیبت خورانه سوختم . / نند کل کعبه بر درختان نه سوختم
2. نند کس کشیدند ز ده سوختن سوخت . / هر جا که سوختم غریبان سوختم
3. کجاست آنش دل را محسوس نداشت . / هر چند پیش مردم سوختم گناه سوختم

I burnt the heart with the love of that
 wise idol,
 I burnt the Ka'ba's lamp at the temple's
 door.

Neither the flame rose high nor the smoke
 scattered,
 Wherever I burnt, like the poor man's
 fire I burnt. 2/

None poured water over the fire of my
 heart,
 Although I burnt before friends and
 strangers. 3/

1/ Farah fol.74a. This might have been composed under the influence of a similar poem by Raqim Meshadi, a poet of Shah Jahan's court; see his Diwan Or.3437 fol.159a; also infra p. 2/The translation, though not literal, is the nearest approach to the sense which the verses convey. 3/For Shah Jahan's versified answer see supra pp.148-9.

In the same year when he was betrayed by Jiwan Khan, with whom he had taken shelter, he recited extempore:

1/ سباه خنجر منی بکین در کشتی دارا . گزشت از سر طوفان و بر ناله شکست

See my misfortune, Dara, that my boat
Passed through the storm, but got wrecked
on the shore.

At the same time he composed the following lines, it seems as if he foresaw his doom:

2/ خوشتر بکشد الی منور نافه ام . محله بروم رجب با فتنه ام
طوفان با طوفان بر کده شود . محم ر بهال عشق نافه ام

Gladly I rode past the field of poverty,
(In fact) I carried all, though (all) I
have lost.

My necklace will be cut off together
with the neck,
As also the collar of love - I am a
ringdove.

He gave these expressive lines to his executioner to be handed over to Aurangzib:

3/ الحی از ابد از نور می خواند خوشتر بنی . به فتنه می ریزد از کمر کشتی فخر بنی
به از سر برده بر کشتی بر کمر خود . ز غنچه دور می داند خداوند استوار بنی

1/Farah fol.75b. The change of poetic name is noteworthy.
2/ibid.fol.75b. 3/ibid.fol.77b.

O God, the saint^{1/} wishes for a houri from
Thee, look at his discrimination.
From Thy path he hastens towards Paradise,
look at his folly.

With his sanctimony, (seeming) piety and
hypocrisy, he
Thinks us far from Thy mercy, look at his
intelligence.

The two verses found in Safina-i-Khushgu seem also to
have been composed by Dara during his last days:

شکسته مل ایاز ز سفر دلم . درگاه من این هم راه بود و درند 2/

From constant wandering broke the blister.
This was an obstacle in my way.
I am glad even this has been removed.

In the following, which seem to be the last of this
series, he lays bare his whole miserable story:

شیشه یاز من از آفت خود شکست . دزد در دست که سنگ نبود 3/

My mirror broke, it was too delicate.
Mind, no one had a stone in his hand.

1/Virtually it means here "sanctimonious".

2/fol.137b. 3/ibid.

Below is his only mystic Ghazal found:

Metre:

1. *1/* *که خود را شناخت اورا برود* . *که خود را باخت اورا برود*
 2. *آنکه زین سر نداشت آگاهی* . *رفت و در خاک ~~خود~~ او برود*
 3. *و آنکه در خویش نداشت او را* . *رفت و با خویش جستجو او برود*
 4. *تا در می با خویش در خود یافت* . *خود را که بود مال خود او برود*

1. He, who understood himself, found Him,
He, who gambled his own self, won Him.
 2. He, who did not understand the Secret,
Went to dust and took (with him) the
(unfulfilled) desire.
 3. He, who did not see Him within his own
self,
Went and took with him the (unattempted)
search.
 4. QADIRI found his friend within his own
self.
He was good, and hence found the Good.

1/ Hasanat p.36.

1. *که خود را شناخت اورا برود* - see F.N. under Quatrain 4 below.

که خود را باخت اورا برود - is better explained by the saying of

Abi'l Khayr (Hasanat pp.6-7) *خود را می بینم که خود را می بینم و او را می بینم*

The Qafia in both the lines is the same, which is a technical defect; see Mu'in ul-Qawaid p.51.

2. *زین سر* refers to the secret of self-knowledge mentioned above
 3. *خود را که بود مال خود او برود* cf. Rumi (Tabriz p.284) *خود را که بود مال خود او برود*
 4. *خود را که بود* Perhaps it refers to the Sufistic principle that
only he who is as good as God can reach Him. Cf. Rumi

(Tabriz p.254): *حال ددل از غایت بهل سوگر هم صفت دلبر و بال شو*

(2) Baba Piyare, the founder of the Piyare Panthi (Order) was a renowned saint in Akbar's time. If among the members of the Order any one died, they only expressed themselves by saying, "he was tired and has sat down". It is improper to ascribe death to a Man of God because "Life unites with the Life-giver, and Earth, Air, Water, and Fire unite with their respective Elements".

1/ بر دل در دل کوزه پر بود هوا • بکسر در دل کوزه اواز صدا
کوزه شکست و گفت اواز اواز • شکست حباب و رفت بمن دریا

The inward and the outward of the cup were full of wind,

The sound and the echo resounded inside that;

The cup broke, and the sound mixed with sound:

The bubble broke and was merged in the river.

1/ Hasanat p.25. - See Additional Note No.4.

2. کوزه - God is often compared by the mystics to a 'Potter' and man to a pot. Cf. 'Iraqi:

هم کوزه هم کوزه در هم کل کوزه
and Rumi (Tabriz p.215):

3. کوزه the inner working of the human mind has been compared to the resounding of wind.

4. کوزه شکست the body was effaced in the glory of the Divine presence.

5. گشت اواز اواز - this refers to the Unification (انوار) of the Sufis; cf. Rumi (Tabriz p.34):

ایده یحیٰی گشت زایب شکست • باز چون گشتی شکست زب و صل شکست

6. حباب Man is also sometimes compared to a 'bubble', not only for his transitory existence, but also because as a drop he is part of the Great Ocean with which he shall mingle and unite. Cf. Khawafi:

7. شکست حباب و رفت بمن دریا The Unification implied in it is better explained by the words of Abi'l-Khayr, quoted by Dara (Hasanat p.6-7)

بنده چون حتی بپوشد و خود را فراموش کند تا بگوید که او را براند تو را از کجائی در محاسن او که تو پدر الهی و جبرائی می آید

(3) Baba Lal, a disciple of Kabir (d.1510), once said, "The spiritual teachers are of four kinds: (i) like 'Gold' which is good in itself but cannot make others like itself; (ii) like 'Philosopher's Stone', which can turn a thing into gold but that can then not turn another into gold; (iii) like 'Sandal Wood' which can turn only a tree which has inherent capability in itself into Sandal, but not otherwise; (iv) like 'Lamp', and he alone is a Perfect Teacher, because from one lamp hundreds of thousands may be lighted".

عارف دل و جان نور میں سازد . خار دہندہ کاش عشق سازد . 1/
کامل صمد از نفس بر دل آرد . یک شمع هزار شمع روشن سازد .

He who knows God adorns thy heart and soul.
He digs out thorn and substitutes it with a garden.

The Perfect Teacher purifies every one,
One Lamp lights thousand lamps.

1/ Hasanat p.25.

2. عارف is to be distinguished from *ذکاء*, the latter is only a worshipper who is also sometimes known as *عبد* while the former is one who is *خدا دان* or one who knows God - see Hasanat pp.7, 9, and 12. Cf. Rumi (Tabriz p.237):

زید اندر عاشق کوشیدن است . سوف دل گفت را در پیدن است

Dawami's quatrain brings out the difference clearly. See infra p. 183.

3. گزشتن عارف در عشق جول با دل را کی تو عشقوی cf. Rumi (Tabriz p.303):

4. خار is *خارجی* which signifies Contingent being as opposed to *جسمانی* which is Absolute.

5. کامل صمد از نفس بر دل آرد - according to the Sufis Man must choose a Master to guide him in the path of God, else he will inevitably go astray (Asfiya p.16). His authority is unquestionable. Cf. Hafiz (Diwan p.2):

6. یک شمع هزار شمع روشن سازد cf. Fighani (Diwan Add.7824 fol.181a):

یک چراغیت درین خانه از بر تو ان . هر طرف می گویم آنچه ساخته اند .
Quoted by Jahangir in Tuzuk p.177.

(4) Shaykh 'Abdu'llah of Balyan^{1/} remarked, "The Prophet said: 'He who knew himself, has known his Lord'", but did not say, 'He who annihilated himself, has found God'. Knowledge consists of knowing one's own self and not of self-annihilation^{2/}.

3/ *کے ماکہ اور شہر قس می اید . . . غلبہ خود را بکبار حق می اید*
باید که تو بحسن خویش واقعی را . . . نمانی شدت جسم ماضی می اید

How can thy actions be judged by God! (and)
 Thy heart reckon on His love?

Thou shouldst deem God thine own self.
 Thy annihilation will not serve God.

1. ^{1/} Auhadu'd-Din Bin Diya'u'd-Din, a noted saint of Balyan, died in 686/1287 (Safina p.180-1).

^{2/} See Note 3 below.

^{3/} Hasanat pp.19-20.

2. *زیر زمر* is *زمر* alone, as distinct from *زمر*.

3. *س* is natural death, or perhaps self-mortification as opposed to self-annihilation, which is suggested from the following quotations of Mi'an Mir given in Sakina:

(i) *در طریقه ما گریخته شغل شدن نیست* (fol.129a);

(ii) *در طریقه سبائی ما غر نیست* (fol.130a).

Appreciation:Introductory:

Dara's poems, whether mystic or otherwise, show one aspect of his character which is in no other royal poet as clearly defined: his reformativ religious views, to which he subordinated his whole career, and for which he courageously suffered the cruel blows which fate dealt out to him. The intensity with which he believed in his vocation makes one wonder how far, as a king, his character and position would have been strong enough to reconcile the different opposing creeds in his domain, when the "mysticism" - if we may term it so - which he wanted to found, was as distasteful to Islam as it was to Brahmanism. But if his unattainable wish:

ہر گم شدہ کو ہر گم نہ ہونی

had been fulfilled, Dara Shikoh, stripped of his royal garments, might well have become another reformer like Kabir or Nanak, and have lived to see the same success of his life's ambition.

This attitude, which he took as the guiding factor of his whole life, must be clearly understood when an appreciation of his poetry is attempted, and to this end a passing review of his prose works will prove of great assistance.

In spite of his onerous duties of administration as a crown-prince, he wrote within twenty years no less than fifteen prose works, a Diwan, and a Mathnawi, almost all of them dealing with mystic problems. They indeed reflect his life's aim, the Search

for Truth and the reconciliation of all religions. He wrote the lives of saints, to be followed as ideals, and translated the religious works of the Hindus, to show that all creeds, however different from Islam they may appear, lead to the same goal:

1/ کُتوب اسلام در پیش برهان . و در کتب شرک برهان

Infidelity and Islam, (both) runners on
His path,
"He is One without partner" - they (all)
say.

His mystic poems:

During the course of the prose works his intensive mystic feelings seemed often to have overflowed the usual channels and found their way into the music of poetry. Although not essentially a verse-writer, his poetic compositions go far to enliven his mystic ideas in prose.

No doubt he lacks the colour and perfume of Hafiz, but "he is no juggler with mysteries" and his words always bear a clear and profound interpretation. For instance:

2/ عارف دل و جان تو زین سازد . خاک که کند کاشش گلشن سازد
کمال معمر از نقص هر دل دارد . یک شمع هزار شمع روشن سازد

He is more like Abi'l-Khayr (968/1560-1049/1639), rich and full; and although not quite original, and a little monotonous too by playing on one string, he often strikes a majestic note. For instance:

1/ Majma'u'l-Bahrayn fol.1a.
see p.173 supra.

2/ For reference and translation

Abi'l Khayr:

1/ *بمردم و درون کوزه پر بود هوا
بکسود درون کوزه داد از صدا
کوزه شکست و شکست از آواز
شکست حباب و شکست لعل دریا*

When the atom broke its connection from the Earth,
It quivered, ran, and soon
sat with the Sun.

For a time it burnt away its
rawness, and thereafter
Fused with the Sun and con-
tracted a higher relation.

Dara:

2/ *بمردم و درون کوزه پر بود هوا
بکسود درون کوزه داد از صدا
کوزه شکست و شکست از آواز
شکست حباب و شکست لعل دریا*

The inward and the outward of
the cup were full of wind,
The sound and its echo resound-
ed inside that;

The cup broke, and the sound
mixed with sound:
The bubble broke and was merged
in the Ocean.

Although Abi'l Khayr's quatrain is better, Dara's is not much inferior either in idea or style. In both we find the exposition of Pantheism, and of the fate that will ultimately overtake Man. They draw their metaphors from Nature, and if Abi'l Khayr is lofty for "soaring high up to the Sun", Dara is sublime for plunging deep into the Ocean.

As a probable source of Dara's above mentioned quatrain the following Fragment by Dawami^{3/} may be permitted to stand here in full. Its vivid narrative and pleasing verses may well have inspired Dara, and it must be granted to him that he succeeded in assimilating the idea as far as the compass of a

^{1/} I have not been able to trace this quatrain in his published poems; it might have been one of the "Wandering Quatrains" mentioned by Browne (II.p.256). ^{2/} Hasanat p.25. A somewhat similar idea is found in another of his quatrains (Hasanat p.30) see infra p. 179 and Additional Note No. 4.
^{3/} d.1040/1630. Came to India under Jahangir and was the author of a Diwan, in the private possession of one Nizam 'Ali of Lucknow. The idea contained in the poem is found in Dara's letter to Dilruba-Fayyadu'l Qawania No.44.

quatrain allowed to which he had restricted himself.

1. جز آن قطره آب از دم موج رسوا • انرا خفت سر ز در غمخوار آب
 2. با جو نخوت در بدو در هم در کشش • به بویست دور چشم ز ملک ارد حساب
 3. از نند نه جواند رویان ال غاشی شد • با سبکی موج درشت نه طافت و تاب
 4. زان یکر گفت و گفت تا بجز کرم • چشمه را دم نه با بر لطف شتاب
 5. در با خند بدو در هم جو محو شد • بر سید و گرفت به امورش شتاب
- تشنه است حباب گفت بمن دریا

1. When a drop of water by force of wave and
wind
Raised its head of pride above the surface
of water,
 2. The wind of haughtiness blew into its body
and head,
Pervaded it, and within a twinkling trans-
formed it into (a) bubble.
 3. When from the prized moisture its interior
became empty,
It had no power or strength to face the
billow's blow.
 4. Then it wept and said, "O Ocean of Munificence,
(Cast) a generous eye and a look full of kind-
ness soon".
 5. The Ocean laughed and bestowed upon its lost
particke
A kiss, and took it into its youthful lap.
- "The bubble broke and was merged in the Ocean".

Like a true mystic he did not believe in "Denominational Deity". "once I asked Hadrat Bari"^{1/}, says Dara, "what his name was; he replied, 'I have no name, all names are my names' (همه اسمها نام من است)^{2/}. With his characteristic mystic keenness Dara deduced his own conclusion:

3/ کب در زمان دیدیم ز خورشید سرا . هر قطره آب هست عین دریا
 حق را بگویم نام کس تواند خواندن . هر نام که هست هست ز اکابر خدا

Not one atom I have seen besides the Sun,
 Even the drop of water is the same as the River.

By what (particular) name can one address God?
 Every name that exists is among the names of God.

His non-mystic poems:

All his non-mystic verses have been given above. They include mainly those that were composed by him during his struggle with Aurangzib; nevertheless, they have all the charm and pathos of mysticism in them.

Long before he entered into the fight against his relentless foe, like a poet endowed with a strong prophetic strain, he seemed to have chalked out his future career. While writing his quatrain ending:

که شاه دولت در دولت من و ملک نبوائی

or the one beginning:

شده اند که بر در افتاد ما را .

he might have had in his subconscious mind, if not before his

^{1/}d. 1062/1651.

^{2/}Hasanat p.30.

^{3/}ibid.

eyes, the character of the intriguing aspirant to the throne^{1/},
Aurangzib, whose ambition to be like Alexander and Solomon
counted so little with Dara that he thought nothing of giving
up the purple for the poor mantle of the saint^{2/}.

His expressive, though short, poem beginning:

دل را به عشق ال بیت فرزان سوختم

lays bare the whole life of the unfortunate Prince:

He starts his career with the Lamp of the Holy Light in his
hands, but instead of burning it at the altar of 'Mad Love' to
which he was destined, he lit it at the doors of 'Clever Evil':

دل را به عشق ال بیت فرزان سوختم . متدلی کبر در بیتان سوختم 3/

I burnt the heart with the love of that
wise idol,
I burnt the Ka'ba's lamp at the temple's
door.

With such a misplaced affection:

نه شد بر نهند در سوخت . بر باد سوختم و زبان سوختم

Neither the flame rose high nor the smoke
scattered,
Wherever I burnt, like the poor man's fire
I burnt.

and he had to face an unsympathetic world where:

آه بر آتش دل ما بگسخت . بر نهند بنش هم در سوختم

None poured water over the fire of my
heart,
Although I burnt before friends and strangers.

1/"Dara would sometimes say to his intimate friends that of all his brothers the only one who excited his suspicion and filled him with alarm was that Namazi (Aurangzib)" - (Bernier's Travels p.10). 2/For a similar idea cf. Hafiz (Diwan p.324):

را در تو گزیدی آتش خام . بے مارش من گم در گدائی

3/For references see supra p.167.

In the rest of the poems of this series he only describes the different stages of his tragic end, which was accelerated because he was too good for the age in which he lived:

نشد ما از زکات فقر شکست . در دهر دشت کسنگ بزر 1/

My mirror broke, it was too delicate.
Mind, no one had a stone in his hand.

His style and diction:

Dara Shikoh has adapted his language to the impressive thoughts of his poems. His diction is simple, and his style easy and smooth. The mystic quatrains on the whole are better in these points than the ode which, besides having a technical error^{2/}, is too simple. The idea of self-analysis contained in the Ghazal is found repeated in most of his quatrains^{3/}. The poems composed during his last days are more interesting and charming than the mystic verses because they strike in their style and pathos a note of genuine poetry.

His position and merits:

Dara was more of a Sufi than a poet, and he wrote verses, like most of them, mainly to express his mystic ideas which otherwise would have been too abstruse to impress the mind of his readers. As a Sufi and a mystic author he occupies a definite position in the field; and although his poetry is not as profound as his mysticism, he can never be denied a rank among the poets of India. A comparison of his short poem beginning:

1/ See supra p.169. 2/ See supra F.N.1 under the ode p.170.
3/ Quatrain No.4 above and at pp.15 and 18 of Hasanat.

with similar poems of some notable Persians will enable us to place Dara on the same level even with them. A glance at the following set of verses from some of them will be of interest:

1. Dara: دل را به عشق الیست فرزانه سوختم
فندی که به برادرش نه سوختم
- Raqim^{1/}: کو از دوزخ بزند بنامانی بوس
ایش از دوزخ دور دل دنیا سوختم
2. Dara: نشد که کشیدند و دگر سوخت
بر جاده سوختم غریبان سوختم
- Sururi^{2/}: بر کوز ما زد که را سوخت دل
در سبلی وضع غریبان سوختم
3. Dara: ای برایش دل با همگی نرفت
بر چند تنش هر دم دل سوختم
- Sururi: با ما ارج الی نگریم اشدت
اما ز دفع الی بجای سوختم

We have seen above an instance or two of Dara's dexterity in compressing and improving upon the ideas of others. To give a further instance:

4. Jahi: رفته عمر را دور نگارست
یک به پاس در در شکر بخت
- را شود الی بر نفس را شوق
نفع دیگر است از که است
- Dara: سکبت الی ابد از شکر بام
در کار من این صبح که بود در شام

Comparing Dara Shikoh with the other royal poets, one would find that with Babur he shares the sincerity of heart, with Humayun the wealth of mystic feelings, and with Kamran the

^{1/} Or. 3487 fol. 159a. ^{2/} Or. 3285 fol. 140a. With the same result Dara's poems may also be compared with similar poems of Mu'min (I.O.MS.No. 113 fol. 94b), Sharif (ibid. No. 211 fol. 167a and 178b), Shapur (Or. 3324 fol. 134b), Naqi (Or. 3505 fol. 171a) and Mubtila (Or. 308 fol. 43a).

expressiveness of ideas. His path was straight and he followed it without the inner struggles which made Humayun waver for long between his duties as a king and his ideals as a mystic poet. There was no thought of repentance in Dara's mind, because he had not strayed. Herein he reaches a higher level than even Kamran who could only hope that his fate may be accepted as a retribution for his sins^{1/}.

His defects:

Among the defects in Dara as a poet may be mentioned his want of a powerful diction. His mystic poems, although "rich and full", are devoid of force in their style.^{2/} He is further not always careful with regard to the rules of prosody^{3/}.

Another, and a greater, defect is his lack of originality. His quatrains do not only reproduce the ideas of others, but betray no effort on his part to improve them. Although in the poems relating to the adversities of his fate he has shown a better spirit of assimilation, and at places improvement as well, yet he lacks even therein that spirit which is the characteristic of a great poet. A comparison of his poem, which he sent to Aurangzib through his executioner, with a somewhat similar poem of Dawami, which might have been the source for Dara's quatrain, will be of interest on the point:

Dara:

Dawami:

کانت حامی سرافراز بکند . کانت زاهد بر صفت و درویش . الفی اید از تو خوری خلد شوگرین . بهفت گرد از ابروشت قنبرین
کانت عابد بر آواز و در نظر . کانت عاشق بر لذت و لذت کرد . از زبده بر آفرینش بر آفرینش . از صفت دوری داند خلد شوگرین

^{1/} Jauhar fol.124a.

^{2/} See his mystic ode supra p.170. ^{3/} See F.N.1 ibid.

Dara:	Dawami:
O God, the saint wishes for a houri from Thee, look at his discrimination.	The common's prayer is to avoid the pains of /Smoke/ Hell.
From Thy path he hastens to- wards Paradise, look at his folly.	The ascetic's prayer is for the Paradise, the Houri and the Palaces.
With this sanctimony, (seem- ing) piety and hypocrisy, he	The votary's prayer is to see Sinai's (Divine) Light again.
Thinks us far from Thy mercy look at his intelligence.	The lover's prayer is for delight, pleasure, and joy.

Setting aside the interest that Dara's quatrain arouses, because we know the unfortunate occasion when it was composed, it is inferior to Dawami's beautiful poem. Apart from the unhappy repetition of the Qafia in both the lines, Dara's quatrain is vague in as much as it does not bring forth the poet's claim to God's Mercy. Dawami, on the other hand, is clear and explicit, and his analysis of the four different motives of Man is complete and remarkable.

Conclusion:

Weighing up his defects against his merits, as they have been dealt with in the preceding pages, there can be no doubt that Dara deserves a place among the rank of Persian mystic poets. Although he cannot be placed side by side with poets like Abi'l-Khayr or 'Abdu'llah Ansari (1006/1597-1088/1677), he is in no way inferior to such as Sarmad, Shapur and Sururi.

As compared to his unscrupulous brother, he undoubtedly proved a poor devotee at the altar of politics

هر جا که سوختم غریبان سوختم

Wherever I burnt, like the poor man's fire
I burnt.

But the life that he staked was never staked in vain. He won,
though he lost all:

میں ہر کچھ خرچ ہوا فتح و کام

(In fact) I carried all, though (all) I
have lost.

As a mystic poet-prince and spiritual reformer, imbued with a
true spirit of Universal Love, trying to bridge the age-long
gulf between Islam and 'Infidelity', he stands preeminent in
the history of Muslim India. Even if Time fails to produce
another Akbar, or Dara himself, to finish the Construction now
in ruins, the little that is left by the ravages of Age is enough
to quote another royal poet, to give shelter and comfort to some
broken heart:

ہن گند شکستہ زان بنا ہم درشت باشد کہ در شکستہ درساہ

This broken stone I have arranged so that
Some broken heart haply repose (under it).

(Jalalu'd-Din Ihalji 1290-5 1
in Badayuni I p.182)

Sixth Chapter.

S h a h ' A l a m

1173/1759 - 1201/1771.

His age - his life - his religious and literary pursuits - his poems; Ghazals - Quatrains - Elegy - appreciation; introductory - influences on his poetry - his style and diction - his mysticism - his defects - his position as a poet - conclusion.

His age:

In order to do justice to Shah 'Alam and his poetical works the connection between the turbulent political state of India, its influence on the literary development of this period, and the events of his own reign, leading to his tragic end, cannot be disregarded, and should excuse a discourse of the time at some length.

The period between 1707 and 1771 was an age of great turmoil in India. Although Aurangzib's arduous political campaigns in the South extinguished the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, they gave ample opportunity to the Marahatas to strengthen their position which they soon extended as far north as Delhi. The weak successors of Aurangzib, led by powerful but selfish Indian nobles, were too busy fighting among themselves to subdue the Marahatas, until the very foundation of the Mughal Empire was shaken by the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. At this time another power, more resourceful than the others, came on the

scene. The British, after defeating Shuja'ud-Daulah and acquiring the Diwani Rights from Shah 'Alam, extended their power so far west as Allahabad.

These political events affected the Persian poetry in India greatly.

The influx of notable poets from Persia ceased after it had already received a set-back from the hands of Aurangzib. Although no poets had been attached to his own court, they were still to be found in great number at the palaces of his nobles who were mostly Persians. But when Aurangzib's successors, in disregard of his express will^{1/}, began to replace the Persian with Indian nobles, the poetical atmosphere, which had already suffered from Alamgir's puritanic tendencies, became still more unfavourable to the Persian art. The Indian nobles were too far engaged in their court intrigues to extend their patronage to poets, nor was their taste sufficiently developed to appreciate and encourage poetry. This, and the unsettled political conditions of the country, discouraged good poets from going to India, there to try their fortune. The extinction of the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan was also to a great extent responsible for putting a stop to the influx of good poets from Persia.

In the last chapter we have seen how during the reign of Shah Jahan there arose an Indo-Persian school of poetry. For the reasons mentioned above they soon succeeded in establishing their supremacy to the great detriment of Persian poetry. The spirit of intelligent imitation^{2/}, if not assimilation, dis-

1/Para 7, incorporated in his letters - Eng.trans.by J.Earle, Calcutta 1786. 2/See Diwan-i-Makhfi (vide App.D.) which is full of odes written in answer to those of poets from Nizami down to 'Urfi.

played by the poets of the early Mughal period, was replaced by a desire to ape and blindly imitate the great masters of the art^{1/}. Some of these imitators went so far as to incorporate improperly in their odes some lines of the Ghazals which they wanted to imitate, without adding any charm to their verses^{2/}.

With little command over the language and less desire for originality, the champions of this school demoralised the whole tone and trend of Persian poetry. To add to these detrimental forces the easy Hindustani language came on the scene which became popular both at the court and among the public, and thus went a long way to Indianise the Persian language and idea^{3/}.

His life:

'Ali Gauhar, son of 'Alamgir II (1754-59) was born in 1140/1728. Fearing imprisonment from Shihabu'd-Din, 'Imadu'l-Mulk Ghaziu'd-Din Khan^{4/}, 'Alamgir's minister, he fled to

^{1/} For an instance see Bidil's ode (Diwan pp.74-5) Lucknow 1886 - in imitation of Naziri's. "Bidil is", in the words of Rieu (p.706b) "by common consent the greatest Indian poet of the last century".

^{2/} For the conditions of a suitable Tad'imin ('Insertion') see al-Mu'ajjam fi Ma'ayiri Ash'ari'l-'Ajam p.263.

For instances of such improper Tad'imin see Diwans of (1) Mubtila (Diwan fol.34a and 51a) and (2) Thabit (Diwan fol.131a).

^{3/} The following would serve as instances:

(1) Bidil (d.1133/1720) - (Diwan p.5):

خاکستر تو طهر کند از جرا . مجوس این سیردن دهر داز جرا

(2) Thabit (d.1151/1738) - (Diwan fol.107b), an equally renowned poet and author:

ختر بد است بجان عالی . شای دهم ز بس ز بیداری

(3) Mubtila (Diwan fol.43a), a notable poet of Shah 'Alam's court:

خاکستر منزه برین می زند . تیر سوزد را بابل دیوان سوخته

In the above verses the unidiomatic phrases and words have been overlined.

^{4/} d.1200/1785.

Bengal in 1758. While in Behar he received the news of his father's death, whereupon he assumed the Imperial authority in 1759 under the title of Shah 'Alam II. In the same year^{1/} he visited Lucknow under Shuja'u'd-Daulah, a Shi'a prince, where he made the acquaintance of Fakhir Makin (d.1221/1806) whom he chose for his preceptor in poetry^{3/}. In Lucknow he seems to have shown inclination towards Shi'ism, as did his ancestor Humayun while in Persia:

غزل برتف شامی شرویش در بحر . انساب از درش پانف انعام لعل 3/

After the defeat of Shuja'u'd-Daulah by the English at Buxur in 1764, Shah 'Alam followed them to Allahabad where he granted the Diwani Rights to Lord Clive in 1765. From then to 1771 he continued to reside at Allahabad under British protection, but virtually "as their prisoner"^{4/}. At last growing weary of his treatment, he left Allahabad for Delhi in 1771, only to fall into the hands of a less considerate protector^{5/}, Madho Rao Sindhia of Gwalior (1759-94), under whom he was a

1/ Khazana-i-'Amira gives the date (fol.79b) as 1772 which is admittedly incorrect. 2/Anisu'l-Abibba fol.12a - 15a.
3/Diwan I.O.MS.No.210 fol.11a."Shah Najaf" - a holy shrine of the Shi'as in Lucknow. 4/Beale (Orient.Biog.Dict.) p.361.
5/It seems that among all his 'masters' he preferred the British

to others (Franklin.App.IV): اصف الوداد انگریز کہ دکن میں آئے جب کہ کب نہ بنائے مگر ماریا

His feelings towards Sindhia may be judged from the following Urdu poem that he sent to him: (Or.330.fol.109b)

اگر جہیز سن آئے سلاسم اسنی الف ماہج نسا . تو بکون پر نہ آد سنا ہے کبھی نورغ کبھی نرسا
نہ بڑا سنا ہے قیدو نہ آئے کبھی نہ انسا . خواہد خستہ زہل دروان کھنکھانہ لکھنسا

were too until the end of 1785^{1/}. During the year 1784 he spent a few months at Agra at the persuasion of Sindhia where to all purposes he was held as a prisoner.

Ghulam Qadir, the Rohilla chief who succeeded his father Zabita Khan in the principality of Saharanpur in 1785, repelled Sindhia in the year of his accession and captured Delhi. Though Shah 'Alam was allowed the nominal authority, he was virtually a prisoner in Qadir's hands. In 1788, however, he was dethroned and blinded by Qadir. The poor aged Emperor lived on in misery till he died in 1806.

His religious and
literary pursuits:

Shah 'Alam had great faith in the saints^{2/}. In his private life he was pious, observed the fast, offered prayers^{3/}, and recited the Quran every day^{4/}. Mr. Franklin, who was in India about 1793^{5/}, gives a brief but lucid sketch of Shah 'Alam's character and literary taste^{6/}:

Shah 'Alam has improved a very good education by study and reflection; he was a complete master of the languages of the East, and as a writer attained an eminence seldom acquired by persons in his high position. His correspondence^{7/} with the different princes of the country during a very long and checkered reign exhibits proofs of a mind highly cultivated, and if we may judge by an elegiac essay composed after the cruel loss of his sight, he appears to

^{1/} Franklin pp.126-139. ^{2/} Shah 'Alam Nama, by Ghulam 'Ali, p.117. ^{3/} ibid. pp.150-1. ^{4/} 'Iqd-i-Thurayya fol.3a.
^{5/} A History of the Reign of Shah 'Alam, p.XVIII.
^{6/} ibid. p.195. ^{7/} They are preserved in B.N.MSS. Add.5639, 6592, 18420.

have great merit in pathetic composition.

Anisau'l-Ahibba, a contemporary Persian Tadhkira and the only one to notice Shah 'Alam, mentions him as follows:

1/ از بدایت عمر راسی باعلوم مزدون شوق تمام دارند - بارصوبه انتقال به سیاحت تنور ستانی رنند مات
بسیارستانی از ترنیز فرمودن شومارسی دینوی توجیهی گارند

From the beginning of his noble life he has whole-hearted inclination towards poetry. In spite of his engagements with the concerns of sovereignty and affairs of government he often attends to the composition of Persian and Hindi poetry.

Shah 'Alam, who wrote under the pen-name of 'Aftab, is the author of the following poetical works:

- (1) Persian Diwan, consisting only of Ghazals, in alphabetical order, composed before 1196/1782^{2/};
- (2) Another Persian Diwan, consisting of Ghazals and a few quatrains, in alphabetical order, composed before 1206/1792^{3/};
- (3) Manzum-i-Muqaddas, an Urdu Mathnawi, containing the story of Muzaffar Shah, king of China, composed in 1201/1787^{4/};
- (4) Urdu Diwan^{5/}.

1/ fol.24b. For other notices see Rekhta Tadhkiras (i) Tadhkira-i-Hindi fol.3a and (ii) Galzar-i-Ibrahim fol.10b.
2/ I.O.MS.No.210 (dateless) Munich Cat.p.40 (d.1196). Bodelian Cat.No.1195 (d.1198). Sprenger p.318. 3/B.M.Or.273.
d.1209/1794 and Moti Mahal Library copy (Lucknow) d.1206/1791 mentioned by Sprenger p.318. 4/Sprenger p.597. 5/ see
ibid. In Ousley's Collections (p.13) we find a Mathnawi ascribed to Shah 'Alam, but this appears to be a mistake for the work was in fact written by one Lachhmi Singh Ghayuri and dedicated to Shah 'Alam - see Bodelian Cat.No.482 and I.O.MS.No.1481, where it is named as

During his last days he seems to have developed a taste mainly for Urdu poetry^{1/} and seldom wrote in Persian^{2/}.

It is really surprising that so far both his Diwans have been noticed everywhere under the impression that they were identical. I have compared the India Office copy (No.210) with that of the British Museum (Or.273) and have found them altogether different and independent. Although there are four copies of his first Diwan in various libraries, the copy of the second Diwan is so far found only in the British Museum^{3/}.

The first Diwan, written in fair Nasta'liq, seems to contain his earlier Ghazals and, although as stated by Mohan Lal^{4/} it was corrected by Fakhir Makin, its Ghazals are definitely mediocre in tone and commonplace in ideas. Below is a typical Ghazal from this Diwan:

1/ Tadhkira-i-Hindi fol.3a and Gulzar-i-Ibrahim fol.10b.

2/ We have two of his Persian poems composed after he was blinded: (i) Franklin App.IV and (ii) Or.330 fol.108b-109a. For the first see infra p. 200; the last is a similar poem containing ten couplets, but there is hardly a line which is free from scribe's mistakes, and it is hence omitted here.

3/ In the list of Ousley's Collections (p.3.No.68) 'Aftab's Diwan is mentioned without any further particulars; it is, therefore, impossible to say if it is the first or second.

4/ Anisul-Ahibba fol.24b. The specimen verses given there are found only in the first Diwan. *ibid.* fol.25a-b.

Metre:

- 1/
- | | | |
|----|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. | میزبان آمد و نشست | میزبان آمد و نشست |
| 2. | آن بر سر من نشست | آن بر سر من نشست |
| 3. | عاشق شود و در دنیا | عاشق شود و در دنیا |
| 4. | شب خرمال آمد و نشست | شب خرمال آمد و نشست |
| 5. | لبو حکمت با بار نشست | لبو حکمت با بار نشست |
| 6. | من با او نشست | من با او نشست |

1. The friend came out of the house intoxicated
and sat alone,
I was beside myself when he sat on his feet.
2. Since a crowd gathered around to witness,
That fairy could not sit in the assembly on
account of noise.
3. There arose noise (like that) of Resurrection
Day, and appeared the Doomsday
(wherever) the frantic lover sat with sigh and
lament.
4. His figure in the midst of the delicate youths
of the garden
Came walking at night pompously and sat erect
with pride.
6. How can I sit in his company, o AFTAB?
How can an atom sit with the world-decorating
Sun?

1/ I.O.MS.No.210.fol.14b. The grotesque similies and metaphors of some verses are difficult to translate literally.

1. There is no connecting idea between the two lines, in the first verse the friend is said to have come and sat alone, while in the second verse the poet introduces himself without reason.

is superfluous, it seems that the word has been thrust in as opposed to . is a queer phrase and has no precedent.

2. It contains a trite idea.
3. In order to follow the couplet we have to supply before the omission of which can never be justified.
4. is not a happy word.
5. I cannot find any sense of the couplet.

The language and ideas of poems contained in the second Diwan are generally better, though not good or faultless. Its comparative merit, however, has been definitely marred by the mistakes of the scribe with which the whole Diwan is replete.

Below are some of the best Ghazals and quatrains from the second Diwan:

(1) Metre:

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|----|
| 1. | کدام بود دل خسته مبتلا تو نیست | کدام است که برای وفا جفا تو نیست | 1/ |
| 2. | کدام گل که نشد افق در صحرای تو | کدام بیل که شد در بزم تو نیست | |
| 3. | کدام کرد که مال نام تو نیست | کدام غنچه که دل زینب تو نیست | |
| 4. | کدام خنجر که بر فک زخم تو نشد | کدام دل که کلاه تو نیست | |
| 5. | کدام غنچه که از در تو نرسد رفت | کدام ناز که در ساراد صد تو نیست | |
| 6. | کدام صبح که مهر تو تابان شد | کدام ذره که مشغول درو تو نیست | |

1/ Or. 273 fol. 33b-34a. We find a similar, and superb, ode by Rumi (Tabriz p. 38-9) composed in answer to Nizami's (Ganjawi) - (see ibid. verse No. 10). As the presence of Nizami's Diwan in Oudh Library is testified by Sprenger (p. 523) we can assume that, apart from his indebtedness to Rumi, Aftab was also influenced by Nizami (see F.N. 2 and 3 below). If so, we can fix the date of Aftab's inspiration for his poem at the time of his visit to Lucknow (1750 A.D.). The above has much in common with Makhfi's Ghazal (Diwan p. 53) beginning:

ای که کرد در صحن جولان قدر عیان تو نیست
ای که در مطنین کلاه جولان روزی با تو نیست

1. The text reads *برای جفا تو نیست* which is incorrect.
2. Cf. Rumi (Tabriz p. 38): *جنا سبک است که در هوا تو نیست*.
3. The first lines of Aftab's second and third couplet are virtually reproductions of Nizami's beautiful verse:
4. *کدام غنچه که زخمی ز می خور تو نیست* is not happy as it restricts.
6. *انساب* may also mean 'Sun' and forms in conjunction with *راش* the figure of speech known as *انساب* (Congruity).

1. What day is there when (by love) from thee the
 broken heart is not afflicted!
 What night is there when on the faithful ones
 thy tyranny is not inflicted!
2. What flower is there which has not become a
 blot in the garden without thee!
 What frantic nightingale is there which desires
 thee not!
3. What cypress is there which has not become down-
 trodden by thy figure!
 What bud is there which is not distressed in
 heart by thy garment!
4. What eye is there which has not become bloodshot
 from thy coquetry!
 What heart is there which is not at times (a)
 victim of thy blandishment!
5. What music is there which has not become affected
 from affliction (for thee)!
 What string is there which has not in its chord
 the echo of thy voice!
6. What morning is there when AFTAB has not love
 for thee!
 What atom is there which is not busy in prayer
 for thee!

(2) Metre:

1. ظهور حلقہ خشن سران کہ بے بسی است . در دماغ گمانه افشا طلبی است 1/
2. گواہش جگر بر نسیم باشد . شراب صفا که در آبگینه جلی است
3. شکر زرد غیب اشفا بگوید حسر . صفور باطل بکرم ز به ادبی است
4. حرام باد بران خود و غیره غشش . که مقصد لشر از دوست مد طلبی است
5. بخیر جامه تنوای سکوت کر نام . بغیر زبیرگی ز بهام برالهی است
6. تراناب بیل از کس مدار خطو . که یاد تو خدا و کدو علی است

1/Or.273 fol.27a. This Ghazal seems to have been composed in imitation of Hafiz's ode (Diwan p.38) beginning:

اگر چه بر غیر من غرض با به ادبی است

1. It is a beautiful idea. Cf. Rumi (Tabriz p.14):

حق نفس را در زمان نغمه بدم مز در نیاک . حسنه که تا بعد از انوار الیم اصل در لیا

2. *شینه* refers to the heart. Cf. Hafiz (Diwan p.39):

مردا در خود اکنون از ان خرم جو . که در عوامی جینی دشنه جلی است

The couplet may be an answer to Naziri's verses (Kull. p.56):

سواد دل ز نه خنده سال روشن کن . که عجب لغزش ز آبگینه جلی است

3. Cf. Sir Iqbal (Payam-i-Mashriq p.156):

صفتی که بر تویم جبراه بر گرم . که راه به اثر ست دگ به ادبی است

1. Do not think that the manifestation of the
Light of His Beauty is without reason.
The intention of the Unknown Soul is to
seek Friend.
2. A witness to my beauty-worship becomes
The pure wine which is in the Aleppo
drinking-glass.
3. The light of beauty would appear from
behind the Invisible Screen.
My demand for the appearance of the Friend
is out of impertinence.
4. May the wine of His Love be forbidden to
him,
The object of whose heart is to demand
(the fulfilment of) desire.
5. Without struggle the Journey cannot be
completed,
If thou reachest the storey without ladder,
it is a wonder.
6. AFTAB, do not entertain fear of any one in
thy heart,
As thy helper is God and Muhammad of
Arabia.

(3) Metres:

1. در خنجر برده بملکنت متنان چند . ملک دل بکره افکار دنیا با چند 1/
2. بر دم من تو روزی بر سر تن ز منبر . عیونم هم کند ایمنه خربانه چند
3. بود تا ربک به دیوانه متنان بیدست . ایچ از خنجر بر از دست جویبار چند
4. مکتوبه آتش نه از آن طوطی شغف من . که در بر سلسله هم اند بر تن چند
5. انساب اگر غزل است از طغری که . بر لب برادرش ام از غم بستاند چند

1. Uneasiness took me for a stroll in some
rose-garden,
It was (in fact) the heart's rent which
appeared like some flower-beds.
2. At the edge of thy sword every atom is
dancing from Sun, (whereupon)
The light of morn makes (devotional)
sacrifices of some eyes.
3. Without the friend the desert was dark
to the mad one.
The gazelle lighted some lamps with its
eyes.
4. O comb, open the knot of the musky locks,
As in this chain are gathered some (who
are) confounded.
5. AFTAB, this is that Ghazal which Naziri
has composed
"I have lifted the curtain from some
hidden afflictions".

1/ Cr.273 fol.60a. The Ghazal, as would appear from the last couplet, was written in imitation of Naziri's ode (Kull.p.81).

1. The second line is faulty as we have to supply words necessary to follow his meaning. Its prose order would be:

بر که بر ملک دل افکار کرد دنیا با چند در نظر اید

2. The mystic allusion is expressed very vaguely, but may be explained as follows:

Under the keenness of Thy Judgment humble man
is so dazzled from Thy Glory
That even the Day of Judgment will lose some
of its splendour.

5. Naziri's couplet runs:

بر لب برادرش ام از غم بستاند چند . نریمان من در داور از گر بستاند چند

Quatrains:

(1) Metre:

(2)

1. 1/
 2. 1/

1. O friend, expert in tyranny, (and source of) trouble for my heart!

Do not sit inconsiderate of the plaints of my heart.

2. Do not torment me with tyranny and cruelty thus,

I am afraid lest the prayer of my heart may affect (thee).

- (2) 1. 2/
 2. 2/

1. I possess a heart bound with the locks of a sprightly and amorously playful one,

I have always a quarrel with (my) dark Fortune.

2. My hands (are) short, and her skirts high,

I have my foot of endurance beneath a stone.

1/ Or. 273 fol. 146a.

2/ ibid. fol. 146b.

2. 2/ usually the phrase is: 2/

I know of no instance in which it has been used with

Cf. Jahi's well-known quatrain:

2/
2/

Elegy:

Metre:

1. صحر مارخ بره گشت بخت فوارى ، داد بر باد در درگج جهاندارى ، 1/
2. آفتاب نيك رخت شامى بودم . بدو در شام زوالا كه گم گارى ،
3. چشم انداز جز ملك بخت . كه نه نغم گند غم جهاندارى ،
4. كرد بودم تنم كه گمرايش اكر بود . سست ابد نه نغم گم گارى ،
5. آفتاب زلف از زلفا مى رسيدى . باز ز داد و ابر در گم گارى ،

1. The cold, boisterous wind of misfortune
blew for our distress
And ruined all the paraphernalia of our
monarchy.
2. We were Aftab (Sun) of the firmament of
the royal glory,
Alas, our dark deeds carried (us) in the
midst of the dusk of decline!
3. Our eyes have been plucked out, it is
better (done).
So that we may not see another ruling
our kingdom.
4. We had committed a sin of which this
was the punishment,
There is hope that They would forgive
our sins.
5. AFTAB, to-day thou hast witnessed ruin
from heaven,
To-Morrow God shall restore our power
and headship.

^{1/} Franklin App. IV. The poem consists of 21 couplets. Those omitted present difficulties as they contain too many scribe's mistakes.

4-5. Compare Kamran's words when he was blinded (supra p.93).

Appreciation:Introductory:

Of all the royal poets noticed in these pages Shah 'Alam is the closest to our present age. His tragic end took place about one hundred and fifty years ago, and this comparatively short interval may be the reason why his works have been preserved in great number and, as far as his Persian Diwans are concerned, without loss. It would, therefore, appear that an appreciation of his merits and defects should be greatly facilitated by the fact that he has left behind enough of his productions upon which to base our judgment. This, however, is true only to a certain extent, and the voluminous inheritance presents many puzzling features as well which, to our opinion, can best be explained by approaching Shah 'Alam through an understanding of the several influencing factors resulting from his pathetic life and unstable position as a monarch.

Influences on his poetry:

Unlike Dara Shikoh, who had a message to give for which the flow of poetic passages seemed the fitting vehicle, Shah 'Alam turned his thoughts to poetry "with an effort". The Muse offered to him a retreat from the anxieties and cares of the world, and a refuge from the dangers surrounding him on all sides. To forget his hapless position and, maybe, to avoid the suspicious eyes of his 'protectors', he retired to his library and sought consolation in the works of immortal poets on which he fostered his own verses.

Even a superficial study of his life would make it clear that the time which Shah 'Alam could devote to his hobby - if such a familiar term may be excused for his favourite pursuit - was considerable, and further explains the large number of his poems. The circumstances under which they were composed make it humanly understandable that he treasured them like 'children of his imagination', that he did not bring it over his heart to view them critically and select only the best to be incorporated in his Diwans. There can hardly be a doubt that he would have gained much in this way. From the careful selection, for instance, which has been reproduced in the preceding pages, his merits as a poet could be judged high, but for the purpose of a comprehensive appreciation the average standard of his poetry must be taken into account.

Curiously enough, this same lack of selective judgment seems to have induced him to overrate his own productions excessively. Verse-making did not come to him naturally; poetry was not his mother-tongue, but like a foreign language which he had learned with some efficiency. Many of his poems betray the effort with which they have been 'put together', and it does not seem out of the way to infer that he was himself aware of this effort and consequently overproud of the result. Nor is it astonishing to find in this connection that he is almost the only one of the patrons noticed here who never attempted a criticism of other poets. It seems to bear out the correctness of the angle under which his position has been viewed, that he

took to poetry with the deliberate intention of forgetting his ill fate, and that it was rarely a natural outflow of sentiments to him.

His lack of balance, resulting from this attitude, was aided to a disastrous degree by another influencing factor of his poetry, the fashion of the age, the detrimental force of which we had occasion to notice in the introduction to this chapter. Many of Aftab's defects will have to be traced to this source. His studies naturally brought him into contact with the common vogue of blindly imitating the great masters, or even with the trend of Indianisation which became so pronounced among the disciples of the Indo-Persian school. It is not surprising, therefore, but nevertheless to be regretted, that he, too, succumbed to the dictates of this fashion, sacrificing whatever urge of originality he may have felt and, later on, even deserting the Persian for the Urdu language.

The large circle of renowned poets whose works were familiar to him becomes sufficiently evident if one sums up the names of those authors whose odes he has imitated in his own poems. Some such instances are given below, and it may be mentioned that Aftab considered himself blameless for these 'imitations' as in eighteen of his Ghazals he frankly admits the fact^{1/}. Writing in the terminology common among the poets of his age, he would imitate the great Hafiz:

^{1/}(Or.273) Ghazals on fol.5a; 17a; 26a; 29b; 39a; 46a; 52a; 56b; 60a; 63b; 69a; 91a; 109b; 111a; and 113a.

Hafiz:

Aftab:

1/ ارغوان حاج تحقیقی به کس خواهد داد
چشم نرسد به شانی نگران خواهد شد

2/ باز بسبیل کرده طره فردکستید
نترن چای نرسد نگران خواهد شد

Again:

3/ کوسفم نرسد باز باید بنگال غم نخور
کینه آفران شود در بنگال غم نخور

4/ کشف دماغ معر فواید ترا افر لب
غم جو کوسف ما از بسکی احوال غم نخور

On other occasions he would imitate Sa'ib:

Sa'ib:

Aftab:

5/ همه دلاست مار مار کز بد است
برده دلاست آفتاب چشم در بد است

6/ از آن مرد دلاست و بد است
در کعب هم جو گل جیب در بد است

Again:

7/ لب محبط به بانگ بلند می گوید
بزن شو که گهر فردکست عریانی است

8/ راه بام در دستار شانی نیست
دست دلاست در دلاست تو عریانی است

1/Diwan p.151.

2/Or.273.fol.56b. The last line runs:

آفتاب بر غزل آفت که حافظ زبرد . عالم بهر در گریه احوال خواهد شد

It is needless to say that the Insertion () is improper.

3/Diwan p.170.

4/Or.273.fol.58b. The last line runs:

معرف حافظ بکن در زبان از آفتاب . کوسفم نرسد باز باید بنگال غم نخور

5/Kull.p.251.

6/Or.273.fol.45b. In the last line he acknow-

ledges his imitation 7/Kull.p.211. 8/Or.273.fol.39a. From

its last line it appears that the ode was written in answer to Sa'ib's Ghazal:

جواب از غزل سب آفتاب نوشت . سوز کردن اگر کنور از گریه عریانی است

His style and diction:

Through constant occupation with his subject Aftab was bound to attain a certain efficiency which becomes most evident when he composes Ghazals in easy measures and with simple rhymes.

For instance:

Metre:

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|----------------------------|----|
| 1. | شدم در کرم صحن خیال است . | به ارادت تو در دلم ممل است | 1/ |
| 2. | بر خیز که وقت انفصال است . | ای رفیق و صواب ناگه در است | |
| 3. | جول سبز بران با کمال است . | سبب گفت امید از دلم | |
| 4. | ایز ناز و غزل در حال است . | در باب تو انساب گفت است | |

1. Without (the sight of) thy face sorrow is in
my heart,
This very thought occupies me day and night.
2. This fight and warfare, my friend, how long
(will it continue)?
Get up, as it is the time for repentance.
3. Indeed, the field of my hope and longing
Is downtrodden like grass on the path.
4. AFTAB has composed in thy memory
This new ode which corresponds to his condition.

A further good example is the following prayer, composed by him, which, with its simple language and devout incantations, fulfils the requirements desirable in a poem of this kind:

1/ Or.273.fol.24a. See also his Ghazal on foll.5a; 101b. For his weakness in composing Ghazals of difficult measures, rhymes and metres see his Ghazal No.3 supra p.198, and his odes (Diwan Or.273) ending

(i) خوش کردی منی شکل بند را (fol.7b);

(ii) در عالم است شربت از شدت غیب (fol.19a); (iii) میزه ما را بهار ما را ز بید است جم (fol.46a)

and (iv) در شمع کند جو سبک سحر از این چراغ (fol.89a).

1/ یارب زور تو بر ایدو دارم • جز تو در کس را من ایجا تبارم
 نو نادر علمی سندی و علمی • من سنده ضعیفم عاصی من سگارم
 در زور و عدل تو دل را نه جور کج • حد تو می نمایم نای تو می شمارم
 شام را کس کن خوشید با هم در کس • از وحشت تو کس بر بخیزد و ناسارم
 امان را منور از روشنا بهم دار • گر آنجا بنایان کردی بهر تو دارم

The first of the Ghazals which have been selected from his works for this chapter, beginning:

2/ کلام از دل خسته منبلا تو نیست

is typical for Aftab's routine. Written in imitation of an ode by Rumi, it has also much in common with a Ghazal by Makafi, and virtually adopts two lines from Nizami. Yet the result is not unpleasing and proves the author's skilful handling of an easy theme.

The third Ghazal, beginning:

3/ دختم بر دج بللک ملت نه فید

would show that he does not lack in conceiving beautiful ideas and adorning them with delightful and striking passages. When he likens the rent in his heart to the flower-beds in a rosery, or uses the simile of atoms dancing at a sword's edge in the sunlight, or describes the effect of the light in the eyes of a gazelle, his style is indeed at its best.

The two quatrains, indifferent in style and unimpressive in their allusions, have yet a bearing upon his misfortunes which cannot but touch the heart of the reader who knows the

1/ Or. 273. foll. 103b-104a.

2/ See supra p. 194

3/ See p. 198.

aged monarch's miserable life.

To a much higher degree would this occur with his Elegy where he has found words of pathetic lament and hopeful submission to the Will of his God. The reader is vividly reminded of Kamran's words at the time when he had to undergo the same ordeal and, like Shah 'Alam here, humbly accepted his fate as the punishment for his sins, hoping thereby to receive forgiveness:

"We had committed a sin of which this
was the punishment,
There is hope that They would forgive
our sins."

His mysticism:

The same simple train of thoughts pervades almost all those poems of Aftab in which he touches upon mystic problems. He was no scholar and, though his mystic ideas were sincere, he lacked the power of expressing them forcefully. With him the doctrines of mysticism can usually be summed up in a deep love for God.

On one occasion, however, he has risen to an unusual height, and one is probably not far wrong to presume that his Ghazal, the second of the foregoing collection, beginning:

ظہورِ مبارکہ حسرتیں ہر آن کہ بے بسی ہست

must have been composed when he felt himself moving under a cloud of great danger and sought for an outlet of his feelings in this singularly inspired poem.

No interpretation will be attempted to explain his verses otherwise than in their mystic meaning, as the last couplet alone is sufficiently significant to support our guess at its origination:

"AFTAB, do not entertain fear of any one
in thy heart,
As thy helper is God and Muhammad of
Arabia."

A detailed study of its mystic value, however, is deemed justifiable as this poem alone would serve to raise Aftab's average merit considerably and secure for him the position which the Tadhkira writers have denied him.

The Ghazal as a whole presents a sequence of ideas which in such strictness is not found in any of his other poems and enhances its value greatly. The mystic ideas are of a scholarly perception and successfully assimilate the spirit of great authors like Hafiz, Rumi, and Jami who seem to have inspired them.

A comparative study of the various couplets with similar ones by renowned poets will, it is hoped, bring out the beauty of Aftab's verses:

1.

Aftab:

ظهور ملوک حشمتش در آن به بهیسی است
مرا در نامرغانه آشنای طلبی است

Dawami:

شیم لب حشمتش در آن به بهیسی است
تلاش نشانه لبی حشمت در بزمین طلبی است

The idea which we find in both couplets, inspired probably by Jami and Rumi^{1/}, is common. But Aftab, who is direct in his explanation of the secret of creation, surpasses Dawami who endeavours to express the same idea in purely erotic terminology.

1/

See Additional Note No.5.

2.

Aftab:

Hafiz (Diwan p.39):

گواه شد حسن بر بنیم باشد
شراب باشد که در اینک علی است

دود در خود انون ازال موعج
که در احوال جنبی و نغمه علی است

Aftab again takes up his idea and proceeds to explain the secret of his love. He emphasises the necessity of judging this worship not from the 'body' but from the 'heart', the fountain-head of his love. Hafiz speaks in his beautiful verses like the master he is, Aftab like the poor devotee, anxious to prove his love by means of internal evidence.

3.

Aftab:

Iqbal (Payam-i-Mashriq p.156):

خود ز برده عتب ارشد جان حسن
صغور بار طلب کردیم ز به ادبی است

صفت دل که بر گویم چه راه بر گویم
که آه از سرست و گاه به ادبی است

Aftab finds consolation in his knowledge of the secret of creation and in his possession of the wine of Love which assure him of the revelation to come. He remains hopeful, where Iqbal appears pessimistic.

4.

Aftab:

Jahi:

و ارم عابد بران خود ز غرض غصفت
که مقصدش از دوست مدعا طلبی است

بران دل سر ز غرض حسن او خواهم
که این صفت مقصود مدعا طلبی است

The idea contained in both couplets is practically the same, but while Aftab is definite in his assertion of selfless love, Jahi awkwardly hampers it by expressing himself in a negative

way. Aftab possesses what Jahi is striving for.

5.

Aftab:

Faraj (Or.15.Stowe fol.48b):

بجز مجاہدہ نتوان سکوت کرد تمام

بجز زنبه رسی بنام بوالعجبی سنت

بسخی با بر سر ابراکا کے نتوان بسکو

دھال دھت قریح موضع سنت نہ لہی سنت

Aftab, to continue the sequence, explains the means by which to reach God^{1/}. The contradiction to his third couplet, where "demand" has been barred, is only seeming, as "struggle", in the present line, evidently denotes the selfless love to which he refers in the previous couplet. Faraj contends himself with a statement of fatalism that is most unsatisfactory.

6.

Aftab:

Sururi (Or.3285 fol.24b):

توانا ببدل از کسے مدار خط

کہ یاد تو خدا و محمد عربی سنت

بہ این زبان جبگو بر سروری محمی

زلفت شہر اسل مال محمد عربی سنت

To conclude, Aftab reveals his intermediary to God, the Prophet Muhammad, and this help fortifies his heart against all fears. Sururi does not reach so far and his profession of inability has an unhappy touch of insincere meekness.

His defects:

An outline of Aftab's defects has already been given while tracing the influences of his poetry, and it would remain only to quote some typical instances. That such instances are numer-

1/ The زنبہ (ladder) has been explained beautifully by Rumi (Tabriz p.46):

زمان دم که آمدنی اندر مجال سستی
بشیت کہ برستی بنیادہ نزد بانست

ous, can well be understood as his works present the largest volume of all poets here reviewed, and further consideration should be given to the fact that some of his faults were not regarded as an offence in his age but rather as dictates of the prevailing practice.

Outstanding in this respect is his unfortunate lack of originality. Both his Diwans are replete with poems in answer to the odes of other poets which, owing to the absence of assimilative spirit, often partake of the nature of imitation. He is overfond of incorporating the verses of others, but his "insertions" are seldom happy. Some of his Tadminis (تفسیر) have been given above; the following would further illustrate the point:

- 1/ آفتاب ابر معجمم صفت بقول عربی . مریبا که تومی بر نشی از ال بستر نیت
2/ آفتاب از غزل الکت اند نظری گفته . سینه بر من کشایم دیگر ناز حاتم

Few Persian poets are modest in asserting their literary accomplishments, but with Aftab the claim to exceptional poetic gifts, aggravated by constant references to his kingship, seems pathetically inadequate to the reader who is aware of the monarch's prejudice for his own creations and of his unavailing hope for the restoration of a power which was ever denied him. Self-praises like the following are numerous:

- 3/ نیت غم در مهر مراد فضا آفتاب . طوطی ما از سخن شغول شکر خای ست
4/ از شعر منخوب آفتاب خود شعر آفتاب . گریه غافل تو در سخن او سخن بگر

1/ Or. 273 fol. 26a. (For 'Urff's Ghazal see his Diwan p. 32).
2/ ibid. fol. 109b. (For Naziri's Ghazal see Kull. p. 245.)
3/ ibid. fol. 32b. 4/ ibid. fol. 68a. Of such verses more than three dozens are found in the Diwan.

In view of the fact that his Diwan is full of scribe's mistakes, the nature of which makes it impossible to attribute them to Aftab, allowance must be made for some of the defects of language and idea found in his verses. There are instances, however, in which a careful study has convinced me that certain faults should be brought home to the author which concern occasions of:

Prosodic errors, for instance:

1/ مشتاق حال آفتاب است . دراز و تواتر شد ارادت

Defects of language:

(i) همه نسبت به ایش از رخ من پاک کند . آشفته و گزشتن و امانه نیست 2/

(ii) زخمی مجروحی به شگفت غنچه دل . ز خفا علی شگفت مد از بیکار بوم 3/

Vague ideas:

(i) من ناتوان غبارم سرگرم که در خانه ام . گز ارم از لطف فردا ال و امن جبارا 4/

(ii) منی اید به شعر عشق تا به از شگفت طرینی . سخن آفتاب اید شاد به بال و پر شهنش 5/

And even Indianised Persian:

(i) آفتاب از گشش مانده بود پیش صور . شیرک را شده تاب و رخساری 6/

(ii) کدام کاه و در و دشتی صحر تو نیست . جمال تمام هنوز ز آفتاب نیست 7/

(iii) ز احمی ز لب تو جمل سپیا . بختیم خوشترین بر مرده حال یافت 8/

1/ Or. 273 fol. 37a. The repetition of Radif in Maqta' is disallowed.

2/ Ibid. fol. 34b. In the second line سخن is inept.

3/ Ibid. fol. 101b. In the second line the repetition of and is unhappy. should have been a correct substitute for

4/ Ibid. fol. 5a. 5/ Ibid. fol. 102b. 6/ Ibid. fol. 4b. does not convey the sense of (dazzling) as the poet intended.

7/ Ibid. fol. 25b. کدام with is unauthorised. The second line contains a statement without that interrogation with which the first line was begun.

8/ Ibid. fol. 36a. It is difficult to follow the significance of the phrase بختیم خوشترین

His position as a poet:

It is difficult to find a position for Aftab among the rank and file of the distinguished Persian poets. The Tadhkira writers have refused to assign him a rank even among the Indian poets of Persian^{1/}. This was an unjust and harsh view of his merits. He belonged to the age in which he lived, and wrote poetry as good, if not better, as did most of his Indian contemporaries and can, therefore, with justification be placed side by side with such Indian poets as Thabit, Subtila, or Rasikh (d.1107/1695), who are reckoned among the well-known writers of Persian in the country.

Among the royal poets he is without doubt better than many of his rank. As a Ghazal writer he is superior to his contemporary Fath-'Ali Shah, Khawan (1797-1834) King of Persia, the land of Persian language, or even to Salim I of Turkey (1512-20) who, according to Browne (IV.p.12) "possessed considerable poetic talent".

A perusal of the following poems of Salim, Aftab, and Khaqan will be of some interest on the point:

Although Aftab's ode can stand no comparison to Hafiz's Ghazal, in imitation of which it has been composed, still it is free from faults which are found in Salim's Ghazal.

^{1/}No mention of Aftab as a Persian poet is found in any of the numerous Tadhkiras produced during his time or thereafter. Mushafi, who notices Aftab in his Tadhkira-i-Hindi (Or.228 fol. 3a), omits him in his Persian Tadhkira, 'Iqd-i-Thurayya (add.16727). Anisu'l-Ahibba (fol.24b) alone notices him, but it seems that he was included only because he was the royal disciple of Makin and fellow-disciple of the author.

Salim:

(Diwan p.55. Istamboul 1306)

Aftab:

(Or.273 fol.73b-74a)

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1/ | برابر دال نو دار و دم کبود نیاز | خوار شود از زخم شد نیاز |
| . | اگر چه بود و جواب که گفت نیاز | گوشی صحرای باد و تنال اواز |
| 2/ | دل من از دم غنفت دم ال دم ال می زو | سکال شمع بر رخ اشک افشیدم |
| . | که را غنفت نه اتمام داشت نه آغاز | دلخیز می شن تو یافت است گذار |
| 3/ | ببال دردتو بیا که حال خوشی بتافت | گونه از نسیم زلف میته نه جلد |
| . | نه کز دل و بدش حال نه ناله ساز | شاداب حوضه ام از جام مایه شود |
| 4/ | بغیر از محنت نیست درد شنا تان | زلف زنبه حیران انتظار توام |
| . | ز بر طرف که بگویم می سر اواز | بیا بیا که نیامده عشوه دناز |
| . | سپید شاد صفتی جوخت غنفت و او | شبنم شد کوه آفتاب عالم تاب |
| . | سوربک بیا جوی که هم گفت نیاز | خفاصه سر در تو با هزار بحر نیاز |

1/ In the second line ,/ (face) is not only superfluous, but unhappy.

2/ The poet should have contended himself with tracing his affection to the time before love had a beginning; but to say that he loved before it ended is, to say the least, an unhappy idea. It seems that این has only been thrust in to form *سپید شاد*

Cr. Hafiz (Diwan p.35):

مشق زین کین صفت سبز دلق میا بر کشند. شعله خیم را اگر که مایه لایق بود

3/ I admit my inability to understand the sense of the verse.

4/ in the second line is redundant.

Fath 'Ali Shah (1797-1834)

Shah 'Alam

(Diwan p.18b
Tehran - dateless)

(Or.273 fol.5a.)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1/ در وصل جان سپردم از بهر آن که | • نبود غم ملک از کس بهر ما |
| • با هر زنده بود و شور بود ما را | • در زبیر اتم غنفت تنهال در آن که |
| 2/ تا جمیع کس لغت ما از عشق خوبان | • بر او از لبهاں رخسار است افزون |
| 3/ دل رفت و جبار نیست معذور در ما را | • بارب که هر دم از این دور شود ما را |
| • بر ما در و ناگه هر صوری بستی | • کردم کمال تو که داوی جواب صافی |
| 3/ جل حکم باوشت سبب را نمی شدم بخوار | • که ما و شاه خوبان شهنشاه گل لورا |
| 4/ خاقان ز ناز بر پست آن ساقی بر سر | • در آفتاب باید الموقض ز غار |
| • در کاخ خیمه نشاندن پارسا را | • باد و سکنان تلطف باد و شعله ما را |

Although no comparison is possible between their respective merits in the treatment of poetical ideas, because their verses have nothing in common on any point, the odes can yet give a general idea of the comparative value of their diction and style, and the method of treating their subject matter. Though Aftab's Ghazal is not as good as it should be, it is free from such mistakes as we find them in Khagan's ode.

1/ The ideas in the two lines seem contradictory unless the poet meant to express with the first line: در صحت وصل جان سپردم
This omission, which is technically called *الحذف من المعنی* (the sense is in the mind of the poet), is reprehensible. *سپردن* (to entrust) has always two objects and is never used in the sense of *دادن* as above. In *نفا* the 'alif' is superfluous. The poet seemed to have before his mind Tabib's verse (d.1168/1754):

(Or.3286 fol.35b). گری که چه شد حال لب از هم جو . محو هست که از جو تو جان داد نفا

2/ The *نشت* in *نشت* falls out in scanning.

3/ Likewise the *نشت* in *نشت* .

4/ I admit my inability to find any connection between the ideas contained in the two lines.

Conclusion:

Shah 'Alam, to conclude the monograph, is the only royal poet noticed in this work whose verses have survived him in large numbers. They not only show his intensive poetical activity, but go far to prove his keen interest in the art to which he devoted most of his time with best intentions.

If he had an exaggerated opinion of himself as a poet:

شیراز باغین آنداب بنجون . تبت ابرز نظم سنت الدمش 1/

the Tadhkira writers went to the other extreme and undoubtedly took too harsh a view in excluding him altogether from their lists. Aftab was decidedly a poet of his age with all the peculiarities for which his contemporaries may be praised or of which they may be accused.

It is really to be regretted that, at the close of his life, he succumbed to the fashionable preference of Urdu as the vehicle for the expression of poetic ideas. Else it might well have been expected that the cruel fate would have awakened a profounder interest in pathetic composition^{2/} of higher merit which would have raised him in the rank of Persian poets.

His imitation of the great poets has one bright phase, however, which should not have been overlooked by his biographers. His active interest helped to uphold the memory of the Great, and this seems almost providential in an age when Persian poetry was at a disadvantage in India and when even the most famous, like Hafis, were in danger of losing their pre-eminent position as inspiring ideals^{3/}.

1/ Or.273 fol.80a. 2/ see Franklin's quotation supra p.190.
3/ Sprenger p.415.

Seventh Chapter.

The Royal Poets of the Qutub-Shahi

Dynasty of Golkunda

918/1512 - 1098/1687.

Preliminaries; (a) the Bahmanis - (b) the successors of the Bahmanis - (c) Bijapur - (d) Ahmadnagar - Royal poets of the Qutub-Shahi Dynasty of Golkunda - some general considerations - our sources - short accounts - royal poets - Jamshid Qutub Shah - Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah - appreciation - Muhammad Qutub Shah; his accomplishments - his poems - appreciation; introductory - Qutub and Hafiz - Qutub and Mu'min - his style and diction - his religion and mysticism - Qutub among his own rank - his defects - conclusion.

Preliminaries:

(a) The Bahmanis (1347-1527):

Muslims entered the Deccan for the first time in 1294, but it was not until the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom that they established a permanent rule in the South of India under 'Ala'u'd-Din Hasan (1347-58), who claimed his descent from the Persian hero Bahman, son of Isfandiyar, and assumed the title Bahman Shah^{1/}. So far almost all the ruling Muslim dynasties in India had been Turkish; the establishment of the first Persian line in the country, therefore, marks a new era during

^{1/} See Futuhu's - Salatin (I.O.E.S.No.3089 foll.299a-301b) which controverts Farishta's theory (I.p.519-20) that the king got his title from his former Hindu master Gangu, a Brahmin. This conclusively supports Sir W. Haig's point in his lucid article in J.A.S.B. vol.LXXIII part I, extra number (1904) pp.1-15.

which Persian literature and art seem to have flourished to a greater degree than had hitherto been the case.

The earnest desire of the Bahmani kings to adorn their courts with the great luminaries of the age would appear from the pressing, but unfortunately fruitless, invitations sent by Muhammad II (1379-97)^{1/} to Hafiz, later by Ahmad, called Wali (1422-36), to Shah Ni'matu'llah (d.834/1430)^{2/}, and again by Mahmud Gawan (d.1481), minister of Muhammad III (1463-82), to Jami (1414-92) and Jalalu'd-Din Dawani (1426-84)^{3/}. Firuz (1397-1422)^{4/}, the most accomplished monarch of the line, is well-known for his peculiar habit of sending ships every year to different parts of the Islamic world to invite celebrated men of learning. Such patronage was certain to attract many literati, among whom Ahmad Adhari Isfra'ini (d.1461)^{5/} is an outstanding figure. He was a notable poet and the author of several learned works on mysticism and poetry.

(b) The successors of the Bahmanis:

The Muslim states which were built on the ruins of the Gulbarga kingdom about the end of the fifteenth century seem to have tried their best to maintain the high standard of literary achievements arrived at during the regime of their predecessors.

This consideration found a strong support in their cordial

^{1/} Firishta (I.p.577) styles him wrongly as Mahmud in which he is followed by Browne (III.p.285) and Rieu (p.628). For the correction see Haig in J.A.S.B. (pp.6 & 7 cited above). ^{2/} Ahmad became his disciple; see Add.16837.XV.fol.247 and Rieu p.635.
^{3/} Riyadu'l-Insha' by Gawan (Or.1739) fol.146b; 161a and 164a.
^{4/} For the details of his literary activities see Firishta I.pp. 587-608. ^{5/} Add.7607 his mystic work. Sprenger (p.315) mentions his Diwan.

relation to Persia based upon sectarian affinity. Shah Isma'il of Persia (1501-1524) made Shi'ism his state religion in 906/1501^{1/}. The example was simultaneously, though independently, followed by Yusuf 'Adil Shah (1490-1510) in 908/1503 in Bijapur^{2/}, by Burhan Nizam Shah in 944/1539 in Ahmadnagar, and by Quli Qutub Shah about 918/1512 in Golkunda; the last mentioned went so far as to include the name of Shah Isma'il in the Khutba, placing it before his own^{3/}.

The munificent patronage of learning and, more especially of poetry, extended by the Deccan kings, continued to attract from Persia a large number of learned men and skilful poets who found there an appreciation which the puritanic tendencies of the early Safawis had withheld from them in their own country. Some of these men deserve a notice for their apparent influence on the poetry in the Deccan.

(c) Bijapur:

Although three of its kings, Yusuf (1490-1510), Isma'il (1510-34) and Ibrahim II (1580-1627)^{4/}, wrote verses^{5/}, the 'Adil-Shahi dynasty on the whole showed greater taste in and patronage for music than poetry. Yusuf^{6/} and Isma'il^{7/} were notable musicians, and Ibrahim II, besides being well versed in music, wrote a treatise on the art in Dakkani, entitled

1/ Fawa'id-i-Safawiya (Add.16698 fol.5b). 2/ Firishta II.p.18.
 3/ibid.pp.329-30. 4/From Sih-Nathr-i-Zahuri (pp.79-80) it appears that Ibrahim was a good poet. 5/Firishta (II.pp.23 and 47) gives some of their verses. In Futuh-at-i-'Adil-Shahi (Add.27251 fol.57 & 58) we find some additional verses of Isma'il.
 6/Firishta II.p.23. 7/ibid.p.37.

Nauras^{1/}. Two of Bijapur's poets, Zuhuri and Qummi (both died in 1024/1615) are well-known in the Deccan and both have tried their strength in writing odes in answer to Hafiz's Ghazals.

(d) Ahmadnagar:

For the strong religious tendencies of the Nizam Shahi kings, Ahmadnagar was a favourite resort of Shi'a divines and saints. Among these Shah Muhammad Tahir^{2/} (d.925/1545) and Ahmad Dihdar Fani of Shiraz^{3/} (d.1016/1607) were poets of considerable merits, and authors of several works on Ethics, Philosophy, and Mysticism.

Royal poets of the Qutub-Shahi

Dynasty of Golkunda:

The better literary atmosphere in Golkunda was due to the attraction afforded to the learned and the poets from Persia and Northern India by the Qutub Shahis who were less rigid Shi'as than their neighbours and closest connected to the House of Isma'il. Thanks to the munificent patronage and the personal interest of the kings and the nobles, such as Mu'min Astrabadi, the art of poetry developed to a degree which was unsurpassed in the history of the Deccan.

Thus Mu'min says:

4/ تخلصه شد، مکرر جو خرد شنیدنی
نندار ابا در در غنیمت ایران کرد

^{1/} I learnt from Mr. P. M. Joshi (Ph.D. Student), who is writing on Bijapur history, that the work is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Ibrahim II was also the author of a treatise on Chess (Sih-Nathr p.81). ^{2/} See Firishta II. pp. 213-228; for his works, Mahbub p.714, and Bodelian Cat. No. 1241(b) p.767. ^{3/} For the mystic works of Dihdar see Rieu p.816.a; Bodelian Cat. No. 1298; some of his mystic quatrains are preserved in Add. 16839 XIII (fol. 119-121). His Qasidas are mentioned by Sprenger (p.393). ^{4/} Diwan fol. 108b.

So also Faraj:

۱/ رشک ابرار شد من در عهد عبدالعزیز
بر خیزد از سبب امامان شریک از نسبت

Of the numerous Persian poets who flourished at Golkunda mention must be made of some who seemed to have influenced the poetry during the period.

Mir Mu'min Astrabadi was the tutor of Hayder Sultan, son of Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576). Accused of Isma'ili heresy, he fled to Mecca and came thence to Golkunda under Ibrahim (1550-80) where he was soon raised to the high office of Takil-i-Mutlaq (Absolute Regent), a post which he held till his death in 1034/1625. Mu'min may be said to have been the 'Abdu'r-Rahim of the Deccan. Both were liberal Shi'as, poets of considerable merit^{2/}, and generous patrons of learning.

Another was Faraju'llah Shustari^{3/} of whom Sa'ib says:

صین زنگ زخم ماران شد صائب . که بخیل مع به ظهري از بن جناب رسيد

Sa'ib became successful from the very dust of
Faraj's (feet),
As Zuhuri too received the grace from this
threshold.

Among the better known minor poets of the court are Husayn 'Ali Farsi, the author of a versified history of the Qutub-Shahis in the metre of Shah-Nama, composed in 1016/1607^{4/}; and

1/ Diwan fol.85b. 2/ For 'Abdu'r-Rahim's (964/1556-1036/1626) poems see Na'athir-i-Rahimi by 'Abdu'l-Baqi Khurd (B.I.Cal.1910)
3/ Relying on a verse (fol.85b) found in the Diwan (Stowe.Or.15) Rieu thinks (Suppl.p.207) that Faraj came during the reign of 'Abdu'llah Qutub Shah (1035-83), but from Sa'ib's verse quoted above it appears that Faraj might have lived in the Deccan contemporaneously with Zuhuri who died in 1024/1615.
4/ Sprenger p.409 (Nisbat-Nama-i-Shahryari), this should not be confused with an anonymous versified history of the dynasty preserved in I.O.Library (No.2645).

Muhammad Amin Jumla Isfahani, the author of two Mathnawis, Laila-u-Majnun^{1/} and Asman-i-Hashtum^{2/} (Eighth Sky), composed about 1019-20/1610-11.

Some general considerations:

Before we turn to the royal poets, a few points with regard to the general aspect of the poetry produced in the Deccan need be considered.

Although the Deccan can boast that notable poets like Ghazali (936/1529-30 - 980/1572), 'Urfi (d.1590), and Talib Kalim (d.1651) started their career there, it has never been able to retain poets of original talent and commanding influence. This affected the poetical literature in the Deccan considerably and tended to create, as Sir E.D.Ross remarked, "a borrowed taste" among those who cultivated the art; not having a fresh or better ideal, there was nothing left to them but to imitate their great forerunners. Such poets naturally commanded only local influence and did little to infuse fresh spirit. The North may boast of poets of the soil like Khusraw or Faydi, but the Deccan cannot.

The Persian literature in the Deccan of this age shows a tendency towards mysticism, and this can best be explained by the influence of the Shi'a Divines and authors, dating from the Bahmani regime, who, though averse to Sufism on principle, inculcated the literature with their saintly ideas. As instances of this influence during the period, in Persia as well as in the Deccan, the following two works may be mentioned:

^{1/}Add.24088. ^{2/}Add.25903.

1. Kalamat-i-Maknuna by Muhsin (Add.168314.XIV) dedicated to 'Abbas II (1642-67), reconciling Sufism with Shi'ism;
2. Mahmud Shabistari's Gulshan-i-Raz (composed 710/1311) commented by Shah Tahir^{1/} and dedicated to Quli Qutub Shah.

Our sources:

From Jabbar^{2/} we learn that Quli Qutub and Muhammad Qutub were authors of Diwans, but as those works are not available, the selections given in the following pages have been taken from Tawarikh-i-Muhammad Qutub Shahi^{3/}, composed by an anonymous author in 1050/1690, which also contains two poems and a few verses from Jamshid Qutub Shah. Hadiqatu'l-'Alam, another history of the dynasty, composed about 1213/1798^{4/}, copies all the poems verbatim.

These historical works are of a definitely mediocre grade and, unlike some of the works produced in Upper India, give us no further information as regards the literary activities of the kings. Nor can this deficiency be repaired by reference to Tadhkiras as none seem to have been written during or about the period. There are, however, two quite modern Biographies, dealing with the Deccan poets: (1) Tadhkira-i-Shu'ara-i-Dakan Farsi (Biography of the Persian poets of the Deccan) by Durga Parshad, Nadir (Lahore 1879); (2) Mahbubu'z-Zaman, Tadhkira-i-Shu'ara-i-Dakan, by 'Abdu'l-Jabbar Khan (Haydarabad 1329/1911).

I have not been able to secure the former as it is unavailable in London and, as I am informed, is out of print. The latter

^{1/} Mahbub p.714. ^{2/} See below. ^{3/} Add.6542. ^{4/} publ.Haydarabad 1850.

deals with vernacular poets more than with Persian. The notices on Persian poets are meagre, and the dates often incorrect. In spite of the fact that the author possessed^{1/} the Persian Diwans of Muhammad Quli Qutub and Muhammad Qutub, the poems which he quotes from them are the same that are found in Tawarikh-i-Muhammad Qutub Shahi. In vain I wrote to the author for more particulars; it seems that he has retired from the State service and I could not obtain his present address.

Short accounts:

Sultan Quli Qutub Shah, the founder of the dynasty, was lineally descendent from Amir Qara Yusuf Turkoman of the "Black-sheep" king of Anatolia; when it was subverted by the "White-sheep"(1467), Sultan Quli fled to India and entered the services of Mahmud Shah Bahmani (1482-1518), where he soon distinguished himself and was rewarded with the government of Tilingana. After the death of his sovereign Sultan Quli declared his independence and died after a successful reign in 1543.

His successor, Sultan Jamshid Qutub Shah, showed himself a great administrator in the beginning of his reign, but soon gave himself up to pleasure and died in 1550. Two minor kings, Subhan and Ibrahim, preceded Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutub (1580-1612) who founded Haydarabad, where he transferred the seat of his government, and executed various works of public care.

Muhammad Qutub Shah, who succeeded his father-in-law and uncle Sultan Muhammad Quli, was the last independent king of the line; he died in 1626. His two successors, 'Abdu'llah and Abu'l-

^{1/} Mahbub p.726.

Hasan, were more or less vassals of the Mughals till the kingdom was finally annexed by Aurangzib in 1687^{1/}.

The Royal Poets:

The dynasty produced four poets viz. (1) Jamshid Qutub Shah, (2) Muhammad Quli Qutub, (3) Muhammad Qutub, and (4) 'Abdu'llah Qutub Shah. The last named wrote mainly in the Dakhani^{2/} and is hence outside our scope.

The main interest of this chapter lies with Muhammad Qutub Shah who is one of our best poets. He has left a sufficient number of poems, enabling us to judge them from a literary view-point. His two predecessors, Jamshid and Muhammad Quli, are also noticed as being kings of the same dynasty who have left behind a few poems, some of which show poetic merit.

I. Jamshid Qutub Shah:

Of the poems one is a Qasida in praise of 'Ali. During the course of its seventeen verses he has only once risen to a poetic height:

- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------|---|------------------------|----|
| 1. | کاشن از تو یادت بالائی | • | کاشن از تو یادت بالائی | 3/ |
| 2. | کاشن در کمال رستگاری | • | کاشن در کمال رستگاری | |
| 3. | کاشن در کمال رستگاری | • | کاشن در کمال رستگاری | |

^{1/} The above short account is based on Taw. Qutub and Hadiqatu'l-'Alam.

^{2/} For his Dakhani verses see Mahbub pp. 730-4.

^{3/} Taw. Qutub fol. 88a.

In the Praise of 'Ali.

1. Oh, thou art the height of Gracefulness!
The love-affair has been elevated by thee!
2. The forelock, curly ringlets of hair, and
the mole on thy lip:
Every one of them (is) a perfection of
delicacy!
3. He who puts his foot on the path of love
In the end becomes notorious.

Besides some of the minor faults in the Qasida, it is defective in not observing proper Guriz (گُرِز Poetic Deviation):

2/ *مندها بشم ز رست تو بمان . شکره بودی صفتی بهر سوئی
نظر کن ببال من در نه . دلو خواهم زدن به دانا ئی
بیشتر است که در میان گرز . کس بدو خود نازد عقائی*

The low tone of the second poem, omitted from these pages, would appear from its last line:

3/ *تَرک این کار خواهم من بیدل روی . من نه جشمم دامن کار تمام است مرا*

I, who am heartless, will not give up this task,
I, who am JAMSHID, and this is my sole business.

The third poem, given below, is a fine piece of Persian poetry; its placid cadence, and in no lesser degree the simple

1/ *بالا یستن* is "to get elevation", cf. Hasan (of Delhi?)

حسن از عشق توانایی یافت . درها از نور میر بالا یست
Although *بالا یستن* has no precedent, in India it means "perquisite" (Johnson p.210).

3. The text reads *نشد* but *سند* seems to be more correct.

2/ Tav. Qutub fol. 88b.

3/ *ibid.*

love sentiment that it depicts, touch the heart. Its musical measure reminds of Hafiz's similar ode ending:

گفت خانۀ من و تو حرم این را نه نامم . از نعل کعبت کن دسین و خان 1/

He said: O Hafiz, (as) I and thou are not privy
to this secret,
Tell a story about the wine of the ruby and the
silvery-dimpled ones.

Metre:

2/ آبرخ زنده دبدۀ صفا نظران . خون شد از نعت صحت دل خونین مبارک 1.
عمر رفت که منی و براحت تو هنوز . معم چال چشم شرم مانده به حست نگران 2.
زندگی به تو حرام است نمی خواهم عمر . گر چنین می نگر در باقی عمر نگران 3.
خبر از درد ندانند و حال آتشید . اہ از این خبران اہ از این خبران 4.

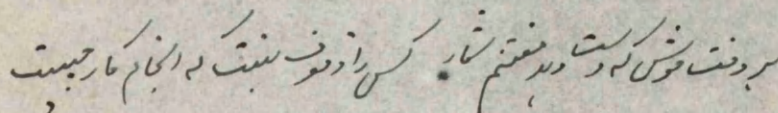
1. O shedder of light from the face to the eyes of
the clear-sighted!
The hearts of the deeply afflicted are turned into
blood owing to the pangs of separation from thee.
2. Ages have passed since thou hast gone, and on thy
path as yet
I am grievously looking for thee still with tears
in my eyes.
3. Life without thee is forbidden, I do not want it,
If the rest of my days pass like this.
4. O JAMSHID, the idols are heedless of the pangs,
Alas for these heedless ones, alas for these heed-
less ones!

1/ Diwan p.267. 2/ Taw.Qutub fol.88b. The Ghazals appear to be
what is technically known as *مہزار* (ingenious). Its merit lies
in its *تانیہ* which in fact is the same as *کرکف*. This is known as
تانیہ تی دردیغ and is considered to be a beauty.

II. Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah.

He wrote his Persian verses under the pen-name of Qutub-Shah, those in Dakhani under that of Ma'ani ()^{1/}, and is the author of a copious work "Kulliyat-i-Qutub-Shahi" containing Persian and Dakhani poems, preserved in the Nizam's Library at Haydarabad.

Little is known about the poetical activity or literary taste of Muhammad Quli Qutub. It appears, however, that his interest in and patronage of poetry attracted numerous poets, among whom Mu'min of Astrabad was the most prominent. Hafiz seems to have been Qutub's favourite reading. During his last days, when he had entrusted the administration of his kingdom to Mu'min, he often recited the beautiful verses of Hafiz^{2/}:


3/

Every happy moment that falls to thy lot
regard as (an) invaluable prize.
Nobody knows what will be the end of the
work.

The Tawarikh gives five of his poems, from which the following are selected:

^{1/} Mahbub p.741.

^{2/} Ibid. p.743.

^{3/} Diwan p.33.

(1) Metre:

1. 1/ بانه طوری دیوانه خود را . کمانش زنده از شک تو بیدار نه خود را
 2. موش دغوز از پا در آتش و مسال . جول کرده کنش ز گسستانه خود را
 3. ستار نیت بدو عالم نگرشند . کینفت یک جرعه بهمانه خود را
 4. گر چه جهان پر شود از گوهر عقیقا . خواصم همان گوهر بکودانه خود را
 5. آفتاب آخر در دال راه عشق است . در دانه صحن دور در دانه خود را

1. Do not tell the candle about the warmth of thine own mad (lover)
As it will burn its own moth through jealousy of thee.
2. Wisdom and sanity tumble down like drunkards
When thou appliest collyrium in thine own wanton eyes.
3. The love-intoxicated do not sell for both the worlds
The ecstasy of one draught of their own wine-cup.
4. If the whole world becomes full of matchless pearls,
We will only wish for our One pearl.
5. O QUTUB-SHAH, the path of Love is the only course
for courageous men!
Fled thine own manly path bravely.

1/ *Taw. Qutub fol. 178b.*

2. *باز بیدار انداختن* means "to tumble down". Compare Jahi:

شش قدم باز تو در شوق تبار . *هر صفت از پا در افتاد بر افتاد*
 It may also mean "to dance"; cf. *ibid*:

فرم بر کرد تا به نعل و دست به ریت . *صفت تو به بریت چنین از پا در افتاد*
 but the former seems to be more suitable here.

3. Cf. *عام نه نفعی دونه یغیت صونی دونه* . *با صفت الهادی تو آجاس که در دونه*
هرگز نفعی ناید مرا . *هرگز نفعی ناید مرا*

The verses appeared in one of the articles of *Hablu'l-Matin* Calcutta.

4. *matchless pearl*. Cf. *Hafiz (Diwan p. 246)*:

چون می رود این کنش گزینته که آخر . *جان و سر این گوهر بکودانه نهادم*

5. In *در دانه - دور در دانه خود را* seems to be superfluous.

(2) Metre:

1. *خون ز لب یار شنیدیم شنیدیم* . *صد شکر به این باب شنیدیم شنیدیم* 1/
2. *مردم همه در درگاه سوده دارند* . *گر در درگاه یار شنیدیم شنیدیم*
3. *ایمان زلف شکر کم نه در حق راه* . *به مال و دین از شوق بریدیم بریدیم*
4. *از سحر تماشا ملک تو کردم* . *گر مهربان وصل تو بخندیم بخندیم*
5. *آفتاب زلف مولای عشق است* . *مستان ز از خوشی ندیدیم ندیدیم*

1. We heard a word from the friend's lips, we
heard (it again),
Hundred thanks that we tasted this wine, we
tasted (it again).
2. All men have some futile headaches,
If we got megrim from wine we got it!
3. Do not look down upon the miracles of Love,
as on this path
Without wings and feathers eagerly we flew
and flew.
4. Since we enjoyed the sight of thy garden,
Never mind if we did not pick up the fruit
of thy union!
5. O QUTUB-SHAH, what shall we say of the agony
of our heart!
We never saw a fonder lover than ourselves.

1/ Taw. Qutub fol. 178b. The poem seems to have been written under the influence of Mu'min's ode, see infra. The repetition of the qafia is technically known as (Beauty of Repetition), and is used, as in this case, to emphasise a statement. The following ode of Yazdi has much in common with the above Ghazal. He may be identical with Ulfati Yazdi who came to Golkunda about 1024/1632 (Mahbub p. 166-7):

1. *بنام وصل و مهر جان شنیدیم* . *را بهوم بردارش در خور مهریم*
2. *ز مهر بار جان خفت شنیدیم* . *بسان نطو از شک جلدیم*
3. *جوش با که از نفس بر ختم* . *جوش در که ال بر کشیم*
4. *بدن مال و دین از شوق و صفت* . *شال زلف و جگر گل بریدیم*
5. *بگفتیم به دنیا محبت* . *ز تو بدیدیم تر نزدی ندیدیم*

(3) Metre:

1. بد در خط ز خفت کم نشد نفی و چار . که اگر دلم در شد بد دل نه خط از ادی 1/
2. در ال وادی که آتش می شود ملخ و از ایند . نیز در ال صفت کف اینج و ادوی از حق و ادی .
3. اگر چنینت ز به بر عمل و ادی نرا . از ال ز بند و نرا باشد عشق از نو بداد
4. سبقتی از شد کنند کس نمی گوید . در بی ملک مکار بداند از دست بنیادی
5. غریب که دل از ترس باز دغز و ادی . نذران خالی باد معمر و ادی

1. (By shifting the charm) from thy eyes to the down on thy cheek, coquetry and enticement have not diminished. This is only another trap for the heart, not a mandate of release.
2. Oascetic, come into the Valley wherein Fire is transformed into Garden. Here are a hundred Heavens, why art thou away from this Valley?
3. Though nothing suits a king better than justice and equity, Cruelty to lovers suits thee still better.
4. In the region of Love no one speaks of Alexander's rampart, In this auspicious country such weak foundations have no place.
5. The wreck that the heart suffers from the pillage of her blandishment, May a flourishing country and populous town be sacrificed for that ruin.

1/ Taw. Qutub. fol. 179a.

1. It may also mean, as was pointed out by Sir E.D. Ross: "By shifting my glances from thy eyes...."
- خط از ادی - writ of manumission, cf. Zahir Faryabi (Diwan p. 21)
- نوفه بندگی از من بزرگان جزا . گزاف به خاطر نیست خط از ادی است
4. According to the Muslims, one Alexander built a rampart to check the two tribes of Gog and Mogog (Quran Chapter XVIII. Section 11.)
- سد کندز
- means "counts for nothing".
5. The text reads: شکر نامزد غمز حاشی که which seems incorrect.

Appreciation:

On the basis of these few poems one can only form a general idea in respect of Quli Qutub's style and thought. He is undoubtedly a better poet than his predecessor Jamshid. His language is simple, and his style has a Persian flavour in it. Following the practice of his age he wrote a Ghazal in imitation of Hafiz, and a comparison will show his skilful attempt to assimilate the spirit and style of the great poet:

Hafiz:

Quli Qutub:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1/ روشنی طعنت تو ماه نه دارد | 2/ کدک نمک که در خواه نه دارد |
| • شش تو گل روشنی سپاه نه دارد | • کدک نمک معج با روش نه دارد |
| • راحل گرانم فدای سپهر خرابات | • مشک ز بدونه زاندم کفن |
| • شادی شنج که خانان نه دارد | • دل سر برد آفتان نه دارد |
| • کاش نه خوابان بر عاشقان نگوین | • کوسه انگیز درد و غم با کرم |
| • صبح نه جوی نو این سپاه نه دارد | • مرد کدک غم از سپاه نه دارد |
| • تاج بکند با رخ نو درد دل سز | • بیتی که طوفان کدک در ز غمفت |
| • دهنه دانی نه تاب نه دارد | • زنه دل که تاب نه دارد |
| • حافظ اگر کبد تو کرد سخن مجیب | • نگار خط شاه جو دران نیت |
| • کافر غم غم آسمان نه دارد | • جز در دست بکده ماه نه دارد |

Quli Qutub's Ghazal is dictated by the same spirit of Love which he found in Hafiz's verses. His first couplet, though ^{rather} quite different in its idea, has a faint resemblance to Hafiz's third couplet in so far as Quli Qutub states that Love's kingdom

has no "complainant", while Hafiz compares lovers to the army of Love's kingdom. In his third couplet Quli Qutub again takes up Hafiz's simile, but skilfully avoids a repetition of his own first couplet by now likening sorrows and pains to an army who can do no harm to a lover.

In his second couplet he contents himself with the acknowledgment of sanctity's merits which are, however, not for him who dislikes the solitude of the monastery. But he misses the complacent joy for which Hafiz wishes to heighten his appreciation of the full wine-cup. Quli Qutub's fourth couplet is not too close an approach to that of Hafiz and he remains somewhat vague in his reproach of the sweetheart whose "mirror" will not be touched by the tempest of his sighs.

His Ghazal beginning:

بانجی موگرانی برداشتم خود را

is as good as Naziri's ode: ^{چند سوره}

ازین دهرانه ترمی خواهم دهرانه خود را / ازین دهرانه ترمی خواهم دهرانه خود را

1/

His Ghazal with the pleasing echoes in its rhymes seems to stand under the influence of Mu'min's beautiful ode:

Mu'min:

Quli Qutub:

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|----|----------------------------|
| 1. | افکارم دارم چه دیدم چه دیدم | 2/ | خفته ز لب بارشندم کشندم |
| | ماجو کشندم آنچه کشندم کشندم | | مکشندم دیر بار کشندم کشندم |
| 2. | دیران شده شرف و دیران شده رطل | | مردم صحرای دیران شده دارند |
| | ازین است که نو رسیده رسیده | | گروه سواران کشندم کشندم |

1/

Kull p.26. The ode, though not exactly parallel, affords interesting points of comparison. Naziri, who died in 1021/1612-3, was Quli Qutub's contemporary and lived mostly in Gujrat (Deccan 2/I.C.MS.No.113 fol.90b.

3. *ماجو زخویش باز از دمانم* • *ای صفت شکر کیم در بر راه* •
بر در که دیدم خردم فریدم • *به یال در بر از شوق بریدم بریدم* •
4. *خوشتر ز جانشین لبها تر است* • *آفتاب افروخته در دل لغو شوق است* •
گر صبر و وفا از نو نه دیدم نه دیدم • *شوق تر از خوشن خردم نه دیدم* •

Though neither of their verses presents an exact parallel to permit a close comparison, Quli Qutub's ode proves the observant and meditative character of its poet who, if he was influenced by Mu'min's brilliant technique, had learned from him the art of giving an almost musical charm to his lines. His second couplet has a touch of flippancy which would shock a teetotaller.

Quli Qutub's third Ghazal beginning:

بر در خور خجسته کیم زنده شوقی و صبا

deserves our attention for the special traits of its composition. To follow them, the English translation will suffice and may, therefore, be repeated here:

1. (By shifting the charm) from thy eyes to
the down on thy cheek, coquetry and
enticement have not diminished.
This is only another trap for the heart,
not a mandate of release.
2. O ascetic, come into the Valley wherein
Fire is transformed into Garden.
Here are a hundred Heavens, why art thou
away from this Valley?
3. Though nothing suits a king better than
justice and equity,
Cruelty to lovers suits thee still better.

4. In the region of Love no one speaks of
Alexander's rampart,
In this auspicious country such weak
foundations have no place.
5. The wreck that the heart suffers from the
pillage of her blandishment,
May a flourishing country and populous
town be sacrificed for that ruin.

This Ghazal is a fine specimen of poetry of which any Persian poet could justly be proud^{1/}. Its form is apparently original, a characteristic of which very few poems in these pages can boast, and this is the more meritorious as Quli Qutub follows his theme up with undeviating consistency, another rare feature in this line of poetry. His first couplet describes in charming words the means of enticement by which he is held his sweetheart's prisoner; but how willing this prisoner is, all the following verses explain in ecstatic passages in which he himself assumes the role of the enticer who seeks to persuade the ascetic into the heavenly joys of "Love's Valley".

The choice of picturesque and suitable similes and metaphors, and the expressiveness of Quli Qutub's language, make one the more regret that his complete Diwan is not available to win a further insight into his poetry. Whatever little there is, reveals him as a poet of no mean qualities and would justify an expectation of further good poems.

^{1/} For this remark I am indebted to my instructor, Sir E.D. Ross. The Ghazal on the whole is better than a similar ode of Tabib (Or.3286 fol.76b), poet and court physician to Nadir Shah (1736-47).

III. Muhammad Qutub Shah.

His accomplishments:

Muhammad Qutub Shah, the most accomplished monarch who ever sat on the throne of Golkunda, was well-read, pious and strict in his religious observances^{1/}. As regards his literary taste and activities we are informed:

فوت حافظ به مرتبه داشت که کتب سیر و توابع را که ملاطفت می نمود هر روز بر به حفظ کردن و محتاج بیان نقل
می نمود و بر فکر کردن بسیار نظم و شعر که نظر متقی اثرش در می آورد و بعد مطالعات از اول تا آخر می نمود و احوال
سرفان آن کتاب را کتب معتبره خوانند و تذکره تحقیق نموده به طرز دلپذیر و خوش بر می زدود

2/

(He) had his faculty of memory (developed) to such an extent that of the books on Travels and History which he read, he related all (their contents) by heart with eloquence of tongue and familiarity of speech. He wrote in an amiable style on the back of all books of prose and poetry - which he brought under his graceful sight, and which he studied from beginning to end - the accounts of the authors of these books, derived and authenticated from reliable works of history and biography.

3/

From various sources one can gather that over a hundred poets lived at the court supported by the generous patronage of the king and the illustrious Mu'min of Astrabad. This number seemed to grow more during the Muharram Ceremonies when poets from Persia and elsewhere flocked to his court where they recited elegies and received rewards in return^{4/}.

The poetical atmosphere of his court is best described by Mu'min in his Qasida presented on the accession of the king in

1/ Hadiqatu'l-'Alam. I. p. 283. 2/ ibid. p. 286. 3/ The above statement is corroborated by a short but lucid autograph of Muhammad Qutub on fol. 10a of Tarikh-i-'Alamara-i-'Abbasi by Iskandar Munshi (1616) preserved in the B.M. (Or. 152).
4/ Hadiqatu's-Salatin fol. 52-53.

1020/1612. From this long but exquisite poem a few verses are quoted below:

1. با محبت باز منم عهدی که نوی . کنه تا منشا منم شیربان نوی 1/
 2. یادگار صد و نیم سال ز غفلت . اندر دستان زلفش زنده ایران نوی
 3. گر رضا کی نوشت از بهار شو . صد آبادتر شدش (صفای نوی

1. With Love I made (a) new contract and agree-
 ment again,
 I am offering an old soul before (a) new
 sweetheart.
 2. The souvenir of the grandfather and of the
 uncle, Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah,
 From whose grace Hindustan has become a new
 Iran.
 3. If Isfahan became new by the king of the world,
 Shah 'Abbas,
 O King, on account of thee Haydarabad has become
 a new Isfahan.

His poems:

Muhammad Qutub wrote his Persian poems under the pen-name of Zillu'llah (God's Shadow)^{2/}, and his Dakhani verses under that of Qutub Shah^{3/}. The Tawarikh gives^{4/} twenty-eight short poems of his Persian composition which include (1) one poem in

^{1/} Taw. Qutub fol. 181b.

1. *شَنَدَن* literally means "to scatter".

3. Shah 'Abbas the Great of Persia (1587-1629) adorned his capital, Isfahan, to such an extent that Persians used to call it *نصف جهان* (Half of the World): *نصف جهان منم* (Taw. Qutub fol. 233a).

2/ Sometimes also used the pen-name of 'Sultan', most probably while he was still crown-prince; see his ode No. 2 below.

3/ Mahtub p. 725.

4/ on fols. 139a - 194b.

praise of the Prophet and the Imams, (ii) one poem in praise of God, (iii) eighteen Ghazals, (iv) seven quatrains, (v) one Tarkib-Band consisting of seven strophes (Marthia). Out of these some are given below which will serve as specimens:

Ghazals:

(1) Metre:

- 1/ در محبت خرد از ازل محبت . کد بخش است بر دایمیا که جز نیست 1/
 2. سبک از دل نشی می خواهم بر اهل ترا . صوصان مهر تو در دل دایم و سبک نیست
 3. در عقل محبت بود زنی جز عقل . روشنت بودم از زشتی نظر نیست
 4. مانور در دل اندکی بگر نه دارد در . در محرم حاضر نشدیم چرا با نیست

1/ Taw. Qutub fol. 190b. We have parallel odes from (1) Qummi (Diwan fol. 20b); (2) Zuhuri (Diwan pp. 175-6); both died in 1024/1615; (3) Sharif (Diwan fol. 38a) who came to Golkunda in 1022/1613 and died in 1030/1620, and whose following verses are significant:

خرد ساول که طلبش طهر ال . اندک بالغبش که معزز و معبود است

and (4) Mu'min (Diwan fol. 20b) who died about 1034/1624-5 and whose following verses seem to have influenced Qutub's fourth couplet:

جز دل افتاد به محرم سواد بخش . هر که در نشانی مال محرم اگر نیست

It appears, therefore, that the above poem might have been composed by Qutub in or about 1023/1614.

1. Cf. Qummi: ساکر بزم کتب را نخواهی بزم نیست . خرد بخش است بر دایمیا که جز نیست

3. title of Abraham.

4. The text reads *چو درانی*, but it seems to be a mistake for *گردانی*

4. Cf. Makhfi (Diwan p. 54)

گر در محرم نیست دختر خانه دل بک نیست . در محرم حاضر نشدیم چرا با نیست

1. In love obedience is no disgrace to
 kings,
 This is the domain of Love, and here
 is no ruler save the Friend.
2. From the heart I ever demand more
 love for thee in (my) heart,
 I possess in my heart a hundred worlds
 of love for thee and no more.
3. If, like Khalil, thou comest into the
 Garden of Love,
 Thou wilt realise that there is no
 injury from its fire to thee.
4. Since thou hast come into my heart,
 no one else finds (his) way
 into it,
 To the special royal apartment strangers
 have no access.

(2) Metre:

1. کار من و دل منی به بار است . مارا به در که چه مار است 1/
2. خوشتر اندید تا صد گفت . خوشتر باش که بار بانو بار است
3. دوست به انما و لطف . به دهنده مرا صد انظار است
4. به رفعم نظرم سلطان . با مانق ز نسبت و بار است

1. My business and that of the heart is with
the friend,
What concern have we with others?
2. Fortunate is he (to whom) the messenger
came and said,
"Be happy as the sweetheart is friendly
to thee".
3. O friend, relying on thy kindness
I have a hundred waitings for thee without
promise.
4. I am victorious over the enemy, o SULTAN,
Upon me is the (kindly) look from The
Twelve.

1/ Taw.Qutub fol.190b.

The following two verses from Mu'min's ode (Diwan fol.23b) are significant:

دگر صفای باد بگذر . مارا به تو صد هزار مار است
گر غم کوئلان و کجاست . خنجر به بر آه انظار است

Qutub's last verse suggests that the poem might have been composed by him after his victory over Raja Partab of Vishtar in 1021/1613, who surrendered without fighting (Taw.Qutub fol. 183b-184a). This was the only campaign led by Muhammad Qutub, as recorded by Taw.Qutub.

1. The defect of من (I) in the first line, and ما (we) in the second line, is known as *شتر*.
2. *شنت دبار* The Twelve Imams of the Shi'a Faith.

(3) Metre:

- 1/ لایم رویال ز غم و محنتم دادند • در لفظ ارباب خود ایجاب نمودند دادند
2. نشاء با نواز اشراف بهم افتادند • در نظر سخاوت دل نسل منعم دادند
3. طاعت بستمه محبوب تا شرف خطا • کمال از سر ز غم منعم دادند
4. تا بدل گفت سلوک منفعت سخاوت من • ندیدان خرد و نفع و جاکم دادند
5. عاشق محنت و سر ملتئم مجنون مستان • نسبت بین لعل شیرین و جام دادند
6. عند بسم که جلد نغمه ز سر بال و پریم • بهر اوار کمال خوش نعمت دادند
7. خوبروی دل به شمع ملک لطف بودند • شکرین کو از ارباب بهر کمال دادند
8. شکر بزم به زبان دارم جگر لعل انما • شامی و طاهر و دین کمال بهر کمال دادند

1/ Taw. Qutub fol. 191a.

This is a selection from two similar odes.

2. *سجده* it refers to God's gift to man to copy Him in His Qualities as distinguished from His Personality. Compare Hafiz infra.

5. *سجده شیرین* may also mean "Laila of Shirin-like qualities", referring to her suicide on receiving the news of Farhad's death.

8. *بر زبان درختن* is "to profess with gratefulness". Cf. Yazdi:

بر زبان داشتم انعام تو • شکر کمالی که گویم اگر ارام تو

1. The Tulip-faced ones freed me from worldly
care,
And from the wine of their lips gave me
the Elixir of Life.
2. From the Fire they poured creep-sickness on
my lip,
And from the Joy-house of Heart they gave me
(the faculty for) the
imitation of Qualities.
3. The darkness of Sin became extinct from the
effects of Purification,
They gave me (a) flower from the Garden of
the Splendour of Virtues.
4. When my Lower Quality was substituted by that
of the Higher,
The Angels imparted to me the happy news of
the Elevation of Grade.
5. I am an intoxicated lover at the head of the
circle of Majnun-like devotees,
Lo, my good luck! they gave me Laila of sweet
grace.
6. I am the nightingale from each of whose wing
and feather flows out music:
They gave me good melodies out of regard for
the flower.
7. The Sweet-faced ones, who were the kings of the
domain of Elegance,
Gave me sweet kisses from their lips in charity.
8. Thank God, like ZILU'LLAH I profess
Kingship, wisdom, and faith which they gave me
in charity.

(4) Metre:

1. 1/ با تو روز اگر با تو بودم . هر سال در روز نو سال بودم
 2. جو مان به گوی ز کمر بود . بکب حمد از جرف به بود
 3. گراز لطف مرا می دافتم . در صد عقد از جرف به بود
 4. جفا بد منم ز دشت کند . بام دلم مانم به بود
 5. نخت از نخت به از نختی . براد نخت از نخت بود
 6. نود راه نختی گرش راه . جو طل الله دین راه به بود

1. If I would have reposed with thee on New-Year's Day,
How happy would I have been throughout the year!
2. With the stick of the Moon, the golden ball of the Sun,
In one hit I would have carried off the Sky.
3. If I had received help from thy kindness,
I would have resolved two hundred problems of the
revolving Sky.
4. Why does the Zephyr forbid me from praising thee?
Would that I had praised thee to my heart's content.
5. If Affliction from thee had not been better than Life,
Why did I (then) wear out my life in thy affliction?
6. If the path of Love had not been the highway,
Like ZILLU'LLAH, I would not have crossed this path.

1/ Taw. Qutub fol. 192a.

1. is (Exclamation denoting praise), cf. Za'iri:
 مودگی خا رجبنی تو زلال رو . عالم به برکت ز فو شوق تو بود
2. جو مان more correctly because the curve of the New
 Moon looks somewhat like the blade of a polo-stick.

Cf. Niyazi:

جو مان به نود ملک جلف جفیری . به بود تو به موزد به خود جری

Quatrains:

Metre:

- (1) 1/ ایده که تو مسکون نشاء و گوا • داد و خرد تو صد تویم داد و بار
از این طبع فل و التی احد • شجرات ایر بیان رنگش مار

Oh, Thy court is the place for adoration of
 king and mendicant!
 And, o (God), who has the power to describe
 Thy Oneness befitting Thee!

From The Initial Order: "Say, God is One"
 Encouragement came to us to make this heart-
 attracting statement.

- (2) 2/ هر چند که حق داد عطا خواهد داد • روز که ز بند بزرخواهد داد
در صحرای انجمن جمال سبز • تالفت زبانه جزا خواهد داد

Whensoever God shall render justice
 On the day when good and evil shall be paid for,
 Do not bring into the Field who is not repentant
 So that (His) merciful blessing may reward him,
 (the repentant alone).

1/ Taw.Qutub fol.192b.

(Say that God is One) this is the opening verse of
 the Sura Ikhlas (Quran Chapter CXII). According to the Muslims
 it is supposed to contain the abstract of God's praise.

Cf.Niyazi:

2/ Taw.Qutub fol.192b.

It does not fit with the sense of the couplet unless
 we take it to mean هر چه (whensoever), which is obsolete.

Elegy on Husayn's Death:

Metre:

1. در کربلا هجوم بلا نظر کنند . جمعت بلا صدمه بجای نظر کنند 1/
 2. بر جگر من از دم تیغ آب طاق اند . احوال درستان خدا نظر کنند
 3. نشسته ام از نیزه بر کمر و لاله دست . صوفی از پیوردهای نظر کنند
 4. خطراته اند نفک که از سر دارند . باقی برین قیاس سر را نظر کنند

1. See the throngs of calamities at Karbala!
Look to the swarm of misfortunes altogether!
2. They have wetted the thirsty throat with the water
of the sword (-blade),
Look to the conditions of God's friends!
3. (For) the disgrace brought upon Islam by Yazid
Look to the taunts of the Jew and the Christian!
4. Whatever ZILIU'LLAH said, it is not one out of thousand,
(For) the rest, on this analogy consider (it) from end
to end.

1/ Taw. Qutub fol. 193b. This is from the fifth strophe of the Tarkib-band which begins:

امیر پر نعم دل بر بند است باز . در دوش و دلو کمر بند است باز

We have an elegy Tarkib-band from Mu'min with a similar beginning

نورش منی که بجان پر نعم است باز . برین ملک جو تفت زین ماتم است باز

(Diwan fol. 136a). Qutub's above strophe has also much in common with Mu'min's second strophe which begins:

از من خفته ساری در آن گداز کند . از مع خفته عمارت طرماں گداز کند

and ends:
 باشت کمر بکمر خفته نه در . احوال بخشش و بجان قلیش در

Qutub's seventh and last strophe begins:

یار بجهان خضائی سلطان کمر بند . یار بجهان پسر پسر مال کمر بند

We have a parallel strophe in a Tarkib-band by another court-poet Sharif (Diwan fol. 365a) which begins:

خدا بودا خضر که سلطان کمر بند . لب نغمه خانه کت به میدان کمر بند

This suggests that Qutub might have composed the poem along with others on some Muhurram between 1022/1613 and 1030/1621.

2. منج refers to the water encrusting in certain sword blades, and اب has been used here in conformity with حنی (throat), منج (thirsty), and اب (water), making it دعوت و تشنگی

3. فیرانگی This may have a reference to the sympathetic "Firangi ambassador" at Yazid's court who fought on behalf of Husayn - cf. Asraru'sh-Shahadat by Isma'il Khan Sarbaz fol. 66b-68b

Appreciation:Introductory:

If Northern India can boast of a royal poet like Kamran, and a patron like Akbar, the Deccan may well be proud of Qutub who combined in his person both virtues. With this combination, though not with his poetry alone, he indeed made his "own India" an object of envy to Iran. And Mu'min's verse with its reflection of local patriotism should be regarded in this light:

نقدش نه مکر برتر و ستمش . بندر ابر در گرفت ایران در 1/

King Muhammad Qutub Shah whose poetry
like Khusrav's
Has ~~again~~ made India an object of
envy for Iran.

A strong character, both as a sovereign and a poet, Qutub, like Kamran, managed to keep Persian poetry free from the influence of alien languages; in this respect he is indeed superior to his brother in the North, Shah 'Alam, who succumbed to the rising current of Urdu. Qutub, further, in spite of his zeal in Shi'ism, kept the balance even between the two great branches and never allowed religious poetry to eclipse the lyric; thus he affords a marked contrast even to his Persian superiors, the Safawis.

Qutub and Hafiz:

As many of his poems bear witness, Qutub, like most of the royal poets whom we had occasion to notice, saw his ideal in the great Hafiz. To assimilate his spirit, he has written several Ghazals in the same rhyme and metre, and although he could not

1/ Diwan fol.108b. For Qutub's similar Ghazal see infra.

(1) Hafiz: *در خرقه کرا از خرقه بپوشم و او در / و در آل لعلت لب آب بپوشم و او در*

Qutub: *در میان زخم و در بپوشم و او در / در شراب لب فرو بپوشم و او در*

Although Qutub does not carry the metaphor suggested by *الکلیات* (Elixir of Life) with Hafiz's masterful ingenuity, his interpretation does not deprive his verse of continuity and mystic imagery which is clearly reflected under the cover of the independent lyrical explanation^{1/}.

(2) Hafiz: *بنمرد از شعله بر تنم زخم زدند / با بهار جام کنی به صفایم و او در*

Qutub: *ناله بام ز آتش بپوشم و او در / در طرخانه دل نقل صفایم و او در*

Here Qutub excels himself by suggesting that Man is not simply created after God's image, as Hafiz would have it:

but that the gift has been bestowed upon him as an inward urge to shape himself after his Creator^{2/}.

(3) Hafiz: *ایمانت محبت ندی بر صفای / خدا کو ششم و صد در و جانم و او در*

Qutub: *تا بیل گشت بپوشم صفای من / ندی بیل خرد و صفایم و او در*

Qutub's talent does not always suffice to follow Hafiz's genius^{3/}. In this instance he fails to assimilate the expressive

^{1/} Cf. Ghazali (Diwan fol.176a):

خوش شاد از دست بپوشم و او در / خورشید از آب بپوشم و او در
^{2/} Cf. Zuhuri Diwan p.379: *سر لعلت کوه حسن صفایم و او در*.
 and Faraj Diwan fol.68a: *خبر از دلت خورشید صفایم و او در*.

^{3/} Another interesting comparison is afforded by Qutub's Ghazal (Taw. Qutub fol.189b) beginning:

فرب با هم ز عشق در دست / ابرم نیم ز رخت ابرم
 and Hafiz's ode (Diwan p.19) beginning:
دل سر بر لب لببت ابرم

and colourful simile of his master, and lacks that smooth and beautiful flow which is found in the verses of Hafiz^{1/}.

Qutub and Mu'min:

Another poet who seems to have influenced Qutub was Mu'min, the "Absolute Regent" of the kingdom and a distinguished poet of his age. This is supported by the existence of Mu'min's poems similar to such of Qutub's; and one is fairly safe to assert that it was not Mu'min who imitated Qutub, as the king would have resented to be "answered" or maybe surpassed by his courtier. A comparison of his poems, of which only the first lines are quoted below, with Mu'min's similar poems, marked in the foot-notes, would prove that Qutub, though he fails to reach Hafiz's level, could hold his own against a notable poet of his time:

1. 2/ کف خلق است ریز دامنایان که چو یار نیست
2. 3/ کار من در دل صحن بهار است
3. 4/ عایه شعاع بهامت لب فندال کرد
4. 5/ در کربلا عجب بیدار نشوند

Of these the following has been singled out as a typical instance:

1/ Cf. Naziri Kull. p. 87:

افترم نقشه بر رخ نظری زده است . کس چه داند که چه عالی در جانم دادند

2/ See supra; cf. Mu'min (Diwan fol. 20b; also Hasan of Delhi (Diwan fol. 70b); Ghazali (Diwan fol. 121b); Qummi (Diwan fol. 210b) Sharif (Diwan fol. 17, 21, 38, 41, 48); Zuhuri pp. 175-6; and Faraj (Diwan fol. 39b).

3/ See supra; cf. Mu'min (Diwan fol. 23b); also Hasan of Delhi (Diwan fol. 72b).

4/ Taw. Qutub fol. 192a; cf. Mu'min (Diwan

5/ See supra; cf. Mu'min (Diwan fol. 134a-b).

Mu'min:

Qutub:

1. معراج تو زنده در دستان کرده
نه خافت به بخت چو لب که گشاید کرد

2. گری از بیزشگر در لب فرو نغم
زیر انشور لب خشمه عموال کرده

3. ناز خوشیدن تو با به بخت عشق افتاد

4. خوشتر این ماه به محو که به طوفان کرد

5. بسط دل را به من نغمه گوینده به گو
سود که در ملبس بهستان کرد

1. جانم به کامت لب خندان کرده
ز نور انشور لب خشمه عموال کرده

2. غرق صبح را به دریا تو صد نشستی نوع
چرخ ز تو محو که به طوفان کرده

3. سیر ملکیت من صفت بهشت گش را
صبر آتش مهال محو که به طوفان کرده

4. عشق را به لب مقبدر به فضل و سباه
آتش آتش که در دستان کرده

نغم زنده لب خشمه عموال کرده 5
نغم زنده لب خشمه عموال کرده 5
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The poems are not exact parallels, but it is thought that they will prove the equal merits of their authors. The question, who imitated the other, is irrelevant as a comparison would indeed give the impression of two suitors describing the same sweetheart, outbidding one another in their words of praise.

The similarity between Qutub's first and Mu'min's second couplet is noteworthy as their second lines are verbally the same^{1/}, and in this instance the honours should go to Qutub for the greater elegance with which he avoided Mu'min's allusion to his "own sugar-shedding lips", a term which one should rather expect as an attribute of the sweetheart. The assertions of

1/ There are other instances in which one line of a couplet by Qutub appears in verbal repetition of another poet (F.N. / p. 253) and it can be suggested that they were composed on the occasion of *Musha'iras* (poetic contests) when the competitors were given one line about which they had to write their poems. For a similar practice at the Bahmani court cf. App. B. 7.

their respective last lines go once more in Qutub's favour who brings in a religious touch that pleases with its simplicity, while Mu'min betrays 'Urfi's influence, to which we referred before, in his rather boastful couplet.

His style and diction:

With the exception of the Ghazal studied in connection with Hafiz, where Qutub appears singularly inspired, his style is usually simple and at times, especially when he writes in short measures, even spontaneous. Instances for this have already been seen in the preceding pages, and a selection from another poem may be quoted here to show the rare compactness and suitability of his style:

Metre:

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------|----|
| 1. | دلخیزان دل زار است و دوری است | • | نورم حسرت مہجوری است | 1/ |
| 2. | تو خورشیدی در بحر فزادان | • | دلخیزان ز تاب نوری است | |
| 3. | نورم از سرم دین نشاءت | • | کہ دین شور از نئے انگوری است | |
| 4. | بجستم نیت تو را و بکین | • | بدل حسن رخ چوں عری است | |
1. My heart is lamenting from the hand of thy separation,
Still I have the grief of thy parting.
 2. Thou art the Sun; and as compared (to thee)
I am like an atom:
My heart is trembling from the (dazzling)
lustre of thy light.
 3. I do not want this tipsiness to leave my head
As this commotion is due to thy grape-wine.
 4. Thou art not manifest before my eyes, but
In the heart exists the beauty of thy Hour-
like face.

The occasion can hardly be described better or in more suitable words: the sweetheart is absent, and his grief makes his heart reel like an atom dancing in the dazzling rays of the sun. His feelings are likened to half-conscious inebriation balancing on the edge between ecstasy and melancholy. There is no superfluous word in any line, the description goes tersely, step by step, to the climax: the sweetheart's beauty is vividly engraved upon his heart and does not need the help of her actual sight. Qutub happily imparts to his style a musical charm which suits his subject to perfection, without betraying in its smoothness the difficulty which poems written in short measures present.

Qutub's diction is expressive and sometimes we find original combinations of words, picturesque similes, and illustrative metaphors. For instance:

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | 1/ کمترین نعت کے مواج سے ہر نبی | The least praise of one: <u>the ladder for the praise of every Prophet.</u> |
| 2. | 2/ سب سے آسان مدح و دیگر بے غلو مدح اور کیا | The easier eulogy of the others: <u>the height of the encomium of Holy Men.</u> |
| 3. | 3/ شہید کر دوں دال فہم مری و صفر | Take the story of Moses and Khidir as <u>evidence of Friendship's secret.</u> |
| 4. | 4/ گل ز عمار فروغ حنائم دارند | They gave me a <u>flower</u> from the <u>Garden of the Splendour of Virtues.</u> |
| 5. | 5/ عند بزم کہ جگہ نشین ہر بال مبرم | I am the <u>nightingale</u> from each of whose <u>wing</u> and <u>feather</u> flows out <u>music.</u> |
| 6. | 6/ خورشید کوئی عکس مایہا بندگی ہمار | His face casts the reflection of Life's Moonlight into every corner. |

1/ Taw. Qutub. fol. 189b.

2/ ibid.

3/ ibid. fol. 190b.

4/ ibid. fol. 191a.

5/ ibid.

6/ ibid. fol. 191b.

His religion and mysticism:

What has come to our knowledge of Qutub's poems, reveals him in many places as a devout soul and a man of honest religious feelings. He was an orthodox Shi'a, but far from following ^{the 'Safawi'} ~~the 'Safawi'~~ bigot policy, exercised a judicious toleration, a course in which he was doubtlessly led by his able statesman Mu'min, who was himself a liberal Imamiya. Qutub's poems, consequently, although devoid of an apparent philosophy of life, have a religious touch which is never repugnant to the Sunni'ite sense, nor in general aggressive in its tone. Besides the strophe in the previous pages, a few verses from his seventh and last strophe (which are left untranslated since their beauty lies in the form only) will give an idea of the style as also of his depth of feeling.

2/ یارب جهان نشانی ملک کرید • یارب پیشه سرسماں کرید
 یارب باطل و دلش دادید • از درواظر در عزت ان کرید
 یارب بر یک صفت خویندگانم • در عالم شنبه بیابان کرید
 یارب نشسته نشسته تنگ بد حسین • بر مانده نشانی ام دارم در حسین

Mysticism is not a prominent aspect of Qutub's poetry; there are instances, however, in which his ideas show a mystic inclination which can be traced to Hafiz's influence. A few quotations will illustrate this:

1/ *Taw. Qutub fol. 194a.* It is of interest to note a parallel poem by Sharif, Qutub's court poet, in which half of the following couplet is verbally the same (*Diwan fol. 365b*):

از زمین دانشم هر چه می کنند • در عالم شنبه بیابان کرید

1/ *جہاں سولہ سہ ہستی خود ہم دین* • *علم نور ز نور صفائیم دادند*

When I discarded my (bodily) existence, the
Silver-faced ones
Gave me a shining robe (made) of the Light
of Quality.

غرق مع این بدایا تو صد گشتی تویم • *چہر تویم کویم ہم طوفان زد*

A hundred Noah's Arks are drowned in the
surge of Thy Sea.
How am I to express what Flood the Ocean
of Thy Beauty created!

A little egoistic touch is a peculiar feature of Qutub's verses referring to or asserting his kingship. As we had occasion before to hold 'Urfi^{2/} responsible for a similar influence upon his imitators, it does not seem out of the way to trace this particular aspect of his poetry to Qutub, the more as 'Urfi's memory was still fresh in those days. In Qutub, however, the egoism appears in a somewhat milder light if looked at with consideration of his religiosity as he never hesitates to attribute his greatness to the grace of his Creator.

3/ *از انکساف و سیر عالمی مقام* • *گردن ز دست کد شمع بیام*
ظہر اللہ احقرام جہاں در دست باقم • *زان خلق عالم اند بے احقرام*

1/ Taw. Qutub fol. 191a and cf. Hafiz (Diwan p. 100):

نمید از شمع بر نور زانم کردند • *بامه از جام نیکو به صفائیم دادند*

2/ See supra p. 130. 3/ Taw. Qutub fol. 189b and 190a. For other instances see the last lines of Ghazals No. 2 and 3 above.

In this respect he is further not unlike Shah 'Alam whose references to his kingship, however, were as crude and unhappy as his royal authority^{1/}.

Qutub among his own rank:

Occasional comparisons between Qutub and other notable poets, in the foregoing pages, have allowed us to view the merits of his poetry and, to conclude the study, it would not seem out of place to find Qutub's position among his own rank.

Unfortunately the material for a close comparison in this respect is limited to a parallel ode of Jahangir which will, therefore, be dealt with in detail. This seems all the more appropriate as in respect to this Ghazal the inference can be drawn that Qutub wrote his poem in imitation of Jahangir's^{2/}, a fact which would greatly enhance the value of such a study.

Jahangir

(Tuzuk p.76)

Qutub

(Taw.Qutub.fol.191b)

فراهم به باد دردم خنجر رسد / ناله کن به گزند از آله در رسد ۱. / من جلایم به پرتو نعت بر عمار رسد / تا خیم نازیده در بر در رسد ۱.

فان خنجر ز ناله اضعف دل / پشیمانیت نامم در سجده رسد ۲. / منانه می فرا می دست تو مایه / رسید می که سب و انظر رسد ۲.

1/ For instance (I.O.MS.No.210 fol.20a):

شکر در عالم از عرش می دانند / شایسته عالم نام از فضل الهی دانند

2/ As there is nothing on record to suggest that Jahangir, who wrote his Ghazal in 1013/1609, composed it in imitation of any similar ode (see Tuzuk p.76), and again as no such parallel ode is found in the works of any of Qutub's contemporaries, we can infer that Qutub might have composed it at that time in imitation of Jahangir when, as a prince, he used to write under the poetic name of 'Sultan'.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 3. در اصل در دست منم و دور محو بنوا
داد از یمنی غم که در اسیر رسد | • 3. ماند است بنمیر و کم از انتظار است
خرم که بر سر من بنمیر رسد |
| 4. در خوش نغمه ام به بوم ره و حال
قرار از آن زمان که در این خبر رسد | • 4. از تنگ و دیر انداز سر خوش بودی
خوشتر بود به نیک ز بند خنجر رسد |
| 5. رفت تبار و غنچه جهانگر بر سر
امیر اندک نغمه کند کور رسد | • 5. سلطان اگر به خوف ز شوق نفا حاتو
سویش نظر کن که به باران نور رسد |

Although there is nothing definitely common in their respective verses to facilitate a critical study, it can safely be asserted that Qutub's Ghazal possesses a smoothness and spontaneity surpassing that of Jahangir. A comparison of the following two sets, which have somewhat similar thoughts, would further support this estimate:

I. Jahangir:

منانم می خرامی دست تو عالمی .
استندم کم که به باران نور رسد

I. Jahangir:

Thou walkest (as if) intoxicated, and the world
is intoxicated from thee.
I burn rue lest (an) evil eye should reach thee.

Qutub:

سلطان اگر به خوف ز شوق نفا حاتو .
سویش نظر کن که به باران نور رسد

Although SULTAN burnt with the desire for thy
sight,
Do not look towards him lest thou mayest receive
an evil eye.

Jahangir's idea is commonplace and he does not lead us to think more than the words plainly convey. Qutub's statement, on the other hand, is interesting and it makes us picture before our mind's eye the state of a "generous lover" who, in spite of his strong and reasonable desire to get his "burnings cured by some

kind look", requests his sweetheart to refrain from looking at him lest the evil eye might do harm.

II. Jahangir:

مردمگر نشسته ام به جو کم راه وصال • فریاد از آن زبانی که در لافش خبر رسد

I have become astounded (in the desire) to trot
the path of union.
Alas the time when this news reached me!

Qutub:

ماندگار به خیر و دم از انتظار رسد • خرم و کام به بر آمدن به خیر رسد

My heart has become senseless waiting for the
friend.
Happy the time when he arrives near me uninformed!

Jahangir's couplet does not convey the idea which he has in mind, and we have to add something to make it intelligible. The Radif (راسخ), though grammatically correct, is not happy because, although a *فعل مضارع* may be used to denote past, it is improper to use it so when it is preceded by a *فعل قریب* (preter-perfect tense)^{1/}. Qutub's idea, on the other hand, is beautiful though simple, and is free from any ambiguity. He wants us to share with him his feelings of suspense while he is awaiting his friend, and that of joy at the much hoped for "surprise visit".

Jahangir's poem can certainly not show any idea of such outstanding beauty as the following lines from Qutub's Ghazal which have indeed epigrammatical value:

1.

ناگفته به سخن که ایصال دور رسد

The word from which comes headache (remains)
better unsaid.

^{1/} Mu'min ul Qawa'id (p.35).

2. از نیک و بد بر آنی که در دنیا بود
خوشتر بود ز نیک و بد نیکتر بود

Good or evil, whatever reaches is acceptable, but
It would be better if good reaches more often
than evil.

His defects:

According to the well-known Persian maxim:

بعد از این همه ستایش نیکو

"After so much praise tell his faults too"

a few words with regard to the drawbacks of Qutub's poetry will
complete the valuation.

The one great defect in Qutub as a poet is that he succumbed
to the vogue of his time in writing most of his poems in answer
to those of others, foregoing the poet's ideal of originality.
He can offer no philosophy of life, and his mysticism are half-
hearted attempts to touch regions foreign to his Shi'a orthodoxy.

Although his style possesses the uncommon charm of simpli-
city, it often lacks strength which makes his verses less force-
ful. He is not always careful in his choice of words; for instance

1/ نسبت صمغ فانگی را بجان امروز نیست . این صمغ گوشت گداز محم فانی را باید ترا

and some of his verses have vague ideas, as for instance:

2/ هر چند بکاروست گرد دل . هر روز گریه ما زار است

1/ Taw. Qutub fol. 190a. فانگی has a vulgar sense.

2/ ibid. fol. 190b. There seems to be no connection between the two
lines.

Conclusion:

To conclude, of all the royal poets noticed in this work, Qutub can be ranked second only to Kamran. He was not like a violinist who plays to amuse himself alone, nor like a poet who sings to receive a reward in return, but like one who, free from all these foreign incentives, chants a "sweet melody" to entertain the Giver Himself:

منم که از جلد غم ز بر بال و پریم . به سواداری گل خوشتر نشانیم و لودیم

I am the Nightingale from each of whose wing
and feather flows out music:
They gave me good melodies out of regard for
the Flower.

He figures with prominence not only among the royal disciples of the Muse, but occupies a definite position among the rank of the Persian poets. To his just claim of being the recipient of Divine gifts

شکر از تو بر بال و پریم و بال و پریم . شامی و دانه و دانه و دانه و دانه

Thank God, like ZILLU'LLAH I profess
Kingship, wisdom, and faith which they gave me
in charity

we can with equal justice add the fourth - Poesy.

Appendix A.

This appendix contains a critical study of works and verses wrongly attributed to the Royal Poets.

A.1.

- Kamran Mirza -

Mirza Nama by Mirza Kamran,^{1/} although the title page states that it was written by Mirza Kamran, has nothing in its context to establish the identity of the author as that of Mirza Kamran, son of Babur, while the following arguments speak against it:

The work mentions Rafi' Shirazi^{2/} in these words:

اوراقاں میرزا کاغذ خود داند

3/

He must consider him to be the most
capable of his contemporaries.

The preface of Tadhkiratu'l-Mulak, of which Mirza Rafi' Shirazi was the author, gives his age as seventy years in 1617/1608 and accordingly he must at the time of Mirza Kamran's death (964/1556) still have been a youth in his seventeenth year. It is, therefore, highly improbable that he was then already such a scholar for Kamran to praise him in the terms of the above remark.

More conclusive still is the mention of 'Agra Fort' among

^{1/} The Mirza Nama has been published, see J.A.S.B. vol.IX.p.8. There is another work of the same name (Add.16819.V.fol.89-95). A copy of this work exists in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the name of Mirza Muhammad Khalil.
2/p.10. 3/p.10.

the places in the Mirza Nama, which was built by Akbar (1558 - 1605) late in his life. This proves beyond doubt that the Mirza Nama was never written by Kamran, son of Babur, but by someone else bearing that name.

A.2.- Akbar -

Daghistani wrongly attributes the following poems to Akbar's authorship:

(1) According to him once on a Friday in 987/1579 Akbar went to the pulpit and in the course of his Khutba recited this composition of his own:

1/ خداوند عالم، خورشیدی دار . دل دانا باز و قوی دار
سبیل ددار ما را در غم خون کرد . بجز عدل از خیال، ببردن کرد
لبد و شمعش از غفلت در دم برنزد . نکالی و طمع نشانه الهی دارد

But Badayuni, who is undoubtedly a better authority, observes with regard to them:

2/ این دو کسبت فغبی را ... پنجم شام خوانده از صبر زده اند

(Akbar)...., having falteringly read these two or three verses of Faydi, came down from the pulpit.

(2) According to Daghistani, again^{1/}, Akbar sent this poem of his own to 'Abdu'llah Khan Uzbek, king of Turan (d.1597):

مهرم هم در فراق و هجران گذشت با درد و الم . این عمر گر نهایی چه از آن گذشت در بزم و شرم
 محمد زنده خورشید میسر شد و سر بی بخت و طرب . امس که در آغوشه در آن گذشت با غم و غم

My whole life passed in separation and severance
 (from thee), with pain and grief,
 This valuable life, how cheaply it passed in
 sorrow and affliction.

A life which was spent at Herat and Samarqand
 with mirth and glee,
 Alas, it bore out in solitude at Agra, with grief
 and sorrow.

Both the internal and external evidence refute Daghistani's statement.

From Akbar Nama^{2/} we learn of only one occasion when correspondence was exchanged between the two sovereigns through an embassy which Akbar received in 979/1571; now, Abu'l-Fadl, who should have been the first to record it, nowhere mentions the despatch of any poem by Akbar to 'Abdu'llah, much less the one cited by Daghistani. Nor does the poem appear in the reply written on that occasion by Abu'l-Fadl on behalf of Akbar to the Uzbek prince^{3/}. Besides that, the third line suggests that the writer of the poem had spent some of his days at Herat and Samarqand. In fact, Akbar had never seen Samarqand, much less lived there.

^{1/} fol.40b. ^{2/} vol.II.p.368.
 vol.I. Calcutta 1789. pp.64-85.

^{3/} The New Asiatic Miscellany,

(3) Again Daghistani wrongly ascribes three quatrains to Akbar^{1/}, each of which the Emperor is alleged to have sent in reply to similar ones of Khan-i-Zaman, governor of Jaunpur, who rebelled in 1561^{2/}. Of these the portions which are necessary as a basis for discussing the internal evidence are given below:

اکبر سکندر زمانه در تو
 باجم بود سپاهش لشکر تو
 در در تو را رقیب بدست
 دجال توئی خواجہ استخاف تو

O thou, thy door is the rampart of Alexander^{3/}
 (of his age),
 Let Gog be the soldier of thy army.
 In thy regime the signs of the Day of Judgment
 are apparent.
 Thou art Dajjal, and Khwaja Amina^{4/} is thy Ass^{5/}.

Akbar Nama, which describes Khan-i-Zaman's rebellion in detail, makes no mention of any such versified correspondence passing between Zaman and Akbar. There seems to have been no justification for Zaman to call Amina "Akbar's Ass" because history proves that Amina was banned from the court on account of his

^{1/} fol.207a. ^{2/} For dates and accounts of his rebellion see Akb.Nam.II.pp.147-8, 249-52, 260. ^{3/} According to the Muslim legend one Alexander (سکندر الزمینی) built a rampart to ward off the two rapacious tribes of Gog and Magog. These, the legend continues, will break open the wall before Judgment Day and, led by Dajjal, the one-eyed monster riding on an ass, spread havoc in the world till Dajjal will be killed by Christ and the kingdom of God on Earth will be restored. - Athar-i-Qiyamat by Radi Ahmad, Lucknow 1923 pp.15-20. ^{4/} Aminu'd-Din Mahmud, better known as Khwaja Amina, was accused of disloyalty in connection with Khan-i-Zaman's rebellion and dismissed by Akbar to Mecca. He died on his return in India in 982/1574. - Blochman's A'in. I.p.429. Calcutta 1873. ^{5/} Badayuni (II.p.186) attributes to Sabuhi a slightly different satire on the same Khwaja Amina:

باجم بود سپاهش لشکر تو
 دجال توئی خواجہ استخاف تو
 باجم بود سپاهش لشکر تو
 در در تو را رقیب بدست

sympathy for Khan-i-Zaman.

The last of the series is Akbar's quatrain ending:

نہر منہ نہ کہم و خطبہ من . نام نہ نام از بکا سنور

Do not replace my coin and Khutba (by
that of yours)
So that I may not wish for thy territory

This statement is quite contradictory to the real events. After his open rebellion, which was suppressed easily, Khan-i-Zaman was no more governor of Jaunpur and, therefore, there was no occasion for Akbar to offer a compromise in these terms.

A.3.

- Shah Jahan -

An anonymous work^{1/} wrongly attributes a long poem of thirty-one verses to Shah Jahan's authorship. Its colophon alleges that the poem was sent by Shah Jahan, while yet a prince, in reply to a Farman of Jahangir. Some of its verses, necessary to discuss the question of authorship, are given below

The poem is dated the fifteenth year of Jahangir's reign (1020/1611) while from the Tuzuk it appears that the relation between father and son were cordial until the end of the sixteenth year, and only in the seventeenth traces of disloyalty appeared in Shah Jahan for the first time^{2/}.

From its following verse it would seem that Shah Jahan desired to be retained on the governorship of Bengal:

بہتر ملک بنامہ خانہ شہریم . اگر تہ گہم خانہ شہریم

This is, however, against the facts as he never in his life occupied that post.

The accusation of having murdered Khusraw, which is suggested in the following line, has never been raised in any historical record:

شہنشاہ خلیفہ بہ بدینہ راہ . مرا تہ خون خسر نہا

Khusraw died in the seventeenth year of Jahangir's reign^{1/}, while the poem is dated the fifteenth year. Even if the date be a mistake, Jahangir's indifference at Khusraw's death^{2/} can never lead us to believe that he subsequently should have turned upon Khurram accusing him of his brother's murder.

Shah Jahan's 'disloyalty' never amounted to open rebellion and, with the few half-hearted supporters whom he could command, he can never be expected to have thrown his gauntlet to his father, as is suggested in the following verse:

جہانگیر گہم گہ کا زار . نہ از شاہ ترکم نہ از شہر مار

It is all the more unbelievable when we find that even during the time of strained relations Shah Jahan was trying his best "to carry his point by flattering and smooth speeches"^{3/}.

^{1/} Tuzuk p.342.

^{2/} ibid.

^{3/} ibid.pp.347-8.

A.4.- Aurangzib -

S.M.Latif, in his "Lahore" (p.67. publ.Lahore 1892) attributes to Aurangzib a poem beginning:

ز در دل چه بزمی که خوشتر به تابی است
 ز شوق جان چه نغمه که ز نام بهایی است

The poem is found in Ma'atnir-i-'Alamgiri (p.137) in the name of 'Abdu'l-'Aziz 'Izzat. The last verse in which the poetic name occurs controverts Latif's version definitely.

Appendix B.

This appendix contains an account of those royal poets who have left behind too little on which to base an appreciation and who could hence not be included in the main text.

B.1.- Mahmud of Ghazna -

(997 - 1030)

Mahmud's chief claim to fame lies as a patron of the celebrated Firdausi, the author of the well-known Shah-Nama.

We further learn from Firishta (I.p.67) that Mahmud was the founder of an academy where about four hundred poets were educated. Its president was 'Unsuri, Mahmud's Poet Laureate, and so strict was the discipline to which his students were subjected that no poem was presented unless 'Unsuri had seen it and approved of it first.

Mahmud composed the following on his death-bed:

1/ زبیم رخ جانم در از زلمه نشاند . جمال منور شد چون سحر را
 گم به زان دهر در محلی نشاند . که ز هر صحنی زلفی ز تابا جا
 به نثار آردم بهر صحنی نشاند . کنون بر آبرو بنیم صحنی امرو را
 آردم بهر صحنی نشاند . سر امیر در اندر طرک را
 هزار غم نشاند زبانش نشاند . بهر صحنی نشاند بهر صحنی را
 جورگ تافغن لورم سوزد
 نجات خداست و ملک ملک خدا

1/Lubabu'l-Albab I.p.25. For another short poem, composed by him on the death of his slave girl, see ibid.p.24.

1. From the dread of the world-winning sword and
the fear of the fort-subduing mace
The world became subject to me, as I (am) sub-
jected to reason.
2. Sometimes I would sit happy (surrounded) with
honour and riches,
At another time from avarice I would roam from
place to place;
3. Often I boasted that I was a man of importance,
But now I see that kings and beggars are equals.
4. If thou takest out two skulls from two graves,
Who can distinguish the skull of the rich from
that of the poor?
5. I, with one wave of (my) hand, have subdued
numerous forts,
Many lines I have broken with one firm plant
of (my) foot.
6. When death made the assault, nothing availed,
God's Eternity is (alone real) Eternity, and
His kingdom (alone is a) kingdom.

B.2.- The House of Balban -

(1266 - 1287)

From the poetical point of view Muhammad, son of Balban, and the great Khusrav, his preceptor in poetry, are more important than the two kings whose only known verses are given below. Muhammad was a poet and author of an Arabic and Persian anthology^{1/}. He was killed in 1285, during his father's lifetime, and his Diwan is lost.

^{1/} Firishta I.p.137.

(i) Balban (1266 -86):

We are in possession of only one of his poems:

1/ عید وصالِ وفا از رخِ زیبا طلب . خرد را دمِ دراز از دلِ شیدا طلب
 سز نقدش در روزی نشد اتم شود عشق . سخت و زبرد صلاح از سرِ کوا طلب
 زلفِ بر او خود انقده نشتر است را
 مهربانده صبا شبِ بیدار طلب

1. Do not ask for the promise of faithfulness
 from a handsome face,
 Do not expect wisdom, comfort, and peace
 from a loving heart!
2. I have made myself famous in love by poverty
 and drunkenness,
 Do not expect chastity, saintliness, and piety
 from one notorious like myself!
3. Thou art before the mirror with the locks of
 hair spread over thy face,
 Do not expect a bright Moon in a dark night.

(ii) Kalqubad (1286-7):

Firishta (I.pp.151-2) gives us an interesting story in which the profligate king figures as the gallant lover of a scheming girl. The story is adorned with verses exchanged between the couple, reaching its climax when Kalqubad receives the wine-cup from her hands and recites extempore:

اگر ساقی تو خواهی بود مرا . که می گوید که نه خورده و ام است

If thou wilt become my Saqi,
 Who will say the wine is forbidden!

His last days, however, were spent in prison where, according to Badayuni (I.p.165) he composed this quatrain:

دلب منم بگر سببال مانند است . دست کرم بگر سببال مانند است
 چشمم که زردمان گریه کرد . امروز بر آنان چه جگرال مانند است

The horse of my excellence has become tired on
 the field,
 The hand of my generosity is lying on the anvil
 (under the hammer).

My eye which once saw the gold and mine of pearl
 with contempt,
 To-day, alas! how greedily it is looking for
 bread!

B.3.

- Jalalu'd-Din Khalji -

(1290 - 1295)

He deserves distinction as another patron of Khusraw. Two of his three quatrains found in Badayuni (I.p.182) are given below. The first he had inscribed on a Caravanserai at Gwalior:

ما که قدم بر گردول ساید . از توده سنگ دگر چه قدر افزاید
 این سنگ شکسته زان نهادیم در . باشد که دل شکسته اساید

To Us whose foot crushes the revolving zenith,
 How can a heap of stone and earth augment
 Our honour?

This broken stone We have arranged so that
 Some broken heart haply repose (under it).

He later improved upon this idea:

باشند در هر جا که کبر باشد . کبر خیزد در جفای طغر باشد
 اگر شکست زان نیاورم در دست . باشد به دل شکسته اسیر

Someone might visit this spot,
 (His) habit may prove a mantle for the adorned heaven.

Perchance from the felicity of his auspicious
 footsteps
 One atom may fall to our lot; even that will
 suffice.

E.4.

- Muhammad Tughluq -

(1325 - 1351)

He was a learned sovereign, the author of Memoirs^{1/} and a good poet of both Arabic and Persian, but unfortunately the following is the only surviving poem, which he composed on 21st Muharram 752 (20th March 1351) a few hours before his death:

بسیار در هر حال جسدیم 2/
 بسیار تسخیر نماز و دینم .
 اسیر بلندی برستم .
 شرمای گرامی با خردم .
 کردم به شاد و لغز .
 چو نمانت ماه تو خندم

^{1/} From these most valuable Memoirs only four pages have been saved - see Add.25785.folls.316-18. ^{2/} The poem is found in Majma'u'l-Fusaha I.p.55, but the date appears in the anonymous manuscript (see supra p.146) from which Shah Jahan's poem on the Taj has been quoted.

Much we walked proudly in this world
and
Have seen many blandishments and
pleasures.

We sat on stately horses and
Purchased costly Turkoman slaves.

We enjoyed much, but at last
Bent down like a New Moon.

B.5.

- Sikandar Lodi -

(1489-1517)

From Badayuni (I.p.323) we hear that Sikandar was a skilful poet, writing under the pen-name of "Gulrukh"; his preceptor was Shaykh Jamal^{1/}. Only two of his poems are known; one, a Ghazal found in Badayuni (I.p.323) has been omitted here as it is easily accessible; the other, a short and rare poem which he addressed to his preceptor, is given below.

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|----------------------------|----|
| 1. | د سائک راه اور مجالی | اس غزل پنج لکھ لکھ والی | 2/ |
| 2. | در منزل خود رسیده با کنیز | در رنجال بے زده سپر | |
| 3. | الحکمہ اندکی بہ خانہ | سودی توساز زمانہ | |
| 4. | گوہر لودی خزانہ گشتی | در دودر بونہ گشتی | |
| 5. | بہار سافرت سودی | اس پنج بابا برکس بہار دودی | |
| 6. | نادر بابا بی زلفی نام | کینے بہار دودر گم نام | 3/ |

^{1/} Hamid B. Fadlu'llah, known by his poetic names as Jamali and Jalali, author of a Mathnawi, Mihr u Mah, and a Diwan, died in 942/1535. For his accounts see Mir'atu'l-'Alam fol.115.

^{2/} I am indebted to Prof. Shadani of the Dacca University for access to this poem, found in Athar-i-Khayr by Sa'id Ahmad, publ. Eta 1905.

^{3/} In *در بابی* we have *کینے نام* and it is to be scanned as *در بابی*

7. 1/ مجسم به جمال تو طمان است . دل مرغ منال در فعال است
8. 2/ سز اسکندر تو خضرائی . ان بکرم به کرم بهائی
9. در خنجر زد دندان تو سبزه . شرف نمودنش کند در
10. بایکد کتاب مهر و ماسع . ارسال دیدم فایده خواص
11. از سبزه کند در دین رانند
ال به غنور و دینام دور

1. O mine of the eternal treasure,
And o devotee of the path of religion, Jamali!
2. (Who), having seen much of the world all round,
Has reached his destination safely.
3. Thou wast a traveller (through) ages,
Praise be to God that thou hast come (back)
to (thy) house!
4. Thou hast travelled through Mecca and Medina,
Thou hadst been (a) pearl, (but now) thou hast
turned (into a) treasure.
5. O Shaykh, reach me with speed
(After that) thou hast travelled much.
6. Direct thy steps towards my court
So that thou mayest achieve (thy) object
from "Gulrukhi".
7. My eyes are restless for thy beauty,
The heart is crying like (a) bird.
8. I am (like) Alexander (and) thou art my Khidhr;
It (is) better that thou shouldst come towards me.
9. And if the Shaykh is not satiated with his friends'
(company yet),
(And if) his honourable visit is delayed,

1/ There is a play on the word "Jamal". 2/ In *انکسر* again we have
and it is to be scanned as *انکرند*. The allusion is to
the well-known story of Alexander and Khidhr, current among the
Muslims and often the subject matter of poems.

10. It would behove that he should send me
The book Mihr u Mah (Sun and Moon) as I want (it)
11. (Because) from that Mihr (Sun) the two eyes
receive light,
(And) may (also) that Mah (Moon) be not out
of my sight.

B.6.- Zainu'l-'Abidin -

(1420 - 1470)

He was a renowned king of Kashmir, proficient in Persian, Hindi, and Tibetan besides his own language, and a munificent patron of learning, poetry, music, and painting. Under him Persian was established as the language of the court and the public offices. His pen-name was 'Qutubi'. From his three extant poems, one erotic and two elegiac^{1/}, the former is given below which seems to justify the high opinion which historians have of his skill.

1. 2/ بجز خورشید و ماهی در این عالم
منزلب شمس و من تو نور لعل در سرخاں
2. ما من از بنو آلی هم کنز بر بدو دل
کز نو مانند ابر کعبت در میان انسان
3. من چندی بر آفتاب می خرم و منی جگر
اشن را حال ابر لعل دآ بر بخت
4. بجز خورشید و ماهی در این عالم
منزلب شمس و من تو نور لعل در سرخاں
- بجز خورشید و ماهی در این عالم
منزلب شمس و من تو نور لعل در سرخاں

^{1/} Tarikh-i-Kashmir (folls. 121b and 125a) by Hayder Malik.
^{2/} Nawadiru'l-Akhbar (fol. 46a) by Rafi'u'd-Din Ahmad.


1. Oh, a world is going round thy candle-like
face as a moth,
And from thy sweet lips every home is full
of acerbity 1/.
2. O my Moon, have mercy on the heartless for
(their) helplessness,
So that the tale from thee may become a
(memorable) story in the world.
3. In spite of (my) so much faithfulness/I drink
liver-blood/ suffer pangs,
Such is the condition of the friend, alas
for a stranger!
4. If the poor QUTUB commits a sin, do not
blame him,
If a mad one commits a sin, it is no fault.

B.7.

- Firuz Shah Bahmani -

(1397 - 1422)

He was the most enlightened ling of the Bahmani dynasty at Gulbarga, speaking many languages, and a great patron of poetry^{2/}; participating in Musha'iras (poetic contests) he "wished to be treated without form and ceremonies"^{3/}. A Diwan^{4/} is attributed to his authorship in which his poems appeared under two pen-names, Aruji and Firuzi. Out of two odes and one quatrain given by Firishta (vol.I.pp.614-15), one ode is cited below:

1/ The word  may mean "tumult" and also "salty". Therefore "acerbity" has been chosen as conveying the sense of both words, and as better opposed to شیرین (sweet), making it the Figure of Speech: صفت نفاذ

2/Firishta I.pp.588, 591-2 and 607-8.

3/ibid. p.588.

4/Mahbub p.860. It does not seem to exist now.

1. 1/ بیکر مانم در بر دلم تنگ است . که دل به لذت سودا غرق در جنگ است
2. گل امید گشفت از نغمه وعده . ز آفتاب نغمه انتظار بزرگ است
3. به طمع راه محبت نخورد خرباب امید . که غایت اینتر استدا فرزند است
4. به این لب ز دوستی دارم . که منیر اهل جهان به بیاتر از سنگ است
5. دماغ طمع مردی بود گفتا چنه است
جس گوشت لاله آفتاب فرنگ است

1. On account of the worries of the world my garment lies tight on my heart,
Because heart is at war for the pleasures of melancholy love.
2. Hope's flower blossomed by the zephyr of promise, but
It has become colourless owing to the Sun of the grief of waiting;
3. Do not be deceived by the smoothness of the path of Love,
For the end of Eternity is the beginning of its road.
4. I have got a heart brimful of friendship,
Which is to men of this world more precious than (a) valuable stone.
5. What a heart-pleasing garden is the intellect of Aruji's mind!
Do not call it (a) garden, as it is the Sun of Wisdom.

1/ This seems to have been composed under the influence of similar odes by Sa'di (Kull p.23) and by Salman of Sava (Kull fol.57a). For similar odes see also Qummi (Diwan fol.199a, 'Urfi (Diwan p.12) and Iqbal (Payam-i-Mashriq p.137).

B.8.

- The 'Adil Shahis of Bijapur -

(1) Yusuf 'Adil Shah (1490-1510), a son of Sultan Murad of Turkey (1422-51), fled for his life to Sava and thence came to India where he founded a new dynasty on the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom. He was a good judge of poetry and wrote under the pen-name of 'Yusuf'^{1/}. Two short Ghazals, three quatrains, and one couplet have been ascribed to him by Firishta (II.p.23) of which one Ghazal is quoted below:

1. تا با زخم عشق ندانم ، گدازد بر طرف از مرطه ، 2/
2. با آنکه بمان با تو ز تو کم نفعی ، بنشین در زال برب که روی ملک ،
3. ما بنم یلیم ابد تا در عاشقت ، زخم که شد کدی هوایم ،
4. ما سید عشق ندانم چو بویست
 رسال شد از عشق ببال سید ،

1. As long as my caravan drags on the burden
 of the grief of love,
 So long will flowers blossom around my inn.
2. As I did not grudge thee my life,
 Why then didst thou accuse me before others?
3. I was nearly dead, when to the doors of thy house
 I went as the blisters became my guide on
 the path.
4. I do not have problems of love like YUSUF;
 My problem has become easy through idol's
 love.

^{1/} See also supra p.219. ^{2/} We have two parallel Ghazals: by Jami (Or.1218 fol.31a) and by Sa'ib (Kull p.21).

(ii) Ismā'il 'Adil Shah (1510-34), Yusuf's son, composed under the pen-name of "Wafa'i" (Faithful) and was a good poet. Two short poems and one quatrain are found in Futuhāt-i-'Adil Shāhi (fol.57a and 58a), and one short poem in Firishta (II.p.47) which is given below:

1. شب هجره فرج ما کار نه دارم . بجز دید اشک نه دارم
2. نیت ناز در کنز افق تو جول نمی . بر از زلف صفت کنایه دارم
3. سر از تنگ عشق اندکی دور گشت . بر آه منگ نزار نه دارم
4. ازال باغش فخر زخم دغائی
که غیر از غمش نمک نه دارم

1. On the night of separation I have no work
except weeping,
I possess nothing except tear-shedding eyes.
2. No night passes in which from thy separation
like a candle
I do not have a lap filled with sorrowful
tears.
3. Myself, (in) love and drunkenness, (living in)
the lane of censure,
(With such a company) I have no access to the
path of peace.
4. It is therefore that I have made myself used
to the grief for his love, o WAFĀ'I,
As I have no other sympathiser but the grief
(for him).

Appendix C.1.

This appendix contains those Indian kings and princes who, though not poets, are yet known as the authors of occasional verses, for which sources are quoted.

<u>Name:</u>	<u>Verses found in:</u>	<u>Remarks:</u>
1. Mubarak Khalji (d.1320)	Makhzanu'l-Ghara'ib fol.416b.	Sultan of Delhi.
2. Piruz Tughluq (1351-88)	ibid.fol.328b.	Sultan of Delhi and author of his own biography (Or.2039) Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi; founder of a poetic academy at Delhi 1/
3. Ghazi Shah Chak (1561-3)	Waqi'at-i-Kashmir by Md.Azam (Or. 26282 fol.116a).	King of Kashmir.
4. Husayn Shah Chak (1563-9)	Tarikh-i-Kashmir by 'Ajiz Kele. Add. 11631 fol.87b.	King of Kashmir
5. Muhammad Shah II Bahmani. (1378-97)	Firishta I.p.516.	King of Gulbarga; he has been wrongly styled as "Mahmud Shah":see supra p.218.
6. Muhammad Ghuri (1435-6)	Firishta II.p.477.	King of Malwa.
7. Ahmad Shah I (1411-42)	Mir'at-i-Sikandari by Sikandar Bin Muham- mad publ.Bombay 1890. p.46.	King of Gujrat.
8. Qutubu'd-Din (1451-8)	Firishta p.376 (II).	King of Gujrat.

1/ Masalik-ul-Absar fi Mamalik-ul-Amsar; see Elliott III p.580;
the original work is unavailable in London.

<u>Name:</u>	<u>Verses found in:</u>	<u>Remarks:</u>
9. Bahadur Shah (1526-36)	Firishta I.p.399 and History of Gujrat by Abu Tur.Wali II.pp. 11-12.	King of Gujrat.
10. Hindal Mirza	Makhzanu'l-Ghara'ib fol.521a.	Son of Babur.
11. 'Askari Mirza	ibid.fol.287a-b.	Son of Babur.
12. Sher Shah Suri (1540-45)	Firishta I.p.429 and Bagh.Or.1761 fol.130a.	Sultan of Delhi
13. Yadgar Nasir Mirza	"The Majmau" fol.111b. an anthology in possession of Sir E. D. Ross.	Nephew of Babur, killed by Humayun in 1546.
14. Abu'l Qasim Mirza	see under Kamran supra p.87.	
15. Sultan Parwiz (d.1620)	Makhzanu'l-Ghara'ib fol.66a.	Son of Jahangir.
16. Shuja', second son of Shah Jahan	Tarikh-i-Farah Bakhsh fol.84b.	He was never heard of after his defeat by Aurangzib in 1659.
17. Prince Akbar (d.1704)	---	Youngest son of Aurang zib. Makhzanu'l-Ghara'ib (Preface) mentions that he was a poet & author of an anthology which formed one of the sources of the Makhzan.
18. Farrukh Siyar (1718-19)	Mira't-i-Aftab-numa by 'Abdu'r-Rahman Shah Nawaz Khan. Add.16697 fol.216a.	Sultan of Delhi.

Appendix C.2.

This appendix contains the Indian royal poetesses along with the names of the works in which their verses are found.

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| 1. Radiya Begum
(1236-40) | Hadiqa-i-'Ishrat
(p.33) by Durga Par-
shad, publ.Sandilla
1894; and Gulshan-
i-naz by the same
(p.21) publ.Delhi
1876. | She was the only woman
to sit on the Indian
throne.No mention of her
as a poetess is found in
any earlier work,hence
it is doubtful if those
verses are hers. |
| 2. Gulbadan Begum
b.1523. d.1603 | Makhzanu'l-Ghara'ib
fol.381a. | She was Babur's daughter
and authoress of a valu-
able biography,"Humayun-
Nama",publ.London 1891. |
| 3. Gulrukh Begum | see under Kamran
supra p.86. | Kamran Mirza's daughter. |
| 4. Sultana Salima
d.1612. | Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri
by Kamgar Husayn
fol.72a. | Grand-daughter of Babur,
wife of Bairam Khan and
after his death married
to Akbar. |
| 5. Salima Khanam | Makhzanu'l-Ghara'ib
fol.381a. | Daughter of Gulbadan
Begum. |
| 6. Nur Jahan | Hayat-i-Mur Juhan
(pp.19-20) by Nawab
'Imad Nawaz Jang,
publ. Lahore 1893. | No mention of her having
composed poems is found
in any work of history
or contained in any con-
temporary Tadhkira. |
| 7. Jahan-Ara | Her own work, see
col.III and also
Gulshan-i-naz (see
under Radiya Begum
above) p.18. | Daughter of Shah Jahan,
authoress of a biography,
Mu'nisu'l-Arwah (Or.250)
on the life of Mu'inu'd-
Din Chishti of Ajmere. |
| 8. Zibu'n-Nisa | See Appendix D.
p.232. | Daughter of Aurangzib. |

Appendix D.

Zibu'n-Nisa (b.1048/1639; d.1113/1701).

She was a daughter of Aurangzib who educated her according to his own leanings. She was Hafiz, i.e. she had committed the Qur'an to memory, was well-versed in Arabic and Persian, and wrote a good hand. Being a liberal patroness, her court was a frequented resort of the learned and the poets^{1/}.

No mention of her being a poetess is found either in works of history or in the contemporary Tadhkiras. The later Biographies however, the earliest among them being Gul-i-Ra'na composed in 1181/1767 by Iachhmi Narayan Shafiq, mention her for the first time. Although no poetic name is attributed to her in these works, she most probably wrote under the pen-name "Zib" as appears from the following, not found in manuscript Diwans containing the Ghazals of Hakhfi:

- (1) 2/ حضرت شمع کبریا در نظر اور دو عالم . زبیب در زینت لبر صغیر نام من زبیب النکات
- (ii) 3/ صد بار اگر شود بر دل بار بار گفت . غنچه باغ دل باز زبیب دستار شد

In some unexplained way, a complete Diwan of about six hundred poems has been attributed to her first by the Indian Tadhkira writers^{4/} and publishers, and then by the Oriental

1/ Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri pp.538-39.
p.140. 3/ibid.p.139.
Shama'-i-Anjuman p.188.

2/ Tadhkiratu'l-Khawatin
4/ Naghma-i-'Andalib fol.89a and

scholars of the West^{1/}. Even a superficial study, however, would prove conclusively that the Diwan was never composed by Zibu'n-Nisa, but was the work of one Makhfi of Nishapur (Khurasan)^{2/} whom Taqi Auhadi^{3/} saw under Jahangir. Moreover, a few verses taken from the Diwan will serve as internal evidence for Makhfi's authorship:

1. He seeks aid from the king of Khurasan (Diwan p.133):

از کد پال توامش خراسان سود . که جو خاں مرام در دست جاگیرم

2. Hopeless thereof, he leaves his "home-land" (Diwan p.150):

ز ناسازی تخت افرویدم دور گشت . مل برباغ هجرال باد ماری ملز بزم

3. He praises Firuz Khan Khurasani, a favourite Khwaja Sara of Shah Jahan^{4/} (Diwan p.184):

سبک منزنتان جا داد اور . شکوه دولت خبر زمان دورانی

4. He expresses his desire to go to Bengal (Diwan p.48):

جنگجو روم بختی جو در آرد اب بند . نسنه اسرول جا بجز ناست

1/ B.M.Cat. of Persian Printed Books p.742 London 1922 mentions numerous works both in original and English translation. See also Rieu under Or.311 where the Diwan has been wrongly ascribed to her on the basis of authorities in which no mention is found of her ever composing poetry much less of her being the authoress of a Diwan. 2/The earliest mention of a Makhfi of Resht is found in Tuhfa-i-Sami fol.129b, composed in 957/1550, but he is probably not the composer of the Diwan in which the home of the poet is given as Nishapur (Khurasan) - Diwan pp.117, 176, 180, 201 - and not Resht (Gilan), and in which a Qasida in praise of Shah Jahan appears (Diwan p.175) who came to the throne in 1627. 3/See Riyad fol.439b. 4/died in 1058/1648 - Ma'athiru'l-Omara III.pp.21-22.

5. and goes to Kabul (Diwan p.67):

دانشد جگر غمگین دل در بهارستان بند . رفت مرغ روح نغمی نوشت با گل برنت

Although the Diwan-i-Makhfi can never be attributed to Zibu'n-Nisa, there are some two dozen verses which may have come from her pen as they are repeatedly mentioned in the Tadhkiras and, besides their absence from the Diwan, contain a suggestion of her pen-name "Zib".

Among the various Tadhkiras her notices is found in the following:

1. Gul-i-Ra'na by Lachhmi Narayan Shafiq, composed in 1181/1767. Or.2044.
2. Naghma-i-'Andalib by Muhammad Rida, composed in 1261/1845. Or.1811.
3. Sham'-i-Aujuman by Siddiq Hasan, composed about 1292/1875. Publ.Bhopal 1293/1876.
4. Tadhkiratu'l-Khawatin by Rafi' Shirazi, composed and dedicated to the Begum of Bhopal in 1304/1889. Publ.Bombay 1304/1889^{1/}.

A selection from her verses will show that she had considerable poetic gifts:

^{1/} The largest number of her verses are found in this work.

1)

1/ شکند ز کمر خم در گردن بدارند . کمر به خنجر که نداشت برود بدارند
صدور بدارند در کمر بجز بدارند . خنجر بانیغ دل باز بدارند

May that hand be broken which did not bend
round the friend's neck.
That eye be better blind which did not enjoy
(his) sight.

Hundred Springs (have come and) gone, and every
flower has found its place on some one's
forehead,
(But, alas!) the bud of my heart's garden has
not adorned (Zib)^{2/} a turban.

2)

3/

O waterfall, for whom art thou crying?
From whose grief has thy brow become
wrinkled?

What pain was ^{thine} ~~your~~ that, as with me, it
has ended (thus, and now)
Thou art knocking thy head against rocks
and art weeping?

^{1/} Tadhkiratu'l-Khawatin p.139 and Gul-i-Rana fol.89a. From Bankipur Cat. (see vol.III p.251 under No.422) it appears that the quatrain is also found in the name of Zibu'n-Nisa in some of Dr. Ross's collections of MSS in the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I have written in vain to the authority to find out the exact reference. The following well-known line, in the same rhyme and metre, by some ribald poet (Bankipur Cat.III.p.251) lampooning Zibu'n-Nisa for her remaining unmarried, further suggests that the quatrain in question might have been composed by her:

بجز ز زینب انسا نکین فر بدارند

^{2/} There is a play on the word زینب (adorned) which also contains her pen-name "Zib".

^{3/} Tadhkiratu'l-Khawatin pp.139-40.

Appendix E.1.

A short notice of "Majmu'a", a Persian anthology in possession of Sir E.D.Ross.

Fol.232; size 8x5; mostly in fair Nasta'liq; dated 962/1555. Fol.232b.

It is a valuable Persian anthology by an unknown author, also containing some Turkish verses; most probably the author was one of the four scribes mentioned at different places:

(1) 'Abdul Haq fol.47a; (2) al-Amir Husayn fol.68a; (3) Kuchak Muhammad fol.92b; (4) Husayn Raju Bani Isra'il fol.111a and 232b.

From the phrase - *نورانی علی* - appearing at fol.125a along with the name of Ubayd Khan (who can be no other than Ubaydu'llah Khan Uzbek (d.1540)) we can assign an earlier date to the time when the writing of the collection was begun.

It contains selected poems and verses of all classical poets of Persian from Nizami down to 'Urfi of Shiraz. This brings the date of the collection down to the end of the sixteenth century.

For our purpose it is sufficient to notice that the collection contains the valuable poems of the following royal poets: Kamran Mirza (fol.56a); Sultan Husayn Mirza - d.1506 - (fol.92b); Yadgar Nasir Mirza - d.1546 - (fol.111b); and Ubayd Khan (fol.125a).

Appendix E.2.

A short notice of the anonymous diary referred to in this thesis, which has been my source for some of the verses given here.

Foll.82; size 8x6; Nasta'liq and Shikast combined.

This unique manuscript, from which I was able to copy some verses of the royal poets noticed in this thesis, was shown to me at Lucknow. It appeared to me to have been the diary of some Hindu Kayastha family; its contents, though not strictly arranged, may be divided into three parts:

- (1) Prescriptions of some common diseases;
- (2) Documents relating to the family property;
- (3) Poems of the following royal poets:
 - a. Muhammad Tughluq (fol.8b);
 - b. Muhammad Shah Bahmani II (fol.65a);
 - c. Bahadur Shah II (fol.19b);
 - d. Shah Jahan (folls.21b-23a),

and some chronograms on the death of Mumtaz Mahal and others.

I purchased the three leaves containing the poem of Shah Jahan noticed on pp.146-8 supra.

Additional Notes:No.1 (to p.3 - Babur):

The influence of Hafiz's poems extends to our royal poets as well. His verses were customarily sung when the court assembled for dancing and singing, as is described in *Futuhat-i-'Adil Shahi* (fol.47b). Babur quotes Hafiz (*Pers.Mem.fol.228a*) and parodies him (*ibid.fol.114b*); Kamran's work contains too many parallel Ghazals to leave a doubt as to the identity of his ideal; Akbar confesses to Hafiz as his favourite study; Aurangzib's famous letters are full of quotations therefrom; and Shah 'Alam acknowledges his various attempts of imitation.

Even in political correspondence Hafiz's Ghazals were cited as suitable expressions of good-will and flattery, as is mentioned by Ahmad Din in his "*Aurangzib*" (a modern work, publ.Lahore 1894). We hear further that Mahmud Shah Bahmani vainly invited Hafiz to his court, and that he was also reckoned as a model by the Qutub Shahis of the Deccan.

As to the practice of taking auguries from his Diwan, a full analysis is given, and instances of appropriate auguries quoted, in *Latifa-i-Ghaybiya* pp.122-7. Concerning our royal poet a reference to Humayun is found in *Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri* (fol.68a) and to Jahangir in *Tuzuk* (pp.104,108,and 118). The Bankipur Cat. (I.pp.231-52 under No.151) shows in the Diwan of Hafiz interesting marginal notes of Humayun and Jahangir describing the occasions for which the respective auguries were taken.

No.2 (to p.48 - Humayun):

Humayun, a Sunni originally, had been initiated in the Sufi order. To accept the Shi'ite Shah's condition would, therefore, involve him into no other deception than to emphasise in the presence of the Shah his adoration of 'Ali to such an extent that the Shah would not miss the absence of the abuse (Tabarra) which the Shi'as are accustomed to hurl against the first three Caliphs.

This need not have been a difficult task as Sana'i (d.545/1150), the head of a prominent Sufistic school, had taught that the first three Caliphs were not rightful successors:

گویند که سنیان، اوست ز عالم مراش خلقت به نعل داد و بزم ان
 هرگز نکند بجای آن را در است در دفترش آن جای دیده فروزان
 (Kull.fol.164b). با دفتر در المله لبر هم در بنده مراش به گمان دیدم هم سمان

while Rumi went even so far as to deify 'Ali:

تا صورت بهر منزه جای بود علی بود تا نقش زمین بود قرآن بود علی بود
 هم ادب هم افروخته غم را طهر با طهر هم عباد هم مستبد و مستبد علی بود

(Kull. Shams-1-Tabriz p.220 Lucknow 1302/1884-5)

For another similar ode see *ibid.* p.230.

I am indebted to Prof.R.A.Nicholson of Cambridge University for this reference.

No.3 (to p.88 - Kamran):

The poem is incomplete and seems to have been intended as the beginning of an ode in imitation of Jami's "Yusuf and Zulaykha". A comparison of its six verses with those of Jami which are parallel in ideas and measure will be all the more interesting as Jami's verses are scattered from p.77 to 225 of his work, and Kamran, with whom we find similar ideas to describe one single episode, cannot be accused of plagiarism. It must, moreover, be granted to him that he has succeeded in expressing his ideas very clearly and in beautiful words.

Kamran (Diwan pp.30-1)

Jami:

سخن پرداز این شیرین کجاست { سخن پرداز این شیرین کجاست
 سخن پرداز این شیرین کجاست { سخن پرداز این شیرین کجاست
 سخن پرداز این شیرین کجاست { سخن پرداز این شیرین کجاست

(p.127)

(p.143)

غم از روز از اینها دور مانده { غم از روز از اینها دور مانده
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(p.225)

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(p.204)

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(p.229)

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(p.77)

No.4 (to pp.172 and 177 - Dara Shikoh):

The metaphor of Man as a Drop compared to God as the Ocean is common among the Sufis. The "inner working of the human mind" reflected in Dara's as well as in Dawami's poem has, to my opinion, been best illustrated in the following beautiful passage, occurring on fol.157 a-b of an unique work most probably entitled *Tuhfatu'l-'Ashiqin* by Abdu'l-Haq, which is in my private possession:

نقطه از موج دریا در زستان نثار بر هر
 جوش را میخورد ز شدت بر سستی سستل تو معر
 کبک از سر که دریا می شنید این در سست دریا
 کرد از موج شنید و باران بر دوشش نامست بران
 نقطه چون آب شد به تالپان گفت ای آب در کجای رودان
 در دریای خود به کور سید خوشتر را در کجای کور سید
 ماه و شکر به شکل تفنگ گو در باران ز دریا ما
 شعله هر شد به کور و باران روشن از کجای مانع و تالپان

No.5 (to p.208 - Shah 'Alam):

This refers to the well-known tradition according to which God created the creature in order that He might be known (see Asfia p.87 and also Tabriz p.208). It is a common and favourite subject of Persian mystic poetry. See Rumi's beautiful poem (Tabriz p.14) beginning:

داند گفت که ما بدست جان به نیازی نوز ، . حکمت چه بود از گه در خلقت پروردگرا

and Jami's equally interesting exposition (Yusuf u Zulaykha pp. 22-24) beginning:

درال غلوت که گمانی به تنهال بود

For the idea compare Makhfi (Diwan p.58):

از زب لغبت فروغی ز جگر بگش
بگام بر کرم از زب اشتافی رفت

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226. Shahi, Amir 'Ata Malik of Sabzwar (d.857/1453), Or.3283.
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^{1/} Rieu (Add.7786 p.659-60) wrongly attributes it to Salim II (1566-74).

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