PART I
CHAPTER I

SOURCE MATERIAL

Haft iqlim by Amin i Ahmad (Completed in 1002 A.H.)
'Aligarh MS. f. 267a & b.

Muntahab al-tawarih by 'Abd al-Qadir Badai'un

A'in i Akbari by Sh. Abu'l-Fadl 'Allami

The verses selected by the biographers have not been quoted here.
CHAPTER I

SOURCE MATERIAL

Haft iglim by Amin i Ahmad (Completed in 1002 A.H.)

‘Aligarh MS. f. 267a & b.


The verses selected by the biographers have not been quoted here.
Chapter I

SOURCE MATERIAL
Arafât al-āshiqīn by Taqī Auhadī
(completed in 1024 A.H.) Bankipur MS. f. 780.

Ma'athir i Ḳāhīmi by Ḳhawājah 'Abd al-Baqī Nihāwandi

Molāna Nūsī Xrāsānī

Molāna Nūsī Aẓrāqīn (1) Khoshiān Tawāb, Shāhīd Mādīs Ast, Wāzīrī Tāṣīb Nāfīn - Dīwānāt Dūr Hāzārīt Bīnūrīsīnīn.

(1) Dr. Resmi (b) Ārjām Yāhīnī "Aṣrāqīn "Al-{wāţ Āṣrāqīn" Khoshiān Tawāb, Shāhīd Mādīs Ast, Wāzīrī Tāṣīb Nāfīn, Ast - Dīwānāt Dūr Hāzārīt Bīnūrīsīnīn.

گوی مسابقات ونی رقابت از هنگام بهروزه‌ی هایی رنگین و شادلینه‌ی که از طریق وقایع ایشان سرزمین به اندوه و بازی‌های استعدادهای ایرانی جاری و مذکر است. و یک توافق با خاطر خوشبختی نیز روزگار منقشی و در راستای جهان فلسفه از یک برتری بلند بیانش یک کمال محسوب را علاوه و همین نیزه و کمال قابلیت استفاده از یک شیاطین و حین‌های از ملاح و احوال او ظاهر و بیاوه، این توافق بیانگر دوستی که احوال ها را در نظر داشت.

امروز نت بندی یک فرد بعدی سلطنت و اشکال بهبود و طاقت دستگاه، هدایت و نجات انتظاریه‌ی ضیاء الملک و والدین میرزا یوسف خان مشهور که در آن زمان بی‌سیر تقی و ملامیت بادشام جمیحه ملاکی سیاه جلال الدهن والدین بی‌بسیاری متفکرت و سرور در سیدی و جنگ روزی از رنج راه در خدمت و وصیا و مناصب ایشان برآمد و من جمله رعایت

سنگی ممالکه هم‌واره‌ی بخشنده و رقابت پولسی مرحص می‌رسد و آنها از طبقه و سری زد بشرف اصلاح پولسی رسانید و با سخاره ممتازی گفت و به همدان را توجه کرده و با اخلاق و اعتقاد سلیه و بود و در مقام ترویت اربوی و نیز ازخدمت و شاگردی ایشان مفتخر بوده و حقی از توجه مال جمیحه رقیم اورادر کلتان ره داد و شاگردی ایشان مشهور شد و جویانه هدایت در کشتان بسیار بر پی و بخشان آورد و در طرق تنظیم اشعار پی هرقم است.
یافت (۱) آخرالامروی شرفِ بندگی این مديدی عالم‌یان را دریافت و در زبانی که شاهزادهٔ عالم و عالمان شاهزاده دانیال در بهدانه‌ی شریف داشتن در بهدانه‌ی بسیار می‌برند شاهزاده، مولایی الهِ را صحت برُنای ذكری پسند افتاده و در تریک و تریک و کوشیدند و سربی نیازی اورا فرقی فردسای گردانیدند و وابسته ملایل‌شی به‌پرده‌ای این مریق فضلاً و دانش‌دانان سرافراز شد در ایام توقیف بهمانه‌ی همیشه بداخی و تناک‌شکری این خدیو‌ممالک ستان شنیل بود و تقدج‌ی غز و ساقی نامه از لحجه طبع نظر در مداح این خلاصه‌ی زرگار با ساخت ظهور ساندن‌های آری‌ه مگری صلا و اعمالات یانه‌ی بود بجاگاه ساقی نامه یکی زنجر نیل وده هزار رویه واسع عرفی و وسرای لاشه بایت – جنایه رسم قلندر در قصیده‌های به‌سِ ایشان نبووده اشاره‌ی باین بمن شویده؟ 

(۱) در نسخهٔ (ب) "رعایت بیان و جنایه دراهیر خیوه در دریار بادشاه با میر حسین بسیر بردند و جوزونیان‌ه م بودند و بانفاطی و بیقیدی ولودی ولابالی شهر شهده بردند جنایه مکری و مجدداً احوال ایشان بسیم‌‌آنی بادشاه ظلم الله رضی و اجراف خاطریست بایشان بهم رسانید و ایتان آن زبان و جوانان آن آوان را میل نمای بهبخت شریف ایشان بهم رسیده بود و گلسرماهیه وچال آل ونقل هر پم و مجلش شده بردند و ظرافت و خوشی طبعی را بر فرخ بلندی یبدیه، بردند جنایه ذکر آن در خور حال ایشان نیست آخرالامروارا دریافت مزایت این مديدی عالم‌یان جری‌یان کی ایشان شده بدنکی و خانیش آبد و بان سعادت استمساد بایت و در زبانِ که شاهزاده عالم‌یان الم از میان یافته‌ی
مکحنه به عبدالله قزوینی

نوشت در ۱۰۲۸ هـ، لاهور نشر ۱۹۲۶ میلادی، صفحه ۲۰۰.

ذكر عندليب گذرمانی چنان روانی خوشیانی

شاعری منوب ولیکه برداری باسلام است، آخر اشعار او ناخنی بردل
می‌زند نام او یحید رضا ست وولدش ازخوبشان است، وابن خوشان متعلق
به نسا وباری خراسان.
به تحقيق پیوسته که در صفرستان هنرها بدرخود شیخ جهاد اروطن بهنده آنده (۳۴۸۸) و بهمن دیدن خواهاب ابواقلام سیری که نسبت خوشبی پایبان داشته بگیاوات رفته و خواجه مذکور در گیاوات صاحب سامان بویه بدر اورا نا خور خالی ابدادی سبوده بوطن روانه ساختند جنون محل رضا در خدمت بدر به شهد مقدّس می رسید بدرش نتواند انجا بقوه عمر بخدا پرستی مشغول مرد و شیر گویند که خیلی صاحب حالت شده و از کسر برایش برتریه ولایت رسیده بود که عالم فانی راوداع کرد به قلم باقی می خردید بعد آرنون بدر پسر در مشهد مقدّس در نظام افتخار نظام سامان بار دیگر اراده سیر هند می گفت که نیاز این شیر که هرکمی یکت نابغه حکمت سرب Parcel می توانید بعد از اینکه آن سامان بار دیگر اراده سیر هندی گفت فرد نبود و ببهر مانند مخابره برداشته وین که پر اردی این که را رفت اند سر زیان با نهم اهل خوش طبیعت صرف می نمایید این نبات مشترک یک دارد که به که سیمای این راه این بسیمین و این بلاد نیبود البته در آرزوی این خاک مواد من میزه ببیر تقدیر محل رضا بار دیگر از خراسان بلاهار آنده از گرد راه در جنگ ملازبان خان علی شان پرسبوس خان در رس و بی‌برزه آن خان جم تنذان به دار الیش کشیم رفت از نهی آب و هوایی آن کشش همیشه به‌زیار طبیعت ظرف رنگ (و) بونی دیگر بهم رسانید چنان‌‌که اشترا او دل‌ذگر و سخنان او مقبول طبع صغری و کوچر شد و تخیّی خود آن‌جانی نیز قرار داد...

گویند کبان داریب نظیر بهشت سوار بشماری بوده، یکه روز پنگ مرتیه در حضر میرزا يوسف خان هدیه داده را به تیم ویشائیه، چون رتیه مروز نیت و مرتیه اهلیت او برور و شهرت گشته رفت رفته به تعقیب‌هی معمای شاهزاده عاشق جان شاهزاده دان شاه رسید، آن قدردان نگن سنگان از روز خواهش نوی را از میرزا يوسف خان گرفته داخل باصت بوستان اخلاق هشتم و شوتری خود گردانیده، آری نسمه فضل و هنربرای جوئی ایام راجون گل عطری می‌سازید و نفاهشش مشکه انسان مناقب سخن کشت حواسی انجمن عالم خسدمه فرجام را راجون عمر ترستانی نمایید قطبه
Subh-i Sadiq by Mirza Muhammad Sadiq "Sadiqi"
(completed in 1048 A.H.). *Aligarh MS. f. 500b.*

_probsa_line_

- Molana Nobi Khuswani arshayi ushiray urdu... - Bihend ainitad... Dainyal
- Ibn agha baghshah boyest... Aur dress... Unto... Khan... Quis... Biant... Boy... Na... Agha... Dress... Thir... Warsh... Va... Soro... Madowl...

Kalimat al-shu'ara' by Mīrza Muhammad Afdal "Sarkhwush" completed in 1108, Bānkīpur MS. 111b-112a.

Hamīshah-bahar by Kishan Chand "Ikhlās" (1136 A.H.), Bānkīpur MS. f. 87a.

Safīnah i Ṣīkhbāhar by Mīr 'Aẓmat Allah Ṣīkhbāhar 'Aligarh MS. pp. 348-349.
Safīnāh
Pedagheghā-i Khwushūgī by Bindrāban Dās "Khwushūgī"

Molana Muhammad Raza Bhooni, a scion of the Khushani lineage, authored the "Khwushūgī" in 1147 A.H. The manuscript from 'Aligarh contains pages 136b to 138a.

Yad i baida' by Mr. Ghulam 'Ali "Azad" Bilgrami.
(completed in 1148 A.H.) 'Aligarh MS. p. 287.

Guldastah (which is a selection from the Intikbāb-i Ka'bah-i 'Irфан, an abridgment of the Ka'bah-i 'Irфан which in its turn is an abridgment of 'Arafat al-'Ashiqin) compiled in 1166 A.H. by 'Abd al-Wahhab 'Alamgiri, Bankipur MS. f. 167a.

Molana Muhammad Rashid Bhooni, a scion of the Khushani lineage, authored the "Yad i baida'" in 1148 A.H. The manuscript from 'Aligarh contains page 287.

Guldastah (which is a selection from the Intikbāb-i Ka'bah-i 'Irфан, an abridgment of the Ka'bah-i 'Irфан which in its turn is an abridgment of 'Arafat al-'Ashiqin) compiled in 1166 A.H. by 'Abd al-Wahhab 'Alamgiri, Bankipur MS. f. 167a.
Majma' al-nafāsīs written in 1164 A.H. by Sirāj al-Dīn


10 -

Riyāḍ al-shu'ārā‘ by 'Alī-Qulī Khān "Wāliī"
Dāghistānī (completed in 1161 A.H.)
Rampūr MS. f. 436 a; & b;
Habībganj MS. f. 424 a.

Molana Muhd. Raza Noor Jāshnāni az-Sheshayee Yānaw-Sahebānān Hārānast Se-
behdwastān Šāhād Kāhbā Parshānderī - Šanwī Sūrīwārān Rasti Nāma, woh Sūrīwārāt Rasti Nāma Yāhnrān Nūzāhār Hārī Nud Parshāha Prabht Hārānast.

نوی خوشانی علیلی بی است نوع نوع نواهابسعم بیامان میسرسان و گذشته است رنگ‌های رنگ کلیا در درام خود ار ان شیماق است، ابتدا حال از متوسلان شاهزاده دنیال بین آبراده نهاد به‌جوار زندگانی بریست به‌یاده دولت خان نخوان نشستند و جوان نامه ضبط‌ند و دوسر وی زنگ‌ستانت کردن اندروت یک‌دند ده هزار روبه‌ی نشست و خلطه نخوان و زنجری فیل و راسی عراقی صلی شمرد. گفت‌دند ریسی ریبد داد و مرتب که ضریب زدند که ضریب از گوبک زنجمت ونه‌ی، نوی سید آن مایه. که یکید مهرنزی زدند کبک، به‌یاد تاکه بخودت تابی آر، پنین هرفکه خزن کل آمید. شگفت طاکه بخودت زبان آر در اهد آپری باده‌ی سنجان هندوی شیب طاو خود را در آپر آباد ازبازار، سکف می‌گذشت قضا را سپف آمید نوجوان برخاکه هلاک انداد عروس ناندار، که در نهایت برنای وکمال خوش سیما به‌پادا پدید خود قدم سوختن کرد آپر باده‌ی در حضور خود طلببه هورنده فتی نتوید و امیدوار فراوان نازتانعت ساخت زن بیان‌هایی همت از‌جان رفت و برولا وار خود را بر آشک زد مان نوی حسب الامر شاهزاده دانیال در واپسی مذکور مسئولی سوزرسکاران بی‌نظم آپر. برانت لونک دی بر پر ایستیل‌حکم شکر داده (1901) ایامی 10 می‌ر.

Khizânah i 'amirah written by Mir Ghulâm 'Ali "Āqâd" Bilgrami.

شامی گریبان نویسنده لکھیمی نارائن "شاہیک" 1182 میں نیشنل آرکیوکس میں مشہور شمارہ 12a میں ملاحظہ ہوتا ہے۔

خلاصہ الافکر نویسنده میرزا ابوبکر خان تبریزی اصفہانی 1206-7 میں بانکیپور میں مشہور شمارہ 204b میں ملاحظہ ہوتا ہے۔


Nata'i j al-asfar by M. Qudrat Allah Khan "Qudrat".

*Markdown for better readability*

> خراسان - مد فاضل وبا مذاق بود و در علم وخوش طبعی شهره آفاق - نوع بنوع جوهر آباد از ازکان طبخ خود بکنار مشتاقان سخن نی انشاند وگلبه رئه به جهت ودامان شایقان مرسند - از موطن خود بهندوستان آمد و اول بلامید شاهزاده دانیال 1000 گردید - نوشت برناقت شاهزاده مونور در لااحر بود که جوان هندی از خلاکین المی بود و زنی که صاحب جمال بود بناگواری دروی اورد آتاپ سوخت - نوشت حساب الابار شاهزاده، مبنو درن بای بگنت مسی بسوزو گذاز که مقبول طبع صاحب دردان است و رخت رهنت شاهزاده مرحوم دامن دولت نواب خان خانان بست آرد و بسیار حظوظ وناغ الالیان زندگانی کرد ودر قصاید جد وساق نامه بذافن جنایه گردانمی گرفت ویکیار در رضای ساقی تانه ده هزار روبیه مع دسته خلفت ونچبر نفل واسب عراق کلیه کرید ویقول صاحب ذخیره الخوارجین یکبار نواب لا نوی را بیست سندهد بالاخر بقیم برهانور در سنه یکهزار و لوژه پیونان تیسنی نشت - راهم المطربنیتو بیشپرسانیده که مصنع او تاریخ وفات آن مرحوم است جناتجه ایراد می یابد - بیت خود بگرمین جون زخم و جون کم * مود هیه نوی سحرب آریهین

> آسانی حیط نکه دانای لا نوی خیوشان که گنجنهم انبوه نرون بوده و خزینه کلا غنوات شحوحن در بیان خال بهشترزاده دانیال بن آبر پادشاه توسین ببهرمان بنده و مادام حیاشی بحمت خاطر و اعتبار نمازگردانیده پس ازان یخل راشفت خان خانان دز آند وقصائد وساق نامه در ماه اولرقم درآروده... أكثر بصعبات خاطر خواه کلیران گشت ........................

> آخرالامر در برهاپور سنه 1019 تسع عشر والف قدم بجاده، فنا نباده -
Sham 'i anjuman by Nawwāb M. Siddīq Hasan Khān

نوی خوششانی عنادلیب خوش آواز وگلفروع گلشن رازاست نواهای نع یبنع
بگوی پاران میراسان وگلفروع زنگارنگ بدام خیداران می انشاند. بعد انتقال
شاهزاده دانیال بسوتی دولت خانخانان تشهت نیبت وصله هاستان وبزر سنجیده
شد.

Rūz-i raushan, written in 1297 A.H. by M. Muṣaffar Ḥusain
"Sābā" Gopāmawī.

نویشـ می‌حکمشندی شهیدی از راول حاکم واربی خوششانی بود
وی در علم ورمسه بهه‌ی داشت ودردر کبیری بهنودستان رسیده ، بلالی شاهزاده
دانیال عز اختصاصی یادت و بعد، وزارت شاهزاده دانیال دولت خان خانان مستحکم
گردید تا کاهش در سنه‌ی همزمان که در از دیپانگری از پنجویان رفت وکت در سوی دیوان
و ساقع‌شدن نمی دارد. مسی بسوزروگاز که در شهر تل‌آور با کبیری حسب ایمی
شاهزاده دانیال در شقایق متین شدن، یک سنی Sovin من هندویی نام خور
خوشن بوجی کمال تتعشق حسب رسم وریاج ملکه هندوکو نه باز ماندنی ازان باوجود
معنای کبیری و نمایننن وانواع نازی‌نمی دنبی، بریشْه نظم کشیده.

Tadhkirah i Naẓmi i Guzīdah
(written in 1037 A.H.) f. 277b.

نویشـ خوششانی
شاعر بلند فطرت خوش طبیعت بود ونحو ونداز هندیانه ودان ویانت با دختر
هنده وهمکنی عاشقی راک وساخته وشونر دران باب نظم کرد. وسوزروگاز موسم
گردانیده وساقی نامه نیز از مشورت است که در چوب پرنوی گنگ ونیتا نازه لطیف

Tadhkirat al-shu'ara' where-of the date of composition is unknown and the author untraceable. Rampūr MS. pp.204-205.
Chapter II

Period of Nau'i
CHAPTER II

PERIOD OF NAU'I.

NAU'I belonged to that age of the Indo-Persian literature which has been rightly termed as the "Indian summer of Persian poetry." During this period the Mughal rulers were at the helm of affairs.

The Mughals from Bābur to Shāh-Jahān, besides being great conquerors and able administrators, were men of letters as well as famous patrons of art and literature. They had a fine literary taste both in Persian and Turkish. Moreover, they were sound critics of prose and poetry, as is apparent from their accounts. They are ranked among the great scholars, poets, and artists of their age and are known as liberal patrons of art and learning.

Zahir al-Dīn Muhammad Bābur (d. 937 A.H.) who was the founder of the Mughal dynasty used to compose verses both in Persian and Turkish.\(^1\) His Persian Dīwān was first edited and published by Sir E. Denison Ross in 1910 in Calcutta. His Persian verses are sweet and pleasing. Some of them are quoted below:

1. His Dīwān in Turkish still exists.
All the four sons of Sābur — Humayun, Kamrān, 'Askari and Hindāl — were poets of Persian and at least Diwān of Kamrān in Persian and Turkish and of Humayun of Persian still exist. The Persian Diwān of Kamrān has been published by Professor Mahfūz al-Haq in Mārif Press. The Diwān of Humayun has been edited and published by Professor Hadi Hasan. The best of Humayun’s verses are in praise of God and the Holy Prophet. In praise of God:

In praise of the Holy Prophet:

Akbar also composed some verses in Persian. Some of them are as follows:

2. The unique Diwān of Humayun Badshāh by Professor Hadi Hasan pp. 56-57.
3. Ibid., p. 60.
4. For patronage of Persian poetry by Akbar refer to infra p. 66.
The age of Jahāngīr constitutes a brilliant epoch in the history of Indo-Persian art and literature. Dr. Beni Prasad in his History of Jahangir writes, "Jahangir's reign, on the whole, was fruitful of peace and prosperity to the Empire. Under its auspices industry and commerce progressed; architecture achieved notable triumphs; painting reached its high-water mark; literature flourished as it had never done before; Tulsidas composed the Ramayana, which forms at once the Homer and the Bible, the Shakespeare and the Milton of the teeming millions of Northern India. A host of remarkable Persian and vernacular poets all over the country combined to make the period the Augustan age of medieval Indian literature. The political side of Jahangir's history is interesting enough but its best virtue lies in cultural development."

"The taste of the poetry of Jahāngīr was so high and accurate which none but a master of art could possess. Whatever

1. Mughal Poetry: Its Cultural and Historical Value by Professor Hādi Hasan, p. 76.
2. Ibid., p. 75.
he has expressed about a certain poet, a better review of that poet is not possible. طالبی اغلی for a long time went on composing verses in his court but could not secure from him the title of Malik al-shu'ara' until he proved himself to be really worthy of it.

"Once a poet composed an ode in praise of Jahangir and presented it to him, whereof the first hemistich was

ای تاج دولت برسرت از ابتدأ تا انتها

Jahangir said, "Do you know 'Arud?" The poet replied, "No." Jahangir said, "It is your good luck, otherwise you would have been executed." Then he scanned the hemistich and pointed out that the second foot comes as للت برسرت and this is extreme disrespect.

Jahangir has left no regular دیوان. The verses composed by him are there in his Tuzuk. A few of them are quoted below:

ساغر میر بهرنگ گلزار میباید کشید 3. ابرسیار است می بسیار میباید کشید
نشین گاه شاه هفت کشیر 4. جهانگیر ابن شاهنشاه آبیر
من گچ روان، رشکه قارون دارم 5. یعنی که درون کسیه افون دارم

5. Ibid., p. 76.
Jahāngīr was a liberal patron of Persian poets. Once he got Sa'īdā i Gilānī weighed against silver in 1027 A.H. A large number of Persian poets basked in the sunshine of his royal favours. Ṭalib i Ḩaḍīrī was his poet-laureate.

Although Shāh-Jahān was not a poet, yet he was a munificent patron of Persian poets. A large number of Persian poets flourished at his court. Abū Ṭalib Kalīm was his poet-laureate.

1. 'Abd al-Hamīd Lāhaurī informs us that the Emperor got Sa'īdā i Gilānī, Abū Ṭalib Kalīm and Ḥājī Muḥammad Ḥājī Muhammad Jān i Qudsī weighed

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 


against silver in 1042 A.H., 1044 A.H. and 1045 A.H. respectively.

Dārā-Shukoh was a brilliant scholar. He excelled both as a mystic and as a writer. He was well-versed in Hindu philosophy and religion, and had good command on Sanskrit. He translated the most renowned book Upanishad into Persian which has now been published in Iran jointly by Dr. Tara Chand and Jalāl Nāyīnī. His two mystical treatises Safīnat al-auliya' and bear eloquent testimony to his achievements in mystical writings. He is stated to have been a poet of Persian, and was supposed to have left a Diwan but which no longer exists. Some of his verses are as under:

خواهی که شود داخل ارباب نظر * ازمال بحال باید قدر
از گنج توحید موحد تشوي * شهین نشور دهان زنام شکراً
از مرگ نباید اهل دل را آزار * وزخواب نرسد جوشودل بی‌دادار
گرچه نوجسم را بیند اخت چه باکه * جوی کهنه شود، پوست بیند از راز مار

Aurangzêb's period is often described as a barren period so far as the development of poetry and fine arts is concerned. He is stated to have abolished the office of poet-laureateship. He was, no doubt, not interested in poetry. But in the presence

1. Mughal Poetry: Its Cultural and Historical Value, by Professor Hādi Ḥasan, p. 78.
2. Ibid., p. 78.
of the host of poets who flourished during this period, the adverse criticism would not perfectly hold good. Though uninterested in poetry he was a recognised master of prose and his letters are rightly reckoned as model of epistolary writings.

During the Mughal period not only kings and princes but their nobles also were great patrons of art and literature. Among the great nobles Bairam Khan Khan i Khanān, 'Abd al-Rahim Khan i Khanān, Hakim Abū 'l-Fath Gīlānī, Khan i A'zam and Zafar Khan deserve special mention.

According to Shibli "rightful guidance and patronage of poetry began with Bairam Khan Khan i Khanān. He himself was a well-versed poet and used to compose verses both in Persian and Turkish." His Diwan of Persian and Turkish verses is preserved in the Rida Library Rampur. "Many poets were in his service. At his instance Naẓīrī Samargandi had begun writing Shah-nāma of Humayūn and he versified several stories. When he recited his verses on the battle with Sikandar Lodi, Bairam Khan Khan i Khanān criticised it and suggested certain corrections. Under his guidance Naẓīrī was able to compose 400 couplets in one night. In return he got munificent rewards and encouragement."

His son 'Abd al-Rahim Khan i Khanān is more renowned for his poetical genius, generosity and patronage of art. He translated Tuzak i Ḥabūrī into Persian.

According to Shibli Ḥākim Abu 'l-Fath Gīlānī and 'Abd al-Rahim Khan i Khanān had established an academy of scholars and poets and he used to hold assemblies of artists and litterateurs. Mir 'Abd al-Raqī says that during those days most of the poets specially Thanā'ī, Mālī, 'Urfī, Ḥayātī, Qarārī and others had received encouragement and patronage in the beginning mainly from Ḥākim Abu 'l-Fath Gīlānī. It was the result of Ḥākim's instructions and encouragement that these poets mastered the art of poetry and excelled in lyric-writing and were able to introduce various novelties in versification, which are the special characteristics of the poets of this period. The Ḥākim was a good prose writer and had left some prose works.

Besides them, there were many other nobles who used to encourage and patronise Persian poets and were poets themselves.

The Mughal Emperors and their nobles were not only critics of a high order but were also generous patrons of Persian poetry. "The evidence of the royal donors and their contemporary annalists

1. Infrap. 70–75.
all goes to show that Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and Shâh Jahan were extremely liberal in their patronage of poetry. Some poets became commanders of 5000, like Ghaznavi d. 983 A.H., Zayn Khan d. 1010, Ja'far d. 1021, and Ulfati d. 1022; others received jagirs like Ghazâlî d. 980, Faydî d. 1004 and Hayâtî died after 1024; others again received cash grants for isolated odes. For example, Akbar paid Rs. 2,000 to Haydari, d. 1002; Rs. 5,000 to Kâhî d. 988 and Rs. 10,000 to Marwî d. c. 979. Jahangir paid Rs. 1,000 to Nazîrî d. 1022, and Rs. 5,000 to Sa'idâ-i-Gâlanî in 1027. Shâh Jahan gave Rs. 5,000 to Sa'idâ in 1042, Rs. 2,000 to Danish in 1066, and to the poet Qudsi d. 1056 he gave Rs. 2,000 in 1042, Rs. 5,500 in 1045, 100 gold mohurs in 1049, and Rs. 2,000 in 1054. Similarly the poet Kalîm received from Shâh Jahan Rs. 5,500 in 1044, Rs. 1,000 in 1049 and 200 gold mohurs and again 200 gold mohurs in 1055."

This extraordinary benevolent patronage of Persian poets at the hands of the Mughal Emperors and their nobles was well-known in every corner of India and Iran and was drawing to India from Iran an unending chain of poets and according to Shiblî it had turned Iran and India into two courtyards of the same house and according to a Persian poet, Delhi and Agra had become Rai and Isfâhan of India.

There was a host of Persian poets at the courts of Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah-Jahān of whom the most notable were Faidī, 'Urfī and Naqīrī. 'Urfī made himself so conspicuous as an ode-writer, while Naqīrī made his mark as a master of lyric and Faidī distinguished himself as a writer of māthnawī during the Mughal period.

As the Mughal Emperors were themselves men of letters and great critics, the poets always tried their best to improve the art of poetry and bring about best possible results. They were stimulated by the desire to secure the good will and favour of the king and, therefore, every poet wished to excel the other and this naturally resulted in the better output of their compositions and everyone of them was able to introduce a certain novel aspect in one way or the other in his verses.

The improvement in Persian poetry brought about during the Mughal period was not due to the fact that a handsome monetary emolument could be secured through poetry. But the main cause was that these kings themselves were men of letters and masters of the art of poetry and could distinguish right from the wrong and often criticised the poets and appreciated only the right thing and therefore their courts had become centres of training the poets in the art of versification.
In that period a great cause of improvement of poetry was the introduction of the Mushā'rah poetry assemblies. The poets were inspired to compete with one another which resulted in the production of best pieces of poetry. Before this the poets confined themselves to writing lyrics on the lines of the lyrics of the ancient masters.

Although this period is rich in ode, lyric, quatrains and mathnawi, yet it is particularly noted for the development and increasing popularity of lyric. The following different sabkī (styles) came into existence.

1. Expression of real feelings in love (واردات عشق). In fact founder of this sabkī was Sa'dī and Amīr Khusrau developed it greatly. But in the Mughal period it became a permanent and popular feature of lyric. Ashraf of Jahān Qazwīnī was the chief exponent of this style.

2. Philosophical ideas in the lyric. 'Urfī particularly expressed philosophical ideas in the lyric. But this style did not find favour with his contemporaries and also later poets.

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3. Ibid., p. 20.
4. Ibid., p. 21.
3. *Mithāli* that is to make a certain assertion and support it by poetical reasonings. Although examples of it are found in the previous periods, yet it gained great popularity in the Mughal period. Kalīm, 'Alī Qulī Salīm and Ṣā'īb were chiefly fond of it.

4. Expression of delicate and refined feelings of love in lyrics. Although this quality is an essential feature of lyric, yet its use is frequent in the poetry of Naṣīrī. Nishāpūrī, Hākim Shīfā'ī and 'Alī Naqī.

5. Creative Genius (*pa'īsn āfīn*).

This quality is to be found in all the later poets but its chief exponent is Jalāl Asīr. Shaukat Būkhārī and others developed it to a great extent. Among Indian poets Bidil and Naṣīr 'Alī deserve special mention.

6. Ode.

'Urfī introduced a new style in ode which could not be followed by others. Zhūrī, Ṭalīb i Āmulī and Ḥusain Thānā'ī were also great ode writers.

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2. Ibid., p. 21.
3. Ibid., p. 21.
4. Ibid., pp. 21-22.
7. Mathnawi. The standard of mathnawi deteriorated in this period. Faidī and Nau'ī were exceptions to it. But the later poets mostly indulged in flowery language in their mathnawis. A perusal of Shāh-Jahān-nāmah by Sālim reveals that his description of battle दबाला (दब) bears the taste of a sweet song in a jolly assembly, and thus defeats its own purpose.

8. Quatrain. This period can be proud of the fact that quatrain henceforth became a vehicle for philosophical ideas. Sāhibī Astrābādī, a contemporary of Akbar, living in seclusion at Najaf had composed seventy thousand quatrains replete with philosophy.

9. Cosmopolitan ideas have so often been expressed by poets of this period. 'Urfī writes:

\[
\text{جحان بانیک} \\
\text{وید عری بصرف کر پردن} \\
\text{مسلمائے برزم شوید} \\
\text{و نسوزد}
\]

Naẓīrī says:

\[
\text{گرگمی روی خوش در آتیه دیده} \\
\text{توحید شیخ وشرکت برهمن بجاشاس}
\]

10. The poets of the Mughal period so often write disparagingly about dogmatism and formalism in religion. 'Urfī writes:

2. Ibid., p. 22.
Manohar writes:

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11. Description of patriotic sentiments. Mushfiqi writes:

Qasim Arsalan writes about the fort of Ajmere

There is a pun on the word 'hazar' which means 'a nightingale' and also 'a commander of 1000'.

12. The poets of this period were fond of puns and play on words. Ijilab i Imuli says:

There is a pun on the word 'hazar' which means 'a nightingale' and also 'a commander of 1000'.

Hakim 'Aynu'l-Mulk Dawa'i Shirazi writes:

In this verse there is a pun on the word 'Mardum' which means 'a gentleman' and also 'a pupil of the eye'.

13. One of the most important peculiarities of the time was the use of delicate metaphors and creation of new type of similes.

2. Ibid., p. 313
3. Mughal Poetry: Its Cultural and Historical Value, by Professor Hadfi Hasan p.720
'Urfī writes:

14. Novelty of constructions is also a notable characteristic of Persian poetry of this period. Urfī writes:

مریسی کن تو که فرزند مسیح است و مسیح
حماسی کن تو که اقبال گذاشت و گدا
مربحا ای زعناهای از رنگ خوش
محبا ای به علامات هنر خوش
گل اندیشه‌ه‌م، سحر، غلفت، مجزه رنگ
بلبل نقطه‌من اهلاء، غلفت و حی از کدام

15. Biting satires also gained an upper hand. An unknown poet writes about the physician Jalāl:

ملکه الیوت از جلال طبیب، شکوه برکه بیش خدا
بنده عاجز شدم بست طبیب، میهم من یکی و از صد نا

2. Ibid., p. 106.
Shayda writes about Tālib i Ḩumūlī:

16. Force of Diction. *Fāḍī* writes:

\[ \text{شاعنْشُها} \times \text{خِرْدَ بَيْنَاهَا} \times \text{دِربًا كُرَا}! \text{فَّلَكَ شُكْوَهَا}! \]
\[ \text{بَنَيَ بَيْنَ جَهَانِ بَيْنِي بَيْوَسَت} \times \text{دُورَ تُوشَارَبَ} \times \text{وَ أَسْمَانَ مُسْتَ} \]
\[ \text{ابُرْزَ بَاِنٍْ نَوَائِ جَوْنَ شَهَد} \times \text{مِنَ بَارِدَمُ تُوْخَسُرَ} \times \text{وَعِيدُ} \]

*Urfī* says:

\[ \text{آَهِنِينَ بِنْحَرَ تَينَشَ بَاجِلَ گَتَ كَم} \times \text{مِنَ مُجَّرُ بِمُجَّرِ شَكْسَمُ جَوَبُمُ بُعَمَانَ رَفَّنَم} \]
\[ \text{جَوْنَ آَهِنَّ بِجَمِينَ بَهْرَ تَنْشَمَيْ جَمَالُ} \]
\[ \text{بَلْبِلَ آَهِنَّ بِبَلْبِلَ بَنْنَائِ غَزْلٌ} \]

17. Composing verses extempore had also become very popular. When an ambassador from Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, recited the following verses in the court of Akbar:

2. Ibid., p. 25.
Faidī composed the following verses at the spur of the moment.

Innumerable Hindī words and phrases have been employed by Persian poets of the Mughal period. Some examples are as under: By Talib i Amuli:

\[
\text{تَشْمُ شمْن مَنْكِر صِحبَة وَليْكَ مِثْقُول} \quad \text{كُرْ رَامُ رَمْضَانُ دَكْرُ دَارٌ}
\]

By Abu Talib Kalīm:

\[
\text{فُتَادِه دِرِبُ كَانُ يَكُ مِهْاجِن} \quad \text{هَمَّ سِرَابُهُ دِرِبُ وَ مَهْدِنُ}
\]

\[
\text{كُم جَزَخُون خَوْرَذُن اَنْرِيَ نَيْسَت حَلْسَل} \quad \text{مِنِهِ بِعَدْهُ تَنْبُولَانَ دَل} \quad \text{جَوْرُ حَسْنُ بِجَهَلُ بَضَائِنِ}
\]

In the above verses Hindī words have been underlined.

During this period, the poets in some cases were not very particular about using the word in their original

1. *A History of the Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, p. 65
2. Ibid., p. 65
4. Ibid., p. 8.
5. Ibid., p. 8.
6. Ibid., p. 9.
meaning. We come across a number of words which are either new or used in a new sense for example جاگیر و غیره و شکل etc. etc.

Subtlety and hair-splitting, Khan Zamān writes:

Some verses of other poets are as follows:

The poetry of the Mughal period is undoubtedly of great historical value. Firstly it reflects the contemporary social, political, spiritual and moral trends of the period. "The buildings of Fatehpur Sīkri," says Dr. Tara Chand in his "Influence of Islam on Indian Culture," "are the expression of the same spirit as inspired the Din-i-Allāhī. The Panch Mahāl was the translation into stone of the Allah Upaniṣad." The same holds good about the poetry produced during the reign of Akbar and other Mughal Emperors. Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Niẓāmi correctly remarks: "To understand the mental climate in which

2. Mughal Poetry: Its Cultural and Historical Value, by Professor Ḥādi Ḥasan, p. 11.
3. p. 248.
the Ḍin-i-LLahī was promulgated, it is necessary to scrutinize the poetical works of this period."

Secondly, it was so common with the poets of the Mughal period to write chronogrammatic verses in large numbers. Such verses provide us with the chronology of many events of historical importance—births, deaths, compilations, constructions, campaigns, battles and conquests. That the Mughal poets excelled their predecessors in this art is evident from the following remark of Professor Ḥādī Ḥasan: "Chronograms usually give the year; but it was reserved for Mughal poets to compose chronograms which give the day, the month and the year, without giving the year—for the day and the month give the year. It was also reserved for Mughal poets to give the year by giving the year, i.e., the numerical value of the letters of the year also gives the year." Some examples are quoted below:

(1) Emperor Bābur was born on the sixth of Muḥarram in 888 A.H.

الجَمُونُ دِرَ رَضِيّ مَحْمُومُ "زَادَ أَنْ شَهِّ مَكْرُ" تَارِيخُ مَولِدِهِ هَمْ آَبُ "شَهِّ مَحْمُوم".

3. Ibid., p. 21.
The above chronogram "شُهُدَم" (sixth of Muḥarram) gives the year as well as the date and month of the Emperor's birth for the numerical value of "شُهُدَم" is 888.

(2) **Ghazālī**, the first poet-laureate of Akbar, died in the year 980 A.H. The following chronogram by Faidī gives the year of Ghazālī's death in figures and words.

\[ \text{عقل تاريخ وفاتها بدر طير} * \text{سننئه صد و هشتاد} * \text{نوشت} \]

(3) The conquest of Champanîr by Emperor Humâyûn in 940 A.H.

\[ \text{تاريخ ظفر يانين شاه همايون} \]

(\( \sqrt{11} \)) (ninth of the month of Safar) gives the year as well as the date and month of the conquest.

Thirdly, poetical compositions of the period throw a good deal of light on some important dignitaries and help us in solving the historical controversies. For example, the information about the attitude of Bairam Khān Kāhan i Khānān towards Akbar contained in historical works of the period only represents the point of view of the Emperor. But Bairam Khān's own verses give us information about his real feelings towards the Emperor as is evident from the following:

\[ \text{1. Mughal Poetry : Its Cultural and Historical Value, by Professor Hadi Ḥasan, p. 22.} \]
\[ \text{2. Ibid., p. 21.} \]
These chief features of the Mughal poetry became so conspicuous that the period was styled by the Persians as the period of "Sabk i Hindi" (سبک هندي). This style, however, does not find favour with them. But it is popular in Afghanistan and Transoxiania. In both of these places the most significant representatives of this style viz., Hādīl and Ghālib are very popular. Mr. 'Abd al-Ghani Mirzae of Tashkent speaks very highly of this particular style. It is really an important question as to why there is such a great difference in the Afghan and Transoxian and even Turkish taste on the one hand and the Persians on the other, about the Indian style. India seems to have been more influenced by the Afghan and Transoxian civilization than by the Persian. This is well proved by a large number of words still used in the same sense in Urdu as used in Afghanistan and Transoxian, while the Persians have left them long ago.

Similarly the retention of "Aaiy Māhot, and Gōn Ghīn" speaks about Indian affinity to Afghan and Transoxian accent.

The Mughal poets have exercised great influence not only on the poets of their own land but also on poets of Turkey. This is well borne out by the following observations:

"After Jāmī, 'Urfī and Faizī were the chief Persian influences on Turkish poetry until they were superseded by Saʿīb; the novelty in this style lay, apart from the introduction of a number of fresh terms into conventional vocabulary of poetry, in the deposition of rhetoric from the chief seat and the enthronement of loftiness of tone and stateliness of language in its stead."

Diyā Pāshā, a Turkish critic, observes:

"Faydī and 'Urfī run neck and neck; they are the leaders of the later time.

In Faydī is eloquence and freshness; in 'Urfī, sweetness and fluency.

In Faydī are fiery exhortations, while 'Urfī is strong in elegies."

Despite the popularity of the poets of the period in India and Turkey they were not liked by the Persians. This is proved by the following:

Rida Quli Khan in Majma' al-fusha remarks about 'Urfi:

"Deewan Urifi kher bazar risdhe - siah aamardar bapsidhe. Aham ibn
ubd nisst." 1

And again he says about Shaib

"Ba aakh sad hazar deewan dard dr dro ghrw shauri dro ghrib
dashte kom akhrn bapsidhe nisst." 2

Professor Hadii Hasan has attempted to account for the dislike of the poetry of this period by the Iranians in this way: ".....the disparagement of national heroes and monuments, the use of unfamiliar words, the distortion of the meaning of familiar words, the coinage of new words, and above all, the hair — splitting subtlety of the Indian mind which makes the sweetheart's mouth the end of a hair and then literally splits the hair (Sahmi in Badai'uni's Muntakhabut-Tawarikh, text, Vol. III, p. 243):

"Her mouth is like the end of the hair in its delicate proportions, but see; how the sword of her tongue in speech splits the hair!"

Dehan osrmo bhod aznarki btkr. Kohen bign ziyash mi shkanid drschnw orara

— these have been the factors responsible for Persian apathy or antipathy to Mughal poetry. But there are few emeralds without a flaw; and even flawless emeralds were produced by Mughal India. 3

2. Ibid., p. 24.
Chapter III

Life of Nau'i
CHAPTER III

LIFE OF NAU'I

PROPER NAME AND TAKHALLUS (PEN-NAME)

Most of the contemporary biographers of Nau'i Khabûshânî have cited his accounts without mentioning his proper name. Even Mîr 'Abd al-Baqî Nihâwándî whose Ma'âthir i Rahîmi is one of the chief sources of our information about the life of the poet, does not disclose his proper name. Among the contemporary biographers only Taqî Auhadî, the author of 'Arafât al-'ashiqín and 'Abd al-Nabi Qâzîmî, the author of Mai-khânâh, reveal that the proper name of the poets was Muhammad Ridâ. The author of the Guldastah, which is an abridgement of the 'Arafât and the authors of Riyâd al-Shu'â'arâ and the Khulâsat al-afkâr, state Muhammad Ridâ as the name of the poet. This latter reading of the name of the poet appears to be the result of a change of the letter َ into a ya. Other contemporary biographers have ignored mentioning

2. Bankîpur, MS. f. 780.
7. Amîn i Ahmad Râzî, the author of Haft iqâlim; 'Abd al-Qâdir Badû'ânî, the author of Muqtâkhab al-tawârîkh; Abû'l-Fadîl, the author of A'în i Akbarî; Mîr 'Abd al-Baqî, the author of Ma'âthir i Rahîmi; Mirza Muhammad Sâdîq, the author of Subh i šâdîq.

According to some of the biographers, there was a poet, contemporary to Nau'i Khabûshânî, in Isfahân who assumed the pen-name of Nau'i. Sham'lanjuman (p. 453) states that Nau'i Isfahânî came to India in Akbar's time.
the name of Nau'î in their accounts of the poet. They have cited his accounts either under the heading Nau'î or Nau'î Khabûshânî or Nau'î Mashâdî or Nau'î Khurâsânî. Amongst the latter biographers only the authors of Tâdîlpate-i Khwûshgû, Târijî Muḥammedî, Makhzân al-gharâ'îb, Nishtarî 'Ishq and Rûzî raushân give out Muḥammad Rîgâ as the proper name of the poet.

It will not be out of place to point out here that Sir Gore Ouseley, the author of "Biographical Notices of Persian Poets" and the cataloguers of British Museum, India Office,

1. Amin i Ahmad Râzi; 'Abd al-Qâdir Badâ'ûnî.
3. Abû'l-Faḍl.
5. 'Alîgarh MS. ff., 136b-138a.
9. p. 713.
Bankipur and Asiatic Society libraries also agree with the above named biographers that the proper name of Nau'i Khabushani was Muhammad Rida.

His Takhallus

Nau'i seems to have kept two pen-names. For some time he wrote under the pen-name of Safai and afterwards when he came to India he changed it into Nau'i.

In his account of Nau'i 'Abd al-Nabi writes in his Mai-khanah:

"محمد رضا ۰۰۰ بهرائية آن خان جم نشان (مرزا يوسف خان مشهور) با درالشی کشیرو رفت؟ از فیض آب و هوای آن گلشین هیبه بهارپیتیت او زنگ و بروی دیگر بهم رسانید چنانکه اشعار اولدزیدر وسخنان اومتل طبع صغير وکیپرند وتخلفی خود آنها نوش قرار داد..."

From the above statement of 'Abd al-Nabi it becomes clear that Muhammad Rida adopted the pen-name of Nau'i while he was in Kashmir with Mirza Yusuf Khan Mashhad and that perhaps before visiting Kashmir he wrote under a different pen-name.

As will be seen in the following pages the said biographer has given detailed information about the life of the poet which in most cases is a dependable statement. He has given several new facts about the life of the poet not found elsewhere. Some of these facts are corroborated by the poet's own writings.

The following statement of Taqī Aḥadī in 'Arafāt makes out that Nau'ī originally wrote under the pen-name of Ṣafā'ī:

"حمد رضا صفاتي نومي خوشانى"

It may, however, be pointed out that the author of the Guldastah has deleted the word Ṣafā'ī from his statement which is somehow based on the 'Arafāt's abridgement Ka'bah i 'irfān.

Taqī Aḥadī is one of the contemporary biographers. Naturally his statement has force. Further none of the contemporary and later authorities has contradicted him.

All the contemporary and later biographers and historians who have dealt with the life of Muhammad Rida have given Nau'ī as his takhallus. They have not mentioned his earlier pen-name apparently because the present one was so famous that it was not felt necessary to give the earlier one.

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The above discussion reveals that Muhammad Rida wrote under the pen-name of Safai before going to Kashmir and that he changed his takhallus into Nau'i in Kashmir while in the company of Mirza Yusuf Khan and that he was famous only by this takhallus.

BIRTHPLACE AND NATIVE LAND

The following facts deserve due consideration in connection with the birthplace and native land of Nau'i.

(1) The author of Mai-khanah observes:

Mula Nour Koshan...Mold Koshan ast

Mai-khanah, a reliable source of our information, is the only authority which uses the word "Murd" (birthplace) in respect of Khabushan, thereby clearly indicating that he was born in Khabushan.

(2) The author of Ma'athir i Rahimi citing the account of Nau'i remarks:

Mula Nouri, Az Tasheh Koshan Torab Moshad Mads ast

In another manuscript of this work the following statement is found:

From this reliable authority that Nau'i belonged to Khabūshan which is a dependency of Mashhad in Khurasan.

Khwush-gāl completely agrees with Ṣārī 'Abd al-Baqī regarding this point.

Khwāṣat al-afkār remarks that Nau'i was one of the eminent scholars and poets of Khabūshan.

The Tarikh i Muḥammadī and Makhzan al-gharaib clearly state that Nau'i's native land was Khabūshan.

Several contemporary and later biographers have mentioned Nau'i either under the appellative Khabūshānī, Mashhādī or Khurasānī. None of these statements contradicts each other

2. Bāṅkīpur, MS. f. 204b.
because Khabūshān is a dependency of Mashhad in Khurāsān. *Haft iqālīm* cites the account of Ḥājī Muḥammad Khabūshānī and Nauʿī under Khabūshān thereby indicating that they belonged to Khabūshān.

As Nauʿī was a grandson or a great-grandson of the said Ḥājī Muḥammad Khabūshānī, it may be concluded that Khabūshān was not only the native land of Nauʿī but also that of his grandfather or great grandfather.

From this we see that Khabūshān which is a dependency of Mashhad in Khurāsān was not only Nauʿī's birthplace but also his ancestral home.

**BIRTH AND DEATH**

None of the biographers of Nauʿī has given the year of his birth. His own diwan is also silent on this point. Therefore, it has to be deduced from the year of his death and his actual age at the time of his death.

The *Maʿathīr i Rahīmī* which is one of the contemporary and authentic sources of our information about the life and history of the poet gives the year of Nauʿī's death as 1019 A.H. but omits to mention the age of the poet at the time of death in the following statement:

*Allīgarh MS. f. 267a.*
"Nau'î died in 1019 A. H. in Burhanpur and was buried there."

According to 'Abd al-Nabî's following statement:

"Nau'î died in 1018 A. H. at the age of forty-nine. He is the single authority who has mentioned the age of the poet at the time of his death."

Taqi Auḥādī in his 'Arafāt

वॉनत्ति दुरेिहनहुर अस्ट दर्सने तेम उश्रो बफ़ पिनाहुे उँशर तमः

Nau'î died in 1019 A. H. at the age of forty-nine. He is the single authority who has mentioned the age of the poet at the time of his death.

Mîrza Muhammad Šādiq writing in his Subh i Sādiq observes that Nau'î died in 1019 A.H.

1. The printed copy of Ma'athir does not give the year of Nau'î's death. Khwush-gû in his Safinah has given a quotation from some copy of Ma'athir whereof only the relevant portion is quoted above. The above quotation has been obtained from the supplement to the notes of the printed copy of Mai-khānah (Lāhaur Edition, supplement to the notes p. 105).
5. 'Alīgah MS. f. 500b.
Most of the later biographers who have given the year of Nau'i's death agree that the poet died in 1019 A.H.

The Tarih i Muhammad and the Nishtar i 'ishq contain chronograms on the year of Nau'i's death. The former gives which yields the year 1019 A.H. The later contains the following chronogrammatic verse whereof each hemistich gives the year 1019 A.H.

The cataloguers of British Museum, India Office, Bankipur, and Asiatic Society libraries and Ouseley, 1


2. Rampur MS. p. 559.


the author of "Biographical Notices of Persian Poets" unanimously declare that Nau'i died in 1019 A.H.

Sarkhwush points out that Nau'i died in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign.

In a biography of poets entitled Tadhkirah i shu'arā, the year of composition and the author of which are not known and which is available in the Rampūr Library as 1024 A.H. as the date of Nau'i's death.

Of the above mentioned three different years of the poet's death, the last one, that is, 1024 A.H., cannot be accepted because it is found in an unimportant biography the authenticity of which is doubtful. Moreover, the poet was dead when Taqī Aḥādī wrote his Tadhkirah between 1022/and 1024. As for the other two dates namely, 1018 A.H. and 1019 A.H. the latter is more acceptable for the following reasons:

As almost all the authentic biographers with the single exception of 'Abd al-Nabi, clearly fix the year of his death , which is supported by two or three chronograms and which in its turn has been accepted by the Modern European as

1. Bankipur MS. f. 111b.
2. Supra p. 46
well as Indian scholars, it is fair to accept 1019 A.H. as the year of the poet's death. According to 'Abd al-Nabi his age at the time of his death in 1018 A.H. was forty-nine years, and if he died in 1019 A.H. then his age would be extended by one year. Thus the probable date of his birth would be 969 A.H.

As no one has contradicted the view of 'Abd al-Nabi who says that the poet died at the age of forty-nine, may also be accepted that Nau'i died at the age of forty-nine years and in this case his date of birth would be 970 A.H.

**PLACE OF NAU'İ'S DEATH.**

Among the contemporary biographers 'Abd al-Baqi, 'Abd al-Nabi and Taqi Auhadi unanimously state that Nau'i died at Burhanpur. This is also confirmed by those later biographers.  

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1. Ouseley and cataloguers of India Office, Bankipur and Royal Asiatic Society Libraries etc.  
6. 'Arafat, Bankīpur MS., f. 780a.  
7. "Burhanpur was situated in the province of Khandesh (or Dandesh as it was christened by Akbar), on the Tapti, 21° 18' 36" N. Long, 76° 16' 26" E." (History of Jahangir by Dr. Beni Prasad, foot note 11, p. 260).  
8. The authors of Ṭiyād al-shu'arā', Khulāsāt al-ṣafārīr, Tārij-i-Muhammadī, Makhzan al-ghara'īb, Ništār i 'isha, Hiz-i-raushan etc.
who have mentioned the place of death of the poet.

'Abd al-Baqi informs us that the poet was buried at Burhanpur. None of the biographers has either confirmed or contradicted it. Thus it should be accepted that the poet was buried at Burhanpur.

NAW'I'S ANCESTORS, HIS EARLY EDUCATION AND HIS FIRST TRAVEL TO INDIA.

Only scanty information has come down to us about the ancestors of Nau'î. Bada'uni is the only contemporary writer who informs us that Nau'î claimed descent from Shaikh Hajjî Muhammad Khabûshânî.

According to Amin i Ahmad Razi, Shaikh Hajjî Muhammad Khabûshânî was a saint of khabûshân and was also a poet. He was a disciple of Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadânî in the fourth generation, and had himself thirty-seven Khalîfâs.

The author of Makhzan al-ghara'ib who is among the later biographers also observes that Nau'î was one of the grandsons of Hajjî Muhammad Khabûshânî. The author of Râzi raushân also

1. Supra p.
3. 'Aligarh MS. f. 267a.
shows him to be one of the descendants of the said Hajjā." 1

The word used for showing the relationship of Nau'ī with Hajjā is Nabīrah (Nabīrāh) whereof the plural is Nabīr (Nabīir), meaning son's son or a daughter's son etc. Here it means a son's son because as will be seen later Nau'ī's maternal grandfather was Khwājah Abu'l-Qasim Sairī. 2

About the early life of Nau'ī almost all the writers are silent. There are, however, two biographers who supply some facts about this period of his life. The first is 'Abd al-Baqī 1 and the second 'Abd al-Nabi who state respectively as follows:

1. Habībganj MS. f. 463b.
2. Burhān i Qaṣī Vol. IV, p. 2117.
3. The word may also be transliterated as Serī or sīrī.
These statements are fundamentally different from each other. According to the first, Nau'i’s father (no name mentioned) went over to Kashan and engaged himself in business.

and had a respectable place amongst the business community of that city. Nau'i busied himself in studies, specially the art of poetry and in this art he took lessons from Muhtarasham Kashfi. Nau'i seemed to be a promising youth, and in a short time he became well-versed in poetry and prosody. After some time both the father and the son left Kashan for his native land, Khurasan.

But 'Abd al-Nabi gives quite a different statement. According to him, his father was Shaikh Mahmud whose one relative, Khwaja Abu'l-Qasim Sairi was a well-to-do person in Gujarat. Compelled by circumstances Mahmud went over to Gujarat and Khwaja was kind enough to help him financially. Then he along with his son Nau'i who was quite young in age—probably a child managed to return to his native country and preferred to settle down at Mashhad. There the father devoted himself to religious life and became a true devotee of God. There he died and left Nau'i to mourn him "in this wide world." It was at this stage of his life that Nau'i began to compose poetry.

As we have no other source to check as to which of the above two statements is correct, it is difficult to say anything definite on this point. One point is, however, worth noticing. According to the following verse:

همان که بودم بدء سالگی * همان پاس بامن بدلالگی

1. India Office MS. f. 108a.
available in his Sāqī-nāmah, he was involved in some difficulties. But the nature of his hardship is not known. It might be some financial difficulties or he might have lost some of his dear ones.

Regarding Nau'ī's travel in Iran this thing must be borne in mind that the Bankipur cataloguer and Sir Gore Ouseley, the author of "Biographical Notices of Persian Poets" have supplied some new information not supported by any authorities known to me. They mean to say that while returning from Kāshān, Nau'ī stayed in Nīshāpūr and Abīward. Thereafter he went over to Marw and lived with Nūr Muhammad Khān, the governor of the place, and when 'Abd Allāh Khān, the ruler of Tūrān, invaded Marw and defeated Nūr Muhammad Khān, Nau'ī left Iran for India. This statement is not free

3. As will be seen shortly (p. 59) it was not 'Abd Allāh Khān but his son 'Abd al-Momin Khān who invaded Marw at this time and put Nūr Muhammad Khān to flight. (Tarikh i 'Alam-Ārāy, i'Abbāsi, Vol. I, p. 464 and 549).
4. Muhammad Shafi' in his notes to Maj-khānah (p. 201) incorrectly asserts that this information is given by Taqī Auḥadī. Refer to the material collected from 'Arafāt, supra. p. 2.
It has been confirmed by the author of *Ma'athir i Rahimi* thus:

> " revels (نوعی) نیز بافنیق مبرحسین کنری بعمر بندگی ابن
> دروی سلطنت و اقبال (عبد الرحمان خان خانان) بهند وستان آبدند."

About the arrival of Nau'i we are confronted with some difficulties for none of the biographers has explicitly given any date to that effect. From the statement of 'Abd al-Nabi, however, this point emerges that Nau'i came to Lahaur and was favourably received by Mīrza Yusuf Khān Mashhadi who subsequently took him to Kashmir where the poet prospered much. From *Akbar-nāmah* it is evident that Mīrza Yusuf Khān who was appointed governor of Kashmir in 995 A.H. was summoned to Lahaur on the 10th of Farwardin/24th Jumādī I, 998 A.H. and stayed there for about five months and twelve days, then on the twenty-third Shahrīwar/Dhū' al-Qa'dah 998 A.H. left for Kashmir. Again he came to Lahaur from Kashmir on the twenty-third Shahrīwar/Muḥarram 1002 A.H. and stayed here for one month and twenty-seven days when he left for Kashmir on twentieth Abān/Rabī I 1002 A.H.

5. Ibid., p. 576.
6. Ibid., p. 581.
7. Ibid., p. 644.
8. Ibid., p. 647.
from defects about which I shall speak very shortly.

After acquiring his early education in his town, Nau'i left for India.

**NAU'I'S ARRIVAL AND STAY IN INDIA.**

The liberal patronage of Persian poets and men of letters by Emperor Akbar and his nobles chiefly 'Abd al-Rahim Khan i Khanan had become proverbial in the last quarter of the tenth century and the first quarter of the eleventh century A.H. and consequently a host of Persian poets from Iran migrated to India to secure their liberal patronage. The following statement from the *Mai-khanah* explicitly shows the extent to which Persian poets and scholars were attached to India.

"... \text{...}" \\
\text{Nau'i also came to India chiefly to avail himself of the patronage of 'Abd al-Rahim Khan i Khanan. The following verse of the poet in which he addressed to Khan i Khanan in his \text{Saqi-namah} bears testimony to this fact:}

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It has been confirmed by the author of *Ma'athir i Rahimi* thus:

> "... (نوعى) نیز بانتظار مبرحسین کرده ... مرز بندگی این دو حکم سلطنت واقبال (عبد الرحمان خان خانان) بهندروستان آمدن." 

About the arrival of Nau'i we are confronted with some difficulties for none of the biographers has explicitly given any date to that effect. From the statement of 'Abd al-Nabi, however, this point emerges that Nau'i came to Lāhaur and was favourably received by Mīrzā Yusuf Khān Mashhadi who subsequently took him to Kashmir where the poet prospered much. From *Akbar-nāmah* it is evident that Mīrzā Yusuf Khān who was appointed governor of Kashmir in 995 A.H. was summoned to Lāhaur on the 10th of Farwardin/24th Jumādī 1, 998 A.H. and stayed there for about five months and twelve days, then on the twenty-third Shahriwar/Qa'dah 998 A.H. left for Kashmir. Again he came to Lāhaur from Kashmir on the twenty-third Shahriwar/Muḥarram 1002 A.H. and stayed here for one month and twenty-seven days when he left for Kashmir on twentieth Abān/Rabī I 1002 A.H.

5. Ibid., p. 576.
6. Ibid., p. 581.
7. Ibid., p. 644.
8. Ibid., p. 647.
But very shortly his post was changed and he was appointed governor of Jaunpur and consequently left Kashmir Jumādī I, 1002 A.H. and reached Lāhaur on 22nd Safar / 19th Jumādī I, 1002 A.H.1

From these details one may be forced to conclude that most probably Nau'ī might have contacted Mīrzā Yusuf Khān in the latter's first travel in 998 A.H. to Lāhaur. The reasons for such conclusion may be as follows:

1. Mīrzā Yusuf stayed in Lāhaur for a comparatively longer period of time than on the second occasion for we have been informed that Nau'ī had sufficient time to meet the Khān then at Lāhaur and to be in his company.

2. From Lāhaur Nau'ī is stated to have gone to Kashmir where he had been in the service of the Khān for a long time. There he impressed his patron not only by his accomplishments in poetry and literature but by his skill in archery and horsemanship.2 This is possible only after 998 A.H. and not after 1002 A.H. for very shortly after the latter date the Khān himself had to relinquish his post in Kashmir. Besides, Mīrzā Yusuf Khān made his second journey to Lāhaur when he had been in trouble for some time.3

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3. Ibid., p. 200.
Under such circumstances we may reasonably suppose that Nau'i was in Lāhaur in 998 A.H. and hence his arrival must have taken place not later than the fifth month of that year and he must have left his country about the close of the preceding year, that is, 997 A.H.

It is interesting to note that according to the cataloguer of Bankīpur, Nau'i lived with Nur Muhammad Khān, the governor of Marw etc. till the latter had to run away and leave Marw on account of the attack on this city by 'Abd Allāh Khān, the ruler of Tūrān and Nau'i consequently had to leave his company and came to India from Khūrāsān.

In the Ẓarīkh i ʿalām-ārāy iʿAbbasī it is given that 'Abd al-Momin Khān (Khān i Khurd) d. 1007 A.H., the heir-apparent of 'Abd Allāh Khān Uzbek (Khān i Kalān) d. 1007 A.H., the ruler of Tūrān, captured Marw in 1002 A.H. and put Nur Muhammad Khān, the ruler of Marw to flight.

From this it may be concluded that Nau'i could have arrived in India only after 1002 A.H.

But this conclusion seems to be erroneous for in that case his contact with Mīrzā Yusuf Khān at Lāhaur prior to his

departure to Kashmir becomes impossible. Another point to be noted is that the author of the Haft-iqlim has referred to Nau'i's arrival in India and getting attached to Prince Daniyal. This could have not been possible if his arrival is postponed till 1002 A.H. for the Tadhkirah itself has been completed in that year. Moreover, it is known that Nau'i had joined the service of Prince Daniyal after Mirza Yusuf Khan which presupposes that probably while leaving for Jaunpur in 1002 A.H., the Khan gave Nau'i to the Prince. But according to 'Abd al-Faqi it was 'Abd al-Rahim Khan i Khanan who introduced the poet to Prince Daniyal.

Imprisonment of Nau'i:

Nau'i had to suffer imprisonment at a time. This fact has been referred to by the poet in his mathnawi which he composed during the period in which he remained behind the bars. This fact has been borne out by the following letter of Nau'i which he wrote some time in his prison to one Ghani Beg Hamadanii:

ملانونی خوشانی بنی بیگه هدایت در وقت که محبوس بود نوشته‌های ماندنارم ارضای حق گله * عار نبود شیر را از سلسله گرامی برادر میادا بمقتضای بشتیت دوسته روزه نجات قید نمادرد

2. *ndp* 133-34.
In one of his odes Nau'i, enlogising the Prince Dāniyāl, refers to his imprisonment by the order of the Prince. But the cause of his interment, and the period thereof as well as the time of his release are not known to us. The relevant verses from the ode are quoted below to illustrate the point:

1. Collection of Letters, MS. No. 64, Aligarh Muslim University, Library Collection, p. 54.
2. I.O. MS. f. 14 l.
3. Ibid., f. 15 l.
The following lines further indicate that the poet composed the ode expressing his gratitude to the Prince who ordered his release. The relevant verses are given below:


Achievements of Nau'ī: Several of the biographers of Nau'ī speak in glowing terms of his achievements. Taqī Auhadī remarks:

According to 'Abd al-Baqī Nau'ī learned prosody from Muhtasham in Kashān and developed love for poetry. The said
biographer again gives the following statement:

According to Khulasat al-afkar Nau'i was one of the scholars and poets of Khabūshan in the Holy Mashhad and after completing his education he came to India

The author of Mishtar i 'ishq observes that Nau'i was a scholar and a man of taste, and was much reputed for his learning and accomplishments:

The author of Mata'ii al-afkar observes:

From the above discussion it comes to light that Nau'i was a learned man and had studied some of the popular sciences of the time — grammar, prosody, literature and traditions.

Nau'i was not only a poet and a learned man but also a bold warrior, fond of swordsmanship as he himself says in his Saqī-nāmah thus:

2. Bānkīpur MS. f. 204b.
The author of Mai-khánah informs us that Nau'í was reputed to be a matchless archer and the most skilful swordsman on the horseback. One day in the presence of Mirzā Yusuf Khān he carried away the target with his arrow five times.

Character of Nau'í:

Mir 'Abd al-Baqī remarks that Nau'í was by nature humorous, light-hearted and of cheerful disposition. 'Abd al-Nabi writes that after the death of his father, Nau'í squandered away his patrimony in a short time in the company of revellers. 'Abd al-Baqī writes that during his sojourn in Lāhaur, Nau'í wasted his time in the company of his associate Mir Husain Kafri in undesirable pursuits and aimless wanderings. Being of the same pursuits both of them used to move in societies and gatherings of all sorts and had earned a bad name for their undesirable activities. The news of their misconduct reached Akbar several times and alienated the sympathies of the Emperor from them.

1. I.O. MS. f. 108b.
Despite his life Nau'i was not quite irreligious. There are so many verses in his Diwan in praise of God which reveal that he had a firm belief in Him and was a God-fearing person. His Diwan contains odes and lyrics in praise of the Prophet of Islam, Hadrat 'Ali, and Imam Rida.¹

**Nau'i's Patrons and Friends:**

Now Nau'i's relations with his patrons are considered in some details:

**Mirza Yusuf Khan Mashhadi:**

Mirza Yusuf Khan son of Mir Ahmad Ridavi who was a Saiyid from Mashhad is the first patron of Nau'i in India. He was one of the great nobles of Emperor Akbar and held the rank of Two Thousand and Five hundred. He served in the different parts of the Empire and held different high posts under Akbar. In 996 A.H. he was appointed governor of Kashmir.² After that he was Dāroghah i Topkānān. In 1002 A.H. he was sent to Jaunpūr as a governor.³ He passed the later part of his

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Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad Akbar was, to all intents and purposes, one of the greatest patrons of the Persian language and culture of the Mughal Period. To quote only a few instances he gave jagirs to Ghazālī and Faidī. Akbar rewarded Qāsim i Kāhī with five thousand rupees for the composition of a poem wherein the word 'īl' (elephant) occurred in every couplet. Khwājah Husain Marwī received from the Emperor ten thousand rupees for the composition of a chronographic ode. The first hemistich of each couplet of this poem gives 963 A.H., the year of Akbar's coronation and the second one gives 977 A.H., the year of Jahāngīr's birth.

The fame of Akbar's liberality towards poets reached far and wide, and poets and scholars from different parts of Iran and India came to his court to partake of his liberality.

According to Ma'āthir i Rahīmī, Nau'ī spent sometime at court of Akbar at Lāhaur. But his carelessness at that time in Lāhaur alienated the sympathies of the Emperors from him.

1. Mughal Poetry: Its Historical and Cultural Value by Professor Dr. Hādi Ḥasan, p. 42.
3. Ibid., pp. 51-55.
life fighting against the Deccan states. In the Deccan he served under Prince Daniyal also with whom Nau'i was living at that time. Mirza Yusuf died in 1010 A.H. at Jalnapur in the Deccan.

As seen earlier Nau'i came to India about 998 A.H. and attached himself to Mirza Yusuf Khan, visited Kashmir in his company and seems to have stayed with him upto 1002 A.H.

'Abd al-Nabi informs us that Nau'i was a matchless archer and once struck the same target five times in the presence of the said noble.

The poet again appears to have seen his former friend and patron Mirza Yusuf Khan in the Deccan when both of them were there under Prince Daniyal.

Curiously enough none of the copies of the Diwan of Nau'i contains even a single verse in praise of the said noble. Probably the verses written in praise of this patron were lost because it is difficult to believe that a poet who had been so intimately attached to a patron, writes nothing in his praise.

2. Ibid., pp. 1006-1007.
3. Supra, pp. 57-60.
Emperor Akbar:

Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad Akbar was, to all intents and purposes, one of the greatest patrons of the Persian language, art, and literature, and culture of the Mughal Period. To quote only a few instances he gave jagirs to Ghazālī and Faidī. Akbar rewarded Qāsim i Kāhī with five thousand rupees for the composition of a poem wherein the word 'īl' (elephant) occurred in every couplet. Khwājah Ḥusain Marwī received from the Emperor ten thousand rupees for the composition of a chronogrammatic ode. The first hemistich of each couplet of this poem gives 963 A.H., the year of Akbar’s coronation and the second one gives 977 A.H., the year of Jahāngīr’s birth.

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1. Mughal Poetry: Its Historical and Cultural Value by Professor Dr. Hādi Hasān, p. 42.
3. Ibid., pp. 51-55.
Prince Dāniyāl passed the last years of his life in fighting against the Deccanis. Akbar also visited the Deccan during that period. It is just possible that Nau'ī who was at that time in the Deccan with Prince Dāniyāl might have again come in contact with Akbar.

Nau’ī should have written a large number of eulogical poems in praise of Akbar but all these poems could not be available to me. Curiously, there is only one ode in praise of the Emperor in the manuscripts available to me. In this poem the poet begs the pardon of the Emperor for some fault of his:

\[\text{ْتِقَصِير من بوجهٍ دربىُ عنويبخشٍ رَا بيرآان براحابٍ}\

It is just possible that this fault might have been the same as referred to above.

In this ode he has justified the sun-worship of Akbar. He has also adopted افتاب (آنتاب) as radif (ردیف) of this poem. He calls the Emperor مرشد زمانه و مقتاد ای وقت و خليفة

\[\text{ْمرشد زمانه و مقتاد ای وقتَ تگرَ هضر آنتاب}\

\[\text{ْشیراب گریه رونق سدسلسل یفتَ زین دوزک خليفة تغل داور آنتاب}\

A perusal of this ode shows that the poet seems to be influenced, to a certain degree, by the sun-worship of the

2. I.O. MS. f. 13b.
3. Ibid., f. 13a and b.
Emperor or at least posed himself to be so in order to secure the favour of the Emperor.

Nau'i has also written some verses in praise of the Emperor in Mathnawi-i sūz w Gudāz.

'Abd al-Baqī informs us that Nau'i after the death of the Prince passed the rest of his life in Burhānpūr completely satisfied with the mansab and stipend which he had received from the king. This proves that the poet had received some mansab and stipend also from Akbar.

Prince Daniyal

Prince Daniyal the youngest son of Emperor Akbar was born at Ajmērin 979 A.H. and died in 1013 A.H. at Burhānpūr. He wrote occasional verses in Persian. Jahāngīr quotes the following verses of the Prince in his memoirs:

بتندگه وشکاری که بتندگه کند میل تمام داشت - یکی از تفکرهای خود را یکه و جنابه نام نشاده بود این بیت را خود گرفته ورود که برآن نقض کند که از شوق شکار تو نتواند* بر هر که خورد نتوانید و چنان* 

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2. Blochmann, English Translation of A'in i Akbarī, p. 322; but the author of Ta'āgāt i Akbarī gives 980 A.H. as the date of birth of this prince.
The court of Prince Dāniyāl was a great rendezvous of Persian poets. Nau'ī and friend Kafri were among his most favourite court poets. Nau'ī remained with him from 1002 A.H. till the Prince's death in 1013 A.H.

Nau'ī wrote four odes in praise of Prince Dāniyāl which are included in the critical edition of his odes. Besides, he composed the Mathnawi i 3ūz w Gudāz at the instance of this patron. In another mathnawi, there are some verses in which the poet blesses the Prince. Nau'ī's elegy which he wrote on the death of the Prince is replete with poignant pathos. It shows his love and sincerity for his beloved patron.

From the following verses occurring in one of Nau'ī's odes in praise of this patron it appears that the pot was blamed for something which according to him was false and baseless.

The following verses reveal the sincerity of Nau'ī towards this patron.

2. Infra, pp. 118-120.
4. Infra, pp. 144-146.
5. I.O. MS. f., 12b.
The Natā'īj al-afkār states that Nau'i led a happy and contented life in the service of Prince Dāniyāl. This fact is amply borne out by the following verse of the poet occurring in one of his odes in praise of the Prince.

The Nāṭā'īj al-afkār states that Nau'i led a happy and contented life in the service of Prince Dāniyāl. This fact is amply borne out by the following verse of the poet occurring in one of his odes in praise of the Prince.

Mirzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān:

Mirzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān, son of Bāiram Khān Khān-i Khānān, was the most liberal patron of Persian poets and scholars in the whole of contemporary world.

Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad showers his encomium on the Khān-i Khānān thus: "......About the intelligence and understanding learning and perfections of this great man, whatever one writes, is but one in a hundred, and a little out of much. His universal kindness and his generosity to the wise and the learned and

1. I.O. MS. f. 18b.
2. Ibid., f. 18b.
3. Ibid., f. 19a.
5. I.O. MS. f. 19a.
his love for the faqirs and his poetical faculty are hereditary traits. At the present time he has no equal among the men of rank in respect of human perfections and greatness.\(^1\)

According to \textit{Ma'thīr al-Ōmarā}, \textit{Khān-i Kānān} was the most distinguished scholar of his time. He was well-versed in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hindi and could speak in most of the languages of the world.

\textit{Dhakhīrat al-khwānīn} speaks of this noble thus:

His prose compositions in Persian occupy a position of distinction because of simplicity, purity, refinement, and spontaneity. His translation of \textit{Tūzuk i Ḗābūrī} from Turkish into Persian is an eloquent proof of his scholarship.

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He was a great poet of Persian and wrote under the pen-name of Rahīm. He could easily compose fine verses both in Persian and Hindi. ʻAbd al-Baqī has quoted a number of his Persian verses in Maʻāthir i Rahīmī.

Khān-i Khānān was a good critic of Persian poetry. The author of the Maʻāthir al-Umarā' observes that Khān-i Khānān could appreciate poetry so well.

Nau'i refers to his ability to appreciate poetry in Saqī-nāmah thus:

He used to convene poetic assemblies frequently. He could with ease and distinction compete with the great contemporary Persian poets like Naqīrī and ʻUrfī.

Khān-i Khānān had established an excellent academy and library wherein could be found the Dīwāns of the most famous poets of the time written in their own hands. Most of the great Persian poets of Akbar's court had received their training in this very academy.

The generosity of the Khān-i-Khānān to poets had become proverbial. Faidī refers to his liberality towards poets in

the following fragment:

The fame of this extraordinary liberality reached far and wide and poets from all directions thronged to his court. Nau'i also came to India chiefly to secure the patronage of 'Abd al-Rahim Khan i Khanan as he himself says:

After the death of Prince Daniyal in 1013 A.H. Nau'i solely attached himself to this noble and remained in his service till his own death in 1019 A.H. Even while he was in the service of the Prince he used to compose verses in praise of Khan i Khanan during their (Prince and Khan i Khanan's) stay in Burhanpur.

2. Supra p. 68.
4. Ibid., p. 636.
Nau'i had composed elegant and high sounding odes in praise of Khan i Khanan but unfortunately none of them has come down to us. However, his other poems in praise of this patron are found in the manuscripts of his poetical collections available to me. There are several lyrics of the poet in praise of this patron. His Sāqi-nāmah which is a mathnawi in praise of this patron was composed in 1015 A.H. In this poem he invokes the favours of Khan i Khanan for which the poet was rewarded lavishly.

According to Dhakhirat al-Khwanin Khan i Khanan once weighed Nau'i against zar (silver). Other contemporary and later biographies are silent on this point excepting Khizānah i 'āmirah (which states it with reference to the above work) and Sham'i anjuman.

In the Sāqi-nāmah composed in 1015 A.H. the poet expresses his deplorable condition and implores the kind attention of Khan i Khanan towards him. It shows that the poet after Prince Daniyal's death in 1013 A.H., fell on evil days.

1. Habīb-ganj MS. f. 11a.
2. "Zar" says Professor Hādī Hasan, "was silver not gold: the word for gold being "zar-i-surkh." Mughal Poetry: Its Cultural and Historical Value, p. 42.
4. P. 452.
But after the composition of the $\text{Sāqī-nāmah}$ he received a generous reward and appears to have excited the special attention of this patron towards him. The following verse occurring in one of his lyrics leaves no doubt that the poet led a happy life in the service of Khān i Khānān at the time of the composition of this poem.

بهار بنا گل و می با خمار یید، نکرد * هر آنجا با دل ما نیش خان خانان کرد

Prince Parwīz:

Prince Parwīz, son of Emperor Jahāngīr, was also a poet of Persian. Subh i Gulshan attributes the authorship of the following verse to this prince:

خونم پجر دوستی خوشی بهتی * این خون بپک حساب بعد خون برابرست

He was also a liberal patron of Persian poets and scholars. The most famous poets of his court were Ḥakīm Faghrūr Gīlānī, Mīr Malakī Qazwīnī. 'Abd al-Nabī Qazwīnī, the author of Mai-khānah, also attended the poetic assemblies of this prince during his stay in Patnāh.

Jahāngīr sent Prince Parwīz to the Deccan at the head of a large army to fight against the Deccanis. The Prince

2. p. 76.
reached Burhanpur in 1019 A.H. (1610 A.D.). "He maintained at Burhanpur" says Dr. Beni Prasad, "a right royal court which has been graphically described by Sir Thomas Roe, who visited it towards the close of 1615."  

There is a tarkibband in praise of Prince Parwiz in the Diwan of Nau'i. The poet who was living at Burhanpur in 1019 A.H. appears to have come in contact with this prince there.

Nau'i's friends and contemporaries:

1. Only a little information has come down to us about the friends of Nau'i and his relations with them and with his other contemporaries. According to Sir Gore Ouseley and 'Abd al-Muqtadir Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor of Marw was an intimate friend of Nau'i. It is not known on which authority the above statements are based. It is however, wrong to say that their friendship continued till about 1002 A.H. for as stated earlier, the poet had migrated to India much before this date.

2. Mir Husain Kafri with whom Nau'i came to India was one of his close friends and associates. Both of them were men of

the same pursuits. Mir Husaín Kafri also was one of the poets of the courts of Prince Daniyal and 'Abd al-Rahîm Khan i Khānān.

3. Nau'i had familiar relations with one Ghâni Beg Hamadānî and had sent him a letter from the prison.

4. Ibrâhîm Husain Dairî, a poet of 'Abd al-Rahîm Khan i Khānān's court was also one of the friends of Nau'i. He came in contact with our poet in the Deccan.

5. Nau'i was somehow related to Hakîm Humam al-Dîn who seems to be identical with Abûl-Fath Gilânî's brother. The tarkîb-band in which the poet has mourned the Hakîm's death shows that Nau'i was very much shocked by the death of this great man whom he calls the "great philosopher" (فیلسوف اعظم).

2. Supra pp. 60-61.
4. Hakîm Humam was one of the sons of Mullâ 'Abd al-Razzâq who was šâdr of Gilân for a long time. After his father's death (974 A.H.) he along with his brother the famous Hakîm Abu'l-Fath Gilânî came to India and joined the court of Akbar. Both the brothers were personal friends of the Emperor and enjoyed great respect and influence at the Mughal Court. Humam was a mansâb-dar of 600 and held the office of "Bakawai Beg." Once he was sent as Mughal ambassador to Tūrân. Hakîm Humam breathed his last in 1004 A.H. (Blochmann, A'in i Akbarî, p. 468 and 529.

5. Infra pp. 142-143.
6. It is not known what was the exact relationship between Nau'i and Mirza Rustam Khan. But it seems the poet was somehow related to him. This is revealed by a fragment in which he expresses repentence for breaking his promise for abstinence from wine.

Nau'i so often complains against his enemies in his poems especially in his odes and the Sāqi-nāmah. It is just possible that because of his close association with Khan i Khānān and Prince Dāniyal and his position of distinction at their courts he had excited the jealousy of his contemporaries and companions.

1. Mirza Rustam Khan belonged to the royal Safawi dynasty of Persia. He came to India in 1001 A.H. and joined Akbar's court. He held different posts of distinction under Akbar and Jahangir. At first Akbar raised him to the rank of Five Thousand and appointed him governor of Diānu and gave him Multān as his jagār. In 1006 he received Rāyn as his jagār. After that he served under Prince Dāniyal also in the Deccan. Under Jahangir also Mirza Rustam continued to enjoy high posts. In 1021 he was appointed governor of Thatta. When he got married one of his daughters to Prince Parviz his mansab was raised to six Thousand and was appointed governor of Allahabad. After that he was transferred to Bihar as governor of the province. One of his daughters was married to Prince Dārā Shukoh. In his old age he was given a pension of Rs. 120,000 per annum by Shāhjahān. He breathed his last at Agrā in 1051 A.H.

Mirza Rustam was a poet of Persian of some merit and composed under the pen-name of Fida'i.

(Blochmann, Ā'īn, pp. 327-329; Tārīkh i 'Ālam-Ārāv-i 'Abbāsī, p. 465).
Chapter IV

Poetry of Nau'i
His Love for his Native Country:

Although Nau'i was happy and contented for the most part of his life in India, yet he did not like this country. He has several times referred to India with the title "स्वतंत्रता हैदर" and in his poems.

The following lyric of Nau'i shows his love for his native country Iran and his desire to be back there and perform a pilgrimage to the tomb of Imam Ridā.

ایشکم به‌خاک شریور ایران که می‌برد
از هند تخم گل باختران که می‌برد
از اشکه وناله انگیزه‌ای فروز عشتر تاریک
بلبل به‌دار وی باگستان که می‌برد
هر می‌رگ را عزیمت برخوان گلشات منست
این می‌رگ که پر‌شکسته به بستان که می‌برد
در عرش سای ناصیه شوق سجده
بر آستار شاه خراسان که می‌برد
بر نقش پای قانع سالار انست وجان
صد کاروان بنای غیزان که می‌برد

1. I.O. MS. 72-730.
Chapter IV

POETRY OF NAU'I
Muhammad Rida Nau'i Khabushani was one of the renowned Persian poets of the Mughal period. He was very popular in his own days. His Diwan consists of about 4000 couplets. He has written almost all kinds of poems — ode (qasidah), lyric (ghazal), fragment (qit'ah), quatrain (rubai) mathnawi, tarji'-band and tarkib-band — and has attempted a variety of themes — erotic, didactic, and mystical. There are a number of verses in his Diwan which are capable of being used as proverbs. At least two of his poems, viz, Mathnawi i suz w Gudaz and Saqi-namah, have gained imperishable reputation. He received befitting rewards from his patrons for his admirable poems. 'Abd al-Rahim Khan i Khannan rewarded him with an elephant, an 'Irqi horse, a robe of honour, and ten thousand rupees for the composition of the Saqi-namah. The poet was also

1. Ouseley attributed a particular title "Lub al-bab" to Nau'i's Diwan. But I have not come across this title in the course of my investigation (Biographical Notices of Persian Poets, pp. 161-166).

2. The number of the couplets of Nau'i in all the manuscripts of his poetical compositions is not the same. Besides, biographers are not unanimous as to the number of his couplets. For example, according to the author of 'Arafat (Bank. Ms. f.780a) Nau'i's Diwan comprises 2000 verses, while the author of Mai-khnanah says that it contains about 4000 couplets (Lahaur Edition, p.200).


4. Inf. pp.126-29

in the enjoyment of a mansab and a stipend from the Mughal Emperor. He appears to have received munificent rewards from Prince Daniyal and while at his court lived a happy and contented life.

The poetic merit of Nau'i secured for him a position of distinction at the courts of Emperor Akbar, Prince Daniyal, and 'Abd al-Rahim Khan i Khanan. Abu'l-Faql includes him in the list of Persian poets at the court of Akbar and enlogises him thus:

"شاپستگی دارد - آگر اندوزگویی به دیارایی به پیش گراید..."

Other biographers, contemporary as well as of the later period, who have cited accounts of Nau'i, have paid glowing tributes to his achievements in poetry. It would not be out of place to mention a few here: Amin i Ahmad Razi observes:

"مولانا نوی بلطف طبع وحدت فهم اتصاف داشته همواره چهره..." Taqi Auhadi remarks:

"الحق جوانی بوده در غایت نزالت طبیعت و علوه و صفای
نهم واصابت خاطر ونهايت دقت خیال - اشعار او أكثر از تازه نازور

2. Supra p. 70.
Abd al-Baqi writes:

"در طريق تنظيم اشعار ام فارسان ضمان بلاغت مبادرت نبوده - دروادی ترتيب افكار کر مسابقت و فضاحت ازهمتان روده - هاکی رهکین و اشعار دلنشین که ارطع و وقاد ایمون سرزو، برخواه والمنه، مستعدان ایران جاری ومذكور است - و در صحائف خواطر خوش فهبان روزگار منقول - و در رياض جمل نسحة طرازو ازها میامن؛ بلاغت یافته - کمالات کسی را علاوه و هنی نبوده - و کمال قابلیت واستعداد از حس شماشی - و حیثی از صحائف تواب عزالواج وبا. 1000 الحق درنیان تازه گویان این زبان متاز و مستثنی است 200 باعتقاد را این درن زبان ببینی، وی مثل

Abd al-Nabi says:

"شاعر مؤذب و نهکه پردازی باسلام است. اشعار آذر اشعار او ناخن برل مبند - 3

The author of Yad i baidāh speaks of the poet thus:

"شاعر غريب و نوع کلامی عجب است" 4

Again he says in the Sarw i azād:

"نوع کلامی جنس عالی است و رشته اعلامی بیغت آلی " 5

1. 'Arifat al-žāhigīn, Bānkīpur MS., f. 780.
4. 'Alīgarh MS., p. 287.
The author of *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* eulogises him thus:

"I am the lover of a Rose whose fragrance does not tolerate the calamity of being grasped by a brain."

The author of *Sham'i anjuman* expresses his view thus:

"Under lip, joyous, music, chime of joy, rose heart, one - Nouraaya type of"

*Mīrzā Sā'īb* thus inserts a hemistich of Nau'ī in one of his own:

"I am the lover of a Rose whose fragrance does not tolerate the calamity of being grasped by a brain."

After examining the general views of the biographers about Nau'ī's achievements as a poet, it is worthwhile to pass on to the consideration of the characteristics of his poetry in some details.

As stated earlier, Nau'ī was a distinguished poet. He is noted for his lofty imagination. Examples of his flights of imagination are abundantly found in his poetical compositions. Some are quoted below:

"I am the lover of a Rose whose fragrance does not tolerate the calamity of being grasped by a brain."

Here the gul represents God and the poet's main emphasis is on the fact that no mortal being is capable of finding out the reality of God. For this he has made use of the common symbols of gul and bulbul, but the expression

بیش آسیب دماغ برتاند

is very novel and to my knowledge is very rare. The construction آسیب دماغ itself is original and does not signify the trouble of the brain but the trouble caused by a brain to the (the fragrance of the Rose).

خشی راکه برموج باشد گذر * کجا یاد ازصردیرا خبر

"How can a piece of straw which floats over a wave, get the knowledge of the bottom of the ocean?"

Here the author speaks of the human being as a piece of straw and of the Divine Being as the bottom of the ocean. The metaphor is no doubt attractive.

In the following couplets the poet has praised the pious heart of the Holy Prophet. These verses are a fine example of height of imagination, coupled with sublimity of thought.

نگهبان گچ الهمه نست ل سلیمان اورنگ شاهیست ل
اژین دل مراد آن مقدس دل است * که عرشی کهن پرده حمل است
دلی ساز و برگی الهی درو * بجز آرزوه هرچه خواهی درو
دلی عرش پرورش شه رسول * که شد برزن جام جوز ورکل

He has shown preference of the Holy Prophet over Moses. The moon-tearing hand of the Holy Prophet has made the hand of Moses (Yad i baida') shirk into the sleeve (made it insignificant).

Here the poet hits upon a very rare mental experience. He says that he has never seen but an imaginary vision of the beloved and therefore he is afraid that even if he happens to see the beloved himself, he may say that he is one resembling his beloved. In other words one who is accustomed to a fantasy is likely to treat even reality as a fantasy.

A few other verses indicating his power of imagination are quoted below:

1. I.O. MS. f. 100a.
2. Ibid., f. 37a.
3. Ibid., f. 46a.
4. Ibid., f. 64b.
5. Ibid., f. 12b.
6. Ibid., f. 40a.
The other distinctive feature of his poetry is his use of attractive and novel similes and metaphors:

He has styled repentance as an idol and has compared it to a nurse, and himself to a child always clinging to the nurse. He has also compared sitting in a gloomy mood without wine to a widow's charmless life. This simile is unique and wonderful.

The sweet-heart's blandishments are generous to the poor lovers, while her ungenerous eyes are bent upon exploiting them just like a mean thief eager to rob a beggar.

He has compared his views with lock and the lancet with key.

1. I.O. MS. f. 89a.
2. Ibid., f. 93b.
3. Ibid., f. 45a.
4. Ibid., f. 2b.
5. Ibid., f. 10b.
The sky has been compared with a sealed bottle and
the poet with an §îm imprisoned in the bottle with little
chance of escape.

زبادل رگه جانم جوسبزه در تم سدگه * زمی سرت زارم جوسبانی درِنی غار

On account of the burden of my heart, the jugular vein
is like grass growing beneath a stone and due to the hair of
my head, my lean body resembles a shadow in the bottom of a
cave.

خاکی تنم گران است بران در زباد جیم * خورشید گرم وسری تن در آرم

Owing to the burden of sin my earthly frame has become
heavy. So I like to become the sun with a head without body.

The simile of the sun has a twofold sense — one
referring to the luminous structure of the sun and the other
to its outward form which is just like a head which has no
body.

The underlined words and phrases in the following lines
from the elegy the poet composed on the death of Prince
Daniyal, represent fine similes which are also examples of
happy constructions.

خلوت گرین عالم روحانیان جهش * مسنده نشنیا پرورگار گر

1. I.0. MS. f. 10b.
2. Ibid., f. 7b.
3. Ibid., f. 31a.
Where is (the Prince) who has returned to the spiritual realm and is now occupying the throne of Divine protection?

The poet laments the departure of spring and the advent of autumn (Dāniyāl's death) and says, "O Gardner! where is the throne which the Solomon of Rose used to occupy? O morning breeze! where is the Joseph of Egypt of Spring?" The Rose has been compared to Solomon and the spring to Joseph of Egypt of spring. Besides, the novelty of the simile the constructions and are very nice.

The same remark may be applied to the constructions occurring in the next line.

The poet has very ingenuously compared the hunting ground to the battlefield of Karbala. Just as the battlefield of Karbala became an abode of grief due to the atrocities of Yazīd's army, similarly the hunting ground has become a place of mourning for the deer in the absence of the deceased prince.

1. I.O. MS. f. 31a.
2. Ibid., f. 31a.
3. Ibid., f. 31a.
Where is that fresh cypress which decorated the garden and where is that newly grown blossom which had not experienced the calamity of the thorn?

The following is an example of a very beautiful metaphor which testifies to the fertility of the poet's imagination.

In this verse the poet complains of his miserable life and of the wastage of the pearls of eulogies composed by him refers to the drops which are subsequently converted into the pearls. The word pearls here stands for his own compositions and (the palate of the crocodile) refers to the unhappy occasions when his compositions were wasted. "May all the product of the vernal mouth of my fortune be turned into blood since it caused its drops to enter the palate of the crocodile."

The poet says: "You have got the antimony of truth in your pocket and still your eyes have failed to work; you have got the torch of providential help on your shoulders and still your path is enwrapped with darkness."

This is a description of one who inspite of being endowed with Divine guidance does not avail himself of it and

1. I.O. MS. f. 9a.
2. Ibid., f. 11a.
prefers to go astray in bewilderment. In there is a metaphor since is personified. is a Persian idiom which means to be in a helpless plight and refers to the inability of the eye to work properly.


"O cup-bearer! bring the blood of Afrāsiyāb because the Kaikhushrau of my heart is burdened with grief."

The blood of Afrāsiyāb indicates red-wine and the heart is compared to Kaikhushrau whose father had been mercilessly murdered by Afrāsiyāb. In the following couplet from Sūz w Gūdāz the poet conveys the idea that with the advancing darkness of night, cold was spreading all round.


Notice the novel metaphor in the above line. Musk refers to darkness and camphor to cold.

**Novel constructions:**

Nau'ī tries to be original in the use of new and happy constructions. This feature is indicative of his command over Persian language and it speaks eloquently of the fertility of his mind. A list of such constructions is given below. In this respect he has made a great contribution to Persian poetry.

1. I.0. MS. f. 102a.
2. Ibid., f. 113a.
گرش، به‌شمار نپیوسته، آمَر برای، زخم، مادرزاد، خلیل‌آباد، دل، طراحی‌های,
ترهات، نهم، سمندر، طناب، تنها، گذاره، یوسف‌نگاه، یهل، نوا، بخت
تفاوت، می‌باشند، ظلمت، سوز، شکر، خواب، جلوه، زاره، آتشی، آلوه، زود، مست
بلند، نیک‌ها، دماغ، سوخته، تماشاگر، صورت، شعله‌ای، بانی‌های، دارد، راز،
نگه‌ودر، شراب، یک‌ها، خلوت، مرحله، بی‌پای، طبق، حیای، بسیار، گروه
شب، ناب، سامان، افزایش، نصب، یاد، کلیه، ویژه، بهشت، آباد، عفیت
نیروی، عمر، کیفیت، نور، کرد، آباد، بریزدگان، عشق، نکات، غیزان، مج
خیز، بانی، نیروی، گلخانه‌ای، آباد، منافع، بی‌پای، زن، نفلت، طلسم‌هاه
گل‌گیز، طراز، عفیت، آباد، گرهی، فروشی، گنبدی‌ها، تماشاگر، بی‌پایه، بو
بلیل، شب، زنده، دارد.

باد، سپری‌کننده، جراح‌های، نباید، زار، مفتاح، گره‌گاهی، غام، خفنان، سرای، عالم
زنده، تنگه‌ای، عالم، سمند، کوه، کیفا، عالم، دخمه، کافر، غم، آباد، نزدیک، آباد
نذر، وطن زاد، بی‌پای، شفاعت، سنگ، جرم، آباد، هستی، گچ، مکان، تنگ‌ستی;
مجدوب، مادرزاد، گرش، عروس، ناطقه

رونق، گاز، غیر، صد، وعده، ناقص، همت.

1. I.O. MS. ff. 1b-19a.  2. Ibid., ff. 36b-91b.
3. Ibid., ff. 19a-35a; ff. 98b-131a; ff. 35a-36b; ff. 91b-98b.
Although Nau‘I was an outstanding poet, yet his poetry is not free from minor defects. 'Abd al-Baqi refers to some critics who declare some of his poetical compositions uneven. But 'Abd al-Baqi does not fully agree with them. A careful study of his work would no doubt reveal that Nau‘I could not keep his poetry free from some minor defects such as unhappy constructions, artificiality etc. I shall do no better than quote a few lines from his poetry to illustrate my point of view.

Some of his verses bear the traces of artificiality and the ideas therein are far-fetched as in the following examples:

1. Ma‘athir i Rahimi, Calcutta Edition, p. 637:

2. I.O. MS. f.10a.

3. Ibid., f.5b.

4. Ibid., f. 4a.
In the following couplet from an ode, the poet has effectuated a change in the name of his patron which is a defect and is styled as :

\[
\text{دنیال شه آنه برداو} * \text{جون ساپه بی نشان فنادم}
\]

In short, notwithstanding the above defects, the poetry of Nau'i is of high quality.

**NAU'I S ODES (QASIDAHS)**

All the available manuscripts of Nau'i's works contain only eleven odes whereof a complete critical edition forms a part of the thesis under review. Of these eleven odes  

1. I.O.MS. f.39a. 2. Ibid., f.59b. 3. Ibid. f.15a. 4. From the following it appears that Nau'i composed odes more in number than the extant ones.

There is only one ode in praise of Emperor Akbar in manuscripts of Nau'i's poetical collections available in the different libraries of India and the manuscript of India Office Library. Abuk-Fadl includes Nau'i in the list of Persian poets of the court of Akbar (Blochmann, A'in p.666). This very fact proves that the poet must have eulogised the Emperor on several occasions and written odes. Therefore the number of odes might have been more than eleven. But unfortunately none of the odes, except the one mentioned above, is available due to the reason given in the following paragraph.

It will not be out of place to point out here that Ettefan in his description of the manuscript of Nau'i's Kulliyat available in the India Office Library (p.810-11) says: "most of the kasidas are in praise of the emperor Akbar." But internal evidence of the Kulliyat runs counter
are in praise of the Holy Prophet, one in praise of Hadrat 'Ali, one in praise of Imam Rida, one in praise of Emperor Akbar,

(Continued from previous page)

two in praise of the Holy Prophet, three in praise of Hadrat 'Ali, one in praise of Imam Rida, one in praise of Emperor Akbar,

A careful examination of the rotograph of this manuscript reveals that there is only one ode in praise of the Emperor - the same as found in the other manuscripts of the Kulliyat of the poet available in the Libraries of India.

Again as pointed out by Mir 'Abd al-Baqi Nihawandi (Ma'athir-i Rahimi, Calcutta Edition, p.636) who is the authentic chronicler of the court of Khan-i-Khanan, Nau'i, besides the Sāqī-nāma, composed high sounding odes in praise of the Khan-i-Khanan. But none is traceable in any of his poetical collections available to me.

Nau'i as stated by the said biographer (Ma'athir-i Rahimi, Calcutta Edition, p.638) could not compile his Diwan in his life-time. It was only after his death that his verses were collected into Kulliyat which somehow could not include all of his poems.

There are reasons to believe that Nau'i wrote odes in praise of Mirza Yusuf Khan Mashhadī and Prince Parviz but the available copies of his Diwan do not contain such poems.
and four in praise of Prince Dāniyāl. 

The dates of the composition of these odes cannot be fixed because of lack of internal and external evidence. All that can be said with certainty in this respect is that the odes in praise of Emperor Akbar and Prince Dāniyāl must have been written between 998 A.H., the year of arrival of Nau'i in India for the second time when he was grown up, and 1014 A.H. (in case of Akbar) or 1013 A.H. (in case of Dāniyāl).

1. In one of these four odes there is a line which has two different readings:

فروغ سخت جهانگیر شاه شاه أكبر* که هست سایه او ابرآنتاب نثار (1)
فروغ صحح ظفر دانیال أكبر شاه * که هست سایه او ابرآنتاب نثار (2)

It seems the second is more correct for the following reasons:
(i) The first is devoid of that elegance of style and general purity which is so often an essential characteristic of Nau'i's poetry.

(ii) The first reading lacks that beauty of resulting from the happy combination of the words فروغ-صحح-سایه-ایبر-آنتاب which is found in the second reading.

(iii) None of the biographers has mentioned that Nau'i was ever attached to Jahāngīr and also there is no internal evidence in the Kulliyāt of the poet to this effect.

Thus it can be safely concluded that this ode is in praise of Prince Dāniyāl and not in praise of Emperor Jahāngīr.
The themes of the odes of Nau'i, besides his eulogistic verses, are didactic and erotic. Some of the examples are examined below:

Contempt for worldly means:

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Contempt for worldly means:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contempt for worldly means:</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contentment: Nau'i does not recognise difference between Shaikh and Brahman and between a friend and a foe.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

| 1. I.C.MS. f. 9b. 2. Ibid., f. 2a. 3. Ibid., f. 9b. |
| 4. Ibid., f. 9b. 5. Ibid., f. 8b. 6. Ibid., f. 6b. |
| 7. Ibid., f. 3a. 8. Ibid., f. 7a. 9. Ibid., f. 6b. |
| 10. Ibid., f. 8b. |
One cannot mould things according to one's desires; he should always be prepared to adapt himself to adverse circumstances.

Practical Wisdom: People of the world are not worthy of credit.

Lack of peace in the world.

Love and worldly wisdom cannot go together.

Love which is a priceless treasure is not the lot of every person.

Self-resignation:

Erotic verses:

1. I.O. MS. f. 8b. 2. Ibid., f. 8a. 3. Ibid., f. 8a. It reminds me of an old Indian saying.
4. Ibid., f. 8a. 5. Ibid., f. 8b. 6. Ibid., f. 6b. 7. Ibid., f. 8a. 8. Ibid., f. 18a.
Fondness of Sorrow:

There is a good number of verses in self-praise in the odes of Nau'i.

1. I.O. MS., f.1b.  2. Ibid., f.2a.  3. Ibid., f.11a.
4. Ibid., f. 8a.
5. But in some of his odes he stooped down while praising his patrons specially Prince Dâniyâl.

1. I.O. MS., f. 18b.
2. Ibid., f. 19a.
3. Ibid., f. 17b.
4. Ibid., f. 18a.  7. Ibid., f. 12b.
His style is characterised by force of diction, flights of imagination and sincerity of feelings, especially in the odes in praise of the Prophet of Islam, Ḥadīth 'Alī, and Imām Rīḍā. The examples are as follows:

In praise of Prince Daniyal the poet says:

In another ode in praise of the Prince he says:

1. I.O.MS., f.1lb.  2. Ibid., f.2a.  3. Ibid., f.2b.
4. Ibid., f.15b.  5. Ibid., f.11a.  6. Ibid., f.11b.
7. Ibid., f.12a.
The following couplets show great affection for the Holy Prophet.

The following couplets show the poet's extreme love for Madīnah

The poet regards Madīnah as the only sanctuary of safety and protection. According to a tradition Antichrist will not be able to enter Madīnah.

That is, it is not the time for sleep. This idea has been expressed by other poets also.

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1. I.C.M.S., f.2b. 2. Ibid., f.9a. 3. Ibid., f. 9a.
4. Ibid., f. 9a. 5. Cf. Nizāmī

---
Novelty of style is another distinguishing feature of the odes of Nau'i.

Use of coined constructions which are generally happy and sublime, lends beauty to the odes. Only occasionally the construction is clumsy. The underlined phrases in the following couplets represent the new constructions coined by him. They are good examples of happy and sublime constructions.

1. 1.0, MS., f. 14a.
2. Ibid., f. 3b.
3. Ibid., f. 12b.
4. Ibid., f. 6b.
5. Ibid., f. 13a.
6. Ibid., f. 13a.
7. Ibid., f. 7a.
8. Ibid., f. 3b.
Nau'ī has used idiomatic phrases with consummate skill in his odes. He appears to have been in possession of a great treasure of idioms over the use of which he had full command. Some examples are quoted below:

1. I.O.MS., f.16b.
2. Ibid., f. 17a.
3. Ibid. f.6b.
4. Ibid., f. 4b.
5. Ibid., f. 5b.
6. Ibid.,f.6a.
There are a number of verses in the odes capable of being used as proverbs.

Nau'f used Hindi words very rarely in his odes. In this respect he did not follow the practice of his time to use Hindi words extensively. The only Hindi words that I have been able to find in his available odes are those and

Use of similes and metaphors which are often beautiful, rare and quite attractive, adds to the beauty of the odes. But at the same time we find that sometimes the similes and metaphors are far-fetched. The examples are as under:

Novel similes:

In this couplet, the pen has been compared to a child, the being of the man.

1. I.O.M.S., f.8a.  2. Ibid., f.8a.  3. Ibid., f.16b.  4. Ibid., f.7a.
The word *زبان* (tongue) has been compared with *دست می آوردگی* (hand of the wine-seller), the *و جوش نشاند* being *خیال جوهر نفت بهکمی سرخص می‌جوید فننه که در جمل می‌بود سیاراً.

The comparison of *خیال* (imagination) with *فسکه* (mischief) and that of *کاسه سرخص* (head of the enemy) with *خست مینی* (cup of wine) deserves special notice.

عبدوشبح و خواب پریشان مصحبند *پای برین دومست خسارتنابَ زن*.

The comparison of *عبد شبح و خواب پریشان* with *دومست خسارتُ زن* is made in this line.

کریلای عشق و لب تشته سرتابای من *صد حسین کشت در هرگونه محراوی من*.

The comparison of *کریلای عشق* with *صد حسین کشت* is apposite.

خابه فساد حماته شد مرا وزد وردَرکه *دشنه جای خون روان شد در رگِ اهدی من*.

The word *خابه* has been compared with *فاساد* *خابه* *تو پای شیرِ بَدست آر قطع ابن رو را* *که هست خاروختی ناخن هنیوی بلَدَگ*.

The comparison of *خاروخت* (thorn and straw) with *ناخن هنیوی بلَدَگ* (claws of lion and leopard) is beautiful.

صح است صبح سافرند درشراب زن *این عصر نسره برآسیرنابَ زن*.

The comparison of *دل* (heart) with *عصر نسره* (frozen element) and *شراب* (wine) with *آسیرناب* (the pure elixir) deserves notice.

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2. Ibid., f. 6b.  
3. Ibid., f. 1b.  
4. Ibid., f. 3a.  
5. Ibid., f. 9b.  
6. Ibid., f. 4b.
Original metaphors:

We come across some original and striking metaphors in Nau'i's odes, but these are not so numerous as are similes. Some of them are the following:

He has styled stars as points of doubt.

Moses represents the weeping eyes.

Figures of speech such as and etc. are also represented. The examples are as follows:

1. I.O. MS., f.7b. 2. Ibid., f.5a. 3. Ibid., f.2b. 4. Ibid., f.14b. 5. Ibid., f.12b. 6. Ibid., f.14a. 7. Ibid., f.3b. 8. Ibid., f.12b.
مراعات التنظیر
ای شاه راه مسجد ترارحم‌های آنهب
شوش شراب مرتف و ساقر آنشاب
صفا دن تو آنیمه راز هر دلی
مسند راز گفتگه برگتن در آرم
جنود از غبار گلخن ظلمت سرشت هند
آبه سیه بیده روشن در آرم
تضاور
جنود از غبار گلخن ظلمت سرشت هند
آبه سیه بیده روشن در آرم
اندوخت بسکه طبع یقین رنجک نیستی
ترسیم گه شکه بهسیس دواندن در آرم

مفاله
بنور تیشه فرهاد نگلد پیوند
جنین که پشت من الفت گردنه با دیوار
زخلق اوده مرغنچه صحن صد جنست
زبس که تنگلی از چشان کنار گردنه
گریه طوفان خیزه‌گم الصتیک کشت چشم
مورا سارد سند در دانه ضحرا
دردمن گریدنی تیشه یک‌پا مکار
تا باین سوئیسی الماس شوید خار گداز
لب شیرین پیمان کردندی زخمی بترار
ازد کوه خراسهای برم پای آوار؟

1. I.C.M.S., f. 13a. 2. Ibid., f. 7b. 3. Ibid., f. 7b.
4. Ibid., f. 10b. 5. Ibid., f. 17a. 6. Ibid., f. 1b.
7. Ibid., f. 4a.
Autobiographical references:

We come across occasional autobiographical references in the odes of Nau'ī which have been quoted above.

2. Ibid., f. 6b.
3. Ibid., f. 13a.
4. Ibid., f. 8a.
LYRICS (GHAZALS) OF NAU'Î.

Nau'Î deserves special consideration as a lyric-writer. He was proud of having dealt with erotic themes at length. Again he says:

And he claims to have imitated Hafiz in order to reach perfection in lyric writing:

His lyrics are not on the pattern of cheap lyric-writers, the main theme of whose lyrics are the blandishments of beloved, agonies of separation and tortures of jealousy, the rivalries and intrigues among lovers, the apathy of the courtesan, the coquetry and flirtations of mistress etc. etc. He has occasionally indulged in such topics but his tempo is high and he seems to despise cheap sentiments of love affairs.

Nau'Î's lyrics also contain verses in praise of God, the Prophet of Islam and some couplets in praise of Imam Rida. There are some lyrics in which he eulogises his patron, 'Abd al-Rahim Khan i Khanan. There is a good number of didactic verses, but mystical and autobiographical verses occur only occasionally in his lyrics. Some of his lyrics have continuity of themes.

1. I.O.MS., f. 88a. 2. Ibid., f. 43b. 3. Ibid., f. 60a.
The lyrics are marked by simplicity and lucidity of diction, chaste feelings, novelty of expression, loftiness of ideas, creative genius, originality of similes and ingenuity of constructions.

The above mentioned features are illustrated by the following verses:

Verses in praise of God:

سایه گل تابید خالی، رغ بستان ما، نحفظ نام تو با ما خطبه دیوان ما
در صفانت از خط، برکار سرگردان ترم، توان ام تاو آن آغاز عجز، ز نابیت عزائ

In the last mentioned couplet he has beautifully expressed the idea that the beginning of supplication and utmost extent of Divine knowledge are one and the same thing.

مانجب زنبیم از در دل راه حرم را، همین هو در دیده شکسته قدم را

A pure heart filled with Divine love is the only provision for traversing the path leading to Divine vicinity.

مانجب حسن تو همان حسن تو اولی و، کمی زمیت دهقان ندهدب دغ با، ام را

The beauty of God does not stand in need of decoration, just as the garden of Paradise does not require the labour of the gardener.

با اصل تو هیتن مگان شرط ادب نیست و در کوهی گه نیز بر دست صنم را

Union with the Divine Being is free from limits of space.

1. I.O.MS., f. 36b. 2. Ibid., f. 37b. 3. Ibid., f. 37b. 4. Ibid., f. 38a.
In praise of the Holy Prophet:

In praise of 'Abd al-Rahim Khan i Khanan:

Erotic verses:

1. I.O.MS. f. 37a. 2. Ibid., f. 37b. 3. Ibid., f. 88a.
5. I.O.MS. f. 50b. 6. Ibid., f. 42a. 7. Ibid., f. 40a.
8. Ibid., f. 40b. 9. Ibid., f. 49a. 10. Ibid., f. 49b.
The following verses are characterised by sweetness, simplicity and fluidity:

To live upon the obligation of others is undesirable.

To conceal one's own defects is the climax of self-adoration. If you want perfection admit your faults expressly.

To expect faithfulness from life is such a foolishness as to expect dot from Alif and shade from a sapling:

To overpower a timid and weak enemy is unchivalrous.

1. I.O.MS. f. 58a. 2. Ibid., f. 58b. 3. Ibid., f. 61a.
4. Ibid., f. 49a. 5. Ibid., f. 89a. 6. Ibid., f. 40b.
7. A(1) MS.f.28a.
I am rich in heart and love is my wealth and kingdom. If you are without love, go in search of wealth and kingdom.

Mystical Verses:

The existence of the world is not a reality.

A gnostic is not attracted by the beauties of the garden. He is always in quest of the Unseen Rose (the Beloved).

"We are free from the scratches of the brush of the Painter (God). Our silk is beautified not by the flash but by the reflection of the flash."

Continuity of theme:

Some of Nau‘I’s lyrics have consistent themes, e.g.

1. I.O.MS., f.45a.  2. Ibid., f. 40b.  3. Ibid., f. 75b.
4. A(1) MS.,f.26b.  5. I.O.MS.f. 73b.  6. Ibid., f. 38b.
Novelty of expression:

The success of the enemy and his own failure.

The net of the enemy is already besmeared with the blood of phoenix, that is the phoenix has already been captured by the enemy while we are still waiting for the opportunity to capture the shadow of phoenix.

Lovers of God do not care for petty things of the world.

To convey this idea he says our shop is so exalted that a Joseph is required to open its doors.

In the above line he has described the heart-burning in love and has compared his shirt to a moth.

1. I.C.M.S., f.90b.  2. Ibid., f. 38b.  3. Ibid., f. 36b.  4. Ibid., f. 36b.
The extraction of salt from wine is easy while removal of malice from the heart of the beloved is rather difficult.

The burning of our scar is much more painful than the ordinary fire. He explains this idea by saying that the ordinary fire has taken up the profession of a cotton-seller for our scar. The same idea has been elaborated in the following line of the same lyric.

"What to say of the moth, the particle which soars over our candle acquires the rank of the sun."

Originality of similes:

The following is a beautiful example of concrete simile.

In the following verse he has compared the eyes of his beloved with a sick man and his own tears with rose-water.

He has styled repentance

\[ \text{کافرخوان خليل} \]

1. I.0.1.1.0., f. 39b. 2. Ibid., f. 39b. 3. Ibid., f. 39b.
4. Ibid., f. 36b. 5. Ibid., f. 38a. 6. Ibid., f. 36b.
I am so mean - spirited that repentance came to my dinner table a hundred times but each time left away without taking food.

It is said that an infidel came as a guest to the house of Abraham, but was turned out when it was revealed that he did not believe in God.

Originality of constructions:

دست امید وناله کونه کبند ما * کی میرسد بدامن بخت بلند ما
خونم غبار گشت و بحالم نظر کرد * داد ازغور بخت تخانل فروش ما
جمعت این رهم تشاین که سند درمیاد * خضر سر جشنه آتش نش بروان بهسوختا

In the last line the poet has called salamander the Khidr of the spring of fire.

بناله داغ گن انسورگان گفت را * که ناله صاعقه بنهم زار کوش آید

He has compared lamentation to lightening. Just as the lightening quickly burns away the cotton field, so the lamentations cast aside the cotton kept in the ear to keep oneself indifferent to the cries of those in distress.

Autobiographical references:

In the following verse the poet explains that he has not received due appreciation:

1. I.O.MS., f.38b.  2. Ibid., f. 39a.  3. Ibid., f. 44b.  4. Ibid., f. 58b.
On account of dearth of appreciation the verse has to remain hidden in between the lips like unbecoming prayers.

The following couplet reveals his fondness for mystical learning.

As explained later, he had a great love for his native land. This expression in his lyric which begins thus:

Nau'i seems to have been influenced by the Brahmanas and temples of India:

1. A(l) MS. f. 37b.
2. I.O. MS. f. 71b.
3. Ibid., f. 72b.
4. Ibid., f. 52b.
Mathnawīs of Nau’ī

Nau’ī wrote the following four mathnawīs:

(1)  Suz w Gudaz

Nau’ī’s mathnawī entitled Suz w Gudaz ranks among the best Persian mathnawīs written in the Mughal period. Contemporary as well as later biographers have a very high opinion of this poem. The author of Ma‘āthir i Rahīmī observes:

"منوى نيز در بحر خسرو و شيرين مسيس بسور وگداز در لباس نظام جلوه داده و بسیار بسیار خوب گفته ." 2

Mirāt al-‘ālam states:

"برگشاتی و سخت‌ریزی شاهدی عادل‌تر از سوز وگداز نیست " 3

Kalimat al-shu‘ara‘ writes:

"منوى سوز وگداز بسیار پسوز وگداز گفته " 4

The author of Majma‘al-nafa‘īs says:

"بسیار بسیار گفته " 5

The poet himself had a high opinion of this poem:

الهى اين گرامي بكر مسيرة * كه انشاد آسانين بر عصمت حور زيا بوس شهش ده سربندی * بنزريج قبواش ارجندي*

1. It has been printed at the end of the first volume of Akbar-nāma, Lucknow Edition, 1284 A.H. Its English rendering entitled "Burning And Melting" by Mirza Y. Davud of Persia and Anand K. Komarawamy of Ceylon published in London in 1912 consists of 65 pages and has three pictures from the Br.Mus.MS. Or.2839 (Mughal Bibliography, p.119).


It is the story of a Hindu widowed virgin who burnt herself in love on the funeral pyre of her beloved husband. According to the poet's own version it was written at the command of Prince Daniyal as stated in the following pages. The date of its composition cannot be fixed in the light of the material available. At the most it may be said that the poem was written before 1013 A.H., the year of death of Prince Daniyal.

According to Yad i baida and Nishtar i 'ishq the venue of the tragedy was Lahaur and, according to Sarv i 'azad it was Akbarabad (Agra). The poem begins with:

اَوْحَىَ اَمَّي َفَرَّقَ ُّنَّاَمَتَاَ ُهُنَّاَمَاَ

and closes with:

کُلِّ بَخْشٍ اَزْ ْکُرْبَانَ تَخْلِیمٍ ُءَ رَیْشُ سَارَ آَنَّاَ ُرَ دَلِلُ

1. The statement of (India Office Library Catalogue of Persian MSS. Part I, p.810-11) and the authors of Mughal Bibliography (p.119) that the girl in question was a Hindu princess is not supported by the internal evidence of the poem.

2. According to Mughal Bibliography (p.119) the poem was written about 1506 A.D. It seems that the figures 5 and 6 occurring in the above date are transposed because the Mathnawi was composed before 1605/1013 which is the year of Daniyal's death.

3. P. 287.


6. I.O. MS. f. 110b.

7. Ibid. f. 127b.
The Māthnavī as available in the India office library contains 494½ couplets. But certain manuscripts contain different number of verses.

The introductory portion deals with:

1. Praise of God; 2. Supplication to God; 3. Praise of the Holy Prophet; 4. Reason for the composition of the poem; 5. Praise of Emperor Akbar. This is followed by the story of the widow burning herself on the funeral pyre of her husband.

In the poem the poet reveals that one day he was summoned by Prince Dāniyāl to his court through a special messenger:

\begin{quote}

\begin{align*}
\text{در آد از دم هدهد سرتشتی} & \quad \text{چه هد بهله طلّوس پهشتی} \\
\text{شیام غم صح طرب کردن} & \quad \text{شه فرخند اتیبل طلب کردن}
\end{align*}
\end{quote}

When the poet, in obedience to the command, reached the court, the Prince told him that he was tired of listening to oft-repeated songs and old stories of love and asked him to compose a new poem on the tradition of the sati, then prevalent among the Hindus of India.

\begin{quote}

\begin{align*}
\text{قدا نرمان شهنشاه جوان بخت} & \quad \text{نفلک خرگاه به آسان نخت} \\
\text{جراغ اتروز مسد دیه اقبال} & \quad \text{گل خورشید روشهراده دانیال}
\end{align*}
\end{quote}

2. I.O. MS. f. 113b.
The poet obeyed the prince's order and versified the story which may be summarised as follows:

1. I.O. MS. f. 114b.
2. Ibid., f. 115a.
In the reign of Emperor Akbar a Hindu couple had developed mutual love since their childhood. When they were unable to bear the pangs of separation any longer they passionately desired for marriage:

Their patience was exhausted after waiting for a period of ten years.

One day the young man requested his father to materialise his desire to marry the maid of his choice, otherwise he would renounce his religion.

---

1. I.O.MS.f. 116b. 2. Ibid., f.117a. 3. Ibid., f.117b. 4. Ibid., f.117b. 5. Ibid., f. 118a.
After realising the threatening attitude of his son, the father was compelled to accede to his desire and immediately began preparations for marriage:

He asked the relations of the girl to do the same.

For one week preparations for marriage were made:

An auspicious time and day was fixed for marriage.

On the appointed day the marriage party proceeded towards the house of the bride but unfortunately on the way an old structure fell down on the bridegroom and killed him and many others in the party.

When the news of this tragedy reached the girl her sorrow knew no bounds.

1. I.O.MS. f.118b.  2. Ibid., f.118b.  3. Ibid., f. 119b.  
4. Ibid., f. 119b.  5. Ibid., f. 120b.
She immediately resolved to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband.

When Akbar came to know of this ghastly tragedy and the determination of the girl to burn herself he wept:

And by way of testing the girl he asked her to desist from her resolve and offered her many costly presents with the title of Rani:

1. I.O.MS. f.121b.  2. Ibid., f.121b.  3. Ibid., f.122a.  4. Ibid., f.122b.  5. Ibid., f.123a.  6. Ibid., f.123a.  7. Ibid., f. 123b.
But she remained adamant:

The Emperor having failed in his attempt allowed her to get herself burnt by way of sati and asked Prince Dāniyāl to accompany her and to have the ceremony performed with honour.

The Prince obeyed the royal command

Preparations for sati having been completed she ascended the funeral pyre, lovingly kissed the corpse of her husband, embraced it and burnt herself along with the corpse.

1. I.O.M.S. f.123b.  2. Ibid., f.123b.  3. Ibid., f.124a.
4. Ibid., f. 124a.  5. Ibid., f.125b.
Zehra Ali-Bay's love song ends with these lines:

The main features of this poem, apart from its eroticism, are force of diction, command over language, self-praise, pathos, novelty of expression, ingenuity of constructions and use of fresh similes.

2. Ibid., f. 127a.
3. Ibid., f. 127b.
In Persian some excellent saqi-namahs have been written. Among the earlier poets Maulānā Nizāmī has distinguished himself in this form of composition. Poets who flourished in the time of Akbar have also written Saqi-namahs. Among such Saqi-namahs the one composed by Nau'ī occupies a position of distinction along with a few others.

Nau'ī composed this poem in praise of Khān-i-Khanān and it has been declared by competent critics that it is the most celebrated and excellent poem of Nau'ī. The author of Ma'athir i Rahimi says:

"الحق آن ساتق نامه را در نهایت خوی انشا نبرده اند - و قرب

بپهصد بیت درسانه مردم مشهور است." 1

Khushgu praises the Saqi-namah of Nau'ī thus:

"با اعتقاد نهم نافذی نقل خوشگلو بر جمع ساتق نامه حا جرب انتاده." 2

Khān-i Khānān rewarded Nau'ī with a gift of ten thousand rupees, an elephant, an 'Iraqi horse and a robe of honour for the composition of this poem.

2. This quotation has been given by Muhammad Shafi' in his introduction to Ma'i-khānah (Introduction to Ma'i-khānah, Lāhaur Edition).
3. Ma'athir i Rahimi (Calcutta Edition) p.637. This event has been referred to by poet Rasmi Qalandar in the following verses:

زهمت تو نوعی رسید آن مایه * که باینت میر عزی زهمت سنجر
The poet, as he himself reveals, wrote this poem after a hard labour of forty nights in 1015 A.H.

The poem opens with the verse:

The poet, as he himself reveals, wrote this poem after a hard labour of forty nights in 1015 A.H.

The poem opens with the verse:

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The po
In praise of Khan-i Khanan he says:

1. I.O.MS. f. 99b.
5. Ibid., f. 106b.
As stated earlier the Saqi-namah contains valuable information about the life of the poet.

It appears from some verses that he had many enemies and ill-wishers and accordingly he writes in condemnation of those who were jealous of him:

Originality of thought and expression, novelty of similes and metaphors, apt phrases, sound constructions, force of diction and extensive use of allusions are the prominent feature of this mathnawi.

5. I.O.MS. f.109b.
After giving a brief analysis of the two Mathnawis, it would be fruitful to add a few words about Nau'i's achievements as a mathnawi-writer. The poet was at his best in his mathnawis, the chief features of which may be summed up as follows:

Erotic verses:

The girl who burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband says to Prince Dāniyāl:

Force of diction:

The whole Sāqi-nāmah is full of zeal and outburst of feeling. The poet in excessive joy sings his own praises in the following verses:

2. Ibid., f. 124b.
3. Ibid., f. 106a.
Self-praise:

Nau’ī was very fond of indulging in self-praise. Besides the verses quoted above some examples are given below: He was conscious of his high position as a poet. He expresses it through the tongue of Prince Ḩanīyāl in Ṣūz w Gudāz thus:

There is a large number of new constructions in the Ṣaqī-nāmeh. In the following verses the underlined words represent novel constructions.

2. Mathnawi i Ṣūz w Gudāz, I.O. MS. f. 112b.
4. Ibid., f. 123b.
5. Ibid., f. 101b.
6. Ibid., f. 102a.
Novel similes:

While describing the night in *Sūz w Gūdāz* the poet says:

In the *Ṣaqī-nāmaḥ* he has drawn the following beautiful simile by comparing the cup with the seal.

2. Ibid., f. 100a.
3. Ibid., f. 113a.
4. Ibid., f. 99b.
5. Ibid., f. 101b.
Towards the close of the printed edition and some of the manuscripts of the Mathnawi i Suz w Gudāz there appear two short mathnawi poems which have been combined with the said mathnawi. But there are reasons to believe that the Suz w Gudāz finishes with this line:

گل بخش از گلستان خلیلم * درین ره ساز آتش را دلیل

The portions that follow seem to comprise two small poems.

One of them begins with this line:

بهارآدم باستقلال نور روز * جوید بلبل ازدنبال نو روز

and ends with:

جو حاجتند بخش عادت تست * نوردان حاجت من حاجت تست

The poem has no theme of its own. It depicts the poet's sad plight when he was somehow imprisoned.

This poem is very effective and is also indicative of the poet's achievement in describing a particular event very forcefully. I will do no better than quote the verses in which he has described his plight in the prison cell:

جمه زندان دامن ذخمه زردشت کپان * کهن سرداری دیر کشیان
مشکه سیمی شن از آه اسیران * جو روز بهر دام صد گیران
جمه کورم عنکبوتی رسته درکلم * لمعاب خون تنیده بردرولم
جمه دروئی جوزافان جگر خوار * بخون آتشته تادل جنگه وسنقر

1. I.O. MS. f. 127b.
2. Ibid., f. 127b.
3. Ibid., f. 130a.
5. I.O. MS. f. 128a.
The verses in which he has described the condition of the prison-house are of historical importance. They help us in understanding the real condition of the prison-houses of the Mughal period.

The other mathnawi begins with:

and closes with:

1. I.O. MS. f. 128b. 2. Ibid., f. 129a.
3. Ibid., f. 130a. 4. Ibid., f. 131a.
It relates to a dialogue between fish and salamander. The dialogue is attractive and eloquently speaks of the poet's command in depicting various types of sentiments. Here are a few verses of the poem.

The salamander says to the fish:

زدل سرد با آبت سرکار * من ازدل گریم آتش برستار
مزاج اهل عشق آتش نورد است * زانش رونتاید هرکه مرد است

من آن خضمر کر استیلا امید * در آتش سوختم با عور جواز
زخلآباد را رخت بستم * جو داغ عشق درآتش نشستم

The fish retorts:

توارز دل سرده و انسرده جان * کنی دایم در آتش زندگانی

من آن برتم که باران شنیدم * زخرت آب بر آتش گریم
زسور عشق دایم برچر تاب * بسوم گرنسایم سیبه بر آب

یکم داد بخت سرکش من * بعد طوفان نبیرد آتش من

تو سوز عاشقم ازمن پیامز * جراح خود زآب من بر انورز

The poem ends with certain verses in which the poet blesses Prince Māniylāl.

1. I.O. MS. f.130a.
2. Ibid., f. 130b.
3. Ibid., f. 131a.
In the manuscripts of the poetical collections of Nau'ī which I have been able to consult there is only one tarji'band and four tarkīb-bands and the total number of verses therein is 443.

The following is a brief account of all these five poems.

**Tarji'band.**

This poem begins with the following couplet:

ای شوق ترَجیب هر کنندی ۴ ماراهم ازین کند بندی ۱۴

There are ten bands in all in it and the following verse is repeated at the end of every band.

1. I.O. MS.f.131a.

2. According to the cataloguer of Bankīpūr Library, the Bankīpūr Manuscript contains qaṣīdahs, tarji'bands and tarkīb-bands in praise of Akbar, Prince Dāniyāl, Prince Jahāngīr and 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān i Khānān together with other poems. But my critical examination of the manuscript revealed that there are no tarji'bands and tarkīb-bands in praise of the above persons. There is, however, a tarkīb-band in which the poet has lamented the death of Prince Dāniyāl.


4. Ibid., f. 19a.
The total number of verses in the poem is 106.

This poem appears to be in imitation of the famous Tarji' of Sa'dī. Although the poet has not acknowledged the above fact, yet a comparative study of the Tarji' s of Sa'dī and Nau'i leaves no doubt that the latter wrote this poem in imitation of that of the former. The Tarji' of Sa'dī has acquired great popularity among the Persian poets so much so that a number of such poems have been composed in the same rhyme and metre. Among the ancient Persian poets of India, Hamīd Qalandar has versified a Tarji' which is a faithful imitation of that of Sa'dī while among the contemporaries of Nau'i, Zahūrī and Malik Qummi are noted among those who have imitated Sa'dī in this respect.

The following facts deserve consideration with regard to the above two poems. The tarji' of Sa'dī consists of 23 bands with 270 verses in all while that of Nau'i comprises 40.

1. I.O.MS. ff. 19b, 20a, 20b, 21a, 21b, 22a, 22b, and 23a.
2. Ibid., ff. 19a - 23a.
3. It begins with:

ایزلف توهر خس كنندي * جشتم يکرشه جشم بندی

Kulliyāt i Sa'dī, Tīhrān, 1317 Solar, Tarji' āt, p.99.
bands having 106 couplets. The number of couplets in each band of the poets has been given in brackets: below:

Nau'i: 1 (12); 2 (9); 3 (11); 4 (11); 5 (10); 6 (10); 7 (12); 8 (11); 9 (9); 10 (10).

Sa'di: 1 (13); 2 (10); 3 (11); 4 (12); 5 (11); 6 (11); 7 (10); 8 (11); 9 (13); 10 (12); 11 (13); 12 (12); 13 (12); 14 (12); 15 (12); 16 (12); 17 (12); 18 (12); 19 (10); 20 (11); 21 (10); 22 (9); 23 (19).

Of the ten bands of Nau'i only two are identical in rhyme with two bands of Sa'di while the remaining are quite different in this respect. The identically rhyming bands of the two poets are reproduced below:

1. I.O. MS. ff. 19a - 23a.
سعدی
بتِم است دهان عشاق از صبر
ای منگش شکر بیار تندی
ای سرو بکشته جه مان
نباست ولی هر بلندی
گرم بامید و دشمان
برکه زند رشدند
اینچون ز درآمده دوست
نا دیده دشمان بکندی
ای آنه اینه که ناگاه
در تو سر آه درد مندی
با رب جه شدی اکر برحمت
باری سوی منظر فننده
پرور بخوان حديث وسی
باشد که بگرد از تو بندی
یکچند بخوره عمر بگذشت
من بعد برآن سرم که چندی
بنشین و صبر بیش گیم
دنباله کار خوشی گیم
آن برگه گلست با بنا کارش
بای باهوش بگرد جمشدی نوش
دست جومنی یبد قیامت
با قامت جون توش در آمیش

نوعی
بنم طرم که کس می‌یاد
نشکست لی بز هر خندی
فریاد که عمر کوه‌ی کرد
در حوصله نشان بلندی
کی سیحه فریدم که هرگز
نگاشت زار خوشی بندی
زنار بیایید کین صید
گردین تنهد بهر کندی
یکبار بسهوه نگشتم
در خاطر بخت ارجندی
نآن بندت دارم ازوی
دریزو جلوه کندی
بخوان بخون بن دریفم
ترکن لب خواهش ارچه چندی
بنشین و در کمن نقص را
بنم نه گذارم این قصه را

Only the first hemistichs of the bait i-tarjī (پیت ترجمه) of the two poems have the same meaning. The two poems are similar chiefly in metre and to some extent in theme as well,

1. I.0. MS. ff. 19b - 20a.
though there is difference in regard to rhyme (with the exception of the two bands reproduced above), the number of bands and the number of lines in each band.

Nau'i has expressed ghazal like scattered ideas in this poem. Some couplets are quoted below:

The poet does not even like the idea of injuring the feelings of his enemy.

کس پاس گلاب می تدارد * زنی‌سان که من آبی‌ر دشمن

Humbleness:

برگرد هم‌ا که استخوابم * نگیست که زاغ برتابد

My bones are so worthless that even a crow would not like to touch them.

بن بیت شکنان زنود برستیست * گریب بترش و خود شکن بانش

Breaking the idol is not sufficient unless the idol of self-worship is broken. Self-worship is the root of all evils.

He deprecates faithlessness in love:

یکه دیده، وصد نظر حراست * یکه دیده، ویک نظر تنامت

This depicts his utter sincerity in love.

A lover is indifferent both to the Ka'bah and the temple.

نوع قمی ز خوشی بردار * در قطع طریق آسمان

بنخانه و کوه هردو غیراند * به زین سفری کن ارتوانی

1. I.O.MS. f.20a. 2. Ibid., f.22b. 3. Ibid., f.22a.
4. Ibid., f. 21b. 5. Ibid., f.23a.
Tarkīb-bands

(1) The first tarkīb-band is an elegy on the death of Ḥakīm Humām al-ʿDīn as the following lines indicate.

This elegy begins with:

and ends with:

The poem contains six bands comprising 86 couplets.

A study of this poem reveals that Ḥakīm Humām al-ʿDīn was on very good terms with Nauʿī and that explains as to why the poet bitterly laments his death.

The whole poem is replete with genuine pathos and sorrow. Some lines are quoted as under:

In some manuscripts this poem is wrongly entitled as an elegy on the death of Malik Qummī.

1. I.O.MS. f.25a.  2. Ibid., f.23a.  3. Ibid., f.25b.  
4. Ibid., f. 24a.  5. Ibid., f.24b.
The poet metaphorically styled حکم حمّم as "Plato of the time," "Christ of the period," "a great philosopher," "god of Greek wisdom," "lord of the realm of learning and dispenser of justice of the four communities".  

The second tarkīb-band is in praise of the Holy Prophet. It begins with:  

and ends with:  

This poem consists of ten bands containing 134 couplets.  

Some verses are quoted below:  

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<td>1.</td>
<td>I.O.MS. f. 25a.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Ibid., f. 24b.</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Ibid., f. 23b.</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Ibid., f. 23b.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Ibid., f. 24a.</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Ibid., f. 26a.</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Ibid., f. 30a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following verses are characterised by novelty and elegance of diction and the similes contained in them are sublime and pleasing.

The third tarkīb-band was written on the death of Prince Dināyatī in 1013 A.H. It begins with:

There are six bands in this poem and the total number of couplets is 87.

The chief feature of this poem is the true elegiac tone that runs through it.

1. I.O.MS. f. 29b. 2. Ibid., f. 26a. 3. Ibid., f. 26b. 4. Ibid., f. 30b. 5. Ibid., f. 33b.
زین رستخاری فتنه که درملک جان فتاد
سیب وار زلزله برآسان فتاد
دود یکه درستهنهان بود سالها
برقی شده بخومن آخزبان فتاد
بتخاک، آخزبان فتاد

از آه آه سرد کوک، هفت آسان پریخت
مانند پرگل که زیاد خزان فتاد
گل بی که داشت گل بر زمین فتاد
هم چاکه یکه بود بلبل از آشیان فتاد

ای باگبان طریوت سرو وسمن جه شد
و آن گل که یکه بود جسم وجرخ جه شد

روز وشب دو مملکت از غم نیاه شد
آن آئنیا دهل وماه دکن جه شد

آن تن که از بیشه گل ولاله عار داشت
در حیرت که افت او با کفن جه شد
سیلاب گریه خانه چشم خراب کرد
چندان گریستم که نشان از نظر نماد
در سنگه خانه بسکه نم گریه کار کرد
به هر خبر سابه آتش شر نماد

شیرین شد از خلاوت غم اشکه تلخ من
چندان گریستم که نما در چر سه نماد

از عهد حسن شاه جهان دانیال حیف
وزر روزگار بوسیب بصر جمال حیف

1. I.O. MS. f. 30b.
2. Ibid., f. 32b.
3. Ibid., f. 32a.
4. Ibid., f. 32b.
The profoundly touching verses quoted above, truly depict the bleeding heart of the poet on the death of the beloved Prince.

The poet here mentions an important trait of character of the Prince that is, his love of his close associates:

They reciprocated his affection warmly. The following verse shows the love and faithfulness of the poet towards the Prince.

The Prince died of excessive drinking. It has been referred to by the poet in this verse:

1. This poem reminds us of the great Haft band i Kāshī which became so popular that a number of poets copied it. Fāḍlī's elegy on the death of his own son was also written in the same rhyme and metre.
(4) The fourth tarkīb-band was written for Prince Parwiz. It begins with:

صفیربلبل وبد پنجه گل آپیز استَ * که عهد خسروی شهزاده برپیز است *

and closes with:

زنقش بای توام راه دیده برگل باد * صدى نامی نطول جون نواي بلبل باد

This tarkīb-band consists of five bands wherein the total number of couplets is 47.

Nau'î who was at Burhānpur at the time of the Prince's arrival at that place, has written the poem to welcome the Prince. Some of its couplets are quoted below:

زهراهه ۸ طلب قاضی نگاه رسید * که نورچشم جهان بین پادشاه رسید

خیبر دهر ویسه سلطنت برپیز * که نازمهد برا بد بخت گاه رسید

خزان گستش وبیار آد و جهان بشکفت * نفیس نسم و هوس عشق کشت و جان بشکفت

In the following verses the poet alludes to his own faithfullness and sincerity towards the Prince:

لخیل سلمه زاد غلامیت نوی * بهان فشانى اگر عرضی اعتقد دهد

زنقش بای توام راه دیده برگل باد * صدى نامی نطول جون نواي بلبل باد

1. I.O.M.S. f. 33b. 2. Ibid., f. 35a. 3. Ibid., f. 34a.
4. Ibid., f. 35a. 5. Ibid., f. 34b. 6. Ibid., f. 35a.
The Prince was sent by Jahanigir on a military expedition to the Deccan:

زبرق حبله خطسر نوشت دشمن را * جوسوى برخم زنگی به پیچ و ناب انکن

بترکار دلیرانه بزنم دشمن را * زگرید جلوه نمگ ذرشاب ناب انکن

جنانکه برق نجل گدخت بیکر طور * بخصم یکه نظر ازجشم نم خواب انکن

Quatrains (Rubais)

The quatrains of Nau'i mostly deal with didactic and erotic themes and in some lines we find personal references:

Aloofness from the people of the world.

نیى در آشناى كم نزین * لب برلاین شراب نارس، نزین

خاز ارکف دشمنان بترکار کن * گل برسر دوستان ناکس نزین 2

Refrain from disappointing others and breaking their hearts.

نیى دل خویدگان بسیون مخراش * وزناخت ناله سنگه و آهن محراب

گرگل چین زیافتان رخت خواه * ویرت شکی دل برهم مخراش 3

Abstinence from desires:

نیى گل پای آرزو بوکان * بلهانه بنشغل عاتیت خویکن

این دشمن غم که عرض نامند * گرچه به شور بسوی او ریکن 4

1. I.0. MS. f. 34a. 2. Ibid., ff. 92a-92b. 3. Ibid., ff. 93b-94a. 4. Ibid., f. 97b.
In the following quatrain we find a strange example of self-praise when the poet says that on account of love he has risen so high that the beloved feels proud of his greatness.

In the following quatrain he has versified a proverb so beautifully:

Some of his good quatrains are as follows:

In the following quatrain the poet beautifully invokes God for forgiveness.

1. I.O.MS. f. 96b.  2. Ibid., ff.92b-93a.  3. Ibid., f.92a.  4. Ibid., f. 91b.  5. Ibid., f.98b.  6. Ibid., f.93b.
The poet never stooped down to like obscenity. The utmost that he could write is the following:

ای گرده چرخ بزرمال دهنت * کوی کوه شلم خال دهنت
نام داپور نقطگی کند دروسشت * برنققت کشند اگر مثل دهنت

Fragments (qi't'ahs) of Nau'i

Four fragments of Nau'i are available in his poetical works.

One of them is stated to be in praise of Prince Dāniyāl and the poet has referred to the city of Ilahābad in the opening line thus:

ابانسم جهان بولد اک آباد * که پاسبان بهشتی درازدار بهار

The poet refers to his patron thus:

فرغ نغ چرخ دانیال کبیرشاد * که هست سابه اوبرمن آتیاب نثار

One important point to be noted is that some of the lines of the fragment are available in one of the odes and I shall do no better than to quote such lines below:

1. I.O.MS. f. 93a. 2. Ibid., ff.94b-95a. 3. Ibid., f.35a. 4. Ibid., f.35b.
The other fragment has some reference to a breach of repentance for drinking wine. From one of the copies of Nau'ī's Diwān, it appears that the fragment was composed by Mīrzā Rustam Khan and not by Nau'ī himself. The manuscript further reveals that the next fragment was written in reply to the above one. The fragment is otherwise of no particular significance. One point, however, to be emphasised is that some of the manuscripts indicate that the two form only one fragment.

1. I.O. MS. f. 35b. In my edition of the odes these are written complete thus:

2. In one of the lines (I.O. MS. f. 35b) of this fragment the word ناشیانه is used. The learned scholar Qādī 'Abd al-Wudud of Patnāh in his article on the Diwān of Nau'ī says: "I have not come across the word ناشیانه in any (Persian) work excepting the Diwān of Nau'ī." Fikr w Nazar, Oct. 1960, p. 61 Note 4.
The Bānkīpūr Manuscript is one of them. Some of the verses are given below:

دریا دلا بهار کفا ابیر خاطر

نیرنگ حسن طبع تو باهم بهار نیست

اگ جانشین ساقی کنار ترحیم

کلاب حیات بر لب محاشگوار نیست

نوی یگانه بلبل باغ ونای نست

شکرو شکاینش زخرق و بهار نیست

The fourth fragment has no particular significance in regard to Nau'i's life.

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