PERSIAN POETS OF SINDH
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PREFACE

The literary history of Sindh has been largely forgotten, and much of the indigenous work has been lost. At one time this remote province was one of the main gateways of India to the West, through which have passed, since the ages, countless streams of traders and travellers and adventurers of different caste, colour and clime - Persians, Greeks and Scythians, Arabs, Afghāns and Turks. The land of the Indus has, thus, served as a meeting-place of diverse cultures; and the influence of those who speak the Persian tongue on the life and language of Sindh easily takes the first place. Indeed so great was the popularity and appeal of Persian, the language of culture, in the Indus valley, that many a son of the soil became an accomplished poet in this language of his adoption.

The vast body of literature of Sindh, contains a wealth of Persian poetry. This has, hitherto, remained concealed in fragmentary, and almost inaccessible, manuscripts which lie scattered all over the province; and no attempt has ever been made to collate and, much less, to critically examine and appreciate their contents. But as they form a valuable part of our cultural heritage, an attempt has been made in the present treatise to survey the field of Persian poetry, as it has come down to us, largely through these primary sources. Thus the present work is a pioneer effort, made largely in the hope that it may help to bring to light some of the neglected aspects of our literary history.

There are two anthologies in Persian - the Maqālātush-Shuʿarā of Mir 'Ali Shīr "Qānī" and the Takmīla of Makhdūm

(1) This work was prepared before the partition of the country; and the references to 'India' in the text pertain to the whole geographical unit — the undivided India, including Pakistan.
Ibrahim "Khalil" - which deal with some of the Persian poets, both native and foreign. These anthologies, however, make but a cursory review of the work of the Persian poets of Sindh, and present an altogether inadequate picture of their achievements. Besides, they are arranged in alphabetical order of the poets' pen-names, and make no attempt to appraise the state of Persian poetry and scholarship at various stages in the history in Sindh.

I do not claim to have exhausted all the available material on the subject, for it is quite likely that some manuscripts may yet come to light and bring about a re-orientation of the subject. But I may venture to say that I have tried to the best of my power, to make use of all the matter I could lay hands on, in the hope that this work may blaze a trail for further investigation and research in the domain of Persian poetry in Sindh.

In the "Introduction" to this work, an attempt has been made to survey briefly the relative position of Persian poetry in Iran, India and Sindh at various stages of its history. The five chapters which follow, deal with the Persian poets of Sindh. I have limited the selection only to such of the poets as have, in any way, influenced the development of Persian poetry in Sindh. They are about eighty. In addition to a rational interpretation and exposition of the poems, the five chapters contain short biographical sketches of the poets, and a brief survey of the political, social and literary condition of the province from the early times of its history. The records consulted for the purpose of this work are mainly in manuscripts to which I have had access with much difficulty.

A word about the title of the book: The Persian Poets of Sindh. The term 'Persian Poets' has been used in its wider sense, so as to include all poets, both native and foreign, who employed 'Persian' as the vehicle of their expression.
In conclusion, I have to express my grateful thanks to Diwan Sōbhrāj Nirmaldās who allowed me the use of many manuscripts and offered many valuable suggestions. Mention may also be made of Pir Husāmu’din Shah Rāshidi and Mirza Gul Hasan “Karbalai”, who lent me some of the manuscripts in their possession and generally helped me in tracing fresh material. My thanks are also due to several others, referred to in the bibliography, who were good enough to allow me the use of their manuscripts.

H. I. Sadarangani.
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u as in 'put'
ū like oo in 'food'
PERSIAN POETS OF SINDH
INTRODUCTION

The Persians are a sensitive people with fertile imagination; and the Avestā in the days of the Achaemenians (550-331 B.C.) and the Pahlawi, during the reign of the Sāsānids (226-652 A.D.) are marked by a breath of poetry. These two languages are, however, different from the Modern Persian, viz. the dari language “as it reappears after the Arab conquest” (651-52 A.D.), and with which we are here concerned.

In the Persian language of the post-Pahlawi period, there is perhaps no extant record of verse anterior to:

"فرخت باد روشنی
خنده گر شاسب هوش
نوش گوش کن می نوش
پافرین نهاده گوش
دوست بد کوش دی گناشت و دوش
همیشه نیکی کوشن
بافرین شاهی
شاها خدا یگنا"

We have another example of Persian poetical composition - incidentally the earliest satire in non-metrical form - in the renderings of Yazid b. Muffarrigh, a poet of Arab extraction who, while he was taken round the streets of Basra, made an arch reference to the grandmother of the then ruler Ubaydullāh Ziyād:

آبست و نبیذ است
عصارات زیبی است

1 سعیت روشی است

We have also a specimen, almost in the nature of a doggrel, said to have been recited by the children of Khurāsān, some

(1) It forms the fourth line according to the author of Tārīkh-i-Sīstān (p. 96), the third in order being:

"دنیه فربه و بي است"
time in 726 A. D., when Asad b. 'Abdullāh was defeated in the battle of Khuttalān and fled to Balkh. It runs as under:

اَز خلتَان آَمْدادُه بروُنْ دَبْه آَمَدادُه
آَبابُ دَبْه آَمْدادُه خشَكُ نَزار آَمْدادُه

The overthrow of the Persians by the Arabs, and their subsequent conversion to Islām, brought about great changes in the social, political and literary life of the subject-nation. The Persian genius stagnated and contributed little to its own literary development for several generations after the conquest. Those who had striven to be the conquerors of the world, only imitated their rulers. For about two hundred years they adopted the Arab ways in their social and literary life, and developed such a proficiency in the new language that they could successfully vie with their masters in the production of classical Arabic literature.

With the accession of Al-Mutawakkil in 847 A. D. came the decline of the Arab power over the Persian provinces. Local dynasties - the Tāhirids (820-72 A. D.), the Saffārids (868-903 A. D.) and the Sāmānids (874-999 A. D.) - rose to power. Tradition has it that during the regime of the Tāhirids, when Khurāsān had shaken off the Arab yoke, there existed a Persian poet whose compositions so inspired Ahmad b. 'Abdullāh of Khujistān that he worked his way up from an ass-herd to the rulership of Khurāsān. This poet was Hanzala (d. about 834 A. D.), a native of Bādghīs, and his remarkable achievement in poetry was:

مہتَری گَر بکَام شَیر در اَسَت شَو خَنَک کَن زَکَام شَیر بِجَوی
یا بِزرگی و عَز و نَعمہ و جَاه یا جُو مَرَدَانَت مَرَگ روُب روی

Another specimen of his poetry is:

یارم سَیند اَگرچہ بِر آتش هَمی اَنگند
اَز بِهِر چَشم ِتا نَرَسَد مر وَرَ گَزند
The above two pieces of Hanzala's poetry are regarded as the oldest specimens of metric verse in Persian, but the perfect finish and consummate art exhibited in them and the evidence of Nizāmī-i-'Arūdī that Hanzala composed a Diwān, would lend support to the view that some accomplished poets must have been in existence before the age of Hanzala and subsequent to the song of Asad b. 'Abdullāh. These poets must have made a substantial contribution to the development of Persian poetry which grew from its rugged rudiments to the noble melody and elegance of Hanzala's poetry.

The reign of the Saffārids (868 - 903 A. D.) marks the final achievement of political independence by the Persians. It is only natural, therefore, that the period is progressive in poetic production. Of the many poets who flourished then, the names of Muḥammad b. Wasīf As-sijjistānī, Bassām Kurd, Muḥammad b. Makhallad, Fīrūz-i-Mashriqī and Abū Sulaik of Gurgān with some of their verses have come down to us. Of these, the first is said to have recited an extemore qasīda in Persian to eulogize Ya'qūb b. Layth on the occasion of his conquest of Herāt:

(1) Sayyid Sulaymān Nādirī in his Khayyām (pp. 229-30) makes a mistake in calling the latter piece a quatrains; Ghāni, on the other hand, makes a more serious mistake when in his Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan (pp. 109-10)- he gives the name of quatrains to both the pieces.
(3) The distich in Tāriḵ-i-Sisīān, p. 210, reads as under:

(1) Sayyid Sulaymān Nādirī in his Khayyām (pp. 229-30) makes a mistake
in calling the latter piece a quatrains; Ghāni, on the other hand, makes a
more serious mistake when in his Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan (pp. 109
10)- he gives the name of quatrains to both the pieces.
Apart from the fact that in form and language, the verses of the *qasida* bear a clear impress of Arabic poetry, Muhammad b. Wasif is, in all probability, the first Persian composer of Panegyrics. And judging from the style and metre of the encomiums of 'Abbās Marwazi, it would appear that they were written much later than the period to which he is supposed to belong.

The Persian literature, specially poetry, made rapid strides in the regime of the Sāmānids. 'Awfī mentions the names of twenty eight poets who flourished during the period. The Persians were 'ablaze with national fervour', swayed by a strong reaction against everything Arabic. The Sāmānid princes, who claimed their descent from the Persian Bahrām-i-Chubin, paid special attention to the development of Persian literature. The most celebrated poets of this age - and the earliest writers of *mathnawi* - were Masʻūdi-i-Marwazi, Abul-Mu`ayyad of Balkh, Rūdaki, Abū Shakūr and Daqiqi. Of these, Masʻūdi enjoys the reputation of being the originator of the national epic; Abul-Mu`ayyad is reckoned the first composer of romantic *mathnawi*, *Yūsuf-wa-Zulaykhā*; while Rūdaki is considered to be the father of Persian poetry much in the same way as Chaucer is looked upon as the pioneer of English verse. Author of a *Diwān* and a few *mathnawīs*, he is also reputed to be the writer of *Kalīla-wa-Dimna* in narrative form. Abū Shakūr wrote *Āfarin Nāma* in doublets and is one of the earliest writers, if not the founder of *rubā‘i* in Persian. Daqiqi

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(1) In *Tārikh-i-Sistān* p. 211, it is بَرَان
completed a *Diwân* of ghazals and *qasîdas* and undertook the difficult task of writing in mathnawi form a history of ancient Persian monarchs. He had only completed about a thousand couplets of this work, now widely known as *Dâstân-i-Gashtâsp-wa-Arjâsp*, when his life was cut short by an assassin. There is a trace of foreign (Arabic) element in the ghazals and *qasîdas* of this period - the Arabic vocabulary being far richer in *qâfiyas* than the Persian - but the mathnawi largely retained its indigenous purity in form and spirit.

The Sâmânids were followed by the Ghaznavids (998-1044 A. D.), and their time was one of the most glorious in the history of Persian literature, specially poetry. Many poets of note flourished during this age, Firdawsi being the most luminous star in the bright constellation. ‘Natural and national’ as Firdawsi was in his outlook, he took up the National Legend initiated by Daqîqî, and embellished it with his admittedly superior diction and style. With a view to diverting the attention of the Persian writers from the Baghdad court to the Persian darbâr, the rulers of the Ghaznavid dynasty gave handsome rewards to the men of letters, and elicited praises from contemporary poets like Farrukhi, 'Unsuri, 'Usjudî and Minûchihri. This naturally led to the further growth of *qasîda*, which though simple in style, grew richer in thought and expression.

It was about this time that the Persian literature made its first venture in India; and there is little doubt that it was in the glorious reign of the Ghaznavids that it came to be the fashionable vehicle of poetic expression. With Mahmûd's conquest of the Punjáb (1021 A. D.), Lahore came to be "an important centre, politically as well as socially equal to Ghazna ... ... Nobles and scholars migrated to the conquered territory, settled down there, temporarily or permanently" and laid the foun-

ations of the post-Islamic Indo-Persian culture. The wholesome and stimulating atmosphere that the munificence of the Ghaznavid rulers and the “free and profuse intercourse between the different parts of Persia, Afghānistān, Transoxiana, Khorāsān and the Punjab” must have brought in their train, is not difficult to imagine. Soon India produced Persian poets, of whom Abū 'Abdullāh (an-) Nukatī of Lāhore, a contemporary of Sultān Mas'ūd, merits special mention. His verse is graceful and pure, and his Fragments show great mastery of the Persian language and prosody. It is not improbable that India possessed poets in Persian who predeceased him; but there is no conclusive evidence to this effect.

In 1044 A.D., the Seljūq dynasty, succeeded the Ghaznavid. During their reign (1044-1157 A.D.), and particularly in the days of Malik Shāh and Sultān Sanjar, Persian poetry attained great heights. Both the form and thought made rapid strides. The qasīda developed in the capable hands of poets like Mu'izzī, Anwārī, Khāqānī, and Zāhir, and became even more refined in thought and diction. Abū Mansūr Qatrān, many of whose qasidas are often attributed to Rūdaki, cultivated the more difficult verse-forms such as the murabba' (four-some), Mukhammas (five-some), and dhuqāfiyatayn (double-rhyme). Sanāī, the first of the mystic trio (the other two being Shaykh Faridud-Dīn 'Attār and Jalālud-Dīn-i-Rūmī), expressed haqīqat in the language of majāz, and introduced the practice of placing the poetic name in the concluding distich of a ghazal. Nāsir-i-Khusraw and 'Umar Khayyām, with their philosophic ruminations and thought-provoking speculations, made Persian poetry even more fascinating. Nizāmī of Ganja, the acknowledged master of the Romance, laid the foundation of sāqī nāma, and

(1) Ghani in his Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan, p. 190. remarks, “The first Persian darbar was held in the very lifetime of Mahmūd at Lahōre”
(2) Muhammad Wahid Mirza: Life and works of Amīr Khusrau, Int., p. i.
(3) Ghani in Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan, p. 193, makes a mistake in calling him Alankati.
composed his well-known quintet in five different metres, subsequently imitated by many poets of Persia, India and Turkey. *Hajw* (the lampoon or satire) became the fashion of the day, the poets of note being Sūzāni, Futūḥī and Anwārī.

At this stage we come across in India three notable personalities viz., Abul-Faraj-i-Rūnī, Mas’ūd-i-Sa’d-i-Salmān and Hamidud-Din Mas’ūd b. Sa’id of Shāli-Kūb. Abul-Faraj wrote a *Diwān* of *qāsidas*; Mas’ūd specialised in the panegyric and differed from other standard *qasida*-writers in-as-much as he employed the forms of *ghazal*, *qī’ta* and *musaddas* etc., for purposes of the panegyric and composed a bulky *Diwān*; while the poetry of Hamidud-Din almost attained the standard of excellence set by Rūdāki and 'Unsuri.

After the death of Sanjar in 1157 A. D., Persia was harried by internecine wars which gave rise to the power of the Khwārazmshāhis, till the onslaughts of Chingiz Khān (1227 A. D.) and his hordes destroyed them all and established the rule of the Mongols. This revolution brought a new way of thinking among the poets, based on softer feelings and the idea of the transitoriness of worldly grandeur, and inclined them to spiritual themes. Sūfism and Sūfītic Poetry, which had ere this found their exponents in Abū Sa’id and Sanā‘ī, attained a position of prominence in this period; and 'Attār among several works dealing with Sūfī doctrines, produced an allegorical poem called *Mantiqu-Tayr*, which describes the seven stages of the mystic path. Jalālud-Din-i-Rūmī, on the other hand, produced his famous *Mathnawi-i-Ma’anawi*, and enriched Sūfī thought by a further contribution, namely, *Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabrīzī*. Sa’di sublimated the moral content of his writings specially the *ghazal*, with tinge of *tasawwuf*. 'Irāqī and Mahmūd-i-Shabistari brought out *Lama’āt* and *Gulshan-i-Rāz* respectively, dealing with subjects of mystical and spiritual nature. Turkish language gained ground and many words and expressions of Turkish origin were introduced in Persian.
Whatever the effect of Indian poets of the past on Persian poetry, Persia can never ignore this period of Indian history. There flourished in India at this time, the famous "Five wonders"—Amir Khusraw, Khwāja Hasan-i-Dehlawi, Dīyāūd-Dīn Barānī, Badr-i-Chāch and Qādī Zahir Dehlawi. Khusraw was, of course, by far the best, excelling all his predecessors, contemporaries and successors (in India)—both in respect of the quality and volume of his work. He wrote rapidly and profusely. His verses alone number over four hundred thousand. A Turk by birth and Indian by domicile, this "parrot of India" uses a happy blend of Turkish and Hindi words in his compositions, but, on the whole, he employs the original Persian idiom with such skill as to evoke the approbation of even the front rank poets of Persia. He infused ‘pathos’ into his ghazals; and the melody of his word and the beauty of his rhyme give evidence of a mastery which only belongs to the greatest of poets. His rank in the domain of the mathnawi is higher still. After he had composed a good many qasidas and ghazals, he saw that both these forms had been used by almost every poet, but that there was none besides Firdawsi and Nizāmi who could claim mastery in the field of epic and romantic mathnawi. This state of affairs in the realm of poetry in Persia, and the absence of the form and content of poetry known as mathnawi in India, inspired Khusraw to take to mathnawi and record in it all contemporary events of historical as well as sociological interest. He composed five mathnawīs on the lines of Nizāmi’s Khamsa (in which respect he is the first and the best imitator of Nizāmi), and has many more to his credit, most famous among them being (i) ’Ashīqa or ’Ishqiyya (also known as Duwal Rāni-wā-Khidar Khān) (ii) Miftāhul-Futūh, (iii) Tughlaq Nāma, (iv) Qīrānus-Sa’dayn and (v) Nuh Sipahr. Of these, the first is a romantic story of (King ’Alāūd-Dīn Khilji’s son) prince Khidar Khān’s love for (Duwal) Rānī, the beautiful daughter of the Rāja of Gujerāt. The second and the
third deal with the reigns of Sultān Jalālud-Dīn Firūz Khilji and Ghiyāthud-Dīn Tughlaq respectively. Qirānus-Sa’dayn is very important from the point of view that it brings to light two entirely original features of Khusraw’s poetry viz., (i) Couplets of the same metre and rhyme which serve as suitable headings for the different chapters and which can be linked up in the forms of a qasīda, and (ii) a number of ghazals echoing the sentiment of the Chapter immediately preceding it, besides relieving the monotony of the metre of mathnawī. His Nuh Sipahr, unique in style and spirit, is divided into nine Chapters written in different metres, including the رجز مسدس طویل (متنعل مفتعل مفتعل) a difficult and uncommon metre used by Khusraw perhaps for the first time in the history of Persian mathnawī. Besides he is the first Muslim poet in the subcontinent to strike a patriotic note in his poetry, and a musician of high order.

The fall of the Mongols on the death of Abū Sa’īd (their last ruler) in 1335 A. D. gave rise to disturbances which extended over half a century. A few small dynasties sprang up and kept on fighting, till they were destroyed by Timūr (d. 1405 A. D.). But the period, though marred by political unrest, is quite distinguished for its literary activity. Many poets flourished during this period, the most notable among them being Khwājū of Kirmān, Salmān-i-Sāwaji, Ḥāfiz-i-Shirāzī, Kamāl-i-Khujandī and Maghrībī of Tabriz in the field of mystic poetry; Abū Ishāq in the composition of the satire; and Ibn-i-Yāmin who wrote Fragments on ethical subjects. The later Timūrid period (1405-1507 A.D.) was remarkable for the poetic activity of Shāh Ni’matullāh Wali, Qāsimul-Anwar, Kātībī and Jāmī. Of these, Jāmī was a great classical Sūfī-poet; he composed seven mathnawīs collectively called Haft Aurang, and wrote three Diwāns and a number of prose works. His genius was at his best in short stories. The liberal grants by Sultān Husayn Mirzā and his prime-minister Amir ‘Ali Shīr Nawāi were greatly
responsible for the production of several literary works during this epoch. Turkish language and its expression continued to exercise their influence on Persian, so much so that many writers of this period began to write books in Turkish and sacrifice both the Persian literature and grammar.

Though Persia supplied a long line of poets in the Timūrid period, India (i.e. Hind excluding Sind) hardly produced any. One important event, however, relating to this period, is the advent of some Sindhis in the field of Persian poetry. Sindhi, as known to the students of history, came under the Muslim (Arab) domination for the first time in 711 A.D. In a short time, the language of the rulers (i.e. Arabic) became popular in Sindh, and many original books as well as translations came to be written in it. It was, in all probability, in the days of Mahmūd Ghaznawi (998-1030 A.D.) that the Persian language made its way into Sindh. It then made progress during the reign of the liberal patrons of the Ghaznavid dynasty when Sindh was a tributary. The earliest period in the history of Sindh, in which some compositions in Persian poetry by the foreign settlers in this province can be traced, is the thirteenth century A.D. - the period of the Sūmira Kings. Some of these pieces are by Nūrud-Dīn 'Awfī's contemporary 'Ali b. Hāmid Kufī, the well-known writer of the Chach Nāma, who arrived and settled in the province in 1216 A.D.; and the rest are by Shaykh 'Uthmān-i-Marwandi, popularly known as Lāl Shahbaz. The oldest Persian poets of Sindh, according to the extant annals, are the indigenous writers Jām Jūnā, Shaykh Hāmmād "Jamāli", Shaykh 'Isā Langōṭiō, Jām Nindo and Makhdūm Bilāl-all of whom belong to the Samma period (1333–1521 A.D.). The only reminiscent verse of Jām Jūnā, as preserved in 'Afīf's Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhī, is the following hemistic which the poet is believed to have said in apology to his victor, Firūz Shāh Tughlaq:

شاه بخشندہ توئی بنہدہ شرمندہ منم
Specimens of the compositions of the remaining four poets are given below:

**Hammād:**

دو گزرک بوریا و پوستکی
دلکی بر ز درد دوستکی
این قدسی س بود جمالی را
عاشق رند و لاویالی را

**Shaykh 'Isā:**

قید باشد حکم در رو دوست
دو گزرک بوریا و پوستکی
گر تو آزاده ای بس است ترا
دلکی بر ز درد دوستکی

**Jām Nindō:**

ای آنکه ترا نظام دین میخوانند
تو مفتخری مرا چنین میخوانند
گر در رودین از تو خطاف افتند
شک نیست که کافرعلین میخوانند

**Makdūm Bilāl:**

در راه خدا زسر قدم باید ساخت
سراپن، اختیار خود باید باخت
کفراست که خودندمای باشي بجهان
از خوش شرون و سوی او بایدتاخت

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(1) The Authors of *رياض العارفين* (p. 461) and *آتشکده آذر* (pp. 84-85) have attributed these verses to Jamālī Dehlavi. The latter considers him as a contemporary of Jāmī. Shaykh Muhammad Ikrām, the compiler of *ارمغان پاک* (p. 158) has put the following 2 hemistichs in between the above couplets and attributed their composition to Jalāluddin Jamāli (d. 942), the author of *دي مهر و ماه*. The latter was Sikandar Lodhi's teacher and guide and father to Sheikh گدائي, the first Shaykhul-Islām during the reign of Akbar:

لنککی زیبر لنککی بالا - نم غم دزد نی غم کلا
It is hard to believe that the people to whom Persian was an alien tongue could have at once begun with such a sure mastery of the rules of Persian prosody, as the above pieces reveal. However, in the absence of any clear data we regard these as the earliest known specimens of Persian poetry written in Sindh, and assume that they mark the first stage in the periodic development of Persian poetry in Sindh as presented in this monograph.

The Timúrids were displaced by the Safawids (1507-1722 A.D.). The latter were Shi‘a rulers, and they appreciated religious and devotional verse more than the hyperbolic praises which are a distinct feature of the qasidas. Thus Maulānā Muhtasham of Kāshān devoted his talent to “the celebration of the virtues and sufferings of the Imāms” and won universal applause. Hātifi and Mīrzā Qāsim Gunābādī took to writing a parallel of Nizāmī’s Khamsa, and Hilālī confined himself mainly to composing ghazals and mathnawīs. Bābā Fīghānī Ummīdī, Wahshi of Bāfq and Zulālī are comparatively more important than the rest. It is not difficult to find out the reasons why the Safawid period in Persia could not produce a single poet of the calibre of Firdawsi, Nizāmī and Khusraw in the fields of the mathnawī; or of Sa‘di, Hāfiz and Jāmi in the sphere of the ghazal, or an equal of Mas’ūd, ‘Unsuri and Khāqānī in the domain of the qasīda. Apart from their policy of upholding the Shi‘a against the Sunni, the rulers of the Safawid dynasty did very little to encourage poetry. On the other hand, their contemporaries, the Mughal Emperors in India and the rulers of the Deccan, gave material and moral support to the poets at their court. This, combined with other reasons dealt with Shibli Nu‘mānī (d. 1914 A. D.), induced many a poet of Persia to leave his home and hearth and migrate to India.

Before taking up the poets who flourished under the Mughul and the Deccan princes, it may be observed that after the death

(1) Shi‘r-Ajam, Vol. III.
of Khusraw and his contemporary poets, Persian Poetry in India had almost ceased to exist. It, however, received a new life-giving impulse in the days of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī (1489-1517 A. D.), father of Ibrāhīm Lodi whom Bābar defeated on the field of Pānipat. Sikandar was a master of the pen; and his achievements in the realm of poetry were no less than his valour in the field. He wrote his poems under the pen-name "Gulrukh". In his days the Hindūs took to the study of Persian, and soon produced poets of whom "Brahman" (Dūngarm-al?) is reputed to be the best. This period, therefore, marks the strengthening of the cultural links between the two major communities, the Hindūs and the Muslims, who were at one in their appreciation of Persian poetry and poetic compositions in the Persian language.

Bābar (1526-30) A. D.) was a descendant of Timūr on his father's side; and his mother stood in direct line with Chingiz. Much of his work was composed in his native tongue, the Chaghtāi Turki, but he was no mean poet of the Persian language. His descendants - Humānyūn, Akbar and Jahāngir also had a flair for Persian Poetry. Indeed they played a noteworthy part in encouraging the poets at their court; and in their regime this art was much cultivated by all men of rank and fashion, Khān-i-Zamān and 'Abdur-Rahim Khān-i-Khānān being the most conspicuous among them. Persian became the official language of the state, and Akbar, that enlightened monarch, employed many scholars to translate into Persian (prose as well as poetry), Sanskrit and Hindi books of Hindū philosophy and folk-lore, some notable productions being: Razm Namā (a translation of the Mahā Bhārata in Persian prose interspersed with poetry), Atharvan Veda, Yoga Vashishta, Bhāg-wad Gitā, Rāmāyana, Tārīkh-i-Krishnāji, Singhāsan Battīsi and Nal Daman. One will realise the extent to which the Persian language and literature must have been enriched by these trans-

(1) Vide Adabbiyāt-i-Fārsī Men Hinduoen Kā Hissa, pp. 13, 29 and 30.
lations; and "a number of persian official and legal terms together with other common colloquial expressions obtained currency in a somewhat different sense from that in which they were understood in Persia".\(^1\)

Among the Irānian poets who basked under the sun of the Mughuls, and of whom the Persians should be as proud as the Indians, were 'Urfī, Nazīrī, Tālib-i-Āmulī, Abū Tālib "Kalim" and Sāīb. Of these, 'Urfī is renowned for ḥāṣīda, in addition to ghazal\(^2\) which he declared to be his forte. Nazīrī shone out as ghazal and mathnawī writer. Tālib-i-Āmulī and Abū Tālib "Kalim" served as poet laureates to Jahāngīr and his son Shāh Jahān respectively and are chiefly known for their love-lyrics. Sāīb wrote profusely and excelled as an ode-writer. He was very good at ready wit and is the first to write mithāliya (i.e. proverbial) poetry.

The Deccan, under Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (1580-1627 A.D), can also lay claim to at least one great poet of Persia who was attracted to India. He is Mullā Zuhūrī, a good ghazal and mathnawī writer who, it is stated, "by giving a new foundation to the dilapidated structure of the old style of prose and poetry, saved it from total collapse". Among his works in poetry may be mentioned a Diwān and the famous mathnawī called the Sāqī Nāma.

Of the Indian poets in the Persian language who flourished during the time of the Mughal rule, the most illustrious was Faydī who, according to his rival and contemporary 'Abdul-Qādir of Badāyūn,\(^4\) had no equal in the spheres of

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2. Cf:

قصيدة كار هوش بیشگان بود عرفی تواز قبیله عشَّیقی ونیغه ات غزل است

3. Ghānī: *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, p. 192 (based on the authority of Maathir-i-Rahmti.)
poetry, enigma, prosody, history, orthography, medicine, and epistemology. He was a profound scholar of Persian and Arabic and has been reckoned as second only to Amir Khusraw in “the mastery of diction, poetic excellence and sublimity of thought” in India.¹ Prolific and versatile genius produced many books, original as well as derivative, the two best known among them being Sawât’ul-Illâm (a Prose Commentary on the holy Qur’ân in dotless letters) ²Nal Daman (the love story of Râja Nal and Damaynti in mathnawi form, taken from the Mahâ Bhârata).

Shaykh Sa’dullâh, better known as “Masih” of Pânîpat, rendered a signal service to the Persian literature by composing Râmâyân (the story of Râma-wa-Sitâ). Badru-Din-i-Kashmiri composed a number of mathnâvis, seven of which are on the lines of Jâmi’s “Haft Awrang”. Other noteworthy poets were Muhammad Tâhir Ghani of Kashmir, Nâsir ‘Ali-i-Sarhandi and “Bidil” of ‘Azimâbâd, all of whom, particularly the last contributed materially to the delicacy of thought and subtlety of expression in ghazal. Ni’mat Khân “’Ālî” of the fame of Waqây’-i-Hyderâbâd, also lived in this age and wrote Kulliyyat which contains ghazals, qasidas, qit’as, rubâ’îs, mathnawîs, etc. The Hindûs, too, did not lag behind. They produced many poets and scholars, of whom Chandrabhân “Burhanan” (sometimes “Barahman” also) is the most important.

Sindh, during this period, was first ruled by the Arghûns (1521-55 A.D.), then by the Tarkhâns (1555-1612 A.D.); and after the death of Mirza’Isâ (1572 A.D.) in Upper Sindh, and the childless Ghâzi Bêg (d. 1612 A.D.) in the Lower, it was

². For this mathnâvi, Badâyûnî (Muntakhabut-Tawârikh, vol. II, p. 396) pays him a tribute.
³. For details see Adabbiyât-i-Fârsî Men Hinduon Kâ Hissa, pp. 56-87, specially pp. 81-87.
annexed to the Mughal empire and came to be directly governed by the Agents appointed by the Emperor of Delhi. The Arghūns and the Tarkhāns were men of literary leanings. They opened several schools for the study of Persian, and attracted to their court from Persia poets and scholars like Hāshimi Kirmānī, Ni'matullāh "Wasli", Mullā Asad Qissa-Khwān, Hakim Faghfūr-i-Gilānī, Mullā Murshid Burūjirdī, Tālib-i-Āmūli and Shaydā-Isfahānī. Many of the Mughal Agents too - for instance, Nawwābs Amir Khān, Abū Nasrāt Khān, Hifzullāh Khān, Amirud-Dīn Khān, Ahmad Yār Khān, Mahābat Khān, Sayfullāh Khān, Dilir dil Khān and Mir Lutf 'Ali Khān - were poets and patrons of learning. Mir 'Abdur-Razzāq "Mashrab" of Persia visited Sindh in their time. Thatta, the capital of Sindh, was at the height of its renown and the cradle of Islāmic culture and learning. It is stated by Captain Hamilton (who came to Sindh in 1699 A.D.) that this city contained four hundred colleges and schools. Whatsoever the authenticity of this statement, there would seem to be little doubt as to the development of education and learning in the Lower Indus delta during this period. Thus, we get the names of Idrāki "Beglārī" and Hāji Muhammad "Redāī" who made original contribution to the mathnawī form by versifying the native 'Tragedies' of Līlā wa Chanēsar and Zībā wa Nīgār (alias Sasuī-wa-Punūn) respectively. Mir Ma'sūm Shāh "Nāmi" wrote five mathnawīs in imitation of Nizāmī's Punj Gunj. He also composed a Diwān. The foundation of the Sāqī Nāma in Sindh was laid by Mirzā Ghāzi Beg, and hajw was introduced by Ghurūrī. Many erotic odes were also composed, notably by 'Abdul-Hakim "'Atā" of Thatta. For the first time in its history, Sindh could, at this stage, boast of the splendid achievements in Persian, of some Hindū poets and Muslim poetesses.

The eighteenth century is "the most barren" period in the history of Persian poetry. There was hardly a poet of eminence
during this period, most notable, however, being Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali "Hazin", Sayyid 'Ali Mushtāq Lutf 'Ali Bēg "Ādhar" and Sayyid Ahmad "Hātif" of Isfahān. During the reign of that austere prince Aurangzib, there was little scope for Persian poetry and India ceased to be the El Dorado of the Persian 'emigrația'. Soon the atmosphere of lively activity, created by the presence of the Irānian scholars changed, and before long the works of Indian poets and scholars deteriorated both in subject matter and style. Moreover, the emergence of Urdū, which had been in the process of development for a long time, gave a death-blow to the Persian literature. A few solitary luminaries-Mir 'Abdul-Jalil of Bilgrām, 'Azematullāh "Bī-Khabar", Anandrām "Mukhlīs", Sirājud-Din "Ārzū", Lālā Amānāt Rāi, Wāqīf-i-Batālāwī and Ghulām 'Ali "Azād" - however, continued to shed a ray of light on the field of Persian literature in India. To this list may be added the name of Zibun-Nisā "Makhfi" (Aurangzib's daughter) who furnishes perhaps the only example of a lady-poet in the domain of Persian literature in India. She was reputed for her wit and has left a Diwān.

Paradoxically, however, this was the golden age of Persian poetry in the remote, incalculable province of Sindh. During the major part of the eighteenth century, Sindh was governed by the Kalhoras, first as Agents of Delhi and then as independent monarchs. Their rule has a close resemblance to that of the Mongols and the Timūrids in Persia, in so far as it was characterized by ghastly scenes of blood-shed and war; and yet was the most brilliant period of our Persian poetry. Sūfīsm rose to transcendental heights, both in theory and practice, and found some of its best exponents in 'Allāma Mu'inud-Din of Thatta (in prose) and Sayyid Jānūllāh Shāh "Mīr" of Rōhrī (in poetry); the latter was Sūfī of high order, and is by far the best poet of Sindh who dived deep into the ocean of divine thought and brought out matchless pearls of mystic poetry. Next to
him were Muhammad Muhsin and 'Ali Shīr “Qāni” of Thata, both of whom along with the above named Jānullāh Shāh, were great masters of the ghazals, and the first among the Sindhis to compose the qasīda. A Shī‘a by faith, Muhammad Muhsin wrote books in poetry on subjects relating to Hadrat 'Ali and his sons, and prepared the ground for marthiyas (threnodies) in Sindh. On the other hand, Qāni was a far more versatile genius, profound and prolific. He wrote no less than thirty books in Persian (prose and poetry), of which the two most outstanding are Tuhfātul-Kirām and Maqālātush-Shu‘ara. Besides, he had an exceptionally good grasp of the science of metres and was a master in the art of chronogram. At this stage of its history, many mushā’aras came to be organized in Sindh, in which prominent poets participated - the above-mentioned “Qāni”, Muhammad Panāh “Rejā”, Ghulām 'Ali “Maddāh” and Munshi Shewakrām “Utārid” being some of them. The last-named was a pupil of Muhammad Muhsin, and is the best Hindu poet of his time.

The goddess of Persian poetry, though wanting in devotees in the eighteenth century, inspired some scholars in the first half of the nineteenth century (the period of the early Qājār rule in Persia). Poets like Sayyid Muhammad “Sahāb”, Faṭ‘h ‘Ali Khān “Sabā”, 'Abdul-Wahhāb “Nashāt”, Muhammad Shafi’ “Wisāl”, Mirzā Habīb “Qaāni”, Mirzā ‘Abbās “Furūghi”, Mirzā ‘Abul-Hasan “Yaghmā”, “Surūsh” Mījmar and Qāim Maqām Farāhānī did great service to Persian poetry, specially the classical. Of these, “Yaghmā” remembered for his ghazāliyyāt, hazaliyyāt (facetiae) and a new form of elegy which he devised, and which is known as nūha-i-sīna-zānī. “Qaāni” was one of the most melodious poets who by his humour and harmony of words reinstalled the qasīda on its high pedestal. By consensus of opinion, he is considered the best poet of the century.

In India, more and more attention came to be given to Urdu, and Persian poetry was almost completely neglected. It
is difficult to name even a single great poet in this period.

Sindh by this time had passed from the hands of the Kalhōrās to the Tālpurs (1783-1853 A.D.). Shiās by faith, the Tālpur Amīrs established friendly relations with the Shāh of Persia, with the result that many Persian scholars came to Sindh and imparted to its people first-hand knowledge of the Persian language. Of the ruling princes, Mīr Karam 'Ali Khān, Nasīr Khān and Sobdār Khān were poets of considerable merit - each of them having a Diwān of ghazals to his credit, and the last two some mathnawīs as well. They were a martial race and keenly desired the epic to take the front place in Persian poetry. Soon Muhammad 'Azīm of Thata came out with Fat'h Namā, a history of the Tālpurs from the time of the Kalhōrās, and won popular applause. Dr. James Burnes, who wrote the account of the Court of Sindh, tells us portions from 'Azīm's Fath Nāma used to be recited in the darbār of the Amīrs, and the people took pride in remembering them by heart. Besides this monumental work, 'Azīm wrote a Diwān and is also the author of an Indian romance called Hir-wa-Rānjha, which inspired no less than a dozen writers, of whom three were Sindhis, viz. the above mentioned 'Azīm, Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān Lāghārī, and “Āzād”. Mir Sobdār followed 'Azīm in the composition of Fat'h Namā, a Diwān and some mathnawīs; while Ghulām 'Alī “Māil” son of Qānī, Muhammad Qāsim of Hālā and Muhammad 'Arīf “San'at” produced Diwāns. Among the great Sūfī poets, 'Abdul-Wahhāb “Āshkārā” and Bhāī Dalpatrām flourished during this period. Munshi Sāhibrāi “Āzād” was the foremost among the Hindūs and has a Diwān to his credit. Among other poets, Muḥammad Yūsuf and Muḥammad Bachal “Anwar” were fine composers of ghazals and qasidas and have also to their credit a few elegies written on the death of some of the ruling princes.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed an epoch-making event in the history of Persia. A great religious
movement, known as *Bábism*, gained momentum, and had considerable effect on Persian literature. Many inspired poems were composed on *Bábism* by its votaries, the chief amongst whom was Qurratul-'Ayn, the gifted Bābi poetess and heroine, and Mīrzā Na'īm. Nāsirud-Din, the then ruler of the Qājār dynasty, tried to crush the movement and many Bābis were persecuted and exiled. The reaction to this hostile attitude, the maladministration of the decadent rulers and the influence of foreigners, among other causes, led to the great Revolution of 1905-06 A. D. The poets in Persia now no longer followed the classical pattern. Instead they carved a new tradition. They abandoned the panegyric which brought them little reward, and "prostituted their genius" in vain praises of a single patron, when the renascent national life was surging around them. Sūfī ghazal, too, did not please them as it led to quietism and submission, and there seemed little possibility of further development. Political verse with all its fervour and novelty, and a touch of novelty, and a touch of westernism, became popular; and, of the poets who took prominent part in the poetry of the post-revolution period, the names of 'Ishqī, Iraj Mīrzā, Ashraf, Ārif, Parvin Khānum and Malikush-Shu'arā Bahār are the more important.

During this period India produced two great poets: Asadullāh Khān "Ghālib", who has left "Kulliyāt" and is well known for his originality and keenness; and Sir Muhammad Iqbāl, a practical philosopher. Among the books of the latter, *Aṣrār-i-Khudī* and *Rūmūz-i-Bikhūdī* are great achievements in the realm of Persian poetry. His masterpiece is, however, *Jāwīd Nāma*, written on the model of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, in which the poet, with the assistance of his spiritual guide Rūmī, probes into the celestial regions and confabulates on social, religious, and political problems. His *Payām-i-Mashriq* is also worthy of mention, as it gives expression to most of his philosophic ideas. This century marks the coming into
existence of, and a rapid progress made by, the Persian Press in India.

In Sindh, with the fall of the Tâlpurs and the advent of the British (1843 A.D.), the Persian language and literature received a set-back. Soon the language of the province, Sindhi, took place of Persian in official correspondence. The patronage of letters declined, and the connection which had previously subsisted between the Amîrs of Sindh and the Shâh of Persia, and which had kept the Persian language alive in Sindh, also ceased. Several Weeklies were started and mushâ’aras held, but these failed to revive the fast dwindling popularity of the Persian language. However, as a result of the strenuous efforts of some old scholars to keep Persian alive in the Province, many poems were composed. Mir Shahdâd Khân, Faqir Qâdîr Bakhsh “Bidil”, Mir Husayn ’Ali Khân, Âkhûnd Muhammad Qâsim, Nawwâb Allâhdâd Khân “Sûfi”, Qâdî Ghulâm ’Ali “Ja’fari”, Pir Hizbullâh Shâh “Miskin”, Mir Janullâh Shâh “Âshiq”, Makhdûm Ibrâhim “Khalil”, and Bahâud-Din “Bahâî” - every one of these is a Sahib-i-Diwân. Of these poets, “Bidil” was the most prolific. He has written no less than fifteen books in Persian poetry alone; “Bahâî” tried his hand at every branch of knowledge and almost at every form of poetry; “Khalil” compiled Takmilà (Supplement to the Maqâlâ-tush - Shu’arâ of ’Ali Shir “Qâni’”) - an anthology which provides good specimens of Persian poetry in Sindh from the days of the Tâlpurs to the time of the author’s death in 1899 A.D.

(1) Some of the distinguished journals of the 19th century being:

هندوستانی، سماجیار درین، جام جهان نام، مرات الاخبار، شمس الاخبار،
أخبار سرامبور، آثنیسکندر، سلطان الاخبار، ساعالم الاوز، اخبار لودهیانه
گورمنت گزت، سراج الاخبار، سیر مسیر، و مفتتاح الظفر.
CHAPTER I

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE RULE OF THE SAMMĀS

The recent archaeological finds at Mōhen-jō-Darō have pushed back the history of Sindh to three thousand years before Christ. The first historical fact, however, of which there is any record, is the influx of the Āryans (in the Vedic period) who named Sindh and the Punjāb as “Saptā Sindhū”. For a long time, the territory was inhabited by the Āryans and their normal institutions, - social, political and religious - thrived, till the first quarter of the sixth century B. C., when Sindh became a part of the Persian empire. There is a lull in the historical record of the province, till the coming of Alexander of Macedon in 325 B.C. The Greek accounts too are very meagre and furnish little information beyond a brief narration that the province was rich and well-populated; and for the next eight hundred years or so, till the time of the Chach Nāma - the oldest extant history of Sindh - there is hardly anything bearing on the history of her past except her flourishing commerce at “Barbaricum” (the delta port of the province at that time), whence the goods used to be taken inland to the Scythian metropolis - Mināgarh. The Chach Nāma shows the limits of Sindh in the sixth century A. D. to have extended on the east as far as Kashmir, on the west to Makrān, on the south to the Sea-coast and Debal (or Dewal), and on the north to the mountains of Kurdān and Kikānān. At that time, Sindh, with its capital at Alōr, was

ruled by Hindū kings known as Rāis. In the days of Rāi Sihāras II, the country was attacked by the then king of Nimrūz. In the fight that ensued, the Sindh ruler lost his life. He was succeeded by his illustrious son Sahāsi II, the last ruler of the Rāi dynasty. He died without an issue; and the faithless queen Suhandi, who had fallen in love with the astute Brahman councillor Chach, had her paramour installed on the throne. This marks the beginning of the Brahman rule in Sindh.

Chach was a very ambitious ruler with plenty of imagination and drive. Despite the opposition of the partisans of the Rāi dynasty, he soon consolidated his position at home and in the outlying regions of his kingdom, and tried to extend his territory westwards. It was during his reign of forty years (642-82 A.D.) that the people of Sindh came in contact with the Arabs, who, like the English, came for the purpose of trade and travel, and then to conquer and rule. They soon found an issue for a showdown and complained that the Sindhian pirates had molested the pilgrims, Muhammadan orphans, women and slaves presented by the ruler of Ceylon to the Caliph of Damascus. The buccaneers, they alleged, had become a menace to the Arab trade and a source of danger to their life and property. In 711 A.D., during the reign of Dāhar son of Chach, the Caliph, Walid bin ‘Abdul-Malik, despatched an army under the command of Muhammad bin Qāsim to take possession of Sindh. The Arab army had a comparatively easy victory, particularly because even well-garrisoned towns like Nirūn hardly offered any resistance. Sindh, thus, passed into the hands of Arabs.

All accounts agree that at the time of the Arab conquest Sindh was rich in agriculture and indigenous manufactures, and had several large towns - Debal, Nirūn, Sehwan and Brahmanābād, - all famous for their trade and industry.

On the whole, the Arabs ruled over Sindh wisely and well.

(1) "Nimrūz" is the name of the province of Sīstān, and not of a King as given by Elliot in his History of India, Vol. I, p. 405 (Vide Steingass: Persian English Dictionary, p. 1445).
They adopted a military policy of firmness coupled with a judicious blend of prudence and moderation. The non-Muslim population was allowed fair degree of freedom in the matter of their creed. Merchants and artisans carried on their business without let or hindrance; and tradesmen were able to carry on their trade with the remotest countries then known.

Sindh remained under Arab domination for about three centuries; but it was virtually governed, by far and large, by Hindû native chiefs. After the gradual decline of the Caliphate - i. e. after the fall of the Umayyad and 'Abbâsid dynasties, - the Tâhirids and the Saffârids rose to power; and about the year 871 A. D., the Caliph, al-Mu'tamid, "in order to divert the Saffârids from their hostile designs against 'Irâq, conferred upon Ya'qûb bin Layth the governorship of Sindh[1] ...". Thereafter, Sindh remained under the control of the governors of Khurâsân and Ghazna, till about the eleventh century A. D., the Sûmrâs, who had gone on independently for about two hundred years, took advantage of the imperial laxity, became refractory and contumacious, and flagrantly snatched the reins of sovereign power.

It is not necessary to go into the origin and history of the Sûmrâs. Suffice it to mention a few names of Sûmrâ rulers - viz., Dûdû, Chanâsar, 'Umar and Hamîr, whose names have passed into legends and whose amorous adventures are the favourite theme of many songs and folk-tales to this day.

The Sûmrâs exercised their authority during the greater part of three centuries, though in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, Sindh, or at least the upper part of it, seems to have come under the sway of Nâsirud-Din Qâbâcha. 'Alâud-Din Khilji is also said to have chastised the Sûmrâs and destroyed Tûr, the illustrious capital of Sindh (1298 A.D.). In 1351 A. D., when Muhammad Shâh Tughlaq came to Sindh in pursuit of the rebel Taghî, he found a local dynasty, the Sammâs in power. There is some doubt as to the inception of this line

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of rulers, but most authorities are agreed that the Sammās came to power in 1333 A. D. Under some of the rulers of this dynasty, especially in the days of Jām Nindō - whose wisdom and piety, integrity and courage, have deservedly earned for him a place among the greatest rulers of the east - the country attained a remarkable degree of prosperity. Then there was Jām Tamāchī, around whom centres one of the most romantic tales of Sindh, which is heard with delight by all and sundry in Sindh.

The history of the Sammās is a chequered one; and their authority fluctuated from complete submission to the central power in Delhi to virtual independence. The death of Firūz Shāh (1388 A. D.) marks the beginning of the decline of the Imperial power; and thenceforward, the Sammās reigned “untramelled by allegiance to any higher power” until 1521 A. D. when Shāh Beg Arghūn, a ruler of Qandahār and a descendant of Chingiz, defeated the then Sammā ruler Jām Firūz son of Jām Nindō. Shāh Beg Arghūn, however, was not fully confident of his ability to hold the whole of Sindh. Accordingly, he allowed Jām Firūz to rule over lower Sindh. In 1522 A. D., Shāh Beg died and was succeeded by his son Shāh Husayn (also known as Shāh Hasan), who completely defeated Jām Firūz. Thus came about the end of native rule in Sindh.

As the more recent foreign influences, cultural as well as literary, may be traced to the advent of the Arabs in the province in 711 A. D., nothing need be said about the earlier invaders. After the coming of the Arabs, however, owing to the commercial contacts between them and the Sindhians, many scholars of Sindh and India were invited to the Court of the Caliph, where a number of Sanskrit books on Philosophy, Astrology, Mathematics, Medicine and Ethics were translated into Arabic. Naturally Arabic, the language of the conquerors, was introduced in Sindh; subsequently it considerably affected the Sindhi language and produced poets and scholars of Arabic like Abū 'Atā, who were held in high esteem even by the great literary figures of
Arabia. After some time, the Arabic language yielded place to the Persian - how and when, it is difficult to determine. In fact, no historical data is available as to the exact date of the introduction of the Persian language in Sindh. Some\(^1\) of the writers believe that it came with, or soon after, the Arab conquest; others are inclined to take the view that it was introduced into the province towards the middle of the ninth century A.D., when Sindh came to be governed by Ya’qūb bin Layth - a ruler who did not know Arabic, and who cherished the Persian language. The evidence, however, of Ibn-i-Hauqal and Maqdisi, two famous Arab Geographers of the tenth century A.D., is sufficient to discredit such a surmise. Both these reviewers have placed it on record that the languages current in Sindh during their days were Arabic\(^2\) and Sindhi. It is, therefore, very likely that the Persian language came to Sindh during the reign of the Ghaznavids - may be at the time of Sultān Mahmūd’s rule (998 - 1030 A. D.) or that of Sultān Mas’ūd (in 429\(^3\) A. H. 1037 A. D.) - when Lāhore was the metropolis of the Ghaznavid empire, and Sindh, its adjoining territory, was held as a fief. But in the absence of any positive proof, nothing can be said with certainty. One is not even sure as to the state of the Persian language in the days when the Upper part, if not the whole of Sindh, was governed by Nāsirud-Din Qabācha (drowned 1228 A. D.) or when it was invaded by ‘Alāūd-Din Khilji\(^4\) (1296 - 1315 A. D.).

(1) In this connexion Prof. Ghani (Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustān, p. 60) remarks: “Muhammed b. Qāsim’s forces were collected at Shīrāz, and they consisted largely of Persian soldiers” and suggests that on that account “Persian must have been spoken in the newly conquered land”. This statement, unsupported as it is by any authentic recorded evidence, and its premises being too vague and general, cannot be given any credence. But if future research proves in details the authenticity of Prof. Ghani’s remark regarding Persian element in Muhammed b. Qāsim’s army and its settlement in Sindh after the conquest, his conclusion would undoubtedly shift back the date of the advent of Persian to an early period, creating new and interesting problems for the scholar.

(2) Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvi: Arab wa Hind ke Ta’ulluqāt, p. 331 and 348 (based on the authority of the above-mentioned geographers).

(3) Ghani: Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustān, p. 193.

History furnishes the names of two aliens who came to Sindh and settled there in the thirteenth century A.D. and won reputation as poets. One of them was 'Ali bin Hāmid Kūfī, a contemporary of 'Awfī (the author of Lubāb'ul-Albāb); the other was Shaykh 'Uthmān son of Ibrāhīm Kabīr Marwandi, popularly known as Lāl Shahbāz. The first set to himself the task of writing the Chach Nāma, Persian translation of the Arabic work entitled Minhāj Jud-Din wa’l-Mulk. In this book 'Ali Kūfī has introduced some of his original verses, of which a few in praise of Nāsirud-Din Qabācha, are reproduced below:

From their language and technique, it is clear that the author ('Ali Kūfī) must have been a poet of some merit. It is also probable that he is the pioneer of Persian poetry in Sindh.

The second, as mentioned above, is Lāl Shahbāz. In some quarters the authorship of 'Ishqiya, a well known book replete with spiritual homilies, was erroneously ascribed to Lāl Shahbāz. This has caused some misapprehension about his being a poet, apparently on account of its author bearing the same name² viz. 'Uthmān. The latter was, however, Ansārī-Qādiri-Naqshbandī who lived in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries of the Christian era, while the former passed away in the thirteenth century A.D. The conclusion as to the authorship of the book

(1) Dr. Daûdpōta’s edition of Chach Nāma, p. 7.
(2) By a strange coincidence, not only the name of the author of the 'Ishqiya happens to be Uthman, but his nom-de-plume "Ansari" is also of the same measure as that of Lāl Shahbāz, viz., "Marwandi".
in question is also corroborated by the fact that it contains some verses of Häfiz, Jāmi and other poets who lived in different periods posterior to the time of the revered saint Shaykh Uthmān-i-Marwandi. In his book Fatāwā, Makhdūm ‘Abdul-Wahid “Bayādwlā,” a scholar of the eighteenth century, has stated that Shaykh ‘Uthman-i-Marwandi occasionally composed poems, and he has included in his above-mentioned book two 4 odes of the saint of which the opening verses are:

\[
\text{زَعْقُ. دوَسَتُ. هرَسَعَتُ. دُروَنَ. تَارَ. مِير قَصَمَ.}
\]

\[
\text{منَ. آنَ. دِرُم. كُه. درَ. بِحرٍ. جُلالِ. اللَّهِ. بُودْستَمُ.}
\]

Highly evolved souls like Shaykh ‘Uthmān-i-Marwandi, intoxicated with divine love, are undoubtedly inspired beings to whom the boon of poetry comes as a divine or natural gift, and for this assertion we have the word of Maulānā Rūmī who says:

\[
\text{شَاعَرِيَ. جَوْبَيْسَ. ازَ. يِنْغَمِبرَي.}
\]

Further, there is historical evidence to prove that Shaykh ‘Uthmān-i-Marwandi was a darwish and scholar, 3 who participated in the Samā’ 4 (Spiritual music parties) in Arabic, organized by Sultān Muhammad son of Sultān Ghiyāthud-Din Balban. In view of these facts, as also of the testimony of Maulānā Muhammad Hāshim Thattawī, ‘Ali Shir “Qāni” 6, Faqīr Qādir

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(1) Vide Hakīm Fat’h Muhammad’s “Hayāt Nāma-i-Qalandri”, p. 33.
(2) The Author of “Hayāt Nāma-i-Qalandri” (p. 33-34), however, attributes the authorship of the aforesaid two odes to Shaykh ‘Uthman-i-Ansārī and Shams-i-Tabrīzī respectively, which is not supported by the scrutiny made by the present writer of the contents of Ishqiya and Kulliyāt-i-Shams-i-Tabrīzī.
(3) Vide Burton’s Sind and its Races (p. 139) wherein it is stated that among the text books taught at schools were Lal Shahbaz’s (i) قسم دویم (ii) قسم عترد (iii) میزان صرف اجناس and (iv) میزان صرف. See also Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, Vol. A, p. 94.
(4) Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s edition of Barani’s Tarīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī (p. 67-8); Maathī’ul-Kirām (Vol. I, pp. 285-87); Dr. Daūdpūtā: Tarīkh-i-Sinhdh (p. 40); Dr. Muhammad Wāhid Mirzā: The Life and Works of Amīr Khusrāw (p. 46-47). It is regrettable that Qalīch Beg in “A History of Sindh” (Vol. II, p. 14) refers to ‘Uthman as one of the two sons of Shaykh Zakaryā.
(5) Vide Tawhīd May 1942 (p. 17-18) wherein Lutfullāh Badawi, the contributor of the article, has quoted the authority of Maulānā’s MS copy viz., Mad’h-i-Sindh.
(6) Maqālātush-Shu’rā.
Bakhsh “Bidil”¹, Mehtā Mûlchand Nârâindâs², the compiler of Bayâd-i-Sâlíh³, (K. B.) Khudâdâd⁴ Khân, and Shamsul-Ulâmâ Mirzâ Qalîch Beg⁵ - all of whom, excepting the last, have quoted some verses from him - one is inclined to agree with the author of Fatâwâ that Shaykh ‘Uthmân-i-Marwandi was a poet.

His poetry was charged with spiritual fervour. Here are some examples:

(Translation of selected verses from the above poets.)

In the following lines the poet describes the several vestures of moods which he had to wear in the tedious process of self-realization ultimately reaching the supreme state of unalloyed bliss devoid of any tinge of caste or creed:

(1) See his Sanad’ul-Muwahhidin and Rumûz’ul-Arifin.
(2) MS copy of Risâla-i-Sawânhî-i-Qalandar Shahbâz.
(4) Lubb-i-Târikh-i-Sindh, pp. 6-8.
(5) Qadîm Sindh Ja Sitârâ, p. 4.
(6) Lubb-i-Târikh-i-Sindh, p. 6-8; Tilûmâl’s Sindhi translation of Munshi Gulâbrâî’s Risâla-i-Qalandar Shahbâz; Bayâd-i-Sâlíh.
(7) In the Magâlâtush-Shu’ärâ the hemistich reads as under:

(8) Rumûz’ul-Arifin.
(9) Lubb-i-Târikh-i-Sindh, p. 6-8.
The path of divine love, or, in other words, that of spiritual emancipation, is beset with great difficulties. The spiritual aspirant fortifies himself with the Kalâm of the seers who have preceded him in the sacred path, which spurs him on to achieve union with the Supreme Being. Here are some verses of Uthmân imbued with the extraordinary zeal and vigour of the seeker of divine bliss:

\[
\text{رسیدم من بدریانی که موجشن آدمی خوار است}
\]
\[
\text{نه کشتن اندار آن دریا تنه ملاحمي- عجب کار است}
\]
\[
\text{شیرعت کشتن باد طریقت باد بان- او}
\]
\[
\text{حقیقت لنگری بادکش را و فقر بشوار است}
\]
\[
\text{چو آشج جمله خون دیدم بهرسیدم ازین دریا}
\]
\[
\text{بدل کفتم چرا ترسي گذر بايدن به که نه چار است}
\]
\[
\text{ندا از حق چنين آمد- مگر ترسي ز جان خود؟}
\]
\[
\text{هزاران جان مشتاقان در این دریا تگونسارت است}
\]
\[
\text{ايا عثمان مسوندی سخن با برده داری گو}
\]
\[
\text{نیایي در جهان یاری چهانی بر از اغیار است}
\]

There is some doubt about the date of the saint’s death - 650 A. H. (1252 A. D.) and 673 A. H. (1274 A. D.) are the years mentioned by most of the historians. In support of the first is produced the following fragment which, according to the “Abjad” calculation, gives 538 A. H. as the year of his birth, 650 A. H. of his death and 112 years as his age:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{بجو تاريخ شيخ الدين عثمان بدرکن زنجی از فلك كرامت} & = 1382 - 491 \\
\text{سن عمرش ولي الله، وفاتش سروش غيب میگويد} & = 600 \\
\end{align*}
\]

But this date appears improbable in view of the fact that on the occasion of his visit to Multan, Shaykh was entreated by Prince Muhammad, son of Ghiyathud-Din Balban, to prolong his stay there; this could not have happened before the year

(1) \text{Lubb-i-Tarikh-i-Sindh, pp. 6-8.}
663-64 A. H. (1265-66 A. D.), when Ghiyāthud-Din sat on the throne and Muhammad was assigned the Governorship of Multān. The year 673 A. H. (1274 A. D.) is, therefore, to be taken as the more likely.

The history of Persian poetry under the Sammās is, however, different from that of their predecessors, the Sūmrās; for whereas in the Sūmrā period we are doubtful whether the Persian language had come to stay, in the Sammā period we at least get a record of attempts at verse composition in Persian by the inhabitants of Sindh. The names of the persons who composed verses in Persian in the Sammā period are: Jām Jūnā, Shaykh Hammād “Jamālī”, Shaykh ‘Isā, Jām Nindo, and Makhdūm Bilāl. Of these JĀM JUNĀ was the second ruler of the Sammā dynasty, and, while expressing regret for his past ‘misbehaviour’ towards Firūz Shāh Tughlaq, is believed to have recited the following hemistich:

شام بخشندہ توئی بنده شرمدہ منم!

Only four hemistichs of each one of the remaining four poets have been preserved. It will not be out of place here to describe, in a few words, the life and achievements of these four poets:

SHAYKH HAMMĀD “JĀMĀLĪ” b. Shaykh Rashidud-Din was a resident of Sāmūī, the first capital of the Sammās. He was held in high esteem as a great saint and scholar. He passed most of his time in seclusion and wore a veil even while imparting instruction to his select pupils. His contemporary princes viz., Jām Jūno, Jām Tamāchī and his son Jām Salāhud-Din revered him for his piety and learning. On his instructions Jām Tamāchī is said to have built a big mosque on a hill in the neighbourhood of Sāmūī, and named the site Makali (Modern Makli); the name would appear to be reminiscent of Makka (Mecca). The site extends over a vast area of about five miles, and, owing to its natural elevation, commands a fine view.

(1) Maulvi Vilāyat Husayn’s edition of Siraj ‘Afif’s Tarikh-i-Firūzshāhī, pp. 245-46.
Under the saint’s direction it gradually developed into a necropolis for the residents of Thatta and its suburbs who formerly conveyed their dead to the burial ground of Pir Pathō - at a distance of about six miles. The wellknown Makli cemetery now holds the remains of many a famous saint, poet and prince and is reputed to be a great historical monument.

Shaykh Hammād symbolised in his life what he has set forth in the following verses regarding his scanty personal wants:

٢٠٨٠ گزک بوریا و بوستکی
اینقر بر بود جمالی را عاشق رند و لا آبایی را

SHAYKH 'ISĀ BURHĀNPURI (SINDHI), popularly known as Shaykh 'Isā Langōti, was a younger contemporary of Shaykh Hammād. It is said that this Shaykh sent the following metrical rejoinder to Hammād “Jamāli”, containing a philosophical homily to the effect that, to a holy man given to spiritual yearning, it made no difference whether there was a mat or sofa, a piece of course cloth or brocade:-

٢٠٨١ گزک بوریا و بوستکی
نیچت باشد حکم! در رو دوست دو گزک بوریا و بوستکی
گزت آزاده، بسن است نازا دلکی بر زدرب خستگان

Shaykh 'Isā passed away in 1428 A. D., and both he and Shaykh Hammād are buried on the Makli hill.

JĀM NIZĀMUD-DIN alias JĀM NINDO (d. 914 A. H./1508 A. D.). He was one of the most popular rulers of Thatta, the period of whose glorious reign is variously put at between forty three and seventy three years - the actual period being forty eight years (866-914 A. H./1461-1508 A. D.). A man of exceptional ability and foresight, he gave a fillip to trade and commerce. He was often in the company of learned men, whom he delighted to honour. Writing of him Mir Ma'sūm

(1) Maqālātush-Shu’arā.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Lutfullāh Badwī in his Tadhkira-i-Luftī, part I, p. 20, gives 780 A. H. (1382 A. D.) as the year of his demise but it is unsupported by any authority.
says,1 "At the commencement of his manhood he sought after knowledge, spending much of his time in the college and cloister .......... His excellences are beyond what little I can write." He is said to have been a very pious man who lived frugally and devoted a good deal of his time to prayers. The following quatrain reveals the bent of his mind:

د ای آنکه ترا نظام دین میخوانند تو گفتگری مرا چنین میخوانند
گر در تو دین زتو خطائی انتد شکست که کافر لعیم میخوانند

He is buried on Makli hill in a stately tomb which is supposed to possess the peculiar merit of fulfilling the desires of the people who circumambulate it seven times.

MAKHDUM BILĀL (d. 929 A. H./1523 A. D.) of Talti, grandson of Jām Nindō's brother Makhdūm Idris, was a master of both the esoteric and exoteric sciences and a specialist in the knowledge of the Islāmic Tradition and the holy Qur'ān. He was a follower of Shaykh 'Uthmān-i-Marwandi and, like him, is credited with many miracles; but the one which is mentioned in almost all the books of Sindh history is that which he is said to have performed on his way to the shrine of the above-named saint. It is related that once, while he was crossing a river in a boat, the boatman, in order to pander to the taste of passengers of low breed and vulgar taste, indulged in vain and vituperative talk. Makhdūm Sāhib handed over his own cap to one of his servants with instructions to place it on the boatman's head. As soon as this was done, the boatman, to the surprise of all, started sermonizing and explaining verses from the holy Qur'ān. When the saint, after stepping down from the boat at the end of the voyage, had the cap removed from the head of the boatman the latter once again burst out into violent and abusive language.

Self-conceit is the worst type of heresy. God can only be realized in a spirit of humility and by cultivating resignation to His

(1) Dr. Dāūdpōtā: Tarīkh-i-Sind, pp. 73-75, and Malet: Translation of Tarīkh-i-Ma'sūmī, p. 55.
(2) Maqālātush-Shu'ra'.
Will. Says Bilāl:

A careful perusal of the above pieces shows that while Jām Jūnā composed his hemistich in Bahr-i-Ramal Makhbūn, Shaykh Hammād and Shaykh 'Isā made use of Bahr-i-Khafīf, and the last two, viz., Jām Nindo and Makhdūm Bilāl, employed the rubā'ī as the medium for their verses.

There is no record of any Persian Poetry written by the natives of Sindh earlier than the above-mentioned poets of the Sammā rule. However, it seems permissible to infer that Persian Poetry was written by people born and bred in Sindh before the above-mentioned poets came on the scene; for though the simple style and subject-matter signify an early stage in the history of Persian Poetry, it is hard to believe in view of the difficult metres successfully employed by them, that their writings are the earliest attempts at Persian verse composition on the part of the Sindhians.

(1) Maqālātush-Shu'ārā.
CHAPTER II

THE ARGHUNS, THE TARKHĀNS
AND THE MUGHAL AGENTS

SINDH, as mentioned in the previous Chapter, fell into the hands of the Arghūns in the first quarter of the sixteenth century A. D., and remained in their possession upto 1555 A. D.; subsequently, it passed into the hands of their cousins, the Tarkhāns (1555-1612 A. D.). The sagacious Shāh Husayn, who wielded the sceptre after his father Shāh Beg (d. 1522 A. D.), realizing that his safety lay in swearing fealty to the Mughal Emperor Bābar, pledged allegiance to him long before the latter had settled in India. But when Humāyūn succeeded Bābar in 1529 A. D., Shāh Husayn, believing that he could assert his independence with impunity, fortified his key positions. When the unfortunate emperor came to Sindh, he was dodged and opposed.

Shāh Husayn died in 1555 A. D., without leaving a male heir. During his reign, he amply demonstrated his political sagacity, but towards the end of his life he fell into intemperate habits, and the good effects of his early administration were offset by the evil influence of his ‘low and worthless favourites’. As Shāh Husayn had grown feeble in body and mind, it was decided that the province of Sindh be partitioned - Lower Sindh going to Mīrza 'Isā Tarkhān - the founder of the Tarkhān dynasty of rulers in Sindh, and Upper Sindh to Sultān Mahmūd - the Lakhī range serving as the frontier.

Soon after Shāh Husayn's death, Mīrza 'Isā made encroach-
ments on the territories of Sultān Mahmūd and, in order to expedite the conquest, sought the aid of the Portuguese, by promising them compensation in the shape of cash payments and trade facilities in his land. Before, however, the Portuguese aid could arrive, he marched against Sultān Mahmūd, and would have won, had he not received intelligence of the sack of Thattā (1555 A. D.) by the Portuguese. This compelled the Mirzā to hasten back to his capital and leave the field abruptly.

On Saturday, the 8th Safar, 982 A. H. (1574 A. D.), Sulṭān Mahmūd died and his territory was incorporated in the Mughal Empire by the order of Akbar, who thus "initiated the policy of bringing the entire province more directly under Imperial control."

Mirzā 'Isā, who died two years before Sultān Mahmūd, was succeeded by his cruel and unprincipled son, Mirzā Muhammad Bāqī. The latter put to death his own mother and brother, and indulged in an orgy of murder and insensate life for which he has been rightly condemned by posterity. After his suicide in 1585 A. D., the choice of succession fell on Muhammad Bāqī’s grandson1 Mirzā Jānī Beg, who inwardly abhorred the idea of being a vassal, but had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor because of the exigency of circumstances. It was not long, however, before his nature asserted itself. His pretensions to independence aroused the wrath of Akbar who ordered Nawwāb 'Abdur-Rahim Khān-i-Khnānān to put an end to the false show of Mirzā’s fealty. The Emperor’s deputy was more than a match for this litte prince of Lower Sindh, who, in spite of his gallant effort to maintain independence, was soon compelled to sue for peace. This year (1592 A. D.) marks the end of the sovereignty of the Tarkhāns, who were now reduced to the position of governors appointed by the Imperial

(1) The author of Ma‘āthir-i-Rahimi (Vol. II, pp. 342-43) is perhaps the only person who writes that Muhammad Bāqī was succeeded by his son Payandeh. Other historians maintain that Payandeh was insane, and as such he was left out.
master at Delhi.

Soon, Jānī Beg accompanied Khān-i-Khānān to Delhi to pay his homage to Akbar. The latter promptly placed him under surveillance till 1599 A. D., the year of his death. He was succeeded by his son Ghāzī Beg who governed Lower Sindh till his death in 1612 A. D., when Lower Sindh was also incorporated in the Mughal Empire.

The period of the Mughal rule in Sindh, extending over a century and a quarter (1612-1737 A. D.), is marked by frequent changes in the governors, nearly forty in number, with the result that the administration suffered materially. Most of the governors were extremely selfish, and, encouraged by the great distance that separated them from the Imperial Headquarters at Delhi, carried on the administration of the province with an eye to their own interests; while some of them - particularly Mirzā Rustam, Nawwāb Murād Khān and 'Itr Khān - were so tyrannical, and so careless of the well-being of their people, that law and order fell into contempt, and the administration itself became riddled with corruption. Pirates on the Indus sprang into being, highway robbers plied their nefarious profession without fear; twice - once in 1658-59 A. D., and again in the 1683 A. D. - plague broke out and famine stalked the land, resulting in the death of countless men and women and children. It was only towards the latter part of the Mughal dominion over Sindh that the province was fortunate in having governors who had a sense of the reponsibility of their high station, and who set themselves to re-establishing law and order, stamping out piracy and highway robbery, and generally doing everything they could to promote the well-being of the masses. Of the two native families, viz., the Dāūdpōtās and the Kalhōrās, who rose to power during the reign of the Mughal Agents, the latter succeeded as governors in 1700-01 A. D., and went on consolidating their power till they became independent rulers in 1737 A. D.

While reviewing the period of the Arghun, the Tarkhān and
the Mughal rule in Sindh, one is amazed at the progress the province made in the social and literary spheres. The peaceful rule of the Sammās had opened all possible avenues for the prosperity of the country and brought to light its commercial potentialities. These received a noteworthy fillip in the days of the Arghūns and the Tarkhāns. The sack of Thattā alone - in which property valued at more than two millions in gold was destroyed by fire and in which Barreto, the commander of the Portuguese army, loaded his ships with an immense quantity of goods and gold, thereby capturing 'one of the richest booties ever taken in Asia' - speaks of the almost phenomenal prosperity of the province.

In the days of Mughal Agents, Sindh became the happy hunting ground of European traders in India - particularly of the Portuguese and the English - who not only enlarged the market for this province in Persia, Arabia and Africa, but also advertised them in Europe. It is indeed a matter of pride for Sindh that, during this period, her calicoes were considered to be so immeasurably superior to those of other provinces and countries that many London Companies always kept a sufficient quantity of these materials in stock for any urgent demand in England. Even the then famous Sūrat "factors" bought less in other markets in order to step up on their purchases in Sindh, and thus ensure their own prosperity.

Side by side, flourished the fine arts. The Arghūn and the Tarkhān princes, being themselves originally of the Mughal stock and people of literary leanings, naturally attracted to their courts, Persian scholars and litterateurs. Shāh Bēg Arghūn himself wrote a Commentary on the holy Qurān in Persian. Shāh Husayn, who too was a writer and poet of considerable merit, patronized the learned and pious men of his time and was much devoted to their company. It was in his days that schools were opened in the urban areas of the province for the advancement of Persian, and Hāshimi Kirmānī alias Shāh Jahāṅgīr (the

(1) Bēglar Nāmā.)
distinguished author of Mazhar’ul-Āthār and Mazhar’ul-Anwār corresponding to Tuḥfat’ul-Ahrār and Makhzan’ul-Asrār of Jāmī and Nizāmī respectively), came and settled down in Sindh. Among the Tarkhāns, Mirzā Jānī Bāg possessed ‘some literary tastes’ and kept up the tradition established by the Arghūns. His son Ghāzi Bāg was also a man of learning and a poet bearing the pen-name “Waqārī”. He was exceedingly generous towards men of letters, and a number of Persian poets flourished at his court notably Mīr Nī’matullāh “Wasī”, Mullā Asad “Qissa-Khwān”, Hakim Faghpūr-i-Gilānī, Mullā Murshid Burūjīrdī, Tālib-i-Āmulī and Shaydā Isfahānī. Henceforward the Sindhis rapidly acquired complete grasp over the language, and Persian became a meritorious vehicle of expression for their thoughts and emotions. Almost all the Histories of Sindh e. g. Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī, Tārīkh-i-Sindh, Bēqlar Nāmā, etc., were written in that language, and a few Diwāns of ghazals were also produced. The general tendency of the poets was to write didactic poems and love-lyrics. Of the different forms of Persian poetry, then in vogue, mathnawi was favoured the most. Romantic tale of Līlā and Chanēsar (Chanēsar Nāma) was versified by Idrāki Bēqlīrī. A start was made by Mīrza Ghāzi Bāg in the direction of the form of composition styled Sāqi Nāma. Ma’sūm Shāh took to Na’tiya Kalām besides composing a quintet on the analogy of Nizāmī’s Panj-Ganj, and Mīr Ghurūrī cut a new ground by composing verse of the type of ḥaj’w. There was greater ease and flow in the expression, and quite a number of conceits and quaint mannerisms were introduced.

The period of direct Mughal rule over Sindh was particularly conspicuous for the advancement of art and literature. Akbar’s

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(1) It is a village in Hamadān (Ma’āthir-i-Rahīmī, Vol. III, p. 781). Most of the Indian writers have called him Nīzdārīrī ‘īzdārīrī but that is probably due to their confusing Nīzdārīrī with ‘īzdārīrī.

(2) This seems to be quite in conformity with the Romance tradition prevailing in almost all the countries, in between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. A Romance may be defined as a poem of love and adventure, and it flourishes only when there is patronage.
policy made it compulsory for provincial administrators to correspond and maintain all state-records in Persian. This led aspirants for government posts and royal favours to acquire proficiency in this language. Nawwābs Amīr Khān, Abū Nusrat Khān, Hīfzullāh Khān, Aminud-Dīn Khān, Ahmad Yār Khān, Mahābat Khān, Sayfullāh Khān, Dilīrdil Khān and Mir Lutf 'Ali Khān, who occupied the high rank of governors at Thattā during the Mughal rule, were great scholars of their time. They patronized their contemporary Persian scholars of Sindh, and some of them even brought several esteemed scholars from outside. Nawwāb Sayfullāh Khān is a typical example. Thus, many poets and learned men visited this land. History records, among others, the names of Mir 'Abdur-Razzāq "Mashrab" who came from Persia, and of Sayyid Mu'inud-Dīn Bilgrāmī, uncle of the illustrious Ghulām 'Ali "Āzād", from India. Captain Hamilton who visited Sindh in 1699 A. D., says that there were as many as four1 hundred colleges in Thattā2 where youth

(1) Vide Sorley: Shāh Abdul Latif of Bhīt, p. 211; Abbott: Sind, p. 69.
(2) Almost all the authorities are agreed upon the point that Thattā was founded by Jām Nindō in the fifteenth century. Raverty (Mehrān of Sind, p. 329), however, believes that its foundation was laid by 'Jām Tamāchī, known as Jām, the Bānī-i-Thattā (about the third quarter of the fourteenth century), whereas Haig (The Indus Delta Country, p. 77) puts the date about the year 1340 A. D. In the 17th & 18th centuries A. D., it was regarded as 'El Dorado' and Utopia of wealth beyond avarice. It was both the metropolis of Sind, beset with officialdom and the emporium for the trade of Central Asia with 40,000 boats of all kinds. Its population anciently estimated, is 2,80,000 souls (Burton: Scinde or the Unhappy Valley, Vol. I, p. 101). Even so recently as Nādir Shāh's visit to Thattā (about 1740 A. D.), there were 40,000 weavers in the city, and 20,000 artisans, exclusive of dealers in other departments whose number was estimated at 60,000 (Ross: The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind, p. 24; Hughes: A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, p. 838; Cousens: Antiquities of Sind, p. 218; Pottinger: Travels in Beloochistan and Sind, p. 352). The truth of the statements could easily be verified from the fact that three years before Captain Hamilton's arrival (i.e. in 1696 A. D.) 80,000 people of Thattā had died of plague, and one half of the city was, in consequence, uninhabited (Hughes: A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, p. 838; Cousens: Antiquities of Sind, p. 128).

Describing Thattā and its people of his time (eleventh century A. H.) the author of Dhakhrat'ul-khawānīn (pp. 166-67) writes:

"ته را رحب آب و هو و ترشحات باران پشته زری زمین میتوان گفت - آنجا عورات جمله سبز زنگ مثل حوران پشته پیدا

Continued on page 20
were instructed in theology, philosophy and politics. But, considering generally the literary output and the atmosphere of this age, the number of Persian poets of Sindh, as available from books printed or unpublished, is rather meagre. Hājī Muham-
mad "Redāī", Mir Abul-Makārim "Shuhūd" and Mullā 'Abdul Hakīm "'Atā" are easily the best poets of the Mughal rule in Sindh. The novel feature of the Mughal period is, however, the appearance of some Hindū poets and Muslim poetesses of whom a few verses of Mehta Chandrabhān "'Ājiz" and his son Shēwakrām "Mukhlīs", "'Ismat" and Chimni Khānum have been introduced in this book. The poets of this period show a surer mastery and a more delicate touch; the Persian language in their hands has become a more pliable instrument, and the finer graces of style are not entirely wanting.

The following poets belong to the Arghūn and the Tarkhān period :-

MIRZA SHĀH HUSAYN (d. 962 A. H./1555 A. D.) He was a brave soldier and an able administrator who fought several battles and was singularly lucky in winning them all. He composed verses under the nom-de-plume "Sipāḥi". He was a pupil of Makhdūm Mirān, a reputed scholar of Thatta.

Continued from page 19
In his poetry we, some times, get glimpses of the bewitching beauty of the beloved ravishing the lover’s heart and making his life accord with the saying: “Once seen, never forgotten”. It appears that the soldier-poet (Sipāhi) had some such experience himself, for he says:

\[\text{عمریست که ای سرو خراشته گنستی}
\text{غایب نشد از دیده ما آن قدر و قامت}\]

The Day of Resurrection has no significance for the lover who has lost his identity and has attained the pinnacles of \textit{taslim} (absolute surrender). For, such a lover is verily devoid of any tinge of ego. The poet says:

\[\text{آن کس که به تنی ستم شب تومیرد}
\text{نبوه هوش زندگیش روز قیامت}\]

The beloved’s \textit{nāz} and the lover’s \textit{niyās} are finely contrasted in the following couplet:

\[\text{ای شاه تودر بارگ از مقيمی مارا بسر کوی نیاز است اتامت}\]

The ode comes to a conclusion with the following couplet:

\[\text{پایوس سکت گر به سباهی نه دست دست}
\text{تا زنده بود میگرد انجشتش ندامت}\]

What becomes the condition of a lover in separation is beautifully described by \textit{Sipāhi} thus:

\[\text{به مسجدی که روم در فراق دلبر خویش}
\text{بهانه سجده کنم بر زمین زنم سر خویش}\]

The glory of God-realization dawns when the colossal darkness of ‘nafs’ is dispelled. The struggle between the infidel and the iconoclast ceases when the idol of the Self is shattered. \textit{MAKHĐUM MIRĀN} (d. 949 A. H./1542 A. D.), the preceptor of Mirzā Shāh Husayn mentioned above, has finely rendered this in:

(1) This and the other verses of \textit{Sipāhi}, except the last, are available in the \textit{Mqālātū’sh - Shuarā}.
(2) \textit{Subh-i-Gulshan}, p. 197.
HYDER of Herât, popularly known as کلوج and ۱ کلوج was, according to the author of Āfṭāb-i-'Ālamtāb, born in کلوج, which formed a part of one of the dependencies of طازم in Khurāsān. He flourished during the reign of Shāh Ismā’īl and Shāh Tāhmāsp Safawi, and came over to Sindh in the days of Shāh Husayn Arghūn. He was a pious man of frugal habits, and made his living by trade in various parts of India. For some time, he was a prominent figure at the royal court of Sindh at Thatta, where he composed many qasidās in praise of the ruling prince. He is a well-known poet and author of a Diwān, whose verses, according to Mīr Ghulām 'Ali 'Āzād, the author of Yad-i-Baidā (a biographical dictionary of ancient and modern Persian poets), are estimated to run into 10,000 couplets. His achievement as a poet is particularly remarkable for the reason that he was illiterate. But his ignorance of letters was amply compensated for by his great powers of intuition and observation, which made many a literate poet of his age envy the simple and lucid style of his poetry. It is said that on one occasion some so-called litterateurs interrogated him thus: “Do you understand what you say (compose)?” He at once replied:

The following couplet forms the opening lines of a panegyric on his patron-prince Shāh Husayn:

(1) Due to either his early profession of making cakes, or his native place named کلوج, Mīrzā Qalīch Bēg in his Qadim Sind jā Sitārā, p. 8, translates it as “the seller of the roasted liver”, evidently mistaking the Persian word for the Urdu کلوج.

(2) Maqālātush-Shu’arā; Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, pp. 114-15; Rūz-i-Raushan, pp. 186-88
He, however, was soon disgusted by the snobbery and conventionalism of court-life and ultimately retired to Pāt (a village about forty miles from Sehwan) where he peacefully passed away to the other world.

To the lover wholly absorbed in the beloved’s exquisite beauty, the form of expression does not matter:

“Out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh” and the lover is never at a loss for words. They are the spontaneous outpourings of his love. This view is supported by Maulānā Rūmī’s couplet:

من ندانم فاعلاتن فاعلات شعر دارم لیک چون آب حیات

The poet enjoys the magnificence and beauty of his ideal in the mirror of his heart. He converts his heart into a clear and bright mirror so as to make it fit for reflecting the idol of his heart. According to the esoteric philosophy, the purification of the heart (self) is a sine qua non for the realization of spiritual bliss:

با رخش آئینه دل در مقابل داشتم
در مقابل صورتی دیدم که در دل داشتم

In the words of Shelley:

“True love in this differs from gold and clay,
That to divide is not to take away.”

It enjoins a high standard of endurance and absolute riddance from the pair of pain and pleasure. It grows by constancy and outlives the transient physical beauty in the realm of Divine Love:

حسن بی بنیاد باشد - عشق بی بنیاد نیست

(1) Maqālātu’sh-Shu’arā; Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 115; Tarīkh-i-Sind, p. 206.
(2) Rūz-i-Raushan, pp. 186-88.
Says Hyder:

بی رشد و داغ تنهایی وفا از کس مجیوی ای دل
نت عطه‌ال جراحتی خود نت یاد مرهم کن
مثال ای سستی عهد بات مسگدل حیدر
اساس عقل برهم زن بنای عشق معحم کن

How the lover longs for his beloved, day in and day out, is beautifully expressed by the poet thus:

همه شب درین خیالم که رسم بوصل روزی
همه روز در امید که شبی بخوابیم آئی

MIRZĀ JANJI BEG (d. 1008 A.H./1599 A. D.) “Halimi” as he is known in the realm of poetry, ascended the gādi of the Lower Sindh in 1585 A. D. Wise and valiant, witty and generous, he proved to be the best of the Tarkhān rulers. As mentioned above, he was defeated by the troops of ‘Abdur-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān and taken to Delhi. Mullā Shikēbī, a courtier of the Khān-i-Khānān, commemorated the event with a mathnawī in praise of the latter, and referred to the Mirzā in the following words:

همانی که بر چرخ کردی خرام گرفتی و آزاد کردی ز دام

For this panegyric the Mullā was rewarded, by his patron, with a cash present of 1000 ‘muhrs’. But he was extraordinarily lucky in getting a similar reward from the fallen Mirzā whose aesthetic sense was keenly roused by the Mullā’s reference to him as phoenix whose shadow is credited with the merit of the royal boon of crown. Verily, the word ‘humā’, coming from the mouth of a foe, was something quite unexpected, and the Mirzā naturally felt greatly elated and remarked, “Indeed none could prevent Mullā Shikēbī from using the epithet ‘shaghāl’ (jackal) instead of the expression ‘humā’ and in that case my ignominy would have been a matter of life-long shame.”

(1) Tuhfa-i-Sāmi, pp. 114-16.
(2) Rūz-i-Raushan, p. 188; Tuhfa-i-Sāmi, p. 115.
(3) Tarikh-i-Tahiri mentions twelve hundred rupees.
(4) The whole incident is narrated in the Dhakhirat’ul-Khawānīn (MS, p. 108)
While at Delhi, Mirzā Jānī Bēg was very much impressed by the music of Tānsēn (about whom ʿAllāma Abul-Fadl once remarked 1 that a musician of the type of Tānsēn had not appeared during the last one thousand years), and bestowed on him a well-deserved encomium in the following words:

"Far away from my house, I am here a helpless prisoner and unable to offer you anything, however slight it may be, as a token of my esteem for your wonderful accomplishments. Here are, however, my head and life which I cheerfully dedicate to you with this verse of a zealous poet:

"As you sow, so you reap" is an adage that holds good for all ages, and true repentance brings its reward in due course. In the words of the poet:

The following two distichs are from a ghazal of his that had become very popular in his days and was frequently sung by the bards of those times:

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(2) Maqālātush-Shuʿarā.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
“GHURURI”, originally of Kāshān, came to Thatta in the days of Mirzā Bāqī and adopted Sindh as his native land. After the defeat of Mirzā Jānī Bēg, he was appointed Mint Superintendent (داروغه خرایخانه). He is said to have left a Diwān and some mathnawīs.

The world is a vast laboratory wherein every individual performs experiments and of course the results achieved are according to his or her merit and capacity. The poet treats of the subject of enmity with a touch of nobility, holding up the example of the self-consuming candle:

³ حرمگی بجدل جهره نیفروخته ایم خصیبی بطرف دگر آموخته ایم
 آموخته ایم شیوه کنیم از شمع باهرکه نشسته ایم خود سولخته ایم

Like Milton, he is prodigal in his allusions and similes, and thus imparts to his work that beauty and depth of scholarship which are oftentimes inseparable from a finished work of art. The following verses record his complaint against lack of appreciation of his poetry:

خورشید شود ذره ز فیض نظر او
محمود بهرکس که نظر کرد ایازاست
چرخ از سخنانم بسماع آمده گوئی
شریازه‌ای نسخه ز ابرپوش‌سازاست
سونگندزلفت تکه این قصه ذرایست
روحوزه هر در توان کر و غرووری
خواهش بدری برکه بروی همه ایازاست

* * *

از بخت چسان شکوه توان کر و غرووری
ی طالعی، اهل هنر رسم قدیم است

The following two distichs are from his Sāqī Nāma:

مرا داغها در دل پر گوه هم آغوش چون حلقه های زره
چو عکسم در شیشه دارد نشست بهر جنبشی میخورم صد شکست

The compiler of the Maykhāna quotes over 100 doublets

(1) داروغه خرایخانه in the Tuhfat’ul-Kirām, Vol. III, pp. 203 and 243 is a misprint.
(2) The specimens of his poetry are taken from the Maqālatush-Shu’arā.
(3) PP. 451-56.
from his Sāqi Nāma, whereas the author of the Maāthr-i-Rahimī devotes no less than 16 pages. Few more specimens are:

ثنا میکنم پیر سیخانه را
طرفند گوه شب چراگ
سپح شفاخانه خرمی

بتکیب هر ذره چنان شدی
صرفی شدی میرم و می مسیح
که شبنم شود داغ بر روی گل
که در را شک ها اش شعله سازد وطن
خوی خجلت از شبنم آرد بروی

که مسیتا دران بزم هشیار بود

چو آن ماه پیمانه گردان شود
زنین آنچنان خندنه بر گل زدی
پکام دل ناشکبای من
منم موسی و طورمن کوی اوست

Subjoined are a few lines from a haj’w (satirical composition) written by Ghurūrī on his servant:

چاکر بندید آنکه بندید نیم خشت بپیتر از غلام کنم
تا مگر از خودش خجل سازم نا رسیده برو سلام کنم
لمعه گر بیش حوارد همچون راخت بخود حرام کنم
تا کی از یکسی و در دید روزه شب غذای شام کنم
نوکرم را اگر شوم نوکر خود بفرما چه با غلام کنم

His son MUHAMMAD MUN’IM “HUSAYNI”, who succeeded him to the post of Mint Superintendent, was also a poet of considerable merit. He has left a Divān of which only the following verses have come down to us through the efforts of Qāni’, the author of the Maqālātush-Shu’arā:

(1) PP. 1152-68 of Vol. III.
ای "حسین" مشرق و مغرب دو گامی بیش نیست
توسن. باد صبا در زبر. ران داریم ما
*
* *
ز من دل را بیند. زلف دادن ز تو افشانندن موئنی پست است
*
* *
بغلک میرسد از روی چه خورشید تنو نور
قل هواه آمد. چشم ی بد از روی تو دور
*
* *
بر دماغ ما خمار دینه کی آرد هجوم
چون حباب کشتی می نشته دارد در پسات

MIR MA'SUM SHAH (d. 1014 A. H./1605 A. D.), bearing "Nāmi" as his poetic name, belonged to a family of Tirmidhi Sayyids, whose great ancestor, Sayyid Mir Husayn Zanjir-pa, left Tirmidh in 1410 A. D. and settled at Qandahār. His (Mir Ma'süm's) father, Sayyid Safāi, who served as Shaykh'ul-Islām was related by marriage to the Sayyids of Khabrōt in Sehwan, and Mir Ma'süm was born at Bakhar in 944 A. H.:

"دَسَالَ نَهِ صَدِّچْهٔ بِیْوُدِ اَزْوِیْ زَایِد دَارُدِان ۢن""

He studied under Mullā Muhammad of Kingri (South-West of Bakhar) and, on account of his literary and military attainments, soon won the esteem of Mahmūd Khān, the then ruler of Upper Sindh, and of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. The latter made him a commander of 1000 and bestowed on him the 'parganās' of Darbēlā, Kākri and Chānduka as 'Jāgīr'.

Because he was a first-rate tracer of inscriptions, sculptors were always in attendance on him. It is said that he adorned many mosques and public buildings with his metrical inscriptions while on his way to Persia, where he was sent as the Emperor's ambassador and where he was warmly received by the then ruling prince, Shāh 'Abbās Safawi. The inscriptions over the gate of the Fort at Akbarabād and on the Jāmi’ Masjid at Fat’hpur

(1) Vide Dīwān-i-Nāmi.
Sikri are two of the many inscriptions designed by him.

His versatile genius found expression in the following works:

1. *Diwan-i-Nami*, consisting of 4000-5000 verses.

2. A *Quintet* of about 10,000 verses in imitation of Nizami’s *Khusra*, comprising:
   (i) *Ma’dan-ul-Afsar* corresponding to *Makhzan-ul-Asrār*,
   (ii) *Husn-wa-Nāz* (Sadu and Punūn) corresponding to *Khusraw-wa-Shīrīn*,
   (iii) *Pari Sūrat* corresponding to *Layli-wa-Majnūn*,
   (iv) *Akbar Nāma* corresponding to *Sikandar Nāma*,
   (v) *Haft Naqsh*² corresponding to *Haft Paykar*.


4. *Tārikh-i-Sind*.

Mir Ma’sūm was a valiant soldier, a brilliant physician, an indefatigable traveller and a gifted poet; and his *Tārikh-i-Sind* (c. 1009 A. H./1600 A. D.) written in a plain and lucid style, interspersed with apt verses, and dealing with important events from the days of the Arab conquest to his own times, served as a model for subsequent historians—particularly for the authors of *Tārikh-i-Tahiri*, *Bēglar-Nāma*, *Tarkhān-Nāma*, and *Tuḥfat’ul-Kirām*. It is a reliable record of the changing panorama of Sindh’s history and is a varietal store-house of information about the customs and manners of the people. Incidentally, interesting sidelights are thrown on the lives of the notables of this province.

To commemorate his achievements and keep alive his name for generations to come, the poet gave orders for the building of

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(1) It is Dr. Sprenger’s view reproduced by the author of *Haft Astān*, pp. 126-27.
(2) The present writer got this name from his pupil Mr. S. D. Alawī, who said he possessed a MS. copy of all the five *mathnawīs* but for reasons best known to him, failed to show the same inspite of numerous requests and reminders.
a minaret at Sakhar which can be seen even to day, and which
is known as “Ma’sûm Shâh-Jô-Munârû”.

Nâmi was a devout soul, intensely attached to the great Pro-
phet of Islâm, whose praises he sings with the utmost reverence
and fervour.

He has a tendency to moralize on Life and its frailties. Some
of his verses are didactic in purpose and seem to have been
composed after the manner of Shaykh Sa’dî, whom he appears
to have imitated at times. The following verses of Nâmi are
rich with reflections on the transience of life and everything re-
lated to it:

دَنِیا سَرَای بُونَد و جَای قَرار نَیَست
دل بَر جهان مَنِه کَه بَرو اعتبار نَیَست
امروز در زمین، عمل نافاشانده تخم
فردآ مَکْن خیال، درودن که کار نَیَست
خوش مَرکبست عمر، گرامی ولي چه سود
میتازد و سوار بر او استوار نَیَست

(1) Diwân-i-Nâmi.
And then adds:

1. Durj’ul-Laʿâli (being the first Volume of Abkar’ul-Afsâr) - MS. p. 56.
3. Diwâni-Nâmi.
His *Diwan* too sparkles with flashes of love, and some of his verses remind us of Rúmi's divine love-melodies; e. g.

لچه خوشست آتکه از خود روم و تو حال برسي
بتوزرحس حال گوئم بهزبان، بی زبانی

That so small a creature as a human-being should have been selected to bear the trying burden of love is pondered over by the poet thus:

عاقبت برک مبجت ز دل من سر زد
شعله طور بپال مگسی انتاد ست
غمزه اش گرم عتانست بی بردن دل
آتش طور پدن بال خسی انتاد ست

* * *

در دلم صد سيل اشک و بر لیم صد برک آه
عشق را نازم که پهن آب و پیدا آتش است

The eye—the organ of observation—has to be directed inwards for realisation of the Divine beauty, as has been enjoined by Rúmi in his memorable verse:

چشم بند و گوش بند و لب بیند
گر ته بیني نور حق، بر مین بخند

And the human heart serves as a suitable curtain for the perception of a spark of the supremely dazzling beauty of the Matchless One:

مصلحت نیست که بی برد بمالش بنی
دیده بر دوز که چشم تو حجاب نظر است

Love's bond of confederacy and staunch fidelity to the Celestial Beauty (from the very moment of Its manifestation from the *پرده*), the imperceptible veil of Knowledge, I knew a hidden treasure; I desired to become known,

(1) *Rúz-i-Raushan*, pp. 679-81; *Maqälätush-Shu’arā*.
(2) *Riyōdush-Shu’arā*.
(4) *Riyōdush-Shu’arā*.
accordingly I created the universe), and the longing lover's pitiable plight of sleepless expectation, are beautifully expressed by the poet thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{حسن است که او چلوه گر از پرده ناز است} \\
\text{عشق است که با حسن ازل محرم راز است} \\
\text{امشب بتنای مه روی تو تا روز} \\
\text{چشم چو در خانه ویران شده باز است}
\end{align*}
\]

**IDRÁKI “BEGLÁRI”** belonged to the Turkoman tribe of Arghûns. The authors of *Muntakhab’ut-Tawârikh* and *Târikh-i-Tâhirî* are of opinion that *Chanēsar Nāma*, a short mathnawi of about 875 distichs (c. 1010 A. H./1601-2 A.D.) dealing with a romantic episode of Sindh, is not his composition but that of Amîr Abûl-Qâsîm “Beglâr”. A careful study of the book, however, establishes beyond doubt the authorship of the former. Here are a few lines from the prologue of the poem:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{سواح نسخه گوئی سبزه زار است} \\
\text{در برگ سخن جون نوبهار است} \\
\text{ز روی طبع هر بیتی که گفتند} \\
\text{بتوکر فکر گویا در سفرم} \\
\text{بود هر بیت من در یکانه} \\
\text{بگوش شاه زید شاه دانه}
\end{align*}
\]

The above mentioned Amîr was the poet's patron to whom he had dedicated his work, and whom he has described thus:

\[
\text{ابوالقاسم بهادر بیگ سلطان} \\
\text{كه در پاییش سر خصیم است غلطان}
\]
دلمی، نامداری، کامیختی
هر بر، جنگجوی و تیز رخشی
* * *
پهلوشند فزون بر نام حاتم
بجرات برده گوی از رزم و سرم
مطیعش در سخن اهل فرست
پهلوی و دانش و عقل و کیاست
رود از شاعران گوی سخن را
ز فکرش چاره نبود هیچ تن را
چو گردید در معانی تکنی پرداز
بود گویا لب عسکری به اعجاز
چو "ادراک"، "غلام" در گویه اوست
مطیع، لطف گه بیگمه اوست
همیشه از خدا خواهد حیاتش
بود از جان علامه الناشت

After speaking of the glories of Creation and the Divine Workmanship revealed therein, Idrāki gives the following story:

Once upon a time there lived in Sindh, a rich lord called Rāo Khanghār. He had a very beautiful daughter named Kaunrū:

ز هر دل عشاق را هردم نشان داشت
پگیسو بود همچون مار پیچان
دو لعاش گشته گویا مهربان آن
جبين، او مثل زهربان میثابت
عطراد پرتو از وی عاربت یافت
* * *
ز مو باریکتر بوده میانش
سر موطئ تووان گفتین دهانش
لبش سر چشم هم از عین، راخت
زمخداشین چهی ید از ملاحات
She was very proud and domineering. One day, one of her girl friends teased her saying, "Why this self-adornment and indulgence in foppery? Do you intend to captivate the royal prince Chanēsar's heart?" This tickled the youthful fancy of the fair lady and she resolved to ensnare the popular hero. Her mother also sympathised with her and both of them took permission from Rāo Khanghār and set off for Chanēsar's palace. On reaching the destination, Kaunrū approached the prince through his minister Jakhrō, but as the prince was already attached to his charming consort Līlā, he gave her a cold shoulder. Having failed in her overtures, Kaunrū and her mother sold all their belongings in disappointment. They then gave themselves out as expert spinners, poverty-stricken and cut off from their near and dear ones by the buffets of fortune, and sought employment with Līlā, insisting that they would work their fingers to the bone for their mistress, if they were taken into her service. Līlā was touched by the story of their distress and employed them.

By and bye, Kaunrū grew in Līlā's estimation and ultimately rose to the post of chamberlain in Chanēsar's household. One night, while she was making up Chanēsar's bed and Līlā was by, the thought of her original status in life moved her to tears. Līlā saw this and asked her the reason. She replied:

ز شمعة وقت دودي در دماغ
ازان پر آب شد چشم و چراغم

But Līlā could see from Kaunrū's face that she was hiding the truth; she pressed for the cause, saying:

بگو با من چند کو نرو چه داري
که باند رستنی را رستگاری

Kaunrū, at last, unburdened her heart in the following verses:

(1) A ruler of the Sūmrā dynasty.
Lilā demanded proof, whereupon Kaunrū took out the magnificent ‘Nuh Lakha’ (‘worth nine lacks of rupees’) diamond necklace:

 Moved to rapture by the sheen and sparkle of the necklace, Lilā expressed a keen desire for buying it. Kaunrū declined, pointing out at the same time that she would part with it on the condition that Lilā would let her pass one night with Chanēsar.

 Lilā, ‘woman’ that she was, being unable to resist the desire of owning the necklace, persuaded herself to believe that there was no harm in Kaunrū’s spending a night with Chanēsar. She, therefore, unhesitatingly agreed. Late at night when Chanēsar returned to Lilā’s palace, with his brain ‘wholly clouded with
the fumes of wine', she impishly introduced the topic about Kaunru as follows:

CHANESAR, while he babbled, protested. But,

Kannru's overtures to Chanesar to satisfy her carnal passions, however, proved futile, as he flung himself on the cot and went to sleep under the influence of liquor. She tried hard to rouse him; at last, in despair, she stepped into the (adjoining) room allotted to her mother and with tears streaming down her lovely cheeks expressed the anguish of her heart. The latter cunningly replied:
Now it so chanced that, just after Kaunrū left the room, Chanēsar woke up. The old lady's taunt pierced his heart and he exclaimed in fury:

And anon, Kaunrū (came back and) was locked in the loving embrace of her royal lover. Līlā, whose foolish act had already caused her a heartache during the night, came soon afterwards to meet Chanēsar. She found the two toying together in spite of the clear morning light. Filled with anguish and jealousy, she cried out in a burst of passion:

(1) Necklace.
But Chanesar spurned her as a false wife and dismissed her from his sight, saying:

چو در بر دلبری دیگر گرفتم
تر اکنون ز خاطر بر گرفتم
مرآ هرگز دگر در بر نه بینی
تو در بر جز همان ز بور نه بینی

* *

مزاج زن بود چون عشق بیل
دل مردان بود نازکتر از گل

Lilâ tried all devices to win him back to her, but in vain. Lamenting her lot, she soliloquised:

ندانستم چنین مکر زنان را
نبردم از چنیسرا نین گمان را
برایشان ورم کردم چون زنانند
ندانستم که ایشان رهزنانند
نمودندی همزدوزی بهانه
ز من برند. آخر جمله خانه
کسی بی خانمان، چون من مبادا
 جدا، بجان کسی از رن مبادا

Then followed a passage at arms between Lilâ and Kaunru, opening with the former's attack:

گدای بر گهر عیار پیشه
بیای من زدن از مکر تیشه!
 *
 *
زنم آتش بر آن قوم و قبیله
که دارد چون تودختر بر ز حیله!
 *
 *
ترا چون گر به پرورد پلته
چوسگ بر ری ز بیشم خوان طمعه!
And the latter replied:

At last, despaired of regaining Chanēsar's love, Lilā left for her native home. There she came across Jakhrō, who had lately been refused the hand of a girl of Lilā's family, even though he had been engaged to her for some time, on the ground that he, too, would treat his wife in much the same manner as Chanēsar had treated Lilā. She promised to get him the girl of his choice if he only brought the royal prince Chanēsar in his bridal procession. This Jakhrō easily managed by inviting Chanēsar to his wedding. On the appointed day Lilā bedecked herself, and wearing a beautiful veil, joined Jakhrō's party. While at the latter's residence, she so enraptured the heart of Chanēsar with her attractive ways and coquetish talk that the prince became enamoured of her, and, to the entire satisfaction of the care-worn but daring Lilā, proposed to marry her, not knowing who she was. He requested her to pull off her veil. This she did not. Instead, she reminded him of his early love for Lilā and its subsequent betrayal, and mildly accused him of infidelity. Chanēsar's curiosity was aroused; he became impatient to know the veiled lady who had thus put him to shame, and espoused the cause of the forsaken Lilā. He besought her to unveil herself. Lilā could no longer hide her face. As soon as Chanēsar saw her, he sighed deeply and fell dead. The sudden and unexpected tragedy so wrought upon Lilā's tender heart that she uttered a piercing cry which floated into silence on the last breath of her sorrowful and love-smitten life:
In the words of Kincaid, the well-known writer of *Tales of Old Ind.*, “Although Kaunrū had her way during Chanēsar’s life it was Lilā who went together with him into the valley of the shadow.”

Critically considered, the story is both interesting and instructive, demonstrating, as it does, the proverbial, ‘Eve-old fickleness of woman.’ The evolution of the theme is skilful, and the weakness depicted stands out in bold relief. The language of the author is pleasing; there is a spontaneity and naturalness about it which charms the sense, and hurries it on into accepting the truth of the story and the various emotions it depicts. The author appears to have moulded his poem after the model of Jāmi’s *Yūsuf-wa-Zulaykhā*. His portrayal of physical beauty and emotion are both vivid and lively; and considering the fact that the author was a Sindhi who attempted to compose a love-story of Sindh in a foreign tongue, his performance is remarkable indeed.

**MIRZĀ GHĀZI BEG** (d. 1021 A. H./1612 A. D.), poetically styled “Waqārí”, succeeded to the throne of Lower Sindh in 1008 A. H. (1599 A. D.) The following appreciative verses by Tālib bear testimony to the Mirzā’s munificent patronage of men of letters:

(1) P. 42.
(2) The author of the *Maqālātush-Shu'arā* makes a mistake when he says that the poet died in 1021 A. H. at the age of 25, ‘after reigning for 8 years.’
(3) *Hindustānī* (October 1942) p. 18.
(4) *Maqālātush-Shu'arā*.
It is said that Mirzá Gházi Bég purchased his takhallus (Waqārī) for 10001 rupees from a poet of Qandahār,2 bearing that nom de plume, to fit in with his father Jāni Bég’s poetic name, “Halimi”. Like Milton in the seventeenth century, he had a remarkable knowledge of music and a true musical ear, which made it possible for him to introduce variety in the rhythms of his poetry. He was, incidentally, a very proficient musician, and was very good at playing on the pandore. The following3 two quatrains by Mullā Murshid Burūjirdī amply bear out the foregoing remarks:

कर نغمه ساژت پاسکون می آید
رمزیست بگویم که چون می آید
از بسکه بگرد زخم ات میگردد
پیچیده ز طنبر برون می آید

* * *
دل مسوزت ترم پر شورت
جان میخشد نوا و نیشابتور
در سیم کشی عمر بسر پرده شهاب
تاری تکشید در خور طنبرت

He was a student of Ākhūnd Mullā Ishāq of the Court of Sultān Mahmūd Khān of Bakhar. The Mughal prince Jahāngīr was very much impressed by the Mirzā’s literary and musical attainments and military prowess, and looked upon him as his son. It is said that the poet composed a Diwān of about 50005 distichs, of which only a few are, at present, available in some of the anthologies. His fame as a poet, however, rests on his

---

1. Dhakhīrat’ul-Khawānīn (Ms. p. 165); Maykhānā, p. 229; Ain-i-Akbari (edited by Phillot, p. 392).
4. Ibid: "ناو" مقام میست از جمله دوازده مقام مویسی، و "نیشا بور" شعبه ایست (از مویسی) مشهور به نیشابورک
5. Maqālātush-Shu’arā; Maykhānā, p. 228.
Sāqi Nāma, of which 83 doublets have been reproduced by Mullā' Abdun-Nabi Qazwini in his compilation Maykhānā. It is a product of his mature poetic genius, a work that made his name known in India and abroad during his life time, and made some\(^1\) of his admirers assign to him the ranks of "Khaqānī" and "Anwari". His poetry seems to be fashioned of the very stuff of music, and has a considerable natural elegance, which, now and then, throbs with a passionate tenderness and swells into a panegyric on the enchanting charms of his sweet-heart. Here are a few lines from his "Sāqi Nāma"\(^2\):

\[
\text{باغ ار فتد عكس از روپی بار\\ شود نوک، هر خار رشکر بهار\\ وگر بر فلك چهره تابان كند\\ خور از شرم، أو چرخه پهنان كند\\ به آپ ار بشوید دو زلف سیاه\\ بتأثير سنبل شود هر گیاه\\ و گر سوی میخانه تازان شود\\ می از چادر شیشه عریان شود\\ ازان می که جان عکسی از نور اوست\\ ادیب چند یاک دستور اوست\\ می کو چو در جام گردانشود\\ چراغ دل ضریب سرده دلمن\\ جوارت نزای فرار، دلان\\ کدوزت، ماندگان\\ اگر باد آن می رسید در ضیمبر\\ شود چهره، دلان بدانن منبر\\ که آینه آما همی زان نپيد\\ درو چهره، جان توانند دید}\
\]

\(^1\) Vide Dhakhīrat’ul-Khawānīn (Ms. p. 165)
\(^2\) Reproduced from the Maykhānā (pp. 230-34)
پای خم افتتم چنان یخیر
که در رگ تمادن ز خونم اثر
بروزشد بوم یخخود و در شبش
گنجی پای خم بوم و گه لبخ

* * *
درون پیاله همان نور بود
که گاهی تجلی بموسی نمود
زن طور خم آن نور شد آشکار
که موسی همی جستش از هر کنار

* * *
ظلمم یغم پیکرانست می
تن. بی روان را روانست می
نه می بلهک عشیش جوانی بود
کلید در زندگانی بود

He was unfortunately, a little too fond of the bottle, and not infrequently descanted on the pleasures of wine, e. g.

اگر هوشنندی و پاکیزه رای
پیمیانه شو زین سینچی سرای
بسوی خرابات گامی بزن
ز دست سب سبی جامی بزن
که تا دیده عشیش روشان کنی
چو ستستان پیمیانه مسکن کنی
دوای جكر خستگان چیست؟ می
دوای دل عاشقان چیست؟ می
می است آنکه آباد سازد ترا
ز بند غم آزاد سازد ترا
جکر تسخیش را صلائی بده
پیکر جریه می صافائی بده
بده سانی آن نوشدا روح
برغم دل زاده‌ان در صبح

44 PERSIAN POETS OF SINDH
Often times, his poetry is charged with a delicate perception of the frailty and tyranny of Time, and a sense of regret which arises out of this perception (consciousness). To these he gives a pathetic expression in the following:

\[ \text{Fālāk} \]
\[ \text{Bīr Zālīst} \]
\[ \text{Bī Ābū} \]
\[ \text{Azw Āb} \]
\[ \text{Wā Rāng} \]
\[ \text{Gowāni} \]
\[ \text{Mojū} \]
\[ \text{Azw Gār} \]
\[ \text{Tūnā Kānī} \]
\[ \text{Mārdī} \]
\[ \text{Zānd} \]
\[ \text{Snāg} \]
\[ \text{Bīr Shīshē} \]
\[ \text{Khūmī} \]
\[ \text{Azmī} \]
\[ \text{Tūqūtī} \]
\[ \text{Azw Dāshūn} \]
\[ \text{Būd} \]
\[ \text{Tūm} \]
\[ \text{Dīr Rāghfir} \]
\[ \text{Kāshūn} \]

But this sense of regret and bitterness is only a mood which is cast aside by his vigorous pursuit of wine and sensual pleasures, as is evident in his *Sāqi Nāmā*.

To indicate his merit in lyrical composition, a few specimens are given below.

The lover-poet's tears, instead of softening the beloved's heart, provoke her callous laughter. The poet, however, finds solace in the following couplet, which hits off his mood with an apt simile:

\[ \text{Gār} \]
\[ \text{Ye} \]
\[ \text{Am} \]
\[ \text{Gār} \]
\[ \text{Sābīr} \]
\[ \text{Khūndhē} \]
\[ \text{Aw Shad Čē} \]
\[ \text{Ubāb} \]
\[ \text{Čēndātākē} \]
\[ \text{Bākāyīd} \]
\[ \text{Lāb} \]
\[ \text{Gūlshan} \]
\[ \text{Khūndhē} \]

The lover, frustrated by separation from his beloved and

(1) *Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi*, Vol. II, pp. 351-53. The compiler of the *Maykhānā* (p. 228) adopts the following reading:

\[ \text{Abr Čēnd Gār} \]
\[ \text{Ye} \]
\[ \text{Nāmād} \]
\[ \text{Lāb} \]
\[ \text{Gūlshan} \]
\[ \text{Khūndhē} \]

In *Majma'ul-Fusahā*, Vol. I, p. 62, it reads as under:

\[ \text{Abr Čēnd} \]
\[ \text{Bākāyīd} \]
\[ \text{Rāx} \]
\[ \text{Gūlshan} \]
\[ \text{Khūndhē} \]
haunted by a sense of disaster, finds little pleasure in life; he is a mere automaton, a shadow of a shadow, an echo of a song heard in a dream. The poet compares him with the reflection in a mirror, which seems to be alive and yet is a shadow, a lifeless reality, a husk of a full-blooded sentient human being:

1 در شیستان چندان شیوه ضعف من است
همچون عکس آینه یی منت یا زیستن

Notice again the pun and paradox employed by him in:

2 پاک دامان ترم یز مردمک دیده، وی
غوطه در خون جگر خورد و رسوکشتم

The beads of perspiration like dew-drops on a flower, heighten the beauty of the beloved's jasmine cheeks, and the poet breaks out in ecstasy:

3 چون شبنم خوی، طرف جیبینت گیرد
زیبا ز بحر یاسخیت گیرد
چون عزم یرون شدن کنی از گلشان
گل دامن و پیل آستینت گیرد

Presently he wails out in a lament that seems to surge up from the very depths of his grieved and disappointed heart:

4 پیکانه ز ده و بنده خوی خومد
کس را نشنام آشنا روى خومد
از بسکه ضعیف گشته از هجر تنم
جون چشم مقدم کنچ ابروى خومد

The lover is warned of love's straight and narrow path, which is beset with difficulties. Only those who are capable of reverence and complete surrender can dare pursue it. The self must be annihilated, and the lover must renew his identity in the heart of the beloved. The poet says:

(2) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
True love is inconsistent with self-interest which usually taints the worldly-wise. Apparently taking his stand on the aphorism the lover-poet foresees a magnificent future for the love that destroys the lover in the initial stages and then by the very act of destruction, renews his identity for ever in the beloved's heart:

It is indeed a matter of regret that this gifted prince encompassed his own death—he was barely twenty-four by debauchery and excessive indulgence in drink from a very early age. According to some chronicles, this lover of 'wine, women and song' died of poison given to him by one of his dependents, by name Bahā Khān Lutfullāh son of Khusraw Khān, through his servant 'Abdul-Latīf. Shaykh

(1) Magālūsh-Shu'arā; Hindustaini October 1942, p. 19.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Tarikh-i-Tāhirī.
(5) Farid Bakhtari, the author of the Dakhirat-ul-Khawānin (Ms. p. 166) refers to these vices in the following words:

Farid, a son of Shaykh Ma'ruf Bakhari, however, records in his Dhakhirat-ul-Khawānīn that he met the above-mentioned Bahā Khān at Bābā Hasan Abdāl (in Kashmir) in 1028 A. H. (1619 A. D.), where both of them were guests of Khawāja Muhammad Maudūdi Chishti, and the man swore on the holy Qur‘ān that he had no knowledge of the alleged nefarious deed, and expressed it as his belief that the prince’s death was caused by his indulgence in drink and his abnormal sexual appetite. The same author has recorded that two or three days before his death, Mirzā Ghāzi Bēg had composed the following lines in praise of Shāh‘Abbās Safawi of Persia:

ز زهر مار زبان در امان بود آنکس
که شاه مهره مهد تو دهدن گیرد

AMIR ABUL-QĀSIM SULTĀN (969-1030 A. H./1562-1621 A. D.) Walad Shāh Qāsim was known for his valour and literary talents. He was a man of great influence in the days of Mirzā Ghāzi Bēg and wrote under the pen-name “Bēglār”. He, however, rebelled against the constituted authority, lost the Mirzā’s esteem and was ultimately blinded by the latter to prevent his subversive activities. The authors of Muntakhab‘ut-Tawārikh and Tārikh-i-Tāhirī have erroneously attributed to him the authorship of Chanēsar Nāma written by Idrāki - evidently mistaking the tribal name for the poet’s pen-name ‘Bēglār.’ Bēglār Nāmā, a court History of Sindh, dealing mainly with the Bēglār tribe, was, however, dedicated to this Amir by its


اكثر مطالب آن ضمه این نسخه گردد ليكن جون بنای آن بر اخبار
سماعي مخالف تحتحق اهل این فن بود

But since Farid was a contemporary of Mirzā Ghāzi Bēg, the writer of the present work could not avoid giving Farid’s first hand information.

(2) pp. 18-84.

(3) Dhakhirat-ul-Khawānīn, p. 162.

anonymous writer as a token of his esteem for Bêglâr's scholarship and patronage. The following few lines are from one of his ghazals quoted in the said book:

همنشین همزبان چه خوش باشد،
نازنین نکته دان چه خوش باشد!
گلرخم نکته دان بخنده خوش,
گر کشايد دهان چه خوش باشد!
در تکلم بخنده نمکین,
لعل ای در فشان چه خوش باشد!
"پیگلر" اندراين زمانه سخت,
دلبر مهربان چه خوش باشد!

An English poet has said:

"Oh! if there is a magic charm amid this desert drear, The long, dull, weary way to cheat - our darkest dreams to cheer,
It is the tender voice of Love, that echoes o'er the mind Like music on a twilight lake, or bells upon the wind."

'The tender voice of love' makes the hardest suffering bearable - nay, a thing of joy and cheer - for the true lover. 'Urfsi has said:

"عرفی" اگر بگرید میسر شدی وصال
صد سال میتوان بتندا گریستن!

And Sa'di sings:

دیدار سیمرغی و پرهیز میکنی,
پازار خوشی و آتشر ما تیز میکنی!

In short, the lover is not daunted by the sufferings that may beset him in his pursuit of the beloved, and almost finds consolation in the verse:

حدی را تیز تر میخوان چو محمل را گران بینی

Keats has immortalised this eternal pursuit of the beloved in his famous line in "Ode to a Grecian Urn": 
“For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair.”

Bêglâr says:

تامُدنگر تو تیزتر گشتته،
سینه عاشقان سیر گشتته

MUHAMMAD TÂHIR NISYÂNI (b. 990 A. H./1582 A. D.), son of Sayyid Hasan and grandson of Sayyid 'Abdul-Qâdir (the reputed writer of Hadîqatul-Auliyâ) is the well-known author of Târikh-i-Tâhirî (c. 1621 A. D.) - a book of considerable historical interest and literary merit, covering the chronicles of Sindh from the rise of the Sûmrâs to the death of Mirzâ Ghâzi Bêg. He also wrote the popular tale of “Umar Mârvî” in Persian prose,¹ and entitled it Nâz-wa-Niyâz.

The poet flourished in the days of Jahângir to whose qualities of justice he pays a deserving tribute in the following lines:²

ز عدل چهانگیر گردون سریر
دگر بار گشتته جوان دهر پیر!
گر نوشگفتته ز هر نوک خار
میادا خزان بر چنین نو بهار!
بهر جهان را میاد آن خزان
بدور جهان شاه فرمان روان!

He begins the Târikh-i-Tâhirî with a praise of God:

رخ مهوشان را ازان آبودست,
گر پیستان را از ونگ وبوست
گر او دلپان را نیماد آب
که کردی دل عاشقان را خراب

(1) Maqâlatush-Shu'ârâ; Elliot: History of India, Vol. I, p. 263 (Translation from Târikh-i-Tâhirî). One wonders how Qâni' in his other work Tuhfat'ul-Kirâm (Vol. III, p. 37) writes that the Nâz-wa-Niyâz was written in verse.
(2) All the pieces illustrative of his poetic talent, are selected from Târikh-i-Tâhirî.
In the following verses he refers to Shāh Bēg ʿĀdil Khān, the Governor of Qandahār, at whose instance he undertook the composition of the above mentioned book of history:

Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, Firdausi, Sa’di, Rūmi, Kālidās, Bhavabhūti, Tulsiidās and several other eminent poets live for ever through their compositions which serve as a link between the past, the present and the future. The idea is expressed by the poet thus:

They also keep alive the memory of the men and women and the events they mention in their works, and thus make the past as vivid and real to us as the present:

(1) Maqālātush-Shuʿarā.
pledged or bound by time) is expounded by the poet thus:

بوقنت موقوف هر خواهشی
که خواهش همه وقت کس در نیافت
درخت ارچه سرسبز باشد و لی
کسی غیر موسوم از بر نیافت
صدف دایماً هست در زیر آب
نباریت تا ابر، گوهر نیافت

The poet compares the materialistic world to a hag and condemns it, saying:

نخواهند دنیا بزرگان دین
که مردان نباشند محتاج زن
جو تو پای پایر زنی بیوه
دگر لااف مردی چو مردان مزن
نخواندی مگر تو بمکتب قدم
که از زن چه دیده حسین وحن

Among the illustrious Persian poets who flourished during the reign of the Mughal Agents, DĀNISHWAR KHĀN "SHUHRATI" (d. 1055 A. H./1645 A. D.) is in all probability, the first in chronological order. He belonged to a noble family and has left a Divān, of which only the following verses, preserved in the Maqālātush-Shuʿarā, have come down to us:

انفسوس که فیض ازین جهان رفت
ذوق کرم از جهانیان رفت!
کم ماند شگفتگی بیال.
بلبل بنغان ز گلستان رفت
* * *
دروین میکده میجو یمش نی بینم
کجاست مست خرابات "شهرتی" نامش

"ISMAT" (d. 1067 A. H./1657 A. D.), whose name is not known but who belonged to the Tarkhān tribe, is perhaps the
first lady in the history of Persian poetry in Sindh whose two couplets have come down to us through the efforts of the author of *Maqālātush-Shu‘arā*. One of them is:

نيست در عالم خبر از درک عشق
گفتی در دنیا نبوه مرد عشق

The other couplet is from a satire written on one of her contemporary poets, viz., Jamāl Muḥammad “Dāhī”, son of Mullā Jalāl “Dā‘ī”. It runs as under:

بیجا شعر نبوهد چو داها
کسی در عهد ما گمشته تباهی

HĀJI MUḤAMMAD “REDĀI” is yet another poet, whose genius shines in the folk-tale. Nothing is known about his life except that he was a Sunnī who wrote the romantic tragedy of *Zibā Nigār* in about 5500 doublets in the year 10711 A. H. (1660-61 A. D.), and acknowledged Shaykh Nizām-ud-Din (Auliyā) as his ‘murshid.’ In the following few verses, the poet explains the title of his poem, viz., *Zibā Nigār*:

چودر معشوق "حسن و زیب" دیدم
ی یا نام "زیبا" را گزیدم
همان شهری که سیباشان مکانش
نهادم شهر "حسن آباد" نامش
"نگار" از بیجا عاشق ساختم نام
که تلفظ ابست زیب روح ایام
پسند دلبر دل داده از دست
بمعشوقی زجام عشق شد مست
همین منظومه کزمن یادگار است
بعلام نام او "زیبا نگار" است

(1) Cf. جلی از باغ "خواننِد در حسابش" که هم تاریخ باشند، هم خطابش and not 1061 A. H. as is given by the copyist of the manuscript and Lutfullāh Badwī in his *Tadhkira-I-Lūfī*, Part II, f. n. p. 132.
He then relates the story as under:

Once upon a time, an accomplished Brahman, well-versed in astrology and other sciences, lived in the town of Husnābād. He lived a happy and contented life, his only anxiety being that he was without a child. He constantly prayed for a child to complete his happiness. His prayers were at last answered. After the lapse of some time, a beautiful female child was born to him. Being naturally anxious to know what the future had in store for her, the Brahman astrologer eagerly cast her horoscope, and was shocked to discover that she was fated to wed a Muslim youth. The horror of the child’s apostacy in the years to come was too much for the orthodox Brahman. In the first upsurge of emotions, he thought of destroying her at once, and thereby cheating her destiny. But the thought of soiling his hands with the blood of his innocent child did not particularly recommend itself to him. He fancied that it would be better to throw the infant into a well, and let her take her chance. But he did not entertain this idea for long either. At last, after much cogitation, he resolved to set her adrift on the river flowing nearby. Accordingly, placing her in a wooden box, he stole to the river-side at dead of night, and left her to the mercy of Chance and of the stream.

But the gods ruled otherwise. A childless Muslim washerman, living in the lower part of the town of Husnābād, used to go for washing clothes on the river-bank at dawn. One day, while he was at work, the fateful wooden box containing Brahman’s daughter came gliding down the stream. He waded into the water, pulled the box ashore and took it home. His joy knew no bounds when, on opening the box, he saw a lovely little baby girl. The washerman took the infant to his wife and instructed her to bring her up with particular care and affection. They named her Zibā.

Zibā grew up, lovely, adorable, and was attached to the person of the Princess of Husnābād, who had made it a point
of surrounding herself with lovely ladies. Zibā outshone them all. Merchants coming from distant lands to the princess’ palace with perfumes and articles of fine, delicate workmanship, carried with them memories of Zibā’s incomparable beauty, so that, in the course of time, she became almost a legend. Men who had never seen her fell in love with her, and pined for her. Of these was Nigār, the beloved son of the ruler of Kēch. Time and again, he made up his mind to go to Husnābād in search of his dream-beloved; but his father, who was very much attached to him, would not let him go. Thus he found himself on the horns of a dilemma - to leave his home for Zibā and incur the displeasure of his aged father (whose sorrow at this separation might even prove fatal to his life) or to yield to his father’s strong attachment and give up his heart’s desire.

Nigār sickened: even the ministration of the most capable physicians who attended on him could not bring him back to health. Gorgeous musical entertainments were devised for his pleasure; he was surrounded by beautiful girls, who ministered to his wants and tried to rally him back into an interest in them; all these proved futile. Nigār carried in his heart a vision of the incomparable Zibā, to whom he constantly offered homage. She was the goddess who blinded him even to the charms of the damsels who hung upon his very words:

كشیدندش بسلکر خوبروان
كه دل بندد بدان زنجير مویان
دلش گيرد بخوپانآنس و الفت
پرون آيد ز بندر درد و كلئت
بيزم دلفريوان شاد گردد
ز غم فارغ ، ز درد آزاد گردد
بلي داروي هر رنجور حسن است
بعلام مرهم ناسور حسن است
دواي درد هر دل روى خوب است
كه روى خوب مرغوب التلوب است
A year passed away, a year of agony for Nigār. Then famine stalked the land:

After some deliberation, the king, on the advice of his counsellors, decided to send a deputation to Husnābād for the purchase of corn. When Nigār heard that the party was looking for a leader to guide and guard them against the depredations of the robbers who prowled about the frontiers of Kēch, he persuaded his father to let him take this task upon himself on the plea that a change of climate might reasonably be expected to bring about an improvement in his health. His father, nothing loath, agreed. Camels were loaded with musk and ambergis (to serve as exchange for grains), and the caravan left for Husnābād.

Nigār's health rapidly improved in the expectation of his caravan soon reaching his beloved's town. During the journey, he anxiously pondered over the means of arranging a meeting with Zibā. Fearing that his rank and wealth might widen rather than bridge the gulf that separated them, he decided to
present himself to her in the guise of a washerman (who had taken to trade and prospered) in the belief that he would thus be in a position to establish a sort of professional kinship with her and her folk.

At last the caravan reached Husnābād and filled the town with the fragrance of its musk. People came in throngs to watch this goodly company.

After some days, Nigār seriously set about the task of meeting Zībā. As a preliminary step towards the realization of his object, he paraded the streets of the town.

The wealth and dignified demeanour of the members of the caravan, and the personal attractions and princely ways of their leader (Nigār), soon became the talk of the town, and presently captured the ear of Zībā. Her curiosity aroused, Zībā obtained for Nigār a remission in the price of the grain he had come to buy, and then invited him to a magnificent entertainment. The prince expressed his gratitude for her kind reception of him and sent her the following message:

كه یک دل را نهان صد گونه کار است

میانجی در سیمان حال بار است

Zībā took the hint and went to meet him in his camp:

زهرستیز مزگانی که بر جست
شد و آنگه درون سیمه را خست
به یک زخم کاری کارگر شد
دل هر دو شکار یکدگر است
زیان بستند اما با اشارت
متعاب یکدگر کردند غارت
به ابرو رزهای راز گفتند
حکایت‌های سوز و ساز گفتند

After a few days, Nigār, intent on seeing his sweetheart, came near Zībā's residence and, getting an opportunity, shot
a bird sitting on a branch of the tree standing in her house, so that it fell into the courtyard. He then went inside to pick up the bird and his arrow. Zibā was marking all his movements but did not deem it wise to speak a word to him:

نبادا مادرش آگاه گردید
مان یار سر راه گردید.

Her mother, however, noticed Nigār, and inquired about him from her daughter. When Zibā pretended ignorance, she stepped out and put him through a catechism: What was his name and profession, why had he come there? Nigār answered:

پکتبا: "گازرم، نامه نگار است
تجارت بیشام ام در روزگار است
"سم را بود سودای شکاری
قضارا اینطرف کردم گذاری
"برین خرم درخت از دور دیدم
شکار مرغ، سوی او دویدم
"بگشتاخی زدم تیری پران صید
برآمد صید و تیر افتاد در قدید
"برای تیر خود در جستجویم
شد از روش خجالت سرخ رویم
"چه گوبین وکر خود بس شرسارد
خطا کردم، امید عفو داوم.

They invited him in for a little while. Presently Nigār got up with a fervid expression of gratitude, and left.

A little later he sent an old woman to Zibā with a message that, he had heard of her incomparable charm and had come to Husnābād, and begged for some tangible expression of her favour. Zibā, who had already been charmed by the person and fetching ways of this attractive stranger, confessed some interest in him, and even delicately hinted at her love for him. Nigār, beside himself with joy, sent a message to her father,
asking for his daughter’s hand in marriage. Zibā’s father, however, was doubtful of his intentions, and made it quite plain that he could not place any reliance on Nigār making his daughter happy. He, however, agreed to entertain his propos- al, provided he (Nigār) fell in with his (washerman’s) suggestion:

اگر هم پیشه و همکار باشد
بدون خوشتی بجای خوشتی باشد
اگر مردم در میدان در آید
پچکان گیاه گوئی را یاد
بدست خود کند گرد جامه شویی
بر آرد شاخ امیدش تکوئی

Nigār’s heart sank. But love laughs at obstacles, and so he agreed to fall in with the wishes of the washerman. In this he was twice helped by Zibā herself - once while he was carrying clothes to the river-side, and then by her suggestion that he should put a gold piece in the pocket of each dress which got torn in the process of washing. This subterfuge won him favourable reports about his professional skill, with the result that the washerman at last agreed to give him Zibā in marriage.

Nigār now lived in a world of dreams in which he and Zibā alone were the protagonists. Drunk with love and with happiness, he gave up all thoughts of returning to Kēch. When his companions pointed out to him that they would be very severely taken to task if they went back without the caravan-leader, he gave them a letter addressed to his father, in which he set forth at length his reason for staying behind in Husnābād:

ز وزم عشق جام وصل خوردم
چنان بیخود شدم گوئی که سردم
ز مستی قیرت هستی را شکستم
ز بند خوشت آزادانه استم
ز خود آزاد در بند پدر نیست
چون از خود زاد، فرزند پدر نیست
ز همین گشتم یک چکمه رفتم
گذشتم از خود و از خویش رفتم
دلت را جستجوی من باید
که از خود رفته هرکجا پاز ناید
اگر صد رو دریان عالم سایابی
هم این گمگشتته را هرکجا نیایی
بدام زلفر یار خود اسیرم
پرون نایم ز دامش گر بیمیرم
بشوه از دیدن من دست امید
که شد پایم اسیر بند چاوی رد

Loaded with grain, the caravan returned to Kēch. When the new leader handed over Nīgar’s letter to the father, the ruler was very much grieved, and set about devising means to ensure his (Nīgar’s) return to Kēch. At last, he sent for a number of servants, who were not only crafty and brave, but also capable of shadowing people without their knowledge. He directed them to leave at once for Husnābād under the leadership of one of his sons. He pointed out to them that they would meet with his extreme displeasure if at all they came back without Nīgar.

When these men arrived at Husnābād, they rented a house in a lonely spot, and moved secretly about the town. One dark midnight, when Zībā was fast asleep, the leader of the party told Nīgar that he had come all the way from Kēch to meet him, and begged him to spend a night with him. Nīgar who was deeply attached to his brother, and could never entertain any suspicion of treachery from him, accompanied him to his residence. There he was generously plied with a delicious intoxicating potion. Nīgar soon lost all consciousness of the world. The villainous brother had him placed helpless on a
camel's back, and rode away with all speed towards Kēch.

In the meantime, Zībā woke up and found her lover gone. She went out in search of him, and presently arrived at the temporary residence of her brother-in-law. She found the place deserted. When she learnt of the hurried departure of the Kēch tenant, Zībā felt that her lover had been spirited away. Broken-hearted, and unable to bear up against her separation from Nigār, she followed the track of the camels' foot-prints. In her bewildered and anguished wanderings, she crossed many a desert and many a mountain, and endured untold hardships. Hungry, wild-eyed, with the pitiless sun blazing down on her from a hot and coppery sky, thirst tearing at her throat, she pressed on in her search for her beloved in the fond hope of coming upon him one day. Often times terror would grip her heart and cold waves of panic would shiver up and down her body:

که شاه کچچ را از من بود تنگ
ترازویش گهرسنجست و من سنگ
نگارم گهر و من سنگ کم سنگ
کچرا با او توائم گشت همسنج
نیم همسنج یار خویش فر یاد
که پیوندم به همجناس نیفتاد

*   *   *

منم خوار و نگار من عزیز است
به از من بر در او صد کنیز است
پرستش میکند خوشرید نامش
کچرا بر ذره میفتد نگاهش
مرا در پارگاهش کی بود بار
سجود من بود آن قبله را عار
ولی هم میروم نامزش سویش
همینم بن که دارم آرویش
At last, she lost all traces of the track she was following. Panic seized upon her, and she was afraid - afraid that she had lost her beloved for ever. Presently a shepherd of the locality happened to see her. A wave of pity surged up in his heart at the sight of her bedraggled beauty, her forlornness and aloneness:

He approached her and persuaded her to tell him her story. Zibā spoke out of the very depths of her grieved and constant heart:

"If only the tears of my eyes could ever dry!"
ز دویری سینه ریشتم، چون نمیرم
 جدا از جان خویشتم، چون نمیرم
 بخوابم کیچیان گذشت نمودن
 نگاه ثانین از من روبدند
 بازی از باطم شاه بردن
 زیب مهری بدلندی ماه بردن
 شیم تاریک شدی ماه تابان
 شبا شب در پیش گشتی شتابان
 پناهی دویدم در یک کام
 چو پیکر باد در حالید زدم کام
 یبا صد میل در راهش دویدم
 بسر صد کووه اندوهش کشیدم
 سرم در زیر سنگ و پای برسنگ
 یکی بشکست و دیگر هم شده لنگ

Her great loving heart broke at last. But before she died, she passionately adjured him to deliver her dying message to Nigăr, if ever he should come upon him:

شدم شرمنده، از بس شرم مردم
 بخود عار ترا در خاک بردم
 چو آب از چشم رفتم در رو خاک
 ز داغ نگ کردم دامت پاک
 ندیدم چای خود در بارگاهت
 ز پا افتاده گشتی خاک راهت
 خرابی ساختی، آباد باشی!
 بغم گشتی دلم رو، شاد باشی!

Deeply moved by this story of an unhappy and star-crossed love, the shepherd reverently buried her body, and set himself to praying and watching over the grave of this benighted girl.

When Nigăr recovered consciousness, he found himself in
his father’s house. A portentous sense of disaster lay heavy upon his heart. He realized that his brother had played him false; realized also that he had lost, perhaps for ever, the sweet-heart who had, for a very brief time, filled his life with sweetness. Hope flickered and almost died within him when father had him placed under strict surveillance. Shrewdly, he pretended to accept his fate, and when opportunity presented itself, slipped away from his father’s house, and made for Husnābād. One evening, on his way to Husnābād, he came upon a cottage near Zibā’s tomb. When the old shepherd, who had buried her, learnt that the stranger was none other than the Nigār for love of whom the unhappy lady had breathed her last, he delivered her dying message. Nigār listened like one in a dream. Clouds of darkness seemed to pass before his eyes. Overcome with anguish, he sighed deeply, swayed and dropped down dead.

According to the poet, there are several versions about Nigār’s death; he has, however, besides the version given above narrated only one of them in the following words:-

Arriving at Zibā’s grave, Nigār prayed to God:

توانی گر برویم رو کشانی
رخ زیای زیای نمایی
پکن از خانه خاکی دری باز
تکوئی کن مرا در خاک انداد

and the result was

که ناگه چاک شد پیراهن خاک
در آمد پای او درداسن خاک

The poet Redāi, in the romance Zibā Nigār, has tried to imitate the illustrious Žāmi. He has succeeded to some extent in so far as the simplicity of style is concerned, but his diction, on the whole, falls short of the grace and eloquence that characterize the work of the latter. The episode, as narrated by Redāi, tallies, except in a few particulars, with the popular
local version of 'Sasui Punûn' given in the *Tuḥfat’ul-Kirām*,\(^1\) (written about one hundred and ten years after the composition of the above poem). According to the author of the *Tuḥfat’ul-Kirām*:

1. The washerman had 500 apprentices, some of whom saw the box floating in the water and took it to their master.

2. In order to make it easy for himself to win the washerman’s daughter, the prince, of his own accord, apprenticed himself to the washerman.

3. Sasui’s (heroine’s) passionate love for Punûn (lover) excited the jealousy of a goldsmith’s wife whose advances to the prince had not proved fruitful. She almost convinced him that his sweetheart was ‘leading him up the garden path.’ Sasui, however, proved her innocence by passing unscathed through the customary ordeal by fire. Soon afterwards the two were married.

4. When the ruler of Kēch got news of Punûn’s marriage with a washerman’s daughter, he sent his other sons with instructions to bring him back by hook or by crook. The princes, accordingly, set out for Bhambhôr, the place of their brother’s beloved, and stayed with their brother as his guests. One night, while Sasui was asleep and Punûn lay drunk, they placed him in a litter on a camel’s back and hot-footed it back to Kēch.

5. The shepherd, who met the forlorn lady during her wanderings in search for Punûn, was entranced by her beauty and started making love to her. Sasui, to gain time, begged him to get her milk as she was almost dying of thirst, and, while he was gone, prayed that the earth might open and swallow her up. With a deep rumble the earth parted, and Sasui disappeared into its bowels, like Sītā of the Rāmāyana.

6. After the party returned to Kēch, Punûn, sickening of his separation from Sasui, rapidly grew worse. When all efforts

to save his life proved unavailing, his father asked his sons to take him to Bhambhôr, and bring him back with his bride. On his way to Bhambhôr, Punûn was drawn to Sasui's grave. When the shepherd, who had buried Sasui, related to him the tragic tale of his sweetheart's death, he threw himself on her grave, and passionately called upon Allah to make it possible for him to be united with his beloved in death. His prayer was answered. The rocky ground split; the fond lover entered the coffin that held his beloved, and found in death what life had denied to him.

The romance of Sasui and Punûn has been composed in Persian verse by many a poet of the province. Of these, however, only the names of Mir Ma'sûm Shâh “Nâmi” and Qâdî Murtadâ Sôrathi, a resident of Khatyân (near Hyderabad), are recorded in the Tuhfat’ul-Kirâm. The former wrote it in the Mathnawi form entitling it Husn-wa-Nâz, while the latter is said to have rendered it “in a novel style” during the reign of Muhammad Shâh (1719-48 A. D.).

MIR ABUL-MAKÂRIM “SHUHUD” (d. 1073 A.H./1662-63 A. D.), son of Amir Khân of Thattâ, was a saint and an erudite scholar. In spite of his affluent circumstances and high social status he himself used to go to the market to make purchases. One day, when his father chided him on this account he replied, “Why should any one feel ashamed of following the practice of the Holy Prophet?”

Once Qâdî Ibrâhîm, the Amin’ul-Mulk of Thattâ and the distinguished commentator of Nizâmi’s Makhzan’ul-Asrâr, invited Abul-Makârim to dinner. At sunset, the Qâdî ordered his servants to light the candles, using the word تدیل with fat’ha over the first letter. Abul-Makârim corrected him, saying that the first letter should have kasra, and not fat’ha which is incorrect. The Qâdî, who was himself a very learned man stuck

(1) Maqâlâtush-Shu’arâ.
to his own view and said that the word 
قدیل was of the
measure of 
منسیل (handkerchief). Mir Sāhib pointed out that 
منسیل too had kasra below its first letter. The Qādi was very
much surprised. After a long discussion, they referred to dic-
tionaries and found that both the words had a kasra below
their first letters.

According to his own statement, the poet possessed over
500 books dealing with different literary and technical subjects,
and had studied them so well that he had almost the whole of
their contents on the tip of his tongue. Besides a Diwān of
ghazals, he composed a mathnawī entitled Parikhāna-i-Sulēmān,
the well-known love-episode of Sulēmān and Bilqis. Unfortu-
nately, before he completed the romance of Sayful-Mulāk-wa-
Badi'uj-Jamāl he died at Sehwan and was buried beside the
mausoleum of Lāl Shāhbaž Qalandar. The following chrono-
gram, composed by the poet during his lifetime, is engraved on
his tomb, and gives the year of his death (1073 A. H.):

कसी گر پریس ز تاریخ ما
همین گو: "بجنت خدا داد جا" 

In his mathnawī, referred to above, the poet gives a char-
mimg description of the mango - its form, taste and colour.
Here are a few lines:

1 وصف آنیه چون گویم که چون است
که از رشکر شرابش شهد خون است
ز نام او چو گیرم لذت قند
ز بان با کام و لب با لب شود بند
بسختی همو یلعل اما شکر بار
بتسمی چون طلائی دست اثار
بطفلی چون دل معشوق سمنگ است
پسری چون رخ من زرد رنگ است

(1) This piece and the two which follow have been taken from the Maqālá-
tush-Shu'ārā.
Adam, the first man - God’s vicegerent on earth - is recognized as the unique interpreter of the Divine Purpose in creating this Universe, he being the recipient of the divine boon آدم،首人 - 上帝的代理人 - 作为唯一的诠释者，创造了这个世界，他接到了神的恩赐。But his merit is contingent on the pleasure of the Omnipotent Lord. The poet has beautifully expressed the idea thus:

ما آئنے، جہان نمای باریم
رختی مگر و زیب این بازاریم
جوان سنگر ترازؤیم در بیله خوش
پیکار نشته ایم و هم در کاریم

The several species of the vast mass of humanity - the high and the low, the master and the servant being under the control of the Celestial Power - are dependent upon one another. The poet aptly illustrates the point by reference to the hour-glass:

ابنی زمانہ یکسر از بندہ و حر
باشند زمال یکدگر مانده خور
چون شیشه ساوتند در دست فلک
تا این نشود تھی، نگردان آن بر

MUHAMMAD BĀQIR "JUYĀ" son of 'Abdur-Raūf was the son-in-law of Abul-Fat’h Qābil Khān - Mir Munshi to Prince Ālamgīr. Towards the end of his life, after he took to mysticism, he, in a mood of renunciation disposed of all his belongings and spent the rest of his life in prayer and seclusion. Occasionally, he enjoyed the company of Darwishes, and his noble and dignified bearing won him the title of “Shāh”. He had a natural gift of poetry and has left a Diwān which speaks highly of his taste and accomplishments.\(^1\) He pictures the

(1) His biographical account and verses are reproduced from the Maqāla-tush-Shu‘ārā.
workmanship of God as under:

چنان اروخت عكس روی او آتید، دین را
که چون آتیده حیران گرد عقل، مصلحت بین را
شد از شوق جمالش دست، قدرت ز آستین بیرون
پوجا شیر بیند کوهکن دیدار، شیرین را
توجه کرده سوی آسان از جای گیر احسان
که سازد سرنوشت عرش تنثر پای تنکین را
برای عفو عصبانی خلاقی سب بود نامش
دعا چون مستجاب افتاد حاجت نیست آمین را

In the following lines he describes himself as a forlorn man who has been so completely cut off from his native-place that he cannot even find a messenger to carry to his countrymen the news of his pitiable plight:

خوهم نوشتن سختی از غم، غربت
جویاً! اکه برده نامه ما تا وطن ما?

In fact the whole poem, from which the above couplet is taken, is charged with the pathos and nostalgia of the exile. To quote a few more verses:

چون سبز شود بعد فنا خاکر تن، ما
باشند گل داغ، تو بجیب کفن، ما
هرچند که ما تخیم، غم از اشک فشاندیم
جز لاله داغ، تو نرست از چمن، ما
gو کعبه برقص افتد ناقوس نوازان
برخاست به احراز، حرم برهم، ما
لعل لب شیرین تنوان یافت از کان
گو تیشه مزن برسر، خود کوهکن، ما

Inspired by the sanctuary of Ka’bā, which is built of stone and where the Muslim devotees assemble and pray, the lover-poet makes for himself a bed of stone on the night of his anguish, apparently in the expectation that his beloved may be
drawn to him for the sake of the heart’s temple which his (the lover’s) devotion has made a fit residence for the beloved:

شود معلوم از سنگین بنای خانه که عاشق از چه میسازد شب غم سنگ بالینرا

MULLĀ ‘ABDUL-HAKIM ‘ÂTÂ’ son of Muhammad Afdal Sabzpûsh of Thattâ, was a pious man and possessed many good qualities. It is said that for thirty years he devoted his nights to writing praises of the Prophet, Hadrat ‘Ali and other Imāms. The reference is perhaps to قصائد عطا ‘تنوی which, according to the “Abjad” system gives 1101 A. H. as the year of their compilation. Here are a few verses from a qasīda containing autobiographical touches:

شکر خدا که هست هزاران لطیفه ام گرچه نیم ز تند هزاری ولی صدى
صرف حیات و مشغله عمر حیدا ایست بر طریقه بن موارد
ذکر سخن بورد مناجات و تعمیق خاص
دارم وظیفه دل و چن و صف بیعید
گنجینه قصائد گرای جانفزا
دارم زفضل و رحمت و احسان از سید
 العمر عرزیم گشت بشغال شگرف صرف
در مدت صفات و صلوات محمد
نان از کسی مدد نه ز کس سرقت شگن
دارم همه تصدیق از فضل احمد
همجون کلام متنها از کمال طبع
دارم سلوک را و میدیت چو مبتیدی

Philosophising on the idle trends of human life, he admonishes himself thus:

به چه نازی ای "عطائی"، تورکه سر بسر خاطئی
نه دلت بروشنایی نه بدیده آشنایی
— THE TARKHANS AND THE MUGHAL AGENTS 71

—and raises a hue and cry against the oft-condemned awry “firmament” in the following words:

فغان ز کشکش ی این سیلر ز زگاری!
فغان ز گردنر گردون بدوز پرگاری!
فغان ز عیجش ی این طاس و ازگون پرخال!
فغان ز چنیش ی این طاق زر فشان کاری!
هنوز ناهدش خورشید او بستاراس
که سر بغویوه افناکشد ز رهواری!
هنوز از کن او نارسیده مه بکمال
که رو پنلمگاهش نهذ ز یمباری

* * *

که مهر او همه کینست و بدر او همه غدر
هلال صورت او ناخن. چکاری
پسان زلفی بیان خم بخم پریانی
مثال چشمن بتان سیسر دل آزاری
شکسته آباه زو هر دلی بسوز وگدز
رگ بر به زوی دیدهای خونباری
ستم بختنه ازو چون داغ. بقدستان
جهان بگریه ازو همچو چشمه جاری
تیه زکین. دلش دیده باگرد جفا
سیه ز زودر. رخش چهره های گلناری
فگار ازو دل آناف چون دل عشاق
زماتی از کنر او غرق گر په و زاری

* * *

فغان ز حرفت ی این دزد مختی نتان
پیاسبانی او رهزنی و غداری
According to the author of the Maqālātush-Shu’arā, he composed about 100,000 verses, which won him considerable fame. He also composed a Diwān¹ which, according to the poet’s calculation, contained over 30,000 couplets:

(1) Cf, Tuhfat’ul-Kirām, Vol. III, p. 243:

The statement is corroborated by Qalīch Bēg (Qadīm Sindh jā Sitārā, p. 29)
but which, as a personal examination of a complete copy of
the manuscript shows only 6,450 couplets.

His poems are rich in metaphors and similes and are in-
 instinct with the devotional spirit which generally characterized
his life. How beautifully and with what a perfect sense of
rhythm and of beauty of words has he expressed the idea of
"know thyself and ye know God":

ای خودنما مباش خود آرا و خود پرست
در خود نظر نمای و خدا را برآ زخود

The play on the words خود and خدا is particularly noteworthy.
His piety is also illustrated by his utterance:

فهم ما تاقص و حکم تو کمال حکمت
خواهش ما چه بود هرچه تو خواهی آنست

It further expresses beautifully the grand idea of ‘Resignation
to the will of God’, and has a parallel in Tennyson’s:

“Our wills are ours, to make them thine”.

The poet had a keen sense of beauty. In the following
picturesque verses he insists that the eyebrows of his beloved
are two hemistichs, and that each joined with the other becomes
a beautiful and harmonious distich:

مصور ازلي بيت ابروان ترا
بهم دومصور موزون بلند و بالا باست

There is a pun on the words بيت and مصور which also
mean ‘a house’ and ‘one flap of a folding door’ respectively.

In the following simple and choice words the lover-poet
speaks of the Divine Sculptor, who fittingly sets the idol of
sorrow in the lover’s pining heart. The lines suggest both the

(1) Maqālātush-Shu‘lārā.
(2) A Persian MS. copied by Nandūmal.
(3) All his verses, except otherwise shown, are selected from Dīwān-i-’Atā,
and few scattered leaves of a Ms:
depth and steadfastness of his love in a fine simile:

صبرتگر ازل بدلم داغ تو نهاد
خوش جای خود شناخته، نفتت بجا نشست

After comparing his love-smitten heart with the tulip which is known for the black spot in its centre, the poet consoles himself with the thought that the dark spot (suffering) in his heart is due to his passion for his beloved’s (black) tresses:

میر به الفت زلفت گرفته سودایی
که لاله دل من داغ بر سویدا بست

The shadow cast by his beloved’s cypress-stature exalts the lover-poet no less than that of the famous phoenix - the auspicious bird said to prognosticate a crown for the head it overshadows:

تا برسر زسر قند نتفش و پا نشست
برسر مرا چو سایه، فر هما نشست

The resplendent beauty of the beloved’s face far outshines the sun’s, for while the latter merely lights up objects, the former, apart from dazzling its votaries, has the power of transforming a mote into a sun. This is what the poet says:

چو آفتاب جمال تو به نکاب شود
ز عکس روز تو هر ذره آفتاب شود

The lover's heart which is wholly devoted to his beloved, forms fit company for madness. Says Shakespeare:

"The poet, the lover, and the lunatic
Are all of imagination compact".

Staunch love makes the lover oblivious of all else including his personal self, and in the eyes of the worldly-wise such an infatuation is little short of madness:

دل با خیال دوست دوست، جنون در خیال من
مانند آشناست که با آشنانشت
The ardent sighs of the lover, which are supposed to be capable of moving mountains, produce no effect on his rock-ribbed beloved:

زسوز سیته دل سنگ را چه تاب بود
اگرچه از شرر آه سنگی آب شود!

It seems the poet lived to a good old age but, on the whole, he was not a happy man, nor did his compositions win him the fame he expected:

حیرت ز حال غفلت خود دارم ای "عطا"
نادری و فقیری و بیری و مستر خواب

* * *

۱ نسخه ای ایت دیوانم گنست از سی هزار
لیکن این در وگهر را نیست اکنون جوهر

He was passionately fond of his native-place (Thattā) and would not leave it, even though some of his fellow townsmen made it hot for him:

دلخسته ام به تبته بیتالحزن "عطا"
رنج مرا ز حبطر وطن میتوان شناخت

He laments, as follows, his bereavement of contemporary poets, viz., 'Ali Muhammad "Safā" of Nasarpur, Mullā 'Abdul-Latif "Qaysar" of Badin, his brother Mullā "Salāmi" and "Shakkari" of Thattā:

کو صفایی، قیصر و ملا سلامی، شکری
در گذشت القسه هر یک اختیر روشگری!

MEHTĀ CHANDRABHĀN, bearing the pen-name "'Ajīz" is one of the oldest Hindū poets according to the records of Persian poetry in Sindh. He lived in the later part of the seventeenth or the early part of the eighteenth century, as is apparent from the Maqālātush-Shu'arā (written in 1759 A. D.). He came of a respectable family of Qānūngū stock living at

(1) Maqālātush-Shu'arā.
(2) Ibid.
Sehwan. It seems that the poet was not well-placed in life and had very few friends. He complains:

\[
\text{۱ انس با هر خوش که می‌دارند ونشست سرا}
\text{از وفا رو تاقته فکر، جفاکاری کنند}
\text{از وطن آواره چون یوسف ز اخوان گشته ام}
\text{کاش لطف حق زیبخا میردای کنند}
\]

Some of his verses breathe a feeling of unrelieved pessimism, e.g.

\[
\text{روزی، هر خوش شده از خون دل لخت چگر}
\text{گوشی از روی زمین یکلخت آب و دانه رفت}
\text{دختران را چنگ با مادر پسر خصم، بدر}
\text{بغض اخوان شد فوزن، هم قرب ز اهل خانه رفت}
\text{خم شکست و شیشه خالی، جام، عشیرت سرگون}
\text{می فروش و پاده چوش و مطرب از میخانه رفت}
\text{شده جهان تازه‌یک ز اهل انجن می‌کس هم نماند}
\text{شمع بی نور است، سوز، عشق از پرمانه رفت}
\text{زنه گر می‌بوت مجنون یا فلاطل کن زنان}
\text{مست در هوش آمد و هوش از دل فرزانه رفت}
\]

But the climax of his pessimism is reached in the concluding distich of the poem:

\[
\text{شکوهه دور زمان چندت "عاجز" می‌کنی}
\text{ختم شد دنیا، حیا از خوش و از بیگانه رفت}
\]

Although the poet's expression is not a happy one - he has overstretched his imagination in his portrayal of the world having ceased to exist (albeit for himself) - it is clear that life held no charms for him. Enmeshed by misery, and afflicted with deep and unrelieved melancholy, he fancied that the world did not exist for him. He seems to be conscious of

(1) This and the following pieces of Chandrabhān's poetry are taken from a Persian MS. copied by Nandūmal.
an immense burden which seems almost too heavy for his shoulders. The sense of utter weariness and despair which informs his poem, reminds us of the following lines of Shelley:

"I wish I were like a tired child
To weep away this life of care
That I have borne and yet must bear."

"'Ajiz" believed in contentment. He was a man of unflinching faith in the power of prayer and spiritual meditation, and consoled himself with the following:

غم مخور از بیش و کم راضی بر زرگر خویش باش
تا صاف بر قطعه قاچاق شد گهر باری کند
دل بست آور، مشو غافل اگر اهل، دلی
در دل خود فیض بی نهاره دلداری کند
دیده با خواب آنها، زنها، در شبها مکن
صبح امیدی نیاده هر که بیداری کند
به زمین زندگی در مشرب رندان بود
باده صافی که از یک قطعه سرشاری کند
گر غربی در وطن 'عاجز'؛ ز سختیها منال
دستگیر بیکسات آخر ترا باری کند
دیده گر بینا شود هر روز روی محشر است''

"'Ajiz" is a verse of a philosopher-poet. Obviously the man who is oblivious of the retribution on the Day of Resurrection, sins recklessly and is doomed to perdition. Says "'Ajiz":

از جزای روز محشر هر که باشد بیخبر
چون یادبند دست قدرت کار آزاری کند

He had one son by name SHEWAKRĀM. The latter inherited the gift of poetry from his father and took "Mukhlis" as his pen-name. He died when he was barely nineteen. The following couplet serves as a sample of his poetry:
CHIMNI is a lady of the Mughal period whose one couplet has come down to posterity through the *Maqālātush-Shu’arā*.

She was the mother of Habībullāh (a descendant of Qāsim Khān “Namakin”), who is recorded to have served as the Fourth Assistant in some school and was a companion of Nawwāb Mahābat Khān (d. 1722-23 A. D.).

Her only couplet, as mentioned above, is:

\[
\text{ز نیکان نیکی و از ظالمان ظلم}
\]
\[
\text{چو عکس از آنینه هر حال بیدا ست}
\]

SHAYKH 'ABDUL-GHANI (d. 1135 A. H./1722-23 A. D.) son of Makhdūm Nūr Muhammad of Thattā was a contemporary of the Mughal Emperors Aurangzib and Farrukh Siyar, and served as an important functionary of the State as a verifier of valuable documents, testifying to their genuineness with his signet. Many scholars and poets of his time (e. g. Qamarud-Din “’Ishrat”) profited by his company. It is said he composed a bulky *Diwān*, but only the following few verses from his pen are available in *Maqālātush-Shu’arā*:

\[
\text{برخ فگنده دو زلف شکسته میاید}
\]
\[
\text{فغان چه مهر بزنجیر بسته میاید}
\]
\[
\text{* * *}
\]
\[
\text{رسیده تا خیال خوی گرمش در دل تنگم}
\]
\[
\text{جلو ریز آمده گو یا خزان در کلشنا تنگم}
\]
\[
\text{مقیم شهر دلها این ندام کوه و صحرا را}
\]
\[
\text{زلفش کاپید از فرحاد و مجنون می باهو تنگم}
\]
\[
\text{ضعف و ناتوانی باشد کاخ سلیمانی}
\]
\[
\text{دهد مور ضعیفی چا اگر در دیده تنگم}
\]

(1) *Maqālātush-Shu’arā*. 
SHAYKH MUHAMMAD "REDĀ" (d. 1143 A. H./1730-31 A. D.) originally belonged to Thattā but lived generally at Bakhar, which he adopted as his home. He was with Nawwāb A'zam Khān during the latter's attack on Shāh 'Ināyat Sufī of Jhōk (a village in 'ta‘alluqā' Mirpur Bathōrō). In the following few verses the poet has drawn a fine picture of his heartache, the triviality of the fragrance of the proverbial deer's navel, and the captivity of the celebrated cypress:

کار ما آباد و آخر زما کاری نشد
شت خاکر ما غبار کوچه یاری نشد
سالا خون جگر در ناف آهو شد گره
مشکل شد اما چه حاصل خال رخساری نشد

* * *

رو هم در قید آزادی مقید مانده است
کیست کاندرب سلکر بیقیدی نشینم گرم کرد

Here is another specimen of his poetry:

اُر دوست گر یزان شده! های ستم های!
دشمن چه که؟ به جان شده! های ستم های!
شاپه، تعظیم ملائک بید، از جهل
پارچه، شیطان شده! های ستم های!

MIR LUTF 'ALI KHĀN, alias Mīr Muhammad Shafi' "Himmat" (d. 1144 A. H./1731 A. D.) was Governor of Sindh from 1713 A. D. to 1716 A. D. He was both an able ruler and a great scholar, and is known as the teacher of Muhammad Muhsin, a renowned poet of the Kalhōrā period. Unfortunately - apart from a few distichs which display the depth of his thought and emotion, his sufferings and his attitude towards the world - the bulk of his poetic output is lost to us. To quote some of his verses:

(1) Maqālātush-Shu‘arā. Qāni' found the first two couplets in Yad-i-Baydā.
(2) Maqālātush-Shu‘arā.
تر نشدنگر کام‌ من از آب‌ دنیا باک نیست
زانه‌ من آل‌ حسینم تشگی میراث‌ ما ست
* * *
کی مرا پروا بود از دست‌ صیادان‌ دهر
پونسم در دهر اما در دهان‌ ماهیم
* * *
رو نگردنم من از تیغ‌ جفای دشمن
همجو اسماعیل در کوی تو قربان گشت‌هایم

This is what he remarks on his own name (or title as he puts it) Lutf 'Ali:

هستم اکنون از غلامان علی مرتضی
در لقب لطف على بنوشت در پیشانیم
CHAPTER III

THE KALHORA PERIOD

The Kalhōrās succeeded the Imperial Agents first as governors (1700 A. D.) and then as the rulers of Sindh (1737 A. D.). Soon after establishing their independence, they had to face the storming troops of Nādir Shāh (1740 A. D.). Miyān Nūr Muhammad Kalhōrō, the then ruler of Sindh, could not muster courage to give a fight; and considering discretion the better part of valour, he fled to Amarkōt. But Nādir's armies pursued him thither and captured him alive. He was, however, granted pardon on condition that he would pay an annual tribute of twenty lacs of rupees to the Persian monarch, in addition to an initial fine of one crore of rupees.

In 1747 A. D., Nādir Shāh was assassinated. Finding that the new sovereign, Ahmad Shāh Abdāli, was engaged in pressing problems at home, Miyān Nūr Muhammad thought it worthwhile to evade the payment of the tribute originally fixed by Nādir Shāh. Offended at this, the Afghān monarch sent an army to Sindh in 1754 A. D. Nūr Muhammad was defeated and fled to Jēsalmīr, where he died of quinsy. Then ensued a fratricidal war for the throne among the late Miyān's three sons - Murād Yāb Khān, 'Itr Khān and Ghulām Shāh. It spread over a period of three years till in 1758 A. D., Ghulām Shāh succeeded in securing a "sanad" in his favour from the Afghān potentate. After a reign of about fourteen years, Ghulām Shāh died and was succeeded by his son, Miyān Muhammad Sarfarāz Khān. The new ruler played into the
hands of crafty sycophants and scheming villains, and antago-
nized his powerful advisers, the Tālpurs, when, “without provo-
cation”, he put to death their chiefs - Bahrām Khān and his 
son, Sōbdār. For this dastardly act he had to pay a heavy 
price. Determined to avenge his grandfather’s death, Mir 
Fat’h ’Alī Khān attacked the Residency of the Kalhōrā prince 
and put him to flight. The latter was, however, caught in the 
fort at Hyderābād and kept prisoner along with three other 
princes. Miyān Muhammad Khān brother of Sarfarāz, now 
ascended the throne; but he proved no better, with the result 
that the reins of government soon fell into the hands of his 
uncle Miyān Ghulām Nabi (son of Miyān Nūr Muhammad). 
A little later, the latter was murdered. When this news reached 
the ears of his brother Miyān ’Abdun-Nabi, he at once put to 
death all the claimants to the throne (the above-mentioned 
princes who had been in his charge), and cleared the way for 
himself. But he too was not destined to wield political power 
for long. Soon (1782 A. D.) Mir Fat’h ’Alī Khān and other 
Tālpurs met the Kalhōrās in a pitched battle at Hālānī, where 
the latter were completely routed. Thus came to an igno-
mious end the rule of the Kalhōrās and out of the ruins of their 
rule arose the power of the Tālpurs.

The Kalhōrā period, as noticed above, was unfortunately, 
one of internal feuds, save in the days of Miyān Nūr Muham-
mad and to a certain extent his son, Ghulām Shāh, when Sindh 
enjoyed a period of comparative peace and economic security. 
Both of these rulers were men of parts, well-known for their 
political acumen. They encouraged enterprise and stimulated 
Industry and Trade. Agricultural prosperity too was a feature 
of their good government. The magnificent way in which 
Miyān Nūr Muhammad entertained the large army and retinue 
of Nādir Shāh - 5,00,000 strong - for sixteen days, without a 
“symptom of scarcity,” is a clear indication of the agricultural 
prosperity of the country. The reign of his son Ghulām Shāh
was even better. He built the fort at Hyderābād, and it was in his days, "perhaps on his invitation, that the East India Company established a factory at Thattā", which, later on, in the days of his son, Miyān Sarfarāz Khān, was abandoned because of the political strife and disorder in the country.

It is a significant fact that the Kalhūrā period in Sindh, though full of anarchy and bloodshed, is the most fruitful in the production of literature, specially poetry. It saw a sudden change in the people’s outlook on life, in their thought and literature. The stoical way in which the people bore the blows of cruel fate marked the emergence of Sūfism, which thence forward influenced their literature and way of life. The Sayyids of Bulri, who were already inimical to Shāh ‘Ināyat, the great Sūfī of his time (because of his rapid rise to prominence), could not bear to see the spectacle of their disciples deserting them and joining the enemy camp. They, therefore, incited Nawwāb A’zam Khān, the Mughal Emperor’s Agent at Thattā, to apprise his lord Farrukh Šiyār, that the growing influence of the Sūfī was a potential source of danger to the very existence of the empire, and that the sooner it was crushed, the better it would be. In this move they were assisted by the Pālijā Zamindārs and some Shaykhs and Pirs of lesser repute. Soon a royal mandate was issued, directing Miyān Yār Muhammad Kalhūrō to proceed to Mirānpur (Jhōk Sharif), the renowned centre of Sūfism in Sindh, and completely destroy the Sūfis and their cult. Accordingly, the Kalhūrā launched a severe attack. The siege went on for full four months until, at last, finding it difficult to win, the Kalhūrā chief made peace with the Sūfī and under the guise of friendship, got hold of Shāh ‘Ināyat and had him treacherously murdered.

The records of Sindh are incomplete in many respects. Even a recent period like the Kalhūrā rule has been so sadly neglected by the historians, both local and foreign, that there is hardly any material to show the literary output of those days and the
mode of education. Most of the chroniclers are silent on these points. Capt McMurdo believes that the two languages in vogue in the eighteenth century Sindh were Sindhi and Baluchi. Dr. H. T. Sorley, who seems to have made a comprehensive study of the Sindh records of the Kalhôrâ period, also fails to make a clear and satisfactory statement in this connexion. We are thus left to base our conclusions on the internal evidence of the works of the poets who flourished during this age. The royal patronage of men of letters also must have gone a long way in encouraging the poets and the learned men of the time.

Among the ruling princes of the Kalhôrâ dynasty, three at least - viz. Miyân Nûr Muhammad, Ghulâm Shâh and Muhammad Sarfarâz deserve special mention as patrons of learning and literature. The first possessed a fine library which was destroyed by Nâdir Shâh, and in his Will left instructions for his sons to devote their leisure hours to cultivating the friendship of the learned and the pious. The monthly stipend which was given to Muhammad Muhsin (a poet of Thattâ), though meagre, points to Miyân Nûr Muhammad's interest in, and encouragement of Persian Literature. It was the patronage of Miyân Ghulâm Shâh Kalhôrô that inspired Mîr 'Ali Shir Qâni' to write the History of Kalhôrâ period. The last (i.e. Sarfarâz Khân) was himself a poet of scholarly habits and a friend of poets like Ghulâm 'Ali "Maddâh" (his teacher) and Thâbit 'Ali Shâh (his favourite contemporary). Of the foreign poets who visited the soil of Sindh, Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali "Hazîn", Muhammad Karîm "'Ashiq" Isfahâni and Muhammad Redâ "Nuk'hat" are of considerable literary repute.

The Kalhôrâ period, though very short, may, with ample justification, be characterized as the golden age of Persian Poetry in Sindh. The number of the poets, and the quantity

and quality of their literary output, bear eloquent testimony to the standard of linguistic and literary achievements of this period. Sindh produced a galaxy of poets, but the more notable of them are Muhammad Muhsin, 'Ali Shīr Qānī' and Mir Jānullāh Shāh - the first two belonging to Thattā, and the last to Rōhri. Each of these poets contributed not a little to the development of Qasīda. Apart from that, the poet Muhsin was the first to introduce Mārthīya (monody) in Sindh. Qānī', on the other hand, was a profound scholar, a master of extensive and varied learning; he remains unrivalled in the art of chronogram and can easily be taken as one of the great masters of Persian prosody. He has written about thirty books, both in prose and verse, some of which are of great literary and historical value. Mir Jānullāh Shāh of Rohri, however, excels all the poets of Sindh in his unique grasp of spiritual philosophy and soulful diction.

But that is not all. The town of Thattā, which had in the past enjoyed the reputation of being the capital of Sindh and the haunt of the litterateurs, though now on the decline in respect of its material prosperity, continued to advance in the literary field. The native talent created such a love for Persian poetry that mushā‘arās (poetic tournaments) came to be organized. The healthy competition, encouragement and applause induced the so far 'cloistered' Hindū poets to take active part in such contests, and they actually won a good deal of appreciation from their contemporaries. Subjoined is a brief selection¹ from the compositions of four masterly poets, including one Hindū, who participated in a mushā‘arā held at the residence of 'Ali Shīr Qānī'—

Muhammad Panāh "Rejā"—

شدراسير دامر زلف او وديل ديوانه ام
خوب شد شوريده و بيتاب در زنجير شد

(1) Reproduced from the Maqālātush-Shu‘arā.
Mir 'Ali Shīr Qānī—

تا مرا ز اشکر مسلسل آب در زنجیر شد
هر مزه همچون خس گرداب در زنجیر شد
رده رفتن نیست از کوی تو شیادای ترا
همچون آن پاتیکه اورا خواب در زنجیر شد
صاحب طبع روان پایند موج غم مباد
کس نه دیده هیچ گاهی آب در زنجیر شد

Ghulām 'Ali "Maddāh"—

گر جنون سرمایه، راحت نمی‌باشد چرا
پای ما دیوانگان را خواب در زنجیر شد
صحت پیاران بود سر سلک. را رام حق
پای من از حلقه احساس در زنجیر شد

Munshi Shewakrām "'Utārid"—

مرد را موج هنر باشد محیط، آب ور
تیخ را از جوهر خود آب در زنجیر شد

Other accomplished poets of this period were Najmuddin "'Uzlat", Mirzā Ghulām 'Ali "Mu’mīn", Hyderuddin "Kāmil", Muhammad Mahfūz "Sarkhush", Bālchand and Miyān Sarfarāz Kalhōrō. We now take up a study of their works and achievements in chronological order.

'ALLĀMA MUHAMMAD MU’IN ALIAS MAKHĐUM THĀRO (1093-1161 A. H./1682-1748 A. D.), son of Muhammad Amin of Thatta, was a great Sūfī, well-versed in all branches of learning and venerated for his erudition and scholarship—

آنکه آمد راست بر بالاش تشريف علوم
ثانيش کس نیست در عقول ارا بوعلى

He was a disciple of Makhdūm Abul-Qāsim walad Nūrul-Haq Naqshbandi of Thatta, and an intimate friend of Shāh 'Abdul-Latif "Tārik" with whom he passed much of his time in assemblies enlivened by spiritual song and ecstasy. Among his
students, many of whom rose high in life and enjoyed the positions of Professors and Judges etc., were his sister's son, Sayyid Najmuddin "'Uzlät" and Maulvi Muhammad Sādiq, and some of the princes and great men of his time occasionally went to pay their respects to him.

Though he devoted most of his time to spiritual meditation, the brief output of his verse reveals his natural gift of poetry. "Taslim" was his pen-name in Persian poetry; he also composed excellent poems in Hindustānī under the nom de plume "Berāgi" (Recluse). He has to his credit a long list of books, most of which are in Arabic and deal with logic, metaphysics and mysticism.

In the scheme of Cosmic Evolution, vanity humiliates, while humility elevates, a human being. According to Sa'dī

توافق کلید در چند است
سراندیزی و چاه را زنیت است

The tiny seed deeply rooted in the soil (metaphorically representing the trait of humility) eventually grows to the dimensions of a huge and towering tree. In the poet's words:

خیاکساری رفت حال سر بلندی میکند
سر بزرگ خاک بردن دانه میاند که چیست

(1) 1. Raf'ul-Ghayn (Removal of Thirst)
2. Dirāsätul-Labib (Studies for the Intelligent), printed at Lahore in 1886 A. D.
3. Bahjatul-Anzår (The Delight of the Eyes)
4. Alhujjātul-Jaltīya (The Clear Argument)
5. Iqāzul-Wasnān (Arouser of Those in Slumber)
6. Nur'ul-'Ayn (The light of the Eye)
7. Al-Jādū'th-Thamīn (The Precious i. e. Extensive Generosity)
8. Al-Khaqātīf (Dazzling Flash of Lightening)
9. Mawā'hību Sayyid-il-Bashār (Gifts of the Lord of Mankind i. e. the holy Prophet)
10. Al-haqqu's-Sarih (The Manifest Truth)
12. Mutārahātāt-Tahāqīq Fi Burhānīt-Tatbiq (Sure i. e. valuable Dialogues on the Proofs of Concordance)
13. Risālatul-I'tīdālit-il-Arba' (A Treatise on the Four Elements)
14. Raf'ul-Ishkhāl waz-Zahmat (Removal i. e. Solution of Doubts and Difficulties)  

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“Asadullāh” (the Lion of God) is a title of Ḥadrat 'Alī. The constellation Leo, to which has been assigned, by astrologers, the glorious planet of the sun - the brightest of all luminaries - is mentioned by some chroniclers in connection with the time of Ḥadrat 'Alī's ascension to the Khilāfat, and Mu‘īn has beautifully expressed the significant simile thus:

خورشید ولايت ژ بروج نشات
میکرد سفر ژ مشرق ذات وصفات
در نشته کامل یاسداشت على
خورشید پبخانه یاسید یافت ثبات

In many quatrains, he has paid a respectful and very pathetic tribute to the memory of the martyr of Karbalā (Imām Husayn); here are a few of these:

ای سبتر نیت ترا به شهر سنجدند
رخساره سر معنت نا دیدند
خاک قد مل فرشته در چشمش کشید
ای آه سرت بخاک و خون پر یلدند

* * *

۹۹ هر آب شد آتش زلب پرنم تو
ای سبتر نیت سوخت دو عالم غم تو

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15. Wahdat‘ul-Wujūd wal-Maujūd (The Unity of Existence and the Existent)
16. Risālat‘ul-Kulliyat-Tabi‘t (A Treatise on Natural Universals)
17. Al-ibdā’u Fi Muhakamati Baynan-Nawawi wa Ibru’s-Salāh (Judging between An-Nawawi and Ibru’s-Salāh)
18. Al-Midrā’ul Dimiya ‘Ala Hāshiyat‘il Qadimiya (The continuous Downpour on the Scholia of the Qadimiya)
19. Ḥāshiyatu-Sharh-i-Zaurd (Marginal Notes on the Commentary of Zaurd)
20. Sharh-i-Dīwān-i-Hāfiz (Commentary of the Dīwān of Hāfiz upto the radif mim.)

(2) This couplet and the two succeeding quatrains of 'Allama Mu‘īn, are taken from Dīwān Sobhrāj’s Manuscript Note-books. The couplet at the end, however, could be found in Maqāltush-Shi‘arā; Bayāz-i-Karbalāī, and Tawhid - July 1943, p. 24, also.

(1) This and the three succeeding quatrains have been gleaned from the Bayāz copied by Hāfiz ‘Alī.
The unending conflict in the Universe is not a day, a year or a century old. It started simultaneously with the manifestation of the Infinite through the phenomenal universe - the transformation of the intangible Divine Essence into physical or perceptible attributes:

From times immemorial, "Azal" and "Abad" have baffled the ingenuity of scientists and theologians. According to Hafiz, the mystery of the Universe is unfathomable; the most ancient Vedas are also silent on this point. In the depths of meditation, the seeker after truth, with the grace of the "murshid", is able to understand vaguely the significance and explanation of the Undefinable Essential Substance. Apparently the Sufi-poet had some such experience when he said:

بی‌زم، میکده راز ازل عیان دیدم
که چشم، ساتی، ما دور بین، ما را شده بود
SAYYID NAJMUDDIN (d. 1160 A. H./1747 A. D.), the only son of Muhammad Rafi’ Ridawi of Bakhar, is the author of a Divan in Persian and has to his credit a prose-work entitled Tuti-Nama which, according to the distinguished author of Maqalatush-Shu’arâ ranks higher than (Abul-Hasan) Nakhshabi’s work of the same name. In poetry he calls himself “Uzlat”. He had five sons.¹

Beauty will reveal itself in a hundred ways even if it was deeply hidden or heavily veiled. In the words of Jami:

نگو رو تاب مستوری ندارد 
چو در بندی سر از روزن برآرد

The Universe came into being in all its multitudinous variety as a result of the desire of God - the most Beautiful, the highest and absolute conception of Bliss - for Self-expression. كن فيكون (“Be” and it “Became”) is the significant text in connection with the coming into being of the Creation. And those who have realized the Absolute Truth shun the “self”, knowing that they are all but shadows or reflections of the One who alone is Real and Eternal:

روشن دلان ز سایه خودها به وحشتند 
یک تن شود هزار در آنیته خانها

And when the Divine Essence manifested itself in diverse forms and enacted the drama of the Condemned Devil, it gave rise to quarrels and bloodshed, and, like the tumult of the seven blind men who felt the elephant differently, every one (sect, religion or seer) began to describe Him in his own characteristic way. Says the poet:

¹ Genealogical Tables of the Family of the Ridawi Sayyids of Bakhar (MS. p. 31)
² The Text of “Uzlat’s” verses is based on the selection made by Diwan Sobhraj in his MS. Note-books.
The heart that is pure, i.e. free from worldly desires, is a fit receptacle for divine secrets - like a transparent mirror it reflects Divine Beauty. But the requisite purification of the heart cannot be achieved without severe austerities and spiritual meditation under the guidance of a Perfect Master:

The lover and the beloved are distinguished by their respective characteristics of humility and coquetry. The poet has beautifully expressed the idea thus:

MUHAMMAD MUHSIN (1121-63 A. H./1709-50 A. D.) was a Prince Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. Ya’qub belonged to a family of silk-merchants at Thatta. He benefitted considerably from the companionship of Lutf ‘Ali Khan “Himmat”, and is said to have sought criticism of his poetry from Mir Muqbil Isfahani, during the latter’s stay at Thatta. He was by far the best poet of Thatta (at that time a renowned seat of learning), and has to his credit the following six books:
1. ’Aqd-i-Duwázdeh Gauhar (Necklace of Twelve Pearls) - a mathnawi in praise of the Imāms.

2. Tiráz-i-Dānish (Royal robe of knowledge) - a mathnawi commemorating the birth of Imām Mahdi, composed in praise of the Imāms.

3. Diwān-i-Qasāid.

4. Diwān-i-Shi’r.

5. Mihakk-i-Kamāl (Touchstone of Perfection) - a collection of about 13,000 verses of different poets with his own contributions of 700 to 800 verses dedicated to Miyan Nūr Muhammad Kalhoro entitled ‘Shāh Quli Khān’.

6. A’lām-i-Mātam (Flags of Mourning) alias Hamla-i-Husaynī - a mathnawi in praise of Shī‘a figures containing about 10,000 verses.

His poetry is characterized by the deep influence of “Asīr” (Mirzā Jalāl b. Mirzā Mu’mīn - d. 1049 A. H./1639-40 A. D.). He received a monthly stipend of fifteen rupees from Miyan Nūr Muhammad Kalhoro, which, though small, kept him quite contented. Among his distinguished pupils were Ghulām ‘Alī “Maddāh” (the poet’s son) and Munshi Shewakrām “’Utārid”.

The poet’s heart is a wonderland but he is not free to give vent to his feelings or emotions:

٢ هزار معنى باریک در سیان دارم
ولی بمو لب اظهار بسته‌اند مرا

The narcissus growing from the dust (grave) of the lover - victim of the beloved’s bewitching eyes - reminds the poet of

(1) Maqālātush - Shu‘arā.
(2) All the verses of “Muhsin,” except otherwise marked, are taken from Muntakhab-i-Kulliyāt-i-Muhsin.
the wonderful and enduring effect of the beloved’s collyrium-coloured eyes:

ز خاک کشته صشم تو میداند نرگس
چه آب داد خدا تغ سرمه زنگ ترا

His beloved dwells in a region beyond the bounds of earth. He is stirred only by the (soul-enthraling) sounds, but is unable to find the beloved’s mouth and waist; in other words, physical contact with the ethereal (heavenly) beloved is unattainable:

یک مو نیافته رمضان از میان تو
حرفی شنیده ایم همین از دهان تو

Love is a malady of the heart: and a mere change of physical environments - say from town to desert - instead of mitigating, accentuates the unfortunate lover’s distress:

در برخان گرد باد آوازه تر گردید ز شهر
خاطر آشته در صحرا نمیگیرد قرار

How extremes meet is expressed by the poet in his following significant couplet:

پیترارا داد دلها را قرار
پیتر آثینه ها سیام شد

In another place he has drawn a vivid pen-picture of “restlessness”:

صفال را پیتراری رونق دیگر دهد
خانه آثینه از سیام روشن مشود

The whirlwind reminds the poet of the distressed lover:

آن گرد باد نیست که بچان بهشت بود
سرگشت ای ز شوق محبت بکشت بود

Of his hopelessly bad luck, the poet says:

نا رسائیهای طالع بین که از نمای یمن
عالی بیدارگشت و بختی مان در خواب بود
The seclusion of the dark night is lighted up by his meditation of the beloved, whose face is bright as the moon:

شُبُّها چَرَاغٌ خَلوتُ مِن يَادٍ اوْسَتِ بِس
مَنْبَوِنُ مُحِبَّانِيُ رُوِّى چُو مَاهْشَم

The following verses portray the poet's experience of "Ishq-i-Majāz," the object of his love being a Hindū lad:

دَلِّم رَأَي بِرَدِّ شَوَهْي خَوَرَد سَالِی
بَنِی هَنْدُو پَسَ اپِرو هَلالی
نَگَر مَسَت و هَولی پَاز و رَنگِن
کَه رَیَد خُونُ دَلِّی بی سَالِی
بِرَیرو دلِّری بِرِحم و شَوَهْی
بَت سَنگِن دَل و نَازِک نَهالی
ز هَولی باَزِیش انسوَس "مَحسنُ"
نَصِبِی، مَا نَشَد مشت گَلالی

The subjoined simile is his own, home-spun though it is:

خَال مشکِن بِر لِبَ شیرین یار افتاده است
از غِریبِ هَندوُنی در قَندهار افتاده است

The lover's heart is focussed on his beloved, nothing else counts (in his eyes):

چَزْخُم مَحِراب اپِرو تو در دِبِرو و حَرم
هر کَجا مِن سَجْدَه ای کَرَمَم سَرِم بر سَنگ بَود

His beloved's ringlets are a dangerous whirlpool in which the heart is caught and lost:

دَلا بِحَلقَهٔ زِلَفَی خِیالِ خوَاب مَکَن
کَه کَشَشی، تو بِگِرَداب هَائِل افتاده است

The lover's dust and tears are sacred. Says "Muhsin":

شَدِم خاک و پنَای کِبَعَهٔ کَرِدنَد
ز اشکَم آپِر زَمَزم آفریدنَد

In the following verses, which remind us of Mirzá Sā'ib's:
External and internal are two different sides of the picture of humanity (mankind). Verily all is not gold that glitters, and a receptive mind alone will respond to spiritual instruction. If the soil is bad, the seed as also the expenses and labour incurred on cultivating it, are wasted:

The devotee of God should, therefore, be free from hypocrisy:

Long ago "Rûmi" complained:

There is deep pathos in the poet's expression of his thoughts on this subject:

پاران رقم کنیه بلوز مزار مایا
رفنگر زین خرابه و هدم نیابتیم
Elsewhere he puts a severe restraint on his feelings and says:

"Egotism is the worst sin of mankind. The poet warns his fellow-brethren against it, and says:

"روح این سخن از برهم مرا "محسن" 
که بپرست توان بود خود پرست سیاسی"

The passage of time puts the fore-runner in the background. Says Muhsin:

"همچون آن ریگ که در شیشه ساعت ریزند 
هرکه شد پیش درین قافله در پس باشد"

As an aspirant for the realization of "Lāhūt", the poet cautions the seeker, and exhorts him to rise like the sun above need of garment and habitat:

"چو آفتی گرتن شوق سیر لاهوتسیت 
بند پیرهنه و خانه نشست میاش"

Contentment is a treasure. This is how the poet expresses himself:

"اگر برداش ت حق خاطر من خوشند میگردد 
گل از خار مربوط، زیانت سود میگردد "محسن" 
لب از حرف، طمع زناهار مکش پیش کم "محسن" 
کزین مقرض قطع تار، الفت زود میگردد"

In another place he says:

"چنین بیخواب یی، بستر سنجاب شویم 
دست ما بالش می، پهلوی می استر "

"One breath is enough to efface me" says the poet regard-

(1) Sukhanwarān-i-Hindustān.
ing his existence which is like a bubble in this sea (colossal mass) of dissolution:

نیم چو خضر که باشم بند عمر دراز
جباب بحر قنامین بیک نفس محتاج
آپور (i.e. self-respect) must always be sought after. A pearl devoid of lustre is less estimable than even a stone:

آپور از کف مده هرچند کار افتاد یجان
کمتر از سنگست "محسن" گر بگوهر آب نیست

Growth or development implies struggle, and unalloyed happiness is not given to mortals - coquettish pride seals the mouths of delicate ones. The poet remarks:

نازش نداد رخصت حرف ار نه در چمن
هر لاله را بکف ورق سرگذشت بود

The poet condemns misers:

زمدح بیش کیشان وصف نخل بی تمر بیشتر
ز بوس. ساعد این تنگستان پای خر بیشتر
چو آپور ریزست حاجمیر دانا را
ز شیرین چشم را این شور بختان چشم تر بیشتر

He compares them to flies and says:

مخرج از شهد شان "محسن" مده توجان شیرین را
که از جوش مگس طبعان هزاران نیستر بیشتر

Muhsin gives a warning against the enemy's outward show of humility which is but a cloak that hides his deception:

به هنگام توافق این از مکر عدد متشین
که خیزد تیر از پشت کمان وقت خمیدنها

* * *

پیشتر فقد چو دشمن بر کیسه بر زمین
غافل مشو که مار رود سینه بر زمین
Of the Supreme Being, and his experience in the realm of the Spirit, he sings:

ندیدم جز تو کس معبود مطلق
بیش از کودک تا بزرگانه رفتم
رقم سازیت بر لوح، مرزار
که عاقل آمدم دیوانه رفتم

Cleanliness is next to godliness. In the poet's estimation, the physical body attains the purity of the soul when it is cleansed of impurities; similarly unbelief or heresy turns to Faith or pure devotion when it is rid of bigotry:

تن چو از آلودگیها پاک شد چان میشود
چون تعصب دورگردد کفر ایمان میشود

Here are a few verses on "Spring", and these may serve as an illustration of Muhsin’s talent in panegyric-writing:

یونس مهر چو از حوت در آید بحمل
عدهٔ، این گلزار، صبا سازد حل
گل زند تخت، زمرد چه سیلما، به هوا
ابر سازد برسح سایه، مرگان بهمثل
چون بزوری بتن بچو لنده داوید
خواهند از نسخه، گل بیلخ خوش نگمه غزل
نکهت، بر هره، بیش فل چون یعقوب
دیده، نرگس، بیمار نیا لبعل
هم جو موسی، که لب رود کند سنئل خوشی
سرو آزاد به استاد بکار جدول
زنه گر، گل همه تن دست شود شاخ چنار
که زند دست پدیان، نبي، مرس
سبیله لادد بزبان، نمکی، چون گردد
آیه، رحمت، باران، بیار، منزل

(1) Taken from Maqālātush-Shu'arā.
کعبہ، باغ کہ طاعتگہ، مسنان باشد
حجرالاسود، سوسن جو در آرد بغل
زاهدان روی میخانہ کہند از مسجد
از مقدس بحرم قیله نمایند بدل
جا کہند بلبل، شوریدہ بغل، شاخ
چون پلاالی کہ به گلابنگ سر آید بمحل
زنبق آید به عصا بر سر منبر جو خطیب
چون شعیبی کہ ای ہی خطیب بر آید بر تل
گل امامت کند و فوج، رجاین، ماموم
زانتکہ بیک شرط امامیست کہ باشد افضل
یاسمین روی چوکود یزلاال ابیان
زان چو سلمان برخش نور فروزد مشعل
لاه از صافلدان، جمن از داغ، درون
کفر مخنی بکند همچون منافق بجیل

The following verses from a mukhammas (fivesome) of Muhsin are in praise of Hadrat 'Ali:

سيد و سرور بگو کیست بغير از علی؟
جان، پمبر بگو کیست بغير از علی؟
صاحب منبر بگو کیست بغير از علی؟
خواجة، قنبر بگو کیست بغير از علی؟

سائق، کوثر بگو کیست بغير از علی؟
شاور ولايت کہ بود، رام، هدایت کہ بود؟
عين، عنايت کہ بود، حای حمايات کہ بود؟
باب، رسالت کہ بود، نور، امامت کہ بود؟
روح، سخاوت کہ بود، اصل، شجاعت کہ بود؟

قانال، عنتر بگو کیست بغير از علی؟
در همه عالم بگو کیست کہ درکعبه زاد؟
دیده، حق بين نخست بر رخ، احمد کشاد
فیض، لعاب، نیا جمله علیوش شداد
پاقد بطافلی ز حق خلعت، رشد و رشاد
مرشد، دیگر بگو کیست بغير از علی؟
The poet was Shi'a by faith; the following lines written in the style of Maulānā Muhtasham’s ταρζι’ band are a specimen of the monodies (مرثه) he introduced in Sindh:

ای موسمن هلال محرم بدید شد
وقت عزای حضرت مهدی شهید شد
از تغییر این هلال که بیدا نموده چرخ
افسوس قطع رشتہ پر عید شد
دلها چرا بنوئه نیا نشند کاائن هلال
پیر کشودن در غمها کلید شد
کرمسی بجنیش آمد و سر کشت ماند چرخ
زین رعشه ای که عارض عرش مجد شد
دل را صدویِ نتوان گنت کز الم
لزان و بیقرار بر از برگ بید شد
شد تیوه آناتاب دران روز کز قضا
شمع رسول کشتہ تیغ یزید شد
در ماتم حسنی علی هجو آناتاب
هرکس که روساه شد او رؤ سیدیت شد
خورشیدِ دین بِمَغرب ظلمتِ نبہان شده
خون شفق ز دیده گردیون روان شده

MIR ḤYDERUD-DIN ABU TURĀB "KĀMIL" (d. 1164 A.H./1751 A.D.), son of Radiud-Din Muhammad "Fidāi" and grandson of Abul-Makārim "Shuhūd", was the renowned teacher of the great poets "Qānī" and "Rejā" (Muhammad

(1) For his biographical sketch Maqālātush-Shu‘arā and Tuhsfat’ul-Kirām (Vol. III. p. 209) have been consulted.
Panāh). He devoted most of his time to prayer and compositions dealing with the praise of God and the prophet. It is said that he entrusted two big manuscript volumes of his poetry to “Rejā” for publication, but unfortunately neither of them has, as yet, seen the light of the day.

The poet belonged to the Shi‘ā sect:

1  "کامل"، ندارد آنینه ام گردنی از زلال
دالم برو زخاکر در شا۴ و حیدر آب

In the following lines, he likens the mole on his beloved’s cheek to a dot, and the eye to the letter ‘ن’, and beautifully remarks:

IQ نقش آن خالل سیه از دیده بیرون کی رود!
آخر ای حرف آشنا نان نقطه از نون کی رود!

The fire of love is never extinguished; it ever keeps burning. Says the poet:

8  پیر کشتم و همان داغ تو گرمست بدل
این نه شمعیست که از صبح شدن سرد شود

Tears succeed where all other efforts fail. They are capable of moving mountains:

4  دربای عشق برذ مرا در گناه دوست
کردم چو موج مرحله عشق طی در آب

Contentment is the elixir of life and is highly spoken of by poets and philosophers for the reason that it sweetens and brightens life. Says “Kāmil”:

5  تانع بخانه، دست بهر خان مکش مکش
یک نان پس است، منت دونان مکش مکش

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(1) Bayād-i-Ridawī.
(2) Maqālātush-Shu‘arā.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Bayād-i-Ridawī.
(5) These and the remaining verses of “Kāmil” are taken from the Maqāla-
tush-Shu‘arā.
Faith works wonders, and the man of God - the resident of the blissful abode of the holy - cares nothing about the worldly-wise who, despite their outward appearance of buoyancy, are steeped in the soul-corroding filth of selfish life:

 Like light and darkness, faith and doubt cannot co-exist. The poet, therefore, advises complete faith, for then alone can one come into possession of the unalloyed manifestation of Allāh in the human heart:

If food and water are indispensable for the continuance of life, contentment and other virtues are necessary for its uplift and ennoblement. Man may not live by bread alone; but surely the loss of bread must necessarily render him weak, and ultimately hasten his death. Says the poet:

SAYYID MIR JĀN MUHAMMAD RIDAWI of Rōhri, takhallus “Mīr”, (d. 1167 A.H./1754 A.D.), also known as Mir Janullāh Shāh and Mir Jān Shāh, came of the Suhrawardi stock. He was the best scholar of his time, and even to this day stands unrivalled as a poet of exceptional merit. His pure and chaste style compares favourably with that of eminent Irānian poets.

At an early age, he was filled with a passion for spiritual realization, and roamed far and wide in quest of the bliss that destroys the ego - the source of all misery and evil - and sets the
mind at rest. Mir’s Mathnawi (often called Sāqi Nāma), a vivid record of the uneasy human soul’s longing for the haven of tranquillity, is instinct with the poet’s personal feelings of sorrow and lament and diverse experiences, which fortunately culminate in his soul-lifting contact with the great spiritual teacher Shāh 'Ināyat. The incident of the Sūfī saint’s martyrdom is pathetically narrated by “Mir” in a qasīda, of which a few lines are given below:

It is said that Sayyid Jān Muhammad was at Jhōk when Shāh 'Ināyat’s adversaries decided to put him (Shāh 'Ināyat) to death, and the latter unhesitatingly resolved to welcome it as a
martyr. The verse commemorating the deed runs thus:

سر در قدم یار فدا شد چه بجا شد
این بار گران بود ادا شد چه بجا شد

The poet Jān Muhammad was greatly respected for his profound scholarship, and his simple and pious life. He preferred seclusion, and with the alchemy of his spiritual bliss metamorphosed the lives of several devout seekers. He passed into eternity on the 5th of Rabi‘ul-Awwal, 1167 A. H., leaving behind three sons.

His Diwān, consisting of about 2,600 distichs, includes ghazaliyyāt, qasāïd and two highly philosophic compositions—one a tarkib band and the other a tarjī’band. It opens with a sublime ode, every line of which is soul-subduing, and uplifts the hearts of the seeker to divine bliss:

ہی جوش طوفان یخش چشم اشکارم را
سحاپ دجلہ انسان کن گگ ابیر بیارم را!
پژور نش ئہ صان سحب د لوم افروزی
بخون شعله ای سر سب گردان کشتزارم را!

(1) After his martyrdom on the 9th of Safar, 1130 A. H./1717 A. D., Shah 'Ināyat is said to have uttered about seven hundred verses collectively styled Bi Sar Nāma when his head was being taken on a spear to the Mughal prince at Delhi, but they are not traceable with the exception of the oft-quoted above verse. The author of Maqālātush-Shu‘ā’rā ascribes to him the following lines also:

منہ یا پاوته بسن عشق کا یاں رہ بس خطرناکست
دریں منزل سر عشق فتادہ بر سر خاکست

سرکہ سوده براہ تو شد سر افراز است
زکوی تو بکجا یا نهم کہ چچ بارا است

پاوته بسن نیست تاب جلوه ات
چون توان خفاش دیدن سوی میر
The numerous stars twinkling in the firmament lend little appreciable lustre to the pitch-dark night; the abundant light of the sun, however, is different; and the poet draws his distinction between the two thus:

In the following lines, he presents a grand and original simile by describing the sun, the source of all light, as a florid portrait of the holy lover's (spiritual adept's) foot reverentially placed by the firmament over its own head:

The lover and the beloved are essentially one, the patent difference of physical perception being due to the illusion of duality:

And the pure essence of all joy and life, the nectar of
heavenly bliss, is attainable by the human heart:

سیر گلزار ارم در غنجه دل دیده ام
یعنی آن یک چیز در جهان دار برده گل دیده ام

The lover owes to the beloved whatever merit is his, just as the moon’s light is but a reflex of the sun:

جوان ماه تمامی که شود "میر" پر مهر
مالیم لباب شده از بار دگر هیچ

The diverse aspects or phases of the cosmic play cause no difference in the perception or mentality of the steadfast lover who answers to the description contained in the verse:

پیر رنگی که خواهی جامه سیاهه
من انداز قدت را میشناسم

And the self-centred, self-possessed man to whom divine vision has been vouchsafed and who sees the Essential Self in all, and all in the Essential Self, is not perturbed by the vicissitudes of life; he faithfully follows his ideal always maintaining poise and harmonious balance, his mind unaffected alike by pleasure and pain. The poet has beautifully expressed this condition by means of an apt simile:

کی حوادث مانع سیر دل عارف شود؟
آب دریا را روان باصد سسلان دیده ام!

And just as the first flush of prosperity obliterates the memory of adverse times, so the attainment of union with the beloved effaces all traces of the pangs of separation and sorrow attendant upon it:

وصل تو بدر کرد زدل درد فراقم
در صحن حرم یاد مغیلان چه کند کس!

The esoteric teachings of all faiths point to God as the fountainhead and goal of human life; all else, including the choicest treasures of the earth, is but tinsel. And the priceless pearl of “divinity” can be had only through tireless search
within the ocean of the “self” itself:

جَنَّہُ چوَن ساحل کِنی حاصل کنفر بی مغز را
gوئی زن در قغرة دریا گوهر یکتا طلب

In the scheme of creation, man is assigned the highest rank of being the noblest of all creatures. The man thus referred to is the man who has realized himself and who is one with the Almighty. The superior status of such a man is eulogized by the poet as follows:

روی مجوب ازل زیر نتایج آدمیست
عالم آرا آتی میں سے جواب آدمیست
عالم انوار در ذات سر اسلام شراب آدمیست
شراه لولاک سر جوش شراب آدمیست
گر نیرد ابیس پی مجوس بندر خوشیش بود
آسمانها با ملائک در رکاب آدمیست
ذهن صائب گر بکار آید توان دریافت
"میر" قرآن سر سیر شرح کتاب آدمیست

Thus human life is precious because it gives us an opportunity for spiritual evolution. It gets too late for any effective repentance or reform when the end is near:

در روز پسین توبه بکس سود ندارد
چوں درد ز حذ رفت دوا را چہ کند کس

In “yesterday” lies the seed of “tomorrow”; its period of gestation is the “present”. We reap as we sow. In the words of the poet:

ز أعمال خلق وجه مکافات ظاهرست
فردا ز حال دینه ما موج مزند

The Zephyr wooes in vain, its efforts at playful love-making are futile in a so-called flower-garden which contains no flower but is made gay with paper-pictures. The seed of love similarly, runs to waste unless it falls on fruitful soil. It will never
bear fruit if it finds lodgment in a heart that is barren and incapable of the subtleties and fine nuances of emotion:

با مرده دلان حرف محبت نتوان زد
در گلشین تصویر صبا را چه کند کس!

Selfish desire is a serious obstacle in the path of the lover, and complete removal thereof is absolutely necessary for union with the beloved. The old rickety building is pulled down before a gay, magnificent structure can be put up in its place:

دل که یی مداعا نشد هرگز
بیوال آشنا نشد هرگز
تا نفتاد چار دیوارش
خانه، نو بنا نشد هرگز

Complete satisfaction is possible only when self-realization has been achieved; and the realization of ineffable bliss which comes in its train puts an end to the normal human hankering after transitory pleasures:

تا کردن شهود تو عيان نور یتا را
ترتیب خیالات فنا را چه کند کس!

The Universe is the outcome or expression of the Divine Pleasure, and aids the earnest seeker after truth to perceive the master-spirit operating behind it in much the same way as the written word aids the cultivated intelligence in its desire to grasp its inner significance:

معنی، نازک کجا یی لفظ گردده جلوه گر
در لباس یاره خورشید چهان آرا طلب

The truth of the holy text “We are nearer to him than the jugular vein” is interpreted by the poet thus:

تو جدا میشود ز خود بینی
یار از تو جدا نشد هرگز

Mansur’s cry of “I am the Truth” is sometimes likened to
the bubble of the kettle on fire as a token of ecstatic Self-expression, it being explained that the perfect state of ma’rifat (spiritual realization or union with the Almighty) admits of no sound or expression; in other words, it is a state of boundless super-consciousness completely eclipsing the limited individual consciousness and effacing all traces of duality. Such a state is synonymous with bikhudi (state devoid of personal ego or feeling) obversely named as bikhabari (state of complete insensibility or utter helplessness). The climax of Ma’rifat is superbly described by “Mīr” in the following words:

در سر، مستان، او نبود خماری کن مکن
باده، تسليم دارد شیشه‌هایی بیخدی
دیگ تأدر جوش باشد حمل بر خامی کند
نیست گلبانگ اناالحق در سرای بیخدی
در دل، هر کس نیاید معنی، برجسته اش
انتهای عازوانست ابتدا بیخدی

Fundamentally, Islām, as its name implies, is the religion of man’s devotion to God and of his resignation to Divine Will. The Pietist, who is wholly wrapped up in rituals and ceremonials, is like a dry stick or a piece of dry wood, which will not bend, and consequently has no place in the Islāmic creed of taslim (absolute surrender):

رو بتسیم نیست زاهر را
چوب خشکی دوتا نشدن هر گرز

A sound realization of the basic principle or the kernel of Islām encased in the Kalma-i-tauhid (viz. “there is no god but God”), which is necessary for the purification of the human heart, is an uphill task. Just as sweet words butter no parsnips, the absent-minded prayer falls short of the mark. Says “Attār”:

ذکر را اخلاص میاید نخست
ذکری بی اخلاص کی باشد درست
The mere utterance of a particular religious formula has little practical value. In the poet's words:

کسی آنیتہ، دل را صفا از زنگ گرداند
کچ مچوں 'میرا، با توحید باشد دست در گردن

Man's greatest enemy is his ego. The seeker after spiritual truth is always up in arms against it, for it is only by the conquest of self that the realization of the Absolute can be attained. This perpetual conflict with the ego is termed "جهاد اکبر". "میر" says:

از خلاف طبع شمع، دل منور کرده ایم
زهر باشد انجیل در کام استعمال ما

But once the ego is vanquished, it becomes completely transformed, like the traditional dragon after its defeat at the hands of Moses, and becomes a source of strength rather than of weakness. In this connection, the poet, who has won dominion over his self, gives a beautiful simile which is worth quoting:

نفس چون با دل موافق شد، رفیق راه گشت
از دهاگر در کنفر موسی بود چوب عصارست

In this world of inconstant and for ever shifting values, no one can be truly happy. In the following verse, the poet and Sufi-saint suggests the only panacea for all human ills:

بر فراز عرش با شهیال عرفان گن گذر
آنکہ ماند زیر گردون دانه ای در آسیاست

The maxim "Mens sana in corpore sano" (sound mind in sound body) has significance for the spiritual seeker too. The poet has expressed the idea thus:

وقت یکی گری به ای بر حال خود افسر دیست
دانه پوسیده را باران نمیاید بکار

And compliance with the word of the true saint cleanses the mirror of the human heart of the deadening dross of egotism:
A heart that is incapable of contentment can never be happy. Peace can only be attained when base and selfish desires are conquered. Those who have achieved contentment speak out of the fullness of their hearts:

In accordance with the holy tradition “Die before your death”, the lover, like the spiritual seeker striving for the annihilation of his self, welcomes suffering for the resultant light of celestial glory - even if it were to break his heart:

The poet’s ecstasy and experience of spiritual bliss is revealed in the verses quoted below:
The poet's kalām is vitally infused with extraordinary spiritual fervour and provides instructive matter for the spiritual aspirant. It is difficult to make a selection, for as a poet has said:

ز فرق تا قدش هرکجا نظر فگنی
کرمشه دامن دل میکشند که چا اینجا سبت

The present writer, therefore, contents himself with the matter already dealt with as مشتی از خروار.

MUHAMMAD 'ALI "'ALI" was the son of Dāūd Khān b. Miyān Yār Muhammad Khudā Yār Khān of the Kalhora clan. He suffered from the defect of stammering which, however, was hardly perceptible when he recited poems. In the lines quoted below, the poet describes the charm of his beloved's speech and coquettish glances:

بسخن آمد و شهاد از لب تقریر چکید
نتکی کرد و عرق از رخ تصویر چکید
ناوک گلوم، گر تن تعل صیاد هنوز
در کمان بود که خون از دل نخچیز چکید

In a subtle manner, the poet brings together the nightingale and the moth for sacrifice at the altar of his love, thereby eliminating the difference between the two from the standpoint of their innate individual leanings. Apparently the poet presents this picture as a wondrous effect of his beloved's bewitching charms:

بیل و قرون میکودند بهم در محفل
عشق گویا روغن گل در جراغم کرده است

The Sūfī's aim is to lose his identity and be completely merged in God. Says "'Alī":

از قدیت خوشتن برهانیده خوشی را
عنقا صفت ز دیده مردم نهان شوید
لب بسته زاختاطاخ سخن غنجید سا مدام
چون مدعای یکسته همه همزبان شوید

(1) For his and his father's life and poetry, the material available in the Maqālātush-Shu'arā has been made use of.
The following four distichs are from the pen of his father, Miyān Dāud Khān:

شینمی را کی راید مهر ی به حکمت ز گل
گر نبایند جذب اشت پیر زور از آهن ربا!
رگن‌ک تا محشر نبندد پنجه، خورشید را
گر اباغ صبح و شام، چرخ گردید بر حنا
کی پلیدر رگن‌پک برگ گلی درگیستان
آسمان خون شفق را گر کند بر وی طلال!
باغیان حفظش از عزم چمن سازی کند
نخل سپس میدواند ریشه تا تحتالثرا

MIR 'ABDUR-RASHID (d. after 1169 A.H./1756 A.D.) walad 'Abdul-Ghafūr Husaynī of Thattā, was a reputed scholar of his time. He was a prolific writer and is better known to the reading public as the author of two ‘highly-valued’ dictionaries, the Farhang-i-Rashidi and the Muntakhabul-Lughat. The following ode, written on the lines of Khāqānī's

صجدوم چون کله بندد آه دود آسای من
چون شفق در خون نشیند چشم شب بیمای من

is reproduced from the Maqālātush-Shu’arā, and testifies to his learning:

باذ طغیان چون دون دارد دل شیدای من
شورش زنجیر افزون میکند سودای من
چون خیال کال خوآن کنتم از سر برون
کز پیشانی بود جمعیت اجزای من
شهریار فضلم و شهر معانی چای من
میرود در کشور دانش کنون غوغای من
هم قلم دارم بدست و هم علم دارم بدوش
کرده فتح ملک معنی خاطر دانای من
ÄKHUND FAYDULLĀH “TAPASH” was both a talented poet and a prose-writer. He served as a school teacher at Thattā.

Mirage or optical illusion of water in a sandy plane has been the bane of many a thirsty animal, including man. The real votary of God is quite different from the imposter who pretends to be a seeker after spiritual truth, and who is compared by the poet to mirage:

صلح و زهد پتر دامان نگردد جمع
کجا نهدته تواند شدن سراب در آب!

The Day of Resurrection has no significance for one who is one with the Divine Essence, and who, in other words, has completely got rid of the ego of individual identity. Says the poet:

(1) The source of the verses of “Tapash” is Maqālātush-Shu’ārā.
In the following couplet the poet seems to speak of some strange experience in this vast world which he calls a jungle. The vigilant hunter, as a rule, is anxious to appropriate, and take full advantage of, the game that has already fallen in his snare, but here he suddenly finds himself so completely transformed by some mental wave, denoting entanglement of the human being in the meshes of Mâyâ (Illusion), that he forgets his identity as a hunter, and the re-action of the change in him so astonishes the bird of prey itself, that in its contemplation of the hunter's bewildered look, it forgets its danger and makes no attempt to fly, although its wings are sound. The poet's expression accentuates the elegance of his verse:

MUHAMMAD PANĀH, bearing the *nom de plum* "Rejā", was a resident of Thatta and a contemporary of Sayyid 'Ali Shīr Qānī. Both of them profitted considerably from the companionship of Mir Hyderud-Dīn Abū Tūrāb "Kāmil" mentioned above. Muhammad Panāh entertained scholars with his poems and witty conversation. He was also a famous writer of chronograms. The following verse, commemorating the death of Mir Lutfullah alias Mir Matārō (d. 1161 A. H./1748 A. D.), a dignitary of the State who held the poet in high esteem, was composed by him:

(1) This and the other selected verses of "Rejā" have been culled from *Maqālātush-Shu'arā*. 

(1)
Extensive beyond conception is the patron's bounty; and this idea is beautifully expressed by the poet in the following:

ز اوراق صبح و شام عطای تو یکقلم
نام و نشان حاملی دل در سخا برد
جود تو بسکه دست، عطا را رواج داد
یکدست احتیاج ز دست گدا برد

The azure sky, which is an embodiment of stars representing good and bad luck, has come in for considerable criticism at the hands of Persian poets, and cataclysmic occurrences in the history of nations, etc., have been ascribed to it. "Rejā" has drawn a pathetic picture of the downfall of Jām and Kāus in the following words:

جای می، از حسد آخر فلکه میناچی
زهر در جام جم و کسی کوئی، ریخت

The following couplet reveals how the Divine Dispensation works wonders through its magic of multi-coloured diversity:

حسن صد رنگ بینگام، تماشا چمن
رنگ گلزار بیک جلوه طاووسی ریخت

The contiguity of rise and fall is a stern warning to the ego-ridden man, and it serves as a pole-star to the seer:

کمال رفعت اقبال را باشد زوال از بی
do پاس آخر فروغ، آفتتاب از بیام بس انتد

Complete self-surrender is the unfailing symbol of true love which elevates the ordinary mortal to the pinnacle of divine glory and emancipation. Verily, only the beloved's lap is the lover's refuge and paradise. Says the poet:

ای بشت آرزوز خاطر، آزادگان
دوخی آم بی تو گرمنت هوس باشد مرا.
The following word-picture of the poet lays bare a subtle interplay between bewitching beauty coupled with colossal in difference on the part of the beloved, and acute suffering allied with undying zeal on the part of the lover:

من و مشق نگه بازی، تو و دزدیده دیدنها
من و نظره حسنی، تو و ناز آفریدنها
من و محو رخت بودن، تو و در جلوه افزودن
من و بیخوشی گردن، تو و بر خوشی چیدنها
بمشیر تغافل نیم پسمل شد "رجای ظالم!"
تو و بر پا حنای بستن، من و در خون طبیذنها

Once the poet went to meet a person at midday. Finding him asleep, he left the following couplet behind:

خواب قیلولهات چه شیرین است
خسرو نیمروز را مانی

Although conscious of his great gift of poetry, the poet was humble; he did not indulge in self-praise. Instead, he sought divine aid for the fructification of his talents:

خداوندا بنور حمد روشن کن بیانم را
سناده شمع مانند از ثنا خود زبانم را!
جو سعید صد گلستان معنی من در بغل دارم
چمن پرای شهرت کن الیه بوستانم را!
رسانا جو پرای نزاعت فهم. فکر من
بشو صهابای معنی ربط ده طبع جوانم را!

MIR ABUL-BAQĀ, alias Bahra-war 'Ali, son of 'Abdur-Rehmān b. 'Abdullāh, the distinguished author of Tāรกh-i-Chirāğ-i-Hidāyat, better known as Bahrawar Shāhi, was a pupil of Hyderud-Din "Kāmil". He died without leaving any male issue. The following few verses1 illustrate his style:

منتر درمان ندارد از طیبیان درد ما
سوزش دل مرهمی دارد ز آمیر سرد ما

(1) Taken from Maqalātush Shu'arā.
آتشر سوزان ندارد سر کشکی هرگز به آب
گرمی جور رقیبان یخ شود از بردر ما
چون توان پنهان نمود از خلق سوز عشق را
آتشر دل را گواهی داد رنگر زرد ما

*     *

نگمین چشمی که در جامس می" سرشار ربخت
از سوم برگ خرد را چون خزان پکباد ربخت

*     *

دارد هوای دشت و بیابان درون سر
مجنون من بسوی سلاسل نمی‌رود

SHAYKH MUHAMMAD MAHFUZ, son of Shaykh Muhammad Murid, belonged to the Qânūngū family of Sehwān. Originally his ancestors belonged to the Rāi dynasty, but one of them became converted to Islām and settled down at Thattā as a Qânūngū (Revenue Officer) during the reign of 'Ālamgīr. In the beginning, he wrote poems calling himself “Fidāī”, but subsequently he changed his takhallus to “Sarkhush”.

It is recorded by Qāni' in the Maqālātus-Shu‘arā as his personal experience that Miyān Ghulām 'Alī (Maddāh?) once brought the following hemistich of “Faghfur” to “Sarkhush” for providing a suitable میر

آئینه کاش در گرو توتیا کنند

The latter forthwith capped it with the following:

تا نور حق بدل ده خودبين شود عیان

The subjoined piece from a metrical petition of the poet to the Kalhōrā prince, Miyān Sarfarāz Khān, furnishes some matter of topical interest. It shows that one Mehtā Āwatrāi did not deal with him fairly in connection with his share of crops:
The beloved's coquetry, which is capable of at once killing and reviving, and vice versa, has been extolled by the poet in the following couplet:

\[
3 \text{گه کشی گاه زند مسایی}
\]

\[
\text{دلبری هم گم از خدایان نیست}
\]

The virtue of forbearance and the vice of hypocrisy are thus spoken of by the poet:

\[
4 \text{حدر کنید زعوبی چه در جهان باشد}
\]

\[
\text{عصای شیف بست و ردای مکر بدوش}
\]

\[
\text{خدا چو برده ز کار یاو بر نمیدارد}
\]

\[
\text{تو نیز عیب کسان را یچشم خود میپوش}
\]

To set oneself against association with people of a mean mentality is a wholesome injunction. Says the poet:

\[
5 \text{میر تان مکش روى خسیسان را میبلین}
\]

\[
\text{حلفه هر درمزن سرخوش که فتح الباب نیست}
\]

A man endowed with the 'discerning eye' and the 'knowing heart' can easily do without external aids, such as the sun and the moon, because his developed sight and intuition serve as trustworthy guides for him:

(1) A Persian Manuscript transcribed by Nandūmal.
(2) A Sindhi word meaning the division of grain at harvest.
(3) \text{Maqālātush-Shu'ara}.
(4) A Persian MS. copied by Nandūmal.
(5) \text{Maqālātush-Shu'arā}.
His father, SHAYKH MUHAMMAD MURID (d. 1171 A. H./1757-58 A. D.), though fully occupied with mundane affairs, was a voracious reader even in his old age; he is said to have left many letters and petitions in verse, but Qâni', in his Maqâlâtush-Shu'arâ, has quoted only the following distich from his pen:

ز هم آغوئشی، خود قدر مرا بالا کن
این دل خسته، من داد گذائی دارد

SHAYKH QAMARUD-DIN "ISHRAT", son of Shaykh Muhammad Mahfûz, served as a Recruiting Officer in the Royal Army and was popular as a poet. He was proficient in Persian and very much devoted to the study of Arabic. The following verses, selected by the author of Maqâlâtush-Shu'arâ are from his pen:

بهم شه رتبه، خضرم ز سودا ی سر زلفش
که هر جا با نهادم سپلستان شد ازو پیدا

بسکه از تیغ، نواذد سیه، ام صد چاک شد
سیل قم کی بار، خاطرگردد این دیوانه را!

ز س افتاد طاق از جفت خویی، طاقر، ابرویش
دل اهل، نظر در سرجه، چون محراپ میگردد

MIRZÁ GHULÁM 'ALI "MU'MIN" was the grandson of Allâh Wardi Bêg Kâzarûnî. Though not very learned, he was quite a good poet and has left a Diwân of ghazals. He belonged to the Shi'a sect.

To run away from the hurly burly of life does not make a man spiritual, nor does mere observance of fasts qualify him

(1) A Persian MS. copied by Nandûmal.
for the title of Tārik (hermit). On the contrary, Sa’dī is of opinion:

خورنده که خیرش بر آید زدست
به از صاحب الدهر دنیا پرست

The essential quality of a renouncer is to eat less than he needs, and share the rest with the poor. In the words of “Mu’mīn”:

ترکرِ دنیا نیم نان و گوشه گیری را بدان
هرکه نانِ خوش بر بیگانه بخشید تارکست

The unstable, fickle world is referred to by the wise as the perfidious whore, one of whose hands is stained with blood and the other painted with henā, - a ruthless destroyer of her wooers. No sooner does her suitor stretch his arms to embrace her than she slays him and goes in for another. It is only the watchful valiant - the alertly pious - who escape the fatal shafts of this courtesan’s coquettish glances:

زاالِ دنیا دائمًا اوباش را دارد پسند
ای شریف از وی مجرد شو که حاشیه خالک است

Apparently the poet had in view some sad experience of married life when he said

نکلُ ست گویند دفع الفساد
فسادست اکنون صمیم از نکل

To live in the world, yet not to be of it - like the lotus that floats on water and yet has no roots in it - is the high aim and noble achievement of saints and sublime souls. The true spirit of renunciation does not necessarily lie in the abandonment of all earthly connections; it rather lies in the deliberate attempt at fostering a sense of complete detachment from the pains and pleasures of life, from its “sick hurry and divided aims”. The couplet of Jāmī, to wit,

(1) Anwār’ul-Asrār (Ms. p. 231)
(2) Anwār’ul-Asrār (MS. p. 231)
(3) Ibid.
Verily a person answering the above description acts with "Heart within and God overhead".

Life is like a straight line and the Present a point therein moving constantly from one extremity to the other, while the Past and the Future are the two proportionately varying spaces between the aforesaid point and the extremities. Thus the "today" of the Present includes both the tomorrow of "yesterday" (Past) and the yesterday of "tomorrow" (Future). But the "yesterday" is no more and the "tomorrow" is yet to come - thus "today" represents the time which is not yet gathered to its predecessors, nor has it any relationship with the veiled "future". Hence the so-called Present is merely a point in time which divides the two i.e. the Past and the Future, and being continually on the run can claim no stability. This idea is beautifully expressed by "Mu'min" thus:

(1) Ibid.
(2) Anwâr 'ul-Asrâr (MS. p. 234)
(3) Ibid.
Long vigils are of no use if they are not accompanied by the heart’s wakefulness. A steady heart and determination are essential for the realization of the object of one’s love, which is an attempt at union with the beloved, a complete fusion of two souls:

1. در روز عشق اگر دیده بخوابست چه باک؟
مدعا هست درین مرحله بیداری، دل

Oh, that the long night of separation would end and blaze into the dawning glory of union with the beloved! This is the pious hope of the lover. He would then cheerfully bear all its pangs, which would be offset by the anticipated ecstacy of union:

2. گویند شب هجر دراز است بخشی
سیل است گر این شام سحر داشته باشد

Desire is the root of all evil. It is like the spider’s web from which there is no escape. It cuts both ways: its very fulfilment brings a man’s greed to the surface, and develops in him a sense of exclusive possession, an overwhelming consciousness of his own ego; he begins to think in terms of “I” and “You”. But when his desire is unsatisfied, when he is denied fulfilment, he feels ill-tempered, irritable aud out of sympathy with everybody. His sense of self-importance is challenged, he feels belittled and dishonoured, and must, therefore, wreak vengeance. In the following verses the poet apparently epitomizes his life’s experience:

3. دوست دشمن نکنند آنچه بخود من کردم
دوست آزمدم و خوشندی دشمن کردم
منکه در بروپرش روح زند "مومن" لاز
پروری نفس شدم بروپرش تن کردم

(1) Ibid.
(2) Diwan Sōbhrāj: Ms. Note books.
(3) Ibid.
Love is deathless. Those who love, never die. They live eternally, beyond the dim borderland that divides life from death. "Hāfiz" says:

هَرَكَزْنَهِ مِيرَدُ آتِکہ دِلَشْ زَنُدَه شَدِ بِعِشق
ثَبِتِ اسْتِ بِر جَرِیدَہ عَالَم دَوَامَ، ما

The same idea is beautifully expressed by "Mu'min". As waves rise from the central places of the sea, gather momentum and roll shore-wards, so the lovers, even after death, find life, live eternally and attain their goal:

۱ مَهیَّط عِشق رَآ نَازم، کَهَ بَعِدِ ازْ غِرِق جَوْن مَوِجم
زَ بِسَتی بَر بَلندِی مِيرَدِ منزل بِمنزلِها

MIR² 'ALI SHIR "QĀNI" (1140-1203 A.H./1727-8-1789 A. D.) wālad 'Izzatullāh traces his descent to the Shukrillāhī Sayyids of Thattā, who settled there in the remote past (about the year 927 A. H./1521 A. D.). He received his early education at the feet of two distinguished scholars of Thattā, viz., 'Allāma Mu'inud-Din and Makhdūm Rehmatullāh, and learnt Persian from Ākhūnd 'Abd’ul-Hasan "Bitakalluf". He was also a pupil of Muhammad Sādiq and Ni'matullāh, the learned sons of 'Abdul-Jalil.

Having natural gift for composition, he began writing at the early age of twelve, with his name as his nom de plume, and soon completed a Diwān consisting of about 8,000 verses which however, under force of certain circumstances, he threw into water. For almost two years that followed, he made no use of his talent till, in the year 1155 A. H. (1742 A. D.), he came in contact with the famous poet Hyderud-Din Abū Turāb "Kāmil" as a result of which he started composing again. This time he assumed the title of "Mazhari" (whose value according to the Abjad system happened to coincide with the year of the poet's

(1) Mīrzā Gul Hasan: Sukhanwarān-i-Hindustān.
(2) The account of his life is based on the material provided by Maqālātush-Shu’arā.
inspiration, viz., 1155) which, at a later date, he changed into "Qâni".

He was a versatile and voluminous writer, and a court-poet of Miyâns Nûr Muhammad and Ghulâm Shâh Kalhoro. He is the author of several books; his poetical works alone contain over 30,000 couplets. Here is a list of his works:

1. Maqâlâtush-Slu'arâ
2. Tuhfatul-Kirâm
3. Qissa-i-Kâmârûp (about 3,000 distichs written on the measures of متعلق فاعلون
4. Mathnawi-i-Qadâ-wa-qadar (c. in 1167 A. H. in هزج مسند مسند)
5. Diwân-i-Qâni' of about 9,000 distichs (c. 1171 A.H.)
6. Ash'âr-i-Mutafarriqa (about 1,000 distichs)
7. Zinatul-Akhlaq (Poetry)
8. Nuskha-i-Ghawthiya (Poetry)
9. Makli Nâma (Poetry)
10. Khatmus-Sulûk (Mathnawi)
11. Zaynul-Afsâr (Poetry)
12. Zubdatul-Manâqib
13. Mukhtâr Nâma - nearly 7,000 distichs (originally composed in 1193 A. H. in مقتار مشن مقصور)
14. Tadhhibut-Tabâ'i
15. Hadiqatul-Awlâ
16. Mi'yâr-i-Sâlikân-i-Tariqat
17. Siyâhat Nâma
18. Shajara-i-Mashâikh (Poetry)
19. Chehâr Manzila (Poetry) - nearly 1,000 couplets in هزج مسند مسند
20. Kân-i-Jawâhir (Mathnawi)
21. Qassâb Nâma
22. Tazwij Nâma-i-Husn-wa-Ishq (composed in 1180 A. H.)
23. Bûstân-i-Bahâr (Prose - in praise of Makli Hill)
24. *I'lan-i-Gham dar Dhikr-i-Karbalā*
25. *Tārikh-i-'Abbāsiya* (Poetry and prose - incomplete)
26. *Sāqi Nāma* (composed in مقترب مثنى مخزوف)
27. *Raudat'ul-Ambiyā* (Poetry)
29. *Nau Āin-i-Khayālāt* (c. 1169 A. H.)
30. *Shajara-i-Ahl-i-Bayt-i-At’har*.

Of these the first two are comparatively more important, for without these the study of Sindh, specially its poets, would remain incomplete. The *Maqālātush-Shu’arā* (c. about 1173 A.H. 1759 A. D.) is an anthology of Persian poets, written in the alphabetical order of their *nom de plumes*, and contains short notices of about seven hundred poets, both natives and outsiders who visited Sindh. The *Tuhfat’ul-Kirām* (c. 11811 A. H./1767 A. D.) is a book of valuable historical information, which is divided into three parts - the last dealing exclusively with Sindh, its rulers, saints and scholars, from ancient times down to the reign of the Kalhrūs.

“Qāni’” was a past-master in the art of composing chronograms and enjoyed as great a reputation as Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir Gilānī. He wrote the subjoined verses on the birth of Nasirud-Din (1168 A. H.), son of Najmul-Din Qādri of Thattā:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>جليل احراز</th>
<th>قصيح ارجا</th>
<th>علم مسلك</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>نمین عقیبی</td>
<td>جليل و زاهر</td>
<td>بعقل كمل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مدار اولی</td>
<td>بحار اعطا</td>
<td>لی ماهر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>محقق اجلی</td>
<td>مرام اهدا</td>
<td>موفق اللہ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) See *Tuhfat’ul-Kirām*, Vol. III, p. 260. The present writer wonders how Sorley (*Shāh Abdul Latif of Bhit*, p. 16) and K. B. Khudadad Khan (*Lubb-i-Tārikh-i-Sindh*, p. 50) came to the conclusion that the *Tuhfat’ul-Kirām* was written in 1187 A. H./1773 A. D. Strange enough, Aitken (*Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, Vol. A, p. 483) goes a step further and remarks, “It was completed not earlier than 1774 A. D.”.

Continued on page 127
The worth of these lines could be realized when judged according to the poet's following observation:

که در شکل، مربع چون نویستند
ازو تاربخ پسیار آشکارا ست
بدیسان کر میان، شانزده جزو
یگان هر چار جزوش مطلب آرایست
ولیکن طرفه این که وزن و معنی
نممایند خلل در هر صفحه راست

He was a great artist, and demonstrated considerable ingenuity in using many literary artifices. The following verses, written on the model of Faydi's

ای خرم ابروی تو تیخ، جفا
حلقه، گیسوی تو دام ولا
admit of four metres: 1

ای خرم ابروی تو قبله نما
گیسوی هندوی تو مشک خطا
از لب عیسی تو مره حیات
طلعت نیکوی تو بدر سما
شقد دلگوی تو نخل مراد
پرتو مهرودی تو نور خدا

The author claims that the following hemistich can be scanned in ten different ways by introducing suitable variations in the order of the words occurring therein:

درید تو دولت تو آمده

The above hemistich, according to the numerical value of

Continued from page 128

(2) This and the rest of the verses of "Qani" are taken from his Maqâla-
tush Shu'ara.

خفیف مخبون مذکون (مقابل مفتعل فاعلاً) رجز مسدس مطوبر (1)
فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاً رسل مسدس مذکون (فاعلاتن مفتعل فعلن)
فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فعلن) رسل مسدس مخبون مذکون
its letters signifies the year 1171 A. H. when Ghulām Shāh Kalhōrō ascended the throne.

Some of his odes reveal a peculiar type of literary artifice hardly traceable in the works of the poets of the Persian language. In the following couplet, the last letter of every word in each hemistich forms successively the first letter of the world following it:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{دآتتاب زم عنی وسف رخ صال} \\
\text{حاکم لک رامت اجدار وزگار}
\end{align*}
\]

He has written many poems on the lines of “Wahid,” “Naziri”, “Ghālib” and “Khusraw”. The influence of “Sāib”, traceable in the works of some Persian and Indian poets, is also discernible in his poems:

\[
\text{میان، "تانغ" و مرزای "صفیه" ار دویستی}
\text{نه بسته است کسی شاهراه دلها را}
\]

The following is his tribute to Hyderud-Din “Kāmil” (his teacher) and Muhsin (one of the most distinguished poems of his age):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{در زمین، تنها اندر زمره، اهل قبول}
\text{همجو بیر، "کامل"، صاحب هدایت برخاست}
\end{align*}
\]

In the following verse, he shows how greed darkens the path of love, and quotes the instance of Lilā who lost Chanēsar because of her infatuation for a costly necklace:

\[
\text{طمع چو جلوه کند چشم عقل کور شود}
\text{ز عقد باخته لیلا ازان بیس، خوشی}
\]

Love of one’s native place is a common trait. In the poet’s

(1) Bayād.
estimation, however, the native place is devoid of charm for the person who does not enjoy the esteem of its inhabitants:

ایام خزان باغ و چمن را چه کند کس
جز آبروی خوشی وطن را چه کند کس!

Like Frances Ann Kemble who said, "A sacred burden is this life ye bear; look on it; lift it; bear it solemnly; fail not for sorrow; falter not for sin; but onward, upward, till the goal ye win", - the poet says that life is a struggle and its ups and downs are unavoidable in the scheme of human evolution:

به عصر و یسر چرا رنجه میشود سالک
گریز نیست میان رو از نشیب و فراز
برین قبای دو روزه چه قد کشی "قانع"
چو دوختند گریبان تو بصورت کاز

From the very beginning of Creation, suffering has been the heritage of man; he is cautioned to bear it patiently, for then alone can he be spiritually free:

غم به تبعیت آدم همه کس راست نصیب
ناخله هست که از راه پدر میگذرد
*  *  *
چون شمع سری گریه و سوز آوردم
چون لاله دلی داغ فروز آوردم
القسه درین رباط کهنه "قانع"
روزی بسب و شی بروز آوردم

Love is a great harmoniser and leveller. God is the giver of life. The ether of the souls holds us together by love, and thus prevents us from falling and sinking into chaos. Ultimately, every individual is destined to reach his destination of heavenly bliss through the realm of love, which gradually takes him on from the picturesque universe of phenomena to the blissful haven of beatitude - the primary seat of "haqīqat" (attainment with the Essential Truth). Here is our poet’s brief
delineation of "majāz" and "haqiqat" in his composition entitled *Mahabbat Nāma*:

سزاؤار ثناوست آن خداوند
که دلها را بدلها داد یبدست
محبت را پدید آورد از خویش
کزان دلها عشاقش بود ریش
به مجنون در رخ لیلی نموده
اگرچه خویشت مقصود بوده
نیوده غیر مجنون کام لیلی
چه شد گر بود او بدنام لیلی
میان واقع و عذرا دوئی چیست
که غیر از عشق در باینان شان نیست
محبت در دو تن چون گر میاوا
دوئی شد از میان، گشتند تنها

Jesus, the blessed, has said, "Man liveth not by bread alone"; and the lives of holymen show that nothing so fills the human heart as a drop from the fountain of Divine bliss, which descends on it from the sublime realm of the spirit through the chinks of meditation. He who is self-centred enjoys spiritual nourishment; he never hankers after food and drink. Says "Qāni":

بتی را که پایید یسرتش ز دل
لباشد دمی بسته آب و گل

There is ebb and flow in Life's stream, but none in the love of the Almighty, which is ever full, and all-pervading. As Clement Scott has said:

"Love rules the court, the camp, the grove,
And men below and saints above,
For love is heaven, and heaven is love."

In the following verses, "Qāni" has drawn a fine and impressive word-picture of love by reference to the innate
characteristics of some flowers, birds and musical scales:

ز آثار، بدین عشق از خاک
گل آید جامه خونین سینه صد چاک
اگر در باغ بینی در ته راغ
بود لاله بلبل چاک و چگر داغ
پنگس چشم خوابی کرده چادو
که مدهوست و دلخته لب جو
اگر دارد گل زنبق سفیدی
به یمن عشق میدارد سعیدی
ازان رو ده زبان اندوخت سوسن
که زمر عاشقی گوید بگلشن
سروری نیست بر سوری بجز نام
که اند عاشقی زد بیشتر گام
به رنگی و هر باغی که بینی
گلی از گلبن مقصود چینی
سفید و زرد و سرخ عباس از چیست
چو اند عاشقی دارد نکو زیست
چرا همواره باشد بید لزان
برای چیست زینسان عشق پیچان
پریشانی یست یی تملق
بود در باغ ز آثار، تملق
چنار از پنجه بر زور اخلاص
همیار به سر شور اخلاص
چو برده درد سر در عشق اول
گیاهی زرد ست و گاهی سرخ صندل
تذرو و فااخته کوکو زنان چه
بطوف باغ از هر سو دوان چه
نیوشی گر زبان، خندیده گل
نباشد جز بحر عشق بیلب
ز شاخ، ارغوان گل کرد این حرف
که هر چیزی بود از عشق بر ظرف
گل، رعنا اگر دارد دو رنگی
ز عشقش حاصل آمد شوخ و شنگی
چنان در هدهد این آتش بر افرزخت
که دو دفس صورت تاجی بسردودخت

* * *

مغنى تا براً عشق زد چنگ
بربید از رخ هر تار "سارنگ" "شود امروز "نودی"، نزد عاقل
شود گر از مقام عشق غافل
دلى "کان ره"، نه زد برچانپ عشق
اگر هم باک پاشد هست در فسق
چو "مارو"، نه براه عشق یکبار
که بر آسان و تیره باشند باز
به "کلی آن" او شو باش اين
زسر چنگی زنان ای صاحب، فن
ریب "آسا" دو گوش خوش چن کن باز
که مطلوبت دهد هرگوش آواز

Different manifestations are emanation of the one Supreme irrespective of colour, creed and clime:

پک جلوه ز بیرنگی، او رنگ گرتنگ
لیلی بعرب گشته و در هند دم شد
از لعل شکر رژی، او بردنی مذاقی
سمی بصفاهان شد و انسی به دکن شد
قانع در کثیرت چوزده وحدت ذاتش
در بصره حسن شد به یمن وس قرن شد

Penance is the seed of genuine prayer, and the human heart is the Almighty's receptacle. On this point, the poet has expressed himself in the following manner:
In the following lines, "Qāni" has woven an instructive pun upon the word Gūr signifying (a) Onager and (b) grave:

قور را بهرام اگرچه صید میکرده مدام می‌ندانست آن که صیادش بغير از گورنیست

Crates threw his gold into the sea, saying: "I will destroy thee, lest thou destroy me." If men do not put the love of the world to death, the love of the world will put them to death. The poet likens the highly alluring world to the tempting whore whom it is very difficult to satisfy, and who by her lascivious ways brings about the premature decay of her lovers and sends them to an early grave. Says he:

آنقدر گیرد به امساكش که از مردي رود هر که را با قحبه، دنیا ست حاصل ازدواج

A sense of kinship with the Divine Essence is the sheet-anchor for the way-farers of life when they are faced with the deluding snares of Satan:

بسى کم گشتگان را هادي، راه هاها گردد چرس سان هرکه اورا ذکرقلبي دائمان باشد

Sa'di's dictum

خوردن برای زیستن و ذکر کردنست تو معتقدکه زیستن از بهر خوردندست!
has a parallel in the poet's:

آمد شد نفس یی ذکرست و تی هوا
ز بن تار و هود حفیف که افسار خر شود

Vanity is a viper that many an ignorant fool nourishes in
his bosom, and ultimately it proves to be the bane of his life:

آفت اندر ده بر مردم همین نامست و بن
گرد خوید گردیدنیها حلته دامست و بن

The following few lines on Kashmir are from his mathnawi
Qadā-wa-qadar:

خور اندر سبزه زارش شیره وار
نیارست آنکه بیند روي انوار
گر آید بامثال مه از زمینش
کند گُلچین غلت با پاسینش
بیوی بودن شبوش زهر باد
گل خورشید بیکرد غنچگی باد

HASAN1 BAKHSH “AZHAR” was originally a Hindū;
he embraced Islām along with his father whose birth-name
Jhūrōmal was changed to 'Abdus-Salām, alias Mirzā Fidāi.
While “Azhar” was still young, he frequently consulted
“Qāni’”, who was very much impressed by his poetic talent.
The following few verses serve as a specimen of his work:

در میان من و جانان بود ارصد دوزخ
حرف گر رقص کنان همشو سندر نرور
پیر بنموده مرا کعده تحقیق عيان
حالیه در صف حجاج مکرر نرور
درگه پیر مغان عرش بر بن است "انظهر"
بخدا غیر ازین در گه داور نرور

BĀLCHAND,2 a friend and contemporary of “Qāni’”, was

(1) For his life and verse, Maqālātush-Shu’arā has been consulted.
(2) The account of his life and poetry is based on the Maqālātush-Shu’arā.
a pupil of Ākhūnd Faydullāh “Tapash”. Besides using his own name, he sometimes adopted “Āzād” as his *nom de plume*. The following beautiful verses with در آب as their *radīf* and خواب، تاب etc. as *qāfiyās* were composed by him in imitation of a *ghazal* from his master’s pen:

FTPAD YEKASIE AZAN ROYI SHUALIYI TAP DE AAB
KE GISHTE AIND HAME MAHIBAN KIYAB DE AAB
Z ANFEEL. SERSKIR ER AAB MN GOHAR
BOROI KHOWI Z SDF MIEKSHD NITAB DE AAB
XIAY ROYI TO OZ DIDEH" TERM EYDAI SEDT
CHANDAK JLOHI KEND YEKSI MAHITAP DE AAB
MEKER AZAN LEB MIEGON HAWAI DER SER DASTH
KE BADE MIEJKEK AZ SAGER HIBAB DE AAB

Separation from the beloved with the crystal-clear face made the lover-poet’s heart restless like mercury:

"TA BOUN AZ XLOWIT AGHUSHI AN ALINHE ROH-seat
DEL DRON SINE AM BITAII SIMEAB DASTH
BESIR SERF SAID TA PXTHE SHOHUXAMI"

"is a well-known saying. The trials and tribulations of travel and the experiences of a life far away from one’s home widen one’s outlook and equip one for a healthy and useful career. In this connection, the poet refers to the reed-flute which has its origin in the jungle, but whose plaintive tunes have travelled extensively and gained sympathizers and admirers all over the world:

MRD RAASAR TEB DAST DEH D DARGIMT
KE NI AZ SERR. MAMATAM NWA PIDA KARD

GHULAM ‘ALI "MADDĀH" (b. 1145 A. H./1732-3 A. D.) son of Muhammad Muhsin of Thattā, was, like his father, a great poet and Arabic scholar of his age; his pupils included Miyān Sarfarāz Khān Kalhōrō and Sayyid Thābit ‘Ali Shāh “Zawwār”.
The fickle world has been the subject of many a lament and anguished utterance; the unreliable revolving sphere overlooking the earth has also, from times immemorial, been held responsible for the manifold sufferings of mankind. Wealth and prosperity do not, as a rule, follow merit, and history records many an instance of unmerited suffering. The poet has beautifully expressed this idea by comparing the firmament with an ugly looking negro, who, unable to bear the sight of his own abominable looks in the clear faultless mirror, throws away the mirror in sheer disgust:

1 بیوجه نیست کیفته گردودن بصاصدل
زنگی ز شرم میزنند آئینه بر زمین

Sa‘di’s expression “بزرگی به عقل است نه بسال” has been paraphrased and illustrated by the poet in his own inimitable manner:

اژ بزرگ‌ی ی بی هنر طفل هنور بهتراست
سنگ‌ی کوهستان کجا همست ید گوهراست؟

A deep sense of humility wins honour for man, and blessed indeed are the humble. Sa‘di’s key of the Gate of Paradise — vide his verse “توافق کلید در جنت است” — has been transformed by the poet into خضر رام منزل (the expert guide to the sublime destination of celestial glory) in:

رو، طرق، خاکساری را چو نقش، با بگیر
کای ضرط مستقیمت خضر رام منزلست

The master-mind, in other words the spiritual man, lives within his self, possessing therein a wide range for travel and development. He needs no outer vistas to waste his energy on, having realized the inconstant nature of the outer phenomena. The superior status of man is ascribed to the inner core of

(1) All the verses of Maddâh, excepting the last which the present writer saw at the end of Muntakhab-i-Kulliyát-i-Muhsin. are gleaned from Maqâlâtush-Shu‘arâ.
spirituality within him awaiting the downpour of spiritual draught to produce the essential (divine) pearl of self-realization. "Maddāh" has furnished an apt illustration in this connection by referring to the ordinary pearl as under:

صاحب دل را سفر باش، همیشه در وطن گر آب آید برون دارد گهر مسکن در آب

The teacher has always commanded respect for the knowledge he is capable of imparting, and the deserving student never resents his (the teacher's) frown or chastisement; rather, he welcomes it for the advancement of his intellect:

کسب علم است سرور دل غم برور ما چوب استاد بود صندل درد سر ما

The same idea is differently put in the well-known verse of Tennyson:

"Let knowledge grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell."

Regarding the troubles and tribulations and the tears of separation, he says:

گردد اندر رنج عاشق را مجبت ییشت رود را از سوختن نکهت فراوان میشود
* * *
جز رخ رخشان دلبر گریه ام ییوجه نیست مهر چون از دیده غائب شد طلوع اختصرت

The following few verses are from a qasīdā written by "Maddāh" after his father's death, in praise of the then ruling prince, Miyān Nūr Muhammad Kalhōrō. The qasīdā also serves as a petition for suitable pecuniary aid to relieve the poverty of the deceased poet Muhsin's family:

ای آنکه تو سر دفتر ارباب خدایی
پیش تو گداییست یکی حاتم طالی
SARFARĀZ KHĀN, the eldest son of Ghulām Shāh Kalhōrō, succeeded his father in 1186 A. H. (1772 A. D.) He committed a great political blunder by murdering his councillor, Mīr Bahrām Khān Tālpur, and his son, Sobdār Khān (1189 A. H./1775 A. D.), at the instigation of his evil-minded friend Tājō Lēkhi. This treacherous behaviour of Sarfarāz Khān led to the downfall of the Kalhōrā House. Mīr Fat‘h ’Ali Khān, Bahrām Khān’s grandson, took up the family quarrel and attacked Khānpur, the Kalhōrā headquarters. Miyān Sarfarāz Khān was compelled to flee for his life to Hyderābād. But, as ill luck would have it, he was caught and imprisoned there.
till about the year 1191 A. H./1777 A. D., when he was put to
death by his avaricious and scheming uncle Miyān 'Abdun-Nabī.

Though a failure as a statesman and an administrator, he
was well-educated and had great aptitude for Persian poetry.
Some of his compositions show that he possessed an imagina-
tive and impulsive mind. He was a contemporary of Sayyid
Thābit 'Ali Shāh, whose marthiyās (elegies) in Sindhī are recited
to this day on the occasion of “Muharram”. Both Sarfarāz
Khān and Sayyid Thābit 'Ali Shāh studied under Ghulām 'Ali
“Maddāh”.

Here are a few verses of Sarfarāz Khān :-

1تولی مرغ. چمن دلشاد، لیکن
ز مرگان قفس هم یاد می‌کن

The poet does not grudge a happy time to the birds who
freely move about in the garden, but in his second hemistich
he gives expression to his feeling of misery. He imagines as if
he were a bird in a cage, and pathetically asks his free fellow
birds to have a thought for him. The effect of the above verse
is heightened by the verses which follow :

2چو تو بروای گیری در گلستان
ز بال بسته، ما یاد می‌کن
چو تو بر شاخ. گل باشی نواستنج
پیاد دام ما فریاد می‌کن

He asks them to remember the miserable plight of caged
birds like him who are closely confined and cannot exercise
their wings in the circumambient air. In another place, how-
ever, the poet expresses himself in regard to his confinement in
a different manner :

(1) A Persian MS. copied by Nandūmal; Bayad-i-Karbalāi; Leaves from
Sarfarāz's compositions.
(2) A persian MS. copied by Nandūmal; Bayad-i-Karbalāi; Leaves from
Sarfaraz's compositions.
In other words, the poet has sacrificed himself totally, the intoxication of love having rendered him oblivious of the feeling of pain or anguish. This is how the poet describes the condition of his heart:

دَارَمَ دَلِي صَدَّ پَارَهَ ای از تِبُنِ هِجَارَن در بُنِل
هر پاره ای صد بحر خون، هر بحر عمان در بغل

Strange indeed are the ways of Destiny that encloses the flower in a thorny embrace and seats the crow on the rose-bush, while the sweet singing feeble nightingale is pining away in a cage! Says the poet:

عَجَب دَارَم از گُردش روزگار
که گل را دهد چا در آغوش خار!
دهد زاغ را چای بر شاخ گل
کند در نفس عندلیپ نزار!

In the following verses, he describes the pangs of separation from the beloved, and the ultimate surrender of his will to that of the latter:

بِی تو دَلِم را چه سرور، ای صنم!
چشم مرا بِی تو چه نور ای صنم!
نیم نگاه تو کند بسلم
تَنگ کشیدن چه ضرور، ای صنم!

To Sarfarāz, the loveless heart is like a flower without fragrance, and the person who turns away from love is unattractive

(1) Leaves from Sarfarāz’s compositions.
(2) A persian MS. copied by Nandūmal.
(3) Persian MS. copied by Nandūmal.
(4) Ibid; Bayad-i-Karbalāf.
(i.e. devoid of personal magnetism) and incapable of inspiring love:

آن دل که بیشتر خو ندارد مانند گلست که بو ندارد آن کس که ز عشق سر پیچید شخصی ست که آبرو ندارد

The poet’s eyes are only capable of lingering on the beloved’s face and of noticing the delicate nuances of the latter’s coquetry:

جز دیدن روی یار و نازش چشم دگر آرزوز ندارد

The purpose of the true lover’s existence is the realization of union with the Beloved. He is incomplete without Him, and can find fulfilment only when he becomes one with Him:

در عشق تو هر که شد سرایراز جز وصل تو جستجو ندارد

MUNSHI SHEWAKRAM “UTÂRID” of Thattâ flourished in the days of Miyân Ghulâm Shâh Kalhôrî and his son Sarfarâz Khân. He wrote splendid prose as well as poetry, but was not lucky enough to win fame and royal favour. He was truly the embodiment of Sa’di’s dictum:

بخت و دولت بکارداشی نیست جز بتأئید آسمانی نیست

and mostly lived a lonely life of penury. But every cloud has a silver lining. For a brief interval his scholarship was appreciated by Mîr Bijâr Khân (a noble at the Court of the Kalhôrâs - son of the martyred Bahrâm) who brought him to the notice of the Kalhôrâ princes. Thereafter, at the suggestion of Miyân Sarfarâz Khân, “Utârid” wrote the story of Hir-wa-Rânjha in Persian prose, and concluded with the following epilogue:

(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
He wrote a number of epistles which reveal a high standard of achievement. Some of these, together with some letters of other scholars, were collected in book form under the title of Inshā-i-'Utārid, by a Persian scholar Munshi Amullraī of Arōrā caste, a contemporary of 'Utārid. The collection has been named after 'Utārid because of the high esteem in which he was held by the compiler.

'Utārid probably composed a complete Diwān of odes, but it has not been possible to find a complete copy. What has, however, come to hand denotes considerable tenderness of feeling and a surprising elegance of style. example:

The following lines, descriptive of the intense agony of frustrated love are deeply moving, and are fairly representative of his manner. The beauty of the language is heightened by the use of antithesis in the first couplet and of the fine similes of طولانی and محمول in the other two:

(1) Vide Tadhkira-i-Lutfi, Part II, p. 135.
(2) Ms. containing fifteen ghazals of 'Utārid.
The salt waters of its native home fail to assuage the thirst of the pearl-oyster. It always longs for rain. The simile is partially used for those who, in spite of their wealth, derive no benefit from their riches:

'Utārid’s aesthetic sense now and then finds expression through use of the beautiful artistic device *murassa*, wherein the various parts of the hemistichs have an internal rhyme, besides the rhyme at the end of the lines. To quote a few examples:

Notice in the following couplet, the poet’s portraiture of the charm of two materially divergent ways which strengthen the bond of love:

(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid. The first hemistich, as found in *Hindustani*, Dec, 1942, runs as under: 
(3) Ms. containing fifteen *ghazals* of ‘Utārid’
(4) Ibid.
Further, the chain of love binds several hearts (lovers) as an inevitable consequence of the beloved's bewitching beauty and, what is more, each lover individually regards the beloved as his own particular possession:

The pleasures of paradise hold no attractions for the lover who ever longs for a corner in the beloved’s passsgage. Even the prison of love inspires in him a mood of contentment and ecstasy which is denied to those who are incapable of love, and those who have not yet been fortunate enough to come under the sway of this most potent god:

Sometimes the poet writes in a delicately fine moral vein. In the following lines he uses the beautiful simile of the rose and the perfume to point out the wholesome effect of good company. The couplet is illustrative of the natural elegance of style that characterizes the diction of this beauty-loving didactic Sindhi poet:

(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Sukhanwarân-î-Hindustân.
Occasionally he rises to daring heights of thought, and ventures into the realms of the heretic's philosophy. Somnāth and the Sanctuary of Islām are alike, says he. They are only symbols of external worship, the true shrine of the Beloved being the human heart wherein the latter can be discerned after earnest introspection and deep meditation:

هندو جا سر به سنگ کوئت است

Love of beauty is the outstanding feature of 'Utārid's poetry. In the following quotation, the boat is compared to the crescent, and the silver-bright beloved is the sun seated in the crescent, or a diamond embedded in an oyster:

The sighs and the moans of the innocent have often caused the downfall of many a tyrant and his adherents. A poet has said:

The same idea is expressed by 'Utārid:

Chashm-i-nimbhwāb - an epithet of beauty used by lovers

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(1) Ibid.
(2) A persian MS. copied by Nandūmal.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Shukhanwarān-i-Hindustān; MS. containing 15 ghazals of 'Utārid.
for the seemingly drowsy eyes of the fair sex, half-closed through modesty - has been subtly availed of by the poet to express his distress on many a sleepless night. These drowsy eyes have a peculiar fascination for the lover; they intoxicate him and keep him in a state of constant and delicious inebriation:

"عطارد" خواب زان درچشم من شبها نمی‌آید
که یک شب دیده ام در خواب چشم نميخوابش را

The lovely one's eyebrow, metaphorically spoken of as the archer's bow, holds the lover-poet spell-bound. The poet stresses its fascination and weaves out of it a delightful and harmonious word-pattern:

تا گوشه ابروی ترا دید "عطارد"
از حلقه گوشان تو و گوشه نشین است

Money is necessary and even indispensable, for without it man would not be able to have adequate food, clothing and shelter, nor would he be able to straighten out many an awkward tangle. Says the poet:

"عطارد" از کسی خواهد کشاد ابن روزگار
هر که را درکف برگرگ گنجه یک مشت زر است

The literate lover's pen, while engaged in praise of the beloved, at once acquires ease and beauty of diction. In the words of the poet:

"عطارد" از سخن‌می‌شد "محسن"
ازینکه شهرت شاگرد فخر استاد است

(1) Ibid.
(2) MS. containing fifteen ghazals of 'Utārid; Sukhanwarān-i-Hindustān.
(3) Maqālātush-Shu'arā.
(4) Sukhanwarān-i-Hindustān.
(5) Ibid.
THÁRIOMAL1 “BINĀ” was a resident of Nasarpur and a friend of Munshi Shewakrām “'Utārid”. One day, the latter recited the following couplet, bemoaning the wretched state of his heart:

قاصد از شمع نمی آرد بدلسوزی جواب
بر بر پروانه ننده بعد ازین مکتوب را

The poet “Binā” at once retorted:

سوز و ساز ما بشم سرکش ما روشین است
چیست حاجت بر بر پروانه بستن نامه را

The following two couplets which the author of Maqālātush-Shu‘arā heard from 'Utārid are further specimens of his subtle poetry:

ديد تا مه پرتوي از آفتات روى او
چون گل خوشید میگردد بهر سو سوی او
سر ره قمیران از عالم بالا گذشت
در چمن تا جلوه ريز آمد قدر دلجوی او

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(1) The account of his life and poetry is reproduced from Maqālātush-Shu‘arā.
CHAPTER IV
THE RULE OF THE TĀLPURS

After the defeat of the Kalhōrās, Mir Fat'h 'Ali Khān Tālpur was confirmed to the throne of Sindh by a sanad (patent) from Timūr Shāh, the King of Afghānistān (1783 A. D.). The Mir assigned Khayrpur to his uncle, Mir Suhrāb Khān, and Mirpur Khās to his cousin Mir Thāro Khān. He kept the major portion of the territory for himself and his younger brothers, Mir Ghulām 'Ali Khān, Karam 'Ali Khān and Murād 'Ali Khān and made Hyderābād, the capital. "While they all lived, the strong and unvarying attachment they evinced for each other, gained them the honourable appellation of the Chār Yār (Four friends)." All of them were men of strong will and 'approved personal bravery'. In their days Sindh came in immediate contact with the British, who, fearing Afghān, French and Russian designs upon India sought to establish a Pro-British buffer-state between Russia and British India, consisting of Sindh and the Punjāb. They established a friendly alliance with Persia also to keep watch over Afghānistān. And in order to win over Sindh to their side, they deputed several political missions to the Sindhi court, which resulted in treaties of 'eternal friendship' between the Amirs and the British. As a matter of diplomatic exigency, the Amirs, in token of their friendship, opened the Indus for commerce, not anticipating the detrimental effects and the serious political complications which would be consequent upon this act.

The last of the first Chār Yārs, viz. Murād 'Ali Khān, died
in 1833 A. D. and the second batch of four joint rulers - Mirs Nūr Muhammad Khān and Muhammad Nasir Khān (sons of Murād 'Ali Khān), Muhammad Khān (son of Ghulam 'Ali Khān) and Sobdār Khān (son of Fat'h 'Ali Khān) - succeeded to the throne. With the coming into power of these four rulers synchronized political changes of a serious and far reaching nature, which considerably affected the court of Sindh. Lord Auckland, the then Governor-General, persuaded himself that an invasion of the British Empire in India could best be avoided by installing a Pro-British monarch on the Afghān throne. Every other effort having failed to achieve this end, he was forced to adopt the awkward course of reinstating Shāh Shujā', the deposed ruler, on the Afghān masnad. In order to bring this to pass, he concluded with Shāh Shujā' and Rāja Ranjit-singh the famous Tripartite Treaty, in pursuance of which Sindh, without having been consulted, was mulcted unjustly and exorbitantly of twenty five lacs of rupees, in order to finance Shāh Shujā' in his campaign. The British, with a view to silencing the Amirs, argued that they had conferred a favour on the Sindh Government by compounding their case of arrears of tribute (of thirty years' standing) due to the Afghāns. To this tall claim the Amirs gave a fitting rejoinder by producing receipts (signed by Shāh Shujā' himself, whose cause the British were now espousing) written on the leaves of the Holy Qur'ān, absolving them of all the past dues and future obligations. But this was not all that Sindh had to contribute towards the settlement of the North Western question. When Rāja Ranjit-singh, who was expected to allow the British troops passage through his territory, "most politely, but positively declined" to do so, the Amirs of Sindh were compelled 'at the point of the bayonet', and in utter violation of the terms of the treaty of 1832 A. D., to comply with the British demand for a passage for troops through their dominion. Not being as shrewd and far-sighted as the British, the Amirs realized none too soon the
tragic effect of their treaties with the British. In 1839 A. D. the British troops took military possession of Karāchī without much resistance from the Amirs. This was a fore-taste of what was yet to come; but, unfortunately, the then ruling Amirs had neither the grit nor the political sagacity of their ancestors, and they unwittingly played into the British hands. At this juncture, the Tālpur chiefs thought of combating the British menace - when it was actually too late to do anything. All was lost, and nothing could be done. In 1843 A. D. the battles of Miyānī and Dabō (near Hyderābād Sindh) were fought and won by the British, and Sindh was annexed to the rest of Her Majesty's Indian Empire. As many as eleven Tālpur princes, including “the old and faithful ally of the British Government, the bed-ridden Sōbdār”, were taken as State prisoners and exiled from Sindh.

The Amirs were fond of Fine Arts and were patrons of Persian literature. The courtiers in Sindh, like the courtiers elsewhere, prospered only “in the presence and favour of the princes”, and they could “only retain their places by implicit obedience, and the most fawning adulation to their superiors.” Persian scholarship was, therefore, a necessary qualification for becoming a Sindhian courtier in the days of the Tālpurs. There is the testimony of Mr. Nathan Crowe, the British Resident in Sindh (1799 A. D.), that the Amirs maintained a number of court poets. In order to enable scholars to acquire a thorough knowledge of Persian - the language of literature, ceremony, office and epistolary correspondence - the government encouraged the Mullās to open schools. The Tālpurs, by patronizing the literate Sayyids, also encouraged the diffusion of Persian in Sindh. The Sayyids of Rōhri and Thatta were the ‘depositories of learning’, and, as they were liberally remunerated for their labour, they amply compensated the State by turning out profound scholars of Persian. Hence Rōhri and
Thattā came to be the centres\(^1\) of learning in Sindh. "The reigning family in general and a few of the courtiers who were always at the capital, had the advantage of learning the language from Persian masters\(^2\)." Thus, Hyderābād too became a centre of learning under the Tālpurs. In all, there were six centres of education for seekers of decent employment and royal favours. The Hindūs and Muslims vied with each other in their study of Persian language and literature in order to obtain high government posts. It is indeed noteworthy that despite the zeal of the Tālpurs for conversion, some of the orthodox Hindūs enjoyed the confidence and esteem of their masters.

The training for entering government service did not take a long time. About the age of twelve or thirteen, the scholar was introduced to the regular study of Persian, beginning with simple bilingual vocabularies, which were gradually followed by some books of easy and popular poetry, history and epistolary correspondence. He was then introduced to the works of master-poets like Sa'dī, Hāfiz, Rūmī, and Nizāmī. The average student left his studies after acquiring some knowledge of Arithmetic, Sindhi and Persian, and then he was introduced to official circles for employment, by some of his relations who were either already employed or had retired from government service. After his entry into government service, the scholar could rise by dint of his own merit and endeavour. But, if a student wished to prosecute his studies further, he proceeded to

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(1) Aitken (Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, Vol. A. p. 472) feels that they might be called the Universities of Sind.
(2) Burton: Sind and the Races, p. 384. This could be proved from the intimate court connections of the Sindh rulers with the Shah of Persia. Both parties belonged to the same sect of Islam (viz. Shi‘a) and therefore kept up a close connection at this time due to the encroaching nature of the English. The British envoy to Sindh in 1808 A. D. found a Persian Ambassador at the Sindh Court (vide Kaye: History of the War in Afghanistan, Vol. I, p. 93). Again about the year 1830 A. D. a matrimonial alliance was sought by the Sindh Chief Mir Murād 'Ali with the daughter of the Shah of Persia. And if there was an interchange of Ambassadors and talk of matrimonial alliance, an interchange of literary men between Sindh and Persia is not difficult to surmise.
one of the six centres. The teaching staff, working at these educational institutions, was well paid, and hence the scholars received expert guidance.

Though the Tālpurs encouraged learning, they did not make it universal. It was restricted to the sons of the official class. The majority of the people were illiterate. Many of the ḥāqīqārīs and Tālpurs could not even sign their own names.

The volume of Persian poetry produced in this period, however, shows that never before in the history of Sindh did such a large number of ruling princes take to the composition of verse as in the Tālpur regime. All the Tālpurs, with the solitary exception of Mīr Sobdār Khān, were of the Shi‘a faith; and so, a large number of poems were written by both the Sunni and the Shi‘a poets in praise of Ḥadrat 'Alī and the martyred Imāms. In the circumstances it becomes difficult for the reader to determine from the works of a poet of the Tālpur Age whether he was a Sunni or a Shi‘a unless, of course, he has a previous knowledge of the poet’s creed. The Tālpurs, being of martial race, encouraged the “Epic”. The Fat’h Nāma of 'Azīm was so well received that a number of passages from it used to be recited in the Amīrs’ Darbār. 'Azīm also wrote a Diwān and the Indian romance of Hir-wa-Rānjhō; in this latter composition, he was followed by Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān and one “Āzād”. Mīr Sobdār Khān wrote on the model of Fat’h Nāma and produced many mathnawīs, of which Judāi-Nāma and Sayf 'ul-Mulūk are his masterpieces. Mīr Nasīr Khān composed a Diwān of ghazals and a few mathnawīs, of which the two—one describing the condition of the exiled Mīrs on their way to and residence in Sāsūr, and the other the love story of Mirzā Sāhibān—are relatively noteworthy. 'Abdul-Wahhāb and Dalpat contributed to the growth of the mystic element in poetry. Mīr Kāram 'Alī Khān, Ghulām 'Alī

(1) Called “Colleges” by Burton (Sind and the Races, p. 137). They were at Schwan, Pāt, Khōhrā (north of Sehwan), Muta‘alwi (Matiāri), Mohar or Walhāri (near Amarkot) and Chōtiyārī (on the Nārā river).
“Mā'il”, Munshi Sāhibrāi “Āzād”, Ākhund Muhammad Qāsim of old Hāla, Muhammad 'Ārif “San'at”, Muhammad Yūsuf of Tandō Yūsuf, and Muhammad Bachal “Anwar” were some of the great ghazal-writers of this period, each having a Diwān of Odes to his credit.

Below are given some details relating to the life and works of most of the representative poets of the Tālpur period.

SAYYID THĀBIT 'ALI SHĀH (1153-1225 A. H./1740-1810 A. D.), son of Madār 'Ali Shāh, originally a native of Multān, came to Sindh at an early age and adopted Sehwan as his home. He cultivated the friendship of litterateurs and was greatly profited by his contacts with savants like Makhdūms Nūr'ul-Haq "Mushtaqī", Muhammad Ihsān and Muhammad Murād. In praise of Sehwan he says:

سیرگام صادقان خلوتسرای عارفان
ماً من متوکلان آرامگاه اولیاء

The Sayyid had great aptitude for poetry and his Kulliyāt contains poems in Persian, Urdu and Sindhi. He was a favourite of Miyān Sarfarāz Khān Kalhōrō, who rewarded him handsomely for his verses. He also lived a happy and prosperous life under the patronage of the Tālpur Princes, including Mīr Fat'h 'Ali Khān. Mīr Karam 'Ali Khān who was a patron of Persian literature, constantly cultivated the companionship of Thābit 'Ali shāh and provided suitable residence for him at Hyderābād. The poet's good fortune reached its zenith when he made a pilgrimage to Karbalā and the shrines of all the Imāms (at the expense of the Tālpur princes). On that account he was called "Karbalāī" and "Zawwār". He was a Shi'a by faith, and the first poet to compose Sindhi marthiyas. He has been styled 'Anis of Sindh' for his popular elegies, which, even to this day, move almost to tears both the Muslims as well as non-Muslims who assemble on the occasion of their recital during Muharram.

His couplet,
written in praise of Hadrat 'Ali, after the style of
was greatly appreciated by his contemporary Persian scholars; and, according to Muhammad Ibrāhim “Khalīl”, the reputed poet and scholar of Thatta, the Persian scholars were so deeply impressed by the excellence of the aforesaid couplet that they exclaimed:

In the following verses he advises the lover to lie cheerfully confined in the dimple (well) of his beloved’s chin if he wishes to tour (enjoy) the city (prosperity) of the latter’s charms and beauty, and at the same time warns him not to depend too much on his intellect and wisdom as they are bound to fail him at the very first touch of the beloved’s dishevelled hair:

Subjoined is a specimen of the poet’s use of metaphors:

(1) Takmilā.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Few scattered Leaves.
(4) Few scattered Leaves; Sukhanwarān-i-Hindustān. One wonders how the compiler of the latter selection styled this Fragment a Quatrain.
THE RULE OF THE TALPURS

SAyyID 'Azimuuddin “Azim” son of Sayyid Yār Muḥammad of Thatta, was a nephew of Mīr 'Ali Shīr “Qāni’. He was born1 on the day of the death of Muhammad Muḥsin (1163 A. H./1750 A. D.), which event he commemorates rather pathetically:

من بمجلس آدم، تو “محسناً، برحاستي
این روايت هنی جاد در روضةالابباب نیست

His father died early and left him a wretched orphan.

In the early part of his life he associated himself with Mīyān Sarfarāz Khān Kalhūrū. After the fall of the Kalhūrū dynasty, he came in contact with the Tālpur Princes and was employed by Mīr Fat’h ‘Ali Khān to record in verse the battles, fought between the Kalhūrūs and the Tālpurs, which led to the final victory of the latter. The book, in ‘rival distinction’ to Firdawsi’s Shāh Nāma, was named Fat’h Nāma. It is a long epic poem consisting of about 2500 distichs, and is divided into five chapters, each called a majlīs. The information of the author is first-hand since much that he describes is what he saw with his naked eyes. One can judge of the popularity of the book from the fact that it was “rehearsed in Darbār” in the days of Mr. Nathan Crowe (1799 A. D.), the British Resident in Sindh.

Higher than Bahrām, the well-known hunter of onagers, he ranks the martyred Bahrām (grandfather of his patron Mīr Fat’h ‘Ali Khān) in valour and wisdom:

دو بھرم شد در چهان بینالیار
یکی گور گیر و یکی شیر گیر
چو این دیده و آن شنیده بود
شیئه کجا مثل دیده بود؟
به بیرش دیدم جوان عقل بود
ز بیران حق آشنا تقل بود

(1) It is a pity that Lutfullah Badwī in his Tadhkira-i-Lutfi, Part II, p. 96, puts even Abūl-Makārim “Shuhūd” (d. 1073 A. H./1662-63 A. D.) among his contemporaries.
In the following remarkable lines, 'Azim plays on the name of Bahrām's assassin viz. Husayn who, it is said, was instructed by Miyān Sarfarāz Khān to stand behind the Mir's back and stab him to death:

کجا نام‌ یاک و کجا آن پلید
حسینش لگویم که بود او پزید

The beauty of the lines is accentuated by the poet's application of the name of Yazīd (the contemptible wretch who was responsible for the death of the Imāms) to Husayn (the otherwise sacred name of the second son of Hadrat 'Alī).

'Azim was a great scholar whose poetry has a rhetoric and aptness of its own. His Diwān comprises some 250 odes, besides a Sāqi Nāma of about 100 bayts.

The following verses reveal the poet as a passionate lover of physical beauty, and they also show that at one time in his life he was a worshipper at the altar of عشق مجاز

هر دو عالم در دو چشم بن چوسطم
تا نظر با تار دلش دوماخت
* * *
از همه چیز وصل یار خوش است
وبل گر نیست انتظار خوش است
انتظار از امید خالی نیست
دل بوسیدن امید وار خوش است
سوز عشق است روتن عشاق
سینه لاله داغدار خوش است
* * *
خدا را ای بیت هندو چرا از من گذر کردم
که من در عشقت از کفر و مسلمانی گذر کردم
* * *
مرا اندر قفس کردم فراموش
همین اشک است آب و دانه، من
THE RULE OF THE TALPURS

Flashes of spiritual illumination sometimes endow his verses with a peculiar charm:

ز حرص، دانه، گندم بدام اتادیم
باغ، خلد چه خوش بود آشیانه، ما!

عمر ابداً از بوسه ات اسید، "علیم"، است
چون خضر نخواهیم کمکی چه بیا را

زین می اگر دهیم ترا جرده ای فتیه
پیش از نماز فرض تو گردید سلام ما

تو ز خود برون چو اقی بخدا رسیده باشی
بخدا رسیده باشی چو تو خود ندیده باشی

آخره همچو نگین روسیه دست دهد
هرکه این چا هوس نام و نشانی دارد

زبان در ذکر و دل در فکر خانه
چه حاصل زین نماز پنجگانه

Firdawsi eclipsed all previous definitions of God's greatness in his memorable verse:

چهان را یلید و یستی تویی
ندانم چه ای، هرچه هستی تویی!

In a similar manner, 'Azīm describes the Divine Essence:
The poet's vision of the Divine Truth transcends the limitations of caste and creed, and his catholicity of spiritual outlook admits of a wonderful blend of the Hindū and the Muslim:

The external forms of worship - the rigid formulae and rituals of the monks - have little value in the eyes of 'Azīm, and his criticism thereof is crystal clear:

Somewhat after the manner of Maulānā Rūmī who said...
this Sindhi poet gives expression to a deep veneration for the human heart, particularly the heart of the Faithful:

احرام بسته ایم یبطوف حریم دل
جاجی برو به کعبه، خود گوسالم ما
این کعبه دلست و نهایین کعبه گلست
عشق العظیم قبله عالی متام ما
دلای موستان همه عشق العظیم من
فرموده است حضرت خیرالانام ما

The human eye plays an important part in the redemption of the soul, and the regaining of paradise which was lost by man through the evil machinations of Satan. His tears wash away the heavy load of sin and ultimately he meets his Divine Maker in the full glory of conquest over the Devil. Says the poet:

همه شب بدمان گهر میبرم
من این فضی از چشم تر میبرم

هر در همچودیده معالج ندیده ایم
هر درد را ز گربه دوا میکنیم ما

We find a semblance of Hāfiz's well known exclamation, to wit,

ما سریدان روز بسوی کعبة چون آرمیں چون
رو بسوی خانه خمار دارد پیر ما!

in the following verse of 'Azim:

من چسان گردم پگرد کعبة چون در میکنگ
کعبة ها دیدم که میگرندند گرد پیر ما!

The following verses are fairly characteristic of 'Azim's poetic art:

در دیاری که درد یاری نیست
پاز آشیش و قرار عبت
No earthly object can claim absolute permanence. The world provides and proclaims many a phase of changing scenes, and its long and varied history furnishes ample testimony to this effect. Considering his scholarship and his gift of poetry, we find that the patronage of the Sindhian princes, celebrated by him in his verses, did not last long, and he had soon to give vent to his feeling of keen disappointment for lack of appreciation of his muse:

The following verses serve as further evidence of this change in his circumstances:

But he found consolation in:

A significant change in his circumstances seems to have converted the once merry and lucky poet into a fatalist:

ما را کسی ز خاک بیکار بر نداشت
خود را به این خرابه چوگنجه در زدیم
هرکس به سوخته دل سنجین آسان
هر چند ای و ناله بشور و شیر زدیم

جوهر اهل هنر هیچ نگردد صاحب
خاک کی میشود آی که بگوهر باند

پگذر از تدبیر عقل ای دل که خاکستر کند
آتش تقدیر حق خار و خس تدبیر  ما
He has also rendered into verse the love story of Hir-wa-Ranjhā (c. 1799-1800 A. D.). It consists of 1786 doublets, of which the first 262 are devoted to the praise of God, the prophet, Hadrat 'Ali, and the first four Talpur rulers of Hyderabad Sindh.

The story opens with a description of the Punjab (the birth place of Hir and Ranjha) and its atmosphere of love and beauty. It is followed by a description of Hazārā, the land ruled by Ranjha’s father, who had four sons, of whom Ranjha was the youngest and the best. Once a traveller from Jhang Sayāl, the land of Hir, became Ranjha’s guest, and during his stay with the latter, he described to him the beauty of Hir in the following verses:

چهره اش آب داد نو گل را
طرف اش تاب داد سنبل را
خوش نگاهان نگاه، او خواهد. سرمه از خاک راه شد او خواهد
عکس رویش چمن در آئینه ساخت
عکس ژلیش ختن در آئینه ساخت
وحشت از چشم مردمان دارد
چشم صیادی آهوان دارد
میل آئینه نیز کم دارد
چشمش از عکس خویش رم دارد
کس در آغوش و در کمر نگرفت
غیر ژلیش کسی بیر نگرفت
گفر و اسلام را برویش روست
چشم او ترک، زنی او هندوست

These words kindled the fire of love in Ranjha’s heart and filled him with a passionate longing to see her. Soon after this his father died. This made Ranjha melancholic:
He distributed all his wealth among his brothers who, like Yūsuf’s, were ever jealous of him (because he was the favourite of their father), and set out in quest of Hir.

After an arduous journey of several days he reached the bank of the river Chanāb, opposite the town of Hir, and putting off his clothes plunged into the water to cross it. When he reached the water’s edge, his worn-out limbs gave way and he fell headlong into the river. Incidentally, the boatman of Hir’s pleasure-boat, in which she used to sail up and down, a Cleopatra on the Nile, caught sight of the intrepid Rānjhā struggling against the current and cried out in alarm:

غیر کشتی عبور زین دریا
نیست مکن مباش یی پروا
میرود آن کنار این کشتی
تو یا، شو سوار این کشتی

Rānjhā thanked the kindly boatman for this providential help and availed himself of it. He at once boarded the boat and fell asleep on Hir’s couch. He was still fast asleep when the boatman reached the bank. At this time, Hir turned up unexpectedly. The boatman’s astute wife, realising that she and her husband might be taken to task for allowing Rānjhā to sleep in Hir’s cabin, raised the alarm. “Oh! lady”, she cried, “a youngman has forced his way into your cabin and now lies asleep within.” In towering rage Hir barged into her own chamber. The sight of the handsome stranger, however, melted her anger, and changed it into endearment. She asked her maid-servants to wake the stranger gently from his sleep; and Rānjhā, opening his eyes, beheld the object of his dreams. Hir, at first, expressed a few words of resentment at
the stranger's conduct but soon became a picture of charming elegance and condescension. Naturally, Rânjhā's joy knew no bounds:

"گفت، 'من مست باده' عشقم
من دل از دست داده' عشقم"
"وصف حسن شیهده آمده ام
رنج و محت كشیده آمده ام"
"كرده ام ترك جاه و سال و وطن
در هواي تو اي حبيبه' من"
"مرگ من با تو، زندگي با تست
شاهيما با تو، بردنگي با تست!
"

Taking in the situation, Hir

از مخالف چو پره، واجب داشت
بقامت دگر نوا پردخت
داشت در پره نغمه، عشاق
كرد سر نغمه، حجاز و عراق
گفت با رانجبه كه 'اي جوان غريب
رزيق هرکس پستم است و نصب
"تو چرا بير، رزيق حیراني
ميكشي محت و پريشاني"
"مشکل خويش بر خود آسان كن
گله باني، گاو ميشان كن
"فارغ از كار و بار دينا باش
با خدا روز و شب بصحرا باش!"

She then went to her mother and sought her permission to employ Rânjhā as a shepherd. It seemed a trivial request and her mother readily agreed. Rânjhā too was more than satisfied with his job.

Hir, now, found it easy to slip down the river in her boat and meet him daily in the wood. But the fate-ridden firma-
ment - the proverbial pitiless intruder in the affairs of lovers - soon intervened; the secret meetings of the two were brought to the notice of Hir's mother by her maternal uncle Khedū. She reported the matter to her husband. He grew exceedingly wroth, and, with a sword in his hand, rushed to kill Hir, when his wife pleaded for mercy because of Hir's tender age. Her counsel prevailed, and accordingly, Hir was fettered and kept under guard in order to obviate the possibility of another such meeting with her lover.

There she kept up her courage by meditating thoughts of revenge against her uncle. One night she escaped, and set fire to his house. Poor Khedū! He came crying to his sister and embittered the feelings of other relatives against Hir. Poor soul! She was once again enchained.

This news made Rānjhā uneasy. Hir too pined in her prison cell, with the result that her mother prevailed on the King to permit Hir to visit the family garden occasionally.

One day she suddenly disappeared. While her attendants were busy seeking her, she herself returned after a short meeting with Rānjhā. One of her rivals, however, who had watched her movements, reported the matter to her father, and got her placed under strict guard. Hir's brothers fell upon Rānjhā, and attacked him with swords and daggers; but great was their surprise when their own weapons injured none but themselves. Hir's parents were dismayed by this miracle; they liberated her, apologized for their past rough behaviour, and became eager to give her away to Rānjhā. But their sons kicked up a row and the poor mother and father had to remain quiet. Some heralds were sent out to find a suitable match for the princess. They did not come across any. On their way back, however, they came upon a handsome young prince of Rangpur, Naurang by name, whom they found very acceptable, and to whom they offered Hir in wedlock. Naurang consulted
his astrologers. They found the stars unfavourable, but in spite of their advice, he accepted the offer.

On the day appointed for the marriage, Naurang went to Jhang Sayāl. Necessary preparations were made for the occasion, but the girl refused to become his wife, saying:

"رانجھہ شد شوہرم ز روزر ازل
نشد دیگری بجگر و جدل
"احکم الحاکمین کہ ہست قدر
بست در اصل عقد رانجھہ و تیر
از دل و جان چو رانجھہ دارم دوست
مرگ با اوست و زندگی با اوست
"حاجم نیست با خزانہ و زر
ہست زاجیر عاشقان زبور"

The remonstrances and even entreaties of her friends and relatives proved unavailing:

گنت، "معجر نبایدم بر سر
ہست مویم بسر سیہ معجر"

They conveyed the fact to her father, adding in disgust:

"داد او عشق خود به رسائی
میزند نوئی زلیخائی
"او بشق بلالی رسوا شند
اين جوپان رسید و شیداشد
"مہینان او وما کنعان شد
اين شکر ریتشر چوپان شد
میزند هر نفس دم رانجہ
شاگر وا بود غم رانجہ
"دل سختش به پند نرم نشاد
ماهل نام و لنگ و شرم نشاد
"آپری تو جملہ ریخت پخاک
آه زین شوخ ی بی حیا ببایک"
At last the Qādi of the city was called to exhort the girl to be of good sense and agree. He delivered many grandiloquent sermons, but in vain. Hir, considerably put out by the Qādi, insulted him and gave free vent to her pent up feelings:

"رشت تو رشتن جان، عاشقت
مو بمو نیش جان، عاشقت
اینکه عاما، تو پیچان است
پیچ در پیچ مکر شیطان است
توکه نص و حديث میخوائی
دل رنجده را چه رنجائی!
از ازل هست شوهرم رانجا
کی دو شوهر بیک زنست روا؟
گر پسندت شده است این داماد
دختر خود دهش که گردید شاد!"

But as fate would have it, her protests served no purpose, and she was married to Naurang.

After a few days, as Naurang desired to return home along with Hir, preparations were made for the couple's departure. They had hardly reached the outskirts of Hir's town when the sheep, which formed a part of her dowry, refused to move. At the suggestion of some friends in the bride's party, their keeper Rānjhā was requested to accompany the procession. The anguish of the jilted lover's heart poured itself out in the pathetic notes of his reed:

نگمه، درد، دل په نی میگفت
هرکه بشنید های و هي میگفت
غیر، نی کس نبود دمسازش
غیر، غم کس نبود همراهش

Hir opportunely peeped at the miserable Rānjhā from her palanquin, and her heart was filled with grief for him as she
listened to the plaintive tunes of his pipe. The marriage party at last reached Rangpur.

One day, with a view to consummate his marriage, Naurang approached Hir in her bed chamber. To his horrer, however,

After a few days, Hir made a bold bid for freedom from Naurang’s attentions, but she failed in her design. The newly-wed husband kept her a prisoner within the four walls of his palace, and planned to kill Rānjhā. Hir, however, soon came to know about this vicious plan and managed to send word to Rānjhā to run away to some other land. Rānjhā complied with this without delay.

The pangs of separation became unbearable for young Hir and she fervently prayed to God - her only helper in this crisis. Her prayer was heard, and she was inspired to send the following message to Rānjhā:

"حق عشقت نکاهاداشته ام
خوششتم در پنمه داشته ام
در امانم زنیش خاره، ای گل!
باغ دل را تولئی بهار، ای گل!
بی تومن زندگی نمیخواهم
شاهی و بندگی نمیخواهم
بیا از غم بلب سید یا
روز عمزم بشب سید یا!"
Accordingly, Rānjhā betook himself to Rangpur in the garb of a pseudo-ascetic and settled there as a physician. Love works wonders, and Rānjhā’s reputation as a physician was soon established.

Hir, who was constantly scheming to renew her contact with Rānjhā, at last came to a decision. One day she went into a cotton field and being pricked there by a thorn, pretended, like Lord Krishna’s beloved Rādhā, to have been bitten by a cobra. The court-doctors and charmers were summoned but they could do nothing. At last, at the suggestion of a lady friend of Hir, the pseudo-ascetic physician of Rangpur was sent for. He saw his patient, the love-sick Hir, and exploited his opportunity thus:

Feeling that their union was but shortlived - limited to three days only - Hir and Rānjhā clandestinely ran away. After the expiry of the stipulated period of three days, Naurang went to see Hir, but the place was empty - both Hir and the physician were missing. His heart grew cold within him. After a considerable search, however, he succeeded in finding out the fugitives, and took them to the chief Qādī of the town. The latter entrusted Hir to Naurang. In the anguish of his heart, Rānjhā cried bitterly to the Almighty for help, and
cursed all and sundry of the town, with the result that a quarter of the town suddenly caught fire, which spread and soon wrapped the whole town in flames. The Qâdi came running to the open ground where the people had gathered to escape from the fire, and, realizing that his decree separating the two lovers (Rânjhâ and Hir) was the sole cause of the conflagration, he uttered a solemn prayer and handed over Hir to Rânjhâ. He (i.e. the Qâdi) then spoke to the unfortunate Naurang thus:

"بر تو کی میشود حال این زن
او قولت نه کرد در گفتگن
عقد تو بسته اند با بیت ان
نامسلمان و چند ی ایمان
اين کمر بستنت به امر حرام
هست دور از طریق، اسلام
کن ازین فعل، زشت استغفار
بجنب مقدس، غفار"

Naurang could not bear this ignominy, and, as soon as the couple left the locality, he seized them and had them securely placed in a desert, there to die of thirst and hunger. The patience of the true lovers was indeed sorely tried, and they were about to die, when the Divine Mercy manifested itself in the form of Khwâja Khidr who, with a few drops of nectar - his gift of "Äb-i-hayât" made their lives immortal.

Of the three poetical versions of Hir-wa-Rânjhâ by "'Azîm", "Äzâd" and "Wali", 'Azîm's is easily superior to that of Wâli and ranks equal with that of Äzâd, if not higher. It is modelled on Nizâmi's Mathnawîs and possesses linguistic beauty as well as artistic embellishment. The development of the plot is skilful, and the romance holds the reader's attention to the last. The trials and tribulations of love are depicted in a language that is both simple and touching. The sympathetic reader feels keenly the acute distress caused by the difficulties that crop up in the path of the lovers. Some of the incidents
related in the poem seem incredible, but the poet has accepted the tale without giving it its own colour.

'ABDUL-WAHHĀB (1152-1242 A. H./1739-1826 A. D.), son of Salāhud-Din, traces his descent to Hadrat 'Umar Fārūq. He lost his father in infancy and was brought up by his uncle 'Abdul-Haq, who set his untutored feet on the path of spiritual knowledge and self-realization.

As was the practice in those days, he acquired proficiency in Persian and Arabic through regular studies in the local "maktab" and soon committed to memory the Holy Quran. At an early age he showed remarkable aptitude for abstruse spiritual philosophy, and it is stated that while he was yet a child, Shāh 'Abdul-Latif, the renowned saint and poet of Sindh, said about him, "This gifted child shall lift the lid of the vessel we are so zealously boiling," when the latter chanced to see him in the course of his travels. The saint's utterance was literally fulfilled in the life of the poet by his out-spoken disclosure of divine experiences. As his daring expressions show, he cared little for public opinion and said what he felt. That is why some of his utterances breathe the spirit of the Sufi martyr Mansūr, who had exclaimed, "I am Truth". External religious forms and dogmas carried hardly any weight with him, and he generally lived absorbed in the contemplation of the Supreme One. His life was a potent interpretation or exposition of "الفقير لا يحتاج الا هو" (The devotee stands in need of none but the "beloved").

He died issueless at the age of ninety (Muslim years) leaving behind only one disciple viz., Nānak Yūsuf, who was also a great saint and poet in the Sindhi language.

He is the author of the following works in Persian which,

(1) According to Mīrzā 'Ali Qulī Bēg (Risālō Miyān Sachal Faqīr jō, pp. 21-22) many books were destroyed by the poet in his life-time, but even those that remained at the time of his death comprised 9,36,006 bayts.
with the exception of the first two, have not yet seen the light of
day:—

1. *Diwân-i-Âshkârâ*
2. *Rahbar Nâma*
3. *Râz Nâma*
4. *Gudâz Nâma*
5. *Ishq Nâma*
6. *Târ Nâma*

He adopted "Âshkârâ" and "Khudâi" as nom-de-plumes in
Persian.

His poetry, both in Persian and Sindhi abounds in "many a
gem of purest ray serene". It is grand in conception and form
though in a few cases it falls short of the prescribed standards
of metrical excellence. To the spiritually evolved people the
flaw may not appear as such, or it may seem insignificant - his
mind being submerged in the delightful flow of thought pervad-
ing the poet's vivid description of his ecstatic experiences on the
spiritual plane. The literary critic may, however, view the flaw
differently. The poet himself has 1 spoken thus of his muse:

این سخن از عشق، نی از شاعریست
کی خسان داند این اشعار ما

The devotee loses all perception of difference when he rea-
lizes the Deity within himself; he then becomes one with the
Supreme. Says the poet:

در دیار جسم و جان من پادشاهی میکنم
پادشاهی چیست، لیکن خود خدایی میکنم

(1) The verses of 'Abdül-Wahhâb used for the purpose of this monograph
are gleaned from: (a) *Diwân-i-Askkârâ* consisting of ghazals, rubâls and fârsîs
(pp. 1-177), short mathnâwîs (pp. 178-226) and *Rahbar Nâma* (pp. 227-253),
(b) *Diwân-i-AShkâr* edited by Maulvi Nur’ul-Haq (containing 313 kalâms in
171 pages), and (c) A MS copy of *Rahbar Nâma*. 
Annihilation of the ego makes the devotee perfectly pure and free from the conflict of the opposites:

گر بخود باشم مذاهب دار، دینداری کنم
ور زخود برون شوم، تا نیست برمن این خطا

"Tasawwuf" lays special emphasis on the spiritual seeker's need of "murshid" who is revered as the link between the devotee and the Deity. This is what 'Abdul-Wahhāb writes in appreciation of his preceptor:

ارادتمندِ آن پیر مغامر
بجز پیر مغامر دیگر نه دانم
*
* *
مشدِ ما پیر عبدالحق کامل اولیا
رهنمائی کرده مارا در طریق نیست و هست
*
* *
راز پنهان آشکارا کرده و با من گفت او
'غير حق خود را ندانی خود پرستی کفر، گفت

Earthly beverages have no place or worth in the eyes of a spiritual aspirant; he ever seeks divine nectar at the hands of his "murshid":

ساتیا! این شراب انگوری
من نخواهیم از و ست صد دوري
لا یزال است آن می، وجدت
آن پنچان، رهم ز مهجوری

The pilgrim who has attained his goal is indifferent to the nomenclature of the various creeds that lead to strife among the followers of different sects. He does not care by what name or creed he is known. He has found the retreat wherein he constantly enjoys indescribable bliss:

گر کافرون یا ملحدم گر نیک باشم یا بدم
من زبر دامانش شدم، زاهدی چه داند حال ما!
THE RULE OF THE TALPURS

Spiritual bliss can only be attained by the complete annihilation of the desires of the ego. Mere external forms of worship may impress human beings, but they do not find favour in the eyes of God:

The heart's affliction as well as cure have their origin in the Beloved. Hāfiz says:

The poet assures the afflicted one of the Beloved's grace if only the former endures the pain patiently:

The following verses are from the poet's RahbarNāma which is a work on metaphysics portraying his experiences in the spiritual arena, and which serves as a guide to spiritual aspirants. It was composed shortly before his death.
He refers to the four commonly known stages of human evolution, to wit, Nāsūt, Malakūt, Jabarūt and Lāhūt, and characterizes the last as the climax. The devotee sees nothing but God in Lāhūt, and he traces the fall of man from this stage to Nāsūt; he further explains the gradual progress of man from his egoistic existence in Nāsūt to the glorious pinnacle of Superman in Lāhūt. His own attainment of the supreme state is described thus:

In the following verses he exhorts the neophyte to realize the ideal:

این تن خاکی تو همین چا گذار
وهم و تصویر بدوز فرستنگ دار
غوطه به برایی آن پرینگ زن
بگذر ازین زنگ و خوید چا شکن
تا که فراموشیت از خود شود
مرغ خیال تو همانجا یارد

بن تن خود مانند قانون دان
باشد افزش چراگ، اندر آن
جسم چو قانون دران تور پاک
بگذر یک بارگی از مشت خاک
دات خدا هست همه اندرهن
ظاهر و باتن چه درون و برون
شاید قانون چنین سوختن
تور چراگ همه افروختن

پیچ نیا هست زمین و زبان
موج بعوج است همه بیگران
The pilgrim’s path is strewn with difficulties; to alleviate his suffering “Hafiz” sought his guide’s grace in his memorable verse:

Poet ’Abdul-Wahhab welcomes affliction as a prelude to pure spiritual life and a taste for the seeker in his march to the goal of divinity:

The devotee is advised to maintain equipoise in pain and pleasure so as to qualify himself for the highest stage of bliss.
Contact with worldly people and prayer for earthly welfare are considered hindrances in the path of spiritual progress:

ای ز دعا بگذر و از بد دعا
ای ز دعا خلق رجواعت کنند
طالب را در طلبی ره زند
گرچه دعای تو شود مستجاب
در ره حق میکنی خود را خراب
راه عزازی دن بدان این بود
لختی بر این که خود بین بود
مردکی خود بین نه خدا بین بود
اوست خدا بین که ز خود میرود

* * *

بگذر ایدل زین همه گفتارها
تا تو بیایی همه اسرار را
چون تو ز نیک و ز بدن بگذری
میشودت سوی خدا رهبری

* * *

مرد شو و سرد! تو چون زن مبارش
بگذری از خوشی و تو با تن مبارش

He alone succeeds whose heart is set on the Supreme One, and who, like the true lover, endures all pain cheerfully for the sake of union with the Almighty:

دل که درو عشق بود دل بود
وانتکه درو عشق نی آن گل بود
مرده دل است آنکه درو درد نیست
عاشقی آن نی که رخش زرد نیست
دل چو یکی هست خدا هم یکی است
دوستی هم یک شده الا شکست
The Almighty's attribute of omnipresence becomes an accomplished fact for the devotee only when his inward eye is opened through toil and the "murshid's" grace:

غير خدا هیچ میَّن ای پسر
در همه چا وستشناسی اگر
آنکه ازین سره ایکار شد
رفته و فی النار نگونسارد شد
راه خدا راست همین حال و بس
در صف شهیاز نیاید مگس
دیده کشا جلوهُ دلدار بین
ای تو بهرنگ همان بار بین

The ego is transformed into the pure essence through elimination of its identity; a drop of water and a ray of light are usually taken as instances to illustrate the point. The poet says:

ای پسر از خویشتی دورشور
غير مشو ذاکر مذکور شو
* *
گشت درین قطره ای دریائی گم
زنام دم دریای زند دم بدم
هستم دریا و نیم قطره ای
نیست مرا هیچ درین خطره ای
بودنی چون رفت پیکارگی
رستم همواره ز آوارگی

When the devotee attains self-realization, all the phenomenal differences disappear like the mist before the sun. The eternal truth alone subsists; the devotee is unable to distinguish the Master from the Servant, the Creator from His Creation:

نیست تفاوت بعد تار مو
هست خدا بنه همان هردو او
نام 1 "سچو" نام "خدایی" یکیست
وصل پدو یا که جدایی یکسیت

(1) In Sindhi poetry, the poet calls himself "Sachu" and "Sachal" (Truth).
The spiritual aspirant is compared to a bird which cannot fly unless both of its wings are strong; the two wings in his case are "dhikr" and "fikr" (i.e. repeating the Holy Name and meditating on its significance):

ذکرکن و ذکرکن و ذکرکن
فکرکن و فکرکن و فکر کن

Nothing unites two hearts as firmly and finely as love. When the lover wins his beloved after passing through the fiery ordeal of suffering, his sigh becomes the sigh of the beloved: the identity of each is lost in that of the other, they truly become one in weal and woe:

عشق دو را بین که یکی میکند
بیخ دوئی را ز میان میکند

True love is a rare gift, for only the faithful few can rise above earthly attachments:

عام نه نزدیک رود عشق را
کار بدیا نبود عشق را

Worldly wisdom is a serious obstacle in the path of spiritual progress. In an upsurge of enthusiasm "Ghani" Kashmiri cries out:

جذونی کسی که از قید خرد بیرون کشم با را

'Abdul-Wahhab detests worldliness as a cause of distraction and welcomes the antidote of madness in the following words:

کار جهان دان که پریشانی است
عاقبت این کار پشیمانی است
بگذری تو از شر فرزالگی
خیر همه هست به دیوانگی
آنکه او دیوانه درین ره نه شد
دان که سزاوار شهشه نشد
GHULĀM 'ALI "MĀIL" (1181-1251 A. H. / 1768-1835 A. D.), son of Alī Shīr “Qānī”, was a celebrated poet of his age. The following few verses on the workmanship of God are taken from his qasīda of 33 couplets which was written in appreciation of Mir Karam Ali Khān:

Therein he praises highly his above-named patron's generosity, bravery, poetic genius and critical acumen thus:

It is recorded in Ibāḥīm “Khalīl's” Takmīla that while "Māil" was a child, a feast was once organised on the premises

(1) Chart delineating genealogy of Shīrāzī stock including death periods.
(2) Bayād-i-Karbalā‘ī
(3) Bayād-i-Karbalā‘ī
of Mirzā Isā Khān's mausoleum on the Makli hills at Thatta. “Azim” and “Mā'il” sat on either side of the entrance gate, enjoying natural scenery and the concourse of people in different costumes when their eyes fell on a handsome boy with a beautiful mole beneath his nose. In a moment of ecstasy 'Azim exclaimed:

"Mā'il" keenly desired to say something, but being inexperienced in the art of extempore poetry, took some time to compose a suitable verse, and in the meanwhile, 'Azim continued repeating his line, till after a few minutes the former said:

Azim was extremely delighted, and, on the next day, he organized a public feast to which he invited all the inhabitants of Thattā and expressed his gratitude to God for giving his family a talented youth like "Mā'il" during his life time.

He has written a Diwān consisting of about 224 odes.

True love is sacred, and it is nothing short of surrender to the Devil to waste this love on trifling earthly objects. The ideal, spiritually pure beloved alone is the fit object for our adoration and love:

The true lover, who is ready to risk his life, attributes his entanglement in the beloved's tresses - the warp and woof of love - to Providence:

(1) Sha'wāhid'ul-Ma'ānī, p. 102
(2) Ibid
"Mā'il" expresses his disappointment in love in the following pathetic verses:

1 سوخت این دل لیک شمع بزم دلداری نشد
اذ دل من عاقبت جز سوختن کاری نشد
دل ز دستم رفت و از دست و دلم کاری نشد
این دل بی دست و با هم هرهم پازاری نشد
میغورم خون جگر که آخر دل غمگین من
خون شد و لیکن هنای دست دلداری نشد

The poet has drawn a beautiful picture of how the orchard glows with joy, and greets his beloved when the latter makes his or her appearance there, and how winsome flowers (melodious tunes) spread from his beloved's charming words:

2 گل رخ و چندچه دهن چون به سخن می آید
صد گل معنی گنگیش بدهن می آید
نو گل مین چو چی سیر چم من می آید
مرهبا برلیب و هر گل سخن می آید

Like Prahalād, whom bodily contact with red-hot pillar of iron designed by his heretic father Hārnākashyāpā, failed to cause any injury, Prophet Abraham came out unhurt from the fire into which he was thrown by his contemporary King Nimrūd. The fire turned into roses, and demonstrated the Divine Truth propagated by the Prophet. This is recorded as a miracle - an act of the Almighty's grace - which saved his faithful friend Abraham (Khalil'ullāh) from the consequences of the tyrannical King's wrath. The poet taking a cue from آتش نمروف آتش نمروف dives into the depth of his own heart and extinguishes the fire of his arch enemy - the personal ego - with a copious flow of his tears. He says:

(1) Takmila
(2) MS. Notebooks of Diwān Sōhrāj
The human heart is a matchless sanctuary of Divine bliss. In the words of 'Abdul Qâdîr "Bidil", it is an orchard of exquisite charm:

ستم است اگر هوست کشید که بسیر سرو و سمن درآ
تو ز غنجه کم ندمیدهای، در دل کشا بچمن درآ

The poet’s constant pilgrimage to the shrine of his heart affords him greater delight than is vouchsafed to the pilgrims to Mecca, who perambulate the holy temple there in the month of Dhil-hijja:

حجاج طوف کبود به ذی الحجه میکنند
من روز و شب طواف همین خانه میکنند

"Mâîl" is content with the hair of his head which he esteems as a crown for him. He expresses the feeling of a contented recluse when he says that he finds the real decoration of his body in utter destitution:

صاحب افسر زمود سرمتم
جامه عر بانی است زپ تنم

Truth is one, and the person whose spiritual eye is awake perceives it in the myriad forms of creation. The function of light is performed by the lamp alike in the Muslim mosque and in the non-Muslim prayer-house. Says the poet:

ای آنکه پدل ز حق هوائی داری
حضا که بکطور و دین صفایی داری
از کبود و دیر نیست خبر حق بیدا
از حق مکذر عجب خذائی داری

(1) This and the rest of “Mâîl’s” verses which follow, are taken from his Diwân.
MIR KARAM 'ALI KHĀN (d. 1244 A. H./1828 A. D.)
walad Mir Sobdār Khān, bearing the nom-de-plume "Karam", was the third of the four Tālpur brothers who jointly ruled at Hyderābād and were characterised as "Chār Yār" (Four Friends). He was a man of approved personal bravery and as far as the etiquette of the court permitted, was cheerful, condescending, and even affable. Fond of dress and display, he courted popular applause and was generous to profusion. He was well-educated and had "a pleasing open countenance, with a constant smile that conveyed the idea of great affability and good humour."

He had four wives but no issue. He was very fond of Mirzā Khusraw Bég, a Georgean slave, whom he looked upon as his adopted child. Being a man of literary tastes, he drew to his court poets and learned men. "He contracted friendship with Fat’h ‘Ali Shāh Qājār, the then King of Persia, and consequently envoys used to come and go between the two rulers, exchanging presents. As the Mīr was fond of swords, rich and beautiful swords were imported from different countries and many good sword-makers, as well as good writers, painters, besides men of art and science, came from Persia and Khurāsān to live in the town of Hyderābād."

By faith he was a Shī‘a and a great admirer of Ḥadrat 'Ali.

He compiled a book of select verses from different sources and named it Majmū‘a-i-Dilkushā, and specially appreciated the poetry of Nūr Muhammad "Nūr" of Būbak to whom he stood in the position of a tutor:

\[
\text{طلع "نور" از فيض من بر نورشدا}
\text{ورنه كه گوید چواین اشعار ما}
\]

(2) Bayād-i-Karbalā‘
His poetry reveals some flashes of physical love. The following verse, which possesses a peculiar charm by virtue of the poet’s pun on the word چین denotes his infatuation for a girl of Mārwār famed for the fidelity of its women:

کنون فرامشی ملک ماروار مده
چین زلف تو بگرته ای خراج از چین

He seeks a glance of the beloved rather than wine for the bliss of selflessness:

نظر بر من اگن که بیخو شوم
نخواهم من این گردش جام را

After the manner of the Persian poet who drew a subtle pen picture of the tulip in comparison to the beloved’s lips:

اگر زد لاله لافی با بین معدور داراورا
که عقل و هوش کم در مردم صخرانشین باشد

the poet (Karam) differentiates between the proverbial graceful gait of the partridge and the beloved’s strut in these words:

کبک دری گر همسرى میکرد با پنار تو
عفوش نما ای نازنین، مسکن ز که مان آمد

The usual comparison of the beloved’s stature with the cypress is belittled by the poet in the following verse, relegating the latter to tall statured fools:

(1) Majmū’a-i-Dilkushā
(2) Ibid
(3) Ibid
(4) Ibid
In another place, while addressing the beloved, he condemns the cypress, and makes use of the Istdräk thus:

After the manner of Bū 'Ali Qalandar, to whom a hair of the beloved’s head was of greater worth than the sovereignty of the two worlds, the poet regards the street in which his beloved lives as far more precious than both the worlds:

The white and satiny fore-arm of the beloved becomes, in the poet’s fancy, lovelier than crystal, silver and ivory:

The Persian language has absorbed many words of other tongues; and some poets have occasionally used a few words of their mother tongue with conspicuous effect. In the following two verses Mir Karam 'Ali Khān has Persianized the word barsát which means ‘rain’:

(1) Diwān Sōbhrāj : MS. Note-books.
(2) Diwān-i-Kāram
(3) Bayād-i-Karbālāi
(4) Diwān-i-Kāram
(5) Majmū’-i-Dilkushā. The copyist of the MS. viz., 'Abdul Wahid 'Alawi feels it shall be better if the first hemistich is read as:

(6) Diwān-i-Kāram
What is more significant is his use of a Sindhi idiom in the garb of a Persian phrase: the expression آپ دادن تو شاد translated into Sindhi conveys the meaning of fulfilling one’s promise. Says the poet:

گفتی که ‘از وصال کنن خاطر تو شاد’
زیبا نگار، گفتنا، خود را تو آپ ده!

We know Diwan-i-Hafiz is often used for presaging events. The poet, it seems, occasionally resorted to this for inspiration and consultation:

یارم امشب در برم خواعد رسید
من به ‘حافنا’ نیگت فالی دیدم

There are several verses of Abū Shakūr, Firdawsi, Sa’di, Hātifi, etc., which warn us against association with persons of low birth and breeding. The poet had in mind Hātīfī’s:

آگر بیسه زاغ ظالمت سرشت
نهی زیر طاوس باغ. بهشت
بیکام. آن بیسه برودنش
ز انجیر جنت دهی ارزش
دهی آبی از چشمه سلسیل
بیدان بیسه گر دم دم جبریل
شود عاقبت بچه. زاغ زاغ
برد رنگ بهره طاوس باغ

— when he said:

آگر بچه. زنگی نیک زاد
ور اورا کند تریت نیک زاد
غذائی زغیر و شکر سادش
زندی ترین خود دور نا سادش
سر اورا معلم کند بوعلی
کند راز حکمت برو منجلی

(1) MS. Note-books of Diwan Sōbhrāj.
(2) Diwān-i-Karam
(3) Mājmū‘ā-i-Dilkushā
MUNSHI SĀHIBRĀI MOHANDĀS MALKĀNĪ, bearing the nom-de-plume "Āzād", was the father of Munshi Āwatrāī, a great scholar of Sanskrit, who held the important post of Finance Minister and Custodian of the Government Treasury at the time of the British conquest of Sind, and who declined to part with the keys of the Tālpur Treasury when Sir Charles Napier personally called on him at his residence, explaining that he would do so only on getting an order from the Prince 'whose salt he has eaten for long'.

Unfortunately, the material available is far too meagre to enable the present writer to give a lucid sketch of his life. Even the dates of his birth and death are not known. His only son, mentioned above was thirty-two at the time of the British Conquest when Munshi Sāhibrāī was not alive. Prima facie Munshi Sāhibrāī was born before 1800 A. D., and died at an early age. He left behind a precious volume of poems in Persian, entitled Diwān-i-Āzād. In accordance with the advice contain-

(1) Munshi Sāhibrāī was born of Munshi Nainsingh Rāmchandānī, but since he was adopted by his maternal grandfather Munshi Mōhandās Malkānī, he is known as the son of the latter (vide Genealogical Tables of Hingōrānī and Rāmchandānī Families, Int. pp. ii, iii and xi; Genealogical Tables of Malkānī family).
(2) Genealogical Tables of Hingōrānī and Rāmchandānī Families, Int. p. iii.
(3) Sindh jā Mīr, p. 5.
(4) He is also said to have versified the tale of Hīr-wa-Rānjhā. A manuscript copy of this book bearing the poet's pen-name "Azād" of the days of Mīr Kāram 'Ali Khān, when no other poet of the same takhallus is reported to have lived, is available with the well-known Rāshidī brothers, but Continued on page 188
ed in the remarkable verse of the Mughal Princess Zibun-Nisā
هر که دارد میل دیدن درست خیم یید مرا!
a few facts have been garnered about the poet from his own
composition, apart from a brief account given elsewhere.

The poet flourished at the Court of Mīrṣ Kārām 'Alī Khān
and Murād 'Alī Khān. He was a man of simple tastes; and his
poems are highly imaginative and rapturous in tone. Absorbed
in poetic ecstasy, he often strayed from his usual route to the
Mīrṣ’ “Kachehry” on his way back to his residence in Malkānī
Lane (Hyderābād). Like all eastern bards, he has identified
himself with illustrious oriental lovers seeking the beloved. Here
is a telling pen-picture of repining love, in which he describes
Zulaykhā’’s anguish who overcome by her love for Yūsuf tore
the latter’s shirt, lacerating her own heart in the act:

1 بارو شه جیب جان زلیخا را
پیره گر درید يوسف را

The glow of fire is not perceptible when it is almost smother-
ed in ashes; the poet, however, finds an exception in the case
of the beloved’s bright face behind the customary veil:

کس ندید آتش افروخته در پرده نبان
غیر خسار که در زیر تابست ترا

Continued from page 187

one feels diffident to hold that the above-named poet Munshi Sāhibrāī was
its author, since the aforesaid copy is incomplete and among the causes
of the delay in its composition, as stated therein, the poet mentions:
من هنوز اوتتاده بر بست، چه می روزه ام ریست بسر
خشک کی روزه گرجی، روزم پیشتر کرد گرمی وسوم
The point arises whether any Hindu scholar imbued with Islamic teach-
ings observed the Muslim customary “Ramadan”. In the absence of
authoritative data it seems difficult to say anything about it. The opening
lines of the narrative are:
"قل هوشنة لاشرکک له وحدة، لا ارله الا هوه،"
and the last chapter of the aforesaid copy of the book bears the caption:
"بزندان بردن هیر را بار دیگر و خبر شنیدن راتجه "

(1) All the selected verses of Azād, except otherwise shown, are reproduc-
ed from the MS. Note-books of Dīwān Sōbhrāj
The following couplet, apart from the fascinating pun on the word میان which reflects the poet’s admiration for his beloved’s charms:

میان مومیانان شور محشر میکند پر یا
گر آن نازک میان ناگاه گردید از میان پیدا

The beauty of the beloved’s face and the fragrance of her ringlets are capable of changing Yūsuf into Zulaykhā and giving rise to some strange and unnatural phenomena:

زیبا خست سید یوسف خریدار رخش گردند
شود گر آن عزیز مرسن حسن از کاروان پیدا
کند قلم نظر قمری ز سرو و عنادیاب از گل
گر آن گلرو سهی بالا شود در گلستان پیدا

The fire of love kindled by a sight of the beloved makes the poet exclaim:

ز تاب شم رخساپر فتاده اندر دلم شعله
چه شعله؟ شعله ؟ آتش ؟ چه آتش ؟ آتش تیها!

The lover’s emotion makes him seek and discern a semblance of divine beauty in the phenomena of nature. The sight of the moon in the faint glow of the twilight reminds the poet of his beloved’s nail:

۱ یا هلالیست در شفق پیدا
یا سر ناخن. نگاریئنت!

His pure conception of the beloved’s charms and grandeur finds expression in:

نقشی چی تو زیبا بتصور نرسیدن
تا داد قضا صورت. موجود عدم را
* * *

"آزاد؟" گرچه ماه ز خور بهره میبرد
خورشید پرتوست زماه تمام ما

(1) Bayād-i-Karbalā‘i
(2) Mihakk-i-Khusrawī
Solicitous of the beloved’s welfare, the poet cautions the beloved against the pernicious effects of the evil eye and entreats his sweetheart not to appear in public:

چشم به دور توتی خاص در اقلیم، جمال
مکشای برده ز رو مجلس عمام است اینجا

According to the well-known tradition "The phenomenal plane is a bridge to the Spiritual plane," Āzād expresses himself on the point of the significance of "Majaz" in the following manner:

تاریک دلان را مینم جلوه، رویت
آلینه مناسب نبود بی بصران را

For, after all, the beloved is not an ordinary creature:

ای لب لعل ترا چشمه كه محتاج
قهر رعدای ترا سرو و صنوبر محتاج
بخمار نگه پاده قروشت سوگند
ليست مستر می چشم تو بساغر محتاج
از بی بوه کسند منت لعل لب من
همجو مفیس که بوش پیش تونگر محتاج
زخمی، زلف بلعل نه عبت مینالد
هر که را مار گرد شد پسونگر محتاج

Separation has given rise to a great deal of unrest in his mind, and the poet looks upon the world as well as the highest heaven, full of all our mortal dreams of beauty and comfort, as mere tinsel - as prison cells. Says he:

پر رخ زیبای تو گرچه دنست در بهشت
ضمن فردوس بین کنچ نفس باشد مرا
*  
*  
بلبک که خوش نباشد بلع شرب می تو
بغمت که شد دل ما زغمت کباب می تو
The subjectivity of the thought is worth noting. The inner despondency lends its dark colour to the outer surroundings, however, pleasant they may be.

The following verses testify to the nobility of his conceptions and their execution:

روشہ، خلی بیرین و جنت کوی نگار
هردو گلزارندی اما این کچا و آن کچا!
جلوک خورشید رویش نور ماه چارده
هردو سرشارندی اما این کچا و آن کچا!
انتظار روز وصل و محدث شبهای هجر
هردو شوازنی اما این کچا و آن کچا!
چشم اشک افشنما اور نیسان فلک
هردو در بارندی اما این کچا و آن کچا!
پشتم از بارغم و زلف تگارم از شکن
هردو خرم دارندی اما این کچا و آن کچا!

And his tears betray the anguish of his heart which he tries hard to hide:

۱ انتخابَ راز پیشیدن نداد
گریهِ یِی انتخابِ من بمن

With the approaching end of the lover's life, the unending night that comes close on the heels of his separation from the beloved, makes the poet break out in the following couplet:

عمر آمد بسر و صبح، وصالش ندید
ای شب هجر مگر خود سجی نیست ترا!

(1) Bayād-i-Karbalāī
Despairing of union with his beloved during his earthly existence, the poet remarks:

در آرزوه وصالش گنشت عمر "آزاد"
مگر بخاک برم با خود این تنا را

While beseeching the beloved to help him in quenching the thirst of his heart, the poet, as a man of subtle intellect, reminds the beloved of the value of عیادات (visiting the sick), which is greater than that of عیادات (divine worship), because of its two dots instead of the one occurring in the second word, and asks his beloved to earn the merit of the former by visiting him and enquiring about his love-sick heart:

چون عیادات ز عیادات بیکی نقطه فرودنت
بهر پرپیمان حالر دل بیمار بیا

His tearful entreaties prove effective in that they draw the beloved’s attention and sympathy:

گریه من بیدید و کردم تکه
کارن ما کردم دیده تر ما

Once he feels that he has been lulled to sleep in the beloved’s lap; but his long experience of the pangs of separation makes him doubt whether he is really so favoured by luck, or whether the thrilling experience of the beloved’s contact with him is merely a figment of his imagination - something that may come to pass in a dream. Says the poet in the garb of a lover:

شب بمانوی تو خواب آمد مرا
با بخواب اندر خیالی دیدهام

The heart which is not spiritually awakened cannot know God. The poet expresses this idea in the following words:

سخزن سر خدا جز خاطر آگه نیست
ورنه هر دل راکه میبینی ازو گمراه نیست

(1) Bayād-i-Karbalāī
(2) Mihakk-i-Khusrawī
Apparently the poet suffered long and deeply, and his affliction made him unusually meek; for somewhat after the memorable verse of Tennyson,

"O! sorrow, wilt thou live with me;  
No casual mistress but a wife?"

the poet pathetically welcomes pain in a subdued tone:

\[ بینده جور تو ام لطفت نمیخواهم دگر  
زانکه آن دایم بود این گاه هست و گاه نیست! \]

From self-abandonment to self-adulation, the gift of poetry plays strange tricks with poets in their inebriation of love and emotion. It made "Sa’di" sing:

\[ گهی بر طارم اعلی نشینم  
گهی بر پشت باى خود نیئینم! \]

and "Hafiz" acclaims:

\[ غزل گنتی و درستی بیا و خوش بخوان "حافظا"  
که بر نظام تو افشاند فلک عقد ثریا را! \]

"Azâd" praises his poetry thus:

\[ سر کلک تو "آزادا" کشاده فقل از طبله  
چه طبله؟ طبله گوهه؟ چپ گوهه؟ یکتا! \]

He received compliments from the poets of his time. The following lines are from the pen of Nûr MuhammAD of Bûbak:

\[ "نور"! "آزاد"، چه در صفت بسلک سرکلک  
صدف شعر ندارد گهیری بهتر ازین! \]

It is said that even the contemporary poets of Persia were impressed by his odes, so much so that the Persian Darbâr offered a comparatively lucrative remuneration for his services.

(1) Ibid  
(2) Bayâd-i-Karbalâi
as a poet. But the Munshi Sāhib, who was paid by the Sindhiian Court about one hundred rupees per mensem, declined the offer with thanks saying:

میرزہ زمان کرمعلي خان است شام من
کز لطف اوست فرخ و فرخندہ کار ما
آزاد"  شاد باش کہ دست اعیتش
از بندے پروری شده حاجت برآر ما

His contentment, his simple life and loyalty to the ruling princes, kept him happy in his home, and saved him from the temptation of making money in other lands. Moreover, he had unflinching faith in the unbounded bounty of his Almighty to whom, as in the following memorable verse, one should look for the satisfaction of individual wants, and whose august aid is ever available for the needy:

هارچه میخواد دلت از فیض لطف حق پخواه
هیچ منع کام جوئیہا درین درگاه نیست

NAWWĀB WALI MUHAMMAD KHĀN (d. 1247 A. H. / 1832 A. D.), son of Ghulām Muḥammad Leghārī, was an “adviser of the (Tālpur) Government in its domestic policy” and “the ablest and most enlightened minister that the Mīrs ever had.” He and his rival Sayyid Ibrāhīm Shāh, received “high salaries from Government and had planquin bearers maintained for them - an honour which they shared unrivalled by any other subject in the country.”

He was a man of excellent parts: a capable statesman, warrior and poet; he composed poems in Persian and Urdu, and was a good Arabic scholar. Dr. James Burnes writes about him, 4 “The Nuwāb is a poet of no mean excellence; and although his

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(1) plus perquisites (e.g. daily ration, clothes and other presents - Sindh Já Mir, p. 31
(2) See Sindh Sudhār - 16th Feb., 1924
(3) Mihakk-i-Khusrawī
(4) A Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sinde, pp. 107-8
verses are filled with adulation, it would be unfair to detract from his merits on this account, or to condemn him for following the example of almost every Persian writer. He has composed also several large folios on the subject of medicine...which...have gained for him the character of a sage in Sinde. Amongst his works I must not omit to mention a small book on the cure of diseases written in the name of Meer Mourād 'Ali, the merit of which is claimed by that prince". His Dīwān (c. 1222 A. H./1807 A. D.), which includes two Sāqi Nāmas and the well-known romance of Hir-wa-Rānjha, runs into over 243 foolscap double pages.

Like "Hāfiz", who adored the beloved's hair, saying:

اَگرچه دوست بچیزی نمیخرد مارا
بعالمی نفوشیم سوئی از سر دوست

"Wali" says:

هشت اقایم اگر هدیه زنفر تو دهد
tاری از طره مشکر تو خریدن ندهم

In a subtle manner, he discards the popular mole on the beloved's cheek, so much prized by "Hāfiz" and other Persian poets. Says he:

بروی او نخواهم خال مشکین
که گرد کهبه اش کافر نگردد

Verily, an infidel cannot circumambulate the holy Ka'ba! In a different mood, however, he contradicts himself elsewhere:

خال رخسار اپست قبله تما
روی او کعبة سبین منست!

The poet makes amends for soiling the vermilion lips of his beloved with a kiss. He knows that a momentary fit of passion brought about by drink, may be pleaded as an extenuating circumstance; yet he ingeniously casts the blame on the beloved,

(1) The selection of all his verses is made from Dīwān-i-Wali
for it is her bewitching beauty, rather than the influence of drink, which had emboldened him to drink the honey of her lips:

گر زنی بوش، بلعل تو ز میوه‌شی نیست
سهو از نشی عشقست ز می نوشی نیست

The beloved’s eyelashes are the shafts of glances which lure the lover to his ruin; the latter’s lament is therefore out of place, and the poet expresses the idea thus:

کمنگین کرمن بمن تیر نگاه
گفت کایین آئین، مزگان منست

He throws into the shade the exploits of Darius and Alexander by addressing the beloved as follows:

پیک حمله گرئتی ملک، دلها
نه ذوالقرنین کردست این، نه دارا!

In utter helplessness he seeks divine help:

در زورق، شکسته، پر حشرات، آم
در موج، چرخ، به همد ناخدا خدا

He attributes the sky’s revolution to its incapacity to bear the burden of his beloved’s love, and bemoans his own inefficiency thus:

آسمان را بار عشق، سر بگردش، می‌دهد
کی "ولی" گردد، نگارا! بار بردار، شما

"Hâfiz’s" popular couplet:

اگر آن ترک، شیرازی بست آرد دل، مارا
بخال، هندوشی بخش، سرم‌آورد و بخارا را!

has evoked identical verses from several poets. In this connexion, "Wali" has expressed his mind thus:

اگر آن آهوی رعنا، بدام آرد دل، مارا
بناز، چشم او، بخش، خراج، ملک دارا! را
وکر آن مشتری بیکر، نتاب از رخ، بر اندازد
نثار، حس، او، سازم، مه، و مهربانی را!
But he thinks that beauty cannot be valued in terms of kingdoms; by self-sacrifice alone can we show our appreciation of it:

هديه حسن نيرزد نمکر ایران و عراق
تقد نجار خویش را سازیم ایتار شما

He was fascinated by physical beauty but advised abstinence from love for the sake of personal prestige and honour:

سنگ رسوئی مزن بر شیشه ناموس خویش
چون "ولی" دیوانه عشق بریرویان مبایش

Those who run after material prosperity die after they pass away from this world; but those who aspire to live nobly do not die: they live for ever in the minds and hearts of the generations to come:

این جهان نایست و دولت نیز ای عالی جناب
آنچه میماند درین دنیا همین نام تکوست

The tie of genuine friendship is thus eulogized by the poet:

تار ستار نیست که بازش کنی درست
این تار دوستیست که بسیار نازگ است!

He lived a happy and prosperous life, consistent with what he himself has said:

از عنایات شهیوار ازال توسن بخت زیر زین منست

His Hir Nāma, the popular tale of Hir-wa-Rānjhā, runs into over 2060 distichs, of which the first 618 are devoted to the glorification of God and the then ruling princes. The title and the substance of almost every chapter corresponds with that of 'Azīm's, but the poet has imported into it some matter which would not bear the search-light of critical scrutiny; nor is this matter corroborated by the versions of earlier writers. To give a few examples:

(1) 'Azīm describes Rānjhā as having been invited by the
boatman to get into Hir's boat after he had plunged into the river. According to Wali, however, Rānjhā, himself rushes into the boat in spite of the boatman's protest and resentment, and makes himself comfortable in Hir's cabin. Afraid of consequences, the boatman's wife cries in anguish after the boat has reached the opposite bank. She runs to Hir's residence and taking her aside, says to her:

"شخصیست عاشق رویت چون گذا آمد ست در کوئیت بی محبا بکشتی تو نشست بر رخ تست همچون مجنون ست" 

The lack of grace on the part of the otherwise polite and accommodating Rānjhā in entering the boat and making himself perfectly at home may be ascribed to his fatigue and impatience to meet his beloved, but the impertinence of the boatman's wife in addressing Hir in the above fashion cannot be pardoned on any account. For how could she divine that the stranger was a lover of Hir? And assuming for a moment that she did know, although such an assumption per se would be nothing short of a miracle, how can a low-class woman of her type dare address her princess in such an unceremonious fashion?

(2) The Qādi, who legalizes Hir's marriage with Naurang, is accused of having done so under the influence of illegal gratification from the king - the highest authority of the State - when in the ordinary course a word from the latter would have sufficed to make the Qādi perform his function in spite of his reluctance, if any.

(3) Naurang, whose marriage has been duly solemnized, naturally desires to have sexual intercourse with Hir, but finds himself impotent and treats her as his sister. This would appear to be a highly overdrawn picture, little short of a miracle:

"برد نورنگ سوی هیر خیال مجتهد شه به آرزوی وصال"
The presence of such drawbacks in "Wali's" version indeed diminishes greatly the merit of his narration, particularly when they are absent from the earlier versions of "ʿAfārīn" (d. 1154 A. H./1741 A.D.), "ʿĀzād" and "ʿĀzīm" to which the author could easily refer. Further, "Wali" has fallen into a grave error in his account of the saints who are said to have visited Rānjhā when his fervent prayers were accepted by the Almighty and he was assured of union with Hir. According to the poet, they were Bahāud-Din, Shaykh Ganj, Lāl Shahbāz, Shaykh Farīd and Shāh Madār, whereas Shaykh Ganj and Shaykh Farīd form the name of one and the same saint known to the students of history and folk-lore as Shaykh Firdawdīn ʿĀlijī or Sheikh Firdawdīn ʿĀlijī.

On the whole, the story is fairly good and is written in a clear and simple style.

ĀKHUND MUHAMMAD KĀSIM, son of Mahmūd, a native of Old Hāla (then known as Hāla Kandi), flourished at the end of the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth centuries of the Christian era, and was a contemporary of Mīr Karam ʿAli Khān Tālpur. A manuscript copy of his Diwān bears the date ninth Shawwāl, 1240 A. H./1825 A. D., and this fact indicates the probability that the author had finished this work some time before the afore-said date. Nothing is known about his life; the brief sketch given below is the result of some gleanings from his Diwān.

He was a Sunni by faith, though at the same time he had reverence for the special group of Panj Tan (viz. Muhammad, ʿAli, his consort Fāṭima and her two sons Hasan and Husayn).

(1) Khazāna-i-Amirā, p. 29.
The following distich from an ode, commemorating the birth of his son Mahmūd, furnishes the year 1222 A. H. (1808 A. D.):

"تاريخ. تولدت خرد گفت
محمود زهی بخت محمود !"

The poet had another son also by name Muhammad Hayāt, about whom he writes:

"حیدر بر من شهیر بغداد
باد فرزند من صالح نشان !
باد عرش دراز از فضلش
همچون گل دائماً بود خندان !
به "محمد حیات " یا رنی
دولت یکران کنی ارزان !
صالح وقت باد نیکو کار
بر سر رازی مستقیم روان !"

Here are some verses in praise of Makhdūm Nūh - a saint who was born about 1505 A. D. and who died in 1590 A. D.

سر سروران شام مخدوم نوح
به از خلد درگاه مخدوم نوح
شه روم و ایران و توران و هند
بود هر یکی دام مخدوم نوح

* * *
نهد بر سرو چشم خود هر یلی
پندا آزرو پای مخدوم نوح
تمر وار روشن همه ملک سند
ز خورشید سیما مخدوم نوح

He revered Muhyud-Din 'Abdul Qādir Gilāni as his murshid:

"شاهم ما غوث اعظم و آخر
هست محبوب حضرت رحمان
بر سر کل اولیا قدمش
تحت حکمش ملانگ و حیوان"
Addressing the proverbially inconstant "sky", he says:

"...a sky he knows the height of, is it the same as the height of the moon.
Is the height of the moon the same as the height of the star?
Is the height of the star the same as the height of the cloud?
Is the height of the cloud the same as the height of the cloud?"

The following verses show that the poet had been very poor at some period of his life:

"...in the matter of my heart, since I was young, how could I have been rich?
With the exception of my love, my treasures are my thoughts and my love.
I have never been rich, I have never been rich.

He has painted a very attractive word-picture of his native and, Häla, in two odes:

"...in the shade of your flower, which is there, my friend, in Häla!"
هر یک بعلم نامی هریک بفضل ساسی
هر یک عدیل جایی ابزار هاله کندی!
هر کوجه چون گلستان هر خانه کاخ جنت
از روضه ارم به پازار هاله کندی!
مرغول مهوشاش هرکس که دید گفتا
از چین و شام بهتر صد بار هاله کندی!
گر چا کنی بجنت تاهم ز شوق گوئی
باشد که بپاز بیشتر دیدار هاله کندی!
در دیده سکندر منشنی طبع روشن
آئینه ایست هریک دیوار هاله کندی!
تا حشر غم نبیند آنات "قاسم" او
مخدوم نوح باشد سردار هاله کندی!

* * *

شیرین و خوشگواره همست آب هاله کندی
پادم دهد ز کوثر کولاب هاله کندی!
هر باغ باغ رضوان هریک درخت طوبیل
باشد دری زجنت هر باب هاله کندی!
بارب دعای "قاسم" کن مستجاب هردم
باشند خوش همیشه اصحاب هاله کندی!

He was a great admirer of the poetry of "Hāfiz" and "Sa'dī", in whose praise he has composed a poem from which the following verses may be quoted:

بهر خدا چشمان ساتی می حیقت
گاهی ز جام حافظ گاهی ز جام سعدی!
در ساغر دل من ساتی بریز الله
گاهی مدام حافظ گاهی مدام سعدی!
از صدق قلب باشد این راسته الارادت
گاهی غلام حافظ گاهی غلام سعدی
اعداد و حاسدانم باشد پیم پردن
گاهی پدام حافظ گاهی پدام سعدی.
In the following words he condemns the scholar who is faithless to his tutor:

قلبِ استاد هر که زنجاند
خانه، خود خراب گرداند
زود باشد که قادر قیوم
به نصیب از در، خودش راند
به نصیبی برده ازین عالم
گر تمامی علوم برخواند
ابن محمود، خدست استاد
بسعادت قرین گرداند

The poet likens his beloved’s face to the sun that enables the physical eye to see, and the veil on the beloved’s face to the cloud that shrouds the sun, and exclaims:

برق از رخ بکشا چشم جهان روش ن کن
مهر در میهم، مها! جهند نهان خواهد بود

BHĀI DALPATRĀM (1769 - about 1841-42 A.D.), a native of Sehwan, was a Sūfī “darwish.” For some time he served as a “Kārdār” under the Tālpur Government but abruptly left his job to spend the remainder of his life in quest of spiritual enlightenment. The turning point came through his contact at Būbak with a Hindū saint, Bhāi Āsardās (originally a resident of Khypur Mīrs’), who was a disciple of Salāmullāh Shāh Sūfī of Jhōk.

Bhāi Dalpatrām combined a contented heart with resignation to the Divine Will. He had no thought of the rainy day and abstained from keeping any provisions, even water, for the morrow; thus he was a staunch follower of the maxim

‘يوم جدید رزق جدید’ (New day, new food).

His poetry, written under his boyhood name “Dalpat,” is
replete with spiritual ecstasy and serves as a beacon-light to spiritual wayfarers. Bhāl Sāhib was, however, one of those poet-saints who shunned publicity and whose followers have been peculiarly averse to letting the compositions of their preceptor come to light.

Besides his Kalām in Sindhi, he is the author of a Persian Diwān and a mathnawi entitled Jang-Nāma (about 350 distichs). The last named deals with the martyrdom of Shāh 'Ināyat of Jhōk and the different phases of the spiritual aspirant’s struggle for the eradication of ṯāsawwuf which in Tasawwuf is characterized as جهاد أكبر. Discussing the immortality of the soul, the poet remarks:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{جسم باشد یی پتا و چان پتا} \\
\text{ارنان دیدند در دل این لتا} \\
\text{جسم شد از آب و آتشی باد و خاک} \\
\text{جان ز غفلت و ز عناصر هست پاک} \\
\text{* * *}
\end{align*}
\]

هر که دارد روح را از جسم باک
اژ ذیقت و ز اجل وی را چه باک
عاشقان هر گز نمرند از اجل
زانتکه آنها لاژوالند از ازل!

In the realm of divine love, physical form including name, colour and creed are of no consequence. The spiritual eye alone can perceive the beloved’s beauty:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{هر که دارد چشم روندن میکیند دیدار دوست} \\
\text{کور کی بینند رخش در بند اسم و جسم پوست}!
\end{align*}
\]

The sun that brightens the phenomenal universe is but a satellite of the boundless fountain of spiritual light:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{چون همه عالم ز نور حق منور مستدام} \\
\text{از شعاع شمس ما روشن بود این آتاقب}
\end{align*}
\]
Enraptured by divine melody, the saintly poet becomes tongue-tied:

طرفب شوق زبس ذوق عجب نفمه نواخت
لذت نفمه بلب هچ نمیخواهم گفت

By all accounts the essence of celestial excellence and beatitude has to be realized within one's self. Says "Dalpat":

طفل در گهواره خفته، جست و جویت در بدر
واقف از خانه نباشی، این قدر غافل چرا؟
* * *
دلیت، چو دایم در دلت آن شمس باشند جلوه گر
پس از برای او توجهی مشرق و مغرب چرا؟
* * *
ایکه شاهد آز دلت چون هیچگاهی دور نیست
تو چرا مهجور گشتی، چون ز تو مهجور نیست!

The why and wherefore of the universal phenomena cannot be answered, for the origin of the universe and the purpose of its creation are shrouded in mystery. "Hafiz" was content with saying:

حديث از مطر و می گو و راز دهر کنتر جو
که کس نکشود و نکشاید بپحکم این معما را

In a moment of bewilderment, Shelley expressed his mind thus:

"Whence are we and why are we,
Of what scene the actors or spectators!"

"Dalpat", too, bewildered by the mystery of creation, says:

همچ دانی چه ای و عالم چیست
من تو ظاهر شده ز مظهر کیست!
موج از جوش بحر شد مشهد
بين پچگ بحر ذات نامش چیست!
* * *
آنکه خود را جسم داند زاده داند از بدر
از حقیقت، گو، چه داند او ز خود نا واقفست
MIR NASIR KHÂN (1219-1261 A. H./1804-1845 A. D.), the second son of Mir Murâd 'Ali Khân, was by far the most engaging, popular, generous and frank of all the Mirs. He excelled all the princes in manly exercises, and was the darling of the soldiery. "His manners reminded one of those of a highly polished English nobleman." Though rather corpulent, he was handsome. For the last few years of his life after the British conquest of Sindh, he was an exile at Calcutta and an internee like Bahâdur Shâh "Zafar" of Delhi and Wâjîd 'Ali Shâh of Lucknow, the two other poets of princely order more or less contemporaneous with him. The Mir was a keen lover of music and dance, and inclined to literary pursuits. He was Shi‘a by faith, and used the epithet "Ja‘fari" as his nom-de-plume in his poetic compositions.

According to the statement of Dr. James Burnes, he had composed his Ğîwân of ghâzâls before completing the twenty-fifth year of his life. But to say that the poems do him infinite credit if they are really his own composition¹, is too high an estimate. There is nothing extraordinary about them except, perhaps, a certain measure of spontaneous and simple narration. The following few verses are illustrative of his poetry:

آنان کس که دلارام بیڑاشعته باشد
از درد چیندلی چه خبر داشته باشد !

* * *

صبح شد صبح که اسباب تمنا بخشند
من بین خندہ بکل گریه بسینا بخشند
همه ذرات جهان جملہ زیکرتنگی او ست
چند تماشا ست اگر دیده بینا بخشند

Youth, which is usually appreciated as the Spring of one's life, turns to gall and wormwood for the lover in the agony of his

(1) A Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sinde, p. 70
(2) Takmila
(3) Manuscript Note-books of Diwân Söbhrâj
separation from the beloved. The poet has personal knowledge of this experience as is evident from the following couplet:

١ رخ خویت پیچش درم نیش خارست بر گرگ گل
تلخ بر من یه تو شید شیرینی عهد شباب

The black crow, which falls in the category of carrion, is stigmatised by poets as حرام (a forbidden thing). The black mole which is figuratively compared to a crow, however, heightens the beloved’s beauty, and claims the poet’s esteem because of its seat on the beloved’s lips or cheeks which are adored as objects of heavenly bliss:

٢ آن خال که چا کرده یکنچ دهنتش
زاغیست که در گلشن جنت وطنشش

“Firdawsi’s” couplet:

۸ هر آنکس که شهناه خوانی کند
اگر زن بود پهلوانی کند

is a piece of self-conceit which is not an uncommon trait of poets in their moments of ecstasy. He claims that a perusal of his epic, the Shâh Nâma, will transform even a frail woman into a valiant warrior. “Ja’fari”, however, maintains that a person who is already endowed with the qualities of courage and endurance can well dispense with the Shâh Nâma and yet rise to heights of bravery:

٣ هر آنکس که خود پهلوانی کند
چه حاجت که شهناه خوانی کند

In the following verse, the author longs to be buried in the plain of Karbalâ, hallowed by the martyrdom of Imâm Husayn, rather than in the unhappy soil of Bengâl, where he was living as an exile towards the end of his life:

(1) Some Scattered Leaves
(2) Takmilâ
(3) Ibid, Mirzâ Qalîch Bîg in his Shawâhid’ul-Ma‘âni (p. 97) attributes its authorship to Mir Suhrâb
Mirzá Qalích Bég in his Second Volume of the *Abkár-ul-Afkár* (named *Shawáhid'ul-Ma'ání*) has attributed the authorship of the couplet:

\[
\text{سر در قدمٍ بار فدا شد چه بجاشد!}
\]
\[
\text{این بار گران بود ادا شد چه بجاشد!}
\]

to both Mir Nasír Khán "Ja'fari" and the Súfi-saint Sháh 'Iná-yatulláh. It is, however, generally ascribed to the latter, and is believed to have been uttered by him soon after he was beheaded. One of the verses from the pen of "Ja'fari" in the same metre is:

\[
\text{عزیز دل عاشق بیچاره و جانسوز}^8
\]
\[
\text{بر دست، دل‌آرام حنا شد چه بجاشد!}
\]

What a happy consummation. The blood of the self-sacrificing lover as *hená* for the beloved’s hands!

In addition to a *Diwán*, he wrote in *mathnawi* form a book entitled *Mukhtár Náma* which, in bulk, resembles largely the famous *Sháh Náma* of Firdawsi. He is also said to have versified the fascinating love story of *Mirzá Sáhibábn* which is so very familiar to the people of the Punjáb, and which, in many respects, resembles the romance of Romeo and Juliet. The poem runs into 1224 doublets, and was written in two months’ time. The following is a brief resume of the poem.

Sáhibábn and Mirzá were residents of Jhang Sayáí and the village of Táhir respectively. Like Montague and Capulet, their “houses” were at daggers drawn with each other, because of some ancient feud.

One day, while hunting, Mirzá met a mendicant who described to him the bewitching beauty of Sáhibábn:

---

(1) *Some Scattered Leaves*
(2) p. 93
(3) *Shawáhid'ul-Ma'ání*, p. 93
Fired with this description of Sāhibān’s loveliness, Mirzā paid her a clandestine visit. Both fell in love with each other, and, in spite of the feud that existed between their families, went on with billing and cooing - their love lending them power, and timely means, to meet each other.

Soon Sāhibān’s parents got wind of her love for Mirzā, and had her betrothed to a gentleman of the city. On the night of the marriage, however, Mirzā managed to carry her off. In a towering rage, Sāhibān’s father got together a large force, and sped out in pursuit of the couple. In the fight that followed, Mirzā was killed. Hearing the news of young lover’s death, Sāhibān became desperate, and instantly put an end to her life. The tragic end led the poet to the following conclusion:

The poet also composed a Safar Nāma consisting of two mathnawīs of 92 and 85 distichs respectively, in which he has given a sad account of the treatment accorded to the Mīrs when they were interned and taken as state prisoners to Calcutta via
Bombay, Poona and Sāsūr. Here are a few verses which describe their sufferings on the sea voyage to Bombay, the like of which they had never experienced:

شپر‌تیره و موج در دیوار شور
میاناد کس این چنین شب بگور
بهر موج گشت قیامت پدید
پیغوای اندرون کس چنین شب ندید
نه کشتی مگر بود جای عذاب
نه بد خوردی و نه بد چای خواب
همه شب بیاد خدادی مجرد
بودیم تا صبح صادق دید

The following is a description of the distress of the exiled Mirs at Sāsūr:

پس‌صور هستم ناشاد کام
بطوریکه زین العباد بدل بشام
نه آرام در شب، نه راحت بروز
همه روز در غم، همه شب بسوز

*   *   *
نیمبود گر کشتین، من گناه
فکنده همی خویشتین را بجاه

*   *   *
زخون دل دیده بر خون شده
زهر سو روان خون جو جیحون شده
چه گویم ز درد ل شدیده
نه آتش بود بلکه آتشکده

*   *   *
چنین ظلمهاییکه بر مارسید
پگیتکی کسی هم ندید و شنید

He gives vent to the sorrows of separation from home and family, saying:
In the following lines he draws a pathetic picture of his loss of country, reputation and money to the tune of eighteen crores at the hands of the British who, he implies, posed as the Mirs' friends:

بوتکته از ما گردد هور
نگارت پیردند هزده کرور
وهم ملك و ناموس، ما سربس
پیردند در دوستی بی خبر!

ĀKHUND MUHAMMAD BACHAL "ANWAR" (d. 1278 A.H./1861 A.D.) of Matiāri was one of the poets who adorned the Court of Mir Nasīr. He is the author of a Diwān and has written a preface to the above-mentioned Mir's mathnawi entitled Mirzā Sāhibān, in which he praises the Tālpur prince thus:

خدیور زبان، خسروی با وقار
نظر کرده شام دلل سوار
ز سهم خدنگش قضا تیز تر
ز تیغ کچش راست پشت یلفر
اگر مهر از عارضش دم زند
دم صبح آتش بعلالم زند
وگر او بر افروزد از نور چهر
چو خورشید آتش زند در سبهر
در آتش گریزد سمندر ز بیم
نهد سر پکوه و بیابان نسیم

(1) The date is obtainable from:

آه از غم کشید گفتا بود، "والی شوکت و فلانون هوش"
That the poet's domestic life was not happy because of differences with his brother is evident from the following lines from a pathetic poem of about 80 distichs, in which the Sabā (Zephyr) has been requested to carry home the poet's message:

1. بگذری، گر ز شهر متعلق،
خمدسی دارم ار تو بتوانی
چه شود گر برى پیام، مرا
پسوى آن برادر، جانی
آنکه بردید ز اخوة و اخوان
پهر، خاشاک، گیت، فانی
نام، او گر برى بر آب، روان
در زمان استد ز جریانی
طبع آموز اشعش طماع
میخ، و مسکی است لاثانی
چه بدى با تو کردهام ای دوست
که مرا سر گردو، خصمانی!
منم آن که بناز پروردم
کردمت جان و دل بقرانی
آنچه تو کرده ای بمن نمود
با اخ اینان، پیر کنعانی
طبیل تاکی زنم بزیر، گلیم
چیست در برده راز، پنهانی
غضب کردنی زمین حدايق و زرع
نخل، ی شری از چه بنشانی
من گذارم بمحبت و عسرت
با کمال، چفای دورانی
تو بناز و نعيم و عيش و نشاط
متمعن ز باغ بستانی

(1) For this passage and the subsequent verses, the author of this work has consulted Diwan-i-Anwar
رنج صد بار به ازین راحت
مرگ بیتر ازین تن آسانی
که فریبی دهی بوعده کنی
گله در فکر مکر و دستانی
گله بگوئی که ما غلام تو ایم
گله زجد و بدر سخن رانی

* * *

حرف صد حیف بر چنین پسی
لن حق بر چنین پدر خوانی
من گرفتم بظاهر احوال
که تو قاری نص قرآنی
کی نوشنت در کلام جمی
غصب اسواق اهل ایمانی

* * *

غصب حق بادر مؤمن
کفر و شرکست و جهل و نادرانی
tو بعقل و کمال فضل و هنر
در گمانی که یه ایمانی

* * *

پدر ما چو رفت زین دنیا
آنجه با خوشبی برد میدانی

* * *

آخر از دهر رخت برندی
پی گمان تن دهی بازیانی
بعد درگت چکا بکار آید
آنجه اینجا تو غاصب آنی
غصب از نقطه غضب گردد
می نترسی ز تهر یزدانی

* * *

شرم کن از خدای خود آخر
گیر و ترسانه ای مسلمانی!
In the following quatrain, "Anwar" describes the feelings of a flower:

کل را دیدم نشسته بر تخت شهی
میگفت بشنو از من گر مرد رهی
من طلم و ییکنه مرا میسوزند
ای واي بتو كه پيرى و بر گنهي!

The verses given below are in praise of a guest-house or an inn that the poet seems to have built for the comfort of wayfarers:

ساختن مهمانسرائی از بیم متردیدن
کردهم نذر جناب شهیار مرسلین
تا مکر صاحبادی در وی دمی گردد قرار
مستجاب آید پدرگان العالمین

"A loving heart is the truest wisdom", says Dickens. "Many flowers open to the sun, but only one follows it constantly". "Heart, be thou the sun-flower, not only open to receive God's blessings, but constant in looking to him", is the fervent desire of Jean Paul Ritcher, the well-known German humorist. The same idea has been expressed by "Anwar" thus:

باید ای دلم بدرج عشق تو گوهر یگانه ما!

His beloved's arrival at his house made the poet sing in delight:

از قدم تو ای برى پیکر
رشف فردوس گشت خانه ما!

The lover has no will of his own. He is a puppet in the hands of his beloved and is always on the look-out for the latter's grace:

The lover has no will of his own. He is a puppet in the hands of his beloved and is always on the look-out for the latter's grace:
Maryam az Husrat Sheirin, Lul skerkbarat
Khuram Khun Dl W Chon Twati, Tscirr Hamosh
* * *
Mscfner Roi Twiyem Dm Bdm Ez Bier Atnkha
Tak Mgr Falal Woslai Zin Kntbk Ayd Prow

The poet presents the musket as a faithful representation of perfect loyalty, and makes it speak thus;

 저희 기명이네, 이 기병들이
제가 명령에 따라 호위하는
그 시체가 제 정신의
별로 빠져나가지 않을

And in the following verses he applauds it for its serviceability on the battle-fields:

در معرکه این تفگ فریادرس است
مرد افغان و شهر افغان و آتش نش است
سویش اشاریست در کشتی خصی
سوی نظری ز گوشه، چشم بش است

MIR SOBDAR KHAN (1217-62 A.H. / 1802-46 A.D.),
son of Mir Fat’h 'Ali Khan, known by his poetic name “Mir”, was born a few1 hours before his father’s death (1802 A.D.). Unlike most of the Talpurs, he was a Sunni by faith, and “A plain, sensible man, of quiet manner and gentlemanly address.” Great pains seem to have been taken with his education. It is recorded that he devoted all his leisure to the study of books. He wrote a number of books in Persian, some of which are:

1. Diwan-i-Mir a voluminous work covering 1166 MS. pages of about 21 couplets each. Its first radif(الف) alone contains about 300 ghazals.

(1) Sindh jo Shah Namah, pp. 97,98; Lubb-i-Tarikh-i-Sindh, p. 135; A Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sinde, p. 71. He was neither nine days old as recorded by the author of the Dry Leaves from Young Egypt (p. 362) nor was he born a day after his father’s death as mentioned by Mirzâ Qalih Beg (A History of Sind, Vol. II, F. N. page 208).

3. Judâi Nâma (c. 1252 A. H./1836 A. D. during his exile at Calcutta) consisting of about 8500 bayts, describes the pangs of his separation from and yearning for home.

4. Fat’h Nâma (c. 1253 A. H./1837 A. D.) - History of Sindh in verse, dealing with the fall of Kalhôrâ rule and the rise of the Tâlpurs.

5. Mathnawi-i-Mehr-wa-Mâh.

6. Khutût - A volume of letters (about 10,000 verses).


The following quotations selected from some of the poems in radif ی of his Diwân, give us some idea of Mîr Sobdâr Khân as a poet:

ای زلف سرکشی بیعت یی حساب چیست
در وادی، طلب چو من آواره نیستی

منصب سوختگان ختم بنامشند "میر"
شمع از حسرت، سوزم کشند از لب آهی

باد سحر برانداخت از عارضت نقاتی
از زبر ابر بریون گردنده آتایی

بفتح عشق خداوند نصرتم بهشید
از آو سیب گرفتم بدوش نخود علمی

گر از سر، می کشف زاهد نماید
فروشید بیک جرخاش بارسائی
Inscrutable indeed are the ways of Providence. The human intellect is too feeble to penetrate the thick veil that shrouds Divinity:

Separation from his kith and kin and his enforced residence in exile at Calcutta did not shake the poet’s faith in the grace of God. Says he:

The poet had a high notion of his own poetic talent which he modestly expresses thus:

After the well-known Persian saying,
the poet praises the land that gave him birth and nourishment, and invokes the Almighty's blessings on it in the following manner:

خوش کشوریست دائم بادا بقای سند
کشمر آبیده ز آب و هوای سندر
دریا سندر را صفت از حد فزون بود
آئینه آب دیده ز موج صفا سندر!

"بیرا از دلت همیشه یاد می‌آید این دعا است
گردان ستاره بر سر کام رضای سندر!"

Lamenting his sad state during his stay at Sāsūr and Calcutta, he expresses his mind thus in letters to Munshi Āwatrāi Sāhibrāi Malkānī, a trusted officer of the Tālpur Government and a friend of the Tālpur Princes:

دانش این نامه را به "آوت" بر
گویش ای منشی خجسته سیر!
ما بسیار مبتنی الم
تو بمقصود جان خود خوشتر
تو که در ملک سند داری چای
هر چه آید ز تو بکن یکسر
خوش و خواب دان حرام خوشش
پادگان از تو ماند این آخر!

* * *

بند غافل از حال میر خسعته چجر
ز رنگ کلکتی آگه بکار ما نشدی!

He wrote a pathetic letter to Lord Ellenborough, the then Governor General, apologizing for his inability to call in person on account of his illness, and soliciting sympathy for his (the Mir's) pitiable plight in captivity. The letter concludes with a fervent hope for the betterment of his family's lot at the hands

(1) Vide his *Khuṭūt*
(2) Ibid
(3) *Diwan-i-Mir*
of the Governor General who is appealed to as a great man capable of realizing the distressful condition of those who were great in rank before they were exiled from home:

He wrote an elegy of about 23 couplets on the death of Mir Nasir Khan in exile, of which a few are quoted below:

The following extract from Fat'h Nama which is, incidentally, a tribute to the warriors of his native land give us an idea of his epic poetry:

(1) Khutut
(2) Written on the back-side of Mir Nasir's Safar Nama
همه پهلوانان شیر افغان
قوق دست چون ازدهای دم‌ان
همه جنگجویان چو شیران مست
گرفته یکی تیغ آهن بست
سپاهی همه دست شسته یخون
همه پیان چون چه بیستون
جو شیران همه در صف کارزار
بصیداغتنیها چو شیر شکار
بقامت پاند و یقت جو پیل
زبان بر ز نعره چو دریای نبل
ز رستم فزون هر دل‌اور سوار
غضبانک و پرکین چو استدیار

The poet has written the following verses in praise of his father Mir Fat'h 'Ali Khān:

دل‌اور بود همچو شیر زبان
بشیر آرد از تیغ برنان زبان
جو خیر یسی فتح دارد حصار
بود تیغ او نایب ذوالفقار
على داد شمشیر در دست او
عدو آنها بر زین بندر او

* *

سیددار گردن گش و نامدار
پیر اگن و نامدار سوار
سر سروران، مهتر بر هنر
رعت نواز و شه دادگر
ولایت ستان از کفر دشمنان
در طالع تاج عباسیان
تکر رای و نرخ سیر بر ز هون
بکف تیغ آهن عمودی بدوش
بهیگل چو پیل و بهم چو بر
پسیرت همايون پبخشچ چو ابر
Mathnawi Saif’ul-Mulk: The story of Saif’ul-Mulk runs as under:

Once upon a time there was a king, named Åthim Shâh, who ruled over Egypt, the country which the poet describes in the following verses:

کشور مر خلد سمان است
حسن را روح، عشق را جان است
عشق را سر دران به اوج هوا
حسن از آب و رنگ زو پیدا

* * *

کشور حسن خیز و حسن افروز
شب آن قدر و روز او نوروز
خاک او توتیای چشم بری
قوت انزای بیشتر بصری

* * *

عشق‌بانن بی‌اشتی مستاز
نازینان بصد کرتشه و ناز

He had no son. This made him so sad that he lost all interest in state affairs and devoted himself to the worship of God. The advice of the king’s counsellors:

بگذر از زهد و بادشاهی کن
حكم از ماه تا بماهی کن
زانکه بر بادشاه بود لازم
عدل و انصاف و بذل و وجود و کرم
عقل خوشتر بود بیشتر خدا
نه عبادت نه زهد و نی تقوی

went unheeded. At last, however, on the advice of his astrologers, he married the daughter of Qah’tân Shâh, the then king of Yaman, and, by the grace of God, she gave birth to a son named Sayful. The king’s joy knew no bounds, but he was considerably unbalanced by the astrologers’s forecast:
The prediction came true. When Sayful was twenty, he fell violently in love with a ravishingly beautiful fairy, whose portrait hung on a wall in the king's chamber. Unable to find a clue to her whereabouts or the location of Gulistān-i-Iram to which she belonged, the young lover took to the road, wandered to China, Zanzibār and several other places, questioning peoples of many lands as to the whereabouts of his dream girl. He suffered many a shipwreck and many a misfortune - was at one stage caught by ogres and cannibals - till at last he reached the Island of Isfandīyār, entered the fort and saw a magnificent palace:

He removed the talisman on the figure of the lion on the top of the palace, which had hitherto made it impossible for any one to enter the 'island-stronghold', and saw the spell-bound charming Malika, the princess of Ceylon:
He rescued her from the clutches of the demon, the king of the island, who held her in his grip and, who could be destroyed only when one killed the bird confined in a cage at the foot of a tree across the river. As good luck would have it, the fairy who haunted Sayful’s thoughts, happened to have been brought up on the milk of Malika’s mother, and used to visit the King’s palace every month. The king of Ceylon, after receiving the news of his daughter’s safety, sent for both Malika and Sayful. Through Malika a meeting was arranged between Sayful and the fairy, and the happy couple was soon joined in wedlock.

It is a fairy fable, “an airy nothing”, to which the poet has given “a local habitation and a name”. Although the elements of strangeness and beauty, which according to some critics constitute romance, form the warp and the woof of the story, yet it cannot rank as a magnificent piece of literature. It is, on the whole, a light romance, and is not unlike the stories of the Arabian Nights which delighted European children of the Middle ages, but which have a special charm for Asiatics of all climes and times, particularly for those living in rural areas. The marvellous side of the stories, it is observed, generally captures and fires the imagination of people living in ‘vast expanses’ (deserts) or on river-banks. For the inhabitants of Sindh, - a sparsely populated country, characterized by some chroniclers as a desert bisected by the great Indus - the story of Sayful has a charm of its own.

MUHAMMAD YUSUF, the founder of Tando Yusuf - a village situated on the Western bank of the Phuleli Canal, Hyderabad, Sindh - was a courtier of Mir Nasir Khan Talpur. He was a very wise and learned man, and for some time served
under the Tālpur Government as a Kārdār (Mukhtārkār). At the time of the British Conquest of Sindh, he was in charge of the Mir’s Zanāmkhāna (seraglio). His birth-name stood also for his pen-name.

Mr. Belley writes: “As nightingales feed on glow-worms, so poets live upon the living light of nature and beauty”. And what is beauty if not the “sensible image of the Infinite”? Thus the manifestation of Divine Beauty and bliss, and the realization thereof by man, is the ultimate purpose of the creation. Yūsuf writes:

A genuine poet is a creator - a painter of mental experiences. He can “stamp his images forcibly on the page, in proportion as he has forcibly felt, ardently nursed, and long brooded over them”. Subjoined is the poet’s pen-picture of an imaginary visit of his beloved to his bedchamber:

In a fine simile he describes his distress when he is in love - love which in the words of Dryden, “reckons hours for months, and days for years, and every little absence an age”:

Love cannot torment the steadfast lover. The prison-house of love has a charm which far surpasses the pleasure of the so-called freedom of the worldly-wise:

(1) This and the remaining verses of Yūsuf have been selected from his Divān.
That one should lay down one’s life on the altar of love is beautifully expressed by the poet in the following couplet:

در پیش خدناگر نگه ناز نکویان
اندیشیه مکن، سینه خود را سیری کن

The world is fickle and the revolving sky, the benefactor of the mean and the tormentor of the righteous, dependable. No body can place reliance on either:

چهان ثبات ندارد درو چه دل بندیم
زمانه آتش سوزنده، ما همه خاشاک
سپهر طرفه عدو پرور ست و تاثل دوست
کسی برون نبرد جان ز دست این سفاک

"To have gold is to be in fear, and to want it is to be in sorrow", is an old saying. The moment we make Mammon our god and begin to worship him, he “plagues us like the devil”. The poet cautions us against lust or love of such a thing. Yūsuf, in the following verse, condemns hypocritical monks, saying:

سّاکنان صومعه را نیست کاری جز فرب
حلقه تسبیح‌ زاهد دام تزیویر طلا ست

Possession of gold may no doubt hide a multitude of sins, but can it yield happiness or peace of mind? On the contrary, says Franklin, “the more a man has, the more he wants. Instead of its filling a vacuum, it makes one. If it satisfies one want, it doubles and trebles that want another way.” We also know the story of Midas who longed for gold. He got it, so that whatever he touched became gold. But was he any the better for it? No, not in the least. True happiness can be realized only through contentment:

خطه عالم سراش گرچه تسرخ طلا ست
خاک اقیانی تناعت به ذ اکسیر طلا ست

At some period of his life, the poet had been to Sūrat. A stranger there, he keenly longed for the soil of his native country:
The lover, inured to a long series of disappointments, becomes incapable of appreciating the sudden turn of fortune favouring him with contact with his beloved; he considers such an event well-nigh incredible:

ترا می‌پیشنم اندرب‌های محالست این محالست این
نحیدانم که بیداریست یا خواب و خیالست این

Wine has been referred to by Persian poets as a great equaliser - it dispels all differences, whether they be of caste, colour and creed, and brings about a measure of peace and gaiety by destroying for some time consciousness of worries and sorrows. The poet says:

جهان و هر چه درو منزل، شکر حواس نست
پیاله گیر که دنیا چو نقشه بر آبست
ز دیر و کوهه کسی را کشاده کار نشد
بیگیر، میکده که آنجا فتوح، ای‌اپوست
 *
 *
 غم دنیا که شب و روز مرا داشت بتاب
 شکر حیزی ز دلم ساغر، صبا بر داشت

Yūsuf admires Mir Nasīr Khān’s generosity and poetic merit in the following verses:

نامور میر، "نصری"، آن کر کنیش درگاه جود
خزانه کان منفعل شد بحر در فریاد رفت
 *
 *
 اشعار "جعفری"، همه شیرین چو شکرند
شهد از لیش بگاه مقوله می‌چکند

Apart from a Diwān of lyrical poetry in Persian, he has written many poems bewailing the loss of Sindh, and lamenting his separation from the unfortunate Mīrs and finally their death.
The following lines are from an elegy of Mir Nasir Khan:

The death of Nasir Khān was soon followed by the death of Sōbdar Khān, and this event made the poet even more melancholy. The following verses portray the poet's feelings:

* * *

* * *

* * *

* * *
MUHAMMAD 'ÂRIF "SAN'AT" (d. 1266 A. H. / 1849 A. D.), the author of a Diwân was a great admirer of the sect of Twelvers. His Diwân gives us a measure of his passion for figurative language. The following lines of dotless words furnish an instance of the ta'til form of composition:

دردا که کرد حاصل دل دهد درد ها
سم هلال در آمد در کام دل هوا
راح طهور کو که در اول دم سرا
دارد مداد محرم اسرار ماسوا
صنعت، مدار و هم که دادار دادگر
همواره کرد هر همه را کارها روا

His use of Tard-o-'aks (Inversion) is illustrated by the following verses:

چهره ات ای دلربا، مطلع نور خدا
مطلب نور خدا، چهره ات ای دلربا
قاتیت آن خوش ادا، سرو باغ ارم
سرو باغ ارم، قاتیت آن خوش ادا

The poet’s special merit, however, is demonstrated by one of his odes, in which every word of each hemistich consists of three letters joined together (مصول). To quote one example:

هست ل بش لعل، سخن قند مصر
گشت بند نخل، ببر صبح صاف
He wrote a few qasīdās in praise of Shikārpur, where he was born and where he died:

شکاربور کہ رشکر ریاض رزمانست
گلش همیشہ بہار و شگوفہ خندانست
ہزار سرو سی قات و رخ گزار
بناز و عشوق ہیر کوچھ اش خرامانست
ہزار بلبل دستان بنغمہ دکش
پتاخ عیش درین بوستان غزلخوانست
نگار خانہ چینی کہ نتیجہ نیرنگست
نمونہ ایست کزین لیشہ نما ینایانست
بہار گلشن کشی و لالہ زار ارم
سوار سایہ کہ گلہای این گلستانست
زبانہ دید چو نیرنگر حسن خوبانش
خیال بست کہ این خطہ برستانست
چو دید بوسفر گل پیرگنہ ہزار درو
فلک بکفت کہ این نو عروس کنعانست
ملک بکفت کہ این نسخہ بهشت برینست
کہ قصرہش مکانهای حور و غلمانست

*    *    *

خوانند است جنت اکبر شکاربور
وز هشت در، بهشت نکو تر شکاربور
احرام طوف کعبہ کوی بان شوخ
بستد حاجان حرم در شکاربور
از نور عارض رخ خوبان مهلان
چون بزم انجم است مصور شکاربور

The beauty of the opening lines of the qasīda is enhanced by the fact that there are in actuality eight gates in the city of Shikārpur viz., Lakhi, Hazāri, Hāthi, Khānpuri, Sewī, Wāgnō, Karan and Naushahrō.

With an admixture of words, both Urdu and English, he
describes the far-reaching effect of the beloved’s amorous glances:

چون برتن هندیست صفر مزگانش
وان غمزه فرگیست که شد کیتاشن
برهم زند آفاق بیک چشم زدن
کیتاش اکر بفیر کند فرمانش

A treasure cannot be acquired or explored without one’s knowledge of the place where it is deposited and the way leading to it. In the mystic phraseology, a guide is needed to direct or instruct the disciple as to the ways and means of realizing the treasure of spiritual knowledge within him:

گنجیست بیتیاس بویرانه دلت
رو راهبر طلب که بپُود رهتیای گنج

For the disciple his guide’s status is supreme, even unique. With all the miracles to his credit, the poet regards the holy Christ as a mere tyro at his master’s feet:

بهار اعجاز روان بخشی و علم احیاء
بور مریم بودنت طفل بمکتب یارب ای

Realizing that the world is transitory and that everything is subject to the law of change and decay, the poet takes life philosophically, and maintains that a lover should never lose the balance of his mind under any circumstances. He says:

و فا نماند چفا همچنین نخواهد ماند
که لیست بیوی پنان ری درین سرای سینج

It is the light of love that enables us to realize the purpose of our life, and the person who is incapable of this supreme experience, is no better than a brute. According to the poet, the only suitable place for such a biped is the gallows:

آدمی کو و باشند در سرای سودای یار
گردش با ذلتی بر دار میاید کشید
One is never too old for love in spite of the Arabic saying;

‘العشق ترك السلامُ و اختيار الملامِه.’

For love is independent of time and can neither grow old nor
die. Says Jāmi in Yūsuf-wa-Zulaykhā:

اگرچه می‌وزن آکون چو شیرست
هنوزم ذوق شیرم در ضیمر ست
بیری و جوائی نیست چون عشق
دمد بر من دمامم این فسون عشق
که ‘جامی’ چون شدی در عاشقی بیه
سبک روحی کن و در عاشقی میر

The same idea is expressed by “San’at” in the following couplet:

گر شود همچون کمان قامتم از بیرا خم
در دلم لذت تبر، تو دو چندان گردد

‘Love for love’s sake’ is the right type of love, and such a
pure and sublime love is free from alloy of desires, including a
longing for celestial pleasures:

طالب فردوس را در کوری جانان جا مده
زاغ ما بیرون ازین گزار می‌پاید کشید

During his last illness which proved fatal, the poet often
recited the following distich of his ghazal, foreboding his death
due to a carbuncle:

چون به نش از مهرم رییشر غمت اکون
الاس نهم بر دل افگر دکر هچ

The following few lines are from his master ĀKHUND
MIYĀN SĀHIBDINO’s (d. about 1834 A. D.) pen:

آن زمانم که غمر تومهمان گردد
دلم از خون چگر در بی‌سمان گردد

(1) Marginal note - Diwān-i-San’at, p. 73
دفتر، ابجد را صفر شمارد بحساب
در دیستان غمت هر که سبتخوان گردد
*
*
*
گشت آباد ز غماهای تو ویرانه، دل
نام، این شهر "غم آباد"، کنم یا نکنم،
شادم از وصلت و از هجرت تو ناشادم
شاد ناشاد ز توباد کنم یا نکم،
CHAPTER V

THE BRITISH PERIOD

After its annexation to British India in 1843 A. D., Sindh came under a more settled administration. Sir Charles Napier, the Victor of Miyānī and the first Governor of Sindh, strove hard to establish peace in the province and bring about those conditions of life which make for progress. Many inhuman, but age old, customs like slavery and wife-murder were rooted out. In his days, the land revenue system remained particularly the same as it was during the reign of the Tālpurs. All the old jāgīr-dārs were confirmed in possession of their estates on tendering allegiance to the British General; the old "kārdārs" collected the revenue as in the past, with this difference that the rates were somewhat reduced and the salaries of the "kārdārs" were brought down to about 50% of their former emoluments. It is significant to note that the general policy of Sir Charles Napier was "to discourage the claims of Zamindārs and deal directly with the occupants of land". He realized quite early the commercial potentialities of the province and declared that India must suck British goods up her great rivers, and pour down these rivers her own varied products. By bringing about security of life and property, by abolishing transit duties etc., and by providing a safe haven for ships of all varieties, Sir Charles Napier gave a fillip to the commerce of the province, and the results were quite gratifying. He had many more schemes for the improvement of the province but he left Sindh before any of them could be put into execution.
After the departure of Napier (1847 A.D.), the province became a part of the Bombay Presidency. A civil administration for Sindh was resolved upon, with Mr. Pringle as its first Commissioner. He did his bit for the people, but did not continue long (resigned in 1850 A.D.) and was succeeded by an able and enlightened officer in the person of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Bartle Frere (1851-59 A.D.). He did many things which perpetuate his name in the history of Sindh. The building of Karachi harbour, the introduction of first railway in Sindh (Karachi-Kotri), covering the province with an efficient network of roads, reviving the ancient custom of holding trade fairs and the inauguration of local self-governing institutions; these are some of his achievements, which entitle him to the first place in the British administrators of Sindh.

It was the aim of Sir Bartle Frere to give official status to the language of the people, and he succeeded in it by compelling Civil Servants to study Sindhi if they valued their promotions. Through the laudable efforts of some of his subordinates, he evolved a script for the spoken tongue and facilitated its study by the people of the province by means of scholarships, prizes and prospects of government service. The difficulty as to the script - whether the Arabic alphabet as suggested by Captain (afterwards Sir) Richard Burton should be employed or the Devanāgarī character as advocate by Captain Stack - was settled (1853 A.D.) by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, when Burton's proposals, with suitable modifications, were resolved upon. Prizes were offered for the best books in the Arabic-Sindhi script.

(2) According to the statement of Munshi Nandirām (Sindh ji Tawarikh, Int. pp. ii-iii), Mr. Ellis, Assistant to the Commissioner, made a public announcement to the effect that the person who made the best Sindhi rendering of Tarikh-i-Ma'sumī shall get a government prize of one hundred rupees plus a reward of rupees one hundred and fifty from his (Ellis') private purse. Several scholars put their efforts: Munshi Nandirām, however, beat them all and won the distinction.
Side by side, efforts were made to popularize English education. As early as 1845 A. D., Captain Rathborne, Collector of Hyderabad, had moved in the matter but he did not succeed in convincing the government of the importance of his proposals. About the same time Captain Preedy, Collector of Karachi, went ahead with his private enterprise and opened the Karachi Free School which was subsequently (1853 A. D.) handed over to Church Mission Society. As a result of Captain Goldsmid's interest and liberality, an English school was started in Shikarpur. Within a decade, the British government opened an educational agency in Sindh and their own English school at Karachi (now known as N. J. V. High School), partly supported by the local municipality. The people of the province soon began to take keen interest in education and within a short period, appreciable number of educational institutions sprang up in Sindh. The government on its part encouraged them by offering suitable grants-in-aid and other facilities. As a result of this, the dawn of the twentieth century saw the growth of many flourishing educational institutions (about 1400) with nearly 70,000 male students.\(^1\) The female education too did not lag behind. During the closing years of the nineteenth century, there were 137 Girls' Schools with 4,467 pupils, and 4 Normal or Training Colleges for Women.

One great change noticeable in Sindh on the advent of the British was, however, the gradual elimination of the Persian language. This was natural. Persian being neither the native language of the Sindhis nor the spoken tongue of the Britishers, but merely the Court language of the former regime and a vehicle of expression for the few scholars who claimed court patronage, the new rulers found no reason why they should uphold it, much less encourage its further diffusion. On the other hand, the new administration, as was natural, sought to make the people forget the old regime and take to a new way of life.

\(^1\) _Gazetteer of the Province of Sind_, Vol. A, p. 476.
On this account Persian had to be replaced by English as the language in official correspondence. But this was not possible at the very beginning of the British rule when people did not know English, and, therefore, recourse had per force to be made to Sindhi, the language of the soil, to supplant Persian. Another weighty cause of the set-back received by the Persian language was the cessation of the relations that formerly existed between the Tālpur princes and the Persian court in the Pre-British period. The court encouragement to Persian also came to an end. In the days of the Tālpurs, the Sayyids of the Thattā, Rōhri, and Sehwan received endowments and allowances on which they "nourished the indigenous educational agencies" in Sindh in which Persian enjoyed a prominent place. The British influence, thus, 'dried up to a great extent the spontaneous springs' of Persian.

Yet in its dying days, in its last spurt before the flame went out, the Persian language was the vehicle for conveying the spiritual message of some of the great mystic poets of Sindh -Bidil, 'Āshiq and others. Several mushā'arās were organized. Three Persian Weeklies viz., mufarrīh'ul-Qulūb, Khurshid and Iklīl, were started to preserve the Persian language. Of these, the first enjoyed the widest circulation in the eastern countries.

Of the poets of the British period, Faqir Qādirbakhsh "Bidil" and Bahāud-Din "Bahā" were of outstanding merit. Both of them were creative geniuses, and employed the mathnawi

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(1) It was the first Persian Journal, started in 1855 A.D. (Muhammed Siddiq Gulāb Khān's edition of Dīwān-i-Fādil-Sindhi-, Int. p. xxxi) by Mukhlish 'All Khān of the 'Alawi Mughal tribe of Qazwīn. After Mukhlish 'All's death, it was 'most ably' edited by his son K. B. Muqarrab'ul-khāqān Muhammad Sādiq Khān, Persian Consul in Sindh, who was also the editor of another Persian weekly, the Iklīl, which came in existence in 1887 A.D. Thereafter it (i.e. Mufarrīh'ul-Qulūb) was conducted by his younger brother Prof. Muhammad Ja'far Mirza who, in recognition of his ability and 'splendid style' was honoured with the grant of capital credentials and testimonials from the rulers, princes and other dignitaries of Persia, the Amirs of Afghanistān, the Nawwābs and the Rājās of India, which are preserved by the members of the family to this day.
form for most of their poetical writings. The former was essentially a Sufi absorbed in thoughts of the Divine, while the latter was a great scholar who tried his hand at all forms of Persian poetry — ghazal, qasida, qita’, mathnawi, rubā’i, etc.— and furnished both fun and mental acrobatics by the introduction of Urdu rhymes and word-puzzles in some of his compositions. Mir Shahdād Khān “Hydari”, Mir Husayn ‘Ali Khān “Husayn”, Nawwāb Allahdād Khān “Sūfī”, Qādī Ghulām ‘Ali “Ja’fari”, Pir Hizbullah Shāh “Miskin”, Sayyid Jānullāh Shāh “‘Āshiq” and Makhdūm Ibrāhīm “Khalīl” were each Sāhib-i-Dīwān.

The patronage extended to Persian scholars having considerably dwindled, the poets were left to an exchange of word-tribute as the only reward of poetic excellence. It was at this juncture, and perhaps for the first time in Sindh’s history, that qasidās, true to their root-meaning “purpose poems”, came to be composed not from the fulness of the heart but from the emptiness of the pocket. Muhammad Qāsim of Hāla is a conspicuous figure in this connection. The works of Hāfiz, Sa’di and Rūmī were taught at maktabs (in the early period of the British rule) with the result that many scholars remembered and quoted passages from them on appropriate occasions. To many poets, these Persian masters served as models for imitation.

We now take up some representative poets of the British period.

MIR SHAHDĀD KHĀN (d. 1274 A.H./1857 A.D.) was the elder son of Mir Nūr Muhammad. On the death of his father, Shahdād wanted to deprive his younger brother Mir Husayn ‘Ali of his rightful heritage, but ultimately their territorial disputes were settled by arbitration. At some later period of his life, he was charged with setting fire to the English factory at Hyderabad (Sindh) and was suspected of the murder of Captain Ennis; for these reasons he was exiled to Sūrat. A court held by Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor-General,
honourably acquitted the Mir. He was then taken to Calcutta (to live with the other exiled Mīrs) where he died in 1857 A.D.

He adopted “Hyderi” as his nom-de-plume and has left a Diwān.¹

The thought that love, like the miraculous breath of Jesus, can resuscitate the dead, and even make them immortal, finds expression in the poet’s verse:

\[
\text{عشق بخشند مردگانرا زنگی}
\]

\[
\text{چشم‌ه‌آب با بقای عشق قصت عشق}
\]

All roads lead but to one destination - all religions to One Truth. For the faithful lover, who views the beloved as his God, the street in which his beloved lives is as sacred a place of worship as is the Ka’ba to a Muslim and Mandir to a Brahmin. Says this Sindhi Muslim lover-poet:

\[
\text{برهم دیرو و زاده کوده و من}
\]

\[
\text{حریم کوی جانان سیرستم}
\]

\[
\text{بی ستگین دل و زیبا رخی را}
\]

\[
\text{برغم اهل ایمان سیرستم}
\]

That the beloved should dismiss the lover’s humility and supplication as offences and shed his innocent blood is tantamount to the strange ‘logic of the wolf.’ Complains the poor lover:

\[
\text{جرم من نیست بجز بندگی و عجز و نیاز}
\]

\[
\text{کرد آهتم هلاکم بگناهی عجبی}
\]

What else can a wretched lover have but utter disappointment and misery - for eating and drinking - for drinking - when he is driven away from his beloved’s street? With a heavy sigh, the disconsolate penniless lover describes to his beloved the tale of his woes:

(1) All the verses have been taken from his Diwān.
The lover's tragedy is heightened by the fact that his beloved's charm has deprived him of control over his own senses and thus reduced him to a state of abject misery and despair:

He jests at scars who never felt a wound. The worldly-wise may well taunt a lover for having fallen an easy prey to the shafts of amorous glances, but look at the triumph of beauty, even they (the worldly-wise) cannot escape its effect:

If the beloved shows a callous disregard for the anguish of the lover - even if she is cruel and revels in his agony - the lover has no right to complain or bewail his lot. Instead, he should, through self-abnegation, create within himself the power to move the callous one (i.e. the beloved). "Hydari" obviously realized this fact when he said:

Because his heart is indeed a rare and a unique gem, the lover, even while placing it on the altar of beauty, pleads with his beloved, times out of number, to preserve it with the greatest care:
In the following words the poet presents a pathetic picture of the lover's ceaseless weeping:

شتربان بر شتر امروز می‌بندد عبت محمل
که آپر دیده ام گل کرده‌خاک‌ر راه منزل را

A single benevolent look of the murshid is sufficient to avert all the calamities that the 'vicious sky' is capable of and is reputed to be habitually casting on the dwellers of this earth. The poet is happy in the knowledge that his murshid is his refuge:

نیست چز خاکی در پیر مغان گوشه امن
دارم از حادثه چرخ باهی عجب

MIR SÂBIR 'ALI 1 (d. after 1285 A.H./1868 A.D.) son of Ghulâm ‘Ali "Mâil", too, was a renowned poet with "Sâbir" as his nom-de-plume. A Shi’a by faith, he praises Hadrat ‘Ali thus:

در فنان کلکم بمدخ ساتی کوثر شود
چون زبان من ز نیسان معانی تر شود
دولت الفقرر فخرب هرکه را گردد نصب
از شر دین و دنیا یاد و بوذرشود
دردل هرکس که مهر شا شر مردان جاکند
درو اوان ااتاب و چشم او انور شود

In the following quatrain he prays for self-realization:

تسبيح خوش از در نجف میخواهم
وز منصب یکصدی شرف میخواهم

---

(1) The text of his poetry is based on the selection made by Mirzâ Gul Hasan in his Bayâd-i-Karbâlây.
(2) This can be proved from the fact that he has recorded, in his own handwriting, the date of his grandson’s death which took place in 1285 A.H. (vide Chart delineating geneology of Shirâzi Stock including death periods).
درخیل مجاوران شده بندہ خاص
تنخواه ز شام من عرف میخواهم

One who has conquered desire cares a brass button for things of this world:

تا چند کسی محت دو نان بکشد
خفت بدر شهان ز دربان بکشد
در گوشه فتر کرد جا چون "صار" 
بهتر که زدست خلق دامان بکشد

In conformity with the views of the great Fragment-writer Ibn-i-Yamin, who said:

پادشاهی نزد اهل معرفت آزادگیست
هر که بند آرزو بكشاد از دل پادشاهت

Sābir writes:

ترك اسباب تعلق هر که کرد آزاد شد
خانه اش را حاجت فرش و در درگاه نیست

The true lover is indifferent about, and oblivious of, even such necessaries of life as eating and drinking. Sābir says:

بر سرجله عشق مرا به آب چه حاجت
هر آبله باست مرا چشمه خضري

Constancy in love is a characteristic of the true lover, regardless of the fact whether his love is reciprocated or not. Such constancy is an uphill task, but the lover persists, though sometimes he gives vent to his feeling as follows:

او به اغیارست مایل، ما به اودل بسته ایم
ای رفتیان چون شود وا عقیده دشوار ما!

Every distraction, instead of distressing the poet, appears to him as a welcome sign, much as it revives in him the memory of the dishevelled hair of his beloved. In other words, the memory of the dark dishevelled locks of the beloved transforms
his very anguish into a feeling of pleasure, a message of congratulation:

دل‌ ما را خیالی زلف اوت ایاد می‌آید
پریشانی ز نو بهر مبارک‌های می‌آید

Distance, however great, counts for little with the heart imbued with acute longing. The poet says:

توان بیک نتی ایش عشق طی کردن
ز شوق دوست اگرچه هزار فرسنگ است

The anguish of the lover-poet’s sleepless nights is aggravated as the beloved’s promise of union with him in dream is nullified by the latter’s fate (ill-fortune) which makes it impossible for him to sleep and dream:

دوش میفرمود 'در خواب تو من آبیم شیء
بخت بین خواب هم از من گریزان می‌شد

The lover must cheerfully bear sorrows as the price for the realization of his ideal of love. In the following couplet the poet laughs to scorn the lamentations of Majnūn, the celebrated Eastern lover, and playing on the word صابر (صابر) his poetic name, compares himself with the prophet Job (ایوب) famed for his proverbial patience:

مجنون نیم که شکوه کنم از فراق یار
من 'صابرم' که صبر بجور و جفا کن

His longing is too deep for words, and it is best expressed like the silent reflection in the mirror. Says the poet:

لطفست گر تگار شود روی رو دل
چون آنیه، که پیش کنم آرزوزی دل

The cypress and the ‘sandal’ cannot stand comparison with the beloved’s noble stature and musky ringlets respectively:

سری‌که خرامش نبود زیب تن گشن
پر بر شجري، چوب تری را چه کند کس!
He is irresistibly drawn to his beloved by the charming picture of the latter’s curls waving in the morning breeze, and expresses his feeling thus:

لرزد چون از نسم خم، زلف ر تابدار
خواهم که تار، او فتنم در گلوی دل

The only certainty about life is its uncertain tenure, and each day thereof hastens our end; yet how unmindful are we of Death’s approach! Sābir in the opening lines of a مسئزاد says:

مرگ ست قرب و خلق میداند دور - با عقل محال
از بهر... دو روزه ایم شاد و مغرور - در خواب و خیال

FAQIR QĀDIRBAKHSH, alias ‘Abdul-Qādir (1230-89 A.H./1814-72 A.D.), son of Muhammad Muhsin, Hanafi, Qādri, popularly known as “Bidil”, was a Sūfi darwish who commanded great respect as a holy man and a scholar. He took to schooling at the age of five and continued his studies till he was twelve. While in his teens, he felt an inner urge for spiritual emancipation, and for some time pursued this aim under the guidance of Sayyid Jānullāh Shāh of Rōhri. Subsequently, he left his native place to visit the “dargāh” of Lāl Shahbāz at Sehwan. He stayed there for a short period and is reported to have been vouchsafed spiritual visions.

“Bidil” wrote copiously on mystic and spiritual topics in Persian, Sindhi, Sarāiki and Urdu, and has left behind eighteen works, written mostly in Persian and Sindhi. Here is a complete list of his compositions both in prose and poetry:

1. Riyād’ul-Faqr (The Gardens of Poverty) deals with some Sūfi sayings and austerities, and is interspersed with instructive stories and anecdotes. It is divided into eleven
chapters, with a *ghazal* at the end of each of them, and consists of 1000 couplets.

2. *Sulākut-Tālibin* (The Seekers' Path) is a *Diwān* in Persian. It comprises 90 *ghazals* and is written after the style of the *Mahmūd Nāma*, of which the first letter of every couplet coincides with the *radif* of the poem wherein it occurs. Here the poet's *nom-de-plume* is "Tālib".

3. *Rumūz’ul-Qādirī* (The Secrets i.e. esoteric philosophy of ‘Abdul-Qādir) is a commentary on an Arabic *Qasīda* of Sayyid ‘Abdul-Qādir Jilānī, in Persian verse.

4. *Minhāj’ul-Haqīqat* (The Path of Reality) is a work of about 30 *ghazals*.

5. *Nahr’ul-Bahr* (A Stream from the Ocean) is a work of 1806 distichs interpreting some Sūfistic subtleties with the aid of the Holy Qur’ān and the Tradition. The author has referred to Maulānā’s *Mathnawi* as 'Ocean' and his own composition as a 'Stream' from it.

6. *Alfawāid’ul-Ma’nawi* [Spirituai Observations (lit. gains)] is a collection of 187 expressions pertaining to *Tasawwuf* (written in Arabic with Sindhi translation).

7. *Sanad’ul-Muwahhidin* (Authoritative work for Monotheists) is an exposition of the Fundamentals of Sūfism in prose and poetry, and is interspersed with relevant sayings of some eminent saints and scholars of Sindh and other places.
8. *Misbāḥ’ut-Tariqat* (Lamp of the Spiritual Path) is a *Diwān* of the author bearing his *takhallus* "Bidil". It is a fairly large volume, and contains both Persian and Urdu ghazals.


10. *Taqwiyat’ul-Qulūb Fi Tadhkirat’ul-Mahbūb* (The Tonic for Human Heart in Remembrance of the Beloved) is a prose work which discusses *Tasawwuf* in the light of some mystic formulas.

11. *Panj Ganj* (Five Treasures) is a prose work containing spiritual maxims, and is divided into forty chapters, each called a دُرجة. Each دُرجة has in its turn five sections called منازل and furnishes pertinent matter from the Holy Qur’ān, the *Tradition* the Mathnawi-i-Maulavi, *Risālo* of Shāh ‘Adul-Larif of Bhit (in Sindhi) and the miscellaneous writings or sayings of some other saints.

12. *Qurr’at’ul-‘Aynayn Fi Manāqibi’s-Sibtayn* [The cooling of the Eyes with the Praises of the (Prophet’s) grandchildren (i.e. Hasan & Husayn)] is written on the lines of Mullā Kāshifi’s *Raudatu’sh-Shuhadā*. It is a book in prose and verse in which the poet has recited 29 Traditions of the holy Prophet, which demonstrate his special attachment for his above-named grandsons.
13. *Fi Batn'il-Ahādīth* [In the Interior (spirit) of the Traditions] is a scholarly interpretation (in Persian) of some 6 traditions.


15. *Inshā-i-Qādirī* is a collection of 10 epistles with different modes of address and writing.

16. *Dil Kushā* is a mathnawī of about 250 distichs.

17. *Wahdat Nāma* (Unity of God) contains poems in Sindhi, Sarāīki etc.

18. *Sarūd-Nāma* (Book of Songs) is a book of Sindhi *Kafīs* (amatory songs of 8-12 verses), *Dohīrās* (couplets or triplets), etc.

In the earlier stages of his mystic experiences as a *Sālik* (devotee), he was a passionate lover of physical beauty. Later on, this love blossomed into divine love.

Regarding his religion, he maintained:

٦١٠-الشیعی و لكن لابری
من الخُلفاء هم سرچج الهداية
التالسنت و لكن قائل الفضل
لقاسم خیبر والی الولایه

For, a Sūfī is above all castes and creeds:

دریش نه شیعه و نه سنی است
بروانه شعشعه لدنی است

He is distinguished by spiritual purity rather than by a woollen garment. Poverty enriched by love makes him oblivious of royal favours and worldly acquisitions:

(1) I am a Shi‘a, but I do not indulge in *Tabarrā* (slogans of condemnation) towards the Caliphs because they (too) are the Lamps of Guidance; I am a Sunni but I hold the Conqueror of Khaybar as pre-eminent and master of the domain.
Islam, the genuine mark of a Muslim, implies complete submission to the will of God and is a rare gift, attainable only by those who cleanse their hearts of egoistic desires:

"بیدل" اسلام جلوه گر نشود
ta hea o heos ngerd mhat

And these desires cannot be got rid of except by the practice of severe austerities:

ta neh mtrash riaht ra bdst ar 3r knci
perde horc o hea az hsm dridn shknsst

Union with the divine beloved is only another name for riddance from Plurality:

فارغ شدن ز کثرت، وصل شدن به‌حدت
ba shahd hqht hmxnkgi hmn est

The end of all wisdom is the beginning of true love, or, in other words, the high rank of true love is denied to the worldly-wise who cannot see beyond self-interest:

داش از خود رود به آمدنش
ahe utl ol vshqst

The spiritual pilgrim is, therefore, advised to live a life of rigid self-denial, and cast away all thoughts of luxury. This is metaphorically called disturbance or revolution whose advent in one's country necessitates the quitting of that place:

فکر عیش از سر شوریده بدر باید کرد
fnde chn dr wtn ntnad sfdr baid krd

Silence is more eloquent than speech in the philosophy of love:
After exhausting all that he can talk of, the poet says:

Of his own high position in the realm of spirituality he speaks thus:

Those who have realized are thus described by the poet:

The manifold veils of Plurality do not hide Truth from the mature eye of the seer. The poet expresses this idea in the following couplet:

The spiritual aspirant must lose his individuality in the ocean of universal contemplation if he wants to possess the pearl of perfect happiness or the wine of indestructible delight:
Caught in the meshes of earthly attractions and deluded by transient physical loveliness and worries the flesh is heir to, Man who is 'the noblest of all creatures', becomes deaf to the thrilling voice that travels down from the celestial regions and blind to the surpassing beauty of the Eternal. His pitiable plight has been beautifully expressed by the poet in the following verses:

The poet has spoken highly of his native place Rōhri from the standpoint of spiritual as well as the physical plane:
و گر پر سی ز حال ساکنانش
سراسر جمع خاطر در امانش
ز حسن مظهری هر چاش غفلت
به چا گل، به چا شور، بلبل
پریرویان یرزیورهای خویه
مجلا رخ تصنیف الکلوی
شکر گفتار و گل زخسار و خوشخوی
صفا کردار و گرم آزار و مهروی
بغمز و ناز داده درس تنیه
بهندستانیان از روی تمیه
بترکان داده درس دلربائی
به اهل یزد تعلیم وافز

The following verses from the *Faut'ul-Anfsās* (a chapter of *Riyād'ul-Faqr*) are taken to illustrate the highly philosophical texture of its contents:

چرا زان قرب چندان دور سانندی
که از انوار حق مهجور سانندی
جو انسان سری، را شنیدی
dردن خوشی اسرار ندیدی
tو نور اقیس در پره، گل
بیار، نورین در غنجه، دل
مکان انفاس خوش را صرف، اغیار
پیامک کوش تا پاشی خبر دار
جو فوت دم بود اصل، کبایر
مثل قول انتیا خواندید برای
تو آخر خوشی را دانی مسلمان
مکش پیغمبران را، سو هرسان
چو از شیطان لش نسل مسلم
چرا ریزی تو آب روی آدم
مگر به چهلی ای بیدین بیداد
که در تقل محمد میشیوی شاد
MIR HUSAYN ‘ALI KHĀN (d. 1295 A. H./1878 A.D.), the younger brother of Mir Shahdād Khān, was one of those unfortunate Tālpur princes who were taken to Calcutta after the British Conquest of Sindh. He was, however, allowed to return to Hyderābād, his native place, after a lapse of about fifteen years, and died there. According to the author of *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*, he was “a beautiful youth, whose clustering black ringlets and large dark lustrous eyes would have made sad havoc in an English ball-room”. A *Diwān* of amatory odes, about 160 in number, is attributed to him.

The following verses indicate the poet’s love for a non-Muslim lady:

دلبراء شانه مکن زلفی پریشان خود را
ta پریشان نه کنی هیچ مسلمانی را

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1) p. 205.
2) The selection of his verses is made from *Diwān-i-Husayn*. 
عمره، چشم بتی منگلی كافر كيش
هیچ نقذاشت دل و دین مسلمانی را

After the manner of Hafiz and some other poets who wrote in a similar vein, he says:

سوگند بدان زلف دراز تو چشم بهخش
بر چین سر زلف تو صد کشور چین را.

In the following lines the poet has enhanced the beauty of the simile likening the beloved’s lips with the traditional Fountain of Life by linking to it a comparison of the beloved’s خط سبز (incipient moustache) with the dark region where خضر (the Green Old Man) is said to have found آب حیات (the nectar):

در خط سبز لیت دیدم و گفتتم با دل
یاد ظلمات مكن، صحیه، حیوان اینجا ست.

Just as intelligent commentaries or interpretations expound or unravel the intricacies of a difficult text, so the incipient down on the beloved’s cheeks crystallizes her beauty:

حسن خط تو از خط زباست منکشف
آری رسوم متن عبانست در شروح

The couplet, among other literary artifices, contains مضاد و ایهام and مراوات تنظر.

There can be no comparison between the bright face of the beloved and the sun. According to the poet, the sun’s shiny heat is the outcome of the torture of jealousy that cosmes it:

خلق میکوید که رویش آتابت آتابت
من همی گویم ز رشکش دل کبابست آتابت

The narcissus shall make a laughing-stock of itself if it seeks comparison with the lustrous eyes of the beloved, since it is devoid of light:
Kiss, as defined by a mathematically-minded lover, is a dot divided by two ('something nothing' shared by a pair). Yet the joy that the two derive out of that immaterial substance far surpasses heavenly bliss. While locking their lips in love, they rise to dizzying heights far above the regions of earthly misery. The following lines show the entangled mind's intense desire for such a boon:

زردام زلف پرچینش بود بس عقده در دلها
مگر آسان کند لعل لبش هرگونه مشکلها

Angels fear to tread the path of the selfless lover for whom the ocean of 'man devouring waves' has no terrors. There is no place for the self-pious or self-sufficient "Zāhid" here:

روز عشق نداند زاهدان، آری
منجمان نشانند موج دریا را

In a momentary mood of lightness Husayn asks the austere monk not to extend his domain of abstinence to wine-bibbing. Apparently he drank liquor and had in mind the dissimulation of the monk, when he said:

زاهدا، چند کنی تویه و تویه بشراب
نوش کن باده که پرهیز حراسست اینجا

The fabulous Griffin, known only in name (معلوم الاسم) is beyond the hunter's reach. Says Hāfiz:

عنقا شکار کس نشود، دام پاز چین
کاینجا همیشه باد پدست است دام را

The poet assumes for himself the character of 'Anqā. Apparently he lived a rigid isolated life, as if he had completely obliterated himself, and blames his destiny for the accident which is responsible for his entanglement in love:
Ignominy is the constant handmaid of love. Love is unthinkable except as an emanation from, or the result of, beauty. Zulaykhā’s passion, followed by her disgrace, had its source in the maddening beauty of Yūsuf; even the suffering and imprisonment of Yūsuf himself were due to (the misfortune of) his beauty. The following verse of the poet is notable for its pathos. It exonerates Zulaykhā (who, to all appearances, was the cause of Yūsuf’s incarceration) and directly blames the divine gift of the ravishing beauty of Yūsuf himself; thus a blessing becomes a curse, in the same way as the gift of ‘colour and fragrance’ proves a curse for the rose, and of musk for the deer:

اسیر گشتین یوسف گناه حسن شن بود
سلامتی به چه باعث بود زلیخا را

In the following verses the poet, speaking of his agony, compares himself with the indefatigable Farhād, who, in order to win Shirin’s heart, dug through the immense mountain ‘Bi-Sitūn’:

همجو فرهاد بود کوهکتی پیشه ماما
کوه ما سینه ما نا خن ما تیشه ما

* * *

بخو صبا تو بشرین دهان من باری
کوه مختتم آخر بیستون کم نیست

He also calls himself a lion, not that rapacious animal that lives in jungles but one whose bosom is the field of his enthusiastic explorations (in the realm of love):

شیر، عشقم، نه چون شیر، نیستان بشکار
دست ما پنجه، ماه سینه، ما بیشه ما

The following couplet indicates an intense feeling of the poet’s penance which culminates in a flood of tears:
The poet-lover excuses his beloved's cruelty and callousness by blaming the latter's instructor, and in a mood of disappointment bemoans her lack of appreciation of his precious fidelity and love:

نيست بلروح دلت مهر و وفا را حرق
كرد استاد مكر جور و جفایت تعليم

* * *
گرچه مرا در كنست مايه: مهر و وفا
ليك خريدار كرو تابستانم پينا

AKHUND MUHAMMAD QASIM (d. 12981 A.H./1881 A.D.), son of Ni'matullah Qureshi, a mulla of Sawni clan, belonged to Old Hala. He served as a Pound Munshi in his youth, and later on as a Tapedar. Great lover of poetry, he frequently participated in the Musha'arasa held at Hyderabad and other places, and lent considerable mirth to such gatherings by his outspoken and gay verses. Besides Persian verses, he composed poems in Arabic, Urdu and Sindhi. He was a regular contributor to the Mufarrigh-ul-Quilub, and won praise for his talents from poets and scholars from different places.

The small income that he derived from his employment in the subordinate service of the Revenue Department was inadequate for his household expenses:

(1) Cf. Haji Imambakhsh "Khadim".

ويو جدی فانی سرا کی گذینه بنا
رب عطا انکی کری خلد و جنان
جنوری جی ارہیں سگل جی وار
سال ارہین سو اکسی دو روان
عسوي ایہو تیو، هجری به پد
وره بارہن سو انانونی تو جوان
He, therefore, availed himself of his literary attainments to make the two ends meet. He often composed *qasidas* in praise of Mahārājās, Mirs, nobles and other prominent people and, in return, looked for some pecuniary help. He received a yearly stipend of Rs. 200 from H. H. Mir 'Ali Murād Kāhan of Khayrpur for which he expressed his thanks publicly in the pages of *Mufarrihul-Qulūb*.

He also received a reward of Rs. 60 from H. H. Mir Muhammad Hasan 'Ali Kāhan of Hyderabad, and thanked him for it in the afore-mentioned journal:

\[
\text{وي كه هر ماه ينج روبه تقد مير صاحب مقرم فرومود}
\]

Here is an extract from a *qasida* addressed by him to H. H. the Mahārāja of Baroda, seeking from the latter pecuniary help to satisfy his wants:

\[
\text{منكه بي بروك و نوايم چون دمخت بيتمر سر زدم بر بارگاهش بر امید بروك و بار چون ضرورة گشت دامکیر پس بر ناگزیز دست در دامان شه آویختم از انگسار بهر دفع اضطرار معى فرمای مان حاجتی دارم كه دارم بردل از وى اضطرار}
\]

(1) All the verses of Qāsim, except when marked differently, are collected from the files of *Mufarrihul-Qulūb*.

(2) 16th Rabi 'uth-Thani, 1292 A. H./23rd May, 1875. The exact words of the text are:

آنچه سکار نامدار حضور مير صاحب مير عليمراد خان بهادر تالابر بهسر سال در شهر هرم الحرام موازي دو صد روبيه بتفریب عاشورا به اين داعی دولت و اقبال اعیتنی بنده و قابع نگار عطا و مرحمت مبلغ مایند الحال نيز موازي دو صد روبيه به اين خير خواه پلا اشتباه ارسل و مرحمت فرومودند...

(3) 16th Jamaduth-Thani, 1293 A. H./9th July, 1876.
In the concluding lines of a poem written in praise of H. H. Mir ‘Ali Murâd Khân of Khayrpur, he writes expectantly:

بیشتر اکونیم پیشین کر شهاب یار
صلو اتتام یاپم بیکمان
خسروان با مستحان میدهند
خلعت زیبا و تقد شایغان
ما چو کنچیکم از یک جرجه سیر
بذر به هر چر چر چر کر
غریب و یکم اما چه غم
همه شو امیدقو بیکسان

Here are a few verses from an epistle which he addressed to the then Chief Minister of Khayrpur - Munshi Uttamchand “Sabâ” - in which he requests him to find an opportunity to get him Rs. 200 from the ruling prince, and thus relieve him from the tortures of want:

ای دیبری نامدار ذوالفنون
رف دو باد من تو سیجه کنون
یک فرا اغلب همیشه هو
کن برای احتیاج اندیشام
در جناب خسرو گردون سریر
شهریار جهشام میر کبیر
عرض کن هنگام فرست حال ما
چون بود چر هرچر اجابة آشنا
دو صد تقتم اگر آید بست
گرددم دشوار آسان هرچه هست

He addressed another letter to Miyân Wâhid Bakhsh, Legal Advises to H.H. the Mir of Khayrpur, for a similar request:
The late Mirzá Qalich Beg's remark that Qāsim's wants were very few and that he did not covet gifts and favours like others, is thus falsified by the poet's own utterances; and the following verses taken from a poem, describing the arrival of H. E. the Governor of Bombay in 1868 A. D. when he held a darbār at Hyderābād and rewarded the poet with Rs. 40/-, betray the latter's mendicant mentality and greed of gold:

خورستم کشمی درجمله هر چند
از شان شه بود ابن صله کمتر
پرچ مناسب کایین محل گو را
باری سه دری افروز ازین زر

He has composed several acrostics and dotless verses, and has to his credit some poems in the form of Palindrome. Subscribing to the view that a person should be judged by his merit, he maintains:

نی نسب غورور من، نی بنشانن جد و عام
هر چه شناسدن بفضل بهتر اگرنه نیست غم
گنج بسینه ام روان از هنرست چاودان
گهر هر که امتحان اینک کاغذ و قلم
Deploring the inconstant ways of the world and its people, the poet says:

Complaining of the dishonest conduct of a Qādī at Hyderābād, who had stolen his goods, he writes:
In a *qasida* written on Tandō Bāgō (a village built by Mīr Bāgō Khān Tālpur in the early part of the eighteenth century), he expresses his dislike of Lār (owing to its unwholesome climate and the general illiteracy of its inhabitants):

"هر که در ملک لار، میماند زیر آسیب آسان باشد" and describes the excellence of Karāchī, even in that remote period:

"ور بر در کرایچی آب و خورم لطف حق بیش و بیکران باشد"

He pays tribute to two of his contemporary poets, viz., 'Ulwī and Ahmad, thus:

"دوست ما "علوی" ست و "احمد" نیز هم هر دو پکان و بری از بیش و کم هر یک سرحاته اهل صفا هر یک در خلق خوش ثابت قدم هر یک شمع شبستان کمال هر یک شه فرد دیوان کرم"
The well-known Arabic maxim, to wit, “the earthly love leads to love-divine”, has been paraphrased by the poet thus:

قاسم، يوم رأيتُ دهد دلب
غرب صور، لبّbrace; آب والكل ك يكنى

The following couplet betrays the poet’s lack of faith in the fairness of Divine Dispensation and the efficacy of prayer to the Almighty in periods of acute distress:

قاسم، ازن تنگستی بوده است همدست آه
چشم بر دست عنایات الهی تای

The above lines sound strange when brought into juxtaposition with the following verses, which breathe contentment and forbearance:

عشاقی هست دین و ملت سا
غير این رسم و هم مذلت سا

ی نور خدا چون میلی خود غرر میش
پگذار ز حرص و غفلت و پگذار خورد و خواب

While acclaining the unique unbrokenness of the Divine Essence, he blames the squint eye:

بود ست جلوه آت همه چا متند ولی
جای تمیز در نظر چشم احول است

(1) Leaves from Diwan-i-Qāsim.
In another place he advocates the removal of the veil (of materialism) which hides from us the divine light that pervades everywhere:

هر چاست جلوه اش اگرت دیدن آروز ست
از دیده دوردار حجابی که حائل است

The poet maintains his contact with his beloved even after his death, and says:

روی تو در حیات ضرحرگ نظر مرا
بعد از وفات یاد تو فراموش مزار من

By way of a tribute to the beloved's ravishing beauty, he writes:

گر زمرش جلوه بیند زاهد یزدان پرست
از سر مسجد یرده با شتای آید برون

The poet likens the beloved's mouth to the legendary fountain of Khidr, and looks to it for eternal life:

یه خضر عمری همی بوسه خواهتم
من از چشمه خضر یبه دهانش

It is just moonshine to talk of the visibility of the moon in daylight; the poet, however, characteristically observes (in connexion with what he saw in his beloved's unveiled beauty):

"قاسم" جمالتشاموز بیرده جلوه گر شد
می را بروز تابان دیدم، ندیده بودم

NAWWĀB ALLĀHDĀD KHĀN "SUFI" (d. 1882 A.D.), a son of Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān Laghārī, was a First class Jāgīrdār. His Dīwān, covering over 389 foolscap pages, shows his sound knowledge of the Persian language, his mastery over its technique, and his command of similes and metaphors.

(1) Leaves from Dīwān-i-Qāsim.
(2) History of Alienations in the Province of Sind, Vol. 1, p. 212.
The following lines are illustrative of the poet’s invocation to the Deity:

إلهى طاهر برؤا وحدت كن خيالما را!
بر اوه آسمان معرفت بخشای بالا را!
بتفسیر کمال وصرف ذات خویش در عالم
سر مفتاق بلبل کن زبان قبیل وقلم را!

* * * *

اکیه بر ز موزارین کن درج دهنام را!
بکاتئی بی بها گردان در نظم بیانم را!
سند نفس در دشت هوش جولانها دارد
کونن سوى طريق منعطف گردان عنام را!
ز نیرتگ بهار عشق رنگین کشت با غلد
بیانگ بلبلان همزنگ ساز اکتون فانم را!
ازین وادی که دارد رهزی هر ذره ریکی
رمان بر منزل مقصد سلامت کاروانم را!

The devout Muslim prays five times a day. The poet characterizes the transient life of man as چبروز دهر and, idolising the idea of نماز بنچ وقت, stresses the desirability of the devotee going into the innermost recesses of his heart—the acknowledged Seat or Centre of Divine Glory. The words جام شیشه and چبروز دهر, occurring in the following couplet, imply the effulgent consciousness of man and his heart respectively:

در چبروز دهر بهروز بنچ وقت
بايد که شیشه سجده نمايد بجام ما

The mist of religious differences evaporates before the Sun of Divine effulgence. The mosque and the temple then appear alike as places of worship, inspite of the difference in their names and forms:

(1) The Selection of his verses has been made from Diwan-i-Sufi. Unfortunately the couplets of some other poets have also crept into the Manuscript.
Those in whose hearts is enshrined the idol of love, are love-intoxicated, and pay no heed to the nāsīh’s appeal:

پترک عشق خوابانم غوان بیهوده، ای ناصح
که مستان هزل میدانند پندر مرد‌دانه را

The mere act of telling the beads is fruitless unless it is accompanied by sincere repentance for past misdeeds and a guarantee for future pious conduct:

سبه گردانن ندارد حاصلی جز چشم تز
کی توان بی آبایی سبز کردن دانه را

It is only then that one can realize God in the sacred temple of one’s own heart. For, verily, He is within us:

سراغ که می‌جوئی و گر دانی خود ای که گر
طرفه که گر، دل کن، میو راه یادبان را

The truly wise, is, therefore, one who entrusts his entire self to the Supreme One:

آنکه یک دید و یک دانست و با یک کار یست
از خرد مدتن و از فرزندان دانیم ما

In Love, the tears reveal what the heart conceals. The lover’s pale face bearing traces of his tears, is an open book:

نوک مرگانم بر به‌احتر روز ورود
قصه دل مینوید حاجت گفتار نیست

It seems that the poet was a man of changing moods. In some of his verses he attaches no importance to earthly love. To quote an example:

نخواهد همت از عشق محازی‌مرد روشندل
که نبود حاجت عینک تا چشم را چشم بینا را
But a careful study of his work reveals him as a passionate admirer of the beauty of Hyderābād (Sindh). Evidently he was deeply enamoured of that ‘Old Capital of Sindh’ on account of some amorous experiences which made even the far-famed Kashmir and the Punjāb appear inferior in his eyes:

دوشآن گل چهره گلگون نما یان کرده و گفت
خوش گلی از گلستان حیدر آباد تو ام

\* \* \*

دیده ام "صوفی" بجز گریه نماند هیچندم
در فراق سروان حیدرآباد، ای فلک!

\* \* \*

موذن درگمان صبح یانگ صبح بردارد
چون که آن مه می‌داند درشب مست
نه تنها حسرت کشمير شهر حیدرآباد ست
ژ بحرش موج زرگ ذکر اندر دل پنجاب برخیزد

He ridicules the indefatigable Farhād, saying:

از خراش ناله صد کوه از جا برکنیم
کار فرا گر شود آن شوخ شیرین کار یا

He presents a pattern of desirably stable love in the following lines:

دامن هر گل مگیر و گردد هر شمعی مگرد
طالب حسن غرب و معنی بیگانه باش

Life is short and the path of love long and difficult. The traveller never knows when he may depart from this world. The lover should, therefore, avail himself of every moment of his life and pursue his goal with unflinching zeal:

سفر عشق درازست تفافل تا کی!
منزل آخر نگرانست سیکسن را

Perfect beauty needs no veil since it has no flaw to hide.
حسن بی پرده

is thus depicted in a new light:
The conventions of public morals and etiquette do not count with the angel of true love and beauty. The moth and the candle-light meet in blissful embrace openly:

حسن وعشق با کار اشیر و حیاد کار نیست
پیش مردم شمع در بر میکشید پروانه را

شمع در فانوسچا دارد بعید از وصل دوست
خوش میسوزد نسوزاند پر پروانه را

The lover’s distress cannot be alleviated by the apathetic worldly people: it would, on the contrary be intensified and made worse. The lover gleefully finds remedy in his sacrifice on the altar of love:

عيد قربانست امروز ای نگار من بیا
تا شود "سروق" چو اسماعیل قربان شما

And suddenly dawns upon him the glorious end of the great sacrifice—the happy realization that Love’s labour is never lost:

گر بیالم نیامد بر مزارم آمده
جان سهاری در رهش آخر بکار آمد مرا

However destitute a lover may be, he can yet offer a present to his beloved - a present of tears, which he should ungrudgingly lay at her feet:

پاز می آید کفم خالیست از نقد. نتاز
همتی ای اب. رحمت چشم گوهر بار ماما!
The tears of the lover water the tree of love, and make it grow and yield the fruit of blissful union. In the following verse the poet - apparently a disappointed lover - bemoans the fate of the love-sick swain whose tears fail to produce the desired effect:

نهال عشق که برگش غمست و بار افسوس
اگر ز گریه نشد سبز، صد هزار افسوس

The lover's tears make up a torrent - the poet calls it the Oxus. The lover-poet invites his beloved to the arc of his eye to enjoy the sight of the rushing stream (of his tears):

سرشکم رفته رفنده بی توجیهون شد، تماشاکن
بیا در کشتی چشم نشین و سیر دریا کن

Desire (to taste the forbidden fruit) was the sole cause of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise and their subsequent sufferings on earth. Why not then, give it up?

حاصل قطع امل از دنیا رستن است
رشته چون کوتاه شد فارغ ز یافرگ سوزن است

The devout lover is indifferent to pain and pleasure. He is content with his lot, guided and directed by his beloved:

ما را خبر ز شادی و غم نیست چون حنا
دردست دیگرست بهار و خزان ما

The difference between a contented and a greedy person is this - that whereas the former eats merely to live a simple and useful life, the latter lives only to eat and grow selfish. Or, to put it differently, the former needs only a loaf or two to keep himself fit for divine worship and service of humanity, while the latter ever craves for more and more even if he possesses the treasures of Korâh:

شده قبول خاطر اهل قناعت در جهان
خشک نانی بی خلل از نعمت افرضیاب
The world is like a dream, a mirage - something unsubstantial or illusive. It is out of sheer ignorance that we take it to be real, much in the same way as we weep or make merry after a dream, feeling as though it were real, or run after a mirage in the belief that it is a pool of water in the desert:

یخ. دنیا همه خواست تو هم میدانی
عمر چون فتش بر آبست تو هم میدانی
خیمه تا کی بزنی خواجه درین کهنه سرا
خیمه ات مثل حبابست تو هم میدانی
چند تعمیر کنی قصر. منتقلش بجهان
 منزلت زبر ترابست تو هم میدانی
 فکر دنیا منه و دل بر فرش متروش
 مخزن رنگ و ربابست تو هم میدانی

It is clear that the poet's life was not always a bed of roses. He had some sad experience of harsh times in his native land:

مگر دیدم جزئی کار های نا سزای خود
که دی بدوم امیر اندرون، امرز محتاجم!

In spite of this, however, "Home, sweet home, there is no place like home", is his cry in distant lands:

سخت غم افتاد مرا در سفر
پاز بسوی وطنم آرزو ست
یزد جمل، بقفس می‌پیم
آب و هوای جنیم آرزو ست

In the following couplet the poet slyly refers to Europeans for their skill in successful fight, by asking his beloved to learn the art of victory (over lovers) from them:

بسکه در تبخیر، دلها تا هنوزی نا رسا
بايد از نوج فرنگ آموختن تجویز جنگ

Qâdî Ghulâm’Ali (d. 1303 A. H./1886 A. D.), son of Qâdî Muhammad Yahyâ of Thattâ, traces his descent to
Hadrat Ali's brother Ja'far-i-Tayyar. He served as a Mukhtārkār at Mirpur Bathūrō (district Karachi). Ibrāhim "Khalil", the author of Takmila, was his guide in poetry,¹ which he (i.e. Qādī Ghulām 'Ali) composed under the nom-de-guerre "Jafarī". He has left two Diwāns - one in Persian and the other in Urdu. The following few lines² are from a ghazal which he wrote in imitation of some odes of Khwāja Kamāl, Sharaf of Yezd, Jāmī and Fakhri in the same radif and qāfiya:

ساقی و مطری و می گردش چامست اینجا
محفل خری و عیش تمامست اینجا
همه محفل بود از ساغر چشت مدهوش
آنکه در پزه بیوش است کدامست اینجا
جنت و حور مباحثت ترا ای زاهد
دیدن غیر صنم عین حرامست اینجا
نیست جز مخلک که محفظ شد از بوسه لب
بود این طرفة که هندوی باکمکست اینجا
"جعفری" مکر و ریاکشت دریان دور حلال
گفتند حق مکر افسوس حرامست اینجا

What exactly happens when a person falls in love, is briefly described by the poet in the following verses:

قرار از دل شد و از چشم خوابم
ندامن تا چه در سر دارم امشب

* * *
پردا دین و دل زمان آن چشم خواب آلوده ای
داد سودایم بجان آن زلف تاب آلوده ای
هوشم از سر، صبر از دل پردا با تاز و ادا
فتنه کیش دلبری قهر و عتاب آلوده ای

¹ Takmila. The exact words are: ''پیش قفر مشق سخن میکرده''
² All the verses of "Ja'fari" have been selected from his Diwān.
شب که بودم در خیال رهبر، گلگون، او
ربیغت چشم تا سحر اشک، گلاب آلوده ای
چون کننم درد درون خوشش را پنهان زخاق
میکنم، رسوا مرا این چشم آب آلوده ای

In fact, the lover is like a person who has lost all peace of mind. The remedy for such a love-sick person lies in union with his beloved rather than in the drugs and medicines prescribed by the ablest of physicians:

برای درمی‌دانن مجیت
میرس از بوعلسینا دوا هچ

“No cord or cable can draw so forcibly, or bind so fast, as love can do with a single thread” — this is what Sir Richard Burton says. Love is measured not by the philosopher’s discourses, but by the lover’s sacrifice and patient suffering. The true lover would fain die at the hands of his beloved than accept the nectar of life from others:

ز دست گیر خورم ساغری ز آب حیات
ازان به ار توسرم را کنی بیتی هلاک

Zakât-i-Husn (lit. aims to be given by the fair one because she is dowered with beauty) which often signifies a kiss and is supposed to purify and bless the beauty, is a favourite expression of Persian poets. Amir Khusraw says:

بوکز زکوات حسن خود بینی به خسرو، یک نظر
اینک شفیع آورد اام این دیده خونریز را

A couplet ascribed to Hâfiz has:

تو صاحب نعمت من مستحتم
زکوات حسن ده خوشش دارم امشب

But the Sindhi Poet has enhanced the elegance of the phrase by introducing along with it the words محتاج تقیر and for the lover:
His reason as to why the cypress is incapable of movement and of bearing fruit is a very fanciful one indeed:

The following few stanzas from a *mukhammas* written in *musajja* form in praise of Sultan 'Abdul-Hamid Khan (a ruler of Turkey) illustrate the poet's admirable command of the Persian language:

The poet also shows a remarkable delicacy of style in his frequent use of figures of speech, e.g. Antithesis, Simile and the Co-relative terms are easily noticeable in:

(1) Vide *Hindustani* - April, 1942, p. 40.
PIR MUHAMMAD HIZBULLAH SHAH (1258-1308 A.H./1842-1890 A.D.) son of Pir ‘Ali Gauhar Shāh “Asghar”, set on the Pir Pāgāro’s “masnad” at the age of five. He started his education under Ākhūnd Muḥammad, alias Miyān Mamūn Muḥammad ‘Īsā. He had an abnormal taste for learning and, true to the dictum kept alive his passion for knowledge till the end of his life. All accounts show that he was extremely generous, and very fond of the company of the poets with whom he participated in the composition of poems on (set lines), and whom he rewarded handsomely for their literary merit.

One morning the Pir’s sons, including Ali Asghar Shāh “Ali”, his successor, went and made their usual obeisance to their father. As soon as the Pir Sāhib (who was then wrapt in contemplation) saw them, he asked them to provide a second hemistich for the following line:

‘Ali Asghar Shāh promptly complied, saying:

Pir Sāhib was so filled with joy at this accomplishment of his son that he at once jumped from his seat and kissed him. On the next day, both the father and the son composed ghazals on the above line. The following few couplets are from the Pir Sāhib’s poem:

(1) and not as given by Husamud Din Rashidi in his article on “Miʃkin” in Sitāra-i-Sindh, “Bahār” Number. For authority see Mufarririhul-Qulub of 8th Rabī’uth-Thani, 1307 A. H./1889 A.D. wherein the whole ghazal is published. For further proof vide Diwān-i-Miʃkin (MS).
"Miskin" was the Pir Sāhib's pen-name and he left behind a *Diwān*, besides a *Risāla* of about 200 pages entitled *Sanaʿt-i-Chīnī*. Subjoined are a few specimens of his poetry selected from *Diwān-i-Miskin*:

After storm comes the calm, and after rain comes sunshine. The renowned poet Shelley in his "Ode to the West Wind" says:

"O Wind,

If winter comes, can spring be far behind?"

A like thought apparently cheered up the Sindhi lover-poet in his mood of depression when he said:

شام هجرانست "مسکین"، شادباش

صبح باشد در یی هر شام را

A single spark of beauty is sufficient to destroy the sum total of a man's patience. The mind is then freed from the control of reason, which usually steers it through the storm and stress of life:

جو قصر حسن را بیاد دادند

بنای صبر را بریاد دادند

The Crier who stands on the minaret of a mosque calling the faithful to prayer, utters the words instead of *قد و قامت* (get up and pray) when he sees the tall-statured beautiful beloved:

"قد قامت" بگذاشته شد در قد و قامت

تا قامت آن قبله عیان دید سوخت

قد قامت" بگذاشته شد در قد و قامت"
شاخ گل از آستان چون کرد تغ آیدار
دمدم خون میکید از زخم‌های عنقلیب

۲

Love and beauty are inter-dependent. If love is inspired by beauty, beauty itself is of no consequence if it goes unadmired. Beauty grows with love and love fades without the stimulating attraction of beauty:

عاشق و معشوق در راه طلب هممنزلند
گل مکر بر شاخ بشینند بجای عنقلیب

The lover cares not at all for the pomp and power and splendour of the world. The ecstasy of union with the beloved surpasses all the pleasures of heaven and earth, and to achieve it purity of mind and intensity of feeling are needed:

ساکنان سر کوی تو چه صاحب نظرند
ظره تاج سکندر بهوی می نخرند
ظاهر گرچه ز طاعات و عبادات همه
زاها از پانجمان وی بی خبرند
بنده هم هست آن در کشان می‌باشم
جامه و دلق را که بیک چو نخرند

* * *

پیر ما گفت بود ترکر ریا از همه یه
طلبان را روش صدق و صفا از همه یه

(1) Chapter XXXIII, Section 9. (2) This poem was published in Mufarrijul-Qulub - 21st Dhil-Hajj, 1306 A.H./1889 A.D.
Love is different from fancy, for the fulfilment of the former lies in self-effacement. The lover is always at the feet of the beloved, saying in the words of Otway:

"Lead me like a tame lamb
To sacrifice."

"Miskin" expresses himself on love in the following couplet:

جوش عاشق کم نمی‌گردد به‌پنگام وصال
خاطر پروانه از مشعل بخشان کرده اند

"They say......What do they say? ......Let them say" is the lover's motto. The worldly-wise may, by all means, heap upon them all sorts of ridicule and insults, but they will boldly and cheerfully put up with them and shall, under no circumstances, give up their love:

هان مرزج ای دل ز تشوش ملامتهای خلق
هر که شد مجنون نشان سگر طفلاً می‌شود
کی توان بپوشید در دل شعله عشق ترا
ماه کنعانی کجا در چاه بنهان می‌شود

On reaching the Lote tree in the Seventh Heaven, on the night of the holy Prophet's ascension, Gabriel is said to have expressed:

اگر یک سر می‌برتر برم
فورغ تجلی بسوزد برم

Hence the top-most place to which the highest of the angels (etherial in essence) can ascend was the Seventh Heaven. But look at the achievement of the sublime lover! - though made

(1) Musarrihul-Qulab - 21st Dhil-Hajj, 1306 A.D./1889 A.D.
of inferior stuff (clay), he can rise to the heights where dwells God in all His glory:

شَاهْبَازَ لا مَكَانٌ رَا أَوْجَاهُ دِيِّگَرَت
گر بود چربیل آنجا بال و پرها بشکند

Seek within and not in the wilderness of delusions the one who is nearer than even the jugular vein. In the words of “Miskin”:

بِجِسْتَجْوٌی صِنمِ در بِدِر چِرا شَده ای
بِیا بِخَانِهَّ دِل بِین کُه دِلارا اینجا سَت

Seclusion and solitude coupled with resignation to the will of God not only ward off all calamities but also bring us nearer to our goal. Says the poet:

بِحِر وِ بِرْ زُ شُور اَلْفَانِسِت
گِوشِهّ دِل گِزیدنِم هِوسِ اَسِت
گُوهِر ْ حَسْن را بَتار نَظِر
همچَوَّ اللَّامِ سَقْتِنِم هِوسِ اَسِت

* * *

آنِهَا کُه سِرِ سِجِده بِتِسِلِمِ نَهَادَنِد
از خَوْشِ برَسِنِد و بِسْی خَرم و شِادَنِد

In the following couplet the poet expresses his gratitude to the Almighty for having given him a worthy son, viz. ‘Ali Gauhar (Shāh). The charm of the lines is heightened by the subtle pun on the words گوهر and the significant harmony of the expression:

پَیْشَ بَناه

للِّهِ الْحَمْدِ كَهّ “مِسْکِین” چو گوهر یافت
بَارَکِ آلِهّ چه عَجِب پیش بناه دارِد

SĀYYID MĪR JĀNULLĀH SHĀH,1 alias Jān Shāh III (d. 1893 A. D.) of Rōhri, was the eldest son of Sayyid Mīr ʿAli

(1) His life-sketch is based on the account given by Diwān Sobhrāj Nirmaldās. The selection of his verse is made from Diwān-i-Ashiq.
Akbar Shāh and succeeded to the holy seat of Sayyid Mir Jān Muhammad Shāh, the foremost among the followers of the widely known Sūfi-saint and martyr of Jhōk-Shāh ‘Ināyat. He rose to great eminence as a spiritual adept at the feet of his murshid, Sayyid Mir Murād ‘Ali Shāh (A judge at Sakhar), and composed a Diwān of nearly 4,000 distichs with “Āshiq” as his nom-de-plume. He lived the life of a Rādī inelgdom indifferent to worldly concerns. His life is best depicted in his own words:

عاشقی را نگاه نماید
محتوای دیدار و مشتاق حسن یچونم

* * *

خلق سویم بعلیم نور
رفتم از دست صحت دیگر

The poet, who is revered as a saint of the highest order says:

عجائب عشق هم از داد عشق بدرین منزل
بزرگ حکم خور آورد جو و ان و پریان را

* * *

بهار انوار تجلی هر نفس سر میزند
شمس تا بندش شده تا عرش در فرسان ما

* * *

جلوه نور تجلی در شهوت ما نگر
آتاب حشر تابانت در تصویر ما

* * *

در وجود ما خیاله غیر کی یابد رهی
پار ما هر روز ما آید به استقبال ما

He pays his respectful tribute to his murshid (Sayyid Mir Murād Ali Shāh) and his oldest ancestor (Sayyid Mir Jān Muhammad Shāh) in the following words:

از طریق سیر مجلس کشت "عشق" فضیبان
رهبر و مرشد "مراد" شد سروسامان ما
"عرض حاجت میکنم ای مرشد سید 'مراد '
سینه‌ام را مطلع خورشید تابان کن هنوز
*    *    *
"عاشق"، از جام شراب: 'نیر" خورده جرده ای
مست و مدهوش جمال یار گشته رفت رفت
All suffering ends with self-realization:

با در منزل مشهد و وا کن عقده دلها
همه آسان شود کاره اگرچه انداد مشکلها

The moth is known to circle round and round the flame, till it is consumed by it; but the dazzling radiance of spiritual glory consumes the lover (i.e. rids him of self-consciousness) even at a distance:

جذب‌هم از شوق بیرون میکشید جوش و چون
برتو فانوس می‌سوژد دل پروده را

Self-conceit or self-worship is the gravest danger that besets the seeker in his path of spiritual progress. In the words of the poet:

"بت پرستی بهترست از خود پرستی ساختن"

The spiritual aspirant is, therefore, advised by "'Āshiq" to avoid self-conceit:

گی چنین ای بی‌خد در خود پرستی مانده ای
چون خلیل الله شکن بتهای این بتخانه را

The pure essence of spiritual verity viz., Wahdat, transcends all physical barriers. The former is of the immortal spirit, while the latter is of the transient body. The man who has realized the truth of wahdat, lives in the world and yet is not of it; his spirit ever quaffs the ambrosial goblet of eternal divine bliss, and transcends the weal and woe of earthly life:

تن بحیل شرع دل مست شراب و حدست
جان پیمانان میرد مخمور این میخانه را
Man, the receiver of the highest tribute -
"الإنسان..."  
is interpreted by "'Ashiq" as under:

مطلع خُورشید پنهان در وجود آدمیست
بر ملک فرمان حق بهر می‌سوزد آدمیست
راز "الإنسان سری", در کلام حق ظهور
شمش تا بنه درون، پیرون نمود آدمیست
چشم "عاشق", گشت بینا دید هر چا حسن یار
صاحب لولاک در قلب وجود آدمیست

*     *     *

خالق و مخلق در قلب صفای آدمیست
این همه گون و مكان بهر لقای آدمیست
حور و غلمان بهشتی تابی، فرمان اوست
عرش و کریم و فلک هم زیر پای آدمیست

Long and difficult is the path of spiritual realisation, for it is beset with untold suffering and disappointment. The Zealous aspirant, however, attains his goal by perseverance and by profiting by the experiences of his predecessors. "'Ashiq" expresses his experience thus:

دریمان بحر وحدت گشت "عاشق", غوطه زن
از تلائم موج خود مردانه می‌سازد مرا

*     *     *

سر بزیر پا نهادم، لا مكان سیرم شده
لذت تحقیق را محفل نمیداند که چیست

And he exorts the seeker after spiritual bliss to toil relentlessly:

اگر مقصد جوئی ز روی جهاد بیا
کسی بخواب نبردست کاروان اینجا
بجز مصاحدد کی میرسد بچلوعه دوست
پسی زود برده به آسمان اینجا
For

The human heart has been sanctified by spiritual masters as the abode of divine glory and bliss. Says "'Ashiq":

"بلغهُ نور خدا در غنچهٔ دل یافتمن
صاحب لولاک را در برده گل یافتمن"

"در دلم پیدا شده گنجینهٔ اسرار دوست
از تنمای جهان من یی تنست گشته ام"

"عتدهُ دل و اکن و خورشید تابان را ببین
ظرلت هستی نگن دوری ز نداینی، دریغ"

Of all the charms of a beloved face, the mole is no insignificant detail. This is how the poet brings out its beauty:

"خال بر رخسار، دلبر دیده ام یکین ازان
حیرت آمد کافری شد حافظ قرآن من"

The boundless bounty of the All-merciful Allâh is optimistically summed up by the poet thus:

"گرم بگذرد ز جرم خلایق عجب مدار
ای بوالهوس تو بخشش شاهان ندیده ای"

The attainment of prosperity and attachment to this world, for which the unenlightened toils incessantly, ultimately become the bane of his life - fetters for his soul on the physical plane. Life is a trust and man’s blind dedication or surrender thereof to earthly pursuits is culpable waste of his precious time and opportunity. A poet has wisely said:

"کار دنیا کسی تمام نکرد
هر چه گیرید مختصر گیرید"
Real happiness is attained by development on the spiritual plane. The idea has been succinctly expressed by Āshiq thus:

در تنمای جهان باشی پریشان تابکی
میروشی بهر ظلمت نور تابان تابکی
آنتنب عشق کرد آباد ابن کوی دلم
چستجو بهر چراگ از کوی ویران تابکی

The well-known couplet of Hāfiz, in which he says that he would barter both Samarqand and Bukhārā for the black mole on the cheek of his beloved Shirāzian Turk, finds a parallel in Āshiq's:

اگر آن دلبر ریتا نماید چه هره گلگون
پیک دیار او بخشم همه بجناب و ملتان را

His Diwān, consisting of ghazals, Sāqi Nāma, Tarkib-band, and Tarji'-band, includes some highly instructive matter. The following verses serve as a sample:

صدح زاهدان چشم بگیر
به دنیا تو دین خود متروش
وا نگری بپید باب دل
کی توان دید یار در آغوش

* * *

خود را رهان ز پید هستی
تابان بسر تو نور تابان
تا بند هوای نفس ماندی
خود را نشناختی تو نادان

* * *

مشغول بذکر دوست بودن
بهتر که چین بسجده سودن

MIRZĀ AHMAD 'ALI (d. 1312 A. H./1894 A. D.), son of Muhammad Husayn Khān, is yet another prominent poet of this period. His ancestors originally belonged to Qalāt, but it
seems that his father came down to Sindh and settled at Jacobbād (then known as Khāngarh). He served as Salt Inspector at Naushahrō Firūz (then a part of the Collectorate of Hyderbād, now of Nawwābshāh district), Shikārpur, Thatta and some other places. He wrote good prose as well as poetry, and sometimes contributed to the columns of *Mufarrîh’ul-Qulīb* under the pen-name “Ahmad”.

The poet was distinctly fond of Shikārpur, as is evident from his poems in praise of that place:

1. بهشتِ روى زمین گلشن، شکاپور است  
   نگارخانه، چین گلشن، شکاپور است  
   بقصرهاي نواون و گلشن، وفر  
   باغ، خلد، بین گلشن، شکاپور است  
   اگر ز رویه، مینو سواژ کوتندی  
   یکین شدم که همین گلشن، شکاپور است  
   هزار همچو جهاندار و بهره ور بانو  
   یا بین که درین گلشن، شکاپور است  
   چه احتیاج کند سوى گلشن ای “احمد”  
   کسیکه ساکن این گلشن شکاپور است

How the city of Sibi (in Qalāt) suffered a setback for about three hundred years and regained its prosperity in the days of Col. Sandeman and Rāi Hetūrām is described by the poet as follows - the closing lines indicating the date of its prosperity, viz., 1881 A. D.:

2. ببند دل یچان کاین سراي برای است  
   خنکی کسیکه ورا معرفت خداداد است  
   بین کجاست کسی کز زمانه خوشوند است  
   بگو کجاست کسی کو زده دلشاد است  
   بصیر قدرت ازد بین و عبرت گیر  
   گو هکمتش یتمان امور استاد است

(1) *Mufarrîh’ul-Qulīb* - Dhil-Qa’d, 1297 A. H./14th. November 1880.  
(2) *Mufarrîh’ul-Qulīb* - 21st. Sha'bān, 1306 A. H./1889 A.D.
Poetry is a reflection of a poet’s experiences and of his conception of life, which are communicated to the public in musical and telling language. In the following couplet, “Ahmad” expresses his painful experience of the pangs of separation from his beloved:

1 حصن های شب، هجران و گم از "احمد" پر
2 زانکه بر دیده، او اشک رو خواب زده

And the best poetry generally breathes sentiments of sorrow. To quote Shelley:

“Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought”. In a mood of self-complacency the poet says:

1 Mufarrih’ul-Qulāb - 18th. Safar, 1307 A. H./1889 A. D.
Many poets have composed ghazals on the radif. Here are a few lines of Ahmad on the qâfiyas:

\[
\text{غنبر مزگان یار و منتشر فستاد دهر} \\
\text{هر دو خونخوارند امّا این کجا و آن کجا} \\
\text{چشم من از بیه یار و چشم بلبل بیه گل} \\
\text{هر دو بیدارند امّا این کجا و آن کجا} \\
\text{"اهٰمد" اندر علم عشق و زاهد اندر علم وعظ} \\
\text{هر دو هشیارند امّا این کجا و آن کجا}
\]

The restlessness caused by the anguish of love passes all comparison. The poet compares it with the wave-motion of mercury:

\[
\text{آتش عشق تو تا دردل من تاب زده} \\
\text{اضطراب دل من طاق بیصاب زده}
\]

Thanks to the (flood of) lover’s tears, the seven heavens are safe from the terrible fire of his seething breast (the fire being extinguished by the swift-flowing tears):

\[
\text{آتش سینه من هفت فلک را میسوخت} \\
\text{اگر از بیه دو چشم نشدى آب زده}
\]

The natural function of fire is to burn whatever is touched by it; a spark of fire quickly destroys a big heap of corn. But there is little fear or risk of damage from a screened fire. The beloved’s fire-spreading (shining) face, however, though veiled, provides an exception. Says Ahmad:

\[
\text{آتشين رخسار خود کردي نهان و خلق را} \\
\text{شعره ها در خرمن صبر و قرار اندختي}
\]

---

(1) Mufarrih'ul-Qulub - Rabi'ul-Awwal, 1295 A.H./3rd. March, 1878 A.D.  
(2) -do- 25th. Dhil-Hajj, 1305 A.H./1888 A.D.  
(3) -do- 18th. Safar, 1307 A.H./1889 A.D.  
(4) Ibid.  
(5) Ibid.
In the following verses the lover-poet describes the beloved’s armoury of bewitching blandishments in the tournament of love:

سوار چاپکِ من عزم میدان کرده می آید
سندِ رازا یکسر بچولان کرده می آید
مرا جمعیت خاطر چشان ماند که آن سرکش
کله کچ کرده و کلک پرشان کرده می آید
نخستین بده ‘‘احمد’’ عهد و پیمان وفاداری
کنون پیمانه برکف ترک پیمان کرده می آید

His contact with a dangerous viper in a dream is ingeniously turned by the poet into an object of happy augury and joy, to wit the beloved’s curly ringlets:

شبی در خواب دیدم افعی در دست خود پیجان
بشد تعریش اینک در کفم زلفی نگار انشب

And the lover’s infatuation renders him quite insensible to the limitations of his faith or the dictates of Shari‘at, the idol of his heart having perfect sway over him:

تا با نهادهای بره عیش و ادا
با سنگر ناز شیشه، ایمان شکسته ای

Verily “love laughs at locksmiths”, and recognises no barriers.

MAKHĐUM MUHAMMAD IBRĀHĪM (1243-1317 A.H. /1827-99 A.D.) son of Makhdūm ‘Abdul-Karim, belonged to Naqshbandi family of Thatta, and was a Hanafi by creed. According to his own description, Herāt was the home of his ancestors, and he traced his descent to the first Caliph, Abū Bakr Siddīq.

He learnt Persian from his father and finished the recital of the holy Qur‘ān at the age of eight. After acquiring profici-

---

(1) Takmilā.
(2) MS. Note-books of Diwān Sōbrāj.
ency in the Arabic language and some sciences, he took to composing poems in Persian with “Miskin” as his *nom-de-plume*, and completed a *Diwan*. But afterwards, at the instance of Muhammad Zāhid b. ’Abdul-Wāsi’ Shākrānī and some other friends, he changed his poetic name to “Khalil” in consonance with the well-known title of his namesake Ibrāhim (Prophet Abrāham), and composed another *Diwan*:

1. نيضر مسکينی، تو "ابراهیم"
   ساخت ریزه چین، خوان خلیل

Apart from these, he has written memoirs of some later Persian poets of Sindh and of those who visited this country, after the style of 'Ali Shīr Qānī, and appropriately named it *Takmilā*. He has also to his credit some poems in Urdū - a language he learnt from Sayyid Ghulām Muhammad Shāh “Gadā”, when the latter visited Thattā for a short stay of about four or five days, and gave “Khalil” some insight into the literary compositions of Urdū poets like “Ātsh”, “Ābād” and “Nāsikh”.

“Khalil” was not a dry theologian, nor a mere composer of poems; he was also a dependable guide for the followers of the Naqshbandi sect. A man of considerable literary repute, he was frequently visited by scholars and litterateurs from far off places and, in return, paid them courtesy calls.

In praise of the adherents of the Naqshbandi creed he says:

2. تتشبدان که بود چون دم عسیل دم شان
   مره دل زنده شوند از نفس خرم شان
   همه در حکمت ایمان بفلاطون مانند
   میشود مرهم صد زخم گنه یک دم شان
   آهوانند بصراحی مرای وحدت
   شوید از سایه کرثت چو غزالان ره شان
   یمچو اکسیر مس قلب طلا گردانند
   ای خوش آنکس که بود مجرم شان همدم شان

(1) Taken from *Diwan-i-Miskin*.
(2) *Mufarrīh’ul-Qulāb*, dated 5th. Sha’bān, 1290 A. H./28th Sept., 1873 A.D.
He has written an ode on Shāh 'Abdūl-Bāqī Sarhandī, his spiritual guide, in which he remarks:

1. پریرویان کشیشی و ترکان سرمه‌ندی
   بسی دیدم ندیدم چون دل آویزان سرمه‌ندی

He pours out his heart to his murshid thus:

2. پتوای مسیح دلها ز لیل "خن‌دست"
   عرض ایست
   که بکیمیای خاطر مس قلب ما طلا کن

"Khalīl" has composed a love poem on the model of Hāfiz's commencing with

تعلیم‌الله چه دولت دارم امشب

The following verses occur therein:

3. ناید خواب در چشم لیاد
   که محو حسرت دیدارم امشب
   بشوق زلفی او هستم پریشان
   بیاد چشم او بیمارم امشب

He has written an ode in double-rhyme containing the following verses:

4. گر معاذ ایشان ز هجرت آیدم پیغم غم
   آنقدر گرم که در چشم نماند نام تم
   نظم من رنگین شود چون غنجه بیوی خوش دهد
   گر کشاپم یک دم اندرو وصف آن گلفام فم
   گر نسازد انس با من یک دم آن آهو روش
   صبر از من وحشی گرد کند آرام رم
   نظم هر وقوع که مبخواد دلت "مسکین" گیو
   چون مدادگار تو هاتف باشد و الهام هم

(1) Diwān-i-Miskīn.
(2) An old MS.
(3) MS. Note-books.
(4) Diwān-i-Miskīn.
Speaking about his separation from the beloved, Khalil remarks:

\[
\text{بَسَكَهُ درَّدُ فَرَاقَشُ گَریه‌ها کردِمً} \quad \text{"خلیل"}
\]
\[
\text{شُد چو ماهِی مَرَدُم،} \quad \text{چشَم مَرا مَسکن در آَبَ}
\]
\[
\text{بسَکَه کاهید تنم از غمَت ای ماهَ تمامَ}
\]
\[
\text{پیش مَرَدُم شده انگشت نام چو مه نَوُ}
\]
And the unbearable tortures make the poet exclaim:

\[
\text{خوش آن وتیکه دل بردارم از تو}
\]
\[
\text{که چا در بند و سر بردارم از تو}
\]
\[
\text{نَزَر و زَار و خوار افگانِم از تو}
\]
\[
\text{برو ای عَشَق من بِیزَارِم از تو}
\]
But he soon reconciles, realizing:

\[
\text{ابرویَ یار مطلع ناز آفریده اند}
\]
\[
\text{زَنگش قصیده وار دراز آفریده اند}
\]
\[
\text{جانان ترا ز شوخت و ناز آفریده اند}
\]
\[
\text{مارا همه ز عجز و نیاز آفریده اند}
\]
\[
\text{ترا گر قامت شمشاد دادند}
\]
\[
\text{مرا قمی نَگِ فَریاد داَند}
\]
\[
\text{ترا تا مصیف دلشاد داَند}
\]
\[
\text{مرا سیاره غم یاد داَند}
\]
\[
\text{ترا گر حسن عَشَق ایجاد داَند}
\]
\[
\text{مرا عَشَقی بحسن آباد داَند}
\]
\[
\text{بدل حزن و بلب فَریاد داَند}
\]
\[
\text{مرا در عَشَق این امداد داَند}
\]

The beloved’s cruel and callous behaviour also changes to favour and condescension when the lover perseveres in his fidelity to her:

(1) Takmila.
(2) Diwân-i-Miskîn.
(3) Ibid.
Happy is the man who remains calm and achieves a measure of equilibrium in the midst of the wheal and woe of earthly life. The poet says:

اَذ غَم و شَادِی دُنیَا دَنی
گرِه بِجا هَسَت و خَنْدیدن غَلَط

In the following distich the poet takes pride in the fact that he is the successor of eminent poets like “Munshi”, “Qāni’”, etc:­

سیرده اَند بِن مَسِنَد سَخَن “مسکین”
عَظِم، "ماَیل" و "محسن" "عطا" "رَجا" "قانع"

To a rival poet of his time he addresses thus:

جوَاب پَختگان اَی طَلَع خَام اَز تَو کَجا خَیزد
چَو نَو آموزِنبو فِرق دَر تَانیِت و تَذکرَت

SAYYID GHULĀM MUHAMMAD SHĀH “GADĀ”
(d. 1322/A.H./1904 A. D.) walad Sayyid Hasan 'Ali Shāh was born in the vicinity of Hālā. His ancestors belonged to Khurāsān whence they came to Qandahār and finally settled down in Hālā during the reign of Miyān Nūr Muhammad Kalhōrō. The poet acquired secular, technical and religious education at the feet of Ākhūnzd Ahmad son of 'Abdul-'Ali of Hālā, and Muhammad Raushan of Hyderābād, who was a pupil of Mir Sobdār Khān and whose year of death (1286 A.H./1869 A. D.) is commemorated by “Gadā” in the following words:

چَو اِسْتَاد "روَشَن" بِجَنَت رُوان شَد
بَکَفَت اَی "گَدَا"؛ "آَه شیریِن سَخَن" رَفَت

(1) Bayād-i-Ridawī.
(2) MS. Note Book.
(3) Diwān-i-Miskin.
(4) Bayād-i-Ridawī.
(5) Hindustānī - April, 1942, p. 40.
"Gadā" was on intimate terms with Mir Husayn ‘Ali Khān Tālpur, from whom he sometimes received rewards for his literary labours. It is stated that after the above-mentioned Mir’s return from Calcutta (where he was taken as a state prisoner), Muhammad Husayn Shīrāzi (to whom the Mir was introduced during his exile) paid him a visit at Hyderābād and asked for an interpretation of the following metrical riddle, adding that none from India had been able to solve it:

در عدد چیزی که باشد پانصد وسه در حساب
خواهم از میر معظم داور مالک کرکب
گر بتصحیف درآری سبز باشد در رشک
قلبه او میر را هر لحظه در دژر کرکب
پانصد آن را سپارم بر عدود مالک تو
سخ را بفرست تا از عمر باشم کابیاب

To the amazement of Āqā-i-Shīrāzi, “Gadā” who was present in the Mir’s assembly, soon submitted his solution in the word "شراب" the four letters of which furnish the numerical value 503.

He wrote good many miscellaneous poems in Persian and Urdu, of which some in Persian appeared in the *Mufarrīh‘ul-Qulūb*. He was an eminent poet of Sindhi language in which he composed a *Dīwān*.

The following are some of Gadā’s verses in Praise of the Prophet:

1. يا رسول خدا عليك صلوات
   خاتم النبی عليه صلوات
   کیمیاً نگاه تو سردت
   مس قلم طلا عليك صلوات
   بجناب تو سلیمی هستند
   جمله شاه وگذا عليك صلوات

(1) A MS. Note-Book.
He had strong faith in the efficacy of sincere prayer, which is capable of bringing even the dead back to life, and often invoked the Prophet and Hadrat 'Ali for succour on the day of Resurrection:

The true lover or spiritual aspirant is indifferent to material comforts, and by giving up even the bare necessities like wearing apparel etc., finds solace in the fact that man is born naked and goes back to the dust naked. Worldly ostentation and the attractive darwish-like way of talking of the austere monk have no attraction for him. In the words of the poet, he is happy in spite of, and perhaps because of, his penury:

(1) An old MS.
(2) An old MS.
The transient nature of life on earth has hardly an attraction for the philosopher who has realized the truth of the dictum "Life is short, art is long, opportunity fleeting, experiment uncertain and judgment difficult". Being wholly absorbed in the task of self-realization, he regards the world as mere tinsel—an idea that was so pithily put by Hāfiz in:

چه خوش گفت جمشید با تاج و گنج
که یک جو نیرزد سرای سپت

The Sindhi poet has expressed this idea in the following manner:

گرچه بر می نفسي نیست که یی غم گذرد
کافرم در دل من گر غم عالم گذرد

The fairy-folk with their gazelle eyes and coquettish ways have disturbed the peace of many a lover's mind. Hāfiz once cried:

نغان کاین لولیان شوخ شیرین کار شهر آشوب
چنان بردن صبر از دل که ترگان خوان یبمارا

And Gadā was no exception:

داه صد اهم که از جور یز خراران
کشتی صبر فتادست بموچ یم شان
چشم آهو نظران کرد چه تاثیر یوم
کژ دلم صبر رسدست "گدا" از رم شان

The beloved's amorous glance is a soothing balm for the heart that has been wounded by Cupid's arrows:

ز بیه هختگی این دل مشوش من
نگاه ناز ز چشم تو حکمت العین است

The poet holds that the beloved's blandishments so stupefy the skilful painter, including the master painter Behžād, that he

(1) Bayād-i-Ridawī.
(2) An old MS.
(3) A MS. Note-Book.
is unable to portray the beloved. What, then, can an ordinary painter do?

The popular mole on the beloved’s bright face made a poet exclaim:

“Gadā” however, found a strange and happy combination of the Hindū (lit. a black mole on the cheek of a mistress; an infidel) and the Muslim (worshipping God in the temple of Ka’ba represented here by the beloved’s face) and expressed his thought thus:

In other words, the distinctive individuality of a person has no place whatever in the region of spiritual love.

MUNSHI RASULBAKHSH “RAHI” (d. 1912 A. D.), Brohi by caste, hailed originally from Qalāt. He started his career as a Second Munshi in the Shikarpur Collectorate, and rose to be a Mukhtarākār. He was deputed to the British Government’s Agency at Qalāt at the time of the riots which broke out there and on the frontier after the death of its ruler, Khudādād Khān. After finishing his work there, he resumed his previous employment under the British. The Government appreciated his work in Qalāt and rewarded him with a robe of honour and bestowed on him the title of Khān Bahādur. He was also promoted to Deputy Collectorship.

(1) Bayād-i-Ridwī.
(2) A MS. Note book.
In spite of his preoccupation with administrative duties, he found time for intellectual pursuits. He also earned appreciable fame as a poet, and sometimes contributed his compositions to the *Mufarrih’ul-Qulāb*. A careful study of his poems reveals that he was a good student of the poetry of master minds of old like Hāfiz, Sāib and Sa’dī. He wrote several poems in imitation of the love lyrics of these and some other Persian poets. A few examples are subjoined. In the style of Hāfiz’s

من از بیگانگان هرگز تنالیم
که بامن هرچه کرد آن آشنا کرد

he says

من چرا شکوه اغیار کنن ای باران
که مرا هرچه فتادست اذان یار اتاد

In reply to an ode of Sāib containing

خاک تنواند حجاب ی دیده، روشن شود

Rahi writes:

آنکه او امروز دانه درمیان دل فشتند
بلیقین فردای محشر صاحب خرم شود
بهر، شور نو عروس ده آراشی کند
مرد کی باشد کسی کو مبتلاز زن شود
این تن. آلوهده را از اشکخوود پاکیزه ساز
جامعه، چرگین همیشه باک از شستن شود
از مزه جاروب کرده، گرد از دل باک گن
خانه، پر خس بهر، جا لایی رفتن شود
ای "رهی"، غفت مجاب آن غزل "صاحب" که گفت
خاک تنواند حجاب ی دیده، روشن شود

On the well-known *ghazal*, of Hāfiz beginning with the line

غلام، نرگس. مستن تو تاجداراند

(1) The whole text of "Rahi’s" poetry is a selection from the files of *Mufarrih’ul-Qulāb*. 
he has composed a *mukhammas*, in which he writes:

> امست حلقه موت رستگاراند
> گدای گوشه کوپپ تو شهریاراند
> ذليل عشق جمال تو کانگاراند
> غلام نرگس مست تو ثاجداراند
> خراب باده لعل تو هوشیاراند
> نه من به آفت عشق تو در بلایم و بس
> نه من بلیقه زلف تو مبلایم و بس
> نه من بنگس مست تو چران فدام و بس
> نه من بران گل عارض غزل سرام و بس
> که اندلیب تو از هر طرف هزاراند

Based on a ghazal of Sa’di, which contains

> اینست بهشت اگر شیدی کردن دیدن او جوان شود پیر

is the following stanza from a ‘fivesome’ by “Rahi”:–

> ای زاده اگر صنم ندیدی
> از باغ رخش گلی نچیدی
> بیهوده تو گوشهای گزیدی
> اینست بهشت اگر شیدی
> کردن دیدن او جوان شود پیر

In the following couplet the poet gives us his conception of a *mجنون* by playing a pun on Majnū (literally a madman - prisoner of love) and employing a number of literary artifices etc,

> بزنداجنون زنجیر زلفی لیلش باید
> هرآن عاقل ز هشیاری عشق او چو مجنون شد

In the following lines Rahi draws a pathetic picture of the star-crossed lover:
دل سئگن و جفا کمیش بمن نرم نگشت
سیسته و سیسته چه می‌باید کرد
برد زلفین پرچهره بیار بجور دلم
لشکر روی و زنگ‌گری چه می‌باید کرد
گاه خواند بوفا، گاه برند بجفا
گردن خر دویگنست چه می‌باید کرد

*   *   *
گر بخاک بر قیس رفتی شاهد درد دلم
ناله های زار کردن در کنن بگریستی
شب بیاد شمع رویت سوخت یاب، وار
واقت سوئم چو گشتنمین بگریستی
ور دندانی با خبر از درد من اهل جهان
مردم از آرام رفتی اهرم بگریستی

*   *   *
ز برق اوی من خسته دل حذر باید
که کار خومن گیتی بیک شراره کنم

*   *   *
بهره ای مه دل کواکب به آسمانها به‌سوزد آهمن
درخش خندید ز اضطراب، سحاب گرید از اشکباری

The cinematograph of Nature depicts diverse scenes; there is nothing stable under the sun. Hâfiz’s memorable verse

"چنان نماند چنان نیزهم نخواهد ماند"

is a constant reminder of life’s frailties. The wise always strive after mental poise and balance. Says Rahi:

ای دل یسرد مهری دوران صبور باش
کم بی رسد بهار چو پاچین بگذرد

The loveliness of the Ḥûrs of heaven falls far short of the ardent lover’s ideal of beauty. The poet expresses his feeling on the subject in the following couplet:-
The verses quoted below are a few specimens of his fine Similes:

کس ز کتاب کا کلکش حرف درست بر نخواند
زانکه حديث زنن او دور و دراز میرود
همت چوز طاقر ابرویت قبله عاشقان زار
رخ بینا بیبدلان وقت نماز میرود

*  *

از یک نظاره رخ معشوق، خاطرم
گویا که مرغ بود ز دستم برده شد

Want of zeal is a serious handicap in the achievement of one's object. Hāfiz has said:

چو قرب او طلی در صنای نیت کوش

Rahi says:

چسان بر منزل مقصود پویم
که اسر آرزوم باى لکست

Several poets have spoken of پشت دو تا دوتا پشت or پشت in different ways. For example Nizāmī says:

ازان خم پشت میگردند پران جهانیده
که زیر خاک میچویند ایام جوانی را

Says Hāfiz:

میلی اگر ندارد با عارض تو ابرو
پیوسته از چه باشند چون قدر من خمیده

The poet (Rahi) laments the loss of the precious time of his youth and ascribes the bow-like bend in his back to his anguish on that account, thus:

گشت تلف جوانی و پشت دو تا شدم زغم
تا شده تیر من خطا همچون کمان خمیده ام
Ingenuity culminating in سحر حلال is one of the characteristics of great poetry. It compels attention and wins applause. The following couplet of the poet is an instance in point. Therein, the poet ingeniously converts the ocular defect of Mîr Fayd Muhammad Khân Tâlpur, a one-eyed ruler of Khayrpur State, into an accomplishment which leads to power of observation and single minded concentration - qualities which make a successful marksman:

بي نگاه غائر اندر عرضه آماجگاه
بي خطا صيد افکن معمول محمود شما

It is said that the Mîr rewarded the poet with a suitable monetary gift in token of his appreciation of this ingenuity.¹

His younger brother, GHAUTHBAKHSH KHÂKI whose year of death (1325 A. H./1907 A. D.) is determined by the following lines of “Bahâi”,² was Head Munshi in the Jacob-âbâd Municipality:

ٹھا گوی بیغمبر پاک حق
قصیح اللسان غوث بخش آتکه بود
شب و روز از شوق غفل کتنان
چو ببل بیاغ ثنا و درود
بنعت نبی عمر خود صرف کردر
جز آتش نسبود گفت و شنود
سرش بود خاکی در آن جناب
تخلص ازین وجه "خاکیش" بود
"بهائی" نکو سال ایصال او
"به فارغ دلی" هاتغم گفت زود

He is the author of Barât-i-Najât-i-Khâki. A good poet, he specialized in the qasîda. The following lines are from his

(1) The incident was related to the present writer by late Hakîm Fat’h Muhammad Sehwânî.
(2) Divân-i-Bahâî, p. 280.
qasida in praise of his brother “Rahi”, commencing with a description of Spring:

چون مالک فلک ز رخ. بوسف بهار
جلاب شد نموده پیکار بر کنار
شد مشتری بهمر. رخش مصر کاتنات
مهد دست خود برید ز خیرت ترنج وار
از آب نیل دلو فروشست چرکی تن
آمد بهورج عمل و بانت انتخاب
گسترید نوبهار باسط زمردین
بر عضو ریس باغ و درو دهشت و کوهسار
چین. چبین. آب چو زنجر سپم ناب
پایند سرو شد ز دم. باد نوبهار
بازار جویبار ز گلهاچو گشت گرم
عرعر ستاد بهر. تماشا بجوریار
گردن سبزه زار چو بستان گل تما
رنگ. شفق پدید از و زنگ. لالهزار
سومن ژبان کشاد بوصف عاذار. گل
پیچید عنجه دامن. خود از گزند خار
نیلوفر و بتفش لباس کبود رنگ
کردنده همچون حاج به احراز مرغزار
بر گوشه، چمن سمن و نسترن زندید
چون خور لواي نور بفیروز گون حصار
* * *
بهر تذار. تاج. شهنشاو تخت. جود
از چیر. دل بر آر لالی آبادز
بیوی گرو بصدح منشی رسول بخش
چون سلك در تصمیدای برجهته نامدار
علقل خطاب داد ورا "شعر فلک" بخش
بخشک لقب نهاد "دبیر. خرد شعار"

(1) The matter regarding the text of Khâki's poetry has been collected from the issues of Mufarrij'ul-Qulâb.
The poet's beautiful style and diction, and his use of a number of Figures of Speech - pun, simile, allusion, co-relative terms, etc. - find a remarkable combination in:

ز هجر. آن شکر لب خسرو صبرین دهن "خاک"  
غی چون یستون برتن دلی چون کوهةکن دارم

As a rule, the child is a care-free, frolic-some creature, who is incapable of weighing the pros and cons of human affairs. The aged man, having childlike ways, has been characterised thus by Sa'di:

چهل سال عمر. عزیت گست
مزاج تو. از حال. طفیلي گفت

Khäki pithily describes him in the following words:

بر گشتیم و بسر. سودای طفیلی کم نشد
دست بردی سیرند آغاز از انجام. ما

Absorption in love makes the lover oblivious of self-interest:

چنان باغت آشنایی گرفت
که در خوشتیت گشت بیگانه دل

The impudent expression and the beautiful eyes of the gazelle stimulate the lover in his forlorn loveliness. In this connection the poet mentions, by way of comparison, the oil of almonds which is known as a tonic for the human brain:

همچو مجنون بهر. مغز ما بصحرای جنون
چشم شو. آهوان شد روغن. پادام. ما

Wine imparts a touch of hilarity to a banquet; but the true lover's banquet is of a different type. The poet says:
"Repentance is a poor trade to follow", is the lover’s motto. Tread the path of love - whether it be in agreement with the ways of the world or no:

"Majdoom hawâm kurd ažim tohbe min ġergź
dé dar bender zelgér kâfr, tohbe shken darém.

GHULÂM 'ALI SABZPUSH, with "Ali" as his nom-de-plume, was another illustrious poet of this period. Some of his compositions were published in the Musarrīh-ul-Qulûb during his lifetime. A few passages from his poems are given below:

In his invocation to God, he says:

1. *...*  
2. *...*  
3. *...*

The course of love never runs smooth. The poet narrates the sufferings of the lovers in the following verses:

(...)

(1) Margins of Diwan-i-‘Atâ.
(2) Musarrīh-ul-Qulûb, dated 15th Feb., 1880.
(3) Tanwîr, May, 1937.
The height of his anguish is reached in the following words:

\[
\text{ز اشکر آتشینم قطرا سوز اردآب اتید}
\]

But in every cloud, however dark it may be, there is a silver lining, and the poet who suffered the pangs of separation had his moments of joy also, which made him sing:

\[
\text{چو گیرم بوسه از لعل لب او}
\]

“The storm of passion lasts a day,
But deep true love endures always”.

The lover’s heart is firmly set on his beloved, despite sufferings and ignominy. Love is like the spider’s web or the whirlpool from which there is no escape for its victim. Says the poet:

\[
\text{قانادم ناگهان اندر محيط عشق بی بایان}
\]

Compared to the devout Muslim’s namāz, the lover’s prayer is not without merit either. The poet tenders his meed of praise to the latter in the following words:

\[
\text{دلا روست بمحراب ابروی جانان}
\]

(1) Margins of Diwan-i-'Ata.
(3) Tanwir - May, 1937.
(4) Margins of Diwan-i-'Ata.
(5) Ibid.
However destitute he might be, the true lover or aspirant is indifferent to worldly power and pelf:

The sun is recognised as the source of light. But what a world of difference there is between the effulgence shed by the sun and the dazzling beauty of the beloved’s cheeks:

The poet had a pretty good mastery of Persian language and rhetoric, and occasionally used similes and metaphors after the style of great classical writers. The following are a few specimens:

(1) Mufarrih’ul-Qulūb - 17th October, 1880.
(2) Tanwīr - May, 1937.
(3) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
The lover is, as a rule, jealous of the honour of his heart’s idol, and, sometimes, his jealousy develops in him a keen sense of exclusiveness in respect of his beloved; in other words, he will not tolerate the existence of a rival. “’Ali” would obliterate from the earth the very impression, if any, of his beloved’s feet, and the delicacy of his sentiment is heightened by his use of the expression دو چشم - the two eyes which, as is well-known share with lips the privilege of kissing the object held sacred:

بر زمین گر نقص پایه بنم، آنجا با دو چشم
خاک بر گیرم چنان که آب از زمین آید بران

In the following lines the poet speaks out his mind in connection with the fickle friendships of the world. His expression evidently refers to some period of adversity in his life:

بچشم عندلیتان زمانه
علی “کل بودم اکنون خارم امشب

MIR ’ALI NAWAZ “’ULWI” (1851-1920 A. D.), the second son of Mir Fakhrud-Din, was a contemporary of Qāsim, Gadā, Rahi and Ahmad. He had two poetic names viz., “’Ulwi” and “Mujrim”, and is stated to have written many books, of which (Tidings for the wise) in Arabic and Kulliyyat, consisting of more than 50 ghazals and a few qasidas in Persian and some elegies, fragments and other poems in Sindhi have been published. He often contributed his poems to the Musarrith-ul-Qulūb.

He inherited from his ancestors a passion for medicine and worked as a native physician of some repute. He was a social worker, President and Vice President of several institutions;

(1) Margins of Divān-l-’Atā.
(2) The matter for his life sketch is gleaned from Sindhū - August 1936, whereas the verses are taken from his Kulliyyat.
and he rendered yeoman's service in 1911 A. D. and 1917 A. D. when disastrous fires, floods and epidemics (Cholera and influenza, etc.) broke out in his native place Shikārpur.

The poet wrote a qasīdā in praise of Mr. W. H. Lucas, I.C.S., the then Commissioner in Sindh, when the latter proceeded to England on twelve months' leave. Its opening couplet is:

جنايب ليوكس صاحب كمشتر دوران
خديو جم خشم وصاحب سكندر شان

Another qasīdā of his, in praise of Mir Imām Bakhsh, G.C.I.E. the then ruler of Khayrpur State, begins thus:

خسرو تخت عز و شان مير امام بخش خان
والی خيربور سند شاه ستوده جهان

and contains the following verses:

بوي سواد نظم من غيرت عود و منشك شد
تا بنای او شده خامه من گهر فشان

گشت يقين قبای سحر راست بقدر شعر من
زان پچ را همین زنی طبل سخنوری عیان

پایه نظم و نثر من هست ز هندس بان تند
شد یتن فساحت از خامه من روان روان

ليك بمبح شه نمود کشتی نظم من هراس
زا انجک محيط مدح او هست عميق و بیکران

He pays a glowing tribute to some of his contemporary poets as under:

"اصغر، که سر سخنورانست
سر حلاقه جمله شاعرانست
در جمله علوم بينظير است
او هسر "سعدی"، و "ظهیر" است

* * *

احمد که چو او سخنوری نیست
در بحر سخن چو او دری نیست
لاشک که طیب سپم شعر است
اشهر بجهان چو ماه و مهر است
* * *
دیگر "رهی"، آن عجب سخندان
فردوسی، عصر و "عنصری"، شان
آن واعصف سرور دو عالم
آن زیده شاعران اعظم
* * *
"خاک"، که یگانه، جهان است
در شعر "نتامی"، زبان است
با طعی سلم کس بدوران
کم هست دگر چو او سخندان

But his highest praise was lavished on Qâsim:

هر که بیدر شعر او مهر و یا یگانه گردید
همسری نیست هیچ کس "قاسم"، دنامدار را

'Ulwai, however, was not particularly impressed by the poetry of Muhammad Mufti "Khâti" of Shikârput, whom he criticises as follows:

چشم بکش و "خاطیا" بنگر
تو کجا و کجا غزلخوانی
هر که شعر تو دید گفت آن دم
هیچ بادا بین غزلخوانی

From a poem in his Kulliyât it appears that the poet was suspected of belonging to the Khârijite sect. He replies to his accusers thus:

"علوی"، از اخلاص دل هستم غلام، چار یار
لعتر. ایزد بود بر راضی و خرجی

(1) Qâsim reciprocated the compliment in the following couplet:

هزارت آفرین "علوی"، بدين رنگین غزل گفتنت
نه "قاسم"، بل نیارد کس چنین صنع. سرآبا را

(2) Kulliyât-i-'Ulwî, p. 22.
Some sad personal experience seems to have made the poet a practical and wise man, and guarded him against the duplicity of the enemy and the deceptive affection of the fair-faced:

Like the famous ghazal-writer Sa'di who, for want of a suitable simile to bring out the charm of his sweetheart's stature and face, expressed:

'Ulwi, on scientific and astronomic basis, questions the soundness of the common comparison between a lovely figure's radiant cheeks and the moon which borrows its light from the sun. He says:

The world is always changing - it never stands still. Things come and go, men and women are born and die, light flashes and darkens, and then flashes again. Everything on earth is subject to the law of change. Why, then, should one weep over the dead past or worry about the unknown future, and thereby unnecessarily spoil the charm of the present?

"Death is the end of life; ah, why
Should life all labour be?"

Rûdaki's advice, therefore, is

Nizâmi's views also concur:
يَا تَأْكِدُ دَهْنِ بِرْ خُنْدِهِ دَارِمٌ
بِمِنْ جَانِ جَهَانُ رَا زَنْدِهِ دَارِمٌ

Says this lover-poet:

غَمْ و نَشْطِ جَهَانِ رَا چُو اعْتِبَارِی نِیست
بِعَیْش و عَشْقِ پِتَانِ اخْتِصارِ بَابِد كرَد

The seeker after spiritual bliss must need surmount manifold difficulties which beset the path of love, keeping before his mind’s eye the stimulating example of holy aspirants:

زِ فِیض صَحبَتْ زَنْدِهِ دُلَانِ مشو مَایوس
بِرَاهِ عَشْقِ قَدْمِ اسْتوَارِ بَابِد كرَد

The beloved’s beauty is incomparable in the lover’s eyes. In the words of Háfiz-i-Shirāzi:

نِسْبَتِ رُویت اَگر بَِ اَمَ حَروین کرَده اَند
صوْرَتِی نَادِیدِهِ تَشیهِی بِهِ تَخْمُین کرَده اَند

’Ulwi maintains that his beloved is like the Sun - effulgent, dazzling, blinding. The beauty of other handsome creatures is like the pale cool beauty of the stars, which is obscured when the Sun bursts over the horizon:

تو خُوْرِشیدَی و خَوْبَانِ چَوْن كَوَاکَب
بِشَتِ جَمِیلَی رَو پَوْشَ غَرَدنِد

In imitation of the verse attributed to Háfiz:

آَنْچَه جَانِ عَاشُقَان اَز دَسَتِ هِجرَش مَیکَشَد
کَس تَندُدِهِ در جَهَانِ جَز کَشَتْکَانِ كَرَیلا

he draws a pathetic picture of the lover’s anguish and heart-break and compares his pursuit of the beloved with the pursuit of a mirage in a desert by a man whose throat is parched and dry:

مَانِده اَم دَور اَز تَو اَی جَانِانِ مَن
تشْه لِب چَوْن كَارَوْان انَدِ سَرَاب
MAULVI BAHÁ’UDDIN “BAHÁ’I” (1249 A. H.-1353 A. H./1833 A. D.-1936 A. D.) of Mirpur Mátíló (district Sakhar) is the author of two Diwáns viz., Diwán-i-Na’tiya and Diwan-i-Bahá. The first, consisting of 301 distichs in praise of the Prophet, was published by H. H. Náwwáb Bahá’uál Khán, the ruler of Baháwalpur State, along with three narrative poems viz., Mathnawi, Khward-wa-Khwáb and Yád-i-Khudá of 300, 301 and 249 distichs respectively. The second was compiled and edited by his three sons. The poet, as is evident from his poems1, originally belonged to Kábul (Afghánistán):

در قفس افتاده بهند آسد
بابل، باغ خوش خوش کابلم.

As a Súfí, he was a votary of the Chishti sect and had great faith in the (Spiritual) guidance of Shaykh Firdausí’s Mátaltáni. He also entertained reverence for Pir Hizbulláh Sháh “Miskín”, to whose place he often went to pay respects. To quote his words:

بهانیا، ظفرت شد ز شاه حزب الله
نظر بمور ضعیف است خوش سلیمان را.

The poet was temperamentally averse to travelling. Says he:

گشهت ام زار و مستههم سفر
میخورم زهرها بجام سفر
دور دارد ز کاه و دانه خوری
اسب عیش مرا لکم سفر
من که مرگ ز خود ربان بودم
او نتادم اسر. دام سفر
سفر از خانه دور کرد مرا
گم شود از زمانه نام سفر

(1) All his verses are selected from Diwán-i-Baháí.
منعدم شد وجود عيشم ازو
باد اندر عدم مقام سفر
خواهم از فضل حق که صبح وطن
دور دارد مرا ز شام سفر
سفر آمد سفر اگر میل است
میل بیش است گرچه کام سفر
آتایبر وطن پیشت عبور
خوشتر از سایه خوام سفر

Prosperity makes strange friends while adversity tries them. That Baháí had some sad experience of fickle friends is evident from:

پاران که همه عمر ستودم همه را
وز صدق و صفا ثنا نمودم همه را
جوان مشکل افتاد نکرد آسان کس
دیدم همه را و آزمودم همه را

Verily, wealth wields a considerable influence over worldly people:

جهانی بود در تنای زر
گرفتار و شیدای سودای زر
نمای تامل نگاه که ملوان سلطنت ملوان زر
بود لاجرم عاشقش هر کسی
که زیبایی میشوند زیبا زر

In the following quatrain he expresses his gratitude to a Hindu gentleman for some timely help rendered to him:

هندو پچه ای مرا مددگاری کرد
بیت گر در می خدا مددگاری کرد
چون بود میان من و اصق و صفا
پکبار بصد صفا مددگاری کرد
The lines quoted below remind us of the advice of Polonious to his son Laertes in Shakespeare's "Hamlet":

That one should always shun the company of the base and the wicked is expressed by the poet in the following verses:
هر که خدا نیش درو آفرید
نوش از و کس نتوانست دید

The ordinary man sees nothing noteworthy or typical in the bounding horizon, while the scientist denies the very existence of the sky, saying that it is a vacuum, an optical illusion; but the lover-poet, soaring on the wings of ecstasy, sees something grand in it and sings:

گر آستانه عشق تو عالی مقام نیست
دارد بسجده سر بزمین آسمان چرا

'Aql (reason) and 'Ishq (love) are like the East and the West - two opposite poles in the path of Union, that never meet. The one is self-possessed and the other all abandonment. As love increases, prudence diminishes. Sacrifice of the ego resulting from narrow personal attachments and worldly prudence is, therefore, held as the sine qua non for the attainment of the imperishable bliss of Union with the Divine Essence:

گر کتی دور ز رخ پرده پنداری را
پنجره از برچ. هر برگ رخ باری را
کنار عشقست ز اسلام. خرد شیرینتر
لیست اینجا قدی لنت دنداری را

دانیای دهد بودم و اکنون ز عشق تو
صیت، چنان من ز عجم تا عرب رسید

وصالد دوست محل از محل میگویند
ز خویش یا نه بر آنی خیال خام بود

* * *

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گم ز خود باش و با خدا مشابه
با خدا از خودی جدا مشابه
That captivity of any kind should serve as a means of our release from bondage may sound strange and paradoxical, but the poet, who has obviously sipped the inebriating cup of love, says:

اِز قَبُودِ هَر دو عَالِم دِل بُودِ فارغ مِرْا
اِین گرْنَتارَی زِ عَشَق سرو آزادرِ مِن اِست

The idea that God manifested Himself in every atom, so beautifully put by Jāmi in:

ز ذرِاتِ جَهَان آَثِینه‌ها سَاحت
ز روِی خود پهَر یک عَکس اِندَاَخت
جمال‌ او ست هر چا جَلَوه کرده
ز معشوشُان عَالِم بَسطَه پَرده

is expressed by Bahā'ī in the following verses:

کرَدِی از روی بَتان آَثِینه‌ها
حسن خود را پِتَئاشا شده ای

* * *
عَاشَقِم بِصُورتِ انسان کَه مرَاتِ خداَست
آَتَاب آَسا منور مَظهرِ ذاتِ خداَست

But He (the Lord of Divine Essence) can be perceived only with the eye that discerns Unity in diversity, and not with the physical one:

پاَر هَر چاَست "بهائی" بِجَهان جَلَوه کنَان
لیکن آن دَیده که دیدار بَبید دَگرَ اَست

The poet's following couplets, describing the spiritual seeker's experience in search of God,

من بَسِمَد سَالِها جَستم تَرا
جا بِجا بودِی مَنت نَشَنَاختم
چون "بهائی" جا بِجا هَم جِستم
تو بما بودِی مَنت نَشَنَاختم

form the sum and substance of the following ode of Rūmī:
True love, founded on firmer ground than intangible fascination for the evanescent charm of physical beauty or the satiety that comes in the wake of sensuous satisfaction, is unaffected by age, sorrow or sickness. Majnūn and Laylá furnish an illustration in point. Says Bahā'ī:

ما بیر شدم و عقل، ما بیر تشد
وز پیر، ما بعشق تقصیر تشد
هر چند که کهن، گشت چوب صدیل
خوش‌بی، آن تنی و تاثیر نشد

The poet has to his credit some metrical word-puzzles, e.g:

ز حال، زارد دو صد خط نوشته ام آوخ
در این من، چه شدی کر بیدی بیک پاسخ

The solution lies in the word قاصد. To explain: the numerical value of ق, according to the “Abjad” system, is 100, and صد
in the above verse stands for another 100. If between these two (i.e. ق and ص) is introduced (الف), of which the numerical value is 1 we get قاصد (the keenly longed for bearer of an epistle of news from the beloved).

In the following ode the poet has, by way of variety and fun, introduced Hindi and Sindhi rhymes:

ترک شوخم کار صد خنجر به سوئی میکند
عمر چون زلف دراز، خوشی چہوئی میکند
دل ز صد آزاد برده در اسمیری آورد
چون گره از ناز محبوی به چہوئی میکند
دل بر من راست دل باشد بهر کس در وفا
لیک دل ب ما زبرہ عشاق چہوئی میکند
چون کند ناز و ادا بیباد با یک عشواری
غارت سرمایه چہوئی چہوئی میکند
هر که او در عین، عریانی بود ی ب ننگ و نام
موی رشی و سر تراشیدہ بع لوئی میکند
ی "بهائی", هر که باشد بنده، آن پادشاه
خلعت شاهی درد در کون لنگوئی میکند

He describes the wretched condition of the village Haybat and its inhabitants in the following lines:

ای که در ملک شما بای محبت نبود
مگر این ملک بود دوزخ و جنت نبود
سردم قربه، هیبت ز کمال افلاس
نان ندیده، همه نالند که ی ب نبود
سبب تسمیه اش زانچه بگفتم پیداست
کیست آن کس که دل آزاده ز هیبت نبود

There are few original ideas in the poems of Bahā'ī. He has not only borrowed similes, metaphors, figures of speech and

(1) meaning "gruel".
images from the great poets of Persia, but has composed poems in their style, and with their ideas, making slight verbal alterations in them. In imitation of the famous lines of Hāfiz:

آن چه شوریست که در دور، قمر می‌بینم
همه آفاق بر از فتنه و شر می‌بینم
ابلها، را همه شریت زگلاپ و قندست قوت، دانای همه از خون، جگر می‌بینم
اسب تازی شده مجزوح، بزیر بالان طوق، زرین همه در گردن خرم می‌بینم

he writes:

این چه شوریست که اندر همه جامی‌بینم
همه آفاق بر از زنگ و را می‌بینم
بردیلان فلک آرایست قصور عالی
کلبه، کهن هم مکان کملا می‌بینم
اسب تازیست بالان بنه بار گران
زین زرین بخویر یی سر و با می‌بینم

He also imitated Sa’dī, Zahir-i-Fāryābi and Amir Khusraw. For example:

خوئی‌که نشست جز به‌رد نرود
الا بالموت

is in imitation of Sa’dī's:

خوی بیر طبیعتی که نشست
نرود جز بوت مرگ از دست

and

dاروی درد مون وصل دلدار، من است
توتیای چشم، من خاکر، رو یار، من است
in imitation of Zahir's:

غبار را، تو در دیده توتیاست مرا
پیا که دیده، غم‌دیده یی شیاست مرا
It seems he took appreciable interest in the science of medicine. In the following composition he mentions a remedy for weak eyesight:

نمک و زاگ و زنجیل بیار
همه همووزن سحق کرده بدار
وزن كنجد فگن پچشم ای دوست
همه امرابش پچشم را نیکوست
خاصه ضعفی نظر که از شیب است
و اندر آفاقت مرد را عیب است

ای بی نگینی بچشم ای بار
این عمل کن بهتهایی دو سه بار
نه هراسی ز تیزیش ای راد
از "بهائی" کن این سبق را یاد
از محمد شریف شد سندش
داشت باد لطف حق مدش

In a satirical manner, the poet has written a poem on the pietists, which is unique in its own way. Hafiz and several other poets have exposed and lashed the ‘sanctimonious humbugs’ in a few terse lines, but Bahá’í has devoted a full poem to them, a major part of which is quoted here:

دلم از زاهدان مِلَل آمد
زانتکه این قوم را دو رو دیدم
اندرون بر ز خبث نفسانی
لیک بیرون زشت و شو دیدم
نام زاهد وی دی نیا
خون‌خور از خلق چون زلو دیدم
فاتن را دشن و شی ش کر دوست
دبیدن عامل "کلواه" دیدم

(1) Refers to the Quranic verse.
The subjoined few verses are from his *mathnawi* poem on “Himmät” (courage):

*همت اگر چست بینند کمَر از شجر. خشک شگوفد ثمر هم‌ت اگر جلوه دهد زور را. زور سریمان بدهد مور را. هم‌ت اگر تیز کند خنگ را موم نماید بدم سینگ را. هم‌ت اگر غازه کند چهر را. شیفتئه سازد دل، بی مهر را. هم‌ت اگر پال کثنئی کند خاک بر افلاک رسائی کند. هم‌ت اگر شعبه بازی کند گرنه بسک دست درازی کند*  

The passion for Persian literature, which swayed the minds of Sindhi scholars during three and a half centuries (from the latter half of the sixteenth to the nineteenth century), has almost exhausted out. The new social, political and economic forces, ushered in at the turn of the century by the domination of the West, began to assert themselves, with the result that the old environment, which had nourished some straggling
scholars of Persian, disappeared, and swept along with it the remnant that had lingered precariously under unfavourable conditions. With the closing down of the Persian Weeklies by the year 1905 A.D., and a shift over to the Provincial vernacular in the Educational curricula, Persian came to occupy a secondary place, and was consequently neglected even by the scholars of Sindh. The age of machine and materialism held little to arouse people’s interest in Tasawwuf, the *summum bonum* of Persian Poetry. Their interest in vaster fields of practical life made them indifferent to the mystic muse and the charm of Persian poetry. Their attention was diverted to the more vital problems of their own country, and whatever interest they formerly evinced in foreign languages and literatures was switched over to the languages of the conquerors and of other powerful States of the world. It is now the latter that have monopolised the interest of our people, and naturally so, for Persia itself has sunk to the level of a minor State, and hardly exercises any influence on world affairs. Thus came about, gradually, the end of the last glorious period of literary activity in the realm of Persian letters in Sindh.
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