CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1. Language

Introduction:

A language is a method of communication. Human spoken and written languages can be described as a system of symbols (sometimes known as lexemes) and the grammars (rules) by which the symbols are manipulated. Language learning is normal in human childhood. Most human languages use patterns of sound or gesture for symbols which enable communication with others. There are thousands of human languages, and these seem to share certain properties, even though every shared property has exceptions.

The appearance of modern Indian languages marks the transition from the ancient to the middle ages in Indian History. They became the media of literature and the instruments of medieval thought. It is true that Sanskrit continued to be cultivated; but with the downfall of Hindu principalities and the drying up of the sources of patronage, its vogue rapidly diminished. It still remained the language of orthodox religious literature and of philosophy, and treatises were composed in it
on ancient sciences, but the days of its glory were over. The cultural currents which began to sweep the country from the 12th century onwards left the channels of Sanskrit dry, and flowed through new beds. The creative impulses of India passed it by and inspired new dialects. As the magnificent treasure-house of ancient Indian culture, Sanskrit still commanded the homage of the people, and exercised a deep influence over the growth of new languages and literatures; but for the expression of living experience and thought, its usefulness had ceased.

The conquerors of India brought with them a number of languages from abroad. Among them were Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Arabic, as the language of religion and of law, was cultivated by the learned, but its sphere was limited. Turkish might be spoken within the domestic walls, but it did not possess any considerable literature. Its influence was small. Persian was the language of the court. It was used not only as an official language for all state purposes; it was the medium of social intercourse, and it was the favorite of kings and princes, of officers and soldiers, merchants and mendicants. Patronage of learning was regarded in those times an important function of Government, and the centers of political authority attracted numerous aspirants to royal favour. Prose and poetry writers from Persia or Central Asia, and Indian authors born and bred in
the country, displayed their skill at the courts of princes to win their favor. Thus there grew up in India school of Persian writers who vied with the natives of Persia in enriching the literature of that language.

While it may be difficult to assess the contribution of India to Arabic literature, it is easy, with the help of the anthologies (tazkiras), to compile a goodly study of the considerable output of Persian literature from Indian pens. But inevitably the Persian literature of India has been dominated by the standards set by the Persians; and although in language, style, and content the Persian literature of India bears the indubitable impress of its land of origin, and there is little doubt regarding its high quality, it cannot be claimed that this literature is redolent of the native soil, or that it adequately enshrines the genius and spirit of the Indian people.

**Arabic:**

**Arabic Studies under the Bahmanis**

Many of the Bahmani rulers were patrons of learning and culture and under them flourished eminent Arabic scholars. Sadru’sh-Sharif Samarqandi was the Sadr of the Kingdom in the time of Alauddin Bahman Shah. Mir Muhammad Badakhshi, was appointed chief qazi of the army. Both of them were eminent
mathematicians and astronomers. The founder of the Kingdom, Bahman Shah, consulted them regarding the auspicious hour at which he should ascend the throne\(^1\). Hakim ‘Alimu’d-din Tabrizi and Hakim Nasiru’d-din Shirazi were the physicians of his court. The king and the people followed the Hanafi school of Islamic law\(^2\). The king had implicit faith in Shaikh Burhanu’d-din of Daulatabad, the disciple of Shaikh Nizamu’d-din of Delhi\(^3\). Shaikh ‘Alimu’d-din Ganj-e ‘Ulum Junaidi (706-95/1306-92), the author of Atwaru’l Abrar in Arabic, Shaikh Ibrahim Sangani (d. 753/1351) and Shaikh Siraju’d-din Junaidi (d. 781/1351) and Shaikh Siraju’d-din Junaidi (d. 781/1379-80) were some of the learned men of his days\(^4\). His son Muhammad I sent his mother along with Sadru’sh-Sharif Samarqandi to Hijaz for performing the pilgrimage\(^5\) and she spent large sums for money for the welfare of the Muslims in Mecca and Madina\(^6\).

Sultan Muhammad Shah II was proficient in the Islamic sciences and spoke Persian and Arabic fluently\(^7\). During his reign many poets from Arabia came to his court and were introduced to him by Mir Fazlullah Inju, the Sadr of his state. Several schools and colleges were established and the salaries of the teachers and the stipends of the students were ordered to be paid from the royal treasury. The Traditionists (Muhaddithin) were held in high esteem by him. He also paid respects to
Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi. Who died one year after the Sultan’s succession. Firoz Shah and Ahmad Shah-I were educated by Mir Fazlullah Inju. Firoz Shah was fond of the company of the learned and discussed with them freely on questions of theology and philosophy. He invited men of letters to come and settle down in his Kingdom. He himself was a scholar and had made a special study of the exegesis of Qur’an, principles of Muslim jurisprudence and theoretical and natural philosophy. He had allotted three days in a week, viz., Saturday, Monday and Wednesday, for teaching these sciences to students. He delivered lectures on Zahidi (logic) Sharh-e-Tadhkirah (mathematics), Sharh-e-Maqasid (scholasticism), Tahrir-e-Uqlaidis (geometry) and Taftazani’s Mutawwal (rhetoric).

It was in 1402-03 during the reign of Firoz Shah that Hazrat Syed Muhammad Husaini, later known as Khwaja Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz, arrived at Gulbarga, the Bahmani capital, from Delhi, at the advanced age of 84 lunar years. He had studied Arabic under Qazi ‘Abdul-Muqtadir of Thaneswar, and during his career at Gulbarga he compiled a number of books in Arabic. Of these were a commentary of the Qur’an in Arabic entitled Ummu’l-Ma’ani; glosses on Zamakhshari’s Tafsir Kashshaf and Hasan Saghani’s Mashariqu’l-Anwar; commentaries on A’r-Risalatu’l-Qusai-riyah, ‘Awarifu’l-Ma’arif;
two works on Mysticism; and a short treatise entitled *Risalah fi ru’yat Bari Ta’ala*. He died in 1421 at the age of 104 lunar years.

Shaikh ‘Alauddin ‘Ali, son of Shaikh Ahmad Makhdum of Mahim was another Arabic scholar of this period. He belonged to the Nawayit family, which is said to have migrated from Basrah to Konkan. He has to his credit several works in Arabic. The most important of them are:

1. *Fiqh Makhdumi*
2. *Tabsiru’r-Rahman wa Taisir’ul-Mannan*, better known as *Tafsir-e-Mahaimi*,
3. *Adillatu’t-Tawhid*
4. *Ajillatu’t-Ta’id fi Sharh Adillati’t-Tawhid*
5. *Khususu’n-Ni‘am fi Sharh-i Fusuli’l Hikam*
6. *Mashra’ul-Khusus ilai Ma’ani’n-Nusus*
7. *Dhawarifu’l-Lata’if fi Sharh-i ‘Awarif-i-Ma’arif*

Among the scholars who came to India at this period was Badru’d-din Muhammad bin Abi Bakr bin ‘Umar al-Makhzumi a’d-Damamini. He was a great traditionist and grammarian and hailed from Egypt. He served as a teacher at Zabid for some time. He then left in 1417-18 for Gujarat and after reaching there he compiled a book on grammar under the title of *Ta’liqu’l-
Faraiz ‘ala Tashili’l-Fawa’id and dedicated it to Sultan Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. He also wrote a commentary on Al-Wafi fi’N-Nahv by Muhammad bin ‘Uthman bin ‘Umar of Balkh. While he was at Mahim, he began writing this commentary during the last week of Ramazan, 825, and completed it on Sunday, 21 Dhi’l-Hijja, 825/6 December 1422. He took a fair copy of it at Gulbarga and presented it to Sultan Ahmad Shah Bahmani, under the title of Al-Manhal’us-Safi fi Sharhi’l-Wafi. He died two years later and was buried at Gulbarga15.

Another great scholar and writer of this period was Qazi Shihabu’d-din son of Shaikh ‘Umar. He was born at Daulatabad and after his preliminary studies at his own town he went over to Delhi and (like Hazrat Gesu Daraz) studied Arabic and Islamic theology under Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Muqtadir of Thaneswar. When Timur invaded Delhi, he went over to Jaunpur, where he was received with great honour and respect by Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. He awarded him the title of Maliku’l-Ulama and appointed him Qazi. He died at Jaunpur about 1445. He has to his credit some excellent works in Arabic like;

(1) Al-Irshad fi’n-Nahv
(2) Sharh-i Kafiyah known as Sharh-i Hindi
(3) Musaddiqu’l-Fazl, a commentary of the well-known Arabic ode of Banat-Su’ad
Al-‘Aqa’idu’l-Islamiyarah.

The last but one book bears testimony to his efficiency and comprehension of the subject as well as his command of the Arabic language. He has explained each couplet elaborately discussing the meaning of the words and their construction grammatically and pointing to the similes and metaphors used in it by the poet.

During the reign of Sultan ‘Alauddin Ahmad-II there was a large army of seven thousand Arabs under the command of Khalaf Hasan of Basrah who was known as Malikut-Tujjar\(^1\) (the King of Merchants). We can conclude that the Arabic language must have been understood in the military camp also.

Mahmud Gawan, the minister of Muhammad Shah-III, was a great patron of learning and culture. He invited scholars from Iran and Arabia and employed them in ministerial service. Shaikh Ahmad held the post of Sadr during his reign. He was sent to Mandu to effect some settlement and understanding with King Sultan Mahmud Khilji. There were several other scholars and learned men taking part in this dialogue including Sayyidu’l-‘Ulama Sayyid Salamu’l-lah who represented Mahmud Khalji, and the document of arbitration was signed by the ‘Ulama and dignitaries representing both the parties\(^2\).
Mahmud Gawan himself was a great scholar of Arabic and patronized eminent scholars of his days. He founded a grand madrasa for Islamic Studies at Bidar in 1471-2 and invited some of the learned men from Iran and other places for being appointed as teachers in this madrasa. He also established a big library for which books were acquired from different parts of the world. His letters and Persian compositions have profuse quotations from Arabic authors and Arabic verses of his own composition. Mulla Jalalu’d-din Daweani dedicated to him his Arabic work entitled *Shawakilu’l Hur fi Sharh-i Hayakili’n-Nur*, recently published by the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. He has also written Arabic odes in praise of the ruler of Gilan and also in praise of Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani.\(^{18}\)

**Arabic Studies under the ‘Adil Shahis**

The progenitor of the ‘Adil Shahis, Yusuf ‘Adil Khan, was the first to introduce the Shi’ite creed in the Bijapur State in 1502, and appointed the Shi’a ‘Ulama, Syed Ahmad Harawi and Maulana Ghiathuddin Kamal to high positions in his court. It was, however, mostly Persian which was inculcated at Bijapur during his rule. The fourth of the line, Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah-I was of Sunni persuasion, and it was during his reign that the


Fatawa-i-Ibrahim Shahiyah was compiled and dedicated to the King\textsuperscript{19}. During the reign of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah-II, Shah Sibghatullah, better known as the “Deputy of the Messenger of God” came to Bijapur from Madina in the year 1591-2 and engaged himself as a teacher and religious guide. He lived there for five years, went back to Madina in 1596-7 and died there in 1606-7. He was a saintly person interested in mysticism. At the request of the people of Madina, he translated into Arabic the Persian work Jawahir-i-Khamsa by Muhammad Ghauth of Gwalior under the title of Zamairu’s-Sarairi’l-Ilaahiya fi Bawahir-i Ayati’l-Jawahiri’l-Ghauthiya\textsuperscript{20}. He has to his credit a few other books like Kitabu’l-Wahdah, Iraatu’d-Daqaiq fi Sharh-i Mirati’l Haqaiq.

Habibullah son of Mulla who was a son of Mulla Khalilullah of Bijapur, a disciple of Shah Sibghatullah, also was a great scholar of Arabic. His father Mulla Ahmad had been to the Hijaz, stayed there for five years and studied under Shaikh Ibn Hajr Makki and Shaikh ‘Ali Muttaqi. Both the father and the son were interested in mysticism and have composed verses in Arabic some of which have been preserved in Sa‘idiyyah Library, Hyderabad\textsuperscript{21}. Habibullah was well versed in Muslim theology and excelled himself in his discussions with Mulla Shukrullah Shirazi, when the latter came to the court of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah.
as an emissary from the Emperor Jahangir\textsuperscript{22}. He also had free discussions with his contemporaries like Shaikh ‘Alimu’l-lah ‘Abbasi the Traditionist, and his son-in-law Mulla Nasir of Burhanpur\textsuperscript{23}.

**Arabic Studies under the Nizam Shahis**

Burhan Nizam Shah-I, third ruler of the dynasty, who ascended the throne at the age of eight, studied Arabic and Persian under able teachers like Mulla Pir Muhammad Shirwani, who was a Sunni. He then came under the influence of the Mahdawi sect and gave one of his daughters in marriage to a followers of this sect\textsuperscript{24}. Mulla Pir Muhammad was sent by him on a political mission to Khwaja-i-Jahan, the governor of Parenda, where he had to stay for one year. There he came in contact with Shah Tahir, son of Shah Raziuddin, who had recently arrived at Parenda from Iran. Apart from other learning he was an expert in teaching Al-Majesti, a standard work on astronomy. Pir Muhammad was his pupil. When he returned to Ahmednagar, he praised him before the king in such glowing terms that the king sent an invitation to Shah Tahir and requested him to come to Ahmednagar. Shah Tahir was received with much respect in 1522 and was accommodated in a palace inside the fort, which later on became a great centre of learning. The king was so much
impressed of his profound knowledge and ability that he made him his sole adviser and guide. He accompanied the king on important occasions and served him faithfully in all walks of administration. It was through Shah Tahir’s influence that Burhan Nizam Shah was converted to the Shi‘ah faith.

Shah Tahir died in 1549 at Ahmednagar where he was buried. Later on his remains were transferred to Karbala. In spite of the popularity of Arabic studies in Ahmednagar, no one seems to have attempted to write or compile works in Arabic. One Amir Isma‘il known as Sayyid Khan has written a commentary of the Qur’an under the title of *Tafsir-e-Rahimi*, a copy of which is found in the library of *Daru’l-‘Ulum*, Deoband (No. 13144). In its preface the writer says that on Friday, 1 Rabi‘ I, 1036/10 November 1626 he saw Malik ‘Ambar in a dream, handing over a copy of the Qur’an to the writer. Hence he undertook the work of writing a commentary of the Qur’an.

**Arabic Studies under the Qutub Shahis**

The Qutub Shahi Kings were Turks by race but spoke Persian as their mother tongue. They patronized persons learned in the Islamic lore, ‘ulama, masha‘ikh and Syeds from over the seas. The inclination of the earlier rulers of the dynasty was towards Persian rather than Arabic learning. It was during the
reign of Ibrahim Qutub Shah that we first come across the princes of the dynasty indulging in Arabic lore. Three of Ibrahim’s sons are known to be men of learning, and Mirza Husain-Quli, his second son, was well versed in philosophy and logic. He died in 1586. Mirza ‘Abdu’l Fattah, the fourth son, was an excellent recite of Qur’an. Mirza Muhammad Amin the last son, died at the young age of twenty-five on 15 Sha’ban 1004/4 April 1596. His tombstone bears a unique inscription containing seven lines in chaste Arabic which shows his interest in the Arabic language.

It was not till the reign of Sultan ‘Abdullah Qutub Shah that Arabic learning found a lasting place in the Qutub Shahi dominions. In 1628 Shaikh Muhammad ibn Khatun Amili, one of the great scholars of his day was appointed Peshwa. He was a scholar as well as an administrator, and Muhammad ‘Ali Karbala’i, the author of the *Hadiya-i-Qutub Shahi*, an index of the Qur’an, was his pupil.

‘Abdullah Qutub Shah constructed mosques and madrasas to which teachers were appointed to impart education. He was in correspondence with the kings of Iran and Arab countries. He invited Amir Nizamuddin bin Ma’sum who came from Mecca to Golconda in 1645. He was an eminent poet and writer of Arabic and belonged to a scholarly family of Shiraz which had settled
down at Mecca. He was married to the second daughter of 'Abdullah Qutub Shah. He attracted to Golconda several other Arab scholars who were received with honour and respect. He had a great command over Arabic prose and poetry, as is evident from the extracts and quotations given by his son in his book *Salwatu'l-Gharib fi Uswati'l-Arib*. He composed several poems in Arabic in praise of Sultan 'Abdullah Qutub Shah. He lived at Golconda for some time and then shifted to a palace built by him in the city of Hyderabad in 1658-59. He became a great centre of literary activities. Arab scholars, writers and poets like Shaikh Muhammad bin Ahmad Hakimu'l-Mulk, Syed Hasan bin Shadqam, Syed Muhammad bin 'Abdullah Musawi known as *Kibritu'l-Madani*, *Al-Khatib* 'Abdullah Al-Barri Al-Manufi, Sibtu’sh-Shaikh Zainuddin il-Amili, Syed Abu’l-Ghana’im Muhammad al-Hilli of ‘Iraq and Jamalu’d-din bin Muhammad bin ‘Awd al-Haikali were in correspondence with him and some of them visited his circle and were patronized by him.

When Abul-Hasan Qutub Shah succeeded his father-in-law in 1672, he put Syed Ahmad in prison, where he died in 1673. His son Syed Sadruddin ‘Ali was also a great scholar and poet of Arabic. He was born at Mecca in 1642, left for India in 1655-56 and reached Golconda in 1657-58. He participated in the poetical symposia held by his father and composed poems on a
given metre and rhyme. He was a prolific writer in Arabic. Beside his *Al-Kalimu’t-Tayyib*, which is a collection of prayers, he wrote *Salwatul-Gharib fi Uswatul-Arib*, *Sulafatu’l-Asr fi Mahasin A’yani’l-‘Asr bi kulli Misr*, *Al-Darajatu’l-Rafi’ah fi Tabaqti’l-Imamiya min al-Shi’ah*, *Riyazu’s-Salikin*, a commentary of *As-Sahifatu’s-Sajjadiyah*, *Sharhu’l-Fawaidi’s-Samadiyyah* on grammar, and *Anwaru’r-Rabi’ fi Anwa’il Badi* on rhetoric. He also edited his own poems in Arabic, a copy of which is found in Asafiya Library, Hyderabad, under No. 144.

On the death of the Sultan he escaped to Burhanpur and after having served for some time under the emperor Aurangzeb he left for the Hijaz in 1701 and then returned to Shiraz. There he joined the *Madrasa-i-Mansuriyah*, founded and established by his grandfather, Amir Ghiasu’d-din Mansur. He died in 1705 and was buried in the graveyard attached to the tomb of Shah Chiragh of Shiraz.

During the reign of Abul Hasan Qutub Shah, Muhadhdhabu’d-din Ahmad wrote a commentary of the Qur’an, a copy of which is found in Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad. It also contains six short treatises on Traditions and Principles of Muslim Jurisprudence, all written by him. One ‘Ali Husaini of Kokhla wrote a short treatise in Arabic on the art of recitation, in
1678, entitled *Hilyatu’l-Qari*, a copy of which is found in the personal collection of the late Dr. Abdu’l Haq, Madras.

**Arabic Studies under the ‘Imad Shahis**

During the early period of the ‘Imad Shahi rule no information is available regarding the Arabic studies under these rulers. Tufal Khan, after his usurpation of ‘Imad Shahi throne in 1568, seems to have established a first class college for Arabic studies at Elichpur, where Islamic sciences were being taught to the students. He invited Shaikh Mubarak Sindhi who was then serving as *Qazi* of Chopra, to come and undertake the work of teaching in this madrasa. He also appointed Shaikh Tayyib Sindhi and Shaikh Muhammad Tahir Yusuf Sindhi as teachers of this college. Students from Khandesh were also admitted. This college could not continue after the overthrow of Tufal Khan.

Later on we find Syed ‘Inayatu’l-lah of Balapur engaged in teaching Arabic and guiding the people. He belonged to a well-known family of scholars whose ancestor Syed Zahiru’d-din migrated along with his son Syed Musa from Khujand in Turkistan to Amanabad near Lahore. Syed Ilah Dad, the son of Syed Musa, and Syed Muhammad, the son of Ilah Dad, were born and brought up in North India. Syed Muhammad came to the Deccan and settled down at Burhanpur. His son ‘Inayatu’l-
lah studied Islamic sciences under Shaikh Abu’l-Muzaffar Sufi Burhanpuri. He then took up his residence at Balapur in 1649 and established his khanqah there. He was later suspected of treason by the Emperor Aurangzeb. But when he came to know of his good qualities he honoured and respected him. He died at Balapur on 25 Safar, 7 June 1705.

➢ **Persian:**

Persian Literature in Medieval Deccan takes its root precisely in the same soil as it does in the case of Northern India. It was the literature and language of the ruling class in the North as well as in the South. Southern India had seen the grip of the Persian speaking peoples as early as in the period of ‘Alauddin Khilji whose commander Malik Kafur had penetrated deep into the farthest limits of the South and had made it a part of the Khilji empire. This conquest of the Deccan, however, made little impact on its cultural and literary condition till the middle of the 14\(^{th}\) century when the foundation of an independent Deccan was laid, from this time onwards Deccan too became a seat of government witnessing the literary and cultural activities which were hitherto confined to Delhi, Lahore or Multan. ‘Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah was the first ruler of the Bahmani Kingdom and he claimed to be a descendent of
Bahman the legendary king of Persia. With his accession to the throne a continuous flow of poets, scholars and saints came to the Deccan from Persia. He is alleged to have instituted an annual festival on the occasion of Nauroz when he used to give audience to poets and eminent scholars, the most significant of whom were 'Isami the author of the Futuḫu’s-Salatin and Shaikh 'Ainu’d-din Bijapuri who added a supplement to the Tabaqat-i Nasiri. Renowned persons like Mulla Mu‘inu’d-din Haravi, Hakim Alimud-din Tabrizi, Hakim Nasiru’d-din Shirazi, Lutfu’l-lah Sabzwari, Mufti Ahmad Haravi, Mir Muhammad Badakhshi, Sharif Samarqandi, Saifuddin Ghori and Fazlullah Inju were attached to his court. One very important step that went along way in promoting the cause of Persian language and literature was the establishment of educational institutions at Elichpur, Gulbarga, Daulatabad and other places during his reign. The opening of these educational institutions served to popularize Persian among the youth of the country. A closer association of Brahmans with the state administration resulted in carrying the court language to the non-Muslim population of the country and through it, influencing the literatures of other regional languages.

The next important king from the point of view of patronizing Persian literature is Sultan Muhammad Shah-II36.
Fortunately the Bahmani kingdom was fairly established by the time he ascended the throne and he got leisure and peace to devote himself to cultural pursuits. He had the privilege of being educated and trained by Mir Fazlullah Inju whose company made him not only a learned man of refined taste but also a poet of Persian. During his regime poets received special attention. Poets and men of letters began to pour into his court from Persia and Iraq where his fame as a patron of art and literature had reached. He invited Hafiz of Shiraz and it is to this illustrious monarch that Hafiz addressed his famous ghazal beginning with the following verse:

دمعی با غم بسر برنگیر پحان یکسر نمی آورد

بمعی بغروش دلوق ما کزی بهتر نمی آورد

The Sultan had a profound knowledge of Arabic and Persian. As a poet, however, his position cannot be assessed as his diwan no more exists37. Ferishtah, while mentioning him as a poet, have given three couplets only as a specimen of his poetry.

Sultan Tajuddin Firoz Shah Bahmani is reckoned as the greatest of all the Bahmani kings so far as intellectual attainment is concerned. His romantic temperament, his love for music and his knowledge of different languages all went to pave
the way for an ideal poet as well as a patron of literature. He is alleged to have begun composing ghazals before his accession to the throne. His pen-name was ‘Uruji which he later on changed to Firozi. Ferishtah has given two of his ghazals and one quatrain. It is no wonder that the reign of this prince became a significant period of Persian literature in Deccan. He renewed contacts with the Persian-speaking countries and invited a large number of scholars and writers from Iran and Khurasan. He also sent an embassy to Amir Timur. His capital Gulbarga became a great seat of Persian scholarship and learning.

Shihabuddin Ahmad-I, was a strictly religious monarch but he also loved poetry and music. Although his court did not possess the glamour of that of his predecessor Firoz, yet he had many poets at his court. Notable among them was Adhari who was entrusted with the task of composing the history of the Bahmani rulers in verse. A history in prose was already written by Mulla Dawud Bidri which very much facilitated Adhari’s work. Keeping in view the famous Shah Nama of Firdausi, he versified the heroic deeds of the Bahmani monarchs up to Ahmad Shah’s reign and named the epic Bahman Nama.

Sultan Muhammad-III Bahmani’s reign is chiefly characterized by the illustrious minister and scholar Khwaja Mahmud Gawan. The name of the Khwaja is by far the most
important in developing and spreading the knowledge of Persian language and literature. He laid the foundation of the famous Madrasa at Bidar and made arrangement for the visits and stay of renowned scholars, such as Jalaluddin Dawani, from Persian-speaking countries. Mahmud Gawan was on friendly terms with many eminent poets and writers of the day. Maulana ‘Abdu’r-Rahman Jami, Khwaja ‘Ubaidu’l-lah al Ahrar the great Naqshbandi Sufi, Sharfu’d-din ‘Ali Yazdi, author of Zafar Nama, and Shamsu’d-din Sakhawi are a few prominent names from the long list of his friends and admirers. It was entirely due to the efforts of this able minister and statesman that Bidar became a seat of Persian culture and education and its fame spread to distant parts of the Muslim world.

With the disintegration of Bahmani Kingdom five Sultanates sprang up viz., ‘Adil Shahi, Qutub Shahi, Nizam Shahi, ‘Imad Shahi and Barid Shahi. The Imad Shahi and Barid Shahi Kingdoms were annexed by the Nizam Shahi and Adil Shahi dynasties, and latter the Qutub Shahis are very important from our point of view. The third kingdom namely Nizam Shahi too patronized poets and scholars but its life was comparatively short and even this period was disturbed by the continuous threats of the Mughals from the north and the ‘Nizam Shahis from the south. During the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah-I a
slightly favourable atmosphere prevailed for literary patronage at Ahmednagar through the efforts of Shah Tahir Husaini, a leading Shi'ah divine, who was himself a poet and scholar of repute. He succeeded in converting Burhan Nizam Shah to the Shi'ah faith and in establishing a college of theology at Ahmednagar which subsequently attracted a number of Persian scholars and writers from over the seas. Besides divines, scholars flourished under the regime of this Sultan of whom one was Maulana-zada Badi'i Samarqandi. Burhan Nizam Shah-II was a liberal patron of scholars and men of letters, and Zuhuri dedicated his famous *Saqi Nama* to him. Other poets like Malik Qummi, Haidar Zihni, Hayati etc., were also attached to the court of Nizam Shah. Historians like Tabatabai, Khurshah Husaini and Ferishtah enjoyed the Nizam Shahi patronage for some time. But internal disorders forced most of the poets and scholars to leave Ahmednagar and get themselves attached to the courts of ʿAdil Shahis at Bijapur and Qutub Shahis at Golconda.

Yusuf ʿAdil Khan was a liberal patron of learning was himself a poet and was conversant with rhetorics. He invited scholars from Arabia, Persia and Transoxiana to Bijapur. An important factor responsible for the development of Persian literature at Bijapur was that, like the Safawis, it proclaimed Shi'ism as the state religion. The religious and ideological unity
of both resulted in a closer collaboration in cultural and political affairs as well\textsuperscript{39}. It also manifested itself in the exchange of diplomatic missions and the influx of literary talent from Persia. Yusuf himself was a poet and Ferishtah has quoted a few of his \textit{ghazals} and \textit{ruba‘is}.

Isma‘il ‘Adil was even more enthusiastic in his attachment to the Safawi empire, and, on every Friday, prayers were recited for the long life of Shah Isma‘il Safawi under his regime. He was a good poet and wrote under the pen-name of \textit{Wafa‘i}\textsuperscript{40}. Ferishtah mentions him as the best poet of the Deccan royalty. A closer examination of his \textit{ghazals} reveals originality and freshness as well as tender lyricism, and the reader cannot but subscribe to the view expressed by the famous historian.

The name of ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah-I surpasses most of ‘Adil Shahi kings in magnanimity, munificence and patronage of art and literature. On ascending the throne his first action was to restore Shi‘ism as a state religion and to undo the harm which Afaqi scholars, poets and nobles had suffered at the hands of his father Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah-I. He distributed nearly one and a half crore of \textit{hons} of gold among his favourite scholars. Shah Fathullah Shirazi, Hakim Ahmad Gilani, Mir Shamsu’ddin Mahmud Isfahani, Shah Abu’l-Qasim Inju, Murtaza Khan Inju, Rafiudin Shirazi and Afzal Khan Shirazi are a few renowned
persons from amongst the lot of learned men who enjoyed his patronage. ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah was himself a scholar well-versed in different Muslim sciences including art and calligraphy. He was not only fond of collecting and preserving books in his library but was also a voracious reader. He is alleged to carry four boxes full of books even on the battle-fronts.

Next comes the tallest figure in literary patronage, namely Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah-II who has been immortalized by his association with Ferishtah, Zuhuri and Malik Qummi. This prince received his early education perhaps in the local dialect, admixture of Dakhni and Marathi, but later on learned Persian and became fairly well-acquainted with it. His minister Shah Nawaz Khan was mainly responsible for bringing him closer to Persian and for creating a genuine taste for its literature. It was on the desire of this monarch that Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah undertook to write his famous history, *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*. Another writer Rafiuddin Shirazi was ordered to prepare an abridged edition of the *Rauzat’u’s-Safa* and the *Habibu’s-Siyar*. Zuhuri’s famous works were mostly written under his patronage and he is stated to have conferred on the latter a fabulous reward for writing jointly with his father-in-law Malik Qummi the *Gulzar-i-Ibrahim* and the *Khwan-i-Khalil*. Malik’s *Mathnavi Manba’u’l-Auhar* on the model of Nizami’s *Makhzanu’l-Asrar* was
composed on the royal direction. Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah was himself a poet and he composed a book on songs entitled *Kitab-i-Nauras* in the Dakhni language. The most important thing about Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah which greatly helped in developing Persian art and literature was his keen critical sensibility. Zuhuri’s writings bear ample testimony to this fact when he praises the King for understanding and appreciating the most delicate shades of poetry. The Sultan used to advise the poets of his court in the art of versification. His critical insight in poetry may be due to his keen sense of music of which he has been held a great authority and as an unequalled patron.

A brilliant galaxy of divines, poets, minstrels, musicians, painters, calligraphers, illuminators, historians and traditionalists adorned his court at Bijapur. This pageant of the prodigies of art and erudition rivalled with the celebrities at court of Delhi and Agra and even that of Isfahan and Qazwin.

Robert Skelton has paid a glowing tribute to the king in respect of his services for the cause of Deccan art thus:

“The school of Deccani painting that has excited the most interest and will probably continue to do so is that of Bijapur. Much of this interest is stimulated by the personality of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah-II whose reign from 1580 to 1627 exactly bridges the
period when the aesthetic achievement of Deccani painting seems to have been at its height”41.

Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah’s successor Muhammad ‘Adil Shah continued the patronage of art and literature, though he was more interested in architecture. Zuhuri and Fuzuni undertook to write historical books at his behest. Atashi wrote an account of campaigns of the kings of Bijapur in verse after the manner of Nizami. The names of Mirza Daulat Shah, Mirza Muqim and Syed Nurullah may also be mentioned among those who flourished under his patronage.

‘Ali ‘Adil Shah-II was more inclined towards Dakhni than Persian. Persian poets and scholars, however, continued to receive royal favour. Shah Abu’l Ma‘ali, Mulla ‘Abdu’r-Razzaq’, Mir Ni‘matu‘l-lah, Malik Akbar Dabir, Mir‘Ali Riza, Malik Mas‘ud, ‘Abdu’l-Qadir, ‘Abdu’l-Latif, ‘Abdu’l-Ghani Nuru‘l-lah Husaini are some of the poets and scholars who flourished at this time. During the rule of the last king of the ‘Adil Shahi dynasty, Sikandar ‘Adil Shah, the influence of Persian was reduced to a negligible position due to political instability and internal disruptions. This is why we find no Persian poet or scholar of repute during his regime.

Sultan-Quli Qutubu‘l-Mulk the founder of the Qutub Shahi dynasty was more an administrator and a soldier than a patron
of learning. Still we find that Mulla Husain Tabasi the author of an extinct work *Marghubu'l Qulub* received liberal patronage at his hands. His successor Jamshid was the first ruler of the dynasty who was also a poet. He wrote *ghazals* as well *qasidas* and had a poet-laureate at his court whose name was Mulla Muhammad Sharif Wuqu‘i Nishapuri. The next ruler Sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah may be mentioned for two historical works written under his patronage namely the *Tarikh-i Elchi-i Nizam Shah* and the *Majma‘u’l-Akhbar* written by Khurshah and Sharif respectively. Husain Tablisi wrote a treatise named *Saidiyah* or the Book of the Game at the behest of the Sultan. Muhammad-Quli Qutub Shah was the most important literary figure in the Qutub Shahi royalty. His regime saw the greatest development of fine arts including poetry. The royal court was full of brilliant scholars, poets and illuminati of learning. Prominent among them were Mirza Muhammad Amin Shahristani, Mir Mu‘min, Rukna-i Masih, Sirajuddin ‘Arif, Ghiyathu’d-din Isfahani, Mir Hasan ‘Askari, Mir Majdu’d-din, Muhsin Hamadani, Wahshi Kashani, Sharif Kashi, Wajhi or Wajihi and Ashraf. Muhammad-Quli was a versatile genius and wrote poems in Dakhni and Persian. His successor Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah developed deep interest in history, biography, theology and poetry. He made valuable additions to his library and appointed
expert calligraphists to transcribe copies of rare manuscripts. The Sultan was himself a writer and composed poetry under the pen-name of Zillullah. The reign of ‘Abdullah Qutub Shah provided special favours and opportunities for talented men of Iran. Two prominent Persians namely Ibn-i-Khatun and Muhammad Riza Astarabadi, who were in charge of the administration, extended all facilities to the Persian speaking immigrants. The influx of Iranians at Golconda at this time was also due to the fact that Bijapur and almost passed into the hands of the Dakhnis, while the Qutub Shahi monarchs maintained very cordial relation with the Safawi Empire. Mulla Jamaluddin, Maulana Husain Amili, Nizamddin Ahmad, Syed ‘Ali Ma‘sum, Muhammad Hussain Burhan, Muhammad-Quli Jami, Razi Danish may be mentioned as writers of his reign. The last ruler Abu’l-Hasan Tana Shah was also interested in many branches of knowledge, and encouraged poets and writers, but unfortunately he fell before the expanding might of the Mughal empire. The extinction of the Dakhni kingdoms at the hands of Aurangzeb closed the chapter of Persian art and learning in the Deccan as a separate entity.

The role of Sufis in the development of Persian literature in the Deccan is no less significant than that of the kings, their ministers and nobles. Chronologically the infiltration of influence
of Islam through the missionary activities of Sufi saints preceded the political conquest of the Deccan. These bearers of a new message, whether they hailed from North India or from over the seas, generally adopted Persian as a medium of expression of their views. Thus they were responsible for the diffusion of Islamic learning and tenets of Sufism, while on the other hand they promoted the spread and popularity of Persian language and literature.

Some of the saints and scholars who have left deep impress in respect of their services for the cause of Persian literature are Shah Raju Qattal, Burhanuddin Gharib, Shaikh ‘Ainuddin Ganju’l ‘Ulum, Khwaja Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz, Shihabu’d-din Daulatabadi, and Shah Ni‘matu’l-lah Wali.

➤ **Dakhni Urdu:**

It was at Gulbarga that the first compositions of Old Urdu were made but the great Muslim saint of his time, Khwaja Banda Nawaz, who in his old age had come all the way from Delhi in 1390 to spread his spiritual message. The Khwaja died at Gulbarga in 1422. Of the several prose-works and poems attributed to him, the most important is *Mi’raju’l-‘Ashiqin* a prose treatise on mysticism. Another interesting composition by the Saint is *Shikar Nama* couched in an allegorical style. The
main question which crops up after reading these and some other pieces of prose and poetry attributed to the Saint is about the language that is employed by him. From early childhood till the hoary age of eighty, he had spent his time in Delhi. It is possible for a man of eighty to give up his idiom and take to a different one? Or, is it that there was not much difference in the dialects spoken in Delhi and the Deccan at the beginning of fifteenth century. By this time Dakhni (or proto-Urdu) had become fairly expressive. The Saint is aware of its mixed (Rekhta) nature and has drawn profusely from the two linguistic and cultural traditions namely, Perso-Arabic and Sanskritic.

Mystic writers continued to enrich Urdu during the fifteenth century Khwaja Banda Nawaz’s son Muhammad Akbar Husaini is also credited with a brochure on Sufism. As the capital of the Bahmanis was shifted to the ‘red-soiled’ Bidar, poets under the patronage of the court tried their hand on versifying popular stories of Indian origin, containing a moral. Nizami, the first major poet, wrote his mathnavi Kadam Rao Padam Rao43 about 1460. It covers about two thousand couplets and is a proof that by the middle of fifteenth century the language has become sufficiently expressive and supple. Nizami’s vocabulary is full of Sanskritic tatsamas; nevertheless his employment of a large number of idioms and simple
expressions is an indication that he was expressing himself through a living medium.

During the fifteenth century, other forms of old Urdu poetry were also tried successfully. The ghazals and qasidas of Mushtaq and Lutfi, although not many in number, are clear indications that the lyrical use of the language had been evolved successfully. The first marthiya in the form of a mathnawi was written by Ashraf in 1503 under the title of Nausarhar\(^44\). Ashraf’s Nausarhar, although not of high literary standard, is nevertheless one of the oldest authentic poetic works available. Ashraf lacks in poetic beauty but uses a wide linguistic range. An analysis of the language of Nausarhar clearly indicates that he has a great command of the idiom but he seldom employs it artistically. The mathnawi relates the story of Karbala, including many fanciful details. It also lacks in its elegiac effect, which is the primary condition of marthiya writing.

Another great name in this religio-mystic period is that of Shah Miranji Shamsu’l-Ushshaq of Bijapur. By the end of fifteenth century, the once great Bahmani Kingdom had crumbled to pieces giving way to five smaller kingdoms of which Bijapur and Golconda were the most important and enduring. Miranji wrote both in prose and poetry. His two long poems, Khush-nama and Khush-Naghz\(^45\), the moving character of which
is that of a young girl called Khushnudi, are full of pathos. They represent the enquiring soul of a young devotee whose spiritual thirst remains unquenched, in spite of the soothing advice of her Murshid. Shahadatu’t-Tahqiq\textsuperscript{46} is another long poem by Miranji, but it lacks the fire of the two books mentioned above and deals mostly with mystical topics.

Miranji’s mission and work was carried on by his son and spiritual successor Shah Burhanuddin Janam. His major work is a mystical mathnavi, Irshad Nama\textsuperscript{47} besides a small prose treatise on Sufism, Kalimatu’l-Haqaiq\textsuperscript{48}, which is hardly of any literary value. Janam is in fact a mystic first and a poet afterwards. He calls his language ‘Gujri’, not Hindi or Hindawi, the name given to his language by older writers. This has been a puzzle for scholars arousing suspicion about the origin of Janam’s family. Miranji and Janam also employ a diction overlaid by tatsamas and tadbhavas. They are also largely influenced by the Hindu system of thought and freely employ its terminology in their writings. This tendency later on produced a special literary style among the Bijapuri writers with their inclination towards Hindu philosophy and idiom. Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah-II’s Kitab-i-Nauras,\textsuperscript{49} a treatise on Indian music, is a clear proof of how much Bijapur Court had imbibed the cultural traditions of Indian music.
Before we pass over to the literary glory of the Bijapur and Golconda schools, a word about the literary achievements of the city of Bidar is necessary. Bidar became the capital of the Bahmanis during the reign of Ahmad Shah Wali. Like Gulbarga, this city is situated in the region of the Kannada language, although being a border town it was liable to Marathi linguistic influences as well. It was here that the first literary work in Dakhni was produced by Nizami Bidari about 1460. Another important writer of Bidar was Quraishi Bidari who translated the “Ko ka Shastra” into Dakhni verse before 1520, under the title of Bhog-Bal. This book has escaped the notice of the literary critics of its obscene theme, although it is an important linguistic document. Another great name of the Bidar school is that of Firoz Bidari, who perhaps, migrated to Golconda, and is hailed by the acknowledged poets of Golconda as their master along with one Mahmud and Mulla Khyali. Only one small piece of poetry – Pirat Nama has come down to us from Firoz Bidari. It is a small mathnavi of 121 couplets in praise of Shaikh ‘Abdu’l Qadir Jilani and his own spiritual guide Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim, whom he remembers as Makhdum Jio. The poem is remarkable for its powerful racy style indicating that Dakhni had been evolved into an established idiom which became the precursor of the Golconda style of poetry.
The seventeenth century was without doubt the Golden Age of Old Urdu of the Deccan. During a part of this period Golconda was ruled by Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, while the Bijapur throne was occupied by the Jagat Guru, Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah-II. Both were patrons of learning and both represented the composite medieval Indian culture which had as its prototype in the north in the person of the Mughal Emperor Akbar the Great. While Ibrahim had strong inclinations towards Indian music, Muhammad Quli busied himself with Dakhni poetry. He is the first major poet of Old Urdu. His Kulliyat covers all the significant forms of Urdu poetry–ghazal, qasida, ruba‘i, marthiya, mathnavi etc. It is a store-house of information for medieval Indian culture, as the king was interested in its minutest details. There are poems on Basant, ‘Eid, winter, rainy season as well as the beautiful women of different castes, creeds and regions that surrounded the king. Muhammad Quli lived a poet’s life and died at the early age of forty-eight. He is a master of descriptive poetry. He totally belongs to earth and enjoys all its colours, scents, drinks, and beautiful things. He sings of what he enjoys. His whole poetry is full of images bordering on sensuality. He has tried his hand at all forms of poetry and expressed himself successfully through the medium of ghazal. Incidentally he is also the first poet-translator into Dakhni. His interest in the
ghazals of Hafiz was abiding, a few pieces of which he has translated successfully into Dakhni. In this respect he was the precursor of Nazir Akbarabadi, who broke the spell of subjective ghazal and is supposed to be the first descriptive, natural poet. Much of the magic of Muhammad Quli’s poetry is hidden under an archaic idiom. It beacons forth as soon as we become familiar with this idiom. His greatness lies not only in his pioneering work but he is a major poet of Urdu in his own right.

It has been correctly assessed that Muhammad Quli is the real founder of the tradition of Old Urdu poetry. This poetry, which had trickled like the sources of rivulet till his time, expanded into a singing stream in his poetical works. His poetic imagery and powerful descriptive imagination has taken the creative form of beautiful poems like *Fitna-i-Dakkhan* (“The mischief-maker of Deccan”):

“You have entangled my heart in the curls of your bright hair, and you roll it like a pupil in the arch of your eye”.

What a coquettish beauty you are! Perfect in every art; You are really a great mischief-maker of Dakhan headstrong in every sense”.

While the Golconda court was presided over by a Poet King, Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II’s court-poet ‘Abdu’l was composing his first major literary work, *Ibrahim Nama*, in Shuhur San
1611-12\textsuperscript{52}. Very little is known about ‘Abdul, except that his family originally belonged to Delhi. When the king commanded him to write something which would leave his name to posterity, ‘Abdul humbly submitted that he had no command over Arabic and Persian languages and knews only Hindawi. This answer of ‘Abdul is confusing, for the language which he employs in Ibrahim-Nama is as good Dakhni as written by any other writer. The theme of ‘Abdul’s mathnavi is the king himself, his court, the royal palaces, the city of Bijapur, its gardens and beautiful women. Ibrahim-Nama lays no claim to historiography; it is a poet’s recapturing of the grandeur of Ibrahim’s court. Although some of its pieces are prosaic, the best ones show ‘Abdul as a consummate artist. His similes are particularly marvelous and his imagination is very rich in describing the reality around him. In the beginning of his mathnavi he also gives a gist of his notions of what poetry is. He discusses the relationship of word and meaning with a thorough background of Indian aesthetic thought.

While the ‘Adil Shahi court poet, ‘Abdul, was busy writing about his patron Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah-II’s grandeur, the court poet of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, Mulla Wajhi, was compiling a romantic mathnavi, Qutub Mushtari, in 1609, describing a purely imaginary love affair of his hero, Muhammad Quli\textsuperscript{53}. It is
at best a poem based largely on fiction. It is historical as far as two bare characters, Ibrahim Qutub Shah and Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah are concerned, but is fictitious in the prince’s love affairs with a princess of Bengal. His love adventures, some based on facts, others on pure fiction, are well known and it would perhaps be appropriate to say that such adventures would be likely nearer home with the semi-mythical “Bhagmati” than with the far off ‘Mushtari’ of Bengal. The purport of the book is to sing the praises of the king, his drinking bouts, his chivalry and ultimate success in his mission of love. Moulvi ‘Abdul-Haq is too harsh when he dismisses this work as insignificant. The truth lies that like ‘Abdul’s Ibrahim Nama it contains some beautiful couplets, especially there is a great rhythmic flow and the language used is simple yet powerful. In the beginning, like ‘Abdul, Wajhi also defines poetry as it should be. But, unlike ‘Abdul, he is not philosophical; his is a practical advice for simple diction, rhythmic flow and clarity of expression. It is interesting that the two masters, ‘Abdul and Wajhi, who were contemporaries, were laying the foundations of two different schools of poetry, those of Bijapur and Golconda. Wajhi, and the later writers of Golconda School avoided the archaic diction full of tatsamas, which was perhaps natural in the Bijapuri
environment influenced by the Marathi and Gujarati traditions of poetry.

Wajhi went into obscurity, shadowed by a greater poetic genius, Ghauasi, during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah. He came into lime-light again, this time as a prose writer when ‘Abdu’l-lah Qutub Shah came to the throne. In 1635, one morning the king called Wajhi in audience and asked him to write something unusual which would make him one among the immortals. Wajhi took the order of the king to his heart and planned a major work in ornate prose and gave the title of Sabras to this work. This is Wajhi’s masterpiece, as it not only presents in an allegorical form the eternal conflict of love and reason as typified by Islamic mysticism but contains many passages, introduced as digression, giving a bit of Wajhi’s mind and his ripe wisdom. The topics range from such mystical themes as Beauty and Love, to such mundane ones as Miserliness, Generosity and classification of the women-types. The whole book, punctuated by his own couplets, is written in an ornate style of great excellence. His claim that no one has written such a book “with a fine blend of poetry and prose” is invariably correct. But his claim to its originality is false, as has been proved ably by its editor Moulvi ‘Abdu’l-Haq, by indicating its sources in Fattahi’s Persian work, Dastur-e-Ushshaq. It is one
of the weaknesses of Wajhi that he boasts too much. He unnecessarily challenges other poets and writers and thinks they are all thieves who pick-up flowers from his garden without acknowledgement. Although Sabras is one of the greatest books in prose ever written in Old Urdu (or proto-Urdu), still Wajhi is a minor poet as compared to his patron Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah or his rival contemporary, Ghauasi.

‘Abdullah, like Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, was himself a poet of great merit. He has left behind him a Diwan, containing some beautiful couplets. But his great virtue was, that having lost his independence to the Mughals, he took upon himself the earnest task of patronizing men of letters. The greatest poet of his reign was Maliku’sh-Shu’ara Ghauasi, the writer of three mathnavis, Maina Satwanti, Saifu’l-Muluk wa Badi’u’l-Jamal, Tuti Nama and a collection of ghazals. It is interesting to note that up-till then attempts at literary creation were based on original plots or on his historical narrations. Ghauasi is the first major poet to fall back for literary creation on free translations or on stories verified earlier. The sources of these stories are both Indian and Perso-Arabic. Maina Satwanti which is perhaps the earliest work of Ghauasi, is based on the popular Indian fable of Lorik and the pious Maina, which was first versified by poet Dawud in Awadhi under the name of Chanda’in in the
fourteenth century. It contains all the elements of Ghauasi’s future greatness, his felicity of pen, mastery over the portrayal of emotions, especially of the fairer sex, and deep understanding of different situations. Nevertheless, his major poetical work is *Saifu’l-Muluk wa Badi’u’l-Jamal* written in 1625. The plot for this *mathnavi* is taken from *Alif Laila* with slight variations. The whole poem is written in chaste Dakhni. Here Ghauasi shows himself as one of the best exponent of the style developed by the poets of Golconda. His mastery both over Persian and Indian vocabulary is unsurpassed. The blend which he gives to the vocabulary from the two sources is unchallenged. Although the plot is borrowed, the situational details and minute observations are his own. *Saifu’l-Muluk* is superior to *Tuti Nama* written fifteen years later based as it is on Nakhshabi’s Persian translation of the Sanskrit *Sapta Shataka*. Mir Hasan, who had the occasion to go through it writes: ‘it is half Persian and half Hindi’. Ghauasi is also a fine ghazal-writer and a collection of his ghazals is now available. He is one of the greatest poets of Golconda School. He is a master-writer of *mathnavis* and *qasidas*. As a ghazal-writer he is more genuine than Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah. His poetic style is the peak of excellence for the Golconda School of poetry.
The tradition of writing long descriptive poems, so firmly established by Ghaussi in Golconda, made further advances at the hands of poets of Bijapur. A Mathnavi entitled Chandar Badan aur Mahyar\textsuperscript{60} is ascribed to the Persian poet Mirza Muhammad Muqim Muqimi. It is, however, doubtful whether a Persian immigrant could write in Dakhni with such a command. Its real authorship is still doubtful. Probably it is from the pen of a lesser known Muqimi, who belonged to Golconda. The story is typically Indian based on a local tradition. The poem is remarkable for its tragic effects and pathos.

A contemporary of Muqimi was Amin who, infected by the tragic tale of Chandar Badan aur Mahyar, wrote the story of Bahram wa Hasan Bano\textsuperscript{61} but could not complete during his lifetime. This was later completed by another poet Mirza Daulat Shah in 1638.

Hasan Shauqi, who died before 1655, is one of the major poets of the ‘Adil Shahi court. In his early career he was connected with the Qutub Shahi court. His reputation as a major poet was known throughout the Deccan long after his death. The Golconda poet Ibn-e Nishati pays glowing tribute to his memory in his Phul Ban, written in 1655. He is the author of two important works, Fath Nama Nizam Shah and Mezbani Nama ‘Adil Shah\textsuperscript{62} both of which remain still unedited. The first
mathnavi records the victory of the combined forces of the Qutub Shahi, ‘Adil Shahi, Nizam Shahi and Barid Shahi forces against the Kingdom of Vijayanagar in the famous battle fought in January 1565. It is a fine specimen of epic poetry, indeed the first one in old Urdu, and is rich in social and historical details. Mezbani Nama describes the marriage of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah and as such is a store-house of the court life of the period. His inimitable description of the royal feast and court-dancers is something unique. Both these mathnavis are based on original facts and as such offer greater opportunity for the poet to display his art and talent. Hasan Shauqi has also written some beautiful ghazals but only handfuls are available which enough to establish his reputation as a lyricist are. His works when edited and published will put him at once in the list of major poets of Dakhni Urdu.

Another important name in the galaxy of Bijapur poets is that of Malik Khushnud, who too originally belong to Golconda and came to Bijapur court as a part of dowry of the queen Khadija Sultana. Soon he rose in royal favour and was deputed back to Golconda as an ambassador in 1635. Malik Khushnud tried his hand in translating three Persian mathnavis of the famous Delhi poet Amir Khusro. Of these Yusuf Zulaikha, Bazar-e-Husn and Hasht Bahisht were translated on the specific
request of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah. They are still unedited but are marked for their racy idiom and beautiful style.

Rustami’s greatness as a poet rests on his sole major work, the translation of Ibn-e Hussam’s Persian Khawarnama. This is one of the longest poems written in Dakhni-Urdu and runs into about twenty-four thousand couplets. It was written to fulfil the wishes of Queen Khadija Sultana of Bijapur. It describes the imaginary heroic wars waged by Hazrat ‘Ali, and contains some grand passages of epic poetry. It is a pity that this great work is still unedited.

Turning once more to Golconda we find Ghausasi is followed by another great poet Ibn-e Nishati, who wrote his inimitable mathnavi Phul Ban in 1655. He was a poet who kept away from the court and rose to poetic greatness by a single stroke i.e. by writing his only poetical work, Phul Ban. It is a masterpiece of poetry written in an ornate style employing as many as thirty-nine figures of speech. Phul Ban enjoyed great popularity in the Deccan long after the death of its writer. Muhammad Ibrahim of Bijapur, the writer of the celebrated Dakhni Anwar Suhaili calls it ‘the most famous mathnavi of the Deccan’. Phul Ban does not comprise of one story but contains a chain of stories after the fashion of Alif Laila. There are three principal stories in it and as many subsidiary. It goes to the credit of Ibn-e Nishati that, in
spite of being a consummate artist, he does not have the false pride of Wajhi or Ghauasi. Ibn-e Nishati is basically a prose writer as he mentions in this *mathnavi*, although no specimen of his prose is available. He writers with a purposeful embellishment and his idiom are racy and supple.

It is strange that after Wajhi’s *Sabras*, which can be classified as poetic-prose, no writer took interest in writing prose-works. Dakhni-Urdu prose was nurtured by the Sufis for their own purpose. A major work in this kind of religious prose was the translation of a Persian work *Shama’il-u’ l-Atqia* by Miran Ya’qub in 1667\(^{68}\). Its main importance lies for the scholars of language rather than literary critics.

These literary efforts in Golconda are intercepted by some major poetic works under the Bijapur court during the reign of ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah-II. ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah, whose *Kulliyat*\(^{69}\) has recently been edited and published, wrote under the pen-name of *Shahi*. He tried his hand on all the forms of Urdu *poetry, ghazal, qasida, marthiya* and *geet*. He is a genuine poet and his poetry abounds in artistic sincerity. His craft man ship is evident from his *qasidas*. His interest in ancient Indian culture is obvious from the stock of references to Hindu mythology, a common trait of the Bijapur school of poetry.
But the greatest among the poets of Bijapur is Mulla Nusrati who also flourished during the reign of ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah II and was the poet-laureate of his court. Nusrati is the author of three extensive works of poetry besides smaller fragments that have come down from him. His first long poem (a *mathnavi*) is *Gulshan-i ‘Ishq* the love story of Manohar and Madmalti which had been versified by more than one poets and in more than one languages of India. The popularity of this romance is evident from the fact that before Nusrati two versions of it were available in Persian. In *Gulshan-i ‘Ishq*, Nusrati appears as a mature poet with great descriptive and imaginative powers. His description of landscape, and the portrayal of the emotions of its characters are done with dexterity. He has a graphic imagination which mingle reality with the fanciful, through a net-work of similes and metaphors. Rightfully does he claim that in this *mathnavi* ‘he has dug innerself, in order to bring out the multi-coloured gems.’

Nusrati’s masterpiece is however, his second book, ‘*Ali Nama*’ dedicated to his royal patron ‘Ali Adil Shah II. It is an original work, describing his wars against the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb as well as Shivaji. ‘*Ali Nama* is both a chronicle of history and a work of poetry. It was written in 1665 in the form of *mathnavi*, intercepted by seven *qasidas*, unsurpassed in
Dakhni-Urdu literature. These *qasidas* are written in a high-flown style with beautiful images and flashes of imagination. The seventh *qasida*, which was written after the conquest of Malnar by ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah is rightly considered by ‘Abdu’l-Haq as one of the finest ever written. With his powerful style, Nusrati gave a new twist to Dakhni-Urdu. He changed the tradition of Bijapur school of poetry by importing powerful Perso-Arabic vocabulary on the one hand, and on the other using profusely Sanskrit *tatsamas*. In order to expand his expressiveness, he thus broke through the limited poetic diction hitherto employed by the poets. Rightly does he call his ‘Ali Nama, the *Shah Nama* of the Deccan, I have written a wonderful *mathnavi* which is new in many ways If any reader thoughtfully reads the epics of Hindi and Persian.

He would see for himself that I have an eye on the fine style of both these languages and summarized their excellence in this work. In one word, I might say that this is without doubt the *Shah Nama* of the Deccan.

Nusrati’s last work *Tarikh-e-Sikandari* is also historical in its contents. It is the versified account of the exploits of a general of Sikandar ‘Adil Shah against Shivaji, who had begun his inroads into the kingdom of Bijapur. This *mathnavi* was composed in 1672. It is an inferior work compared to ‘Ali Nama.
The poet is not at all inspired while composing it. The on-coming fate of the kingdom of Bijapur was heavy on the mind of the poet. He brings out his pent-up anger against the Maratha chief whose inroads were indirectly helping the Mughals who were now at the threshold of Bijapur. Still, there are some memorable lines in this work 'Abdu'l-Haq has quoted them at length in his critical book on the poet entitled *Nusrati*\textsuperscript{72}. The work still remains unedited.

Like Muhammad-Quli Qutub Shah and Ghauasi, Nusrati stands out as one of the major poets of the Deccan. In many respects he resembles the great Urdu poet Sauda. He is an extrovert, commanding a grand style, writing on grand themes. His poetry however, lacks subjectivity and the consuming fire of a lyricist. He is, nevertheless, reckoned as one of the greatest poets of Dakhni-Urdu.

While Nusrati was singing the glories of the last of the ‘Adil Shahis, a blind poet, Syed Miran Miyan Khan “Hashimi” was busy depicting the life of the imperial harem, in his *Rekhti*. *Rekhti* (as distinguished from *Rekhta*) is a form of poetry peculiar to Urdu. In it is expressed the feminine sentiments of love, jealousy, hatred, anger and malice in an idiom native to the feminine world. Hashimi is said to have been born blind, but there is evidence in his poetry that he must be having normal
sight in his childhood. Having lost his sight, he could go freely into the imperial harem and mix with the inmates there. Nusrati, the poet-laureate of the ‘Adil Shahi Court, was contemptuous of his poetry. Nevertheless, Hashimi’s Diwan contains some genuine pieces of poetry. These poems reflect the social conditions of his time. His mastery over the feminine idiom is unsurpassed and his Rekhti contains all the elements to make him the forerunner of Rekhti writers of Lucknow School of Poetry.

Besides rekhtis and ghazals Hashimi also composed an extensive mathnavi, Yusuf Zulaikha, which is again an evidence of his greatness as a descriptive poet and the insight of this sightless man into the complex emotions of the womenfolk. With Hashimi ends an era of Dakhni literature.

Marathi:

Maharashtra of the closing years of the 13th century presents a picture of great cultural and literary output. It was then under the rule of the Yadavas of Devagiri, who seem to have been patrons of learning and art, as is seen from the two Rajaprasastis which appear by way of an Introduction to the Vratakhanda of Hemadri, the Prime Minister of the Yadavas, as also from the anecdote about the composition of Rukmini-
Svayamvara by Narendra\textsuperscript{77}, the credit for which was sought by Ramachandra Yadava the then ruling Prince of Devagiri. The Marathi language had developed by then into a powerful instrument of literary expression and the philosophical works like Vivekasindhu by Mukundaraja, 1188 had prepared the ground and supplied the seed which we find fully developed at the hands of two independent traditions, one headed by Jnanadeva, the intellectual leader of the Bhagavata cult of Pandharpur, and the other by Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahanubhava sect. These two groups, working independently of each other, seem to have led the literary movement in Maharashtra during the last years of the 13\textsuperscript{th} and the first half of the 14\textsuperscript{th} centuries.

The Bhagavata cult, referred to above, was led by Namadeva, a poor, unassuming tailor from Pandharpur, who grew into a poet-saint of a very high caliber under the care and guidance of Jnanesvara, the philosopher-guide to many writers of his time. That they were contemporaries is a fact beyond doubt. The reference in Namadeva to the Muslim invasions and the absence of it in the Jnanesvari cannot be an argument for the difference in time between the two. For, while ʿAlauddin Khilji invaded the Deccan in 1296, that is to say, about two years before Jnanadeva passed away, Namadeva lived up to
1350. Thus, there is clearly a difference of fifty-four years between the last dates of these two contemporaries.

Namadeva faces us with yet another problem and that is in connection with his sojourn in the North. According to tradition he went to Punjab after the demise of Jnanesvara and lived there for about twenty years. He is also supposed to have composed some devotional lyrics in a dialect peculiar to Punjabi and proto-Hindi. Today a shrine of Namadeva stands in Ghoman, a village situated in the Gurdaspur district of East Punjab, and the followers of the Namadeva cult they claim him as their own. The *Granth Sahib* of the Sikhs contains sixty-one of Namadeva’s *padas* or devotional songs, which have been rendered into English by Trump\textsuperscript{78} literally and by Macauliffe\textsuperscript{79} substantially. Dr. Bhagiratha Misra and Rajnarayana Maurya\textsuperscript{80} have traced some more *padas* which they have edited in a book form. All these *padas* contain quite a number of allusions to some of the incidents in the life of Namadeva and also show some linguistic peculiarities common to Marathi. They very often refer to the god Vithala whose great devotee Namadeva was. This intrinsic and linguistic evidence clearly goes to prove the identity between the Namadeva of Pandharpur and that of Punjab. Opinion is, however, divided on this point and more research is necessary to prove the identity of these two Namadevas. It is also necessary to
separate the poems of Namadeva from those of Vishnudasa Nama, a poet belonging to the 16th century and whose work is freely mixed up with that of our Namadeva in the published Gathas.

The age of Jnanadeva and Namadeva is an age filled with the echoes of the cult of Vitthala. The work which was begun by Jnanadeva was continued by Namadeva and his associates and very soon the Deccan began to resound with the emotion of Bhakti. There are certain characteristics of this age which have to be noted here. In the first place these poet-saints were cosmopolitan in their outlook. They recognized a spiritual democracy all round, as is seen from the group of devotional lyricists that gathered round Namadeva. Secondly, they were characterised by a contrition of the heart, by the helplessness of human endeavour to reach unaided the Majesty of God by a sense of sinfulness.

The early part of the fourteenth century witnessed a social and political upheaval in the Deccan. It was brought about by two factors: Countrywide famine and Muslim invasion from the North. The first was responsible for the migrations of the populace on a large scale resulting in linguistic contacts and exchanges especially between Marathi on the one hand and Kannada and Telugu on the other. Marathi folk literature of this
period is influenced to a large extent by Kannada folk-songs, while a few Marathi songs have found their way into Telugu folk-literature as shown by Dr. C. Narayanarao. The Muslim onslaught, which began in 1296 and widely spread out by 1318, completely upset Maharashtrian culture, while conversions to Islam became common. Though Persian became the court language of the rulers, the administrative system remained the same as established by Hemadri, the Prime Minister of the Yadavas, a few years previous to the conquest. Naturally the Persian element found its way into the vocabulary of Marathi on the administrative side, while its popular literature like the religious ballads and the Kirtanas remained uninfluenced by Persian. But the main onslaught of the Muslim rule fell on the social system of the Hindus as bounded by the Chaturvarnya or the four castes, resulting in paralyzing it and encouraging it to disruption. In short, the very life of the Marathi speaking populace was endangered and all its literary and cultural activities came to a standstill. It is for these reasons that we do not have any literary works worth the name during the major portion of the fourteenth century. Either they were not produced with the same enthusiasm and prolificity as before or if produced they are not extant today. Thus the fourteenth century is a dark age in the history of Marathi literature and the very few works
that we come across, like a commentary on the *Bhagavata* by Bahira Jataveda, *Usaharana* by Chombha, Marathi versions of the Sanskrit *Panchatantra* by a number of authors, *Abhangas* or devotional lyrics by *Kanhopatra*, a dancing girl, a *Marathi Bharata* by one Navarasa Narayana, and a commentary in prose by Gurjara Sivabasa on the *Sutrpatha* of the Mahanubhavas, only enhance this darkness.

But this state of affairs did not last long. For we have an epoch-making personality like Bhanudasa, the great-grandfather of Ekanatha, who is supposed to have brought back to Pandharpur the image of the god Vithala from Hampi, where it was taken by the king Krishnaraya of Vijayanagar. This event must have taken place sometime during the life of Bhanudasa, though from the temple of Vijayavitthala at Hampi we cannot say with certainty whether Krishnaraya had actually taken the image of Vithala to that place, or whether he had merely erected a structure where he might later carry the image from Pandharpur and establish it finally. At present the temple of Vijayavitthala at Hampi presents a desolate appearance, without any image in it. It is not unlikely that, as Pandharpur must have suffered from the ravages of the conqueror, the image of Vithala of Pandharpur was in danger of being ill-handled by the invaders, and hence Krishnaraya of Vijayanagar might have thought it fit
to take away the image from the danger-zone to a place where it might be safely lodged. It is also possible that he might have handed it back to a saint like Bhanudasa when the danger of it being ill-handled by the invaders was no more. In any case, the bringing back of the idol from Vijayanagar to Pandharpur, was a great achievement not only in the life of Bhanudasa but also in the history of the Bhagavata cult. For with Bhanudasa and his successors begins the third epoch of the development of the Bhagavata cult of Pandharpur, the first being that of Jnanadeva, and the second of Namadeva and his contemporaries.

Bhanudasa was succeeded by his illustrious great-grandson Ekanatha whose spiritual teacher Janardanaswamy (1504-1575) played a prominent role in his development as one of the greatest poet-saints of Maharashtra. For it was Janardanaswamy who, by his synthesis of the worldly and the spiritual taught Ekanatha by his own example how to reconcile the two. Again, it was he who initiated Ekanatha into the art of writing. For Ekanath’s first work, namely his commentary the Chatuhsloki Bhagavata, was written at the instance of his Guru, Janardanaswamy, while they were on a pilgrimage together. Ekanatha, the scholarly poet from Paithan, is known mainly for his (i) commentary on the eleventh chapter of the Bhagavata, (ii) Rukmini-svayamvara, a metaphorical narrative poem on the episode of the marriage of
Krishna and Rukmini, (iii) Bhavartha Ramayana, an epically sustained metaphor, and (iv) Bhanudas or Folk-songs with a philosophical, content.

Ekanatha seems to have been a very popular author who gathered round him a team of devotional poets who in their own turn have contributed substantially towards the growth of Marathi literature. Of these, Dasopanta deserves special mention. This voluminous writer from Ambe-Jogai has given us about fifty works out of which five or six are commentaries on the Bhagavadgita, of which the one, Gitarnava is the longest and the best. One of his works, namely, Panchikarana, is written in a tabulated form on a long piece of cloth, illustrated by diagrams and pictures, and is still preserved at Ambe-Jogai.

The early years of the seventeenth century witnessed a characteristic phenomenon. So far the authors of Marathi literature came mainly from the Hindu community, Mahanubhavas and the Virasaivas being its offshoots. But now even Christians and Muslims seem to have taken to the art of writing in Marathi.

As regards Muslim contribution to Marathi, mention has to be made of four writers, namely, the Sufi Shah Muntoji Bramhani, Husain ‘Ambar Khan, the author of ‘Ambar Husaini’, a commentary on the Bhagavadgita, Shaikh Muhammad the
author of ‘Yoga-sangrama’, and Latif Shah, a contemporary of Aurangzeb. These Muslim writers have tried to expound Indian philosophy in typically Hindu fashion and they seem to have become one with the Hindu mind and its culture. For a graphic account of their life and works, reference may be made to Sri Dhere’s treaties on ‘Musalman Marathi Santakavi’.

The Jains were not lagging behind and we have poets like Megaraja, Nago Aya and Gunanandi Gunasagara, all belonging to the seventeenth century, who wrote on the popular story of the Yasodhara, and Viradasa who wrote the life of Sudarshana in 1627. Thus, various contributions were being made to Marathi literature by the different sects in and outside of Hinduism. Another noticeable change was a bold attempt by a scholar-poet Sivakalyana, who, instead of commenting on a Sanskrit work like the Bhagavadgita or the Bhagavata after the old fashion, chose the Amritanubhava, a great philosophical treatise in Marathi by Jnanesvara, for his subject. Here, Sivakalyana was trying to establish a fresh tradition in selecting a Marathi and not a Sanskrit work as the basis of his commentary; but unfortunately the change stopped with him and we do not have any such attempts in the immediate future.
Telugu:

The years between 1450 and 1500 witnessed a struggle for ascendency among the three powers of the Deccan, the Vijayanagar rulers, the Bhamani kings and the Gajapatis of Orissa. As long as the famous and enlightened minister, Khwaja Mahmud Gawan headed the administration at Bidar the Bahmani kingdom held its own against its rivals. We have so far no evidence to show that the Bahmani kings patronized Telugu men of letters, although an unpublished Telugu kavya in palm-leaf manuscripts Rajaniti Saramu written by one Nebati Krishnayamatya has come to light. This author seems to have some connections with an officer of the Bahmani court. The Gajapatis of Orissa are known to be patrons of letters. Under the ambitious ruler Kapileswara Gajapati, Orissan forces swept into the south as far as Nellore District. Their representative at Udayagiri, Basava Bhaupala, was a patron of Telugu poets. His minister Anantamatyuni Gangaya was learned person. The Probodha Candrodaya, a joint work of Nandi Mallayya and Ghanta Singayya, is dedicated to him. The original play in Sanskrit deals with advaita philosophy and is the work of Krishna Misra. Two joint poets, Mallayya and Singayya, rendered this great allegorical drama into a Telugu Kavyam.
We now pass on to the Qutub Shahi Kingdom which increasingly became a centre of men of Telugu letters after the so-called battle of Talikota. Sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah, the fourth ruler of the dynasty, endeared himself to the Telugu people by his broad tolerance and love for Telugu poets. He cultivated acquaintance with Telugu poets during the period of his self-exile at Vijayanagar. Telugu people considered the Golconda kingdom their own and called Ibrahim “Malkibharama” out of love and respect for him. Later the Qutub Shahi Kings issued bi-lingual grants, both in Persian and Telugu. Ibrahim’s court was adorned by Addanki Gangadhara Kavi. He wrote *Tapati Samvarana-upa-khyanamu* and dedicated it to “Malkibharama”. In the prologue to the poem he eulogised the family of his patron, and a few important historical facets can be gleaned from it. Generally the prologues of Telugu poetical works yield us much historical information and constitute one of the primary sources of history.

The story of Gangadhara Kavi’s poem is taken from Mahabharata and is moulded by him to suit the requirements of a prabandha. *Tapati Samvaranaupakhyanamu* is on the lines of *Vasucharitra*, the great arch-type for later prabandhas.

Vijayanagar poets specialised in *Dvyarthi kavyas* (kavya with two meanings) *Rahava Pandaviyamu* and the story of
Harischandra and Nala are shining examples. Perhaps to offset this lead the Golconda school of Telugu poets conceived the idea of ‘Acha Telugu’ kavyas. “Acha Telugu” means pure Telugu i.e. that content of the Telugu language which cannot be traced to Sanskrit. Like kavya with double meaning, an Acha Telugu Kavya is a novelty. So far poets regaled themselves by writing one or two stray verses in pure Telugu, but no earlier poet thought of composing a whole kavya in Acha Telugu, This literary feat was attempted and successfully executed by Ponniganti Telaganarya, a poet of the time of Ibrahim Qutub Shah. Telaganarya dedicated his poem ‘Yayati Charitra’ written in “acha” Telugu to Amin Khan, one of the noblemen of Ibrahim’s court. Amin Khan was in charge of the Potlacheruvu (Patancheru) region, nearly twenty miles from Golconda. He was very popular with his fellow citizens. One of his wives, Badi Bibi, was an ideal woman both in and outside the home. Many were her benefactions to the people. Amin Khan took pleasure in humanitarian activities. He used to arrange marriages of poor unmarried Brahmans. He displayed such a zest in this that the god Hanuman, who was a sworn bachelor, is said to have been alarmed lest the Khan should force him into matrimony, and hence the god ran away to the forests.
Such is the popular personage who received the dedication of the pure Telugu kavya of Telaganarya. The story of *Yayati charitra* is taken from the Mahabharata. It will be remembered that Telugu vocabulary consists of three kings of words, *Tatsama, Tadbhava* and *Desya*. *Tatsama* words are words, taken direct from Sanskrit without structural changes or with minor changes only to which Telugu nominal and verbal terminations are appended before they can be used in Telugu. *Tadbhava* words are those that are derived from Sanskrit but which have undergone considerable modification to suit the requirements of the speech habits of the Telugu people. The *Desya* words are purely native words whose origin cannot be traced to Sanskrit or *Prakrit*. Scholars and grammarians recognize *Prakrit* also as one of the mainsprings for the Telugu language, and they distinguish a class of words as *Prakrita-sama* (equivalent to *Prakrit*). But this distinction got very much obliterated. *Prakrit* itself is a *tadbhava* (derived from Sanskrit). As such this category of *Prakrit* equivalents and *Prakrit* derivatives became merged into *tadbhavas* only. In the *desya* also a subdivision is recognised, i.e., *Anyadesya* or loan words from other languages.

Now the question faced Ponniganti Telaganarya and other poets like him as to what is Acha Telugu. Strictly speaking pure Telugu would be that part of the vocabulary which is freed from
tatsama (Sanskrit – Prakrit equivalents) Tadbhava (derived words) and Anyadesya (loan words). After centuries of tutelage of Sanskrit and Prakrit Telugu language came so much under their influence that it was now unable to stand without them. He who is a hero can overcome this influence and who can write any serious and lengthy composition without recourse to Sanskrit words. This is the challenge taken up by Telaganarya. He did succeed in his attempt no doubt, but few readers can easily follow him. Since it was possible to eschew all the extraneous elements, Telegana effected an intelligent and happy compromise; he avoided only tatsama words and admitted tadbhava and anyadesya words also into his stock. That became the standard for subsequent poets who attempted pure Telugu kavyas. They are more a curiosity like dvyaarthi kavyas than poems read with pleasure or ease.

There were other Telugu poets who received the patronage of Ibrahim Qutub Shah. Kandukuri Rudrakavi, author of Nirankusopakhyanamu, Sugriva Vijayamu and Janardhana Astakamu, is said to have been honoured with a land grant by Ibrahim. Of the three writings of Rudra Kavi, the second one i.e. Sugriva Vijaya Yakshaganamu is of considerable importance in Telugu literary history. The Yakshagana is a king of desi dramatic composition. It is distinct from the tradition of Sanskrit
drama which has a place in world literature. The *Yakshagana* is not so elaborate in technique or literary excellence. It is more in the nature of an opera with only a few characters and much of desi music. The metres used in *Yokshagana* are the native song metres. The exponents of *Yakshagana* are a tribe of common people known as “Jakkula vandru”, an itinerant class of actors and singers. There have been references by poets to *Yakshagana* but no composition of the nature has come down to us. The *Sagriva Vijayamu* of Rudra Kavi thus becomes the first extant *Yakshagana* written by a poet of fame. The story is taken from Ramayana and deals with the relations of Sri Rama with the kingdom of Banaras and the brothers Vali and Sugriva.

Another poet of the time of Ibrahim Qutub Shah was a member of the Maringanti family of scholar poets. *Singaracharya* of this family, a Vaishnava by faith, wrote a Kavya ‘Dasaratharaja Nandana charitra’, the story of Sri Rama as a ‘Niroshthya’ kavya. *Niroshthya* means free from labial sounds. The poet wrote Ramayana without using the familiar sounds of speech, p, ph, b, bh, m. It is a kind of literary feat to avoid words with labial sounds. Later poets developed this and similar techniques a kind of hurdle race in literary composition not always to the liking of the reader.
During the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah the policy of broad tolerance was well maintained. Though the Sultan did not receive the dedication of any Telugu poem like his father, he encouraged Telugu poets. Sarangu Tammaya, the karnam (accountant) of the city of Golconda, enjoyed his confidence. Timmaya wrote the very popular poem 'Vaijayanti Vilasamu,' which deals with the life of the Vaishnavite saint Vipranarayana. Some of the feudatories of Golconda also contributed to the advancement of Telugu literature. The Kamineni family of Reddi rulers of Bikkanavolu (in the present Medak district) were petty chieftains owing allegiance to Golconda. A member of this family Raja Malla Reddi wrote Shat Chakravarti charitra and other kavyas. Malla Reddi has the heart of a genuine cultivator and shows great solicitude for the comforts of cows in his poem Siva-dharmottara. Another member of a royal family of Telangana, Raja Surabhi Madhava Rayalu of Jataprolu (Jatpole), wrote a scholarly poem Chandrika Parinayamu. This poet flourished about 1650.

During the last days of the Qutub Shahi dynasty, in the reign of Abu’l Hasan Tana Shah, the friendly relations between Hindus and Muslims of the Deccan appear to be at their best. The brothers Madanna and Akkanna were in ministerial positions, while their nephew Gopanna was the tahsildar of
Bhadrachalam area. Gopanna became popular by his Dasarathi Satakamu, a kind of devotional poem. It is said that as Tahsildar he appropriated Government revenue for the improvement of Sri Rama’s temple at Bhadrachalam and for providing ornaments to the shrines. He was arrested and imprisoned by royal officers but was miraculously rescued by Sri Rama. Gopanna came to be known as Ramadas (‘Servant of Rama’) for his unflinching devotion. During imprisonment and earlier, he poured out his heart in plaintive devotional songs known as Kirtanamulu.

Some of the Qutub Shahi Sultans encouraged music and culture. Sultan ‘Abdullah Qutub Shah was a lover of music. It is said that the famous Telugu Vaggeyakara, Kshetraya, visited the court of ‘Abdullah and won his esteem and presents by composing some padamas in his honour. After the fall of Golconda in 1687, the Telugu region, and in fact the whole of the South was plunged into confusion. The Mughals could not establish their authority firmly. All cultural activity was suspended. Poets could only send up piteous wails to the gods. A local chieftain, Dhamsa, sacked the Bhadrachalam temple, and the priests carried away the idols in the shrine to a place of safety. A poet, Bhalla Peraya wrote the Bhadragiri Sataka in which he refers to these incidents. The Simhadri Narasimha Sataka of Kurmanatha is a Sataka written in the same strain. A
Mughal contingent attacked the Simhachalam Temple (Visakhapatnam district). The poet appeals to the god in a significant language: “if you are not able to protect yourself, how can you protect your devotees”. The literary scene gradually shifted to the southern courts of Tanjore, Madura, Mysore, Pudukkota and lesser principalities. All honour to them for keeping the lamp of literature and art burning, though with diminished luster. As this area does not fall under our definition of the Deccan, we will not enter into greater details regarding their contribution.

It now remains to describe a few more important types of kavyas which flourished at this time. The historical kavya in Telugu is one such type. The idea of singing the glory of dynasties like the Kakatiyas was a later development. Even from the earliest periods of Telugu literature, the prologue to a poem, the verses at the beginning and end of Asvasas provided occasion for the poet to eulogise his patron. These references give the reader some clue for constructing the history of the patron. Long historical poems belong to a later period. It is quite possible that the Persian chronicles compiled in the Deccan influenced the writing of Telugu chronicles as well.
Kannada:

From the middle of the twelfth century to the fourteenth, Kannada language and literature underwent a great change. The language, which had borrowed its vocabulary freely from Sanskrit and shared many common features with Telugu and Tamil, attained a distinct individuality of its own with a richness not surpassed by its sister languages. In literature bold departures from the traditional forms of expression were made, this tendency to seek novel modes of writing being mainly due to the effort of Virasaiva teachers. The revolt of Basava and his associates was against the inhibitions and impositions of social and religious traditions and practices which had outlived their utility and hampered progress. This revolt could be seen in the literature of the period as well.

Significant of the new spirit of freedom, the old, ponderous champu form of composition slowly gave place to the terseness and buoyancy of the new metrical forms, Tripadi, Satpadi, Ragale and Sangatya, though the champu continued to be used by some writers. The spirit of freedom introduced by Virasaivism was seen in the Vachana composition of a galaxy of eminent Vachanakaras, the most illustrious of whom are: Basava whose compositions are characterized by a spirit of intense devotion, Allama Prabhu whose utterances are those of a God-realised
soul and Akkamahadevi who poured out her feelings of complete surrender to her god-lover Chennamallikarjuna in expressions of incomparable tenderness and charm. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Kannada language and literature thus broke loose from the trammels of rigid tradition and usage and struck new paths of its own.

As for the contributions, while the earlier Jaina writers helped the development of the grand epic mode of literary composition, the Virasaiva writers introduced the Desi or popular mode of writing with its simpler but equally effective forms. Thus were imparted richness and variety into Kannada literature. With the decline of Jainism there was a corresponding decline in Jaina literary productions also; this lacuna was filled by the new popular literature which rose with the Vachanas of Basava. The Virasaiva writers contributed generously to the growth and enrichment of the Kannada language and literature. This renaissance, however, received a set-back some time after the death of Basava. Kalyan was devastated about 1200 and the Lingayats were scattered. This led to a temporary decline in the Lingayat literary output. Thus in the thirteenth century, the Jaina and Virasaiva literatures were on the wane, though never extinct.
In the thirteenth century, the political condition of South India was disturbed on account of the contest for hegemony between the Yadavas and the Hoysalas, and the danger of northern inroads into the peninsula. But this unsettled state did not much affect the advance in the literary field. A distinct impetus was given to the literary development with the favourable political condition of Karnataka after the establishment of the empire of Vijayanagar in 1336. Even in the thirteenth century, writers like Andayya showed the way for a free, imaginative way of writing. He employed a language which was virtually Kannada, though it contained many words derived from Sanskrit. His object seems to have been to show that the Kannada language was already rich enough to express profound thought without borrowing from Sanskrit. The subject he chose is a blend of the temporal and the spiritual, worldly and other-worldly. His characters are Kama (the god of love), Jaina Muni (Jaina ascetic) and the god Siva. These characters are intended to stand for the mundane and the heavenly forces which operate to decide the destiny of man. There is a freedom in his flight of fancy and a charm in his style.

In this period—just prior to the fourteenth century—arose also some writers who produced works on poetics and allied subjects. Mallikarjuna made a collection of earlier literary
passages in the *Suktisudharnava*, the earliest anthology in Kannada\(^\text{92}\). In his selection and arrangement of passages he has shown the true critic’s discrimination and judgment. His son Kesiraja wrote the *Sabdamanidarpana*, a work in Kanda verse on Kannada grammar. This exercised a profound influence on later writers. The quality which distinguishes this treatise from similar writings in Tamil and Telugu is its formulation of rules and the use of copious illustrations from earlier writers. Its *vritti*, commentary in prose, makes a delightful as well as helpful reading. Works on sciences like medicine, geography etc. were also written during this period. The way was now being prepared for the rise of Haridasas’s *Dasasahitya* or “Literature of Intense Devotion” in a personal god of Vaishnava faith by the writings of Rudrabhatta, author of the *Jagannatha Vijaya*, and Narahari Tirtha. Of the latter’s songs, only two are extant.

The above survey needs to be supplemented by a brief review of Kannada inscriptions commonly engraved on slabs of stone, as they render valuable help in the study of Kannada language and literature. Their chief merit lies in their vastness, being spread over almost all parts of Karnataka, numbering more than twenty thousand slabs, big and small, and the precise chronological data included in them. Single centres like Sravanabelagola have yielded hundreds of records in one place.
A large number of epigraphs are written in handsome script, chaste language and elegant literary style. They contain imposing descriptions of gods and goddesses, country and town, royal patrons, distinguished officers, generals, warriors, religious teachers, saints, men of letters and composers, devoted wives, loyal servants and magnanimous donors.

Kannada inscriptions make their appearance from the fifth century onwards. The earliest records (Helmi inscriptions) are brief and simple. But as centuries go by the evince a remarkable phase of development, attaining a high standard of literary performance, noteworthy for its range, volume and excellence. There are inscriptions which comprise whole poetical compositions by themselves, a few of them being actual products of great literary men like Ranna and Janna. The period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century may be regarded as the golden age of epigraphical literature, when these documents of business and art reached the zenith of refinement and splendor.

At Itagi in the Yalbargi taluka of Raichur district is preserved a bulky inscription which reads like a classical poem, a miniature Champu Kavya by itself. Though its central theme is the construction of a magnificent Siva temple (called Devalaya-Chakravarti or Temple-Emperor by the poet) by Mahadeva, a military officer under the Chalukya emperor
Vikramaditya-VI. It is full of an elaborate description of the circumstantial details of the event. The impregnable citadel and fortifications of Sedimba, (modern Seram in Gulbarga district) form the subject matter of a glowing eulogy incised on a pillar near a gateway of the town. The inscription is of the time of the Chalukya king Somesvara-IV\textsuperscript{95}. The goddess Jyeshtha or Mahamaya of the Sakta cult, and her supreme prowess are lavishly panegyrized in an epigraph at Kukanur in Raichur district, of the reign of the Kalachuri ruler Sankama\textsuperscript{96}. The Hampi inscription of Devaraya-I, to which reference has been made, is another epigraphical instance of high literary standard, composed in the pompous Champu style during the early Vijayanagar period\textsuperscript{97}. In a touching encomium of the king's minister Lakshmidhara, described as the “jewel mirror of the race of the Kannadigas”, the poet fancies that the noble virtues like compassion, charity, and service to humanity by striving to better the lot of the poor, the destitute and the afflicted, were infused into his blood, as it were, from childhood by his mother through whispering lullabies while feeding him.

The usual prose-cum-verse champu form was the general pattern of epigraphical compositions in the early stage. Subsequently, coming under the influence of popular modes of expression, the authors of these inscriptions occasionally
introduced simpler forms like *Ragale*, *Tripadi* and *Shatpadi* in their writings. It is note-worthy that in an inscription at Kogali in Bellary district, dated 1055, occurs a moving description of a jaina teacher in the fluent *Ragale metra*. This is the earliest example of a *Ragale* composition⁹⁸.

The Champu form persisted in epigraphical literature as late as the fifteenth century. During the Vijayanagar period, however, the inscriptions lose most of their classical grandeur and are reduced more or less to the level of common-place prosaic writings.

➤ **Sanskrit:**

The creative period of Sanskrit literature may be said to have witnessed a decline by the end of the 10th century. No original work in Sanskrit seems to have been compiled during the period, 1300 to 1800. The main causes for this decline may be the following: Firstly, during the late medieval period, some of the Muslim rulers who had established political hegemony over North India were not generally patrons of Sanskrit language and literature. Subsequently these rulers penetrated into the Deccan with the result that Sanskrit learning and literature found active royal patronage difficult. Secondly, during this period, the new Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages gained gradual supremacy
over Sanskrit, the lingua franca of the cultured and the elite in India. Consequently no original Sanskrit work of outstanding merit was produced in the later medieval period.

Yet it is interesting to note that in spite of the rise of peoples’ languages, Sanskrit continued to be cultivated during this period, and a number of commentaries on standard Sanskrit works have added to our knowledge. The special characteristics of medieval Sanskrit literature arise from the fact that most of the writers focused their attention on writing commentaries and glosses to general branches of Sanskrit literature. Of particular importance to us is the compilation during this period, of the encyclopedic works on Dharmasastra.

Although no poet or dramatist of the genius of Kalidasa or Bhavabhuti belongs to this period, a good number of belles-lettres–dramas, poems, lyrical, gnomic and didactic in character, were produced.

In the field of rhetoric at least half a dozen works, besides six works on dramaturgy were produced during the late medieval period. Most of these works, however, were based on older standard works on rhetoric, slightly rearranged and mostly illustrated with verses specially composed to praise the patrons of these writers.
The philosophers of this period focused their attention on writing commentaries and sub-commentaries on well-known texts, such as the *Upanisads*, the *Brahmasutras* and the *Bhagavadgita*, thus popularising the philosophic thought embodied in these works.

Astronomy is the only branch of knowledge which continued to flourish in the period under review. Great astronomers tried to keep the calculations up to date. While new astronomical treatises were written, several commentaries on older works as the *Siddhantasiromani* of Bhaskaracharya, were composed in order to keep the old system alive. Furthermore, many writers from the Deccan contributed to Astrology, and thus utilized the science of astronomy for astrological investigations.

Even in the field of medicine, no original contribution was made. Nevertheless, some lexicons were written dealing with the properties of the medicinal plants and herbs. A work on the science of dietetics is also credited to this period.

Two main philosophic systems, Logic (*tarkasastra*) and Exegesis (*mimamsa*) were developed in this period. But most of the works on the science of logic were written by the scholars from the area around Nadia and *Mithila*. A good number of *mimamsakas* wrote their works at Varanasi, though they
belonged to the Deccan. The science of grammar was also
developed by the scholars of the Deccan who had migrated to
Varanasi.

Most of the modern writers of the history of Sanskrit
literature have concentrated their attention on chronology; the
other factor i.e. location of the region or place of the writer have
been neglected. The writers themselves very rarely give their
personal history in the colophons to their works, and rarely do
we find the region or place of the writers mentioned in their
works. Unfortunately there is no books available dealing with the
contribution of different regions to the development of Sanskrit
literature.

In order to ascertain the contribution of medieval Deccan
to Sanskrit language and literature one has to rely mostly on the
available histories of Sanskrit literature, i.e. some critical
editions of Sanskrit texts; the learned introductions to important
Sanskrit texts; and a number of research articles published in
various journals in India and in western countries.

2. Literature:

Literature consists of written productions, often restricted
to those deemed to have artistic or intellectual value. Its Latin
root *literatura/litteratura* (derived itself from *littera*, letter or
handwriting) was used to refer to all written accounts, but intertwined with the roman concept of cultura: learning or cultivation. Literature often uses language differently than ordinary language. Literature can be classified according to whether it is fiction or non-fiction and whether it is poetry or pose; it can be further distinguished according to major forms such as the novel, short story or drama; and works are often categorized according to historical periods or their adherence to certain aesthetic features or expectations.

A. Poetry and Poets:

A large number of poets and writers flourished in the Deccan under the patronage of the Bahmani, the ‘Adil Shahi, the Qutub Shahi and the Nizam Shahi dynasties. But of litterateurs of the Bahmani dynasty only a few are known to us. It is really a very sorry state of affairs that during a hundred and forty year rule of this dynasty not even a dozen poets and writers of repute are generally known. The unusual phenomenon as to why the works of none of the first class poets of the Bahmani period have survived, cannot be accounted for. However it is gratifying to note that much of the Persian literature produced in the subsequent period of the ‘Adil Shahi, Qutub Shahi and Nizam Shahi rule is preserved, and in the following pages an attempt is
being made to make an appraisal of this literature. As poetry forms the major bulk, it will be examined first. Since the poets who had flourished during the later period are numerous, only the outstanding among them have been selected here for examination.

1. Shah Raju Qattal:

Syed Yusuf bin ‘Ali bin Muhammad Dihlawi popularly known as Shah Raju Qattal was a resident of Delhi. On his migration to the Deccan in 725 A.H., he is stated to have settled near Khuldabad and died in 731 A.H. A small copy of his Diwan comprising of some ghazals, qasidas and qit’as is preserved in the State Central (Asafiya) Library, Hydarabad. As an exponent of Sufism, Shah Raju emphasizes the doctrines of spiritualism and reveals his mood of ecstasy in his lyrics. Khudi (ego), Tajalli (revelation), Nur-i Ahmad (the light of the Prophet), Ma siva Allah (nothing other than God), Hama-ust are some of the topics on which he has expressed his views in these lyrics99.

2. Isami:

Isami the author of Futuhu’s-Salatin, may well be declared to be the first great poet of Bahmani period. This book is a comprehensive history in verse of medieval India written at
Daulatabad in 751 A.H. about two and a half centuries before the *Tarikh-i Ferishta*. It is composed in imitation of the famous *Shah Nama* by Firdausi and extols the heroic deeds of the early Muslim conquerors of India. It ends with the establishment of Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan. It is rich in dates, details of battles and important civil and military personages.

Although little notice has been taken of ‘Isami by the latter *Tadhkira* writers, he has given a substantial account of his own life and career. He was born at Delhi about the year 1311-12. His grandfather was an officer in Sultan Balban’s administration. Isami was forced to migrate to Daulatabad at the age of 16 where he lived for twentyfour years. Qazi Burhanuddin of Daulatabad was greatly impressed by his learning and scholarship and introduced him to the court of Sultan ‘Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah. It was under the patronage of this king that ‘Isami wrote his historical *Mathnavi, Futuhu’s-Salatin*. This important history has been frequently used by the subsequent historians of India\textsuperscript{100}.

3. Muhammad Shah-II:

Muhammad-II\textsuperscript{101} himself a poet and calligrapher and a liberal patron of scholars and poets. He was well-versed both in Arabic and Persian. It is however unfortunate that all his
compositions are lost. As has been mentioned above, Ferishta has cited three of his verses which are too short to warrant a critical estimate of his poetical attainments. However these lines are lucid and natural and the ideas contained are original and forceful.

4. **Firoz Shah:**

Sultan Taju’d-din Firoz the eighth ruler in the line, was one of the most distinguished monarchs of the dynasty. In intellectual and martial attainments he has few parallels. Being himself a gifted poet his court witnessed the array of paragons of erudition, poetry and philosophy drawn from centres of Persia and Central Asia. Ferishtah informs us that Firoz wrote under the pen-names of Firozi and ‘Uruji. The verses quoted by him, though not many in number, reveal the Sultan’s unusual command over Persian language and poetry\(^{102}\).

5. **Khwaja Bandanawaz Gesu Daraz:**

The renowned saint who had played the most significant role in the promotion of Sufism and had thereby contributed lavishly to the development of Persian literature in the Deccan, is Khwaja Banda Nawaz, Sadru’d-din Abu’l-Fath Syed Muhammad Husaini popularly known as Gesu Daraz. Though born in Delhi
in 1321, he was taken to Daulatabad at an early age and was brought up there. After some time Syed Husaini went back to Dehli. Where he became a disciple of Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud Charagh-i Dehli. On the death of his Pir in 1356 the Khwaja was chosen as his successor. In 1398 Khwaja Banda Nawaz left Delhi for Deccan via Gujarat and Daulatabad; he is reported to have arrived at Gulbarga in 1412-13\textsuperscript{103} and settled down there. The then Sultan, Firoz Shah Bahmani held him in great veneration and highly honoured him. The saint died within a few months after the Sultan’s death, in 1422.

Khwaja Gesu-Daraz was a scholar and poet of repute. He has left behind a number of books both in Arabic and Persian on religion and Sufism\textsuperscript{104}, besides a *Diwan* of lyrics named *Anisu’l-‘Ushshaq*\textsuperscript{105}. The introductory part of the Diwan comprises a poem in praise of God, verses in praise of the four Orthodox Caliphs, and a few poems in praise of his spiritual guide Shaikh Nasiruddin. The Khwaja employs various pen-names such as Muhammad, Abu’l-Fath, Gesu-Daraz and Sadru’d-din. His style is lucid and his rhymes are generally familiar and musical. He tries to conceal sentiments of divine love in the garb of allegory and symbolism, but these are too delicate to hide the radiant light of spiritual love. A considerable portion of the *Diwan* was composed at an advanced stage of his life; but even in such
verses the poet does not lose sight of lucidity of expression and sincerity of purpose.

6. Adhari:

Shaikh Adhari’s full name was Nuruddin Hamza son of ‘Ali Malik. Tusi also called Baihaqi Isfra’ini. He started writing at an early age and was enlisted in the service of Ulugh Beg. His reputation as a panegyrist led him to the court of Emperor Shah Rukh who, according to an authority, made him the poet-laureate of the court. Adhari had a spiritual bent of mind and the royal patronage and material prosperity could not give him spiritual contentment. With the passage of time he became more and more mystic minded and visited the shrines of saints and sufis. At first he became a disciple of Shaikh Muhiyuddin Tusi and went with him on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return from the Hajj, his Pir died. Then he got himself attached to Shah Ni’matu’l-lah and turned into a devout spiritualist. According to Ferishtah, after performing his Hajj he returned to the Deccan, perhaps about 1428-29, at the behest of his preceptor Shah Ni’matu’l-lah. Shihabuddin Ahmad-I, the then Bahmani ruler of Deccan was greatly impressed by the saint and paid him due honour and respect. Subsequently the poet was asked to compose the history of the Bahmani rule in verse which he did
under the title of Bahman-Nama-i-Dakhni partly in the Deccan and, partly in Khurasan where he had ultimately returned by Ahmad Shah’s permission\textsuperscript{109}. Adhari died in 866 A.H. at an advanced age of 82\textsuperscript{110} years and the date is to be calculated from the word “Khusro”\textsuperscript{111}.

His important compositions are\textsuperscript{112};

1. Jawahiru’l- Asrar or Miftahu’l-Asrar regarding Huruf-i Muqatta’at. Traditions of the Prophet, sayings of the saints etc. An abridged edition was published at Tehran in 1303 A.H.

2. Miratu’l-Asrar, a mathnavi dealing with sufism, philosophy and ethics.

3. Sa’i-i Safa, a treatise written dealing with the rituals of the Hajj.

4. ‘Ajaibu’l-Ghara’ib, dealing with the wonders of the world. One copy is preserved at Leningrad and another incomplete MS. is located in the Majlis Library, Tehran.

5. Diwan which exists in at least three MSS; one in the private library of Dr. Ehsan Yar Shatir of Tehran, another in Leningrad and a third at Copenhagen.

6. Bahman Nama. As it remained unfinished at Adhari’s death it was taken up by two other poets, viz., Naziri and Sami’i. the Bahman Nama was a long mathnavi in the Shah Nama metre.
It is no longer extant but some verses are quoted in Ferishtah\textsuperscript{113} and other works.

Ferishtah raised some doubts about its attribution to Adhari while writing about the pedigree of ‘Alau‘d-din Hasan Bahman Shah the founder of the dynasty\textsuperscript{114}. But while writing the account of Sultan Ahmad Shah he became quite sure about the authenticity of its authorship to Adhari\textsuperscript{115}. The late Nasiruddin Hashimi considered Adhari a poet of Dakhni on the assumption that the \textit{Bahman Nama} was in Dakhni and not in Persian\textsuperscript{116}. But it has been decisively proved that he has totally misunderstood the whole point.

7. Naziri:

Naziri was born at Tus and was a disciple of Shah Nimatullah. On his arrival in India he got himself attached to Khwaja Mahmud Gawan. He was ultimately raised to the Position of a poet-laureate at the court of Sultan ‘Alauddin Ahmad-II. The poet was on very close terms with the members of the family of Shah Ni‘matullah and on this account was suspected of secret alliance with Shah Habibullah. He was therefore placed into confinement by Sultan Humayun Shah, but was released after some time through the influence of a noble
called Yusuf Turk. Subsequent to his release from prison Naziri chose to lead a secluded life.

Naziri is stated to have undertaken to complete Adhari’s unfinished *Bahman Nama*. One of his contemporaries Mulla Sami‘i and some other poets also collaborated in this task. The additional verses were given the title of *Mulhaqat-i Bahman Nama*\(^{117}\).

8. **Shahidi Qummi:**

Shahidi, a resident of Qum, was the poet-laureate of Sultan Ya‘qub\(^{118}\) of Tabriz and enjoyed his favours and patronage. He had been some time in Hirat and lived in the company of Maulana Jami\(^{119}\). He is reported to have come to India and settled down in Gujarat where he is stated to have died at an advanced age of nearly one hundred years\(^{120}\).

It is not quite clear from where the poet proceeded to India. Amin-i Ahmad\(^{121}\) and Taqi Isfahani\(^{122}\) are in agreement that having left Sultan Ya‘qub’s court\(^{123}\) Shahidi arrived in Gujarat. The former has completely ignored Shahidi’s residence at Hirat with Jami, whereas the latter supposes that from Hirat he went to Shah Ya‘qub and lived with him till his arrival in India. But some other writers hold that from Tabriz Shahidi went to Hirat from where he migrated to India\(^{124}\). But it is not quite correct
that he left Hirat only after Jami’s death. Taqi Isfahani had this to say regarding his general behavior;

“His manners were despised by the poets of the court, but Maulana Jami knew his worth and had great respect for him. It is said he was the poet-laureate of the court of Sultan Ya’qub but the poets, scholars and other dignitaries were very much tired of him. So he left them all, severed his connection with the court, and migrated to Gujarat where after quite a long time he died\textsuperscript{125}.

This statement is not in consonance with those who state that he left the court of Sultan Ya’qub only after the latter’s death.

Shahidi was some time in the court of Ismail Adil Shah. It is stated by Ferishtah\textsuperscript{126} that on the surrender of the fort of Bidar about 1528-29, Isma’il ‘Adil Shah was so pleased that he threw open the gates of the Barid Shahi treasury to the scholars and the poets of his court. Shahidi who had very recently arrived from Gujarat could not avail of this opportunity due to fatigue and infirmity and pleaded for another for another chance. The Sultan acceding to his request permitted him to go to the treasury and take away as much gold as possible.

Shahidi seems to have spent the closing days of his life at the ‘Adil Shahi court at Bijapur. As he is stated to have died in 1529-30 \textit{i.e.}, within about one year of his arrival at this court, it
has been supposed by some scholars\textsuperscript{127} that he died at this place. But Taqi Isfahani who had himself lived some time in Gujarat, has referred to his grave there. This view has been fully supported by the author of the Khizana-i ‘Amira who on the authority of Qati’i\textsuperscript{128} states that the poet died at Sarkhej near Ahmadabad.

Shahidi’s poetical compositions in the form a \textit{Diwan} has been located by Dr. Devare in the Asafiya Library Hyderabad\textsuperscript{129}. On the basis of the existing writing of the poet he has formed a definite opinion about his poetry. His lyrical poetry is highly effective. His odes are models of clarity and fluency of expression and in this form the poet has imitated Hafiz and Jami. Both Taqi Isfahani and Amin have preserved a good number of lines from his lyrics.

9. \textbf{Maulanazada Badi‘i Samarqandi:}

Maulanazada Badi of Samarqand, some of whose \textit{Qasidas} and \textit{Ghazals} are included in the Bankipur MS. of Taqi Kashi’s \textit{tadhkira}, the \textit{Khulasatu’l-Ash‘ar}, was a poet attached to the court of Burhan Nizam Shah. Nothing is known about him except that he migrated to the Deccan and led a successful life at Junnar. As the latter town was included in the Nizam Shahi kingdom, it has been concluded that he was attached to the
court of Ahmednagar. This is also fully proved by his three Qasidas which are all in praise of Burhan Nizam Shah.

In the Nizam Shahi dynasty two rulers were known as Burhan Nizam Shah. The first ruled from 1505-6 to 1554 and the other from 1590 to 1594-5. Badi’i was certainly attached to the former. This conclusion is based on the following facts;

In one of his Qasidas the poet informs us of the Sultan’s design to annex Raichur and Mudgal. Raichur and Mudgal formed part of the territory of the kingdom of Ramaraj, the regent of Vijayanagar. As Ramaraj was killed in 1565 in the battle of Bannihatti and parts of his territory was annexed by the kingdoms of Ahmednagar, Golconda and Bijapur. The proposed invasion referred to in Badi’i’s Qasida would have been contemplated much before this date. In other words the poem in question must have been written earlier than this date i.e. during the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah-I.

Regarding Badi’s stay in Ahmednagar and the date of the composition of the qasidas, we have some points to discuss. It appears from one of the qasidas that Burhan Nizam Shah-I had adopted the Shi’ah faith.

And our authorities show that the Sultan adopted this faith in 1537-8. The qasida informing Nizam Shah’s design to invade Raichur and Mudgal was written earlier than 1552 for
these fortresses were conquered in the said year\textsuperscript{131}. From this it is evident that Badi composed his poems in Burhan’s praise some time after 944 A.H. and before 959 A.H. But we have no information about Badi’s actual date of arrival in the Deccan. In the qasida giving the Sultan’s design of the conquest of Raichur and Mudgal, the poet says that he has been living in the court for about a \textit{qarn}. Though the term is liable to various interpretations, the smallest period attributed to it is 30 years. And if the word is taken to mean 27 or 28 years, the time of Badi’s arrival in the Deccan would be fixed in the vicinity of 1524.

A poet named Badi Samarqandi has been noticed by Daulat Shah\textsuperscript{132} and Taqi Isfahani\textsuperscript{133}. The former has stated that he belonged to the time of Baisunqur Mirza; while the latter has added that he had survived till the reign of Shah Tahmasp. As the verses quoted in the \textit{Khulasatu’l Ash’ar} are also quoted by Taqi Isfahani in the \textit{‘Arafat-i ‘Ashiqin}, it is surmised that according to Taqi, Badi Samarqandi was contemporary with Baisunqur Mirza; but it is not possible, for, even if it is supposed that Badi at the time of Mirza’s death in 837 A.H. was aged only 15 to 20 years, his date of birth would fall in the vicinity of 822-27. But how can he be identical with a poet who is known to
compose a *qasida* about 957-58 without proving his unusually long life of over 130 or 135 years.

Badi was an effective poet. He could depict any event forcefully. The opening lines of one poem *(Qasida-i-Bahariya)* would bear it out.

His poems fully testify to his powerful imagination and capacity for using suggestive and new similes. But Badi’i does not seem to be the best at his *ghazals*. Taqi Koshi has selected six *ghazals* but none of them appears to be forceful and effective.

10. **Mulla Muhammad Sharif Wuqu‘i:**

Mulla Muhammad Sharif Wuqu‘i Nishapuri was the author of *Majma-ul-Akhbar* and the poet-laureate of Jamshid Qutub Shah. He remained in the Qutub Shahi service till the death of Ibrahim Qutub Shah in 1580. During the period of his stay at Golconda, he commenced his magnum opus, *viz.*, *Majma-ul-Akhbar* which he dedicated to his royal patron, but on reaching the Mughal court, the dedication was changed to the name of Akbar. Badayuni admits his skill in calligraphy, *insha*, and miscellaneous verse-writing. He has cited Wuqu‘i’s panegyric in praise of Imam Husain, and many selections from his verses. He died at Lahore in 1593-4.
11. **Zuhuri:**

Zuhuri, whose proper name was Nuru’d-din, was born in Qa’in, and not in Turshiz as is generally averred, some time about 1536-8. It was in 1580 that he left for India and arrived in Ahmednagar during the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah who warmly received him. He composed poems in praise of Murtaza Nizam, his ministers Salabat Khan and Mirza Naziri, and many other nobles of the court, He also sent some poems extolling Khan-i Khanan and received favours from him.

Zuhuri composed his *Saqi Nama* in praise of Burhan Nizam Shah-II, and was abundantly rewarded by this liberal patron. After the latter’s death the poet left Ahmednagar for Bijapur about 1595-6 and got admittance into the ‘Adil Shahi court to which he was attached until his death in 1616.

A large part of his voluminous *Kulliyat*, comprising more than thirty thousand verses of all forms, besides his prose-writings, was completed during this period of his life. It was at Bijapur that he composed poems parallel to Nizami’s *Makhzanu’l Asrar*, at the instance of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah. Besides these, he wrote a large number of other poems in praise of the Sultan and his minister, Shah Nawaz Khan, and many other nobles of the court. The *Sih Nathr* which is considered to be the best type of ornate prose was also completed at Bijapur.
12. Maulana Malik:

Maulana Malik’s career and achievements run almost parallel to those of Zuhuri, his son-in-law. Born at Qum about 1527-8, he left for Kashan at an early age and stayed there for nearly twenty years. He then moved to Qazwin from where he migrated to India in Ramazan, November 1578. He arrived in Ahmednagar a year later during the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah and was received with favour at his court. His poems in praise of Murtaza, Salabat Khan, Burhan Nizam Shah and Khan-i-Khanan are still preserved in *Kulliyat*. During his long stay of seventeen years at Ahmednagar Malik produced a large number of poems of all verse-forms besides a *diwan* of *ghazals* which had been completed before his arrival in India.

On the death of Burhan, Malik left Ahmednagar for Bijapur and found an elevated rank among the literary figures of the place where subsequently he and his son-in-law were destined to shine brilliantly in the galaxy of Bijapuri poets. His Bijapuri productions comprise poems of various forms written mostly at the instance of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah with a view to rivalling earlier masters of the art. For example besides his prose treatises and the two joint anthologies, the *Gulzar-i-Ibrahimi* and the *Khwan-i-Khalil*, his *Manba-ul-Anhar* is parallel to Nizami’s *Makhzanu’l-Asrar*; his *Tarji’bands* are similar to those of Sa’di and Wahshi.
and a number of *ghazals* and *qasidas* are on the model of *Anwari, Khaqani, Sa’di, Hafiz* and others. In short, Malik did not lag behind in richly contributing to the development of the Persian literature during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah-II of Bijapur.

13. **Muhamad Hashim Sanjar:**

Muhammad Hashim Sanjar of Kashan, son of the illustrious Mir Haidar Mu’ammai, was the third shining orb on the horizon of the literary firmament of Bijapur. He was born in Kashan about 1572-3 and received his early education and training from his father. While quite young he happened to go to Isfahan twice, once at the tender age of seven or eight and again about 1588 when he stayed there for about two years. It is stated in the ‘*Arafatu’l-‘Ashiqin* that from Isfahan he made his way to India about 1591-2 but the *Ma’athir* says that on the eve of his departure for India he was present at Kashan. Biographers differ widely about the place in India where he arrived first. He went to Sindh and stayed there at a time when it was annexed by Akbar and Mirza Jani was appointed as its governor. He composed poems in praise of Jani and his son, Ghazi. From Sindh he went to the Mughal court some time before 1601-2 where he received due favour from the Emperor Akbar. He was also patronized by
prince Salim, prince Daniyal and prince Khusrao each of whom has been greatly eulogized by the young poet. Besides these, several nobles of the Mughal court extended their patronage to him. But he was imprisoned by the imperial order and was sent to a Raja of Gujarat and at length, after a year or so, sometime about 1013 A.H, Mirza ‘Aziz and the Raja became instrumental in securing his release. Then he proceeded to Bijapur. He enjoyed the favour of Ibrahim Adil Shah-II till the closing year of his life, and accordingly he composed various panegyrics in praise of the Sultan and his ministers, Shah Nawaz Khan. Subsequently the ruler of Bijapur received a message from Shah Abbas of Persia to send Sanjar back to his native land. Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah consented and was making arrangements for the poet’s departure when all of a sudden the latter fell ill and breathed his last in 1612.

Sanjar is stated to have attempted to rival Nizami by imitating the *Khamsah*. But only one *mathnawi* without a title is preserved in his *Kulliyat* which might be termed as *Khusro-o-Shirin*. His *Saqi Nama* and one *Tarji Band* have certainly been composed in a spirit of competition. All these are his Bijapur productions.
14. **Baqir of Kashan:**

Baqir of Kashan is another poet who has contributed in no small measure towards the popularity of Persian literature under the regime of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah-II. He was the younger brother of the more prominent bard, Maqsud Khurda-farush and was born at Kashan some time about 1552-3 where he was brought up and received his training in poetry from Muhtasham of Kashan. Besides poetry he excelled in calligraphy and his success in this art was greatly appreciated by his friend and well-wisher, Taqi of Isfahan. He learned this art from such an eminent calligraphist as Mir Mu‘izzu’-din of Kashan. During the early part of his life he entered into poetical competitions with Fahmi and Hatim. But in 1591-2 he was imprisoned by the order of Shah ‘Abbas on the charge of heterodoxy. On his release he was attached to Farhad Khan, the prime minister. Then he proceeded on a pilgrimage to the holy shrines and stayed in Karbala and Najaf for about two years. He later bade farewell to his motherland and arrived in Bijapur where he stayed for over twenty-seven years until his death in 1624-5.

At Bijapur the poet got his admittance into the ‘Adil Shahi court and was ultimately placed in charge of the royal library of Bijapur\(^{37}\). He composed a *mathnawi* in imitation of the *Makhzanu’l-Asrar* at the instance of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah and
wrote two *Tarji' Band*, one parallel to that of Wahshi and the other to that of Sa‘di.

15. **Haidar-i Zihni:**

Haidar-i-Zihni was the last luminary in the galaxy of Bijapur scholars. Born at Kashan in a well-to-do family, he began to compose poems very early. But he was indifferent to eulogizing and flattering wordly personages and so slipped into *ghazal* composition. But in this respect he did not progress much. He was an expert in various indoor games and was a ready wit. Besides poetry he excelled in painting and portrait making. Being a humourist and a man of pleasing temperament, he was more successful in humorous *ghazals*, specially in the dialect of Kashan.

In his native town Zihni was closely associated with Syed Ruknu’d-din Mas‘ud who ultimately proceeded to India and resided at Ahmednagar. Zihni too after sometime followed suit and renewed his associations with Mas‘ud at Ahmednagar where he stayed probably until its siege by the Mughals. There after he proceeded to Bijapur where he was so honoured that ‘his receptive dictums and shafts of wit were of the highest order’. It is stated that on one occasion he received a reward of one thousand gold pieces for a pen-picture of the Sultan.
Although he does not seem to have contributed much to Persian literature yet certain very pleasing incidents are related about him in which the healthy literary atmosphere at Bijapur is evident.

16. **Askari of Kashan:**

Abdu’n-nabi has, in his Maikhana, noticed another comparatively obscure poet, namely ‘Askari of Kashan, who was a merchant by profession. So he did not consent to accept services of Ibrahim Adil Shah-II at Bijapur. He however, continued to stay at Bijapur or at Golconda for about eight years. In 1614 he was in Kashmir, proceeding to Ajmer the next year to enlist himself in the retinue of Prince Khurram. Although by that time his diwan had not been compiled, the poet had composed over three thousand verses, including a *Saqi Nama* which is written in the conventional metre of epic poetry (*Mutaqa-rib*). It rises to imaginative sublimity when the poet describes the after effects of spiritual wine on his mind and soul\(^{138}\).

17. **Rashid of Qazwin:**

Rashid of Qazwin was a minor poet who wrote under the *nom-de-plume* of Nauras. He has been briefly mentioned in the
‘Arafatu’l-‘Ashiqin and subsequently in the later biographies and lines from his ghazal are quoted in the former. It has been stated Majma-un-Nafais that his pen-name is also the result of the popularity of the term Nauras during the reign of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah. But he contributed practically nothing towards the literary activities which would claim for him an elevated rank.

18. **Aqa Muhammad Nami:**

Aqa Muhammad Nami of Tabriz was a poet and musician of the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah. At first he was with the Khan-i Khanan but subsequently he went over to Bijapur and got an easy admittance into the ‘Adil Shahi court. The Ma’athir-i Rahimi speaks very highly of his skill and attainments.

19. **Maulana Fahim:**

Maulana Fahim was Shah Nawaz Khan’s panegyrist. He composed a qasida on the occasion of a son’s birth to the Khan in 1601-2, ten lines of which are quoted by Ferishta.

20. **‘Abdu’l-Qadir Naurasi:**

Abdul’l Qadir Naurasi seems to have kept his pen-name only after the popularity of the word ‘Nauras’. He has been claimed as an eloquent poet in the Basatinu’s Salatin; but no
specimens of his writing have come down to us as to fix his comparative position among the poets of the court of Bijapur.

21. **Ghiyatha-i Munsif of Isfahan:**

He was a didactic poet, writing plain and chaste poetry totally bereft of rhetorical delicacies. He was in the Deccan for over a decade, first in the service of Mirza Rustam of Qandhar at Burhanpur, and later at Golconda in the Qutub Shahi service. Not being satisfied with the favours shown to him by Muhammad-Quli Qutub Shah, Ghiyatha-i Munsif returned to Burhanpur and died there in 1610-11.

His *Diwan* was compiled posthumously by a friend of his. His *Saqi Nama* is highly ethical and reflective in tone. It was written during the poet’s earlier stay at Shah ‘Abbas’s court. Like *‘Askari, Ghiyatha* too craves for the wine of Divine rapture.

22. **‘Arif-i Egi:**

Another reveler-poet who casually visited Golconda deserves a passing reference here is *‘Arifi Egi*. He arrived at Golconda in 1605-6 from Allahabad, entered Qutub Shahi service in Muhammad Qutub Shah’s time, wrote laudatory verses and was munificently rewarded for them.
‘Arif is distinguished poet. He is the author of *Audarz Nama* (Book of Admonitions) which is modeled on the *Shah Nama* and comprises over two thousand verses. ‘Arif preferred the classical mode of expression by maintaining scrupulous purity of language and eliminating Arabic element from his expressions. He also composed a *Saqi Nama* a few verses of which are quoted by ‘Abdu’n-Nabi.

23. **Mir Muhammad Mu‘min Ada’i:**

He was a Syed of Yezd who incurred the displeasure of his compatriots for his unorthodox views. He had therefore to quit his native place and seek shelter in India. He was for some time at Surat, and then he went over to Golconda. But he did not remain there for long, and came back to Surat, where he died in 1623-24.

Mu‘min Ada’i was more inclined towards the *Ruba‘i* form. As circumstances forced him to lead a lowly life, so pessimism is the key-note of his poetry.

24. **Mir Mu‘min Astrabadi:**

Mir Mu‘min belonged to a family of Saiyids of Astarabad. He received his early education from his maternal uncle Fakhru’d-din Samaki. Then he became a pupil of Maulana
Nuru’d-din Musawi who taught him Qur’anic sciences. He thus grew into a scholar reputed for his erudition and piety and subsequently he was appointed as a tutor of Prince Haidar. After the death of Shah Tahmasp in 984 A.H. and the murder of Prince Haidar he left Qazwin in 986, and went to Kashan where he stayed for some time. Then he turned towards India and arrived at Golconda in 1581 and secured a post in the Qutub Shahi Court. He was finally appointed as of Peshwa or Prime Minister which post he held for over forty years during the reigns of Muhammad-Quli and Sultan Muhammad until his death.

Mir Mu’min was a scholar and divine and a man of wide experience and knowledge. He is the author of a few extant works in Arabic and Persian. His *Kitabu’r Raj’at* is in Arabic. His reply to a letter of Shah ‘Abbas and preface to the *Kathiru’l-Miyamin* are in a conventional style with dignified diction. He is the author of a small but erudite treatise on weights and measures called *Risala-i Miqdariyah* and another treatise on prosody. His poetical works were collected and compiled in the form of a *diwan* a copy of which covering 175 folios, is preserved in the India Office Library. This *Diwan* comprises the following *Ghazals* in an alphabetical order; Marathi, and *Qasidas* in honour of Muhammad-Quli Qutub Shah.
Mir Mu’min excelled both in the panegyric and lyric forms. In his ghazals the poet depicts the true sentiments of lovers and as such he succeeds in widening the scope of popular appeal to his lyrics which are free from affectation and rhetorical devices.

25. **Mulla Mirak Mu‘in Sabzwari:**

Mirak Mu‘in was the poet-laureate of Muhammad-Quli Qutub Shah. He came of an illustrious Sayyid family of Sabzawar. Mirak was a humourist and by his clever repartees provoked great fun and laughter in jovial assemblies. Mirak took to trade quite early and amassed great fortune. On his entry into India he proceeded to Ahmednagar and was enlisted in the services of Mir Murtaza, who deputed him as an envoy to Golconda in 1581. He was at Ahmednagar when Murtaza rose in rebellion against Salabat Khan, and being a protégé of Mir Murtaza, Mirak had to flee from Ahmednagar. He proceeded to Golconda and secured a high position there. Excepting a few poetic extracts in memoirs and histories of the period, Mirak’s poetry is extinct now.

26. **Haji Abarquhi:**

The poet was born at Abarquh near Yezd. His father died when the Haji was only a small child. He took to trade and
travelled for the purpose to Shiraz and Kirman. After some time he migrated to India and secured a position in the court of Ibrahim Qutub Shah at Golconda. He was later patronized by Muhammad-Quli in whose praise he wrote a number of poems. The poet compiled his poetical works at the instance of a prominent noble of the Qutub Shahi dynasty, Mustafa Khan. An incomplete MS. of the poet’s *Diwan* preserved in the Majlis Library at Tehran comprising about 2400 lines contains the following: (1) *Qasidas* including religious poems; (2) A small romantic *Mathnawi* called *Nazir-wa-Manzur*, (3) *Ghazals* arranged alphabetically covering more than half of the *Diwan*; (4) *Rubais*, incomplete; the manuscript abruptly finishes at p.217.

27. **Mirza Muhammad Amin, Mir Jumla:**

Mirza Amin belonged to a renowned Saiyyid family of Shahristan in Isfahan. Members of his family commanded respect at the Safawi court. Muhammad Amin was born about 1513-74. He arrived at Golconda in 1601-02 and in recognition of his abilities he was very soon appointed to the office of Mir Jumla. He held this office till the death of the Muhammad-Quli Qutub Shah. But during the reing of Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah he could not hold it any longer. So he left the court and went to Bijapur. But finding the atmosphere there uncongenial
he returned to Iran during the closing year of 1615. He secured an office under Shah ‘Abbas Safawi but was not satisfied with his post. So he went to the Mughal court in India where he arrived in 1617 and was granted a mansab. Two years later he was appointed to the post of *Mir-i Saman* which post he held for 15 years. During the reign of Shah Jahan he was promoted to the rank of Mir Bakhshi and was granted a mansab of five thousand in 1635-6. He died at Agra in 1637-8.

Muhammad Amin had a fine literary taste, and was poet of no mean order. While at Golconda he distinguished himself for his imitation of Nizami’s *Khamsa* and dedicated his poems to Muhammad-Quli. He was a good lyric poet and has left a *diwan* called *Gulshan-i-Naz*. He used *Ruhu’l-Amin* and Amin as his pen-names. These *mathanawis* are modeled after *Khamsa-i-Nizami*;

(1) *Shirin-wa-Khusro* was the first *mathnawi* in the *Khamsa-i Ruhu’l-Amin* and was composed in 1018 in imitation of Nizami’s poem of the same name. One MS. is preserved in the Majlis Library, Tehran and the other in the India Office Library London.

(2) *Matmahu’l-Anzar* being an imitation of Nizami’s *Makhzanu’l-Asrar* was Amin’s second *Mathnawi*. It comprises an epilogue in mixed prose and verse, praise of God, *Munajat*, praise of the Prophet, his holy ascension and eulogy of Sultan.
(3) *Laila waive Majnun* being the third *mathnawi* of Ruhu’l-Amin’s *Khamsa* was in imitation of Nizami’s poem of the same name, completed in eight months. Its two manuscripts are preserved one in the British Museum and one in the India Office Library.

(4) *Asman-i Haftum* being the fourth *Mathnawi* of Amin’s *Khamsa* was written in imitation of Nizami’s *Haft-Paikar*. It was started in the time of Muhammad-Quli but could be finished only after his death. It was therefore dedicated to the Sultan’s successor Muhammad Qutub Shah. One manuscript is preserved in the British Museum.

(5) We have no exact information about his fifth *mathnawi*. Besides these *mathnawis* Mirza Amin composed a large number of lyrical poems and those written in the early period of his poetical career were compiled into a diwan which exists in three manuscripts. One in the British Museum, the other in the India Office Library and the third in the Majlis Library, Tehran.

28. **Mirza Muhammad Muqim:**

Muqim hailed from Astarabab and was a contemporary of Fuzuni and Atashi at Muhammad ‘Adil Shah’s court. Muqim’s father left Astarabab while he was still a child, performed Hajj, came to Shiraz and settled down there.
Muqim’s father died suddenly at Shiraz, and bidding adieu to his native land he came over to India to join Muhammad ‘Adil Shah’s court as a panegyrist and a calligraphist. Zubairi pays eloquent tribute to Muqim’s fine literary taste and his poetical excellence. A Qasida of Muqim in praise of Khwaja Banda Nawaz is preserved in Fuzuni’s Futuhat.

29. **Hakim Atashi:**

Atashi was associated with the court of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah. The famous ‘Adil Shahi historian, Fuzuni of Astarabad, who was Atashi’s contemporary, speaks highly of the poet’s skill in poetry and medicine. Zubairi has also briefly noticed him in his Basati nu’s Salatin.

Atashi’s full name, according to Ethe, appears to have been Amin or Amina. He was still young in 1640-1 when the Futuhat was being written.

On his arrival in India we find Atashi at Bijapur where he held the office of the royal physician at Muhammad ‘Adil Shah’s court. He later became a great favourite and protégé of the Shah, who entrusted him with the composition of the ‘Adil Nama.

His poetical works comprised (1) Qasidas and (2) Qit’as, several of them in praise of Nawwab Baba Mustafa Khan, whose
favourite the poet had been; (3) Ghazals; (4) Ruba‘is; and (5) Mathnawis;

(i) ‘Adil Nama - A versified account of the military exploits of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah during the first five years of his reign. The poem was completed in 1632.

(ii) Ma‘danu‘l-Afkar – A Mathnawi on the model of Nizami’s Makhzanu‘l-Asrar. It was composed in 1633-34.

(iii) Nuh-Sipihr – A Mathnawi probably modeled on Khusro’s Mathnawi of the same name. It was completed in 1625.

30. **Shah Abu‘l Ma‘ali:**

He was the most significant of the court of ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah-II and despite the ruler’s half-hearted encouragement of Persian Poetry, always remained his favourite protégé and an important courtier. Abu‘l Ma‘ali composed panegyrics, fragments and chronograms in his capacity as a court poet, some of which are cited by Nuru’l lah in Tarikh-i ‘Adil Shahi. A Qasida in the radif of “gireh” in honour of the birthday festivities of ‘Ali in 1675-6 received general approbation.

31. **Ruknu‘d-din Mas‘ud Kashi, alias Hakim Rukna-i Masih:**

He was a master-physician, a celebrated poet, and in his youth a personal friend and favourite of Shah ‘Abbas Safawi.
Royal displeasure, however, forced him to migrate to India some time in 1597-6. On reaching India, he entered Imperial service at Agra in 1602-3. But he did not continue in that position for long. After joining Salim’s court at Allahabad, he finally left for the Deccan. He was received by Muhammad-Quli Qutub Shah and Mir Mu’min and liberally patronized by them. But Masih could not enjoy the fruits of the Qutub Shahi generosity for long. Through sheer illluck he incurred the displeasure of Mir Mu’min, and he had to leave Golconda. He arrived at Bijapur during Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah’s reign. But soon he repaired his way back to the Mughal court, where he found some respited and peace in the reign of Shah Jahan. He again left Agra in 1631-32 went to Kashan and Isfahan, and later at Shiraz. Masih died in 1650-56 in his native place.

Besides his prolific literary output the profundity and versatility of Masih’s genius is manifest from his skill in medicine and calligraphy. Over and above the ten Diwans of his verses which Tahir-i-Nasrabadi had seen in the library of Sa’ib, Masih is the author of a mathnawi, entitled Majmu’a-i Khayal. The poem comprises two thousand couplets and is written on the model of Nizami’s Khusro-wa-Shirin. His Saqi Nama is quoted in the Maikhana.
32. **Salik of Yezd:**

Salik of Yezd led a wandering life of a darwish. He was for sometime at Shiraz and Isfahan from where he proceeded to Golconda and enlisted in the service of ‘Abdu’l-lah Qutub Shah. After sometime he arrived in Delhi. Salik was fortunate enough to secure a post in the imperial court of Shah Jahan in 1655-66. According to some he died in 1680. Salik’s *Diwan* is rare, but a copy is preserved in the Asafiyah Library, a selection of his lyrical poetry is housed in the Bombay University Library, and sporadic verses have been selected in Persian *Tadhkiras*. According to Azad Bilgrami, Salik was a poet of sweet and eloquent expression but to the author of *Makhzanu’l-Gharaib*, his verses are of an average quality, though not devoid of fluency.

33. **Mirza Razi Danish:**

He was a Rizawi Sayyid of Meshhed and the son of a poet, Abu Turab Fitrat. Danish was a poet by nature, and the congenial environment that became his, prompted him to adopt poetry as his career and profession. He made a modest beginning of his poetic career by composing a *mathnawi* in praise of the holy cities and *Rauza-i Meshhed*, revealing his deep religious faith. On his arrival in India in 1654-55 Danish
attached himself to the imperial court of Shah Jahan and was for sometime in the retinue of Prince Dara Shukoh. After a temporary sojourn in Bengal in the service of Prince Shuja, Danish arrived at Golconda in 1657-58. As a Meshhedi Sayyid he naturally commanded the reverence of the Qutub Shahi ruler and he was exalted to high rank.

The poets noticed above do not exhaust the list of the singers who flourished under the aegis of the Sultanates of the Deccan; they rather constitute a negligible numbers of the vast number of poets who contributed greatly to the growth of Indo-Persian literature in the region\textsuperscript{141}.

3. Forms of Poetry (Shayeri):

➢ Ghazal:

The word “Ghazal” is an Arabic word and it means romantic, poetic talks to a lover (woman). Ghazals are usually songs about unrequited love. This is a poetic form mostly used for love poetry in Turkish, Arabic, Persian and Urdu. It is common in ghazalss for the poet’s name to be featured in the last verse, a convention known as Takhallus.
For example:

ساز ی کین، ساز کیا جانے، ناز والے نیاز کیا جانے
کب کسی دار کی زبان سی کی، شیخ صاحب نماز کیا جانے
شمع رو آپ گو بوے لیکن، لطف ی سوز و گداز کیا جانے
جو رہیں عشق میں کدام رکھیں، وو نشیب و فراز کیا جانے
پوجھے میکشون سے لطف ی شراب، یہ مزہ پاک بزا کیا جانے
حضرت ی خضر جب شہباد نہ بو، لطف ی امر ی دراز کیا جانے
جن کو اپنی خبر نہیں ابتک، وو مرده ی دل کا راز کیا جانے
جو گجرتے بے داغ بر سدنی، آپ بندہ نواز کیا جانے

Translation:

How can these envious people know about kind attitude?
Their pride of beauty does not allow them to be humble.

O Shaikh (saint) you have never bowed your head on your beloved’s doorstep, what you may know about how to perform your prayers?

Although your face is glowing bright like a candle but even then you cannot understand the delight of being burned in love.

Those who have started their love journey, they don’t care about the ups and downs (dilemma) of the path of love.
Ask from a drinker if you want to know the taste of wine. Sanctimonious people don’t have any idea about the delight of the taste of wine.

O Prophet Khyzer what good is this endless life of yours as your are not martyred (Who have achieved eternity)

The one who is not aware of herself, what possibly she may know about my heart’s secret (Love).

➤ Marsiya:

Marsiya is an elegiac poem written to commemorate the martyrdom and valour of Hussain Ibn-i-Ali and his comrades of the Karbala. Marsiyas are essentially religious. The word Marsiya is derived from Arabic, meaning a great tragedy or lamentation for departed soul.

For example:

گھبرے گھیگی زینب، گھبرے گھیگی زینب

بہائے تمہین جاکے کبھا پا گھیگی زینب

گھبرے گھیگی زینب

کسی یہ بھر اگی بوا برباد الابی، کیا آ تبابی،

اب اسکو نہ آباد، کبھی پا گھیگی زینب

گھبرے گھیگی زینب
Translation:

Zainab only has misery ahead, Zainab only has misery ahead
Dear brother when I return home, where will I found you?
Zainab only has misery ahead,

How brutally was this house once full of life, destroyed my God?
What devastation was brought on to it, Now Zainab will never see this house fully inhabited,

Zainab only has misery ahead,

When she returns home, who will she see there?

Neither Qasim nor Abbas will be there, she knows it’s the same for Akbar,

Where will she find her own Ali Asghar,

Zainab only has misery ahead...

Rubai:

Rubai is a poetry style. It is used to describe a Persian quatrain, a stanza or poem of four lines, or it’s derivative form in
English and other languages. The plural form of the word, “Rubaiyat”, often anglicized rubaiyat, is used to describe a collection of such quatrains;

For example:

انور ی سلاهذین بر انبختم باد
دار دیده یو جان ی اشقان رکهتا باد
هر جان کی لطیف گشت یو از لطف گرشت
با خاک ی سلاهذین دار امیختم باد

Translation:

May the splendours of Salahuddin be roused,
And poured into the eyes and souls of the lovers,
May every soul that has become refined and has surpassed refinement,
Be mingled with the dust of Salahuddin

Qasida:

Qasida is a plural form of Qaida, which was passed to some other languages such as Persian “Qasida or Chakameh”. It is an ancient Arabic word and form of writing poem that was passed to other cultures after the Arab Muslim expansion, the
word Qasida is still being used in its original birthplace Arabia and in all Arabic speaking countries.

The classic form of Qasida maintains a single elaborate metre throughout the poem, and every line rhymes. It typically runs more than fifty lines, and sometimes more than a hundred. The genre originates in Arabic poetry and was adopted by Persian poets, where it developed to be sometimes longer than a hundred lines.

**For example:**

ساقی ی با وفا منم
دم بما دم علی علی
صوفی ی صفا منم
دم بما دم علی علی

**Translation:**

I am a humble poet. In rapture my soul cries Ali Ali
I am a Sufi pure heart. In rapture my soul cries Ali Ali

➤ **Masnavi:**

Masnavi means “Rhyming couplets of profound spiritual meaning”. The masnavi is a poetic collection of rambling
anecdotes and stories derived from the Holy Quran, Hadith sources, and everyday tales. Stories are told to illustrate a point and each moral is discussed in detail. It incorporates a variety of Islamic wisdom but primarily focuses on emphasizing inward personal Sufi interpretation.

**For example:**

نبست وانت باش اد خیال اندر روان، تو جهانته بر کهیله بن روان
بر کهیله صلح احسن و جنگ احسن، و از کهیله فخر احسن و نگ احسن

**Translation:**

Within the spirit imagined forms are as nothing witness an world going on upon something imaginary

Their peace and their war, upon something imaginary and their pride and their shame from something imaginary

**B. History and Historians:**

History as a chronicle from day to day of the battles fought and kingdoms won, or a genuine and truthful record in the biographical form of conquests, catastrophes and vicissitudes in the life of an illustrious personality in a ruling hierarchy is comparatively an ancient and popular form of Persian literature
of Persia was directly inspired by the religio-cultural language of
the Muslims, viz. Arabic, a cursory perusal of whose literature
reveals the preponderance of history and tradition over other
literary forms. In fact, amongst the earlier literary works that
marked the doom of the age of ignorance and the rise of Islam,
some works of history and biography were believed to have
played a prominent part. Due to a vigilant and zealous
endeavour to discover with positive certainty every detail in the
life of the founder of Islam and about his Traditions, the sense of
historicity or the consciousness of history had sufficiently
developed in the cultured Muslims at a very early stage and
history therefore came to assume a distinctive importance in
Islamic literature.

With the advent of Islamic political institutions in Persia
and later in India, the historian or the chronicler came to be a
permanent feature of the Muslim polity. The art of history
writing was progressive in the first four centuries of Islam. The
fundamental principles of the study and writing of history were
evolved through the experience of the past centuries and were
placed on a scientific footing where the historical truth and
accuracy were ensured to the maximum degree possible. Every
historian of the early period necessarily contributed some new
and original information. His historical work was in fact a
chronicle with no literary significance whatsoever. He was enjoined to cite his sources and authorities for his contribution to knowledge. He was to apply the rational test and eliminate unfounded and irrational superfluities.

The art of history-writing in India draws its inspiration from the model works in this art in Persia. The Mongol and Timurid periods in which the art of history-writing made phenomenal progress in Persia, was unfortunately an age of decadence and imitation in Persian prose style. The ease, naturalness and matter-of-fact realism of *Tar’ikh-e-Tabari*, *Siyasat-Nama* and *Qabus-nama*, or the inimitable elegance, grace and subtlety of Bayhaqi’s *Ta’rikh-e-Mas’udi* and Nizami Aruzi’s *Chahar Maqala*, had become a matter of remote past, and a thing altogether obsolete and antiquated. On the contrary, the dominant trend of Arabicism in Persian prose as manifested in *Kalila-wa-Damna* and *Maqamat-e-Hamidi* was fast becoming the accredited style and was mostly in vogue in the beginning of the Mongol period. The Prose works on ethics and mysticism, were however a class by themselves, and in spite of the vital transformation of Persian prose through series of phases, they maintained a uniform style\textsuperscript{142}.

Wassaf’s style took the Persian-reading public by storm, and caught popular fancy to such an extent that a number of
histories like Zufar-Nama, T’arikh-e-Jahangusha-e-Nadiri, Durra-e-Nadira, Akbar-Nama and all its lesser imitations at the Mughal court and Burhan-e Ma’asir, etc., were inspired by this model. But the harmonizing and sober influence of Rawzatu’s-Safa, another epoch-making history in Persian literature written during this period, put an effective check on this deteriorating tendency towards drum and trumpet style through a gaudy display of high sounding diction, by adopting for its style a chaste and subdued but at the same time, highly polished, elegant and suggestive expression. The Wassaf-school and the Mir Khwand-school in the art of history writing proceeded on parallel lines to each other for some time, but eventually the influence of Wassaf was partially eclipsed by the popularity of the Rawzatu’s-Safa. Most of the histories written in the Deccan, with the exception of Burhan-e-Ma’asir, Hadiqatu’s Salatin and Ta’rikh-e-‘Ali ‘Adilshahiyya have been written in imitation of Rawzatu’s-Safa. Ferishtah and Rafi’ud-Din have modeled their works in close imitation of Mir Khwand’s history under special instructions from their patrons. For a proper perspective of the development of history, it is necessary to take a bird’s eye-view of the progress of the art of history-writing in the North.

The author of Mulhaqat-e-Tabaqai-e-Nasiri was a contemporary of Sultan ‘Alauddin Hasan Bahmani and three
subsequent rulers of this dynasty. Ferishtah has also used this work as a primary source and has occasionally referred to it in his narrative of the Bahmanis. Tabatabai refers to ‘Uyunu’t-Tawarikh which also is now extinct. Tarikh-e-Mahmudshahi of Mulla Abdul Karim Hamadani written during the reign of Mahmud Shah-II and referred to in Ta’rikh-e-Muhammad Qutub shahi is also extinct. It is therefore not possible to form any estimate of the literary value of these pioneer historical works in the Deccan, because it is exceedingly difficult to trace quotations and extracts from them to any of the extant histories of the period.

**Historical Accounts written at the Adil shahi Court:**

1. *Nawras-Nama* or *Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi* by Ferishtah, a general history of India from the earliest period up to Ferishtah’s time written at the behest of Ibrahim ‘Adil shah-II and presented to him in A.H. 1015. It seems however that it was supplemented with further information by the author himself, as it records events upto A.H. 1033.

2. *Tazkiratu’l-Muluk* by Mir Rafi’u’d-Din Ibrahim-e-Shirazi—a history of the ‘Adilshahi dynasty completed in A.H. 1017. It was written under the patronage of Ibrahim ‘Adilshah II.
also gives a brief sketch of the historical events of the
Bahmani regime in its introductory sections\textsuperscript{145}.

3. \textit{Futuhat-e-‘Adilshahi} written by Fuzuni-e-Astarabadi. This is a
comprehensive history of the ‘AdilShahi dynasty written in the
reign of Muhammad ‘Adilshah and recording events upto A.H.
1054; though the official date of its completion was A. H.1050\textsuperscript{146}.

4. \textit{Muhammad-Nama} by Mulla Zuhur ibn Zuhuri. This history
supplements Taskiratu’l-Muluk in its account of Ibrahim
‘Adilshah II’s reign and continues the narrative to the end of
Muhammad ‘Adil shah’s reign\textsuperscript{147}.

5. \textit{Ta’rikh-e-‘Ali’Adilshahiyya} by Qazi Nuru’l-lah. A valuable
monograph on the regime of Ali ‘Adilshah-II upto the year
A.H. 1076 i.e. upto the ninth year of his administration\textsuperscript{148}.

6. A History of the ‘Adilshahi Dynasty written by Mir Ibrahim
Lari-e-Asadkhani during the reign of Ali ‘Adilshah-II. The
author was a descendant of Asad Khan-e-Lari and foster-
brother of Muhammad ‘Adil shah. \textit{Ahwal-e-Salatin-e-Bijapur} is
based on this history. Zubayri has also cited the authority of
this work in his \textit{Basatin-us-Salatin}.

7. A complete history of the ‘Adil shahs upto the end of the reign
of Sikandar ‘Adil shah (upto A. H. 1097) written by Shaykh
Abu’l-Hasan b. Qazi Abdu’l-Aziz. This history was one of the
two primary source-books of \textit{Ahwal-e-Salatin-e-Bijapur}. It was very rare even during the time, when Basatin was written. Now probably extinct.

8. \textit{Ali-Nama} and 9. \textit{Ta’rikh-e-Sikandari}, the two important contemporary historical works in verse of Nusrati are however in Dakhni and therefore beyond the scope of this work.

**Historical Accounts written at the Qutub shahi Court:**

1. \textit{Marghub-ul-Qulub} by Mulla Husayn-e-Tabasi, the Chief Justice of Sultan Quli Qutubshah’s court. In it are recorded the reminiscences of Sultan Quli Qutubshah’s early life as narrated by the king himself. Now probably extinct. \textit{Ta’rikh-e-Muhammad Qutubshahi} has however preserved a few extracts of this valuable history.

2. \textit{Ta’rikh-e-Elich-i-Nizamshah} by Khurshah bin Qubad. A general history of the Muslim world up to A.H. 971\textsuperscript{150}.


Muhammad Sharif entered Golconda service in the reign of Jamshid Quli Qutub shah. He was an eminent historian, a
calligraphist and a poet. He remained in the service of the Qutub shahi dynasty till the death of Ibrahim Quli Qutubshah in A.H. 988.

Thence he proceeded to Gujarat, and finally to the imperial court of Akbar at Agra. In the opinion of Hakim Shamsu’l-lah Qadiri, Muhammad Sharif changed the dedication of his history from Ibrahim’s name to Emperor Akbar’s.

Khurshah and Muhammad Sharif were predecessors of Ali Tabataba’i and Ferishtah. Both of them have devoted an independent chapter to the history of the Bahmani kings in their works. Their histories are therefore of vital importance to historians of the Bahmani dynasty.

4. A versified history of the Qutubshahi dynasty by Munshi Hiralal Khushdil – the secretary to Haydar Quli, son of Sultan Quli Qutub shah. This poem is written in the mutaqarib metre and on the model of the Bahman-Nama of Azari. It consists of four Maqalas, the last dealing with the coronation of Muhammad Quli Qutubshah, with which the narrative comes to an end. This evidently implies that this history was completed some time between A.H. 988 and 990. A unique manuscript of this history is preserved in the Bengal Asiatic Society Library collection.
5. *Nasab-Nama-e-Qutub shahi* by Husayn bin Ali al-Farsi. A history in verse form of the Qutubshahi dynasty till the end of the regime of Quli Qutub shah. It comprises 18600 couplets.

6. *Ta’rikh-e-Muhammad Qutub shahi* by an anonymous historian. This is a history of the Qutub shahi dynasty up to the end of Muhammad Quli Qutub shah’s regime. It is an abridgement of an earlier comprehensive history done by an anonymous author at the behest of Muhammad Qutub shah in either A.H. 1025 or A. H. 1026. The original work being extinct over a century before, this history being the earliest, it has been practically accepted as a primary source by the later historians of the Qutub shahi dynasty like Mir ‘Alam and Munshi Qadirkhan-e-Bidari. Briggs has supplemented Ferishtah’s narrative of the Qutub shahi by information from this work.

This work written a decade after Ferishtah’s history seems to be considerably influenced by it. The style is similar than even Ferishtah’s and in parts prosaic and rugged, but fluent. The author recorded events with great precision, scrupulously abstaining from literary embellishments or exaggerations. The only verse quotations in the text are chronograms written on various occasions whose number is however sufficiently big and this enhances the authenticity of the historian’s statements. In view of the fact that this history was an abridgement, it was
inevitable that it should be compact, rigid and totally free from any digressions. The special literary significance of this work consists in this, that it has preserved a selection of Muhammad Quli Qutub shah’s poetry in its concluding portion. Its name, however, is a misnomer, for except a very brief account of Muhammad Qutub shah’s accession to the throne in A. H. 1020 and some events of his reign of first five years, the work has nothing to narrate of his long regime of fifteen years.

7. Ma’asir-e-Qutubshahi by Muhammad bin Abdu’llah-e-Nishapuri. This work is a supplement to Ta’rikh-e-Muhammad Qutubashi recording in details the history of Muhammad Qutubshah’s reign till his death in A. H. 1035.

Muhammad-e-Nishapuri came to the Deccan during the reign of Muhammad Qutubshah and was enlisted in the royal service. In his historical narrative, he has incorporated the account of contemporary political events of Persia till the year A. H. 1038. This work was considerably influenced, may almost directly inspired by its immediate and illustrious predecessor in the the art of history, viz Ta’rikh-e-‘Alam-Ara-e-Abbasi of Iskandar Munshi. The author has freely indulged in a highly pompous and grandiloquent language with scrupulous observance of cadence and rhyme in the formation of phrases and sentences. Through a supplement, Ma’asir presents a direct
contrast to *Ta’rikh-e-Muhammad-e-Qutubshahi* in its style. Due to its elaborate euphuistic and verbose style, this history which is more or less a monograph extends to three volumes.

8. *Hadiqatu’s-Salatin* by Mirza Nizamu’d-Din Ahmad as-Sa’idi-as-Shirazi. This history is a monograph of Abdu’l-lah Qutubshah’s regime. The author was a favourite of Shaykh Muhammad Ibn-e-Khatun, the prime minister of ‘Abdu’llah Qutub shah at whose behest he undertook the composition of this work. Over and above its being a trustworthy and authentic account given by one who was an eyewitness and who enjoyed a position of confidence at the court, *Hadiqatu’s-Salatin* is unique in its literary excellence. In its grace, elegance and colourfulness of description and in its vivid depiction of ceremonials, celebrations and assemblies of revelry and merriment, it surpasses many other histories of this period.

9. *Hadiq-u’s–Salatin* by Ali bin *Tayfur – e – Bistami* written in the reign of Abu’l-Hasan Tanashah. Though this is the last chronicle of this period, its literary value is unique since it preserves poetical extracts of the Bahmani and the Qutub shahi Sultans. The notices of Mir Mo’min-e-Astarabadi and Mir Muhammad Amin-e-Isfahani in this work are of great historical value.
Historical Accounts at the Nizamshahi Court:

Under the patronage of the Nizamshahi Sultans of Ahmednagar was written the great literary masterpiece of Burhan-e-Ma’asir, whose author Sayyid ‘Ali Tabatabai enjoyed Qutub shahi patronage for some time and hence he has been rightly included in our literary survey along with Khurshah.

The above list is fairly exhaustive of the entire historical literature produced during this period in the Deccan. No history of historical monograph of note was written under the patronage of ‘Imadshahi or Baridshahi rulers.

In the following pages, a detailed critical survey of some of the histories mentioned above is attempted.

1. Khurshah: Ta’rikh-e-Elchi-e-Nizamshah: This comprehensive general history of the world, written in the reign of Ibrahim Quli Qutubshah is amongst the earliest historical compositions of the period under review. This history is compiled and completed in A.H. 971 i.e. about 44 years before the official publication of Ferishtah’s Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi and 25 years before Muhammad Sharif’s Majma’u’l-Akhbar, another chronicle of world events written at Golconda during the same period.

The author does not specifically mention the name of his work anywhere in the text but the work is generally known as Ta’rehkh-e-Elchi-e-Nizamshahi, a copy in the Asafiyya Library,
Hyderabad, and another in British Museum bear the same names. While another manuscript of this work bears the name *Makhzanu’t-Tawarikh-e-Qutubshahi*.

The work had already become rare during the next few subsequent decades of its composition in the Deccan itself; since Ferishtah who succeeded in acquiring for himself the copies of the Bahmani histories like *Siraju’t –Tawarekh*, *Tuhfatu’t-Tawarikh* and *Bahman-Nama* failed to obtain this work from any source. He merely makes a casual mention that a person named Shah Khurshah of ‘Iraq wrote an extensive work on history during the reign of Sultan Qutub shah in which he gave details of major and minor events of the Qutub shahi regime, but the compiler (Ferishtah) has failed to avail himself of it in his composition (*Gulshan*).

Later historians of the Qutub shahi regime, like the anonymous author of *Ta’rikh-e-Muhammad Qutubshahi*, Nizamu’d Din Ahmad, Qadir Khan Bidari or Mir ‘Alam, do not make any mention of this as a valuable source of information. This evidently means that this work could not attract sufficient publicity being primarily the history of the world in general and not that of any dynasty of rulers in India, and hence was overlooked by subsequent historians as not of any immediate value to them as a source.
The account of the Bahmani rule in the 4th Guftar of the VII Chapter given up to the death of Muhamud Shah Bahmani though very concise is earlier than that of Burhan-e-Ma’asir and Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi. It is likely to be based on the earlier histories of the Bahmani regime which are now extinct.

Khurshah’s valuable information about the Nizam shahi and the Qutub shahi affairs in which he played a prominent role and about which he is reported to have written a separate book, is also a primary source of the history of these dynasties.

**Tabataba’i and his Burhan-e-Ma’asir:**

The most remarkable history written in the Deccan after Khurshah’s Ta’rikh-e-Elchi-e-Nizamshah is the Burhan-e-Ma’asir of Sayyid Ali Tabataba’i-e-Simnani. The Burhan is contemporaneous to the Ahsanu’t-Tawarikh and the Akbarnama, and presents a noteworthy specimen of the grand and rhetoric-ridden style of the Wassaf school in prose literary art. It is one of those literary master-pieces which because of its unique literary excellence would certainly have proved epoch-making, had it been allowed to gain sufficient publicity in Persia and India; but it seems as if it was irretrievably lost until recently three copies of its manuscript could at last be discovered and thanks to the efforts of Mr. Hashimy that this great work has been the light of
the day. *Muhummad-Nama* of Zuhur has also met a similar fate and is as well as forgotten\textsuperscript{151}.

According to Tabataba'i’s own statement, the composition of the *Burhan* was commenced in A. H. 999 and the major portion of it was completed on the Sunday night, 14\textsuperscript{th} Rabî‘u‘l-Awwal, A.H. 1003. Some additional historical details were supplemented to it and the narrative was brought down to the end of the month of Rajab, A. H. 1004. It is a strange coincidence to note that Ferishtah commenced his history almost in the same year in which the major part of the *Burhan* was completed.

The *Burhan* is divided into three *Tabaqas* (sections). The first two deal with the histories of the Bahmani rulers of Gulburga and Bidar respectively, covering only 166 pages of the printed text, while the next 426 pages are devoted to a detailed history of the first six kings of the Nizam shahi dynasty of Ahmednagar whose regime extended from A.H. 891 to A.H. 999. The account of the reign of Burhan Nizam shah-II is purposely omitted by the author with this assurance that he will write a comprehensive work on it independently at some later date. The last forty pages of the *Burhan* preserved the fullest details of the siege of Ahmednagar by the Mughals which may be presumed as fairly authentic as it is given by the author who was an eye-
witness to it. Apart from its unique position in the histories of the Deccan, it has to be admitted that in comparison to its huge, almost awe-inspiring voluminousness, the actual historical content in it is comparatively so little that if it is bereft of its literary ornament and floridity, its bulk cannot exceed even sixty pages. Ferishtah’s synthetic genius played this very trick on the Burhan and has absorbed its essence with considerable modifications and corrections in the pages of his history.

The author of the Burhan-e-Ma’asir, Sayyid Ali b. Azizu’l-lah at-Tabataba’i al Hasani, was a native of Simnan. Before his arrival in India in about A. H. 988, he had acquired good repute as a scholar and was probably acquainted with Amin-e-Razi, who knew of Tabataba’i’s literary activities at Ahmednagar. He had left Simnan earlier and was probably residing at some place in ‘Iraq because he states that he came to India from ‘Iraq. On reaching the Indian shores, he directly proceeded to Golconda where Mir Shah Mir-e-Tabatabai, very probably one of his distant relations was holding the office of the Mir Jumla at the court of Ibrahim Qutub shah of Golconda. Through his influence, Tabataba’i was enlisted in the state service and was in the retinue of Muhammad Quli Qutub shah during the siege of the Fort of Naldurg, and was an eye-witness to the furious battle between the garrison and the Qutub-Nizam shahi forces.
Tabataba’i might have arrived at Ahmednagar at a somewhat critical period when Murtaza Nizam shah through his excessive licentiousness, had become a maniac and Salabat khan and later Mirza Khan had usurped all authority. His activities from A. H. 992 to A. H. 1000 are in obscurity and cannot be traced. He might have been attending to his ordinary duties of service. The intervening hectic period from A.H. 997 to A.H. 999 was full of chaos and confusion when Jamal-Khan-e-Mahdawi effectively exterminated the alien domination and succeeded in expelling most of the foreigners from Ahmednagar. Tabataba’i does not appear to be one of those exiles. He managed to escape the persecution and continued his stay at Ahmednagar in spite of his strong Shia tendencies. During the regime of Burhan Nizam shah-II when the old order was again restored, Tabataba’i was entrusted with the duty of writing a history of the sovereigns of the Deccan in the ancestral line of the Nizam shahs of Ahmednagar.

On his own statement, it is clear that during his literary career, Tabataba’i devoted most of his time to the study and practice of the art of history-writing; and acquired good proficiency in it, but through vicissitudes of life, could not translate into action his long cherished ambition of writing an ideal history for quite a long time. His ideal conception of
history-writing is primarily ethical. In his eulogy of this literary art, he emphasizes its sanctity on the ground that scriptures are but historical records and that history, in his opinion, is the source of truths and a treasure of moral precepts which warn, guide, counsel and correct people.

Though the Burhan is deficient in many ways as a history, it is unquestionably one of the greatest literary masterpieces of Persian prose of our period and its literary merits certainly outweigh its minor shortcomings and inaccuracies in the narration of historical events.

**Muhammad Qasim Ferishtah:**

By far the most famous history of India, written during this period at the ‘Adilshahi court is Ferishtah’s *Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi*. Ferishtah is generally reputed to be one of the most trustworthy amongst the oriental historians of mediaeval India and his history enjoys very wide fame in Europe through its popular translation by Lt. Col. Briggs in as early as A.D. 1829. Ferishtah was perhaps the first oriental historian (of India) whose work attracted the attention of the Western historians (of India) both for its richness of historical material as also for its clarity and conciseness of expression. The ease with which it could be rendered in an occidental language largely accounts for quite a
large number of its translations (at least of selected portions) in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. These renderings were generally accepted as authentic and original presentations of Indian history for quite a long time until the recent researches in mediaeval Indian history by reputed Indian and Western scholars have exploded this myth and have tried to prove that despite the collaborative skill and synthetical genius of this historian, there is hardly anything that may be called as genuinely original in Ferishtah’s Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi except the chapter on the History of the Deccan. It is nevertheless true that Col. Briggs’ translation enjoyed the reputation of being the Bible of the Medieval Indian History and gave impetus to the exploration of fresh avenues in historical researches.

It should however be borne in mind that contemporaneous with the composition of Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi another remarkable general history of India was written by Nizamu’d-Din Ahmad-e-Harawi or Badakhshi and published in A H. 1002 i.e. a decade before the official publication of Ferishtah’s history. *Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi* bears such a striking resemblance with this history in its plan and arrangement of the subject-matter that it is essential to present a brief outline of the the plan of *Tabaqat-e-Akbari* in order to determine its overwhelming influence on Ferishtah’s art.
Tazkirat-`ul-Muluk by Mir Rafi‘u’d-Din Ibrahim-e-Shirazi:

Not very long after the official publication of Ferishtah’s *Gulshan-e-Ibrahim* in A.H. 1015, another historian of the ‘Adilshahi court undertook the composition of a history which though essentially different in plan and design from the *Gulshan*, and of much limited scope was nevertheless directly inspired by the *Rawzatu’s Safa* and the *Gulshan* and hence was written in close imitation of Ferishtah’s conventions of literary art. *Tazkirat’ul-Muluk* of Mir Rafi‘u’d-din-i-Shirazi is primarily a detailed history of the ‘Adil shahs of Bijapur, and secondarily a quasi-general history of a few prominent Muslim Sultanates in India who were in close diplomatic relations with Bijapur, and of the Safawis of Persia whose contact with Bijapur was both cultural and political. Thus with ‘Adil shahi history as the central theme of the narrative, relevant and succinct history of the Mughals, the Safawis and of the Sultans of Golconda, Ahmednagar and Gujarat is recorded by the historian with a fuller emphasis on contemporary events which he narrates with personal knowledge. In the case of each of these ruling dynasties an extremely brief and cursory sketch of preceding rulers was deemed essential as a prelude to or a necessary background for the narrative as also to the perspective of contemporary history. A short survey of the Bahmani regime which forms the opening
chapter of this work could find its place here as an apt introduction to the ‘Adil shahi history which dynasty was but an off shoot of the Bahmanis. It is a great pity however that Rafi‘u’d-Din is content with reproducing the meager account of the Bahmanis very probably from some remote and outlandish source like the Tabaqat-e-Akbari and has introduced a number of absurd and fictitious legends instead of availing of the valuable histories of the dynasty available in his days and utilized by Ferishtah. Rafi‘ud-Din has not even cared to consult Ferishtah who was his contemporary at the same court. Apart from its undue brevity, the section on the Bahmani history in this work is full of anachronisms, errors and misrepresentation of facts. Ferishtah’s version of Hasan’s early life in the services of a Brahmin has been cleverly cloaked in a religious guise and Rafi ‘u’d-Din has made Hasan a disciple of Siraj-e-Junaydi who bade him till a field where he discovered a huge hidden treasure. ‘Isami, an earlier authority, does not mention Siraj at all in the history of ‘Ala’u’d-Din-e-Bahmani. On the contrary, he points out that ‘Ala’u’d-Hasan was a disciple of Zaynu’d-Din of Daulatabad which clearly proved that Rafiu’d-Din’s account is a fabrication.

Mir Rafi‘u’d-Din Ibrahim b. Nuru’d-Din Taufiq-e-Shirazi was the first cousin of Ghiyasu’d-Din alias Afzal Khan-e-Shirazi. He was probably born at Shiraz in about A. H. 847 and educated
along with his cousin in the Madrasa of Shah Fathu’llah-e-Shirazi. Very probably he took to trade in early life and came to India with his cousin. He is said to have visited Delhi in A. H. 967 and was at Sagar for some time. On his arrival at Bijapur in A. H. 967, he entered ‘Adil shahi service at once, for when Ali was murdered in A. H. 988, Raf ‘u’d-Din had completed twenty-eight years of his service.

**Fuzuni-e-Astarabadi:**

Fuzuni-e-Astarabadi, the author of *Futuhat-e-‘ Adilshahi* is a comparatively unknown personage, but not necessarily a historian of a lower order. It is the extreme rarity of his historical work and the accident of oversight of the Western historians that are largely responsible for his being relegated to the background; otherwise his work possesses equal, if not more, literary excellence and wealth of historical information about the ‘Adilshahi regime, than *Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi* of Ferishtah. It Ferishtah was the pioneer in reviving the classical form of history writing in India, Fuzuni who was his compatriot as also a native of Astarabad, successfully carried this experiment to perfection and has presented a fine specimen of history and literary art in his *Futuhat*. Fuzuni combines the essential requisites of history and literature in his unflinching devotion to
truth and his judicial elimination of uncertified and unauthentic facts.

*Futuhat-e-‘Adilshahi* comprises six parts, each narrating the account of one ruler of the ‘Adilshahi dynasty arranged in chronological order. The regimes of Ibrahim ‘Adil shah-II and Muhammad ‘Adil shah are described in fullest details while the account of the early rulers is somewhat brief and sketchy. Rafiu’d-Din and Ferishtah had already covered the ground of the earlier, ‘Adil shahi history. Hence Fuzuni dwells at length on the later period and thus supplements Ferishtah.

**Muhammad-Nama by Zuhur Ibu Zuhuri:**

The practice of writing historical monographs which came in vogue in India in the early Mughal period gained the sanctity and prestige of a tradition in the art of history-writing with the famous *Akbar-Nama* of Abu’l Fazl which was inspired by *Zafar-Nama* and earlier models written in Persia. Side by side with the histories of regional units or of ruling dynasties, thorough and comprehensive chronological account of the reign of an individual ruler has also been written in India by court chroniclers specially appointed for this task. Amongst the histories of the Deccan, we have at least three instances of this category, viz. Muhammad Nama, *Hadiqatu’s Salatin* and *Ta’rikh-*
e-‘Ali ‘Adilshahiyah. Ta’rikh-e-Muhammad Qutubshahi being a history of the Qutub shahi dynasty is not a monograph and hence bears an ambiguous name. A historical monograph is a contemporary authentic record, and if the element of hero worship and over estimation of facts is duly discounted from it, it can be treated as a fairly genuine source of history or historical biography of the period. The court-chronicler who undertook to write a historical monograph, had immediate access to the state records. He invariably followed the sovereign on his military campaigns or otherwise he was always furnished with the first hand information of all the important diplomatic events of the regime. These facts being of very recent occurrence were fresh in the memory of the people and any attempt of perversion or suppression of them was always open to correction and criticism. Historical facts therefore remained essentially the same, but many of these historians who were primarily literary stylista and did not have a clear perspective of their duties as historians chose only a few of them, and cloaked them in a high-flown rhetorical style. Their inadvertent elimination of important details, their undue stress on literary grandeur, and their subordination of truth to imagination has greatly impaired the value of these historical monographs as dispassionate and objective historical works. Within reasonable restrictions, these
stylists generally allowed a free play to their imaginative genius and ignored their functions as historians investigating truth.

_Muhammad Nama_ is a historical monograph of the reign of Muhammad ‘Adil shah written at the royal suggestion and express behest of Nawwab Baba Mustafa Khan by the official chronicler Zuhur Ibn Zuhuri. It does not seem to have enjoyed any great popularity in the subsequent period because even in Zubayri’s times i.e. in A.H. 1240, it had become almost extinct.

**Hadiqatu’s Salatin:**

Somewhere midway between the high sounding verbosity and extravagant display of pedantry of the _Burhan-e-Ma’asir_ on the one extreme and the bald, matter-of-fact and occasionally common place style of Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi on the other. Stands _Hadiqatu’s Salatin_ of Nizamu’d-Din Ahmad. This historical monograph of the regime of ‘Abdu’llah Qutub shah admirably combines the salient merits of both the divergent schools of prose literary art referred to above and presents a noteworthy specimen of elegant, alluring and vivid style of Persian prose of this period. This work is a typical representation of the spirit of romanticism pervading in all forms of literary activities which effectively checkmated the tendencies towards meaningless
wordiness and bombast of prose stylists and Munshis of this period.

*Hadiqatu’s Salatin* is a monograph of Abdu’llah Qutub shah’s reign describing events from the birth of the king in A. H. 1023 up to the end of the 20th year of his regime in A. H. 1054. Its author Mirza Nizamu’d-Din Ahmad as-Sadi as-Shirazi was one of the eminent literateurs attached to the retinue of ‘Allama Ibn-e-Khatun and enjoyed great favour of his erudite patron. He undertook the composition of this work at the behest of his patron and on its completion submitted it for his scrutiny and criticism. Ibn-e-Khatun was the Wakilu’s Saltanat of Abdu’llah Qutub shah’s regime and the virtual dictator of the Qutub shahi state. Nizamud-Din was therefore in a position to get first hand genuine account of this period from his patron.

*Hadiqatu’s Salatin* is written in a rhyming style. Its diction is greatly polished, smooth and melodious. Nizamu’d-Din possessed a highly developed aesthetic sense and a well-disciplined imagination. In his vivid descriptions of the assemblies of revelry and merriment arranged on the occasions of coronation or birth-day festivities he displays his skill in the use of sustained similes and metaphors. This style of florid and ornate prose writing overladen with gorgeous imagery and displaying a riot of imagination was in vogue during this period.
Nizamu’d-Din and Nuru’llah have experimented with it with admirable success.

**Ta’rikh-e-‘Ali ‘Adilshahiyya:**

Another historical monograph of great literary significance written during the period under our review is *Ta’rikh-e-‘Ali ‘Adilshahiyya* by Sayyid Nuru’llah—a Munshi and an eminent man of letters of Ali ‘Adil shah-II’s court. Nuru’llah’s father Sayyid Muhammad al-Husayni al-Qadiri was the Qazi of Bijapur and naturally commanded universal respect and devotion during the regime of Muhammad ‘Adil shah. Nurull’ah therefore might have been a recipient of royal favours and attention from his early life, for in A. H. 1060, we find him holding the high office of Sar Khylu’l-Mumalik and in this capacity was sent to the South by Muhammad ‘Adil shah with robes of honour for Khan Muhammad-e-Muhammad Shahi and was entrusted with the diplomatic mission of persuading Khan Muhammad not to return to Bijapur before the conquest of Mysore and adjacent areas. Sayyid Nuru’llah reached the fort of Mudgal, where he was forced to halt due to heavy rainfall. During his stay there he was attacked by the thieves whom the brave Sayyid is said to have vanquished single handedly. He next proceeded to Badkot, met Khan Muhammad and with his masterful persuasion succeeded
in his onerous undertaking. He gave a gala feast in honour of this tactful triumph and returned to Bijapur to report his achievement.

*Ta’rikh-e-‘Ali ‘Adilshahiyya* is of rare value to students of literature as it is the only work which cites poetic extracts from Shah Abu’l Ma’ali and gives a critical appreciation of Ali-II’s poetry in Dakhni reviewed by us already. It’s alternative title viz. *Insha-e-‘Ali ‘Adilshahiyya* is an apt and convincing compliment to its literary merits. Nuru’llah’s style possesses all the attributes of *Insha* which was in vogue in that period. Zubayri points out that dignity and grandeur of expression and floridity of colourfulness of description are amongst the salient characteristics of Nuru’llah’s prose. Nurullah combined erudition and pedantry with elegance in his literary art.

**Tawarikh-e-Haft Kursi:**

It is a brief and succinct record of historical events of the reigns of the first seven sovereigns of the ‘Adil shahi dynasty and hence bears an appropriate metaphorical name of *Haft Kursi* (seven August Seats). This treatise extends over forty six folios and is divided into seven chapters, each called ‘majlis’. It is more or less a chronological chart or table of events bearing a close resemblance to Majmua-e-Mirza Mahd Khan or *Jedhe Shakavali*
in Marathi. In the short preface to this brochure wherein a reference to earlier historical works of the ‘Adil shahi dynasty is made, it is also stated that this chronological table of events was commenced by Asadkhan-e-Lari of Belgaum, the able Wakilu’s-Sultanat of Ibrahim ‘Adil shah-I, and after his death, his descendents continued to maintain this record of important historical events from year to year by making relevant entries in this diary. *Haft Kursi* is therefore a diary containing jottings of important events in it, and though rich in dates, it is invariably vague since in each case it only mentions the year of the event and not the day or date of it. Muhyi’d-Din-e-Pirzada has probably utilized *Haft Kursi* to the fullest extent. Ethetherefore rightly observes that in its contents, in its conciseness and in its richness, *Ahwal-e-Salatin-e-Bijapur* bears a striking resemblance to *Haft Kursi*. Being a thread-bare and jejune reference book or a memorandum, *Haft Kursi* is entirely devoid of any literary excellence; even the sentences in it are incomplete. It is however of some historical value as it can be used as a contemporary manual to corroborate dates and events or to identify historical personalities. It is a valuable help book to students of history and architecture. The author has also stated the exact period of the reign of each monarch of the dynasty. The work does not mention even a single event of Sikandar’ Adil shah’s reign. Ethe’s
statement is therefore erroneous when he states that *Haft Kursi* is a short history of the ‘Adil shahs from the reign of Yusuf ‘Adil shah to the conquest of Bijapur by Alamgir.

C. Miscellaneous Literature:

In the preceding chapters, we have attempted a fairly comprehensive survey of the two major and outstanding forms of literary activity in Persian during the period under our review viz. Poetry and its varieties, and History. But besides these two branches of literature, a considerable bulk of literary output has been produced in the Deccan under the patronage of the various Sultanates and in the descriptive catalogues of the collections of rare and valuable Persian manuscripts in India and abroad, we come across short notices of a number of such works. Some of them which were easily accessible to the present writer in the libraries at Hyderabad and Bombay have been consulted and briefly reviewed in the following pages; while others have been merely referred to on the authority of the information available about them in the Descriptive Catalogues.

1. *Tarjuma-e-Salhutar*: A very interesting work compiled during the early period of the Bahmani regime at Gulburga is a Persian translation of ‘The Book of Salhutar’ (a book of veterinary science) dealing with farriery and falconry.
According to the translator’s statement in his short preface, it appears that the original work was in Sanskrit written by one Durgadas and its translation in Persian was rendered at the instance of a Bahmani Sultan of Gulburga, before the transfer of the capital of Bidar.

2. Saydiyya or Shikarkhana-e-Qutubshahi: Another work of a similar nature but of wider scope is known as Saydiyya or Shikarkhana-e-Qutubshahi. It is attributed to Mulla Husayn-e-Tabasi, the author of Marghub’ul-Qulub who was the chief justice of Sultan Quli Qutubshah’s regime.

3. Fiqh-e-Ibrahimshahi: This work deals with legal prayers and other rites and observances of Islam. It is a collection of opinions and decisions of particular law cases as given by Ahmad b. Muhammad entitled Nizamu’d-Din. It is dedicated to Ibrahim Adilshah-I.

4. Ba-ahin-e-Qate: Another work dealing with the Sunni dogma is Barahin-e-Qate a Persian translation of as Sawaiqu’l-Muharriqa of Ahmad Husayni by Kamalu’d-Din-e-Jahrami. These were originally lectures in Arabic delivered at Mecca in the Ramazan A.H.950 and later compiled in a book form. The translation is dedicated to Ibrahim ‘Adilshah II who was a staunch Sunni like Ibrahim I. The work comprises three prologues, ten chapters and an epilogue.
5. *Kasiru’l-Mayamin*: A manuscript of this famous Arabic work was presented to Muhammad Qutubshah by the son of Mawlana Mirza Muhammad-e-Astarabadi. Its Persian translation was rendered by Shah Qazi, a pupil of Mir Mo’min-e-Astarabadi to which he appended the descriptive note written by Mir Mo’min on the unique importance of the original Arabic manuscript.

6. *Zubdatu’r-Rumuz*: Dastan-e-Amir-e-Hamza which is one of the most popular works of fiction in Arabic, was rendered in Persian by Mirza Muhammad Haji-e-Hamadani in A. H. 1022 at the behest of Sultan Muhammad Qutubshah.

7. *Rawzu’r-Rayahin-fi-Hidayati’s-Salihin*: This is a comprehensive and detailed memoir of Sufi Saints and Divines written in Arabic by Imam ‘Afifu’d-Din Yafe’i. It was rendered into Persian in A. H. 1026 by Shaykh Fazlu’Ilah-e-Husayni at the behest of Sultan Muhammad Qutubshah and named *Nuzhat-u’l-‘Uyun-wan-Nawazir fi Hikayati’l-Awaliya wal-Akabir*.

8. *Tajrid*: This standard work on Shia Theology written by the famous Shia Divine, Muhaqqiq Nasiru’d-Din-e Tusi, was translated into Persian during Muhammad Qutubshah’s regime by Shaykh Zaynu’d-Din Ali-e-Badakshi, who also wrote a Persian commentary on it and named it *Tuhfa-e-Shahi*. 
9. *Makatib-e-Zamana-e-Satatin-e-Safawiyya*: This is a huge and voluminous compilation of farmans, royal mandates and official correspondence of the Safawi Shahs till the end of Shah ‘Abbas I’s regime. It contains all the state epistles written to the Safawi kings by rulers of different countries, governors of various provinces, noblemen, grandees and men of importance.

10. *Burhan-e-Qate’*: This is one of the most famous and authoritative works on lexicography compiled under the patronage of ‘Abdullah Qutubshah by Muhammad Husayn-e-Tabrizi, Burhan. This lexicon is treated as a standard work of its class upto this day in Persia, and ever since its compilation it has enjoyed great popularity and prestige in the circles of pedagogy and scholarship.

11. *Majma’u’l-Amsal*: This is a unique work of its kind in Persian. It was compiled by Muhammad Ali Jabal-e-Rudi under the patronage of Abdu’llah Qutubshah at Hyderabad in A.H. 1054. It is named as *Jame ‘u’t-Tamsil* by Rieu, while the manuscript in the Mulla Firuz Library, Bombay, bears the title of *Jame‘u’t-Tamasil*.

12. *Qutub shahi*, an Index Manual to the verses of the Qur’an: A fine manuscript of this work is preserved in the library attached to the Prophet’s Mosque at Medina. Its author,
Muhammad ‘Ali-e-Karbalai, observes that when he was a pupil of Shaykh Muhammad-e-‘Amili alias Ibn-e-Khatun, receiving instructions in Qur’anic commentary and Traditions, he often stood in great need of finding out the Ayat from the Qur’an and it was a difficult task involving a lot of time.

13. **Tuhfa-e-Mulki:** This voluminous work running to the length of 431 pages of a fairly large size is the Persian rendering of ‘Uyunu’l-Akhbar-e-Raza of Ibn-e-Babwayhi, one of the three earlier Shia Divines known as “The Three Muhammads”.

14. **Jung-e-Qutubshahi:** It is a work on ethics and theology based on the practices and instructions of the Prophet, the Imams and other sacred personalities. Its author is anonymous.

15. **Lam’at-e-Qutubshahi:** This work from its title probably appears to be a composition of ‘Abdullah Qutub shah’s regime. It is a work on Meteorology compiled by Ibn Husayn b. Jamalu’d-Din.

16. **Quatrains of Mir Md. Kazim Husayni:** British Museum Library’ contains a huge collection of over 4000 quatrains of an obscure poet Mir Muhammad Kazim by name. He wrote under the nom-de-guerre of Karim and enjoyed the patronage of Sultan ‘Abdullah Qutub shah.
17. *Arus-ʻIrfan*: This remarkable work on Mysticism dealing with about 300 subtle points of the Sufi Doctrine, and its principles and practices, is a Persian translation of a Dakhni *Masnawi, Man Lagan*, rendered by the poet himself at the request of one of his friends.
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