CHAPTER IV
Ma’asir-ul-Kiram
and
Sarv-e-Azad

Yet another book which is brought by Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgirami during his long stay in the Aurangabad is Ma’asir-ul-Kiram. The book is a unique style of Hagiography at par excellence and is an example of rhetoric and eloquence at the same time, it is the mirror of cultural life of his own age. Besides, the early pages of the book are very important to understand the views and ideology on aesthetics of Azad Bilgirami. As it is known that Azad Bilgirami was a descendent of Arbo-Perso-Indian culture and he perceives all the ideologies from Arbo-Persoian literature, thus it is necessary to have a look on Arbo-Perso-Indian relationship with each other and the factors responsible for making a common heritage for their future generations. In this chapter we undertake the task to peep in the past and to identify the causes or the basis from which Azad Bilgirami derives his ideas on aesthetics, secondly we shall also attempt to discuss few of the celebrated and prolific personalities which have been elaborated by Bilgirami in Ma’asir-ul-Kiram. We shall also make a comparative study of these distinguished personalities who had been granted the space in Ma’asir-ul-Kiram, and who have contributed to the historical records with the other books written in the same period like Ma’asir-ul-umra written by Shah-Nawaz - Khan, Aurangabadi.

The book Ma’asir-ul-Kiram as the very name indicates, is the book in which the descriptions of distinguished and eminent personalities are given. The word Ma’asir-ul-Kiram is of Arabic language and a combination of two words. First ‘Ma’asir’ which means ‘memorable deeds’ or ‘glorious traditions’. (1) and the second is ‘Ikram’, when it is combined with Ma’asir, according to Arabic phonetics it will be read out as Kiram which mean ‘Esteemed’ or ‘honouring personalities’ (2) thus it is obviously true that Ma’asir-ul-Kiram are taken to mean the ‘Glorious traditions of the honouring personalities’.
Bilgirami begins the book in traditional style of Persian language, commences with the praisings of Almighty God who is the creator of universe and seven skies without any support. Subsequently he paid tributes to the Prophet of Islam in a very lucid language that though he was an “unlettered man” but miraculously made silent to all those who claim to be great masters of the language, then after he also presented tributes to the Ashab-e-wilayat “masters of saucily”.

When Bilgirami was praising the creation of supportless sky he could not forget seven odes written by great poets of Arabian language and was hung by them on the door of “Kaaba” at Mecca, in the days of darkness and ignorance before Islam. Thus Bilgirami writes;

"سرماهی حمد نیاز مبده و اروح معانی راپا قوایل ای آبن آبیخت و سبیع معلقه ایلاک
رازند قدرت آویخت و جوابر مولات نفاذ امی که نقش کلام معجز برقفوه ورودگار
نشانندو مخصوص دومی زبان آور ان رابه مهر سکوت رساند و اولا دوالانتره که مبادی فن
ولات و اصحاب قلمجناب که مطالع دیوان بیادی اند." (3)
(All the treasure of praising is only for Allah, who has assimilated the spirit of the meaning with the body of the words and erected the seven skies baselessly, and may the blessings be upon the unlitere man (the prophet) who made silent to all those personalities of the age who were claimant of their verbose language, may also be blessings upon his offspring who are of high status and are the foundless of sanctity (father) may blessings be upon the companians of the prophet who are (like) the preface of the book of guidance.)

The foregoing lines of the pages are evident that prior to this work Bilgirami, has already written down the book ‘Yade - Bayza’ in which he had elaborated the biographies of some of the ancient as well as few recent poets. But he considered the same volume of ‘Yade-Bayza’ as ‘Naqshe - Angara-vo-tasveer-e-Tanga’ (incomplete sketch and imperfect portrait). Bilgirami openly confessed that every
time he had found some more material and thought to rewrite the book and as revised version is always better than the first draft, and decided to complete the work of the book keeping ‘Yad-e-Baiza’ before him. Then Bilgirami hopes that the work Yad-e-baiza and will get popularity and spread the light equally. (4) Bilgirami was bold enough to review his own penmanship and to assess his own writings as a critic and states that this second work is also not up to the level of his satisfaction but he is compelled by his own nature and also gives the reasons that “when a new matter is available, my opinion automatically changes and I give up the old ideas.” (5) but when he takes into the consideration, the short span of time which is available for human life, he could not give up the idea to write anything repeteadly and hence Bilgirami described the matter with the oath of almighty God and reviewed the matter for two or three times and decided to pick up some of the selected flowers and states that while doing so, some thrones also pinched him. (6)

Here Bilgirami made mention of a historical incident that when Imad Katib Asfahani expressed his critical views on the poetry of Qazi Abdul Raheem ‘Nisaiee’, in reply to Imad Katib Asfahani Qazi Abdul Raheem Nisaiee said;

"قد وقع لي شيء وما أدرى أوقع لك ألم لوهوان الإنسان لاكتب كتاباً في يومه إلا يقول من غير هذا لكان أحسن ولو ترك ذلك لكان أولى وهذه عظيمة وحجة مستقيلة على استيلال صفة التمسح على طبيعة الإنسان." (7)

(This idea comes in my heart and I don’t know you would have thought as such that a man writes a book today, and utter tomorrow he could have been better if it was not written. It would have been better if this part was not touched and this is a great admonition and this is strong proof that the nature of man is yet incomplete.)

Bilgirami, too, while writing the book realised the limitation of his resources and taking in to consideration the limitation of human life he could hold the pen to write down the book. Bilgirami beautifully described his pains and observed;

"ويا آنكي سامان اصلاح جنانجك يايد وشيد بنوز بحصول نه پيوست و صورت اين مدعا". (8)
(Even though the stuff of writing is not yet available and the preparation could not be made upto a level of satisfaction but the speedy pen of better writing have satisfied itself that it should not depend on the mortal life. The human body is just like a bubble in water, the task of this breath is not to leave to second breath.)

Here Bilgirami states a beautiful couplet to express his views on mortality of human life and states

بيت هر تو عمر چراغی است که در بزم وجود
به نسم مزه برمزدنی خاموش است

(The light of the candle of life is so feeble that it vanishes by single blow of the air.)

Hence Bilgirami, finally decided as the affinity of his mother land i.e. Bilgram which is very close to Kannoj compelled him and his desire to write something about the notable personalities and through light who were in oblivion to light from obtivision. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgirami, therefore plans for the book and states that this book is devided in two parts. The first part is named as Ma‘asir-ul-Kiram. Tarikh-e-Bilgiram which is also devided into two parts. First is on “Fukhara” those personalities who brought fame for themselves rendering their services in religious affairs and second is “Fuzla” who have created their names by their knowledge and wisdom. The second part is again named as “Surve-Azad” and also devided in to two parts, First on the poets of Persian language and the second on the poets of Hindi language. At this juncture Bilgirami informs us that he was intending to write a separate book in Arabic language for the celebrated poets of Arabic because the knowledgeable persons of Persian language did not have much depth in Arabic poetics and therefore they destroy the phonetics of Arabic language. This book consist of the Persian celebrated poets of Bilgiram who are highly honoured and celebrated in Persian literature. Bilgirami gives us a very beautiful quatrain of chronogram which is as under;
(How better is this that the beautifier of the craft of the pen have rubbed on the face power on snow. Lend the air to listen the voice of the absent birds who are showing the date, Azad spread green and fresh cypress.)

From this chronogram it is quite clear that this book is written in the year 1166 Hij. and hence it is third volume which he has written during his stay at Aurangabad.

**Azad Bilgirami on Aesthetics**

Bilgirami’s Ma’asir-ul-Kiram besides the hagiographies of several poets of Bilgiram is marvelous volume on the aesthetics. Azad Bilgirami shall always be regarded and remembered for his contribution to the aesthetics. The ideas of Bilgirami on aesthetics deserve to be dealt at length because Bilgirami was a descent of Arbo-Perso-Indian culture and so also his philosophy on aesthetics is an example of harmony of culture of different races. Thus Bilgirami is an unique example of Arbo-Perso-Indian heritage, hence it is necessary to take an account of the trends which were available in Arabs and Persians and Indians as well as, we in this chapter shall discuss, evaluate make a comparative study of on different views and philosophies regarding aesthetics. The other word for aesthetics which is generally used is ‘poetics’ and as the very word poetics indicates that it is related with poetry or literature. Now the natural question arises what is poetry?

To define poetry is not an easy task. Shiblee in his celebrated book ‘Sherul-Ajam’ writes that when the passions like joy and pleasure, sorrow and anger are communicated or transformed in an appropriate language is called poetry. (11) This definition given by Shiblee also needs elaboration. Shiblee is talking about human
passions, this is also an important task to define passions. When we go in depth of argument, we find that human being have atleast two instincts, one is ‘perception’ to which Shiblee calls ‘Idrak’ and second is “Feelings” or in Shiblee’s words it is “Ehsas”. All the scientific inventions and advancement of technologies, high principles of physics or the chemistry, the beautification of all architectural designs and all other sophisticated advancement in human life are due to the perceptive faculty of human beings. On the contrary the sense of happiness, joy and satisfaction, sorrow and anger, they all are related with the second faculty of the man which is called ‘feelings’(12) The second important content of the definition given by Shiblee is the use of appropriate language. By this, Shiblee is, perhaps, meant the strict framework of the words or rhythmic meter. This quality distinguishes poetry from the prose.

Thus a poem differs from a work of scientific prose. Here the question arises that whether mere communication or transformation of the feelings in rhyme or in the meter shall be define the poetry, perhaps it is not, as stated earlier to define poetry not an easy task but it can be recognised by counting its elements, or the ingredients, when we compare a piece of prose writing in encyclopedia with any of the poem written by a poet, on the same subject we easily identify the difference of the object of the writing. The object of the writer in encyclopedia is quite different from a poet. The encyclopedia writer aims to provide knowledge, statics and on the other hand the intention of a poet is to provoke, and awakened and excite the emotions of the reader. It means the primary function of poetry is to provoke awakened excite the emotions or the passions which are felt by poet himself. This initiates another argument that, is poetry alone excite the passions what about music, sculpture, painting, oratory etc. When we compare all these artistic phenomenon with poetry we find the difference in medium as well as in their scopes. The painter while painting, a sculpture or while carving a sculpture or a musician while composing a music, they all use their respective instruments as a medium to express their ideas but the poet on the other hand make the use of the words as a medium of expression, someone may rightly ask about oratory. An orator ofcourse also makes the use of the words as a medium to express his thoughts but it can
be distinguished with the poetry on the grounds that an orator is basically concerned with the audience who are present before him, but in case of poetry, the poet is not at all concerned with the readers of his time only, that is why Shakespeare is being read in this last phase of twentieth century. Likewise poetry may also be compared with journalism. The difference between a journalistic writing and poetry is that a journalist lacks the quality of pronounce on the contrary poetry play its role eternally, the perpetual impact on the heart and the mind of the reader is primary concern of a poet. The deep impression on the minds and hearts on the readers can only be possible if it is related with the truth at this juncture, the poetry may be compared with history. Poetry and history both are related with the ‘true happenings of life’ or in the Shakespearean language ‘hold the mirror to the nature. (13) But the task of a historian is quite different from a poet. A historian take an incident in to consideration from the historical point of view and attempt to corelate the cause of it and attempt to draw the conclusion, thus a historian is supposed to work on the theory of cause and effect, but the poet, on the other hand take any incident e.g. war he attempts to picturise with his imagination in such a way that it should leave a deep impression.

Poetry we may now agree, is writing which expresses and communicates, feelings and attitudes towards life in rhyme and meter and which has a perpetual characteristic in its nature. (14)

At this juncture, the question arises what are the means or the tools which a poet uses while composing a good poetry, this question also is related with human psychology.

According to Shibllee poetry is a combination of atleast two basic components one is ‘imagination’ and second is ‘imitation’. Shibllee opines that these two factors are essential for poetry if any of them is not existed, poetry can’t be treated as complete. ‘Imagination’ is the name of a force which makes abstract to visible. Any thing which is unclear due to limitation of human sensibility, imagination make them visible and bring them before our eyes. Imagination is also be called contraption of innovation.

Aristotle opines about literature that “refers to any kind of
composition in pose or verse which has for its purpose not the communicators of fact but the telling of a story (either wholly invented or given a new life through invention) or the giving of pleasure through some use of inventive imagination in the employment of words" (15)

Unlike painter who utilises colour and brush as a medium to express the ideas, the poet makes use of his imagination and imitation as his tools (16)

But Plato is of quite different opinion about poetics "poetry feeds and waters the passions instead of drawing them up". (17) Plato, the philosopher naturally opposes the reasons to passions. It is the duty of the wise man to control passion by reason; by exciting and strengthening the passion make this task more difficult, according to Plato is far removed from truth and springs from improper knowledge and lack of understanding of both how to use and how to make what is described it is the product of an "inferior part of the soul" and it harms by nourishing the passions, which ought to be controlled and disciplined.

Any defence of poetry against Plato would have to tackle first the epistemological argument; that poetry is inferior because it is an imitation proceed to show that the poetic gift drives from a uniquely significant human faculty, and finally demonstrate that if poetry arouses passion it is only in order in the long run to allay it or discipline it. This triple task is brilliantly achieved by Aristotle in his ‘poetics’. perhaps Plato was not unaware of the possibility of defending poetry along the lines that Aristotle was to take his final remarks on poetry in the republic suggest that he has presented only the brief for the prosecution and is awaiting the arguments of the defense. (18)

Aristotle unlike Plato describes "the qualities of imaginative literature with a view to demonstrating that it is true, serious and useful whereas Plato had shown it to be false, trivial and harmful". (19)
All the kinds of poetry, says Aristotle epic tragic, comic and dithyrambic, listening the kinds known to him in Greek literature involve mimesis imitation or representation, and one can represent various aspect of real or imaginary situation through any one of the variety of means or media. (20)

Besides there are few other subsidiary elements, according to Shiblee, like similes, metaphors, meaningfulness, eloquence, reality are also ingredients (21) of poetry. While describing all above points Shiblee has ignored one important aspect of poetry i.e. consciousness of moral values. (22) According to R.J. Rees “the elements which compose true poetry” are:

1- Psychological truth.
2- Originality
3- Craftsmanship
4- Consciousness of moral values.

Rees gives us an example of “Satan” in paradise lost and “IAGO” in Othello can only have a meaning if we accept the idea of moral good to which they are opposed. (23)

Altaz Hussain Hali another celebrated scholar author, a great poet and an authority on criticism is also of the opinion that originality, plainness, reality, provocation are the basic ingredients of the poetry. (24)

Shiblee does recognize the specific frame work or the rhyme which is essential for the poetry, but Altaz Hussain differs from him and states that:

"بمارببهان Poet vers Poet کی یہ بیان (نظم) کی شرط verse کی آئی نسبی بلکہ بیان دوسرا Poetry به دو لفظ استعمال میں آئی پی - ایک شعر اور دوسرا نظم اور جس طرح ان کی بیان، ایک آئی پی - اسی طرح verse کی بیان نسبی بلکہی بیان دوسرا Poetry کی انگریزی میں دو لفظ مستعمل ہیں۔ ایک بمارببهان Poet vers Poet کی یہ بیان (نظم) کی شرط verse کی آئی نسبی بلکہ بیان دوسرا Poetry به دو لفظ استعمال میں آئی پی - ایک شعر اور دوسرا نظم اور جس طرح ان کی بیان نسبی بلکہی بیان دوسرا Poetry کی انگریزی میں دو لفظ مستعمل ہیں۔ ایک

(Two words are used in English first is poetry and second is verse. We,
too, use two words first “Sh’er” (verse) and second is “Nazm” (poetry) whereas the precondion of meter is for the verse and not for the poetry. In the same way in our case it is for the ‘Nazm’ (poetry) and not for the ‘Sh’er’ (verse).

In this manner Hali didn’t believe the strict measurement of rhyme and does not consider the same as the basis of literature. At this juncture we shall take an account of functions of literature.

Conceptions of function of literature clustered about the word “catharsis”. The word Aristotle’s Greek in the poetics has had a long history the exegesis of Aristotle’s use of the word remains in dispute but what Aristotle’s may have meant an exegetical problem of interest need not be confounded with the problem to which the turn has come to be applied. The function of literature some say is to receive us either writers or readers from the pressure of emotions, to express emotions is to get free of them as Gaethe is said to have freed himself from “Wellschmerz” by composing the sorrow of wertber and the spectator of tragedy or the reader of a novel is also said to experience release and relief. This emotions have been provided with focus, leaving him at the end of his aesthetic experience with “column of mind”. But does literature relieve us of emotions or instead incite them? (tragedy or comedy Plato thought nourish and water our emotions when we ought to dry them up, or if literature relieves us of our emotions are they not wrongly discharged when they are expended on poetics fictions? As a youth, St. Augustine confesses, he lived in mortal sin, yet all this I wept not I who wept for Aidol slain is some literature incitory and some cathortic or we to distinguish between groups of readers and the nature of their response? Again should all be cathortic? These are problems for treatment under literature and psychology and literature and society but preliminary to be raised now to conclude the question concerning the function of literature has a long history in western world from Plato, down to the present. It is not a question instinctively raised by the poet or by those who like poetry, for such “Beauty is its own excuse for being as Emerson was once drawn in to saying. The question is put rather by utilitarian and moralists, or by statesman and philosophers that is by the representatives of other special other values what, they ask
is the use of poetry any how. “Cui-bone” and they ask the question at full social or human dimensions. Thus challenged the poet and the instinctive reader of poetry are forced as morally and intellectually responsible citizens to make some reasoned reply to the community. They do so in a passage of an “Ars poetica” they write a “Defence” or “pologetic” for poetry. The literary equivalent of what is called in ‘theology’ opologestic writing to this end and this prospective audience they naturally stress the use rather then the delight of literature and hence it would be semantically easy today to adequate the junction of literature with its extrinsic relations but from the romantic movement on the poet has often given when challenged by the community. A different answer which AC Bradley calls “poetry for poetry’s sake” and theorist do well to led the turn ‘ function’ serve the whole oppologestic range so using the word we say poetry has many possible functions. Its prime and chief function is fidelity to its own nature. (26)

It was all about functions of poetry or literature as it is stated earlier that Bilgirami was belonged to Arbo-Perso-Indian culture it seems necessary to have a look on all the three different views on aesthetics.

Arabs and aesthetics

The poetry in Arabs, in pre-Islamic age, is harmonised with the tribal life. In the dark days of ignorance the Arabs were inhabit to preserve and recite the glorious traditions of their tribes and used to produce them whenever they got the chance, and for this reason, when a man turned as poet in any tribe, the people of the other tribes used to congratulate them. (27)

The Arab poetry in that period was pre-dominated by the encomium writing. (28) Whenever any poet used to sing the encomiums during “ukkaz” (annual gathering) or at any function of the tribe the other people had an ambition to have such a poet in their tribe also. (29) According to G.U. Wickens “In tribal life the poet was not only a creative Artist but simultaneously if, interpreted in present days, he was a Journalist a reformer and head of general education department. (30)
This was not the situation specific with the Arabs but was a common factor in all human society. When there was no scientific distribution of work and therefore all people were very intimately and closely related with each other. (31) But during that period also at least few basic concepts were existed for example;

1) “Sha’ier” (the poet)
2) The importance and meaningfulness of hyperbolic languages.
   (32)

Shiblee in “Arabic poetry” has shown the etymology of ‘shair’ and attributed the word with ‘shaoor’ (the consciousness) hence he writes:

“The etymology of the Sha’ier- a poet the known points of religions or magic origin of this art. (33)

It means in Arab society poetry was not mere the name to follow the grammer of poetry one has to attempt willfully and categorically express his views in the manner and style of poetry. (34)

The success of a poet has in that how, he communicate his thoughtful ideas and concepts to the others, (35) Which results in the provocacious and exhilaration within the strict frame of the rules and regulations. this conferment of poetry (36) with the frame work of rules and regulations is not limited with the poets of Arabs but it is easily traceable in all eastern states like China, Japan and India.(37) In Arabic poetry it was a systematic way of expression on which poet had a good command and he addresses the people of his tribe to make use at appropriate time, like the waring tribes always inhabit to use the encomiums of their great poets to provoke their sentiments (38) and other possible stimulus. The use of beautiful stimulus in the poetry was common fashion of that time. (39) Umra-o-Qais Turfa Labeed are good examples, who have created their name and fame in Arabic poetry. (40)
Masi-uz-Zaman a recent critics has rightly observed "in Arabic the style and contents both have equal importance, but style was dominating factor on the content because the poet was considered as an artist but as an artisan (41) As a whole Arab critics, at least, in the days of ignorance were of the opinion that poetry is the expression of collective meaning fullness confined with in strict regular principles and the poet and artist was free to imagine but restricted by the norms set for expression.(42)

At this juncture basic question arises whether the role of a poet is just like a Camera men to imitate his observations and bound to have the principles laid down in early times? was the poet in Arabic poetry has to play his mechanical role? The answer to all such questions is a single term of Arabic poetry and i.e. use of hyperbolic language. The use of hyperbolic language in Arabic poetry was considered to be the symbol of identification of an art. Thus the poet was at liberty to use the language as exaggerated as he could. Abu Farsh Qhadama in statesmen writes: ‘The best tradition is to make a use of exaggeration and hyperbole’ this identifies with the poetry and all the poets are unanimous on this point. The thoughts of some are made known to me that the best poetry is that which possesses maximum lie. (43)

The theories immittance put forth by Plato and Aristotle, are interpreted by Arab poets in their own way unlike the concept of reality of Aristotle is not the basis of originality but it is the confinement with in the frame work of the principles and hence is not at liberty to express ordinary views in a extraordinary manner or extraordinary thing present in a very low manner which some time become abnormality (44). The advent of Islam is a landmark in the history of Arabs, with the spread of Islam in Arab society, the all round changes occurred and it revolutionised the whole ideas, life and styles and every thing in Arab society. (45) Poetry too could not be exception. The Quran the book which is considered to be the revelation of God, is thought to be the supreme standard of Rhetoric Eloquence (46) and thus all the rules and regulations like other several other theories of knowledge were to be framed under the guidance of Quran and Hadith. (47) Those who considered the Qurans teaching
as their ideal attempted to frame the new rules of criticism on basis of moral values. Moral consciousness and ethics were the new concepts which overcome to replace old values of hyperbole and exaggerated use of languages. (48) balance and to be moderate were considered to be the essence of beauty. (49) This theory of the beauty of the Arabs is based on the philosophy propounded by Quran itself. "الذي خلقك نسرك نعدد لك في أي صورة مائدة ربك" - (50)

Who created thee, then fashioned, than proportioned thee? In to what so ever form He will, He casteth thee.)

On the basis of this theory of beauty, a great Arab philosopher Ibn-e-Rushd has developed four principles of the theory of aesthetics:

1) Unlike Aristotle who think creation as synonymous as immition Ibn-e- Rushd quite differently considered it as to prepare and describe the human beings and their society.

2) Aristotle is of the opinion that the orderly arrangements of the word or the rhyme is the basis of the poetry, but in accordance with the principles of Islam, it is absolutely and external part of an art it may be helpful to beautify the expression but it can’t be considered as the basis of aesthetics.

3) Equalisation, whether individually or collectively or of any kind which are the elements of creation brings harmony and balance in the expression to whom Aristotle calls ‘Formulae’.

4) The proportionate and appropriate immition of all elements of the creation which should be perfect in all respect. Quranic verses are evident in the fact thus Quran speaks:

(And remember) when thy Lord said unto the Angles : Lo! I am

Historical Sensitivity and Sensibility of Azad Bilgirami’s Works [ 250 ]
creating a mortal out of potter’s clay of black mud altered, so when I have made him and have breathed into him of my spirit, do ye fall down prostrating yourselves unto him.)

Thus equalisation or the balances in proper proportion are considered the basis of Islamic philosophy and criticism and hence the history of criticism in Islam is self-evident that the literature an all future generations of Islam.

We observe the element of equity was always remained eliminating. (52)

Another aspect of equalisation on “to be moderate” is that there should be a complete harmony between the words with their meanings and so also there should be a moderate use of expression for rhetoric and eloquence. There should be a perfect balance in human society, from the moral and ethical point of view and thus the theory of aesthetic in Islam plays its role as moral commitment in the society. (53)

Quran gives stress on the four ways of expression they are as under;

1) Qhoul-e-Haseen (beautification of utterances)
2) Qhoul-e-Mateen (Seriousness in expression)
3) Qhoul-e-Sadeed (Firm commitment)
4) Hikmat-vo-Mo’aizat (Wisdom and exhortion) (54)

Hence we conclude that how the sense of aesthetics emerged in Arabs and how evolution took place in it.

As it is historical truth that the out time to which Azad Bilgirami was belonged came through the terroteries of Persia and therefore it has lot of influences of Persia.

It is hence, seems, necessary to know about the concepts and theories of aesthetics of Persia.
Persian Poets

The Persian literature may basically be divided into two periods
1) Pre - Islamic period up to 635 AD 2) post - Islamic or after 635 AD (55)

The differences between the old and modern Persian literature is easily traceable. Photographers of old Persian literature are of the opinion that this comprises of at least eleven languages and had an impact of four different religions;

1) Zoroastrianism
2) Magianism
3) Buddhism
4) Islam

The old Persian literature is divided into two parts;

1) Strife poems
2) Wisdom books.

In strife poems the differences and contrasts of various trends and concepts were presented whereas wisdom poems, the poets attempted to present the principles of culture and civilization. (56)

But Shiblee is of firm opinion that Persian reached its Zenith in culture & civilization, and in other fields of human society, but poetry came to Persia only after the arrival of Islam. Thus he observes;

"اسلام سپری پیامبر مین اگرچه اور تمام علوم و فنون کمال کم درجه تک چندین چکی تهکی لیکن شاعری کا بیعت کی پہی چلتا پی - مستر براون چو اس کم وجود کم مدعی بین اس سپری زیادہ اورکوئی ثبوت نہ پیش کرنسکی کہ بارید کے رال مدت تک زبان پر تیہ - چنانچه شاعرکھتا پی " نوائی بارید مانند اکست زمان " لیکن بارید کی رال بول تیہ شعر نہ تیہ عوافی یزی، لباب اللباب مین لکھتا پی گر عید پرویز نوائی خسروائی کہ آزا بارید و"
(Although, in persia, prior to Islam the knowledge and the arts all ready reached to their heights, but the poetry is found at very lesser level). Mr Brown, who is a great claimant of this (theory) could not produce few "Rags" of Baraid, which were on everybodys tounge. Hence the poet says "the voice of Baraid is on the tounge of the age. But the 'Rags' of Baraid where near utterances and not the couplets. Auffi yezdi in 'Labal-ul-Labaab' writes: "In the reign of king Parvez, a royal advice was issued and served its purpose to a great extent. The meters of the verse were formed and the use of related words to form the prolonged metaphor are founded and therefore (these factors) created obstacle in the expression of ideas".)

After the advent of Islam with the geographical boundaries of Persia it revolutionised each and every field in Persia. The main element which entered in literature was “mysticism” (58) because, Islam is the religion which has absolute faith in “Tawheed" or monoism. The followers of mysticism thought that God himself is an unique combination where in the absolute virtue and absolute beauty can co-exist (59) and therefore God alone is the source of inspiration for virtue and beauty. (60) God has spread the quality of virtue and beauty to a extend, among mankind and therefore a man can identify the beauty and virtue by a specific sense which God has bestowed on him and the name of this specific sense is aesthetic sense. (61)

Thus William (Hoss) has observed the points of differences between eastern and western philosophy of aesthetics as under;

1) In last there is no differences between the virtues and object which is viewed. Where as the west maintains the differences between the two.

2) The east is based on instinct where as the basis in the west is the sensibility.
3) In the east the sense of touch occupies a place of importance whereas in the west the sense of sight is important. (62)

Prof. Hasan Askari had denied the above differences and presented a new theory. He opines in the east the basis of civilization is considered to be metaphysics, whereas in the west the basis of the same is physics. (63)

When we take a historical account of Persia we observe that since the early times of Islam down to the age of ummayades, the Persians were under the direct rule of Arabs. Even the district level officers, too, were the Arabs. (64)

But after the regime of ummayades and as soon as the period of Abbasyides began the vizarate came in to the hands of non-Arabs, the family of Bomakan suddenly came to power. (65)

The one reason for this is that the maternal uncle of Mamun-ur-Rasheed was a Persian and therefore all the Arabs call them (persian) as their Nephews (66) and Mamoon-ur-Rasheed used to live in Persia in his early life. (67)

Hence when the Arabs were dominating in Persia, the Persian language could not be developed, though in this period thousands of poets were living and they all made use of Arabic language for their poetry. (68)

It seems that Mamoon-ur-Rasheed after some period came back to Baghdad and during that period except few couplets by Abbas Maroz, no other name of the poet comes to us. Abbas Maroz himself confesses;

"
بعد ازویٰ کس شعر فارسی نگفت -" (69)

(After him no other man has composed persian couplets)

After the period of Mamoon-u-Rasheed the downfall occurred and local officers become independent like Taher - zul - Yameen
who’s family ruled at least for 54 years successfully and at last came to an end in 259 Hij. the family of this ruler was an Arabic, the official language was also Arabic but the capital was Kharasan, the impact of local language brought several poets like Hanzala, Mehmood, Waraq Feroz Mashriqi and several others. (70)

From all these above facts it is quite clear that the poetry in Persia began not in natural way but the poet gained the same with lot of efforts. (71) Unlike the Arab where the development of poetry was quite natural way whenever the two opponents come in the field they used to recite and commemorate their heirarchical orders with the pride and let the other to impress (72) At the beginning this all was in prose but later it developed with the rhymes and rhythms and started poetry. The first form of literature from the history of poetics begins in Arab was poetry. This was followed by encomiums, but these forms were quite plain without intending neither to favour nor to blame or displease anybody, all the poetry at that time was just for the sake of provocation of the emotions and to make them for utilization in warfare. (73)

Whereas the poetry in Persia began with the education. In other words one had to acquire knowledge of Arabic to become a poet. The mention of Persian poets unlike Arabic poets was quite different. They intended to become the poet to please some one else.

In the beginning the poetry in Persia, was very plain, simple, the imagination, the style, the similies and metaphors were as simple as they could be, but with the development and mastery on the language and with the advancement of knowledge poetry also developed accordingly. (74)

It is true that all the Persian poets acknowledge the Arabs as their masters in poetry. (75) Further it is also equally true that the Persian did not adopt the Arab poets in true spirit but infact, they followed them only because the modern Arab poetry which begins with the dawn of Islam and survived the downfall of the Ummayadas.
Ma'asir-ul-Kiram

After them the capital shifted to Baghdad and since then both the languages the Persian and Arabic assimilated with each other considerably that it could not easily be befergated with each other.

So also the pattern of Govt., too, influenced the life style of the masses. (76) After the ummayades the khilafat turned to monarchial pattern of Govt. and influenced all the walks of life of the Muslims. (77) In this manner the natural beauty of Persian, their culture and civilization the delicacy in expression all that became the salient features of the poetry.

After reviewing the poetry in Persia it is equally important to look into the concepts and theories of Indian aesthetics.

Aesthetics in India

The history of aesthetics in India is very old. It is said that once several Gods went to God of the Gods, Brahma and prayed that mankind is always attracted by the evils and they don’t have any inclination with the virtue and righteous things because the evils have much attraction that the virtue or the good elements has no attraction and are dry in their nature. Brahma gave a patient listening and directed for compilation of the fifth or “Niritya-Natyঃ and Sangeet”. From this legend what we could understand is that these three elements, Nritya, Natya and Sangeet are the three elements through which mankind can be persuaded to righteous path.

It is also obvious that the concept of aesthetics in India was available since the early times of civilization. (78) Criticism in Sanskrit begins with the Natya shastra of Bharat, There is confusion about the period in which it was written, some are of the opinion that it was the work carried out during first century AD whereas others opines that it was brought round about 300 AD (79)

Basically the book deals with the drama and poetry, and the description of other arts came subsidiary. But from the critical point of view the book has got very importance because the author had presented the theory of ‘Ras’ which is considered to be the foundation
of aesthetics in Sanskrit. The theory of ‘Ras’ as propounded by the author deals with the art from the point of audience or the readers and not from the point of view of the artist.

The philosophers of Sanskrit attempted to study and analyse the human patience and emotions in the manner of Greek philosophers as they consider all the senses of human beings into five, in the same manner the Sanskrit scholars presented all human emotional system in nine fundamental ‘Ras’ out of them each ‘Ras’ has its effects on any one sense of human beings and creates an impression accordingly and in accordance with the effect it is valued aesthetically. The nine fundamental ‘Ras’ are as follows:

1- Shrungar Ras (Romantic)
2- Hassiya Ras (Humour)
3- Crona Ras (Passion)
4- Rudr Ras (Horror)
5- Vir Ras (Bravery)
6- Bhaybhrit Ras (Hatred)
7- Adhbbhut Ras (Exclamation)
8- Bhayanak Ras (Fear)
9- Shant Ras (Peace & commitment) (80)

Likewise there are some emotions of feelings which are as under;

1) Love
2) Sorrow
3) Anger
4) Fear
5) Hatred
6) Exclamation
7) Power of work (81)

The above feelings are called “Sthai Bhao”. There are others which are subsidiary to these fundamental ‘Bhao’ they are called ‘Vibhachari Bhao’. The experts of Sanskrit aesthetics are of the opinion that in any drama to create impression of any ‘Ras’, if any external stimulus is used that is called ‘vibhay’. The arguments on the Bharat
philosophy of ‘Ras’ began with the commentary on ‘Natya shastra’ (82) written by Abhimanyu Gupta.

The argument was centrally based on two different terminologies one is “Sanyog” and second is ‘Rasvashpati’ “Sanyog” means making the use of all internal and external means and ways including ‘Vibhao’ ‘AnuBhao’ and “vibhachari”, which are the supporting element, expression of any of ‘sthai Ras’. It means the presence of ‘Ras’ was already there inexistence but the reality is that the ‘sthai’ ‘Ras’ is expressed only after vibhao, anubhao and vibhachari. (83)

So far the concept of ‘Rasvashpati’ is concerned it is taken to mean that if ‘Ras’ is the name of aesthetic state of an artist which he went to create or present before the audience it means, it is also one of the ways and means of expression and in that situation atleast three problems are created:

1. It is the name of an expression which is created by an artist by visiting his inner conditions upon the audience and what are the factors which are common in both artist and audience.

2. What are the stimulating factors for an artist which inspire him for creation or what is the reality of it whether it works as a common value between the artist and the audience in other words what relation an art had with reality and whether this relation is common among audience and artist.

3. Whether an art is a name of a creation which is pre-existed and expressed in accordance with the ‘Ras’ or is it the name of state of expression which is expressed during the course of expression itself and which is instead of expressing in accordance with the ‘Ras; it may be expressed unconsciously or semi consciously. (84)

Any way, all the three questions are in one way or the other, related with common psychology of the artist and the audience.
and, to resolve this enigma Bhatt Naik coined two terminologies:

1- Bhav Katao
2- Bhoj Katao

Bhav Katao means the aesthetic sense of an artist by which he may create deep impression on the readers, or on the audience and the ability to taste the sense of joy of the audience is called Bhoj Katao.

While other scholars of Sanskrit criticism gave thoughtful opinion about the relationship between the words with their meanings. They believe in complete harmony between ‘shabd’ and, the ‘Arth’ this harmony between ‘Shabd’ and ‘Arth’ becomes the foundation of art. (85)

The world renowned writer Kalidasa begins his master piece work “Raghuvensh” with the argument of the relationship between ‘Shabd’ and ‘Arth’. He considers that complete harmony and assimilation of the words with their meanings are the father and mother of the words of meaningful. He also considers that this unification of ‘Shabd’ and ‘Arth’ is not only necessary for this meaningfulness but also for the creation of sounds and imitations on the basis of which aesthetics can be realised. The merits and demerits of poetry can be measured on these grounds only. Thus Kalidas elaborates this theory with the terminologies of “Gun” means merits and “Dosh” which are taken to mean as defects or demerits.

As a result of this theory of Kalidas the concept of “Reeti” developed. It is ‘Reeti’ which is not mere the name of style or the diction but it is craftsmanship of the art. At this juncture it seems necessary to have a mention of Vaman who have enlisted the merits and demerits of poetics and counted them in two separate numbers. According to him ten merits of poetics are:

1. Owjas
2. Prasad
3. Shailesh
Ma'asir-ul-Kiram

4. Samta
5. Samadhi
6. Madhurya
7. Sukumarya
8. Vadarta
9. Arth-vo-yak-satya
10. Kawti

All these ten merits are related with the words so also with the meaning, for example take Awjaz, it means an element which correlates words with each other and at the same time it is the firmness of thoughts. (86)

Another scholar Dindi in his renowned book ‘Kaviya Darsh’ has counted three forms of poetics on the basis of arrangements of words, which creates particular impression they are prose, poetry and drama. Dindi opines that the highest form of literature is epic. He gives the name to epic as “Mahakavya”. The peculiarity of mahakavya is that, it begins with progress. The contents of it, either adopted by the legends or it may be based on the factual reality. The hero of “mahakavya” is always gentle, intelligent and brave, every “mahakavya” has the display of the cities, occasions seasons, romantic scenes, battle fields and warfares. The moonlight in the dark nights and these elements are considered to be essential in “mahakavya”. (87)

In Sanskrit there are four objectives of poetry or literature;

1. To gain wealth
2. To discharge the duty
3. Ambition
4. Self - Expression(88)

Dhu - Wani

Dhu-wani is an important concept in Sanskrit poetry. This concept deals with that complete expression, it is neither possible nor correct. The expression can be made in allusion, expression
doesn't require the words and the meaning but they are only expressed metaphysically and it becomes the duty of audience to make utilisation of their imagination to get complete test of aesthetics and hence ambiguity becomes an essential feature of poetics, (89) while arguing the concept of Dhu’wani, it is equally important to deal the concept of ‘Prathiba’ or ‘Dralthi’ and ‘Shrusthi’ all these terminologies are related with the perception and sensibility of poet as well as of the audience. In Sanskrit poetry the question is immaterial that a poet is describing the realities by making use of his imagination or any stimulation but the basic question is that whether they really exist or not. In Sanskrit poetry, pratibha or imagination is a thing which is considered as divine gift without this all the works of poet remain incomplete and it can’t provide any aesthetic pleasure to its readers or audience. This divine gift according to Jagan-Nath can be acquired by divine will or by offering prayers to any of Gods or by serving ‘Guru’ or any spiritual Guide.

After acquiring this divine gift one has to do regular ‘Abhyas’ which means constant and regular practice.

To conclude the background of Sanskrit poetics, it is based on metaphysical ideology the style, and the creation of art both are related with the “Karam” of previous ‘Jan’m’. It means it is directly related with the words and the deeds of previous birth and accordingly a man gets the fruits. Accordingly he can remove the curtains from his personality and goes in the state of aesthetics to get intimate knowledge of God which is a highest form of mystical experience of universe, which is called “Ras” and when all these things come together it gives a name pleasure and easacity which is beyond expression and i.e. truth. From all the above arguments it is clear that the central point of Sanskrit poetry is a particular aesthetics which is a fruit of profound study or the services rendered to spiritual guide, or it may be a pious the deeds of the previous birth. This potential of a poet gives birth to the harmony of ‘shabd’ and ‘arth’ and creates a new exhilaration, which is found in the eternal flows of Ganga and Yamuna and which is called “Sarswati”. Thus Srswati is truly an aesthetic state or in other words it may be called literary stability. (90).
These are the high tradition to which Bilgirami was belonged as well as he was aware of all these concepts of aesthetics. Bilgirami is one of the rings of this long chain which relates us to three high traditions.

Bilgirami was basically a poet and had a crystal clear idea of his own about aesthetics, he was, of course, a Muslim and a staunch champion of Islamic beliefs and tradition. He always followed the path shown by the prophet of Islam. For Azad Bilgirami the prophet was the only source of inspiration.

Thus the idea of aesthetics which Bilgirami considered correct and followed in the true spirit was originated by the prophet.

Bilgirami glorifies the seating of the prophet alongwith his companions and states that;

“The air of poetry flows from the assembly of the prophet and the freshness of this air brings smiles on the auspicious lips of the prophet, and the hagiographer writes that “whenever the prophet remains in pleasant mood he used to listen the poetry from his poet companions. Thus Bilgirami states;

(All the biographers of the prophet are unanimous on the view wherever the prophet came to any gathering he used to recite the words of divine revelation, meanwhile his face used to become smilesimper and whenever he intented to listen the others he always wished the couplets to be heard.)

Bilgirami further writes that the prophet of Islam had a inclination towards poetry. The poet companions of the prophet made a satire of dolytheists and the prophet rewarded them. Bilgirami
Ma'asir-ul-Kiram

informs us regarding the habits of the prophet that one poet companion named Hazrat Hassan - Bin Sa’abit was usually ordered by the prophet to compose satire in reply to the satanic verses composed by polytheists, and after the listening of the satires composed by his poet companions he (prophet of Islam) prays almighty Allah that he (poet companion) may be supported with the hands of Gabriel (chief of the evoinjalists). Thus Bilgirami quotes a line of Hadith in the book “Ma’aser-ul-kiram”. We quote the complete content of the Hadith as found in the book of Hadith;

" وعن البراء قال قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يومه قريظة و حسان ابن ثابت امتحن المشركين فأن جبريل معك و كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول الحسن اجب على اللهم ايده بروح القدس متفق عليه ". (92)

(It is reported by Hazrat Birah, that the prophet (peace be upon him) at the occasion of the battle of Qhariza told the Hassan-bin-Saabit, “You produced satire for polytheists and gabriel (Archangel) is with you” and the prophet used to tell “Oh! Hassan, you give reply to polytheists and (pray) Oh! Allah may he (Hassan-bin-Saabit) supported with gabreil, Archangel).

Further Bilgirami quotes the high traditions of the prophet that the prophet had a great respect for his poet companions, he (the prophet) made a wooden pulpit for his poet companion, Hassan Bin Sa’abit, and allowed him to sit on it and prayed almighty God for his favour. Bilgirami states;

" ونصب منبر برأي حسان بن ثابت رضى الله عنه - " (93)

(And he (the prophet) built a pulpit for Hassan-bin-Saabit).

It is worth to state here that Hassan Bin Sa’abit was the only companion who was respected in this manner and allowed to sit on the high position on the pulpit in the presence of the prophet. (94) otherwise the tradition of the assembly of the prophet was that nobody was allowed to speak in louder voice than the prophet. This was the instruction issued by almighty God, in Quranic verses we quote an example from Quran;
"Ya aya al-a'lam min al-amun la fañuusu an aswa'akum fawqu' soo'at al-nube' wala tajeru walu balqul,
kahjru bihsu'ki li-biyyu'fi' ann tabatib 'umalakum wamum latahsu'ruun." (95)

(Oh! ye who believe! Lift not up your voices above the voice of the prophet nor shout when speaking to him as ye shout one to another, list your works be rendered vain while ye perceive not.)

In support to his argument Bilgirami gives us another example from the books of Hadith, Bilgirami writes about the another poet companion of the prophet Ha'arat Ka'ab Bin Zuhaair that on the presentation of the encomium before the prophet he, too, was rewarded.

Likewise Bilgirami quotes a couplet composed by yet another poet companion of the prophet, Ha'arat Ka'ab Bin Malik the couplet is as under;

جاء السخينة كي تغالب ريها وليغبني مغالب الغلااب

(96)

("Saqhina" arrived here to make her position before her Master, and those who detemine to conquer they achieve it.)

It is stated by Bilgirami that after listening this couplet the prophet said;

ان الله لم ينس ذلك لك ولغبني مغالب الغلااب

(97)

(Truely, Allah has not forgotten him. Means who soever recite this couplet, he can’t forget Almighty God.)

The foregoing lines from Page No. 3 of Ma'asir-ul-Kiram onwards are the eloboration of the views of Azad Bilgirami on poetics. As it was the habit of Bilgirami that whenever he pleads for his argument he always used to quote the authority. Hence he quoted the book “Khasais-e-Kubra” written by a great scholar Shaikh Jalaluddin Sayuti, on the listening of a beautiful couplet by his companion the prophet gave him blessing and prayed God for his
favour.

Bilgirami quoted yet another authority, Behaqui (the renowned scholar of Hadith) in the chapter Dalal El (proofs) that the prophet listened, at least, seven couplets by an alien poet who was called on the prophet for the Clearification of another issue. Thus Bilgirami States;

(Baihaqi in his book ‘Dalael’ has established a separate chapter under the title of couplet of the prophet. In this respect he has mentioned a long hadith quoted by Jaber (the companion) the consizeed content of the hadith are as under: a man reached to the prophet and asked that his father wanted to grab his wealth. The prophet replied to call his father to him. When the son came with his father the prophet asked him that he is complaining that you were inteding to grab his wealth. The father informed the prophet that the wealth was not of his own alone. But it was concerned with his uncle and other relatives and was it not my right to expend the wealth on my other children soon after Gibrael (archangle) arrived and informed the prophet that the old man has composed few couplets regarding yourself. The prophet asked the old man have you composed any couplet regarding me. The old prayed for the increase in the sight and confidence of the prophet and then after he recited the seven couplets which he composed in respect of the prophet. After listening the couplets the prophet started.
weeping and held the collar of the son and stated ‘Yourself and all your belonging are your father’.

This narrative is also traceable in other books of Hadith also.

(99).

From the above narrative Azad Bilgirami derives the conclusion that “poetry neither good nor bad in itself but the contents of same it makes itself good or bad” In this context prose or poetry both are equal. Thus Bilgirami writes;

"مقصد آنکہ شعر فی نفسه مذموم نیست بلکہ حسن و قبح راجع می شوہبندل لول و درین امر خود نظم و نثر مساوی است " (100)

(In short the couplet in itself is really not is a bad but the goodness or the badness (of any couplet) is depend on its contents. In this respect both the prose and poetry are equal.)

Bilgirami, henceforth, in the book elaborates the defects of poetry. According to him a defect is that it should not be against the teachings of shariah (the principals of Islam), as laid down in Quran. He gives us an example that it should not harm any believer (wine) specifically mention that ‘the lie’ which is aimed to beautify the poetry is allowed as in ‘Ghazals’ (sonnets) the frequent use of the word “sharab” (wine) makes no difference thus Bilgirami writes;

"ومعنى قبیل آنست کہ مخالف شرع باشند مثل بجو و شتم مسلمانی یا کذبی کہ موجود اصرار باشند نہ کذبی کہ محض برای تحسین کلام آرنگ " (101)

(Couplet becomes bad when it is not in accordance with Shariyat (the divine principles of Islam) for example, satire, back biting and lie all which are used for any Muslim or any lie which may cause danger is prohibited but a lie used for the beautification of poetry is permissible.)

and;

"بتضمن تغلل بانت سعاد و تشبيه رضاب به شراب است " (102)

(In encomium composed by Banad Sa’ad there is much hyperbole and in the contents of ghazal (sonnet) that drink of wine is permissible.)
Further Bilgirami states that the prophet himself listened all these but never objected. Bilgirami states;

"حضرت صلى الله عليه وسلم ابن بره راشند و انکار نفرمود - (103)"

(The prophet listened all these couplets and never disallowed)

He gives us another example that the neck of the prophet was compared with "Aaj" or ivory and it was not wrong. As Bilgirami states;

"مبارك رابه گردن نشال عاج تشييه داده و آن رامضايقه ندانسته - (104)"

(To quote any example for the elobration of meaning or to make use of any similie for the expression is not disallowed.)

In the foregoing lines of Ma’asir-ul-Kiram Bilgirami quotes an authority in Islamic theology “saidani” and states that

"The lie which is expressed in poetry is not at all alive because the intention of the poet is to present truth by the means of lie. It is therefore a lie in poetry is considered to be the means through which a poet uses the same to beautify his creativity. Thus Bilgirami writes;

"وفقاً و سيدلاي كه ازاكابر علماء اند گفته اندكه کذب شعر کذب نيست قصد کاذب تحقيق قول خود است يعني کذب راصدق وامي نماید و قصد شاء محض تحسین كلام است . " (105)"

(Wasqual and Sailani, the eminent scholars are of opinion that any lie in any couplet is not at all a lie, because the intention of lieer is to proved his ideas, in other words a truth is proved with the help of lie and a aim of the poet is to gain favour with the poetry.)

Shiblee Nomani also opines that contrast is an element for the completion of imitation. Shiblee writes in shrul - Ajam as under;
“The thoughtful expression in specify meter for the beautification at the same time the use of lie play its role as a beautiful dress for the thoughts. Thus Bilgirami states;

"ازینجا ثابت شد که تخیلات موزوّن‌ان برای تزئین اشعاره و تخليه بنی
افكار جائز بادش" (107)

(At this stage it is proved that the ideas of the poets are to beautify and to dress their ideas in poetry. It is persible.)

These thoughts of Bilgirami about the poetics are very important, because for all these concepts it is obvious that Bilgirami has applied his own reasons and with the use of will and intellect he drew his own conclusion about poetics. Bilgirami as stated earlier took inspiration from the prophet was not doymalic whatever the thoughts Bilgirami pronounce were logically derived from the trend of the usual habits of the prophet.

Bilgirami very minutely studied the life of the prophet and observed his biography with various angles and viewed the same with making use of specs of wit and intellect.

Bilgirami presented several examples from the life of the
prophet that the prophet was in usual habit to recite the selected couplets written by either by his poet companions or by the poet of the past generation, thus Bilgirami quotes a couplet:

アナ النبي لا كذب
انا ابن عبدالطلب
الكل شي مأخذ الله باطل
(108)

(Myself is the messenger, and no lie in it. And I am the son of Abdul Mutalib. Be warned everything except Allah is perishable.)

and

The same quotation is available in various books of Hadith, like it is available in 'Mishkawt' as under;

"و عن ابي هريره قال . قال رسو الله صلى الله عليه و سلم اصدق كلمة
مالها الشاعر كلمة اليسي الا كل شئ ما خذالله باطل متفق عليه . "(109)

(Abu Hurairira reports that the prophet (peace be upon him) said 'the truth which is expressed by the tounge of a poet is that everything except Allah is perishable.)

Like wise Bukhari gave the mention of it as under;

"حدثنا ابن بشار سفيان عن عبدالملك حدثنا ابن سلمه عن ابي هريره قال
النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم اصدق كلمة قالها الشاعر كلمة البدير الا كل شي
مأخذ الله باطل . "(110)

(Abu Hurairira reported me that he was reported by Abu Salma, he was said by Abdul Malik and he was by Sufiyan and he was by Ibn-e-Hashar that he listened the prophet saying ‘the ever good account which expressed by any poet is the discourse of labeed, be warned that everything except Allah is perishable.)

It is the sufficient proof that how Bilgirami logically draws his conclusion from the life of the prophet that Islam doesn’t disallow to listen the poetry.

The proof of this argument is that the prophet himself was in
habit to listen recite and remember the couplets. Henceforth Bilgirami discusses the various components or ingridians of poetics with the help of the sayings of the prophet - Bilgirami quotes a saying of the prophet as under;

"آن من الشعر حكمة" (111)

(Poetry is an affair of wisdom.)

From this Hadith Bilgirami concludes that the prophet has not used the words;

"وبعض الشعر حكمة" (112)

(Wisdom is found in a few of the couplets.)

But the prophet made the use of words for all general poetry.

It means, Bilgirami elaborates that every poetry is wisdom now it becomes the duty of the reader to identify the couplet which posses the quality of wisdom;

"ولازم آمد كه جميع افراد حكمت بعض از شعر باشد" (113)

(It is essential that some discourses be included in couplet.)

Hence Bilgirami concludes the following elements and considered these as essentials of poetry.

1) The couplet should be informative.

"فضيلت شعر است سزا وار آنس كه مخبر عنه واقع شد." (114)

(The excellence of couplet is that it should be informative.)

2) It should be commemorative to Allah.

"مقدم در ذكر باشد" (115)

(It should be comomorative to Allah.)
3) The meaning should be larger than the words.

"نقدم لفظي راير اصل خود گزارشت برای ابتمام شان شعر و افاده حصر و
اسلوب معنوی قلب کرد" (116)

(The prophet) undoubtedly prefered the meaning on the words and
returned the dignity and profitability of couplets. And made the wisdom
as the cause of information.)

4) It should be in accordance with the principles of shairah.

"مصلحتی شرعی مقتضی باشد." (117)

(It was demand of the prudence of Shariyat.)

From the above mentioned elements it is crystal clear that
Bilgirami has specific concept in his mind and if we make a
comparative study of the same with the early pages of this chapter we
find that every great poetry basically posses the same elements as
Bilgirami has rightly mentioned it.

Thus Bilgirami shall always be regarded for the view which he
expressed on poetics.

Bilgirami further goes on to write and quote the various Hadith
of the prophet in support to his argument we need not quote to all of
them, but to have a look on Quranic views on poetics there are at least
two references are found in Quran regarding the poetics. One is in
sura No. 26 verses No. 223-227 mentioned as under;

"والشعراء، يتبهم الغاون، الم تر انهم في كل واد يهمون، و انهم يقولون
ملا يفعلون ؛ الا الذين آمنو و عملوا الصلحت و نذكر و الله كثيرا و نتصرو
من بعد ما ظلمو و سيعمل الذين ظلموا اي منقلب ينقلبون" (118)

(They listen egerly but most of them are liers. As for poets, the erring
follow them Hast then not seen how they stay in every valley. And
how they say that which they do not. Save those who believe and do
good works and remember Allah much, and indicate themselves after
they have been wronged. Those who do wrong will come to know by what (a great) rivers they will be over turned.

And secondly in surah No. 36 verses No. 69 which is quoted by Bilgirami himself which reads as under;

"واما علمنه الشعر وما ينفي له ان هو الا ذكر وقراان مبين" (119)

(And we have not taught him (Muhammed) poetry nor is it meet for him. This is naught else then a reminder and a lecture making plain.)

Thus Bilgirami writes;

"اما نفى تعليم شعر از حضرت صلى الله عليه وسلم دركيره ما علمناه الشعر و ما ينفي له از براي آنست كا اگر حضرت صلى الله عليه وسلم ذكر شعر شاعر خود مي ساخت پست فطرتان گمان مي بردن كه تكلم مبارك به آيات بينات ازجدت سليقه زبانى است نه سفارت رباني" (120)

(In quranic verse ‘and we have taught him (Muhammed) poetry, nor it is meet for him’. The teaching of poetry to the prophet is denied because if he pay attention toward poetry, the people of vile nature may think that the uttrenes from the tounge of the prophet are not divine revelatoin, it is poetry due to which the chastity of the language was created.)

When we go through the above contents of Quran regarding a poetics we can conclude easily that the ingredient of the poetics according to Quran are as follows:

1. The poetry generally, is based on false notes, the ideas of poets are generally baseless.

2. Poetry in general terms not encouraged by Quran because poets are seduced from “The straight path” to whom Quran refers as Sirat - e - Mustaqeem.

3. The views generally expressed by the poets are away from reality.
4. The poets wonder here and there like jypsies.

5. What the poets usually express in their poetry they donot practice the ideas.

6. But there are few who express their ideas through poetry against the tyrants and express the truth very boldly.

When we compare the above points with the ideas of Bilgirami we can easily find out that both are similar and truth is that for Bilgirami Quran was the basis on which he develops his own philosophical ideologies. Again in Surah No. 36 Yaseen Quran speaks of the prophet and clears the idea that the prophet was not a poet Quran does not connect the misconception of the non believers of the Islam, but also has a clear mention that it is not appropriate for the prophet hood of any of the prophet to compose poetry unlike the poets, the prophet used to use a plain and straight rampage which is full of good counsel. This is the point of information for Bilgirami and he does observes that if the prophet turns to be a poet, the malicious person may argue that Quran is not a divine revelation but it is the dialogue of the prophet himself. The fact is that Quran is a divine revelation as Quran itself declares:

"إنه يقولون افتراءه قل فاتوا بسورة مثله وادعوا من استطعتم من دون الله أن كنتم صدقين."

(121)

(Or say they : He has invented it : Say : Then bring a Surah like unto it, and call (for help) on all ye can besides Allah if ye are truthful.)

And that is why Bilgirami argues that although the prophet had a deep interest in Poetry, he was some times used connect the couplets by a replacing more appropriate words but he was not a poet.

Subsequently Bilgirami attempts to trace out the germs of poetics thus he writes that it has started by Adam the first man in the world himself.
"اواول کسی که جواب سخن را در رشته نظام کشید و این تحفه موزون را از خزانه غیب به قلمرو شهید رسانید، آدم عليه السلام است چون قابلیت بابل را شریعت شهادت مشاند."

(The first ever man who stringed the pearls in the thread of poetry and brought the hidden treasure to this state of world was Aadam. And when qabil (made available) the taste of syrup of martyrdom to Habil. Then he (Aadam) stringed and an elegy in the thread of poetry for the martyrdom of his son.)

Bilgirami was perhaps pleads that the poets is the very nature of mankind and it be proves that Adam himself was a poet.

Then Bilgirami gives us the status of the strength of the poets who were present during the life time of the prophet. He writes that there were sixty nine poets.

"در کتب سیر آماده که شعرا، مدحت طراز حضرت صلی اللهو علی و سلم صد و شصت و هده از رجال و دوازده ازنسابودند."

(In the books of the biography of the prophet it is stated that there were panegyrist poets of the prophet (of whom) 69 were the gents and 12 ladies.)

Bilgirami also attempts to identify the first poem of Persian and gave the name of "Bahram Gaur" as the first poet of Persian who lived in Pre-Islamic period. He also quotes Bahram as under;

"اکثر مورخین آور ده اندکه اول کسی که شعر فارسی گفت بهرام گور است." (124)

(Almost all the historian state that the very first man who uttered poetry in Persian language was Behram Gaur.)

Bilgirami further concludes that as pre-Islamic age also the Persian poetry exist. He writes;

"و ازینجا بوضوح می رسد که وجود شعر فارسی پیش از زمان اسلام بم بود."

Historical Sensitivity and Sensibility of Azad Bilgirami's Works
(From this matter it is evident that poetry was existed in Persian prior to Islam also.)

Bilgirami further goes on the digout the historical records and attempts to trace out the name of first Persian poet in post - Islamic period. He quotes the author of Tarikhe - Subha - Sadiq and writes;

"صاحب تاريخ صحيح نقل مي كند كه اول كسيكه بعد از بيرام گور در عهد اسلام شعر فارسي گفت عباس مروزى است. " (126)

(The author of the history ‘Subh-a-Sadiq’ state that after Behram Gaur in Islamic period who composed Persian couplets was Abbas Maruzi.)

Bilgirami also quotes another school of thought and quotes that some of the scholars consider Abu Hafs Saadi as the first Persian poet of post-Islamic age. Thus he writes;

"وبرخی آورده اندکه ابتدا شعر فارسي در اسلام ابو حفص سعدی گفت- " (127)

(And few others state that in the period of Islam the first to compose poetry was Hafs sa’adi.)

And he opines that upto (300 A.H.) only few poets were born as he writes;

"اودرحدود سنه ثلاث مائه (300) بوده و شعر گاه باونسبت دبند اینست- " (128)

(And he composed couplets in third century A.D.)

When we compare these views of Bilgirami regarding his traces of historical records we observe that all these views are universally accepted and recognised as we had presented the views of a renowned Islamic scholar Maulana Shiblee Navman.

Here ends the contents of the first chapter of Ma’asir-ul-Karam
which runs from page No 1 to 14.

The contents of the IInd chapter of the book are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sahabi - Maulana Sahabi Astrabadi</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Faizi - vo - Fayyazi . Shaikh Abul Faiz Akbarabadi</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Anees - Shamloo - Yulaqhi Beg</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Navae - Mulla Navae Khubusani</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Naziree - Maulana Naziree Nishapuri</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sanjar - Meer Sanjar Khalaf Meer - Haider</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moummai Kashi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Zamani - Mulla Zamani Yazdi</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Shavi - Shavi Taklu.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Shakeeb - Mohammad Raza bin Khawja Abdulla</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Safhani.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Razi - Agha Razi Asfahani</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Malik - Mulla Malik Qhume</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mulla - Zahuri Tarshezi</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Zaki - Hamdani</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Furkhati - Abu Thrab Josh qhani</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Faqfoor - Mohammad Hussain</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nizam Mir Nizam Dast Ghaibee Shirazi</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Murshad - Mulla Murshad Yazd Jardi</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Zalali Khawnsari</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Naqvi Shaikh Ali Naqvi.</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Taleb - Aamlari</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Shifae - Asfahni</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Khasim - Khasin Khan Javeni</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Shauqhi - Meer Mohammad Hussain</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Fathi - Ardastani</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Faseehi</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Shahpur - Tehrani</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Aseer - Mirza Jalal Bin Mirza Momin Sharistani</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Adaec - Mir Mohammad Momin Yazdi</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Nazir - Mashadi</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Nadem - Lohejani</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Sayeed Naqshbandi Yazdi</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Sarwari Kabul</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Matee - Tabrezi</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Auji - Natnazi</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>mashraqhi - Mirza Malik Mash-hadi</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Muneer - Abdul Barkar Lahori Bin Mullah Abdul</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Majeed Multani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Qhudsí - Haji Muhammad Jan Mash-Hadi</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Saleem - Mirza Muhammad Quli Trashati</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Kaleem - Abu Taleb</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Maasoom - Meer Maasoom</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Shaida</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Adham - Mirza Ibrahim Bin Meer Razi</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Ilahi - Meer Ilahi</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Mir - Yahya - Kashi</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Danish - Mir razi bin meer Abu Turab Razvi Mash-Hadi</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Masih - Hakeem Rukha Kashi</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Hazekh Bin Hakeem Hamam Geelani</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Firj - Mulla Firjillah Shaushtri</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Ahsan Zafar Khan</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Name and Details</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Ashna - Inayat Khan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Saeb - Mirza Md. Ali Tabrezi Asfahni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Ghani - Mulla Muhammad Tahar Ashvi Kashmiri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Nazim - Harvi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Waez - Meerza Md. Rafee Qhazveni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Rafee - Mirza Hasan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Naseh - Mirza Arab Tabrezi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Saalik - Muhammad Ibrahim Khazveni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Salik - Yazdi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Saedee - Meer Saadee tohrani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Maher - Mirza Muhammad Ali Akbarabadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Fayyaz - Mulla Abdul Razzakh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Tajalee - Mulla Ali Raza Urdkhani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Ashraf - Mullah Mohammad Sayeed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Rakhem - Mirza Asaduddin Mohammad Mashadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Shaukat - bukhari Md. Ishaqh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Khasim - Khasim Diwani Mash - Hadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Tughra - Mulla Tughrai Mash-Hadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Mukhlis Mir Muhammad Kashani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Moosvi khan Mirza - Moizuddin Mohammad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Raseqh - Meer Muhammad Zaman Shavadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Ali - Shaikh Nasir Ali Sehar Nadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Waheed - Mirza Muhammad Taher Khazwendi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Aali - Mirza Muhammad Sheerazi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Khalib - Syed Hussain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Bafazal Rafee Khan Mash-Hadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Asor - Shafi Shirazi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Sirqhoosh - Muhammad Afzal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Taher - Iltafat Khan Naqhda Sofahani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Historical Sensitivity and Sensibility of Azad Bilgirami's Works [ 278 ]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Name and Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Ghubor - Mirza Abu Turab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Wazeh - Mirza Mubarak ullah Mukhateb ba Iradaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Bedil - Mirza Abdul Qhader Azimabadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Syed Abdulllah khan Qutub-ul-Mulk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Amir - ul- Umra Syed Hussain Ali Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Asif Nawab Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Tab Sara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Aaftab - Nawab - Nizam - ud - Daula - Bahadur -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nasir Jang Shaheed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Nusrat Dilawar khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Qhubool - Meerza Abdul Ghani Kashmiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Girami Mirza Girami kashmiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Gulshan - Shaik Saadullah Dahelvi Qhad Sirrahnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Ekta - Ahmed Yar Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Shurat - Shaikh Hussain Sheerazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Saabet - Mir Muhammad Fazal Alahabadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Raiji Meer Muhammad Siyalkoti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Aafreen - Faqheerulah Lahori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Roohi - Syed Jafar Zambeer puri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Umeed - Khazalbash khan Hamdanvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Zair - Shaikh Muhammad Faqher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Afzali - Shaikh Muhammad Nasir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Ghalib - Shaikh Asadullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Maqmoor - Murshad Quli Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Aqhdas - Meer Razi Shostri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Hazeen - Shaikh Muhammad Ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Mateen - Mirza Abdul Raza Safahvni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Aarzoo - Sirajuddin Ali Khan Akbarabadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Mazher - Mirza Jane Jana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Dardmand - faqhi Sa'eb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Shaer - Gul Muhammad Mane Yar Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Ujjal - Meer Muhammad Hashim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Jurat - Mir Abdul Wali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Rasa - Jan Mirza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Ijad - Mirza Ali Naqshvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Ifteqhaar - Abdul Wahab Daulatabadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Imdad - Shaikh Ghulam Hussain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Zameeri - Shaikh Nizam Bilgirami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>Shahedi - Mir Abdul Wahed Hussaini, wasti Bilgrami Qud’sirrhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Ishqhi — Syyed Barkatullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Zia — Hafiz sayyed Ziaullah Bilgirami Qud’sirrhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Mir Tufail Muhammed Bilgirami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Wasti — Mir Abdul Jalil Hussani — Wasti Bilgrami Qud’sirrhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Sayyed Ali Masum Madani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Sha’yar — Mir Sayyed Muhammed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Azad — Mir Gulam Ali Bilgirami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Yousuf — Mir Muhammed Yousuf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Gulam — Mir Gulam Nabi Bilgirami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>Ajib — Sayyed Quraish Bilgami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Beqabar — Mir Azamatullah Bilgirami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Faqir — Mir Nawazish Ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Garib — Sayyed Karamullah Bilgirami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Sayyed Gulam Mustafa Bilgirami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>Ahmadi — Sayyed Ahmed Bilgirami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Fard — Sayyed Asadullah Bilgirami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Sayyed Azimuddin-bin-sayyed najabat Bilgirami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Muhib — Sayyed Gulam Nabi Bilgirami</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
134  Qabil — Sayyed Abdullah Bilgirami  340
135  Wahed — Mir Abdul Wahed Bilgirami  341
136  Ima — Bandagi— Sayyed Muhammad Hussain Bilgirami  345
137  Aagha — Sayyed Ali Raza  346
138  Arif — Muhammed Arif Bilgirami  347
139  Saane — Nizamuddin Ahmed Bilgirami  348
140  Sukhanvar — Shaikh Muhammed Siddique Bilgirami  349
141  Sameen — Shaikh Gulam Hasan Bilgirami  350
142  Wamique — Nawaz Mohiuddin Bilgirami  350
143  Mahezun — Sayyed Barkatullah Bilgirami  351

While going through the pages of Ma’asir-ul-Kiram one easily sense the awareness of Bilgirami regarding the period of the poets who are covered in the book. The title page of the book itself possesses the matter as under;

"شعرائے متاخرین کے بعد از بزاز تجربی تأملاتہ تصنیف کتاب موجود بودند-

(129)

(This book is written in 1166 A.H. The book contains the description of the poets of last A.H. those who lived since 1000 A.H. to till the age.)

It means the poets in the book are covered who belong to a specific period this style of Bilgirami helps the reader to understand the evolution and development of their poetry through the ages. It also helps to understand the peculiarities of their poetry with their corresponding period in this way one can easily trace out the various poetic trends available in their respective period. There are 143 poets which are discussed in Ma’asir-ul-Kiram rendering from the page No. 14 to 351. We need not to discuss all of them, because they are not important from historical point of view, majority of them as Bilgirami himself stated was belonged to his native place i.e. Bilgiram
but still there are few which either belonged to the territory of Deccan or who have one way or the other contributed historically and participated the political activities of their own time in Deccan and that is why the poets who shall be examined and be studied comparatively with other Persian records are as under:

1. Syed Abdullah Khan - Khutubul Mulk
3. Asif Nizam-ul-Mulk - Asif - Jah
5. Wasti - Mir Abdul Jaleel Hussain Wasti Bilgirami.

1- **Syed Abdullah Khan (Qutub-ul-Mulk)**

Bilgirami in a very unusual manner described the narrative of Syed Abdullah Khan (Qutub-ul-Mulk) art length while Shah Nawaz Khan in his book Ma’asir-ul-Umra gave the account of Abdullah Khan along with his younger brother Amir-ul-Umra Hussain Ali Khan. The narrative of Abdullah Khan begins with the history of Emperor Farukh Siyar.

It seems that Bilgirami intending to give the account of Syed Abdullah Khan (Qutub-ul-Mulk) separately because he was very much impressed by the noble attitude and pious character of Syed brothers but unfortunately the faithful character of both the syed brothers was considered as hypocritical and ultimately they have created a bad name in the records of history. Bilgirami was of a firm belief that the intentions of the Syed brothers were good and whatever they have committed the deals for the subjects or the Emperor were in the spirit of faithfulness loyalty and with the earnestness but the nobles of the court of the Emperor gave a different colour to the service of the Syed brothers. and compelled the emperor to take a drastic step against Syed brothers.

The point of our interest is that how Bilgirami saw the activities of the courts of the weak emperors of the Mughal dynasty and how they were just like the puppet at others hand. Thus Bilgirami writes;
"Both the brothers were dazzling stars of the sky of chieftain and were the twinkling stars of the wealth. They had several merits particularly in the field of generosity and bravery, and they occupied a place in the history. They lead a pious life during their exaltation and made India envious to paradise with their kindness and justice. In last days (they lead) the Government on wrong paths and put a spot of defame on their forehead till the day of judgement but people of justice checked (them) that they suspended the king only for his prestige and respect, and to save his life and they strived hard in his service and also strived to maintain the Government. The king ignored their rights and became victim of misunderstandings and remained (in the same state) of misunderstanding for the whole of his life.

While going through the narrative of Syed Abdullah Khan in Ma’asir-ul-Kiram rendering from page No. 154 to 162 the reader can easily sense Bilgirami as a keen observer of the internal politics and conspiracies which were going on in the last days of great mughal empire. Hence Bilgirami considers the element of misunderstanding between the emperor and the Syed brothers at the will of the wicked nobles of the court as one of the responsible factors for the downfall of the emperor and the Syed brothers as well. As Bilgirami observed
(At last this misunderstanding became the cause of his downfall and both the sultanate of the king and the name of the sadaats ruined.)

The verbose Persian language used by Bilgirami for the description of greatness of Syed brothers was sufficient to assess them in the records of history. But Bilgirami in support to his argument quoted another authority like Khazi Shahabuddin and states that:

"امارت صحت سیادت خلق محمدی است و سخاوت باشی و شجاعت حیدری باشد. که صد صیح الحسن ملکات پبره وانی داشته باشد و احیانا بحم نفس امارة. اگر مرتب عصیمان شود. آخر کار نه رومی دید گه باعث نجات اخروی می گردد."

(It is that merit that they hold the manners of the prophet (peace be upon him) and had the generosity of Hashamies and the bravery of Hazrat Ali, they are legitimate sayyeds and are attributed with their family virtues if they are, by chance mistaken they will be given salvation on the day of judgement by one way or the other.)

let us have a look on the narrative of Abdullah Khan the elder brother of Amir-ul-Umra Hussain Ali Khan given by Bilgirami in the book. His real name was Hasan Ali Khan. Syed Abdullah was the Prime-Minister of the emperor Md. Faruq Sijzi and was awarded the title of Qutub-ul-Mulk. When prince Md. Moizuddin was deputed as a Governor of Multan by emperor Shah Alam, Hasan Ali Khan accompanied him to Multan. After few days he could not adjust himself with the nature of the prince and reached to Lahore. During his journey to Lahore he met Abdul jaleel Bilgirami (the maternal grand father of Azad Bilgirami) at Bhakkar. He (Abdul jaleel Bilgirami) gave a noble treatment to Hussain Ali Khan and from the moment the good relations of Bilgrami family with the Syed brothers were established. After the death of Faruq Siyar Shah Alam occupied the throne, then Hasan Ali Khan was appointed at the mansab of ‘Teen Hazari’. he was also
rewarded with the drum and declared as head of the army.

In the battle of Behravali Md. Moizuddin was appointed as commander-in-chief by Md. Azam Shah during the course of war Hasan Ali, Hussain Ali Khan and Nooruddin Ali Khan traditionally came down from their elephants to join the army of Saadate-e-Bareha regouresly. In the fighting Nooruddin Ali Khan lost his life and other brother injured heavily but the war ended in their favour. As a result Hasan Ali Khan was appointed on mansab of “Chaar Hazari” and he was also appointed as the subedar of Ajmer. Then after he was also worked as subedar of Alahbad. When Md. Moizuddin ascended the throne Hasan Ali Khan was suspended from his services as subedar of Alahbad and was replaced by Raaji Khan. Syed Abdul Gaffar alongwith Raaji Khan reached Allahbad to take the charge of subedar Hasan Ali Khan also gathered the army at Allahbad and the war took start. At first Syed Abdul Gaffar conquered the battle but very soon he was defeated and he entered in to an settlement with Hasan Ali Khan. Mohammed Moizuddin due to his carelessness nature and was fond of adultery left the concept of revenge and allowed Hasan Ali Khan to govern Allahbad as subedar and upgraded his status. But his brother Syed Hussain Ali was the governor of Azimabad and Patna and who had created good reputation for his bravery and sincerity was very good friend of Faruqh Siyar stressed Hasan Ali Khan to join the campain against Moizuddin. At that time Hasan Ali Khan was also the subedar of Multan. Hasan Ali Khan requested Farruqh Seiyr to reach Allahbad in the company of himself hence Faruqh Siyar reached Allahbad along with the two brothers Najmuddin Ali Khan and Hussain Ali Khan, the meeting with Hasan Ali Khan was arranged at Allahbad and an agreement was signed by the parties and accordingly Hussain Ali Khan was assigned to the post of Sippeh-e-Salar.

Mean time Izuddin the eldest son of Moizuddin started from the capital Shahabbad in the company of Khawja Hussain Khane - Daura to fight against Md. Farruqh Seiyr both the armies met at “Khajiwa” near Allahbad. Izuddin decided to raid the army of Farruqh Seiyr but after the observation of military of Faruqh Siyar he left the idea. The army of Faruqh Siyar was insolvent and they were lacking the
techniques of warfare. Farruq Seiyar made an agreement with Izuddin and strengthen himself to a large extent and started traveling towards Akbarabad. On the other hand Moizuddin had to left the capital Shahabad and started towards Akbarabad. When he was planning to cross the river Jamuna Hasan Ali Khan crossed the river leaving behind the army of Farruq Seiyar spread all over in annoyance. Very few could cross the river on 13th Zil-hajj (last month of Islamic Calendar) the fighting was held in which Farruq Seiyar conquered and Moizuddin returned to Delhi by adopting a different path.

In this battle both the Syed brothers showed their bravery. younger brother Hussain Ali Khan injured and collapsed in the field. After the victory the elder brother Hassan Ali reached the capital Delhi, after one week the king also reached to Delhi. Hasan Ali Khan awarded mansab of ‘Saat-Hazari’ and was also awarded the title of ‘Syed Abdullah Khan Qutub-ul-Mulk Bahadur’. He was assigned the post of vazire-Azam. There were the peak days for both the Syed brothers at the same time the jealous noble-men started conspiracy against the brothers. They put baseless charges and provided misleading informations to the king.

At last the brothers withdrew themselves and started to live in isolation. The mother of the king who was aware of the sincerity of the brothers reached to the house of Hussain Ali Khan and settled the matter, both the brothers were returned to the services.

But after few days the nobles once again provoked the king against the brothers, when Farruq Seiyar was appointed as subedar of the Deccan, Hasan Ali Khan was leading a prosperous life he gave up the ministry in favour of Raja Ratan Chand. Itehad Khan Kashmiri became a great sympathiser and came very close to the king and announced to finish the Syed brothers. Meanwhile Hasan Ali Khan informed Farruq Seiyar about the crises and requested him to reach Delhi. Farruq Seiyar started from the Deccan and reached vicinity of Delhi. He informed the king to give up the charge of the fort in his hands and accordingly the king gave the administration of fort in the hands of the servants of Farruq Seiyar. After the settlement of the administration of the fort he paid visit to the court of the king. On
eighth day of Rabi-ul-Aakhir he along with his army reached Delhi to visit the king for second time. Shaista Khan entered the fort and obtained the keys of the fort from Hasan Ali Khan and Raja Ajee Singh and in this manner the night passed. Nobody was aware of the activities of the fort in the morning the news spread of the assassination of Hussain Ali Khan and Faruq Siyar was surrounded by the army of the king at last on 9th Rabiu1-Awwal (1131 hij) Hasan Ali Khan arrested the Farruq Seiyar and Rafiuuddarajat who was the son of Rafi-us-Shan and who was the grand son of Shah Alam released from the prison and offered him the throne. During the imprisonment period Rafiuuddarajat was the patient of TB and when he ascended the throne he contravened of diatry instructions and fell in to serious illness. After few days he died.

According to the will of Rafiuuddarajat his elder brother Rafiu-Daulah was declared as king who was known as “Shahajhan Saani”. After few days Farruq Seiyar revolted in the fort of Agra.

Azad Bilgirami goes on to narrate the incidents of the court of the emperor very precisely along with the important events which were taking place out side the court of the emperor which could impress the weak successor, of the great Moghul empire. The emperor Shahajhan-II ruled the subjects for few days and due to dysentery he died. At the time of death of Shahajhan-II Farruq Seiyar was busy in the campaign against Jaisingh Sawai in the vicinity of Fatehpur Sikri along with Hasan Ali Khan and Rafi-ud-Daulah and no prominent personality was available to occupy the throne in this couple situation. Roshan Akhter was the son of Jahan Shah and who the son of Shah Alam he was invited in the capital and on 15th Ziqhad 1131 Hij.he ascended the throne and was awarded the title of Mohammed Shah. After the event of accession of Mohammed Shah Bilgrami in the true spirit as a historian put his exclamation and had mentioned that the person like Abdullah Khan or Hasan Ali Khan inspite of the status which could make them to do or undo any thing or they could also in such a position that they themselves could be declared as the emperor but they never thought to capture the sovereignty of the state and for this deed they deserved much appreciation. They always remained loyal to the sovereignty and to the offspring of Taimur family. Thus
Bilgirami writes;

"سبحان الله بر جند سادات خود دعوى سلطنت نه كردن و أولاد تيموريه
رابيخت نشنانند اما حر كت كه با محمد فرخ سير كردن مبارك نيامد. و مي به
آسايش نگذرانيدند و نفس به طمانينت نه كشيدند. دريا با بالي فتنه ازبور جهار
طرف بتلاطم در آمد و اسباب - (133)

(How it is strange that the Sayyeds never intended to become the king and (always) allowed the offsprings of Taimur family (to ascend) the throne but what ever they did with Muhammed Farukh Siyar, it could not be proved as their courage. Few more days could be lived in peace, even they could not be satisfied immediately. Mischiefs and rebellions created disturbances from four corners and became the cause of decline of the sultanate.)

It was the time when the ancicnty was prevailed through out the state only after few days the news reached to the doors of the throne that Nizam-ul-Mulk with his great force crossing the river Narbada and marching towards Burhanpur and Malwa. Dilawar Khan gathered a huge military and started to prevent Nizam-ul-Mulk. The battle was fought between Dilawar Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk. In this battle Dilawar Khan was assasinated and Syed Alam Ali Khan who was the subedar of the Deccan was also murdered. Amir-ul-umra Hussain Ali Khan along with the emperor marched towards Deccan, at the same time Hasan Ali Khan along with his few noblemen reached Akbarabad. Still he was away from Delhi he heard the news about the assassination of Amir-ul-umra. Hasan Ali Khan wrote to his younger brother Najmuddin Ali Khan with an advise to declare any of the princess as the king in the capital and hence on the 11th Zil Haj. 1132 Hij. Sultan Ibrahim who was the son of Rafi-us-shan was declared as king. After two days Hasan Ali Khan too reached the capital and consulted all new and old noblemen of the court and also inspected the army and spent all his wealth whatever he had earned in the period of his vizarate.

He gathered a huge army on his side and decided to march from Delhi to towards Hasan-pur on 17th Zil Hajja 1132 Hij. he reached to
village named as Hasanpur on 13th Muharram 1133 Hij. Next day he came infront of the army of Mohammed Shah Hyder Quli Khan was incharge of canon artillery he kept busy himself in continuous bombarding. The army of Hasan Ali Khan could not stay before them, Hasan Ali Khan repeatedly attempted bravely but in vain as the darkness spread, majority of the army of Hasan Ali Khan spread in all four directions and in the morning Hasan Ali Khan was accompanied by few army persons.

Next day the military of Muhammed Shah fought aggressively and rigorously, several people from the Syed side were wounded or brutally murdered. Syed Najmuddin Ali Khan was seriously injured, Hasan Ali Khan also could not maintain himself on the back of his elephant he also fell in the battle field. As soon as Hasan Ali Khan came down to the ground Hyder Quli Khan arrested him and presented before the emperor. The emperor forgave him and gave him in possession of Hyder Quli Khan. Hyder Quli Khan kept Abdullah Khan in his own custody and tortured him a lot. After all Hasan Ali Khan compelled to take poison and he died in the imprisonment of Hyder Quli Khan.

When we compare the episode of Abdullah Khan or Hasan Ali Khan mentioned in Ma'asir-ul-Kiram written by Bilgirami with the contents of Ma'athir-ul-Umra written by a close friend of Bilgirami Shah Nawaz Khan we obviously observe that both the writers are of the same opinion that Hasan Ali Khan and Hussain Ali Khan both the real brothers were in a position to declare themselves as sovereign of the state but they never intended to occupy the throne of the emperor and it was sufficient proof of the earnestness of the Syed's of the Bareha. Thus Shah Nawaz Khan writes as under:

“They had throughout their lives even sacrificed their lives and fulfilled the requirements of loyalty. The emperor shut his eyes to their claims and designed to ruin them. He had this idea as long as life lasted and at last this weak vention destroyed the sovereignty and overthrew the prosperity of the emperor and of both the Syeds” (134)

It means that Bilgirami as well as Shah Nawaz Khan were of equal mind that Syeds enjoyed and occupied very influential status in
the whole Mughal empire but it was due to very little misunderstanding which was created deliberately between the emperor and the Syed brothers with the intention to destroy at one hand and the status of Syeds on the other and to make harm and to bring losses to the emperor himself. This narrative given by Bilgirami in the book is very helpful to understand the condition of the week emperors of great Moghul empire and also helps us to study the causes of the downfall of Moghal dynasty. Its also provides very good information to know the reasons that how a great empire came in to hands of uncapable kings and how the affairs of the court of the emperor were dominated by the persons who were behind the lust of power and money and who were always busy to twist the matters according to their vested interests.

**Amir-ul-umra Hussain Ali Khan**

Syed Hussain Ali Khan who was the younger brother of Qutub-ul-Mulk Abdullah Khan. Syed Hasan Ali Khan belonged to the great family of Syeds of Bareha and were of the noblest rank in India. (135) It is said that the family of Syed brothers belonged to old Mesopotamian Syeds.

One man who named as Abdul Azim reached India before arrival of Mughals and settled in the vinicity of Meeruth and Saharanpur. He settled down along with his family and laid the foundation of twelve villages and for this reason they are named as Syeds of Bareha. (136)

The whole episode of Amirul - umra Syed Hussain Ali Khan which renders from the page No. 162-173 in the book Maathir - ul - Kiram written by Bilgirami seems have copied in Ma'asir - ul - umra, written by his close friend Shah Nawaz Khan, apparently it seems that both the writers are of so equal mind that it is rather difficult to trace the fact that who has imitted the other. But when we go through the note of preface of second edition of Maathir - ul - Umra writen by Azad Bilgirami himself, the difficulty seems to have been solved as Bilgirami states :

"After great labour the scattered pages were collected but the biography of Qutub-ul-Mulk Abdallah Khan (one of the two Sayyeds
of Bareha) grand vazir of Mohammed Farruq Seiyr which the
author had written had parished, and the Biography of Amir-ul-umra
Syed Hussain Ali Khan the brother of (the said) Qutbul-Mulk came
to hand with an imperfect beginning”. The author had not written
the Biography of Asif-Jah and of his successor martyr Nizamud-
Daulah. The jealousy of fortune had not granted him leisure for this.
The eminence of these four Amirs was as clear as the sun and it was
imperative that their Biographies should be included in the work.
By chance I had put together all four Biographies in my book “the
surve - Azad” ( it is prominent state here that the second title of the
book Ma’asir-ul-Kiram is known as Serve - Azad) I copied at the
Biographies of Qutbul - Mulk Nawab Asif Jah and the martreayed
Nizam-ud-Daulah from Serv-e-Azad. For the Biography of Amir -
ul - umra Syed Hussain Ali Khan, I retained all that came to my
hand and supplied the beginning from Serv-e-Azad” (137). Inspite
of this fact that the contents of Maathir ul Umra were supplemented
by Bilgiri as from Serv-e-Azad one obviously feels that the contents
of both the books are so similar that it is difficult to understand who
is original writer of the Biography of Amir ul Umra. If we ignore the
beginning of the Biography as stated by Bilgiri as that it was
supplemented by Serve - Azad. We find the similarity in the whole
episode of the Amir-ul-Umra. Thus the episode of Amir-ul-Umra
Hussain Ali Khan runs as under:

"brader xorod qatib ul madin ast adar se sahawat wa shajauat wa ulu bim wa
"
			
tekim wa waqar ebrador kllan fateq bu bu a w deobad xld mkan bhe hoomet

Runtbhdor o Ahe bah e qbjadiay bndol bain ab m prbwh xun brader bsh

Rhalat xld mkan d brbor shuml wautewn shqah ulam gredid . $e$d hssin

$ul xan bafajj shayesty dhr nwh dlb bll lalat mblmt dprff w ddr

gndg mbd edom shah mcsr jelall trrdtd gshh tywy k hgosht bh

$bn$cb $sh$z pbrdr w $ybn t $qbr s $blnd gdrh $d$ ywsatl $h$brz$d h$nh

$ubm$ am$h bh $y$y$h bh $d$y$b $y$b w $br$y$b $p$h bt$h d $d$ d r$h$x d$t y$n$t . $d$ r

eaqar xld xld mkan sbw dhary bnglsh bh $s$p $d$ r$m$t $y$n$t . $d$ $r$

$e$amzdlsh dr xan qhsdr brtr shqbrz$ d$nh $ub$hm shq$sh y$nh$sh $md$hn

$f$r$x $s$ir $x$ld $ubm$ shq$sh $h$n$ $h$y$y$sh $d$ $n$ $d$ b$r$ y$b$ $t$d $d$ r$ $b$mg

Historical Sensitivity and Sensibility of Azad Bilgiri’s Works [ 291 ]
Ma'asir-ul-Kiram

(Hussain Ali khan was the younger brother of Hasan Ali Khan. He excelled his brother in generosity, bravery, dignity and seriousness. During the reign of Farukh Siyar he was the Governor of Ranthambhor and in last (days) he was appointed as sipahsalar (commander-in-chief) of Hindolbayana. After the death of Farukh Siyar his elder brother was enjoying his life in Lahore by the courtesy of Shah Alam. Hussain Ali khan along with a trained army joined a services at Delhi. When he fought against Muhammed Azam Shah he was rewarded to the status of 'Teen-hazari', so also was awarded with the drum and throw the mediation of Prince Azim-us-Shan he was given the subhedari of Azimabad Patna.

In the last days of Farukh Siyar, commander-in-chief, Izz-ud-Daulah khan Jahan Bahaddur was replaced as the Governor of Bengal by Prince Azim-us-Shan.

Azim-us-Shan, the son of Farukh Siyar called on behalf of his father, I called him in Bengal and reached to Patna. He lead his life for long time with pride and arrogance but could not gain such status as his brothers. When he was demanded in Bengal he very much displeased and lived with poverty till the end of Shah Alam. Fauurkh Siyar, in memory of his father realised the coin and (ordered) to recite khutba in his name and recruited the people in his army. Mean while the news of the assassination of Azim-us-Shan reached in Rabi-ul-Awwal 1123 A.H. and he himself ascended the throne.)

Though the Amir-ul-Umra was younger brother, he in generosity courage magnanimity gravity and modesty was superior to Qutbul - Mulk. In the time of Aurangzeb he was the Governor of Ratnapur (Ranthambhor) and at the close of the regime he was faujdar

Historical Sensitivity and Sensibility of Azad Bilgirami's Works [ 292 ]
of Hindam Biyana. When his brother, after the death of Aurangzeb was encompassed with favours by Shah Alam at Lahore Sayed Hussain Ali Khan entered the service of the king with a suitable force at Delhi and in the battle with Mohammed Azam Shah did great deeds and was promoted to commission of 3000 and given a drum and by the influence of prince, Azim-ush-shan was made Naib - subedar of Patna. About the end of reign of Bhadur shah the Governership of Bengal was transferred to sipahdar Khan known as Izzu-ud-Daula Khan Jahan Bhadur in place of prince Azim-ush-shan Muhammed Farukh Siyar the heir of Azim-ush-shan, who was his father deputy in Bengal was summoned to the presence and came to Patna. As for a long tome he had been independent and didn’t enjoy with his father and grand father the same favours as his brothers he felt it disareable and repulsive to go to the presence and put off the visit under the pretext of want of funds. Meanwhile Shah Alam died and Mohammed Farukh Siyar read the Khutba and struck coins in the name of his father had been killed and in Rabi-I, 1123 H. (April 1711 AD) he himself ascended the throne.) (139)

In continuation to this Bilgirami writes that;

"وسيد حسين على خان ناظم پتنے رابہ وعده عطیات مستملا ساخته رفیق
گرداہند وازیں جہت سید حسن علی خان ناظم اله آباد نیز طریق رفاقت سبھردا در
کتر زمانی افواج کثیرہ مجتمع گشت اما بنا برقلت خزائے تا رسیدن اکبر آباد
دوزادہ بزرگ سوار بیش نماند سید حسین علی خان روز جنگہ به اتفاق خسی
بیگ خان صف شکن نائح صوبہ داری اپسہ و زین الدهن خان پسر ببادر خان
رپیدہ قبائل ذوالفقار خان بن اسد خان وزیر کہ توپ و ضرب زن بسیار بیش
روچیدہ ایستادہ بود اسپان تاخیہ درنژیرہ توبخانہ درآمد . جون عرصہ و
غیر خود تنگ دید بانی دلاوران کشور پیند پیناہ گشتہ زخمیان کاری.
برداشتہ بزرگی افتادہ و آن دوسردار بارفقات بسیار مردانہ نقد زندگانی نثار
نموندہ . بعد فتح سید حسین علی خان بخطاب امیرالامرہا ببادر نیروز جنگہ و
منصب بیگ بزرگ بیف بزرگ سوار و خدمت والے میر بخشیگیری کوس بلند رتتیگی
نواخت . " (140)

Historical Sensitivity and Sensibility of Azad Bilgirami's Works [ 293 ]
(And Sayyed Hussain Ali Khan, the Governor of Patna was highly rewarded and made him the friend and also made his own friend to Hasan Ali Khan, the Governor of Allahabad. Within few days a huge army gathered but due to the reason that treasure was empty they could not accompanied by more than twelve thousand wounds fell on ground and those two chiefs also fought equally and assassinated in the field.

After this conquest Sayyed Hussain Ali Khan was rewarded the title of ‘Amir-ul-Umra’. Bahaddur Feroz Jung also awarded the status of ‘Saat Hazari’ and was given seven thousand horsemen. Besides he was encouraged with the highest title of ‘Mir Bakshgiri’.)

He won over by promises of favours Sayyed Hussain Ali Khan Nazim of Patna and made him his companion and by this means Syed Hussain Ali Khan Nazim of Allahabad also took his side. In short time a large army was collected but from wants funds until Agra was reached, he did not have more than 12000 cavalry. Hussain Ali Khan on the day of the battle, which took place with Jahandar shah Naib subedar of Orrisa and Zainud-din Khan son of Bhadur Khan Rohila to Zulfeqar Khan who had taken up a position with many guns and culverins. He urged on the cavalry and attacked the line of guns, when he saw that the battle was going against him, he in accordance with the practice of Indian soldiers, dismounted and fell to ground and fainted because of his wounds. The other two leaders and the jamadar were slain. After the victory Hussain Ali Khan obtained Amir-ul-Umra Feroz Jang, the rank of Haft Hazari with 7000 horses and the post of Mir Bakshi. (141).

As Bilgirami also writes:

"و در سال دوم جلوس به افواج سنگین به تنبیه اجیت سنگو مرزبان سرمای موارد که لوای تمید افرمخته بود . مامور گردید و تامیری پر جا تعلق اوبوکد کوب تاراج ساخت . راجه ازصولات فووج منصور جانب بیکانیر بدرنود درکنایه استوار خزید . دیرین یساق آنچه از اجراء حکم امیر امرا نقل می کنند این است که . جون دیپات اجیت سنگو و جئی"
In the second legal year Furrukh Siyar was sent to Marwar to supraise rebellious Ajit Singh who was revolted. He destroyed the whole land till Merath by galloping the horses. Raja annoyed with increasing army and absconded in Bekanir. The copy of orders issued by Hussain Ali Khan in this respect is as follows: “Because the villages of Ajit Singh and Jaisingh we adjacent to each other the subjects of Ajit Singh left the village in annoyance. He ordered to destroy the army and to capture the empty villages and to burn it. But not to damage populated houses. The subject of Ajit Singh send to the subject of Jaisingh with the request of peace. He immediately send the messages and ordered the army men to stop the burning and to return the looted goods. And not to disobey these orders. In this respect and enquiry is made with few respected persons, they all reported that they were damaged except burning of their houses. The administration of Amir-ul-Umra was such style. His army while passing through a narrow passage in between the two (crop) fields tey did not harm the agriculture.

In short when Ajit Singh saw his badness he sent respected messengers as mediators with a request of compromise.”

---

Historical Sensitivity and Sensibility of Azad Bilgirami’s Works [ 295 ]
In the second year he was sent with a large army to chastise Ajit Singh Rathor, who was becoming rebelliously in his native country up to Mirath, he devastated the country. The Raja was terrified and retired via Bikaner to strongly defended country. This is what they say about the Amir-ul-Umra’s orders in this expectation that as the villages of Ajit Singh and Jai Singh were intermixed, and the peasants of the first fled in terror he directed the plunder’s to sack the deserted villages and set fire to them, but not to injured the inhabited ones. Ajit Singh’s peasantry saw this and came forward and made peace through the peasantry of Jai Singh. There upon Sazawals were appointed to make the plunders extinguish the flames, and return what had been plundered. This was done without delay certain reliable persons who examined the villagers unanimously declared that they sustained no injury except that caused by arson, when the Raja saw his own loss he reflected on the final issue, and sent responsible agents with presents and agreed to send Kunwar Abhai Singh his eldest son to the court and give his daughter, called the ‘Dola’ (bride) in the language of the country to the king and begged pardon for his offences. As Mir Jumla was at the court and had control of the king’s signature and gave commissions and fiefs to whoever came to him and as every day the king became more and more alienated from Sayed. The Amir-ul-umra accepted the proposal of peace and took the kunwar with him and hastily returned. He left a body of troops in order that the bride might be brought later on.

(143)

"بعد ازین پادشاه امیر الامرا رابه صوبه داري دن کمر قرفومد چون میر جمله سمرقندی بر روز مزاج پادشاه را از سادات منجره می ساخت قرار یافت که اول میر جمله بصوبه داری پتنه رابگر اگر دو بعد ازان امیر الامرا رختست دنک شود میر جمله روانه پتنه شد و امیر الامرا در سنه سبع و عشرين و مایة و الف (117) متوجه دنک گردید. (144)

(Then after the king appointed Amir-ul-Umra Hussain Ali Khan as subedar of the Deccan. Because Mirjumla Samarqandi used to provoke the Sayyeds and made him against them. Therefore it was decided at first Mirjumla would take the charge of subedar of Patna and then after Amir-ul-Umra would be sent to the Deccan and accordingly

Historical Sensitivity and Sensibility of Azad Bilgirami’s Works | 296 |
Mirjumla started to Patna and Amir-ul-Umra reached the Deccan in 1127 A.H. 

(After he arrived at Delhi the question of the govt. of Deccan came up. Hussain Ali Khan wished that he should remained at the court and that the deputy ship should be given to Daud Khan according to the precedent of Zulfikhar Khan. The king at the advice of his intriguing councilors did not agree to this. The dispute lasted a long time. At last it was agreed that Mir Jumla should at first go to the govt. of Patna, and that after that Amir-ul-umra who had the charge of appointing and removing of all public servants in the Deccan should take leave. Accordingly in the 4th year 1127 A. H. he set off for the Deccan (145).

Further Bilgirami writes;

"وقت رخصى مواجهة عرض كرد كه اگر درغیبت من میر جمله بحضور
رسید، یابه قطب الملك نوعی دیگر سلوك شد در عرض بیست روز
مراسیده دانند، پادشاه ازقباحت نامیه به وساطت خان دوران مخفی
به دادو خان ناظم بربان پور تحريمی محلیت نمود.
(146)"

(While going Amir-ul-Umra said that “after me in my absence if Mir-
Jumla are Husan Ali Khan were not treated properly. It was to be
reported within 20 days. The king with his foolishness along with
khan-e-Dauran and the Governor of Burhanpur Daud Khan opposed
him.)

At the time of taking leave he represented to the king that if in
his absence Mir Jumla should come to the court or if any difference
was made in the position of Qutub-ul-Mulk he ( the king) should
understand that he would come back in the space of twenty days.
When he reached Malwa Raja jai Singh Sawai, the Governor retired
so that there should not be an interview. The Amir - ul - umra wrote
to the king “ if this movement is in accordance with an intimation
(from you) let it be ordered that I return from this place otherwise I
and Khan will behave in the same way tomorrow. (147)
In spite, during the early reign of Furrukh Siyvar, Sayyeds saved the life of Daud Khan but he (Daud Khan) gained subedar of Burhanpur be seducing the king and reached Burhanpur through Gujarat (Ahmadabad) and started governing. He forgot kindness of Sayyeds and strongly decided for the opposition.

In the beginning of the reignt the Sayeds had been the means of saving the life of Daud Khan and recently the Amir - ul - umra had procured for him from the king the deputy Governorship of Burhanpur and he had come from Gujarat and was established there.

In answer to Amir-ul-umra’s report an order came saying that with regard to the misbehaviour of Jai Singh he (Amir-ul-umra) had been invested with the power of appointing or dismissing him what likelihood was there that Daud Khan would behave in a similar manner. If he does he should send him to the court. But from pusillanimity and the meanness of disposition the king through Khan Dauran secretly instigated Daud Khan to oppose Amir-ul-Umra. When the latter crossed the Narbada it was evident that Daud Khan had severed the thread of amity, and had no intention of coming for an interview. Hussain Ali Khan attempted to reform him and as has been related in the biography of Daud Khan sent message to him. The purpose of these messages was that an interview was necessary for concord but that if he was disposed to join the opposition, he should process to the court and he (Amir-ul-umra) would not prevent
Bilgirami goes on to write;

"Daud Khan due to his ignorance adopted the way of enmity. The army was gathered in surroundings of Burhanpur on 11th Ramzan 1127 A.H. and a great war was held in which Daud Khan was gunned by a bullet and he died. After the conquest Hussain Ali Khan reached Aurangabad and ascended the throne. Within few days the Senapati of Khandesh, Raja Shahu revolted. Hussain Ali Khan sent Zulfekhar Baig for his punishment. Both fought with each other at the village of Bahani in which Zulfekhar Baig was martyred and rest of the army was arrested. The younger brother of Hussain Ali Khan, Saifuddin Ali Khan was also sent for the punishment of the enemy. He went till the harbour of Surat in his persude and uptu the fort of Satara and to the house of Shahu (he) destroyed everything."

If we look only on apparent circumstances namely that he had ample treasure, a large army, a lofty mind and inborn courage the vagrant handful of Marathas should have been cuffed, and their account settled by drubbing but as the Emperor at the instigation of the destroyers of the dominions himself encouraged opposition to
the Amir-ul-umra as in the instance of Daud Khan and secretly and openly intrigued with the leaders of the Deccan and even with Raja Sahu Bhonsle, who had forcibly became the Raja of the Deccan and as in Delhi there were every day fresh disagreements with Qutubul-Mulk so that every moment cries of “seize him and kill him” (151)

Then Bilgirami continue his narration that “Hussain Ali Khan was advised to reach Delhi. At last Hussain Ali Khan in the year (1129 H.) reached to an agreement through the mediators like Shankarji Malhar and Md. Anwar Khan Burhanpuri. Here Bilgirami discloses that Mohammed Anwar Khan Burhanpuri was a close companion of him and he briefed the events of this agreement several times with him. Thus Bilgirami writes:

"محمد انور خان بربانهوری کہ تاحین تحریر در قید حیات بکی و فقیر رابا او صحبتائی متوی اتفاق افتاد " (152)

(Muhammed Anwar Khan Burhanpuri who is still alive, Bilgirami have met with him for several time.)

In this way Bilgirami used all his resources available to him to collect the historical facts of past events. Regarding the terms of agreement Bilgirami provides the knowledge of distribution of ‘chauth’ and ‘Sar deshmukhi’ after completing the agreement Hussain Ali Khan started towards the capital on Ist Muharam 1131 Hij. Amir-ul-umra took prince Mohammed Akbar and the graceful son of Farrukh Seiyar who was named as Moinuddin along with him and send a notice to the Emperor mentioning that Raja Sahu revolted and he (Amir-ul-umra) persuaded him and presenting him in the court of the Emperor. On the arrival at Delhi near the pillar of Firoz Shah in the vicinity of Delhi he camped and against the traditions with the beating of the drums he entered in the camp repeatedly announcing that he has left emperial services. Afterwards he took the possessions of the fort and administered the same. Few days after again he made a false announcement that he handed over the prince to the emperor when this struggle was going on and Amir-ul-umra was busy in his prestigious war of survival with Nizam-ul-
Mulk who at that time was the subedar of Malwa and who had started conspiracy against Hussain Ali Khan, and rapidly started marching towards the Deccan. He brutally murdered Syed Dilawar Ali Khan and Syed Alam Khan and captured province of the Deccan. Hussain Ali Khan too gathered fifty thousand horse riders and marched from Akbarabad to Delhi on 9th Zi-qhad 1132 Hij.

In short Itemad-ud-Daulah Mohammed Amin Khan who was close relative of Nizam-ul-Mulk assigned Hyder Kashghari to assassinate Amir-ul-Umra Hussain Ali Khan and on 6th Zil-Hajja of 1132 Hij. when Mir Hyder was encamping Fatahapur - sikri and when Emperor entered in the palace when Hussain Ali Khan was returning to his home by sitting in a palki, he got the chance and murdered Amir-ul-Umra. Afterwards with the orders of the Emperor the body of Hussain Ali Khan was brought to Ajmer and was buried besides the grave of his father Abdallah Khan.

In this way Hussain Ali Khan who was an important personality of his age came to an end. The episode of Amir-ul-Umra Hussain Ali Khan written by Bilgirami is not merely a narrative of historical records but also throws the light on the cultural aspects of the history such as Bilgirami writes that when Amir-ul-Umra Hussain Ali Khan was staying at Aurangabad holding the position of subedar the general social condition of the city was very good and the people generally were rich and prosperous. Thus Bilgirami writes;

"مردم اورنگ آباد بالاتفاق نقل می کنند که در عهد امیر الامرا اکثر مردم در خانه حصد طعام نمی پختند. طباخان سرکار امیر الامرا طعام حصه خود می فروختند و قاب پلاو مکلف بچندیل سیاه می دادند." (153)

(The people of Aurangabad city that in the days of Hussain Ali Khan, majority of the people did not cook in the houses. The cooks of Hussain Ali Khan (used) to sale the meals of their part. The best plate of ‘Plaw’ (was available) at few coins.)

Like wise Bilgirami also throws light on the traditions prevailing from the period of Amir-ul-Umra to the age of his own that how the
faqhirs and mashaikhs were respected that on 11th and 12th day of each month the “Majalis” were arranged and their hands were washed by holding basin in his own hands. Thus Bilgirami writes;

"اجراء بلغور خاناتها از غلبه پخته و خام و احداث مجلس یاز دیم و دواز دیم بر ما درباقد عظیمه بند و دکن ازاعمال خیر اوست و تمام روز جاری است درین مجلس بامشایخ و فقرا بتواعض و انساسار سلوک می نمود و آفتایه دوست خود گرفته بر دست مبانان آب می ریخت. " (154)

(Hussain Ali Khan made an arrangement to distribute the grains and the cooked meals in the houses of Balghore. On 11th and 12th day of each month a gathering was arranged, such gatherings are still (prevailing at Aurangabad) in which the Fakhirs and ‘Mashaikhs’ were treated respectfully and their hands were washed by holding the basin in the hands.)

Abundance of food and its ample distribution in his establishment were well known. He established bulgher Khanas (Bulgher is a Turki word meaning buished barely or wheat) barely houses for raw and cooked grains and held assemblies on the 11th and 12th of the month in the great cities of Deccan; these are still carried on. In these assemblies he with humility and reverence, personally served shaikhs and faqhirs) (155). Bilgirami gives an important account of some reformatory actions taken by Amir-ul-Umra Hussain Ali Khan.

Before he came to Deccan he never took money for transacting any business. (Zar-i-mahin-sazi)
After wards Mukham Singh and other clerks induced him to do so by making representation regarding the smallness of his income and the heavy nature of expenditure.

For instance they say that Haider Quli Khan, the superintendent of the port of the surat had confiscated the property of Mulla Abdul Ghafar Bhora the chief merchant (Malik-ut-Tujjar) of that port, although he had herirs.

Mir Abdul Jaleel Bilgirami composed a splendid elegy which consist of 36 lines the last being the chronogram on the death of
آثار کربلا است عیان از حبین بند
زد جوش خون آل نبی زمین بند
شد تمام حسین علی تازه در جبان
سادات گشته اند مصیبت نشین ۳ بند
نیلی است زین معامله پیرابن عرب
وزخون گیوی سرخ شد است آستین بند
گیتی چراییا نه گردوز دود غم
خاموش شد چراغ نشاط آفرین بند
بند این این منصور عظمی ندیده است
دیدم داستان شهور و سنین بند
از داغ دل زند چراغان اشک جوش
این است نو بهار گل آتشین بند
ماه درآم می طهود مرغ در بوا
اژ شیون عظیم امیر مین بند
فرزند مصطفی خلف الصدق مرتضی
کزروی فخر بویشناتش پیشین بند
رستم نشان حسین علی خان شفید شد
از خنجری که بود نهان در کمین بند
آن صفردی که از قلم تیغ باربا
تحریر کرده نسخه فتح مین بند
تیغش بروز معرکه خصم تیمره بخت
چون برق می شغافت صف آبین بند
دریا دل که بودزابر عنتیش
شادابی بهشت بیرین بند
ازبیر بر فلك زده علیجانب او
زغم وردن بر رین
بند از شیادشت تن بی روح گشته است
یعنی که بود ای نفس و اپسین بند
عالیم چووقر در نظر خلق شد سیاه
افتاد تاز خاتم دبر آن نگین بند
گردون زاختران به تن اشک گشته است
در اعتناء ماتم رکن رکین بند
دل چک چک گشت و جگر داغ داغ شد
زین غم که گشت نبر آز وانگبن بند
استر جع الملائک و استعمر الفک
فی هذه المصيبة سمحادیو بند
از دست این ملجم ثانی شهید شد
گوئی زکوته است گل ماتین بند
تاکبالار تا نجم و تا مدبیه رفت
سیلان خون دیده و آه وانبن بند
ای دوستان آل و محبان ابل بیت
غمگینشود ببر حسین حزین بند
تاقه ابل بیت رسالت ادا شود
برزماین جمعه منصوبه بین بند
ازکلی من برهبه سید شهید
این چند بیت ریخت چودرثین بند
رضوان حق چوسبته قرین ضربی اور
تابست حسن سببه به گیتی قرین بند
سال شیادشت قلم و استیلی نشت
قتل حسین کرد یزید لعین بند

(۱۵۶)
ELEGY

"The signs of the karbla are apparent from the forehead of India,

The blood of the descendent of the Nabi is gushing out of the soil of India.

Mourning for Hussain Ali is current all over the world, the saiyyeds are oppressed in India,

The lights of tears are being fed by the fires of the heart, the flowers of the fire of India is blooming.

Why does not the world become dark through the clouds of grief, the lamp of the happy tiding of India has been extinguished.

On this count of dress of the Arabs is blue, but the sleeves of India have become red with blood of sorrow.

Rustam like Hussain Ali has been murdered, by a dagger which lay in ambush in India.

That brave warior, who with the pen of the sword of Barah used to write the teartise of the conquest of India, the rebels of the world have become his obedient followers he had impressed the mark of authority throughout India.

His sword on the day of battle with unfortunate enemies, used like thunder to spleet the steel like forces of India.

Son of Mustafa, true follower of Murtada, his name served as an oath for the pride of India.

India through his murder has became a soulless body, in other words he was the emblem of the life of India.

The world has become dark like a grave to the eyes of people,

Since this precious stone of India has fallen out of its setting.

He was murdered by the son of Muljam-II.
They say the sorrowing flower of India is from kufa.
India has never before faced such a tragedy; we have looked through all famous histories and chronicals of India.

Patience has languished and sorrow become strong. This is our fortune at the hands of the great and small of India.

O! friends of the family of the prophet and the sincere lovers of the decendants of the prophets, but sorrowfull for the Hussain of afflicted India,

Till God grants succour to the Saiyids. Against the Conspiracies of their enemies.

The date of his mortyrdom was written by the pen of wasiti Hussain was murdered by the wicked, occuresed of India.) (157).

Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah

As the biography of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah has already been dealt in detail in the chapter of Khazan-e-Aamera and as the episode of Nizam-ul-Mulk in Ma’asir-ul-umra has been written by Bilgirami himself we need not to describe the same here also.

Aftab Nawab Nizam-ud-Daulah Bahadur Nasir Jang Shaheed

The episode of Nasir Jang in Ma’asir - ul - Umra written by Bilgirami is an important content of the book which throws light that how every Nawab irrespective of his status was eager to occupy the higher position and to declare himself as an independent sovereign.

Bilgirami was a close associate of Nasir Jang. He travelled for many times accompanying him. Bilgirami had a soft corner in his heart for him. Bilgirami had open confession regarding his pious qualities thus the episode begins with the praising of Nasir Jang. Bilgirami at the very outset states;
(He was the patron of faith and religion, follower of justice, high minded with a keen sense of honour and, had a strong determination beloved of gatherings and mark of honour for army men. He used to strive to execute the principles of Shariya and also strived to support and co-operate with the needy and poors and used to give a patient hearing to the deserving ones. He was the best orator and was incomparable in seating talking. He was very much interested in knowing the events of ancestors and the story of their bravery. He was in poetry, impressed by Mirza Sa’ib, and he was so expert in following him that no one could compete him. He opened the doors of research and creations.)

This great man was a protector of religion lover of Justice, jealous in points of love and honour determine foremost in meetings and battle fields. In issuing orders according to the Muhammadan law he use to take great pains, and in delivering justice to the poor and helpless he exerted himself to the utmost. He was unique in respect of his eloquence and in his perception of the subtleties of speech this narration of anecdotes of ancient kings and prophets would keep listners spell bound. As a result of the diligence of Mirza Sayib he had perfected the art of speaking to such a high degree that even the highest critics of the subtleties of meaning and skilled recounders found it to be faultless. From his very early days his head as a result of high spirt and excessive valour was full of schemes for the conquest of large countries. (159)

He was appointed as deputy of Asif Jah fro the management of
Deccan suba in the year 1150 A. H. 1737 A.D. when Asif Jah proceeded to Delhi the administrative capital in compliance of with the orders of Muhammad Shaha. As a deputy of Nizam-ul-Mulk he employed suitable means and made all efforts for the regulation and arrangement of the affairs of the state for maintaining peace in the country and the cities and for the tranquility of the peasants and the general public. (160 A)

So also it was a time when Marathas raided the city of Aurangabad and he (Nasir Jang) singly defeated the enemy of the Marathas who having extended their influence in the Deccan, had taken possesion of suba of Malwa and had turned upside down the country up to the environment of Delhi for a time made safe Deccan from their depredation. (160 B)

But when Asifjah was returning from the capital to the Deccan "the greedy Councillors" excited to Nawab Nizamud-Daulah to appose him. As a result the fighting was held in the field of Idqd-Gah situated at the west of Aurangabad on 19th Jamadil - Awwal 1154 A.H. Nasir Jang was defeated very shortly and ran away from the battle field with the meditation of the nobles he recognised with his noble son in the year 1155 A.H. (1742 A.D) and in the year 1158 Hij (1745 A.D.) after granting him further favours he (Nizam-ul-Mulk) appointed Nasir Jang as Governor of Aurangabad. In the year 1158 A.H. (1746 A.D) on the arrival of Asif Jah at Dharur from Hyderabad called his son from Aurangabad to proceed towards Wakhan - Kheda (a village near Sugger or Sagar between Gulbarga and Bijapur) (161)

And after the arrival of Nasir Jang at Wakhan-Kheda he was deputed to Mysore to collect the levy which was due on the Raja of Mysore. Nasir Jang obtained the heavy contribution of levy and return to his father at Aurangabad. After while Nizamul Mulk died at Burhanpur and Nasir Jang adorned the masand of the Govt of the Deccan then he shifted to Aurangabad which was the headquarter of the rulers of the Deccan. Then after he was instructed by the king to reach the Capital Delhi. Nasir Jang "inspite of various hinderences and disturbances in the Deccan and the rebellion intentions of
Hidayat Mohiuddin Khan Muzzaffar Jang (the son of Nawab Asif Jah’s daughter) who had been incharge of Raichoor and Adoni since the time of Nizamul Mulk". (162 A)

Nasir Jang prepared himself to reach Delhi and reached near the river Narbada. At that time he recieved further letter by the king directing him to cancel the journey. Meanwhile he was constantly listening the rebellions intentions of Muzzaffar Jang. Nasir Jang expeditiously reached to Aurangabad and spend the rainy season. During this interval Hussain Dost Khan (Chanda sahab) one of the nobles of Arcot joined Muzzaffar Jang and investigated him to invade Arcot. Muzzaffar Jang made a conspiracy with French inhabitants of Pondichary to join him and altoghether started to attack Anwaruddin Khan of Gopamvi who had been Governor of Arcot since Nizam-ul-Mulk time and during Nasir Jang time was styled Shahamat Jang. On 10th Shaaban 1162 A.H. (21 July 1769 A.D) a bloody battle took place and in accordance with Shahmat Jang was killed. “On the reciept of the news of the mertyrom of Shahmat Jang, Nasir Jang began to collect forces by inviting the leading Amirs of Deccan and gathering the weapons of war-fare. With 70000 brave Cavellery men and numerous guns and one lakh infantry he raised his standard of determination for the punishment of rebells and arriving in the vicinity of Pondichary which was 500 jery’by’kose from Aurangabad got ready for the fight on 26th Rabi-ul-Aakhir 1163 A.H. (24th March 1751 A.D) the artillary of the Europeans went on firing constantly for nearly three watches of the day later on 27th the europeans were defeated by the might and majesty of the Muhammad and Hidayat Mohiuddin Khan was taken as prisoner. The Nawab in accordance with the command (there shall be) no reproof against this day, kept him alive as a prisoner and pardoning every one of his officer and soldiers gave them back their possessions. Nasir Jang well wishers wanted that he should be removed and though they proved by irrefutable arguements before the Nawab that the sparing of Hidayat Mohiuddin Khan (Muzzaffar Jang) was like raising the fluid of insurrection the Nawab out of compassion did not agree to his death. Keeping him under proper survillance he appointed servants to look after his comforts. The ungrateful wretches did not consider this favour as extraordinary and following the precept” every
one acts according to his manner, they forgot the boon of the grant
of their lives and secretly prepared malicious designes. The Europeans
also as a result of single defeat became the source of various
disterbances and improper actions. The Nawab, to stop further
disterbances, considered it desirable to remain in the area and
proceeding towards Arkot, deputed an army for the extermination
of this devilish crowed. As a result of the vagaries of fate the armies
of Islam were defeated and the fort of NusratGarh Jinjee which was
the capital of the Karnataka (Carnatic) fell in to the hands of French.
The nawab with great zeal firmness and resolution and keeping in
view the demands of rules and regulations of Govt. and also that
there was a way of dealing with each affair, went their immediately
and set himself to the task of punishing the rebels. The excessive
rainfall, the heavy storms and difficulties in crossing and travelling,
lack of supplies of food grains demanded close attention, and he set
about removing the difficulties of all and sundry. On 11th Shawwal
1163 A./H. (2nd September 1750 A.D) he started from Arkot. (162B)

Bilgirami goes on to narrate the story of martyrdom of Nasir
Jang that all the Afghan chiefs European and French joined with
Mohiudin Khan and on the night of 17th Moharram 1164 A.H. (5th
December, 1750 AD) Just before day light they started fighting. If
the Afghans had not relied on the might of the christians, they
themselves being a handful, would not have had the strength to face
the army of the Nawab. Although some of his well - wishers had
previously warned the Nawab that the Afghans were out to rebel, he
because of his excessively honest nature, had not believed them,
(and answered) how have I wronged them? During the fight he
directed his elephant towards the Afghans so that with their help he
might be able to deal with the Europeans. When the Nawabs elephant
reached near the elephant of Himayat Khan, the leader of the Afghans,
the Nawab out of courtesy raised his hand to the head even before
the latter offered his ceremonial respect. But from that side no respects
were forth coming. As the morning had not sufficiently advanced,
the Nawab thought that they had possibly not recognised him, and
raised himself a little in his seat. At this time Himmat Khan and
another person, who was seated with him, (on the elephant) suddenly
fired their guns. Both the bullets struck the Nawab’s breast, and he
was killed. The Afghans severing the Nawabs head set it at the point of the lance. And and treatment which Imam the martyr (may God reward him) received from his followers in the month of Muharram, was similar to that which was meted out to the Nawab by his servants. "Surely we are Allah's and to him we shall surely return". Some of the men of the (Nawab's) force joined the head to the body (of the Nawab) and sent the bier to Aurangabad. He was buried in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Shah Burhanuddin Gharib near Nawab Asif Jah. (163)

Bilgirami as stated earlier was a close associate of Nasir Jang. He was present at Jijee also, and he alone was present to accompany him in the last night of his (Nasir Jang's) life. Bilgirami was deeply shocked with the death of Nasir Jang and he composed a beautiful Quatrain of chronogram which is as follows;

نواب عدل گستر عالی جناب رفت
فرستند تدالغ حوادث متناش رفت
در بند بیم زمراه محرم شهید شد
تاریخ گفت نووه گر آفتان رفت

(164)

(The king of justice has gone. The sword of misfortunes was so sharp that he could not have time to fight. It was 17th of Muharram when he was martyred. The chronogram of his death is ‘Aaftab Raft’ (the sun has set 1757 A.D).

Bilgirami also reports the happening of the last night of Nasir Jung and states that;

"دران شب که آبستن صبح قیامت بود فقیر تمام شب نزد نواب حاضر بود
وقت دستар بستن آهمنه طلبیده و بدستار بستن مشغول شدیاران حال
باعکس خود مکرر خطاب کردی ای میر احمد خدا حافظ تسم نام اصلی
اورم احمد است . وقت سوار شدن باوصف آنکه و ضداشت تجدید
وضونمود و دوگانه نماز ادا کردو سیسه گردانان و ادعیه خوانان برفل
سوار شد . ومعمول نواب بود که در مبارزات از سرتپا آبین می پوشید
دران شب جذ جهانیک تیب پیچ نیوشید و بیمین حالت بمرتیب عیای
شیادت فارزگرید " (165)
Ma'asir-ul-Kiram

(The night which was to bring the doom in morning, I was present in company of him for the whole night. When he was tying, ‘Aamama’ ( turban) on his head, observing the reflection of his own in the mirror, he was repeatedly addressing himself and uttering the words ‘Oh! Mir Ahmed may Allah be protector of Mir Ahmed’ (his good name was Mir Ahmed). When he sat on the elephant, although he was with ablution, he again made a ablution a fresh and offered the morning paryer and while glorifying Allah and moving the pearls of rosery and resititig various prayers sat on the elephant. The Nawab was inhabit to wear armour (iron dress), but on that night he wearred only the simple dress. In that position only he stepped towards the high status of martyrdom.)

On the night which was the fore runner of the day of judgement, he asked for a mirror when making up his turban, and got busy in tying it. During this operation he repeatedly addressed his reflection” Mir Ahmed God is your guardian” (His real name was Mir Ahmed). Before mounting (on the elephant) he carried out the scared ablutions afresh and said his prayers, and turning his beads, and invoking blessings got on to the elephant. It was normal for the Nawab to wear a coat of mail, covering him from head to feet during battle, but on this night he didnot wear anything but a single garment ; and in this dress was exalted to the state of martyrdom. (166)

Here one ambiguity arises about the place where Nasir Jang was murdered, when we compare the contents of Ma’asir-ul-Kiram about the exact place where Nasir Jang was assasinated. Bilgirami writes regarding the place as under;

شـهـادَت نواب قريب قلعه چنچی بفاصله بيست كرده از پنچری واقع

(167) (The martyrdom of the Nawab took place near the fort of Ginjee about 20 kos from Pondechary.)

Ma’asir-ul-Umra runs as under:
‘The martyrdom of the Nawab took place near the fort of Ginjee about 20 kos from Pondechary’. (168)
One more army personnel Afzal Kahkhshan states that Nasir Jang was encamped at the distance of 6 kos 12 miles from the Ginjee fort.

Yet another military officer Noor Muhammad Khan in his book Waqhiyat-Jan Nashein Aasif Jah writes that;

"ناصر جنگ پنچ کرده ( 10 میل ) قلعہ جنجی رسیده سودا آن زمن رابقیام گھا جلوہ گر فرمودند " (169)

(Nasir Jung five miles away from the fort of Jinji prefered to stay at.)

Likewise the writer of Taarikh-e-Raahat Afza had a mention about the incident and place that the army of Nasir Jang was surrounded by two rivers, out of which one was Chakraoti. (170).

Another reference about the venue is mentioned in "Tazkirat-ul-Balad-val-Hukam" The writer of the book mentions;

"چئون سوار گرام متعلقہ جنجی کھ سیہ کری مشرقیت محل نزول ریاپات آصف جابی گردرد " (171)

(Alegram which is within the taluka of Jinji and situated in the East three miles away from Jinji, was selected to keep the flags there.)

In this way the ambiguity about the venue of the assassination of Nasir Jang is still prevailing. It is equally stonishing matter, that the writers like Bilgrami and Shah Nawaz Khan was accompanying the martyrer Nasir Jang but failed to mention the exact place of his martyrdom.

In foregoing lines of the episode Bilgirami expressed his deep shock-mourning on the death of Nasir Jang and gave the details of the death of the murderers of Nasir Jang that how helplessly they too brought to an end within few months after the death of Nasir Jang. The verboes language of Bilgirami is selfevident that the destiny itself took the revenge of the martyrdom of Nasir Jang. Bilgirami gave us the details of the death of each of the person like Hidayat
Mohammad Khan, Himmat Khan, Daud Ali Khan, Panni behlool Khan, Naseeb Yawar Khan were brutally murdered. Bilgirami quoted a verse from Quran;

"وسيعلم و الذين ظلموا منقلب فيقلبون " (172)  

(Very near the cruels shall know how they will last.)

Hussain Dost Khan who was also an element of Conspirancy was also came to an end. he was also killed by sword of revenge and his head was fixed on the point of a Lance. (173)

Chapter IInd of Ma'asir-ul-Kiram

From the page No. 351 Fasl-e-Saani dar-Zikr-e-Khafia Sanjan-e-Hindi begins. It consist of the Biographies of eight (8) poets rendering from page No. 350 to 396. They are as follows;

1) Shaikh Shah Mohammad Bin Shaikh Maroof Farmili.
2) Syed Nizamuddin Al - Mutaqhalis - Ba- Madha - Naik.
3) Deewana - e- Syed Rahmatullah.
4) Mir Abdul Jaleel Bilgirami Noorullah Zarihha.
5) Syed Ghulam Nabi Bilgirami.
6) Syed Barkatullah Qhad-e-sirrahu.
7) Mir Abdul Wahed Zouqhi Bilgirami
8) Mohammad Aarif Bilgirami.

It is important here to note that none of above mentioned poets are important from historical point of view and therefore we need not discuss to any one of them because they all belonged to Bilgiram and have contributed the poetry of Hindi language.

It is perhaps the spirit of patriotism of Bilgirami and love and affaction to the Hindi language that he could not avoid the illustrations of Hindi poets.

It is equally important to note here that Bilgrami had a very liberal view about the use of the language. He was a born poet and had a respect for all the poets of all the languages.
In preliminary note of the second chapter Bilgirami prayed almighty Allah for his favour to those poets who had equal knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Hindi. He also made confessions that he had knowledge of all the three languages but he could not spare the time to compose poetry in Hindi language. But he enjoyed much and impressed with the Hindi poets of India. It is true that Arabic and Persian poets brought their poetry to the height but Hindi poets of India are not lagging behind them, but they go ahead with their peculiar knowledge of women which the poets of Arabic and Persian do not possess.

The second chapter of Ma’asir-ul-kiram is also a beautiful anthology of Hindi poets. Bilgirami had reproduced a number of couplets composed by the poets of Bilgiram in Hindi language. It is a good exposure of the poetic sense of Bilgirami by utilizing it. Bilgirami collected and illustrated the examplary couplets. Bilgirami shall always be regarded and remembered for his poetic sense and the contribution to the Hindi literature by supplementing the Hindi poets in second chapter of Ma’asir-ul-kiram.

**Bilgirami’s Historical Sensibility in Ma’asir-ul-kiram**

Ma’asir-ul-Kiram is one of the important and memorable book of Azad Bilgirami through primarily the book is a reviewed recompiled and improved form of the book ‘Yad-e-Baiza’ as Bilgirami himself has written in the introductory pages of Ma’asir-ul-kiram.

It is also equally true that till last moment Bilgirami was not satisfied with the contents of the book but still he thought as worth to read and benifit the future generation. Thus the future generations have benifitted to a great extent with the book and therefore we frequently observe that various references of the book are found in several writings of the present generation.

We observe that the writers of high caliber like Syed Suleman Nadvi, Allama Shiblee Noman, Abdul Hai, the author of Nuhat-ul-quwatir. Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi and several others are among
those who consider the book worth quoting.

Thus we safely conclude that the book occupies an important and prominent position in even the recent times.

Secondly the book itself is self evident for the love and affections of Bilgirami for his native place i.e. Bilgiram and as an vital proof of his spirit of patriotism, because when Bilgirami was aware of the importance of Indian based Persian poets he could not forget the Indian Hindi poets and therefore we see that he had provided a sufficient space for Hindi poets also.

Further Bilgirami also glorifies Hindi poets and states that in no way they are behind the Arabic and Persian poets who have exhausted themselves in expressing the unique imagery thoughts.

Bilgirami shall always be regarded for the expression of his views on aesthetics. The book, thus becomes very important from this point of view. The book is a beautiful combination of the views on aesthetics which possess all the three literary views to which an Indian Muslim scholar belongs. They are Arabian view, Persian view and Indian views on aesthetics. Bilgirami was much aware of the profound knowledge of Indian views on aesthetics. Bilgirami was much familiar with the theories of ‘Rasas’ which are considered to be the basis of Indian aesthetics.

One easily sense the surprise when he finds the theories of ‘Rasas’ presented by Bilgirami in the book with their respective expressions Bilgirami thus writes;

"اول: سنکاررس. که عبارت از گیفت کمال محبت است که مردرا ازدیدن
زن پا شنیدن اوصاف او پیدامی شود و بمنین کیفتی که زن را ازدیدن
مردیاشنیدن اوصاف او بهم می رسید.- (174)"

(First ‘Sinkar Ras’ is the expression of mental state which happens after the observation of the beauty (of women) or created on listenings of merits of women).
(Second, ‘Hassay Ras’ it is the expression of deep sense of comedy and humour.)

(Third, ‘Kiran Ras’ is the expression of deep sense of sorrow or sadness).

(Fourth, ‘Rudra Ras’ is the expression of deep sense of anger).

(Fifth, ‘Beer Ras’ (veer ras) is the expression of bravery and generosity).

(Sixth, ‘Bahiyanak Ras’ is the expression of deep sense of horror).

(Seventh, ‘Behitas Ras’ is the expression of deep sense of dislike or detestation).

(Eighth ‘Udhbhut Ras’ is the expression of deep sense of surprise or exclamation).

(Nineth ‘Sant Ras’ is the expression of high status of renunciation in which all sweetness and bitterness of the world vanishes and
becomes equal. It is the state of isolation).

In this way Bilgirami proves himself true decendant of Arbo-Perso-Indian culture. Likewise the book provides us very good knowledge about the reasons and the causes of downfall of great Mughal Emipre that how the weak and uncapable descendents of Alamgir became the victim of Conspiracies of their own courts and and how they were striving hard for their survival, as the sovereign of the state. The episode of Hasan Ali Khan and Amir-ul-Umra Hussain Ali Khan were enough to prove the happenings of the period.

The book Ma'asir-ul-kiram is a good record of past events which throws light that how the element of religion was exploited by the Noble men of the court of the uncapable kings. In case of Farruqh Seiyar we see that he was mere puppet at the hands of both Sayed brothers of Bareha. Further the Syed brothers were not sincere in their deeds because they were also fighting for their own survival as vazir's of the state.

Thus Ma'asir-ul-Kiram holds the mirror to day to day happenings of the court wherein the kings were busy for their own survival, at the same time the noblemen, mansabdars and other priviledged persons and subordinates were busy in fighting for their own survival. And this all was happening under the banner of religion that is Islam.

We see that Amir-ul-Umra was fighting with Nizamul-ul-Mulk for their viceroyalty in their respective subas. But both of them claim as they were going on righteous path.

We also observes that Ma’asir-ul-kiram provides us a sufficient knowledge on the records of unfaithfull and treacherous personalities of the history that how Hidayat Mohiuddin Khan, Muzaffar Jang Bahadur a close relative of Nasir Jang made necessary arrangements for the massacre of Nasir Jang and his army. Further more while going through the book one easily find that the centre of loyalty of the subordinate nobles of the kings was always moving and shifting according to their interests and likings that is why we find an ample
examples that today’s friends became an enemy of tomorrow.

The political uncertainty and uncapability of the kings and the warring groups of the Nobles, subedars and other important personalities became the real cause of the emergence of other forces like Britishers Frenchs and even the Marathas. We clearly find the treacherous behaviour of Muzaffar Jang that how he joined the hands of French and acted against establishment and how Nasir Jang came to an end. Besides Ma’asir-ul-Kiram is a good example of the records of the cultural history of eighteenth century Deccan. There are frequent examples of the events which had a cultural touch in their own, like in the episode of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah, Bilgirami writes;

"سادات و علماء و مشايخ دیار عرب و ماروات النبر و خراسان و عراق عجم و بندوستان آواره قدر دانی استماع یافته روبه روبه دلن آوردن‌د و درخور قسمت خطی از احسان عام اندوختند. " (183)

(After listening the praise worthy treatment the Ulema and Mashayiq from Arab, Kharasan, Iraq, Persia reached the Deccan and were rewarded according to their destiny.)

Like wise in the same episode Bilgirami writes;

"فقیر رابا نواب آصفجاه صحبت پای مستوفی دست داد . در صحبت اول اتفاقاً بندوئی به ارادة اسلام حاضر شد و شرف اسلام دریافت یافت بیگی بعرض رسانید که امیدوار نام است . فرمود نامی باید گذاشت که معشرين اسلام باشد فقیر گفت مثل ذین محمد . فرمود دیروز بندوئی مسلمان شد ذین اودین محمد گذاشت ب سن . فقیر دین محمد بر قدر زیاده شود بپر لله النصرمو نصرتین محمد بسیار منسیب گشت و بمین نام مقرر نمود." (184)

(This beggar was fortunate to accompany him, and to be benefited with him. In the first meeting a Hindu came to convert himself to Islam and became Muslim. Arzbegi asked for his Islamic name. The Nawab suggested that name should be such which should indicate the Islamic (spirit). I proposed the name as ‘Din Muhammed’. (The
Nawab) told yesterday only one converted Muslim was named the same. I replied it would be better to have as many as Din Muhammeds, the Nawab pleased very much and gave the same name.

In the same manner in the episode of Nasir Jang Bilgirami writes

(The other night one Sayyed of Arab race was invited on dinner by the Nawab. After the dinner the cups of coffee presented. The Nawab was very much fond of coffee. One from the Sayyeds of Madina, without applying his mind, told that coffee is illegitimate as per the opinion of some Ulemas. Nawab strangely replied “What are you telling?” I, suddenly, intervened and told that Maulana was talking about the coffee that according to some Ulemas it is very prestigious and respectful because the word ‘Muharram’ (respectful or prestigious) is derived from the word ‘lhteram’ (respect). The Nawab kept quite and the said Sayyed also understood (the matter). When the seating was over I thanked that such idea has striked in my mind and it was accepted.)

And in the episode of Amir-ul-Umra Hussain Ali Khan Bilgirami states;

(The people of Aurangabad unanimously say that in the period of Amir-ul-Umra, many of the people did not use to cook in the houses.)
The cooks of Amir-ul-Umra used to sale the share of their meals and at the cost of few pennys the best dish of ‘plov’ was available.

And in the same episode;

"أجراء بلغور خانها از غله پخته و خام و احدث مجلس یاز دب و دوازدربم بر ماه در بلاد عظیمه بند و دکن از اعمال خیر آوست و تا امروز جاری است دریمن مجلس با مشاگرد و قرآ به توافت و انگسار سلوك می نمود و آفتایه درشت خود گرفته بردست میمانان آب می ریخت. " (187)

(In the houses of Balghore the arrangement of distribution of cooked meals and food grains was made. Every month on 11th and 12th a sitting was held, that tradition is still exist, in Aurangabad. Mashaikh and beggar were treated respectfully. The hands of beggars and mashaikh were washed by holding the basin in their hands.)

From the above contents it can easily be made known that during the times of Amir-ul-umra how the inhabitants of Aurangabad were prosperous and how peaceful life they were leading.

Likewise one of the remarkable traditions which we could trace through Ma’asir-ul-Kiram that in every war the head of the defeating army was cut down from his neck and his head was brought in public on the point of a lance. We see that in case of Nasir Jang. Hidayat Mohiuddin Khan Amir-ul-umera, Hussaini Ali Khan, that were given the same treatment after their death.
REFERENCES


2. Ibid, Page No. - 1

3. Bilgirami, Ma'asir-ul-Kiram, Page No.-1

4. Ibid, Page No. - 1

5. Ibid, Page No. - 1

6. Ibid, Page No. - 2

7. Ibid, Page No. - 2

8. Ibid, Page No. - 2

9. Ibid, Page No. - 3

10. Ibid, Page No. - 4


12. Ibid, Page No. - 2

13. Ibid, Page No. - 2


16. Ibid, Page No. - 24

17. Ibid, Page No. - 22

18. Ibid, Page No. - 22

19. Ibid, Page No. - 24

20. Ibid, Page No. - 24


22. Ibid, Page No. - 20
23. R. J. Rees, An Introduction to English Literature, Page No. - 9
25. Ibid, Page No. -
29. Ibid, Page No. - 133
30(a). Ibid, Page No. - 133-34
30(b). G.N. Wickeness, Arabic Literature of the East, Page No.- 34.
32. Ibid, Page No. - 134
33. Ibid, Page No. - 134
34. Ibid, Page No. - 135
35. Ibid, Page No. - 135
36. Ibid, Page No. - 136
37. Ibid, Page No. - 135
38. Ibid, Page No. - 137
39. Ibid, Page No. - 138-39
40. Ibid, Page No. - 138
41. Ibid, Page No. - 138
42. Ibid, Page No. - 139
43. Ibid, Page No. - 140
44. Ibid, Page No. - 140
45. Ibid, Page No. - 141
46. Ibid, Page No. - 142
47. Ibid, Page No. - 142
48. Ibid, Page No. - 142
49. Ibid, Page No. - 143
50. Ibid, Page No. - 143
51. Ibid, Page No. - 144
52. Ibid, Page No. - 144
53. Ibid, Page No. - 144
54. Ibid, Page No. - 144
55. Ibid, Page No. - 145
56. Ibid, Page No. - 158
57. Shiblee Nomani, Sher-ul-Ajam, Vol -IV, Page No.-91
59. Ibid, Page No. - 161
60. Ibid, Page No. - 163
61. Ibid, Page No. - 159
62. Ibid, Page No. - 159
63. Ibid, Page No. - 159
65. Ibid, Page No. - 94
66. Ibid, Page No. - 94
67. Ibid, Page No. - 94
68. Ibid, Page No. - 94
Ibid,  Page No. - 95
Ibid,  Page No. - 95
Ibid,  Page No. - 95
Ibid,  Page No. - 95-96
Ibid,  Page No. - 95
Ibid,  Page No. - 97-98
Ibid,  Page No. - 108
Ibid,  Page No. - 123
Ibid,  Page No. - 113
Ibid,  Page No. - 114
Ibid,  Page No. - 114
Ibid,  Page No. - 115
Ibid,  Page No. - 115
Ibid,  Page No. - 116
Ibid,  Page No. - 120
Ibid,  Page No. - 120
Ibid,  Page No. - 120
Ibid,  Page No. - 121
Ibid,  Page No. - 124
Ibid,  Page No. - 128
Ibid,  Page No. - 129
Azad Bilgirami, Ma’asir-ul-Kiram, Page No.- 4
Ibid,  Page No. - 5 and

95. Ibid, Page No. -

96. Azad Bilgirami, Ma’asir-ul-Kiram, Page No.-5

97. Ibid, Page No. - 5

98. Ibid, Page No. - 6

99. Ibid, Page No. -

100. Azad Bilgirami, Ma’asir-ul-Kiram, Page No.-7

101. Ibid, Page No. - 7

102. Ibid, Page No. - 7

103. Ibid, Page No. - 7

104. Ibid, Page No. - 8

105. Ibid, Page No. - 8


107. Azad Bilgirami, Ma’asir-ul-Kiram, Page No.-8

108. Ibid, Page No. - 8

109. Mishkwat Shareef, Urdu translation, Chapter-III, Page No.- 466


111. Azad Bilgirami, Ma’asir-ul-Kiram, Page No.-9

112. Ibid, Page No. - 9

113. Ibid, Page No. - 9

114. Ibid, Page No. - 9

115. Ibid, Page No. - 9

116. Ibid, Page No. - 9

Historical Sensitivity and Sensibility of Azad Bilgirami’s Works [ 326 ]
117. Ibid, Page No. - 10
118. Al-Quran, Sura No. 26, Verses Nos. -223-227
119. Al-Quran, Sura No. 36 Verse No. 69
120. Azad Bilgirami, Ma'asir-ul-Kiram, Page No.-8
121. Al-Quran, Sura Younus, Verses No. 38
122. Azad Bilgirami, Ma'asir-ul-Kiram, Page No.-11
123. Ibid, Page No. - 11
124. Ibid, Page No. - 11
125. Ibid, Page No. - 12
126. Ibid, Page No. - 13
127. Ibid, Page No. - 13
128. Ibid, Page No. - 14
129. Ibid, Title Page.
130. Ibid, Page No. - 155
131. Ibid, Page No. - 155
132. Ibid, Page No. - 155