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Under this Scheme, which extends to 4 years (1956-59), the Board propose to publish 14 works in Arabic, 30 historical works in Persian, 57 works in the field of Persian Poetry and Literature, 7 works in Urdu, and 6 works in English. This is the first book from amongst the English series, as also the first book so far published under the Scheme.

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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 India¹ 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 Maqalatush-Shu'ara of Mir 'Ali Shir "Qani" and the Takmila of Makhdum

⁽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. PREFACE

In conclusion, I have to express my grateful thanks to Diwan Sobhrāj Nirmaldās who allowed me the use of many manuscripts and offered many valuable suggestions. Mention may also be made of Pir Husāmuddin 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, refered to in the bibliography, who were good enough to allow me the use of their manuscripts.





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Pronunciation of vowel sounds in Sindhi, Persian,
Arabic and Urdu words.

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a as in 'China'

ā as in 'father'
c as in 'befit'

ē like ay in 'may'
i as in 'pit'
i like ee in 'meet'
ō as in 'owe'
u as in 'put'
ū like oo in 'food'
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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 darī 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:

We have another example of Persian poetical composition incidentally the earliest satire in non-metrical form - in the renderings of Yazīd 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:

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 فریه و یی 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:

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 Tähirids (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:

Another specimen of his poetry is:

او را سپند و مجمر ناید همی بکار با روی همچو آتش و با خال چون سپند ۱

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 Dīwān, 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 Muhammad b. Wasif As-sijistāni, Bassām Kurd, Muhammad b. Makhallad, Fīrūz-i-Mashriqi and Abū Sulaik of of Gurgān with some of their verses have come down to us. Of these, the first is said to have recited an extempore qasida in persian to eulogize Ya'qūb b. Layth on the occasion of his conquest of Herāt:

ای امیری که امیران جهان خاصه و عام
بنده و چاکر و مولای و سگ بند و غلام
ازلی خطی در لوح که ملکی بدهید
ازلی خطی در لوح که ملکی بدهید
بندا دا آماد ارتبیل او لئی خورد بازگی اللیث هما کنام
لنده شد لشکر رتبیل و هباگشت کنام

⁽¹⁾ Sayyid Sulayman Nadvi in his Khayyam (pp. 229-30) makes a mistake in calling the latter piece a quatrain; Ghani, 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 quatrain to both the pieces.

 ⁽²⁾ Chahār-Maqāla, Layden Edition, p. 26.
 (3) The distich in Tārīkh-i-Sīstān, p. 210, reads as under:

بلتام آمد زنبیل ولتی خور بلنگ - لتره شده لشکر زنبیل هواگشت کنام

لمن الملک بخواندی تو امیرا بیقین
با قلیل الفته کت داد دران د لشکر کام
عمر عمار ترا خواست و زوگشت بری
تیغ تو کرد میانجی بمیان دد و دام
عمر او نزد تو آمد که تو چون نوح بزی
در آکار تن او سر او باب طعام

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 Panegyries. 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 Samanids. 'Awfi 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 Samanid 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 Mas'udi-i-Marwazi, Abul-Mu'avvad of Balkh, Rūdaki, Abū Shakūr and Dagigi. Of these, Mas'ūdī enjoys the reputation of being the originator of the national epic; Abul-Mu'avyad 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 Diwan and a few mathnawis, he is also reputed to be the writer of Kalila-wa-Dimna in narrative form. Abu Shakur wrote Afarin Nama in doublets and is one of the earliest writers, if not the founder of ruba'i in Persian. Daqiqi

⁽¹⁾ In Tarikh-i-Sistan p. 211, it is بران

completed a Diwān of ghazals and qasīdas and undertook the difficult task of writing in mathnawī form a history of ancient Persian monarchs. He had only completed about a thousand couplets of this work, now widely known as Dāstān-i-Gashtāsp-wa-Arjāsp, when his life was cut short by an assasin. There is a trace of foreign (Arabic) element in the ghazals and qasīdas of this period - the Arabic vocabulary being far richer in qāfiyas than the Persian - but the mathnawī largely retained its indigenous purity in form and spirit.

The Sāmānids were followed by the Ghaznawids (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 Daqiqi, and embellished it with his admittedly superior diction and style. With a view to diverting the attention of the Persian writers from the Baghdād court to the Persian darbār, the rulers of the Ghaznawid dynasty gave handsome rewards to the men of letters, and elicited praises from contemporary poets like Farrukhi, 'Unsuri, 'Usjudi and Minūchihri. This naturally led to the further growth of qasida, 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 Ghaznawids that it came to be the fashionable vehicle of poetic expression. With Mahmud's conquest of the Punjāb (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-

⁽¹⁾ Muhammad Wahid Mirzā: Life and work of Amir Khusrau, Introduction, P. 1.

dations of the post-Islāmic Indo-Persian culture. The whole-some and stimulating atmosphere that the munificence of the Ghaznawid 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-) Nukati³ 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 Seljuq dynasty, succeeded the Ghaznawid. During their reign (1044-1157 A.D.), and particularly in the days of Malik Shah and Sultan Sanjar, Persian poetry attained great heights. Both the form and thought made rapid strides. The gasida developed in the capable hands of poets like Mu'izzi, Anwari, Khāgāni, and Zahir, and became even more refined in thought and diction. Abu Mansur Qatran, many of whose gasidas are often attributed to Rūdaki, cultivated the more difficult verse-forms such as the murabba' (four-some), Mukhammas (five-some), and dhuqāfiyatayn (double-rhyme). Sanāi, the first of the mystic trio (the other two being Shavkh Faridud-Din 'Attar and Jalalud-Din-i-Rumi), expressed haqiqat in the language of majaz, and introduced the practice of placing the poetic name in the concluding distich of a ghazal. Nāsiri-Khusraw and 'Umar Khayyam, 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 saqi nama, and

⁽¹⁾ Ghanī in his Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustān, 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 Amir Khusrau, Int., p. i.

⁽³⁾ Ghanî in Pre-Mughal Persian în Hindustan, p. 193, makes a mistake în 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 Sūzanī, Futūhī and Anwarī.

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'd of Shālī-Kūb. Abul-Faraj wrote a Dīwān of qāsīdas; Mas'ūd specialised in the panegyric and differed from other standard qasīda-writers in-as-much as he employed the forms of ghazal, qit'a and musaddas etc., for purposes of the panegyric and composed a bulky Dīwān; while the poetry of Hamidud-Din almost attained the standard of excellence set by Rūdākī 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. Sufism and Sufitic Poetry, which had ere this found their exponents in Abū Sa'id and Sanāi, attained a position of prominence in this period; and 'Attar among several works dealing with Sufi doctrines, produced an allegorical poem called Mantigut-Tayr, which describes the seven stages of the mystic path. Jalalud-Din-i-Rumi, on the other hand. produced his famous Mathnawi-i-Ma'nawi, and enriched Sufi thought by a further contribution, namely, Diwan-i-Shams-i-Tabrīzī. Sa'dī sublimated the moral content of his writings specially the ghazal, with tinge of tasawwuf. 'Iraqi and Mahmud -i-Shabistari brought out Lama' at and Gulshan-i-Raz 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, Diyāud-Din Barani, Badr-i-Chāch and Qādi 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 qusidas 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 romatic 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 mathnawis on the lines of Nizāmi's Khamsa (in which respect he is the first and the best imitator of of Nizāmi), and has many more to his credit, most famous among them being (i) 'Ashiqa or 'Ishqiyya (also known as Duwal Rani-wa-Khidar Khan) (ii) Miftahul-Futuh, (iii) Tughlaq Nama,, (iv) Qiranus-Sa'dayn and (v) Nuh Sipahr. Of these, the first is a romantic story of (King 'Alaud-Din Khilij's son) prince Khidar Khān's love for (Duwal) Rānī, the beautiful daughter of the Raja of Gujerat. The second and the third deal with the reigns of Sultan Jalalud-Din Firuz Khilii and Ghiyāthud-Din 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 qasida, and (ii) a number of ghazals echoing the sentiment of the Chapter immediately preceding it, besides relieving the monotony of the metre of mathnawi. His Nuh Sipahr, unique in style and spirit, is divided into nine Chapters written in different metres, including the رجز مسدس مطوى a difficult and uncommon metre used by (مفتعلن مفتعلن مفتعلن) Khusraw perhaps for the first time in the history of Persian mathnawi. 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 Abu Sa'id (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 Timur (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, Hāfiz-i-Shirāzi, Kamāl-i-Khujandi and Maghribi of Tabriz in the field of mystic poetry: Abū Ishāq in the composition of the satire; and Ibn-i-Yamin who wrote Fragments on ethical subjects. The later Timurid period (1405-1507 A.D.) was remarkable for the poetic activity of Shāh Ni'matullāh Wali, Qāsimul-Anwar, Kātibi and Jāmi. Of these, Jāmi was a great classical Sūfi-poet; he composed seven mathnawis collectively called Haft Aurang, and wrote three Diwans and a number of prose works. His genius was at his best in short stories. The liberal grants by Sultan Husayn Mirzā and his prime-minister Amir 'Alī Shir Nawāi were greatly responsible for the prodution 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 Timurid 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. Sindh, 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 Mahmud 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 Ghaznawid 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 Sumira Kings. Some of these pieces are by Nurud-Din 'Awfi's contemporary 'Ali b. Hāmid Kufi, the well-known writer of the Chach Nama, who arrived and settled in the province in 1216 A. D.; and the rest are by Shaykh 'Uthman-i-Marwandi, popularly known as Lal Shahbaz. The oldest Persian poets of Sindh, according to the extant annals, are the indigenous writers Jam Juna, Shaykh Hammad "Jamali", Shaykh 'Isa Langotio, Jam Nindo and Makhdum Bilal-all of whom belong to the Samma period (1333?-1521 A. D.). The only reminiscent verse of Jam Juna, as preserved in 'Afif's Tarikh-i-Firūz Shāhī, is the following hemistich which the poet is believed to have said in apology to his victor, Firuz Shah Tughlaq:

شاه بخشنده توثى بنده شرمنده منم

Specimens of the compositions of the remaining four poets are given below:

Hammād:

دو گزک بوریا و پوستکی دلکی پر ز درد دوستکی این قدر بس بود جمالی را عاشق رند و لااوبالی را

Shaykh 'Isā:

قید باشد حکیم در ره دوست دو گزک بوریا و پوستکی گر تو آزاده ای بس است ترا دلکی پر ز درد دوستکی

Jām Nindo:

ای آنکه ترا نظام دین میخوانند تو مفتخری سرا چنین میخوانند گر در ره دین از تو خطائی افتد شک نیست که کافرلعین میخوانند

Makdum Bilal:

در راه خدا زسر قدم باید ساخت سرمایه اختیار خود باید باخت کفراست که خودنمای باشی بجهان از خویش برون و سوی او بایدتاخت

⁽¹⁾ The Authors of ریاض العارفین (p. 461) and ریاض العارفین (pp. 84-85) have attributed these verses to Jamāli Dehlavi. The latter considers him as a contemporary of Jāmī. Shaykh Muhammad Ikrām, the compiler of ارمغان یاک (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 دی مهر و ماه The latter was Sikandar Lodhi's teacher and guide and father to شیخ گدائی, the first Shaykhul-Islām during the reign of Akbar:

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 Timurids 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 gasidas. Thus Maulana Muhtasham of Kāshān devoted his talent to "the celebration of the virtues and sufferings of the Imams" and won universal applause. Hātifi and Mīrzā Qāsim Gunābādī took to writing a parallel of Nizāmi's Khamsa, and Hilāli confined himself mainly to composing ghazals and mathnawis,. Bābā Fighāni Ummidi, Wahshi of Bafq and Zulali 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, Nizāmi and Khusraw in the fields of the mathnawi; or of Sa'di, Hāfiz and Jāmi in the sphere of the ghazal, or an equal of Mas'ud, 'Unsuri and Khāgani in the domain of the qasida. 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 Shibli1 Nu'mani (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 Lodī whom Bābar defeated on the field of Pānīpat. 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" (Dūngarmal?) 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 Timur 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 Chagtāi Turki, but he was no mean poet of the Persian language. His descendants - Humanyun, Akbar and Jahangir 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. Persian1 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 Hindu philosphy 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, Bhagwad Gītā, Rāmāyana, Tārīkh-i-Krishnāji, Singhāsan Battīsī 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 Hinduon 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 undrstood in Persia".

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, Nazirī, Tālib-i-Āmulī, Abū Tālib "Kalīm" and Sāib. Of these, 'Urfī is renowned for qasīda, in addition to ghazal² which he declared to be his forte. Nazirī shone out as ghazal and mathnawī writer. Tālib-i-Āmulī and Abū Tālib "Kalīm" served as poet laureates to Jahāngīr and his son Shāh Jahān respectively and are chiefly known for their love-lyrics. Sāib 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 Ibrāhim '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 Zuhūri, a good ghazal and mathnawi 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 Dīwān and the famous mathnāwī 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 Faydi who, according to his rival and contemporary Abdul-Qādir of Badāyūn, had no equal in the spheres of

^{1.} Ghani: A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Vol. I, pp. 131-37.
2. Cf:

Ghani: A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, p. 192 (based on the authority of Maathir-i-Rahimi.)
 Badāyūni: Muntakhabat-Tawārikh, Vol. III, p. 299.

poetry, enigma, prosody, history, orthography, medicine, and epistolography. 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 Sawāt'ul-Ilhām (a Prose Commentary on the holy Qur'ān in dotless letters) 2 Nal Daman (the love story of Rāja Nal and Damayntī in mathnawī form, taken from the Mahā Bhārata).

Shaykh Sa'dullāh, better known as "Masih" of Pānipat, rendered a signal service to the persian literature by composing Rāmāyan (the story of Rāma-wa-Sitā). Badru-Dīn-i-Kashmiri composed a number of mathnawis, seven of which are on the lines of Jāmi's "Haft Awrang". Other noteworthy poets were Muhammad Tāhir Ghanī of Kashmir, Nāsir 'Ali-i-Sarhandī and "Bīdil" of 'Azīmābād, all of whom, particularly the last contributed materially to the delicacy of thought and subtlety of expression in ghazal. Ni'mat Khān "'Ālī' of the fame of Waqāy'-i-Hyderābād, also lived in this age and wrote Kulliyyāt which contains ghazals, qasīdas, qit'as, rubā'īs, mathnawīs, etc. The Hindūs, too, did not lag behind. They produced amany poets and scholars, of whom Chandrabhān "Burhaman" (sometimes "Barahman" also) is the most important.

Sindh, during this period, was first ruled by the Arghuns (1521-55 A.D.), then by the Tarkhans (1555-1612 A.D.); and after the death of Mirza'Isa (1572 A.D.) in Upper Sindh, and the childless Ghazi Beg (d. 1612 A.D.) in the Lower, it was

^{1.} Ghani: A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Vol. III p. 39. See also Balochmann's views (Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I p. xvi).

For this mathnawi, Badāyūni (Muntakhabut-Tawārikh, vol. II, p. 396) pays him a tribute.

For details see Adabbiyāt-i-Fārsī Men Hinduon Kā 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. ghūns and the Tarkhāns were men of literary leanings. opened several schools for the study of Persian, and attracted to their court from Persia poets and scholars like Hāshimi Kirmāni, Ni'matullāh "Wasli", Mullā Asad Qissa-Khwān, Hakim Faghfür-i-Gilāni, Mullā Murshid Burūjirdi, Tālib-i-Amuli and Shayda-Isfahani. Many of the Mughal Agents too - for instance. Nawwabs Amir Khan, Abu Nusrat Khan, Hifzullah Khan, Amirud-Din Khan, Ahmad Yar Khan, Mahabat Khan, Savfullah Khan, Dilir dil Khan 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 Islamic 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 "Beglāri" and Hāji Muhammad "Redāi" who made original contribution to the mathnawi form by versifying the native 'Tragedies' of Lila wa Chanesar and Ziba wa Nigar (alias Sasui-wa-Punūn) respectively. Mir Ma'sūm Shāh "Nāmi" wrote five mathnawis in imitation of Nizāmi's Punj Gunj. He also composed a Diwan. The foundation of the Saqi Nama in Sindh was laid by Mirzā Ghāzi Beg, and hajw was introduced by Ghururi. Many erotic odes were also composed, notably by 'Abdul-Hakim "'Ata" of Thatta. For the first time in its history, Sindh could, at this stage, boast of the splendid achievements in Persian, of some Hindu 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 Mushtaq Lutf 'Ali Beg "Adhar" and Sayyid Ahmad "Hatif" of Isfahan. 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 'emigratia'. Soon the atmosphere of lively activity. created by the presence of the Iranian scholars changed, and before long the works of Indian poets and scholars deteriorated both in subject matter and style. Moreover, the emergence of Urdu, 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 Bilgram, 'Azematullah "Bi-Khabar", Anandrām "Mukhlis", Sirājud-Dīn "Ārzū", Lālā Amānat Rāi, Wāqif-i-Batālawi and Ghulām 'Alī "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" (Aurangzīb'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 Diwan.

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 Timurids 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. Sufism rose to transcendental heights, both in theory and practice, and found some of its best exponents in 'Allāma Mu'inud-Din of Thata (in prose) and Sayyid Jānullāh Shāh "Mir" of Röhri (in poetry): the latter was Sufi 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 Shir "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 qasida. A Shi'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, Oani' 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 Tuhfatul-Kiram and Magalatush-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 musha 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", Fat'h 'Alī Khān "Sabā", 'Abdul-Wahhāb "Nashāt", Muhammad Shafi' "Wisāl", Mīrzā Habīb "Qaānī", Mīrzā 'Abbās "Furūghī", Mīrzā 'Abul-Hasan "Yaghmā", "Surūsh" Mijmar and Qāim Maqām Farāhānī did great service to Persian poetry, specially the classical. Of these, "Yaghmā" remembered for his ghazaliyāt, hazaliyyāt (facetiae) and a new form of elegy which he devised, and which is known as nūha-i-sīna-zanī. "Qaānī" 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 Kalhoras to the Talpurs (1783-1853 A.D.). Shias by faith, the Talpur Amirs established friendly relations with the Shah 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, Mirs Karam 'Ali Khān, Nasīr Khān and Sobdār Khān were poets of considerable merit - each of them having a Diwan of ghazals to his credit, and the last two some mathnawis as well. They were a martial race and keenly desired the epic to take the front place in Persian poetry. Soon Muhammad 'Azim of Thata came out with Fat'h Namā, a history of the Talpurs from the time of the Kalhoras, and won popular applause. Dr. James Burnes, who wrote the account of the Court of Sindh, tells us portions from 'Azim's Fath Nama used to be recited in the darbar of the Amirs, and the people took pride in remembering them by heart. Besides this monumental work, 'Azim wrote a Diwan and is also the author of an Indian romance called Hir-wa-Rāniha, which inspired no less than a dozen writers, of whom three were Sindhis, viz. the above mentioned 'Azīm, Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān Laghāri, and "Āzād". Mīr Sobdār followed 'Azīm in the composition of Fat'h Nama, a Diwan and some mathnawis; while Ghulam 'Ali "Mail" son of Qani', Muhammad Qāsim of Hālā and Muhammad 'Arif "San'at" produced Diwans. Among the great Sufi poets, 'Abdul-Wahhāb "Ashkārā" and Bhāi Dalpatrām flourished during this period. Munshi Sahibrai "Azad" was the foremost among the Hindus and has a Diwan to his credit. Among other poets, Muhammad Yusuf and Muhammad 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 Bābism, gained momentum, and had considerable effect on Persian literature. Many inspired poems were composed on Babism by its votaries, the chief amongst whom was Ourratul-'Avn, the gifted Bābi poetess and heroine, and Mirzā Na'im. Nāsirud-Dīn, 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. 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. Sufi 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 'Ishqi, Iraj Mirzā, 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, Asrār-i-Khudī and Rumūz-i-Bīkhudī 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 1 in India.

In Sindh, with the fall of the Talpurs 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 Amirs of Sindh and the Shah of Persia, and which had kept the Persian language alive in Sindh, also ceased. Several Weeklies were started and musha'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 Shahdad Khan, Faqir Qādir Bakhsh "Bidil", Mir Husayn 'Ali Khān, Akhūnd Muhammad Qāsim, Nawwāb Allāhdād Khān "Sūfi", Qādī Ghulām 'Alī "Ja'farī", Pir Hizbullāh Shāh "Miskin", Mir Janullāh Shāh "Ashiq", Makhdum Ibrāhim "Khalil", and Bahāud-Din "Bahāi" - every one of these is a Sahīb-i-Dīwān. Of these poets, "Bidil" was the most prolific. He has written no less than fifteen books in Persian poetry alone; "Bahāi" tried his hand at every branch of knowledge and almost at every form of poetry; "Khalil" compiled Takmila (Supplement to the Magalatush - Shu'arā of 'Alī Shīr "Qāni'") - an anthology which provides good specimens of Persian poetry in Sindh from the days of the Talpurs to the time of the author's death in 1899 A. D. III Taval III Stille

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

هندوستانی، سماچار دربن، جامجهانها، مرآت الاخبار، شمس الاخبار،

اخبار سیرامپور، آئینه سکندر، سلطان الاخبار، ماه عالم افروز، اخبار لود هیانه

گورمنت گزت، سراج الاخبار، مهر منیر، و مفتاح الظفر.







CHAPTER I

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE RULE OF THE SAMMAS

THE recent archaeological finds at Möhen-jö-Darö 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 Aryans (in the Vedic period) who named Sindh and the Punjab as "Sapta Sindhu". For a long time, the territory was inhabited by the Aryans 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 Nama - 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 - Minagarh. 1 The Chach Nāma2 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 Makran, on the south to the Sea-coast and Debal (or Dewal), and on the north to the mountains of Kurdan and Kikānān. At that time, Sindh, with its capital at Alor, was (1) The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea, pp. 37-38. (2) Dr. Daudpôtā's edition, p. 15.

ruled by Hindū kings known as Rāis. In the days of Rāi Sihāras II, the country was attacked by the then king of Nīmrūz.¹ In the fight that ensued, the Sindh ruler lost his life. He was succeeded by his illustrious son Sahāsī II, the last ruler of the Rāi dynasty. He died without an issue; and the faithless queen Suhandī, 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 Rai 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 Dahar son of Chach, the Caliph, Walid bin 'Abdul-Malik, despatched an army under the command of Muhammad bin Qasim to take possession of Sindh. The Arab army had a comparatively easy victory, particularly because even well-garrisoned towns like Nirun hardly offered any resistence. 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, Nīrūn, Sehwan and Brahmanābād, - all famous for their trade and industry.

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

(1) "Nīmrūz" 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 Hindū native chiefs. After the gradual decline of the Caliphate - i. e. after the fall of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid dynasties, - the Tāhirids and the Saffārids rose to power; and about the year 871 A. D., the Caliph, al-Mu'tamid, "in order to divert the Saffārids from their hostile designs against 'Irāq, conferred upon Ya'qūb bin Layth the governorship of Sindhī ...". Thereafter, Sindh remained under the control of the governors of Khurāsān and Ghazna, till about the eleventh century A. D., the Sūmrās, 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 Sūmrās. Suffice it to mention a few names of Sūmrā rulers viz., Dōdō, Chanēsar, 'Umar and Hamīr, whose names have passed into legends and whose amorous adventures are the favourite theme of many songs and folk-tales to this day.

The Sûmrās 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 Nāsirud-Din Qabācha. 'Alāud-Din Khiljī is also said to have chastised the Sūmrās and destroyed Tūr, the illustrious capital of Sindh (1298 A.D.). In 1351 A. D., when Muhammad Shāh Tughlaq came to Sindh in pursuit of the rebel Taghī, he found a local dynasty, the Sammās in power. There is some doubt as to the inception of this line (1) Elliot: History of India, Vol. 1, p. 453-54; vide also Browne: A Literary History of Persia, Vol. 1, p. 347.

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, specially 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 "untrammelled 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. Somes 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'qub bin Layth - a ruler who did not know Arabic, and who cherished the Persian language. The evidence, however, of Ibn-i-Haugal and Magdisi, 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 Arabic2 and Sindhi. It is, therefore, very likely that the Persian language came to Sindh during the reign of the Ghaznawids - may be at the time of Sultan Mahmud's rule (998 - 1030 A. D.) or that of Sultan Mas'ud (in 4293 A. H. 1037 A. D.) - when Lahore was the metropolis of the Ghaznawid 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 Nasirud-Din Oabācha (drowned 1228 A. D.) or when it was invaded by 'Alaud-Din Khilii4 (1296 - 1315 A. D.).

⁽¹⁾ In this connexion Prof. Ghani (Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan, p. 60) remarks; "Muhammed b. Qasim'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. Qasim'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 Sulayman 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.

⁽⁴⁾ The writer of the note on "Alaaldin" in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. I, p. 246, maintains, "Poetry & sciences were zealously cultivated during his reign".

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 Kūfi, a contemporary of 'Awfi (the author of Lubab'ul-Albab); the other was Shaykh 'Uthman son of Ibrahim Kabir Marwandi, popularly known as Lal Shahbaz. The first set to himself the task of writing the Chach Nama, Persian translation of the Arabic work entitled Minhājud-Dīn wa'l-Mulk. In this book 'Ali Kūfi has introduced some of his original verses, of which a few in praise of Nāsirud-Din Qabācha, are reproduced below :-

۱خسروا ملک بر تو خرم باد کل گیتی ترا مسلم باد از تو آباد ظلم ويران شد بتو بنياد عدل محكم باد خطبه تعظيم يافت از نامت همجنين سال و مه معظم ياد وانجه در ملک جم نبود توا همه زیر نکین مختم باد چتر سیمون و همت عالیت سایه دار سبهر اعظم باد هر دلی کز تو حال عصیانست همه کارش چو زلف درهم باد تا کم و بیش در شمار آید دوست بیش ودشمنت کمهاد بیمینت چو ملک داد یسار در بسار تو خاتم جم باد

From their language and technique, it is clear that the author ('Ali Kūfi) 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 Lal Shahbaz. In some quarters the authorship of 'Ishqiya, a well known book replete with spiritual homilies, was erroneously ascribed to Lal Shahbaz. This has caused some misapprehension about his being a poet, apparently on account of its author bearing the same name2 viz. 'Uthman. The latter was, however, Ansari-Qadiri-Naqshbandi 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

Dr. Daūdpōtā's edition of Chach Nāma, p. 7.
 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 Hāfiz, Jāmī and other poets who lived in different periods posterior to the time of the revered saint Shaykh Uthmāni-Marwandī. In his book Fatāwā, Makhdūm 'Abdul-Wahid 'Bayādwālā,' a scholar of the eighteenth century, has stated that Shaykh 'Uthman-i-Marwandī occasionally composed poems, and he has included in his above-mentioned book two 2 odes of the saint of which the opening verses are:

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:

Further, there is historical evidence to prove that Shaykh 'Uthmān-i-Marwandī was a darwish and scholar, 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 Thattawis, 'Alī Shīr "Qāni" 6, Faqir Qādir

Vide Hakîm Fat'h Muhammad's "Hayāt Nāma-i-Qalandri", p. 33.
 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 Kulliyyāt-i-Shams-i-Tabrīzī.
 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) عقد (ii) معدد (iii) عقد الله and (iv) عبدان 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); Maathir'ul-Kirām (Vol. I, pp. 285-87); Dr. Daūdpōtā: Tarīkh-i-Sindh(p. 40); Dr. Muhammad Wāhid Mīrzā: The Life and Works of Amīr Khusrau (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 Tawhid May 1942 (p. 17-18) wherein Lutfulläh Badawi, the contributor of the article, has quoted the authority of Maulänä's MS copy viz., Mad'h-i-Sind.

⁽⁶⁾ Magālātush-Shu'rā.

Bakhsh "Bidil"1, Mehtā Mülchand Nārāindās2, the compiler of Bayad-i-Saliha, (K. B.) Khudadada Khan, and Shamsul-'Ulama Mirzā Qalich Beg5 - all of whom, excepting the last, have quoted some verses from him - one is inclined to agree with the author of Fatawa that Shaykh 'Uthman-i-Marwandi was a poet.

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

ازعشق دوست هر ساعت درون ناو ميرقصم لهی برخاک سیفاطم گهی بر خار میرقصم 7شدم بدنام در عشقت بیا ای بار من اکنون بیا ای مطرب مجلس سماع و ذوق را در ده که من از شادی وصلش قلندر وار میرقصم منم عثمان مروندی که یار خواجه منصورم اشهباز لامكانم من دو مكان نه كنجم عنقای بی نشانم من در نشان نه گنجم

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

9 گھی زنار سیستم گھی قرآن همی خواندم گهی در مذهب ترسا بسی محنت دو صد جامه کهن کردم لباس فقر پوشیدم دران یک ا

(1) See his Sanad'ul-Muwahhidin and Rumūz'ul-Arifin. (2) MS copy of Risāla-i-Sawānih-i-Qalandar Shahbāz.

(3) AMS p. 14-15. (4) Lubb-i-Tärikh-i-Sindh, pp. 6-8.

(5) Qadīm Sindh Jā Sitārā, p. 4.
 (6) Lubb-i-Tārīkh-i-Sindh, p. 6-8; Tilūmal's Sindhl translation of Munshī Gulābrāi's 'Risāla-i-Qalandar Shahbāz; Bayād-i-Sālih.

(7) In the Magalatush-Shu'ara the hemistich reads as under: شدم بدنام درعشقت بیا ای پار سا اکنون

(8) Rumūz'ul-'Arifīn.

(9) Lubb-i-Tarikh-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 *Kalām* 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 *Uth*mān imbued with the extraordinary zeal and vigour of the seeker of divine bliss:

درسیدم من بدریائی که موجش آدمی خوار است

نه کشتی اندر آن دریا نه ملاحی- عجب کار است

شریعت کشتی باشد طریقت باد بان او

حقیقت لنگری باشد که راه فقر دشوار است

چو آبش جمله خون دیدم بترسیدم ازین دریا

بدل گفتم چرا ترسی گذر باید که نه چار است

ندا از حق چنین آمد: مگر ترسی ژ جان خود؟

هزاوان جان مشتاقان در این دریا نگونسار است

ایا عثمان مروندی سخن با برده داری گو

نیایی در جهان یاری جهانی بر ز 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:-

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 Ghiyāthud-Din Balban, to prolong his stay there; this could not have happened before the year

⁽¹⁾ 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 "Jamāli", 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 Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq, is believed to have recited¹ the following hemistich:

شاه بخشنده توثى بنده شرمنده 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 HAMMAD "JAMALI" b. Shaykh Rashidud-Din was a resident of Sāmūi, 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-Dīn 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 Sāmūi, and named the site Makalī (Modern Maklī); 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.

Maulvi Vilāyat Husayn's edition of Siraj 'Afif's Tarīkh-i-Fīrāzshāhī, pp. 245-46.

Under the saint's direction it gradually developed into a necropolis for the residents of Thattā 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 Hammad symbolished in his life what he has set forth in the following verses regarding his scanty personal wants:

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

Shaykh 'Isā passed away in 1428 A. D., and both he and Shaykh Hammād's are burried on the Maklī hill.

JAM NIZAMUD-DIN alias JAM NINDO (d. 914 A. H./ 1508 A. D.). He was one of the most popular rulers of Thattā, 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'sum

⁽¹⁾ Magālātush-Shu'arā.

⁽²⁾ Ibid.

⁽³⁾ Lutfullāh Badwī in his Tadhkira-i-Lutfī, 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:-

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 BILAL (d. 929 A. H./1523 A. D.) of Talti, grandson of Jam Nindo's brother Makhdum 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'an. He was a follower of Shavkh 'Uthman-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. Makhdum 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'an 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

(2) Magālātush-Shu'rā.

⁽¹⁾ Dr. Dāūdpōtā: Tarīkh-i-Sind, pp. 73-75, and Malet: Translation of Tarīkh-i-Ma'sūmī, p. 55.

Will. Says Bilāl:

در اراه خدا ز سرقدم باید ساخت سرمایه اختیار خود باید باخت کفرست که خود نمای باشی بجهان ازخویس برون و سوی او باید تاخت

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 Nindō 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 seemes 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.

Gul Hayat Institute

CHAPTER II

THE ARGHUNS, THE TARKHANS AND THE MUGHAL AGENTS

SINDH, as mentioned in the previous Chapter, fell into the hands of the Arghuns 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 Mirzā '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, Mīrzā 'Isā made encroach-

ments on the territories of Sultan Mahmud 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 Sultan Mahmud, and would have won, had he not received intelligence of the sack of Thatta (1555 A. D.) by the Portuguese. This compelled the Mirza to hasten back to his capital and leave the field abruptly.

On Saturday, the 8th Safar, 982 A. H. (1574 A. D.), Sulān 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 Baqi. 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 Bāgi's grandson1 Mirzā Jāni Beg, who inwardly abhorred the idea of being a vassal, but had to acknowledge the suzereignty 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 Nawwäb 'Abdur-Rahim Khān-i-Khnānān to put an end to the false show of Mirza's fealty. The Emperor's deputy was more than a match for this little 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 Tarkhans, 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, Nawwab Murad Khan and Itr Khan-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 Dāudpotās and the Kalhorās, 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 Tarkhan 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 Sammas 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 Arghuns and the Tarkhans. The sack of Thatta 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 Surat "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 Arghun and the Tarkhan princes, being themselves originally of the Mughal stock and people of literary leanings, naturally attracted to their courts, Persian scholars and litterateurs. Shah Beg Arghun himself wrote a Commentary on the holy Quran in Persian. Shah 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 Hashimi Kirmani alias Shah Jahangir (the

⁽¹⁾ Bēglar Nāma.

distinguished author of Mazhar'ul-Athar and Mazhar'ul-Anwar corresponding to Tuhfat'ul-Ahrār and Makhzan'ul-Asrār of Jāmī and Nizāmi respectively), came and settled down in Sindh. Among the Tarkhans, Mirza Jani Beg possessed 'some literary tastes' and kept up the tradition established by the Arghuns. His son Ghāzi Bēg was also a man of learning and a poet bearing the pen-name "Waqāri". He was exceedingly generous towards men of letters, and a number of Persian poets flourished at his court notably Mir Ni'matullāh "Wasli", Mullā Asad "Oissa-Khwān", Hakim Faghfūr-i-Gilāni, Mullā Murshid Burüjirdi,1 Tālib-i-Āmuli and Shaydā Isfahāni. 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. Tärikh-i-Tähiri, Tärikh-i-Sindh, Beglar Nämä, etc., were written in that language, and a few Diwans 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. Romantic2 tale of Lila and Chanesar (Chanesar Nama) was versified by Idrākī Bēglāri. A start was made by Mīrzā Ghāzi Bēg in the direction of the form of composition styled Saqi Nama. Ma'sum Shah took to Na'tiya Kalam besides composing a quintet on the analogy of Nizāmī's Panj-Ganj, and Mir Ghururi cut a new ground by composing verse of the type of haj'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

⁽¹⁾ It is a village in Hamadan (Ma'athir-i-Rahimi, Vol. III, p. 781). Most of the Indian writers have called him يزد خردى and even يزد جرد but that is probably due to their confusing يزد جرد with

⁽²⁾ This seems to be quite in conformity with the Romance tradition prevailling 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. Nawwabs Amir Khan, Abu Nusrat Khān, Hifzullāh Khān, Aminud-Din Khān, Ahmad Yār Khān, Mahābat Khān, Savfullāh Khān, Dilirdil Khān and Mir Lutf 'Ali Khan, who occupied the high rank of governors at Thatta 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-Razzāg "Mashrab" who came from Persia, and of Savvid Mu'inud-Din Bilgrami, uncle of the illustrious Ghulam 'Ali "Azad", from India. Captain Hamilton who visited Sindh in 1699 A. D., says that there were as many as four 1 hundred colleges in Thatta 2 where youth

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

"تنه را بحسب آب و هوا و میوه و ترشحات باران بهشت روی زمین میتوان گفت ـ آنجا عورات جمیله سبز رنگ مثل حوران بهشتی پیدا Continued on page 20

⁽¹⁾ Vide Sorley: Shāh Abdul Latif of Bhit, 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 Tamāchi, known as Jām, the Bānl-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 'Ei Dorado' and Utopia of wealth beyond avarice. It was both the metropolis of Sindh, 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: Autiquities of Sind, p. 218; Pottinger: Travels in Beloochistān and Sind, p. 352). The truth of the statement 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).

were instructed in theology, philosophy and politics. But, considering generally the literary output and the atmospere of this age, the number of Persian poets of Sindh, as available from books printed or unpublished, is rather meagre. Hājī Muhammad "Redāī", Mīr 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 "Mukhlis", "'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 Arghun and the Tarkhan period:-

MIRZĀ 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 "Sipāhi". He was a pupil of Makhdūm Mīrān, a reputed scholar of Thattā.

Continued from page 19

میشوند ـ و در هرخانه بنهیء شراب و آواز دهولکی است ـ و اکابر و اشراف مذکر و مونث در هر هفته بزیارت حضرت قطب الاقطاب حضرت شیخ پنه قدس سره، میروند ـ و پوشاک دختر باکره و زال فرتون طد ساله از رخت رنگین گل محصفر است که پوشاک عروسانه باشد و مردم آنجا بگوچه غم نگذشته اند عیش و نشاط بر آنها غالب است ـ ظهور اولیا الله و فضلا و شعرا هم در آنجا زیاده از تعداد اند ـ و فسق و فجور هم بسیار نشان میدهند ـ گو یند روز عید بنای این شهر شده ـ اگرچه حالا آن رونق و طراوت نمانده و نیست ـ به هر حال از دیار دیگر امتیاز دارد ـ و علم نحو و صرف و فقه و نظم در آن شهر بسیار است ـ و میتوان گفت که عراق ثانی است.

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 (Sipāhī) had some such experience himself, for he says:

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

The beloved's nāz and the lover's niyās are finely contrasted in the following couplet:

The ode comes to a conclusion with the following couplet:

What becomes the condition of a lover in separation is beautifully described by Sipāhī thus:

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. MAKHDUM MIRÂN (d. 949 A. H./1542 A. D.), the preceptor of Mirzā Shāh Husayn mentioned above, has finely rendered this in:

(2) Subh-i-Gulshan, p. 197.

⁽¹⁾ This and the other verses of Sipāhī, except the last, are available in the Maqālātu'sh - Shuarā.

میانه ٔ من و جانان همین من است و نه غیر خدا شناس نماند ببند کعبه و دیر

HYDER of Herāt, popularly known as کلیج کلوچ and was, according to the author of Aftab-i-'Alamtab, born in کلوچ, which formed a part of one of the dependencies of in Khurāsān. He flourished during the reign of Shāh Ismā'il and Shāh Tahmāsp 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 qusidas in praise of the ruling prince. He is a well-known poet and author of a Diwan, whose verses, according to Mir Ghulam 'Ali 'Azad', the author of Yad-i-Baida (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:

*چنان طوطی صفت حیران ِ آن آئینه * رویم که میگو یم سخن اما نمیدانه چه میگو یم

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 كلوج, Mirzā Qalich 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

⁽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 Maulana Rumi's couplet:

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:

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:

Maqālātu'sh-Shu'arā; Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, p. 115; Tarīkh-i-Sind, p. 206.
 Rūz-i-Raushan, pp. 186-88.

Says Hyder:

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

MIRZĀ JĀNI BEG (d. 1008 A.H./1599 A. D.) "Halimi" as he is known in the realm of poetry, ascended the gādī 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-ī-Khānān, commemorated the event with a mathnawī in praise of the latter, and referred to the Mirzā in the folloing words:

For this panegyric the Mulla 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 Mulla'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 shame4".

⁽¹⁾ Tuhfa-i-Sāmī, pp. 114-16.

⁽²⁾ Rüz-i-Raushan, p. 188; Tuhfa-i-Sāmi, p. 115.
(3) Tarikh-i-Tähiri mentions twelve hundred rupees.

⁽⁴⁾ The whole incident is narrated in the Dhakhīrat'ul-Khawānīn (MS. p. 108)

While at Delhi, Mirzā Jāni Bēg was very much impressed by the music of Tānsēn (about whom 'Allāma Abul-Fadl once remarked¹ 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 wonderfu 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:

⁽¹⁾ Sind Historical Society Journal-October 1942, p. 16; Ghani: A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Vol. III, F. N. p. 38.

⁽²⁾ Magālātush-Shu'arā.

⁽³⁾ Ibid

⁽⁴⁾ Ibid.

⁽⁵⁾ Dhakhiratul-Khawanin (MS. p. 108).

"GHURURI", originally of Kāshān, came to Thattā in the days of Mirzā Bāqī and adopted Sindh as his native land. After the defeat of Mirzā Jānī Bēg, he was appointed Mint¹ Superintendent (داروغه ضرابخانه). He is said to have left a Diwān and some mathnawis.

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:

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 نیض نظر او محمود بهر کس که نظر کرد آیازاست چرخ از سخنانم بسماع آمده گوئی شیرازه این نسخه ز ابریشمسازاست احوال پریشانی دل با که توان گفت سو گندبزلف تو که این قصه درازاست دریوزه هر در نتوان کرد 'غروری خواهش بدری بر که بروی همه بازاست **

از بخت چسان شکوه توان کرد اغروری،

بی طالعی اهل هنر رسم قدیم است .

The following two disticts are from his Saqi Nama: امرا داغها در دل پر گره هم آغوش چون حلقه های زره چو عکسم در شیشه دارد نشست بهر جنبشی میخورم صد شکست چو عکسم در شیشه دارد نشست بهر جنبشی میخورم صد شکست

The compiler of the Maykhana quotess over 100 doublets

(3) PP. 451-56.

in the Tuhfat'ul-Kirām, Vol. III, pp. 203 and 243 is a misprint.

⁽²⁾ The specimens of his poetry are taken from the Maqalatush-Shu'ara.

from his Saqi Nama, whereas the author of the Maathr-i-Rahimi devotes no less than 16 pages.1 Few more specimens are:

> ثنا میکنم پیر میخانه را تجلی ده طور پیمانه را نگارنده ٔ نقش موج ایاغ فروزنده گوهر کسب چراغ شب خراغ شاسنده گوهر بی غمی مسیح شفاخاند ٔ خرمی

بمی چون زبانش فروزان شدی بتر کیب هر ذره ٔ جان شدی بتكرار إسمش چوگشتي فصيح صراحي شدى مريم و مي مسيح چمن آن چنان تاب دارد ز سل که شبنم شود داغ بر روی گل شكفت آنجنان غنجه و در چمن كهدرسايه اش شعله سازد وطن ز شرم رخ ساقی گرم خوی خوی خجلت از شبنم آرد بروی

به می لعل ماقی چنان یار بود که مستی دران بزم هشیار بود

خضر منکر آب حیوان شود جو آن ماه بیمانه گردان شود زمین آنچنان خنده برگل زدی که گلخنده بر حال بلبل زدی بر بر مال بلبل زدی بکام دل ناشکیبای من شده قاتل من مسیحای من

منهموسی وطور من کوی اوست تجلی من لمعه روی اوست

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

چاکر بنده آنکه بنده نیم خدمتش بهتر از غلام کنم تا مگر از خودش خجل سازم نا رسیده برو سلام کنم لقمه گر بپیش میارد همچو راحت بخود حرام کنم تا کی از بیکسی و در بدری روزه شب غذای شام کنم دوکرم را اگر شوم لو کر اغود ریزما چه با علام اکنم

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 Diwan of which only the following verses have come down to us through the efforts of Qāni', the author of the Magalatush-Shu'ara:

⁽¹⁾ PP. 1152-68 of Vol. III.

MIR MA'SUM SHĀH (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 Zanjīr-pā, left Tirmidh in 1410 A. D. and settled at Qandahār. His (Mīr Ma'sūm's) father, Sayyid Safāi, who served as Shaykh'ul-Islām was related by marriage to the Sayyids of Khabrōt in Sehwan, and Mir Ma'sūm was born at Bakhar in 944 A. H.:

" اسال نه صد چهل بود و ازوى زايد چار دان "

He studied under Mulla Muhammad of Kingri (South-West of Bakhar) and, on account of his literary and military attainments, soon won the esteem of Mahmud Khan, 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 parganas of Darbela, Kakri and Chanduka as Jagir.

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 Safawī. The inscriptions over the gate of the Fort at Akbarābād and on the Jāmi' Masjid at Fat'hpur

⁽¹⁾ Vide Diwān-i-Nāmi.

Sikri are two of the many inscriptions designed by him.

His versatile genius found expression in the following works:

- Dīwān-i-Nāmī, consisting of 4000-5000 verses.
- A Quintet of about 10,0001 verses in imitation of Nizāmi's Khamsa, comprising:
 - (i) Ma'dan'ul-Afkar corresponding to Makhzan'ul-Astat,
 - (ii) Husn-wa-Naz (Sasui and Punun) corresponding to Khusraw-wa-Shirin,
 - (iii) Pari Sūrat corresponding to Layli-wa-Majnūn,
 - (iv) Akbar Nama corresponding to Sikandar Nama,
 - (v) Haft Naqsh2 corresponding to Haft Paykar.
- 3. Tibb-i-Nami a book on medicine.
- 4. Tárikh-i-Sind.

Mir Ma'sum was a valiant soldier, a brilliant physician, an indefatigable traveller and a gifted poet; and his Tārīkh-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-Tāhirī, Bēglar-Nāma, Tarkhān-Nāma, and Tuhfat'ul-Kirām. It is a reliable record of the changing panorama of Sindh's history and is a varitable 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

It is Dr. Sprenger's view reproduced by the author of Haft Asmān, pp. 126-27.

⁽²⁾ The present writer got this name from his pupil Mr. S. D. Alawi, who said he possessed a MS. copy of all the five mathnawis 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'sum Shāh-Jō-Munārō".

Nāmi was a devout soul, intensely attached to the great Prophet of Islām, 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'dī, whom he appears to have imitated at times. The following verses of Nāmi are rich with reflections on the transience of life and everything related to it:

⁽¹⁾ Dīwān-i-Nāmī.

یعنی بهار زندگی ارد خزان عمر ای خفته در کنار عروس هوای نفس ای خفته در کنار عروس هوای نفس بیایان زمان عمر

هم عاقبت نواله مرگش چشیدن است

هرکس که شد زخوان ِ قضا میهمان ِ عمر خط ِ حیات بر رخ ِ جانان خوش است، لیک

عالم المالي المالية ا

سرمایه رفت در سر بازار معصیت سودی نکرده ایم بغیر از زیان عمر

Durj'ul-La'āli (being the first Volume of Abkar'ul-Afkār) - MS. p. 56.
 Shawāhid'ul-Ma'ānī (being the second Volume of Abkār'ul-Afkār) MS. p. 123.

⁽³⁾ Dîwân-i-Nămî.

His Dīwān too sparkles with flashes of love, and some of his verses remind us of Rūmī's divine love-melodies; e. g.

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:

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

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

Love's bond of confederacy and staunch fidelity to the Celestial Beauty (from the very moment of Its manifestation from the الإده نازاً مخفياً فاحببت ان اعرف (I was a hidden treasure; I desired to become known,

(4) Riyadush-Shu'arā.

⁽¹⁾ Rūz-i-Raushan, pp. 679-81; Maqālātush-Shu'arā. (2) Riyādush-Shu'arā.

⁽³⁾ Ibid; Rūz-i-Raushan, pp. 679-81.

accordingly I created the universe), and the longing lover's pitiable plight of sleepless expectation, are beautifully expressed by the poet thus:

IDRĀKI "BEGLĀRI" belonged to the Turkoman tribe of Arghūns. The authors of Muntakhab'ut-Tawārīkh² and Tārīkhi-Tāhirī³ are of opinion that Chanēsar Nāma, a short mathnawī of about 875 distichs (c. 4 1010 A. H./1601-2 A.D.) dealing with a romantic episode of Sindh, is not his composition but that of Amīr Abul-Qāsīm "Beglār". 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:-

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

⁽¹⁾ Ibid.

⁽²⁾ Quoted by Qani' in Tuhfat'ul-Kirām, Vol. III p. 90.

⁽³⁾ It occurs in the chapter entitled:

حساب سال در ليل و نهاري ـ فزون ده بود آندم از هزاري (4)

⁽⁵⁾ Tuhfat'ul-Kirām, Vol. III, p. 90.

دلیری ، نامداری ، کامبخشی

هر بر ، جنگجوی و تیز رخشی

بهمت شد فزون بر نام حاتم

بجرائت برده گوی از رزم رستم
مطیعش در سخن اهل فراست
بفهم و دانش و عقل و کیاست
ربود از شاعران گوی سخن را

ز نکرش چاره نبود هیچ تن را

چو گردد در معانی نکته پرداز

پود گو یا لب عیسیل به اعجاز
چو"ادراکی"غلام درگه اوست
مطیم لطف گاه بیگه اوست

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 Rão Khanghār. He had a very beautiful daughter named Kaunrū:

ز مژگان تیر و از ایرو کمان داشت
دل عشاق را هردم نشان داشت
بگیسو بود همچون مار پیچان
بجین الوا مثال کر دو اعلش گشته گو با مهره آن
عظارد پرتو از وی عاریت یافت
عظارد پرتو از وی عاریت یافت
ز مو باریکتر بوده میانش
سر موئی توان گفتن دهانش
لبش سر چشمه ازعین راحت
زنخدانش چهی پر از ملاحت

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 Chanesar's 1 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 Rão Khanghār and set off for Chanesar's palace. On reaching the destination, Kaunru approached the prince through his minister Jakhrō, but as the prince was already attached to his charming consort Lila, he gave her a cold shoulder. Having failed in her overtures, Kaunru 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 Lila, insisting that they would work their fingers to the bone for their mistress, if they were taken into her service. Lila was touched by the story of their distress and employed them.

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

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

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

⁽¹⁾ A ruler of the Sumra dynasty.

گر از من این سخن را راست خواهی

مرا هم هست ملک و پادشاهی

* * *

تو در خانه بروغن شعع سوزی
چراغ از دود ِ آتش بر فروزی
بروغن دست ِ خود آلود سازی

سر انگشتان خود پر دود سازی
بشعم خویش من روغن نسوزم

ز گوهر شب چراغی بر فروزم
چو یک دانه ازان گوهر بتابد
ز تاریکی نشانی کس نیاید

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 Chanesar.

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:

توئی تاج سر من در دو عالم سر خود به که در پایت بمالم حدیث نازنینم هست در دل بود اظهار آن بسیار مشکل بسویت آمده صاحب جمالی ندارد غیر تو دیگر خیالی ز راه دور آمده میهمانی برو بنشین بوصل او زمانی چو دارد اشتیاتی از تو در دل بکن متصود اویک لحظه حاصل منه پا بر زمین از اسپ تازی برو یک لحظه کن مهمان نوازی بشرط آنکه باشی تا سحرگاه

Chanesar, while he babbled, protested. But,

چو لیلا دید اورا ست و مد هوش

پرستاران خود را گفت در گوش چنیسر را بکونرو ره نمایند بیضا عارض آن مه گرایند * * * عنان اسپ او را بر گرفتند

tastitute die Listitute

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:

نوردم کوه و هامون را پیاپی زره دور سویش کرده ام طی ادادم در بهایش در شهوار لباس زر زری با ندلکهه هار اباس زر زری با ندلکهه هار ابن بیب هار لبلا چشم را دوخت چنیسر را بود لبلا خریدار تو کونرو با که داری گرم بازار اگر آن مرد غیرتمند بودی بیر و وفا را بر فروزی بتو مهر و وفا را بر فروزی

Now it so chanced that, just after Kaunru left the room, Chanesar 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:

دل مردان بود نازکتر از گل

Lilā tried all devices to win him back to her, but in vain.

Lamenting her lot, she soliloquised:

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

اگر در ساحری صد ساله باشد
بسحرت سامری گوساله باشد!
بسحرت سامری گوساله باشد!
And the latter replied:
نگار نو منم ، نقشت کهن شد
به اول از تو شد، آخر زمن شد
که در صورتگری دست مصور
کشد بیتر زاول نقش آخر

At last, despaired of regaining Chanesar's love, Līlā left for her native home. There she came across Jakhro, who had lately been refused the hand of a girl of Lila'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 Chanesar had treated Lila. She promised to get him the girl of his choice if he only brought the royal prince Chanesar in his bridal procession. This Jakhro easily managed by inviting Chanesar to his wedding. On the appointed day Lila bedecked herself, and wearing a beautiful veil, joined Jakhro's party. While at the latter's residence, she so enraptured the heart of Chanesar with her attractive ways and coquettish talk that the prince became enamoured of her, and, to the entire satisfaction of the care-worn but daring Lila, 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 Lila and its subsequent betraval, and mildly accused him of infidelity. Chanesar's curosity was aroused; he became impatient to know the veiled lady who had thus put him to shame, and espoused the cause of the forsaken Lila. He besought her to unveil herself. Lila could no longer hide her face. As soon as Chanesar saw her, he sighed deeply and fell dead. The sudden and unexpected tragedy so wrought upon Līlā'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,¹ "Although Kaunrū had her way during Chanësar's life it was Līlā 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 fick-leness 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 depiets. 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 "Waqārī", succeeded to the throne of Lower Sindh in 10082A. H.(1599 A. D.) The following appreciative verses by Tālib bear testimony to the Mīrzā's munificent patronage of men of letters:

⁽¹⁾ P. 42.

⁽²⁾ The author of the Maqalatush-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⁾ Hindustāni (October 1942) p. 18.

⁽⁴⁾ Magālātush-Shu'arā.

It is said that Mirzā Ghāzī Bēg purchased his takhallus (Waqārī) for 10001 rupees from a poet of Qandahār, 2 bearing that nom de plume, to fit in with his father Jānī Beg's poetic name, "Halīmī". 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:

گر نغمه ٔ سازت بسکون می آید
رمزیست بکو یمت که چون می آید
از بسکه بگرد زخمه ات میگردد
پیچیده ز طنبور برون می آید

*

دل میسوزد ترنم پر شورت
جان میخشد نوا و نیشابورت ه
در سیم کشی عمر بسر برد شهاب
تاری نکشید در خور طنبورت

He was a student of Akhund Mulla Ishaq of the Court of Sultan Mahmud Khan of Bakhar. The Mughal prince Jahangir was very much impressed by the Mirza's literary and musical attainments and military prowess, and looked upon him as his son. It is said that the poet composed a Diwan 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-Akbarī (edited by Phillot, p. 392).

⁽²⁾ Tuhfat'ul-Kirām (Vol. III, p. 87); Maykhānā p. 229; Qalīch Beg: A History of Sind, Vol. II, p. 125. The author of the Dhakhīrat'ul-Khawānīn (Ms. p. 165), however, states "Thatta" for "Qandahār".
(3) Maykhānā, p. 228.

[&]quot;نوا" مقامیست از جمله دوازده مقام موسیقی، و "نیشا بود" الفاظ (4) الفاظ: "نوا" مقامیست از مسلم مشهور به نیشاپورک شعبه ایست (از موسیقی) مشهور به نیشاپورک (5) Magālātush-Shu'arā; Maykhānā, p. 228.

Sāqī Nāma, of which 83 doublets have been reproduced by Mullā' Abdun-Nabī 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 "Khaqāni" 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 "Sāqī Nāma" 2:-

بماغ ار فتد عكس از روى بار شود نوک هر خار رشک بهار بر قلک چیره تایان کند خور از شرم او چبره به آب از بشوید دو زلف سیاه شود کر سوی میخاند تازان شود می از جادر شیشه عربان شود ازان می که جان عکسی از نور اوست ادیب خرد یاک دستور می کو چو در جام گردان شود چراغ دل دل بدانسان منير كه آئينه آسا همي زان *

Vide Dhakhīrat'ul-Khawānīn (Ms. p. 165)
 Reproduced from the Maykhānā (pp. 230-34)

بیای خم افتم چنان بیخبر

که در رگ نماند ز خونم اثر
بروزش بوم بیخود و در شبش

گهی پای خم بوسم و گه لبش

درون پیاله همان نور بود

که گاهی تجلی بموسیل نمود
ز طور خم آن نور شد آشکار

که موسیل همی جستش از هر کنار

شلسم غم بیکرانست می

طلسم غم بیکرانست می

نه می بلکه عیش جوانی بود

نه می بلکه عیش 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 هوشمندی و پاکیزه رای بیخی سرای بیخانه شو زین سپنجی سرای بسوی خرابات گامی بزن پسوی خرابات گامی بزن که تا دیده عیش روشن کنی چو مستان بمیخانه مسکن کنی دوای جگر خستگان چیست؟ می دوای جگر خستگان چیست؟ می ز بند غم آزاد سازد ترا بید غم آزاد سازد ترا بیک جرعه می صفائی بده بیک جرعه می صفائی بده برغم دل زاهدان در صبوح

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:-

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 Sãqī 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:

The lover, frustrated by separation from his beloved and (1) Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī, Vol, II, pp. 351-53. The compiler of the Maykhānā (p. 228) adopts the following reading:

ابر چون گریه نماید لب گلشن خندد In Majma'ul-Fusahā, Vol. I, p. 62, it reads as under: ابر هر جند بگرید رخ گلشن خندد 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:

Notice again the pun and paradox employed by him in:

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:

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

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:

(4) Ibid.

Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmi, Vol. II, pp. 351-53.
 Ibid.

⁽³⁾ Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī, Vol. II pp. 351-53,

1 بزم عشقست "وقاری" به ادب باید بود که دران جز بلب زخم تکلم کفراست

True love is inconsistent with self-interest which usually taints the worldly-wise. Apparently taking his stand on the the lover-poet foresees a magnificent المجاز قنطرة الحقيقه 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:

عشاخ جنون زعشق توام سبز شدهنوز این ابتداست گل به از ین خواهدم شکفت 8من خسم، بر سر ديبا نتوانم آسود يستر شعله بكستركه بصد ناز افته

It is indeed a matter of regret that this gifted prince encompassed his own death - he was barely4 twentyfour by debaucherys 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 Bahāi Khān Lutfullāhs son of Khusraw Khān, through his servant 'Abdul-Latif. Shavkh

⁽¹⁾ Magālush-Shu'arā; Hindustāni October 1942, p. 19. (2) Ibid.

⁽³⁾ Tarikh-i-Tahiri,

 ⁽⁴⁾ Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmi, Vol. II, p. 354.
 (5) Farid Bakhari, the author of the Dhakhīrat'ul-Khawānin (Ms. p. 166) refers to these vices in the following words:

شب و روز بشرب مایل بود... هرشب عورت بکر یارده ساله البته بتصرف خود مي آورد. موكلان گذاشته بودندكه از هر جامي آوردند همان شب که بکارت را میگرفت باز روی او نمیدید ـ درون محل افتاده بودند والده ایشان از تته هزار و دویست باکره جعیله در سن دوازده سالگی همراه خود و پیش پسر در قندهار آورده همه را تصرف نمود.

⁽⁶⁾ Noticed in the Tuhfat'ul-Kirām, Vol. III, p. 92.

Farid, 1 son of Shaykh Ma'rūf Bakharī, however, records in his Dhakhīrat'ul-Khawānīn² that he met the above-mentioned Bahāī Khān at Bābā Hasan Abdāl (in Kashmīr) in 1028 A. H. (1619 A. D.), where both of them were guests of Khawāja Muhammad Maudūdī Chishtī, 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 recorded³ that two or three days before his death, Mīrzā Ghāzī Bēg had composed the following lines in praise of Shāh'Abbās Safawī of Persia:-

AMIR ABUL-QASIM SULTAN (969-1030 A. H./1562-1621 A. D.) Walad Shah Qasim was known for his valour and literary talents. He was a man of great influence in the days of Mirza Ghazi Beg and wrote under the pen-name "Beglar". He, however, rebelled against the constituted authority, lost the Mirza's esteem and was ultimately blinded by the latter to prevent his subversive activities. The authors of Muntakhab'ut-Tawarikh and Tarikh-i-Tahiri4 have erroneously attributed to him the authorship of Chanesar Nama written by Idraki - evidently mistaking the tribal name for the poet's pen-name 'Beglar.' Beglar Nama, a court History of Sindh, dealing mainly with the Beglar tribe, was, however, dedicated to this Amir by its

But since Farid was a contemporary of Mīrzā Ghāzī Bēg, the writer of the present work could not avoid giving Farīd's first hand information.

(2) pp. 163-64.(3) Dhakhīrat'ul-Khawānīn, p. 162.

⁽¹⁾ Shāh Nawāz Khān (Ma'āthir'ul-Umarā, Vol. I, p. 4; Vol. II, p. 788) sometimes attributes the authorship of the Dhakhirat ul-Khawānin to Farid, and at other times (Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 8 and 260) to his father Ma'rūf. Regarding the book he remarks (Ibid, Vol. I, p. 8):

⁽⁴⁾ Vide Tuhfat'ul-Kirām, Vol. III, p. 90; Qadīm Sindh jā Sitārā, p, 32.

anonymous writer as a token of his esteem for Beglar'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 کشاید دهان چه خوش باشد!

در تکلم بخنده نمکین،

لعل او در فشان چه خوش باشد!

"بیگلر" اندراین 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. 'Urfi has said:

"عرفی" اگر بگر یه میسر شدی وصال، صد سال میتوان بتمنا گریستن!

And Sa'di sings:

دیدار مینمائی و پرهیز میکنی،

G!نام الار اخواس الانها الانها الانهای الانهای

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."

Bēglār says:

MUHAMMAD TÄHIR NISYÄNI (b. 990 A. H./1582 A. D.), son of Sayyid Hasan and grandson of Sayyid 'Abdul-Qādir (the reputed writer of *Hadīqatul-Auliyā*) is the well-known author of *Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī* (c. 1621 A. D.) - a book of considerable historical interest and literary merit, covering the chronicles of Sindh from the rise of the Sūmrās to the death of Mirzā Ghāzī Bēg. He also wrote the popular tale of "*Umar Mārvī*" in Persian prose, 1 and entitled it *Nāz-wa-Niyāz*.

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

He begins the Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī with a praise of God:

Maqālātush-Shu'arā; Elliot: History of India. Vol. I, p. 263 (Translation from Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī). One wonders how Qani' in his other work Tuhfat'ul-Kirām (Vol. III, p. 37) writes that the Nāz-wa-Niyāz was written in verse.
 All the pieces illustrative of his poetic talent, are selected from Tarīkh-i-Tāhirī.

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ور او گل بیستان نمی آفرید ز بليل سحر گه كه دستان شنيد بتان را ببتخانه رونق ازوست بمسجدهم او، هم ببتخانه اوست

In the following verses he refers to Shāh Bēg 'Ādil Khān, the Governor of Qandahār, at1 whose instance he undertook the composition of the above mentioned book of history:

رقمهای کلک زبان آوران دهد جان بنام فر و رفتگان من این نامه کز خامه کردم رقم به امداد صاحب فرشته نشان بسی مردگان را بدادم حیات بسی سروران را سیردم روان

Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, Firdausi, Sa'di, Rumi, Kālidās, Bhavabhūti, Tulsidās 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:

ز آب حیات قلم هرکه زیست نميرد، بود زنده تا زند گيست ولی مرده در زندگانی کسیست که در نامه نامش ندانند کیست

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:

ayatanstitute که از کلگ بخشد بمرده روان بمحمود فردوسی ار جان نداد نراندی کسی نامشان بر زبان The Arabic saying کل امر سرهون بو قته (every affair is

⁽¹⁾ Magālātush-Shu'arā.

pledged or bound by time) is expounded by the poet thus:

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

Among the illustrious Persian poets who flourished during the reign of the Mughal Agents, DÄNISHWAR KHÄN "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 Diwân, of which only the following verses, preserved in the Maqâlâtush-Shu'arā, have come down to us:

درون میکده میجو یعش نمی 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:

The other couplet is from a satire written on one of her contemporary poets, viz., Jamāl Muhammad "Dāhī", son of Mullā Jalāl "Dā'i". It runs as under:

HĀJI MUHAMMAD "REDĀI" is yet another poet, whose genius shines in the folk-tale. Nothing is known about his life except that he was a Sunni who wrote the romantic tragedy of Zībā Nīgār in about 5500 doublets in the year 10711 A. H. (1660-61 A. D.), and acknowledged Shaykh Nizāmud-Dīn (Auliyā) as his 'murshid.' In the following few verses, the poet explains the title of his poem, viz., Zībā Nīgār:

چو در معشوق ''حسن و زیب'' دیدم

همان شهری که میباشد مکانش

نهادم شهر ''حسن آباد'' نامش

ننگار'' از بهر عاشق سا ختم نام

که نقش اوست زیب لوح ایام

که نقش اوست زیب لوح ایام

بمعشوقی زجام عشق شد مست

همین منظومه کز من یادگار است

بعالم نام او ''زیبا نگار'' است

⁽¹⁾ Cf. الكي از باغ" خواندم در حسابش كه هم تاريخ باشد، هم خطابش and not 1061 A. H. as is given by the copyist of the manuscript and Lutfullah Badwi in his Tadhkira-i-Lutfi, 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. Zībā 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 Zībā'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 Zībā 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:

کشیدندش بسلک خوبرویان
که دل بندد بدان زنجیر مو یان
که دل بندد بدان زنجیر مو یان
که دل بندد بدان زنجیر مو یان
که دل بند بدان زنجیر مو یان
م دافر یبان شاد گردد
ن غم فارغ ، ز درد آزاد گردد
بلی داروی هر رنجور حسن است
بهالی دارو هر دل روی خوب است
دوای درد هر دل روی خوب است
که روی خوب است

کسی کش درد عشق یار باشد
دوایش شربت دیدار باشد

* * *
دلش نامد برون از قید 'زیبا'
شکار کس نشد آن صید 'زیبا'

A year passed away, a year of agony for Nigar. Then famine stalked the land:

سراب آسا لب هر شهر شد خشک
زیی آبی دماغ دهر شد خشک
تو گوئی آب در عالم نمانده
جهان را در جگر خونهم نمانده
متاع مرگ ارزان شد بعردم
که از جان هم گرانتر گشت گندم
خلایق خون خود چون شیر خوردند
چو خون شد خشک، پیش از مرگ مردند

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 ambergris (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 Zībā. 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:

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

After a few days, Nigār, intent on seeing his sweetheart, came near Zībā's residence and, getting an opportunity, shot a bird sitting on 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. Zībā was marking all his movements but did not deem it wise to speak a word to him:

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

They invited him in for a little while. Presently Nigar 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 proposal, provided he (Nigār) fell in with his (washerman's) suggestion:

اگر هم پیشه و همکیش باشد بدو خویشی بجای خویش باشد اگر مردیست در میدان در آید بچوگان هنر گوئی رباید بدست خود کند گر جامه شوئی بر آرد شاخ امیدش نکوئی

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.

Nigar 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 caravanleader, he gave them a letter addressed to his father, in which he set forth at length his reason for staying behind in Husnābād:

ز خود آزاد در بند پدرنیست چو از خود زاد، فرزند پدرنیست ز همت پیش گشتم پیش رفتم گذشتم از خود و از خویش رفتم دلت را جستجوی من نباید که از خود رفته هرگز باز ناید اگر صد ره درین عالم شتایی هم این گمگشته را هرگز نیایی بدام زلف بار خود اسیرم برون نایم ز دامش گر بمیرم بشوی از دیدن من دست امید بهوی بند جاوید

Loaded with grain, the caravan returned to Kēch. When the new leader handed over Nigār's letter to the father, the ruler was very much grieved, and set about devising means to ensure his (Nigār's) return to Kētch. 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 Nigār.

When these men arrived at Husnābād, they rented a house in a lonely spot, and moved secretly about the town. One dark midnight, when Zibā was fast asleep, the leader of the party told Nigār that he had come all the way from Kēch to meet him, and begged him to spend a night with him. Nigār 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. Nigār 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 Kech.

In the meantime, Zibā 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, Zibā 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 کیچ را از من بود ننگ

ترازویش گهرسنجست و من سنگ کم سنگ
کجا با او توانم گشت همسنگ
نیم همسنگ بار خویش، فریاد
که پیوندم به همجنسی نیفتاد
منم خوار و نگار من عزیز است

* * *

منم خوار و نگار من عزیز است
برستش میکند خورشید نامش
کجا بر ذره میفند نگاهش
مرا در بارگاهش کی بود بار
سجود من بود آن قبله را عار
ولی هم میروم ناچار سویش
همینم بس که دارم آرزویش

اگر خواند بود عین عنایت
وگر راند نبیشاید شکایت

* * *

درون از مهر ماه کیچ پرسوز

برون این مهر بی مهر آتش افروز

درونش آتش و بیرونش آتش

سراسر لفظ تا مضمونش آتش

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:

بسی نازک ولی در معنت سخت زستگ خاوه بایش گشته صد لخت زستگ خاوه بایش گشته صد لخت بود لعلی ولی سنگش شکسته دوای درد هردل، لیک بیمار گل نازک ولی آزرده خار بود معشوق و داغ عشق دارد بهار حسن و باغ عشق دارد سرا سر ناز، در عجز و نیاز است سراها حسن، در سوز و گداز است بهار دارد همین یک آتشین دم

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

> دمار از من برون آورد دوری پتیخ یاس بسمل کرد دوری

ز دوری سینه ریشم، چون نمیرم

جدا از جان خویشم، چون نمیرم

بخوابم کیچیان غارت نمودند

بازی از بساطم شاه بردند

زبی مهری بدزدی ماه بردند

شبم تاریک شد بی ماه تابان

شبا شب در پیش گشتم شتابان

بناکامی دویدم در پی کام

یناکامی دویدم در پی کام

بیا صد میل در راهش دویدم

بیا صد میل در زبر سنگ و پای بر سنگ

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

شدم شرمنده، از بن شرم مردم
بخود عار ترا در خاک بردم
چوآب از چشم رفتم در رو خاک
ز داغ ننگ کردم دامنت پاک
ندیدم جای خود در بارگاهت
ز پا افتاده گشتم خاک راهت
خرابم ساختی، آباد باشی!

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

When Nigar 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 sweetheart 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 Zībā'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 auguish, 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 Zībā's grave, Nigār prayed to God:

and the result was

که ناکه چای شد پیراهن خای
Gul که ناکه چای شد پیراهن خای Thestitute

The poet Redai, in the romance Zibā Nīgār, has tried to imitate the illustrious Jāmī. 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 Redai, tallies, except in a few particulars, with the popular

local version of 'Sasui Punun' given in the Tuhfat'ul-Kirām, 1 (written about one hundred and ten years after the composition of the above poem). According to the author of the Tuhfat'ul-Kīrām:

- The washerman had 500 apprentices, some of whom saw the box floating in the water and took it to their master.
- 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 Punun (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 Kech got news of Punun'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 Bhambhor, the place of their brother's beloved, and stayed with their brother as his guests. One night, while Sasui was asleep and Punun lay drunk, they placed him in a litter on a camel's back and hot-footed it back to Kech.
- 5. The shepherd, who met the forlorn lady during her wanderings in search for Punun, 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 Sitā of the Rāmāyana.
- After the party returned to Kēch, Punūn, sickening of his separation from Sasui, rapidly grew worse. When all efforts
 Vol. III, pp. 23-26.

to save his life proved unavailing, his father asked his sons to take him to Bhambhör, and bring him back with his bride. On his way to Bhambhör, Punun 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 Punun has been composed in Persian verse by many a poet of the province. Of these, however, only the names of Mir Ma'sum Shah "Nami" and Qādī Murtadā Sorathī, a resident of Khatyān (near Hyderābād), are recorded in the Tuhfat'ul-Kirām. The former wrote it in the Mathnawi form entitling it Husn-wa-Nāz, while the latter is said to have rendered it "in a novel style" during the reign of Muhammad Shāh (1719-48 A. D.)

MIR ABUL-MAKARIM "SHUHUD" (d. 1073 A. H./
1662-63 A. D.), son of Amir Khān of Thattā, 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?".1

Once Qādī Ibrāhīm, the Amin'ul-Mulk of Thattā and the distinguished commentator of Nizāmī's Makhzan'ul-Asrār, invited Abul-Makārim to dinner. At sunset, the Qādī ordered his servants to light the candles, using the word with fat'ha over the first letter. Abul-Makārim corrected him, saying that the first letter should have kasra, and not fat'ha which is incorrect. The Qādī, who was himself a very learned man stuck

⁽¹⁾ Magālātush-Shu'arā.

was of the measure of منديل (handkerchief). Mir Sāhib pointed out that too had kasra below its first letter. The Qādī was very much surprised. After a long discussion, they referred to dictionaries 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 mathnawi entitled Parikhāna-i-Sulēmān, the well-known love-episode of Sulēmān and Bilqis. Unfortunately, before he completed the romance of Sayful-Mulūk-wa-Badī'uj-Jamāl he died at Sehwan and was buried beside the mausoleum of Lāl Shāhbāz Qalandar. The following chronogram, composed by the poet during his lifetime, is engraved on his tomb, and gives the year of his death (1073 A. H.):

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

This piece and the two which follow have been taken from the Maqalatush-Shu'ara.

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 But his merit is contingent on the pleasure of the Omnipotent Lord. The poet has beautifully expressed the idea thus:

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 hourglass:

MUHAMMAD BÂQIR "JUYĂ" son of 'Abdur-Raūf was the son-in-law of Abul-Fat'h Qābil Khān - Mir Munshī to Prince 'Ālamgir. 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 Dīwān which speaks highly of his taste and accomplishments. He pictures the

workmanship of God as under:

چنان افروخت عكس روى او آئينه دين را

که چون آئينه حيران کرد عقل مصلحت بين را
شد از شوق جمالش دست قدرت ز آستين بيرون
بجوى شير بيند کوهکن ديدار شير بن را
توجه کرد سوى آسمان از غايت احسان
که سازد سرنوشت عرش نقش پاى تمکين را
براى عفو عصيان خلايق بس بود نامش
دعا چون مستجاب افتاد حاجت نيست آمين 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:

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 خاک تن ما باشد گل داغ تو بچیب کفن ما هرچند که ما تخم غم از اشک فشاندیم جز لاله داغ تو نرست از چمن ما گو کعبه برقص افتد ناقوس نوازان گو کعبه برقص افتد ناقوس نوازان کان این از گان از گان از گان ما گو تیشه مزن بر سر خود کوهکن ما

Inspired by the sanctuary of Ka'bā, which is built of stone and where the Muslim devotees assemble and pray, the loverpoet 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:

MULLĀ 'ABDUL-HAKIM 'ATĀ' son of Muhammad Afdal Sabzpūsh of Thattā, 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 'Alī and other Imāms. The reference is perhaps to تتوى 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 عزاران لطیفه ام

صرف حیات و مشغله عمر حبذا

اینست بر طریقه یمن مویدی

ذکر سخن بورد مناجات و نعت خاص

دارم وظیفه دل و جان و صف بیعدی

گنجینه قصائد غرای جانفزا

عمر عزیز گشت بشغل شکرف صرف

عمر عزیز گشت بشغل شکرف صرف

در مدحت صفات و صلواة عمدی

نی از کسی مدد نه ز کس سرقت سخن

مسچون کلام منتهان از کمال طبع ا

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

به چه کار آملستی به چه دام پای بستی همه غفلتست و پستی همه حرص و خود نمائی بقیاس خویش دانی که منم عجیب معجون تو ز من بیرس بالله که کمال نارسائی

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

> فغان ز کشمکش این سپهر زنگاری! فغان ز کردش گردون بدور برگاری! فغان ز پیچش این طاس واژگون برخال!

فعان ز جنبش این طاق زر فشان کاری !

هنوز ناشده خورشید او بسمت الراس

که سر بغوطه افناکشد ز رهواری! هنوز از کف او نارسیده مه بکمال

که رو بظلمتگاهش نهد ز بیماری

که مهر او همه کینست و بدر او همه غدر

هلال صورت او ناخن جفاكارى

بسان زلف بتان خم بخم پریشانی

مثال چشم بتان سربسر دل آزاری

شكسته آبله زو هر دلى بسوز وگداز

رگ بریده زوی دیدهای خونباری

ستم بخنده ازو چون دماغ بدمستان

جهان بگریه ازو همچو چشمه ٔ جاری

البه زکنی دافن دایدها بکرد بنام

فگار ازو دل آفاق چون دل عشاق

ز مانه از کف او غرق گر یه و زاری

فغان زحرفت این دزد مخنی فتان

بپاسبانی او رهزنی و غداری

جومور آتش و همجون نمک در آب کند جبال گردن روئین تنان حراری گهی بقصد مظالم چو مارکز ره پیچ چو شيرشرزه گهي تشنه لب بخونخواري ازين مقوس فانوس وضع شمع گداز از ین مقرنس مقراض کیش برگاری بترک برگ قناعت بگیرو فارغ باش كه سقف سربهوا سطح خود ته ينداري ازین زمانه فغان و ازین فلک فریاد بگور در زده بهرام گور بسیاری كند بكشتن فرهاد عيش شير بن تلخ كشد بخستن خسرو خط علمدارى ز هفت رنکی نیرنگ این پلنگ وغا كبود وسرخ وسيه سبز وزود بشمارى مقام "نعتبروا" هست و جای "نفانتشروا" چرا ز وادی عبرت فتاده عاری عطا نه عطر فروشي كه از عطاي ازل کشیده ز عطایا دکان عطاری

بذكر زمزمه " لا اله الا الله "

امید وار عطا شو ز حضرت باری

According to the author of the Maqalatush-Shu'ara he composed about 100,000 verses, which won him considerable fame. He also composed a Diwan¹ which, according to the poet's calculation, contained over 30,000 couplets:

چند دیوان و چند مثنوی سوائی آن دارد

The statement is corroborated by Qalich Beg (Qadim Sindh jā Sitārā, p. 29)

⁽¹⁾ Cf, Tuhfat'ul-Kirām, Vol. III, p. 243;

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 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":

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

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:

There is a pun on the words and and 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⁾ Magālātush-Shu'arā,

⁽²⁾ A Persian MS. copied by Nandumal.

⁽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 :

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:

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:

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:

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 le

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:

The ardent sighs of the lover, which are supposed to be capable of moving mountains, produce no effect on his rock-ribbed beloved:

It seemes 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:

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

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

MEHTA CHANDRABHAN, bearing the pen-name "'Ajiz' is one of the oldest Hindu 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 Qānungu stock living at

(2) Ibid.

⁽¹⁾ Maqālātush-Shu'arā.

Sehwan. It seems that the poet was not well-placed in life and had very few friends. He complains:

کاش لطف حق زلیخاسا خریداری کند

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

روزی هرکس شده از خون دل لخت جگر گوئی از روی زمین یکلخت آب و دانه رفت دختران را جنگ با مادر پسر خصیم پدر بخش اخوان شد فزون، هم قرب ز اهل خانه رفت خم شکست و شیشه خالی، جام عشرت سرنگون می فروش و باده نوش و مطرب از میخانه رفت شد جهان تاریک ز اهل انجمن یک هم نماند شمع بی فور است، سوز عشق از پروانه رفت زنده گر میبود مجنون یا فلاطون این زمان 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:

> شکوهٔ دور زمان تا چند ''عاجز'' میکنی ختم شد دنیا، حیا از خو یش و از بیگانه رفت

Although the poet's expression Lie and is in 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

This and the following pieces of Chandrabhan's poetry are taken from a Persian MS. copied by Nandumal.

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".

"'Ājiz" 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 برزق خویش باش

تا صدف بر قطره قانع شد گهر باری کند

دل باست آور ، مشو غافل اگر اهل دلی

در دل خود فیض پیند هرکه دلداری کند

دیده با خواب آشنا، زنهار، در شبها مکن

صبح امیدی بیابه هر که بیداری کند

به ز آب زندگی در مشرب رندان بود

باده صافی که از یک قطره سرشاری کند

گر غریبی در وطن "عاجز"! ز سختیها منال

دستگیر بیکسان آخر ترا یاری کند

دستگیر بیکسان آخر ترا یاری کند

"دیده گر بینا شود هر روز روز بحشر است" 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 "'Ājiz":

He had one son by name SHEWAKRAM. 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 "Namakīn"), 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:

SHAYKH 'ABDUL-GHANI (d. 1135 A. H./1722-23 A. D.) son of Makhdum Nur Muhammad of Thatta 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-Dīn "'Ishrat") profited by his company. It is said he composed a bulky Dīwān, but only the following few verses from his pen are available in Maqālātush-Shu'arā:

⁽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' Mīrpur 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:

اکار ما آخر شد و آخر ز ما کاری نشد مشت خاک ما غبار کوچه باری نشد سالها خون جگر در ناف آهو شد گره مشک شد اما چه حاصل خال رخساری نشد *

رو هم در قید ِ آزادی مقید مانده است کیستکاندر ملک ِ بیقیدی نشیمن گرم کرد

Here is another specimen of his poetry:

2 از دوست گریزان شده ! های ستم های! دشمن به که ؟ با جان شده ! های ستم های! شایسته تعظیم ملائک بدی، از جهل بازیچه شیطان شده ! های ستم های!

MIR LUTF 'ALI KHÂN, alias Mir 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:

Maqālātush-Shu'arā. Qāni' found the first two couplets in Yad-i-Baydā.
 Maqālātush-Shu'arā.

تر نشدگر کام من از آب دنیا باک نیست

زانکه من آل حسینم تشنگی میراث ما ست

*

کی مرا پروا بود از دست صیادان دهر

یونسم در دهر اما در دهان ماهیم

*

رو نگردانم من از تیغ جفای دشمنان همچو آسماعیل در کوی تو قربان گشتهام

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

هستم اکنون از غلامان علی مرتضیا در لقب لطف علی بنوشت در پیشانیم

Gul Hayat Institute

CHAPTER III

THE KALHORA PERIOD

THE Kalhoras 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 Nadir Shah (1740 A. D.). Miyan Nur Muhammad Kalhoro, the then ruler of Sindh, could not muster courage to give a fight; and considering discretion the better part of valour, he fled to Amarkot. But Nadir'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 Abdālī, 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 antagonized his powerful advisers, the Talpurs, when, "without provocation", he put to death their chiefs - Bahram Khan and his son, Sobdar. For this dastardly act he had to pay a heavy price. Determined to avenge his grandfather's death, Mir Fat'h 'Ali Khān attacked the Residency of the Kalhorā prince and put him to flight. The latter was, however, caught in the fort at Hyderābād and kept prisoner along with three other princes. Miyan Muhammad Khan brother of Sarfaraz, 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 Miyan Ghulam Nabi (son of Miyan Nur Muhammad). A little later, the latter was murdered. When this news reached the ears of his brother Miyan '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 'Ali Khan and other Tālpurs met the Kalhorās in a pitched battle at Hālāni, where the latter were completely routed. Thus came to an ignominious end the rule of the Kalhoras and out of the ruins of their rule arose the power of the Talpurs.

The Kalhörā period, as noticed above, was unfortunately one of internal feuds, save in the days of Miyān Nūr Muhammad 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 Kalhora 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 Sufism, which thence forward influenced their literature and way of life. The Sayyids of Bulri, who were already inimical to Shah 'Inayat, the great Sufi 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 Nawwab A'zam Khan, the Mughal Emperor's Agent at Thatta, to apprise his lord Farrukh Siyar, that the growing influence of the Sufi 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 Palija Zamindars and some Shaykhs and Pirs of lesser repute. Soon a royal mandate was issued, directing Miyan Yar Muhammad Kalhoro to proceed to Miranpur (Jhok Sharif), the renowned centre of Sufism in Sindh, and completely destroy the Sufis and their cult. Accordingly, the Kalhora launched a severe attack. The siege went on for full four months until, at last, finding it difficult to win, the Kalhora chief made peace with the Sufi and under the guise of friendship, got hold of Shah 'Inayat and had him treacherously murdered.

The records of Sindh are incomplete in many respects. Even a recent period like the Kalhorā 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 Balüchi. Dr. H. T. Sorley, who seems to have made a comprehensive study of the Sindh records of the Kalhörā 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 Kalhora dynasty, three at least - viz. Miyan Nur Muhammad, Ghulam Shah and Muhammad Sarfaraz deserve special mention as patrons of learning and literature. The first possessed a fine library which was destroyed by Nādir Shāh, and in his Will left instructions for his sons to devote their leisure hours to cultivating the friendship of the learned and the pions,2 The monthly stipend which was given to Muhammad Muhsin (a poet of Thatta), though meagre, points to Miyan Nur Muhammad's interest in, and encourangement of Persian Literature. It was the patronage of Miyan Ghulam Shah Kalhoro that inspired Mir 'Ali Shir Qani' to write the History of Kalhora period. The last (i. e. Sarfarāz Khān) was himself a poet of scholarly habits and a friend of poets like Ghulām 'Ali "Maddāh" (his teacher) and Thabit 'Ali Shah (his favourite contemporary). Of the foreign poets who visited the soil of Sindh, Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali "Hazin", Muhammad Karim "'Ashiq" Isfahani and Muhammad Reda "Nuk'hat" are of considerable literary repute.

The Kalhorā 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 (1) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. I, Part II (1834) pp. 223-257.
(2) Miyān Nūr Muhammad Kalhōrō: Manshūr'ul-Wasīyat wa Dastūr'ul-

(2) Miyan Nür Muhammad Kalhörö: Manshür'ul-Wasiyat wa Dastür'ul-Hukümat (Ms., with an introduction by Sayyid 'Ali Muhammad Shāh

Rashidi), p. 5.

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 Shir Qani' and Mir Jānullāh Shāh - the first two belonging to Thattā, and the last to Röhri. Each of these poets contributed not a little to the development of Qasida. Apart from that, the poet Muhsin was the first to introduce Marthiya (monody) in Sindh. Qani', 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 Thatta, 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 musha'ara's (poetic tournaments) came to be organized. The healthy competition, encouragement and applause induced the so far 'cloistered' Hindu poets to take active part in such contests, and they actually won a good deal of appreciation from their contemporaries. Subjoined is a brief selection from the compositions of four masterly poets, including one Hindu, who participated in a musha'ara held at the residence of 'Ali Shir Qani'—

Muhammad Panāh "Rejā"-

⁽¹⁾ Reproduced from the Maqalatush-Shu'ara.

Mir 'Ali Shir Qāni'-

تا مرا ز اشک مسلسل آب در زنجیر شد . هر مژه همچون خس گرداب در زنجیر شد راه رفتن نیست از کوی توشیدای ترا همچو آن پائیکه اورا خواب در زنجیر شد صاحب طبع روان پابند موج غم مباد

طبع روان پابند موج عم 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 صحبت ِ یاران بود سد ِ سلوک ِ راه ِ حق بای من از حلقه ٔ احباب در زنجیر شد

Munshi Shewakrām "'Utārid"-

مرد را موج هنر باشد محیطِ آبرو تیغ را از جوهر ِخُود آب در زنجیر شد

Other accomplished poets of this period were Najmuddin "'Uzlat", Mīrzā Ghulām 'Alī "Mu'min", 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 MAKHDUM THĀRO (1093-1161 A. H./1682-1748 A. D.), son of Muhammad Amin of Thattā, was a great Sūfi, well-versed in all branches of learning and venerated for his erudition and scholarship—

۱۰ آنکه آمد راست بر بالاش تشریف علوم ثانیش کس نیست در معقول ارلا بوعلی"

He was a disciple of Makhdum Abul-Qāsim walad Nurul-Haq Naqshbandi of Thattā, 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, Sayvid Naimuddin "'Uzlat" 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, 1 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'di

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:2

(1) 1. Raf'ul-Ghayn (Removal of Thirst)

2. Dirāsāt'ul-Labīb (Studies for the Intelligent), printed at Lahore in 1886 A. D.

3. Bahjat'ul-Anzār (The Delight of the Eyes) 4. Alhujjat'ul-Jaliyya (The Clear Argument)

5. Iqaz'ul-Wasnan (Arouser of Those in Slumber) 6. Nur'ul-'Ayn (The light of the Eye)

7. Aljūdu'th-Thamin (The Precious i. e. Extensive Generosity)

8. Al-Khawatif (Dazzling Flashes of Lightening) 9. Mawahibu Sayyid-il-Bashar (Gifts of the Lord of Mankind i. c. the holy Prophet)

10. Al-haqqu's-Sarih (The Manifest Truth)

11. Nur'ul-Majd Fi Minh'il-Wajd (The Light of Glory in the Gift of Ecstasy)

12. Mutārahātu't-Tahqīq Fī Burhāni't-Tatbīq (Sure i. e. valuable Dialogues on the Proofs of Concordance)

 Risālat'ul-l'tidālāt'il-Arba' (A Treatise on the Four Elements)
 Raf'ul-Ishkāl waz-Zahmat (Removal i. e, Solution of Doubts and Difficulties) Continued on page 88 "Asadullāh" (the Lion of God) is a title of Hadrat '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 Hādrat 'Alī's ascension to the Khilāfat, and Mu'in has beautifully expressed the significant simile thus:

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:

Continued from page 87

Wahdat'ul-Wujūd wal-Maujūd (The Unity of Existence and the Existent)

Risālat'ul-Kulliyat-Tabī'ī (A Treatise on Natural Universals)

Al-ibdā'u Fī Muhakamati Baynan-Nawawī wa Ibnu's-Salāh (Judging between An-Nawawī and Ibnus-Sal'āh)
 Al-Midrā'ul Dīmīya 'Alā Hāshīyat'il Qadīmīya (The continuous

Downpour on the Scholia of the Qadimiya (The continuous

19. Hashiyatu-Sharh-i-Zaura' (Marginal Notes on the Commentary of Zaura')

 Sharh-i-Dīwān-i-Hāfiz (Commentary of the Dīwān of Hāfiz upto the radīf mīm.)

(2) This couplet and the two succeeding quatrains of 'Allama Mu'in, are taken from Diwan Sobhraj's Manuscript Note-books. The couplet at the end, however, could be found in Maqalatush-Shu'ara; Bayaz-i-Karbalai, and Tawhid - July 1943, p. 24, also.

(1) This and the three succeeding quatrains have been gleaned from the

Bayaz copied by Hafiz 'Ali.

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:

بیرنگ چو رخ نمود در پرده رنگ اضداد بهم فتاد در زحمت جنگ یک عین چو فرمود تجلی بدو طور خود گشت عدوی خویش چون شیشه و سنگ

From times immemorial, "Azal" and "Abad" have baffled the ingenuity of scientists and theologians. According to Hāfiz, the mystery of the Universe is unfathomable; the most ancient Vedās 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 Sūfi-poet had some such experience when he said:

بیزم میکده راز ازل عیان دیدم که چشم ساقی ما دور بین ما 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 Diwān in Persian and has to his credit a prose-work entitled Tūtī-Nāma which, according to the distinguished author of Maqālātush-Shu'arā 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 Jāmi:

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:

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:

(2) The Text of "'Uzlat's" verses is based on the selection made by Diwan Söbhraj in his MS. Note-books.

⁽¹⁾ Geneological Tables of the Family of the Ridawi Sayyids of Bakhar (MS. p. 31)

حسن بیرنگ بهر رنگ سرایت فرمود جنگ هفتاد و دو ملت بغدا بیجا نیست

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:

چون ز اسباب جهان بی سروسامان گردی

سینه گنجینه اسرار خدا میگردد

زنگ از آینه دل بر یاضت بردار

عکس سرآت پذیرد چو جلا میگردد

*

*

صحبت مرتاض باشد سایه روشندلی

موم چون با رشته سازد شمع تابان میشود

بوی گلدسته معنی بمشامت برسد

« که او غنچه صفت سر بگریبان دارد

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

معشوق رّا زجوهر ناز آفریده اند عشاق را ز خاک نیاز آفریده اند

MUHAMMAD MUHSIN (1121-63 A. H./1709-50 A. D.) walad Nür Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb belonged to a family of silk-merchants at Thattā. He benefitted considerably from the companionship of Lutf 'Alī Khān "Himmat", and is said to have sought criticism of his poetry from Mīr Muqbil Isfahānī, during the latter's stay at Thattā. He was by far the best poet of Thattā (at that time a renowned seat of learning), and has to his credit the following six books:

- 'Aqd-i-Duwāzdeh Gauhar (Necklace of Twelve Pearls) a mathnawī in عزج مسدس محذوف written in praise of the Imāms.
- Tirāz-i-Dānish (Royal robe of knowledge) a mathnawi
 commemorating the birth of Imām Mahdi,
 composed in بحر هز ج مسدس محذوف
- 3. Diwan-i-Qasaid.
- 4. Diwan-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 Nür Muhammad Kalhoro entitled 'Shāh Quli Khān'.
- 6. A'lām-i-Mālam (Flags of Mourning) alias Hamla-i-Hu-sayni a mathnawi in متقارب مثمن سالم containing about 10,000 verses.

His poetry is characterized by the deep influence of "Asir" (Mirzā Jalāl b. Mirzā Mu'min - d. 1049 A. H./1639-40 A. D.). He received a monthly stipend of fifteen rupees from Miyān Nūr Muhammad Kalhoro, which, though small, kept him quite contented. Among his distinguished pupils were Ghulām 'Ali "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:

The narcissus growing from the dust (grave) of the lovervictim of the beloved's bewitching eyes-reminds the poet of

Maqālātush - Shu'arā.
 All the verses of "Muhsin," except otherwise marked, are taken from Muntakhab-i-Kulliyyāt-i-Muhsin.

the wonderful and enduring effect of the beloved's collyriumcoloured eyes:

His beloved dwells in a region beyond the bounds of earth.

He is stirred only by the (soul-enthralling) sounds, but is unable to find the beloved's mouth and waist; in other words, physical contact with the ethereal (heavenly) beloved is unattainable:

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:

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

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

The whirlwind reminds the poet of the distressed lover:

Of his hopelessly bad luck, the poet says:

The seclusion of the dark night is lighted up by his meditation of the beloved, whose face is bright as the moon:

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

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

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

His beloved's ringlets are a dangerous whirlpool in which

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

In the following verses, which remind us of Mirzā Sā'ib's:

رگ ِ جانها بهم پیوسته شد زلف ِ پریشان شد لطافتهای عالم گرد شد سیب ِ زنخدان شد

the poet assigns beautiful imaginary cause for the coming into existence of بلبل ، گل ، سخن ، دهن and کاکل:

موئی ز میان گم شد و پیچید و دهن شد بوئی ز لب غنچه ای بالید و سخن شد

بهار عکس رویش درچمن جوشی زد و گل شد فغانم از جگر برخاست شکلی بست و بلبل شد ز آتشگاه سوز سینه ام دودی برون آمد به آمداد صبا گرد سرش گردید و کاکل شد

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:

اهل صورت را بمعنی رهبری کردن خطاست ماهی تصویر را از آب نقصان میرسد

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

بخیال ِ زهد و تقویل نخوری فریب زاهد بگناه ِ ما نیرزد بریا نماز کردن

Long ago "Rumi" complained: the Statute

پس بهر دستی نشاید داد دست

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

یاران رقم کنید بلوح مزار ما رفتیم زین خرابه و همدم نیافتیم

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:

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

Says Muhsin:

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:

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

In another place he says:

'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:

i. e. self-respect) must always be sought after. A pearl devoid of lustre is less estimable than even a stone:

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

The poet condemns misers:

ز مدح بخل کیشان وصف نخل بی ثمر بهتر ز بوس ساعد این تنگد ستان پای خر بهتر چو آبش آبرو ویزست حاجتمند دانا را ز شیرین چشمه این شور بختان چشم تر بهتر He compares them to flies and says:

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

Of the Supreme Being, and his experience in the realm of the Spirit, he sings:

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:

Here are a few verses 1 on "Spring", and these may serve as an illustration of Muhsin's talent in panegyric-writing:

⁽¹⁾ Taken from Maqalatush-Shu'ara.

کعبه باغ که طاعتگه مستان باشد حجرالاسود سوس چو در آود ببغل زاهدان روی میخانه کنند از مسجد از مشجه از مقدس بحرم قبله نمایند بدل جا کند بلبل شوریده بگلاسته شاخ شاخ چون بلاالی که به گلبانگ در آید بمحل زنبق آید به عصا بر سر منبر چو خطیب چون شعبی که بی خطبه بر آید بر تل گل امامت کند و فوج ریاحین ماموم زانکه یک شرط امامیست که باشد افضل یاسمین روی بشوید بزلال ایمان برخش نور فروزد مشعل لاله از صافدلان چین از داغ درون

از صافدلان چمن از داغ درون کفر مخفی بکند همچو منافق بحیل

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

سید و سرور بگو کیست بغیر از علی؟ جان پیمبر بگوکیست بغیر از علی؟ صاحب منبر بگوکیست بغیر از علی؟ خواجه قنبر بگوکیست بغیر از علی؟ خواجه قنبر بگوکیست بغیر از علی؟

ساتی کوثر بگو کیست بغیر از علی؟

شاه ولایت که بود، راه هدایت که بود؟
عین عنایت که بود، حای حمایت که بود؟
باب رسالت که بود، نور امامت که بود؟
باب رخاوت که بود، اصل شجاعت که بود؟
قاتل عنیر از علی

در همه عالم بگو کیست که درکعبه زاد؟ دیدهٔ حق بین نخست بر رخ احمد کشاد فیض لعاب نبی جمله علومش بداد یافت بطفلی ز حق خلعت رشد و رشاد

مرشد ِ دیگر بگو کیست بغیر از علی؟

سوره یاسین بخوان کیست امام مبین؟
سوره تجریم نیز صالح و مومن ببین
هادی خلقان کراگفت خداوند دین؟
کیست پس از مصطفیل وارث تخت و نگین؟
صاحب افسر بگو کیست بغیر از علی؟

The poet was Shi'a by faith; the following lines written in the style of Maulānā Muhtasham's tarjī' band are a specimen of the monodies (مرثيه) he introduced in Sindh:

ای مومنان هلال محرم پدید شد
وقت عزای حضرت شاه شهید شد!
از تیخ این هلال که پیدا نموده چرخ
افسوس قطع رشته حبل الورید شد
دلها چرا بنوحه نباشد کاین هلال
بهر کشودن در غمها کلید شد
کرسی بجنبش آمد و سر گشته ماند چرخ
زین رعشه ای که عارض عرض مجید شد
دل را صنویری نتوان گفت کز الم
لرزان و بیترار تر از برگ بید شد
شد تیره آفتاب دران روز کز قضا
شد تیره آفتاب دران روز کز قضا
در ماتم حسین علی همچو آفتاب
هرکس که روسیاه شد او رو سپید شد
مرکس که روسیاه شد او رو سپید شد

MIR1 HYDERUD-DIN ABU TURĀB "KĀMIL" (d. 1164 A.H./1751 A. D.), son of Radīud-Dīn Muhammad "Fidāi" and grandson of Abul-Makārim "Shuhūd", was the renowned teacher of the great poets "Qāni" and "Rejā" (Muhammad

For his biographical sketch Maqālātush-Shu'arā and Tuhfat'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:

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

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

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

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":

المحلق بخاند، دست بهر خان مكف مكثن

یک نان بس است، منت دونان مکش مکش

⁽¹⁾ Bayad-i-Ridawi.

⁽²⁾ Magālātush-Shu'arā. (3) Ibid.

⁽⁴⁾ Bayad-i-Ridawi.

⁽⁵⁾ These and the remaining verses of "Kāmil" are taken from the Magalatush-Shu'arā.

Faith works wonders, and the man of God - the resident of the blissful abode of the holy - cares nothing about the worldlywise 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 possesssion 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 Röhri, takhallus "Mir", (d. 1167 A.H./1754 A.D.), also known as Mir Janullāh Shāh and Mir Jān Shāh, came of the Suhrawardī 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. Mīr's Mathnawī (often called Sāqī 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 Sūfi saint's martyrdom is pathetically narrated by "Mīr" in a qasīda, of which a few lines are given below:

ای بر قد تو زیبا تشریف کبریائی و ای از تو شد هویدا در بندگی خدائی وضع قلندرانت كو برده از مشايخ شد بر سرت مسلم آئين مقتدائي طلاب حق ز هر سو درحضرتت دویدند از خاندان دیگر برخاست نیشوائی شیخان کبر کیشان اندر حسد نتادند دادند دو خلایق این کار را روائی ز اقوال كافرانه كان در حق رسل بود آن بولهب مزاجان كردند ژاژ خائي خاصان حتى شناسان در يات سجده كردند عامان برنگ غولان درجوش هوی و هائی این کار جاهلیت دورست از کمالت عامان چوسگ بغوغا، تو ماه در ضیائی فرخ سير مخبط و آن شاه جاهليت برگشته بی تحقق بر قول ادعائی 11 ترسید زینکه گیرد ملکش فقیر تارک يارب نعوذ بالله زين عقل روستائي برخاست تا نشاند شمع وجود حق را غافل که سر بریدن افزون کند ضیائی

It is said that Sayyid Jān Muhammad was at Jhôk 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:

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 Diwan, consisting of about 2,600 distichs, includes ghazaliyyat, qasaid and two highly philosophic compositionsone a tarkib band and the other a tarji'band. It opens with a sublime ode, every line of which is soul-subduing, and uplifts the hearts of the seeker to divine bliss:

(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 Bī 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 oftquoted above verse. The author of Maqalatush-Shu'ara ascribes to him the following lines also:-

خشونتهای نفسم را بلطف خویش پردازی چمن پیرای گلزار تجلی ساز خارم را! دلم در سینه از شوق دم تیخ تو میرقصد زگل صد بار رنگین ترکنی مشت غبارم را! بمشتاقان مروت از نگاهی میتوان کردن یود بیک پیمانه می دفع کن رنج خمارم را! ز سایل روی گردانیدن آئین کرم نبود گلستان کن بداغ عشق جسم خاکسارم را! غلام همت عشقم که هردم "میر" گرداند طراز چنگل شهباز کبک کوهسارم را!

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:

عاشق از وهم دوئی چون صاف شد معشوق گشت جای لیلی "میر" مجنون را بمحمل دیده ام گر حجاب افتاد در پیشم گناه غفلت است ورنه در هر جا ترا با خود مقابل دیده ام And the pure essence of all joy and life, the nectar of

heavenly bliss, is attainable by the human heart:

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

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:

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:

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:

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:

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:

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:

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:

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:

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:

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:

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:

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

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 "Mir" in the following words:

در سر ستان او نبود خمار کن مکن بیخودی باده تسلیم دارد شیشه های بیخودی دیگ تا در جوش باشد حمل بر خامی کند نیست گلبانگ اناالحق در سرای بیخودی در دل هرکس نیاید معنی برجسته اش در دل هرکس نیاید معنی برجسته اش انتهای عارفانست ابتدای بیخودی

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 بتسلیم نیست زاهد را چوب خشکی دوتا نشد هرگز

A sound realization of the basic principle or the kernel of Islām encased in the Kalma-i-tauhīd (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 میباید نخست ذکر بی اخلاص کی باشد درست The mere utterance of a particular religious formula has little practical value. In the poet's words:

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. "Mir" says:

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:

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

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:

And compliance with the word of the true saint cleanses the mirror of the human heart of the deadening dross of egotism: از خوشامد نفس ِ نادان سر بطغیان میکشد آنکه از دل زنگ بر دارد کلام بی ریاست

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:

فیض استغنا بود سرمایه شاهنشهی گر نباشد بی طمع سلطان گدای کوچه ها ست در کلام قانعان باشد غنای عالمی آرژو چون سوخت در دل ''میر'' اکسیر طلاست

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:

سینه ٔ اهل ِ محبت را بلا صقلگر ست دل چوگردد لختالخت آئینه ٔ گیتی نماست

The poet's ecstasy and experience of spiritual bliss is revealed in the verses quoted below:

نور خدا بسینه ما موج میزند
این بحر در سفینه ما موج میزند
آتش که شیشه دل منصور را گداخت
از ساغر شبینه ما موج میزند
از ساغر شبینه ما موج میزند
راز جهان بسینه ما موج میزند
ان باده طهور که در حوض کوثر است
از ساغر شبانه ما موج میزند
آن باده طهور که در جوض کوثر است
از ساغر شبانه ما موج میزند
آن لذتیکه در بر ایکار معنویست

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:

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

MUHAMMAD1 'ALI" 'ALI" was the son of Dāud Khān b. Miyan Yar Muhammad Khuda Yar Khan 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:

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:

بلبل و پروانه میجوشد بهم در محفلم عشق گویا روغن کل در چراغم کرده است The Sufi's aim is to lose his identity and be completely

merged in God. Says "'Ali ":

⁽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, Miyan DAUD KHAN:

شبنمی را کی رباید مهر بی حکمت زگل
گر نباشد جذبه اش پر زور از آهن ربا!
رنگ تا محشر نبندد پنجه خورشید را
گر ایاغ صبح و شام چرخ گردد پر حنا
کی پڈیرد رنگ یک برگ گلی درگلستان
آسمان خون شفق را گر کند بر وی طلا!
باغبان حفظش از عزم چمن سازی کند
نخل موسی میدواند ریشه تا تحتالشرا

MIR 'ABDUR-RASHID (d. after 1169 A. H./1756 A. D.) walad 'Abdul-Ghafur Husayni of Thatta, 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-Lughāt. The following ode, written on the lines of Khāqāni's

صبحدم چون کله بندد آه دود آسای من چون شفق در خون نشیند چشم شب پیمای من

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

باز طغیان ِ جنون دارد دل ِ شیدای من شورش ِ زنجیر افزون میکند سودای من خوال کاکل خوبان کنم از سر پرون کنم از سر پرون کن پریشانی بود جمعیت اجزای من شهریار ِ فضلم و شهر ِ معانی جای من میرود در کشور ِ دانش کنون غوغای من میرود در کشور ِ دانش کنون غوغای من هم قلم دارم پدوش

در تفاسير سور كشاف سير مشكلم منزلست این آیته اندر شان استیفای من در معانی و بیان مفتاح گنج دانشم نیست در فن بلاغت هیچکس همتای من در طریق ِ تحویان مصباح ِ راه ِ ظلمتم در سبیل صرفیان وافیست استیفای من در اصول مندسی تحریر اشکال از منست در طریق منطقی تامست استقرای من از طبیعی و الهی بهره ای دارم تمام نیست محتاج براهین سوره دعوای من شيوه سحر هلال از شعر من دارد رواج شمع جمع شاعران باشد ید بیضای من این همه فخرم روا باشد چوهست از راه فضل انتخار اهل عرفان سید و مولای من شاه دين يعني على المرتضى كز مهر او شد بنور غیب روشن دیده بینای من

AKHUND FAYDULLAH "TAPASH" was both a talented poet and a prose-writer. He served as a school teacher at Thatta.

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:

> قطلاح و زهد چتر داستان نگردد، جمع کی ا کجا نهفته 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 Maqalatush-Shu'ara,

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 Māyā (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 steep accentuates the elegance of his verse:

درین صحرا نفس کم کرد صیاد سبکخیزم که پر بالا نزد صیدی پریزاد از کمند من

MUHAMMAD PANĂH, bearing the nom de plum "Rejā", was a resident of Thattā and a contemporary of Sayyid 'Alī Shīr Qāni'. Both of them profitted considerably from the companionship of Mīr Hyderud-Dīn Abū Turāb "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 Mīr Lutfullah alias Mīr Matārō (d. 1161 A. H./1748 A. D.), a dignitary of the State who held the poet in high esteem, was composed by him:

المعاملة المر أبران الوريخ وناك Tute المعالمة "كفت المود بجان مير لطف الله" كفت

He revered saints and pious people. The following verse of his enshrines his respectful tribute to Hadrat 'Alī in connection with his takhallus "Rejā":

This and the other selected verses of "Rejä" have been culled from Maqālātush-Shu'arā,

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

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:

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

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

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:

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 مشق نگه بازی، تو و دزدیده دیدنها
من و محور رخت بودن، تو و در جلوه افزودن
من و محور رخت بودن، تو و در جلوه افزودن
من و بیخویش گردیدن، تو و بر خویش چیدنها
بشمشیر تفافل نیم بسمل شد "رجا" ظالم!
تو و بر پا حنا بستن، من و در خون طبیدنها

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

خواب قیلولدات چه شیرین است محسوف 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 ثنای خود زبانم را!
چو سعدی صد گلستان معنی من در بغل دارد
چمن بیرای شهرت کن الهی بوستانم را!
رسا قرما چو پیران نزاکت فهم فکر من
بشو صهبای معنی ربط ده طبع جوانم را!

MIR ABUL-BAQĂ, alias Bahra-war 'Ali, son of 'Abdur-Rehmān b. 'Abdullāh, the distinguished author of Tārīkh-i-Chirāgh-i-Hīdāyat, better known as Bahrawar Shāhī, was a pupil of Hyderud-Dīn "Kāmil". He died without leaving any male issue. The following few verses 1 illustrate his style:

منت در مان ندارد از طبیبان درد ما سوزش دل سرهمی دارد ز آه سرد ما

⁽¹⁾ Taken from Magālātush Shu'arā.

SHAYKH MUHAMMAD MAHFUZ, son of Shaykh Muhammad Murid, belonged to the Qanungu family of Sehwan. Originally his ancestors belonged to the Rai dynasty, but one of them became converted to Islam and settled down at Thatta as a Qanungu (Revenue Officer) during the reign of 'Alamgir. In the beginning, he wrote poems calling himself "Fidai", 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 "Faghfūr" to "Sarkhush" for providing a suitable پیش مصرع:

آئینه کاش در گرو توتیا کنند The latter forthwith capped it with the following:

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:

اصاحبا، دیوان بمن طبع آزمائی میکند بحث در پروانه شرح بیائی میکند او بفکر نه بود، من در خیال هشت من بنده شهری، او حساب روستائی میکند طرفه این باشد که دیوان کم توجه در حضور و اندرین جا مهته آو ترا صفائی میکند ازشکست کار''سرخوش'' راغمی نبود، ازانکه عاقبت لطف تو کار مومیائی میکند

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:

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

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

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:

(5) Magālātush-Shu'arā.

⁽¹⁾ A Persian Manuscript transcribed by Nandumal.

⁽²⁾ A Sindhi word meaning the division of grain at harvest.

 ⁽³⁾ Maqālātush-Shu'ara.
 (4) A Persian MS. copied by Nandūmal.

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 Qāni', in his Maqālātush-Shu'arā, has quoted only the following distich from his pen:

SHAYKH QAMARUD-DIN "ISHRAT", son of Shaykh Muhammad Mahfūz, 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 Maqālātush-Shu'arā are from his pen:

MIRZĀ GHULĀM 'ALI "MU'MIN" was the grandson of Allāh Wardī Bēg Kāzarūnī. Though not very learned, he was quite a good poet and has left a Dīwān of ghazals. He belonged to the Shī'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 Nandūmal.

for the title of Tarik (hermit). On the contrary, Sa'di is of opinion:

خورنده که خیرش بر آید زدست به از صائم 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'min":

ترک ِ دنیا نیم نان و گوشه گیری را بدان هرکه نان ِ خو یش بر بیگانه بخشد 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:

2 زال دنیا دائماً اوباش را دارد پسند ای شریف از وی مجرد شو که حالش ذالک است

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

ه نکاح ست گویند دفع الفساد فسادست اکنون صریح از نکاح

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 Jāmi, to wit,

(3) Ibid.

⁽¹⁾ Anwār'ul-Asrār (Ms. p. 231) (2) Anwār'ul-Asrār (MS. p. 231)

seems to have influenced the mind of our poet to such extent, that he could not help giving us the same idea, with a little change in words, thus:

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 comethus "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:

The pains and pleasures of earthly life, which are unquestionably transient, deserve little notice at the hands of human beings who, in the words of Tennyson, are "the roof and crown of things".

(3) Ibid.

Ibid.
 Anwār'ul-Asrār (MS. p. 234)

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:

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 ecstasy of union:

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:

⁽²⁾ Dīwān 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:

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:

MIR² 'ALI SHIR "QĀNI" (1140-1203 A.H./1727-8-1789 A. D.) walad '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 distinguised scholars of Thattā, viz., 'Allāma Mu'inud-Din and Makhdūm Rehmatullāh, and learnt Persian from Ākhūnd 'Abd'ul-Hasan "Bītakalluf". 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⁾ Mirză Gul Hasan: Sukhanwarân-i-Hindustân.

⁽²⁾ The account of his life is based on the material provided by Magalatush-Shu'arā.

inspiration, viz., 1155) which, at a later date, he changed into "Qāni".

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

- Magalatush-Shu'ara
- Tuhfat'ul-Kirám 2.
- Qissa-i-Kamrup (about 3,000 distichs written on the 3. (منتعلن مفتعلن فاعلن measures of
- Mathnawi-i-Qadā-wa-qadar (c. in 1167 A. H. in 4. (هزج مسدس محذوف
- Diwan-i-Qani' of about 9,000 distichs (c. 1171 A.H.) 5.
- Ash' ar-i-Mutafarriqa (about 1,000 distichs) 6.
- Zinat'ul-Akhlag (Poetry) 7.
- Nuskha-i-Ghawthiya (Poetry) 8.
- Makli Nama (Poetry) 9.
- Khatmus-Suluk (Mathnawi) 10.
- Zayn'ul-Afkar (Poetry) 11.
- 12. Zubdat'ul-Manāgib
- Mukhtār Nāma nearly 7,000 distichs (originally com-13. posed in 1193 A. H. in متقارب مثمن مقصور)
- Tadhhibu't-Taba'i 14.
- Hadigat'ul-Awlia 15.
- Mi'yār-i-Sālikān-i-Tarigat
- 17. Siyāhat Nāma
- 18. Shajara-i-Mashaikh (Poetry)
- Chehar Manzila (Poetry) nearly 1,000 couplets in 19. هزج مسدس معذوف
- Kān-i-Jawāhīr (Mathnawi) 20.
- Qassāb Nāma 21.
- Tazwij Nāma-i-Husn-wa-Ishq (composed in 1180 A. H.) 22.
- Būstān-i-Bahār (Prose in praise of Makli Hill) 23.

- 24. I'lan-i-Gham dar Dhikr-i-Karbala
- 25. Tārikh-i-'Abbāsiya (Poetry and prose incomplete)
- 26. Sāqī Nāma (composed in مخذوف)
- 27. Raudat'ul-Ambiyā (Poetry)
- 28. Kirishma-i-Qudrat-i-Haq (Mathnawi c. 1165 A. H. in
- 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 Kalhōrās.

"Qāni'" was a past-master in the art of composing chronograms and enjoyed as great a reputation as Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir Gilāni. He wrote the subjoined verses on the birth of Nasīrud-Dīn (1168 A. H.), son of Najmud-Din Qādrī of Thattā:

	جليل احرى	فقيه واقى	فصيح اجسم	علم مسلک
_	يمين عقبى	جليل و زاهر	كريم اطيب	بعقل كمل
U	مدار اولي	بحار اعطا	مدتق امجد	ولي ماهل
87	محقق اجلى	مرام اهدا	سراجی ایهی	مونقاتة

⁽¹⁾ See Tuhfat'ul-Kirām, Vol. III, p. 260. The present writer wonders how Sorley (Shāh Abdul Latīf 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:

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

admit of four metres:1

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:

The above hemistich, according to the numerical value of

Continued from page 126

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

خفیف مخبون محذوف ,(مفتعلن مفتعلن فاعلن) رجز مسدس مطوی (۱) (فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلن) رمل مسدس محذوف ,(فاعلاتن مفاعلن فعلن) (فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فعلاتن فعلن) رمل مسدس مخبون محذوف and

its letters signifies the year 1171 A. H. when Ghulam Shah Kalhoro 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:

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

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

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:

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

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

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:

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:

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 "haqiqat" (attainment with the Essential Truth). Here is our poet's brief

delineation of "majāz" and "haqīqat" in his composition entitled Mahabbat Nāma:

سزاوار ثنایست آن خداوند
که دلها را بدلها داد پیوند
محبت را پدید آورد از خویش
کزان دلهای عشاقش بود ریش
به مجنون در رخ لیلی نموده
اگرچه خویشتن مقصود بوده
نبوده غیر مجنون کام لیلی
نبوده غیر مجنون کام لیلی
میان وامق و عذرا دوئی چیست
میان وامق و عذرا دوئی چیست
محبت در دو تن چون کرد ماوا
محبت در دو تن چون کرد ماوا

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 باید پرستش ز دل نباشد 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 بدیع عشق از خاک گل آید جامه خونین سینه صد چاک اگر در باغ بینی در ته راغ بود لاله بدل چاک و جگر داغ بنرگس چشم خوابی کرده جادو كه مدهوشست و دلخسته لب جو اگر دارد گل زنبق سفیدی به یمن عشق میدارد سعیدی ازان رو ده زبان اندوخت سوسن که رمز ِ عاشقی گو ید بگلشن سروری نیست بر سوری بعجز نام که اندر عاشقی زد بیشتر گام بهر رنگی و هر بوئی که بینی گلہ از گلبن مقصود چینی سفید و زرد و سرخ عباس از چیست چو اندر عاشقی دارد نکو زیست چرا همواره باشد بید لرزان برای چیست زینسان عشق پیچان پریشانی سنبل بی تملق بود در باغ ز آثار تعشق چنار از پنجه ٔ بر زور اخلاص گھی زرد ست و گاھی سر خ صندل تذرو و فاخته کوکو زنان چه بطوف باغ از هر سو دوان چه نیوشی گر زبان ِ خنده کل نباشد جز بحرف عشق بليل

ز شاخ ارغوان گل کرد این حرف که هر چیزی بود از عشق پر ظرف كل رعنا اگر دارد دو رنگي ز عشقش حاصل آمد شوخ و شنكي چنان در هدهد این آتش بر افروخت که دودش صورت تاجی بسردوخت مغنی تا براه عشق زد جنگ بریزد از رخ هر تار "سارنگ" شود امروز "تودی" نزد عاقل شود گر از مقام عشق غافل دلی "کان ره" نه زد برجانب عشق اگر هم باک باشد هست در فسق چو "مارو" نه براه عشق بکبار که بر آسان و تیره باشدت بار به "كلى آن" او شو باش ايمن ز سر چنگی زنان ای صاحب نن رباب "آسا" دو گوش خویش کن باز که مطلوبت دهد هرگوشه آواز

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

یک جلوه زبیرنگی او رنگ گرفته
از لعل شکر ریز او بردند مذاتی از لعل شکر ریز او بردند مذاتی اسی به دکن شد
میسی بصفاهان شد و انبی به دکن شد
قانع در کثرت چوزده وحدت ذاتش
در بصره حسن شد به یمن ویس 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:

''قانع'' بود عبادت ِ شان در جزا قبول از آبِ انفعال گر اینجا وضو کنند چو ياردر همه احوال ساكن دل ماست یقین شناس که تعمیر کعبه ازگل ماست از كليسا تا بكعبه سر بسر گرديده ام خانه ای چون خانه دل از خدا معمور نیست

In the following lines, "Qani" has woven an instructive pun upon the word Gūr signifying (a) Onager and (b) grave:

گور را بهرام اگرچه صید میکردی مدام مى ندانست آن كه صيادش بغير از گورنيست

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 امساکش که از مردی رود هركه را با تعبه و دنيا ست حاصل ازدواج

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

بسی گم کشتکان را هادی راه هدا گردد

جرس سان هر كه اورا ذكر قلبي دائماً باشد Sa'di's dictum

خوردن برای زیستن و ذکر کردنست

تومعتقد که زیستن از بهر ِخوردنست!

has a parallel in the poet's:

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

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

HASAN¹ BAKHSH "AZHAR" was originally a Hindû; he embraced Islām along with his father whose birth-name Jhūrōmal was changed to 'Abdus-Salām, alias Mīrzā Fidāī. 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:

For his life and verse, Maqalatush-Shu'ara has been consulted.
 The account of his life and poetry is based on the Maqalatush-Shu'ara.

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:

فتاد عکسی ازان روی شعله تاب در آب
که گشته اند همه ماهیان کباب در آب
ز انفعال سرشک پر آب من گوهر
بروی خود ز صدف میکشد نقاب در آب
خیال روی تو از دیده ترم پیدا ست
چنانکه جلوه کند عکس ماهتاب در آب
مگر ازان لب میگون هوای در سر داشت
که باده میچکد از ساغر حباب در آب

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

تا برون از خلوت آغوشم آن آئینه رو ست دل درون سینه ام بیتابی سیماب داشت

"jes 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:

عا مرد را ماز کرب دست دامد در غربت ا

که نی آز سیر مقامات نوا پیداکرد

GHULĀM '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 'Alī 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:

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

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 "تواضع كليد در جنت است" has been transformed by the poet into خضر راه منزل (the expert guide to the sublime destination of celestial glory) in:

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 Maddah, excepting the last which the present writer saw at the end of Muntakhab-i-Kulliyyāt-i-Muhsin. are gleaned from Maqa-lātush-Shu'arā,

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:

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:

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:

The following few verses are from a qasidā 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:

تاگشت محيط كرم و جود تو مواج بحر آمده کشتی بکف از بهر گدائی در مجلس تو ماه یکی کاسه سیمین در محفل تو مهر یکی جام طلائی آنکس که برو سایه ٔ لطف تو فناده هر گز نکشد منتی از بال همائی تا خاطرت از "نور محمد" شده روشن مانند دلت صبح نباشد بصفائي "محسن" که دعا گوی و ثنا خوان تو بوده زين دار فنا رفت بتقدير خدائي اميدكه از غايت لطف وكرم خويش بر حال بتيمان نظر رحم نمائي نی منصب و نی مزرعه دارند و نه باغی از قيد غم و غصه ندارند رهائي بايدكه توازصيقل لطف وكرم خويش از آئینه خاطر شان زنگ زدائی هر مشكل شان حل كني از راه تفضل هر عقده دشوار که دارند کشائی تا باز غلام على از شوق چو بليل در باغ دعای تو کند نغمه سرائی

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, Mir Bahrām Khān Tālpur, and his son, Sobdār Khān (1189 A. H./1775 A. D.), at the instigation of his evil-minded friend Tājō Lēkhī. This treacherous behaviour of Sarfarāz Khān led to the downfall of the Kalhōrā House. Mīr Fat'h 'Alī 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 Miyan 'Abdun-Nabi.

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 imaginative and impulsive mind. He was a contemporary of Sayyid Thābit 'Alī Shāh, whose marthiyās (elegies) in Sindhī are recited to this day on the occasion of "Muharram". Both Sarfarāz Khān and Sayyid Thābit 'Alī Shāh studied under Ghulām 'Alī "Maddāh".

Here are a few verses of Sarfaraz Khan:-

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:

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, however, the poet expresses himself in regard to his confinement in a different manner:

Sarfaraz's compositions.

A Persian MS. copied by Nandūmal; Bayad-i-Karbalāī; Leaves from Sarfarāz's compositions.
 A persian MS. copied by Nandūmal; Bayad-i-Karbalāī; Leaves from

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:

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:

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:

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

Leaves from Sarfarāz's compositions.
 A persian MS. copied by Nandūmal.

⁽³⁾ Persian MS. copied by Nandûmal.(4) Ibid; Bayad-i-Karbalāl.

(i. e. devoid of personal magnetism) and incapable of inspiring love:

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:

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:

MUNSHI SHEWAKRAM "UTARID" of Thatta flourished in the days of Miyan Ghulam Shah Kalhoro and his son Sarfaraz Khan. 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:

and mostly lived a lonely life of penury. But every cloud has a silver lining. For a brief interval his scholarship was appreciated by Mir Bijār Khān (a noble at the Court of the Kalhōrās son of the martyred Bahrām) who brought him to the notice of the Kalhōrā princes. Thereafter, at the suggestion of Miyān Sarfarāz Khān, "'Utārid" wrote the story of Hīr-wa-Rānjha in Persian prose, and concluded with the following epilogue:

⁽¹⁾ Ibid.

⁽²⁾ Ibid.

⁽³⁾ Ibid.

امن این افسانه رنگین تر نوشتم چه رنگین بلکه شیرین تر نوشتم برنگینی چو گل جایش بدستار بشیرینی چو شکر خنده یار مراد من چو رنگین نقش بندد بشیرینی اگر خسرو پسندد

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 Amullrāi 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.

'Utarid probably composed a complete Diwan 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:

عزار یوسف مصری به نیم جو تخرد خبر کنند ز حسنت اگر زلیخا را یکی پیام رسان از سن ای نسیم سحر نگار سیمبدن یار مام سیما را که بی تو چندگدازم چو سیم در آتش که بی تو چند گذارم سیاه شبها را

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 delib and part in the other two:

Vide Tadhkira-i-Lutfi, Part II, p. 135.
 Ms. containing fifteen ghazals of 'Utarid.

د بوصلت طاقتم مشکل، بهجرت مشکلست صبرم بوصل و هجرت اندر کار من افتاد مشکلها بطوفان داد آخر گریه من کشتی صبرم خدارا شرطه وصلش نماید رو بساحلها ز هر محمل نشان آن مه محفل همی جویم درین وادی همی گردم عبث برگرد ساحلها

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:

'Utarid'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:

ا ان خسرو شیرین دهن گر بشنوم شیرین سخن شویم بخون خویشتن چون کوهکن رخسارها آن مطرب بربط سرا کردست چون بربط سرا از هر رگم خیزد سرا در پرده همچو تارها ایکردم برویش یک نظر دریک نظر برد آن پسر ایک اول از دستم دل پیدر و آنگه از دل آرام را

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

(4) Ibid.

⁽¹⁾ Ibid. (2) Ibid. The first hemistich, as found in Hindustani, Dec, 1942, runs as under: به آب خود گهر را تر نشد یکدم لب خشکی

⁽³⁾ Ms. containing fifteen ghazals of "'Utarid"

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 passsage. 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.

⁽³⁾ Sukhanwarān-i-Hindustān.

Occasionally he rises to daring heights of thought, and ventures into the realms of the heretic's philosophy. Somnath and the Sanctuary of Islam 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:

Love of beauty is the outstanding feature of 'Utarid'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:

زمين جو لرزه خورد خانه ها خراب شود

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

⁽¹⁾ Ibid.

⁽²⁾ A persian MS. copied by Nandumal.

⁽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:

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:

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:

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:

The poet was a pupil of Muhammad Muhsin, to whom he pays his respectful tribute:

⁽¹⁾ Ibid.

⁽²⁾ MS. containing fifteen ghazals of 'Utarid; Sukhanwaran-i-Hindustan.

⁽³⁾ Maqālātush-Shu'arā.

⁽⁴⁾ Sukhanwarān-i-Hindustān.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid.

THÂRIOMAL1 "BINĂ" 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:

The following two couplets which the author of Maqalatush-Shu'ara heard from 'Utarid are further specimens of his subtle poetry:

Gul Hayat Institute

The account of his life and poetry is reproduced from Maqālātush-Shuarā.

CHAPTER IV

THE RULE OF THE TALPURS

AFTER the defeat of the Kalhoras, Mir Fat'h 'Ali Khan Talpur was confirmed to the throne of Sindh by a sanad (patent) from Timur Shah, the King of Afghanistan (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 Ghulam 'Ali Khan, Karam 'Ali Khan and Murad '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 Char Yar (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 Afghan, French and Russian designs upon India sought to establish a Pro-British buffer-state between Russia and British India, consisting of Sindh and the Punjab. 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 Sindhian 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 Char Yars, viz. Murad 'Ali Khan, died

in 1833 A. D. and the second batch of four joint rulers - Mirs Nür Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Nasir Khan (sons of Murad 'Ali Khan), Muhammad Khan (son of Ghulam 'Ali Khān) and Sobdar 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 Afghan throne. Every other effort having failed to achieve this end, he was forced to adopt the awkward course of reinstating Shah Shuja', the deposed ruler, on the Afghan masnad. In order to bring this to pass, he concluded with Shah Shuja' and Raja Ranjitsingh 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 Shah 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 Afghans. 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'an, 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 Raja Ranjitsingh, 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 Amīrs. This was a fore-taste of what was yet to come; but, unfortunately, the then ruling Amīrs 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 Talpurs. 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 Mullas to open schools. The Talpurs, by patronizing the literate Sayyids, also encouraged the diffusion of Persian in Sindh. The Sayyids of Röhri 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 Rohri and

Thatta came to be the centres1 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 masters2." Thus, Hyderābād too became a centre of learning under the Talpurs. In all, there were six2 centres of education for seekers of decent employment and royal favours. The Hindus 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 Talpurs for conversion, some of the orthodox Hindus 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'di, Hafiz, Rumi, and Nizami. 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

⁽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 Murad '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 six1 centres. The teaching staff, working at these educational institutions, was well paid, and hence the scholars received expert guidance.

Though the Talpurs 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 'iāgirdārs 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 Talpur regime. All the Talpurs, with the solitary exception of Mir Sobdar Khan, were of the Shi'a faith; and so, a large number af poems were written by both the Sunni and the Shi'a poets in praise of Hadrat 'Ali and the martyred Imams. In the circumstances it becomes difficult for the reader to determine from the works of a poet of the Talpur Age whether he was a Sunni or a Shi'a unless, of course, he has a previous knowledge of the poet's creed. The Talpurs, being of martial race, encouraged the "Epic". The Fat'h Nama of 'Azim was so well received that a number of passages from it used to be recited in the Amīrs' Darbār. 'Azīm also wrote a Diwan and the Indian romance of Hir-wa-Raniho; in this latter composition, he was followed by Nawwab Wali Muhammad Khān and one "Āzād". Mir Sobdar Khān wrote on the model of Fat'h Nama and produced many mathnawis, of which Judai-Nāma and Sayf 'ul-Mulūk are his masterpieces. Mir Nasir Khān composed a Diwān of ghazals and a few mathnawis, of which the two - one describing the condition of the exiled Mirs on their way to and residence in Sasur, 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. Mir Karam 'Ali Khān, Ghulām 'Ali

⁽¹⁾ Called "Colleges" by Burton (Sind and the Races, p. 137). They were at Sehwan, Pāt, Khöhrā (north of Sehwan), Muta'alwi (Matiārī), Mohar or Walhārī (near Amarkot) and Chōtiyārī (on the Nārā river).

"Māil", Munshī Sāhibrāi "Āzād", Ākhūnd 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 Dīwān of Odes to his credit.

Below are given some details relating to the life and works of most of the representative poets of the Talpur period.

SAYYID THĀBIT 'ALI SHĀH (1153-1225 A. H./1740-1810 A. D.), son of Madār 'Alī 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 "Mushtāqī", Muhammad Ihsān and Muhammad Murād. In praise of Sehwan he says:

سیر گاه ِ صادقان خلوتسرای عارفان ما من متوکلان آرامگاه اولیا

The Savyid had great aptitude for poetry and his Kullivvat contains poems in Persian, Urdu and Sindhi. He was a favourite of Miyan Sarfaraz Khan Kalhoro, who rewarded him handsomely for his verses. He also lived a happy and prosperous life under the patronage of the Talpur Princes, including Mir Fat'h 'Ali Khan. Mir Karam 'Ali Khan who was a patron of Persian literature, constantly cultivated the companionship of Thābit 'Alī shāh and provided suitable residence for him at The poet's good fortune reached its zenith when Hyderābād. he made a pilgrimage to Karbala and the shrines of all the Imams (at the expense of the Talpur princes). On that account he was called "Karbalāi" 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,

چو مهر نبوت بدوش رسول

written in praise of Hadrat 'Ali, after the style of

سپر بود بر پشت شه کامیاب

چو ابر سیه حائل آفتاب

was greatly appreciated by his contemporary Persian scholars; and, according to Muhammad Ibrāhīm "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⁾ Takmila.

⁽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.

SAYYID 'AZIMUDDIN "Azim" son of Sayyid Yār Muhammad of Thatta, was a nephew of Mīr 'Alī Shīr "Qāni'. He was born¹ on the day of the death of Muhammad Muhsin (1163 A. H./1750 A. D.), which event he commemorates rather pathetically:

His father died early and left him a wretched orphan.

In the early part of his life he associated himself with Miyan Sarfaraz Khan Kalhoro. After the fall of the Kalhora dynasty, he came in contact with the Talpur Princes and was employed by Mir Fat'h 'Ali Khan to record in verse the battles, fought between the Kalhoras and the Talpurs, which led to the final victory of the latter. The book, in 'rival distinction' to Firdawsi's Shah Nama, was named Fat'h Nama. It is a long epic poem consisting of about 2500 distichs, and is divided into five chapters, each called a majlis. 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 Darbar" 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 'Alī Khān) in valour and wisdom:

⁽¹⁾ It is a pity that Lutfullah Badwi in his Tadhkira-i-Lutfi, Part II, p. 96, puts even Abul-Makārim "Shuhūd" (d. 1073 A. H./1862-63 A. D.) among his contemporaries.

In the following remarkable lines, 'Azīm plays on the name of Bahrām's assassin viz. Husayn who, it is said, was instructed by Miyān Sarfarāz Khān to stand behind the Mīr's back and stab him to death:

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 Diwan comprises some 250 odes, besides a Saqi Nama 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

هندو بت من، بتان غلامش ما رام خدا، خداست رامش الم خدا، خداست رامش * * اگرچه پیر شدم عشق نوجوان دارم خزان من بخدا از بهارخالی نیست

Flashes of spiritual illumination sometimes endow his verses with a peculiar charm:

Firdawsi eclipsed all previous definitions of God's greatness in his memorable verse:

> جهان را بلندی و پستی توئی ندانم چه ای، هرچه هستی توئی!

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:

سودای خلد در سر زهاد خام ماند
پخت این می دو آتشه افکار خام ما
در هوای حور زاهد را خدا از یاد رفت
عمر او در آرزوی خلد چون شداد رفت
صورت زاهد کجا با معنی ما میرسد
صورت زاهد کجا با معنی ما میرسد

الما نام میرسد
میرسد میرسد میرسد میرسد میرسد به از یاد رفت المیرسد میرسد میرسد میرسد میرسد میرسد میرسد میرسد از یاد رفت المیرسد راهد ز چوب خشک شود خشک دست تو
از کف عصا بینگن و جام شراب گیر

Somewhat after the manner of Maulānā Rūmī who said دل بدست آور که حج اکبر است از هزاران کعمه یک دل بهتر است! this Sindhi poet gives expression to a deep veneration for the human heart, particularly the heart of the Faithful:

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:

We find a semblance of Hāfiz's well known exclamation, to wit,

The following verses are fairly characteristic of 'Azim's poetic art:

با خدا بر سر حساب مباش شيخ اين سبحه شمار عبث دلم در تمنای گیسوی او چه گیسوی او خانه بر دوش بود چو پروانه میسوخت عالم "عظیم" گر آن شمع عالم نه روپوش بود!

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

> ما را کسی زخاک بیکبار بر نداشت خود را به این خرابه چوگنجینه در زدیم هرگز نه سوخته دل سنگین آسمان هر چند آه و ناله بشور و شرر زديم

But he found consolation in: Institute خاک کی میشود آبی که بگوهر باشد

A significant change in his circumstances seems to have converted the once merry and lucky poet into a fatalist:

بگذر از تدبیر عقل ای دل که خاکستر کند آتش تقدير حق خار و خس تدبير ما

He has also rendered into verse the love story of Hīr-wa-Rānjhā (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 'Alī, and the first four Tālpur rulers of Hyderābād Sindh.

The story opens with a description of the Punjāb (the birth place of Hir and Rānjhā) and its atmosphere of love and beauty. It is followed by a description of Hazārā, the land ruled by Rānjhā's father, who had four sons, of whom Rānjhā was the youngest and the best. Once a traveller from Jhang Sayāl, the land of Hir, became Rānjhā'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 کل را طره اش تاب داد سنبل را خوش نگاهان نگاه او خواهند .

سرمه از خاک راه او خواهند .
عکس رویش چمن در آئینه ساخت عکس زلفش ختن در آئینه ساخت وحشت از چشم مردمان دارد چشم صیاد آهوان دارد میل آئینه نیز کم دارد چشمش از عکس خویش رم دارد غیر زلفش کسی ببر نگرفت کیر و اسلام را برویش رو ست کنر و اسلام را برویش رو ست چشم او ترک، زلف او هندو ست

These words kindled the fire of love in Rānjhā's heart and filled him with a passionate longing to see her. Soon after this his father died. This made Rānjhā melancholic:

He destributed all his wealth among his brothers who, like Yusuf'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 Hīr, 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 Hīr'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:

Rănjhā thanked the kindly boatman for this providential help and availed himself of it. He atonce 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, Rānjhā's joy knew no bounds:

گفت، "من مست باده عشقم من دل از دست داده عشقم "وصفر حسنت شنيده آمده ام رنج و معنت كشيده آمده ام " كرده ام ترك جاه و مال و وطن در هوای تو ای حبیبه من "مرگ من با تو، زندگی با تست شاهیم باتو، بندگی باتست!" Taking in the situation, Hir از مخالف چو پرده واجب داشت بمقام دگر نوا داشت در برده نغمه عشاق کرد سر نغمه مجاز و عراق گفت با رانجهد که "ای جوان غریب رزق هر کس بقسمت است و نصیب "تو چرا بھر رزق حیرانی میکشی محنت و پریشانی

گله بانی گاو میشان کن "
"فارغ از کار و بار دنیا باش

باخدا روز و شب بطحرا باش!"

She then went to her mother and sought her permission to employ Rānjhā as a shepherd. It seemed a trivial request and her mother readily agreed. Rānjhā too was more than satisfied with his job.

"مشكل خويش بر خود آسان كن

Hir, now, found it easy to slip down the river in her boat and meet him daily in the wood. But the fate-ridden firmament - the proverbial pitiless intruder in the affairs of loverssoon 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 Ranjha. 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 Sayal. Necessary preparations were made for the occasion, but the girl refused to become his wife, saying:

The remonstrances and even entreaties of her friends and relatives proved unavailing:

They conveyed the fact to her father, adding in disgust :

شادی وا بود غم رانجهه ۱دل سختش به پند نرم نشد مایل نام وننگ و شرم نشد ۱۰ آبروی تو جمله ریخت بخاک

آه زين شوخ ِ بي حيا بيباک"

At last the Qādī of the city was called to exhort the girl to be of good sense and agree. He delivered many grandiloquent sermons, but in vain. Hīr, considerably put out by the Qādī, insulted him and gave free vent to her pent up feelings:

"ریش تو ریش جان عشاقست

مو بمو نیش جان عشاقست

"اینکه عمامه تو پیچان است

"تو که نص و حدیث میخوانی

دل رنجیده را چه رنجانی!

"از ازل هست شوهرم رانجها

کی دو شوهر بیک زنست روا؟

"گر پسندت شده است این داماد

دختر خود دهش که گردد 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:

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 newlywed husband kept her a prisoner within the four walls of his palace, and planned to kill Rānjhā. Hīr, 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:

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 Qādī 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 (Rānjhā and Hīr) was the sole cause of the conflagration, he uttered a solemn prayer and handed over Hīr to Rānjhā. He (i. e. the Qādī) then spoke to the unfortunate Naurang thus:

ربر تو کی میشود حلال این زن
او قبولت نه کرد در گفتن
راعقد تو بسته اند با بهتان
نامسلمان و چند بی ایمان
راین کمر بستنت به امر جرام
هست دور از طریقه اسلام
راکن ازین فعل زشت استغفار
بجناب مقدس غفار "

Naurang could not bear this ignominy, and, as soon as the couple left the locality, he siezed 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 Khwāja Khidr who, with a few drops of nectar - his gift of "Åb-i-hayāt" made their lives immortal.

Of the three poetical versions of Hir-wa-Rānjhā by "'Azīm', "Āzād" and "Walī", 'Azīm's is easily superior to that of Walī and ranks equal with that of Āzād, if not higher. It is modelled on Nizāmi's Mathnawīs 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 his own colour.

'ABDUL-WAHHĀB (1152-1242 A. H./1739-1826 A. D.), son of Salāhud-Dīn, 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 "maktabs" 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, Shah '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 Mansur, 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 " (The devotee stands in need of none but " الفقير لا يحتاج الاهو" 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 Sindhī language.

He is the author of the 1 following works in Persian which,

⁽¹⁾ According to Mirzā 'Ali Quli 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 9,36,606 bayts.

with the exception of the first two, have not yet seen the light of day:-

- 1. Diwan-i-Ashkara
- 2. Rahbar Nāma
- 3. Rāz Nāma
- 4. Gudāz Nāma
- 5. 'Ishq Nama
- 6. Tár Năma

He adopted "Āshkārā" and "Khudāi" 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 pervading 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:

The devotee loses all perception of difference when he realizes the Deity within himself; he then becomes one with the Supreme. Says the poet:

⁽¹⁾ The verses of 'Abdül-Wahhāb used for the purpose of this monograph are gleaned from: (a) Dīwān-i-Ashkārā consisting of ghazals, rubāis and fards (pp. 1-177), short mathnawis (pp. 178-226) and Rahbar Nāma (pp. 227-253), (b) Dīwān-i-Ashkār edited by Maulvi Nur'ul-Haq (containing 313 kalāms in 171 pages), and (c) A MS copy of Rahbar Nāma.

Annihilation of the ego makes the devotee perfectly pure and free from the conflict of the opposites:

"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:

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":

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:

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:

در بی درد یقین دان که دوا میاید

The following verses are from the poet's Rahbar Nāma 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 جا گذار
وهم و تصور بدو فرسنگ دار
غو طه بدریای آن بیرنگ زن
بگذر ازین رنگ وخودی را شکن
تا که فراموشیت از خود شو د
مرغ خیال تو همانجا پرد
بن تن خود مانند فانوس دان
باشد افرو ز چراغ اندر آن
بگذر یک بارگی از مشت خاک
بگذر یک بارگی از مشت خاک
قات خیا هست همه اند رون ا

موج بموج است همه بیکران

این تن خاکی تو دران غرق کن خواهی اگر پرتوی د ریافتن خواهی اگر پرتوی د ریافتن خاک نباشد بو د آن بحر پاک

آب همه شد ز میان رفت خاک وصل همین است ز خو د رفتنی هجر بود با خودی پیوستنی نیست چو خود راکنی، او میشوی تا تو پخود هستی، تو دو میشوی بگذری از خویش خودی را بسوز تا بتو گر دد همه عالم فروز روی خود از خویش چو برتافتی و خدا یافتی

The pilgrim's path is strewn with difficulties; to alleviate his suffering "Hāfiz" sought his guide's grace in his memorable verse:

الا با ایها الساقی ادر کاساً و ناولها که عشق آسان نمود اول ولی افتاده مشکلها!

Poet 'Abdul-Wahhāb welcomes affliction as a prelude to pure spiritual life and a taste for the seeker in his march to the goal of divinity:

حاصل این منزل جز درد نیست

هرکه را دردی نبود مرد نیست

درد کشاید عرف معرفت

درد کشاید عرف معرفت

ال Stitle

در صف مردان تو همین مرد شو درد بود رهبر راه خدا شاه شوی گرچه تو باشی گدا

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 زدعا بگذر و از بد دعا این د و حجابند میان خدا تا ز دعا خلق رجوعت كنند طالب را د ر طلش ره زنند گرچه دعای تو شود مستجاب در ره حق میکنی خود را خراب راه عزاز یل بدان این بود لعنتی بر او ست که خود بین بود سرد کی خود بین نه خدا بین بود اوست خدا بین که ز خود میرود بكذر ايدل زين همه گفتار ها تا تو بیابی همه اسرار را چون تو زنیک و زبدی بگذری میشودت سوی خدا رهبری مرد شو و مرد! تو چون زن مباش بگذری از خویش و تو با تن میاش

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 وانکه درو عشق نی آن گل بود مرده دل است آنکه درو درد نیست عاشتی آن نی که رخش زرد نیست دل چو یکی هست خدا هم یکیست دل چو یکی هست خدا هم یکیست 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:

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:

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:

⁽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):

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:

True love is a rare gift, for only the faithful few can rise above earthly attachments:

Worldly wisdom is a serious obstacle in the path of spiritual progress. In an upsurge of enthusiasm "Ghani" Kashmiri cries out:

'Abdul-Wahhāb detests worldliness as a cause of distraction and welcomes the antidote of madness in the following words:

GHULĀM 'ALI "MĀIL" (11181-1251 A. H. / 1768-1835 A. D.), son of Alī Shīr "Qāni", 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 Mīr Karam Alī Khān:

*یک زمان باهوش بنشین و سراپا دیده شو چشم دل بکشا و بنگر قدرت پروردگار! این همه گلهای رنگین راه پدید آورده است آب را بی پا روان کرد ست اندر جویبار! کرده نقاش ازل صنعتگریهای عجیب زرد و سرخ و سبز و مینائی زگلشن آشکار!

Therein he praises highly his above-named patron's generosity, bravery, poetic genius and critical acumen thus:

قبسکه در بخشید و زر، گردید خالی بحر و کان
پیش جودش منفعل شد معن و حاتم شرمسار
کیست گیو و زال و رستم بیژن و بهرام گور
کر در آمد روز رزم و داوری در کارزار
برق خیز آتش فشان تیغ از نیام ار برکشد
سر دهد رخش جلادت از یمین و از یسار
باز روئین تن که و کیخسرو و سهراب کیست
کیست گودرز و سیاوش بهمن و استندیار
پشتها از کشتها سازد بمیدان نبرد
پشتها از کشتها سازد بمیدان نبرد
دست را از خون شان رنگین کند چون لاله زار
کیست "فردوسی" و "خاقان"، "انوری" نامدار!

It is recorded in Ibrāhīm "Khalīl's" Takmila that while "Māil" was a child, a feast was once organised on the premises

⁽¹⁾ Chart delineating geneology of Shīrāzī stock including death periods.

⁽²⁾ Bayād-i-Karbalāi(3) Bayād-i-Karbalāi

of Mirzā Isā Khān's mausoleum on the Makli hills at Thatta. "Azīm" and "Māil" 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 'Azīm exclaimed:

"Māil" 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 meanwile, 'Azīm continued repeating his line, till after a few minutes the former said:

Azīm 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 "Māil" during his life time.

He has written a Diwan 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:

(2) Ibid

⁽¹⁾ Shawāhid'ul-Ma'ānī, p. 102

"Māil" expresses his disappointment in love in the following pathetic verses:

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:

Like Prahalād, whom bodily contact with red-hot pillar of iron designed by his heretic father Harnākashyāpā, 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 (Khalīl'ullāh) from the consequences of the tryannical King's wrath. The poet taking a cue from Time 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 Diwan Sobhraj

The human heart is a matchless sanctuary of Divine bliss. In the words of 'Abdul Qādir "Bīdil", it is an orchard of exquisite charm:

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:

"Māil" 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:

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:

⁽¹⁾ This and the rest of "Māil's" verses which follow, are taken from his Dhwan

MIR KARAM 'ALI KHAN (d. 1244 A. H./1828 A. D.) walad Mir Sobdar Khan, bearing the nom-de-plume "Karam", was the third of the four Talpur brothers who jointly ruled at Hyderābād and were characterised as "Chār Yār" (Four 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 Beg, 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 Mir 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 1 Hyderabad."

By faith he was a Shi'a and a great admirer of Hadrat 'Ali.

He compiled a book of select verses from different sources and named it Majmū'a-i-Dilkushā, and specially appreciated the poetry of Nur Muhammad "Nur" of Bubak to whom he stood in the position of a tutor :

(2) Bayad-i-Karbalai

⁽¹⁾ Qalich Beg: A History of Sind, Vol. II, pp. 212-13

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 denotes his infatuation for a girl of Mārwār famed for the fidelity of its women:

He seeks a glance of the beloved rather than wine for the

After the manner of the persian poet who drew a subtle pen picture of the tulip in comparison to the beloved's lips:

the poet (Karam) differentiates between the proverbial graceful gait of the partridge and the beloved's strut in these words:

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⁾ Majmû'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 *Istidrāk* thus:

After the manner of Bū 'Alī 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 barsāt which means 'rain':

خوش است	برسات ه ه شکار	يموسم ان هماه صباد	آهو	ة صيدر
	7年	*	*	
ا الهاليا	ال الرسات	ين الحجا روا	ITE	trtute

Dīwān Söbhrāj : MS. Note-books.

⁽²⁾ Diwan-i-Karam

⁽³⁾ Bayād-i-Karbalāī(4) Dīwān-i-Karam

⁽⁵⁾ Majmū'a-i-Dilkushā. The copyist of the MS. viz., 'Abdul Wahid 'Alawi feels it shall be better if the first hemistich is read as:

صحبت یار درسیان بهار

What is more significant is his use of a Sindhi idiom in the garb of a Persian phrase: the expression آب دادن translated into Sindhi conveys the meaning of fulfilling one's promise. Says the poet:

We know Diwan-i-Hafiz is often used for presaging events. The poet, it seems, occasionally resorted to this for inspiration and consultation:

There are several verses of Abu Shakur, Firdawsi, Sa'di, Hātifi, etc., which warn us against association with persons of low birth and breeding. The poet had in mind Hātifi's:

سر او را معلم کند بوعلی کند راز حکمت برو منجلی

⁽¹⁾ MS. Note-books of Diwan Sobhraj.

⁽²⁾ Dīwān-i-Karam (3) Majmū'ā-i-Dilkushā

لباسی ز اطلس حریرش دهد یراق از طلا بر سریرش نهد رسد چون بسن زنگی بد نهاد ز آقای خود هیچ نارد بیاد شود درد یا خر چرانی کند خورد بنگ هم ژاژ خوانی کند عبث رنج برد آن يل نيكمرد که بد اصل را تربیت نیک کرد

MUNSHI SÄHIBRÄI MOHANDÄS MALKÄNI, bearing the nom-de-plume "Azād", was the father of Munshi Awatrāi, 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 2 declined to part with the keys of the Talpur 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-twos at the time of the British Conquest when Munshi Săhibrāi was not alive. Prima facie Munshī Sāhibrāi was born before 1800 A. D., and died at an early age. He left behind a precious volume of poems in Persian, entitled Diwan-i-Azad. In accordance with the advice contain-

⁽¹⁾ Munshī Sāhibrāi was born of Munshī Nainsingh Rāmchandānī, but since he was adopted by his maternal grandfather Munshī Mohandās Malkānī, he is known as the son of the latter (vide Geneological Tables of Hingōrāni and Rāmchandānī Families, Int. pp. ii, iii and xi; Geneological Tables of Malkānī family).
(2) Geneological 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 "Azad" of the days of MIr Karam 'Alī Khān, when no other poet of the same takhallus is reported to have lived, is available with the well-known Rashidi brothers, but Continued on page 188

ed in the remarkable verse of the Mughal Princess Zibun-Nisā هر که دار د میل دیدن در سخن بیند سرا!

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 Mirs Karam 'Ali Khān and Murād 'Ali 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 Mirs' "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:

The glow of fire is not perceptible when it is almost smothered in ashes; the poet, however, finds an exception in the case of the beloved's bright face behind the customary veil:

one feels diffident to hold that the above-named poet Munshi Sähibräi 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 اونتاده بر بستر، که مه روزه ام رسید بسر عشکی روزه، گرمی راوزم بیشتها کرده گرمی و سوزم

(1) All the selected verses of Azād, except otherwise shown, are reproduced from the MS. Note-books of Dīwān Sōbhrāj

The following couplet, apart from the fascinating pun on the word موان reflects the poet's admiration for his beloved's charms:

The beauty of the beloved's face and the fragrance of her ringlets are capable of changing Yusuf into Zulaykhā and giving rise to some strange and unnatural phenomena:

The fire of love kindled by a sight of the beloved makes the poet exclaim:

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:

His pure conception of the beloved's charms and grandeur finds expression in :

⁽¹⁾ Bayād-i-Karbalāi (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:

According to the well-known tradition "The phenomenal plane is a bridge to the Spiritual plane," Azad expresses himself on the point of the significance of "Majaz" in the following manner:

For, after all, the beloved is not an ordinary creature:

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:

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:

And his tears betray the anguish of his heart which he tries hard to hide:

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:

⁽¹⁾ Bayad-i-Karbalai

Despairing of union with his beloved during his earthly existence, the poet remarks:

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 عيادت (visiting the sick), which is greater than that of عيادت (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:

His tearful entreaties prove effective in that they draw the beloved's attention and sympathy:

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:

The heart which is not spiritually awakened cannot know God. The poet expresses this idea in the following words:

⁽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:

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:

and "Hāfiz" acclaims:

"Azād" praises his poetry thus:

He received compliments from the poets of his time. The following lines are from the pen of Nur Muhammad of Bubak:

It is said that even the contemporary poets of Persia were impressed by his odes, so much so that the Persian Darbar offered a comparatively lucrative remuneration for his services

⁽¹⁾ Ibid

⁽²⁾ Bayād-i-Karbalāī

as a poet. But the Munshi Sāhib, who was paid by the Sindhian Court about one hundred 1 rupees per mensem, declined 2 the offer with thanks saying:

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:

NAWWAB WALI MUHAMMAD KHAN (d. 1247 A. H. / 1832 A. D.), son of Ghulam Muhammad Leghari, was an "adviser of the (Talpur) Government in its domestic policy" and "the ablest and most enlightened minister that the Mirs ever had." He and his rival Sayyid Ibrahim Shah, 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

⁽¹⁾ plus perquesites (e. g. daily ration, clothes and other presents - Sindh ja 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 fillled 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 'Alī, the merit of which is claimed by that prince". His Dīwān (c. 1222 A. H./ 1807 A. D.), which includes two Sāqī Nāmas and the well-known romance of Hīr-wa-Rānjha, runs into over 243 foolscap double pages.

Like "Hāfiz", who adored the beloved's hair, saying:

"Wali" rsays:

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:

Verily, an infidel cannot circumambulate the holy Ka'ba! In a different mood, however, he contradicts himself elsewhere:

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 Diwan-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:

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:

He throws into the shade the exploits of Darius and Alexander by addressing the beloved as follows:

In utter helplessness he seeks divine help:

He attributes the sky's revolution to its incapacity to bear the burden of his beloved's love, and bemoans his own inefficiency thus:

"Hāfiz's" popular couplet :

has evoked identical verses from several poets. In this connexion, "Wali" has expressed his mind thus:

But he thinks that beauty cannot be valued in terms of kingdoms; by self-sacrifice alone can we show our appreciation of it:

He was fascinated by physical beauty but advised abstinence from love for the sake of personal prestige and honour:

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:

The tie of genuine friendship is thus eulogized by the poet:

He lived a happy and prosperous life, consistent with what he himself has said:

His Hir Nāma, the popular tale of Hīr-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) 'Azim 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:

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 Qādī, 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 Qādī 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:

حق نگهبان عصمتش گردید شو بخود قدرت وصال ندید صرف نورنگ نام شوهر داشت ادب هیر همچو خواهر داشت

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 "Āfarīn" (d. 1154 A. H./1741 A.D.), "Āzād" and "Azīm" to which the author could easily refer. Further, "Walī" 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 Hīr. According to the poet, they were Bahāud-Dīn, Shaykh Ganj, Lāl Shahbāz, Shaykh Farid and Shāh Madār, whereas Shaykh Ganj and Shaykh Farid form the name of one and the same saint known to the students of history and folk-lore as شيخ نريد شكر گنج or شيخ نريد للدين گنج شكر مدالدين گنج شكر و Or شيخ نريد للدين گنج شكر و Or شيخ نريد للدين گنج مدالدين گنج شكر و Or شيخ نريد للدين گنج مدالدين گنج شكر و Or شيخ نريد للدين گنج مدالدين گ

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 Kandī), 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 'Alī Khān Tālpur. A manuscript copy of his Dīwān 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 Dīwān.

He was a Sunni by faith, though at the same time he had reverence for the special group of *Panj Tan* (viz. Muhammad, 'Ali, his consort Fātima and her two sons Hasan and Husayn).

⁽¹⁾ Khazāna-i-Amira p, 29

The following distich from an ode, commemorating the birth of his son Mahmud, furnishes the year 1222 A. H. (1808 A. D.):

The poet had another son also by name Muhammad Hayat, about whom he writes:

Here are some verses in praise of Makhdum Nuh - a saint who was born about 1505 A. D. and who died in 1590 A. D.

He revered Muhyud-Din 'Abdul Qādir Gilāni as his murshid:

من كمينه مريد درگاهش كي رسد شكر اين شرف ببيان يا الهي دل مريدانش از ازل تا ابد كني شادان! يا الهي بيمن محيالدين ختم عاصي كني معالايمان! اولا عقو ساز عصيانم بعد ازان هم نما رو عرفان!

Addressing the proverbially inconstant "sky", he says:

ای فلک کوزه پشت سرگردان از چه گشتی ز مهر برگردان ؟ با من گوشه گیر و چله نشین تیرباری مکن مگیر کمان با منت این عداوتست چرا هان منم بنده شه جیلان!

The following verses show that the poet had been very poor at some period of his life:

از قرض دارم دل غمین، هستم زجرم اندوهگین بر حال زار بنده بین، بشنو دعا فریادرس! خط معافی ده بمن، روزینه کافی ده بمن هم قلب صافی ده بمن، سویم بیا فریادرس! نامت زهی شافی مرا، نگه کرم کافی مرا نامت دولت بده وافی مرا، یا دوالغنا فریادرس! بردارم از افتادگی ادر فرح بخش استادگی!

He has painted a very attractive word-picture of his native and, Hāla, in two odes:

> یا رب شگفته بادا گلزار هاله کندی سر سبز سایه گستر اشجار هاله کندی !

هر یک بعلم نامی هریک بفضل سامی هر يک عديل جامي ابرار هاله کندي ! هر کوچه چون گلستان هرخانه کاخ ِ جنت از روضه ارم به بازار هاله کندی ا مرغول مهوشانش هركس كه ديد گفتا از چين و شام بهتر صد بار هاله كندى ! گر جا کنی بجنت تاهم زشوق گوئی باشد که باز بینم دیدار هاله کندی ! در دیده سکندر منشان طبع روشن آئينه ايست هريک ديوار هاله کندي ! تا حشر غم نبيند آفات القاسماء، او مخدوم نوح باشد سودار هاله كندى ! شيرين و خوشگواره هست آب هاله كندي يادم دهد ز كوثر كولاب هاله كندي ! هر باغ باغ رضوان هریک درخت طویها باشد دری ز جنت هر باب عاله کندی! يارب دعاى "قاسم" كن مستجاب هودم باشند خوش هميشه اصحاب هاله كندى !

He was a great admirer of the poetry of "Hāfiz" and "Sa'di", in whose praise he has composed a poem from which the following verses may be quoted:

In the following words he condemns the scholar who is faithless to his tutor:

The poet likens his beloved's face to the sun that enables the physical eye to see, and the veit on the beloved's face to the cloud that shrouds the sun, and exclaims:

BHĂI DALPATRĂM (1769 - about 1841-42 A. D.), a native of Sehwan, was a Sūfi "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 Khyrpur Mirs'), who was a disciple of Salāmullāh Shāh Sūfi 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

His poetry, written under his boyhood name "Dalpat," is

replete with spiritual ecstasy and serves as a beacon-light to spiritual wayfarers. Bhāi 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 Sindhī, he is the author of a Persian Dīwān and a mathnawī 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 نفر اماره which in Tasawwuf is characterized as جهاد اکبر. Discussing the immortality of the soul, the poet remarks:

In the realm of divine love, physical form including name, colour and creed are of no consequence. The spiritual eye alone can perceive the beloyed's beauty:

The sun that brightens the phenomenal universe is but a satellite of the boundless fountain of spiritual light:

Enraptured by divine melody, the saintly poet becomes tongue-tied:

By all accounts the essence of celestial excellence and beatitude has to be realized within one's self. Says "Dalpat":

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. "Hāfiz" was content with saying:

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:

MIR NASIR KHĀN (1219-1261 A. H./1804-1845 A. D.), the second son of Mir Murād 'Ali Khān, 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 Bahādur Shāh "Zafar" of Delhī and Wājid 'Alī Shāh of Lucknow, the two other poets of princely order more or less contemporaneous with him. The Mīr 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 Diwan of ghazals 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 composition, 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:

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 Diwan Sobhraj

separation from the beloved. The poet has personal knowledge of this experience as is evident from the following couplet:

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:

"Firdawsi's" couplet :

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 Shāh Nāma, will transform even a frail woman into a valiant warrior. "Ja'farī", however, maintains that a person who is already endowed with the qualities of courage and endurance can well dispense with the Shāh Nāma and yet rise to heights of bravery:

In the following verse, the author longs to be buried in the plain of Karbalā, hallowed by the martyrdom of Imām Husayn, rather than in the unhappy soil of Bengāl, where he was living as an exile towards the end of his life:

⁽¹⁾ Some Scattered Leaves

⁽²⁾ Takmila

⁽³⁾ Ibid, Mirzā Qalīch Bēg in his Shawāhid'ul-Ma'ānī (p. 97) attributes its authorship to Mīr Suhrāb

Mîrzā Qalich Bēg in his Second Volume of the Abkārul-Afkār (named Shawāhid'ul-Ma'ānī) has attributed the authorship of the couplet:

to both Mir Nasir Khān "Ja'fari" and the Sūfi-saint Shāh 'Inā-yatullāh. 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:

What a happy consummation. The blood of the self-sacrificing lover as henā for the beloved's hands!

In addition to a Dīwān, he wrote in mathnawī form a book entitled Mukhtār Nāma which, in bulk, resembles largely the famous Shāh Nāma of Firdawsī. He is also said to have versified the fascinating love story of Mirzā Sāhibān which is so very familiar to the people of the Punjāb, 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.

Sāhibān and Mirzā were residents of Jhang Sayāl and the village of Tāhir respectively. Like Montague and Capulet, their "houses" were at daggers drawn with each other, because of some ancient feud.

One day, while hunting, Mirzā met a mendicant who described to him the bewitching beauty of Sāhibān:

(3) Shawāhid'ul-Ma'ānī, p. 93

⁽¹⁾ Some Scattered Leaves

رخش همچو ماه و قدش همچو سرو

کمر مو، لبش لعل و همچون تذرو
دو رخسار او چون گل اندر چمن
ز رشکش شده چاک گل را بدن
چه ابرو تو گوئی که تیخ جفاست
پی قتل عاشق بلا بر بلا ست

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:

چنین است رسم سرای فنا
وفا جستن از ویست یکسر خطا
چنین است رسم جهان کهن
که آخر بود خاک تیره وطن
نباشد همی زندگی جاودان
نباشد همی زندگی جاودان
خوش آن کس که آسان برافشانه دست
خوش آن کس که آسان برافشانه دست
درین دهر دل را بچیزی نه بست

The poet also composed a Safar Nāma consisting of two mathnawis of 92 and 85 distichs respectively, in which he has given a sad account of the treatment accorded to the Mirs 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:

شبِ تیره و موج دریای شور

مبیناد کس این چنین شب بگور

بهر موج گشته قیامت پدید

یخواب اندرون کس چنین شب ندید

نه کشتی مگر بود جای عذاب

نه بد خوردنی و نه بد جای خواب

همه شب بیاد خدای مجید

ببودیم تا صبح صادق دمید

The following is a description of the distress of the exiled Mirs at Sāsūr:

بساسور هستیم ناشاد کام بطوریکه زین العبا بد بشام نه آرام در شب، نه راعت بروز همه روز در غم، همه شب بسوز نمیبود گر کشتن من گناه نمیبود گر کشتن من گناه نکندم همی خویشتن را بچاه زخون دلم دیده پر خون شده زهر سو روان خون چو چیحون شده زهر سو روان خون چو چیحون شده نه آتش بود بلکه آتشکده چنین ظلمهائیکه بر مارسید بگیتی کسی هم ندید و شنید

He gives vent to the sorrows of separation from home and family, saying:

جدائی بود سخت اندر جهان بیش کهان و بیش مهان خصوصاً جدائی ز اولاد خویش که بس جانگداز است و از مرگ بیش

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:

> بوقتیکه از ما بگردید هور بغارت ببردند هژده کرور وهم ملک و ناموس ما سربسر ببردند دو دوستی بی خبر!

ĀKHUND MUHAMMAD BACHAL "ANWAR" (d. 12781 A. H./1861 A. D.) of Matiārī was one of the poets who adorned the Court of Mir Nasīr. He is the author of a Dīwān and has written a preface to the above-mentioned Mīr's mathnawī entitled Mirzā Sāhibān, in which he praises the Tālpur prince thus:

خدیو زمان، خسروی با وقار

نظر کرده شاه دلدل سوار

ز سهم خدنگش قضا تیز تر

ز سهم از عارض دم زند

اگر مهر از عارض دم زند

اگر مهر از عارض دم زند

وگر او بر آفروزد از قهر پهر

چو خورشید آتش زند در سپهر

در آتش گریزد سمندر ز بیم

در آتش گریزد سمندر ز بیم

نهد سر بکوه و بیابان نسیم

⁽¹⁾ The date is obtainable from : آه از غم کشید گفتا بود، " والی شوکت و فلاطون 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:

1یگذری گر ز شهر متعلوی خدمتي دارم گر بری پیام مرا ز اخوة و اخوان او گر بری بر در زمان ایستد چه بدی با تو کردهام ای دوست بناز بروردم کردست حان و کرده ای بمن تنمود ابناي کمال حفاي تو بناز و نعيم و عيش و نشاط

⁽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 بهتر ازین تن آسانی گه قریبم دهی بوعده کذب گاه در فکر مکر و دستانی گه بگوئی که ما غلام تو ایم گه ز جد و پدر سخن رانی صد حیف بر چنین پسری لعن حق بر چنین پدر خوانی بظاهر احوال که تو قاری نص قرآنی در کلام مجید الموال اهل ايماني حق برادر مومن کفر و شرکست و جهل و نادانی * * * * تو بعقل و هنر ز لقماني در گمانی که په پدر ما چو رفت زین دنیا آنچه با خویش برد آخر از دهر رخت بربندی بی کمان تن آنچه اینجا تو غاصب آنی می نترسی ز شرم کن از خدای خود آخر گبر و ترسانه ای مسلمانی!

In the following quatrain, "Anwar" describes the feelings of a flower:

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 way-farers:

"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:

His beloved's arrival at his house made the poet sing in delight:

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 poet presents the musket as a faithful representation of perfect loyalty, and makes it speak thus;

And in the following verses he applauds it for its serviceableness on the battle-fields:

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:

 Diwān-i-Mir a voluminous work covering 1166 MS. pages of about 21 couplets each. Its first radif(النـ) alone contains about 300 ghazals.

⁽¹⁾ Sindh jō Shāh Nāmō, pp. 97,98; Lubb-i-Tārīkh-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 Mīrzā Qalīch Bēg (A History of Sīnd, Vol. II, F. N. page 208).

- Sayf'ul-Mulūk (c. 1247 A. H./1831-32 A. D.) A romantic fairy tale of about 1250 distichs.
- Judăi Năma (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.
- Fat'h Nāma (c. 1253 A. H./1837 A. D.) History of Sindh in verse, dealing with the fall of Kalhōrā rule and the rise of the Tālpurs.
- 5. Mathnawi-i-Mehr-wa-Māh.
- 6. Khutūt A volume of letters (about 10,000 verses).
- 7. A book of Medicine.

The following quotations selected from some of the poems in radif & of his Diwan, give us some idea of Mir Sobdar Khan as a poet:

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:

دوش کشوریست دایم بادا بقای سند

کشمیر آبدیده ز آب و هوای سند!
دریای سند را صفت از حد فزون بود

آثینه آب دیده ز موج صفای سند!
"میر"ازدرت همیشه بامید این دعاست
گردان ستاره بر سر کام رضای سند!

Lamenting his sad state during his stay at Sāsūr and Calcutta, he expresses his mind thus in letters to Munshi Awatrāi Sāhibrāi Malkāni, a trusted officer of the Tālpur Government and a friend of the Tālpur Princes:

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 Khutūt

⁽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 Nasīr Khān in exile, of which a few are quoted below:

The following extract from Fat'h Nāma which is, incidentally, a tribute to the warriors of his native land give us an idea of his epic poetry:

⁽¹⁾ Khutūt

⁽²⁾ Written on the back-side of Mir Nasir's Safar Nama

همه پهلوانان شير افگنان قوی دست چون اژدهای دمان همه جنگجویان چو شیران ست گرفته یکی تیخ آهن بدست سیاهی همه دست شسته بعثون همه دست شسته بعثون که بیستون چو شیران همه در صف کارزار بصیدافگنیها چو شیر شکار بقامت باند و بقوت چو پیل بقامت باند و بقوت چو پیل زبان پر ز نعره چو دریای نیل ز رستم فزون هر دلاور سوار

The poet has written the following verses in praise of his father Mir Fat'h 'Ali Khān:

دلاور بود همچو شير ژيان یشیر آرد از تیم بران زیان خيبر بسي فتح دارد حصار دوالفقار او نایب تيغ بود على داد شمشير در دست او عدو آمله بر زمين گردن کش و نامدار نامدار ببر افكن و سروران، دشمنان تاج. طالع نکو رای و فرخ سیر پر تيغ آهن عمودي بدوش بهيکل چو پيل و بهمت چو ببر بسيرت همايون ببخشش

Mathnawī Saif'ul-Mulūk: The story of Saif'ul-Mulūk runs as under:

Once upon a time there was a king, named Åthim Shāh, who ruled over Egypt, the country which the poet describes in the following verses:

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:

went unheeded. At last, however, on the advice of his astrologers, he married the daughter of Qah'tān Shāh, 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:

که پس از بیست سال هر دو بهم
بکشند از زمانه رنج و الم
هر دو آرند سر بسیر و سفر
هر دو را زین سپهر نیلی رنگ
سر دو را زین سپهر نیلی رنگ
سر ز آوارگی رسد بر سنگ

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, Zanzībār 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 Isfandyār, entered the fort and saw a magnificent palace:

دید یک کاخ همچو قبه نور
بسعادت چو بشتری معمور
زحل و زهره آفتاب و قمر
هر یک از ذره پیش او کمتر
اسد از بندگان درگاهش
بر تر از عرش کوکب جاهش
بر سر کاخ بود صورت شیر
بر سر کاخ بود صورت شیر

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, Hyderābād, Sindh - was a courtier of Mir Nasir Khān Tālpur. He was a very wise and learned man, and for some time served

under the Talpur Government as a Kardar (Mukhtarkar). At the time of the British Conquest of Sindh, he was in charge of the Mir's Zanankhana (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 lovelove 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:

This and the remaining verses of Yūsuf have been selected from his Dīwān.

That one should lay down one's life on the altar of love is beautifully expressed by the poet in the following couplet:

The world is fickle and the revolving sky, the benefactor of the mean and the tormentor of the righteous, undependable. No body can place reliance on either:

"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:

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:

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:

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:

Yūsuf admires Mir Nasir Khān's generosity and poetic merit in the following verses:

Apart from a Diwan of lyrical poetry in Persian, he has written many poems bewailing the loss of Sindh, and lamenting his separation from the unfortunate Mirs and finally their death.

The following lines are from an elegy of Mir Nasir Khān:

بر گلستان هر آنچه زیاد خزان برقت
بر ملک سند از ستم آسمان برقت
پکبار مردمی و وفا از سپاه سند
چون قوج شامی و سپه کوفیان برقت
ملطان سند "میر محمد نصیر خان "
از سند چون بدمدمه، هندوستان برقت
آمد اسیر قید فرنگ آه از قضا
این عقده اش بخاطر نازک گران برقت
زین مملکت نیافت چو بوی وفا و مهر
نازان بسیر مملکت جاودان برقت
از بسکه خواستگار شهادت مدام بود
در قید و غربت آمد و بی خانمان برقت
هر کس بفرق خاک فشاند اگر روا ست

The death of Nasir Khān was soon followed by the death of Sōbdār Khān, and this event made the poet even more melancholy. The following verses portray the poet's feelings:

دلی که بود فگار و بمرهمش کوشید

بداغ کهنه او چرخ تازه داغ نهاد

امیر نامور "صویدار" را از سند

چنان عنان عنان عزیمت بسوی هند کشاد

اسیر قید فرنگ آمد از قضا فاگاه

اسیر قید فرنگ آمد از قضا فاگاه

ارین سرای سینجی سبک سفر بگزید

بخ بخ به بخ بارگه حق ازان شده ممتاز

دریغ و درد که از سند شد بکشور هند

ز هند رفت که هرگز دگر نیاید باز

ز سرگ المير محمد نصير خان" يكبار هنوز خلق بصد رنگ آه و زارى داشت بسى نه رفت كه سلطان الصوبدار" برفت قضا مگر بكمان باز تير كارى داشت به به هنا مگر بكمان باز تير كارى داشت عروس دهر كه هر هفت داشت از نامت بنوحه مويد و گويد كه مرد شوهر سند

MUHAMMAD 'ARIF "SAN'AT" (d. 1266 A. H. / 1849 A. D.), the author of a Diwān was a great admirer of the sect of Twelvers. His Diwān 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 دهر درد ها
سم هلاهل آمد در کام دل هوا
راح طهور کو که در اول دم سرا
دارد مدام محرم اسرار ماسوا
مواره وهم 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
مطلع نور خدا
مطلع نور خدا، چهره ات ای دلربا
قامت آن خوش ادا، سرو پبلغ ارم،
قامت آن خوش ادا، اسرو پبلغ ارم،
قامت 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 (بوصل). To quote one example:

هست لبش لعل، سخن قند مصر گشت بقد نخل، ببر صبح صاف He wrote a few qasīdās in praise of Shikārpur, where he was born and where he died:

شکاریور که رشک ریاض رضوانست كلش هميشه بهار وشكوفه خندانست هزار سرو سهی قامت و رخ گلزار بناز و عشوه بهر كوچه اش خرامانست هزار بليل دستان بنغمه دلكش بشاخ عيش درين بوستان غزلخوانست نگار خانه چینی که نقش نیرنگست نمونه ايست كزين نقشها نمايانست بهار کاشن کشمیر و لاله زار ارم سواد سایه کلهای این کلستانست زمانه دید چو نیرنگ حسن خوبانش خیال بست که این خطه پرستانست جو دید یوسف کل پیرهن هزار درو فلک بگفت که این نو عروس کنعانست ملک بگفت که این نسخه بهشت برینست که قصرهاش مکانهای حور و غلمانست خوانند هست جنت اکبر شکارپور وز هشت در، بهشت نکو تر شکارپور احرام طوف كعبه كوى بتان شوخ چون بزم الجم است منور شكارپور

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., Lakhī, Hazārī, Hāthī, Khānpurī, 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:

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:

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:

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;

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:

One is never too old for love in spite of the Arabic saying;

For love is independent of time and can neither grow old nor die. Says Jāmī in Yūsuf-wa-Zulaykhā:

The same idea is expressed by "San'at" in the following couplet:

'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:

During his last illness which proved fatal, the poet often recited the following distich of his ghazal, foreboding his death due to a *carbuncle:

The following few lines are from his master ÅKHUND MIYÅN SÅHIBDINO's (d. about 1834 A. D.) pen:

⁽¹⁾ Marginal note - Dīwān-i-San'at, p. 73

دفتر ابجد را صفر شمارد بحساب در دبستان غمت هر که سبقخوان گردد * *

گشت آباد ز غمهای تو ویرانه دل نام این شهر "غمآباد" کنم یا نکنم! شادم از وصلت و از هجرت تو ناشادم شاد ناشاد ز تو یاد کنم یا نکم!



Gul Hayat Institute

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 Mivani 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 Talpurs. All the old jagirdars were confirmed in possession of their estates on tendering allegiance to the British General; the old "kardars" collected the revenue as in the past, with this difference that the rates were somewhat reduced and the salaries of the "kardars" 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 Zamindars 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 Karāchi harbour, the introduction of first railway in Sindh (Karāchi-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.1 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

⁽¹⁾ Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, Vol. A, p. 148.
(2) According to the statement of Munshi Nandträm (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 Tarīkh-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 Nandīrām, 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 Hyderābād, 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 Karāchi, went ahead with his private enterprise and opened the Karāchi 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 Karāchi (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 partronage, 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 Tälpur 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 Tälpurs, the Sayyids of the Thatta, Röhri, 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, 'Ashiq and others. Several mushā'arās were organized. Three Persian Weeklies viz., mufarrih'ul-Qulūb¹, Khurshīd and Iklil., 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 "Bahāi" were of outstanding merit. Both of them were creative geniuses, and employed the mathnawi

⁽¹⁾ It was the first Persian Journal, started in 1855 A. D. (Muhammed Siddig Gulab Khan's edition of Diwan-i-Fadil-Sindhi, Int. p. xxxi) by Mukhlish 'Ali Khan of the 'Alawi Mughal tribe of Qazwin. After Mukhlish 'Ali'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 Ikili, which came in existence in 1887 A.D. Thereafter it (i. e. Mufarrih'ul-Qulab) 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 Amīrs of Afghānistān, 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 Sūfi absorbed in thoughts of the Divine, while the latter was a great scholar who tried his hand at all forms of Persian poetry - ghazal, qasīda, qita', mathnawī, rubā'i, etc. and furnished both fun and mental acrobatics by the introduction of Urdū rhymes and word-puzzles in some of his compositions. Mir Shahdād Khān "Hydari", Mīr Husayn 'Alī Khān "Husayn", Nawwāb Allahdād Khān "Sūfi", Qādī Ghulām 'Ali "Ja'fari", Pīr Hizbullāh Shāh "Miskīn", Sayyid Jānullāh Shāh "Āshiq" and Makhdūm Ibrāhim "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 qasīdās, 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'dī 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 SHAHDAD KHAN (d. 1274 A.H./1857 A.D.) was the elder son of Mir Nür Muhammad. On the death of his father, Shahdad 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 Mirs) where he died in 1857 A.D.

He adopted "Hyderi" as his nom-de-plume and has left a Diwan.

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:

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:

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:

What else can a wretched lover have but utter disappointment and misery - لخت جگر for eating and خون جگر 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 Diwan.

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:

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:

MIR SÅBIR 'ALI 1 (d. after 2 1285 A. H./1868 A. D.) son of Ghulām 'Alī "Māil", too, was a renowned poet with "Sābir" as his nom-de-plume. A Shī'a by faith, he praises Hadrat 'Alī thus:

در فشان کلکم بمدح ساقی کوثر شود چون زبان من ز نیسان معانی تر شود دولت الفقر فخری هرکه را گردد نصیب از شه دین دین و دنیا یابد و بوذر شود در دل هرکس که مهر شاه مردان جاکند ذره او آفتاب و چشم او انوار شود الما الماد الماد شود الماد الماد شود الماد الماد شود الماد الماد شود الماد الما

تسبیع ِ خوش از در ِ نجف میخواهم وز منصب یکصدی شرف میخواهم

 The text of his poetry is based on the selection made by Mirzā Gul Hasan in his Bayād-i-Karbalāī.

⁽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 Shīrāzī Stock including death periods).

One who has conquered desire cares a brass button for things of this world:

In conformity with the views of the great Fragment-writer Ibn-i-Yamin, who said:

Sābir writes:

The true lover is indifferent about, and oblivious of, even such necessaries of life as eating and drinking. Sābir says:

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:

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:

Distance, however great, counts for little with the heart imbued with acute longing. The poet says:

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:

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 Majnun, the celebrated Eastern lover, and playing on the word صابر, his poetic name, compares himself with the prophet Job (صابر) entitled ايوب) famed for his proverbial patience:

His longing is too deep for words, and it is best expressed like the silent reflection in the mirror. Says the poets

The cypress and the 'sandal' cannot stand comparison with the beloved's noble stature and musky ringlets respectively:

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:

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 says:

FAQIR QADIRBAKHSH, alias 'Abdul-Qādir (1230-89 A.H./1814-72 A.D.), son of Muhammad Muhsin, Hanafi, Qādrī, popularly known as "Bīdil", 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 Rōhrī. 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:

 Riyad'ul-Faqr (The Gardens of Poverty) deals with some Sufi 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.

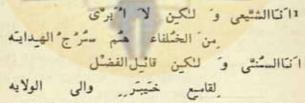
- 2. Sulūkut-Tālibin (The Seekers' Path) is a Dīwān in Persian. It comprises 90 ghazals and is written after the style of the Mahmūd Nāma, of which the first letter of every couplet coincides with the radif of the poem wherein it occurs. Here the poet's nom-de-plume is "Tālib".
- 3. Rumūz'ul-Qādiri (The Secrets i.e. esoteric philosophy of 'Abdul-Qādir) is a commentary on an Arabic Qasida of Sayyid 'Abdul-Qādir Jīlāni, in Persian verse.
- 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 Süfistic subtleties with the aid of the Holy Qur'ān and the Tradition. The author has referred to Maulānā's Mathnawī as 'Ocean' and his own composition as a 'Stream' from it.
- 6. Alfawâid'ūl-Ma'nawî [Spritual 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.

- Misbāh'ut-Tariqat (Lamp of the Spritual Path) is a Dīwān
 of the author bearing his takhallus
 "Bidil". It is a fairly large volume,
 and contains both Persian and Urdū
 ghazals.
- Rumūz'ul-'Ārifīn (The Secrets i.e. esoteric ways of Spiritual Seers) discusses Divine Unity and interprets in verse some sayings of about 24 mystics.
- 10. Taqwiyat'ul-Qulūb Fī 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 درجه. Each has in its turn five sections called عناول and furnishes pertinent matter from the Holy Qur'an, the Tradition the Mathnawi-i-Maulavi, Risālo of Shāh 'Adul-Latīf 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 abovenamed grandsons.

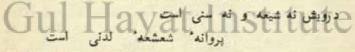
- Fi Batn'il-Ahādīth [In the Interior (spirit) of the Traditions] is a scholarly interpretation (in Persian) of some 6 traditions.
- Lughāt-i-Mizān-i-Tibb is a Persian Glossary of difficult medical terms.
- Inshā-i-Qādirī is a collection of 10 epistles with different modes of address and writing.
- 16. Dil Kushā is a mathnawi of about 250 distichs.
- Wahdat Nāma (Unity of God) contains poems in Sindhi, Sarāiki 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:



For, a Sufi is above all castes and creeds:



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.

Islām, 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:

And these desires cannot be got rid of except by the practice of severe austerities:

Union with the divine beloved is only another name for riddance from Plurality:

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:

The spritual 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:

Silence is more eloquent than speech in the philosophy of love:

خموشی معنیای دارد که در گفتن نمیاید

After exhausting all that he can talk of, the poet says:

طاقت گفتن نماند اکنون مرا

گفته من جز زبان باید فقط

Of his own high position in the realm of spirituality he speaks thus:

چونکه من وا خواندهام علم لدن گشته ام قطب زمان دانای "کن" یافتم محویت از مولای حان زان سبب مولى شدم اندر جهان

Those who have realized are thus described by the poet:

ظاهراً با خلق عالم ميدوند باطنا زين قيد بيرون ميروند ظاهراً آرائش تن الميكنند انااته" ميزنند

صورتی دارند و هم بی صورتند كثرت انكارند و هم بى كثرتند

صورت شان محو در معنی شله

قيس ايشان مويمو ليلي شده گرچه گوش آرند بر بانگ جرس

روح ایشان شد بلیلی همنفس

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:

نور وحدت را نگردد برده کثرت حجاب بوی مشک معنوی بیرون رود از هر نقاب

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:

در تفكر كوش كاخر افتدت وقتى بكف از ته درياى فكرت لولوى لالاى فيض * * * چرا مطالع سازى كتاب كنز دقايق بنوش از قدح ""هو" شراب رمز حقايق

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:

بصحن عالم سفلی چو شد قرار ترا
هوای عالم علویست ناگوار ترا
چه دیده ای که بدان ستلا شدی چندان
که این خزان شده مختار زان بهار ترا
زنند هر نفسی طایران روضه قدس
صفیر "ارجعی" از شوق بیشمار ترا

The poet has spoken highly of his native place Rohri from the standpoint of spiritual as well as the physical plane:

زیارتگاه هر روشن ضمیری
دلیل راه هر جان منیری
ز کوهنتان و آنو و آنور
ز کوهنتان بود شرقش مصفا
ز ربگستان بود شرقش مصفا
ز باغستان شده غربش مطرا
مگر این بلده بیت العتیق است

و گر پرسی ز حال ساکنانش سراسر جمع خاطر در امانش ز حسن مظهری هر جاش غلغل بهر جا شور بلبل پریرویان بریورهای خوبی مجلا رخ بتصفیهالقلوبی شکر گفتار و گل رخسار و خوشخوی مفا کردار و کم آزار و مهروی بغمز و ناز داده درس تنبیه بهندوستانیان از روی تبویه بترکان داده درس دلربائی

The following verses from the Faut'ul-Anfas (a chapter of Riyād'ul-Faqr) are taken to illustrate the highly philosophical texture of its contents:

چرا زان قرب چندان دور ساندی که از انوار حق مهجور ساندی چو ' الانسان سری ' وا شنیدی درون خویش اسراری ندیدی تو نور اقدسی در پرده کل بهار نوربین در غنچه دل مكن انفاس خود را صرف اغيار يپاسش كوش تما باشي خ أنبيا خواندي برابر تو آخر خویش را دانی مسلمان مکش پیغمبران را، شو هراسان چو از شیطان نشد نسلت مسلم چرا ریزی تو آب روی آدم! مگر بو جهلی ای بیدین بیداد که در قتل محمد میشوی شاد

تو بر قتل حسین آماده هر دم نداری شرم زبن تقصیر اعظم پر الفت کنی بر سر یزیدی کرو خبث تبو گشته بر مزیدی گر آن جبار خونها ریخت یکبار تو هر دم میکنی صد بار آن کار برون آ زبن چنین تاریک خانه بجو از جلوهٔ ایمان نشانه بده دم را حیات از حرف اثبات کن ذات مکن نفی این ثبات ، اثبات کن ذات گرت دم زنده با ذکو الهی ست چه غم گر جسم را رو در تباهی ست! که باشد منطق اهل توصل سیه روی به از تاریک دل!

MIR HUSAYN 'ALI KHĀN (d. 1295 A. H./1878 A.D.), the younger brother of Mīr 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 Dīwān of amatory odes, about 160 in number, is attributed to him.

The following verses indicate the poet's love for a non-Muslim lady:

> دلبرا² شانه مکن زلف پریشان خود را تا پریشان نه کنی هیچ مسلمانی را

p. 205.
 The selection of his verses is made from Dīwān-i-Husayn.

After the manner of Hāfiz and some other poets who wrote in a similar vein, he says:

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 نبر (incipient moustache) with خطر (the dark region) where خضر (the Green Old Man) is said to have found آب حیات (the nectar):

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:

The couplet, among other literary artifices, contains مناعد و ايهام and مراعات نظير .

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 cosumes it:

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:

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:

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:

The fabulous Griffin, known only in name (معلوم الاسم) is beyond the hunter's reach. Says Hāfiz :

The poet assumes for himself the character of 'Anqa. 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 mis fortune 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:

In the following verses the poet, speaking of his agony, compares himself with the indefatigable Farhād, who, in order to win Shīrīn's heart, dug through the immense mountain "Bi-Sitūn":

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):

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:

AKHUND MUHAMMAD QĀSIM (d. 12981 A.H./1881 A.D.), son of Ni'matullāh Qureshi, a mullā of Sāwini clan, belonged to Old Hāla. He served as a Pound Munshi in his youth, and later on as a Tapedār. Great lover of poetry, he frequently participated in the Mushā'arās held at Hyderābād and other places, and lent considerable mirth to such gatherings by his outspoken and gay verses. Besides Persian verses, he composed poems in Arabic, Urdū and Sindhi. He was a regular contributor to the Mufarrih-ul-Qulūb, 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 ڇڏي فاني سرا کي َڏنهن بقا رب عطا انکي ڪري خلد و جنان جنوري جي ارڙهينءَ منگل جي وار سال ارڙهن سو اڪاسي هو روان عيسوي ايهو ٿيو، هجري به ٻڌ وره ٻارهن سو اٺانوآي ٿو چوان

He, therefore, availed himself of his literary attainments to make the two ends meet. He often composed qasīdas in praise of Mahārājas, Mīrs, nobles and other prominent people and, in return, looked for some pecuniary help. He received a yearly stipend of Rs. 200 from H. H. Mīr 'Alī Murād Khān of Khayrpur for which he expressed his thanks publicly in the pages of Mufarrihul-Qulūb.² He also received a reward of Rs. 60 from H. H. Mīr Muhammad Hasan 'Alī Khān of Hyderābād, and thanked him for it in the afore-mentioned journal³:

Here is an extract from a qasida addressed by him to H. H. the Mahārāja of Barodā, seeking from the latter pecuniary help to satisfy his wants:

منکه بی برگ و نوایم چون درخت بی ثمر سر زدم بر بارگاهش بر امید برگ و بار چون ضرورت گشت دامنگیر پس بر ناگزیر دست در دامان شه آویختم از انکسار بهر دفع اضطرارم سعی فرما شاه من حاجتی دارم که دارم بر دل از وی اضطرار

آنچه سرکار نامدار حضور میر صاحب میر علیمراد خان بهادر تالپر بهر سال در شهر محرم الحرام موازی دو صد روپیه بتقریب عاشورا به این داعی دولت و اقبال اعنی بنده وقایع نگار عطا و مرحمت میفرمایند الحال نیز موازی دو صد روپیه به این خیر خواه بلا اشتباه ارسال و مرحمت فرمودند ـ

⁽¹⁾ All the verses of Qāsim, except when marked differently, are collected from the files of Mufarrihul-Qulūb.

^{(2) 16}th Rabi 'uth-Thani, 1292 A. H./23rd May, 1875. The exact words of the text are:—

^{(3) 16}th Jamaduth-Thani, 1293 A. H./9th July, 1876.

In the concluding lines of a poem written in praise of H. H. Mir 'Ali Murād Khān of Khayrpur, he writes expectantly:

Here are a few verses from an epistle which he addressed to the then Chief Minister of Khayrpur - Munshi Uttamchand "Sabā"-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 دبیر نامدار ذوالفنون
رفع حاجات از تو میجویم کنون
بسکه اهل فضلی و همپیشه هم
کن برفع احتیاج اندیشهام
در جناب خسرو گردون سریر
در جناب خسرو گردون سریر
عرض کن هنگام فرصت حال ما
چون بود حرفت اجابت آشنا
دو صد نقدم اگر آید بدست

He addressed another letter to Miyan Wahid Bakhsh, Legal Advires to H.H. the Mir of Khayrpur, for a similar request: خواستم بر رفع وام این و آن
دو صد نقد از شد روشن روان
گر کند بر التماسم شد مدد
این مثل از زیری روشندل است
یی مربی کی مربا حاصل است
ای مربی باز فرما یاوری
شو مددگارم ز نیکو محضری
آن چنان کن کز کشاکش وا رهم
روی عسرت در رو عشرت نهم
بعد ازان مائیم و چشم انتظار

The late Mirzā 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:

خورسند گشتم فی الجمله هر چند از شان شه بود این صله کمتر بودش مناسب کاین مدح گو را باری سپردی افزون 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 بنسب غرور من، نی بنشان ِجد و عم هرکه شناسدم بفضل بهتر، اگرنه نیست غم گنج بسینه ام روان از هنرست چاودان گیرد هر که امتحان اینک کاغذ و قلم Deploring the inconstant ways of the world and its people, the poet says:

قدر دانان قدر من نشناختند در حقارت کار من و مردانگی بنگر که باز گستردند شطرنج فنون عیاری و حیله پرده بود از نهانگاه درون بر روی کار طرفه نیرنگ آشکارا ساختند در بزم خودم دادند و ليز چون نی خنیا گرم مشعبد صورتان حقه باز دو ره تزوير ال قاسم " تاختند مده بکار جهان گوش و اعتبار مگیر بغرگی و تغافل بنای کار مگیر همیشه منتظر کوس کوچ باش ، اعنی درین درژر کهن از عزم نو قرار مگیر ز بسکه در چمن ِ روزگار بوی نیست Stitute مرنگ لاله بدل داخ ز غفلت و هوس او را ته غبار مگیر

Complaining of the dishonest conduct of a Qādī at Hyderābād, who had stolen his goods, he writes:

فلک را سر مهر اهل دغا ست که هر یک از آنان سر اتقیا ست نگر قاضی سرقدبنیاد را

که غصب و خیانت بجان اقتضا ست!

ندارد تمیز حرام از حلال

شکم بنده بانی افترا ست

شود خانه ویرانی خاننان

من و "قاسم" و دمبدم این دعا ست

هرچند کنند خود پسندی

« بسندی در مسجد و پشت سوی مسجد

در مسجد و پشت سوی مسجد

در مسجد و پشت سوی مسجد

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):

and describes the excellence of Karāchī, even in that remote period:

He pays tribute to two of his contemporary poets, viz., 'Ulwi

The well-known Arabic maxim, to wit, "the earthly love leads to love divine", has been paraphrased by the poet thus:

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:

The above lines sound strange when brought into juxtaposition with the following verses, which breathe contentment and forbearance:

While acclaiming the unique unbrokenness of the Divine Essence, he blames the squint eye:

⁽¹⁾ Leaves from Diwan-i-Qasim,

In another place he advocates the removal of the veil (of materialism) which hides from us the divine light that pervades everywhere:

The poet maintains his contact with his beloved even after his death, and says:

By way of a tribute to the beloved's ravishing beauty, he writes:

The poet likens the beloved's mouth to the [legendary fountain of Khidr, and looks to it for eternal life:

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):

NAWWĀB ALLĀHDĀD KHĀN "SUFI" (d. 1882 A.D.), 2 son of Nawwāb Wali Muhammad Khān Laghārī, was a First class Jāgirdār. 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 Diwan-i-Qasim.

⁽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:

الهی طایر پرواز وحدت کن خیالم را !

بر اوج آسمان معرفت بکشای بالم را!

پتفصیر کمال وصف ذات خویش در عالم

سر منقار بلبل کن زبان قبل و قالم را!

الهی پر ز مروارید کن درج دهانم را !

بگیتی بی بها گردان در نظم بیانم را!

سمند نفس در دشت هوس جولانها دارد

کنون سوی طریقت منعطف گردان عنانم را!

ز نیرنگ بهار عشق رنگین گشت باغ دل

ببانگ بلبلان همرنگ ساز اکنون قغانم را!

ازین وادی که دارد رهزنی هر ذره ریگی

رسان بر منزل مقصد سلامت کاروانم را!

The devout Muslim prays five times a day. The poet characterizes the transient life of man as بنجروز دهر and, idolising the idea of نماز پنج 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 and محام occuring in the following couplet, imply the effulgent consciousness of man and his heart respectively:

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:

The Selection of his verses has been made from Diwān-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 loveintoxicated, and pay no heed to the nāsih's appeal:

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:

It is only then that one can realize God in the sacred temple of one's own heart. For, verily, He is within us:

The truly wise, is, therefore, one who entrusts his entire self to the Supreme One:

In Love, the tears reveal what the heart conceals. The lover's pale face bearing traces of his tears, is an open book:

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:

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:

He ridicules the indefatigable Farhad, saying:

He presents a pattern of desirably stable love in the following lines:

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:

Perfect beauty needs no veil since it has no flaw to hide.

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:

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:

And suddenly dawns upon him the glorious end of the great sacrifice-the happy realization that Love's labour is never lost:

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:

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:

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):

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?

The devout lover is indifferent to pain and pleasure. He is content with his lot, guided and directed by his beloved:

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 Korāh:

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:

It is clear that the poet's life was not alway a bed of roses. He had some sad experience of harsh times in his native land:

In spite of this, however, "Home, sweet home, there is no place like home", is his cry in distant lands:

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:

QĀDI GHULĀM'ALI (d. 1303 A. H./1886 A. D.), son of Qādi Muhammad Yahyā of Thattā, traces his descent to

Hadrat Ali's brother Ja'far-i-Tayyar. He served as a Mukhtārkār at Mirpur Bathōrō (district Karāchī). Ibrāhīm "Khalīl", the author of Takmila, was his guide in poetry, which he (i. e. Qādī Ghulām 'Ali) composed under the nom-de-guerre "Jafarī". He has left two Dīwāns - one in Persian and the other in Urdū. The following few lines are from a ghazal which he wrote in imitation of some odes of Khwāja Kamāl, Sharaf of Yezd, Jāmī and Fakhrī in the same radīf and qāfiya:

ساقی و مطرب و می گردش جامست اینجا
معفل خرمی و عیش تمامست اینجا
همه معفل بود از ساغر چشمت مدهوش
آنکه در بزم بهوش است کدامست اینجا
جنت و حور مباحست ترا ای زاهد
دیدن غیر صنم عین حرامست اینجا
نیست جز خال که محفوظ شد از بوسه الب
بود این طرفه که هندوی بکامست اینجا
بود این طرفه که هندوی بکامست اینجا
"جعفری" مکر و ریا گشت درین دور حلال
گفتن حق مگر افسوس حرامست اینجا

What exactly happens when a person falls in love, is briefly described by the poet in the following verses:

⁽¹⁾ Takmila. The exact words are: "بيش فقير مشق سخن ميكرده"

⁽²⁾ All the verses of "Ja'fari" have been selected from his Diwan.

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:

"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:

Zakāt-i-Husn (lit. alms 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. Amīr Khusraw says:

A couplet ascribed to Hāfiz has:

But the Sindhi Poet has enhanced the elegance of the phrase by introducing along with it the words and are 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 Sultān 'Abdul-Hamīd Khān (a ruler of Turkey) illustrate the poet's admirable command of the Persian language:

ای صاحب سیف و قلم، و ای پادشاه محتشم
ای دافع درد و ستم، و ای قاطع داج و ظلم
ای سرور گردون حشم، و ای صفدری باجاه جم
ای سالک راه کرم، و ای سالک خیل آسم
عالی علی والاهیم فرخنده فر فرخ رشیم
خورشید شمع بام تو، حکم قضا احکام تو
از صولت صمصام تو آمد عدو در دام تو
حاصل مراد و کام تو، ورد زبانم نام تو
اتبال و دولت رام تو، واجب ترین اکرام تو
ناموس دین از نام تو، ای دین پناه مغتنم
رشک جنان ایوان تو، جور و ملک دربان تو
روی زمین شد خوان تو، عالم همه مهمان تو
روی زمین شد خوان تو، عالم همه مهمان تو
گویم چه وصف شان تو، هان "مجعفری" قربان تو
خوش لهجه مدحت خوان تو، ای مالک تیغ و قلم

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.

گر آن گلچهره را گاهی گذر بر گلستان افتد زرشک رنگ و بویش در بهار کل خزان افتد همی ترسم که از خواب آن قیامت قاست ارخیزد چو اهل حشر آن دم شورش اندر عاشقان افتد

PIR MUHAMMAD HIZBULLÄH SHÄH (1258-1308 A.H./1842-1890 A.D.) son of Pir 'Alī Gauhar Shāh "Asghar", set on the Pir Pāgāro's "masnad" at the age of five. He started his education under Ākhūnd Muhammad, alias Miyān Mamūn Muhammad 'Isā. He had an abnormal taste for learning and, true to the dictum تا المحروب المح

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:

اگر شمشیر در کف آن بت بیباک بر خیزد

'Ali Asghar Shāh promptly complied, saying:

فغان ِ 1 "الغياث و الامان" ز افلاك برخيزد

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 الم الم الم الم عالم الم as given by Husamud -Din Rashidi in his article on "Miskin" in Sitāra-i-Sindh, "Bahār" Number. For authority see Mufarrihul-Qulāb of 8th Rabi'uth-Thani, 1307 A. H./ 1889 A.D. wherein the whole ghazal is published. For further proof vide Diwān-i-Miskin (MS).

اگرشمشیر در کف آن بت بیباک برخیزد
فغان از ساکنان عالم افلاک برخیزد
گدای درگه میخانه روز حشرای زاهد
بعصیان گرچه آلودست اسًا پاک برخیزد
اگر بر تربتم آئی، به استقبال اقداست
روان از آسمان آید تنم از خاک برخیزد

"Mīskin" was the Pīr Sāhib's pen-name and he left behind a Dīwān, besides a Risāla of about 200 pages entitled Sana't-i-Chīnī. Subjoined are a few specimens of his poetry selected from Diwān-i-Miskīn:

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:

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:

The Crier who stands on the minaret of a mosque calling the faithful to prayer, utters the words قد وقامت instead of get up and pray) when he sees the tall-statured beautiful beloved:

It is said in the Holy Qur'an 1 that when God offered the (charge of His) Trust (الالت) to the heavens, the earth and the mountains, they, all being afraid, refused to undertake the responsibility; it was man alone who volunteered for the task and shouldered the burden of the Trust. Such is the lot of all lovers - they plunge into the ocean of love and are oblivious of all danger and risk:

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:

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:

⁽¹⁾ Chapter XXXIII, Section 9. (2) This poem was published in Mufarrihul-Qulūb - 21st Dhil-Hajj, 1306 A.H./1889 A.D.

همچو ابراهیم با سرمایه ٔ آذر چه کار

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:

"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:

On reaching the Lote tree in the Seventh Heaven, on the اگر یک سر موی برتر برم فروغ تجلی بسوزد پرم top-most place to night of the holy Prophet's ascension, Gabriel is said to have expressed:

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⁾ Mufarrihul-Qulüb - 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:

Seek within and not in the wilderness of delusions the one who is nearer than even the jugular vein. In the words of "Miskin":

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:

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 at and the significant harmony of the expression at the significant harmony of the expression.

SÄYYID MIR JÄNULLÄH SHÄH, 1 alias Jan Shah III (d. 1893 A. D.) of Röhri, was the eldest son of Sayyid Mir 'Ali

His life-sketch is based on the account given by Diwan Sobhraj Nirmaldas. The selection of his verse is made from Diwan-i-Ashiq.

Akbar Shāh and succeeded to the holy seat of Sayyid Mīr 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 Mīr Murād 'Alī 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 Li indifferent to wordly concerns. His life is best depicted in his own words:

The poet, who is revered as a saint of the highest order says:

He pays his respectful tribute to his murshid (Sayyid Mir Murād Alī Shāh) and his oldest ancestor (Sayyid Mir Jān Muhammad Shāh) in the following words:

مست و مدهوش جمال یار گشته رفت رفت

All suffering ends with self-realization:

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:

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 :

The spiritual aspirant is, therefore, advised by "'Ashiq" to avoid self-conceit:

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:

Man, the receiver of the highest tribute - " الانسانسري الناسره " الانسانسري الناسرة " الانسانسري الناسرة الن

is interpreted by "Ashiq" as under:

مطلع خورشید پنهان در وجود آدمیست بر ملک فرمان حق بهر سجود آدمیست راز "الانسان سری" در کلام حق ظهور شمش تا بنده درون، بیرون نمود آدمیست چشم "عاشق" گشت بینا دید هر جا حسن یار صاحب لولاک در قلب وجود 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:

درمیان بحر وحدت گشت "عاشق" غوطه زن
از تلاطم موج خود مردانه میسازد مرا

*

*

السرابزیر با نهادم لا مکان سپرم شده
لنت تحقیق را محفل نمیداند که چیست

And he exhorts the seeker after spiritual bliss to toil relentlessly:

اگر مقاصد جوئی ز روی جهد بیا کسی بخواب نبردست کاروان اینجا بجز مجاهده کی میرسد بجلوه دوست بسعی زود برد ره به آسمان اینجا For

The human heart has been sanctified by spiritual masters as the abode of divine glory and bliss. Says "'Ashiq':

Of all the charms of a beloved face, the mole is no insignificant detail. This is how the poet brings out its beauty:

The boudless bounty of the All-merciful Allāh is optimistically summed up by the poet thus:

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:

Real happiness is attained by development on the spiritual plane. The idea has been succinctly expressed by Ashiq thus:

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:

His Dīwān, consisting of ghazals, Sāqī Nāma, Tarkīb-band, and Tarjī'-band, includes some highly instructive matter. The following verses serve as a sample:

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 Jacobābād (then known as Khāngarh). He served as Salt Inspector at Naushahrō Fīrūz (then a part of the Collectorate of Hyderābād, 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 Mufarrih'ul-Qulūb under the pen-name "Ahmad".

The poet was distinctly fond of Shikarpur, as is evident from his poems in praise of that place:

د بهشت روی زمین گلشن شکار پور است نگارخانه چین گلشن شکارپور است بقصرهای فرادان و گلرخان وفیر بیاغ خلد برین گلشن شکارپور است اگر ز روضه مینو سواد گفتندی بینی شدم که همین گلشن شکارپور است هزار همچو جهاندار و بهره ور بانو بیا ببین که درین گلشن شکارپور است بیا ببین که درین گلشن شکارپور است چه احتیاج کند سوی گلشن ای "احمد"

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.:

⁽¹⁾ Mufarrih'ul-Qulūb - Dhil-Qa'd, 1297 A. H./14th. November 1880.

⁽²⁾ Mufarrih'ul-Qulūb - 21st. Sha'bān, 1306 A. H./1889 A.D.

بيا بديده عبرت بشهر "سيى" بين که چون خراب بد اکنون چه گونه آباد است گذشته بود سه صد سال در خرابی او چنین ز گفته ٔ پیر کهن مرا یاد است بحكم خسرو هندوستان كه از عداش رعیت ز غم و بند ظلم آزاد است بيمن و جرائت كرنيل "ساندمن" صاحب كەوقت كە شكنى بازويش چو فولاد است بسعی و کوشش بیحد رای "هیتورام" که نیکمرد نکوکیش و نیک بنیاد است شده خرابی سیبی ز لطف حق معمور چنانچه هر که درو ساکن است دلشاد است بزیب و زینت بازار و شهر و کوچه او عجب لطيف و عجب دلسند افتاد است بجست "احمد" از عقل سال آبادیش که یادگار بود گرچه دهر برباد است بگفت ہی سر کین عقل سال تاریخش "خرابها عجب از يمن دولت آباد است

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:

علی شب مجران و غیر از "احمد" برس الله الله الله الله و 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-Qulūb - 18th. Safar, 1307 A. H./1889 A. D.

1اگر دیدی نظامی طرز نظم دلکش احمد هزاران آفرین کردی بشعر شکار افشانش

Many poets have composed ghazals on the radif این کجا و Here are a few lines of Ahmad on the qāfiyas آن کجا دود.

* خنجر مژگان یار و منتشر فصاد دهر هر دو خونخوارند اسا این کجا و آن کجا چشم من از بهریار و چشم بلبل بهر گل هر دو بیدارند اسا این کجا و آن کجا "احمد" اندر علم عشق و زاهد اندر علم وعظ هر دو هشیارند اما 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:

ه آتش عشق تو تا در دل من قاب زده اضطراب دل من طاق بسیماب 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):

4 آتش سینه من هفت فلک را میسوخت اگر از بحر دو چشمم نشدی 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:

5 آتشین رخسار خود کردی نهان و خلق را شعله ها در خرمن صبر و قرار انداختی

⁽¹⁾ Mufarrih'ul-Qulūb - 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:

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:

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:

Verily "love laughs at locksmiths", and recognises no barriers.

MAKHDUM MUHAMMAD IBRĀHIM (1243-1317 A.H. /1827-99 A.D.) son of Makhdūm 'Abdul-Karīm, belonged to Naqshbandī 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 of the holy Qur'an at the age of eight. After acquiring profici-

⁽¹⁾ Takmila.

⁽²⁾ MS. Note-books of Diwan Sobhraj.

⁽³⁾ Mufarrih'ul-Qulūb-Rabi'ul-Awwal, 1295 A.H./3rd. March, 1878.

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 Dīwān. But afterwards, at the instance of Muhammad Zāhid b. 'Abdul-Wāsi' Shākrānī and some other friends, he changed his poetic name to "Khalīi" in consonance with the well-known title of his namesake Ibrāhīm (Prophet Abrāham), and composed another Dīwān:

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 'Alī Shīr Qāni', and appropriately named it Takmila. 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 "Khalīl" 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:

⁽¹⁾ Taken from Diwan-i-Miskin.

⁽²⁾ Mufarrih'ul-Qulüb, dated 5th. Sha'ban, 1290 A. H./28th Sept., 1873 A.D.

He has written an ode on Shāh 'Abdul-Bāqī Sarhandī, his spiritual guide, in which he remarks:

ا پریرویان کشمیری و ترکان سمرقندی بسی دیدم ندیدم چون دل آویزان سرهندی He pours out his heart to his murshid thus:

"Khalil" has composed a love poem on the model of Hāfiz's commencing with

The following verses occur therein:

He has written an ode in double-rhyme containing the following verses:

انقد ر هجرت آیدم پیغام غم
 آنقدر گریم که در چشم نماند نام نم
 نظم من رنگین شود ، چون غنچه بوی خوش دهد
 گر کشایم یک دم اندر ومن آن گلفام فم
 گر کشایم یک دم آن آهو روش
 صبر از من وحشتی گیرد کند آرام رم
 نظم هر وضعی که میخواهد دلت "سکین" بگو
 چون مددگار تو هاتف باشد و الهام هم

⁽¹⁾ Diwān-i-Miskin.

⁽²⁾ An old MS.

⁽³⁾ MS. Note-books.(4) Dīwān-i-Miskin.

Speaking about his separation from the beloved, Khalil remarks

ا بسکه در درد فراقش گریه ها کردم "خلیل" شد چو ماهي مردم چشم مرا مسکن در آب * *

بسكه كاهيد تنم از غمت اى ماه تمام

پیش مردم شده انگشت نما چون مد نو

And the unbearable tortures make the poet exclaim:

شخوش آن وقتیکه دل بردارم از تو که پا در بند و سر بردارم از تو نزار و زار و خوار افکارم از تو برو ای عشق من بیزارم از تو

But he soon reconciles, realizing:

ابروی یار مطلع ناز آفریده اند زلفش تصیده وار دراز آفریده اند جانان ترا ز شوخی و ناز آفریده اند مارا همه ز عجز و نیاز آفریده اند

* * * * ترا گر قامت شمشاد دادند

مرا قمری نمط فریاد دادند

ترا تا مصحف دلشاد دادند مرا سيباره غم ياد دادند

ترا گر حسن عشق ایجاد دادند

Gundal History a state Its, to the te

مرا در عشق این امداد دادند

The beloved's cruel and callous behaviour also changes to favour and condescension when the lover perseveres in his fidelity to her:

(3) Ibid.

⁽¹⁾ Takmila.

⁽²⁾ Diwan-i-Miskin.

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:

In the following distich the poet takes pride in the fact that he is the successor of eminent poets like "Munshi", "Qāni'", etc:-

To a rival poet of his time he addresses thus:

SAYYID GHULÂM MUHAMMAD SHÂH "GADÂ" (d. 1322/A.H./1904 A. D.) walad Sayyid Hasan 'Alī Shāh was born in the vicinity of Hālā. His ancestors belonged to Khurasan 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 Ākhūnd Ahmad son of 'Abdul-'Alīm of Hālā, and Muhammad Raushan of Hyderābād, who was a pupil of Mīr Sobdār Khān and whose year of death (1286 A.H./1869 A. D.) is commemorated by "Gadā" in the following words:

Bayad-i-Ridawi.
 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 'Alī 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 Shīrāzī (to whom the Mīr 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:

To the amazement of Aqā-i-Shirāzi, "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 Mufarrih'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⁾ 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 the task of self - realization, he regards the world as mere tinsel - an idea that was so pithily put by Hāfiz in:

The Sindhi poet has expressed this idea in the following manner:

The fairy-folk with their gazelle eyes and coquettish ways have disturbed the peace of many a lover's mind. Hafiz once cried:

And Gadā was no exception:

The beloved's amorous glance is a soothing balm for the

The poet holds that the beloved's blandishments so stupefy the skilful painter, including the master painter Behzād, that he

⁽¹⁾ Bayad-i-Ridawi. (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 Munshi³ in the Shikārpur Collectorate, and rose to be a Mukhtārkār. 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-Ridawī.

⁽²⁾ A MS. Note book.

⁽³⁾ Mufurrih'ul-Qulūb dated 4th. Māy, 1879.

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-Qulūb. 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'di. 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 بیکانگان هرگز نتالم که بامن هرچه کرد آن آشنا کرد

he says

1من چرا شکوه اغیار کنم ای یاران

كه مرا هرچه فتادست اذان بار افتاد

In reply to an ode of Saib containing

الخاك نتوائد حجاب ديده روشن شود"

Rahi writes:

آنکه او امروز دائه درمیان دل فشاند

باليقين فرداى محشر صاحب خرمن شود

بهر شوهر نو عروس دهر آرایش کند

مرد کی باشد کسی کو مبتلای زن شود

این تن آلوده را از اشک خود پاکیزه ساز

حامه مرکین همیشه پاک از شستن شود

ای "رهی" گفتم جواب آن غزل "صافب" که گفت

خاک نتواند حجاب دیده ووشن شود

On the well-known ghazal, of Hāfiz beginning with the line "غلام نركس مست تو تاجدارانند"

⁽¹⁾ The whole text of "Rahi's" poetry is a selection from the files of Mufarrih'ul-Oulūb.

he has composed a mukhammas, in which he writes:

Based on a ghazal of Sa'di, which contains

is the following stanza from a 'fivesome' by "Rahi":-

In the following couplet the poet gives us his conception of a مجنون by playing a pun on Majnū (literally a madman - prisoner of love) and employing a number of literary artifices - مراعات نظير و تضاد و تجنيس زايد و ايهام

In the following lines Rahi draws a pathetic picture of the star-crossed lover:

دل سنگین و جفا کیش بمن نرم نگشت صحبت شيشه و سنگست چه ميبايد كرد برد زلفین پریچهره بتاراج دلم لشکر رومی و زنگست چه سیباید کرد گه خواند بوفا، گاه براند بجفا گردش چرخ دورنگست چه میباید کرد ناله های زار کردی در کفن بگریستی شب بیاد شمع رویش سو ختم پروانه وار واتف سوزم چو گشتی انجمن بگریستی ور شدندی با خبر از درد من اهل جهان مردم از آوام رفتی اعرمن بگریستی ز برق آه سن خسته دل حذر بايد که کار خرمن گیتی بیک شراره کنم

بمهرت ای مه دل کواکب به آسمانها بسوزد آهم درخش خندد ز اضطرابم، سحاب گرید ز اشکباری

The cinematograph of Nature depicts diverse scenes; there is nothing stable under the sun. Hāfiz's memorable verse

is a constant reminder of life's frailties. The wise always strive after mental poise and balance. Says Rahī:

ای دل بسرد مهری دوران صبور باش کز پی رسد بهار چو پائین بگذرد

The loveliness of the Hurs 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:

Want of zeal is a serious handicap in the achievement of one's object. Hāfiz has said:

''چو قربِ او طلبی در صفای نیت کوش''

Rahi says:

Several poets have spoken of پشت خم or پشت فر in different ways. For example Nizāmi says:

ازان خم پشت میگردند پیران جهاندیده که زیر خاک میجویند ایام جوانی را

Says Hāfiz:

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:

Ingenuity culminating in 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 Mir Fayd Muhammad Khān Tālpur, 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:

It is said that the Mir rewarded the poet with a suitable monetary gift in token of his appreciation of this ingenuity.1

His younger brother, GHAUTHBAKHSH KHĀKI whose year of death (1325 A. H./1907 A. D.) is determined by the following lines of "Bahāi", 2 was Head Munshi in the Jacobābād Municipality:

ثنا گوی پیغببر پاک حق فصیح اللسان غوث بخش آنکه بود شب و روز از شوق غلغل کنان بیاغ ثنا و درود بنعت نبی عمر خود صرف کرد بنعت نبی عمر خود صرف کرد جز آنش نمیبود گفت و شنود برش بود خاک در آن جناب سرش بود خاک در آن جناب بود الله المال او المال الما

He is the author of Barāt-i-Najāt-i-Khākī. A good poet, he specialized in the qasīda. The following lines are from his

The incident was related to the present writer by late Hakim Fat'h Muhammad Sehwäni.
 Diwān-i-Bahāi, p. 280.

qasida in praise of his brother "Rahi", commencing with a description of Spring:

1چون مالک فلک ز رخ یوسف بهار جلباب شد نموده بیکبار بر کنار شد مشتری بمهر رخش مصر کاثنات مه دست خود برید ز حیرت ترنج وار از آب نیل دلو فروشست چرک تن آمد بهورج عمل و بافت افتخار ثوبهار بساط بر اسپ ریس باغ و درو دهشت و کوهسار جبين آب چو زنجير سيم ناب بازار جويبار ز گنها چو گشت كرم عرعر ستاد بهر سبزه زار چو بستان کل نما رنگ شفق پدید از و رنگ لالهزار سوسن زبان کشاد بوصف عذار کل پیچید غنچه داس خود از گزند خار و بنفشه لباس کبود رنگ كردند همچو حاج به احرام مرغزار بر گوشه ٔ چمن سمن و نسترن زدند چون خور لوای نور بفیروز گون حصار بعنى بكو بمدحت منشى رسول بخش چون سلک در قصیدهای برجسته نامدار عقلش خطاب داد ورا "شاعر فلك"

بختش لقب تهاد "دبير خرد شعار"

⁽¹⁾ The matter regarding the text of Khāki's poetry has been collected from the issues of Mufarrih'ul-Qulūb.

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:

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:

Khāki pithily describes him in the following words:

Absorption in love makes the lover oblivious of self-interest:

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:

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 moto. Tread the path of love - whether it be in agreement with the ways of the world or no:

GHULAM 'ALI SABZPUSH, with "'Ali" as his nom-deplume, was another illustrious poet of this period. Some of his compositions were published in the Mufarrih'ul-Qulūb during his lifetime. A few passages from his poems are given below:

In his invocation to God, he says:

The course of love never runs smooth. The poet narrates the sufferings of the lovers in the following verses:

⁽¹⁾ Margins of Diwan-i-'Ata.

⁽²⁾ Mufarrih'ul-Qulub, dated 15th Feb., 1880.

⁽³⁾ Tanwir, May, 1937.

ا بغیر از سوره و سیپاره عم نخواندنم درس قرآن معبت بود اشک و فغان و غصه و غم متاع و جنس دکان معبت متاع و جنس دکان معبت * *

The height of his anguish is reached in the following words:

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:

م چو گیرم بوسه از لعل لب او شموم شاه بدخشان معبت "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:

Compared to the devout Muslim's namaz, the lover's prayer is not without merit either. The poet tenders his meed of praise to the latter in the following words:

(1) Margins of Diwan-i-'Ata.

(4) Margins of Diwan-i-'Ata.

(5) Ibid.
 (6) Mufarrih'ul Qulüb - 15th Safar, 1298 A.H./16th Jan., 1881.

Mufarrih'ul-Qulüb - 15th Safar, 1298 A. H./16th Jan., 1881.
 Tanwir - May, 1937.

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 speci-

⁽¹⁾ Mufarrih'ul-Qulūb - 17th October, 1880,

⁽²⁾ Tanwir - May, 1937.

⁽⁴⁾ Mufarrih'ul-Qulüb - 15th Safar, 1298 A. H./16th Jan., 1881.

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 set with lips the privilege of kissing the object held sacred:

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:

2MIR 'ALI NAWAZ "'ULWI" (1851-1920 A. D.), the second son of Mir Fakhrud-Din, was a contemporary of Qāsim, Gadā, Rahī and Ahmad. He had two poetic names viz., "'Ulwi" and "Mujrim", and is stated to have written many books, of which الشارة لا هل الاشارة (Tidings for the wise) in Arabic and Kulliyyāt, consisting of more than 50 ghazals and a few gasīdas in Persian and some elegies, fragments and other poems in Sindhi have been published. He often contributed his poems to the Mufarrih'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;

Margins of Diwān-i-'Atā.
 The matter for his life sketch is gleaned from Sindhū-August 1936, whereas the verses are taken from his Kulliyyāt.

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:

Another qasida of his, in praise of Mir Imām Bakhsh, G.C.I.E. the then ruler of Khayrpur State, begins thus:

خسرو ِ تنخت ِ عز و شان مير ِ امام بخش خان والي خيرپور سند شاه ِ ستوده مجهان

and contains the following verses:

بوی سواد نظم من غیرت عود و مشک شد تا بنای او شده خامه من گهر فشان گشت بقین قبای سحر راست بقد شعر من

نست یعین قبای سعر راست بدر سعر می در مین زنم طبل سخنوری عیان

پایه ٔ نظم و نثر ِ من هست ز همدمان بلند

شد بتن فصاحت از خامه من روان روان

ليك بمدح شه نمود كشتى نظم من هراس

ز انکه معیط مدح او هست عمیق و بیکران

He pays a glowing tribute to some of his contemporary poets as under:

ر جمله علوم بینظیر است در جمله علوم بینظیر است او همسر "سعدی" و "ظهیر" است * * * "احمد" که چو او سخنوری نیست در بحر سخن چو او دری نیست لاشک که طبیب سقم شعر است
اشهر بجهان چو ماه و مهر است

دیگر "رهی" آن عجب سخندان

"نفردوسی" عصر و "عنصری" شان
آن واصف سرور دو عالم
آن واصف سرور دو عالم

آن زیده شاعران اعظم

"خاک" که یگانه جهان است

در شعر "نظامی" زمان است

با طبع سلیم کس بدوران

با طبع سلیم کس بدوران

But his highest praise was lavished on Qasim:

'Ulwai, however, was not particularly impressed by the poetry of Muhammad Mufti "Khāti" of Shikārpur, whom he criticises as follows:

From a poem in his Kulliyyat it appears that the poet was suspected of belonging to the Kharijite sect. He replies to his accusers thus:

(2) Kulliyyāt-i-'Ulwi, p. 22.

⁽¹⁾ Qāsim reciprocated the compliment in the following couplet:

هزارت آفرین ''علوی'' بدین رنگین غزل گفتن

نه ''قاسم'' بل نیاردکس چنین صنع سرایا را

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?"
Rūdaki's advice, therefore, is

Nizāmī's views also concur:

Says this lover-poet:

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:

The beloved's beauty is incomparable in the lover's eyes. In the words of Hāfiz-i-Shīrāzī:

'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:

In imitation of the verse attributed to Hāfiz:

he draws a pathetic picture of the lover's anguish and heartbreak 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:

MAULVI BAHĀUDDIN "BAHĀI" (1249 A. H.-1353 A. H./1833 A. D.-1936 A. D.) of Mirpur Māthelō (district Sakhar) is the author of two Dīwāns viz., Dīwān-i-Na'tiya and Dīwan-i-Bahāī. The first, consisting of 301 distichs in praise of the Prophet, was published by H. H. Nawwāb Bahāwal Khān, the ruler of Bahāwalpur State, along with three narrative poems viz., Mathnawī, Khward-wa-Khwāb and Yād-i-Khudā 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 Kābul (Afghānistan):

As a Sūfi, he was a votary of the Chishti sect and had great faith in the (Spiritual) guidance of شيخ نريدالدين ملتاني. He also entertained reverence for Pir Hizbullāh Shāh "Miskin", to whose place he often went to pay respects. To quote his words:

The poet was temperamentally averse to travelling. Says he:

⁽¹⁾ All his verses are selected from Diwan-i-Bahāi.

منعدم شد وجود عيشم ازو باد اندر عدم مقام سفر خواهم از فضل حق كه صبح وطن دور دارد مرا ز شام سفر سفر آمد سقر اگر ميل است ميل بيش است گرچه گام سفر آفتاب وطن بيشت عبور خوشتر از سايه خيام سفر

Prosperity makes strange friends while adversity tries them.

That Bahāi had some sad experience of fickle friends is evident from:

Verily, wealth wields a considerable influence over worldly people:

In the following quatrain he expresses his gratitude to a Hindu gentleman for some timely help rendered to him:

The lines quoted below remind us of the advice of Polonious to his son Laertes in Shakespeare's "Hamlet":

مرا از کرمها پدر پند کرد زبائم بتعلیم در بند کرد که ای پورم این گوهرم گوش دار نصيحت شنو با دل هوشيار کسی را مگو بد که بد نشنوی یکی بد مگو تا دو صد نشنوی چو پشمینه دیگران را دری خز خویش را در زیانها بری نگهدار از بیشگوئی زبان کز افزونی تقطه گردد زبان زبان را مجنبان بجز سود خویش زیان را رها کن ببهبود خویش نگه کن که زین پیش سعدی چه گفت چه گوهر بسلک فصاحت بسفت ترا تیشه دادم که هیزم شکن نگفتم که دیدار مسجد بکن "ابهائی" گر این بند من بشنوی یقین دان که از نیکمردان شوی

That one should always shun the company of the base and the wicked is expressed by the poet in the following verses:

سفله بسوگند چو یارت شود الله اگر چند بود یار تو بخسارت شود فالم اگر چند بود یار تو عالم تو آزار تو عالم دار کودم اگر یار تو شد هوش دار جز عمل نیشزنی نیش کار خار که در راه قتاده بود بهر خلش نیش کشاده بود بهر خلش نیش کشاده بود

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:

'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 کنی دور ز رخ پرده پنداری را بینی از برقع هر برگ رخ یاری را کفر عشقیت ز اسلام خرد شیرینتر نیست اینجا قدری لذت دینداری را *

دانای دهر بودم و اکنون زعشق تو

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وصال دوست محال از محال میگویند زخویش تا نه بر آئی خیال خام بود * * * گم زخود باش و با خدا میباش با خدا از خودی جدا میباش 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:

The idea that God manifested Himself in every atom, so beautifully put by Jāmī in:

is expressed by Bahāi in the following verses:

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:

The poet's following couplets, describing the spiritual seeker's experience in search of God,

form the sum and substance of the following ode of Rumi:

چلیپای نصرانیان سربسر

بیمودم اندر چلیپا نبود

بیمودم اندر چلیپا نبود

درو هیچ رنگ هویدا نبود

بکوه حرا رفتم و قندهار

بعداً شدم بر سر کوه قاف

بعداً شدم بر سر کوه قاف

بکعبه کشیدم عنان طلب

دران جای جز جای عنقا نبود

بران مقصد پیر و برنا نبود

بران مقصد پیر و برنا نبود

بران مناش حال

براندازه این سینا نبود

موی منظر قاب قوسین شدم

دران بارگه معلا نبود

دران بارگه معلا نبود

در انجاش دیدم دگر جا تبود

در انجاش دیدم دگر جا تبود

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. Majnûn and Laylā furnish an illustration in point. Says Bahāi:

ما پیر شدیم و عقل ما پیر نشد
وز مری ما بعشق تقصیر نشد
مر المالی المالی

The poet has to his credit some metrical word-puzzles, e. g:

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 عن) is introduced ا (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 خویش چهوئی میکند
دل ز صد آزاد برده در اسیری آورد
چون گره از ناز محبوبی به چوئی میکند
دلبر من راست دل باشد بهر کس در وفا
لیک دل با زمره عشاق کهوئی میکند
چون کند ناز و ادا بنیاد با یک عشوهای
غارت سرمایه چوئی چموئی میکند
هر که او در عین عریانی بود بی ننگ و نام
موی ریش و سر تراشیده به لوثی میکند
ی "بهائی" هر که باشد بنده آن پادشاه
ی "بهائی" هر که باشد بنده آن پادشاه

He describes the wretched condition of the village Haybat and its inhabitants in the following lines:

There are few original ideas in the poems of Bahāi. 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:

ابن چه شوریست که در دور قمر میبینم همه آفاق پر از فتنه و شر میبینم ابلهان را همه شربت ز گلاب و قندست قوت دانا همه از خون جگر میبینم اسپ تازی شده مجروح بزیر بالان طوق زرین همه در گردن خر میبینم طوق زرین همه در گردن خر میبینم

he writes:

این چه شوریست که اندر همه جا میبینم همه آفاق پر از رنج و بلا میبینم برذیلان فلک آراست قصور عالی کلبه گهنه مکان کملا میبینم اسپ تازیست بهالان بنه بار گران زین بخر یی سر و ها میبینم

He also imitated Sa'di, Zahir-i-Fāryābi and Amīr Khusraw. For example:

خوثیکه نشست جز بمردن نرود العادة لایرد الا بالموت

is in imitation of Sa'di's:

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داروی دردِ دل ِ من وصل ِ دلدار ِ من است توتیای چشم ِ من خاک ِ ره ِ یار ِ من است in imitation of Zahir's:

غبار راه تو در دیده توتیاست مرا بیا که دیده عمدیده بی ضیاست 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 زنجبیل بیار
همه هموزن رسحق کرده بدار
وزن کنجد فگن بچشم ای دوست
همه امراض چشم را نیکوست
خاصه ضعف نظر که از شیب است
خاصه ضعف نظر که از شیب است
و اندر آفاق مرد را عیب است
بی بیی نفگنی بچشم ای بار
این عمل کن بهفتهای دو سه بار
این عمل کن بهفتهای دو سه بار
اذ تیزیش ای راد
از محمد شریف شد سندش

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 Bahāi has devoted a full poem to them, a major part of which is quoted here:

دلم از زاهدان ملول آمد
زانکه این قوم را دو رو دیدم
زانکه این قوم را دو رو دیدم
لیک بیرون ز شست و شو دیدم
نام زاهد ولی پی دنیا
خوتخور از خلق چون زلو دیدم
فاقه را دشمن و شبع را دوست
دمیدم عامل "کلوا1" دیدم

⁽¹⁾ Refers to the Quranic verse.

کنج مسجد گرفته چون گربه
چشم بر موشکان کو دیدم
لقمه چرب صبح را طالب
خواب نوشین و چاشت جو دیدم
این دو سنت بود فریضه شان
در دگر فرض سست خو دیدم
از پی نانکی بیک دیگر
چون سگان بسکه جنگجو دیدم

The subjoined few verses are from his mathnawi poem on "Himmat" (courage):

همت اگر چست ببندد کمر
از شجر خشک شکوند ثمر
همت اگر جلوه دهد زور ولم
ازور سلیمان بدهد مور را
همت اگر تیز کند خنگ را
همت اگر غازه کند چهر را
همت اگر غازه کند چهر را
همت اگر بال کشائی کند
همت اگر بال کشائی کند
همت اگر بال کشائی کند
همت اگر شعبده بازی کند
محل کریه بسگ دست درازی کند
محل کریه بسگ 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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The manuscripts of Qadir Bakhsh "Bīdil" 's works were obtained from Mr. D. K. Manshārāmānī, Tutor, D. J. Sindh College, Karachi.



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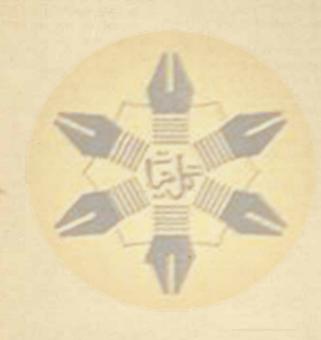
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