CHAPTER – II

POETRY AND PATRONAGE OF DECCAN SULTANS

**Introduction:**

A chronologically literary survey of this period presents a number of difficulties. In this study an attempt is made to make this study as comprehensive as possible, in this work, reviews the literary activities at Bidar and Gulbarga, the two capitals of the Bahmani kingdom and at Bijapur and Golconda. Adil Shahis and Qutub Shahis regimes, being contemporary, Persian, Arabic, Urdu and other local literature flourished simultaneously under the aegis of these Sultanates. Poets and litterateurs frequently changed their allegiance and moved from court to court for a better recognition of their merits. Moreover, it is uncritical to make arbitrary divisions in a literary period by splitting literary activity in fragments on political grounds, and studying local literature piecemeal. However, this work aims at a general perspective of the growth of literature in the Deccan, and has therefore selected the most important centres of literary activity for review. This chapter deals with the contributions of the Sultans to literature and to its patronage.
The progress or otherwise of a language of alien conquerors, as also of its literature, is vitally linked up with the fate of the ruling Sultanates who patronize it. The moorings of a foreign language cannot strike root deeper, unless the ‘ruling class’ makes systematic efforts to encourage its growth. In the medieval period, patronage was the principal factor, nay the very motive force behind the creation of a congenial environment for the growth of literature. Art has always been, particularly in the Middle Ages, in the tutelage of the State, represented by the august personality of the sovereign.

**The Bahmani Sultans:**

**Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah (1347-1358):**

Alauddin Hasan Bahmani deserves a high place among the great men of history. He combined in him rare qualities of an able commander, a wise and tolerant administrator who succeeded in winning over the hearts of an alien people in a short duration, and a munificent patron of education and learning. As a founder of first Islamic state in the south, he was a pioneer in introducing Islamic institutions of government, of law and jurisprudence, and of public education in the Deccan. For its successful continuation and stability, this Islamic state had perforce to depend on the ability, initiative and efficiency of
talented Muslims of Persia, Iraq and Arabia. The state as an emblem of political power is a standard bearer of the culture of the Sultans. The founder of the Bahmani state was a foreigner and a Muslim of Iranian stock. He naturally inherited the glorious traditions of the legendary kings of Persia with the rich heritage of Islam. It was no wonder therefore, if his court presented an opportunity to enterprising Persians and Iraqis of distinction in every sphere of art and culture, to achieve success in their careers in the Deccan. India during these centuries was a land of promise to young men from Persia, who either for their intrinsic worth or for their privilege of being foreigners or Sayeds were at once admitted to the state service and rose in rank. With the establishment of educational institutions at Elichpur, Gulbarga, Daulatabad and other places during the reign of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah and indefatigable services of Fazlullah-i-Inju in the diffusion of learning, a favourable atmosphere for the promotion of the study of Persian was created in the Deccan. A direct contact with scholars and masters of Persian language helped to create and cultivate a genuine liking and proper atmosphere for the study of Persian language and literature in the ambitious responsive youths of this country. The wise and far-sighted policy of closer association and assimilation of the intelligent class of Brahmins
in state service and entrusting them with office of responsibility proved beneficial to the spread of Persian in the higher class of Indians. Its natural consequences were that the influence of Persian soon began to permeate into the regional languages through its influence on the intellectual classes of the Hindu society. With the inauguration of the Bahmani era in the political of the Deccan, a new beginning was made of the influence of Persian, and through it of Arabic, on the indigenous languages. This linguistic influence grew steadily and appeared at one time to dominate languages like Marathi and Gujarati. This will however form a subject of independent discussion².

**Muhammad Shah-I (1358-1375):**

During Muhammad Shah-I’s reign, many veteran musicians who had personal acquaintance with Amir Khusrao’s style and technique of music, and about three hundred Qawwals arrived in the Deccan from Delhi. With the vindication of his prestige and a proper settlement of the claims of musicians and Qawwals from the treasury of Vijayanagara, hostilities terminated between the two states³.

Muhammad Shah-I Bahmani was a great lover of architecture. One of the finest mosques of India, and the one believed to have been modeled after the mosque of Cordova, was
probably built during his reign at Gulbarga, Jama masjid which is located at Fort. Ferishtah remarks that Muhammad Shah-I built a grand mausoleum for his father, and appointed two hundred scholars of religious scriptures to recite the Holy Quran there⁴.

**Mujahid Shah Balwant (1374-1377):**

His successor to the throne, Mujahid Shah Balwant (the strong) fell a victim to the diabolic intrigues of Dawood Khan (Mujahid’s cousin), and was murdered one night.

Mujahid Shah was a prince of great intelligence and herculean strength. Fantastic anecdotes of his physical feats are recorded by contemporary historians. He was fond of the company of Persians and Turks whom he chose as his friends⁵. The admission of ‘strangers’ in the inner royal circle excited political jealousies and sowed seeds of dissention, which was proved detrimental to the stability of the Bahmani state.

**Sultan Muhammad Shah-II (1378-1396):**

He was a grandson of Sultan Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah ascended the Bahmani throne, and ruled for a period of nineteen years.
He was a man of peace, and a lover of the arts which flourish in times of peace. He is the first Bahmani sultan who devoted all his life to constructive and cultural activities, and by maintaining peace on the political front he actively helped to create a congenial environment for the pursuit of arts and literature.

Poets and learned men from Persia and Arabia were attracted towards the Deccan by the fame of Sultan Muhammad's patronage of learning. Their merits received due recognition and rich rewards. Even Khwaja Hafiz-i-Shirazi was fascinated by the benevolence of Muhammad Shah Bahmani, and had made up his mind to go to Gulbarga, but unforeseen difficulties foiled his plans. On learning this, Mir Fazlullah Inju, himself a native of Shiraz, sent a deputation along with the passage money and presents to Khwaja Hafiz and invited him to the Deccan. Hafiz, unable to resist the fascination of Muhammad Shah’s patronage and friendship, decided to come to Gulbarga. He paid off his debts out of the passage money, and on his arrival at Hurmuz, was practically penny less. He went on board a Muhammad Shahi ship sailing to south Indian ports along with Khwaja Zain-ul-Abideen and Khwaja Muhammad-i-Gazaruni, who were merchants from Persia, and who undertook to bear his expenses for the voyage. But a fierce gale set in, the
sea became stormy, and tempestuous waves began to surge up like mountains. The peace loving poet of the idyllic atmosphere of Ruknabad could not bear the frightful sight of the Sea thing Sea. He at once disembarked on some flimsy pretext and returned to Shiraz\textsuperscript{6}. This adventure in the life of this great poet occasioned one of the sweetest songs in the Persian language. In his melodious tune, this singer of Shiraz celebrated the ‘Majesty of splendid isolation’ in that \textit{ghazal}, and sent it to Mir Fazlullah Inju as an ‘\textit{Armaghan}’ to be presented to Muhammad Shah-II.

The Bahmani Sultan sent worthy rewards to Khwaja Hafiz, for this \textit{ghazal} through a special messenger and expressed his gratitude for this favour. This single ode by itself is a noble monument to Muhammad Shah’s regard for Persian language and his patronage of its literature. This \textit{ghazal} which begins thus is rendered in English below;

"دهمی ی دم غم بردن جهان یکسر نام آرزد
با می بفروش دلقی می کی زن بتهر نام آرزد"

“To me, all the (wealth of the) world is not worth a moment’s life of grief. (O Friends) dispose of my patched cloak in exchange for (a cup of) wine for it will not fetch anything better. The prayer carpet of piety cannot be exchanged for even a cup (of wine) in the lane of the dealers of wine. How strange! It is not
worth even a cup! My rival heaped rebukes on me, and bade me quit this threshold (the dust at this door) what (after all) had happened to my head, that it is not worth the dust of (her) door! The perils of a voyage (the hardships of an ocean), with the (bright) prospects of (gaining) gold, seemed but a trifle to me in the beginning; I was wrong, (for) now I am sure that a wave of an ocean is not worth a hundred pearls. A gorgeous regal crown wherein lurks a jeopardy to life, is (verily) a fascinating headwear but certainly not at a price that costs a head. Wash off these marks of distress, for in the market-place of sincerity (honesty), gilded (plated) ornaments of variegated colours are not the price for the (bright) red wine. Like Hafiz practice contentment, and relinquish this wretched world; for an iota of obligation of the mean is more than the entire world (to bear its burden).

**Muhammad Shah-II as a Poet:**

Muhammad Shah-II was a good Persian poet, possessed a good command over Arabic and Persian and wielded a facile pen. It is however unfortunate that almost all his poetic compositions in Persian are now extinct. Ferishtah and Bistami the author of *Hadaiq-us-Salatin* have cited only three couplets which are generally presumed to be composed by this sultan. Hence it is
not possible to form any critical estimate of his poetic merits. These couplets are natural and direct in expression, but the ideas incorporated in them are original, indicating the resourceful imagination of the poet.

Muhammad Shah died on the 21st Rajab 1396 A.D at Gulbarga. His successor to the Bahmani throne was his son, Prince Ghiyasuddin Tahmatan, aged seventeen. Malik Saifuddin Ghori, the veteran diplomat and the first premier of the Bahmanis passed away on the next day of Muhammad Shah’s death. He had steered the Bahmani ship through stormy politics and with the exit the young Sultan, unable to dominate the intriguing factions at his court, soon fell a prey to their schemes. Tughalchin, a malcontent Turkish noble blinded the sultan and deposed him from the throne. Ghiyasuddin Muhammad-I could hardly reign for fifty days. His younger brother Shamshuddin Dawood Shah-II was a minor, and became a puppet in the hands of Tughalchin. The Turkish clique could not however remain in ascendancy for long since it alienated the support of the Persian nobles like Khwaja-i-jahan Azhdarkhan, Ahmed Beg Qazwini, Salabat Khan Sistani, Mir Fazlullah Inju and his son, Mir Ghiyasuddin and Sayed Kamaluddin. These noblemen and most of the Sayeds and the scholars at the Bahmani court who were strongly opposed to the Tughalchin faction, made a common
cause with Ahmed Khan and Firoz Khan, two sons of the late Dawood Shah Bahmani. Under the leadership of Firoz Khan, a *coup-de-elat* was successfully worked out, Shamshuddin and Tughalchin were taken prisoners, Firoz Khan assumed the title of Roz Afzun Khan, and proclaimed himself to be the sovereign. With the revenge of Ghiyasuddin on the life of Tughalchin, Turkish domination was effectively suppressed, and the Persian group resumed the reins of power once again.

**Tajuddin Firoz Shah Bahmani (1397-1421):**

Sultan Tajuddin Firoz Shah Bahmani alias Roz Afzun Shah is the most distinguished of all the Bahmani sultans. He was unrivalled amongst all the ruling princes of this sultanate for his intellectual and martial achievements. His buoyant enthusiasm to enjoy life in its fullness, his inviolable faith in the sanctity of religious commandments and consequently in the consciousness of religious duty, his fiery martial spirit, his calculating diplomacy, his love of intellectual learning and his craze for music are a few facets of Firoz Shah’s versatile and contradictory personality a study in contrast. Historians have therefore failed in forming a proper estimate of him and have laid undue stress on significant characteristics of his personality ignoring the major tendencies. He was neither extremely devout
and puritanie, nor voluptuous and licentious to a great degree. He combined in him austerity with a zest for a fuller enjoyment of life a romanticism that was tempered with sobre reason, a regal majesty that quietly slipped into playful and frolicsome friendship. In short he was a great sultan and a great man. and if the kingship enhanced his personal prestige and glory, his individuality considerably enriched his kingship.

Firoz Shah was endowed with a catholicity of vision, a breadth of outlook and a spirit of toleration rarely to be met with in any other enlightened Sultan of this period. He was a precursor of the Mughal emperor Akbar, in his daring originality of approach towards a number of social, intellectual and religions problems of the day. He evinced deep interest in the study of religion. He wrote out copies of the Holy Quran in his excellent handwriting in the naskh style, and either earned his livelihood from their sale, or gave them as gifts. His religiosity which kept him engaged in religious duties, was not averse to a critical study of religion. He is credited with the institution of research boards for a comparative study of the scriptures. He read the Torah and the Bible and sought information about other religious from the religious divines of the various communities holding appointments at his court. He was an advocate of a rational outlook in religious matters and in
intellectual pursuits. A keen student of mysticism and theoretical philosophy, and a champion of reason, he inevitably became a reformist. It is nevertheless unfortunately true that in later life his reformism deteriorated into licentiousness and he made it elastic so as to suit his purpose.

Firoz Shah was a Savant and a soldier, a typical instance of a soldier scholar. He attained great mastery over many varied branches of temporal knowledge, and was well-versed in natural sciences, theology, Quranic commentary and philosophy. He summoned weekly conferences of scholars and adepts and held open debates on controversial problems. In these discussions full liberty of expression was granted to all speakers. Firoz Shah Bahmani regarded the spread of culture and light as a mission more sacred and noble than kingship itself, and used to give lessons in mathematics, theology and rhetoric thrice a week. In Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah’s opinion, he probably surpassed Muhammad bin Tughluq in his intellectual accomplishments. He was deeply interested in the study of mathematical sciences, specially astronomy. He had constructed an observatory at Daulatabad in 1407 A.D. He had invited astronomers like Muhammad-i-Gazaruni and Hasan-i-Gilani to conduct researches in astronomy.
This somber piety and austerity, so conscientiously cultivated in early youth, could not effectively curb Firoz Shah’s instinctive inclination towards Fine Arts. His latent aesthetic tendencies found scope for growth in the regal surroundings. He was an impassioned lover of music, and had deep conviction in the efficacy of music as a medium for attaining spiritual bliss. And even if the version of his being a great linguist, conversing with each lady of his harem in her own language, may doubtlessly be rejected as a flattering tribute, it is nevertheless plausible that he was fairly conversant with a number of Indian and oriental languages, and expressed himself in them with facility and ease.

With his romantic temperament, his natural aptitude to rhythm in music, and his proficiency in languages, it is no wonder if Firoz Shah was enamoured of the Dame of Poesy. His poetic career commenced at an early date, long before he came to the throne. He composed lyrics under the nom-de-guerre of ‘Uruji’ but is said to have changed it to ‘Firozi’ after his coronation. Ferishtah reproduces two ghazals and one quatrain composed by Firoz Shah from *Tohfat-us-Salatin* of Mulla Dawood Bidri, a court chronicler of Firoz Shah Bahmani. Even these scanty poetic fragments, that have fortunately survived to this day, are reminiscent of Firoz Shah’s polished diction.
The usual classical emotionalism, with a touch of pathos, and a gentle satirical vein are the constituents of the pattern on which Firoz Shah seems to have modeled his verses. These verses have a remarkable ease, fluency and melody in their expression. But besides this literary elegance, there is hardly anything original or striking about them. The verses lack in emotional fervour. Thought seems to dominate the sentiment. Firoz Shah is proud of his genius when he refers to his “Intellect”, as a “veritable garden of colour and fragrance” or “as an Ethereal expanse of knowledge”.

"دماغ ی تاب عروجی چی دلکشا چمنست"

"چمن مگی کی ان آسمان فربانگست"

Trans: what an attractive garden is the brain of the poetic genius of Uruji, nay, don’t say that, it is the sky of intelligence (wisdom).

In his quatrain, which has a didactic note he affirms the supremacy of reason:

‘Waste not your (faculty of) thought in the fire (and fury) of trash and nonsense; and lend not your attention to every phantom. This (faculty of reason) is the most precious cash of the treasury of the mind (intellect). Beware! Do not squander it in exchange of worthless commodities.
Ferishtah has cited some ghazals of Firoz Shah Bahmani on page no 319-20 of his Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi.

Mir Sayed Muhammad Hussaini Bandanawaz Gesudaraz arrived from Delhi and established himself at Gulbarga during Firoz Shah’s regime.

Towards the end of his reign, Firoz Shah probably became “a jaded and feeble voluptuary” Hoshyar and Bedar, two favorite slaves of Firoz Shah Bahmani seized political power in their hands. They were ennobled under the titles of ‘Ain-ul-Mulk’ and ‘Nizam-ul-Mulk’, and were entrusted with all the affairs of the state. This led to a sudden decline in the royal prestige, and the nobility weaned away its support to Firoz Shah and favoured the accession of Ahmed Khan, Khan-i-Khanan to the throne. Ahmed Khan’s sudden withdrawal to the sanctuary of Bandanawaz and his dramatic escape from Gulbarga, strengthened the suspicious of Firoz Shah about his political designs, and he dispatched a contingent of the royal army to arrest this ex-Commander-in-Chief of his forces. Ahmed Khan, the grand rebel, inflicted a defeat on the royal forces, and marched in triumph to the gates of the Bahmani capital. Firoz Shah willingly abdicated the throne in favour of his brother and put the royal crown on the head of Ahmed Khan with his own
hands, tied his scimitar to his belt, and blessed him. He died about a fortnight later in 1422 A.D.

Rise of Ahmed Shah to power is primarily due to the stratagems of Khalf-i-Hasan-i-Basri a merchant from Lahasa and a foreigner, whose devotion, daring and diplomacy, in the most crucial and difficult hour of Ahmed Shah’s life proved a valuable asset to the acquisition and stability of Ahmed Shah’s sovereign authority. He was granted the title of Malik-ut-Tujjar (the Prince of Merchant) in recognition of his meritorious and loyal services. Khalf-i-Hasan-i-Basri was instrumental to the revival of Persian influence, which had temporarily been undermined by Hoshyar and Bedar towards the end of Firoz Shah’s regime.

Shihabuddin Ahmed Shah Wali Bahmani (1422-1434):

While Firoz Shah was skeptical and over-critical in his attitude towards religion, and paid scant respect to religious divines by their exclusion from polity and court-life, Ahmed Shah cherished devotion and regard for Saints and sages of Islam. He was religious and devout by temperament, and believed that he was crowned a king through the spiritual power of Bandanawaz Gesudaraz. It is however incorrect to maintain that he was superstitions, and possessed uncouth enthusiasm for religious divines. To imbibe a strong zeal for religion and to render
ungrudging devotional service to the saintly class is neither superstition for fanaticism. Religiosity was an absorbing sentiment throughout his life and it permeated through every sphere of his activity. If to launch an offensive warfare against a Muslim Sultan was irreligious, Ahmed Shah would favour withdrawal of his forces, rather than violate the religious law. If the highest grandee of the realm were to insult a Sayed or a representative of the religious ranks, the most severe punishment would befall him. Religious ardour led him from one saintly threshold to another. The traditional devotion of Bahmani sultans to Hazrat Sirajuddin Junaidi and his descendents was replaced by a new attachment to Hazrat Bandanawaz Gesudaraz. Ahmed Shah’s devotion to him was unfathomable. He attended the assemblies of mystic dance (Sama) and received instructions in spiritual discipline from the Khwaja Bandanawaz. But Khwaja Bandanawaz did not survive long. After his death Ahmed Shah Bahmani felt an inward longing for Shah Neematullah Wali of Kirman, the fame of whose holiness and sublime sanctity had been firmly established in the Deccan through his disciples, who were migrating in large numbers to Southern India in search of career. A deputation led by Shaikh Habibullah Junaidi and Mir Shamshullah-i-Qumi was dispatched to Mahan to request Shah Neematullah Wali to come
to Bidar. The Shah politely declined this royal request. However he conveyed his blessings with Mulla Qutubuddin-i-Kirmani. The descendents of Shah Neematullah were given precedence over the successors of Hazrat Sirajuddin Junaidi and Hazrat Bandanawaz, and they played a conspicuous role in the political and religious activities during the period. In his epistle to Ahmed Shah, Shah Neematullah Wali made a reference to this Bahmani Sultan in the following words: “Azam-us-Shahan Shihabuddin Ahmed Shah Wali” (the greatest of the kings Shihabuddin Ahmed Shah Wali the saint), which were incorporated in the “Tughra” of the Royal Farmans, and Ahmed Shah came to be popularly known from that date as “Wali” (a saint). Hence during the reign of Ahmed Shah the hierarchy of saints and religious divines forged their way to power, and wielded great authority in political matters, so long denied to them. The foundation of mosques, religious trusts and charitable institutions, a vital link between the masses and the pioneers of Islamic cultural concepts, was undertaken on an extensive scale during his regime.

It would not be out of place to analyse here the supremacy of the influence of “Persians” in political and religio-cultural affairs during this period. Khalf-i-Hasan-i-Basri, a merchant from Iraq, who had long been attached to Ahmed Shah as his
most loyal and trustworthy lieutenant, was made *Wakil-us-Salnat*. He was incharge of a number of military expeditions and his prestige and favour had greatly enhanced. He had enlisted a large number (about three thousand) of archers from Iraq, Khurasan, Transoxiana, Syria and even Arabia in the army. The dominant section amongst these immigrants was Persian and Turkish.

Most of the nobles at Ahmed Shah’s court were either Persian or Persianised Turks and Iraqis from Qum, Badakhshan, Sistan and Urdistan, etc.

1. Muhammad ibn Ali-i-Bawardi, a descendent of the Seljuq Sultans, was granted the title of Khwaja-i-Jahan.
2. Khalaf-i-Hasan-i-Basri the *Malik-ut-Tujjar* was made *Wakil-us-Sultanat* (Lieutenant of the Kingdom).
3. Nurullah grandson of Shah Neematullah Wali, was conferred the title of *Malik-ul-Mashaikh*.
4. Sayed Abdul Momin a grandson of Sayed Jalal-i-Bukhari, was conferred the title of *Ajjal Jalal Khan*.
5. Sharafuddin-i-Mazandarani a disciple of Shah Neematullah Wali was a calligraphist of distinction.
6. Qazi Ahmed Qubul was granted the titles of *Malik-ul-Ulema* and *Sadr-i-Jahan*. 
Other notable personalities included Mir Shamshuddin Qummi, Mulla Qutubuddin-i-Kirmani, Imaduddin-i-Samani, Nizamuddin-i-Sharifi and others, most of whom were from Persia.

Shah Khalilullah ‘But Shikan’ the only son of Shah Neematullah Wali also arrived at Bidar from Mahan during the reign of Ahmed Shah Wali Bahmani. As the religious leader of Neematullah Darwishes, he had considerable following in Persia and India. He attracted illustrious personalities from Persia to the Bahmani capital, which became his Holy seat and the place of his shrine.

Despite his religious piety, and his ardent love for the company of religious divines, and saints, Ahmed Shah was not averse to the patronage of Arts and Literature. He was a lover of music which was an important item of his daily routine. Though his court was not so brilliant as that of Firoz Shah it was nevertheless a prominent centre of literary patronage. Amongst the many poets at his court, was Sayed Hamza, Shaikh Nooruddin Azari, who was held in great admiration by this saintly Sultan. He was entrusted with the task of composing the history of the Bahmani sultanate in verse, with the Shah Nama of Firdousi as its model. Mulla Dawood Bidri had already written a prose chronicle of the Bahmani regime in Firoz Shah’s period.
Azari undertook this work with confidence and in his work named “Bahman Nama” completed the versification of the heroic exploits of the Bahmani monarchs up to Ahmed Shah’s period. He continued even on his return to Persia.

Ahmad shah died on 25th or 26th Rajab 1434. He was one of the noblest of rulers that ruled over the Deccan. Religions-minded Tabatabai pays a glowing tribute to this sovereign and refers to him as Afazlns-Salatin-e-Bahman and offers compliments to his accomplishment.

Ahmadshah’s mausoleum at Bidar which he ordered to be erected in his life-time during the first year of his reign was designed and decorated by a Persian architect Shukrul-lah-e Qazwini. This edifice has the same sort of decoration and calligraphy inside as is to be found at the mausoleum of Tamerlane in Samarqand, which was designed and built by Muhammad b. Mahmud-e-Isfahani in 1404. Both the buildings are identical in design and architecture. Influence of Persia and Central Asia is clearly discernable in the architecture of the early period of the Muslim rule in the Deccan.

Ahmad shah shifted the Bahmani capital from Ahsanabad to Muhammadabad (Bidar) and completed the fort of Bidar within three years of the transfer of his capital. He built a magnificent royal palace in whose praise; Azari sang two
couplets which later were written in excellent calligraphy on this entrance to this edifice by Sharafud-Din-e-Mazandarani. The poet and the calligraphist were munificently rewarded for the same.

These couplets rendered in English are cited below:

*How grand is this strong palace! that in its excellent sublimity, even the lofty sky is but a threshold of the base of this edifice. Nay, it (the threshold) cannot even be called the sky, for it is (obviously) against its dignity. (Don’t you know) that it is the palace of the Sultan of the world – Ahmad descendent of Bahmanshah.*

**Alau’d-Din Ahmad Shah-II (1434-1457):**

The reign of ‘Alanu-Din Ahmadshah-II (Zafarkhan), the tenth ruler of the Bahmani dynasty, marked the climax of the ‘Afaqi’ influence in the Bahmani polity, leading to a series of catastrophies, which undermined the foundation of the kingdom. On his accession to the throne, ‘Alauddin extended his patronage to the ‘Afaqi’ nobility, which was at the helm of administrative affairs during his father’s regime. Tabatababai while narrating the account of the coronation ceremony remarks that ‘Alau’d-Din Ahmadshah II was led to the royal throne by Shah Khalilul-lah on the right, and Latif Sayyid Hanif on the left, and
they were asked to take the seats on the throne on either side of
the king. Other foreign noblemen were also retained in their high
offices. The protagonists of the Dakhni faction managed to get
Imadul-Mulk-e-Ghori and Khwaja Jahan-e-Astarabadi, murdered by instigating the king’s younger brother Muhammad
Khan against them. They were replaced by foreigners again. The
situation was further aggravated when Malikul Tujjar Khalaf-e-
Hasan-e-Basri, who marched against Nasir Khan in Khandesh
with an army exclusively of Afaqi soldiers, scored decisive
victories over the enemies and on his triumphal return to Bidar
was accorded a grand reception by the king. A royal mandate
giving public recognition to the superiority of the Afaqis by
granting them seats on the right side of the throne in the court,
further embittered the hearts of the Dakhanis against the Afaqis.
This bitter hatred continued for a few more years, and eventually
precipitated a sudden outburst of blood-thirstiness at Chakan,
where twelve hundred Sayyids, and thousands of Afaqis were
beguiled into a fatal trap, and ruthlessly butchered by the
Dakhnis. In the opinion of Tabatabai, this was the greatest
tragedy on earth after Karbala which befell the descendants of
the Prophet. This tragic incident delivered a mighty blow to the
prestige of the Afaqis in the Deccan, and all efforts of Alaud-Din
Ahmadshah II to create harmony between the two contending factions proved a failure.

‘Alauddin Ahmad shah-II was an accomplished ruler. He was a pupil of Azari Isfarayini and cherished great regard for his preceptor. It was probably at his request that Azari continued the composition of Bahman-Aama till the end of his regime. Azari’s letter to ‘Alaudd-Din II, sent from Khurasan, after the tragedy of Chakan, putting forth a stong plea in defence of the Afaqis probably proved instrumental in the revival of foreign influence and temporary suppression of the Dakhni faction. Alaudd-Din II possessed great command over Persian and gave extempore orations in Persian from the pulpit. He established a big hospital at Bidar, enforced total prohibition, banned gambling, and created a number of charitable endowments. The appalling tragedy of Chakan, however, shattered his strength and he died in A.H. 862.

Towards the end of his regime, Mahmud-e-Gawan, a merchant from Gilan, arrived at Bidar in about A.H. 856-1452 to pay his homage to Shah Muhibbul-lah, but on finding the Deccan a favonrable ground for a political career, he entered the the ranks of the nobility and rose to political power within a short time. The Bahmani kingdom after Humayunshah was completely dominated by Gawan for the next fifty years, and the
Bahmani history of this half century was virtually a record of Mahmud-e-Gawan’s glorious achievements.

**Humayun Shah Bahmani (1457-1460):**

Humayun-shah—“The tyrant” reigned only for three and half years. Though he came to the throne through the active support of Shah Muhibbul-lah and a few ‘foreigners’, he appointed Khwaja Imadud-Din Mahmud-e-Gilani, as the ‘wakil’, of his kingdom. He soon became an inveterate enemy of the Afaqis, because of their constant intrigues to overthrow him and place his younger brother Hasan Khan on the throne. A revolt led by Sikandar—the son of Jalal Khan (who was also a foreigner) was effectively suppressed. Supporters of Hasan Khan, who were led by Shah Habibul-lah (another grandson of Shah Nimatul-lah) in trying to escape from the state prison were killed in large numbers, and though Shah Habibul-lah and Hasau Khan succeeded in escaping, they were betrayed by the Naib-tarafdar (Deputy Governor) of Bijapur. Humayun inflicted the most severe and brutal punishments on the Afaqis, who supported the cause of Hasan. About seven thousand of them who were put in prison, including the Sayyids, Scholars, Saints, Fakirs and Commoners, almost all of them being Afaqis. The wrath of Sultan fell on them, and they were indiscriminately butehered. As a further measure
of retaliation, Humayun promoted native converts to Islam to high diplomatic ranks, with a view to exterminate the Afaqis. Humayun was probably killed at the hands of a maid servant while asleep in A H. 865. A contemporary poet thus expresses his sense of relief on the death of Humayun—

“O tyrant! Be afraid of the sigh of the pious (keepers of the vigil) hearts and take fright of thy evil instigating wretched carnal soul. Behold tearful eyelashes of the oppressed people and dread the bright bloody dagger.”

After the death of Humayun shah, an attempt was made to bridge over the acute differences between the Afaqis and the Dakhni factions, by showing a conciliatory attitude towards the Afaqis. Through the initiative of Mahmud-e-Gawan, many Afaqis were released, and a fair and equitable measure of trust and confidence in diplomatic matters was reposed in the Dakhnis and the Afaqis alike. This policy of co-ordination and compromise achieved an unprecedented, though unfortunately a temporary solidarity in the various classes constituting the Bahmani aristocracy, which became a bulwark of strength in this critical period, and saved the Bahmani kingdom from its abject surrender to the Raja of Kapileshwar and Mahmud-e-Khalaji of Malwa. The reign of Nizamud-Din Ahmad shah-III covered the most delicate and uncertain period during which the
Bahmani kingdom desperately struggled for its existence under the able leadership of Makhduma-e-Jahan, Khwaja-e-Jahan Turk, and Mahmud-e-Gawan, and emerged triumphant out of this struggle for survival.

During the reign of Muhammad Shah-III Khwaja Mahmud-e-Gawan remained the supreme authority of the realm. A treaty of peace and friendship with Malwa, which proved to be of a lasting nature, granted respite to Khwaja Mshmud to subdue the recalcitrant West. After a hard and long-drawn battle against the Raja of Sangameshwar, lasting for about three years, the conquest of Sangameshwar and Goa, was finally secured. Very soon, the political power of the Bahamanis reached its highest point with the capture of Rajmundri and Kondavidu by Malik Hasan Bahri. On his return from the Konkan campaign, Khaja Mahmud-e-Gawan laid the foundation of the great ‘Madrasa’ at Bidar and invited renowned scholars from Persia and ‘Iraq to deliver lectures in this residential University. This building which is ‘a grand specimen of Persian architecture of the later Mongolian period’ is a wonder of the Deccan, and bears testimony to the regard and love of the Bahmani monarchs for learning and erudition. Muhammad Jalalud-Din-e-Dawani (d. A. H. 908) and many other scholars were invited to Bidar to work as professors in this University of oriental learning and
philosophy. Shaykh Ibrahim-e-Multani, a former tutor to the
king, the Chief Justice of Bidar, and the author of M‘ariful-‘ulum’
was appointed the principal of this institution. Mulla Samai, a
contemporary poet, who completed the Bahman-Nama of Azari,
wrote a chronogram of the date of the completion of this
‘Madrasa’. Its English rendering as follows.

    This college of angst and praiseworthy foundations has
become like Ka’ba, the Qibla of the men of purity. Lo ! Here’s the
sign of approval (of the Almighty), since its chronogram has been
(derived) from the Quranic verse – “O (our) Lord accept it from
us”.

    Khwaja Mahmud-e-Gawan was on intimate terms with the
Mulla Nurud-Din-e-Jami, Khwaja Ubaydul-lah Ahrar, the great
Naqshbandi Sufi Saint and spiritual preceptor of Maulana Jami,
Sharafud-Din-e-Yazdi, the author of Zafar nama, Khwaja Jalaud-
Din-e-Dawani,–a great contemporary philosopher who dedicated
his Shauakil-ul-Hur a commentary on Shaykh Shihabud-Din-e-
Suhrawardi’s Hayabil-un-Nur to Mahmud-e-Gawan, and
Shamsud-Din as-Sakhawi the author of a biography of the
eminent men of the Ninth Century Hijra. The fame of Bidarr as a
seat of Islamic culture and education (like Baghdad and
Nishapur in the past) spread to the distant parts of Persia, and
attracted scholars from those parts of the Deccan.
The treacherous murder of Mahmud-e-Gawan—the saviour of Bahmani kingdom and the loyal builder of a grand empire—struck a fatal blow to the Bahmani rule. The balance of power so ably maintained by the Khwaja throughout his career between the Afaqis and Dakhnis was rudely shaken, and the Dakhni faction gained an upper hand in administrative affairs. The arch-conspirator against Khwaja’s life was Nizamul-Mulk-c-Bahri, a Dakhni convert to Islam and the father of the founder of the Nizamshahi kingdom of Ahmednagar. Nizamul-Mulk became the first Dakhni Wakilus-Saltanat of the Bahmani kingdom, the destiny of which from the day of its inception until then, had been guided by the ‘new-comers’ from Persia and Iraq. This measure which was a turning point to ‘foreign’ influence, led to an alienation and estrangement of Afaqis from the Central Government at Bidar. Yusuf Adil Turk and Fathul-lah ‘Imadul Mulk, refused to return to the capital. The former proceeded towards Bijapur along with many Afaqi nobles as a governor of that province. Seeds of dissension amongst the leading nobles at the court were sown in the early days of Mahmud shah-II by the rivalry for power between Nizam-ul-Mulk and Yusuf Adil Turk. Nizamul-Mulk-e-Bahri made himself master of the situation, and Yusuf was forced to give in, by returning to Bijapur. But the political situation was deteriorating much too fast. The Bahmani
capital had become a hot-bed of intrigues, and the rival factions seemed to believe that murder was the only effective instrument to bring about a political change. Mahmud Shah-II plotted against the life of his first minister and brought about his murder. This outrageous incident provoked the wrath of the Dakhni faction, which marched on the Royal Palace to avenge the blood of their leader. This march developed into an insurrection. Arson and plunder played havoc in the city and the Dakhnis took their revenge on Turks, Mughals and foreigners residing in the capital. Mahmud shah escaped death, through his timely rescue by one of his loyal Turks-Sultan Quli; and as a measure of reprisal ordered an indiscriminate and wholesale massacre of Dakhnis and Habashis of the city lasting for three days. This was the unkindest cut of all. The Dakhnis reluctant to continue their allegiance to a monarch who was a puppet in the hands of the Turks and the Mughals proclaimed their independence and the first independent Dakhni Muslim state was founded by Nizamul-Mulk Bahri’s son, Malik Ahmad at Ahmednagar in A. H. 891. Thus began the disintegration of a strong kingdom, and it gathered such momentum that within a short period of one year, Bijapur and Berar severed their connections with the Central state of Bidar. Such was the state of degeneration and decadence that ere long a Bahmani prince
was denied the authority of being the master of his own house. Qasim Barid usurped Bidar, and became the ruler of the Bahmani sovereignty within four years of the revolt of Malik Ahmad, and when Mahmud shah-II died in A. H. 924, his position was no better than that of a Mansabdar, while his powerful lieutenants, and one time loyal servants, were the rulers of independent states.

The last four Bahmani princes nominally ruled under the tutelage of Barids, and the dynasty came to an end in 1527. What a quick undoing of the glorious achievements of the master-minds like Firoz shah and Ahmad: Wali by their unworthy successors! To conclude in Prof Sherwani’s words:—

‘Thus fell ignominiously within fifty years of Khwaja-e-Jahan Mahmud-e-Gawan’s death, this magnificent edifice, which had been built up by the early Bahmanis and had been made secure through Khwaja Mahmud’s prowess, ability, tact and great impartiality.”

The Adil Shahi Sultans:

Out of the five independent Sultanates, that sprang into existence as a result of the disintegration of the Bahmani empire, the Adil Shahi kingdom occupies the first place in the serial order, since its founder Yusuf Adil Khan (Sawai) Turk
was the first amongst the provincial governors of the Bahmani kingdom to assume the insignia of an independent sovereignty officially in 1489 at Bijapur. Other governors followed; Qutub-Mulk, the founder of the Qutub Shahi dynasty, coming last in order. We propose to discuss the literary services and the patronage given to Persian learning and literature by the ruling princes of the ‘Adil Shahi and the Qutub Shahi dynasties in this and the next respectively. The exclusion of the remaining Sultanates does not materially effect our literary survey. ‘Imad shahi and Barid shahi Sultanates were very soon reduced almost to a feudatory status, and were subjugated by the rising power of the adjacent Sultanates of the Nizam shahs and the Adil shahs, who annexed these Sunni principalities to their possessions. There has been no note worthy contribution to Persian language and literature under the patronage of the titular rulers of these dynasties. The Nizam shahs of Ahmednagar had a chequered political career, and though this dynasty nominally stretched its political existence till A. H. 1043, its political prestige had suffered a setback during the last days of Murtuza Nizam Shah; and the same history of the bloody rivalry between the Dakhnis and the Afaqis repeated itself once again in the reign of Miran Husain Nizam Shah in A.H. 997. The Nizam shahi State was virtually a political non entity in the last fifty years of its
existence and it was constantly threatened by the Mughals from the North, and the ‘Adil shah’s from the South. It was only in the regimes of Burhan Nizam Shah and the next two sovereigns of this dynasty, that a slightly favourable environment prevailed for literary patronage Ahmednagar. Persian literature flourished under the care of these monarchs only. The leading propagandist of Shiaism in the Deccan, Shah Tahir-e-Husaini, was himself a poet and an eminent man of letters himself. His college of Religion and Theology at Ahmednagar played a conspicuous role in turning Ahmednagar into a rendezvous of Shia Scholars and Divines. History and Poetry followed Religion, and poets like Malik-e-Qummi, Mawlana Zuhuri, Fani and Hayati and historians like Sayyid Ali Tabatabai, Khurshah Husaini and Ferishtah enjoyed the Nizam shahi patronage in the heyday of its glory. But after the severe persecution of the Afaqis, on the murder of Miran Husain Shah in 1588, most of these poets and historians left Ahmednagar and enlisted themselves in the services of either the Bijapur or the Golconda courts, and hence have been classified here for the sake of convenience, as the ‘Adil shahi and the Qutub shahi poets and historians. We did not deem it necessary, therefore, to assign a separate chapter to the survey of literary activities at Ahmednagar during this period.
Yusuf Adil Shah (1489-1510):

Yusuf ‘Adil shah\textsuperscript{17} was a ruler of versatile genius and varied accomplishments. He was an excellent calligraphist in the Nastaliq style and possessed a good command over Rhetoric and Prosody. He was a musician and played the lute and the guitar with skill. Ustad Gilani and Husain Qazwini, renowned musicians of this period, were his constant companions and were awarded six thousand Hons for singing a ghazal. His knowledge of rhetoric and his exquisite rhythmic sense, may have combined to make him a poet. A few lyrics and quatrains reported to have been composed by him under the nom-de-guerre of Yusuf, are quoted by historians, in their Histories.

He was a liberal patron of learning and invited scholars and poets from Iran, Turan, Arabia and Rum to Bijapur to partake of his munificent patronage. As a pioneer of the Shia creed in the Deccan against a powerful orthodox opposition, he proceeded with great cantion, and by his considerate and impartial attitude towards the followers of other creeds, he maintained an atmosphere of harmony between the followers of various creeds.

Persia and Bijapur accepted Shiaism almost simultaneously and being the only two champions of this faith against a host of Sunni kingdoms, diplomatic relations between
these two kingdoms commenced spontaneously. Yusuf ‘Adil shah sent Shah Ahmad-e-Harawi – the renowned Shia scholar of his court–to Shah Ismail’s court in Persia with homages and conveyed his congratulations to him on his proclamation of the Shia doctrine. After Firozshah Bahmani, who had sent an Ambassador to Timur’s court, Yusuf ‘Adil shah is the next ruler of the Deccan to enter into diplomatic relations with the rulers of Persia. This collaboration in political and religious affairs had its repercussions on literary activities as well. The influx of literary talent from Persia was therefore directed from Bidar to Bijapur in the first instance, with the shifting of the Afaqi centre of activities to this place.

Yusuf ‘Adil shah died in 1510 at an advanced age of seventy five years. The chronogram of his death is found in the following hemistich:

‘No more the king of justice.

Yusuf’s mother-tongue was Turkish, but his stay at Sawa for his early education, and his later sojourn at Shiraz, seems to have completely persianized him. Hostilities between Turks and Persians during this period did not extend to language. Sultan Salim of Turkey, who massacred forty thousand of his Shia subjects, wrote poetry exclusively in Persian. Yusuf ‘Adilshah’s
strong leanings towards Shiism, which had become the national religion of Persia during this period, clearly indicate that he was more Persian than Turk by training and culture. His poems reveal felicity and ease of expression. His mastery over idiom and usage of the Persian language does not betray his being a Turk and a stranger to Persian. His lyrics and quatrains are erotic in tone and display the sentiment of youthful love. He was a poet, whose life combined the daring initiative in action and a healthy desire for mirth. His verses, however, betray a note of deep secret melancholy which does not appear to be merely conventional. His odes and quatrains are now published in Kalamul-Muluk.

Ismail ‘Adil Shah (1510-1534):

Yusuf ‘Adilshah was succeeded by his younger son Ismail in A H. 916. Ghiyas Khan-e-Shirazi, the chief chronicler of the Court, drafted a report of the effective suppression of the rebellion of Kamal Khan and his Dakhni following, and dispatched it to the neighbouring Sultanates. Shah Ismail was supported in that crucial hour chiefly by the Afaqis, most of whom were Persians and Turks. After this Dakhni insurrection, not even a single Dakhni or Habashi was allowed to be enlisted in the army. Only Mughals or Afaqis were recruited in large numbers to military and civil services.
Ismail ‘Adil shah was interested in a closer and intimate relationship of Bijapur with Persia. He helped the Safawi Ambassador at Bidar to obtain the requisite permission from Qasim Barid to return to Persia. In recognition of this meritorious service, a special plenipotentiary was sent to Bijapur by Shah Ismail Safawi, and on his arrival was accorded a grand welcome at the ‘Adil Shahi court. In his letter to Ismail ‘Adil shah, the Safawi monarch recognized his sovereignty over the Deccan and paid glowing tribute to his religious leadership in sponsoring the Shia doctrine. By that time Ismail’s military policy had brought about drastic retrenchment in the Dakhni element in the army, which then was mainly constituted of the fair-skinned Turks, Mughals and Persians. On the model of the Persian Shia national army of the Safawis, a uniform of the scarlet cap of twelve gores was introduced in the Bijapur army, and it was strictly enforced. Prayers for the longevity of Shah Ismail Safawi were ordered to be recited on every Friday and ‘Id-days and this practice was strictly followed for over seventy years later. Bijapur therefore appeared as if it was an extension of the Persian kingdom and there was a semblance of community of interests between the two States in matters of religion, literature and culture.
Ismail ‘Adilshah was a product of this environment, and it was no wonder it he cherished great love for Persian literature. He was a poet of merit and wrote under the nom-de-guerre ‘Wafai’. In Ferishta’s opinion, no Poet-Sultan of the Deccan has composed verses of such literary elegance and dignity as Ismail ‘Adil shah

His lyrics and quatrains depict the pathetic helplessness of a crazy lover, pining in separation of his faithless and beguiling Dame sans merei. The faithless friend and the treacherous rival excite jealousy and distrust in the poet’s heart, and thereby augment its agony. The nom-de-plume ‘Wafai’ naturally suggested the subject of ‘Bewafai’ (faithlessness) of the beloved (by her coquettish behaviour) to the mind of the poet, and he harps on the same tune again and again. His poems, though very few in number, are excellent pieces of lyric composition, delineating subtleties of love. Couched in a transparently lucid and sonorous diction, and completely devoid of any figurative embellishment, these ghazals convey a poignant appeal to the heart of every reader.

Wafai (Ismail) appears to be a pessimist, expressing tortures of suspicion, pangs of jealousy and frustration of love in a simple style, which is admirably suited to ghazal poetry.
English renderings of some of his lyrics are given below to illustrate the above remarks: The Ghazal beginning with–

" شب ی بجر جز گریه کر ے ندارم 
بجر دیده ی اشک باری نہ دارم "

Trans: During the night of separation I do nothing else but weep and weep (profusely). I have nought but (my) eyes which are shedding (raining) tears. (I have no eye but that which sheds tears). There’s not a single night (that has passed) when like the candle, my lap is not filled with tears of despair due to separation. I am wedded to love, profligacy and (the lane of) disgrace; no more do I wend the way of safety (of life). O Wafai l I have developed intimacy (grown familiar) with the grief (of her separation), because I have none else but this grief as my solitary sympathiser. The ghazal beginning with–

دل ی خوبان زے قاعدہ مبر ازادست پنداری

Trans: You think that the heart of the ‘Fair’ is free from the bondage of love, and the foundation of fascination (of the lover’s hearts) rests on injustice and oppression (of the lovers). Due to your love, a hundred afflictions arrive in my heart (to dwell) every moment. You think that the desolate heart of a lover is a city of ‘afflictions’. The straight cypress is stuck up in mud (is utterly helpless) due to its love of thy stature. It’s heart is rent into a
hundred fragments (through agony) and still you think it is free from the burden of (possessing) a heart. A fire is blazing in my heart because of your love, and you hold that the calm and sober counsels tendered by ascetics to solace it (my heart) will act like wind (and fan the fire of love in it). The wounded heart of Wafai is so much accustomed (to act as a target) to your arrow, that it might appear to you that its iron point is but a substitute for (the soft) ointment.

Here is a specimen of his ruba‘i rendered in English –

Since the time thy beanty has become conspicuous for its enchantment of hearts; I (too) have attracted publicity as indigent and destitute in thy love. On the path of fidelity in love to you I have squandered my head (ego and self-respect) and hence I have been popularly known as Wafai.

Ismail ‘Adil shah’s reign lasted for twenty five years and he died on the sixteenth of Safar, 1534. Mallu ‘Adilshah. In accordance with Ismail ‘Adil shah’s will, his eldest son Mallu-Khan ascended the ‘Adil shahi throne, but by his lewd and licentious behavious incurred the displeasure of the leading nobles like Asad Khan-e-Lari and Yusuf Turk. Even his grandmother Punji Khatun was pained to observe the undoing of her life-work and resolved to do away with this vagabond prince. Yusuf Turk, who had been the victim of royal censure, acting on
the secret instructions of Punji Khatun and Asad Khan, made a
daring assault on ‘arak’ (the palace citadel) and captured Mallu
Khan, who was then blinded and deposed from throne. His reign
lasted for seven months.

**Ibrahim ‘Adilshah-I (1534-1557):**

Mallu ‘Adil shah’s younger brother, Ibrahim, came to the
throned the same year. Though his accession to the throne was
brought about by the machinations of the Afaqi faction, he
proved to be its thankless master, by delivering a death-blow to
Afaqi influence at his court\(^{22}\).

Accordingly he changed the official language from Persian
to Hindwi. Whatever the object of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah-I in
introducing these measures of administrative and military
reforms, one thing was certain that the Afaqi oligarchy had
reduced kingship to an illusory and impotent state.

Ibrahim Zubairi remarks that in spite of his erratic temper
and his martial leanings, Ibrahim was a patron of scholars and
men of literary accomplishments. He had appointed Khwaja
‘Inayatul-lah Shirazi as tutor to Prince ‘Ali but on discovering
him to be a Shia, had put him to death. Mulla Fathul-lah-e-
Shirazi, who had just then arrived in the Deccan from Persia,
was entrusted with tutorship next. His policy of a reviving of the
old order, acted as a powerful setback to literary patronage. Persian, which was till then the language of the ruling class, was temporarily ousted from its position and relegated to a subordinate status. The result of which was that the back-bone of Afaqi prestige and domination was broken, and they went to Gujarat, Ahmednagar or even Vijayanagar. With their departure from Bijapur, the requisite link between the ruler and the ‘foreign’ poets, or learned men, was broken and Persian literature, due to the absence of an influential class of intermediaries, and a willful negligence towards its patronage, could not flourish at the Bijapur court during this period. Ibrahim-I died after a protracted illness of two years from complex diseases in A. H. 965/1557.

**Ali ‘Adil Shah-I (1557-1580):**

With the accession of Ali ‘Adil Shah-I, however, it became clear that the experiment of a change of dogma and expulsion of foreigners from key positions in the state was an imprudent measure which threatened to undermine the foundation of the ‘Adil shahi polity.

‘Ali-I who succeeded Ibrahim-I was educated under Khwaja ‘Inayatul-lah-e-Shirazi, and probably under Mulla Fathul-lah-e-Shirazi. Both of them were foreigners and turned out to be of
Shia faith to the great exasperation of Ibrahim-I. The influence of these Doctors of learning converted ‘Ali to Shiaism and inculcated love for learning in him. He studied Syntax, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy and seals other branches of knowledge under these able teachers and attained great skill in Calligraphy. He penned in naskh, sulüs and Riqa styles, with the undersignature of ‘Ali-e-Sufi-e-Qalandar on his calligraphic specimens.

With this refinement imbibed in early life, Ali I’s instinctive generosity discovered new avenues for vouchsafing munificent bounties. No Adil shahi Prince could reach, far less excel, Ali in magnanimity. Within a short period of his coronation, a crore and a half Hons of gold from the royal treasury was liberally distributed among poets, scholars, and Sufi mendicants. His first act on his accession to the throne was the reinstatement of Shiaism as the State-creed and the annulment of humiliating conditions imposed on ‘foreigners’ during Ibrahim I’s reign. Like Firoz shah Bahmani, Ali-I also held out attractions of rich rewards to persons of literary merit. Poets and writers, historians and theologians, calligraphists and artists were invited from remote corners of the Islamic world to take their deserving share in his munificent patronage. Persians were granted full freedom to preach the Shia doctrine and were paid by the State for their missionary activities.
Among the notable personalities who enjoyed royal patronage, those mentioned in contemporary and later histories are grouped together below:

(1) Shah Fathul-lah-e-Shirazi—the most renowned doctor of learning and philosophy of this period, known as “Ten Intelligences” (Dih Aql) because of his versatile genius. He joined the Mughal court later and became a favourite companion of Emperor Akbar.

(2) Hakim Ahmad-e-Gilani. (3) ‘Aynul-Mulk-e-Shirazi—these two scholars were accorded a grand reception on their arrival at Bijapur and liberally rewarded.

(4) Mir Shamsu’d-Din Muhammad-e-Isfahani was the Sadr-e-Jahan (The Chief Justice).

(5) Shah Abul-Qasim Inju and (6) Murtaza Khan Inju were the ‘companions’ of the king.

(7) Rafiu’d-Din Shirazi, the author of Tazkiratu’l-Muluk, who had arrived at Bijapur five years before the battle of Talikot, remained in royal service for several years afterwards.

(8) Afzal Khan-e-Shirazi was the ‘Wakilus-Saltanat as also the ‘Mir-Jumla’s of the ‘Adilshahi Kingdom. He was a scholar of great attainments. Learned discussions were usually held at the residences of Mulla Fathul-lah-e-Shirazi and Afzal Khan-e-Shirazi.
Ali-I was greatly fond of books. He had collected a huge library of books on various subjects. Over sixty copyists, calligraphists, painters and illuminators were in the employment of the Royal library office to prepare copies of rare works in excellent calligraphy golden jadwals. The King carried four chests full of selected books along with him even in military expeditions. An important aspect of Ali ‘Adil Shah’s political policy germane to our thesis was the restoration of foreigners to power in his state. Mustafa Khan-e-Urdistani and Afzal Khan-e Shirazi featured conspicuously in the political events of Ali’s regime, and Shah Abu Turab-e-Shirazi, a confidant of the king, was instrumental to a temporary amelioration between Bijapur and Ahmednagar. During the course of this decade, Afaqi diplomats who controlled the strings of political strategy in all the Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan realized their fatal error of carrying on a mutual warfare suicidal to Muslim interests and thereby strengthening the foundations of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. A united front was formulated and mutual differences were ironed out through the efforts of the Afaqi ambassadors like Mustafa Khan-e-Urdistani, Shah Abu Turab-e Shirazi, Inayatul-lah-e-Qa’ini, Qasim Beg-e Tabrizi, Husayn Inju and Shah Tahir. This was the triumph of a grand strategy of the foreigners who had before them the ideal of a United Persia
under Safawis–of Persia which was a nation once again self-contained, centripetal, powerful and respected. Mutual warfare amongst the Muslim Sultanates sapping their life blood was a shameful sight to Iranian Shia nationalists in the services of the Deccani Muslim monarchs. Their efforts resulted in a political alliance amongst the rival kingdoms, which eventually brought about the overthrow of the mighty kingdom of Vijayanagar. This alliance, however, did not last long; otherwise, a united Deccan would certainly have put up a strong resistance to the Mughals, and in spite of heavy odds, would have preserved its political independence. But the rivalry for political power between the Dakhnis and the ‘Afaqis, which occasionally led to anarchy and civil war proved to be the bane of these kingdoms. Very soon the Dakhni and the Habashi factions gained strength under able leaders and ousted their foes from the political arena, only to surrender this newly gained power to the Mughals.

Ali ‘Adil Shah-I was killed in 1580. He was succeeded by his nephew Ibrahim. Mulla Muhammad Raza Meshhadi wrote an elegy bewailing the tragic death of his magnanimous patron. The last lines of this elegy contain the chronogram of this tragic incident. English rendering of this elegy is cited below;

Trans: Oh I what a pity! That the hand of death has uprooted the tree of magnanimity and has cut under the branch
of benevolence from the garden of justice and equity. In the ethereal expanse of sovereignty, the sun of bounty is eclipsed (is hidden), and the moon of generosity has become invisible, because of the occurrence of (such a tragic) incident. A king (bearing) the title of ‘Adil (the just); and a sovereign with the name of Ali – in whose reign none even witnessed or heard of injustice (being done) anywhere–tasted the (sweet) honey of martyrdom from the hands of the cup-bearer of the ‘Times’. Lest he might depart with a bitter palate (bitterly dissatisfied), the Munshi of the Court of the Invisible World, by way of a chronogram of this tragedy, superscribed “Shah-e-Jahan Shud Shahid” at the top of his Register (Daftar).

**Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah-II (1580-1627):**

When Ibrahim Adil Shah-II ascended the ‘Adil shahi throne, he was a boy of nine years, and the regency of the various Dakhni nobles during the period of his minority proved disastrous to the welfare of the kingdom in as much as everyone of these regents, who apparently professed loyalty to the throne, usurped political power in his hands. Through the diplomatic farsightedness of Chand Bibi Sultan, the aunt of young Ibrahim, an illusion of sovereign authority was, however, nominally maintained, and neither any regent was allowed to remain in
office for long, nor his disloyalty and arrogance connived at, so
as to grow into a menace to the safety of the kingdom\textsuperscript{24}. Greedy
and voluptuous Kamal Khan-e-Dakhni, the first regent, who
arrogated to himself the sovereign authority, and in his stupid
vanity believed that he was the next ruler of Bijapur, was
murdered by Sher Bachcha. Kishwar Khan, who had brought
about Kamal Khan’s murder, manoeuvred to seize the office of
the Wikalat, and sought the help of Afzalkhan-e-Shirazi, (the
leader of the Afaqi group and the ex ‘Wakilus-Saltanat’) in the
conduct of administration.

Ibrahim Adil Shah-II was brought up in Deccani
environments and his early training presents a contrast to that
of Ismail ‘Adil Shah, in that it was not deemed necessary that he
should learn Persian and Arabic in his school-going age. It
should be borne in mind that Yusuf ‘Adil Shah, had segregated
his son, Ismail, from Indian environments and entrusted him to
Persian and Turkish teachers e.g. Muhamad-e-Kashi and othere,
under whose supervision he had developed such fondness for
outlandish fashions and mannerisms and for Turkish language,
literature and music that his reaction to Indian culture, art and
music was one of complete apathy and disdain\textsuperscript{25}. But it evidently
appears that things had changed in the next fifty years. The
language and culture of the soil, despite all efforts of purism and
constant recruitment of fresh talent from Persia and Arabia, was imperceptibly penetrating into the life of the ruling class.

In his first meeting with Ferishtah, who was introduced to him by Shah Nawaz Khan, Ibrahim was greatly pleased with him. The King presented him a copy of _Rauzat-us-Sata_, and bade him undertake the composition of a comprehensive history of India with _Rauza_ as its model, since excepting Nizamud-Din Ahmad’s fragmentary history, no work of a similar nature was executed in India till then. It was probably Ibrahim II himself, or an official on his behalf who also asked Rafiud’-Din Shirazi to prepare a synopsis of the six volumes of Rawzat-us-Sata, and also of _Habibus-Siyar_. Ibrahim II could read and appreciate _Gulzar-e-Ibrahim_ and _Khwan-e-Khalil_ of Mawlana Zuhuri and conferred a munificent bounty on him. He was a great admirer of Nizami-e-Gaujawi’s _Makhzanul–Asrar_, and it was at his express wish that Malik-e-Qummi and Mawlana Zuhuri wrote a joint _Masnawi, Manbaul- Anhar_ on the model of _Makhzanul-Asrar_. Mir Zahni, a humourist and a wit of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah’s court, as also a poet of outstanding merit, was also asked to write a _Jawab_ of _Makhzan_. It appears that Ibrahim was an author of some renown and wrote prose and poetry alike. Following tribute to his literary accomplishments in Dibacha-e-Nauras is remarkably eloquent:
“Praise be to God! How much he was devoted (and achieved) and devotes to the art of poetry—. The most mature poets of the school of poetry are novices in the school of his (the elementary knowledge of the) language (and literature). His prose has the Nasra-like loftiness and his verse has the Sirius-like sublimity.

It is, however, rather strange that contemporary historians like Firishta, Rafiud-Din and Fuzuni-e-Astarabadi who wrote their works under the direct patronage of Ibrahim II are silent on this point. Ferishtah and Fuzuni have quoted long poetic extracts of the other ruling princes of this dynasty, and the latter has devoted a full chapter to a short biographical sketch of the poets of Ibrahim II’s court and a critical appreciation of their poetry. It is therefore very unlikely that these historians might have omitted to quote Persian poetry composed by Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah, if there was really any. Zuhuri’s references, in his eulogistic prefaces, to Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah’s proficiency and skill in versification are of a general nature and do not specifically refer to his Skill of versification in Persian. These references form part of an elaborate introductory panegyric in prose written in praise of the ‘Nauras — a book of Hindi songs, and hence the allusion of these remarks is probably to Hindi poetry and not to Persian.
Hadaiq-us-Salatin, a somewhat later history of the kings of the Deccan of this period written in A.H. 1092, has however cited two couplets reported to have been composed by Ibrahim II. Ali Tayfur-e-Bistami the author of Hadaiqus Salatin is not always a very careful and accurate chronicler. And in the light of above analysis, it is probable that he might have attributed these two couplets to Ibrahim II on the strength of some hearsay report. But since there is no decisive evidence to disprove Ali Tayfur’s statement, we leave the problem open to research and verification. The couplets are cited below with their English rendering:

The nightingale had read out only a page of (the book of) the attributes of thy beauty, in the garden; when the morning breeze scattered (the pages of) the record of the rose and flung it in water (i.e. disgraced them).

She is drunk (i.e. elated with ecstasy), her eyes are intoxicated (i.e drowsy and drooping), and her restive heart is full
of excitement. What can my (poor) sorrow-striken soul achieve (do) with these three or four intoxicated ones!

While it is difficult to form any definite opinion about Ibrahim’s poetic excellence in Persian, it is certain, that he was a great critic of poetry. *Dibacha-e-Nauras* is replete with references to Ibrahim’s critical acumen, and his versatile aesthetic taste.\(^{34}\)

Due to his close and intimate contact with Hindi poetry, (which will be discussed in details later) he had an independent and original criticism to offer of Persian poetry in general. Thus he favoured consistency and continuity of an idea in a Ghazal and was of opinion that whatever sentiment be taken as the basis of a lyric, the same should be maintained throughout. Lyric poetry in his opinion, should be written primarily for the communication of erotic and amorous sentiments and didactic element should not mar its charm.\(^{35}\)

Zuhuri solemnly declares on oath and says that there is no exaggeration in his statement when he writes that the resourceful and ingenious mind of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II always perceived many subtle and suggestive meanings of verses recited in his court which were even beyond the grasp of the master-critics. He occasionally gave instructions about the art of versification and poetry, clarity of style, beauty of allusion, grandeur of meaning, felicity of rhyme, suitability of metre, sweetness of construction and other
technicalities of Rhetoric, Prosody and Grammar to poets of his court\textsuperscript{36}. He laid great stress on ease and spontaneity instead of affectation and insisted that there should be such lucidity in expression that the meaning should be quickly intelligible. When a Persian adaptation of the ‘Nauras’ was ordered and a brief commentary with elucidations of its technicalities in Persian was prepared in compliance with the royal decree by the leading scholars of the court and was read out to the king, his analytical mind detected many serious flaws and the adaptation and commentary was thoroughly revised by the king himself orally and dictated to scholars\textsuperscript{37}. As a musician and a poet, he realised the significance of melody in poetic compositions, and always favoured the selection of a sonorous, soft and suggestive diction; and forbade the use of equivocal and ambiguous language.

Ibrahim II had an instinctive aptitude to music from his early childhood\textsuperscript{38}. He was instinctively fascinated by the Muse of Melody, and gifted as he was with a divinely melodious voice, he pursued his ideal with devotion and singleness of purpose till he attained remarkable excellence in the subtitles and niceties of this art and became one of the greatest musicians of his age. Soon he was acknowledged as a master of this art\textsuperscript{39}. For his proficiency in music he was addressed in reverential terms like ‘Jagat-Guru’\textsuperscript{40} and ‘Nad-Murat’\textsuperscript{41}. Admirers and aspirants of this
art, from far and remote parts of India thronged at Bijapur on the auspicious occasion of the ‘Nauras’ festival celebrated at Bijapur\textsuperscript{42}; with the hope of getting an opportunity to hear the celestial music of the king. Ibrahim maintained an inordinately large number of musicians and minstrels at his court\textsuperscript{43}, and thousands of amateurs of this art entered into the discipleship of the king\textsuperscript{44}. He built a magnificent suburb of Bijapur called \textit{Nauras-Pur} and in it built residential mansions for songsters, minstrels and dancing girls\textsuperscript{45}.

From amongst the thousands of musicians residing in ‘Nauraspur’, Ibrahim selected nine hundred choice experts of music, and maintained them in his presence at the palace. The Muse of Music had enamoured him to such an extent that he was reported to have cherished devotional attachment to Saraswati—the Goddess of Music and Learning— with the object of being blessed with celestial melody of voice, and mastery in music. It was also rumoured that like Akbar, he had deviated from Traditional religion, but Ibrahim’s reply to Sibghatul-lah on this point helped to clear the misunderstanding prevailing in the minds of the people\textsuperscript{46}. Zuhuri’s \textit{‘Dibacha-e-Nauras’} (1\textsuperscript{st} Nasr) and the other two Nasrs abound in highly imaginative and figurative though hyperbolic tributes to Ibrahim’s extraordinary proficiency in music\textsuperscript{47}. 
As a Calligraphist and a Painter:– Next to music and poetry, painting and calligraphy were the favourite pastimes of Ibrahim II. Zubairi remarks that he could write with equal skill in Naskh, Suls, and Nastalaq styles of calligraphy; and surpassed illustrious calligraphists and penmen of his period. Zuhuri in his usual exaggerated vein remarks that “if Mani and Behzad were living then, they would have felt ashamed of their art and if Sayrafi and Yaqut were living, they would have hung their heads (through shame) Fuzuni observes that he had surpassed all calligraphists in their art, while Zubairi describes him as ‘Badshah-e-qalam’, who drew a line of cancellation on the calligraphical specimens of the master-penmen of the age. Shah Khalilul-lah ‘But-Shikan’, a great calligraphist in the Nastaliq style, who was a stipendiary of Shah Abbas-e-Safawi at Khurasan, came to India, entered the services of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II and soon became the altar-ego of the sovereign. Mawlana Baqir-e-Khurd, another renowned poet and pen-man of this period, who heralded from Kashan was also attracted to Bijapur by Ibrahim’s munificent patronage of calligraphy.

Ibrahim was an expert player of chess, and was reputed to be an author of a brochure on the game of chess, in which various original and baffling moves of chessmen were reported to have been suggested.
Ibrahim II is also credited with the authorship of a literary work called “Nava-Rasa”, to which Zuhuri has written a preface in a florid and imaginative prose. This preface (Dibacha-e-Naw-Ras) and other two similar compositions in ornate prose, are popularly called Seh Nasr (three essays in prose.) The first prose (essay) is a Muqaddima or Dibacha to the Nauras. The second essay is definitely a joint composition of Zuhuri and Malik-e-Qummi\textsuperscript{48}, and the third essay is also probably written by Zuhuri and Qummi jointly\textsuperscript{49}. Some years back an attempt was made to challenge the popular belief that Seh Nasr (including the preface to Nauras) is a preface to Nauras of Ibrahim-e-‘Adil Shah. It was argued therein, that this hypothesis was wrong; based as it was on ignorance and lack of careful study of the Seh Nasr and the Nawa-Rosa. Relying on some passages in the Seh Nasr, it was further contended that the original text to which the Seh Nasr is a preface, must have been in Persian; and the last argument was that the Hindi Nauras (Nama) did not give any clue to the effect that Seh Nasr was its preface\textsuperscript{50}. In reply to this theory, it is submitted, that the popular notion cannot be easily rejected as entirely groundless. It would be more correct to say that the so-called “first prose” of Zuhuri may alone be regarded as a preface to Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah’s Nauras, and further that it is a preface to a book of songs in a non-Persian Indian language. Since a book
of songs in Hindi, bearing the title of “Nauras” and believed to be written by Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah already exists, it would not be quite wrong to infer that this is the original text to which Zuhuri wrote a preface. The reasons for this inference are briefly as follows.

The present Nauras of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah is a work, comprising of about “fifty songs in Hindi – more exactly in Braj Bhasha, and each song is intended to be sung in some Rag and Ragini”51. Zuhuri makes many direct references to this in his preface. Following extracts may however be noted with advantage:

(1) And of the many obligations that he imposed on men of wisdom and understanding the one is that he engaged himself in the composition and writing (inscribing) of the book of Nauras, and honoured hearing (its adaptability to music) and speech, by its being heard and read (sung); and has observed this condition that just as the freshness of meaning gives freshness to words, so also the novelty of tunes and originality of notes in these verses, worthy of pearls being showered on them, knock the door for effect on the hearts52.

(2) The Song of Nauras came through the equitable and appreciative king to redress the complaints of breaths. (That is on account of the songs of Nauras, the breaths of musicians
have been regulated to harmony and melody). By the grace of God and with his inventive genius at his command, he made *poetry the body and melody the soul*.

(3) Its lines are made of the thread of sound; its page is but a musical note (tune) of a musical instrument. (i.e. every page contains a song composed in some Rag or Rajini).

(4) The world is a ‘City of Rejoicing’, because of the king of the Deccan. The dust of grief is no where due to the water of his song. The masters of music (the adepts in this art) are but his old pupils; and he who becomes a fresh pupil of his, is (verily) the adept in this art.

While pointing out the reason, why Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah’s work bears the name of Nauras. Zuhuri suggests three possible interpretations of the word ‘Nauras’; and it is significant to note that the first interpretation is Hindi – a literal meaning of Nawa(…) and Rasa(…) “The Indians call a ‘mixture of nine juices’ ‘Nauras’. The other two interpretations are purely figurative, and are rather poetic flights of fancy than realistic explanations.

(1) “And if the Persians believe it to be the fresh fruit of the tree of learning and excellence, it is appropriate; and in this sense also that this Beloved without blemish has made her
debut on the stage of manifestation, from behind the veil of mystery; it is called Nauras, it is also adequate.

Zuhuri’s statement itself is so worded that the other two Persian alternatives appear to be clearly imaginative, while the first Hindi meaning seems to be original. If the ‘original text’ of Seh Nasr was in Persian, it is very unlikely that it should have borne an apparently insignificant name of Nauras which at best means fresh and new fruit, or anything fresh or newly ripened; and it is rather strange that a book on music should bear an irrelevant term of horticulture as its name. If on the contrary, the popular notion is regarded as accurate, the title of “Nauras” in Hindi would be apt, since it conveys the comprehensive scope of the art of music in a single term.

If “the original text” of the Nawa Rasa was in Persian, there is no apparent reason why the people of ‘Iraq and Khurasan should have been deprived of deriving pleasure from it. Even if the text were highly technical and subtle, it could not have precluded all the residents of ‘Iraq and Khurasan from its comprehension; unless there was another impediment in their approach to it. The general trend of Zuhuri’s narration when he suggests that a commentary of this work was prepared, indicates that an adaptation of it in Persian, for the use of the people of Persia, was under preparation with extensive elucidations of the
technicalities of the Indian musical terms, and various references to Hindu mythology, which occur in the Hindi Nauras.

No passages in Seh Nasr go to show that the original text to which it is a preface was in a certain and definite language. Circumstantial evidence however rejects the possibility of its being in Persian and indicates that it was written in an Indian language.

Date of the composition of *Nauras* is the first essay, presumably written after Zuhuri’s arrival at Bijapur. Zuhuri was at Ahmednagar during the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah-II as is clear from his own references to this king in his *Saqi Nama*. He therefore did not arrive at Bijapur certainly before 1590, moreover, he had met Fayzi at Ahmednagar after A.H. 999; and very probably he was at Ahmednagar till the siege of the Nizamshahi capital by Khan-e-Khanan in 1594 and the death of Burhan Nizam Shah-II in the same year. Fayzi wrote his commentary of the Qur’an Sawat-e-ul-Ilham in undotted letters in 1593 and sent its copies to Zuhuri and Qummi lat Ahmednagar; who wrote quatrains in appreciation of this remarkable work. Zuhuri also wrote a letter in ornate prose to Fayzi and it is said that Fayzi was unable to write a reply to it in the same elegant style. Since Fayzi dies in 1595 the period of correspondence between the two naturally extended up to 1595.
i.e. for about five years during which period Zuhuri was in all probability at Ahmednagar. It was only in the last few months of Burhan Nizam Shah’s reign, that the political situation at Ahmednagar became very precarious due to the breakdown of the foreign superiority. Ikhlas Khan, a Habashi nobleman rebelled against the ailing and sickly king and though he was driven out the king could not bear the strain of political strife and died in 1594. Subsequently the condition at Ahmednagar became chaotic. Zuhuri might have left this place therefore some time in 1954. Hence Dibacha-e-Nauras is composed after A.H. 1003.

In *Gulzar-e-Ibrahim*, Zuhuri has made two important suggestive references. First is to the effect that his Khutba (preface) to *Kitab-e-Nauras* had already attained great fame in the world. And the second is that Ibrahim’s age was in the “third decade” (between twenty and thirty). From these hints two inferences follow. Firstly, there was a gap of some years in between the composition of *Dibacha-e-Nauras* and *Gulzar-e-Ibrahim*; and secondly, that Gulzar-e-Ibrahim was composed between 1590 and 1600. But since a reference to Khwaja Sadud-Din has been made in his title of Shah Nawaz Khan in *Gulzar-e-Ibrahim*; its composition cannot be earlier than 1594 till which date Khwaja Sadud-Din was holding the title of ‘Inayat Khan.
Khwaja Sadud-Din became Shah Nawaz Khan in A.H. 1006 and hence *Gulzar-e-Ibrahim* was in all probability written between A.H. 1006 and A.H. 1009.

The date of the composition of *Dibacha-e-Nauras* therefore cannot be earlier than 1594 nor later than 1600. In all probability it might have been between 1594 and 1597.

But sometime between A.H. 1003 and A.H. 1006 Ibrahim had just begun to learn Persian. It was very unlikely that he would have attained such proficiency in Persian within a period of a year or two so as to write a book on music in Persian verse with such technicalities in it that even Persians of Khurasan and Iraq would not be able to grasp its significance without a commentary.

The earliest manuscript of the *Nauras* is said to be dated A.H. 990. Ibrahim II was hardly eleven in that year. (Very probably the reading might be A.H. 999 and not A.H. 990). If the date as given in that manuscript be assumed as correct with modifications, Ibrahim II did not know Persian both in A.H. 990 nor in A.H. 999. He began to learn Persian long afterwards in A.H. 1003.

Zuhuri has employed a number of Hindi terms of music in his *Dibacha-e-Nauras* and other essays e.g. Tal, Bin, Mandal, Jantar, Navaras and non-Persian words like Kanchani, Jagat-
guru. A Persian preface of a Persian work ought not to have contained these outlandish terms from Hindi. It is therefore untenable to argue that ‘Nauras’ is written in Persian.

Historians and literary critics are responsible for confusion regarding the authorship of this works by attributing a work bearing an identical title to the joint composition of Zuhuri and Qummi. Thus Iskandar Munshi, the court chronicler of Shah Abbas Safawi, and the author of Tarikh-e-‘Alam Aray-i-‘Abbasi, observes that “Malik-e-Qummi and Zuhui brought the book of Nauras (Kitab-e-Nauras) in the string of poetry, which consists of nine thousand couplets, each of whom contributed four thousand five hundred, and got from the king a reward of nine thousand gold coins”. Muhammad Wali, the author of Midhat-ush-Shuara (a Tazkira of the poets of the eleventh and twelfth century Hijra) observes that Zuhuri Tarshizi in the author of Kitab-e-Nauras jointly with Qummi. These two statements are confusing Nauras Nama with Kitab-e-Nauras. Malik-e-Qummi either individually or in collaboration with zuhuri wrote a Masnawi whose real name was Manbaul-Anhar, but it was popularly called Nauras Nama. Kitab-e-Nauras was altogether different from this Masnawi of Qummi and Zuhuri.

Further it is equally untrue to maintain that Nauras might be a joint work of Zuhuri and Malik-e-Qummi written in the
name of Ibrahim II. Even if it were likely that some poets and musicians have composed poems or songs in the names of their patrons, e.g. Tansen writing a number of Dhruvapads in the name of Akbar, or Adarang and Sadarang composing numerous songs commonly attributed to Muhammad Shah; it is a blunder to regard Nauras as a work of Zuhuri and Qummi. Zuhuri and Qummi were not even known to be musicians. Zuhuri's knowledge of Indian music was superficial and limited to a very few popular terms. He did not even know the symbolic significance of Rasa, and has translated it as juice Moreover the language of the Nava-Rasa (which is Braj) and its imagery were both foreign to Zuhuri and Qummi, and these poets have neither shown nor were reported to have acquired any proficiency in Hindi.

Moreover, their knowledge of Hindu mythology was bound to be superficial. Lastly, the Nauras contains a few autobiographical references made by Ibrahim, which rule out the possibility of these songs being composed by anyone but the king himself. The most conclusive refutation of this fantastic theory is to be found in the ‘preface to Nauras’ by Zuhuri in which he says, “And of the many obligations that he (Ibrahim) has imposed on the men of wisdom and understanding, the one is that he engaged himself in the composition of the book of
Nauras. Zuhuri’s statement is borne out by Malik-e-Qummi in his *Muqaddama-e-Nauras*. Both the poets have made references to this fact that they were asked to write a preface to *Kitab-e-Nauras*. It is therefore highly improbable that they might have been the authors of a work to which they do not advance any claim of authorship and attribute it to the king. Iskandar Munshi, Muhammad Wali and other critics mistook *Manbaul-Anhar (Nauras-Nama)* for *Kitab-e-Nauras* and gave currency to this fanciful theory.

**Nauras:**

The controversy next centres round the exact import and connotation of the name of this work. The word ‘Nawa Rasa’ needs a careful systematic and chronological study about its various meanings. Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah’s excessive fondness for this word is proverbial. It is the title of this work, as also the word of frequent occurrence in the work itself. The work begins with the phrase “*Nauras Surajaga Joti*” (Nauras is the light of the world of melody). Ibrahim was the innovator of a style in singing and invented two Raginis which he named as “*Nauras Kanada*” and *Nauras Nawroz*. He also built a mansion named Sangit Mahal to be used as an exclusive resort for musicians and songsters in ‘*Nauras Pur*’. Jumlat-ul-Mulk Shah Nawaz Khan
built an artistic palace in Nauras Pur and named it ‘Nauras Bihisht’. A festival of music and merriment was instituted on the ninth day of a month, if it were to fall on a Friday and it was also named ‘Id-e-Nauras’ (Nauras) Firishta’s Gulshan-e-Ibrahim has an alternative title of Nawa-Ras Nama, which again is the name of Mawlana Qummi’s Masnawi written in imitation of Makhzan-ul-Asrar. The royal seal bore the imprint of this favourite word, and the gold coin current in the kingdom was also known as Nauras. This word occurs in the opening line of Firishta’s history, Zuhuri’s First Prose, and Malik-e-Qummi’s Dibacha-e-Nauras. In the Tarkib bands of Malik-e-Qummi it is used almost as Talazima. It was very probably the name of a kind of fresh wine, since Zubairi’s interesting story (which is evidently fictitious) as to how the newly built suburb of Bijapur was named ‘Nauras Pur’, because of the special refreshing wine drawn in the village nearby alludes to Nauras. The king himself assumed this as his name; and Abdul-Qadir, a favourite of his court, adopted Naurasi as his nom-de-querre. Thus the term had caught the fancy of the king and the people. To such an extent that its original significance was lost sight of by those who were not conversant with Sanskrit and other Indian languages.

‘Nauras’ is a Sanskrit compound, with its components Nau and Rasa. It is a technical term of Sanskrit (Indian) Rhetoric and
Aesthetics. Every classical work in Sanskrit dealing with Rhetoric must of necessity discuss the nine Rasas (Sentiments) which are the basic principles of Aesthetics. Persian historians and scholars, whose acquaintance with Sanskrit Aesthetics and its classical literature was very superficial, mistook it for a similar Persian term 'Nauras', and construed it to mean a fresh fruit, a new thing, spirituous drink, or a very exhilarating drink with a pleasant flavour. Firishta, Zuhuri, Qummi, Fuzuni, Zubairi and other writers in Persian have employed it as a word of the Persian language. Zuhuri while pointing out the various meanings of this word in Seh Nasar plays pun on it and gives two alternative Persian meanings of it. His first meaning of Nauras (as a Hindi word) as a compound of nine juices, is a bare literary translation of the term. The symbolic implication of the word ‘Rasa’, and its relation to music and Aesthetics has not even been hinted at by Zuhuri there. This verbal meaning therefore leads the readers to believe that ‘Nauras’ is merely a sort of a drink of nine juices compounded together, which is entirely wrong. Either Zuhuri might not have been aware of the subtle significance of this term or probably it might have been very well-known then. Since Zuhuri has associated the word ‘Naghma’ with Nauras a number of times in his preface, it is incorrect to hold that he did not know the mutual relationship
between these two terms. Every lane in Nauraspur was resounding with the echoes of musical notes. Zuhuri remarks that ‘the dome of the sky is ringing with such echoes of the melodious clamour of the singers that the hearers will not be deprived of songs even if the singers cease to sing”. Hence it is likely that the association between Rasa and music was so very widely known in Bidyapur (Bijapur), a city of learning and music, that Zuhuri did not deem it necessary to make a reference to this self-evident truth.

Rasa means a sentiment, an emotion or a mood. It is more or less a necessary factor of every literary composition; but according to Vishvanath – a Sanskrit rhetorician, it constitutes the essence of poetry and drams. Rasa signifies an effect on the mind produced by the agreeable relation of successive notes, each Raga having some affinity with a certain sentiment or emotion. By Raga is implied the aggreateable effect of any determinate succession of notes employed with a strict regard to the laws of melody and harmony. The Rasas were originally eight in number, viz. Shringara (the Erotic), Hasya (the Comic or Ludicrous), Karuna (the Pathetic), Raudra (the Sublime), Vira (the Heroic) the Bhayanaka (the Horrible), Bibhatsa (the Ridiculous) and Adbhuta (the Wonderful). Shanta (the Serene) has been added later to these. It is generally merged in Karuna.
Rasa and music are vitally linked up to each other. When a set of harmonic notes strung into one melody are played or sung, their cumulative effect provokes a Rasa (sentiment) in the mind of the audience. Thus Shadja and Rishabha notes provoke the heroic mood, while frequent occurrence of Panchama produces an impression of the horrible in the mind.

Strictly to be adapted to music. This word does not mean the ‘burden of a song’ or ‘refrain’ as in common parlance. Hardas and his disciple Tansen made Dhrupad-style extremely popular. And it remained in vogue for over two centuries throughout India. It was only during the reign of Muhammad Shah in A.D.1720 that Khiyal style was revived by Adarang and Sadarang, and lifted to the pinnacle of its past glory by Ghulam Rasul. Tansen who was Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah’s contemporary was reputed to be a great Dhrupad composer. He is credited with the composition of many Dhrupads in his, as well as in the name of Baiju Bavra.

Every song which is generally referred to as Kabit or Kavil (in the Nauras), follows the classical model of Dhrupad Kavita writing. Dhrupad and Khiyal compositions as adapted to music comprise of four stages, viz. Astha‘i, Sanchari, Antara, and Bhoga or Abhoga. Astha‘i is the opening of a Dhrupad in a low pitch and is sung with slowness and ease clearly revealing the
characteristic peculiarities of the Raga. *Sanchari* raises the pitch higher up to the middle again lowers it to the original. *Antara* raises the pitch from the middle to a considerably high point, while *Bhoga* and *Abhoga* which are the last parts (*padas*) of a Dhrupad raise the pitch of a tune to its maximum capacity possible. Ibrahim’s Dhrupad comprised of all these essential parts; occasionally a word *bayn* is substituted for *Antara*. *Abhoga* not being necessary in every Dhrupad is naturally omitted in some songs.

Dhrupads are comparatively long compositions in music, since their *Antara* can be extended to any length as the composer may choose. Hence as compared to *Khayal*, a Dhrupad affords wider scope for the literary and poetic talents of the composer. Pioneers of the Dhrupad form of music were godly and religious-minded men, who composed hymns in praise of Mahadev, Ganapati and Saraswati (the Goddess of Swara and Nada Vidya). Raja Man Struck a note of revolt against the devotional tone of *Prabandha* writings, introduced erotic element in it and called the style Dhrupad. Songs in the Nauras are permeated with the influence of both the devotional and the erotic traditions.

In rahim follows the revered traditions of the early composers, viz. *Gopal*, *Bhagwan*, *Bakhshu*, or his
contemporaries like Tansen, Bayju Bavre, Tan Tarang, Lachhmandas and Baz Bahadur, in attributing fanciful and purely imaginary characteristics and features to Ragas and Raginis. The ancient system of Indian music has personified the Ragas and each member of the Raga Mala is conceived in human form with feelings and emotions. Many Ragas like Shri, Bhayrava, Sarang, Mallhar, Durga, and Shankara bear the names of Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon; and are described with their characteristics (...). Thus Nayak Bayju Bavre has described the characteristics of Bhayrara Raga in one of his Dhrupads, and there is a striking resemblance between his description and that of Ibrahim’s as given in a song in the Nauras. Many of these songs are invocations to Ganapati and Saraswati. Saraswati (with her Vina) is the Muse of Music. Ibrahim appears to be a votary of Saraswati, and he craves for her vision (Darshana) and blessings (Prasada), for guidance and light on the path of knowledge. It is significant to note that some of his Farmans bore the superscription of ‘Pujjya Sri Saraswati’ (Shri Saraswati – The Revered). It is however surprising that Ibrahim’s devotion to music was thoughtlessly mistaken and gave rise to apprehensions in the minds of orthodox Muslims. But as Zubairi has told us, Ibrahim made it quite clear to Sibghatul-lah that his devotion to Saraswati was merely
symbolic and was quite distinct from and subordinate to his devout faith in Islam. Ibrahim has expressed his deep and infallible conviction in Islam, in some of these songs; and pays glowing tributes to the sacred memory of Sayyid Muhammad Husayni in two of his songs, one in Puria Raga and the other in Nauras-Nawroz.

In the technique of Dhrupada composition, the terminating portion of it includes the name of the composer, along with a term of respect, which gives a clue to his rank in the hierarchy of Musicians. A study of the Nauras reveals that Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II had attained the rank of a Kalavant (a musician who has attained perfection and excellence in singing Darupads). He was an expert in singing Desi Ragas, as he calls himself a Gunakar and Guni.

The language of this work is almost similar to Braj Bhasha, the well-known variety of Western Hindi employed by Hardas, Sura, Tansen and Baz Bahadur in their musical compositions. During the period of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II, Hindustani music was a progressing cultural activity is Northern as well as Southern India. Akbar and Ibrahim were the great patrons of music during this period. No less than forty-one masters of Hindustani music were in constant attendance at the Imperial Court of Agra including Tansen, Surdas, Tan Tarang, Nayak
Sarju, Rangsen, Ramdas Kalavant, Subhan Khan, Sur Gyan Khan, Nabat Khan, sud many others. Ibrahim maintained about three thousand musicians in Nauras Pur from amongst whom one thousand four hundred and forty-five were adepts in their art. These musicians were classified into three groups, viz. Huzuri, Darbari and Shahri. Huzuri songsters who numbered about nine hundred were to remain in constant attendance on the king at his palace. Darbari musicians came next in status, and sang in the royal court; while Shahiri songsters were given free residential quarters in Nauras Pur, and enjoyed the patronage of Ibrahim as stipendiaries of the State, learning the art of music. Baz Bahadur of Malva and his consort Rupamati were also the outstanding musicians of this period. Gawaliar was a centre of music in Central India, and about eleven musicians of the Imperial Court of Akbar heralded from this place. In the light of the above historical analysis, it would not be a matter of surprise if one finds musicians moving to and fro between Agra, Gawaliar, Malva, Bijapur and other places. Braj Bhasha had already been accepted by tradition as a standard language for Hindustani musical compositions, and this convention of composing Kabits and Dohras (to be adapted to singing) was uniformly observed at all the centres of music in India. Ibrahim’s
Kobits and Dohras are in Braj Bhasha with a frequent interspersing of Arabic and Persian diction.

**Muhammad ‘Adil Shah (1627-1656):**

Ibrahim II was succeeded by Muhammad ‘Adil Shah, who was hardly seventeen on the date of his accession to the throne.

Diffusion of religious teachings and general education was one of his chief concerns. He established madrasas, and other free educational institutions to promote learning in the State. Deserving pupils were provided with every comfort and instruction in Persian and Arabic were imparted to them by able teachers. Those attaining distinction were later absorbed in the state service. Provision for the teaching of Tradition, Theology and Religious Doctrines was made in Asar Mahal, and in every mosque in the state a Teacher and a *Khatib* (preacher of sermons) were appointed by the State. He reorganized the departments of Justice, Education and Ecclesiastical affairs, and made a rule that each important village must have a school (maktab) and a teacher (Mulla). Quranic learning was granted a special patronage by Muhammad, and the Hafizes of the Qu’ran, who annually arrived in large numbers from Konkan, were appointed on lucrative pay in the city mosques during the month of Ramazan to recite the Qu’ran⁵⁹.
Zubairi has narrated numerous anecdotes of Muhammad Shah’s liberality towards his subjects, irrespective of any distinction of caste, colour or creed.

Fuzuni-e-Astarabadi, who wrote Futuhat-e-Adilshahi in six volumes also flourished under his patronage. Other literateurs of his court included Miraz Dawlatshah, Mirza Muqim, and Sayyid Nurul-lah. The last named wrote Tarikh-e-‘Ali ‘Adilshahiyya during the reign of ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah II. Mirza Muqi composed a long panegyrical poem in praise of Sayyid Muhammad Husayni, Gesu Daraz. Towards the end of which he has offered a glowing tribute to his patron. Below is given the English rendering of an extract from this Qasida.

**Ali ‘Adil Shah-II (1656-1672):**

‘Ali ‘Adil Shah was born on 16th Rabi-us-Sani 1638, and was coronated on 26th Muharram 1656, when he was only nineteen.

The reign of Muhammad, Ali’s father, should be regarded as the Augustan period in the history of Persian and Dakhni literatures in the Deccan. Dakhni, was given a fillip in the reign of Muhammad, and it developed beyond normal expectations in those congenial surrounding. Dawlat, Khushnud, Muqimi and Sanaati were the leading Dakhni poets at his court. Ali’s
instinctive aptitude towards poetry, was fostered under the able
guidance of his highly cultured mother, Malika Khadija Sultans,
who herself was a lover of literature and a patron of poetry. It
was at her behest that the famous heroic poem ‘Khawar Nama’
was composed by Kamal Khan Rustami. It is perhaps, so far as
is known, the longest narrative poem in Dakhni. The concluding
portion of this masnawi is reported however to have been
composed in Persian. It reveals that the queen had declared a
munificent reward for the best translation of the original Persian
poem bearing the same name, and the translator was to be
honoured as a poet of distinction in the royal court.

Though Persian scholars, writers and poets like Shah Abul-
Maali, Mulla Abdur-Razzaq, Rafat Uways, Mir Nimatulah, Malik
Akbar Dabir, Mir Ali Raza, Malik Masud, Abdul- Qadir, Abdul-
Latif, Abdul-Ghani, Nurul-lah Husayni flourished at the royal
court, Ali II was more fond of Dakhni and endeavoured to
enthuse other courtiers with his personal zeal and love for it. The
leading poets of his father’s reign viz. Atashi and Dawlat
relinquished Persian, and devoted themselves to Dakhni.
Nusrati, the leading Dakhni poet of this period, was exalted to
the position of the poet-laureateship and in his contact, Ali’s
poetic genius flowered to maturity and attained excellence.
Nusrati composed the ‘Ali Nama, in which the military
expeditions of Ali II have been versified. He is the author of a romantic masnawi Gulshan-e-‘Ishq and Tarikh-e Sikandari, both in Dakhni. He is also believed to be the pioneer of ‘Rekhta’ form of poetic composition in Dakhni. Mirza was a famous writer of marsias and his poems enjoyed popularity in the religious-minded Shias of the period.

Ali himself was a poet of no mean order. He composed his poems under the nom-de-guerre of Shahi, and wrote invariably in Hindi, with a predominant Dakhni element in it. The choice of Hindi was dictated by the tradition in musical compositions which hitherto used to be composed in Hindi. Nurul-lah, the author of Tarikh-e-‘Ali ‘Adil Shahiyya, has mentioned the fact of transcription and compilation of Sultan’s poetical works by Shah Abul-Maali, and in his florid style has waxed eloquent in its eulogy.

‘Ali’s Kulliyyat was finally complied on a certain birthday of the Sultan and Shah Abul-Maali wrote a panegyric of his patron on this auspicious occasion. Narul-lah, who then was a court-chronicler, was commanded to note down this panegyric which still adorns the pages of his history. Zubairi has also stated that ‘Ali was a romantic poet, penning pleasant and colourful verses.

This compilation hinted in the torikh-e-‘Ali ‘Adil Shahiyya was extremely rare and practically unknown. However, Mr.
Nasirud-Din Hashimi, the author of a number of books on Dakhni language and literature, traced the only copy of this valuable work in the Record Office Library of the Hyderabad Government, and briefly noticed it in Shihab. The present writer has consulted this work and has noted down a few extracts from it. The manuscript of *Kulliyyat-e Shahi* comprises six *Qasidas*, three short *masnawis*, nineteen *ghazals*, one *Mukhammas*, one *Muamman*, one *Marsia*, twenty Reginis, one *Rubai*, three *fards*, four *kabits*, two chronograms, four *Dohras* and one *Paheli* (riddle). The Reginis of the *Kulliyyat* bear a striking resemblance to the Nava-Rasa of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. The style, the diction, and even the ideas are so similar in both the works that it appears that Ali must have written these songs in imitation of those of his grand-father.

Another feature of these poems is that though they adopt Persian metres and cannons of versification, the symbolism and lyricism in them belongs to the Hindi poetry. The local colour gives them a realistic touch, and the depiction of nature in these verses is vivid and picturesque. Frequent use of the Indian imagery and allusions to Indian mythology and legends, lends an inimitable sweetness and grace to these compositions.

The language of these poems is a queer admixture of Western Hindi and Dakhni. The construction of sentences,
declension of predicates and a number of prepositions are peculiarly Dakhni.

During the reign of this ruler, Sayyid Nurul lah, the official chronicler of the court wrote the Tarikh-e-‘Ali Adilshahiyya by the order of the king. His work which is couched in dignified and ornate diction is one of the most authentic contemporary chronicles of Ali Adil II’s reign; since Nurul-lah was a man of versatile talents and the king was very intimate with him. Zubairi has paid a rich tribute to this historian.

Amongst the notable celebrities of the realm of mysticism and religion of this period were Shah Miranji Shamsul-Ushshaq, Shah Zayn Muqbil, Hazrat Miran Muhammad Mudarris, Sayyid Abdur-Rahman and his son Hazrat Ali Muhammad, and Burhanud-Din Janam. Many of them were authors of books and pamphlets in Persian and Dakhni.

Due to ‘Ali’s leanings towards the Dakhni language, the influence of Persian was gradually waning during his regime. He changed the tradition of his predecessors by elevating a Dakhni poet, Nusrati to the laurateanship of his court. Dakhni poetic literature of this time displayed spontaneity, ease and naturalness as contrasted with the conventionality and affectation of Persian lyricism; and hence attracted great popularity. As a natural medium of self-expression to the people
of the soil, Dakhni pushed Persian aside, and forged its way to the front. ‘Ali II’s regime marked a turning point in the history of alien influence in Bijapur which fast dwindled into insignificance, and finally disappeared with the abrupt overthrow of the ‘Adil Shahi dynasty before the increasing might of the Mughals under Aurangzeb.

**Sikandar ‘Adil Shah (1672-1686):**

Sikandar Adil Shah who was a minor of four, was put up on the ‘Adil Shahi throne, at a time when the very existence of this state was being threatened by the Mughals and the Marathas.

12th September 1686 proved to be the doomsday of the ‘Adil Shahi dynasty, as on this day the puppet prince Sikandar fell from the throne of his glorious ancestors, and became a vassal of the Mughals to languish in the dismal prison of Daulatabad fort, to sigh out the misery of his life, and to die a premature death in 170066.

Thus ended the glorious career of about two centuries of the great ‘Adil Shahi monarchy, with the annexation of this last stronghold of the Aristocracy in the Deccan and the change of Bijapur into a mere provincial seat, bereft of its regal grandeur and patronage, and with the migration of the leading foreign
families to far and remote places in search of their livelihood, the literary cause suffered an irreparable loss.

The Qutub Shahi Sultans:

Contemporaneously with the foundation and rise of the kingdom of Bijapur, another political power of Turkish origin, bearing the stamp of Perso-Islamic culture was also making headway in Southern India. It was the ruling dynasty of the Qutub shahs of Golconda, whose regime covered a period of about two centuries and came to an abrupt end by the forward march of the Mughals. This dynasty of Afaqi origin, continued the cultural traditions of its predecessor (Bahmani State) in diplomacy, statecraft, religion and culture. Literary patronage was one of the trusts that passed on to the charge of the rulers of this dynasty by the Bahmani Wazir, Khwaja Mahmud-e-Gawan, under whose direct training and guidance, the founders of the ‘Adil shahi and the Qutub shahi kingdoms learnt the art of state-craft and cultivated a love of literature and fine arts.

Qutub shahs of Golconda present a striking parallel to the contemporary reigning dynasty of the ‘Adil shahs of Bijapur. The founders of both these dynasties heralded from Persia and belonged to the aristocratic class. Personally, they inherited the traditions of their Persian ancestors and on the acquisition of
political power endeavoured to revive them in the Deccan. The rulers of both the dynasties were staunch partisans of the Shia creed. Their religious convictions closely linked them with Shia Persia under the Safawis. Many sovereigns of both the houses were endowed with love of Fine arts and some of them were gifted poets. They being afaqis themselves naturally cherished a deep fascination for their compatriots. The ministerial ranks at Golconda and Bijapur were held by emigrants from Persia. During the regimes of these dynasties, Bijapur and Golconda had therefore become active centres of Persian literature and Islamic studies.

**Sultan Quli Qutub Shah (1518-1543):**

The founder of the Qutub Shahi dynasty, Sultan Quli-e-Hamadani, was a Persian emigrant to the Deccan. He was a lineal descendent of Qara Muhammad, the leader of the Qara Quyunlu tribe of Turks. Sultan Quli was a accomplished king He was proficient in calligraphy and mathematics. In royal farmans of the Bahmani period, he was generally referred to as ‘the Lord of the Sword and the Pen’. He was the founder of the fort of Golconda and the grand Masjid known as *Masjid-e-Safa* in the fort. He may be
called the pioneer of a new style of architecture in which Persian and Parthian elements were blended with local peculiarities.

He was a personal friend and a general patron of Mulla Husayn-e-Tabasi, the Sadr-e-Jahan of the Qutub Shahi State. In his *Marghub-u'l-Qulub*, Mulla Tabasi has recorded the reminiscences of his master orally narrated to him from time to time. Though *Marghub-ul-Qulub* is now extinct these reminiscences of Sultan Quli’s early life form a part of *Tarikh-e-Muhammad-e-Qutubshahi*.

**Jamshid Qutub Shah (1543-1550):**

Muhammad Quli was succeeded by his third son, Jamshid, who usurped the throne by blinding his elder brother, Qutubuddin, the heir designate. Jamshid’s short regime of seven years was entirely devoted to military prowess.

Jamshid led a life of ease and luxury. In his leisure hours, he applied himself to versification and wrote simple and chaste verses of mediocre literary excellence. Specimens of his panegyrics and lyric writings are cited in *Tarikh-e-Muhammad-e-Qutub shahi*.

As a panegyrist, he appears to be an amateur. The only *Qasida* cited in *Tarikh-e-Muhammad Qutub shah* is devotional in tone and though written in a dilatory metre possesses a peculiar
fluency of its own. Its *tashbib* is romantic and imaginative. His *ghazals* display the ardour and buoyancy of a youthful lover. They are couched in a transparent and lucid diction incorporating the earnestness and fervor of his love-lorn heart in them. These verses are artless and spontaneous and possess a deep emotional appeal.

**Ibrahim Qutub Shah (1550-1580):**

Jamshid was succeeded by his minor son Subhan Quli, and the administration of the state was entrusted by the dowager queen to the charge of Saif Khan Ain-ul-Mulk.

He was greatly fond of listening to the fables and tales of the ancient sovereigns and loved the company of the elite of learning. Problems of Theology and Religion were mooted in the debates frequently held at his court. History-writing received encouragement during this period. Khurshah’s *Ta’rikh-e-Elchi-e-Nizam shah* and Sharif’s *Majma’u’l-Akhbar* were written under the patronage of and dedicated to Ibrahim. Mulla Husayn-e-Tabasi, the Sadr-Jahan wrote a brochure on hunting at the behest of his sovereign. Dakhni language and literature also received impetus in this period. The earliest Dakhni poets viz. Firoz, Mahmud and Wajhi flourished at Golconda under the aegis of this Sultan.
Ibrahim knew Telugu also. On his accession to the throne, he offered munificent patronage to Telugu scholars and poets. In Telugu literary works of this period, Ibrahim is referred to by the familiar names of Malk Ibharam, Malk ibharam Chandra and Malik Ibrahim. Telugu writers like Addanki Gangadhara, Kandukurti, Rudrakavi and several others composed poetry in the Telugu language in which they perpetuated the name of their patron. Gangadhar wrote Tapati Samvarnamu– an erotic poem and dedicated it to Sultan Ibrahim, while Rudrakavi was granted a jagir in appreciation of his poem. Another Telugu poet Sarangu Tammaya, who wrote Vayjayanti Vilasamu, was also the recipient of munificent royal patronage.

Elaborate arrangements for the education of his sons were made by this cultured ruler. Amongst the princes, Abdul Qadir was a calligraphist, Mir Husayn Quli was a scholar of logic and philosophy, Abul Fath was an excellent reciter of Holy Quran and Muhammad Quli was a versatile creative genius in poetry.

**Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah (1580-1611):**

Ibrahim’s third son, Muhammad Quli, ascended the throne in 1580 at the age of fifteen. Muhammad Quli was a lover of peace and the arts of peace. His regime was an era of unparalleled progress and prosperity in the leading spheres of
cultural life. Greater emphasis was laid on cultural and constructive activities than on military expeditions and territorial aggrandizement. Religion, Learning and Fine Arts like architecture and poetry flourished under the aegis of this Sultan.

The Qutub Shahi Court had become a brilliant galaxy of renowned illuminati of learning, erudition and poetry in this period. Mir Muhammad’s munificent patronage of learning was a fascination for the poets and litterateurs of Persia who flocked in large numbers at Hyderabad. Below are mentioned some of the leading literary luminaries of Muhammad Quli Qutubshah’s court:

**Poets:**


**Scholars:**

Historians:


Muhammad Quli was the most versatile and prolific King, poet that Deccan has so far produced. He composed poetry in Persian, Dakhni and perhaps also in Telugu. The Kulliyyat of his Dakhni poetry, is an epoch-making work of Urdu literature and can be assigned a high place in the top-ranking classics of Urdu poetry. Many ghazals of his Kulliyyat are either a graphic depiction of the beauty of his numerous beloveds or the impassioned utterances of a love-lorn soul in eternal quest of beauty and romance. The amorous trait of his character is writ large on almost every page of his poetical works. These lyrics also faithfully portray his religious and mystic rapture, his romantic abandon and pleasure-hunting, his craving for the enjoyment of life in it entirety, his delicate feminism and his artistic and catholic approach to life and Nature in its gay and gloomy moods. They are the outcome of a fervent soul and a lefty creative genius delighting in the exuberance of nature and enjoying the youthful beauty of life. Muhammad Quli's poetry is deeply influenced by Persian lyricism in particular and Persian poetic traditions in general. He was a pioneer of the ghazal form in Dakhni verse and practiced it with such admirable skill and artistic excellence that these specimens of the first ghazal in
Dakhni appear as if they are the mature productions of a consummate artist. The artistic blending of the mystic and bacchanalian elements with the erotic which is frequently noticed in these ghazals, is chiefly due to the influence of the lyricism of Hafiz. The ghazals of Hafiz appear to be the chief source of inspiration to Muhammad Quli and have often been used as models in his Dakhni lyrics. He rendered over fifty exquisite ghazals of Hafiz in Dakhni verse and despite the narrow scope for poetic expression in the new language, he achieved a high standard of literary beauty in his renderings. His poetry is replete with images, and allusions, peculiar to Persian poetry. He has freely employed Persian phraseology and diction in his ghazals and very often retained the original words and phrases in his free rendering of Persian verses. Poetic expression of Dakhni underwent a radical change through his influence and a distinct tendency towards Persianization became manifest at this stage.

Very little of his Persian poetry is now extant. About eight ghazals and one marsia have been so far traced and are now published in Kalamu’l-Muluk. These ghazals are chaste and fluent in their expression. Love being the all-absorbing sentiment of Muhammad Quli’s life, these lyrics appear to be a faithful and spontaneous record of his erotic emotion.
Muhammad Qutub Shah (1611-1625):

Muhammad Quli was succeeded by his nephew, Muhammad who was only nineteen at the time of his coronation.

He was a voracious reader and finished one revision of the holy Qur’an every month. He evinced keen interest in works of history, biography, theology and poetry. His reading was systematic, and extensive. He wrote appreciative and informative comments on the margin or the frontispiece of many works of classical Persian like the Diwan-e-Hafiz, Gulshan-e-Raz, Kulliyyat-e-Jami, Kimaya-e-Sa’adat and Rauzatu’s-Safa. He made valuable additions to the royal library and appointed expert calligraphists and copyists like Shaykh Husayn-e-Shirazi, and Mulla ‘Arab-e-Shirazi to transcribe excellent copies of rare manuscripts. His fondness for books had become so proverbial that even the grandees of the court offered rare manuscripts as presents to their scholarly master to please his fancy.

Muhammad was an able creative artist also. He wrote poetry in Persian under the nom-de-guerre of Zilillah. Most of his Persian poetry is now extinct. About twenty four ghazals, a few quatrains and one marsia have, however, luckily survived.

His poetry is steeped in mystic and religious colouring. Earnestness and profundity of emotion are the chief features of his verses. His lyrics are pregnant with genuine emotion of love.
They possess a characteristic lucidity, flow and melody of their own and seem to be inspired by the devout religiosity of the poet’s heart and tempered by his Sufi mysticism. The influence of Hafiz is also discernable in many of his lyrics. A number of them are closely modeled on the famous ghazals of Hafiz.

His marsia, which is apparently modeled on Muhtasham’s Haft and, however makes a slight departure in the number of verses in the stanza. Each one of the eight ands comprises eleven verses, the first ten having a common rhyme and the last a different one. The poem depicts in an intensely appealing language the details of the tragedy of Karbala. It has a powerful dramatic effect. Great imaginative skill is required to sustain the effect of pathos throughout. Muhammad has achieved admirable success in rendering his threnody highly pathetic. The last Band in which the poet makes an earnest appeal for divine mercy through the intercession of the Prophet and the Imams, is the most appropriate conclusion to this dramatic poem.

Abdullah Qutub Shah (1625-1672):

Muhammad’s successor, Abdullah Qutub shah, endeavoured his utmost to emulate the cultural traditions set up by eminent Shia theologians like Mir Muhammad Momin and others in the reign of Muhammad Quli.
The Sultan was a good Dakhni poet. His *ghazals* bear a distinct stamp of Muhammad Quli’s lyricism. His Persian poetry has not been traced so far but it is evident from the *ghazal* referred to above that he might have composed verses in Persian also.

**Sultan Abul Hasan Qutub Shah:**

After the death of Abdullah Qutub Shah in A.H.1083, his eldest daughter Fatima Khanam, who was married to Nizamuddin Ahmed a Sayed from Persia endeavoured to seize the Qutub Shahhi throne for her stepson, Sayed Ali. But this attempt was frustrated by the prompt action of Abul Hasan’s Dakhni protagonists.
References:


2. *Ibid*, p.69


4. Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah, *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, p.288

5. H.K. Sherwani, *op.cit.*, p.149


8. *Ibid*, p.151

9. Ferishtah however, writes “*Uruji*” Bistami gives ‘*Uruji*”,
   Tabatabai and Rafiuddin are silent on this point. They don’t
   even mention that Firoz Shah was a poet.

10. Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah, *op.cit.*, p.319


16. Popularly known as “*Sawai*”, which appears to be a corrupt
   from of *Sawawi*.

17. Rafiuddin Shirazi who visited the mausoleums of the Adil
   Shahi rulers at Gogi in 1560 has stated on the authority of
   one Shamshuddin Khizri aged ninety, that Yusuf Adil was the
son of Sultan Muhammad Beg of Sawa. His father was killed in a civil war amongst the nobles of Bayasanqar of Aq-Quyunlu Turk dynasty. Young Yusuf left Sawa for Isfahan, and thence proceeded to Shiraz. After a short sojourn then he came to Deccan, Rafiuddin Shirazi, *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, p.36

18. Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah, *op.cit.*, p.17

19. *Ibid*, p.18


22. Ibrahim Zubairi, *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p.49

23. *Ibid*, p.75

24. Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah, *op.cit.*, p.48

25. *Ibid*, p.150

26. *Ibid*, p.79


30. *Ibid*, p.365

31. With a view to emphasis its original reading and meaning in Sanskrit. This transliteration is purposely chosen.


33. *Ibid*, p.30

34. Zuhuri, *Seh Nasr*, p.49
35. Ibid, p.50
36. Ibid, p.37
37. Ibid, p.16
38. Ibrahim Zubairi, op.cit., p.257
39. Ibid, p.258
40. Ibid, p.279
41. Zuhuri, op.cit., p.38
42. This festival presents a striking parallel to the ‘Mahanavmi’ festival of Vijayanagar kings, Robert Swell, Forgotten Empire, p.151
43. Ibrahim Zubairi, op.cit., p.251
44. Ibid, p.275
45. Fuzuni, op.cit., p.365
46. Ibrahim Zubairi, op.cit., p.276
47. A few relevant references selected from Seh Nasr may be noted; vide, 3, 6, 8, 9
48. Zuhuri, op.cit., p.51
49. Ibid, p.75
50. Ibid, p.74
51. Gyani, Kitab-i-Nauras, p.75
52. Zuhuri, op.cit., p.13
53. Ibid, p.14
54. Ibid, p.15
55. Ibid, p.16
57. In *Gulzar-i-Ibrahimi*, Zuhuri remarks that his preface to
    ‘Kitab-i-Nauras’ has attained widespread celebrity in the
    world.
58. Muhammad Qasim Firishtah, *op.cit.*, p.156
59. Ibrahim Zubairi, *op.cit.*, p.351
61. Ibrahim Zubairi, *op.cit.*, p.477
63. Ibid, p.138
64. Ibid, p.148
65. Ibid, p.161
66. Ibrahim Zubairi, *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p.541
67. *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutub Shah*, p.104
68. Ibid, p.159
69. *Oriental proceedings*, 1915, p.262
70. Ghulam Yazdani, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, p.40