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PREFACE

BANARAS, the most sacred city of the Hindus, is a miniature India. Among other numerous places of interest and historical importance it also contains a great number of sepulchres, the best known of which is that of Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazīn, at Fāṭimān.

The history of the Shaikh—like that of all the other great men—is inextricably interwoven with fiction. Anecdotes—some of them really very funny—have crept up and been handed down from generation to generation. Some of these anecdotes have been recorded in the *Nigāristān-i-Fārs* by Muḥammad Ḥusain Azād who to our greatest surprise, in face of his undisputed scholarliness, has neither doubted their authenticity nor probed into the sources of his information. And his zest has led Azād into pitfalls. For example, he puts the well known controversy between Abu'l Faḍl and 'Urfi in the mouths of Ḥazīn and Ārzu. See *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 214. For the real facts see : *'Ud-i-Hindī*, p. 42, where Ghālib quotes from memory the contents of a letter from Jalāl-i-Tabatabāi to Shāhid-i-Hindī.

Be that as it is. The visitor to the tomb of Ḥazīn, today, is presented with the following tale by an elderly *mujāwar* (superintendent) who claims

for his family the post of *mujāwar* for four generations : Shaikh Ḥājī¹ was the minister of Yaman.² He was an expert geomancer.³ One day the King of Yaman asked his attendant to fetch him a glass of water. The latter did so. Without an outwardly reason whatsoever the King bid the attendant bring another glass. This surprised Shaikh Ḥājī who forthwith began to divine. After he had drawn his conclusions, he said to the King : "Your majesty has acted very unjudiciously in asking the attendant to bring you another glass when there was nothing wrong with the first one : it portends ill-omen." "What does it mean ?" enquired the King. "The meaning hereof is, O King," said Shaikh Hāji, "that this very attendant will murder your majesty and usurp your throne." The attendant, who was at this time by the door, overheard the conversation. Then he entered the room and gave the second glass of water to the king who drank it.

Time rolled by and the conversation between the king and his minister always preyed upon the mind of the attendant. Finding a chance one day, he stabbed the King and occupied the royal throne.⁴

¹ Corruption of Ḥazīn, though of course, Ḥazīn was a Ḥājī.

² Ḥazīn had never been in Yaman save for a few days when he visited it on his return journey from the pilgrimage. He was not even remotely connected with the court of Yaman.

³ For his powers of working miracles see pp. 117-9 *infra*.

⁴ This somewhat resembles the usurpation of the throne of Iran by Nadir Shah who on joining the service of Shah Tahmasp was called Tahmasp Quli (i.e., the servant of Tahmasp). Though the means adopted by Nadir Shah were quite different.

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The new King immediately sent a few soldiers to arrest and produce before him Shaikh Ḥājī whose mental prowess he feared much. Shaikh Ḥājī was at this time engaged with his science. While divining the events of the day he suddenly discovered the murder of the King of Yaman by his attendant and the despatch "of the soldiers in his own pursuit. On discovering this, he ran up to his wife,⁵ gave her the story of the murder of the King and informed her of his own unsafety, in a few sentences, and taking leave of her in a hurried manner ran out of the house. Just near the house he met the men of the King who asked him if he knew where Shaikh Ḥājī was. " Must be *in* his house," replied the Shaikh and resumed his flight. The soldiers entered the house and interrogated his wife of the whereabouts of her husband. She told them that the man that they had accosted at the door but a few moments ago was *none* else but her husband. But now it was too late for the soldiers. So, they informed the King of the whole affair who sent fresh soldiers in his pursuit. Further search, however, proved futile.

Shaikh Ḥājī, in the meantime, was making the best of his speed, avoiding all eyes. The evening found him in a thicket. Overpowered by hunger and thirst and exhausted by his day's journey, he reclined himself against the trunk of a tree.⁶ From an

⁵ From the following pages (133-135) we shall see that Ḥazīn never married in his life.

• A tree also plays an important role in the construction of Fatiman. See p. viii.

adjoining hole he heard a voice reciting a *merthiya*.⁷ This made him weep and sob which attracted the attention of the King of the Jinn who was holding a *majlis*⁸ in his palace under the hole.

The King of the Jinn, thereupon, sent out one of his slaves to find out the cause of the weeping. The slave came out of the hole and on meeting Shaikh Ḥājī asked him as to why he was weeping. Shaikh Ḥājī told him that his lamentation was due to the hearing of the *merthiya*. "Do you know any *merthiyas* yourself?" asked the slave. "I do," said Shaikh Ḥājī. "Would you like reciting one in the *majlis* of the King of the Jinn if I can get you permission from my master?" asked the slave. "By all means," replied Shaikh Ḥājī. "But to a word of warning: if the King is pleased with you, he will command you to ask of him anything that you like. Ask not for ought when he bids you do so for the first time, nor yet for the second time. But when he bids you do so thrice, ask him to grant me to you: for, I am worth all that he can give you—nay even more," said the slave. "So shall it be," said Shaikh Ḥājī. Thereupon the slave entered the cave and on emerging again he requested Shaikh Ḥājī to follow him.

On entering the hole, Shaikh Ḥājī found himself amidst a royal court. After exchange of salutations,

⁷ i.e., the elegies on the martyrs of Karbala, especially Imam Ḥusain.

⁸ Assemblages of the Shias during the ten days of Muharram when they mourn the martyrdom of the martyrs of Karbala.

the King of the Jinn asked him to recite a *merthiya*. Now, Ḥājī was well-versed in the art of *merthiya khwani* and endowed with a sonorous voice. The King was mighty pleased with his performance and required him to ask for anything that he liked. Shaikh Ḥājī, however, kept his peace ; nor did he ask for anything when the King desired him do so for the second time. At the third time he respectfully requested the King to grant him the slave that had invited him to the royal audience. On hearing this the King was very much upset. "Ask for anything else," said he to Shaikh Ḥājī, "and thy wish shall be granted." " Your majesty ! grant me the slave if you would grant me anything at all, else please it your majesty to grant me leave to depart," said Haji. " That is no fault of thine but that of our slave who hath tutored thee thus. But in face of our royal pleasure we do grant him to thee. Take him where thou wouldst, " said the king. Thereupon Shaikh Ḥājī and the Jinn took leave of the king, and came out of the hole.

" May I overthrow the kingdom of Yaman ?" asked the jinn. " No !" said Haji. "And may I kill the King ?" asked the jinn again. "No, neither that," said Shaikh Ḥājī. " What would you like me do then ? " enquired the jinn. " I would like you to take me to Banāras," said Shaikh Ḥājī. " Would you please close your eyes," requested the jinn. Ḥājī closed his eyes. Then the jinn asked him to open his eyes which Shaikh Ḥājī did—and behold there

they were *in* Banāras together.

From that moment onward the jinn used to reside in the left-side room of Shaikh Ḥājī's house and whenever Ḥājī required anything he had simply to extend his hand into the miracle room and would bring out the thing.

It so happened that, one night, Shaikh Ḥājī was sleeping under a myrtle tree standing at the spot where his tomb is situated now. In a dreadful dream he dreamt that night that drops of blood were dripping from the leaves of the tree and that all his clothes were drenched in the blood. Frightened to death he sprang to his feet, with a horrible scream on his lips, and tried to* interpret the dream. In so doing, it suddenly flashed on his mind that Bibi Faṭīma was expecting of him a memorium in her honour. Shaikh Ḥājī, therefore, caused Faṭīman to be constructed there.⁹

Another and somewhat earlier but no less funny a version of the story is as follows :—

Ḥazīn was a minister of the king of Irān :¹⁰ while Nādir, a youth, was an ordinary attendant there.¹¹ One day the king and his minister (Ḥazīn)

⁹ Faṭīman is a small room surrounded by a larger one, which in its turn is covered by a still larger one. Faṭīman is still in tact, and is adjacent to the southern wall of Ḥazīn's mosque.

As to the real facts about Faṭīman and the nomenclature, see pp. 139-145 *infra*.

¹⁰ Ḥazīn was never a Minister of the king of Irān, Yaman, India, or, in fact, any other place on the surface of the earth.

¹¹ Long before the accession of Shah Jahmasp—in the reign of Sultān Ḥusain—Nadir had immortalized his fame by defeating near Maṣḥhad the Uzbek Tartars who invaded Khurasan in 1720. In the

were trying hands at a game of chess. Meanwhile Nādir, who was standing close by, was commanded by the king to fetch him the hookah. Nādir did so. The king had some puffs at the hookah and then resumed his game. But while the king was smoking, a live coal fell on the foot of Nādir who, however, did not attempt to throw it away. It burnt the skin and flesh and was consuming through the bone »when the king was perturbed by the stench. On discovering the source of the odour he enquired of Nādir : "Why do you allow the fire to burn you thus ? " To this Nadir replied : " I would fain have my foot burnt by the fire than disturb the royal pastime by **my movements.**" "*Az in qurramsaq bu-i-Shahi mi dyad*" (this procurer stinks of royalty), remarked Ḥāzin. The words offended Nādir considerably but he did not give vent to his wrath.

It so happened, that in the political struggle for supremacy ensuing on the death of the king,¹² Nadir was successful in ascending the royal throne of Iran. Now he wanted to avenge himself on Ḥāzin for the use of the word "*qurramsaq* " for him. This put

above battle Nadir was in command of all the forces of the Beglerbegi of Khurasan. See Fraser : *The History of Nadir Shah*, pp. 73-79. Nadir joined Shah Tahmasp when he was a grown-up man and already the leader of a band of 20,000 men and after he had regained his own dominions from his uncle whom he murdered in about 1726-27. On entering the service of Shah Tahmasp, Nadir was made a Lieutenant-General. See Fraser: *The History of Nadir Shah*, pp. 82-89. He was appointed General in 1727-8. *Ibid.*, p. 90. Also see *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal* Lucknow ed., p. 80.

¹² The last king of Iran. Shah Tahmasp II, was deposed by Nadir Shah.

Ḥazīn into flight. He came to India and began to reside in Delhi.

In Delhi we have the many anecdotes of his poetic-minded servants and especially the versified answers of his servant Ramaḍān!¹³ But Ḥazīn could not reconcile his own delicate nature¹⁴ to the atmosphere of the court of Delhi and in consequence he left for Banāras where his tomb is to be seen up to the present day."

A third account of the life of Ḥazīn—as curious as the previous two and perhaps influenced by the second one—is to be found in the *Sham'* (monthly) January 1927, pp. 12-23.

This narrative (pp. 14-20) is a strange admixture of truth and falsehood; and is on the whole worthless stuff. This article was contributed to the journal by V. N. Mehta, Esq., I.C.S., Collector, Banāras (nowadays Member of the Board of Revenue, United Provinces) who had caused it to be written down by Professor Ṣāfar Ḥusain Ḍābiṭ. Professor Ḍābiṭ is himself uncertain of the element of truth in his article. See p. 20 (end). Ḍābiṭ's doubts have also necessitated a lengthy note by the editors of the journal. See pp. 22-23.

The facts in the article I have utilised in the main body of my work : some of its inaccuracies I

¹³ For some of these anecdotes see *Nigaristan-i-Fars*. The descendants of Ramaḍānī, an ignorant batch of weavers, are still to be found in Banaras.

¹⁴ In India Ḥazīn is generally reputed to be very delicate-natured. For the real state of affairs see : "His Nature," pp. 123-4 *infra*.

will now try to expose after reducing them into a constructive narrative of unusual brevity.

According to the narrative: Ḥazīn was the preceptor of Prince Ṭahmāsp II, son of Shah 'Abbās II.¹⁵ Nādir at that time was an ordinary soldier in the army or perhaps held the position of an attendant.¹⁶

One day in the course of teaching the prince, Ḥazīn felt thirsty and asked for a glass of water. Nādir brought him water in a cup placed in a plate. Ḥazīn began drinking water but Nādir did not put the plate under the cup (as was customary in those days) and some water fell on the cloak of Ḥazīn. He cast angry looks on Nādir and possibly may also have reproached him.

Nādir took away the cup, but he immensely disliked the demeanour (and solecism) of Ḥazīn and never again came into his presence.

After some days Nādir left Irān for his native land Afghānistān.¹⁷ He was fully aware of the state of Irān and the habits of its inhabitants. He instigated the people of Afghānistān to rise in a rebellion against Irān and became the king of that place.¹⁸ Ḥazīn had to quit Irān for fear of him.

Nādir had formed a very bad opinion of Ḥazīn ;

¹⁵ *Sham*, Jan. 1927, p. 14. Tahmasp II was the (third) son of Shah Husain and not of Shah 'Abbas II. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, 616.

¹⁶ *Sham*, Jan. 1927, p. 14. Nadir was never a soldier in the army of, or in personal attendance on, Shah Ṭahmasp II. See foot-note 11 *supra*.

¹⁷ *Sham*, Jan. 1927, pp. 14-15, Actually the process was reverse.

¹⁸ *Sham*, Jan. 1927, p. 15. A rank calumny. 'Nadir Shah's role in the history of Irān was that of a saviour—not of a destroyer.

for, when Nādir came to Delhi he told a man to call up Ḥazīn. The man replied : "Ḥazīn would not come either due to fear of you or on account of his own magnanimity."¹⁹

When Ḥazīn came to know of what had passed, he migrated to Lucknow.²⁰ Not feeling immune from Nadir Shah in Lucknow, Ḥazīn proceeded to Banāras where he was visited by Mahārāja Balwant Singh.

The narrative proceeds to relate the offer of some rupees and sovereigns by Ḥazīn to the Maharaja and the Maharaja's grant of some land including Aurangabad²¹ and some other lands to Ḥazīn.

At the end we have an entertaining account of the Nāwāb-wazīr Shujā'-ud-Daulah's visit to Ḥazīn. It terminates with an account of the poet Saudā's visit to Ḥazīn in Banāras²² a few days after the battle of Baksar.

¹⁹ *Sham*, Jan. 1927. p. 15. Ḥazīn was hiding in Walih's house. See p. 91 *infra*. Nadir, therefore, could not have possibly called for Ḥazīn.

²⁰ *Sham*, Jan. 1927, p. 15. This fact is not mentioned anywhere else.

²¹ Aurangabad is a place near Banaras.

²² Saudā's meeting with Ḥazīn is based on hearsay and not on any reliable documentary evidence. The story as constructed from Munshī Muhammad Anwar Husain Taslim's epilogue to *Kulliyat-i-Sauda* Newul Kishore edition 1289/1872, pp. 489-490 ; Āfaq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, pp. 27-28 ; *Sham*, Jan. 1927, pp. 17-18 ; and Shaikh Chand's *Sauda*, pp. 45-46, is as follows :—

On coming to India, Ḥazīn asked the people for the name of some master-poet of the time. They mentioned to him Sauda. When Sauda came to know of this, he himself went to see Ḥazīn in the latter's house. (See Āfaq, Taslim, and Chand. *Sham*, Jan. 1927, erroneously places the meeting in Banaras. Obviously, Sauda could not ignore Ḥazīn in Delhi where they lived together for 14 years.)

The first two accounts reproduced above represent no more than the unbridled excursions of fanciful minds foreign to true scholarship and equally ignorant of history and facts.

When Ḥazīn was informed of the visit of Sauda, he said : " What business has Sauda (literally madness) got here. Let him go to the market and be flung at with clods by the boys (lit. eat clods of the boys). [The beauty of the words lies in the association of the hurling of clods by boys on madmen. It should be remembered that Sauda also means madness.] Sauda, then, informed Ḥazīn, that it was Mirza. Rafrud-Din, poetically surnamed Sauda. On hearing this Ḥazīn called him in and requested him to recite some verses of his. Sauda replied: "I compose in Urdu and have come to listen to you." Ḥazīn read out his Maṭla (1st verse):

در شست چو برداشت کمانی و کمینی
نگذاشته یک صید زمانی و زمینی

Sauda praised the verse and assumed silence Thereupon Ḥazīn said to Sauda: "I have recited my verse, now please let me hear yours." Since Sauda had versified the very idea erstwhile, he recited :

ناوک نے تیرے صید نہ چھوڑا زمانے میں
تڑپے ہے مرغ قبلہ نما آشیانے میں

As Ḥazīn was not well-versed with Ūrdū, he asked bards to tell him the meaning of تڑپے. Sauda explained it to him in Irānī as می تپد: Ḥazīn then asked him to recite it over again. He was very much moved when he heard it for the second time. He slapped his knee (in excitement) and thus addressed Sauda : "Mirza Rafi ! you have wrought a miracle ; you did not spare even the مرغ قبلہ نما (i.e., the compass; literally means the Qibla-indicating bird). Thereafter Ḥazīn rose up, embraced Sauda, and made him sit close to himself. Ḥazīn then asked Sauda for further verses and Sauda recited :

ایوان عدالت میں تمہارے یا شاہ کیا دخل ہے ظلم کو عیاذ باللہ
شیشے کا جوہیں طاق سے رہ گئے ہے پاؤں پتھر سے بھی آتی ہے صدا بسم اللہ

Being at a loss to understand the meaning of شیشے کا جوہیں طاق سے رہ گئے, Ḥazīn asked the meaning of the word from Sauda who explained it to him. Ḥazīn enjoyed it immensely and remarked : "در پوچ گو بیان ہند خوب میگوئی"

(among the prattlers of India you compose well.)

The fabricators of these legends have miserably confused the little that they knew about Hazin, Nādir Shah and the histories of Irān and India. They had neither the capacity nor the determination and desire to differentiate between facts and fiction.

In his life of Sauda, Shaikh Chand deals with two *riwayats* or hearsay accounts which need special mention :

The first one refers to the conferment of the title of Poet-laureate by Hazin on Sauda (p. 45) and is based on Taslim's epilogue. The learned author has advanced two arguments in refutation of it (pp. 45 and 46). The second one refers to Sauda's relinquishment of Irānī in favour of Urdu due to Hazin's remark : "در پوچ گویند ہند خوب میگوئی" (Sauda, p. 99).

As a combined result of the two *riwdyats*, we are envisaged with a tricky problem : Did Hazin confer the title of poet-laureate on Sauda or did he simply dismiss him with the remark :

"در پوچ گویند ہند خوب میگوئی"

The answer seems to be that, Hazin was much impressed with the Urdu poetry of Sauda and he praised him highly. Hazin, however, formed a poor opinion about the Irānī of Sauda and hence his remarked referred to above. Whether Sauda gave up composing in Irānī at the advice of Ārzū, or some other Irānī poet or Hazin (see Sauda, pp. 40 and 99 this much is sure, that Sauda did not know Irānī well.

The advice of Ārzū cannot be meaningless. Besides, Sauda acknowledges his own weakness in Irānī in a *qit'a* quoted by Shaikh Chand (pp. 40-41). Incidentally, in the *qit'a*, Sauda also acknowledges the perfection of Hazin :—

نہیں ایک فارسی دان سے کہا کہ اب مجھکو
ہوئی ہے بندش اشعار فرس زہن نشیں
* * * *

کہا یہ بعد قائل کہ درں جواب تجھے
جو میری بات کاے یار تجھکو ہووے یقیں
* * * *

اگر فہیم ہے تو چشم دل سے کر کے نظر

زبان کا مرتبہ سعدی سے لے کے تا بہ حزیں
کہاں تک ان کی زبان تو درست بولیگا
زبان اپنی میں تو باندھ معنی رنگیں
دنا، ہند مد، دہ جا، اسر ہے گندے

To the expounders of these and similar theories, today, the only authority for their authenticity is an uncultured illiteracy and unscientific antiquity.

However, in face of the scanty and inaccurate information published about Ḥazīn so far and the vast stores of unexplored material, justice demanded an authentic and detailed treatment of the life and works of this great author which has been attempted in this work.

The present work, which has now assumed a separate individuality of its own, was originally intended to serve as an introduction to my edition of Shāikh Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn's "*Treatise on the Nature of Pearls, with an introduction, English translation, and foot-notes*" which I prepared in 1934 A.D. but which has not been published so far.

The earlier idea was abandoned on account of the enormous proportions which this work assumed : rendering it disproportionate for the object of

چنانچہ خسرو و فیضی و آرزو و فقیر
ساختن انہوں کا مغل کے ہے قابل تفسیر

Sauda also acknowledged his ignorance of Irani and his inability to correct the selections compiled by Ashraf 'Alī Khan and referred the latter to some other Irani scholars of the day. See *Ab-i-Hayat*, pp. 165-166 ; and *Sauda*, pp. 57-58.

The reasons for all this are to be found in the *Tadhkira-i-rjaz-i-Sakfiun* by Sarkhush who says: "Sauda did not come from a Delhi family. His ancestors were Kabulis who might have been speaking a mixed Pashto and Irani dialect. Sauda used to compose poor Irani verses in his youth whence it is not surprising that Ḥazīn should dub him as a پوچ گو. The tragedy of all this is that Sauda happened to be a pupil of Ḥatīm whose own language was not a standard one."

Thus we see that the great poet of Urdu was a poor poet of Irani.

introduction to a small treatise. It was then thought proper to publish it in a separate volume and many additions have been made to it since 1934 A.D.

It is astonishing to note that the internal evidence contained in the numerous writings of Ḥazīn—other than his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*—has not been utilised so far ; though some more of his works have also been published ere now. I have, therefore, spared myself no pains in eliciting all possible evidence.

The task of writing on Ḥazīn proved fruitful, in accordance with my expectations, because :—

(1) A large amount of contemporary material on Ḥazīn exists in India, and (2) many unknown works of Ḥazīn are extant in the libraries of India.

In spite of all that has been mentioned above, I have presented my work in the form of condensed notes under cross-headings ; although nothing would have been easier than to enlarge it to thrice its present volume.

It became imperative to give exact information about the names of books mentioned in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* because of certain unfortunate mistakes committed by Mr. F. C. Belfour, who has rendered many of the names unintelligible by translating them and through improper transliteration in his text and translation of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*. For example, Belfour translates " *Kitab-ul-Usul-ni-Kafi* " (Text, p. 68) as " *the book called Osol Kafi* " (Tr., p. 75) ; " *Sharh-i-Lumm'a ad Dimashqiya* "

(Text, p. 52) as " *Shark Lumaa of the Damaskan* " (Tr., p. 57) ; and transliterates " *Mughani-ul-Labib* " (Text, p. 20) as " *Maani-Ellibib* " (Tr., p. 19).

The translation of names—however scholarly and conscientiously done—leaves room for ambiguity and uncertainty. Therefore, I have chosen the direct method of giving the name as they are.

Also, with due regard to the antiquity of the times he worked in, and the difficulties that faced him in the form of scarcity of material and books of reference, Mr. Belfour's foot-notes—whenever given—are ultra brief and often incorrect.

Unfortunately, in his " *Hālāt-i-Ḥazin ma'-i-
* Intikhab-i-Kalam* " *Shirwani* Ṣaḥib has also erred in giving the names of famous standard classical works.

For example, he gives *شرح تجريد الهيئات* instead of *الهيئات شرح تجريد* (p. 16) ; *مقدمة الحساب* instead of *الهيئات شرح تجريد* (p. 16) ; *خلاصة الحساب* instead of *امور عامة شرح تجريد* (p. 16) ; *شرح طهة مشقيه* instead of *امور عامة شرح تجريد* (p. 18) ; and *شرح طهة مشقيه* instead of *شرح طهة دمشقيه* (p. 18).

I have, therefore, thought it expedient, and tried my best, to give exact information about the books mentioned in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* whenever I could do so.

Also, Mr. Belfour's negligence and carelessness in the matter, and the confusion wrought by some later writers, has compelled me to explain important geographical names.

I have partially depended on the translation of

Mr. R C. Belfour, comparing it carefully with the Bombay, Lucknow, and Banaras text editions and noting down the points of difference.

" The biographical literature of Persia is lamentably scanty," says Master in the Introduction to his Translation of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (p. i), "and there is no work which can give us the complete biographical sketches of all Persian authors. Consequently, it is extensively difficult to attempt to write a complete life of any Persian writer- Fortunately for us, our author has given us his autobiography which furnishes us with ample material to enable us to write a short sketch of his life, adapted to the scope of this little work. " The autobiography of Ḥazīn, popularly known as the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, may serve quite a useful purpose for one merely extracting material for a short introduction to the translation of a few chapters ; but the more earnest student has to take greater pains and consult more books as the autobiography takes us down to 1154 .A.H only and leaves uncovered the period from 1154 A.H. to 1180 A.H. viz., from the date of its composition to the date of Ḥazīn's death.

As a whole, this work is a systematic summary of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, supplemented by numerous contemporary and later biographical works, and books of reference.

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S. K. K.

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L I F E

THE biographee is universally known as 'Alī Ḥazīn. This name consists of two components : (1) 'Alī—which is his popular name; and (2) Ḥazīn—which is his *nom de plume*.

The designation 'Alī Ḥazīn does not include his real name, viz., Muḥammad—a name by which Ḥazīn signs himself in all his compositions. It is, therefore, an obvious mistake on the part of Shah Nawaz Khan¹ to call him 'Alī. Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat² and Abd-ul-Laṭīf³ incorrectly give his name as Muḥammad 'Alī. Muḥammad Riḍā⁴ calls him Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī by mistake. 'Alī is his *alias*.

Now, it is not a common practice to mix a part of the name of a poet with his *takhalluṣ*. But such instances are on record. For example, Siraj-nd-Din 'Alī Khan, with the *nom de guerre* Arzu⁵ is called Khān Arzu everywhere. This is an example from India and relating to the illustrious contemporary and chief opponent of Ḥazīn. For an instance from Iran, we may refer to the name 'Umar Khayyam, Here,

¹ *Mir'at-i-Aftab Numa*, Ḥabīb Ganj MS., Pers. 32/33, f. 168.

² *Majma'-ul-Fusah*, p. 94.

³ *Tuhfat-ul-Alam*, p. 518.

⁴ *Naghma-i-'Andalib*, Br. Mus. MS., Or. 1811, f. 65b.

⁵ d. in 1169/1756. *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 386. For Ārzu and his literary combats with Ḥazīn, see *infra*.

'Umar is the philosopher's name and Khayyam is his *takhallūs*.

His full name is Muḥammad,¹ called 'Alī, son of Abi Ṭalib,² son of³ 'Abd Ullāh,⁴ Ḥazīn's full name. son of⁴ 'Alī,⁵ son of 'Aṭṭa Ullāh, son of Ismā'īl, son of Ishāq, son of Nūr-ud-Dīn⁶ Muḥammad, son of Shihab-ud-Dīn⁷ 'Alī, son of

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Banaras ed., p. 2, omits Muḥammad.

² See: His Father—*infra*. In the *Risala dar Fihrist-i-Asatidha-o-Tasnifat-i-Khud*, R. A. S. B. Ms., 1778 (f. 266) he is called Abi Tallab (أبي طالب). In the *Hada'iq-ush-Shu'ara*. Curzon Collection Ms. 702 (f. 426), the name is given as Shaikh Muḥammad Lahijani-*mutahhallus* Zahid. In Master's Introduction to the Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (p. 1) he is called Abū Ṭalib.

³ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Banaras ed., p. 2, and *Tarikh-i-Banaras* by Maa:har Ḥasan, p. 378, omit *bin* after Abi Talib.

⁴ See: His Grandfather—*infra*.

⁵ See: His Great Grandfather—*infra*. The Punjab University MS., Pe. II, 20, f. 30a omits 'Alī.

•The author of *Shudhur-ul-'Iyan*, Shams-ul-'Ulama Dr. HidSyat Ḥusain's MS. (f. 228) and F. C. Belfour in his Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (p. 1) have committed an error by adding *bin* after NGr-ud-Dīn. The word *bin*, in this position, does not occur in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*. Punjab University Ms., Pe. II, 20 (f. 30a); *Risāla dar Fihrist-i-Asātidha-o-Tasnifat-i-Khud*, R.A.S.B. MS. 1778 (f. 2666); *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*. 'Abd-us-Salam (Lytton Library) MS. 600/21; Lucknow ed., p. 3; Bombay ed., p. 3; Banaras ed., p. 2; *Safina-i-Ishrat*, Bankipur MS. 699 (f. 186a); Āfaq's *Tadhkira-i-Hazin* (p. 4); and Master's Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-id-Aḥwāl* (p. 2). Also see footnote 7 *infra*.

⁷ Here again, F. C. Belfour (Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhhirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. 1), has erroneously added *bin* after Shihab-ud-Dīn. This addition is not warranted by the Punjab University Ms., Pe. II, 20 (f. 30a); *Shudhūr-ul-'Iqyan*, Shams-ul-'Ulama Dr. Hidayat Ḥusain's MS. (f. 228); *Risala dar Fihrist-i-Asatidha-o-Tasnifat-i-Khud*. R. A. S. B. MS. 1778 (f. 2666); *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*. 'Abd-us-Salam (Lytton Library) MS. 600/21; Lucknow, ed., p. 3; Banaras ed., p. 2; Master's Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (p. 2); *Safina-i-Ishra'U* Bankipur MS. 699 (L 186a); and Āfaq's *Tadhkira-i-Hazin*, p. 4. And because the correct form (i.e., Shihab-ud-Dīn 'Alī) occurs in the very next sentence of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Belfour's Tr., p. 3; Lucknow ed., p. 4; Bombay ed., p. 1; and Banaras ed., p. 2.

There is a divergence among the biographers of Ḥazīn as regards the

'Ali,¹ son of² Ya'qub, son of 'Abd-ul-Wahid, son of Shams-ud-Din Muhammad, son of Ahmad, son of Muhammad,³ son of Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Alī,⁴ son of Shaikh Tāj-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm, known as Zāhid-i-Gillānī,⁶ son of Roṣṣhan Amīr, son of Bābil, son of Shaikh Pindār (or Bundār) al-Kurdī as-Sanjānī.⁶

Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī received his *nom de guerre* "Ḥazīn"—a pen-name so true to his doleful life—from Shaikh

Nom de guerre.

intermediaries that link him to his great ancestor Shaikh T5j-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm, known as Z5hid-i-Gillānī. These links are 15 according to *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin* Bombay ed., Vol. II, p. 615; *Miftah-ut-Tawdrikh*, p. 348; and *Khulṭiṣat-ul-Afkar*. Bankīpur Ms. 712, f. 219a, and 18 according to *Khizdna-i-'Āmīra*, p. 193; Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 227; *Yad-i-Baifa* Bankipur MS. 691, f. 65 and *Safina-i-Khushgu*. Bankīpur Ms. 690, f. 182a—to mention only a few names.

The errors of Belfour are due to his basing his edition of the *Tadhkirat-uUAḥwāl* on 2 MSS. only : of which one happens to be the unreliable MS. of Mr. Keene. E.G. Browne has erred by following *Khizana-i-'Āmīra*.

¹ M.C. Master's Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. 2, omits 'Alī. In the *Risala dar Fihrist-i-Asatidḥa-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*. R.A.S.B. MS. 1778, f. 2666, he is called Jamal-ud-Din 'Alī.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Banaras ed., p. 2; *Tarikh-i-Banaras* by Mazhar Hasan, p. 378; and Āfaq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*. p. 4, omit *bin* after 'Alī.

³ *Risala dar Fihrist-i-Asatidḥa-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*, R.A.S.B. MS. 1778, f. 2666, omits " son of Muḥammad."

⁴ Āfaq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, p. 4 and Master's Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. 2, omit 'Alī and call him ' Jamal-ud-Din ' only.

Jamal-ud-Dīn 'Alī was elder than his consanguine brother Shams-ud-Dīn. He had attained to old age and grown grey hair in the lifetime of his father, Shaikh Zahid. At the time of his death. Shaikh Zshid, however, appointed Safi-ud-Din (the founder of the Safawi dynasty) and not Jamal-ud-Dīn 'Alī as his successor. At the death of his father, Jamal-ud-Dīn Alī became attendant of the shrine of Shaikh Zahid. See *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiya*, Berlin ed., pp. 85 and 100-101.

⁵ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* Lucknow ed., p. 4; Belfour's ed., p. 1; and Banaras ed., p. 2. In the *Nata'ij-ul-Afkar*, Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 51/19 (p. 170) he is incorrectly called Shaikh Zahid-i-Gillānī Suhrawardī.

⁶ *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*, Bombay ed.. Vol. III, pt. IV, p. 325.

Khalīl Ullāh of Tālīqān¹ [ignorantly called Talcan (Taliqan) of Khalīl by Master,² and, Khalīl Ullāh Tai'fani by Afaq].³ Khalil Ullah occasionally composed verses and sometimes commanded Hāzin to recite anything that Hāzin had composed.⁴ This relates to the time when Hāzin was under the instruction of the Shāikh. Khalīl Ullāh was an ascetic who wore for forty years the same rag ; and died a few years after the death of Shaukat Bukhārī who died in 1107 A. H.⁵ Hāzin stuck to his title all his life long.

According to Hāzin's own statement⁶ he was born on Monday, the 27th of Rabi'-Date of Birth. ul-Akhir, 1103 A.H. (January 17,⁷

¹ طالقان : از شمال و مشرق محدود است بمازندران، از جنوب بساو جبلاغ، و از مغرب بقزوین، طالقان ناحیه ایست کوهستانی. برای تفصیلات رک: جغرافیای مفصل ایران ج ۲ ص ۳۵۲-۳۵۵ و نزهة القلوب ص ۱۰-۱۱.

² Master's Introduction to his Tr. of Hāzin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. i.

³ Afaq's *Tadhkira-i-Hāzin*, p. 7.

⁴ See: *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 12.

⁵ See: *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'ashirin*, Lucknow ed., p. 984:—

شوکت بخارائی: در سال هزار و یکصد و هفت هجری
بدار وصال انتقال نمود بعد از چند سال که عارف ربانی شیخ
خلیل الله طالقانی رحلت نمود متصل به تربت او مدفون
گردید.

For the life of Khalīl Ullāh see: *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'ashirin*, Lucknow ed., pp. 953-954.

⁶ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 10.

⁷ 7th January according to *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 159; Introduction to Master's Tr. of Hāzin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* p. i; and *Sham* Jan. 1927, p. 14. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 277 has 19th January.

1692 A.D.) at Iṣfahān.¹

Hāzin's father, Abl Ṭālib, the second² son of Shaikh ⁴Abd Ullāh was born in **Father.** the year 1058 A.H.³ At the age of twenty [in the year 1078 A. H.], Abl Ṭālib was seized with a desire to visit the learned men of Irāq, and with that intent repaired to Iṣfahān. Abl Ṭālib did so in the lifetime of his father who fearing lest Abl Ṭālib may fix his abode in that city, sent him no more money than was sufficient for his necessary expenditure, so that Abl Ṭālib had not the means which he wanted for the purchase of books, and copied many of them himself. His library consisted of 5,000ⁱ books. He had corrected all and written commentaries on most of them. He had copied seventy of them himself—including such voluminous works as *Tafsīr-i-Baiḍāwī*,

¹ "Iṣfahdn. . . .an important town in Persia, formerly the capital under the Safawids, now the chief town of the province of Irak 'Adjami."

For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 528-529; and *Jughra'fiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Ira'n*, Vol.11, pp. 409-429.

² By inference. See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 5:—

سه پسر از ایشان [شیخ عبد الله] متخلف شد: شیخ عطاء الله و شیخ ابوطالب و شیخ ابراهیم شیخ عطاء الله که ولد اکبر بود شیخ ابراهیم که کمترین برادران بود.

³ Because he died in 1127 A.H. aged sixty-nine. See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal* Lucknow, ed., pp. 6-7.

⁴ Master in the Introduction to his Tr. of Hāzin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal* p. i, incorrectly says 4,000.

⁵ "It only remains to speak of the commentaries on the Qur'an,.... that of Zamakhshari (d. 1143 A.D.), which is entitled the *Kashshaf* and that of Baydawi (d. 1286 A.D.) are the best known and most highly esteemed in the Muhammadan East." *A Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 144-45.

Qamus-ul-Lughat, Sharh-i-Lum'a¹ the whole of *Tahdhib-i-Hadzth*,² and others of the like. At his father's death Abi Talib gave up the thought of returning to Lāhijān ;³ bought a house at Isfahān ; and added to its size. Abi Talib died in 1127/1715 at the age of 69 years.⁴ He was buried in the famous cemetery called Mazār-i-Bābā Rukn-ud-Dīn, close to the tomb of Maulānā Ḥasan Dāniṣhmand⁶ of Gilān.⁶ Ḥazīn has written an elegy on the death of his father. Six verses of the elegy are quoted in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 10 and repeated on p. 920 of the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow edition.

The following compositions of Abi Talib are mentioned in Ḥazīn's *Risāla dar Fihrist-i-A sātīdha-o-Taṣnīfāt-i-Khud*. R.A.S.B, Ms. 1778, f. 274a:—
(1) *Risala fi Tahqiq-il-Harakat*—Ḥazīn wrote a

¹ *Al- Lum'a ad Dimashqiya* : by Muhammad ibn-i-Makki al-Āmili ash-Shah id, d. 782/1382. The book contains the conception of law according to the Imamites. The author has himself written a commentary on it entitled *ar Raud.a al-Bahiya*. See : *Brockelmann*, II. 108. In the *Mashhad Cat.*, " Fiqah ", Chapt. V, p. 61, the commentary is attributed to Shaikh Zain-ud-Din. Also see : *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astdr "an Asmd'al Kutub wal Asfa"*, A. S. B. ed., p. 350.

² *Tahdhib*: composed by Tusi It is one of the four standard works of the Shi'as on Hadith. The other three being: *Istibsar*, *Kafi*, and *Faqih*. *Mashhad Cat.*, " Akhbar ", Chap. IV, p. 21.

³ *Lahidjan*: A town in Gilan to the east of the Sufid-Rud and north of the mountain Dulfak."

For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 8; and *Jughrdfiya-i-Mufassal-i-Iran*, Vol. II, pp. 270-271; and *Nuzhat-ul-Qulub*, p. 163.

⁴ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., pp. 6-7.

⁵ Belfour's Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, p. 15, omits Danishmand.

⁶ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal* Lucknow ed., pp. 9-10.

" *Gilan*....a province of Persia south of the Caspian Sea and North of the Elburz Chain.*"

For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 170; *Jughrafiya-i-Mufassa-i-Iran*, Vol. II, pp. 263-280; and *Nuzhat-ul-Qulub*, p. 162.

commentary on the treatise. (2) *Risāla fi 'Amal-il-Musabī' Wal Mutasī' fi Da'irat-i-Alif, ba, jim min at-Ta'alim*—This was explained by Hazin. (3) *Risāla fi Qaul-i-Arastu*... is a treatise discussing Aristotle's statement : " Why is rain-water lighter ? " It has been translated by Hazin. (4) *Risāla fi Bayān-i- " Qul-ir-Rūḥ min Amr-i-Rabbi "* —translated by Hazin. (5) *Risāla fi Taḥqiq-i-Mā Hu-al-Ḥaqq fi Masalat-il-'Ilm*—translated by Hazin. (6) *Risāla "Arafatūl Lāh. . .* —translated by Hazin.

Hazin's mother was the daughter of Ḥājī Ināyat Ullāh, a native inhabitant of Iṣfahān.

Mother.

During Abī Ṭālib's stay at Iṣfahān, as already mentioned before, Ḥājī 'Ināyat Ullāh took a fancy for him and on Abī Ṭālib's return from the pilgrimage gave him his daughter in marriage. Hazin's mother died in about 1129 A.H.¹ She was survived by her mother who died in 1134 A.H.²

Hazin had three brothers only : and was the eldest of them all. Of the other three one

Brothers.

died in his infancy and the two in their youth³ in 1134 A.H. towards the end of the

”بتاریخ سبع و عشرين و مائة بعد الف والد علامه طاب ثراه چنانکه گذارش یافت بجوار رحمت حق پیوست و ازان حادثه اختلالی در احوال پدید آمد بعد از دو سال والده مرحومه نیز رحلت نمود.“

Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl, Lucknow ed., p. 49.

”القصه در اواخر ایام محاصره [اصفهان در سنه ۱۱۳۴ هجری]

هر دو برادر و جده در گذشتند.“

Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl, Lucknow ed.

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 7-8.

siege of Isfahān. Hazin does not mention the names of his brothers in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*.

Shaikh 'Atā Ullāh was the eldest son of Shaikh 'Abd Ullāh and an uncle of Hazin.

Uncles.

He was famous for his knowledge of Fiqah and Ḥadīth. He was pious and religious. He died in old age without leaving any issue.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm was the youngest son of Shaikh 'Abd Ullāh and another uncle of Hazin. He was a famous calligraphist of his time and was well-versed in epistolary composition and *belles-lettres*. He was a poet and also composed enigmas.¹

Shaikh Ibrāhīm is the author of the Scholia entitled *Rafi'-ul-Khilaf on the Kitāb-i-Muhhlif* of 'Allāma Ḥillī; and another Scholia entitled *Kashf-ul-Ghawāshī* on *Kashshaf*² up to the chapter "Akhfaf"; and another treatise in explanation of the *Kitāb-i-Uqlidas*.³

Shaikh Ibrāhīm died at Lahijan⁴ in 1119/1707 and was buried in the same place.⁵ Shaikh Ibrāhīm left behind him a son named Shaikh Mufid and two daughters. After some time the son also died in the prime of his youth.⁶

¹ *Ibid*, p. 5. ² Confer foot-note 5 on p. 5 *supra*.

³ *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'a'sirin*, Lucknow ed., p. 951.

⁴ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 6; and Banaras ed., p. 4.

⁵ In the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal* Lucknow ed., p. 6, Hazin says about him:

ده سال پیش از والد علامه در لاهیجان برجهت ایزدی پیوست

This yields the year (1127 — 10 =) 1117 A.H. It is, of course, incorrect and rough calculation.

The *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'asirin*. Lucknow ed., p. 952 gives the exact date of Shaikh Ibrāhīm's death, viz., 1119 A.H. and says that, he was buried at Lahijan.

⁶ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 6. Also see, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 371.

Badl'-ul-'Aşr,¹ popularly known as Hāji Rabi'² and poetically sumamed Anjab, had

Maternal Uncle.

told Muşhafi (the author of '*lqd-i-Thuraiyā*) that, Hāzin was his (Anjab's) sister's son.³

Why Hāzin should not mention such a reputable relative in his *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal* or *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āşirtn* is surprising! There are not, however, any chronological impossibilities to justify the doubts of Muşhafi; nor has he any reasons for the same.

Shaikh "Abd Ullah, Hazin's grandfather, was the only son of 'Ali *ibu* 'Aṭa Ullah.

Grandfather.

Shaikh 'Abd Ullah acquired his education from his father. He was a pious man and had renounced the world. He was satisfied with a little of what accrued to him from his profession and landed property and distributed the rest among his friends and the needy.⁴

Shaikh 'Ali, the son of 'Aṭa Ullah, Hāzin's great-grandfather, was a teacher of

Great-grandfather.

Khan Aḥmad Khan, the King of Gllān. Due to Shaikh 'All's literary attainments, Aḥmad Khan was very reverent towards him.⁵ Shaikh 'All is the author of *Sharḥ-i-Hadith-i-Mi'raj*; Irani commentary on the *Qanun*;⁶ written at the

¹For his life see : '*lqd-i-Thuraiya*, Aurangabad ed., pp. 5-6.

² Called Haji Rabi' Maghrib! Dehlawi in *Ruz-i-Rushan*, p. 78. According to this authority " Anjab came to Delhi in his youth and settled there. In poetry he was a disciple of Murtada Quli Beg Isfahan!." See *idem*,

³ See : '*lqd-i-Zhuraiyd*, Aurangabad ed., p. 6.

⁴ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwdl*, Lucknow ed., p. 5.

⁵*Safina-i-Ishrat*, Bankipur MS. 699, f. 1866.

⁶ *Qdnun*: composed by Shaikh Abu 'Ali bin 'Abd Ullah Sinai, born

request of Khan Aḥmad Khan; *Risala-i-Ithbat-i-Wajib; Risala-i-Hall-i-Shubhat-i-Jadhr-i-Asamm*; an extensive commentary on the *Fuṣuṣ* of Farabi;¹ and a *dīwān* of about 2,000 verses. His *takhalluṣ* is *Wahdat*.²

Shaikh Zahid, named Taj-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm, was
 His 16th Ancestor : a disciple of Saiyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn³
 Zahid-i-Gilānī. of Gilān,⁴ the disciple of Abu'l
 Qāsim Junaid Baghḍadī⁶ whose chain of Shaikhs
 reaches the first Imam, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb.⁶ Shaikh
 Zahid was the spiritual director of Shaikh Ṣāfi-ud-
 Dīn the ancestor of the Ṣafawī Kings.⁷ Shaikh Zahid
 married one of his daughters, named Faṭīma, to Ṣāfi-
 ud-Dīn.⁸ Faṭīma bore three sons to Ṣāfi-ud-Dīn.⁹

in 373 A.H.; died in 427 A.H. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Tib" Chap. XVI, p. 29.

¹ The *Fuṣuṣ* of Farabi is known as the *Risalat al-Fuṣuṣ fi'l-Hikmat*; edited Dieterici and Hyderabad. *Brockelmann I*, 212.

"Muḥy '1-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Alī Ibnu'l 'Arabī (or Ibn 'Arabī) was born at Mursiy. . . . We know little concerning the events of his life, which seems to have been passed chiefly in travel and conversation with Ṣufīs and in the composition of his voluminous writings. . . . Two of these works are especially celebrated . . . the *Fatuhāt al-Makkiyya* . . . and the *Fuṣuṣu l-Hikam*, or 'Bezels of Philosophy' . . . The *Fusus*, a short work in twenty-seven chapters, each of which is named after one of the Prophets, is no less highly esteemed, and has been the subject of numerous commentaries in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish." See Nicholson's *A Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 399-401.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*. Lucknow ed., p. 4.

³ *Habib-us-Siyar*, Bombay ed., Vol. III, Pt. 4, p. 325.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 6. The *Nusakh-i-JahZn Ard*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 141, f. 1976, gives Tabriz instead of Gilan.

⁵ The *Nusakh-i-Jahan Āra*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 141, f. 197b gives Shaikh Jamāl-ud-Dīn Aḥramī instead of Junaid Baghḍadī. Junaid died in A.H. 298/A.D. 911. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 203.

⁶ *Nusakh-i-Jahan Ārd*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 141 f. 1976; *Habib-us-Siyar*, Bombay ed. Vol. III, pt. 4, p. 325.

⁷ Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 115.

⁸ *Habib-us-Siyar*, p. 6.

⁹ *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Safamya*, Berlin ed., p. 36.

Shaikh Zāhid was born in 615 A.H.¹ He died in Rajab⁹ 700 A.H.³/March 1301 A.D., aged eighty-five. He was buried by Şafl-ud-Din at Siyaw Rūd⁴ in Gllān. For his external appearance see *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Şafawiya*, Berlin ed., p. 20. His *Akhbar* have been the subject of a treatise by Ḥazīn.⁶

We shall see, later on, that Ḥazīn was patronized in Īrān by Sultān Ḥusain Relations. Şafawl⁶ and his son Shah Tahmasp IL⁷ This is entirely due to Ḥazīn's own personality. For, the royal favours of the Şafawl emperors from the earliest times down to 1059 A.H.⁸ were exclusively

¹ *Ibid*, p. 28.

² *Ibid*, p. 93.

³ *Ibid*, p. 93; and *Habib-us-Siyar*, p. 6. According to the *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 424, he died in 735 A.H. This is incorrect. For, 735 A. H. is the date of death of Şafi-ud-Din. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 372 and *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Şafawiya*, Berlin ed., p. 36.

⁴ *Nusakh-i-Jahan Ārd*, Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 141. f. 197b; *Khulasat-ut-Tawdrīkh*, Tehran MS., f. 6b. The *Habib-us-Siyar*, p. 6, reads Siyaward.

⁵ See ; *Risala dar Fihrist-i-Asatidha-o-Tasnifat-i-Khud*, R. A. S. B. MS. 1778, f. 271b.

⁶ Ḥusain bin Sulaiman, the Şafawid, Shah of Iran, 1694-1722. Murdered by Ashraf in 1729 A.D. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 341-42.

"Tahmasp II, third son of Shah Ḥusain, proclaimed heir-presumptive during the siege of Isfahan by the Afghans (1135/1722) ; . . . made a treaty with Peter the Great . . . held out at Farḥabad in MSzandarSn . . . and was joined there by the future Nadir Shah, who brought him 5,000 men, . . . Tahmasp . . . undertook successfully the siege of Eriwan and was defeated by the Turks at Koredjan, near Hamadan in 1144/1731; in the following year he concluded peace by ceding Transcaucasia . . . Nadir protested against the conclusion of the treaty, marched on Isfahan, seized Tahmasp and sent him to be imprisoned . . . putting on the throne a son of the Shah, aged eight months, under the name of Shah 'Abbas III. . . ." See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 616.

⁷ Viz. the date of composition of *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Şafawiya* by Shaikh Husain Zshidi, the descendant of Shams-ud-Din who was a son of Shaikh Zāhid.

showered¹ on the relations of Hāzin descended from Shaikh Zahid (in a line of descent distinctly different from that of Hāzin's) through his son Shams-ud-Din by his (Shaikh Zahid's) second wife who was the daughter of Akhī Sulaiman of Gil-khwāran.² This Shams-ud-Din was the brother of Fatima, the first wife of Ṣafi-ud-Din,³ and the son-in-law of Ṣafi-ud-Din by his second wife.⁴ Thus, the matrimonial relationship between Shams-ud-Din and Ṣafi-ud-Din was two-fold.⁶ Hence, the royal favours.

Hāzin's family originally lived at Astara,⁶ till one of his ancestors Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn ⁴ All quitted Astārā and Home.

¹ See *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Safawiya*, Berlin ed., pp. 103-115.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85 and 101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵ It should be noticed that there are two discrepancies in the *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Safawiya*. First, Ṣafi-ud-Din is called the husband of the daughter of Akhī Sulaiman (See *Ibid.* Berlin ed., p. 36 where the reading is Zukrakhi Sulaiman). The daughter of Sulaiman was married to Shaikh Zahid. Secondly, the daughter of Ṣafi-ud-Dīn that was married to Shams-ud-Din is called the daughter of Fatima. Such a marriage is illegal and unlawful in Islam. See *Silsilat-un-Nasab-i-Safawiya*, p. 36.

⁶ استارا: بندر استارا که سابقاً جزء آذربایجان بوده و راهی از اردبیل بان متصل میشود در شمال کرکانرود و در روی خط سرحدی واقع شده و بواسطه رود کوچک استارا بدو قسمت منقسم میشود: که شمالی آن آستارای رومی و جنوبیش آستارای ایران و توقفگاه کشتی های است که از بندر پهلوی به باکو میروند و قسمتی از محصولات آذربایجان از آنجا بخارج چل میشوند.
 رک: جغرافیای مفصل ایران ج ۲ ص ۲۸۰.

Reading Astara as "Asta ra" and translating it "to Asta" is a mistake originally committed by F. C. Belfour (Tr. of Hāzin's, *Tadhkirat-ul-Afīywal*,

took up his abode at Lāhijān, the loveliest city of Gīlān; and from that time forward Lāhijān became the permanent dwelling of Hazin's ancestors.¹ Hazin is, therefore, called al-Lahiji or al-Lahijani² in addition to az-Zahidi and aj-Jilani. He is also called Iṣfahānī. In one instance that I came across, he was called Banarasi. He is incorrectly called Qazwini in the *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, p. 226.

At the age of four [i.e., in the year 1107 A.H.], Hazin was appointed to instruction by his father. Hazin began his education under Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shīrāz³ who had come to Iṣfahān. The Mullā after the Bis'millāh, made him repeat three times the following verse: "Lord enlarge my breast, make what Thou hast commanded me easy unto me, and loose the knot of my tongue, that they may understand my

p. 1), and repeated by Master (Tr. of Hazin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, p. 2); *Nigdr*, February 1930, p. 22; and Shirwani Sahib (*Life of Hazin*, p. 8). It is erroneously called "Ashta ra" in *Safina-i-'Ishrat*, Bankipur MS. 699, f. 186a.

Astara is mentioned again in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*. Lucknow ed., p. 77; Belfour's ed., p. 157. It is curious to note, that, the name is mentioned correctly in Belfour's Tr. of Hazin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, p. 170, where a note on the same is also given.

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 4; and Shirwani's *Halat-i-Hazin ma'-i-Intikha'b-i-Kalam*, p. 9.

² Mr. Ārvi incorrectly states in *Nigar*, February 1930, p. 23 and October 1935, p. 13, that, Hazin was called Iṣfahani because he had been brought up at Iṣfahan although he was born at Lahijan. Also confer Tassy's *Memoire sur les particularites de la Religion Musulmane dans l'Inde*, p. 112, footnote 1.

³ Shiraz, a town in Persia, capital of the Province of Fars in a vast plain to the south of Ispahan."

For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. III, pp. 376-377; and *Jughrafiya-i-Mufasssal-i-Iran*, Vol. II, pp. 218-222.

speech !"¹ Then the Mulls read the *Fatiha* (i.e., the first Chapter of the *Qur'ān*) and caressed him.

In two years" time, i.e., by the year 1109 A.H., Ḥazîn was capable of plain reading and writing. He persued many Irāni books both in prose and verse; and being put to learn grammar and etymology and jurisprudence, he soon acquired them. He was then taught some logic.²

The following is a short account of the teachers from whom Ḥazîn directly gained and learned; notwithstanding a whole number of literati and dignitaries with whom he had mere disputation or association. Though Ḥazîn also mentions his teachers in his *Risala dar Fihrist-i-Asmidha-o-Taṣnifat-i-Khud*. R.A.S.B. MS. 1778 ff. 267a-268a, the following list is entirely constructed from the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*:

"What I did not learn at lectures," says Ḥazîn,³ "Tread and committed to memory in private, and asked my father the difficult passages."

At the age of eight, in the year 1111 A.H., his father appointed Ḥazîn to improve his *Qir'at*. He studied this art for two years [upto 1113 A.H.] under Maulāna Malik Ḥusain Qārî; and followed a few treatises on the art.⁴

At the age of ten i.e., from the year 1113 A.H., Ḥazîn's father himself "instructed him and Ḥazîn

¹ *Qur'an*, XX, 25-28.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed., pp. 10-11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

read the following books under him : Jami's *Sharḥ-i-Kafiya*¹; Nizam's *Sharḥ-i-Shafiva*²; the *Tahdhib* ; *Sharḥ-i'Jsaghochi*³; *Sharḥ-i-Shamsiya*⁴; *Sharḥ-i-Mutali' dar Mantiq*⁵; *Sharḥ-i-Hidaya*; *Hikmat-ul-'Ain*⁶ with commentary; Compendium of *Talkhis*⁷ (Rhetoric); the whole of *Mutawwal*⁸; *Mughrii-ul-*

¹ *Sharḥ-i-Kafiva*. called *Fawa'id-i-Diyd'iya*, is an Arabic commentary of Mulla 'Abd-ur-Rahman Jami, d. 898 A.H. It is a famous printed book commonly in use among the students. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Ṣarf wa Naḥw" Chap. XII, p. 14, *Asafiya Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 696.

Al-Kafiya, the subject of the commentary, is a small book on grammar; composed by Ibn al-Hajib d. 646/1248. *Brockelmann*, I, 303.

² *Sharḥ-i-Shdfiva*: is an Arabic commentary by Nizam-ud-Din Ḥasan bin Muḥammad Naishapūri. . . . This commentary has been repeatedly printed and is in use among the students. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Ṣarf wa Naḥw" Chap. XII, pp. 17-18.

Al-Shafiya, on which the commentary is written, is a work composed by Ibn-al-Hajib d. 646/1248. *Brockelmann*, I, 305.

³ *Kitab al Isaghochi*; by Abhari, d. 663/1264. *Brockelmann*, I, 464 ; *Mashhad Cat.* " Mantiq " Chap. II, p. 2.

⁴ *Sharḥ-al-Shamsiya*; is a book on logic by Qutb-ud-Din Muḥammad bin Muḥammad ar-Rszi, d. 766 A.H. in *Dimashq*. The *Sharḥ* was composed at the instance of Khwaja Ghijath-ud-Din. See : *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Asṭar 'an Asma'al Kutub wal Asfar*, A. S. B. ed., p. 341.

⁵ *Sharḥ-al-Mutali' fil Mantiq*: by Qutb-ud-Din Muḥammad bin Muḥammad ar-Razi, d. 766 A.H. It was composed at the instance of Khwaja Ghijath-ud-Din. See: *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astar 'an Asma'a! Kutub wal Asfar*, A. S. B. ed., p. 353.

⁶ *Hikmat-ul- Ain*: is a book on metaphysics and physics by al-Katibi al-Qazwini, d. 675/1276. *Brockelmann* I, 466; *Mashhad Cat.*, " Mantiq " Chapt. II, p. 49.

⁷ *Talkhis-ul-Miftah*: is a book on Ilm-ul-Bayan. It is an extract from the 3rd part of *Miftah-ul-'Ulum* of Sakkaki. It is composed by Jalal-ud-Din Muḥammad bin 'Abd-ur-Rahman Qazwini, known as *Katibi-i-Dimashq*. There are many commentaries on the book, but the best known are (1) *Mukhtasar-ul-Ma'dni*; and (2) *Mutawwal*. The former is a commentary shorter than the latter. *Peshawar Cat.*, pp. 206-207 ; *Brockelmann*, I, 295 ; *Mashhad Cat.*, " Ma'anī " Chap. XIII, p. 2.

⁸ *Sharḥ-i-Mutawwal*; by Mas'ūd (called Sa'd, in *Mashhad Cat.*, " Ma'ani " Chap, XIII, p. 13) bin 'Umar at-Taftazani. It is a commentary on the *Talkhis-ul-Miftah* of Qazwini. Sarkis' *Mu'ajam*, p. 637 ; *Mashhad Cat.*, " Ma'ani " Chap. XIII, p. 13.

*Labib*¹; the *Ja'fariya*²; *Mukhtasar-i-Nafi'a*³; *Irshad*⁴; *Shara'i-a-Ahkam* (in *Fiqh*); *Kitab man la Yahduruh al-Faqih*⁵; *Mu'allim-ul-Usul*⁶ and some other treatises.

He read the greater portion of the book called *Tahdhib-ul-Ahkam** of Shaikh Tusi in the lyceum of Aqa Hadi, the son of Maulana Muhammad Salih Mazandarani.

Hazin read from his father *Tafsir-i-Safi*⁸ of

¹ *Mughni-ul-Labib*: is an Arabic work composed by Abu 'Abd Ullah Muhammad bin 'Abd-ud-Din Yusuf bin Hisham Ansari, d. 762. It is one of the greatest books of Nahw and is in use among the students. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Sarf wa Nahw", Chap. XII, p. 37.

² *Ja'fariya*: is an Arabic work composed by 'Ali bin 'Abd-ui-'Al Kirki. It is a well-known book. There are many commentaries on the work. It has also been printed. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Fiqh". Chap. V, p. 32.

³ *Al-Mukhtasar an-Nafi'*: is a book on jurisprudence according to the Imamites, composed by Najm-ud-Din Abi Qasim Ja'far, d. 676 A.H. It is an abridgement of the book called *Shara'i-ul-Islam*, Sarkis' *Mu'ajam*, p. 790; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Fiqh" Chap. V, p. 115; *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astar* "an Asma'al Kutub wal Asfar, A. S. B. ed., p. 498.

There are many well-known books under the name, e.g., those by Shihab-ud-Din and Taftazani.

⁴ *Irshad-ul-Idhhan ila Ahkam-al-Iman*; is a work on jurisprudence by Shaikh Jamal-ud-Din, d. 726 A. H. *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astar* "an Asma'al Kutub wal Asfar, A. S. B., ed. pp. 38-39.

⁵ *Kitab man la yahduruh-ul-Faqih*; is a book on law composed by al-Qumi, d. 381/991. For MSS. of the same see *Bankipur Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 183; Vol. II, p. 221. The book has been printed. Also see *Brockelmann I*, 187; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Akhbar", Chap. IV, p. 82; *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astar* 'an Asma'al Kutub wal Asfar, p. 563.

⁶ *Mu'allim fi Ustui al-Fiqh*; by Imfim Fakhr-ud-Din ar-Razi. *Kashf-uz-Zunun*, Vol. II, p. 459.

Tahdhib al-Ahkam: by Tusi. MSS. of the work are preserved in Bankipur Library (Nos. 266 and 480); *Brockelmann I*, 405.

⁸ *Tafsir-i-Safi*; the full name of the book is *as-Safi fi Tafsir-al-Qur'an*. It is in Arabic. The commentator is Mulla Muhammad bin Muhammad Muhsin al-Fa'id Kashani known as 'Ilm-ul-Huda. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Tafsir" Chap. III, pp. 20 and 46.

Maulana Muḥammad Muḥsin¹ Kaṣḥani.

On their way to Lahijan, Hazin read from his father *Ilahiyat-i-Sharḥ-i-Tajrid* and *Zubdat-ul-Usul*,² whenever they alighted at a stage.

On their (Ḥazīn and his father's) arrival at Lāhijān, Ḥazīn visited his uncle and all the men of learning, rank, and ability there. His father employed himself in conference and disputation and Ḥazīn attended his classes as one of his pupils.

By his father's direction, Ḥazīn studied the treatise called *Khulāṣat-ul-Ḥisāb*³ under his uncle. Ḥazīn visited Lāhijān in 1113 A.H., at the age of ten and remained there for a year, viz., 1113-1114 A.H.⁴

On their return from Lāhijān to Iṣfahan in 1114 A.H., Ḥazīn's father gave him instruction in the treatise entitled *Tashriḥ-ul-Aflak*⁵ and an epitome or two in astronomy.

For a space of about three years, Hazin was

¹ *TadhkiraUul-Aḥwal* Belfour's ed., has: "Ḥasan".

² *Zubdat-ul-Usul*: composed by Baha-ud-Din al-'Amili, d. 1030-31. It has been printed. See Sarkis' *Mu'ajam*, p. 1263; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Usul" Chap. VI, p. 13; *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astar 'an Asma'al Kutub wal Asfar*, A. S. B. ed., p. 303.

³ *Khulāṣat-ul-Ḥisab*, by Shaikh Baha-ud-Din 'Amili. The book contains one Muqaddamah and 12 Chapters. It has been printed repeatedly. *Peshawar Cat.*, No. 1693; *Qamus*, p. 1263; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Riyadi". Chap. VII, p. 18; *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astar an Asma'al Kutub wal Asfar*, A. S. B. ed., p. 208.

⁴ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'asirin*, Lucknow ed., p. 951 and *Tadhkiirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 24.

⁵ *Tashriḥ-ul-Aflak*: composed by 'Amill. It deals with the elements of astronomy. Lithographed, Delhi 1294 A.H. and 1312 A.H. *Brockelmann II*, 414; *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astar 'an Asnutal Kutub wal Asfar*, A. S. B. ed., p. 123.

instructed by the aforesaid Shaikh Khalil Ullah of Taliqan from whom he derived his takhallus "Hazin". In the days when Hazin was under his instruction, Khalil Ullah had retired to Isfahan and he died there.¹

At the death of Shaikh Khalil Ullah, Hazin's father consigned him to the instruction of Shaikh Baha-ud-Din of Gilan, who had been a pupil of Mir Qawam. With him Hazin studied for some time and read a portion of the book *Ihya'-ul-'Ulum*;^{*} several treatises on the astrolabe; and the *Sharh-i-ChaghmznV*

In Isfahan, Hazin studied the *Tafsir-i-Baidam*; the *Jami'-ul-J wami'* of Tabrasi;⁴ and the *Umur-i-'Amma'-i-fEharh-i-Tajrid?* in the lecture-room of

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwad* Lucknow ed., p. 12 read with *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'dsirin*, Lucknow ed., p. 953.

²ⁿ Some of the most important Arabic works of reference on Sufiism are—the *Ihya'ul 'Uluma al-Din*, or *Revivification of the religious sciences' by Ghazali (d. 1111 A.D.)." *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 338.

¹ *Sharh-i-Chaghmini*: Mahmud bin Muhammad Chaghmini KhwSrazmi wrote *Mulakhkfiyas fi lldhiydt* in 808 A.H. It deals with the kinds of bodies—terrestrial and celestial. It is known as *Chaghmini*; and very few people know the real name.

Qadizada Rumi wrote a commentary on it in 813 A.H. In its published form, the book and commentary are known as *fhahrh-i-Chaghmint*. See *Peshawar Cat.*, No. 715, etc.

⁴ *Jami-ul-Jawami' fi Tafsir al Qur'dn*; composed by Jabarsi, d. 548/1153. He composed the book in 542/1147. MS. preserved in India Office 64. Brockelmann I, 405; *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astar 'an Asma'al Kutub wal Asfar*. A.S.B. ed., p. 152. In *Mashhad Cat.*, "Tafsir" Chap. III, p. 23, the book is called *Jawami' al Jami'* and described as an abridgement of the *Tafsir* called *Majma'al Bayan*.

Sharh-i-Tairid-ul-Kaldm: is a commentary on the *Tajrid-ul Kalam* of Nasir-ud-Din 'Ali at-Tusi, composed by Ibn-ul-Mutahhar al-Hilli, d. 726 A.H. See *Qamus*, p. 240.

Mirz5 Kamal-ud-Dīn Ḥasan¹ of Fasa²

Hazin read the *Istibsar*³ of Shaikh Tusi and *Sharḥ-i-Lumm'a ad-Dimashqiya*⁴ with Ḥājī Muhammad Tāhīr of Isfahān who was one of the greatest lawyers of his time.⁵

Soon afterwards at the desire of Shaikh Inayat Ullah of Gilan who was a friend of Hazin's father and was at that time occupied in teaching at Isfahan, Hazin read with him the *Manṭiq-ut-Tajrid*, and the *Najat*⁶ of Shaikh Abu 'Alī bin Sina.

Next Hazin attended Amir Saiyid Hasan of Taliqan, who lectured him on the *Fuṣūṣ-ul-Hikam* of Shaikh-ul-'Arabi, and a commentary on the *Hiyakil-un-Nur*.⁷

In those days Hazin felt a desire to learn medicine and he read some part of the *Qanun* from Hakim Maslha'i.

¹ Belfour's Tr. of Hazin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. 56 has "Ḥusain",

² Fasa known in earlier times as Basa-Sir, a town in Fars, four days' journey S. E. of Shiraz."

For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 80: *Jughrafiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-han*, Vol. II, pp. 237-238; and *Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb*, p. 125.

**Istibsdar*: The full name of the work is " *al-Istibsar fi ma Akhtatafa min al-Akhabar*." It was composed by Abu' Ja'far Muhammad ibn al-Hasan at-Tusi, d. 460. See *Bankipur Cat*, Vol. I, p. 185; *Brockelmann I*, 405; *Mashhad Cat.*, "Tafsir", Chap. III, p. 23; and *Kaṣḥf-ul-Ḥujub wal Astir 'an Asma'al Kutub wal Asfar*, A. S. B. ed., p. 42.

⁴ See footnote 1, p. 6 *supra*.

⁵ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*. Lucknow ed., p. 26; *Shudhur-ul-Iqyan fi Tarajim-ul-A'yan*; *Shams-ul-Ulama Hidayat Ḥusain's MS.*, Vol. II, f. 214.

• *Kitab al Najat*: dealing with Logic, Physics, and Divinity. It is an extract from *Kitab-uṣ-Ṭḥ-sh-Shifa*. Printed in Rome in 1593; and Cairo 1331 A.H. *Brockelmann*, I, 454.

⁷ *Hiyakil-un-Nur* by Shihab-ud-Dm Suhrawardi Maqtul. Printed in 1335 A.H. See *Mu'nis-ul-Ushshaq*, Delhi ed., p. 12.

Soon afterwards he attended Mirzā Muḥammad Ṭahir,¹ son and successor of Mirzā Abu'l Ḥasan of Qā'in and for a length of time studied and investigated some treatises on astronomy,² the *Sharḥ-i-Tadhkira** (on astronomy), the *Tahrir-i-Uqltdas** the *Tahrir-i-Mijasti* and *Qawanin-i-Hisabiah*⁶

Hāzin now felt a desire to inform himself on the questions and truths of the different religions, and concerning the followers of the various sects. He became intimate with the doctors of the orders of Christians and their Padres and especially with one named *Khalifa Awanus*, a man of profound learning. From *Khalifa Awanus*, Hāzin learned the Gospel, and obtaining commentaries⁷ upon it, he thoroughly investigated the articles of their faith, and principles of religion, and read a great number of their books.

Among the Jewish inhabitants of Iṣfahan, Hāzin gained the confidence of one named *Shu'aib*, and

¹ Ṭahir d. about 1144 A.H., viz. 10 years before the date of composition of the *Tadhkirat-ul-AḥwdU* See *Ibid*, Lucknow ed., p. 28:—

تا ده سال قبل ازین در حیات بوده و رحلت نموده-

² *Rasa'il-i-Hi'at* according to *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 28; and Bombay ed., p. 28. The *Banaras* ed., p. 24, on the other hand, has *Risala Hai at*.

³ *gharh-i-Tadhkirah* by Khafri. See *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astar 'an Asma'al Kutub wal Asfar*, A. S. B. ed., p. 328.

⁴ For *Tahrir-i-Uqlidas* " see *Brockelmann I*, 511.

⁵ *Tahrir-i-Majasti* by Abu Ja'far Nasir-ud-Din Tusi, d. 672/1273, *Brockelmann I*, 511.

⁶ *Shudhur-ul-'lavdn fi Tarajim-ul-A'yan*, Shams-ul-'Ulama Hidayat Ḥusain's MS. has : *Qawdriin-ul-Hisdb*.

⁷ So, according to *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed., pp. 28-29. The *'lqd-i-Thuraiya*, Rampur MS. 52, f. 58, on the other hand, incorrectly credits Hāzin with translating the *Pantateuch* and the Bible.

took him to his house. From Shu'aib he learned the Bible and had the interpretation of it written for him, and informed himself of the truth of all that they maintain.¹

Ḥāzin acted in the same way with regard to the varieties of the Islamic belief. He read the books of every sect, and considered what each had to say, discreetly and anxiously remarking on their arguments.

Next Ḥāzin went to Shiraz where he attended the lectures of Shāh Muḥammad Shirazi, on *Kitab-ul-Uṣūl-ul-Kāfi**, and during most of the hours of both night and day Ḥāzin was studying by his side.

Ḥāzin read the *Tablat-i-Shifa*³ *Ilahiyat-i-Sharḥ-i-Isharat** *Hawasht-i-Qadima*⁵ *wa Jadida*, etc. under Akhund Masiḥā' of Fasā, the Shaikh-ul-Islām of Fārs.⁶

Ḥāzin read Ḥadīth, the *Kiīab-i-Wafī*⁷ of the late

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 29.

² *Kitab-i- Usul-ul-Kafi*: is one of the three parts of the Sook *Kaft* written by Muḥammad Ya'qub al-Kalini ar-Razi, called Ra'is-ul-Maḥaddithīn by the Shī'as. The book *Kafi* is considered by them as a standard one, and consists of the three parts: *Usul*, *Furu*, and *Rauda*. *Mashhad Cat.*, "Akhbar " Chap. IV, p. 64 ; *Peshawar Cat.*, No. 623A ; and *Bdnkipur Cat*, V, 1, 179.

³ A part of the book called *Shifa* composed by Abu Sina.

⁴ *Sharḥ-aUlshdrat* by Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan at-TGsi, d. 672 A.H. *Kashf-uUHujub wal Astar an Asma'al Kutub wal Asfar*, A. S. B. ed., p. 322.

⁵ *Al-Hashiyat-ul-Qadima*: is ad-Dawwani's supercommentary on Qushji's commentary on Nasir-ud-Dīn at-Tusi's theological treatise entitled *Tajrid-ul-Kalam*. See *Cat. of Buhar Library*, by Ḥidayat Ḥusain, p. 103.

⁶ For his life see *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'dṣirin*. Lucknow ed., pp. 942-949.

⁷ *Al-Wdfi*: composed by Maulana* Muḥammad Muḥsin Faḍl Kashani. The book consists of 15 volumes, *Mashhad Cat.*, "Akhbar " Chap.

Mullā Muḥsin, and other sciences under Maulana Luṭf Ullāh Shirāzī.

He read the book called *Talwṭḥat*¹ of Shaikh Ishraq, and a portion of the *Qanun* under Maulana Muḥammad Bāqir, known by the title of "Ṣufi".

Hāzin met with a Dastur of the Magi in Beida² and learnt from him all that the Dastur knew concerning the principles, doctrines, and history of his sect.

On his going to Ardakan³ Hāzin gained the solution of some difficult questions from Maulana 'Abd-ul-Karīm Ardakānī.

And last of all, Hāzin also attended the lectures of Maulānā Muḥammad Ṣadiq of Ardistan⁴ and read under him many famous and unfamous books on Theoretical and Practical Philosophy. The Maulana

IV, p. 103. In the *Kashf-ul-Hujub wal Astar 'an Asmd'al Kutub wal Asfar*, A. S. B. ed., pp. 598-599, the author is called Muḥammad bin Murtada^a called Muḥsin al-Kashī.

¹ *Talwihat fil Hikmat*: See *Mu'nis-ul-Ushshaq*, Delhi ed., p. 13, II, No. (1); and Brockelmann, I, 437. 2.

² بیضا: طول آن ۴۸ و عرض ۱۸ کیلو متر است؛ از شمال محدود به کامفیروز و از جنوب به حکومت شیراز و از مشرق به کربال و از مغرب باردکان می باشد.

برای تفصیلات رکز: جغرافیای مفصل ایران ج ۲ ص ۲۲۵-۲۲۶ و نزهة القلوب ص ۱۲۲-۱۲۳.

³ *Ardakan*. (modern pronunciation also Ardekun), town in Persia situated 32½ N. Lat. and 53, 50 E. Long. (Greenw.)."

For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 426-427; and *Jughrafiya-i-Mufasssal-i-Iran* Vol. II, p. 227.

⁴ *Ardistan*, a Persian town which in the Arabic Middle Ages belonged to the province of al-Djibal (Media)."

For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 427; and *Jughrafiya-i-Mufasssal-i-Iran*, Vol. II, p. 425; and *Nuzhat-ul-Qulub*, p. 68.

died in 1134 A.H.¹

Hazin could write the various forms of hands very beautifully.² He was an expert Penmanship. in the following forms of penmanship—Thulth, Nuskh, Raqa', and Shikastah,³ He also used to write in the Shafiai hand.⁴ According to *Naghma-i-Andalib*⁵: "Abu'l Qasim (the father of the author of *Naghma-i-Andatib* who had become a disciple of Hazin in a dream) suddenly got in the morning a *diwan* of the Shaikh bearing his (Hazin's) signature and written in the Shafi'al script."

Hazin is especially known for his Shikastah. Many of his extant writings are in this hand. According to 'All Ibrahim Khan,⁶ Hazin wrote the various forms of penmanship so beautifully, that his writings served as a model for the calligraphists of the age.

The author of *Tadhkira-i-Husaini* (P. 106) tells us that Hazin knew the Zhen and Pazhend perfectly well. This solitary statement has not been corroborated by any other authority. There exist, however, a few compositions of Hazin, dealing with the religion and beliefs of the Magians. Hazin probably learnt the Zhend and Pazhend from the Magians with

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwadh* Lucknow ed., p. 47.

² *Riya4-ush-Ehu*[%]ara, 'Abd-us-SalSm MS. 630/51, f. 1046; and *Naghma-isAndalib*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811. f. 65b.

• *Tadhkira-i-Husaini* p. 106.

⁴ *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bankipur MS. 716, f. 545.

⁵ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 666.

⁶ *Khulasat'ul'Kalam*, Bankipur MS. 704, f. 211a

whom he came into close contact for some time. See p. 22 *supra*.

Hazin refers to the excursion of his heart only once. To sum up his statement: 1
 Love-affair. He was attracted, in his youth, by the beauty and allurements of an accomplished lady. As a result of Cupid's arrow he developed a severe rheumatism. Amongst other physicians, he was treated by Mirza Sharif. Ultimately Hazin recovered the heart that he had lost; whereas in the course of the treatment the physician lost the life that he had loved.

As a result of the pangs of love, Hazin was under severe physical and mental affliction for a space of two months. But at the end of that period he recovered and returned to his occupation of teaching and learning.

The life of Hazin is fully covered by the twelfth century A.H. The first portion of
 His Time. his life consisting of 43 years (1103-1146 A.H.) was chiefly spent in Iran and is completely covered by the first half of the twelfth century. The second portion consisting of 34 years (1146-1180 A.H.) was spent in India and is roughly covered by the latter half of the said century.

A literary or political history of the time of Hazin in Iran and India is, thus, a similar history of the first and second halves of the twelfth century A.H., respectively.

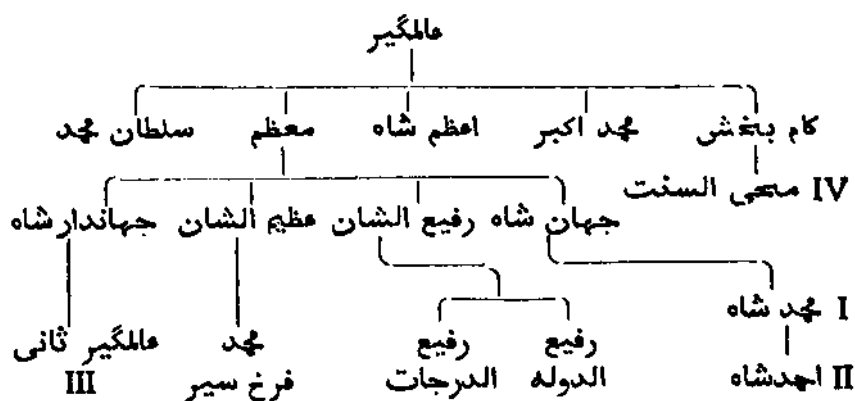
¹ *Ta4kbiraUul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., pp. 30-31.

I do not, however, propose to go into the details of either; as sufficient material on both the subjects is easily forthcoming to the more zealous reader.

For the political history of Irān during the first half of the twelfth century A.H., I would particularly refer the reader to the *Ātashkadah* of *Ādhar* besides the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal* of Ḥazin.

As regards India, only two names are of use and interest to us: viz., Muḥammad *Shah* and *Shah* 'Alam. A most comprehensive account of the reigns of these kings is to be found in the *Siyar-ul-Mutā-akhirin* of Ghulgm Ḥusain. For *Shah* 'Alam the student is referred to *The History of the Reign of Shah-Aulum* by W. Francklin, 1798 A.D.

I would only give here a geneological table of the emperors of India from the time of 'Alamgir I to Bahadur *Shah* II. In the following table the Roman numerals refer to the order of succession:



As regards the condition of literature in the time of Ḥazin, nothing better can be done than to give

the following opinions:—"Four hundred years ago the Persian language (or at any rate the written language, ...) was to all intents and purposes the same as it is today...."¹ "From the literary point of view this century [1111-1215 A.D.] is perhaps the most barren in the whole history of Persia, ..."² "The eighteenth century of our era (A.D. 1722-95) was the poorest in literary achievements"³ Writing about the century 1100-1200 A.H. 'Azad⁴ says: "For Irani writing (literature) this century was equally unfortunate both in Irān and Transoxania. Genuineness of purpose had been exiled of phraseology. The very defect was considered to be perfection itself." According to Dinshah J. Irani:⁶ "For these four hundred years (1500-1900 A.D.) the poetry of Persia had become stereotyped.... the desire to keep within the boundary set down by classical poets made their followers imitate and copy them only, for four hundred years.

Reviewing the literary atmosphere of India at the time of arrival of Ḥazīn in this land in 1146 A.H., Nawwāb Amln-ud-Daulah' Azīz-ul-Mulk 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khan Bahādur Naṣīr Jang Khalīl, who was a literary man himself and a keen observer of the literary activities (especially in the latter half of the twelfth

¹ E. G. Browne's, *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 159.

² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁴ *Sakhundan-i-Fars*, p. 91.

⁵ *Poets of the Pehlavi Regime*, Bombay ed., p. 107.

century), observes in his *Khulāṣat-ul-Kaṭām*¹ (composed in 1198/1783): " At the time of his (Ḥāzin's) arrival in India there was not left any trace of knowledge or sign of learning; because of the King's (i.e., Muḥammad Shah's) perpetration of sport and play and the nobles' indulgence in pampering of the body and self-indulgence. Men of all professions, having transgressed their limits and relinquished their former rules, were committing inauspicious deportments and originating abominable and unpraiseworthy fashions."

It was in tempestuous and turbulent times like these that Ḥāzin wrote and composed, both in Arabic and Īrānī; and on all conceivable subjects of the day. The disturbance caused in Irān by the Afghans, Turks and Russians and the indifference of the Ṣafawī kings toward panegyrics on the one hand, and the invasion of India by Nadir Shah³ and the jealousies of the Indian poets on the other, were serious handicaps in the career of Ḥāzin in Irān and India respectively. It was in unfavourable times like these, that, Ḥāzin composed his four *diw'dns* and the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*—compositions that can easily bring laurels to the writer of any age. And though most of his compositions are at the best mere translations, commentaries and imitations, he has also some very genuine compositions of which any author can rightly be proud,

¹Bankipur MS. 704, ff. 210b-211a.

³Died in 1160/1747. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 288.

Hāzin commenced his poetical career at a very early age. Between the age of six¹ and eight² (1109-1111 A.H.) he could compose verses, Hāzin's father, who intended to educate his boy in all the branches of Muslim literature and turn him into a genuine scholar, forbade him from burning the candle of his talents at the pedestal of the Muses. Hāzin's teacher then was also opposed to his versification.³ But the future poet showed a marked inclination for poetry, and in spite of his father's prudent precepts and his teacher's strict injunction, directed his attention towards versification, and composed verses which he secretly wrote down; concealing them both from his father and teacher.

Later on when Hāzin was under the instruction of Shaikh Khalil Ullah Taliqani the Shaikh's encouragement added fuel to the fire.

¹ Because he could not write before this, since he commenced his studies at the age of four and learnt to write at the age of six. See *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 10.

The significance of Hāzin's ability to write lies in the fact that he used to write down what he composed.

² The next date mentioned at which Hāzin's father directed him to practise Qir'at. See : *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 11.

³ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 11:—

چون استاد مطلع شد مرا ازان منع نمودی

Hāzin tells us in one of his verses that he was forbidden by the Preceptor of Intellect not to versify; lest it may bring him infamy:

میگفت ادیبِ عقل که باشعر خو نگیر
ترسم فرو برد سرِ کلکِ ترا بهار

Hāzin's father, however, gave him his permission to poetise and made him a present of his own pen-case when one day he witnessed Hāzin's skill on the occasion of Hāzin's composing an ode consisting of subtle extempore verses in the presence of a number of learned men,¹ which earned him the praises of all those who were present at the discussion.

According to *Makhzan-ul-Ghara'ib*, Rampur, MS. 57, f. 263: "Maulana Ḥasan was one of the company, and Hāzin composed those verses at his instance¹ The first part of the statement referring to Maulana Ḥasan's presence may be true. But the second part is definitely wrong. For, Hāzin himself tells us that he composed the ode at his father's behest. See *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 15 ; Bombay ed., p. 15; and Banaras ed., pp. 12-13.

Only 3 verses of the said ode are preserved in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal* Lucknow ed., pp. 15-16. The Ghazal is given in the *Kulliyat-i-Hāzin*, Ram Nagar MS. 84/163.

The verses of Hāzin were occasioned by an objection to the use of the word "Qaraat" in the following Maṭla⁴ of Mulla Muhtasham Kashi

ای قامتِ [گردن] بلند قدان در کمندِ تو
رعنائی آفریده قدِ بلندِ تو

See: *Tadbfīrat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., pp. 15-16.

Waḥṣhat in the *Makhzan*. June 1909, pp. 12-13 says that the word "Qamat" objected to by Abu Talib, the father of Hāzin, does not occur in a copy of the *diwān* of Mulla Muhtasham Kashi which Waḥṣhat had seen and according to which the Maṭla* runs:

ای گردنِ بلند قدان در کمندِ تو
رعنائی آفریده قدِ بلندِ تو

The same view is held by Ārwī in *Nigdr*, March 1930, p. 34.

It is curious to note, that, a well-known maṭla⁴ of a well-known poet should be incorrectly recited in the assembly of learned men and objected to by a well-known scholar; and that no one should try to have recourse to the original *diwān* for ascertainment. This was before 1127 A.H. (i.e., the date of death of Abī Talib). It is still more curious, that, the mistake should remain undiscovered until 1154 A.H. (i.e., the date of composition of *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*) and should be repeated by a vigilant scholar like Hāzin.

The mistake was first noticed by the author of *Mabkzan-ul-Ghara'ib*.

Hazin had no teacher in poetry. In his *Tadhkirat-u'Ua hwa*, *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'asirin* and *Risala dar Fihrist-i-A satidha-o-Taṣnifat-i-Khud*. he does not mention any such teacher. Muṣḥafi¹ also tells us that Ḥazin had no teacher in poetry. We cannot, therefore, believe the statement of Husain Quli Khan² and T. W. Beale³ that Ḥazin learnt to compose correct verses from Maulana Muḥammad Masih of Fasa. Moreover, Ḥazin himself⁴ tells us, that he read logic, astronomy, arithmetic, physics, divinity, etc., from Maulana Muḥammad Masih of Fasa. No mention is made of Ḥazin's learning poetry from Maulana Muḥammad Masih.

Maulwi Muḥammad 'Ali⁵ and Iftikhar⁶ simply say, that, Ḥazin was a pupil of Muḥammad Masih Fasal.

In Irān Ḥazin was recognized as a competent judge of the relative merits of poets while he was only twenty-nine years of age. A typical example is as follows:—

While at Isfahān, Ḥazin was asked by a letter from Abu Talib Shuiistani⁷ to express his judgment

¹ *'Iqd-i-Xhuraiya*; Rampur, MS. 52, f. 566.

² *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bankipur, MS. 716, f. 545.

³ *Miftah-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 348.

⁴ *Tadhkkirat-ul-Mu'Osirin*, Lucknow ed., p. 943.

⁵ *Haft Asman*, A. S. B. ed., p. 162.

⁶ *Tadhkira-i-Iftikhar-ush-Shu'ara'*, Habib Ganj MS. 51/27 f. 54.

⁷ Shulistan.—"Country of the Shui," a district (buluk) in the province of Fars.

For details see *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 391-92, and *Jughrafiya-i-Mufasssal-Iran*, Vol. II, pp. 89-90.

on the poetry of Jamal-ud-Din 'Abd-ur Razzaq¹ Işfahani and his son Kamal-ud-Din Isma'il,² and to decide whose composition of the two held a superior place; as regarding these a dispute existed among a number of persons and that both sides had agreed to abide by Ḥazin's decision. To this letter Ḥazin wrote a versified answer on the night of the 7th of Shawwal 1132 A.H.³ Ḥazin decided in favour of the son.

Ḥazin did not attach any value to the poetry of the modern poets like Ṣa'ib, Salim and Kalim.⁴ He held a low opinion about the poets of India and considered them as mere poetasters. For example, he writes about Abu'l Fadl⁵ and Faiḍi⁶:

در زاغان هند ازین دو برادر بهتر تری نگذاشته.

¹⁴ Among the crows of India one better than these two brothers has not been born."

Ḥazin did not like the poetry of Nāṣir 'Alī⁷ or the prose of Bedil.⁸ So, because, they use subjects that are metaphorical and meanings that are far-fetched.

¹ d. 588 A.H./1192 A.D. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* p. 196.

² d. 635 A.H./1237 A.D. See *Ibid.*, p. 207.

³ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed., pp. 36-38.

Ḥazin's answer has been repeated in the *Kulliyat-i-Ḥazin*, Lucknow ed., pp. 918-19.

⁴ *Safina-i-Khushgu*, Bankipur MS. 690, f. 182a.

"Murdered Friday the 4th Rabi¹ I, A.H. 1011/13th of August A.D. 1602. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 24.

⁶ d. 1004 A.H./1595 A.D. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 125-26.

⁷ d. 1108 A.H./1697 A.D. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 294.

⁸ d. about 1116 A.H. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 344.

This sort of composition is liked by the Indians but not by the Iranians. So, Ḥazīn used to remark about them :

نظمِ ناصر علی و نثرِ بیدل بفهم نمی آید ' اگر مراجعتِ ایران
دست دهد برای ریشخندِ بزمِ احباب ره آوردی بهتر ازین نیست.

(The poetry of Naṣīr 'Alī and the prose of Bedil are incomprehensible. Were I to return to Irān, I cannot take with me a better gift than these for entertaining the assembly of my friends.¹)

During Ḥazīn's stay in India (1146-1180 A.H.), the chief poets of the country used to recite their best verses to Ḥazīn and to solicit his corrections. But out of decency and gravity he used to praise them all. If importuned, he used to change the words in a manner which doubled the beauty of the composition.³

During his stay at Delhi (1149-1161 A.H.), Ḥazīn His Satires and their Rejoinders has written some pungent satires³ against India and its people ;⁴ the

¹ *Nigaristan-i-Fars*, p. 212.

¹ *Āfaq's Tadhkira-i-Hazīn*, p. 27.

² Master in his Translation of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Introduction p. iii, speaks of only one satire of Ḥazīn. This is incorrect; as we shall presently see.

⁴ For his satires on India and its people see: *Kulliyat-i-Hazīn*, Lucknow ed., pp. 168-69; 190-93; 219; 265; 313; 569; 754; 755; 774; and 925. The worst satire seems to be the following Ruba'i on p. 754:

در هند اگر کسی نرنجد از راست
گویم طبقاتِ خلق را بی کم و کاست
پتجست که ششی نمیتوانشی کردن
پاجی و دیوٹ و قاصبه و خیره گداست

(Footnote Continued)

Here are verses from an unpublished satire on the customs in India. The satire is to be found in *Diwan-i-Hazin*, Lytton Library MS. 1/32, ff. 92b-96a:

f. 92b
 هر خیره سری که گشت در هند
 ز آمد شد سفلگانه پاکار
 سرمایه کند خوشامدی چند
 با یکدو سه چون خودی چو شد یار
 دندان طمع شود سراپا
 در آمد و شد بود چو منشار
 چون خایه بوالهواس گردد
 مجرای روشناسی در بار
 مغزش شنود شمیم دولت
 روزی دو چو بگردد بناچار
 f. 93a
 نواب شود بطالع سعد
 سردار شود به بخت بیدار

In the following verses Hazin censures the *nawwabs*. He gives a fine description of the paraphernalia of the *nawwab* and of his arrogance and follies. We are told that such a *nawwab* indulges in worthless poetry and pretends to know all the Sciences. Hazin continues:

f. 94b
 دیگر ز قوامدی که در هند
 فرض است بکیشی هر سبکسار
 دعوی نجابت و بزرگیست
 گرم است نسب تراش بازار
 f. 95a
 این جا پسر پدر کسی نیست
 از سفلگی و خجالت عار
 هر شبیره آفتاب زاد ست
 هر مسخره از تبار کبار
 اولو دعوی بود سیادت
 بر بستن خود بآل اطهار

King and his courtiers¹ and the people of

سید گردد بلا تامل
 آید سوی شهر چون ز کهسار
 در در شبِ بجهه زاده باشد
 او خود [به] شود رسولِ مختار
 در نام و نسب قریشیانند
 هندو بچگانِ مصلحت کار
 در ممکنِ او نشد سیادت
 شهزاده گیش بود سزاوار
 * * * * *
 از خود خنجر ز دیدنِ هند f. 95b
 شرمنده ام از وبالِ این عار

But in any case Hāzin feels thankful to God and proceeds to say

ممنون نیم از کسی بجز دل
 مرهونِ خسی نیم بدینار
 نفس الامر است آنچه گفتم f. 96a
 خو کرده قلم بصدقِ گفتار
 * * * * *
 تلخ است حق و سری ندارد
 با داروی تلخ طبع بیمار

¹ Here are verses against the king and his courtiers found in *Diwān-i-Hāzin*, Lytton Library MS. 1/32, f. 97b:

خسرو عهد درین سالِ نکو
 بیشتر سالِ نکو میجوید
 الفت انداخته با سگِ بچگان
 همه را یار و صاحب گوید
 * * * * *
 وین عجب تر که همین تاریخ است
 همشینان به از خود جوید

The last verse contains the date of composition 1154 A.H.

Kashmīr.¹

As regards Ḥazīn's satires on the Kashmiries the situation is a simple one. For some unknown reason Ḥazīn wrote some satires against the people of Kashmīr who revenged themselves on him by inducing Mullā Sāṭi' and other Kashmīri poets to write satires against Ḥazīn. The controversy with Kashmīrī poets can also be traced to a later time. While residing at Banaras Hazin wrote a *qit'a* against the people of Kashmīr. Soon afterwards, this was answered by an extremely foul *qit'a* from Pandit Gobind Ram Kashmīrī, Lakhnawī, poetically surnamed Zīrak. The language of Zīrak's *qit'a* is so very unclean and unchaste that I would not reproduce it here out of reverence for the memory of Ḥazīn. The more inquisitive reader will find the *qit'as* of Hazin and Zīrak in *Ruz-i-Rushan*. pp. 273-274.

As regards Hazin's satires on India and its people: it is not quite easy to establish a cause for the same. According to Wahṣhat²: Ḥazīn wrote the satires because he had to bear many hardships in India; and,

¹A hitherto unpublished *Qit'a* contained in the *Diwan-i-Hazin*, Lytton Library MS. 1/32, f. 98a and repeated on ff. 101a-101b is written against the people of Kashmīr. It begins as follows:—

کسی ندیده بوطن مردن کشمیری را
 بجهان چون صفِ مورند روان دانه طلب
 یک ازین قوم ندیدست دو نوبت کشمیر
 بر نگردهد چو ز سوراخ بر آید عقب

²*Makhzan*, July, 1909, p. 10.

because, he had not been respected as it ought to have been done.

The actual reasons seem to be, that, Ḥazīn did not have a nice time in India on account of his bad health and constant variation of weather conditions in India to which he was subjected by his constant tours which in turn were necessitated by local conditions, including jealousies of some of his associates.

Now, it has been mis-stated in most of the *Tadhkirahs* on the life of Ḥazīn, that, his pungent satires on India and its people, and the King and his nobles and poets aroused against him bitter animosities which resulted in the composition of, and rejoinders to, numerous works of criticism on the poetry of Ḥazīn.¹ The *Tadhkirah*-writers mention only two poets who wrote against Ḥazīn. One is Khan Arzu² who composed the *Tanbih-ul-Gkafilin*³ and the *Ihqaq-ul-Haqq*. In the *Tanbih-ul-Gḥafilin* Ārzu has pointed

¹ It is astonishing to note, that, no such action was taken against Sauda who wrote an entire *qaṣīda* against his contemporaries at Delhi. For the *qaṣīda* see: *Life of Sauda*, Deccan ed., p. 197. Nor was any importance attached to Sauda's satire on the court of Shahjahanabad (Delhi). For the satire see *Ibid.*, p. 265.

• Ārzu seems to have developed a critical mentality. He criticized the verses of Ḥazīn which were vindicated by Sahbai Āzad, etc. He found faults with Khaqni who was championed by Ḥazīn. And, lastly, he objected to certain expressions employed by Ḥakīm who was defended, by Warasta in the treatise called *Jawdb-i-Shafu*. For *Jawab-i-Shafi* see *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University*, p. 234 and Rieu., p. 503.

Ārzu died in 1169/1756. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 386.

² A rare copy of the work is preserved in the Punjab University Library MS. Api/Vi. 73A.

out the mistakes¹ in four hundred² verses in the *Dīwān* IV of Ḥazīn, which are either defective, or of disjointed composition, or opposed to the usage of the ancients and the moderns.³

In the preface⁴ to the *Tanbih-ul-Ghāfilin*, Ārzū ironically states, that, the verses which he has recorded are those which he could not understand on account of his defective intelligence;⁵ and with a view that the same be corrected by Ḥazīn.⁶

¹ Ārzū's own mistakes have been pointed out in the *Matla'-us-Sa'dain* by Siyalkoti Mal Warasta. An example of **ضعف تالیف** (i.e., loose style), illustrated by a verse of Ārzū, is to be found on *idem*, p. 84.

² The number given in the *RivāḡL-ush-Shu'ard*, f. 53a, is 500.

³ See *Tadhkira-i-Husaini* p. 106.

⁴ See *Tanbih-ul-Ghāfilin*, Punjab University MS. Api/VI. 73A., ff. 1b.—2a. See also *ibid.*, f. 326.

⁵ Although ironically said so, Ārzū is not altogether untrue. Whereas many of his objections are the outcome of sheer malice, there are others which he really could not understand. This verse of Ḥazīn (*Kulliydt-i-Hazin*, Lucknow ed., p. 148) may very appropriately be said to be addressed to Ārzū:—

کلام من از فهم شاعر فرونست

مگر ارمغان حکیمان فرست

⁶ عرض میشود که درین ایام مطالعه دیوان بلاغت بنیان جناب فصاحت مآب شعری اوج نکته پردازی و دبیر فلک سخن سازی بقية السلف حجة الخلف نتیجه متقدمین و خاتم متاخرین شیخ محمد علی متخلص بحرین که تخمیناً از مدت ده سال بسبب هنگامه ایران وارد هندوستان جنت نشان که داخلش "من دخله کان آمنا" گویانست گردیده و از طنطنه شاعریش گوش اصغر و اکابر پر گردیده اتفاق افتاده و استفاده تمام دست بهم داده؛ لیکن در بعض اشعار که بسبب قصور ذهن بمعانی آن نرسیده و فائز مقاصد آن نگردیده ترددی و اقلای روی داده؛ ناچار در تحریر

Ḥazīn has written a rejoinder to the *Tanbih-ul-Ghāfilin*. It is entitled *Rajm-ush-Shayaṭīn*. (See list of compositions of Ḥazīn *infra*).

The *Tanbih-ul-Ghāfilin* was composed in about 1156 A.H. viz., approximately ten years after the advent of Ḥazīn in India.¹

In the year 1267 A.H. Maulwī Imām Bakhsh Ṣahbāi Dehlawī wrote an exhaustive rejoinder to the *Tanbth-ul-Ghgfilin*. The rejoinder is entitled *Qaul-i-Faiṣal*. It deals with three hundred and thirteen out of the four hundred objections raised by Arzū. In the preface to the *Qaul-i-Faiṣal*, Ṣahbāi says, that, at first he kept aloof while people took different sides. But at last, at the request of some friends, he composed the present work from an entirely impartial point of view. But a careful perusal of the *Qaul-i-Faiṣal* shows, that, Ṣahbāi is a little prejudiced in favour of Ḥazīn.

را بروی قلم مشوش رقم خود کشاد و نیز پاره از مصاریع را که
از جهت ناسازی فهم خویشی نارسا فهمیده گاهی باندک تغیر
تبدیل گردانید و گاهی خود بهم رسانید پس این را از عالم خطای
بزرگان گرفتن که در واقع خطای بزرگیست تصور نباید فرمود بلکه
برای لغزش سخن که دستمایه شعرای هند است پیدا نمود
امیدوار است که اگر احیاناً بنظر شریف او در آید از خلل و
زلل بر آید۔

Tanbih-ul-Ghāfilin, Punjab University MS. Api/VI. 73A. ff. 1b.,—2a;
and on f. 32b Arzū says:

امید از کرم کریم آنست که حل این اشکال باستعانت
شیخ زود دست دهد

¹ See footnote 6, on p. 37.

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شیخ زود دست دهد

¹ See footnote 6, on p. 37.

Ṣahbāi falsifies most of the objections of Arzū and justifies Ḥazīn by quoting in support of him, verses from numerous Irānī poets of well-established repute. But Ṣahbāi also maintains some of Arzū's objections; especially, when he is helpless to help Ḥazīn. On one occasion Ṣahbāi says:¹

نظارگیان این نسخه دریافتند که صهبائی هیچمدان
 کمر همت را چست بسته در هر مقام قصد آن دارد که توجیهی
 برای کلام شیخ بهمرساند اما چه کند که در امثال این مقامات
 سپر می افکند.

Ṣahbāi also meets Arzū's objections to the verses of Ḥazīn in his *Ghawamid-i-Sukhan*. pp. 683 and 731. Other scholars have also decreed most of the objections of Arzū to be unjustifiable:—

- (1) According to Wahṣhat²: "Some of Arzū's objections are appropriate, but mostly they are unjustifiable." (2) Azād³ says: "Most of the objections are due either to prejudice or else to ignorance—the one being a fault worse than the other." (3) Ḥākīm⁴ remarks: "Most of the objections to the verses of Ḥazīn in the *Tanbih-ul-Ghdfilīn* are unjust; but sometimes the objections are correct." (4) Mirzā Luṭf 'Alī⁵ tells us: "The objections raised by Arzū create misgivings in the minds of the common-folk, no doubt; but the more intelligent can immediately discern the hostility."

¹ *Qau-i-Faisal*, Lucknow ed., p. 135.

² *Makhzan*, July 1909, p. 10.

³ *Nigdistān-i-Fars*, p. 223.

⁴ *Mardnm-i-Didah*, Hablb Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 51.

⁵ *Gulshan-i-Hind*, pp. 23-24.

Arzu has also written another book called *lḥqāq-ul-Ḥaqq* in which he has objected to the verses of Ḥazîn other than those which he criticized in his *Tanbih-ul-Ghāfilin*. It is a work smaller in volume than the *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilin*.

Maulwī Şahbāī has written a rejoinder to the *lḥqāq-ul-Ḥaqq* too. It is entitled *Vlā-ul-Ḥaqq*. In the *Vlā-ul-Ḥaqq* Şahbāī replies to only eleven objections. It covers pp. 757-770 of the *Kulliyāt-i-Sahbai* (Nizami Press, Cawnpore).

As perhaps the *lḥqāq-ul-Ḥaqq* represents the second offence² of Arzu against Ḥazîn, Sahbai is very harsh on him and uses the following phrases for Ārzu¹:—

معركه ساز عرصه لاف، عنان گسسته نفس سوزیهای گراف،
تهمت زده امتیاز باطل و حق، صاحب نسخه احتقار الحق

after praising Ḥazîn on pp. 758-760.

Şahbāī meets the objections of Arzu on pp. 761-769 and says, that, far from there being any need for producing any verse in Ḥazîn's support, Ḥazîn should himself be regarded as an authority;³ though in practice Şahbāī does actually reproduce verses of famous Iranian poets in vindication of Ḥazîn.

It is also interesting to note in this connection, that, irrespective of recognizing Ḥazîn as one of his

¹ *l'la-ul-Ḥaqq*, Nizami Press, p. 760.

² The *l'la -ul-Ḥaqq* was written while Sahbai was still contemplating the composition of *Qaul-i-Faisal*. See *Kulliyat-i-Sahbai* p. 763.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 769.

authorities, Mirzā Ghālīb lays no value to the poetry of Arzū.¹

Wārasta² has met the first objection of Arzū in the *Tanbih-ul-Ghāfilīn* and has justified Ḥazīn's usage of the word U.

No biographer of Ḥazīn has noted the composition of the *Iḥqāq-ul-Ḥaqq*. Those who mention the *Tanbith-ul-Ghāfilīn* take it to be the only book of criticism written by Arzū against Ḥazīn.

Various reasons are ascribed to the enmity that existed between Arzū and Ḥazīn and resulted in the composition of the *Tanbith-ul-Ghāfilīn*: (1) According to Ḥusain Dūst:³ "Ḥazīn's utter disregard of the Indian poets is the cause of enmity." (2) According to Muḥammad Riḍā:⁴ "The poets of India became jealous of Ḥazīn's popularity and wrote satires against him ; bringing Khān Arzū to the forefront. The Shaikh liberated himself from their hands through a Qit'a the final verse of which runs as follows:

کس زبان مرا نمی فهمد دوستان را چه القاسم کن

(3) According to T. W. Beale:⁵ "Arzū_____met Ḥazīn The jealousy between the two poets induced Arzū to write the *Tanbith-ul-Ghāfilīn*"

¹See *Ūd-i-Hindī* p. 130.

²*Mustalīhdt-ush-Shu'ara* by Siyalkoti Mal Warasta, Newwul Kishore ed., p. 397/

³*Tadhkira-i-Husainu* p. 106.

⁴*Naghma-i-'Andalib*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66a.

⁵*Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 386.

According to this statement the jealousy is a mutual one; but Arzū takes the initiative. The statement is hollow *prima facie*.

True, Arzū must have felt jealous of Hāzīn who eclipsed his merits; but the real reason for the enmity is a personal and long-drawn one. It is as follows :—

"Mīr Muḥammad Afdāl Thābit(d. 1151 A.H.) and Siraj-ud-Din 'Alī Khan Arzu went to see Hāzin who, however, did not pay them much attention. They felt it and left him. In a symposium they objected to the following verse of Hāzīn :—

هر گه که بیاد دهنّت غنچه نشستم
اندیشه مرا سر بگریبان عدم داد

When Hāzīn came to know of it, he remarked : "The Indians have nothing to do with Irānī," and added: "Silence is the answer to fools."¹

Other versions of the above narrative are as follows:—(1) "When Hāzīn came to Delhi in 1147 A.H.,² Arzū went to see him. Hāzīn paid him due deference. But imputing arrogance to Hāzīn, Arzū took offence to himself³ and returned to his home

¹ *Hadd'iq-uṣṣh-Shu'arg*. Curzon Collection MS. 702, f. 42b.

² The date is incorrect. See *infra*.

³ Things would have taken a much easier turn if the visit of ĀrzH (which actually took place in about 1149 A.H.) had taken place after the visit of *Shah* *Ālam, Shuj5'-ud-Daula and Qasim Khan to Hāzin some-time before 1764 regarding which Raymond (Tr. of *Sivar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, Vol. II p. 524 footnote 275) says: "Nor did he [Hāzīn] stand up for them, whereas both these princes, as well as the emperor, had bowed profoundly to him." More descriptive is Raymond's earlier account (in the Tr. of *Siyar-ul-Muta akhkhirin*, Vol. IL p. 176 footnote 84) where he says : ".... Mighty sovereigns like Shudjah-ed-daulah and Mir-cassem-qhan, having

sick at heart. Perusing the Diwān of Ḥazīn, he alleged numerous verses to be meaningless and collected all the objections in a treatise which he entitled **Tanbih-ul-Ghghfilin**" See **Gulshan-i-Hind**, p. 23. (2) According to Saksena:¹ Arzū composed the *Tanbih-ul-Ghghfilin* being offended at a show of discourtesy by Ḥazīn and actuated by jealousy.

To trace the enmity further: Someone boastfully recited the following ghazal of Arzū before Ḥazīn:—

عشق روزی که بدل خلعت سودا بخشید
جامه داری بمن از دامن صحرای بخشید
خجل از روی حبابم که باین تنگی ظرف
آنچه در کیسه خود داشت بدریا بخشید

" On the day when Love granted to the Heart the honorific dress of passion (i.e., the day of creation)

It made me the keeper of the wardrobe of the desert (i.e., I roam about at large)

I'm ashamed of the face of the bubble ; for, with all the thinness of its pot

It granted the river all that it had in its purse (i.e., I could not annihilate myself in the path of God)."

Ḥazīn carelessly recited :

خجل از چشم حبابم که بیک ظرف تنگ
آنچه در کاسه خود داشت بدریا بخشید

made him [Ḥazīn] a visit together, he received them sitting; and they, on being bid, took their seats kneeling, and at four yards' distance and when he thought proper to dismiss them, they advanced respectfully, kissed his knee, made a profound bow and returned backward. He gave them each a Qhylaāt and a Dopata, which they received as a high honour."

¹ A Literary History of Urdu Literature, p. 47.

" Fm ashamed of the eye(s) of the bubble ; for, in spite of
a tight pot
It granted the river all that it had in its cup."

And added:

این بابا از کیسه تا کاسه و از تنگی تا تنگی فرق نمی کند
و باز خود را شاعر گوید -

" This fellow cannot differentiate between a purse and a
cup and thinness and tightness and yet he calls himself
a poet.¹

According to Maẓhar Ḥasan's *Tarikh-i-Banāras*, p. 424: Ḥazīn praised the verse but when the poet pressed him to correct it he merely changed the words *روی* and *کیسه* to *چشم* and *کاسه* respectively and thus doubled the beauty of the verse; because shame is connected with the eye and not the face and because charity from one with a cup (i.e., a beggar) is more commendable than that from one with a purse (i.e., a rich man).

There was no dearth of reporters. The animadversion of Ḥazīn was communicated to *Khān* Arzū who was very much upset. Now, the assembly of Ḥazīn was accessible to only a few picked scholars who observed all etiquettes and who certainly lacked the bad manners to criticize Ḥazīn's verses under his

¹ *Nigaristān-i-Fars*, p. 212.

Etymological quibbles seem to have played no unimportant part in the life of Ḥazīn. While passing through Sewistan and *Khudasbad* in 1147 A.H. a man read out to him a verse which contained the word "qalīn" (with the final *nun*). Ḥazīn said, that, it was without the *nun*. Azad, to whom the man afterwards repaired, opined otherwise. See *Khizana-i-Āmīra*, Lucknow ed., p. 34.

own roof. Unable to criticize Ḥazīn directly, Arzū, therefore, found his way to the shop of the book-binder where Ḥazīn used to send his books for binding. Arzū objected to the figure of a snake which Ḥazīn had drawn round a ghazal written on the cover of a book; meaning thereby, that, the ghazal was a treasury and the snake was its guardian. Arzū objected to this, saying, that, instead of being drawn on books, a snake's head is fit to be trodden under the foot. Arzū also wrote down some other objections and later on verbally taught his students some objections against verses of Ḥazīn.¹

The dispute developed and the matter worsened.² Arzū wrote to Ḥazīn some verses of Khagani

¹ *Nigdistan-i-Fars*, p. 213.

² We are told by Muḥammad Husain Āzād in the *Nigaristan-i-Fars*, p. 214, that, Khan Arzū's supporter, Shah Ladha Bilgarami, went to Hazin and without disclosing the identity of the composer asked him to correct the following verse :

بَتّی دارم که باشد از حیا مشاطگی رنگش
 حناگر پای او بوسد ز شوخی می پرد رنگش

" I've a beloved who disdains the tirewoman through modesty.
 If henna kisses her feet, their colour flies through petulance."
 On hearing it Ḥazīn retorted :

معلوم می شود که از کاسه لیسان حرامزاده اکبر آبادیست

" It appears that he (*i.e.*, the composer) is one of the plate-lickers of the Villain of Akbarabad " ; meaning thereby that he is a follower of Khan Arzū Akbarabadī.

This, however, is an anachronism. Because, Shah Luṭf Ullah, commonly called Shah Ladha and poetically surnamed Aḥmadī (see *Safina-i-Bikhabar*, f. 1) died on the night of Sunday, 14th of Jumada I, 1143 A.H. according to *Sarw-i-Āzad*, p. 112. Thus, the death of Shah Ladha had taken place three years before the arrival of Ḥazīn in India.

which appeared to him to be incorrect.¹ Hāzin explained them; saying that, the objections were merely due to a misreading (تصحیف) of the words.

In a verse Hāzin had used the word تمیز in rhyme with فعلیل. Arzū objected to it saying, that, it measured with تفعیل. Someone informed Hāzin. After keeping quiet for a while Hāzin remarked: مسکین خر اگرچه بی تمیز است (though the poor ass is without discrimination).

There is a double beauty in Hāzin's remark. (1) It vindicates the usage of the word , by quoting the first hemistich of the following *mathnam*² of Shaikh Sa'di:—

مسکین خر اگرچه بی تمیز است
چون بار همی برد عزیز است
گاوان و خران بار بردار
به ز آدمیان مردم آزار

" The poor ass though lacking discrimination
Is liked because it carries load.
Load oxen and asses
Excel man-tormenting fellows."

(2) It is a euphemistic way of calling Arzū an ass.

In his *Muthmir*? Arzū deals with the fourth kind of اطراد و شنود and quotes verses of Hāzin whom he describes as a poet of Irān who had come to India some time ago.

¹ According to *Nigdistdn-i-Fdrs*, pp. 59 and 213: " Ārzu had written a commentary on the verses of Khaqani." This is incorrect. Ārzu had only objected to some verses of Khaqani. See Hāzin's *Letter to Ārzu*, *infra*.

² See *Gulistan*, Din Muhammadi Press, p. 85.

It is allowed to use تمیز (without the 2nd ی) so as to measure it with فعلیل. See *Suhhandan-i-Fars*. p. 229.

³ *Muthmir*, Punjab University MS. Pi VI. 73A. f. 34a.

Arzū never ceased to criticize Ḥazīn. In his *Majma'-un-Nafa'is* (composed in 1164 A.H.), in his account of Ḥairati, Arzu says :¹ " Ḥairati has composed this verse:—

ماند در زلف تو دل وای برین صید ضعیف
که بدام افتد و از خاطر صیاد رود

(My heart is entangled in thy tresses ;

alas for the feeble fowl

That is caught in the net and forgotten by the hunter.)

Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn, who has come to India from Irān a long time ago, had composed this verse :—

ای وای بر اسیری کز یاد رفته باشد
در دام مانده باشد صیاد رفته باشد

The insurrection-creating friends of India recited a verse of Mullā Zuhūrī which had an identical meaning. But now it is evident that the meaning of all the three verses is the same. Anyhow, the above-mentioned verse of Ḥazīn is inappropriate. There is too much carelessness in his poetry."

In one place in the *Majma'-an-Nafa'is*,² Arzu very boldly and honourably admits his mistake in criticizing Ḥazīn. Arzū quotes the following verse of Aqā Shānūr Tihirānī: -

از خار خار اشکم در سینه دل بتنگست
چون بلبلی که خارش از آشیانه روید

In connection with this verse Arzū says: "*Khār Khār* is used in the idioms in the sense of Inclination and Wish for a Coveted Thing. And from *Khār Khār Ashk* mentioned above, it appears that it has been absolutely used in the sense of Confusion

¹See *Majma'-un-Naftis*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, ff. 167-68.

²*Ibid.*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. 424.

of Mind and Interruption of Nature. If so, the following hemistich of Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn :
 خار خار غم آیم چه خواهد بودن
 which I raised in the *Tanbih-ul-Gkafilzn* has been answered.¹

Arzū wrote the *Tanbzh-uUGhāiifin*. Ḥazīn responded with the *Rajm-ush-Shayātin*. Arzū also wrote the *Iḥqāq-ul-Ḥaqq* which did not bring forth a rejoinder from Ḥazīn but which has been answered by Ṣahbāi in a treatise entitled *Plā'-ul-Ḥaqq*.

Another poet, who has criticized the poetry of Ḥazīn, is Mir Muḥammad 'Azīrn, poetically surnamed Thabat,¹ son of Mir Muḥammad Afdāl, poetically surnamed Thabit.² In the course of a few days Thabat gathered 500³ couplets from the Diwān V of Ḥazīn which are alleged to be copied from the diwans of others *ad verbum*?

Thabat's work was composed in about 1161 A.H. The date is certainly between 1155—1161. A.H. The former (*i.e.*, 1155 A.H.) being the date in which Ḥazīn published his Diwan IV and the latter (*i.e.*,

¹ d. 1161 A.H./1748 A.D. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 338.

In the *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. 122, Arzū is not definite about the date of death of Thabat. Arzū merely says that Thabat died two years ago. As the *Majma'-un-Nafā'is* was composed in 1164 A.H., the date of death of Thabat falls in (1164 A.H.-2=)1162 A.H. which is incorrect.

² d. 1151 A.H./1738 A.D., See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 338.

³ *Riyāq-ush-Shu'ara*, 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 630/51, f. 107a; and *Tadhkira-i-Husaini*, p. 107.

The number given in the *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, t. 170 and *Mardum-i-Pidah*, Ḥabīb Ganj typed copy, 51/26, p. 50 is two hundred verses.

⁴ *Rivād-ush-Shu'arZ*, 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 630/51, f. 107a.

1161 A.H.) being—according to the Colophon—the date of composition of Wālih's *Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā* which mentions Ṭhabāt's work.¹

Wālih, however, added to his work the account of Wafā in 1162 A.H.³ (Wafā came to India in 1162 A.H.)³ Thus, strictly speaking, the *Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā* was completed in 1162 A.H. But as in the alphabetical order (which is observed throughout the book) the name of Ḥazīn occurs very early and as Ḥazīn and Wālih arrived in India (in 1146 A.H.) long before 1161 A.H., we are left with little doubt that the account of Ḥazīn was written long before 1161 A.H.

We learn from the *Tadhkira-i-Ḥusairii* (p. 108), that Ṭhabāt died soon after the composition of the work:—

در همان نزدیکی [ثبات] از دنیا رخت هستی بیرون کشید

As Ṭhabāt died in 1161 A.H.,⁴ we therefore conclude, that he composed his work just before his death, viz., in 1161 A.H.

I have not been able to see a copy of Ṭhabāt's work. But Wālih⁵ makes extracts from the work. He reproduces fifty-seven objections of Ṭhabāt in which Ḥazīn is alleged to have copied from other poets. Likewise the *Tadhkira-i-Ḥusaini* (p. 108) gives four examples of Ḥazīn's copying from Masrūr,

¹ *Riyad-ush-Shu'ara*, 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 630/51, f. 107a.

² *Ibid.* f. 105a.

³ Sec: *Majma'-un-Nafa'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. 125.

⁴ See footnote 1 at p. 48.

⁵ *Riyad-ush-Shu'ara*, 'Abd-us-Sal5m MS. 630/51, ff. 107a-108a.

Jami and Muhammad Sufi. One example of Ḥazin's copying *ad verbum* from Jalāl Asīr is to be found in the *Matlaḥ-us-ScCdain* (p. 181).

On his own part Ḥazīn vehemently repudiates any notion of his deliberately stealing the ideas of other poets. But he meekly acknowledges "Tawārud" (i.e., accidental concurrence of ideas) in his verses.¹

The following words of Ṭhabāt quoted in the *Mardum-i-Didah*² are perhaps taken from the Introduction to Ṭhabāt's work:—

شیخ مذکور فاضل است و صاحب تصانیف، لکن هیچ تصنیفی
ازو در علم حکمت و کلام بنظر نیامده، بعد مطالعه احوال مصنفات
معلوم خواهد شد، آری شعری میگوید.

The cause of the composition of Ṭhabāt's work is, that, on a certain occasion, one of the chiefs wrote a verse of Ṭhābit, the father of Ṭhabāt, to Ḥazīn. To this Ḥazīn replied, that, besides the disjointedness of the verse, the subject-matter had been stolen by Ṭhābit from such and such a poet.³ On seeing the letter of Ḥazīn, Ṭhabāt was cut to quick and he took this drastic step accordingly. So, according to Wālih⁴ and Ḥusain Dūst,⁵ Arzū⁶ and Ḥākīm⁷ ascribe the following cause to the composition of Ṭhabāt's work:—

¹ See *Kulliydt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., pp. 906-907 and p. 913.

² *Mardum-i-Didah*, Habib Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 50.

³ As to Ṭhābit, he held the stealing of verses in the highest disgust; as we learn from his verses quoted in the *Matlaḥ-us-ScCdain*, p. 81.

⁴ *Riyag-ush-Shu'ara*, 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 630/51, f. 107a.

Walih d. 1170/1757. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 414.

⁵ *Tadhkira-i-Ḥusaini* pp. 107-108.

⁶ *Majma'-un-Nafa'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. 170.

⁷ *Mardum-i-Didah*, Habib Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 50.

Nawwāb Sher Afgan Khān,¹ the son of Ghairat Khān, prided in being the student and disciple of Mīr Muḥammad Afdāl Thābit and had engraved in his seal: ***Sher Afgan Khan Murīd-i-Thabit ast*** (with the pun upon the word "Thābit" which is the pen-name of Mīr Muḥammad Afdāl and also means 'constant'.)

At Thabit's death in 1151 A.H., Ḥazīn gained the confidence of Sher Afgan Khgn. This aroused the jealousy of Thabāt who forthwith collected 200 (copied) verses of Ḥazīn.

Although both the contemporary authorities, viz., Wālīh on the one hand, and Arzū and Ḥākim on the other, were personally acquainted with Ḥazīn, we must accept the statement of the former and reject that of the latter because :

1. Wālīh had the privilege of knowing Ḥazīn from at least 1146 A.H. right up to 1161 A.H. (i.e. the date of composition of <i>Riyāḍ-uṣh-Shu'ara</i> and of Ḥazīn's migration from Delhi.	1. Ārzū was also a whole-time acquaintance of Ḥazīn (1149-1161 A.H.); but he was more of an enemy than a friend and prone to attribute every action of Ḥazīn to an ignoble cause; while Ḥākim's acquaintance of Ḥazīn is limited to two short interviews in Banāras many years later.
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2. Wālīh had a better opportunity of learning it from <u>Thabāt</u> who helped him his <i>dīwān</i> for correction. Wālīh in the composition of his <i>Riyāḍ-uṣh-Shu'ara</i>. Thus, the	2. Ārzū had also a chance of learning it from <u>Thabāt</u> who showed him his <i>dīwān</i> for correction. Ḥākim had no such opportunity.
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¹ See : the account of Baṣītī in the list of the pupils of Ḥazīn; *infra*.

account of Ṭhabāt's composition and its cause must have passed Wālih's eyes and received his approbation.

3. The statement of Wālih is more rational and is easily reconcilable with the date of composition of Ṭhabāt's work.

3. Ārzū's statement is laborious. According to him Ṭhabīt died in 1151 A.H. when to the greatest disappointment and disgust of Ṭhabāt, Sher Afgan Khān joined Ḥazīn the same year.

If so, why should Ṭhabāt wait for ten tedious years (i.e. from 1151 A.H. to 1161 A.H.) and demonstrate his anguish at a time when public opinion was poisoned against Ḥazīn, and after Ārzū had published his *Tanbīh-ul-Ghōfitin*? This conundrum is partially elucidated by Muṣḥafi¹ who tells us: " Sher Afgan Khān visited Ḥazīn at Banaras and showed Ḥazīn his *dīwan* in order to be informed of its merits and demerits."

Presuming it to be the date of commencement of tutorial relations between Sher Afgan Khān and Ḥazīn, and accrediting the statement of Ārzū for the time being, the date of composition of Ṭhabāt's work is conclusively and very appropriately placed in 1161 A.H. which is both the date of Ḥazīn's

¹ Iqd-i-Thuraiya, Aurangsbnd ed., p. 15.

migration to Banāras and Thabāt's death. But the composition of Thabāt's work in 1161 A. H. is a conclusion at which we have already arrived through a different and altogether independent chain of arguments. See *supra*. Hence our perplexity remains intact; and, instead, we are confronted with another set of no less inexplicable difficulties; namely: Thabāt's disconcertment at Sher Afgan Khān's becoming a pupil of Shah Muḥammad Basit in 1160 A.H. ;¹ Thabāt's continuous failure to win the confidence of Sher Afgan ever since the date of Thābit's death in 1151 A.H. right up to his joining Ḥazīn in 1161 A.H.; and the sudden outburst of Thabāt's rage subsequent thereto.

All these facts together leave no truth on the face of the argument advanced by Ārzū and Ḥākim.

4. Wālih's account is concurrent. He writes in 1611 A.H. which is the most probable date of composition of Thabāt's work ; and later than which he could not have composed it, because he died the same year.

4. Ārzū's account is late. He writes in 1164 A.H., i.e., three years after the death of Thabāt. Ḥākim's statement is later still as Ḥākim composed his *Mardum-i-Dīdah* in 1175 A.H.

¹ See *Ṣubḥ-i-Gulshan*, p. 50.

The third poet who is said to have written against Hāzin is Saudā. He is mentioned by Shafiq¹ only. Shafiq says, that Saudā had written against Hāzīn a Mukhammas satire of 19 Bands (i.e., 95 verses in ali) without a Maqṭa⁴. Shafiq has not been corroborated by any other writer. He has been quoted only once by Shāikh Chānd.² The satire is extinct now. Shafiq ascribes no reason for its composition.

Fath 'Alī Khān composed the *Ibtā'UuUBātil* in vindication of Hāzīn. It consists of a few pages and **is mentioned twice in *Vlā-ul-Haqq*. See *Kulliyāt4-Ṣahbāi*, pp. 765 and 769.**

As regards Hāzīn's satires on the king and his courtiers³: it is impossible to justify Hāzīn's action. The king had been very kind to Hāzīn. He granted him cash and estates through 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Nawwāb Amīr Khān, poetically surnamed Anjām, which Hāzin accepted; offered him the prime-ministership which he refused; called him to his presence which he did not comply with; and himself set out to meet him which Hāzin avoided.

Amongst the courtiers, Hāzin was patronized by Anjām, a minister of the king ; and had friendship with Ummīd, a nobleman. Hāzīn had also many other friends at the court of Delhi⁴ Why should he then write satires against the king or his courtiers who in the words of Wālih had not even told him

¹ *Chamanistān-uṣh-Shu'arā*. Hyderābād ed., p. 341.

² *Life of Saudā*, Deccan ed., p. 126.

³ See footnote 1 at p. 34.

⁴ For ali this see *infra*.

بالای چشمت ابروست¹ " There are eyebrows over your eyes" (i.e. had not offended him in the least). Ḥazīn's satires against the king and his courtiers is an offence with which he will remain charged up to the last day.

Ḥazīn was a mystic in his every-day life: and mysticism, which predominates his poetry, is its most distinguishing feature.

As only his fourth *diwān* has survived to us, we are obliged to base our conclusions with regard to the poetry of Ḥazīn on verses found in that work alone.

Taints of mystical tendencies are discernible in the life of Ḥazīn at a very early stage. So, because he received his early education from Shāikh Khaṭīb Ullāh Ṭāliqānī who was an accomplished saint; and, because, Ḥazīn pursued the works of numerous ṣūfī poets; some of whom he imitates. The occult atmosphere of India added a new stimulus to his dormant aptitudes. Consequently, he composed mystical poetry of a high order.

Let us now revert to the conditions prevalent in Irān. With the merciless persecutions of the Sunnis by Shāh Ismāīl, the Ṣafawī, and due to the emperor's religious fanaticism, most of the population of Irān converted to Shī'aism. Especially after the renaissance, the poets of Irān, who were by that time mostly Shī'as, renounced mysticism which is considered by them to be repugnant to their religion but which

¹ *Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā* reads ابرویت.



in fact owes its very existence to the Iranians.

The unavoidable result of all this is, that latter poetry of the Iranians is void of all the subtleties and beauties of the mystical poetry of their great predecessors, e.g., Ḥāfiz and Sa'dī who, by the way, were Sunnīs. This revitalized Shīāism, on the other hand, resulted in the attainment of a very high standard in composition of elegies. Reflections of the same are to be found in the most pathological but less historical elegies of the two chief elegy-writers of India—Anīs and Dabir, both of whom were Shīā's by faith.

Unlike his compatriots in Irān, Ḥāzin, however, kept aloof from the common practice. True to his life, he clothed his verses in mysticism. His poetry, like that of Ḥāfiz, thus, is full of the charms of mysticism and the inseparable benefits of being capable of interpretation as expressive of worldly pleasures or divine love according to the idiosyncrasies of his reader.

Hence it is, that Ḥāzin's sweet verses still supply pleasure to the hearts of his readers.

Ḥāzin was a versatile genius—a poet, a saint, and a scholar. His versatility is evidenced by his compositions ranging from brochures of a few pages to bulky volumes¹ that he has left behind. As a poet he has left us 4 *diwāns* of which only the fourth one is extant. He has also left

¹ According to *Khuldsat-ul-Afkdr*, Bankipur MS. 712, f. 219, he has left four *diwāns* of about 35,000 verses and one hundred treatises bearing on different subjects.

behind many mathnawīs. As a saint he is still commemorated every Thursday. And his scholarship is readily realized by having a glance at the different subjects¹ on which he has written and the success with which he has handled them.

To India, today, Ḥazīn is pre-eminently known as a poet. But in his lifetime, unfortunately, he did not enjoy the popularity that was due to him: though he was a natural poet; was born at Iṣfahān—the seat of learning in the twelfth century of the Muslim era; was brought up in a literary atmosphere; received his education from the most eminent scholars of his day; composed in his own mother-tongue; and his verses imbibe all the beauties of mysticism and fruits of wide experience accumulated at the cost of extensive and hazardous travelling.

The reasons are not far to seek :

1. Poetry produced under the Moghuls in the twelfth century A.H., in India, is degenerate, stereotyped, and imitative. There is nothing new, creative, or original about it. At the time under review, writers of prose and poetry, alike, were busy in reproducing the thoughts and ideas of earlier masters. To be at all readable they had to represent their mimicry in a novel way. Thus, in contradistinction to their predecessors, the modern writers adopted the

¹ According to *Safina-i-Ishrai*, Bankīpur MS. 699, f. 1876, Ḥazīn has written a book on every subject. He used to receive queries from Īran, Lahore, Akbarabad (Āgra), and Kaṣhmīr and to answer them right up to 1175 A.H., (*viz.*, the date of composition of *Safina-i-Ishrat*) when on account of infirmity he had not even the power to lift the pen.

inconvenient and altogether unwholesome method of presenting their thoughts in an ornate, pedantic, verbose, and hyperbolic language. They employed far-fetched similies and abstruse metaphors. Abū Ṭalīb Kalīm, Bedil, Nāṣir ⁴Ali Sarhindī and Ni'mat Khan 'Ali are the models for the writers of the day. But the question of all questions is how does Ḥazīn stand in relation to them ?

In prose, the style of Ḥazīn is easy and simple. His diction is entirely free from artificiality and ambiguity. His prose, especially his autobiography, is considered today to be a model for the prose-writers. His poetry is Sufistic, elevated, and sweet but all the same smooth. Hence, Ḥazīn is not palatable to the Indian taste of the twelfth century A.H.

2. Another more potent and significant reason for the unpopularity of Ḥazīn is his satires on Indians and the civil war that was consequently waged against him by some of the foremost poets of India. See *supra*.

The best criticism on the poetry of Ḥazīn would have been by poet-historians contemporary with him. But all of them—in the fashion of their time—have nothing but praises for him. The only exception to the rule is Khān Arzū who has criticized Ḥazīn's poetry; not to mention Ḥākim Beg Khān Lāhorī who blindly imitates Arzū. But even Arzū and Ḥākim mention Ḥazīn's name with reverence. Moreover, Arzū's impression of Hazin is too biased to carry any weight ; and Ḥākim has

nothing particular to add about the poetry of Ḥāzin.

Subsequent biographers conventionally and blindly follow in the footsteps of their predecessors. For example, the author of *Naghma-ī-Andalib* (f. 67a) gives his opinion thus: "After Sa'di¹ no eloquent has equalled Ḥāzin. His prose is better than his poetry and his poetry excels his prose.² In all sorts of (poetry)—qasida, mathnawi, ghazal, ruba'i wasokht. or hazl—whichever he handled, Ḥāzin raised the earth of poetry to heaven.^{1,3} " The author of *Tadhkira-i-Ḥusaini* (p. 108) considers Ḥāzin second to Mirzā Ṣā'ibā: and the best of all his contemporaries.

Maulānā Shibli who, in his *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, might have profitably stated something about the poetry of Ḥāzin is absolutely dumbfounded; and does not even mention him. To the average reader it would appear that Shibli has neglected Ḥāzin because he mentions only those poets who have either invented a new style or perfected an existing old one. So far so good. But there is something more—something personal—that has probably led Shibli to ignore Ḥāzin altogether. This personal incident has been recorded by Saiyid Sulaimān Nadwī⁴ and has

¹ d. 691/1292. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 339.

² According to *Āraish-i-Mahfil* p. 88, Ḥāzin equals Zuhuri and Naziri in prose and poetry respectively.

³ *Naghma-i-'Andalib*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 666.

⁴ Saiyid Sulaimān Nadwī is the compiler of *Makatib-i-Shibli*, i.e., a collection of letters addressed to the compiler and various other people by Maulana Shibli

remained unnoticed up to this time. It is as follows :—

In a letter¹ addressed to Maulwi Muḥammad Sami', dated April 24, 1884 A.D., and obviously written from 'Aligarh (as the letter preceding it is dated 'Aligarh, April 19, 1884 A.D.) Maulana Shibli says, that he composed an ode with the *radif* *Chikunam* beginning with the following verse²:—

گر م عقل نگیرم من حیران چکنم
میدهد مغیچه ام باده فراوان چکنم

In answer to the following ode of Hāzīn :—

میشود دل چو گل از عیش پریشان چکنم
غنچه سان گسر نکشم سر بگریبان چکنم
داده جمعیت دلهای اسیران بر باد
نکنم شکوه ازان زلف پریشان چکنم
دل بان چشم فسون ساز که چشمش مرصاد
من گرفته ندهم با صف مژگان چکنم
طعنه بر بی دل و دینان مزن ای زاهد شهر
دل و دین میبرد آن نرگس فتنان چکنم
سر و سامان بود ارزانی ناقص خردان
من که دیوانه عشقم سر و سامان چکنم
چند گوئی که بدل مهر بتان پنهان دار
بوی یوسف رود از مصر بکنعان چکنم
من نه آنم که بدنبال دل از جا بروم
میکشد سوی خود ان سرو خرامان چکنم
میزنم خوبش بآن شعله بیبای حزین
بیش ازین نیست مرا طاقت هجران چکنم³

Some of his students ridiculed the ode of Shibli and remarked, that it was a vain pursuit to try to

¹ *Makatih* Vol. I, pp. 70-71, letter No. 12.

² *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 70.

³ *Kulliyat-i-Hāzin*, Lucknow ed., p. 565.

imitate the master (i.e., Ḥazīn). Shibli, however, held his own.

These two odes—after expunging the concluding verse of each—were, therefore, submitted to Khawāja Azīz-ud-Dīn, poetically surnamed 'Azīz,¹ and Nayyar² Dehlwī to express their opinions as to which of the two odes held a superior place.

Both the judges regarded the ode of Shibli to be the composition of an Īrānī. Nayyar praised it abundantly and placed it at par with the poems of ancient masters.

The above might have been a fit account for the biographer of Maulānā Shibli to record. But it should not be construed to diminish, in the least, the esteem of Ḥazīn in our hearts. Firstly, because, it is a dangerous practice to generalize in this haphazard manner and pass verdicts on the merits of the two poets on the basis of individual odes when we

¹ In his own days, 'Aziz was an accepted master of Īrānī.

² Nayyar was another scholar of Īrānī. In the following *qit'a-ba nd* in a ghazal, Ghalib enumerates Nayyar among his distinguished contemporaries :—

ای که راندی سخن از نکته سریان عجم
چه بما منت بسیار نهی از کم شان
هند را خوش نفسانند ستخورد که بود
باد در خلوت شان مشکفشان از دم شان
مومن و نیر و صهبائی و علوی و انگاه
حسرتی اشرف و آزرده بود اعظم شان
غالب سوخته جان گرچه نیززد بشمار
هست در بزم سخن همنفس و همدم شان

have the complete works of both in our hands. Secondly, because, neither is the ode of Ḥazīn, proffered for the occasion, the best specimen of his poetry; nor does all the poetry of Shiblī (who was undoubtedly the greatest poet of Iranī in his time) conform to the standard of his particular ode under consideration.

Whatever might have been its other consequences, one irresistible conclusion is, that the result of the contest, at that early date (*i.e.*, 1884 A.D.), must have considerably lowered the poetry of Ḥazīn in the eyes of Shiblī; which might, perhaps, sufficiently account for Shiblī's ignoring Ḥazīn in his writings altogether.

Shirwānī Ṣāhib's criticism on the poetry of Ḥazīn is a reliable one. But, unfortunately, it is too vague and brief. According to him : " Ḥazīn equals the accepted masters of the art of composing ghazal." ¹ Shirwānī holds a low opinion about the Mathnawī of Ḥazīn. ³ He places Ḥazīn in the twelfth group of poets. ³

The best criticism on the poetry of Ḥazīn is by Wahṣhat published in the Makhzan for July 1909. According to this authority ⁴: Ḥazīn's special field was ghazal and ruba'i; in both of which he had attained perfection. His style of poetry is best suited for ghazal and is fit to be imitated. It combines depth

¹ *Halclt-i-Hazin* with selections from his poetry by Shirwani, p. 34.

² *Ibid*, p. 34.

³ *Ibid*, p. 35.

⁴ *Makhzan*, July 1909, pp. 12-13.

of thought, clearness of speech and construction, elegance of words, relish, pang, amorous purpose of conversation, and sufism ; which has greatly added to its value."

Ḥazīn was a born poet. According to Muṣḥaff,¹ Ḥazīn had no teacher in poetry and has written²: " At the age of 7 [i.e. in 1110 A.H.] I composed an ode in answer to Shaukat Bukhārī who also praised me³: and at the age of 9 [i.e. in 1112 A.H.] I composed, and publicly recited, a qasida in answer to that of Mirzā Ṭāhir Waḥīd⁴—whereupon Nawwāb Waḥīd-uz-Zamān embraced me and praised me abundantly."⁵ This was in his childhood. In his youth : Ḥazīn displayed his power of extempore versification by producing verse by verse a whole ode in answer to Mullā Muḥtasham Kāshī.⁶ In his manhood : Ḥazīn had the honour of having Nawwāb Sher Afgan Khān and Raja Ram Nara'in among his students. He was also imitated by Mir Soz, Sauda, Jur'at, and Dhauq.⁷ And after Ḥazīn's death Mirzā Ghalib,⁸ the poet-laureate of Hindustān and a famous poet of Irānī, used to seek advantage from

¹ d. 1240/1824. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 246; and 'Iqd'i'Thuraiya, Rarapur MS. 52, f. 566, Aurangabad ed., p. 21.

² I have not been able to trace the source of information of Muṣḥaff.

³ An apparent anachronism; for Shaukat Bukhārī d. in 1107 A.H. See footnote 5 at p. 4.

⁴ d. 1108/1696. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 396.

⁵ 'Iqd'i'Thuraiyd, Rampur MS. 52, f. 55a ; Aurangabad ed., p. 21.

⁶ For his life see : *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 276.

⁷ See *Āb-i-Haydt*, p. 197: They imitated this matla':

میگرفتیم بجانان سرراهی گاهی اوهم از لطف نهان داشت نگاهی گاهی

⁸ d. 1285/1869. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 140.

the verses of Ḥazīn.¹ At the end of his Īrānī Kulliyāt, Ḡhalīb recognizes Ḥazīn as one of his five teachers² and as one of his authorities.³ In his *mathnawī* entitled *Bad-i-Mukhalif*, Ḡhalīb mentions Ḥazīn as one of his teachers :

ای تماشایان ژرف نگاہ هان بگوئید حسبۂ اللہ
کہ چسان از حزین بہ پیچم سر آن بہ جادو دمی بدھر سمر

" Oh, deep-sighted spectators!

Here, say, for God's sake

How should I turn away from Ḥazīn,

Who is famous for his magic-verses in the world ?"⁴

In Irān Ḥazīn passed an honourable and respectable time. He was distinguished by His patronage. high esteem and veneration in the eyes of Sultān Ḥusain,⁵ and was in the good graces of Shāh Ṭahmāsp⁶ the son of Sultān Ḥusain. Shāh Ṭahmāsp visited Ḥazīn in his house several times⁷.

¹ See: *Sham'-i-Anjuman*, pp. 394, 410, and 466.

² *Kulliydt-i-Ghalib*, p. 554 ; and *Shirvani* p. 36.

³ See : *Ud-i-Hindi* pp. 18 and 130. In the *Kulliyat-i-Ghalib*, see pp. 394 and 532 (*ghazals*) for verses of Ḡhalīb acknowledging the superiority of, or at any cost, claiming equality with Ḥazīn.

غالباً عین حزین است بہ ہنجار بروز p. 394

موج این بحر مکرر بکنار آمد و رفت
اندین شیوۂ گفتار کہ داری غالب p. 532

گر ترقی نکنی شیخ علی را مانی

⁴ See: *Makhzan*, December 1909, p. 22.

⁵ d. 1142/1729. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 362-63.

⁶ *Tuḥfat-ul-Ālam*, p. 52; *Mira'at-i-Āftab Numa*, Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 32/33, f. 168a.

⁷ *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bankipur MS. 716, f. 545 ; *Tadhkira-i-Shu'ara-i-Mafr* Ḥabīb Ganj MS. Pers. 51/12, S. q. Ḥazīn ; *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal* Lucknow ed., pp. 79-80.

In India also, the King, Muḥammad Shāh, the nobles, and all the people loved Ḥazīn and were kind towards him.¹ Muḥammad Shāh often desired to call Ḥazīn to his presence and to be delighted by his verses. But Ḥazīn did not agree.² Muḥammad Shāh also repeatedly requested Ḥazīn for permission to go to him and visit him. But even to this Ḥazīn refused to condescend.³

When Ḥazīn's independence became fully known to Muḥammad Shāh, the King himself rode for Ḥazīn's house once or twice. But, on hearing of the King's approach, Ḥazīn made the excuse of visiting the tomb of Khwāja Quṭb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī⁴ and rode away before the King's arrival.⁵

'Umdat-ul-Mulk Amīr Khān, poetically surnamed Anjam,⁶ is the first man to entertain Ḥazīn on his own behalf and on behalf of the King. On Ḥazīn's arrival at Delhi, Anjam secured for Ḥazīn a fief of fertile lands from Muḥammad Shāh; wherewith Ḥazīn passed his life happily. According to

¹ *Safina-i-'Ishrat*, BSnkīpur MS. 699, f. 1876; *Riydd-ush-Shu'ara*, 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 630/51 f. 105a; *'Iqd-i-Thuraiya*, Rampur MS. 52, f. 57a; *ibid.*, Aurangabad ed., p. 22.

² *'Iqd-i-Thuraiya*, Rampur, MS. 52, f. 57a.

³ *Tadhkira-i-Hasaini*, p. 106; and *Safina-i-'Ishrat*, Bankīpur MS. 699, f. 187i.

A beautiful description of Muḥammad Shāh's visit to Ḥazīn, based on verbal evidence, is given in *Nigdistdn-i-Fārs*, p. 210.

⁴ d. 633/1235. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 321.

⁵ *'Iqd-i-TJluraiya*, Rarapur MS. 52, f. 57a; and *ibid.*, Aurangabad ed., p. 22.

• Murdered in 1159/1747. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 71.

Muḥammad Ridā,¹ the fief granted to Ḥazīn by Muḥammad Shāh on the recommendation of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk consisted of a few villages. Aḥmad 'Alī² tells us that the estate was worth Rs. 40,000 and situated near Akbarābād (Agra). Arzū³ says, that it valued 2,000,000 *dāms*.

We learn from Aḥmad 'Alī,⁴ that Muḥammad Shāh, on one occasion, made Ḥazīn a present of Rs. 500,000 through 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Nawwab Amir Khān Anjām.

According to Husain Dust,⁵ 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, on his return from Ilāhābād [in 1156 A.H./1743 A.D.],⁶ gained the confidence of Ḥazīn and offered him a subvention of a few lakhs⁷ which Ḥazīn accepted. 'Umdat-ul-Mulk then handed over the grant to a certain man, with the instructions to pay over the proceeds to Ḥazīn at each harvest time.

In the unreliable *Nigāristān-i-Fārs* (p. 210) it is stated, "On a few occasions Muḥammad Shāh wanted to grant Ḥazīn some lakhs of rupees but the Shaikh always used to reply: 'I have come here to visit India; not to beg'," Again, we are told by Arzu⁸

¹ *Naghma-i-'Andalib*, British Museum MS. Or. 1811, f. 66a :—

و دیہات چند در طیول شیخ مقرر گردانید

² *Makhzan-ul-Ghard'ib*, Rampur MS. 57, f. 263a,

³ *Majma'-un-Nafa'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. 170.

⁴ *Makhzan-ul-Ghara'ib*, Rampur MS. 57, f. 263.

⁵ *Tadhkira-i-Husain* p. 106.

⁶ *Khizana-i-'Amira*, p. 77; and *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 71.

⁷ In *Mardum-i-Didah*, Habib Ganj, typed copy 51/26, p. 49, the subvention is said to be worth about 100,000 *dāms*.

⁸ *Maima'-un-Naff'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, f. p. 170.

and Ḥakim:¹ " On 'Umdat-ul-Mulk's return from Ilahābād [to Delhi in 1156/1743], Ḥazin made a shameful retreat from Lahore to Delhi in the hope of his merits being recognised." This is incorrect. There is no record of Ḥazin's being at Lahore in 1156 A.H., viz., the year when Anjam returned to Dehli from Ilahabad. Also, as elsewhere stated, the attitude of Ḥākīm (who faithfully follows Khan Arzū's *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*) is antagonistic towards Ḥazin.

In the *Makhzan'uL^LGharā'ib*? on the other hand, it is stated that, on hearing about the arrival of Ḥazin, 'Umdat-ul-Mulk went to see him and entertained him to his house with due consideration ; and served him well.

At 'Azīmabād Ḥazin commanded the respect of Raja Ram Narā'in, the governor of the place, who was a pupil of Ḥazin. Raja Balwant Singh, the ruler of Banāras, was extremely reverent towards Ḥazin and used to visit him in his house sometimes.³

Ḥazin had taken to the noble profession of teaching even in the lifetime of Pupils. his father, i.e. before he was 24 years of age. But his undiminishing zeal to acquire knowledge at the threshold of every scholar necessitated distant and constant travels and allowed

¹ *Mardum-i-Dxdah*, Habib Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 49.

² *Makkzan-ul-Qhard'ib*, Rampur MS. 57, f. 262a.

³ *Āfaq's Tadbkira-i-Ḥazin*, p. 26.

"him little time for conducting regular classes or having any number of regular students.

From the siege of Iṣfahān in 1134 A.H. to the eve of his departure for India (*viz.*, the 10th of Ramaḍān, 1146 A.H.), Ḥazīn was seldom at a place for more than a few days: unless, of course, when taken ill;—there being no chance of teaching in either case.

Thrice we find him on the high seas; and lastly, dragged into the political disturbance in about 1146 A.H. This prolonged political upheaval disturbed the literary atmosphere of Īrān beyond imagination. Relations and libraries were lost; and writers that survived the calamities were left to shed tears over their misfortunes rather than write the biographies of their contemporaries or prepare lists of their students.

Hence, it is not surprising if we cannot name more than one or two students of Ḥazīn in Īrān. Besides, Hazin was labouring under the double disadvantage of being in the forties and in his own land where native talent is seldom recognised till after the death.

Conditions, however, changed entirely after Nādir Shāh's departure from Delhi in about 1152 A.H. Here under a peaceful atmosphere Ḥazin added the respectability of being a grey-bearded foreigner to his other qualifications ;—factors which count a great deal with a sentimental race like the Indians. About the second factor Salim Ṭihirānī

says :—

نیست در ایران زمین سامان تحصیل کمال
تا سووی هندوستان نامد حنا رنگین نشد

" There aren't in the land of Iran the means of acquiring perfection.

Henna did not become coloured before coming to India."

Hence, we find the following list of the pupils of Ḥaz̤n in India :—

Named Banda 'Alī Khān, was the son of Mīr Ḥabīb Ullāh¹ Ghairat Khān, the Basitī. son of Mīrak Khān. Bāsītī's mother was the daughter of Shēr Afgan Khān. He was born at Shāhjahanābad (Delhi) and joined the court of Muḥammad Shāh. He received the title of Shēr Afgan Khān (which formerly belonged to his maternal grandfather) and was made a Shāsh-hazari. He went from Delhi to Lakhnaū in 1160 A.H. and became a disciple of Shah 'Abd Ullah Basiti from whom he derived his title. He was at first the pupil of Mīr Thābit Ilahābādī and used the *nom de plume* Sabqat. On Thābit's death in 1151 A.H., Bāsītī became the pupil of Ḥaz̤n and remained so till the death of Ḥaz̤n in 1180 A.H.² Basitī met Ḥaz̤n at Banāras and showed him his *dīwān* in order to be informed of its merits and demerits. Ḥaz̤n told him, that it was fit to be washed from cover to cover. Basitī accordingly threw it into a river. Hazin further advised him to compose quatrains occasionally

¹ *Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Aurangabad ed., p. 15, omit Ḥabīb Ullah.

² See *Subh-i-Gulshan*, p. 50; *Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Aurangabad ed., pp. 14-15, and *supra*.

which Bāsīṭi thenceforth used to do.¹ Bāsīṭi died in 1199 A.H. He has composed an anthology of all the poets. For his life also see *Nishtar-i-Ishq* and *Gul-i-RcCria*.

Named Mirzā Ḥaidar, was a resident of Jāi's in Bījan. Oudh. He was a painter and calligraphist. He died in the middle of the thirteenth century² of the Hijra.

Kumar Chet Singh who afterwards ruled as Maharāja of Banāras (1770-1781 A.D.) after his father, Mahārāja Bālwant Singh (1740-1770 A.D.), was a pupil of Ḥazīn. He often used to go to Ḥazīn and picked up a good deal of Īrānī.³

Named Mirzā Muḥammad Hāshim Artimānī, was the son of Mirzā Raḍī, the son of Dil. Mirzā Ibrāhīm Adham. At first he used the *nom de plume* Hāshim which he later on changed for Dil.⁴

Shaikh Gulshan 'All, the son of Shaikh 'Aṭṭar Anṣārī Jaunpūrī, was born in 1117 Gulshan. A.H. He came to Delhi in 1143 A.H. and became the pupil of Mīr Muḥammad Afḍal Thābit. At the death of Thābit [in 1151 A.H.] he had his verses corrected by Mīr Shams-ud-Din Faqīr. When Ḥazīn came to Delhi in about 1149 A.H., Gulshan became his pupil. He died in the end of

¹ See *'Iqd-i-Thuraivd*. Aurangabad ed., p. 15.

² See *Ruz-i-Rushan*, p. 111.

³ For detail see *Sham*, January 1927, p. 15.

⁴ See *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, p. 216.

the twelfth century of the Hijra and has left behind about 5,000 verses.¹

We do not know the name of the boy. His father, Lāla Mādhṭ Rām, was an Madhn Ram's son. influential trader in Banāras. The boy was a favourite of Shāikh Ḥazīn. In the year 1186 A.H. when Achhe Miyān² visited the tomb of Ḥazīn, the son of Mādhṭ Rām was bearing all the expenses of the place.³

Mirza 'Abd-ur-Riḍa Iṣfahanī, with the *takhalluṣ* Matin, was the son of Shāikh ⁴Abd Matn. Ullāh Najafī and a descendant of Malik Ashtar Najafī. He was born at Iṣfahān. He associated with Mir Najāt and other scholars for some time. He came to Delhi in the reign of Muḥammad Shah and had poetic contests and disputes with Mir Muḥammad Afḍal Thābit. Then he migrated to Lakhnāw, Murshidābād, and Ilāhābād successively. He died in 1175 A.H./1761 A.D. He followed Ḥazīn in most of his verses and Ḥazīn used to praise Matin's poetry. He has left behind a *diwān* of

¹ See *Rūz-i-Rāṣhan*, pp. 586-87.

² Achhe Miyan is the nickname of Saiyid Shah Āl-i-Aḥmad (d. 1235 A.H.). He visited the tomb of Ḥazīn in 1186 A.H. on his return from Tikar i in Bihar where he had gone to visit his maternal uncle Nawwab Nūr-ul-Ḥasan Khān. The memoirs of Achhe Miyan called the *Āthdr-i-Aḥmadi* were composed by Ḥakim 'Inayat Ḥusain in c. 1250-1260 A.H. No definite information about the *Āthdr-i-Aḥmadi* can be obtained, because, the only two copies of the book, so far known, are in the possession of the descendants of Achhe Miyan in Marhara and Hyderābād who seldom allow anyone to see the MS. which is sacred to them. I obtained extracts of the relevant portion through the late Saiyid Aḥsan Marharwl; after a great deal of botheration and inconvenience.

³ *Āthdr-i-Aḥmadh* Muḥammad Miyan Marharwl's MS.

12,000 verses.¹

Named Rāja Rām Narā'in, was a resident of a small village in the suburbs of Azīmābād.
Mauzūn.

He succeeded his father as a Dīwān of Nawwāb Mahābat Jang. He was appointed the Governor of 'Azīmābād and granted the title of Rāja by Mahābat Jang. He was deprived of the governorship of 'Azīmābād and imprisoned by Nawwāb Qāsim 'Alī Khān on his succession to the Masnad in A.H. 1174/A.D. 1760. He was released by 'Alljāh at the time of his defeat at the hands of the English in 1178 A.H. and thrown into the river Ganges.²

The Dīwān of Mauzūn is full of subtle verses acknowledging the superiority and mastership of Hāzin. Here are some of Mauzūn's verses mentioning Hāzin :—

	Page
ز ارشادِ حزین باشد تسلی طبعِ موزون را	20
فزودم در جنابِ او قرارِ خاطرِ خود را	
ز ارشادِ حزین تا زین نمودم اشهبِ معنی	27
بگردد من رسیدن نیست موزون شهسواران را	
مناسبت بجنابِ حزین چه موزون را	33
فروغِ شمس کجا پرتو چراغِ کجا	
ز کارِ ناله فرو ماند طبعِ موزون را	37
ز حالِ من که رساند خبرِ حزین مرا	
بسوز دل بسرِ ناله حزین موزون	60
دوای دردِ تو در نسخه شغائی نیست	

¹ See *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, p. 604; and *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 247-48.

² See *Subh-i-Gulshan*, p. 469; *Gulzcl-r-i-Ibra'him*, p. 218; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 328; *Gul-i-jRa'na*, Curzon collection MS. 511, ff.

موزون زخطر در ره باریک معانی

اندیشه مکن مثل حزین راهبری هست

گفتم که همه درد بود ناله موزون

گفتا که به تعلیم گرش شیخ حزین بود

بفکر این غزل اکنون خیال طبع موزون را

باحیای سخن لطف حزین در کار می باید

چو یار ناله موزون شنید میفرمود

چرا چنین نبود بنده حزینم بود

بجاست ناز خود امروز طبع موزون را

که در دم غزلی شیخ را جواب رساند

چنان موزون به پیش مصرع شیخ این غزل ماند

صفا از آب شیرین شور را کمتر نمی باشد

یافت چون ناله موزون مرا گفت حزین

نشود پیش لببت زمزمه تار سفید

ناله موزون اگر کردم توان معذور نیست

در بساط این شعله از آه حزینم مانده بود

خاک قدم حزین مرا بس

موزون سر کیمیا ندارد

افکند حزین سایه خود بر سر موزون

رو منت خود را ز سرم بالی هماگیر

نکنه سنجان همگی سحر طرازند ولی

بود از فیض حزین شعر تو موزون اعجاز

تا سخنهای من از فیض حزین موزون شد

بغزل شهره و محسود هزاران گشتم

بعزم میکند موزون مرا حزین فرمود

بکار خیر چه حاجت که استخاره کنم

طبع موزون مرا فیض حزین نیسان کرد

که بهر بکر رسیدیم گهربار شدیم

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بفیضِ تَرَبِیتِ حضرتِ حزینِ موزون نظیرِ طرزِ نظیری و صائباً شده ام	247
بود در طبعِ موزون نشه از شعرِ حزین دادم	255
زمستی های صهبای ازل میخانه خویشم کسی چو ناله موزون ما بفیضِ حزین	278
بدوشِ خویش نبرد است این ردای سخن حزین افتاد موزون بر درت امیدها دارد	294
بکمالِ او ز لطفِ خویش فرما فیضِ ادراکی	

" When Ḥazīn first entered 'Aẓīmābād, Mauzūn went up to him and showed his *dẖwān* to Ḥazīn. The *takhalluṣ* Mauzūn was conferred on him by Ḥazīn. The *dẖwān* that was shown to Ḥazīn passed into the hands of Qāsim 'Alī Khān along with the other articles of Rājā Rām Narā'in that were confiscated. No one knows what has become of it. In these days a man has collected, from here and there the rough drafts that were lying scattered about; as well as the verses that had been examined by Mauzūn, and compiled them into a *diwān*. This is an altogether defective copy."¹ Mauzun's *dxwan* has been printed by Newwul Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1870 A.D.

The political achievements of Mauzūn from the subject-matter of an article published by Saiyid Ḥasan 'Askari in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1938 (Pts. I and II) ; December 1938 (Pt. III); and March 1939 (Pt. IV). The article is chiefly based on *Dastw-ul-Insha*—a large collection of disarranged private and official letters, sanads,

¹ *Gul-i-Ra'na*, Curzon collection MS. 511, f. 444b.

short orders, and news-letters; mostly written by, or addressed to, Rāja Rām Narā'in and other contemporary personages; belonging to Rāi Mathūrā Prashād of Mahārāj Ghāt, Patna city. As such, the article, it is with regret to say, gives very little information about Mauzūn as a poet.

Named Saiyid Khairāt 'Alī Dehlawī, originally belonged to Faiḍābād. He died after the age of seventy.¹

Muṣhtāq.

Mirzā 'Alī Naqī Khān was the son of Qāsim Khān. He was also for some time the student of Maulwī Muḥammad 'Iwāḍ Jaunpuri. He was born in Lahore and brought up in 'Aẓīmābād. He has left behind a Kulliyāt of 10,000 verses. He also sometimes used the *nom de plume* Lisani.²

Naqi.

Named Mīr Muḥammad Samr Dehlawī. His father had migrated from Bukhāra to Delhi. On Ḥazīn's coming to India, Niyāzi became his pupil and derived his *nom de plume* from Ḥazīn.³

Niyazi.

Mullā Muḥammad ⁴Abd Ullāh, commonly called Mulla Muḥammad 'Umar, poetically surnamed Sabiq, of Banāras, was a pupil of Arzu⁴ and Hazin.⁵ He was on very intimate terms with Ḥazīn. He used to visit the

Sabiq.

¹ See : *Ṣubḥ-i-Gulshan*, p. 411.

² *Ibid.*, p. 537.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 571.

⁴ Āfaq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, p. 29.

⁵ *Ishardt-i-Binish** R.A.S.B. MS. 61, f. 22 (Margin).

The cataloguer has committed an error by calling Mahlī a student of

residence of Ḥazīn every day and to recite to Ḥazīn all that he had composed. Ḥazīn, in turn, used to recite his own verses to Sābiq. Sometimes both of them composed in the same rhyme.¹ From the specimens of their *ghazals* given in Afāq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, pp. 29-30, it is evident from the *Maqṭa'* of Sābiq that he has imitated the *ghazal* of Ḥazīn. For the meeting of Sābiq and Ḥazīn on another occasion see *ibid.*, p. 30.

Named Muḥammad Aḥsan Khān Dehlawī, poetically surnamed Sami' was the descendant of either Rāja Bīrbal or Todar Mal of Akbar's Court. His grandfather was converted to Islām. He learnt to compose verses from Mirzā Bedil. Then he used to take his verses to Shāikh Ḥusain Shuhrat for correction. Lastly, he practised that art under Hazin. Sami' died at the age of sixty.²

Shāikh Āyat Ullāh, poetically surnamed Thana, belonged to Shahjahanābād (Delhi).
Thana I. At the time when Ḥazīn came to Delhi and put up in the residence of 'Umdat-ul-

ArzH and Hazīn. This is due to a miscomprehension of the original Irāni text (*Isharht-i-Bimsh* f. 22) :—

حسن : مولوی محمد حسن علی ماہلی.....اول سری بہ
 بنارس کشید و بخدمت ملا محمد عمر کہ از شاگردان خان آرزو
 و شیخ علی حزین بود کتب عمدہ فارسی گذرانید

The above passage means, that Mahlī paid a visit to Mullā Muḥammad 'Umar who was a pupil of Ārzū and Ḥazīn; and not that Mahlī was a pupil of Ārzū and Ḥazīn.

¹ Afāq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, p. 29.

² *Rūz-i-Rūshan*, p. 284.

Mulk, Thana used to take his verses to Hazin for correction. He imitated Hazin. He died a few years before the composition of 'lqd-i-Thuraiya'. Thana proved himself a worthy successor to Hazin—his great predecessor. After the death of Hazin, Thana was recognised as one of the masters of the Irānī language. He was one of the poets to whom Sauda referred Ashraf 'Alī Khān for correction of his anthology after the latter had despaired of Makin.³

Thana II.

Named Habīb Ullāh, was a resident of Kashmīr.³

Maulwi Muḥammad Bāqir Shahīd Tīhrānī . . . settled down in Aurangābād . . .

Shahīd.

After some time he set for the pilgrimage and in the course of the journey he met Muḥammad 'Alī Hazin in the port of Tatta.⁴ He became a pupil of Hazin in poetry. He died on the 11th of Rajab 1178 A.H.⁵ at Aurangābād.

'Alī Qull Khān, poetically called Wālih, was born in Iṣfahān. He was intimately loved by Mirzā Ja'far Rāhib and Hazin who taught him many points in the art of versification.⁶ Later on, while in India, Wālih and Hazin drifted away as we learn from the Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā (under Hazin).

¹ See : 'lqd-i-Tliuraiyd, Aurangabad ed., p. 19.

² See Ab-i-Hayai pp. 165-66 ; Shaikh Chand's Sauda, pp. 57-58.

⁴ See Subh-i-Gulshan, p. 99. ⁴ Most probably in 1146 A.H.

⁵ For details see Nata'ij-ul-Afkdr, Lytton Library MS., ff. 248-49. Mahbūb-uz-Zaman, pp. 525-30 ; Mardum-i-Didah ; Gul-i-Ra'nd ; and Urdū, July 1937.

• See 'lqd-i-Thuraiyd, Aurangabad ed., p. 61.

Ḥazin's diction is quite simple in most cases. As he was purely religious and deeply versed in Arabic literature, his rich and expressive vocabulary is borrowed from that language. In his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, it is peculiar to note, Ḥazin makes Arabic plurals of Irānī words, e.g., سرد سیرات and گرم سیرات; and observes Arabic plurals of syntax in Irānī, e.g., شهرهای معتبره. Another peculiarity of his diction is the use of some Hindi words which were in common use among his contemporary Irānī poets in India.¹

"In prose, Ḥazin's style of writing is direct and clear while his words are free from any artificial arrangements. His sentences have very few metaphors. At his best he wrote as he talked, but sometimes his sentences are too long, and contain too many clauses which spoil their unity. However, his style is neither laboured or heavy nor pompous or artificial."² He was pious of heart; independent of nature; amiable; and sober.³ His poetry is idiomatic, sententious, simple, and easy; based on advice, philosophy and sufism.⁴ Love is the chief component of Ḥazin's constitution. Love-poetry escapes from his lips unwarily. He enjoys his verses himself while the disesteem of the world makes him low-spirited.

¹ Master's Introduction to his translation of Ḥazin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* p. IV.

² *Idem.*

³ *Makhzan*, July 1909, p. 11.

⁴ *Sec NigHristdn-i-Fars*, p. 210.

Agreeable melodies emanate from his desire-laden heart little by little and trickle down his tongue. But who is there to understand ?¹

The *ghazal* of Ḥazīn imbibes all the meritable qualities of the *ghazals* of Ḥafiz,² Sa'di,³ and Jami,⁴ whom he faithfully imitates. In the *Kulliyat-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow edition, Ḥazīn imitates Sa'di, p. 358; Qāsim-i-Anwar,⁵ pp. 360 and 637; Fughānī,⁶ p. 489; Rami,⁷ pp. 327, 445, 465, 508, 471, 534, 559, 661 and 680; Ḥafiz, pp. 400, 413, 506, 517, 579, 597, and 604; Jami, p. 550; Sanā'i,⁸ pp. 402, 437 and 619; and Wahdat, p. 599.

The two odes of Maulānā Rūmī imitated in the *Kulliyat-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow edition, pp. 508 and 559, **are to be found in the *Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabriz*?** Lucknow edition, 1887 A.D., pp. 157-58 and pp. 227-28. See *Ḥayāt-i-Maulānā Rūmī* by Shibli Nu'mānī, p. 25. This statement is repeated with details in the *Ḥalāt-i-Shams-i-Tabriz* by Munshī Muḥammad Dīn, pp. 45-46.

Ḥazīn's ideas are sublime and his language is chaste. A marked feature of his *ghazal* is its pathos—a clear indication of his painful life. He was

¹ *Makhzan*, July 1909. p. 11.

² d. 791/1389. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 148.

³ d. 691/1292. See *Ibid.*, p. 339.

⁴ d. 898/1492. See *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.

⁵ d. 835/1431. See *Ibid.*, pp. 315-16.

⁶ d. 925/1519. See *Ibid.*, p. 91. Ḥazīn considered Fughānī superior to Janrī. See *Majma'-un-Nafa'is*, Punjab University MS.. Pf. I. 24, f. 682.

⁷ d. 672/1273. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 194.

⁸ d. 525 probably. See *Ibid.*, p. 351.

⁹ d. 645/1247, See *Ibid.*, pp. 376-77.

considered to be a model for pathetic poetry, Munshī Amīr Aḥmad Mīnā'ī Lakhnawī says :

شعر پر درد جو لکھنے پہ طبیعت آئی
سامنے آئے مرے روح حزین بیٹھ گئی

" When I desired to write painful verses
Hāzin's soul came and sat before me.¹

His *qasidas*² are chiefly in praise (*hamd*). Hāzīn has also imitated some of the famous *qaṣīdas* of Khāqānī, but has lagged behind the novel metaphors and vigorous expressions of the great master.

His *qaṣida* beginning :

شد جان و هوش و صبر و خرد را زکار دست

is written in the same metre as the *qaṣīdas* of Kamāl Iṣfahānī and Salman Sawījī as he himself says in the *maqta*³:—

در بحر این قصیده بسی غوطہ زد کمال
اما ندادش این گہر شاہوار دست
سلیمان بسی با چشمہ فکرت فشرد پای
اما نیافت بر سخن آبدار دست

In his *Wadi'at-ul-Badi'at*, Hāzīn has imitated Thana'ī's *Ḥadtqat-ul-Ḥaqīqat* but has not been able to do justice to himself. His *Khārābāt* is written in imitation of Sa'dī's *Bostān*; but according to Shirwani⁴ is a much inferior work.

¹ *Makhzan*, October 1909, p. 25.

² According to *Ārdī'sh-i-Mahfil*, p. 88 : his *qasidas* are better than those of 'Urfi.

³ *Kulliyat-i-Hāzīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 179.

⁴ *Ḥalat-i-Hāzīn*, p. 34.

Ḥazīn had been endowed with a wonderful memory. Writing in his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (Lucknow ed., p. 10) in 1154 A.H. he says that he still remembered some of the things of the days when he was a suckling. It was from memory that he wrote his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*.¹ In his *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'āshirin*, Ḥazīn has reproduced from memory hundreds of verses of some of the poets whom he mentions. It is also from memory that he reconstructed his *Fars Nama*, *Matmah-ul-Anzar*, *Chaman-o-Anjuman*, *Kharabat*, and *Tadhkirat-ul-'Āshiqin*. See *infra*.

It does not seem profitable to trace here, from place to place, the earlier travels of Ḥazīn undertaken prior to 1154 A.H.; as a detailed description of all his travels up to that date is to be found in his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*. As, however, little notice has been taken of his travels subsequent to that date, I would like to give a somewhat more detailed account of his travels after 1154 A.H. For the sake of continuity let us begin a bit earlier.

During his travels, Ḥazīn visited most of the cities of *Khurāsān*,² *Dār-ul-Marz*, *Irāq*, *Fārs*³ and

¹ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* Lucknow ed., p. 30.

² *Khurāsān* : Country of the " rising sun", from *Kur* " sun " and *asan* "rising."

For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 966-67, *Jughrāfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Irān*, Vol. II, pp. 179-211 and *Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb*, p. 147.

⁴ *Fārs*. . . . the ancient Persis or Persia in the narrowest sense, the ancestral home of the Persians, the province of Persia in the south-east of the modern Iran with its capital *Shīrāz*, bounded in the north by "Irak

Adharbāijān.¹ After two previous futile attempts mentioned in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* (Lucknow ed., pp. 44 and 71) he finally started to perform the pilgrimage in 1143 A.H./1730-31 A.D.³ He performed it in 1144 A.H./1731-32 A.D.³

The biographers of Ḥazīn are not agreed on the year in which he performed the pilgrimage. According to some he did so in 1143 A.H. According to others he only started to perform the pilgrimage in that year. According to yet others he went to the holy sanctuary in 1144 A.H. The year in which Ḥazīn performed the pilgrimage is, therefore, to be determined.

We know that he started for the pilgrimage in 1143 A.H.⁴ We also know that Ḥazīn returned from Mecca in Muḥarram 1145 A.H./June 1732 A.D.⁵

'Adjāmī, in the south by the Persian Gulf, in the east by Kirmān and in the west by Khuzistan.

For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 70, *Jughrdfiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-hdn*, Vol. II, pp. 214-42, and *Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb*, pp. 112-13.

¹ ĀdharbaidjSn,—a province in the empire of the Caliphs, bounded on the south-east by al-Djibal (the ancient Media), on the south-west by the eastern part of the province Djazira (the ancient Assyria), on the west by Armenia, on the north by the province of Arran (. . . the countries of the Caucasus), and on the east by both shore-lands of the Caspian Sea, Mughan and Gīlan.

For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 134-35. *Jughrafiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Iran*, Vol. II, pp. 150-78; *Nuzhat-ul-Qulub*, p. 75.

² *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bankipur MS. 716, f. 546; *Nata 'ij-ul-Afkar*, Hahib Ganj MS. 51/19, p. 170; *Riyad-ush-Shu'ara*, 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 630/51 f. 104b; *Khulasat-ul-Kalam*, Bankipur MS. 704, f. 2106; *Khizana-Amira*, p. 193; and *Haft Āsmān*, A.S.B. ed., p. 162.

³ *Sham'-i-Anjuman*, p. 131.

⁴ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* Lucknow ed., pp. 97 and 99; *Riyad-ush-Shu'ard*, 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 630/51, f. 1046; *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bankipur MS. 716, f. 546; and *Khizdna-i-'Āmira*. p. 193.

⁵ *Tadhkira-ul-Aḥwāl* Lucknow ed., p. 99.

We also know that the fact of Ḥazīn's performing the pilgrimage is mentioned only once in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahiṣal*¹ (Lucknow ed., p. 99). We have to see whether Ḥazīn performed the pilgrimage in 1143 A. H. or 1144 A.H.

The year 1143 A.H. is impossible. Because, while at Bandar 'Abbās¹—prior to his departure for Mecca—Ḥazīn was informed through letters from Shāh Ṭahmāsp and other military friends about the defeat of the Iranians by the Turks and the consequent treaty of Hamadān.² This conclusively shows that Ḥazīn did not quit the shores of Īrān before 1144 A.H., viz., the year of defeat of the Iranians at the hands of the Turks near Hamadān.³

According to Master:⁴ "In 1144 A.H., when Nādir Shāh had taken Adharbāijān from the Turks, Ḥazīn visited Iṣfahān and Shirāz and being unable to see the miseries of his countrymen, started on a pilgrimage."

The natural conclusion is that Ḥazīn prepared himself to perform the pilgrimage in 1143 A.H. (as is evident from the words:

در سنه يك هزار و يك صد و چهل و سه بزيارت بيت الله
ميان عزيمت بر بست -

bandar 'Abbas.—a Persian seaport situated 56°-20' east lat. (Greenwich) and about 27° north lat. in the south-east of the province of Fars, near Kirm5n frontier.

For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 699 and *Jughrafiya-i-Mufaṣṣal-i-Īrān*, Vol. II, p. 247.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Akwa* U Lucknow ed., p. 99.

³ See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 616.

⁴ Master's Introduction to his translation of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, p. iii.

in the *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*¹ but could only perform it in 1144 A.H. the year for the whole of which he was at Mecca.

Ḥazīn performed the pilgrimage in 1144 A.H. going from Bandar 'Abbās to Sūrāt; staying at Sūrāt for two months ; proceeding to Judda ; and thence to Mecca. Ḥazīn returned from the pilgrimage *via* Laḥsā, Baḥrain, and Bandar 'Abbās in the month of Muḥarram 1145 A.H./June-July 1732 A.D.²

From Bandar 'Abbās Ḥazīn sailed for India (to be more exact Sindh) on the 10th of Ramaḍān 1146 A.H.³/14th of February 1734 A.D. in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh.⁴ Ḥazin arrived at Tatta⁵ in the beginning of the month of Shawwāl⁶ (March) 1146 A.H./1734 A.D.

Shāh Nawāz Khān.⁷ Ghulām 'Alī Āzād,⁸ and Mirzā Aḥmad 'Alī⁹ would give us to understand

¹*Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bankipur MS. 716, f. 546.

²*Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Bombay ed., p. 99.

³*Ibid.*, Lucknow ed., p. 116; *Miradt-i-Āftdb Numd*, Habib Ganj MS. 32/33 s.q., "Ḥazīn."

⁴*Histoire de la Litterature Hindoui et Hindoustani* by Garcin de Tassy, Vol. I, p. 227; *Araish-i-Mahfil* Calcutta ed., p. 88; *Khulasat-ul-Kalām*, Bankipur MS. 704, f. 211a.

Muḥammad Shāh d. 1161/1748. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 272.

⁵Tatta, the capital of the preceding district (Tatta), situated on the banks of the Indus mention is made of Tatta so early as 92 of the Hijra, or A.D. 714 Even so late as 1742 A.D. when visited by Nadir Shāh, it was a place of considerable trade, since which date its decay has been uninterrupted. See Hamilton's *East India Gazette*, Vol. II, pp. 625-26.

⁶*Tadhkirat-uLAḥwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 116.

⁷*Miraat-i-Aftab Numa*, Habib Ganj MS. 32/33 s.q. Ḥazin.

⁸*Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 225.

⁹*Kitab-i-Nujum-ul-Asma fi Tarajim-ul-'Ulama*, Lucknow ed., p. 283.

that Ḥazīn reached Tatta in 1147 A.H. While Sakserā¹ would have us believe that Ḥazīn reached Delhi in 1147 A.H. All of them are wrong : Hazin reached Tatta in 1146 A.H. and Delhi in about 1149 A.H.

Firstly, because the voyage from Bandar 'Abbās to Tatta could not have taken Ḥazīn more than a month.

Secondly, there is no evidence to the contrary in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal* to show that Ḥazīn was forced to disembark and stay at any place during the course of his voyage from Bandar 'Abbas to Tatta.

Thirdly, whereas Azād's statement in the *Sarw-i-Āzād* (p. 225) is confused, he clearly states in another place, viz., *Khizana-i-Āmira* (Lucknow ed., p. 194), that Ḥazīn was in Bakkar in 1147 A.H. where he exchanged interviews with Azād and offered Āzād a copy of his (Ḥazīn's) verses in his own hand.² If Ḥazīn had reached Tatta in *Shawwāl* 1147 A.H./February-March 1735 A.D., how could he be in Bakkar in the same year (1147 A.H.)—nine months later;³ as *Shawwāl* is the 10th month of the Muslim year. Moreover, it is interesting to note, that the meeting of Ḥazīn and Āzād took place at Bakkar, somewhere in the latter half of

¹ *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 47.

² See *infra*.

³ Because on his way to Bakkar, Hazin stayed at Tatta and Khuda-Ābad for two and seven months respectively. See *infra*.

the year 1147 A.H. For Āzād was at Bakkar on his way to Delhi from Sewistān¹ which place he left in the middle of the year 1147 A.H.² As Āzād was in Lahore on the 7th of Rajab 1147 A.H./3rd of December 1734 A.D.,³ his meeting with Ḥazin at Bakkar must have taken place in Jumāda I or II 1147 A.H./September-November 1734 A.D.

Fourthly, in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*⁴ Ḥazin says, that from the date of his arrival in India up till then he had seen the whole of the country from there (i.e., Tatta) to Shāhjahānābād in the past eight years. As the date of the composition of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* is the latter end of the year 1154 A.H. we thus get the exact date of his arrival in India, namely, the latter end of the year 1146 A.H.

Fifthly, none of the later dates tallies if we accept the date 1147 A.H.

The reading of the text in '*lqd-i-Thuraiyā*'⁵ is rather vague on this point. It runs: "Ḥazin came to Tatta and Bakkar at the age of 42 according to one statement and at the age of 46 according to Mulla Muḥammad Nazir 'All Hamadani" These give us the years (1103 + 42 =) 1145 A.H. and

¹ Sewistan—a large province of Balochistan extending southwards from Qandahar ... It is divided into the districts of Jhalawan to the south and Saharawān to the north, which includes Nooshky in the desert and Mustang and Shāl to the northward. See Hamilton's *East India Gazette*, Vol. II, p. 526.

² See *Khizdnā-i-Āmira*, p. 124.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴ *Tadkkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 116-17.

⁵ '*lqd-i-Tkuraiya*, Raṁpur MS. 52, f. 566; *ibid.*, Aurangabad ed., pp. 21-22.

(1103 + 46 =)1149 A.H.; both of which are wide away from the mark.

At Tatta Ḥazīn stayed for more than two months.¹ Leaving Tatta by a boat, he crossed Sewistān and reached Khudā-Ābād.² where he stayed for seven months.³ From Khudā-Ābād Ḥazīn again took a boat and reached Bakkar in (Jumāda I—II) 1147 A.H. 71734 A.D. He stayed at Bakkar for one month⁵ (up to Shā'bān 1147 A.H./December-January 1734-35 A.D.). From Bakkar Ḥazīn slowly made his way for his destination Delhi *via* Multān where he stayed for two years (up to Shā'bān 1149 A.H./December 1736 A.D., and Lahore where he stayed for about three months (up to Dhī'l Qa'da 1149 A.H./March 1737 A.D.)

Ḥazīn reached Delhi in the end of 1149 A.H. roughly ; as is referred to in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*⁶, in the following passage :—

مجملاً از حین ورود به شاه جهان آباد تا حال تکویر که
آخر سال اربعه و خمسين و مائة بعد الف است سه سال و
کسری گزشته که درین بلده اوقات بسر رفته .

" In short, from the time of entering Shahjahanabad up to the moment of writing, which is the latter end

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 117.

² Khudā-Ābād, ruined town in the Dadu taluka of Larkana District, Sind, Bombay, situated in 26°40' north and 67°46' east 16 miles north-east of Sehwan on the North-Western Railway, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XV, p. 284.

³ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 117.

⁴ *Khizana-i-Āmīra*, p. 193 ; *Sarw-i-Azald*, p. 225.

⁵ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed., pp. 117-118.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

of the year 1154 A.H., it is something more than three years that I have been living in this city." This gives us (1154 A.H. - 3 + X =) 1151 A.H. which is the date of Ḥazīn's coming to Delhi for the second time and taking an abode there—as we shall see presently. 1151 A.H. minus 1 gives us 1150 A.H., i.e., approximately the year of Ḥazīn's arrival at Delhi for the first time.

The year 1147 A.H. given by Husain Quli Khān¹ as the date of the arrival of Ḥazīn in Delhi is at once disproved by a consideration of the dates immediately preceding. The meeting of Ḥazīn and Ārzu placed by Beale³ in 1147 A.H./1734 A.D. in Delhi is also incorrect. The date 1151 A.H. given by Master³ is also inexact. According to Nizāmī,⁴ "Ḥazīn came to India after it had been plundered by Nādir Shāh in 1737 A.D./1146 A.H." Every bit of this statement—including the Christian year 1737 A.D. as corresponding to the Muslim year 1146 A.H.—is incorrect, except the year 1146 A.H. which by chance turns out to be true: being the year in which Ḥazīn came to India. In the *Yad-i-Baiḍā*⁵ it is stated: "In these days he has come to the capital, Delhi." This should not be construed to mean that Ḥazīn came to Delhi in 1148 A.H. which is the date

¹ *iNishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bankipur MS. 716, f. 546.

² *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 386.

³ Master's Introduction to his Translation of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwadh* p. iii.

⁴ *Qānūs-ul-Maṣṣahir*, p. 200.

⁵ *Yad-i-Baida*, Bankipur MS. 691, f. 65.

of composition of the improved edition of the *Yad-i-Baiḍā*. Because the information contained in this book was supplemented even after 1153 A.H. See article on Azād published by Sayyid Wajāhat Ḥusain in the *J. R. A. S. B.*, Letters, Vol II, 1936, No. 2, pp. 128-29.

In his *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Panjab University MS-PF. I. 24, f. 681. Arzu says that Ḥazin came to India about 15 years ago. Counting from the date of composition of the work, viz., 1164 A.H., it gives the exact date 1149 A.H.

On reaching Delhi, Ḥazin put up in the house of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk.¹ After more than a year's stay in India² and about a month's (Dhil Qa'da-

¹ *'Iqa-i-Thuraiya*, Aurangabad ed., p. 22. Ḥazin has composed the following enigmatical chronogram on the death of Anjam :—

بشپونی دل غمدیده در خروش آمد
که شور ولولہ حشر در جهان افتاد
* * * * *
چو قرعہ بر شرفِ دولتِ وصال زدند
درین میانه بنام امیر خان افتاد
* * * * *
قلم بتعمیم کرد این رقم بتاریخش :
ز فریقِ فخر و شرف تاجِ زیب و شان افتاد

(ش + ز) = 1466 - (7 + 300) = 1466 - 307 = 1159 A.H. (فخر و شرف)

² In the following passage in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 121 :—

قہرمانِ قضا بدہلی رسانید، و مدتِ یک سال افزون اقامت
نمودہ ہجرتِ ہوم بی آرام ساخت و فرم بر بیرون رفتن ازین
ممالک مصمم شدہ۔

the words *افزون اقامت نمودہ* do not go with the words : *قہرمانِ قضا بدہلی رسانید* immediately preceding it, as that brings us near 1150 A.H. If so, how could Ḥazin be in Lahore in 1149

Dhī'l Hījja 1149 A.H.) stay at Delhi.¹

Ḥazīn was disgusted with the country and he returned to Lahore in Dhī'l Hījja 1149 A.H. with a view to go back to Iran or Khurasan.² At Lahore he heard the news of the arrival of the Qizilbāsh army with a view to subjugate the fort of Qandahar,

on his return from Delhi, if he was at Delhi in 1149 A.H. (roughly). See p. 91.

¹ Because we learn from *Letter XXVII* addressed to Nawwāb Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, that Ḥazīn reached Lahore in Dhī'l Hījja 1149 A.H.

² و مدت یک سال افزون اقامت نموده هجوم هموم بی آرام ساخت و عزم بر بیرون رفتن ازین ممالک مصمم شده مراجعت بلاهور کردم و پیش نهاد خاطر این که از صوب کابل به قندهار رفته مملکت خراسان هر گوشه که اتفاق شود عزلت گزینم، مقارن وصول به لاهور خبر رسیدن لشکر قزلباش به قندهار به قصد تسخیر و استرداد از ید افغانه و محصور ساختن آن قلعه رسید و مرا عارضه بیماری سخت بر بستر ناتوانی افکنده مدتی امتداد یافت و هوا گرمی گرفته ایام برسات و شدت بارش این دیار در رسید و اقامت در لاهور به طول انجامید -

Tadhkirat-ulAhwal, Lucknow ed., pp. 121-22.

According to *Majma'-un-Nafd'is*, Punjab University MS. P.F. 1.24, f. 170: "Ḥazīn wanted to return to his motherland as no one recognized his merit then; and, because his delicate nature could not agree with the hardships of the time."

The remarks about the delicacy of Ḥazīn's nature are unacceptable. Ḥazīn was used to hardships from a very early time: and with Nadir Shāh there in Iran, his return could not have meant anything but a speedy and tortuous death. Yet, Ḥazīn was more willing to court an honourable death elsewhere than to lead a disgraceful life at a court where intrigue and flattery played a paramount part and which he describes in one of his *qasidas*. See *Kulliyat-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., pp. 190-93. Also see *Tuḥfat-ul-Ālam*, p. 52 :-

و باز به آن حال دو سه مرتبه بقصد عود بایران تا بلاهور و آن نواح رفت و بسبب هوائی رفتن میسر نیامد -

to liberate it from the hands of the Afghāns, and to besiege it.¹ Qandahār was at that time under the domain of Ḥusain, the brother of Maḥmūd. Nādir Shāh² marched his armies against, and besieged Qandahār on the 9th of Dhi'l Ḥijja 1148 A.H./21st of April, 1736; and conquered it on the 14th of Dhi'l Ḥijja 1149 A.H./15th of April, 1737 A.D.³ Hence the year of Ḥazīn's arrival at Lahore is 1149 A.H. Ḥazīn's *Letters* XXV and XXVII addressed to Nawwāb Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān show that he reached Lahore in Dhi'l Ḥijja 1149 A.H. This date fits absolutely with those mentioned in *Letter* XXVII referred to above. While at Lahore, he was taken ill and confined to bed for a long time.⁴

From Lahore Ḥazīn moved to Sulṭānpūr where he stayed for a few days; and thence he went to Sarhind. On hearing the news of the coming of Nadir Shāh, Ḥazīn retreated to Delhi. On Nadir Shāh's arrival at Delhi on the 9th of Dhi'l Ḥijja 1151 A.H., he concealed himself in the house of 'Alī Qūh Khān Walīh.⁶ On Nadir Shāh's departure from Delhi on the 7th of Ṣafar 1152 A.H., he went back

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*. Lucknow ed., p. 122.

² d. 1160/1747. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 288.

³ See *Waqi at-i'Anand Ram Mukhlis*, Lytton Library MS. 112, ff. 3a-3b.

⁴ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed., pp. 122 and 136.

⁵ *Riyad-ush-Shu'ara*, 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 630/51, f. 105b; *Khizana-i-'Amira*, p. 194; *Nishtar-i-Ishq*, Bankipur MS. 716, f. 547.

to Lahore.¹ At Lahore Zakariyā Khān,² the Governor of Lahore, wanted to harm Ḥazīn, but on a letter from Wālih, Ḥasan Qulī Khān Kāshī³ (the brother of Wālih and a messenger from Muḥammad Shāh to Nādir Shāh) safely conducted him back to Delhi.⁴ At Delhi Ḥazīn concealed himself in the house of Qizilbāsh Khān (Ummīd).⁵ He retired from the city in the company of two or three attendants after some days.⁶ In the meanwhile he had written (in his poetic and prose compositions) many insulting and ridiculing verses on India and the Indians. This displeased some literati who put down derogatory remarks about Ḥazīn in their own compositions and thus led many ignorant people to disacknowledge the merits of Ḥazīn.⁷ The remarks of Ḥazīn infuriated some of the poets of Delhi who

¹ According to *Tuhfat-ul-'Ālam*, p. 520, Ḥazīn went to Lahore twice or thrice with a view to return to Īran.

² d. 1158/1745. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 426.

³ Sic in *Khizdna-i-'Āmira*, p. 194; *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66a, has Kashani.

⁴ *Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'ara*, 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 630/51, f. 105; *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bankipur MS. 716; and *Khizana-i-'Āmira*, p. 194.

⁵ *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66a.

Ummīd d. at Akbarabad in 1156 A.H. See *Chamanistan-ush-Shu'ara*. Hyderabad ed., p. 28.

⁶ بشهر در آمدم و بعد از ایام چند از آن شهر شوریده اوضاع

با دوسه خدمتگاران گوشه گرفتم

Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal, Lucknow ed., pp. 137-38.

⁷ *Khulasat-ul-Kalam*, Bankipur MS. 704, f. 2106.

Ḥazīn is not mentioned in the list of contents of the *Khulasat-ul-Kalam*, Bankipur MS. 704. See *Bankipur Catalogue*, Vol. VIII, pp. 137-42. In the aforesaid catalogue (18) Mulla Jami; f. 1386; is followed by (19) Sayyid Maulana Husaini Sadat with the *takhallus* Husaini. This is incorrect. The order should have been: (18) Jami ; f. 1386; (19) Ḥazīn ; f. 210b; (20) Husaini; f. 138b; and so on.

wrote answers to his satires. Finding his stay there inadvisable, Ḥazin left Delhi in 1161 A.H.¹ and moved to Akbarābād. Staying there for a few days he determined to go to Bangal² and with that object he went to (Muḥammadābād) Banāras.³ He reached Banāras in 1161 A.H. as we are told by Azād.⁴ Moreover, there exists in the Rāmpur State Library a *bayāḍ*⁵ of Ḥazin written at Banāras in 1161 A.H. This conclusively shows that Ḥazin was at Banāras in 1161 A.H.

Then Ḥazin set for 'Azīmābād in Patna—not with the intention of leaving India as we are told by Ghulām Ḥusain,⁶ but at the request of Rāja Rām Narā'in, poetically surnamed Mauzūn, the Governor of 'Azīmābād, who was a pupil as well as a friend of Ḥazin.

¹ *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 225. According to *Kitdb-i-Najum-ul-Asma fi Tarājim-ul-'Utamā*, p. 284 : Ḥazin left Delhi in 1171 A.H. This is incorrect. See *supra*. According to *Riyad'-ush-Shu'ara*, 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 630/51, Ḥazin was at Delhi at the time of the composition of the MS., viz., 1161. See *supra*.

² *Bangal*—the largest and most populous province of British India, See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 695-96. According to *Mardum-i-Dxdah*, Ḥabib Ganj typed copy, p. 49, and *Khulasat-ul-Kalam*, Bankipur MS. 704, f. 211a, it was with a view to proceed on a pilgrimage that Ḥazin went to Bangal.

³ *Benaras*: or Banaras (also called *Kclshi*), a holy city of the Hindus, United Provinces, on the right bank of the Ganges. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 693.

⁴ *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 225.

⁵ *Bayad -i-Ḥazin*, Rampur MS. 38. This is a beautiful MS. The Rampur MS. is the only copy of the bayad known to me.

⁶ *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, p. 615 :—

چند بار آن عالی مقدار تا به عظیم آباد رسیده عازم بدر رفتن از خاک سیاه هند بود تقدیر مساعدت نه نمود .

Mahābat Jang, Shahāmat Jang, and Ṣaulat Jang sent many letters to Ḥazin, repeatedly requesting him to come ; but every time he made an excuse and did not agree to go and stay with them.¹

There are many indications of Ḥazin's returning to 'Aẓīmābād more than once. One letter in the Dastur-ul-Inṣha', Rai Mathura Praṣhad's MS., f. 180b, tell us that Hazin was present in the Haweli near the 'Īdgāh in Patna city on the 6th of Phīl Hījja, 5th year of the succession, i.e., the 15th of November 1752 A.H./1166 A.D. Another undated letter in the same collection, f. 284b, also speaks of Ḥazin's arrival at Patna.²

Ḥazin stayed at 'Aẓīmābād for a few days. He left 'Aẓīmābād because the atmosphere of the place did not suit him.³ The following descriptive account of Ḥazin's advent in Patna is to be found in the Khulāṣat-ul-Kalam :⁴ " Due to wilful starvation and advanced age, he had been reduced to extreme weakness and leanness when he first entered 'Aẓīmābād. Moreover, his infirmity and sickness did not allow him to proceed further. So he stayed in that city for a few years." This is incorrect as we find him back in Banāras after a couple of years. Also according to Aṭṭāq :⁵ " Hazin lived at 'Aẓīmābād for many years." This statement is also

¹ Siyar-ul-Mata'akhkhirin, p. 615.

² Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1938, p. 85. Also see *Ibid.*, December 1938, p. 766.

³ Safina-i-'Ishrat, Bankipur MS. 699, f. 1876.

⁴ Ehulasa-ul-Kalam, Bankipur MS. 704, f. 211a.

⁵ Āṭāq's Tadhkira-i-Ḥazm, p. 25.

hollow in every respect for the reason stated above ; and, especially if Afāq means that Ḥazīn stayed at 'Azīmābād for many years on first entering it. There is, however, every possibility of Ḥazīn's returning to 'Azīmābād and then staying there for some years. In fact, there is some indication of his staying at 'Azīmābād for some time in his Letters, which please see. Also see *Khulaṣat-ul-Kalam*, Bankipur MS. 704, f. 211a :—

بالجمله شيخ اين هر دو شهر [عظيم آباد و بنارس] را
مسكن و مقر خود قرار داده تردد و برگشتن بعمل مى آورد -

Giving up the thought of Bangāl, Ḥazīn returned from 'Azīmābād to Banāras in about 1163 A.H. He selected Banāras for his abode and built for himself a tomb there.¹ Muhammad Ridā² says: " He built himself an abode with a garden and a mosque as well as his tomb."³ According to Durgā Dās:⁴ " He built there two mosques, his tomb and some other buildings." Both Muhammad Ridā and Durgā Dās are wrong. Ḥazīn built at Banāras his tomb ; two mosques ; a house ; and a garden. No mishap has happened to the tomb. Of the two mosques only one remains—that to the right of the Rauda of Bibi Fatima. This is a small mosque made of mud. It was meant for Ḥazīn's private use only. The other mosque existed on the left of the Rauda. It was also a small

¹ *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bankipur MS. 716, f. 548.

² *Naghma-i-'Andalib*, Br. Mus., MS. Or. 1811, f. 66a.

³ *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*. Bankipur MS. 716, f. 548. incorrectly says that the tomb is known as Fatiman.' For Fatiman see *infra*.

⁴ *Safina-i-Ishrat*, Bankipur MS, 699, f. 188a.

mosque. Now that site is occupied by a bigger mosque constructed by Ḥakīm Muḥammad Ja'far in 1336 A.H./1917-18 A.D. Space for the bigger mosque was provided by demolishing the original smaller mosque and the western room of Ḥazin's house. This unwise step was taken in order to provide room for the people who assemble in Faṭīmān, in the compound of the tomb of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazin, on various occasions; and all of whom could not be accommodated in the smaller mosque at the time of offering prayers. In so doing Ḥakīm Muḥammad Ja'far and his associates have destroyed, for ever, historical buildings which were important both from the view of their antiquity and association with Ḥazin.

About the original mosque there is only one documentary reference available in Saiyed Mazhar Ḥasan's *Tārikh-i-Banāras* (p. 426) published in 1916 A.D./1334-35 A.H. It is as follows :—

" This mosque was constructed in 1167 A.H. when Ḥazin was 64¹ years of age. The Shaikh composed the following chronogram :—

جبه بر خاک نه درین مسجد کز برای عبادتست این جا
بهر تاریخ این بنا هاتف گفت درگاه حاجتست² این جا

" Put thy forehead on the ground in this mosque
Because this place is meant for worship.
For the date of this building the Guardian-Angel.
Said : " It is the court for (obtaining) needs."

² Mazhar Ḥasan in his *Tarikh-i-Banaras*, p. 426, incorrectly gives 66 years.

² In the text it is incorrectly written as حاجت است. Read thus it gives the date 1168 A.H. But scansion does not permit this reading. Hence it must have been written as حاجتست in the original inscription.

= 1167 A.H.

Ḥazīn had an immense liking for Banāras about which place he says :—

Every Brahman boy here is a Lachhman or Rām."

renounced Irān for India.² Accord-

⁴*Ibid.*, Belfour's ed., p. 214.

writer and Ḥazīn's quondam friend, whose account of the event and those immediately following it, given in the *Riyad-ush-Shu'ara*, fully agrees with that of Ḥazīn given in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*) definitely charges Ḥazīn with the above-mentioned crime, and holds him responsible for it.¹ Wālih proceeds to say that, leaving Ḥazīn at Bandar 'Abbās, he came to India. But after ten days Ḥazīn also joined him at Tatta and on enquiry told him that the very incident had rendered his stay in Irān impossible, and that, consequently, he had left for India.²

Some of the ridiculous reasons assigned to

¹ See *Riyad-ush-Shu'arā*, 'Abd-us-Salām MS 630/51, f. 104b:—

به بلده لار تشریف آوردند؛ بعد از یک دو ماه اهل آن شهر بسرکردگی میرزا باقر کلانتر هجوم کرده وقت طلوع صبح بهخانه ولی محمد خان مغفور شاملو متخلص به مسرور که آن وقت از جانب قهرمان ایران حاکم بوده ریخته خان مشارالیه را مقتول و از آنجا به نزد شیخ آمده اظهار عمل شنیع خود نموده و قرار به مخالفت قهرمان ایران داده لوای متخاصمت افراختند حضرت شیخ و کلانتر مزبور و مردم شهر به حواست حصار قدم افشردند؛ چون مردم قلعه آن شهر با این جماعت متفق نبودند کار بایشان تنگ شده پای ثبات شان لغزید؛ آخر الامر نصف شب از یک طرف شهر بر آمده متفرق گردیدند؛ و جعی از آنها دستگیر و بعضی طعمه شمشیر شده و برخی جان بسلامت بردند؛ لهذا تهمت قتل ولی محمد خان و حدوث این فتنه بر گردن شیخ افتاده بهزار زحمت خود را بسواحل عمان رسانیده -

² *Idem*.

Hazin's coming to India are as follows :—(1) Hazin came to India in search of livelihood ; after squandering away his father's property.¹ (2) It was destiny that brought him here.² (3) Hazin came to Delhi charged with a crime.³ (4) In the *Nigaristan-i-Fārs* two contradictory and equally unacceptable reasons are ascribed to Hazin's coming to India. They are : Firstly, that he repaired to India after having despaired of the conditions in Iran; and to arrange the affairs here (see pp. 207-208). Secondly, that Hazin came here to take help from India as Babur⁴ and Humayūn⁵ had done before; and to liberate Iran from the atrocities of Nadir Shah⁶ and the Afghans (see pp. 209-210). (5) Hazin was expelled from Iran by Nadir Shah because the former happened to

¹ *Qamus-ul-Mashdhir*, p. 200.

² *Yad-i-Baida*, Bankipur MS. 691, f. 65.

³ *Khuldsat-ul-Afbdar*, Bankipur MS. 712, f. 219a.

⁴ d. 937/1530. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 91-92.

⁵ d. 963/1555. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 162-163.

⁶ In the following quatrain given on p. 762 of the *Kulliyat-i-Hazin*.
Lucknowed.:—

تا چند زمانه فتنه اندوز شود
هرگوشه کمان کین سیه توز شود
زیبد که جهانیان به پشیمی نخرند
ملکی که بکام پوستین دوز شود

Hazin hits at the low origin of Nadir Shah. Azad in his *Nigaristdn-i-Fars*, p. 209, is doubtful about the origin of Nādir Shāh. Sykes in his *Persia*, p. 93, throws sufficient light on the point.

In the *Bayan-i-Waqi'*, Imperial Library of Calcutta MS. 50, f. 92, the same rubal is quoted. From this ruba'i the author of the *Bayan-i-Waqi* deduces that Imam Quli Beg, the father of Nadir Shah, was a postin-sewer. He proceeds to say that the edict of Hazin is not to be

be a friend of the Ṣafawīs.¹ (6) Ḥazīn came to India at the time of the usurpation of Īrān by Nādir Shāh; in order to take for Irān help from Muḥammad Shāh: being well aware of the claims of the Ṣafawī emperors² over the Timurid emperors (of India)³ and quite ignorant of the nature of the rulers, amīrs, soldiers, and subjects of the country,—none of whom would make the acquaintance of any one without an object.⁴ (7) " Ḥazīn came to India due to: (a) the dominion of Nādir Shāh over the land of Īrān; and (b) the disagreement of the times and his nature."⁵ The latter portion of Ārzū's view does not seem to be sound. And (8) when Nādir Shāh conquered Irān, Ḥazin became disgusted with that place and hurried towards India.⁶

relied upon as he happened to be an enemy of Nadir Shāh and had left Īrān out of fear of Nādir Shāh.

It is a well known historical fact that, on his accession to the throne, Nadir Shāh declared Sunni-ism to be the state religion of Irān and engaged in a general persecution of the Shi'as.

The atrocities of the Afghans over the Iranians (especially on the Shi'as of Lar) are recorded in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*. Lucknow ed., pp. 102-104. Ḥazin says that, in the persecution, the Shafi'is (which is one of the 4 sects of the Sunnis) were spared. See *ibid.*, p. 104. All these oppressed people repaired to Ḥazīn for help. See *ibid.*, pp. 102-105.

¹*Naghma-i-Andalib*, Br. Mus. MS. Or., 1811, f. 66a.

²I have translated the word " Salāṭīn " by "emperors."

³This refers to the help taken by Humayun from Shah Tahmasp of Īrān when the former was expelled from India by Sher Shāh Surī.

The reading in the *Tuḥfat-ul-Ālām*, p. 520, is " Salāṭīn-i-Baburiya ". The Mughal emperors of India were, no doubt, the descendants of Babur but they were not generally called Baburia or Baburies. On the other hand, they were simply called Mughals—from their original home in Mangolia, and Timurids—from Amīr Tīmūr who was the ancestor of Babur.

⁴*Tuḥfat-ul-Ālām*, p. 520.

⁵*Majma-un-Nafais*, Punjab University MS. PF. I. 24, f. 169a.

⁶*Safina-i-Hindi*, Bankipur MS. 715, f. 22b.

As regards the fact of his departure from Bandar 'Abbās Ḥazīn says : " In Bandar 'Abbās there were a few servants of Khān-i-Mu'azzam (i.e., Nādir Shāh). Just then there arrived a few men of Muḥammad Khān. Both the parties were aggressing and rebelling. One day a few helpless people were oppressed very much. At seeing this, my perturbed mind lost all its forbearance; my heart sank ; and I determined to leave that land.."¹

By his assiduous refusal both to see the emperor Muḥammad Shāh and to allow the emperor to see him, Ḥazīn permanently lost the emperor's favour.² Ḥazīn also infuriated the poets of the imperial capital (especially Arzū and Thabat by speaking ill of the former and criticizing the deceased father of the latter). He further lost the sympathies of the people of India in general and the inhabitants of Delhi in particular on account of his pungent satires on India. According to Saiyid 'Abd Ullah :³ Hazin did so due to the troubles that he experienced in the course of his travels, and his own nature. Ḥazīn's flimsy satires on the people of Kashmir created for him yet another multitude of enemies.

All these facts together, coupled with the murder of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk on the 23rd of Dhil Hijja 1159 A.H. and the death of Muḥammad Shāh on the 27th

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., pp. 115-116.

² See *'Iqd-i-Zhuraiya*, Aurangabad ed., p. 22.

³ *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, May 1929, p. 45.

of Rabi'-ul-Awwai 1161 A.H., left Hazin unprotected and unshielded for the time being and rendered his stay at Delhi impossible ; and eventually he left it for Banāras¹, in 1161 A.H.² never to return again.

During his stay at 'Azīmābād, Ḥazīn went out, one day, to see the city. He saw the river Ganges flowing to the north of the city and the canal called Jilla to its south. This reminded Ḥazīn of the deluge in Multan.³ He thought to himself : " Should both the river and the canal flood at any time, the city of ^kAzīm-ābād which is situated between the two will invariably be overflooded. It is not, therefore, wise to stay at such a place." Hence, he left 'Azimabad for Banāras. Thus according to Afaq.⁴ But according to Durga Das :⁵ Hazin left 'Azimabad because the atmosphere of the place did not suit him.

The emperor 'Alī Gauhar, the na'ib-wazir Shuja"-ud-Dawla⁶ (the Nawwab of Oudh), and 'Alījāh Qāsim Khān paid a visit to Ḥazīn.⁷ " Shudjah-ed-doula and Mir-cassem having repeated the visit, as if to take their leave, were honoured with Qhylaat of a rich Dopata

¹ See *Makhzan-ul-Gharaib*, Rampur MS. 57, f. 263.

² *Sarw-i-Āzad*, p. 225.

³ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 120 for description of the inundation of the Sindh and the loss in Multan.

⁴ Afaq's *Tadhkira-i-Hazin*, pp. 25-26.

⁵ *Safina-i-'Ishrat*, Bankipur MS. 699. f. 187b.

⁶ Shuja-ud-Dawla was the son of Mansur 'Alī Khan Safdar Jang he was born in the year A.D. 1731/A.H. 1144 and after the death of his father succeeded to the Government.

⁷ See *Infra*.

each ;¹ and this was bound round their turbans not by the holy man himself, but by his steward.²

On his way to India Ḥazin met Ghulam 'Ali Azād Bilgramī in Bakkar in 1147 A.H. (See *supra*). On this occasion

Ḥazin presented a copy of his poems written with his own hand to Azād.⁴ Of these poems the following verses are quoted in the *Nigar* :⁵

پیش از ظهور جلوهٔ خانانہ سوختہ
آتش به سنگ بود کہ ما خانہ سوختہ
* * * * *
نکرد غرق طوفان کشتی بی لنگر عاشق
بود دریا نمک پرورده چشم تبر عاشق
* * * * *
به جلوه های رسا سرفراز می آئی
مگر ز غارت همه دراز می آئی
کهر به خلوت خاص صدف نمی آید
چنین کہ در دل اهل نیاز می آئی

Rāja Balwant Singh of Banāras was very fond of Ḥazin. He used to respect him and provide for his needs. Balwant Singh used to visit Ḥazin. The Shaikh also used to meet the Rāja very sincerely and tried for the perpetuation of the life and rulership of the Rāja; as is evident from the recommendation that Ḥazin

¹In another place (Tr. of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin*, Vol. II. p. 176, footnote 84) Raymond says: " He (Ḥazin) gave them each a Qhylaāt and a Dopata . . ."

² Raymond, Tr. of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin* Vol. II, p. 524 footnote 275

³d. 1200/1756. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 86.

⁴ *Khizana-i-'Amira*, p. 194; *Yad-i-Baida*, Bankipur MS. 691, f. 65.

⁵ *Nigar*, March 1930, p. 24.

made to Shujā'-ud Dawla as already narrated in the account of the aforesaid Rājā at the time of his intention to conquer the fort of Chinār Garh and Shujā'-ud-Dawla's taking notice of it.¹ A brief account of Ḥazīn's recommendation of Rājā Balwant Singh to Shujā'-ud-Dawla is as follows:—

At the time when Nawwāb Ṣāfdar Jang deprived Mīr Rustam 'All of all the Chahār Sarkār and handed them over to Rājā Mansā Singh and Shāikh 'Abd Ullāh, he also separated the fort of Chinār Garh and handed it over to Mirzā Aḥmad Beg who was an Irānī. Mirzā Aḥmad died in 1166 A.H./1752 A.D. and left a young son named Aghā Jāni. In consideration of the services rendered by Aḥmad Beg, the Nawwāb allowed Āghā Jāni to succeed his father and to remain in command of the fort; and appointed Aghā Mīr (a servant of his father) to act as his agent.

At the death of Ṣāfdar Jang in 1169 A.H./1756 A.D., Rājā Balwant Singh got an opportunity and conspired with Aghā Mīr. But somehow or other Shujā'-ud-Dawla came to know of it. Marching with an army with the intention of deposing the Rājā, he camped at Jaunpur. Out of fear of the Nawwāb, Rājā Balwant Singh left his residence at Ganga Pūr and went along with his family to the hilly tract of Latīf Pūr. The Nawwāb pitched his tents in Banāras. Nawwāb Shujā'-ud-Dawla was highly displeased with the misdemeanours of Balwant

¹See *Tarikh-i-Banaras* by Mazhar Ḥasan, p. 425.

Singh and had determined to deprive him of the whole State. At Shuja'-ud-Dawla's order a boat-bridge was put across the Ganges and the artillery and infantry were set in pursuit of the Raja.

When Nawwāb Shuja'-ud-Dawla went to see Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazin at Fāṭimān, the Shaikh gave him a bit of affectionate advice, saying : "Rāja Balwant Singh pays his instalment of gold in time and keeps his subjects prosperous and happy. He should not be ruined. Moreover the hilly paths are difficult to traverse and the army will not find it easy to pass through them. What is the good of taking undue trouble over a small affair and destroying the creation of God ? " But being extremely angry at the time, the Nawwāb did not listen to his advice. For details see Mazhar Ḥasan's *Tārīkh-i-Banāras*, pp. 191-193.

At the time that Ḥazin entered Banāras, the place was under the sway of Mahārāja Balwant Singh. The Mahārāja desired to despatch a nobleman of his court to enquire of Ḥazin whether he had come down to Banāras merely as a traveller or had a mind to settle there. The courtier submitted that he had not got the guts to do it. The Maharaja thereupon determined to go himself. He went to Ḥazin and questioned him about the state of affairs. Ḥazin replied : "I am a traveller no doubt: but if you allow me to do so, I would construct a hut here and live therein. The Maharaja consented to it on the term that Ḥazin would coach his son, Kumar Chet Singh. Ḥazin agreed to

it on the condition that the Kumār would himself come up to Ḥazīn to take his lessons.¹

Mahārāja Balwant Singh loved hunting and was extremely fond of chasing lions. He was dissuaded from doing so by Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn in whom he had a firm faith and whom he used to visit now and then. The Shaikh used to tell the Mahārāja : " The poor animals graze a little grass and do a bit of copulation. Why then destroy a hundred sweet souls of the animals for a moment's joy² ?"

Poetically surnamed Khushgū met Ḥazīn twice. The earlier meeting took place at Delhi. On this occasion, Ḥazīn was reciting and abundantly praising the following ruba'i of Mu'izzī:⁴

ای شاه زمین بر آسمان داری تخت
سست است عدو تا تو کمان داری سخت
چله سبک آری و گران داری رخت
پیری تو بتدبیر جوان داری بخت

"O king of the earth ! thou hast thy throne on heaven ;
Soft is thine enemy when thy bow is stretched hard.
Light is thy charge and heavy thy stay
Thy counsel is old : thy fortune young."

Another meeting of Ḥazīn and Lāla Bindra Ban Das, the author of *Safina-uKhushgu*, took place at Banāras, on the return of Ḥazīn from 'Aẓīmābād.

¹ *Sham*, January 1927. p. 15.

² For details see *Tarikh-i-Banāras*, Bānkipur MS. 608, f. 113a.

³ For his life : see *Majma'-un-Nafa'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I. 24, ff. 197-198.

⁴ *Safina-i-Khushgū*, Lytton Library MS. 34, Vol. I, S. V. "Mu'izzī."

Khushgū sent a few verses to Ḥazin and requested an audience which was granted. On that occasion Ḥazin recited some verses of his own of which we quote the following two : ¹—

فدرب زبندگانی خورده ناکام است میدانم
 درین خواب آنچه نتوان دید آرام است میدانم
 * * * * *
 آذانه خائ را قرا تو تیا کنند
 بی پرده گر بدیده در آشی چها کنند

Ghulām Ḥusain, the author of *Siyar-ul-Mutd-akhkhirin* met Ḥazin at Banāras where he went to see him after taking leave from his friends. Ghulām Ḥusain was then in the retinue of Altjāh, who after his defeat by the English had withdrawn himself to some place about 6 or 7 Karoh from Banāras. See *Siyar-ul-MutaʿaMkhirin*, pp. 743-744, The defeat of 'Alījāh and his withdrawal to Banāras took place at the end of Rabi II or beginning of Jumada I, 1177 A.H.

Ghulām Ḥusain used to visit Ḥazin for about 5 months commencing with the above date and terminating with the return of 'Alījāh to Banāras in the company of the emperor Shāh 'Alam² and Shujā'-ud-Dawla in the middle (or end) of Ramaḍān, 1177 A.H.³

¹Sec *Safina-i-Khushgu*. Bankipur MS. 690, ft. 182b-183a.

d. 19th November A.D. 1806/7th Ramaḍān A.H. 1221, See *Oreintal Biographical Dictionary*, p. 361.

³*Siyar-ul-Mutaakbkhnnin*, p. 746. Afaq in his *Tadhkira-i-Hazin*, p. 33, places the departure of Ghulam Husain from Ḥazin on the 3rd of Jumada II, 1179 A.H./17th of November, 1765 A.D.

Was the son of 'Abd-ul-Ghanī Beg Kashmīrī. At first he was an office-bearer in the Kingdom. Finally, due to his contented nature, he relinquished his office thinking *it* to be incompatible with his disposition. He used to pass his days in a dervish's garment in Delhi. He looked only to the exterior and was provident. He used to meet everyone with a great lowliness and humility. He was delicate of imagination like his father. He used to recite his verses with perfect affection and affliction.

Along with a few followers of his he went to see Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazin one day. The Shaikh was bored by his meeting and remarked high-mindedly : "I used to hear that dacoities fall in India : it may be the same."

Girami died in 1156 A.H. See *Nishtar-i-Ishq*, Punjab University MS. APF. I, 15, f. 4756.

Ḥakim Beg Khān Lāhori visited Ḥazin on two successive days at Banāras. In the

Ḥakim.

***Mardum-i-Didah*¹ Ḥakim says:**

"On the first interview I had not taken with me any of my verses. Ḥazin asked me to recite some of my verses but I replied that I did not remember any. I went to him again in the morning on the following day; carrying with me some of my latest verses. Ḥazin gave me a leaf of his latest verses in memorium."

² *Mardum-i-Didah*, Habib Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 50.

Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain had met Ḥazin. Ḥusain was a resident of Ajudhya.¹ He made the friendship of Ḥazin at Banāras.² He died at Banāras in 1205 A.H. and is buried close to the tomb of Ḥazin.³

Named Nawwab Amin-ud-Dawlah 'Aziz-ul-Mulk 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, with the *takhalluṣ* Khalil, the author of *Khulaṣat-ul-Kalam*, visited Ḥazin at Banāras. Khālil says⁴ that Ḥazin used to live his life by enjoying the pinings of esoteric pain and shedding tears. Ḥazin paid special attention to Khālil and presented him with some autograph treatises.

Named Mirza Muḥammad Fākhir Makīn, was the son of Muḥammad Ashraf. Due to the invasion of the forces of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī and the approach of numerous misfortunes, Mirzā Muḥammad Fākhir Makīn Dehlawī left Delhi for Lakhnau in the year 1173 A.H. From Lakhnau he left for Banāras in order to meet Ḥazin. Lastly, he returned to Lakhnau.⁵

While examining the anthology of Ashraf 'Alī Khān, Makīn objected to the use of the word ترثیب in a qit'a of Mir 'Aqil Kauthari, saying: “ زیب is an Irānī word. To form ترثیب and مزیب out of it is

¹ *Subh-i-Gulshan*, pp. 135-136.

² *Ruz-i-Rushan*, p. 178.

³ See *Subh-i-Gulshan* pp. 135-136 and *Ruz-i-Rushan*, p. 178.

⁴ *Khulasaiul-Kalam*, Bankipur MS. 704. f. 211a.

⁵ For details see *Nataij-ul-Afkar*, Lytton Library MS. 36, f. 418.

a sign of ignorance. Alas ! that people should commit such errors. " Saudā, while criticizing this remark in his *Risala-i-'Ibrat-ul-Ghafilin*, under the heading Ta'rib wa Tafriṣ, says: " The objection of Fakhir Makīn is a hit at the ignorance of Shāikh 'Alī Ḥazīn, because Ashraf 'Ah Khan had copied this qit'a of Kauthari from the bayād signed by Ḥazīn." Saudā justifies Ḥazīn by quoting from Khaqani and Awhādī and referring to Amir Khusrau.¹

The following verses of Ḥazīn contained in the *Tadhkira* of Ashraf 'Alī Khan were also criticized by Makīn :—

میگرفتیم دجنانان سسر راهی گاهی
 او هم از لطف نهان داشت نگاهی گاهی
 چه عجب گر نکشش داشت سسر الفت ما
 برق را هست نوازش بگیاهی گاهی
 دوسه روزیست که دزدیده نگه وین عجب است
 نه ثوابی ز من آمد نه گناهی گاهی

In the 2nd hemistich of the 1st verse, Makīn substituted the word خطائی for the word نهان used by Ḥazīn. See *Risala-i-'Ibrat-ul-Ghafilin* (printed along with the *Kulliyat-i-Sauda*) Newwul Kishore ed. Sept. 1887 A.D./Dhi'l-Hijja 1304 A.H., p. 54. In the 2nd hemistich of the 3rd verse Makīn replaced خطائی by ثوابی. The usages of Ḥazīn are defended by Saudā in the *Risala-i-'Ibrat-ul-Ghafilin*, p. 55.

Two more verses of Ḥazīn objected to by Makīn are also to be found in the *Risala-i-'Ibrat-ul-Ghafilin*, p. 55.

¹ See Saudā. Deccan ed. p. 351.

The meeting of Makīn and Ḥazīn is also mentioned in the *Sham'-i-Anjuman* (p. 416) and *Gul-i-Ra'na* (Curzon Collection MS. 511, f. 369b) and *Rūz-i-Ruṣṣhan* (pp. 647-48).

Makīn attempted to improve the verses of Ḥazīn in the reign of Shuja'-ud-Dawla?

" During the stay of Shaiḥ 'Abd-ur-Raḍā-i-Matin in Lakhnau, the Shaiḥ and Mirzā Fakhir Makīn used to occupy the seats foremost of all the other poets in the symposiums held there. Someone injured the feelings of Mirzā through an initial verse of a poem. The Mirzā remonstrated in a complaining qasida in the metre of Anwarī's qasida. The qasida is entitled Miḥḍar-ul-Aman. The name of the qasida yields the date of composition 1171 A.H.² In the qasida Makīn says³ :—

کاملِ نکتہ سنجِ غیرِ حنین به علی کسر درین زمان باشد
هم بجایِ متین کسی نرسد هر چه کوئیم جای آن باشد
غیر ازین یک دو خسرو معنی که سخن پایِ تختِ شان باشد
دیگری را چه زهره در بر من که چنین کوید و چنان باشد
خنده خواهد بریشِ خویشِ زدن خود چو او شاخِ زعفران باشد

Makīn died on the 21st of Muḥarram 1221 A.H.⁴

His name is Mir Saiyid 'Ali. He belonged to Iṣfahān. One day Ḥazīn invited him to undertake a journey to India. Mushtaq replied : " Accompany me to the

¹ *Ud-i'Hindi* 'Aligarh ed., p. 132.

² This date shows that Makīn had also been to Lakhnau in 1171 A.H.

³ *Gul-i-Ra'na*. Curzon Collection MS. 511, ff 369b-370a.

⁴ *Ruz-i.Rushan*, P. 647.

bath. Let us sprinkle its water there; let there be a fire in the hearth and let us have fans in our hands : that is the very atmosphere of India." Muṣṭāq died a few years before Ḥazīn.¹ He died in 1170 A.H.²

A mad poet of Jaunpūr came to see Ḥazīn in Banāras and out of a claim for equality of status he took his seat on the very bed which was reserved for Ḥazīn. The Shāikh disapproved of it and remarked :

“درین بزم ره نیست بیگانه را” (In this assembly there is no place for strangers). Qarīn replied: “که پروانگی داد پروانه را؟” (whoever gave permission to the moth ?) The Shāikh was highly pleased on hearing this and inquired about his state of affairs. Qarīn recited this verse :

سرَم از سَنَدِکِ طِفْلانِ لاله زار است جَدون گم کرده ایام بهاری

(My head is a tulip-bed through the stones of the boys ;
Madness has destroyed the days of spring).³

Qasim Khan.

See 'All Gauhar, *supra*.

Mirzā Muḥammad Ja'far, poetically surnamed Rahib, was born at Isfahan. He was a Saiyid and a descendant of the Safawī emperors. He was for some time a class-fellow of Ḥazīn. He is the tutor of 'Alī Qulī Khan Wālih.⁴ He was born in the year 1118 A.H. at Isfahān and died in 1166 A.H.⁵

¹ See *Iqd-i-Thuraiya*, Aurangabad ed., p. 52.

² *Ruz-i-Rushan*, p. 628.

³ See *Tarikk'i-Bandras* by Mazhar Hasan, p. 424.

⁴ See *Iqd-i-Thuraiya*, Aurangabad ed., p. 29.

⁵ *Khizana-i-mira*, Lucknow ed., pp. 246-247.

M. Raymond, a French Creole who has assumed the Muslim name of Ḥājī Muṣṭafā and who translated the *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn* into English under the pseudonym of Nota Manus, according to his own statement¹ visited Ḥazīn twice in 1764 and 1765 A.D.

shu'ar-i-Dawia.

See 'Āli Gauhar; *supra*.

Ḥazīn made the friendship of Mirzā Muḥammad Ridā', poetically surnamed Ummid, and popularly called Qizilbāsh Khān Ummid, in Delhi (c. 1150-1159). They used to enjoy the company and verses of each other. One day Ḥazīn went to see Ummid in the latter's house. At the very moment Ummid was busy drinking wine. Unaware of the fact, Ḥazīn proceeded in the direction of the house. Perceiving no other place of rest or concealment, Ummid threw down the curtain of the house and on the approach of Ḥazīn recited the following verse from within :

شیخ تشریف ببر بزم شراب است اینجا
دامت تر نشود عالم آب است اینجا

" Please return, Oh Shaikh ! it is a drinking banquet here.

Lest your skirt gets moist; it is drinking bout here.²

Ummid came to Delhi in 1150 A.H. and died there in 1159 A.H.³

¹ Raymond's Tr. of *Siyar-id-Muta'akhkhirīn*, Vol. II, p. 176, footnote 84.

² *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Bankipur MS. 716, ff. 165-166.

³ See *Sarw-i-Āzād*, pp. 209-210. According to *Chamanistan-ush-Shu'ara*, Hyderabad ed., p. 28, Ummid d. in 1156 A.H. at Akbarabad.

Nūr-ul-'Ain Wāqif¹ visited Shaikh 'Alī Hazīn at Banāras. Before Wāqif could divulge his identity Hazīn enquired of him : "بواقف واقفی؟" "Are you acquainted with the acquaintance?" or, "Are you acquainted with Wāqif?" To which Wāqif replied : واقفم. "I am acquainted : " or, "I am Wāqif."

After some formal talk Hazīn asked him for his verses. Wāqif read out his verse :

بہمراہ پدر تا چند ای زیبا پسر گردی
الہی بی پدر گردی الہی بی پدر گردی !

"How long would you roam about with your father, O lovely chap!

Would ! you become fatherless ! Would ! you become fatherless ! "

Hazīn improved it thus :

بہمراہ پدر تا چند ای کافر پسر گردی
خدا سازد یقیمت تا گران قیمت گھر گردی !

"How long would you roam about with your father, O infidel chap!

God make you orphan (unique) ; that you become a precious pearl ! "

Then Wāqif recited the following verse :—

سیدہ چوری بدست آن نگارِ نازنین دیدم
بشاخِ صندلین پیچیدہ مارِ عنبرین دیدم

"I saw black wristlets on the wrist of that coquettish beloved :

I beheld an embergris cobra coiled round a Sandal shoot."

¹ d. about 1190/1776. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 414.

Ḥazīn remarked:

در تمام ولایت بگردیدم شعری نمدار افکون شنیدم

what is the need for all this length?— only the following would do:

سیه چوری بدست آن نگاری بشاخ صندلین پیچیده ماری

" Black wristlets on the hand of that beloved

Is a snake twisted round a Sandal shoot."

Wāqif accepted both the corrections.¹

According to Wahṣhat:² Wāqif read out the following verses at the request of Ḥazīn who enjoyed them greatly :

هر غنچه بشکفت إلا دل من ای وا دل من ای وا دل من
یارب چه سازد با سنگ طفلان نازک دل من میثا دل من

" Every bud blossomed, except my heart.

Alas my heart! alack my heart !

O God, what should with the stones of the boys do

My delicate heart ; -the flask of my heart ! "

Seal-ring.

The following inscription was inscribed on the Seal-ring of Ḥazīn:

'*Ali ibn-i-Abi Ṭalib*.³

It served the double purpose of (1) being a seal-ring containing Ḥazīn's *alias* ('Alī) and his father's name (Abī Ṭalib) ; and (2) bearing the full name ('Ali ibn-i-Abi Talib) of the 1st Shi'ite Imam (peace be upon him).

¹ See *Nigāristān-i-Fdrs*, p. 226. Also see *Tdrikh-i-Banāras* by Mazhar Hasan, p. 423.

² *Makhzan*, December 1909, p. 23.

³ '*Iqd-i-Thuraiyā*, Rampur MS. 52, f. 58. *Ibid.*, Aurangabad ed., p. 22; *Mardum-i-Didah*, Habib Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 48. *Majma'-un-Nafais*, Punjab University MS. PF. I. 24, f. 169a.

The inhabitants of Banāras—whether Hindus or Musalmans—were extremely reverent towards Hazin. They came over long distances to see him ; and prided in having seen him.¹ Hazin lived at Banāras for a long time in such a manner that people suspected him of receiving Divine help and of knowing alchemy,² and having the jinn under his control; for he spent thousands of rupees every month.

Āzād's explanation for Hazin's thriftlessness and extravagance (without there existing any ostensible means of his income) is :— (1) Hazin's qanā'at (self-contentedness) ; (2) the help that he received from Muḥammad Shāh; and (3) the secret help that he received from the chiefs of the time, especially the Nawwābs of Oudh, Murshidābād, Bihār, and Bangal.

Azād's explanation, reproduced above, is not a nice one. (1) We have to further explain that, due to his qanā'at Hazin remained satisfied with a very little portion of his income and squandered away the rest; (2) the reference to Muḥammad Shāh takes us to a much earlier time. But this minor discrepancy can be bridged away when we recollect the permanent fiefs which Muḥammad Shāh had granted to Hazin; (3) there was no need for Hazin's receiving secret help from any chiefs or Nawwābs. He could openly accept gifts from them—which perhaps he

¹ *Makhzan-ul-Ghara'ib*, Rampur MS. 57, f. 263.

² *Naghma-i-'Andalib*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, ff. 66a-66b. Also see *Safina-i-Khushgu*, Bankipur MS. 690 f. 182a.

³ *Nigaristan -i-Fars*, p. 216.

did so often; and (4) in Banāras itself he received a large landed property (including Aurangābād) and other occasional help from Mahārāja Balwant Singh.

All the servants of Ḥazīn were men of noble birth, scholars of Arabic and Irānī, well-groomed, well-related, and each one drawing between one to two hundred rupees per month. Ḥazīn did not converse with them, due to his natural obstinacy and the people thinking him to be proud became jealous of him.¹ According to Azād :² Ḥazīn's servants cross-examined all his visitors by talking with them. If they considered the visitors worthy of audience they informed the Shaiḵh, else they dismissed them from without.

The people of Banāras also believed that Ḥazīn was a thaumaturge having certain revelation and the gift of miracles. They even say that the sun also submitted to him ; and that he could work—at his will—other miracles no less ordinary.³

It is mentioned in the *Naghma-i-'Andalīb*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 65u, that Ḥazīn had composed books on talisman, necromancy, captivation and augmenting.

Ḥazīn's occultism is proved from the following inscription⁴ :—

¹ *Naghma-i-'Andalib*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66b.

² *Nigdistan-i-Fars*, pp. 210-211. This fact is illustrated there with examples.

³ *Memoire sur les Part, de la Relig. Musul. dans l Inde*, p. 113; *Ārc'xsh-i-Mahfil* p. 89.

⁴ See *Habīb Ganj* MS. Pers. 50/95, f. 106.

در دشت بلالہ جامِ لبریز رسید شیرین بہ جمالِ محشر انگیز رسید
 خارا ز خراشِ تیشہ آسود حزین فرہاد از کوه رفت و پرویز رسید
 ہر گاہ این رباعی را کہ متضمنِ اسمی عظیمست بر مار گزیدہ
 یا کژدم گزیدہ یا ہر چہ سمیتی داشتہ باشد خواہ سمِ حار و
 خواہ بارد چون بخوانند و خوانندہ آب دہن بر موضعِ گزیدہ بمالد
 فوراً دفعِ مضرتِ سم شود ہر چند افعی باشد و اگر مدتی گذشتہ
 باشد و سم باعضا سرایت کردہ تا یازدہ بار تکرار نماید مضرت
 نرسد و از ہلاکتِ نجات یابد بعونہ سبحانہ .

"In the desert to the tulip a brimful cup is come ;
 With a resurrection-causing beauty Shīrīn is come ;
 The granite is relieved of the scratching of the adze O
 Hazīn !
 Farhād is gone from the mountain; and Parwiz is
 come."

Whenever this tetrastich, which contains an *Ism-i-A'zam*, is chanted over anybody bitten by a snake or a scorpion or anything poisonous—whether the poison be hot or cold—and the chanter applies his spittle on the place bitten, the harm of the poison will be repelled immediately; no matter however venomous it be. And if some time has passed and the venom has permeated to the limbs, it should be repeated eleven times. There will be no harm and the person will be saved by His grace; praised is He!"

All the Irāni passage reproduced above is written on a piece of paper afterwards glued to the Ḥabīb Ganj MS. Irāni 50/96, f. 106. It is stated on the top of the inscription—in a different hand and ink of course—to be in the handwriting of Ḥazīn : and

a comparison with other accepted handwritings of Ḥazin also leads to the same conclusion.

The following anecdote regarding the death of Mīr Ṣādiq, commonly called Mīran, who was killed by lightning while lying asleep in his tent, on the night of Thursday, 19th Dhī'l-Qa'da 1173 A.H.,¹ and Ḥazin's knowledge thereof, is related in the *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhkhirīn*, p. 689:—When this news reached the glorious and august majesty, Shaiḫ Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn (may God make him inhabit the highest heaven), he had a knowledge of all the circumstances and said : " Do you see the musketry of the World Above—how it fires into the canopies little by little."

Ḥazin was a Shī'a by birth and faith. In his Religion. Dīwān IV² there are many fine qaṣidas addressed to Ḥaḍrat 'Alī, Imām Alī Musā Ridā,³ Imām Aḥmad bin Musā al-Kāẓim, and Imām Mahdī⁴—peace be upon them all. Ḥazin's construction of his house, grave, mosques and garden at Faṭīman; his composition of *Risala-i-Imamat*; *al-Ighāsat fi'l Imamat*; *Risala fil' Imamat* ; and *Qaṣida-i-Lamiyya* lend further support to this assertion. But Ḥazin was not at all bigoted. There is not a word against Ḥaḍrat

¹ *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhhirin*. 688. The *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 252, has 18th Dhī'l-Qa'da 1173 A.H. which is incorrect.

² For the diwan see *infra*.

³ d. Friday 9th Safar 203 A.H. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 57.

⁴ Disappeared 265 A.H./879 A.D. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 230.

Abu Bakr, Ḥaḍrat 'Umar, or Ḥaḍrat 'Uṭḥman—(peace be upon them,) Orthodox though he was, Ḥazīn had a very broad-minded outlook and attitude not only towards all the various sects of Islam which he thoroughly studied and scrutinized, but also towards Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Sabaism; all of which he studied and investigated. He has also to say nothing against Hinduism—a religion which he had ample opportunities of studying during his 34 years' stay in India (1146 A.H.—1180 A.H.) and the major portion of *it* in the heart of their scared city Banāras. (This is particularly interesting in face of the fact that he hypercriticizes Indian life and has written satires on the Indians.) On the contrary in one or two places Ḥazīn praises the solitude of the Brahmins.¹

The following verse of Ḥazīn given in the *Nagham-i- Andaz*² is in praise of a Brahmin boy :—

برهمن زاده زنار بندى بسره ايمانم
که سودا میکند با کفر زلفش دین و دنیا را

Ḥazm has also the following qit'a in praise of the Hindu beauties of Banāras:³

پری رخاں بنارس بصد کرشمه و رنگ
پی پرستش سیدیو چون کنند آهنگ
به گنگ فصل کنند و به سنگ پا مالند
زهی شرافت سنگ و زهی لطافت گنگ

¹ See *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 355.

² *Naghma-i-Andaz*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 67a.

³ See *Āfaq's Tadhkira-i-Hazīn*, p. 32.

As a Muslim, Ḥazīn had an abundant affection for the worship and service of God, and took wonderful delight therein, keeping with lively devotion the holy days and nights and seasons. He was assiduous in the repetition of the appointed invocations. He did not neglect even the supererogatory acts of devotion and practical tradition.

In practice, Ḥazīn led the life of a Ṣūfī.¹ His excluded manners, extreme piety, perfect contentment, and whole-hearted hatred of all worldly glories and falsehood, are clear indications of a mode of life not unlike that of the Ṣūfis.

According to Bahbahānī :² " Ḥazīn could not escape the censure of the people and was accused of believing in Wahdat-ul-Wujūd (Pantheism) ; in spite of the fact that he had withdrawn from the world.¹ Bahbahānī strongly condemns the creed of Wahdat-ul-Wujūd and quotes in his support³ a passage from the book *Mabda'-wa-Ma'ād* of Mullā Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Shirāzī. He proceeds to say :⁴ " After the practice of the gnostics and with a view to gain access to the intellects of his readers, Ḥazīn in his treatise [probably the *Tahqiq-i-Ma'ād-i-Ruhānī*] has quoted

¹ See '*lqd-i-Thuraiya*, Rampur MS. 52, ff. 57-58; *Memoire sur les Part, de la Relig. Musul. dans l'Inde*, p. 113. footnote 1.

According to '*lqd-i-Thuraiya*' Rampur MS. 52, ff. 57-58; *Ibid.*, Aurangabad ed., p. 22: " He had a great faith in Ghauth-ul-'Āzam Shaikh Muḥay-ud-Dīn Gīlānī, so much so that he was called Qadīrī." This is incorrect. There is nothing to corroborate it.

² *Mirat-ul-Ahwal-i-Jahan Numa*, R. A.S.B. MS. 278, f. 339.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 339. "

⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 339-340.

a few allegories concerning Wujūd and the excessive affinity of the Creator to the creation—such as that of the river and the drop of water; the ink and the words, etc. Some of the deficient—especially some of the theologians of Lakhnau—seized the apparent vocables and without any scrutinization and reflection arraigned him (*i.e.*, Ḥazīn) and some of the other eminent scholars such as Mullā Muḥsin Kāshī, Shaiḫ Miṭham Biḥrānī, and even Shaiḫ Bahā-i-'Amilī, of Sufism and asserting Waḥdat-ul-Wujūd. After explaining how Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī escaped the tongues of the deficient, and giving a quotation from Ḥaḍrat 'Alī, Bahbahānī proceeds to say: ¹ " This is not all. The Shaiḫ , (*viz.*, Ḥazīn) was also accused of renouncing the ' prayers, and it was said that he had abandoned praying. So, because no one had seen him offer the prayers." " This," says Bahbahani, " is, in fact, a strong proof of the height of Ḥazīn's rank and the profoundness of his accomplishment and learning. And I have proved it by experience that in this land, the more virtue and perfection a man has, the more are the people that envy him and bear him malice and enmity. More marvellous is the fact, that some of the foolish people have said that the Shaiḫ did not believe in the resurrection in spite of the fact that in his treatise (on Ma'ād) he had explained it very explicitly and perfectly.

¹ *Mir at-ul-Aḥwal-i-Jahan Numa*, R.A.S.B. MS. 278, f. 341.

Hazīn is variously described as delicate or evil-natured. He was characterized by some of those peculiarities of temper which we too frequently have occasion to lament in men of genius. In fact, Hazīn was peevish in his latter life. The obvious reason for that is the vicissitudes of times and the tyranny of unfavourable circumstances.

Hazīn was born in a happy little family of scholars with a decent family income. Careless of pecuniary troubles, he led his boyhood, youth and early manhood in acquiring and imparting the fruits of knowledge. So long we find him as happy a man as ever one could be.

Then comes the turning point which turned his glee into gloom. We find him a constant prey to tragic shocks and unbearable hardships; and an unmistakable target to innumerable and interminable griefs—sufficient to undo any man. He lost his father in 1127 A.H. and his mother 2 years later (in 1129 A.H.) His surviving two brothers died in the prime of their youth in 1134 A.H. His native land, Īrān, to which he was so patriotically attached, was rummaged and devastated at the hands of the Afghans, Turks, and Russians, and the royal Ṣafawī family of his patrons exterminated by Nadir Shāh. Hazīn also lost many friends throughout Īrān. His library and all his possessions were lost in the sack of Isfahan, his birth-place. He was obliged to leave Isfahan, in 1135 A.H. Homeless and helpless he

travelled about for ten years with numerous bodily ailments added to his manifold mental afflictions. Lastly, in the new regime under Nādir Shāh, he was charged with high treason and compelled to leave Irān for Hindustān in 1146 A.H. for fear of his life.

After many sufferings *en route*, he entered Delhi in about 1149 A.H. full of hopes : and was accorded a cold reception.¹ Broken-hearted at the failure of the people of India to recognize his merits, he intended to leave Delhi after one year's stay in India; preferring to go back to Khurāsān or even to risk his life to Irān than to stay in Hindustān. But fate would not have it so, and he had to stay all his life long in a place which he loathed so whole-somely. Later on, he lost the sympathies of the king, the courtiers, the court-poets, and the people of India in general and of Delhi and Kashmir in particular.

The people of Kashmir—against whom Ḥazīn had written some satires—revenged themselves on him by inducing Mullā Sāṭī¹ and other Kashmiri poets to write satires against Ḥazīn. He was ridiculed in the public eye and left alone in a dangerous situation with hordes of enemies all around.

Then, bereaved of the royal patronage, he was obliged to leave Delhi for Banāras in 1161 A.H.

This in a nutshell is the account of the circumstances that turned Ḥazīn into an irascible, easily-excitable, and peevish man.

¹ See *Mardum-i-Didah*, Ḥabīb Ganj typed copy 51/26, p. 49.

Hazin was possessed of great self-respect. His proud and supersensitive nature Character. did not allow him to court the patronage of kings and nobles. "As to myself, I had no disposition or ability for the acquisition of worldly riches; nor have I now : to have recourse to any person, and display to him my wants, to accept his favours or generosity, however many sincere friends I might have among the exalted sovereigns and the most beneficent princes of mankind, to me with my nice sense of honour and delicate high-mindedness, would be impossible."¹

Hazin had also a great love for humanity. "For myself, my nature is so framed that I cannot countenance any folly or iniquity, and for cruelty and oppression have no endurance. To succour the afflicted, to relieve the oppressed, and to protect the weak, I am irresistibly impelled, and should I be unable to the performance, rest to me is impossible and life a prohibition."² Also, to quote Hazin's own words, "In the province of the Punjab, especially in the city of Lahore, a terror like that of the resurrection arose. Seized with a violent illness I was confined to my bed in that town ; and as I well knew the people of India, and disgusted with their demeanour, was in utter hopelessness of any intellectual or discretion in them, I burnt with grief at the condition of the weak and depressed

¹ Belfour's Tr. of Hazin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal* p. 113.

² *Ibid.*, p. 225.

subjects."¹

Ḥazīn was high-minded, sweet-tempered, of a delicate temperament, tender-hearted, and constantly lamenting. He could not stand Sama'. He talked in a low tone and used to introduce elegance and eloquence in his explanations.²

Throughout the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal* Ḥazīn praises himself and his compositions. He praises his *Qirat* (*Ibid.*, p. 11) ; his *Saqi Nāma* (*Ibid.*, p. 16) ; his *Dīwān* I (*Ibid.*, p. 32) ; his *Muddat-uWUmr* (*Ibid.*, p. 42) ; and his *Kharābāt* (*Ibid.*, p. 81). But perhaps his own verse justifies him when he says :³

لا شق مدح در زمانه چو نیست خویشتن را همی سپاس کنم

" Since none in the world is worthy of encomium
I keep praising myself."

Ḥazīn asserts his supremacy over Ḥassān, Saḥban, Anwarī, Ṭusi, Raudakī, Nizāmī, and Sa'dī. See *Kulliyat-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., pp. 207, 236, 860, 895 and 905.

Ḥazīn was primarily destined to sway the pen than to wield the sword. But he never spared himself a chance of serving his motherland.⁴ In addition to his patriotism, Ḥazīn was also a sound judge of military affairs. In about 1135 A.H. he showed his sound knowledge

¹ Belfour's Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal* p. 291.

² See *Āthar-i-Aḥmadh* Saiyid Muḥammad Miyan Marharwī's MS.

³ *Kulliyat-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 909.

⁴ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., pp. 66-67.

of politics by advising the courtiers of the king Sulṭān Ḥusain to leave over Iṣfahan to the Afghans : for, the whole of Īrān being at their back, they could have driven the Afghans out of the country. But nobody listened to Ḥazīn, and consequently they brought ruin on themselves." ¹

And again: During their stay at Banāras the king - (Shah 'Alam) and the Wazir-ul-Mamalik (Shujā'-ud-Dawla) visited Ḥazīn one day. Ḥazīn enquired of them about the cause of their coming to Banāras. The Nawwāb (i.e., Shujā'-ud-Dawla) replied : " We are determined to expel the English from the province of Bangāl and the Peninsula of India." The Shaikh smiled and said : " Fighting with these Indian armies (most of whom have not yet learnt to draw the scimitar or to hold the shield in hand, and have not seen the face of the battle-field or the wallowing of the liver-rent bodies) against the English (who are the world-masters in teaching warfare ; and whose servants—according to what we see and hear—are constantly practising the items of warfare and learn very well the exercises of fighting with the gun which they have adopted as an implement of war) will probably not come off well, and turn to be the cause of your disgrace. Therefore, take care, and do not aim at contending against them. Follow the means of peace as long as you can. For they (i.e., the

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*. Lucknow ed., pp. 52-53; Master's Introduction to his Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal* p. ii.

English) would also like to remain in peace with you. But if you consider a war to be unavoidable, do not contemplate a battle array. But having chosen the selected horsemen and infantry out of your numberless armies, a number of horsemen should run on them. As the majority of their army consists of infantry, they shall not be able to compete with the horsemen in running. When they have been besieged and their supplies of victuals cut off, perhaps the order of their composure may fall into disorder, and you may envisage victory." The Nawwab highly disliked the tone of the answer but out of respect he did not open his lips in answer and got up hastily. The Shaikh drew a sigh and said: "God protect the caravan whose leader is unaware of his own good and evil."¹

Somewhat different and abridged accounts of the above narrative are as follows: (1) When some time before the battle of Baksar, Shuja-ud-Dawla (the Nawwab of Oudh who intended to fight the English and support 'Ālijāh) came to see Hazin, the latter in the course of the meeting very wisely and without hypocrisy advised the Nawwab to refrain from attacking the English and to remain in peace with them, saying, "You are going to fight the English but you will not defeat them; for, though their armies are small in number they are

¹ *Tuhfa-i-Taza*, Bankipur MS. 609 (ff. nil); *'Ibrat Nama*, Bankipur MS. 587, Vol. I, ff. 97b-98a, and *Balwant Nama*, Ram Nagar MS. 124/23, ff. 90-91.

well disciplined."¹ (2) The emperor 'Ali Gauhar *alias* Shah [Alam](#), Shujā'-ud-Dawla and 'Alijah went to see Ḥazīn in 1764 A.D, But Ḥazīn advised them not to fight the English as the armies of the king, Shujā'-ud-Dawla (the minister) and 'Alijah were undisciplined and untrained in the art of field tactics.²

Both in Īrān and India Ḥazīn was respected on account of his nobility, sanctity, and scholarship; and although he spent most of his time in or about the court and in company of kings and nobles he never wrote verses in their praise.

In the entire *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn* we fail to trace out even a single verse addressed to a king or noble.³ All his qasidas are *in* praise of the Imams. In a qasida addressed to his father Ḥazīn says:⁴

نراندیم بمدحِ بزرگانِ قلم ز فرماندهانِ عرب یا عجم
مگر مدحِ پیغمبر و آلِ او که هر کس بگوید خوشا حالِ او
اگر سودِ دنیا غرض داشتیم * وگر از طمعِ دانه میکاشتم *
تفاخرِ کنانِ سرورانِ جهان * خریدار بودند شعرم بجان *
زبان می کشود به نامِ یکی * شکر می فشاندیم به کامِ یکی *
نبودی دریغ از منشی ملک و مال * ولی بود بر همتِ من و بال *

¹ See *Naghma-i-'Andalib*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 666; and *Memoire sur les Part, de la Religion Musal. dans l'Inde*, p. 113.

² *Siyar-ul-Muta'aklikhirin*, p. 746.

³ *Safina-i-'Ishrat*, Bankipur MS. 699, f. 188a has also noticed this point.

⁴ See *Kulliyat-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 804.

By virtue of his not being a court-panegyrist, Hāzin considers himself superior to (1) *Khaqani*:

نقصِ همتِ نگر که خاقانی زیرِ پایِ قزل سر اندازد¹

(2) *Zahīr*:

لوح از حدیثِ غیرِ تو شسته نیمِ ظهیر تا خامه ام طرازِ قزل ارسلان دهد²

and (3) *Salmān*:

سلمان نیم که خامه معنی نگار من آرائشِ جریده نو یانیاں دهد³

As he was never attached to any court as a panegyrist, life did not go smoothly with Hāzin. He was advised to take to court-life:

یکی از عقل زند لاف که بایست گرفت
دامنِ عاطفتِ شاهِ عطا بخش و وزیر
آن یکی میدهم پند که در هند مجوی
کام بی تربیتِ قدر شناسانِ امیر
یک ازین رخ کند مات که بایستی داد
مهره طرح باین فیل نشینانِ کبیر
وان دگر ساز کند نغمه که بایستی ساخت
پرده مصلحتِ وقت ملائم چو حریر
سفله طعنِ غرورم زند و نخوتِ طمع
خربطی نسبتِ فخرم دهد و جاهِ خطیر
سخن سی سرو بن را نتوان شرح نوشت
سر اندیشه فرو برد بخود کلکِ دبیر⁴

¹ *Kulliydt-i-Hāzin*, Lucknow ed., p. 183. It is a hit at the following verse of *Khaqani* addressed to Qazil Arsalan:

زیرِ پایِ هم تو خاقانی پیمال بالا سر و زر اندازد

See *Kulliyat-i-Khaqani*, Lucknow ed., p. 428.

² *Kulliyat-i-Hāzin*, Lucknow ed., p. 186.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

This is not a new phenomenon in any way. About 500 years ago, we find Shāikh Sa'di in exactly a similar situation and being advised in the same strain:

گویند سعدیا به چه بطل ماندۀ
 سختی مبر که وجه کفالت معین است
 یک چند اگر مدیخ کنی کامران شوی
 صاحب هنر که مال ندارد تعابین است
 بی زر میسر نشود کام دوستان
 چون کام دوستان ندهی کام دشمن است¹

This shows that court-life in India in the 12th Century A.H. was very similar to that in Irān in the 7th Century A.H.

Ḥazīn always remained of an independent nature.

Non-acceptance of
 Prime-Ministership
 and his independence.

Sycophancy, of all, was an art that he could not practise. "He was repeatedly solicited by the emperor

Muḥammad Shāh (through the intercession of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk and other courtiers), to take over charge of the post of prime-ministership, but on each occasion Ḥazīn declined to comply; because, he abhorred to stoop to worldly things and because he perceived the instability of the government.²

¹ Shibirs *Hayat-i-Sa'di* pp. 24-25. *Shir-ul-'Ajam*, Vol. II, p. 64.

p Cf. *Siyar-ul-Muta'akkkirin*, Vol. II, p. 615.

The fact of Ḥazīn's refusal of the prime-ministership, along with the one reproduced in an Urdu translation in the daily *Zamindār* (dated the 29th of January, 1935, p. 3, column 4, under the heading *Fukahat* and repeated in the same paper dated the 3rd of July, 1938, p. 5, column 5 under the heading *Lata'if-ul-Adab*) and one or two others, is the sole additional information alleged to be contained in a copy of the *Tadhkirat-*

When the minister Shujā'-ud-Dawla came to him (before the battle of Baksar in 1178/1764),¹ Ḥazīn did not pay him more than half a bow and said : " A whole bow is meet for kings; and escorting is reserved for the Mujtahids and 'Ulamā.² "

It may be incidentally remarked here, that, independent though he was of the potentates, Ḥazīn was highly respectful towards the 'Ulama. For example, he had a very great respect for Ḥājī Badi'-ud-Dīn about whom he used to say: " The whole of 'Azīmābād on the one hand is equal to Ḥājī Badi'-ud-Dīn on the other." " One day when Badi'-ud-Dīn was returning to his native place from Banāras where he had gone to see Ḥazīn, the Shāikh escorted him to the gate at the time of seeing Badi'-ud-Dīn off. At the time of the departure, Ḥazīn felt very sympathetic and blessed him abundantly."³

Throughout the *Tadhkirat-uLAḥwāl* and in most of his letters, Ḥazīn complains of illness. ill-health. It is not, however, worthwhile to reproduce the time, place and duration of his illnesses. Suffice it to say that, due to his incessant travels which exposed him to varying weather

ulAḥwāl in the possession of Ihsan Ullah, the editor of *Zamīndār*. which he is scrupulously guarding from any sort of examination. The copy, I was told, also contains some verses of Raja Ram Nara'in, a pupil of Ḥazīn. Apparently, the copy was prepared at the order of Raja Ram Nara'in and the additional information interpolated at his instance. Anyhow, its publication is not likely to set the Tames on fire.

¹ Two other accounts of Shujā'-ud-Dawla's meeting with Ḥazīn are recorded in the *Nigāristdn-i-Fdrs*, p. 215.

² See *Naghma-i-'Andallb*. Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811. f. 666.

³ *Sivar-ul'Muta'akhkhirin*. Vol. II, p. 620.

conditions and his constant worries coupled with his abstinence, Ḥazin had permanently impaired his health. He had developed a sort of gout and often suffered from fever. Whereas we know all about his health in Īrān from his *Tadhkirat-uLĀḥwāL*, we have also to depend on his letters for information about his health in India which seems to be bad from his youth onwards. It is a well known fact, that, intellectual luminaries seldom have athletic bodies.

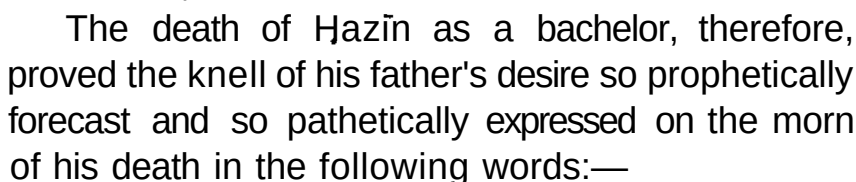
Ḥazin remained a celibate throughout his life.

Celibacy. In his youth, his parents and others urged him to marry. But he refused to give his consent out of his excessive love for learning and occupation therein. Nor did he marry at any subsequent stage. For, it is not mentioned in his autobiography. Moreover in his translation of **Ghulam Ḥusain's *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*. Vol. II**, p. 176, foot-note 84, Raymond tells us about Ḥazin as late as 1765 A.D.: "He (*i.e.*, Ḥazin) told me that he had never loosened the cordon of his drawers neither upon a lawful nor an unlawful occasion (such was his expression), and of course that he had never meddled with a woman."

We can hardly hope that Ḥazin married in the last 2 years of his life, when he was already past 74 years of age and a constantly sick man. Especially so when we see that no mention is made of his marriage in any subsequent biography dealing with Ḥazin's life.

Ḥazin's misogamy resulted in the extinction of a

Ḥazīn's uncle Shāikh 'Aṭā Ullāh died without leaving behind any issue. Shāikh Mufrīd, the only male child of his second uncle, died in his prime of youth. Four sons were born to Abi Ṭalīb the father of Ḥazīn. Of the 4 brothers one died in his infancy and 2 in their youth. Thus, we are left with Ḥazīn only. The following geneological table will explain it:



If you can, stay no longer in İsfahan. Perhaps some one of our race may survive."¹

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul- Akwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 9.

Regarding which Ḥazīn proceeds to say :

”و این سخن فقیر در نیافتم تا بعد از چند سال که فتنه و
خرابی در اصفهان پدید آمد“

“ I did not comprehend this speech, nor till after some years, when the disturbance and ruin of Iṣfahān took place.”

Towards the end of his life Ḥazīn retired to Banāras with only a few necessities; and perceiving in himself no more power of action he caused his tomb to be constructed¹ where he went sometimes on Thursdays to sit there and distribute some alms.² " He used to pray there on Thursdays. Every Thursday he used to change, and give *in* charity the cover of the tomb."³

At Banāras he passed his time in solitude. He did not visit the house of any one—rich or poor. He did not receive anything from anybody; rather he gave frequently to the poor as his means permitted.⁴ He passed an irreproachable life, and did not cherish any desire except that of union with God.⁵ He gave up all hope of ever returning to his native land. He was convinced of passing his

¹ *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, Banklpur MS. 716. f. 548: *Khizana-i-'Āmira*, p. 194; and *Siyar-ul- Muta'akhkhirin*. Vol. II. p. 615.

² *Memoire sur les Part, de la Relig. Musal. dans l'Inde*, p. 112 and *Ārā'ish-i-Mahfil* Calcutta ed., p. 88.

³ *Naghma-i-'Andalib*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66b.

⁴ *Memoire sur les Part, de la Relig. Musal. dans l'Inde*, p. 113 ; and *Ārā'ish-i-Mahfil* Calcutta ed., p. 88.

⁵ *Memoire sur les Part, de la Relig. Musal dans l'Inde*, p. 113.

days and dying in India as he himself says:

بهند گشته زمین گیر ناتوانی ما
رسیده است به شب روز زندگانی ما

"My weakness has become a paralytic in India.

The day of my life has drawn towards its night."¹

According to Beale :² he was equally admired and esteemed by the Muslim, Hindu, and English population of the place."

One waṣīyat of Ḥāzin is to be found in the R.A.S.B. MS. 225, ff. 113a-113b. It is a short note of ethical contents.

It consists of pithy sentences. It is written in Irānī with, of course, a little bit of Arabic in the beginning. According to the initial line, it is the last will of Ḥāzin addressed to some friend : —

وصیت که حنا ب شیخ صاحب و قبله شیخ محمد علی حزین بنا
بر بعضی احباب خود نوشته بودند.

This waṣīyat was written by Ḥāzin at the age of 70 years in 1173 A.H. :—

هفتاد ساله زندگانی سپری شد و با کسی بدی نکردیم و از
کس چشم نیکی نداشتیم³ بهمین سرمایه شکر آفریدگار داریم⁴

The above, however, is not the last will of Shaikh Muhammad "Ali Ḥāzin; strictly speaking so. Ḥāzin's last will has been recently lost.⁴ References

¹ *Maḡkzan*, July 1909, p. 12.

² *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 159.

³ R.A.S. B. MS. 225, f. 113a.

⁴ A copy of the *Waṣīyat Nama* was handed over to H. H. the Nawwab of Rampur by Mirza Fayaḍ of Aurangabad, Banaras—the present superintendent of the tomb of Ḥāzin—at the time of H. H.'s visit to Faṭīman. This might have been the original copy executed by Ḥāzin.

to the same are, however, to be found in the Ejectment suit and the Appeal; for which see *infra*. A copy of the *Waṣīyat Nāma* may be found out in the old Revenue Records in Banāras.

In the Suit it is called the " *Waṣīyat Nama* which the late Shaikh Muhammad 'Alī Hazin executed in favour of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥasan."

In the Appeal the last will of Ḥazin is called *Ṣūrat-i-Ḥāl* and is said to have been appended to the same. According to the Appeal, the *Ṣūrat-i-Ḥāl* described at length the various buildings in Faṭīmān.

The *Waṣīyat Nāma* was executed in 1177 A.H. See *infra*.

Ḥazin died in the midnight¹ of Thursday,² the 11th³ of Jumāda I, 1180⁴ A.H./15th of October, 1766 A.D.

Another copy of the *Waṣīyat Nama* is in the possession of Saiyid Ḥasan 'Askarī, Professor of History, Government College, Patna.

¹ *Tarikh-i-hiuhammadi* Rampur MS. 443, f. 2052; *ibid.*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1824, f. 317 ; and the *Tabsirat-un-Nazirin*, Bankipur MS. 606, f. 650. The *Khizana-i-'Amira*, Lucknow ed., p. 200 has " night."

² *Khizana-i-'Amira*, Lucknow ed., p. 200, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, Rampur MS. 443, f. 2052; *ibid.* Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1824, f. 317.

³ *Khizana-i-'Amira*, Lucknow ed., p. 200; *Tabsirat-un-Ndzirin*, Bankipur MS. 606, f. 650. 10th : according to *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* Rampur MS. 443 f. 2052. 13th : according to *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* II, p. 310; and *Tarikh-i' Muḥammadī* Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1824 f. 317.

⁴ *Khizana-i-'Amira*, Lucknow ed., p. 200; *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 277; *Khulāṣat-ul-Afkar*, Bankipur MS. 712, f. 219a; *Tabsirat-un-Nazirin*, Bankipur MS. 606, ff. 648 and 650; *Siyar-ul- Muta'akhkhirin*, Vol. II P. 615; *Riyad-ul-Afkar*, Bankipur MS., f. 41b; *Memoire sur les Part, de la Relig. Musal. dans l'Inde*, p. 113; *Qamus-ul-Mashahir*, p. 200; *Haft Asman*, p. 164; *Mira at-i-Aftab Numa*, Habib Ganj MS. 32/33, f. 320; *Tadhkira-i-Shu'ara-i- Madi* Habib Ganj MS. Pers. 51/12 s. v.

Place of Death.

Hazin died in Maḥalla Kachī Sarā'i.¹

According to Muḥammad Riḍā² : " Hazin went to the lavatory one day where, in the course of performing the

Hazin; *Tarikh-i-Muḥammadī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1824, f. 317; Maḥzar Hasan's *Tarikh-i-Banaras*, p. 432; *Miftah-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 348; *Nigaristan-i-Fars*, p. 216; *Āraish-i-Mahfil*, p. 89; *Sham-i-Aniuman*, p. 131; *Poets of the Pehlavi Regime*, p. 75; *Histoire de la Litu Hindoui et Hindoustani*, p. 227; *Nishtar-i-Ishq*, Bankīpur MS. 716, f. 548; *Manchester Catalogue*, p. 809; Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, Supplement-band II, p. 613; *Bibliotheca Sprenger*, No. 1413, p. 79; *Munich Catalogue*, p. 39; Master's Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadkkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Introduction, p. iii; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 159; *Sprenger's Catalogue*, I, 135; *India Office Catalogue* No. 677.

According to *Safina-i-Hindi*, Bankīpur MS. 715, f. 23a, Ḥazīn died in 1178 A.H.

Sir William Ousley in his *Oriental Collections*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 36; *Travels* No. 1, p. 417; and *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 408, places the death of Ḥazīn in about 1779 A.D./1193 A.H. without giving his authority in any place. This mistake is also repeated by E. G. Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 115; but the correct date (1766-7) is given by Browne further on in *ibid.*, p. 227. Belfour in his Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal* preface p. v, has also erred by following Ousley.

Miraat-ul-Aḥwāl-i-Jahān Numa, R.A.S.B. MS. 278, f. 339; and *Tuḥfat-ul-Ālam*, p. 521 give 1181 A.H.

Nata'ij-ul-Afkar, Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 51/19, p. 171 and *Kitab-i-Najm-ul-Astna fi tarajim-ul-'Ulama*, p. 284 give 1183 A.H. as the date of Ḥazīn's death.

According to Raymond: (Tr. of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, Vol. II, p. 524, foot-note 275) Hazin was 82 at the time of his death. This yields (1103+82=) 1185 A.H.'

All the dates except 1180 A.H. are incorrect.

¹ See fly-leaf of *Kulliyat-i-Hazin*, Ram Nagar MS. 84/163 where it is written:—

بتاریخ دهم ماه جادی الاول بوقت نیم شب روز چهارشنبه ۱۱۸۰
سنه یکهزار و یکصد هشتاد هجری در محله کچی سرای شیخ
صاحب و قبله شیخ محمد علی حزین اصفهانی صاحب این دیوان از
جهان فانی رحلت نمودند انالله وانا الیه راجعون

² *Naghma-i-'Andalib*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 66b.

ablutions, a corner of his mantle got polluted. He cut it away with a pair of scissors and told the people that his days had been tolled that day. And without suffering from any disease he completed his worldly and religious affairs and testaments and covering himself in a mantle in the afternoon¹ he surrendered his ghost."

Ḥazin lived for 76² years 10 months and 13
Duration of Life. dayS.³

Ḥazin was buried when 2 parts of the day had
Time of Burial. passed.⁴

Ḥazin is buried at Faṭīmān in the tomb which
he built for himself during his life-
Place of Burial. time.

Faṭīmān is an uneven tract of land mostly covered by graves of different shapes and sizes and constructed of different materials. Amongst other things it also contains the Rauḍa of Bibi Faṭīma,⁵ the wife of Hadrat 'Alī. The whole place derives its name from Bibi Faṭīma. The Rauḍa of Bibi Faṭīma is supposed to contain some of her sacred relics. It is said that among other relics of the saints that Ḥazin possessed, there also was a cup of Bibi Faṭīma, the daughter of the Holy Prophet. It was

¹ Cf. p. 137, foot-note 1.

² *Tariyi-i-Muhammadh* Rampur MS. 443, f. 2052 has 80 years ; *ibid.*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1824, f. 317 has 85 years.

³ *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* Rampur MS. 443. f. 2052 and *ibid.*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1824, f. 317 has one month and 10 days.

⁴ *Idem.*

⁵ Also see : Preface, foot-note 9.

placed in Fāṭimān in the Rauḍa which only women can visit. The wife of the mujāwar¹ (Superintendent) of Fāṭimān told me that on 4 or 5 occasions that she entered the Rauḍa, she found it absolutely empty. This is not surprising. Whatever relics there were in the Rauḍa were taken possession of, and misappropriated by Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣadiq, son of Mirzā Ḥasan, the executor of Hāzin; as long ago as 1207 A.H. as we learn from The Suit²:—

و موکل مدعا علیه که بی اثبات و بی حکم عدالت مرا بیدخل کرده
و آمدنی ذرات نقد و جنس و تبرک و غیره را ضبط نموده و بتصرف
آورده .

Fāṭimān also contains the imprint of the right hand of Haḍrat 'Alī. It is made of a slate-coloured stone and is placed in a lowly room just outside the boundary of the tomb of Hāzin,

We have the following useful information in The Appeal (see *infra*) conveyed to the court by the Qāḍī-ul-Quḍāt (*i.e.* the Lord Chief Justice) and the jurisconsults while expressing their opinion as to the rights of the contestants :—

"The spot where Shaikh Muhammad 'Alī Hāzin erected his tomb was, apparently, a thorny, uneven and unlevelled land, and that the Shaikh after having improved and brought it into a cultivable state, allotted a part of it to the tomb, and declaring the rest to be a mosque, he made a *waqf*

¹ For the Mujawar's narrative of Hāzin and Faṭīman see Preface.

² For details see His Executor.

of it. Contiguous to the spot in question are an apartment attributed to the Astāna of Ḥaḍrat Saiyid-un-Nisā Faṭimat-az-Zahrā and the Place of the Palm attributed to his eminence Ḥaḍrat Shāh-i-

Mardan (i.e., 'Ali). These are there since times immemorial. This circumstance has been fully dealt with in the *Surat-i-Ḥal* which he (Ḥazin) has himself written and a copy of which is inserted among the proceedings."

Ever since the death of Ḥazin there have been uninterrupted and incessant encroachments from all sides on the lands constituting Faṭīmān. The earliest instance on record is the sale of 7½ bigas of land by Maḥabbat 'Ali to Qitlaq Sulṭān Begam, widow of Prince Jawān Bākht, for the grave of the deceased husband of the Begam for a sum of Rs. 20 per manam¹.

بیست روپیہ ماہانہ مسماۃ قتلق سلطان بیگم بیوہ شہزادہ
جوان بخت بعوضِ ہفت و نیم بیگہ زمین دادہ محبت علی مزبور
برای مقبرہ شہزادہ شوہر بیگم مزبورہ برای محبت علی و وارثانش
مقرر کردہ بود۔

This relates to the northern portion of Faṭīmān which consisted of a garden, and which now forms part of the graveyard of Prince Jawān Bakht.

The eastern portion has been occupied by the graves of the Sunnis and the bracelet-sellers.

The southern portion has been encroached upon by the weavers of Banāras and the bracelet-sellers

¹ See The Appeal.

who have built residential quarters thereon. Information about this portion is to be found in 2 important documents : one is a Parwāna given under the seal of Raja Chet Singh to the effect that 7 bigas of land situated in the suburbs of Ḥabib Pūrah, Ta'aluqa of Lotha, had been gifted out and declared free of all charge from the beginning of 1185 Faṣḥ.

This Parwāna was written on the 15th of Ṣafar year 19 of Julūs-i-Walā.

A true copy of the Parwāna (possessed by Mirzā Fayāḍ of Aurangābād, Banāras) which I have been able to consult was given at the request of Mirzā Qasim 'Alī on the 3rd of April 1789 A.D. by Kiel, Collector and Magistrate. It bears a 4-anna stamp. At the top it also bears the seal of Qaḍi Taqī 'Alī Khan and at the bottom right-hand corner a seal of the " Court of Collector and Magistrate, Benares."

The second is a Royal Mandate attached to the Criminal Suit No. 94, Thana Chauk, under Sections 426 and 351,1. P. C, in the Suit for trusteeship by Muhsin 'Alī Mirza *versus* Mirza Agha 'Alī, resident of Mahalla Fātimān Police Station, Banāras District. It was decided on the 12th of December '08 A.D. in the Court of Dubler Gwyen [?], Magistrate 2nd Class, Banāras.

The subject-matter of this Parwāna is almost synonymous with that of the previous one in continuation of which it is given; except that the area mentioned here is 7½ bigas instead of 7. It came

into force from the beginning of 1189 Faṣlī. This Parwāna entrusted the land to Shaiḵh Mujīb, Mutawwalī of the place.

It was written on the 13th of January 1783 A.D. corresponding to the 9th of Şafar, year 24 of Julns-i-Wālā.

A true copy of the Royal Mandate (in possession of Mirzā Fayāḍ of Aurangābād, Banāras) which I have been able to consult was granted to Mirza Qāsim 'Alī on 22-10-¹08. It bears an 8-anna stamp and is signed by the "Revenue Record Keeper."

On the west Fāṭimān is bound by the lḍgāh.

The Mutawwalīs of Fāṭimān have been selling portions of the place on various pretexts. Amongst other things, places are sold to the heirs of the orthodox Shī'as for construction of graves for their dead. In some cases sites are bought up by living persons for construction of their graves when they are no more. The best buyers under both the categories are the Shra prostitutes who overbid one another in getting a place nearest the Raudā, in an earnest belief that the sins of all those that are buried near the Raudā will be forgiven for the sake of Bibl Faṭima and that thus they will be able to go to Paradise no matter how great or abominable their sins have been. It is therefore that we find the marble graves of the 2 prostitutes named Husain Bakhsh (died 1283 A.H.) and Bl Yaman (died 1872 A.D.) standing on a highly raised platform close to the tomb of Hazin and almost eclipsing it.

Once the average price paid for a piece of land sold for a grave was Rs. 200. But now the average price has fallen down to Rs. 20 only.

The difference in the prices can be explained as follows:—

Maḥabbat, one of the earliest Mutawwalis used to get an income of Rs. 400 per annum from the trust property. This sum of Rs. 400 per year included the sum of Rs. 20 P.M. paid by Qitlaq Sultān Begam (see *supra*) ; and the sum of Rs. 10 per mensem in cash which Raja Chet Singh had granted for the expenses of lighting a lamp on the grave of Hāzīn (see The Suit *infra*) :—

ده روپيه نقد برای خرجِ روشنی چراغ و غیره راجه چیت سنگه
جهتِ خرجِ مقبرهٔ شیخ صاحب مقرر نمودند۔

This sum of Rs. 10 per month which was being received from the East India Company was misappropriated by Muḥammad 'Alī, son of Maḥabbat in his own name (see *ibid.*) :—

آنچه در ماهه نقدی مقرر نموده راجه چیت سنگه بود و حالا
از سرکار کمپنی انگریز بهادر بدستور قدیم مقرر است محمد علی پسر
محبت مذکور آن نقدی را بذام خود مقرر نموده۔

Besides the sums of Rs. 20 and Rs. 10 P.M. referred to above Maḥabbat and his sons also used to get other income from the lands as well as used to receive gifts and even used to cut away the trees standing on the estate (see the Suit) :—

و هر دو نقدی را و آنچه حاصل و نذرات آنجا می بود همه
محبت و پسرش بتصرف خود می آرند و روشنی چراغ و مرمت

مزارِ شیخ صاحب و مکاناتِ متعلقهٔ مقبرهٔ هرگز نمی‌کردند بلکه اشجار را می‌بریدند -

The present Mu taw walls are far worse off. In course of time the family has grown up. The sums fixed by Qitlaq Sultān Begam and Rāja Chet Singh are being no more received; the gifts have dwindled away; and Fāṭimān itself has been reduced to a small barren strip of land by the forefathers of the present day Mutawwalis. Hence they have to live upon selling sites for graves.

As it is today, the tomb of Ḥazīn is nearest the Rauda of Bībī Fāṭima.

The tomb of Ḥazīn is a simple grave built of red Tomb. stone on a raised platform. There is nothing elaborate or pompous about it. It is not even covered. A couple of feet away to north is a pedestal in which an earthen lamp is lit on nights.

On the tablet of the tomb there are the following sentences and verses which Ḥazīn caused to be carved thereon in his lifetime :—

On the top of the table is the holy name of God, followed by then there are the words

العبد الراجی رحمة ربہ محمد المدمو بعلى ابن ابی طالب الجیلانی

At the foot of the table is the following verse :—

روشن شد از وصالِ تو شبهایِ تاریما صبحِ قیامتست چراغِ مزارِ ما

"Our dark nights have brightened up through your union ;

The morn of Resurrection is the torch of our tomb."

On the eastern side of the tomb is this verse :—

زبان داین سحریت بوده ام دیگر نمیدانم

همین دانم که گوش از دوست پیغامی شنید اینجا

" I've been a pupil of love and know nothing else ;
Only this much I know that, the ear heard a message
from the friend here."

And on the western side is the following
verse:—

حزین از پایِ ره پیمای بسی سر گشتگی دیدم

سر شوریده بر بالینِ آسایش رسید اینجا

" Through the path-traversing foot O Hāzin I've seen
many troubles.

The mad head came to the pillow of peace here/'

Just above the word in the second hemi-
stich of the verse on the western side we have the
date 1180 A.H. As the date is written in Arabic
figures, the final zero is put under the figure 8 and
not to its right. The whole of the inscription is in
a good condition.

The tomb was visited by vast multitudes on the
nights of Mondays¹ and Thursdays.² But with the
passage of time it has lost a good deal of its original
significance. It is not visited by any one except a
casual traveller on Mondays, and the number
of visitors seldom exceeds fifty on Thursday when
the Shī'as offer their evening prayers in a
mosque in the compound, and afterwards hold
the *majlis* and engage in *marthiya-hhwani*. But

¹ *MircCauul-Aḥwal-i-'Jahan Numa*, R.A.S.B. MS. 278. f. 339.

² *Kitab'i-Nujum-ul-Asmal* p. 287.

during the ten days of Muḥarram all the place and the surrounding area is thickly crowded. Religious meetings are also held at Faṭīman on the 20th of Ramaḍān and during the first 10 days of *chihlam* which falls in Ṣafar.

Ghulām 'Alī Khān Azād has composed the Chronograms on his following chronogram on the death Death.

علامہ عصر و شاعرِ خوب افسوس کہ از میانه برخاست¹
تاریخِ وفاتِ او نوشتم "از فوتِ حَزینِ حَزینِ دلِ ما است"
ل + د + ن + ی + ز + ح + ن + ی + ز + ح + ت + و + ف + ز + ا
1 + 7 + 80 + 6 + 400 + 8 + 7 + 10 + 50 + 8 + 7 + 10 + 50 + 4 + 30 +
ت + م + ا + ا + ا
40 + 1 + 1 + 60 + 400 = 1180 A.H.

This chronogram is not incorrect as pointed out in the epilogue of the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn* (Lucknow ed., p. 1030) and Afāq's *Tadhkira-i-Ḥazīn*, p. 34. The confusion has been occasioned by the word *ما است* which is incorrectly written as *ماست* in the *Khizana-i-'Āmira*, Lucknow ed., p. 200. The word is written correctly (*ما است*) in the *Khizana-i-'Āmira*, Lytton library MS. 920/20, f. 108b, which is supposed to be the original of the printed Lucknow ed. In the *Tabṣirat-un-Nāẓirīn*, Bānklpur MS. 606, f. 651 also it is written as *ما است*; though the 2nd f has been supplied in another ink and perhaps in a later hand. It should be noted, however, that, in chronograms the numeral values of letters are

¹ See *Khizana-i-'Āmira*, Lucknow ed., p. 200; *Tabṣirat-un-Nẓirīn*, Bānklpur MS. 606, f. 651.

determined by the form in which they are written and not as to how they are read or pronounced.

We have the following chronogram by 'Abd-ul-Ghafnr Khān Nussakh¹:—

پی سالِ ترحیلِ فوتِ حزین نوشتہ "ہم جاودانِ حزین"

ن + ی + ز + ح + ن + ا + د + و + ا + ج + م + غ
1000 + 40 + 3 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 1 + 50 + 8 + 7 + 10 + 50 = 1180 A.H.

Shaikh Nawāz Muḥay-ud-Dīn Wāmiq Bilgarāmī has composed the following enigmatical chronogram on the death of Hāzīn²:—

بہر تاریخِ وامق از سرِ آہ گفتہ ام بلبلِ ریاضِ جنان

آہ = ۱۱۱ or the beginning of آہ is ۱ = 1. Therefore the chronogram numbers:—

ن + ا + ن + ج + ح + ا + ی + ر + ل + ب + ل + ب + ا
1 + 2 + 30 + 2 + 30 + 200 + 10 + 1 + 800 + 3 + 50 + 1 + 50
= 1180 A.H.

Another anonymous enigmatical chronogram is as follows³:—

تہی گشت ہیہات رویِ زمین ز شینِ محمد علیِ حزین

ز = 7. رویِ زمین

ش + ز + ح + ی + ل + ع + د + م + ح + م + غ + ی + ش
300 + 10 + 600 + 40 + 8 + 40 + 4 + 70 + 30 + 10 + 8 + 7 +
ن + ی

10 + 50 = 1187; 1187 - 7 = 1180 A.H.

Another chronogram by a resident of Bilgaram is contained in the following hemistich⁴:—

یک ہزار و یک صد و ہشتاد سال = 1180 A.H.

¹ Sec Ganj-i-Tawārīfti, Lucknow ed., p. 25.

² Tabsirat-un-Nazirin, Bankipur MS. 606, f. 651.

³ Haft Āsman, p. 164; and Miftah-ut-Tawarikh, p. 348.

⁴ Tarikk-i Muhammadi Rampur MS. 443, f. 2052; *ibid.*, British Museum MS. Or. 1824. f. 317.

The numeral value of the hemistich is also equal to 1180 :—

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{ه} + \text{و} + \text{د} + \text{ص} + \text{ك} + \text{ي} + \text{و} + \text{ر} + \text{ا} + \text{ز} + \text{ه} + \text{ك} + \text{ي} \\
 10 + 20 + 5 + 7 + 1 + 200 + 6 + 10 + 20 + 90 + 4 + 6 + 5 + \\
 \text{ل} + \text{ا} + \text{س} + \text{د} + \text{ا} + \text{ت} + \text{ش} \\
 300 + 400 + 1 + 4 + 60 + 1 + 30 = 1180 \text{ A.H.}
 \end{array}$$

"He (Ḥazīn) spent a thousand rupees per month, but at his death he was found to be reduced to his last thirty-four mohurs or double guineas, whether his familiar sensible of his approaching end, had ceased his supply, or his servants, had made away with the rest." So, according to Raymond.¹ But the explanations of the familiar ceasing the supply or the servants making away with the rest are superfluous. We, naturally, expect no hoarding on the part of Ḥazīn, once that we realize that he was not a worshipper of gold ; and, that he spent his income like an extravagant lord.

Mirzā Ḥasan was Ḥazīn's executor. Archaeological as well as documentary evidence is available concerning Mirzā Ḥasan. Now we proceed to the archaeological evidence:

At a stone's throw from the tomb of Ḥazīn towards the eastern boundary of Fāṭimān, and lying at the south-west corner of the Sunnī Imām Bāra (now in the possession of the Churyāre or bracelet sellers) there is a tomb made of red stone of which

¹ Raymond's Tr. of Hidayat's *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, vol. II, p. 524, footnote 275.

the outer pillars have already crumbled down but of which the main body is still in tact, although not immune from the inclement effects of the seasons to which it is exposed all the year round.

The inscription on the tomb is reproduced below as neither the tomb nor the inscription have been noticed hithersofar :—

هو

العبدالراجی رحمة ربه

اللهم لك الحمد الحسن منى الصلوة والتسليم على حبيبك ووصيه

وعقרתهم وذريتهم بالتعظيم هذا عبدك الحسن ببابك المقيم فروح وريحان⁹

وجنات نعيم الله هو الرقيب وكان دنا او كان قصا فلم يدعنا و منا

برحوم¹ لعبده و على التاريخ يووى الحسين الرقيب مثوى حسنا -

۱۱۹۹

دريغا كه رفت از جهان ميرزاى

كه گفتيش دوران توى زيب و زينم

حسن آنكه ميگفت: "مخدوم شاهان

منم زانكه از خادمان حسينم

بر آن آستان سوده ام جبه زين رو

چو خورشيد و مه سرور مشرقينم

بمژگان بسى رفته ام خاك آن در

ازين آبرو دهر را زيب و زينم

كشد ناز ازين رتبه خورشيد و ماهم

رسد فتخر ازين پايه بر خافقينم

جناب حزين قدس الله سره

وصى كرد و گفتش: "توئى نور عينم"

¹ Original reads : بزحوم

ندا آمد از عالم غیب گوی
 بگوش دل از شاه بدر و حنیف
 که تاریخ فوتش فروغ این رقم زن
 بجنت حسن همنشین با حسین
 سنه یکهزار و یکصد و نود و نه هجری المقدس¹
 کتبه سید محمد

-The above inscription yields the following information:—Mirzā Hasan² whose remains are buried in the tomb, was the Executor of Ḥazīn. Mirzā Hasan died in 1199 A.H. The elegy on his death was composed by Furogh,³ and along with the other Arabic lines reproduced above was engraved on his tomb-stone by one Saiyid Muhammad. Mirzā Ḥasan—as is indicated by the prefix "Mirzā"—was a Shī'a. He was very religious and had been to the shrine of Imām Ḥusain. The date of death (1199 A.H.) is contained in the chronogram :

بجنت حسن همنشین با حسین

From the use of the word "Nūr-i-'ain" in the elegy it seems that Ḥasan was junior in age to Ḥazīn.

We have also some documentary evidence about Mirzā Ḥasan besides the archaeological evidence given above. Let us now examine the documentary evidence : The earliest reference to Mirzā Ḥasā is to be found in the *Athar-i-Ahmadī*, Miyan Muhammad of Marahra's MS. According to this authority:

¹ Original has : المقدس

²The word "Mirza" occurs in the 1st verse; and "Ḥasan" in the Arabic lines as well as in the second verse.

³Probably Mirza Muhammad 'Alī Isfahanī born in 1140 A.H. died in 1210 A.H. at Banaras. See *Ruz-i-Ruṣṣhan*, p. 521.

Mirzā Ḥasan was Ḥāzin's partner-in-trade. He had caused a ship to be built for Ḥāzin. His own expenses and those of Ḥāzin were defrayed out of the profits accruing from the income of the ship.¹

Some valuable information about Ḥasan² is to be found in the Civil Cases Records. Two of them are particularly interesting :—

One is the Ejectment Suit:

Muḥammad 'Alī, son of, and counsel for Maḥabbat 'Alī³, Plaintiff *versus* Indar Jit counsel for Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq.⁴

This suit was instituted on the 23rd of Jumada-ul-Awwal 1207 A.H. and decided on the 1st of Ramaḍan 1207 A.H./13th of April 1793 A.D. This case shall hereinafter be called the Suit.⁵

The second is an Appeal :⁶

Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq Appellant *versus* Muḥammad 'Alī, Nawāzish 'Alī, Hādī 'Alī, and 'Ināyat 'Alī sons of Maḥabbat 'Alī Respondents.

¹ *Āthar-i-Aḥmadi*, Miyan Muḥammad Marhravi's MS.

² In the Suit and the Appeal discussed below he is indiscriminately called Mirza Muḥammad Ḥasan and Mirza Ḥasan. But because the latter name is also supported by archaeological evidence, it is the only correct name of Ḥāzin's executor.

³ Maḥabbat 'Alī was a servant of Ḥāzin. See *supra*.

⁴ Mirza Muḥammad Ṣādiq was the son of Mirza Ḥasan.

⁵ A true copy of the Suit is possessed by Mirza Fayad of Aurang-ābad. Banaras, the present superintendent of Ḥāzin's tomb.

⁶ It is extant in a true copy possessed by Mirza Fayad of Banaras. It consists of an English scroll 7'X9½" containing 163 lines written on 5 sheets of paper all pasted together. Wherever pasted together, it bears a seal covering each half page. It is followed by an *Tranī* translation beginning on the 5th sheet. It is 3'—8½"X9½" with 65 lines. There also exists a separate Hindi translation of the same.

Munshī Aṁīn-ud-Dīn counsel for Appellant.
Mīr 'Alī Ḥusain Counsel for Respondents.

This appeal came before William Couper, a judge of the Sadr Civil Court, who decided it on Thursday the 6th of December 1798 A.D./27th of Jumādā II, 1213 A.H. after a full consideration of : (1) All the proceedings and documents of the case sent by the Judges of the Court of Appeal, Banāras District; (2) the questions and answers of the parties, submitted in the presiding Court in Appeal i.e., the plaint of the Appeal, the answer by the Respondents; answer to the Respondents by the Appellant; and the answer by the Respondents to the Appellant; (3) Report of the the Registrar of the Sadr Civil Court ; and (4) the decision of the Moulvies of the 'Adalat-i-Ṣadr, received in answer to William Couper on the 7th of November 1798 A.D./28th of Jumādā I, 1213 A.H.

The case which gave rise to the present Appeal was first decided by Nawwāb 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān in the 'Adalat-i-Shihr. On Appeal it came before the Mukhtārkār-i-Banāras, who handed it over to the Criminal Court for further suggestions and investigation. On the establishment of the present Civil Court in Banāras City, the Judge of the afore-said Court decided the case in accordance with Section 93 of Act XXII of 1795 on the 5th of February 1796 A.D./26th of Rajab 1210 A.H. The judgment which is reproduced by the Court was appealed against by the sons of Mahabbat 'Alī in the Court of Appeal,

Banāras District, in *forma pauperis*. The decree passed by the 'Adalat-i-Shihr was set aside by the Judges of the Court of Appeal on the 15th of March 1796 A.D./6th of Ramaḍān 1210 A.H. and a fresh decree was passed in favour of the sons of Maḥabbat 'Alī.¹ Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq appealed to the Sadr Civil Court against this last-mentioned judgment and requested the appointment of an arbitrator. The Judges of the Sadr Civil Court considered the case to be one of purely Islamic Law and hence they sent all the documents to the Qaḍī-ul-Quḍāt and the Jurisconsults of the Court and requested them to express their opinion on two points² after giving them their fullest consideration and satisfying themselves. William Couper finally based his judgment on the exposition of the law by the Moulvies and granted a final order and decree in favour of the sons of Maḥabbat 'Alī.³ To this Appeal I shall hereinafter refer as the Appeal.

Mirzā Ḥasan was appointed as his Executor by Hāzin in 1177 A.H./1763-64 A.D. Because in the Suit instituted on the 23rd of Jumada 1,1207 A.H./6th of January 1793 A.D. Maḥabbat says:—

من از مدت سی سال بموجب ارشاد شیخ علی حزین که
بمیں حیات خود مرزا محمد حسن وصیت کرده بودند

¹ This judgment is also reproduced in *The Appeal* under discussion.

² These two points are also given in *The Appeal* So is the answer given by the Qaḍī.

³ Died on the 13th of Rajab 1207 A.H./24th of February 1793 A.D. See *The Suit*.

..... و بعد رحلت شیخ صاحب مغفور مرزا محمد حسن سندت
 معه تولیت آثار شریفه و مقبره منوره بنام من و اولاد نوشته دادند
 تا اینوقت معه عیال و اطفال بران مکان قابض ام -

1207-30 gives us 1177 A.H. Also in the Appeal it is said :—

محبت علی پدر این رسپانڈنٹان بدهوی مزاجت محمد صادق
 اپیلانٹ در تولیت مزار شیخ محمد علی حزین و دیگر آثارهای شامل
 آن که محبت علی مزبور آن را از مدت سی سال بموجب سند
 مرزا محمد حسن وصی شیخ محمد علی حزین بدخل خود داشت -

Mirzā Ḥasan remained the Waṣī (Executor) of Ḥazīn for only 3 years (1177—1180 A.H.) because on the death of Ḥazīn in 1180 A.H., Mirzā Ḥasan executed an Instrument of Trust in favour of Maḥabbat 'Alī—a servant of Ḥazīn. See the Suit :—

و بعد رحلت شیخ صاحب مغفور مرزا محمد حسن سندت
 معه تولیت آثار شریفه و مقبره منوره بنام من و اولاد نوشته دادند -

Mirzā Ḥasan left behind a son named Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq who is one of the parties in the long and continuous cases referred to above.

COMPOSITIONS

[In the following pages the abbreviation R.D.F. is used for *Risala dar Fihrist-i-Asatidha-o-Tasnifdt-i-Khud*, R.A.S.B. MS. 1778, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition.]

Al-Lubāb ft 'Iltn-il-Ḥisāb—the work is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 268b, written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Anīs-ul-Fuʿd fi Ḥaqlqat-il-Ijtihād—deals with the reality of Ijtihād. Regarding the book Ḥazîn says in the R.D.F., f. 268b, that a book like this had not been written before. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Ar-Rumḥ-ul-Maṣqūl fī Ta'n-i-'Alā akthar-ū Qawā'id-il-Uṣūl—is a book on Uṣūl-i-Fiqh. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Au-Ta'liqat 'ala Mabḥaṭh-il-Falakiyat min ash-Shifā— is a supercommentary on a chapter of *Shifā* by Abū Sinā. This is a work mentioned in the R.D.F., L 269b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

At-Ta'liqat 'ala Kitāb-il-Mutaraḥaṭ— is a commentary on the *Kitāb-il-Muffiraḥaṭ* of *Shaiḫ Maqtūl*. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 269b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

At-Ta'ltqat 'alal-Fusus—is a supercommentary on the book called *Fusus* composed by Mu'allim-uth-Thānī Abī Naṣr-al-Fārābī. This supercommentary is

mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

At-Ta'liqat 'ala Kitab-in-Najat—is a supercommentary on the *Kitab-un-Najat* of Shaikh Abu 'Ali Sīnā. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2696. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

At-Ta'ltqāt 'alā Maqāmāt-il-Ārifīn min Sharḥ-iUlshārāt—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2696. Written in Arabic. This book is extinct.

At-Ta'ltqat 'ala Ghawamid-il-Majisti—is a supercommentary on the book called *Tahrir-ul-Majisti*. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

At-Ta'liqat 'alat-Talwihat—is a supercommentary on the book called *at-Talwḥāt* composed by Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl. The work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

At-T'a'liqāt Sglat-T'adhkira li Ibn-i-Rushd—is a supercommentary on the book named *Tadhkira* composed by Ibn-ur-Rushd. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

At-Tdlxqāt 'alā Sharḥ-il-Maqāsid—is a supercommentary on the book called *Sharḥ-il-Maqasid*. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2696. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Ar-Raddu 'alat-Tanāsukhiya—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct in these days.

Ad-Da'wat-ṣ-Salīhat wa asma' -Ullah-il-husna— was written at Maṣḥad [in 1140 A.H.] It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. The book was written in Arabic and is now extinct.

An-Nāsikh wal Mansūhh—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Aṭ-Ṭuṭ wal 'Ard—is a book mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. The book which was written in Arabic is now extinct.

Al-Maṣḥāhid-ul-'Ulya—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i. 270b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Al-Lam' ft Izhaq-il-Bida'—is a composition mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Al-Maqala fi Bayan-in-Nuqta—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Aḥḥbar ul-Mutanabbi wa Uhikr-o-ba'd-i-Ash-'āriḥ-il-Faiḍa—This work deals with the traditions of Abū Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī Aḥmad bin il-Ḥusain bin 'Abd-i-Ṣamad al-Ja'fari al-Kufi with a short account of some of his super-excellent verses. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. It is written in Arabic and is now extinct.

A ḥḥbar-ul-Muḥaqqiq-īṭ-Tusi—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b, written in Arabic. This work is extinct nowadays.

Aḥḥbar-i-Zahid il-Jīlānī—deals with the *Aḥḥbar*

of Ḥazīn's ancestor, Shaikh Tāj-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm called Zāhid-i-Jilānī. This work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. This work which was written in Arabic, is nowadays extinct.

An-N asab-ut-Tālifiya—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. It is written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Ahkām-ush-Shakk-i-was Sahw-i-fis Saʿadat—It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a, Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Adh-Dhukhru wa Saʿadat fil 'Ibādat—In the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a, Ḥazīn says, that, he had composed a book of this name. Written in Arabic. This book is extinct nowadays.

Al-Lama'atu mir'atil-lah fi Sharḥ-i-ayat-i-Shahidāl-lāh is a brief note on the meaning of the verse III, 16, of the Qurʾān; written in answer to a letter from a friend. It is written in Arabic and was composed at Ardabīl, prior on Ḥazīn's journey to Khurāsān in 1139/1726-7. So, according to the *R.A.S.B. Cat.*, Supplement 2, p. 65. This is based on the colophon of MS. 1043, f. 3b. The date 1136 given in *Curzon Collection Cat.*, p. 487 is incorrect as the Curzon Collection MS. 752 (4) is worm-eaten and the upper part of the figure 9 (in the date 1139) is missing. But in spite of that it appears more like 9 than 6. Beginning :

الحمد لله الهادى الحمد والشكر لواهب الشكر... الخ

Al-Khawāss-ul-Mujarraba—is probably a medical work. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2726.

The work which was written in Irānī is nowadays extinct.

Al-Mawayid-us-Samawiyya - is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Al-Munāzarāt wal Muhādarāt—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. The book was written in Irānī. It is extinct now.

***Adab-ul-XJ zlat wal K̄hālwat*¹**—This work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Adab-ul-Mu'ašharat—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, ff. 373a-b. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

At-Talif bain an-Nas—is a composition mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i. 2736. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Al-Mawahib ft Lailat-ir-Raghāib—is a work discussing the saving of Farfurivus.

الخيرات منها ما هي شريفة ومنها ما هي ممدوحة ومنها ما هي بالقوة كذلك ومنها ما هي ناقصة

It discusses the whole of the statement of Farfūrīyūs. Hazīn says, that he composed the work in a single night. This work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.* ff. 274a-fc. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Al-Kusūf wal Khusūf—is a book mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275b. The book which was written in Irānī is nowadays extinct.

¹ The *Kitab-i-Nu'um-ul-Asma: ft Tarajim-ul-Ulama* omits:

Al-Ta'liqat fit Ṭabī'i wal Ilahl—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. It was written in Arabic. The book is now extinct.

AUMaraṣīd fir Rāḥ-i-wal Kasid—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Aṣ-Ṣiraṭ-us-Sawī ft' Ghawāyat-il-Baghawī—is a book in exposition of the mistakes of Imām Baghawī. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Ad-Dibāḥ fi Ibānat-i-Aghlat iz-Zajjaḥ—is a book in exposition of the mistakes committed by Zajjaḥ. See *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. Nowadays extinct.

Al-Fuṣūl-ul-Baligha—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. It is written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Al-Fada'il fi Ihya-i-Sanan-il-Awa'il—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct now.

Akhbar-i-Ismctil bin 'Abbad—deals with the *Ahhbar* of Isma'il bin 'Abbad aṭ-Ṭaliqānī and what Ḥazin could get of his writings and rare verses. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. The work is extinct now.

Akhbar-i-Abi-Tamām . . . wa ba'd-i-AsWarihi—contains the *Ahhbar* of Abi Tamām aṭ-Ṭāyī Ḥabīb bin Aus and some of his verses. The book is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

A kh̄bar-ush-Shaikh Safi-id-Dīn il-Hillt wa Nāwadir-u-Ash'arihi—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. Written in Arabic. Nowadays extinct.

Ādāb-u-Da'wat-il-Asmā wal Adhkar—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. Written in Irānī and is nowadays extinct.

A l-'Ilājāt-ul-Gharzba — is a medical work. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2726. The book was written in Irānī. It is extinct now.

Ar-Radd-u-'alan Naṣara fil Qaul-i-bil Aqānizm—is a book written in refutation of the affirmation of Trinity by the Christians. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. The book was written in Irānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Al-Jarrf bain-al-Ḥikmat-i-wa SharVat—is a book written on the Agreement of Philosophy and the Sacred Law and repulsion of the suspicion—as is supposed by the common-folk. Mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct now. *Cf. Tawfiq ; infra.*

At-Takhliya wal Mutakhalliya—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2736. It is written in Irānī and is extinct now.

Al-Ighāthāt fil Imāmat—See *Risāla-i-Imāmat*; and *Risāla fil Imāmt*; *infra.*

Al-Farq bain-al-Lams wal Mass—is a treatise in differentiation of the senses of feeling and touch and what relates to it and results in it. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2746. Written in Irānī. Nowadays extinct.

Al-Mufasssil ft Khabar-il-'Aqi wat Tawakkul—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2746. It is written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Baṣḥarat-un-Nubuwwat—in this book Ḥazin quotes from the *Pentateuch*, the *Gospel*, and the *Psalms of Josiah*, and the *Book of Isaiah*, the passages indicatory of the prophetship of the Prophet Muḥammad. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. It is written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Bahjat-ul-Aqran—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i. 207b. The book is extinct. It was written in Arabic.

Chaman-u-Anjuman—is a mathnawī¹ composed twice. The earlier work is extinct. In the *Kulliyat-i-Ḥazin*, Lucknow ed. it comprises pp. 823-838.

In the *Āṣifiya Cat.*, Vol. II, p. 1486, ***Chaman-u-Anjuman*** (Āṣifiya MS. 154) is alleged to be composed in 1155 A.H. This is incorrect. The prose article which immediately follows the mathnawī in the Āṣifiya MS. and on which the date is based, is in reality the epilogue to Ḥazin's *Diwān IV* and has nothing to do with the mathnawī ***Chaman-u-Anjuman***. The cataloguer of the Āṣifiya Library has mistaken the epilogue to *Diwān IV* for a *Khāṭima* to ***Chaman-u-Anjuman***.

¹ Ḥazin's mathnawīs are preserved in a fine collection entitled "Masnawiat-i-Munjamala-i-'Ali Ḥazin" (The collected Mathnawīs of 'Ali Ḥazin) in the King's College Library, No. 124.

² According to *Khulasat-ul-Kalam*, f. 211a, Ḥazin composed 5 Mathnawīs in different metres, bearing different names, and containing 1514 verses in all. This is incorrect as will readily be seen.

In his letter No. 266 dated the 20th Dhi'l-Qa'da 1356 A.H., in answer to mine dated 11th January, 1938, the Librarian very kindly supplied me with an extract from the supposed Khātima which on comparison proved to be an extract from the epilogue to Dīwān IV. This was confirmed in the Librarian's letter No. 272 dated 20th Dhri-Ḥijja in answer to my letter dated the 15th Feb., 1938.

Du'ā-i-Yamāni—the only reference to the work is to be found in the *Āthār-i-Aḥmadī*. It is one of the compositions of Ḥazīn that Shāh Āl-i-Aḥmad brought with himself from Banāras to Mārahra. See *Āthār-i-Aḥmadī*,¹ Miyaṅ Muḥammad of Mārahra's MS.

Da'ai'm-ud-Din—this work is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 268b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct now.

Dasiur-ul-'Uqala—as is stated in the Curzon Collection MS. 502, f. 118a, Ḥazīn composed this work at Delhi in Rabi'-uth-Thanī 1153 A.H./June-July 1740 A.D. at the persistent request of a friend. It is a work on administrative ethics and cognate matters. This work is also mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272a. It is written in Īrānī.

Diwan I.—¹ The first and the earliest diwan of Ḥazīn consisted of odes, mathnawis, qaṣidas, and quatrains. It consisted of seven or eight thousand verses. The exact date of its composition is

¹ Ārvi incorrectly states in the *Nigar*, February 1930, p. 31, that Ḥazīn composed 5 diwans. Ārvi describes only 2, i.e., diwan I and II.

unknown. The *Diwān* is extinct.

Dīwān IL.—Ḥazīn composed his second diwan at Iṣfahān. He did so before the death of his father in 1127 A.H.¹ According to Master's Introduction to his Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul- Ahwal*, p. ii, the date of its composition is 1128 A.H. which is incorrect *ipso facto*. It consisted of about 10,000 couplets. It is extinct.

Diwān HI.—At Shirāz Ḥazīn collected his verses which formed his third diwan. The exact date of its composition is not known. The approximate date 1130 A.H. given by Master (Introduction to the Tr. of Ḥazīn's *T adhkirat-ul- Ahwaly* p. ii) is conjectural. It is probable but not exact. However, Ḥazīn did so during c. 1129-1134 A.H. For, we know, that, he migrated to Shirāz after the death of his mother in 1129 A.H.² and that having completed his diwan he returned to Iṣfahan some time before the beginning of 1134 A.H.³ The diwan consisted of three or four thousand verses.⁴ It is extinct.

Diwān IV.—⁵ Ḥazīn collected in a fourth

¹ See *Supra*.

² See *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 49.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵ The *Hadiqat-ul-Afrah*, p. 446, speaks of only this diwan. One of the oldest and very reliable copies of this diwan richly embellished with gold work, is the Rampur MS. 213 written by Muḥammad Baqir, son of (the late) Abū Ṭalib at Delhi in 1155 A.H. This copy was presented to Ḥazīn who corrected it and wrote down some of his latest verses on the margins. Ḥazīn's handwriting also appears on f. 9 where he laments against the times ; and in an Arabic note on f. 11 saying, " Mirza Muḥammad Baqir

dīwān his verses other than those collected in the three previous diwans; as he himself says:—¹

wrote this dīwān at Delhi in 1155 A.H. etc." and on f. 10 where it covers a whole page, and of which the contents are invocatory.

Another reliable copy is the 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 866/103 containing a few qasidas and ghazals from diwan IV. It was caused to be written at the instance of 'Alī Qulī Khān (Walih) and corrected by Ḥazīn. The present copy was written by order of Ṣahībzada Muḥammad Ghiyath 'Alī Khān on the 8th of Shawwāl, 1263 A.H. See colophon of 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 866/103.

Another valuable copy is the Bankipur MS. 1925. It contains the following autograph note by Ḥazīn on the title-page :—

هو ربنا اتنا لدنك رحمة و هيى لذا من امرنا رشد -
زد نقش سخن سكه جاويد بنامم از صفحه دلها نشود معو كلام
نمقه الوثائق بعروة الله الوثقى محمد المشتهم بعلى الراهدى الجيلانى

A contemporary note on the title-page says, that, this is an abstract of the poet's 4th dīwān (خلاصة الديوان الرابع). The copy is transcribed by 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad.

The supposed oldest copy of the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn* (containing his diwan and some mathnawīs), the Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 48/34, purporting to have been copied by Bismil Shah in 1145 A.H. (See *Shirwani*, p. 33), is in spite of its misleading colophon and a fictitious note on the fly-leaf a clear forgery; the colophon says, that, it was written by Bismil Shah alias Allāh Dad Beg, son of Muḥammad Amīn Beg, son of Murād Ullāh Beg, on Wednesday, the 14th of Dhi'l-Hijja 1145 A.H.

The note on the fly-leaf has the name ظل سبحانى خليفة الرحمانى which in itself is a sufficient proof of the forgery as Aḥmad Shah Abdālī did not rule before 1161 A.H., It proceeds to say, that, Ḥazīn had written in his own hand his *Kulliyat* without omitting a word in order to present it to Nawwāb Quṭb-ud-Daula Quṭb-ul-Mulk and that Nawwāb Aḥmad Khān Bangash caused the copy to be transcribed at Farrukhabad in 1145 A.H. and entered it in his library. It is interesting to note, that, Aḥmad Khān Bangash became the ruler of Farrukhabad on Friday, the 10th Ramaḍān 1163 A.H./2nd August 1750 A.D. (*Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 41) ; and that, Quṭb-ul-Mulk died in 1134 A.H. Ibid p.8

Further, the copy contains his two Mathnawīs (*Safir-i-Dil* and *Wadī'at-ul-Badī'at*) both of which were composed in 1173 A.H. See *infra*.

¹ *Taikkirat-ul-Ahwal* Lucknow ed., p. 147.

و چون دامنی از گهرهای یتیم در آن سه عقد شاهوار در نیامده
پیشانی ریخته بود سلطان وقت خازن اندیشه را بانتظام آن گماشته
درین درج گرانگی گذاشت.

He gathered the scattered material while staying at Mashhad.¹ Ḥazīn reached Mashhad after its conquest by Shāh Ṭahmasp² in 1140 A.H. and left it in Safar 1142 A.H.³/August, 1729 A.D. Hence, the date of collecting the materials of the diwan is c. 1140-1142 A.H. It is most probably 1140 A.H. Firstly, because, Ḥazīn has also composed his *Shajarat-ut-Tur fi Sharh-i-Āyati'n Nur* at Mashhad in 1140 A.H.; and secondly, because, Ḥazīn began the compilation in the beginning of the period of his arrival at the mausoleum of Imam Rida in Mashhad:—

و چون با آنکه دو نوبت بل سه نوبت اشعار این ضعیف در
حیطه جمع و تالیف در آمده بسیاری از مسودات مهجور و ابتر
گشته.... نکنه سبایان آشنا و رموز دانایان کتاب مهر و وفا خواستند
که چند بیت پریشانی که بود نیز به جمع و تالیف گراید... لهذا
در تحریر ترتیب شروع افتاد.⁴

The date 1141 A.H. given by Master in the Introduction to his Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, p. iii, is conjectural. It is probable but not exact.

¹ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwdh* Lucknow ed., p. 80.

The date 1141 A.H. given by Master in his Introduction to the Tr. of Ḥazīn's *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwah* p. iii, is conjectural. It is probable but not exact.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwdh* Lucknow ed., p. 79.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁴ See *Diwan-i-Ḥazīn*, 'Abd-us-Salam MS. 866/103, ff. la-lb.

Ḥazīn completed (*sipari shud*) the arrangement—or as we may say these days—published his *diwān* in 1155 A.H.¹ Evidently, Ḥazīn had finished the composition of his *Diwān IV* in 1154 A.H. at any cost; since it is mentioned in his *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*² composed in 1154 A.H.:—

و اشعاریکه در آن مدت گفته شده جمع آوردم و این دیوان چهارم
خاکسار است .

It contains qasidas, odes, quatrains, and rubals etc., amounting in all to one thousand and odd pieces.

According to Husain Dost,³ the copy that he saw consisted of about 20,000 verses. This, of course, is an under-estimation.

At one time the number of verses composed by Ḥazīn was not quite 30,000 verses :

تا قریب سی هزار ز اشعار دلفریب بر صدفِ زمانه نوشتیم یادگار⁴

Then it reached the figure 30,000 :—

سی هزار است در چهار کتاب نظمِ کلکِ بدیعِ آثاری⁵

But it soon exceeded that number as Ḥazīn never ceased to compose verses. His latter verses composed after the publication of his fourth *diwān*, and consisting of odes, quatrains, etc. are preserved in the different copies of the MS. of his *Diwān IV*

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 149.

هزار و یک صد و پنجاه و پنج هجری بود
که گشت نسخه دیوان چارمین سپری

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* Lucknow ed., p. 80.

³ *Tadhkira-i-Husaini*, p. 108.

⁴ See Introduction to *Diwān IV*, Lucknow ed., p. 149.

⁵ See Lytton Library MS. 1/32.

compiled at different dates. The number of pieces, therefore, varies in number in the different copies of the MSS. of his diwān. Consequently and accordingly, we have the following forms of the second hemistich of the verse dealing with the number of pieces in his Diwan IV :—

(1) قصیده و غزل و قطعه و رباعی آن

هزار و سی به حساب آیدت چو برشمی¹

(2) قصیده و غزل و قطعه و رباعی آن

هزار و شصت و یک آید ترا چو برشمی

(3) قصیده و غزل و قطعه و رباعی آن

هزار و یک صد و ده آیدت چو برشمی²

(4) قصیده و غزل و قطعه و رباعی آن

دو صد و فزون ز هزار است و سی چو برشمی³

It is Ḥazirfs only diwān published in India. It is also his only extant diwan. It has been published along with the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazin* Lucknow ed., (pp. 257-689); and along with the *Kulliyāt* is out-of-print nowadays.

The *Diwan IV* of Ḥazin also contains verses in Arabic⁴ which are not looked upon with the same respect as his Irani verses.⁵ Ghulam 'Alī Khan Azad the author of *Khizana-i-Āmira* too,

¹ See Shefca Collection Ms. 126/160.

* See *Ruq'at-i-Ḥazin*, Punjab University MS. Pe. II. 20, Letter XII (ff. 74a-746).

¹ See Lytton Library MS. 1/32, f. 18a.

⁴ *Sham'-i-Anjuman*, p. 131, places the number of his Arabic verses at about 20,000.

⁵ *Sham'-i-Anjuman*. p. 131.

objects to the use of in the sense of "friendship" occurring in the first verse of a ghazal of Hāzin beginning:—

یا بدیع الجمال مذاهو یک قلبیے المبتلے تصحیر فیک

It is written in imitation of Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn 'Āmili's famous qasīda rhyming in ک and beginning with the following verse :—¹

یا ندیمی بمیجنتی افدیک قمر و هات الکووس من هاتیک

The ghazal given below is the best in Hāzin's dīwān :

طعنه هرگز بدل آزاری خاری نردم
 خنده چون گل به وفاداری یاری نردم
 بحر را حوصله ام غرق خجالت دارد
 موج بیطاقت خود را به کناری نردم
 باچه تقصیر فلک خاک به چشم ریزد
 هیچ گاه دامنِ مژگان بغباری نردم
 چون به هم بزمی اغیار توانم تن داد
 منکه در حادثه هرگز در یاری نردم
 بر سرم فوج خزان از چه سبب می تازد
 خیمه چون لاله بدامن بهاری نردم
 ناوک ناله من خونِ امیدی نیست
 ترکش سینه تهنی گشت و شکاری نردم
 پامی ناموس هنرمندی فرهادم بود
 در دره عشق اگر دست بکاری نردم
 جرم قافله ام هرزه سرا نیست حزین
 حرف بیتابی دل را به دیاری نردم*

¹ See *Khizana-i-Amira*, pp. 198-199. The ghazal of Hāzin is to be found in his *Kulliyāt*, Lucknow ed., pp. 537-538.

2 *Kulliyat-i-Hāzin*, Lucknow ed., p. 583.

The *Dīwān* of Ḥazīn published as a part of the *Kulliyat* by the Newwul Kishore Press is a reliable but incomplete copy. Many things have been omitted in the printed edition, e.g., (1) the *qīṭ'a* on some customs in India,¹ beginning :

هر خیره سری که گشت در هند ز آمد شد سفلكانه پا کار

(2) The *qīṭ'a* in censure of the *Kashmīrīs*,² beginning :

کس ندیده بوطن مردن کشمیری را

بجهان چون صف مورند روان دانه طلب

and (3) the *ghazal* ³ beginning :

چشم کشوده است در فیضِ نو بهار از داغ ریختست دم طرح لاله زار

A comprehensive idea of the omissions in the *dīwān* (Lucknow ed.) can be had from the following comparative chart prepared by Shīrwānī Šahib :—⁴

Subjects			Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 48/32	Ḥabīb Ganj MS. 48/34	Kulliyat Luck. ed.
<i>Ghazals</i>	...	...	1472	1444	909
<i>Qasīdas</i>	...	...	47	46	40
<i>Mathnawīs</i>	...	...	7	7	6
<i>Qīṭas</i>	...	...	45	61	39
<i>Rubā'īs</i>	...	...	485	484	267
<i>Elegies</i>	...	...	20	...	4

¹ See footnote 4 on p. 32.

² See footnote 1 on p. 35,

³ See Āfaq's *Taghkira-i-Ḥazīn*, pp. 31-32 and *TZrlkhri-Banaras*.

⁴ *Halat-i-Ḥazīn ma'ī-i-Intikjab'i Kalam*, 'Aligarh ed., p. 33.

If a complete copy of the *dlwān* were to be prepared it will probably include verses composed as late as 1180 A.H. For, we have seen, that the pen of Ḥazīn was never at rest right up to his last moment.

A complete copy will thus include at least the following additional number of pieces over and above those contained in the *Kulliyāt* Lucknow edition : *Ghazals*—563 ; *Qaṣīdas*—7 ; *Maṭhnawī*—1 ; *Qit'as*—22 ; *Ruba'is*—218 ; and elegies—16. See chart above.

Popularity of his *Dīwāns*.—Ḥazīn's first three *dīwāns* are extinct. Writing in 1164 A.H., *Khān Arzū* says¹: " The *Shāikh* [Ḥazīn] says, this *dlwān* which enjoys popularity is *Dīwān* IV. And the first 3 *dīwāns* were destroyed in the plunderings of the Afghans. " Eleven years later—in 1175 A.H.—Ḥakīm Lāhori holds the same view and reproduces the very words of *Ārzū* in his *Mardum-i-Dīdah*.² [Perhaps the first 3 *dīwāns* of Ḥazīn were destroyed in the sack of Isfahan in 1135 A.H.]

With regard to the first *dlwān* we must further note, that, Ḥazīn possessed no copy of it till as late as 1165 A.H. when he states so in his *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'aṣṣirin* (Lucknow ed., p. 946).

¹ *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Punjab University MS. Pf. I, 24, f. 170.

² See *Mardum-i-Dīdah*, Ḥabīb Ganj typed copy, p. 49:—

بالجمله شیعہ میگوید: "این دیوان کہ شهرت دارد دیوان چہارم
است و سابق سہ دیوان در فقراتِ افغانہ تلف شد"

Out of his four *diwāns* Ḥazīn speaks only of the first one : saying, that, it became popular among the readers.¹ The fourth *diwān*, however, is extant in numerous MS. copies bearing different dates and is very commonly met with. This in itself is a clear and sufficient proof of its popularity.²

In India, today, Ḥazīn is famous on account of his fine odes. In his lifetime Ḥazīn considered versification a blemish that eclipsed his other accomplishments :

طرفی از شهرت و از شعر که بستم اینست
که سخن قدر مرا کرد بعالم مستور
ذلت شعر فرو برد مرا در دل خاک
زیر این گرد کسادی شده ام زنده بگور³

With regard to Irān the following passage of the author of the *Mahhzan-ul-Gharāib* may be taken into consideration :—"The majority of (my) friends who have come to India from the mother-land (Irān) say, that, the verses of the *Shāikh* are not liked in the mother-land. It is curious ! What can be the cause of dislike in face of the sweetness and simplicity of his verses ?"⁴

Faras Nama. — (called *Risala-i-Faras Namah* in the Br. Mus. MS. Add. 23,562, II, ff. 49-67) is a

¹ See *Taghkirat-ul-Ahwal* Lucknow ed., p. 32.

² The author of the *Mardum-i-Didah* in a venomously prejudiced articles on Ḥazīn says about his *Diwan IV*, that, it is not up to the degree as it is considered to be and vouchsafed by Ḥazīn's supporters. See *Mardum-Didah*, Habib Ganj typed copy, pp. 49-50.

³ See *Kulliyat-i-Hazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 908.

⁴ *Mahhzan-ul-Gharāib*, f. 262b.

treatise on farriery. Ḥazin says, that he had composed in his youth and in his native place (Iṣfahān), an extensive work on farriery in about 1127 A.H., and that unable to procure a copy of it in India, where he was residing, he had now written what he calls a mere sample of his former work. The earlier *Faras Nāma* is referred to in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Belfour's ed., p. 97. For MS. see Bānkīpur MS. 407, ff. 1656-2056. The *Faras Nāma* is written in Irānī.

Farhang Nāma—is a mathnawī, lithographed at Newwul Kishore Press, Lucknow and comprising pp. 871-877 of the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazin*. The mathnawī is written in Irānī.

Fi Taḥqiq-i-Raf Shubhāt-il-Mushabbīha—is a short note in Arabic, on the unity of God. Beginning : اللهم ارنا الحق حقاً وارنا الباطل باطلاً

Fi Taḥqiq-il-Ism-il-A'zam—is a note in Arabic, explaining the nature of the Deity and is called " *Lubbul-Lubab li-Ulil-albab* " in the colophon; written at the request of Muḥammad bin Muḥammad, Beginning : الحمد لله وصلوة على عباده الذين اصطفى
For MS. also see Curzon Collection MS. 502

Fī Taḥqiq-i-Istihālat-i-an- Yakuṇa li-maṭūlin Wāḥidin Shahḥṣṭīn aw nauṭīn 'lataṭīn.—is a short note of theosophical contents on the investigation of the impossibility of there being two causes for an effect : be it individual or species : في تحقيق استحالته ان يكون لمعلول واحد شخصي او نوعي علتان -

Beginning as follows:—

بعد الحمد والصلوة يقول النخ قد سألني بعض اجلة الاصحاب
عن بيان ما اطبق به شركاء الصناعة من استحاله ان يكون لمعلول
واحد شخصى او نوى ولتان مستقلتان سواء كانا مجتمعين .

Composed by Ḥazīn who gives his name in the beginning of the treatise— It is written in Arabic. It is not dated. For MS. see Curzon Collection MS. 502 (6) ff. 141a-1416.

Fawā'id-ṭ-Chdhil-o- Yak-ō-dtgar A'mal-o-Aivrad—

This is one out of the 4 compositions of Ḥazīn which Shāh Al-i-Aḥmad called Achchhe Miyān brought with him to Mārahra from Banāras where he dropped for some time while returning from Tikārī where he had gone to see his uncle Nawwāb Saiyid Nūr-ul-Ḥasan Khān.

The work seems to be a majmū'a (compendium) of a few *a'māl* and *awrād*. The only reference to this work is to be found in the *Āthar-i-Aḥmadi*, Miyān Muḥammad of Marahra's MS.

Please also see Ḥazīn's composition entitled ***Risala-u' Amaliyati-Khaṣṣ***.

Fātiḥa.—This is a little known composition of Ḥazīn. The only copy known to me is the British Museum MS. Or. 7556 (1). This is an uncatalogued MS. It consists of six folios in all. From f. 1b to f. 4a it contains *fātiḥas* (benedictions) on : (1) the Holy Prophet; (2) 'Alī; (3) Fatima; (4) Husain; (5) 'Alī Asghar; and (6) benediction for acceleration of the appearance and emergence of Abul Qāsim Muḥammad, the son of Ḥasan.

On f. 4a there begins the *mathnawī* dealing with the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusain. The *Fatiḥa* begins :

... فاتحه بروج پرفتوح مقدس معطر. . . and the *mathnawī* begins :

محرر آمد و ماه عزاء نمود هلال شکفت غنچه ماتم ز شاخسار ملال

Fī Tahqīq-il-Ma'ni'l Wāhid—is a short note on the unity of God composed in the city of Āmil in Ṭabaristān (see Curzon Collection MS. 502, f. 138b) in the year 1134/1721. Beginning :

الحمد لواهب العلم والحكمة و بعد يقول فقير عنو ربه الغنى
ابن ابوطالب الجيلانى محمد المدهو بعلى لما رايت بعض طلبة العلم . . .

FarāHd-ul-Fawā'id—is a work composed at Iṣfahān.

Fawā'id-ul-'Ulya—Of this book Hāzin had completed only 20 chapters at the time of the composition of the *R.D.F.* See *Ibid.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Fath-ul-Abwab—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2706. Written in Arabic. It is extinct nowadays.

Fawā'id-uṭ-Ṭib—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. Written in Irānī. It is extinct now.

Faḍl-ul-Īrāq -is a book mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2736. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

FaḍāHl-ul-Qur'ān—This treatise is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f 274a. Writen in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Fath-us-Subul—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i. 271b. It is written in Irānī. The book is extinct. Also confer *RisalaA-Imamat*. According to *Kashf-*

ul-Hjub-i-Wal Astār 'an Asma'il Kutub-i-Wal Asfār, No. 2192, page 397, it contains one *Muqad dama* and three *Fawatih*, and begins as follows :—

نحمدك يا مفتاح الابواب افتح لنا ابواب رحمتك و افض علينا
ابواب فضلك النعم

Hidāyat-id-Umam fil Hudūth-i-Wal Qidam—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. It is written in Arabic. It is extinct now.

*Hawashi bar Sharḥ-i-Hikmat-ul-Ishraq*¹—is a scholia on the commentary of *Hikmat-ul-Ishraq*. Composed in Isfahān.

Hāshiya bar Umur-i-'Āmma-i-Sharḥ-i-Tajrīd—composed at Beidā. It is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i. 269b under the title *AuTa'llqat 'Alā Umūr-il-'Āmma min Sharḥ-it-Tajrīd*. Written in Arabic.

Hāshiya bar Itahiyat-i-Shifā—written at Isfahān.

Hāshiya bar Sharḥ-i-Hayākil-in-Nūr—is a treatise that was written at Isfahān.

Hayat-ul-Ikhwān—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Ibtāl-ul-Jabr xvāt Tafwīd—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2726. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Jilā-ul-Afham—is a work on the science of mensuration. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i.

¹ *Hikmat-ul-Ishraq*, by Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi Maqtul died in 587 A. H. See Brockelmann, I, 437.

269a. Written in Arabic, The book is extinct now.

Jawami-ul-Adab—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2686. It is written in Arabic. It is extinct now.

Jawami'-ul-Kalim—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct nowadays.

Jām-i-Jam—is a book on meteorology written in *īrānī*. It was a detailed work written before the *Treatise on Meteorology* (which confer *infra*). The *Jām-i-Jam* is now extinct. The book dealt with atmospheric phenomena ; and is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i. 212b.

Jawāb-i-R uq'at-i-Shaikh — Ḥasan (Marḥūm)—these are five letters in all. They are preserved to us in the Banklpur MS. 407, ff. 105b110b :

In *Letter I* (ff. 105b-106a) Ḥazīn says: " The armies of the enemies are swarming very close to the city; God knows what will happen hereafter." Ḥazīn does not name the city but probably he is writing from 'Azīmābād. In this letter Ḥazīn mentions a certain *Ākhund*; *Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Muḥammad*; and Shaikh 'Ali. *Letter II* (ff. 106a-107a) is in answer to a letter dated the 11th of *Ṣafar* which Ḥazīn received on the 2nd of *Rabf-uth-Thāni*—the day on which he wrote the present letter in answer to the aforesaid one. Ḥazīn says that for more than two years, he had been suffering from severe and fatal diseases. In the letter under reply he had been asked for a verdict regarding abstaining or doing otherwise

from a defiled article. In answer he says : " What weight have my actions during my stay in this country?" Then he proceeds to give the verdict of the Legislators and the Truthful in the matter. *Letter III* (ff. 107a-1086) is written on the 11th of Rajab. It is written from 'Azimabad. He expresses his sorrow at hearing of the calamities and disturbed conditions in the Punjab and Delhi. Speaking of 'Azīmābād Ḥazīn says: " The state of these boundaries is very inconvenient and disagreeing. May God never compel a Muslim to see them." At the end Ḥazīn says, that, in spite of his sickness and infirmity, he is enclosing a rough draft in answer to the question of the proponent. He requests the addressee that after reading and copying the same he may hand it over to Baqir 'Alī Khān ; if Baqir 'Alī desires to obtain a copy. *Letter IV* (ff. 1086-1096) describes how he began an explanation of Ḥadīth after perceiving a little improvement in his health and how he had to quit it and leave it incomplete. This letter is written on the 18th of Ramaḍān. On the date of writing, Shāikh Maẓhar 'Alī came and took leave of Ḥazīn intending to go to 'Azīmābād. *Letter V* (ff. 1096-1106) says that Ḥazīn had begun writing the explanation of the Ḥadīth but he had to give it up on account of ill-health.

Al-Jawabat 'an Masa'il sola anha ash-Shaikh Aḥmad— consists of answers to questions asked by Shāikh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad as-Ṣamīrī al-'Umanī.

It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, ff. 270a-270b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Al-Jawab Has Saiyid Nasr Ullah—consists of an answer written to Saiyid Naṣr Ullāh al-Ḥāirī in connection with some passages in the compositions of Shaikh Ibn-i-'Arabi. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Al-Jawābāt "anil *Māṣail-iṭ-Ṭabariya*—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2706. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Jarr-ul-Athqāl wa *ma* yunāṣibu *Laku*—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2736. Written in Irānī. This work is extinct.

Kharābāt—is a mathnawi composed twice. The earlier work (referred to in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., p. 81) was composed in imitation of Sa'dī's *Bostān*. Ḥazīn had undertaken its composition at Maṣḥad about the same time as his *dlwān* (which *vide*). Only one thousand and two hundred verses of the mathnawi were written down but it was never completed. Seventy-two verses of it have been reproduced in the *TadhkiraUuUAḥwāl* (Lucknow ed., pp. 181-185) ; containing 13 verses in addition to those given in the *Kulliyat-i-Ḥazin*, Lucknow ed., pp. 839-861. It is written in Irānī.

Kitāb-ul-Wasiyā—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, ff. 268b-269a. Written in Arabic. Nowadays the work is extinct.

Kashf-ut-Talbis ft *Hadm-i-Asaṣ-i-Iblīs*—In this

book Ḥazlīn has dealt at length with the impossibility of Qiyās. Mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Khulaṣat-ul-Mantiq—the work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, I 268b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Kitāb'ul-Ansab—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Khawāṣṣ;u-Ba'd-iṣ-Suwar-i-wal Ayāt—is a book written in Najaf. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.* f. 270a. Written in Arabic. The book extinct.

Khalq-ul-A'mal—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2706. Written in Arabic. The work is extinct now.

Kunh-ul'Maram—is a treatise on the explanation of Fate and Destiny and the Creation of Acts; written at Multān (c. 1147 A.H.—1149 A.H.). See *supra*. It is written in Arabic. The book is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 26Sb.

Kitāb-ul-Mawarīth—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Irāni. The book is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb fi Tahqiq-ir-Roḡāwa . Ūsul-i-'Ilm-it-Ta'bir—is a book in investigation of dreams and the principles of the science of their interpretation. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Irāni. The book is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-ul-Ma'adīn—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, . 273b. Written in Irāni. The book is extinct.

Kitāb-ul-AdHya wal Adwiya—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in *Īrānī*, It is extinct nowadays,

Kitāh'Uz-Zakat—is a book on alms ; mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, 1 274b. Written in *Īrānī*. It is extinct.

Kitāb-ul-Fusah—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 268b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Kitāb-un-Nusrat—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i. 269a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-un-Niyyat— is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, . 270a. Written in Arabic. It is extinct now-a days.

Kadd-ul-Qalam fi hall-i-Shubhat-i-Jadhr-il-Aṣam—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i. 269b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-ul-Ālīn—It is a commentary on the *Qaṣida-i- 'Ainiyya* (i.e., ending in), composed by Saiyid Ḥumairī. This commentary is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i. 270b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Kitāb'O-Hishām bin il-Ḥakam wa Muñazaratihz—is mentioned in the *Kitab-i-Nūjum-ul-Asmā' fi Tarajim-il-'Ulama*. The *R.D.F.* omits the name of this book. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Kitab-o Nawadir-l-Abi'l-Husain Mahyar. . . wa Akhbarihi wa Dhikr-o-Ba'd-i-ghurrah-i-Ash'arihi—deals with the *nawadirat* of Abi Husain Mahyar al-Katib ad-Dailami and his *Akhbar* and mentions

some of his excellent verses. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. This work is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-o-Ma ʿ Jara ʿ Bihi'l Qalam—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2716. Written in Arabic. It is extinct nowadays.

Kitāb-ul-Hulbat—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. It is written in Irānī. The work is extinct.

Kitāb-ud-Dalalāt 'ala-al-Khair—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. It is written in Irānī. The book is extinct nowadays.

Kitdb-ul- Asna—is written in investigation of the Qur'ānic verse

LIII, 8-9. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in Irānī. The work is extinct nowadays.

Kitab-uuTa'rif fi Hasr-i-Anwa'-il-Qismat—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2736. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Kitāb-ul-Hayat wal Mamat—in this work Ḥazīn recommends Action and condemns Idleness. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2736. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Kitāb Fildhat-il-Akbad—is a segment of the treatise of Abī 'Abd Ullāh al-Ma'ṣūmī on Ishq. Abī 'Abd Ullah is the greatest companion of Shaikh Abu 'Ali ibn-i-Sina. To Ma'ṣumi's this work Ḥazīn has made additions and added explanations. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2736. The book which was written in Arabic is nowadays extinct.

Letter to Abū Talib Shūlistāni—written from Iṣfahān on the 7th of Shawwāl 1132 A.H. in answer to Shūlistāni's letter in connection with the poetry of Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Abd-ur-Razzāq Iṣfahān! and his son Kamāl-ud-Dīn Ismā'īl. See *supra*. For the text of this letter see : *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 36-38; and *Kulliyat-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., pp. 918-919.

Letters and Notes—Ḥazīn's letters and notes are preserved in the Subḥān Ullāh MS. 991.5528/36, ff. *la-7a*. This MS. consists of seven items :

At the beginning there are two letters about the transitoriness of the world and the recommendability of contentment. Then, there are a few verses and other sentences which Ḥazīn has written at the end of a *bayād* of a friend. The fourth is a letter at the death of the son of a friend. The fifth is a consolatory letter to a friend written on the seventh of Ramaḍān. The sixth is a condolatory letter addressed to a noble. And the seventh consists of a few items about poetry etc., which Ḥazīn wrote at the beginning of the *bayād* of a friend where he had also recorded his own verses.

Matmah-ul-Anzar—is a *mathnawī* composed twice. It was composed after 1153 A.H. : after Ḥazīn had attained the age of 50.¹ In the *Kulliyat-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., it comprises pp. 863-869. It

¹ Vide *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 864 :

ره سپر عمر ز پنجه گذشت خاتمه بر دفتر هستی نوشت

was composed in imitation of Nizami's *Makhzan-ul-Asrar*. See *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, Vol. V, p. 188. The mathnawī is written in Irānī. It is written in the metre
 باکر سریع مطوی موقوف = مفتعلن - مفتعلن - فاعلات or فاعلن

See *Haft Asmān*, p. 161.

Maktubat-i-Hazin— consists of Hazin's letters addressed to (a) Nawwab Sadr-ud-Din Muhammad Khān,¹ son of Zabar Dast Khān; son of Nawwab Ibrahim Khān,² son of Amir-ul-Umara 'Alī Mardan Khān;³ (b) Mirzā Hasan 'Alī, called Nawwab Ashraf-ud-Daulah Bahadur, son of the late Sadr-ud-Din Muhammad Khān (written to him after the death of his father) ; and (c) some other friends.

These letters which were written in the band of Hazin and which were lying scattered about were collected by Ashraf 'Alī Khān Ustājalū, poetically surnamed Gustakh, son of Mirza 'Ata 'Alī Khan, son of Mumtaz-ud-Daulah Nazir 'Alī Khan Bahadur Samsam Jang, son of 'Imad-ud-Daulah Mukhtar-ul-Mulk Jahāngīr Qulī Khān Bahadur Ihtishām Jang; and are preserved in a copy in Subhān Ullāh MS. 891.5528/9 dated Lucknow, Thursday the 6th of Rabī'-ulAwwal 1225 A.H. Letter V deals with the metre : [باکر هزج مثمن سالم جزوی محذوف] Letter VIII is written in reply to information sought about a certain class of theological works. Hazin gives the names of 4 books. Letter XI is written after the

¹ See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 340.

² See *ibid.*, p. 57.

³ d. 1067/1657. See *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 57.

publication of his treatise on *Dirham wa Mithqāl waghaira*. See *Risala dar Awzan-i-Mithqal-o-Dirham-Q-Dinār Waghaira* ; *infra*. Letter XII is a recommendatory one. Ḥazīn communicates the desire of Muḥammad Riḍā Khushnawīs who wishes to be appointed in the office vacated by the addressee's former teacher. In Letter XIV Ḥazīn refuses to change his house. Firstly, because he dislikes a shift; and, secondly, because he always contemplates returning to his motherland. Letter XXII is written from Lahore in Jamāda I. Letter XXV is written from Lahore and expresses Ḥazīn's desire to go to Multān. Letter XXVII says, that, at the time of writing this letter, viz. the 22nd of Shā'bān [1150 A.H.], Ḥazīn had been in Lahore for nine months.¹ He remembers his days at Delhi. Letter XXVIII is written from Lahore on the 24th of Ramaḍān [1150 A.H.] Letter XXX is written from Lahore on Ṣafar 5 [1151 A.H.], It expresses Hazin's desire to proceed to Multan. Letter XXXI is written from Lahore on the 15th of Ṣafar [1151 A.H.]. Ḥazīn is restless to go to Multān. In Letter XXXII Ḥazīn still desires to go to Multān ; and is, therefore, obviously written from Lahore [and in 1151 A.H.].

All the above 32 letters are written to Nawwāb Ṣadr-ud-Din in Delhi. The following letters are written after the death of Ṣadr-ud-Dīn to his son

¹ Ḥazīn, therefore, reached Lahore in about Dhil-Hijjah 1149 A.H. Also confer his *Travels*.

Mirza Ḥasan 'Ali Khan called Nawwab Ashraf-ud-Daulah. They are 4 in number.

Letter XXXIII is written from Lahore in reply to the letter of Hasan. Hazin regrets the untimely death of Ḥasan's father and advises him to seek perfection and not to be upset by that event.

The letters to Ḥasan are followed by letters to other nobles. In *Letter XXXVII* Ḥazin mentions Mirzā 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm whose letter he also answers and Saiyid Imād-ud-Dīn Khān Ṣaḥīb whose letter he promises to reply tomorrow (*i.e.*, on the day following). In *Letter XXXIX* Ḥazin sends his salaams to Nawwāb (Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk); his sons; Muḥammad Ṭahir Khan; and Maulana 'Abd-ul-'Azīm, and his son and all other friends. *Letter XL*—In this letter Ḥazm sends his salaams to Nawwab Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk, his sons, and Saiyid 'Imād-ud-Dīn. The letter is written in Ṣafar. *Letter L* is written on Tuesday the 6th of Ṣafar. *Letter LI* is written to Ghulām Ḥusain; beginning : اعتمادی غلام حسین بعافیت باشند

It is written on Friday the 11th of Ramaḍān; in return to a letter received one day before (*i.e.*, on the 10th of Ramaḍān.) In this letter Hazin says : A friend wrote to me about my heavy expenses. What should I do? It cannot be helped. I have not got a religious and faithful servant and cannot attend to anything myself. I have not got the guts and time to do it. Material business and account has never been worthy of my consideration : nor is it

now. My meal consists of a single morsel; and I am wearing on my person a coarse-cloth 3 or 4 years old. I do not spend on myself save very little. But all this debt is due to the heavy expenses of this country; especially those of travel. For, I cannot stay at one place so as to be enabled to reduce the retinue and paraphernalia. Even if for a year or two I adopt a residence, it is like an inn where I am staying like a traveller.

Ghulām Ḥusain—the addressee of this letter—helped Ḥazīn with a *hundī* for 1,000 rupees which Ḥazīn acknowledges. He also acknowledges the friendship and favours of Mirzā Muḥammad Afḍal Ṣāhib and Nawwāb Majld-ud-Daulah Bahādur.

Ḥazīn wanted to accompany the Nāẓim of Irān who was returning from India to Khurāsān and Irān. See Letters XVIII and XX, At the time of writing letter XVIII the Nāẓim was in the suburbs of Multān and while writing letter XX the Nāẓim had neared Qandahār. In this letter Ḥazīn tells us that he entered Lahore on Saturday the 12th.

Maikhānā—is a mathnawī mentioned in the *'Iqd-i-Thuraiya*, Rampur MS. 52, f. 58, and *Ibid.* Aurangābād ed., p. 22. The mathnawī, if it ever existed, is now extinct. Not mentioned anywhere else.

Maṣābih-ul-Izlam fi Ira'at-il-Kalam—is a treatise on the art of Kalām and cognate matters. As stated in the introduction to the treatise, Ḥazīn commenced it on the 1st of Ramaḍān 1157 A.H./8th of October 1744 A.D. and completed it in 5 days on the

5th of Ramaḍān 1157 A.H./12th. of October 1744 A.D., at Delhi. The book is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. Copies are preserved in the Aṣifiya Library, MS. 188 and Subḥān Ullāh MS. 891.5528/36. Ṭhabāt, as quoted in the *Majma'-un-Nafai's*, Punjab University, MS. P. R. I. 24, f. 170 and *Mardum-i-Dīdah*, Ḥabīb Ganj Typed copy, p. 50, says about Ḥazīn: هیچ تصنیفی ازو در علم حکمت و کلام بنظر نیامده. This is a clever remark—meaning that Ḥazīn is ignorant of Philosophy and Kalām: The existence of the present treatise certainly gives a lie to the statement of Ṭhabāt which could not have been made as early as 1157 A.H. (viz., the date of composition of the present treatise). See *supra*. While Ḥazīn's *Mufarriḥ-ul-Qulub* is a work of a still earlier age. The *Maṣābiḥ-ul-Izlam ft Irāat-il-Kalam* is written in Irānī.

Muddat-ul-Umr—was a compendium or magazine (majma'a) of literary things wherein Ḥazīn desired to record all his rare acquisitions in the realm of literature, and to supplement it by additional fruits of knowledge as he acquired them. It was his idea to continue the work all his life long. A portion of the book was written while Ḥazīn was travelling through Fārs. In the beginning of the year 1135/1772¹ it amounted to 7,000 couplets,

¹ Mr. E. G. Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 278, says, that Ḥazīn began his *Muddat-ul-Umr* in 1135 A.H. According to *Nigdistān-i-Fārs*, p. 205, he collected it in 1135 A.H. Both these statements are wrong. The reading of the text in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*;

when the book, with his library and all his other possessions, was carried away in plunder, in the sack of Işfahān¹ in the same year (1135 A.H.). It is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2686. It was written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Mufarrih-ul-Qulub—is a treatise on Medical Experiments and Corollaries. It was written at Kirmanshahan.²

Madarij-ul-Ulya—is a composition of Hazin mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Mufhtasar-ul-Badi wal 'Arud wal Qawafi—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270b. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Mi'rāj-un-Nafs—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, ff. 270b-271a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Lucknow ed., pp. 41-42 is :—

در سفر فارس مقداری ازان نوشته شد و همچنین تا ابتدای
سال خمس و ثلثین و مایه بعد الف تا خمیناً بهفت هزار بیت
رسیده بود.

which means that, "in the beginning of 1135 A.H., it amounted to about 7,000 couplets," and not that, "he began it in 1135 A.H." or that, ^M he compiled it in 1135 A.H."

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Akwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 42. In the *Nigaristan-i-Fars*, p. 205, it is wrongly said that the book was carried away when the Afghans invaded Shiraz.

² *Kirmanshah*—a town lying in a plain among the mountain ranges that border the Iranian plateau on the south-west, now the capital of a Persian province between Kurdistan on the north and Luristan on the south.

For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol II, pp. 1034-35 and *Jughrafiya-i-Mufasssal-i-Iran*, Vol. II, pp. 451-458.

Maqalat-u-Ba'd-il-Mashaif^{2h--i\$} a record of the sayings of some pious men. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 27 lb. It is written in Īrānī and is extinct.

Mukhtasir-ud-Da'wat waz Ziyarat—is a composition mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

MaWifat-ul-Bari wa ma Yata'allaqu bihl—is a treatise dealing with gnosis of God and the matters appurtenant thereto. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272a. Written in Īrānī. This work is extinct nowadays.

Ma'rifat-ut-Taqwīm wa Ahkam-in-Nujum—is an astronomical work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in Īrānī. Nowadays extinct.

Ma'n-as-Ṣamad wa Tafsir-u-Surat-it-Tauḥid—is a work in explanation of Chap. CXII of the Qur'an. The work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 270ft. Written in Arabic. It is extinct nowadays.

Ma'rifat-ul-Ajsām wa tanaḥiha—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Mikyaṭ-ul-Ulūm—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Mawa'iz-ul-Ḥukama—is a treatise mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2736. Written in Īrānī. Nowadays it is extinct.

Maktūb dar Jawāb-i-Ārzu—is a letter written by Hazln to Siraj-ud-Din 'Ali Khan Ārza. It is written in reply to, and in connection with,

Arzu's comments upon some verses of Khaqani Shirwānī. Ḥazīn has vindicated the usages condemned by Arzū. Before tackling the subject proper, Ḥazīn says that he had received the letter asking him the meanings of the verses of Khāqāni and the objections raised to some of them. Ḥazīn dubs Khāqāni as Ḥassān of the East. Then he complains of his own infirmity to concentrate on subjects of this nature. He proceeds to say, that it is immaterial in these days—especially in India—if a man does not understand the verses of Khāqāni; nay even the number of the 5 daily prayers. Such being the state of affairs, he advises Arzu to give up these pursuits and to exert in something which will bring him worldly gain. But if, perchance, he (*i.e.*, Arzū) were to think of things sublime and intended to achieve substantial (*i.e.*, spiritual) gain, he should realise that that has a few preliminaries. First of all one should discard ambition and understand the ways and methods of perfection and acquisition and should know with certainty that there is nothing in sensuality, talking nonsense, making pretensions and vertiginousness and talkativeness. "This," says Ḥazīn, "is the intelligent and sympathetic answer to the question."

Ḥazīn proceeds to say that he has no mind to compose tales of commentaries on verses, especially when he has to write them down. "If you had been present," says Ḥazīn, "it would have been easier to remove your doubts by a few hints. But

since it transpires that you conceive to understand things ; and pretend to have a hand in, and possess everything ; and that poor Khāqānī also appeared very low and contemptible to your sagacious nature, I am writing these few sentences in spite of their incongruity with my state, and difficulty of performance, in the hope that God, the Almighty, bestow the garment of effectiveness on my truthful and unselfish words and cause them to remove this danger and conceit which is the commencement of compound inferiority. There is no place for opening the lips in objection ; and this maqṭa' [verse] of the ghazal [qaṣīda] is appropriate to this discussion :

بذکر چه ناخند پسری کز وجود تو
دارالخلافه پدر است ایرمان سرای

Here Ḥazīn beautifully introduces one of the verses of Khāqānī¹ objected to and proceeds to justify it.

This letter is also mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273a, under the name

رساله حل بعض الاشعار من کلام الخاقانی

For MSS. see *Manthūṛāṭ*, Bānkiṭpūr MS. 2351, letter No. 42 ; and Subḥān Ullāh Khān Collection MS. 297.3/11, ff. 36a-40a. The Subḥān Ullāh MS. does not contain the introductory remarks of Ḥazīn and begins with an elucidation of the objections straightaway.

A beautifully written copy of the Letter with gold-ruled margins and 'unwāns transcribed at Haiderabād, 1279, is preserved in the Lytton Library

¹ For this verse of Khaqani see *Kulliyat-i-Khaqani*, Lucknowed p. 214.

MS. 3/46. According to this MS. it is a "letter written by Shaiḫ Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn in answer to that of Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn Faqīr who was one of the able men of India and was very proud of his knowledge and skill. It is written in Irānī.

Nūjḥ-ut-Talab ft Istikhrāj-i Dil'-il-Muka'ab wa Istikshāf-i-Mu'dalāt-i-Hindisa—is a mathematical work ; mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. It was written in Arabic and is nowadays extinct,

Nawādir-ul-Arab wa Akhbārōhum—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct nowadays.

Paimāna—is a mathnawī. It is mentioned in the *'Iqd-i-Thuraivā. Rāmipur* MS. 52, f. 58 ; but is omitted in *ibid.*, Aurangābād ed., p. 22. The mathnawī, which is not mentioned anywhere else, is nowadays extinct.

Qaṣida-i-Lāmiya—It is called " Lāmiya " because it rhymes in J. In the prose preface to the qaṣida Ḥazīn states that, towards the end of his life, while he was residing in India, and was overpowered by physical and mental infirmities and afflictions, it occurred to his mind, one night, to compose a qaṣida in the manner of the ancients who had composed subtle " Lāmiyas " in praise of the rulers of their times. He says that he chose the praise of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī as the theme of his qaṣida and completed it before half the night was over.¹ The qaṣida is in Arabic. Ḥazīn has also written a commentary on the qaṣida under the name *Sharḥ-i-Qaṣida-i-Lāmiya* ;

¹ See preface to his *Qasida-i-Lamiya*, Shefta Collection MS. 107/140.

which vide.

Risāla dar Āwzan-i-Mitḥqal-o-Dirham-o-Dinār waḡhaira—is a short tract on the weight of coins and on legal measures in *Khuraṣān*. In the R.A.S.B. MS. 502, ff. 141v-143v it is called *Dar Tahqiq-i-Awzan-i-Shar'z-o-'Urfi* and begins :

الحمد لله وسلم تسليماً و بعد افقر فقراء باب الله
على ابن ابو طالب الجيلانى

In the R.D.F., f. 271b, it is called *Al-Mi'yar fil Awzañ-al-Shar'i'a*. In the Bānkīpūr Catalogue, Vol. III, p. 232, it is called *Risala-i-Awzan-i-Shar'*. It is written in Irānī.

Risāla dar Khawaṣṣ-ul-Haiwān—also called *Tadhkira-i-Sa'idīyya* or *Risāla-i-Sa'idīyya*, is a treatise on zoology. The contents of the treatise according to copies extant in the various libraries are as follows :—

Muqaddama. Legal prescriptions relating to the hunting and killing of animals, and to those which it is lawful or unlawful to eat.

Bāb I. Account of some animals of land and sea, arranged in alphabetical order according to their Arabic names.

Bāb II. Origin of animal life and its nature.

Bāb III. Senses and faculties of animals.

Khātimah. Legitimate object of the chase.

In the R.D.F., f. 272b, it is called *Kitab-us-Ṣaid wadh Dhabāih wa Khawassil-Haiwan*. (The Bānkīpur MS. 407, ff. 120b-164a, is dated 1178 A.H. See *ibid.* f. 164a.) Written in Irānī.

Risāla dar Chigūnagz-i-Marwarz̄d—is a small treatise on pearls composed in 1158/1745. It has been preserved to us in the rare Subḥān Ullāh Khān Collection MS. 553.8/3; transcribed in 1225/1810 at Lucknow. References to the treatise are to be found in *Naghma-i-Andalib*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1811, f. 65b ; *Kitab-i-Nujum-ul-Aṣma' fi Tarajim-il-'Ulamā'*, Subḥān Ullāh Khān Collection MS. 920/12, f. 82a; and the JR.D.F., f. 272b. In the last-named work it is called *KitābA-MaWifat-uLLaati*. Written in Irānī.

Risāla-i-Huduth-o-Qidam—is a treatise in prose. In a brief introduction to the treatise Ḥazīn states, that he composed it in response to a letter from Bahā-ud-Dīn Muḥammad questioning him (Ḥazīn) about the Reality of the Doctrine of Hudūth and Qidam and the source of the controversies appurtenant thereto; and in order that it may serve as the means of dispelling the doubts. In the *Curzon Collection* MSS. 502 and 1043 it begins as follows :

الحمد لله على آلائه ونشكره على نعمائه وبعد مسكر اين سواد

It is also mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 271b, where it is called *Mabḥath-ul-Qidam wal Huduth*— It is written in Irānī.

R.A.S.B. MS. 52 (6), ff. 141-141v—is a short note of theosophical contents.

Risala-i-Taujih-i-Kalam-i-Qudama-i Mujus¹ dar

¹The *Shudhur-ul-'Iqyan*, Hidayat Husain's MS. f 288 has The R.D.F., f. 268b reads: qudama'-al-Majus.

Mabda'-i-'Ālām— or Treatise on the Explanation of the Assertions of the Ancient Wise Men among the Magi on the Beginning of the World. It was written at Iṣfahān. The *Risāla* is written in Arabic. It is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i. 268b.

Risāla-i-Abtaṭ'i-Tanasūkh — *bara'ī-Tabī'ln*—is a treatise falsifying the theory of Transmigration of the Soul written for the benefit of the Blind Followers. It was written at Iṣfahān. This treatise is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. It is written in Īrānī.

Rajm-ush-Shayatiṇ—is a rejoinder to Arzū's *Tanbīh-ul-Ghāfilīn*: composed by *Shāikh* 'Alī Ḥazīn. See *Nigāristān-i-Farṣ*, pp. 213 and 218.

Saiyid Muḥammad 'Abd Ullāh in his articles on *Siyālkofī Mal Wārasta* (published in the *Oriental College Magazine* for May 1929, pp. 43-65), erroneously attributes the authorship of the *Rajm-usjk-Shayatiṇ* to Wārasta (see pp. 46 and 65). As regards the cause of compilation of the work, S. M. 'Abd Ullāh says that Ḥazīn had many followers in India and that Wārasta was one of them. Hence, Wārasta composed the *Rajm-itsh-Shayatiṇ* in refutation of Arzu's *Tanbih-ul-Ghafilin* (p. 46). Later on (pp. 48 and 65), the learned author has confused the *Rajm-ush-Shayatin* of Hazin with the *Jawab-i-Skafi* of Wārasta. On p. 48, he calls it *Jawāb-i-Shafi* or *Rajm-ush-Shayatiṇ*. On p. 65, Saiyid 'Abd Ullāh describes the book and adds: "In the *Gul-i-Ra'nā* a book called *Jawāb-i-Shafi* is attributed to

Wārasta. Perhaps *Rajm-ush-Shayāṭīn* and *Jawāb-(Shafī* are two names of the same book." Thus, we see the source of deception of the Saiyid Ṣāhib.

Jawāb-i-Shafī is a work of Wārasta written in answer to Ārzū who had raised objections to some of the expressions employed by Ḥākim. It was written at the time of the return of Ḥākim to Lahore. See *Khizāna-i-Āmīra* K. Newwul Kishore ed., pp. 201-202. Also see *Cat. of Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University*, p. 234 and *Rieu*, p. 503.

Arwī in *Nigar*, March 1930, p. 36, has also committed the mistake of describing *Rajm-ush-Shayāṭīn* as a composition of Wārasta Mal Siyālkofī in answer to *Khan Arzu's Tanbih-ul-Ghafīlīn*.

The *Rajm-ush-Shayāṭīn* was preceded by a preface from which Āzād quotes the words : *یمنے از جرگہ حرامزندگان اکبر آباد* in his *Nigāristān-i-Fārs*, Lahore ed., p. 213. From the above quotation and also from Āzād's statement in *ibid.*, p. 218, it appears that he had seen the work.

The *Rajm-ush-Shayāṭīn* is not mentioned anywhere else. The book is extinct. It was written in Īrān.

Risala dar Fihrist-i-Asatidha-o'Tasnifat-i-Khud—is an anonymous work of Ḥazīn. It consists of three different parts of varying lengths. At the beginning there is a complete pedigree of the author (ff. 266b-267a). It is followed by an account of the teachers whose lectures Ḥazīn attended and the books which he pursued in his studies (ff. 267a-268a).

At the end there is a list of his publications (ff. 268a-276a). The list of his publications is divided into two parts. In the 1st part (ff. 268a-271b) Ḥazīn names his Arabic composition; and in the 2nd part (ff. 271b-276a) he gives the names of his books composed in Irānī. The book is written in Arabic. It is preserved to us in the rare but extremely useful MS. 1778 in the Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Beginning :

الحمد لله فاني اردت ان اكتب بعض طرفى الى مشاشى
والذر بعض كتبى الخ-

It has been copied by one Mahkū Lāi of Banāras. The MS. abounds in mistakes which show that the copyist was not well-versed in Arabic. Fortunately, the portion of the MS. dealing with Ḥazīn's compositions (viz., ii.268a-276a) has been published in the *Kitab-i-Nujum-ul-Asma' fi Tarajim-il-'Ulama* (pp. 288-293), which has greatly facilitated my work of reading the MS. A careful comparison of the MS. and the *Kitāb i-Nūjum-ul-Asmā' ft Tarājim-il-'Ulama*, has revealed that the MS. is not the original of the printed work; because (1) the *Kitāb-i-Nujūm-ul-Asma -' fi - Tarājim-il-'Ulama -* is more correct; and because (2) it contains some words and names of books which are not to be found in the R.D.F.

*Risala-i-Tahqiq-i-Ghina*¹—is a Treatise on the Investigation of Vocal Music composed at Beidā. In the *'Iqd-i-Thuraiya*, Rampur MS. 52, f. 58, it is called

¹ *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwāl*, Bombay ed. p. 40, has 'Ina.

Risāla dar 'Ilm-i-Mustqīl. "In the R.D.F., f. 269a, it is called *Kashf-ul-Ghita' fi Tahqiq-il-Ghina*. It is written in Arabic. Confer *Risāla fis Samā' wa Ādabihi*.

Risala dar Jawab-i-Sual-i-Arba'tn Roz-i-Shahadat—is mentioned in the *Nujum-ul-Asma'*, Subḥān Ullāh MS. 920/12, f. 82b.

Risāla dar Hillat-i-Taṁbāku-o-Kashidan-i-Qalyān—is a treatise on the lawfulness of tobacco and smoking the hookah. It is mentioned in the *Nujum-ul-Asma'*, Subḥān Ullāh Khan Collection MS. 920/12, f. 82b.

Risāla dar Tahqiq-i-Jahl-i-Baṣit-o-Murakkab—is a treatise on simple and complicated ignorance. It is mentioned in the *Nujum-ul-Asma'*, Subḥān Ullāh Khan Collection MS. 920/12, f. 82b.

Risala Lawami'a Mushriqah dar Tahqiq-i-Ma'ni-i-Wahid-o-Wahdat—is a short note in Arabic in the form of a letter on the unity of God ; written at Dārāb in 1133 A.H./1720-1 A.D.; as stated at the end of the Curzon Collection MS. 502, f. 141; beginning : هو الله الذى لا اله الا هو الخ بعد ' فقد وصل اليها كتابك الخ

This work is also mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 270a. It is written in Arabic.

Risāla-i-Imāmat—concerning the treatise the author says, " In Mecca, the revered, by reason of an intimation made to me in a dream, I wrote a treatise on the Imāmat."¹ As Ḥazīn was at Mecca in 1144 A.H. (see *supra*) the treatise was, therefore,

¹ *Tadkkir at-ul-Ahwal* Lucknow ed., p. 99.

composed in 1144 A.H. In *'Iqd-i-Thuraiyā* (Rāmpūr MS. 52, f. 58 and *ibid.*, Aurangābād ed., p. 22) it is called *Fath-us-Subul* and is said to deal with the excellence of the Imāmiya sect and the preference of Sufism over all other sects. This is incorrect. For, *Fath-us-Subul* is a composition of Ḥazīn quite distinct from the *Risāla-i-Imāmat*. *Fath-us-Subul* is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. The *Risāla-i-Imāmat* is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b, under the name *al-Ighāthāt fil Imāmat*. The *Fath-us-Subul* is written in Irānī. The *Risāla-i-Imāmat* is also written in Irānī.

Rumūz-i-Kashfiya—a great part of the work was written at Maṣḥhad¹ c. 1140-1142.² It is written in Arabic. It is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2686, where it is called *Rūmūz-i-Kashfiya*.

Risāla dar Haqzqat-i-Nafs-o-Tajarrud-i-Ān—is a treatise on soul and renunciation; written at Kirmānshāhān. Ḥazīn wrote it at the request of a certain friend (see Bānkīpūr MS. 407, f. 9a.).

According to the *Curzon Collection Cat.*, p. 357 and *R.A.S.B. Collection Supplement II*, p. 66, it is a treatise on the physical nature of man and its relation to the material world. It has been compiled outside Kirmānshāhān. The date of compilation is about Ramadān 1139/April-May, 1727. Beginning :
 انى عقل بکنده لا يزال تو رسد، و بعد، چون عدت غائی
 آفرینشی

¹ See *Tadkkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed.

* See *Diwan IV*, composed at the same time.

It is also called *Risala dar Tahqiq-i-Nafs-o-Tajarrud-i-Ān*—It is preserved in the R.A.S.B. MS., 52, ff. 128v-134v. It is also mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 2716. It is written in Irānī.

Risāla fi Wujub-i-Maṣḥ-ir-Rijlain—is mentioned in the *Mīra'at-i-Āḥwāl-i-Jahān Numā*, R.A.S.B. MS. 278, f. 337 and *Kaṣḥf-ul-Ḥujub wal Astār an Asma'īl Kutub wal Asfar*, p. 284, No. 1522.

Ruq'a-i-Ḥāzin—or Hazin's Letter to a Friend. This is preserved to us in the *Riyad-ul-Afkār*, Bānklpūr MS., f. 416. There is no mention of the name of the addressee, and place or date of writing. It begins with the words It is written in answer to a letter in which Ḥazīn had been asked to send some earthen flasks. This again gives no clue of the place of writing or destination.

The internal evidence, however, is significant; though not informative. It is written from a small city, where only one potter manufacturing these articles is pointed out by Ḥazīn. The potter had no ready supply. It is, therefore, obvious that the place from which the letter is written was not very famous for flasks or a big market for the same. Hence, Ḥazīn could send only 85 flasks and two hookahs. These articles were short of the quantity and inferior to the quality required.

The letter is written in direct style and ordinary diction. It is written in Irānī.

Risāla-i-Mantiq—is a treatise on logic . It was

composed at Beidā.

Risāla dar Jafar—is a treatise mentioned in the *Nigārīstān-i-Farṣ*, Lahore ed., p. 218, only.

Rāḥ-ul-A rwaḥ—or " The Wine of the Souls " is a book mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 271a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Risāla-i-Manasik-ul-Hajj—*FLzzin* wrote this treatise during the course of his journey to Ḥijāz. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273a. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Riyāḍ-ul-Ḥikmat—is a book mentioned in the JR.D.F., f. 273b. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Risāla-i-Ma'rifat-ul-Qiblah—is a work mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 274b. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Risala fi Jawab-is-Sual 'an-il-Arba'at-il-Mutariasisiba—is a treatise written by Ḥazīn in answer to a question regarding the Simple Rule of Three. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 274b. Written in Irānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Risāla-i-Zad-ul-Masalik—is a treatise mentioned only in the *Athār-i-Aḥmadi*, Miyān Muḥammad of Mārahra's MS. It is said there to be one of the compositions of Ḥazīn that *Shāh* Al-i-Aḥmad took with himself to Mārahra.

Risala fi Jawab-i-Masa'lat fi'l Wudu—is a work mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 274b. Written in Irānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Risāla fi Dhikr-i Aḥwāl-i Afḍal-id- Dm Muḥammad—is a treatise dealing with the life of

Afdal-ud-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qāṣānī; mentioning some of his letters and short tracts. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, ff 274b-275a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Risāla fi Jawāb-il-Masa'il—is a treatise in answer to the problems which Ḥazin received from Khurāsān. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct nowadays.

Risāla fi Jawāb-il-Masa'il'—is a treatise in answer to the problems which Ḥazin received from Jllān or more properly Gllān. It is mentioned in the *JR.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Irānī. The treatise is extinct.

Risāla fil Jawāb-i-ān-is-Su'al—is a treatise written in answer to a question which Ḥazin received from Constantinople. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Irānī. The work is extinct nowadays.

Risāla fin N awāfil-il-Lailiya—is mentioned in the *JR.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Risāla mā Yu'malu fi Lailat-il-Jurra—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. The treatise which was written in Irānī is nowadays extinct.

Risāla al-Ḥusn wal Qubḥ-ul-'Aqliain—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Risāla-i-Madarīj-i-Huruf — is a treatise composed at Iṣfahān.

Risalat-ul-Farq bain-al-'Ilm wal Ma'rifat—is a

book mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct nowadays.

Risāla fi Tahqīq-i-Ba'd-il-Masail —is a treatise dealing with some points of the Religious Law regarding which there is a controversy between the followers of the Prophet Muḥammad. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct nowadays.

Risāla ft Bāyan-i-Khaivāriq-il-Ādat wal Mu'jizāt wal Karamat—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275b. Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Risala dar Ghusl —is a treatise on ablutions explaining the meaning of the Qur'ānic verse : V. 8. It is in the form of a reply to a question. In the introduction to the treatise Ḥazīn says, that, an interrogator asked me : " The word **الى المرافق** apparently denotes conclusion and extremity, as in the Qur'ānic verse : **فامسحوا بوجوهكم وايديكم الى المرافق** . Why do then the *Shi'as* begin from the elbow and wash backwards ? " Now follows the answer given by Ḥazīn.

The name of the author and the date of composition of the treatise are wanting. Copies are preserved in the *Curzon Collection* MSS. 1043(2) and 752(5). Written in Irānī. It is also mentioned in the *Kashf-ul-Hujub-i-wal Astar 'an Asmail Kutub-i-wal Asfar*, p. 291, No. 1570. In the *Curzon Collection Pers. Cat.* 1926, p. 488, No. 752(5) ff. 360-363v, it is mentioned among the doubtful compositions of Ḥazīn. Beginning:

الحمد لله و سلام على عباده الذين اصطفى

Risāla-i-Qaḍā-ō-Qadar - is mentioned in the *Miraṭ-i-Aḥwal-i-Jāhan Numa*, "R.A.S.B. MS. 278, f. 337.

Risalat al-Karr wa Ahkam-ul-Miyah— is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273a. It is written in Irānī and is now extinct.

Risāla-i-Tad'if-ush-Shatranj—is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273a. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

*Raa'ih-ul-Jinan*¹—is a work written at Isfahān. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 268b.

Risāla-i-Amaliyat-i-Khass—the only reference to the work is to be found in Mazhar Hasan's *Tārikh-i-Banārās*, p. 426, where a copy of the work is said to be extant in the library of the late Hakīm Muhammad Sadiq of Dolhi Pur, Banaras.

According to the *Tārikh-i-Banārās*: "It is a Practice of the Invisible Hand which brings a man an income of Rs. 40 per day out of which one spends Rs. 39 and retains Re. 1 only which again becomes Rs. 40. It is written in the *Risāla* that one who wants to practise it should take up his habitation in a place where he cannot hear the voice of a human being."

The *Risala-i-'Amalivat-i-Khass* closely resembles the *Fawa'id-i-Chihil-o-Yak-o-dlgar A'mal-o-Awrād* described above. Perhaps they may be one and the same thing.

¹In the *Nigaristan-i-Fars*, p. 218, it is called *Rawd'ih ul-Hayat* which is incorrect. See R.D.F., f. 268b.

Risala-fi-Dalalat-il-fi'l-il-Mudari-il-Muthbat—is a grammatical treatise dealing with the Fil Muḍari' Muthbat. Ḥazīn also enumerates the sayings of others in support of the assertion of Abī Ḥuyān, that it is common to the Present and the Future. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274b. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct nowadays.

Risala ft Tadwin-i-ba'd-i-ma Katabtu ilal Aṣḥab—is a treatise mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274b. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Risalat-i-Ḥaṣr-i-Daruriyat-id-Din—is mentioned in the *Kitab-i-Nujum-ul-Asma' fi Tarajim-il-Ulama*, p. 292. This treatise is not mentioned in the *R.D.F.* It is written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Risāla Tazkiyat-un-Nafs—in this treatise Ḥazīn deals with the statements of (1) Aristotle; and (2) Plato. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Risala fi Bayan-il-Quwwat-il-Qudsiya—in this treatise Ḥazīn deals with the Quwwat i-Qudsiya and of its possibility in human beings. He discusses the sayings of the Maṣḥā'iyīm and the opinion regarding apocalypse and of revelation according to the verdicts of the Ishrā'īyūn and the Ṣūfīs. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct

Risālat al-Baḥṭh ma" ash-Shaikh Suhrawardī fir Roya—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i. 275b. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Risāla-i-Aqṣam-id-Masaddiqtn - bis" Sa'adat-il-

Ukhrawiyya -is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2756. The treatise which was written in Irānī is nowadays extinct.

Risāla fil Imāmat—in this treatise Ḥazīn deals with the stipulations of Imāmat. It seems to be different from the treatise called *al-Ighāthah fil Imamat* which is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 271b. See *Risāla-i-Imāmat*. The *Risāla fil Imāmat* is mentioned in the *R.D.F.* f. 275b. It is written in Irānī. The work is extinct.

Risala fis Sama' iva Ādabihi—is a short treatise on singing, A copy is preserved in the John Ryland's Library Manchester MS. 816, ff. 6b-8b. It is written in Irānī. See *Manchester Cat.*, p. 809. Hence, it is a work different from the *Risala-i-I'q̄h̄tq-i-Ghinā* which is written in Arabic; and which *confer*.

Ruq'āt-i-Ḥazn—This is a set of 24 letters preserved in the Punjab University MS. Pe. II. 20, pt. III, ff. 68b-80a. These contain some of the earliest letters of Ḥazīn. They are mostly written to Dehlī from different places. The clue to the destination of the letters is to be found in the following words in Letter XV :—

چند کلمه در جواب مرزا عبدالرحیم مرقوم است، مکرر مرقوم فرموده بودند که قاصد او چنین و چنان از وقتیکه مکتوبش ملفوف بتقویم رسید تا این وقت نوشته ازو نرسیده بود و مرا هم حالت جواب نوشتن نشده، درین وقت دو کلمه نوشتم، از قاصد و نامه خود اینجا اثری نیست تا کدام صادق القول از صداقت کیشان دهلی چیزی بخدمت عرض کرده باشد.

This letter also contains the names of Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk, Saiyid¹ Imād-ud-Dīn Khān Sāhib, Muhammad

Tahir Khan Sahib, and Maulana 'Abd-ul-'Azīm; who are also mentioned in most of the following letters.

That these letters are addressed to one and the same person is indicated by the similar mode of address: **صاحب والا مقام سلامت** but in a case or two Ḥazīn begins with: **جذاب من**

Letter I—(ff. 68b-69a) is a general letter. Ḥazīn sends his salams to Nawwāb Ṣaḥīb Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk, the children of Saiyid 'Imad-ud-Din Khan Ṣaḥīb, Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān, and Maulānā 'Abd-ul-'Azīm. *Letter II*—(ff. 69a-69b), written on the 20th of Dhi'l-Qa'dah, is in explanation of the rhyme of **مشکین** and **مسکین**. Ḥazīn had used the two words to rhyme together. It had been objected to by some one. Hence, the remarks: "What I have written is not meant for these people or in the hope that they should comprehend it. I have written it for those that are worthy of it." In support of his usage, Ḥazīn quotes only one verse each of Khawājū Kirmānī and Khawāja Ḥāfiẓ; and suffices with that. *Letter III*—(f. 69b), is written on Sunday the 16th. It is in explanation of his delay in writing letters. *Letter IV*—(ff. 69b-70a), is in acknowledgement of the receipt of two letters in Lahore; and one letter through Mir Abu Talib. Ḥazīn says, that he had recommended, in writing, the son of Ṣadr-ud-Din Muḥammad Khān to the addressee. *Letter V*—(ff. 70a-70b), is written on Monday, the 1st of Dhi'l-Hijja. Ḥazīn says, that to halt in the course of this journey

is especially dangerous for one whose name is a common word on the lips of the people (meaning himself, of course).

Referring to the advent of Nādir Shāh and his association therewith by the people, Ḥazīn says : " One of the extraordinary things is that the people declare, in astonishment, that it is due to my stay." *Letter VI*— (ff. 70b-71b) : In this letter Ḥazīn expresses his desire to go to Irān ; and laments his stay and sickness. He mentions Hājī Ghulam Husain, Mirzā Imām Qulī, and Hājī Allāh Wardī Khan. *Letter VII*, is written on the 28th of Jamādā I. It is a political letter referring to the march of the armies of Nādir Shah and cognate matters. Ḥazīn tells us, that the couriers of the Nāzim who had arrived first from Choi, had left from a place one stage away from Tabriz. He had granted 6 months' leave to the armies and was himself staying at Choi with a small party. It is not known what was written to the Nāzim by the 2nd batch of couriers who arrived a few days ago. They never disclosed the secret. They had arrived in 2 months' time and left from Hamadān. There was perfect composure in his army. They said, that they were bound for Baghdād ; and receiving letter of the submission of Āḥmad Pashā. Further on, the letter says : The Nāzim of Multān has gone to Bhakkar with about 700 infantry and cavalry. His nā'ib, Zāhid Khān Afghān, has been given word and vicegerency which he has accepted. Momin Khān and others tried hard to comfort him (i.e., Zāhid Khān) and

keep him back. But they could not do so and only heard abuses. And he (Zāhid Khān) left the place.

In this letter Ḥazīn tells us that he had written a few sentences to Sher Afgan Khān in all love. *Letter VIII*—(f. 726) is written on Sunday. It is written in response to the letter dated Saturday. From this letter we learn, that Ḥazīn was keeping quiet in a desolate corner. He was extremely astonished by his mental debility and other troubles ; especially those caused by troublesome journeys.

Ḥazīn expresses his inability to give any information about the condition of the suburbs and roads ; saying, that such information can be gathered from inside the city only and not from where he was residing. The letter ends with salams to Nawwāb Sahib Hakim-ul-Mulk and others. *Letter IX*—{ff 72b-73a), written on Saturday the 10th of Sha'ban. Ḥazīn tells us, that it had been raining since two or three days and that he had received the answer of Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān. *Letter X*—(ff. 73a-73b): This letter is written on the 28th of Dhi'l Ḥijja. We are told that it had been raining incessantly for 6 months from the 1st of Rajab without a break even for an hour or two. The people who had the nature of calves, had died on the top of one another in the water. As regards the dead bodies, they were partly devoured by dogs and partly washed away by the flood.

The letter also deals with some religious matters and the Fast. *Letter XI*—(it 73b-47a), is an unimportant letter; written on the 22nd of Shawwāl.

Letter XII—(ff 74a-74b) : The letter begins with the informal address "Jān-i-Man." In this letter Ḥazīn says, that he has counted the qaṣīdas, quatrains, and qit'as in his dīwān. They amounted to 110 and may be, 1 or 2 more. He requests the addressee to correct the (2nd) hemistich of the preface dealing with the number of pieces in the dīwān as follows: هزار و یکصد و ده آیدت چو بر شهری

It also contains a request to correct the list of contents at the end of the dīwān.

Referring to Nādir Shāh, probably, Ḥazīn proceeds to say : " It is not befitting to put into writing the exact news received about Īrān. No fresh news has been received about the person nominated, except that one of the men of the Sardār, who has come here to demand the treasury, was saying yesterday, that he has left Bhakkar and proceeded further. *Letter XIII—(ff. 74b-75a),* written on the afternoon of the 21st. Ḥazīn says : "This morning I received the letter dated the 14th. In the afternoon I received the letter of 'Alī Qulī Khān. They had been delayed on the way. *Letter XIV—(f. 75a),* contains an account of the Marhajrṭa and Jātṭ insurrection. Ḥazīn says: " More than 20 days ago, it was definitely ascertained that the Marhaṭṭas were at a distance of 30 karohs—which is one-day journey of theirs. Now this ruined city is in the protection of God." After lamenting the condition of the citizens, Ḥazīn says : " People say, that the enemy is in a collected state and demands the revenues of the Province. Some men

of the Jāt are also in intercourse with him. Perhaps the Jāt may join hands with him. It is not known yet, what will happen. But the Jat is endeavouring to get prepared. *Letter XV*—(ff. 75a-75b) : This is a letter written after the foregoing one. We are told, that the refugees are pouring in, in a pitiable and detestable condition.

The addressee had conveyed to Ḥazīn the news of the death of Ḥājī Allāh Wardī Khān for the second time. Mention is made of Saiyid Imād-ud-Dīn Khān Ṣāhib, Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān Ṣāhib, Maulana 'Abd-ul-'Azim, and Mirza 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm. *Letter XVI*.—(if. 75b-76a), written on the afternoon of Friday, the 1st of the month ; when Ḥazīn received three letters at the same time. This letter informs us, that the enemies (*i.e.*, the Marhātās) are at a distance of 5 karohs. Some 4 or five days earlier 100 cavalymen of theirs entered the city. The Na'ib made them alight in his own house. They possessed a document to the effect that such and such a troop-leader who accompanied those 100 persons should be paid Rs. 100 and all the rest Rs. 5 per day for their expenses. They have openly sent 40 persons to Mathrā and their outward explanation is, that they have been sent to guard the city. They fought with the soldiers and killed some. *Letter XVII*—(ff. 76a-76b) : This letter is written on Friday, the 1st of Rajab [1169 A.H.] from Banāras where Ḥazīn had stayed for about 3 months. Ḥazīn tells us, that he reached Banāras in a state of sickness and distress. On account of

the obstinacy and rebellion of the official,¹ who is such for a long time, the victorious armies came here with a determination to put an end to him and bent on deposing and subduing him. The official fled to a secure place and mountain-forts without putting up a resistance or fight. The armies began to plunder, set on fire, and to destroy the fields; and left nothing. Those who were young and agile also fled away whereas the old and infirm remained behind. This state of affairs continued until they made a compromise with the official who returned to Oudh only three or four days before the present letter was written.

Ḥazīn tells us, that, two or three months ago, he heard that Shaiḫ Ḥasan left for 'Azīmabad, in a state of panic, and without informing anybody and that Ḥazīn received his letter from that place. *Letter XVIII*—(f. 76b) : This letter consists of only a few sentences as Ḥazīn had nothing fresh to pen and was also feeling very much run down. *Letter XIX*—(it 76b-77a), written on Sunday, the 21st from Sarā-i-Ambāla where Ḥazīn had just reached after a troublesome journey. Ḥazīn tells us that he stayed at Pānīpat for a day and having bought 5 or 6 bows he distributed them among his destitute companions and spent the day in teaching them archery. Since it was impossible to pass through

¹ Obviously referring to the rebellion of Raja Balwant Singh of Banaras; the invasion of Shuja'-ud-Daula; the flight of Balwant Singh from Ganga Pur to Latif Pur and the subsequent return of Balwant Singh. So, the letter was written in 1169 A.H./1756 A.D. See *supra*.

Karnāl, he also engaged 12 brave Indian Musketeers and set on the journey. In 'Azīmābād, which is at a distance of 16 or 17 karohs, they were attacked by robbers. It was afternoon and the sun was blazing hot. Ḥazīn proceeds to say, that at the end of the journey he was overtaken by serious illness. *Letter XX—* (ff. *lla-llh*): This letter is written from somewhere near Lahore where Ḥazīn intended to go and to proceed further (towards Īrān) ; if possible. In the words of Ḥazīn : "Some Sardārs in Shāhjahānābād intend returning. If at the time of the receipt of this letter they have not left already, please inform them through one of your acquaintances, that at the time of entering Lahore, they should inform me of their arrival and intention as to when they will depart. *Letter XXI—* (ff. 77a-78b) : This letter is written from Banaras on the 4th of Sh'abān [1169 A.H.] exactly one month and four days after Letter XVII, which was written from Banaras on Friday, the 1st of Rajab. Ḥazīn tells us again, that having fled from 'Azīmābād, he reached the city (of Banaras) in a state of illness and severe disease; that in accordance with Divine ordinance and the ill-fortune of the Official, the victorious armies of the King reached there, *i.e.*, Banaras and wrought a havoc. Ḥazīn witnessed the devastation until the time that the armies returned; having reinstated the Official. Ḥazīn proceeds to write: "After the arrival of Nawwāb Shujā'-ud-Daula near Banaras, Nawwāb Quli Khan came within a distance of 7

karohs of the army and put up in the foot of the Chanāda fort. He departed from the same place and by the same route, and returned to Illahabād. I could not see them or their companions except Mirza Dau'd and Mirza 'Umwi who came to Banaras one day and met me.

After entering Banāras I heard, that, on account of the excess of damage and wounds, Shaiḵh Ḥasan without informing anybody, left Oudh for 'Azimābād in the night and by an unknown route." Ḥazīn also tells us, that, on account of the presence of Mahābat Jang there, the confusion in 'Azimābād and Bangāl had increased a thousand-fold. *Letter XXII—(il 78b-79a)*, is a repetition of Letter XIX. *Letter XXIII—(it 79a-79b)*, is written on the 24th (of Ramaḍān) in reply to 2 letters dated the 13th and 16th (Ramaḍān¹); one of which also contained a letter from Mirza 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm. Ḥazīn says, that there were absolutely no rains in the beginning of the month and it had been very hot. But now it had been raining repeatedly since 10 days. *Letter XXIV—(it 79b-80a)*, written on Friday, the 7th (of Shawwāl) in answer to a letter dated the 20th of Ramaḍān which Ḥazīn received on Thursday, the 6th of Shawwāl. Ḥazīn says to have answered the letters of Mirza Imam Quli and Mirza 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm.² Ḥazīn had also received a letter from Ḥajī Šādiq, telling him that Mir Sami' had not arrived. It was extremely

¹ Since *Letter XXIV* is written on Friday, the 7th of Shawwāl in answer to the letter dated the 20th of Ramaḍān.

² For receipt of 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm's letter see *Letter XXIII*.

hot at the time of writing. Obviously, an epidemic had broken out. For, Ḥazīn tells us that, he was engaged in looking after the sick. Ḥazīn sends his salams to Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān Ṣāhib. He also sent to the addressee a few verses composed after '*Jskā*'; requesting the addressee to hand them over to Sher Afgan Khān; after he had copied them.

Risāla fi Tḥqiq-i-Salāt-il-Jum'a—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, L 275b.' Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Sāqī Nāma—is a mathnawī poem. It consists of about one thousand verses. It is interesting to note, that Ḥazīn wrote the entire poem (as well as numerous other verses) with his left hand, as for some time he was unable to use his right hand which he had injured as a result of falling from his horse while urging it in the desert in company of a number of friends. It begins with the following verse:

خدایا توئی آگہ راز و بسی بهشت از تو دارند پاکان هوس

" Oh, Lord ! Thou knowest the secret; and none else :
The pure expect the paradise of Thee."

It is one of the earliest compositions of Ḥazīn. He composed it at Iṣfahān; before going to Gīlān in 1113 A.H. See the account of his teachers *supra*. It is written in Irānī.

Saftr-i-Dil—is a mathnawī. Ḥazīn composed it at the age of 70 ;* The date of composition, 1173 A.H.,

سر آمد ز ہر تو ہفتاد سال نیاسود کلک و زبانت ز قال

—*Kulliyāt-i-Ḥazīn*. Lucknow ed., p. 821.

is given at the end of the *mathnawī* :

فی سوده تاریخ اتمام یافت قلم با صغیر دل انجام یافت
 ن + ا + ل + د + ر + ی + ف + ص + ا + ب + م + ل + ق
 +100+30+40+ 2 + 1 +90+80+10+200+4+ 30+ 1 + 50
 ت + ف + ا + ی + م + ا + ج
 + 3 + 1 +40+10+ 1 +80+400=1173 A.H.

It has been lithographed at the Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow and comprises pp. 791-822 of the *Kulit 'yat-i-Hazin*.

The Curzon Collection MS. 299 (f. 236) is dated the 27th of Muḥarram, 1175/the 28th of August, 1761; written at 'Aẓīmābād; copied by one Nand La'l.

The *mathnawī* is written in Īrānī.

Sharh-i-Qasida-i-Lamiya—is an Īrānī commentary on his own *Qasida-i-Lamiya*, which Hazin had composed in praise of Ḥadrat 'Alī (see Bankīpūr Cat.)-

The commentary was written at the request of some friends.¹ "Ḥazīn has composed a *qaṣīda* in response to the *Qasidat-ul-Ajam*" says Ghulam 'All Aẓād;² who also points out two mistakes in the very first verse of the *qaṣīda*.

The Cat. of the R.A.S.B. describes it as "a commentary upon the Arabic *qaṣīda* rhyming in *U*, of which the authorship is ascribed to 'Alī ibn-i-Abī Ṭalib, the first Shi'ite Imām." This description is erroneous. The *qaṣīda* is certainly the composition of 'All ibn-i-Abi Talib. But the author

¹ See Preface to his *Qasida-i-Lamiya*, Shefta Collection MS. 107/140.

² *Khizana-i-'Āmira*. p. 199.

is 'Alī ibn-i-'Abī Ṭalib, poetically surnamed Ḥazīn and not 'Alī ibn-i-'Abī Ṭalib, the first Shi'ite Imām. The error of the cataloguer is due to the synonymy of the names.

A copy of the *Qaṣīda*, with its *Sharḥ* and the prose preface is preserved in the *Shefta* Collection (Lytton Library) MS. 107/140. The *Bankīpūr* MS. of *Sharḥ-i-Qasida-i-Lamiya* is dated 1178 A.H. It is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2756. The *Sharḥ* is in Irānī.

Shajarat-ut'Tur fi Sharḥ-i-ayati'n-Nur—is a commentary, in Arabic, on the Qur'aṇic verse XXIV, 35, written at Maṣḥad in 1140/1727-28. Beginning :
نَسْجِدُكَ يَا نَوْرَ الذُّوْرِ أَفَوْقَ كُلِّ الذُّوْرِ النُّجُومِ. According to the Curzon Collection MS. 752, Ḥazīn had written it at the request of a friend :—

...لَا سُدَّعَاءَ بَعْضَ الْخِلَالِ مِنْ سَالِكِي سَبِيلِ الْعَرْفَانِ سَلَكَتُ فِيهِ
مَسْلَكَ الْإِبْتِجَازِ لِاخْتِيَارِي لِبِالْحَقِيقَةِ عَلَى الْمُبْتَجَازِ.

The work is also mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, i. 270a.

Sharḥ-Risala-i-Kalimat-ut-Tasawwuf—¹ is a commentary on the *Kalimat-ut-Tasawwuf* of *Shaikh Ishrāq*; written at Isfahān. Confer *Sharḥ-i-Risāla*.

Saif-ul-'Lah-al-Maslul 'ala A'da-i-'Al-ir-Rasul—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 269a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Fusus-ul-Hikam—is a commentary on the book called *Fāsus-ul-Hikam*, composed by Ibn-i-'Arabī.

¹ *Kalimat-ut-Tasawwuf*: MS. in India Office, 1922, MS. 5; Cf. Massignon, p. 112 and M. Harton, *loco citis*, p. vi note 1.

Siyar-o' 'Abd Illah_____wa Akhbarohu—is a book dealing with the biography and traditions of 'Abd Ullah bin Badil bin Warqa', al-Khaza'l al-Azdi. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 271a, Written in Abraic. It is extinct nowadays.

Sharḥ-i-Matlḥ'-ul-Anwar—is a book on *Ḥayat*. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272b. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-ba'd-i-Fuṣuḥ-i-Aflatun-iḥ-Ilahi—is a work mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272b. Written in Irānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Sabab'ul-Ikhtilaf-i'fil-Akhbar-i-'wa Bayan-o-Tariq-Jam'iha—is a book describing the differences between traditions and the method of reconciling them. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 212b. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Sīrat-ul-Muta'allimīn—is a treatise enumerating the morals of the scholars. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273a. Written in Irānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Sharḥ-i-Risala fi Tahqiq-il-Ḥarakat—is a commentary on the treatise called *Riṣala fi Tahqīq-il-Ḥarakat*, composed by Abi Ṭalīb, the father of Ḥazīn. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., i. 274a. The *Sharḥ* is written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Risala fi Qaul-i-Arastu. . .—is a commentary on the treatise composed by Hazin's father Abi Ṭalīb in which he discussed Aristotle's assertion : "Why is rain-water lighter ? "

The commentary is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 274a. Written in Irānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Sharḥ-i'Risala-i-Abi Yusuf. . . fi Tahqiq-in-

Nafs—is an explanation of Abī Yūsuf Ya'qūb bin Ishāq al-Kindī's treatise dealing with *Nafs*. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 274b. Written in Irānī. The work is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Ūyun ~~*Ahhba*~~*r-ir-Rada*—the work is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 268b. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Risālā—is a work in explanation of a treatise of ~~Shaikh~~ *Shihāb*-ud-Dīn Maqtūl. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 268b. Written in Arabic. The work is extinct.

Sarḥ-i-Risala-i-Hakim 'Isa bin¹ Zar'a—is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 270a. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Sharḥ-il-Qasidat-il Mamduda—is a commentary on Hazin's own qasida ending in T. The qasida was written in the suburbs of Mecca in 1144 A.H. and the commentary was prepared at Laḥsā in 1145 A.H.² Hazin gifted it out to Saiyid Ḥusain al-Makki of the Al-i-Saḥra. See R.D.F., f. 270a. The *Sharḥ* which was written in Arabic is nowadays extinct.

Sharḥ-i-'Ba'd-i-Khutub—is a commentary on some of the Addresses of Hadṛat 'Alī. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272a. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Du'a' 'Arfaḥ—is a commentary on the *Du'a-i-Arfaḥ* of Imam Ḥusain. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272a. It was written in Irānī; and is

¹ MS., f. 269b omit *bin* after 'Isa.

² Because Hazin performed the pilgrimage in 1144 A.H. and returned to Bandar 'Abbas via Laḥsa and Bāhrain in 1145 A.H. See *supra*.

nowadays extinct-

Sarh-i-Qasidat-il-Jimiyya-il-Fawidiya—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Irānī, It is extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Miṣbah-i sh-Shar'at—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Īrānī. Nowadays extinct.

Sharḥ-i-Risala fi 'amal-il Musabī' wal Mutas' fi Dairat-i'alif, ba, jim min auTa'alim.—is a commentary on a treatise of Abī Ṭālib, the father of Ḥazīn. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274a. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct.

Sharh-i-Khutba-i-Shiqshiqiya—is an explanation of the *Khutba-i-Shiqshiqiya* of Hadrat 'Alī. It is mentioned in the *Nujum-ul-Asma'*, Subhan Ullah Khan Collection MS. 920/12, f. 82b.

*Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*¹—is also known as "*Sawanih. 'Umrt-i-Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazīn*" It is the well-known autobiography of Ḥazīn from his birth in 1103 A.H./1692 A.D. to the date of its composition in 1154 A.H./1741 A.D. Ḥazīn wrote it at *Shāhjahānābād* (Delhi) at the close of 1154 A.H. at the age of 51 years. In the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*,

¹ The *Tarikh-i-Waqi'at-i-Iran-o-Hind*, India Office MS. 1306 (Ethe 1714) is nothing more than a mere abbreviation of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*

In this MS. (f. 2a) Ḥazīn says, that he intended to record some of the events and history of Iran and India, whereas in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal* he says, that he wanted to record some of his own memoirs. Ḥazīn also omits some sentences in order to serve his purpose. On f. 3a of the *Tarikh-i-waqi'at-i-Iran-o-Hind*, he simply calls himself Muḥammad, called 'Alī, poetically surnamed Ḥazīn and drops out his complete pedigree given in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*. But for these and similar minor differences the texts of the *Tarikh-i-waqi'at-i-Iran-o-Hind* and the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal* do not differ in any vital degree.

Luckow ed, p. 143, Ḥazīn says that at the time of composing the *Tadkkirat-ul-Ahwal* he was 53 years of age. This mistake is repeated by Rieu (see *Rieus' Cat.* vol. I, p. 381). Critically speaking, Ḥazīn's statement is careless and incorrect. In 1154 A.H. he could not be more than 51 years of age, as he was born in 1103 A.H. The natural explanation is, that Ḥazīn wants to impress his old age on us, and in so doing he does not mind calculating his age a year or two ahead of the actual date. This phenomenon is even more manifest when in 1155 A.H. he says in the prose preface to his *Dīwān* IV, that he is now past 55 years of age. Ḥazīn is, however, mathematically exact, when, while speaking about his father he says : "During the 25 years that I have spent with him I have never seen him do an act odious in the religious law." But here, of course, he includes both the years of his own birth (1103 A.H.) and that of his father's death (1127 A.H.).

Ḥazīn completed 5/6th of the work in two nights.¹ It is written in simple and clear style unlike the literature produced under the patronage of the Mughal emperors.² So, because Ḥazīn had not attached himself to the court and was not writing under any influence.

The *Tadhkira-ul-Ahwal* " contains a variety of personal and historical anecdotes and excellent

¹ The reading in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal* Bombay ed., p. 119, however, is : روز و شب

² Master's Introduction to his Tr. of Ḥazīn's *TadhkiratulAhwdU* p. iv.

observations on men and manners, besides an interesting account of his travels and remarks on many modern literary productions ".¹ The account of contemporary scholars and men of letters (many of whom perished during the siege of Iṣfahān in 1135/1722) with whom he was personally acquainted constitute one of the most valuable features of this interesting book ".²

It furnishes us with valuable and detailed information about contemporary historical events of the time of which Ḥazīn was an eye-witness, which are scaracely found in any other work, and to which the latter portion of the book is devoted at large ; e.g., the latter part of the Ṣafawī period and the rise of Nadir Shah. It contains first-hand information about the Afghān invasion and fall of Iṣfahān in 1135 A.H.

The book is particularly invaluable from the point of view that the author is not one of the court poets who are always liable to distort facts. The author's judgment is perverted a little by his religious fervour which caused him to misrepresent the Turks somewhat, and by his inordinate patriotism which made him too enthusiastic in praise of his country.³

Referring to the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, Hakim⁴ says:

¹ Master's Introduction to his Tr. of Ḥazin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, p. vii.

² *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

³ Master's Introduction to his Tr. of Ḥazin's *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, p. iii.

⁴ *Mardum-i-Didah*, Habib Ganj typed copy, p. 49.

"The Shaiikh has written a treatise dealing with his pedigree and travels. In the work he makes high pretensions from which it appears that the writer's utmost purport in writing it is to scorn India and its people." The statement of Ḥākim is too niggardly- As regards the composition of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Ḥāzin tells us: "All that is written in these leaves, and attention towards writing the substance of these events, was not the custom of my pen and the habit of my mind ; or suitable to my circumstances, desirable to my soul, and gladdening to my nature. Rather, I had no mind for it, as my thoughts and vision highly disliked and avoided it. Because, irrespective of the inconsistency between my circumstances and story-telling, the baseness of rank, paucity of profit, and meanness of these discourses, it had also other impediments and blemishes which were not agreeable to me. For, it generally happens, that, in the eyes of the ignorant some things resemble ostentation which is the stock-in-trade of the ignoble and regarded by me as the origin of all baseness. And praise and thanks be to God, the excess of my aversion and declination from this habit is natural and to such an extent that it has been the cause of my vileness and obscurity in the world". Ḥāzin proceeds to say, that he wrote these pages in Delhi, at the close of 1154 A.H., in order to while away his sleepless nights. See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl*, Lucknow ed., pp. 118-119,

Shaiikh Chānd in his *Life of Saudā* (p. 46) unjustly calls the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwāl* the "Mother

India of its time¹. Evert the most cursory reading would have revealed to Shāikh Chānd that Ḥazīn has declined to write anything about India or its people in the book. The time spent by Shāikh Chānd in passing remarks about the books of others could have been more profitably utilised in finding out the date of death of Saudā.

It may be pointed out, with regret however, that Ḥazīn mentions very few dates in the *Tadhkirat-uLAhwāl*. ~

The *Tadhkirat-id-Aḥwāl* has been published with an English Tr. by F.C. Belfour, London 1830-1831. Another English Tr. has been published by M.C. Master under the title : The Translation of the *Tarikh-'Aḥwāl* of Mowlana Muḥammad Shaykh Alī Ḥazīn. It has been published from Bombay in 1911 A.D. This translation is an incomplete one, and proceeds only up to Ḥazīn's refusal to marry after his return from his first futile attempt to perform the pilgrimage.

The text of the *TadhkiratuUAḥwāl* has been repeatedly lithographed at Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow and Cawnpore, 1893 A.D. It has also been lithographed in Bombay, 1322 A.H.; Banāras 1851 A.D.; and Muslim Press Delhi, 1319 A.H.

Tadhkirat-ush-Shu'ara—īs a biography of Iranian and Indian poets; composed by Ḥazīn. It is mentioned for the first time in the *Niḡaristān-i-Fārs* (pp. 211 and 218). I have not seen a copy of this *Tadhkira* or heard it mentioned anywhere. Āzād (p. 211), however says, that, he had seen the work.

Āzād also gives quotations from the *Tadhkira* in his *Nigāristān-i-Fars* (pp. 211-212). According to Āzād, Ḥazīn had written only 2 or 3 lines about each poet (p. 211) and amongst other poets has also mentioned Nizāmī Ganjawi, Abu'l Faḍl, and Faḍl (pp. 211-212). It is definitely a work other than the *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'asirin* as is proved from the quotations referred to above and *Nigāristān-i-Fars*, p. 218.

Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'asirin—is a biography of contemporary poets composed in India in 1165 A.H./1751 A.D., in the space of nine days.¹ 'The author wished only to record the lives and poetry of his Shfa friends and contemporaries, and had, therefore, commenced his memoirs from the date of his own birth in Rabi'-uth-Thani 1103 A.H.²

It contains notices upon a hundred contemporary poets most of whom the author had met and whose verses he quotes from memory.³

But for the *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'asirin* we would not have known a great number of Iranian poets that flourished between 1103-1165 A.H. and the literary history of Irān would have remained much the poorer for it.

The *Tadhkira* is divided into two classes (firqah), the first of which contains the 'Ulamā who wrote

¹ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'asirin*, Lucknow ed., p. 1025.

² *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'asirin*, Lucknow ed., p. 933 ; and J.R.A.S., Vol. IX, 1848, p. 147.

³ *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'asirin, Lucknow ed., p. 938; and Br. Mus. Cat., Vol. I, f. 373a.

verses and consists of 20 memoirs, and the second poets by profession and consist of 80 memoirs.

The author says, that, he wrote the *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'aṣṣirīn* in order to divert his mind from the sorrows of exile.¹

It has been lithographed at Newul Kishore Press along with the *Kulīyat-i-Ḥazin*.

The colophon of the Bankipūr MS. 407 (f. 7Gb) is dated the 23rd of Jumāda I, 1178 A.H. It is copied by one Barakat Ullāh.

The contents of the *Tadhbirat-ul-Mu'asirzn* are given at length in the Sprenger's Cat., pp. 135-141. This work is also mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 273b. Written in Irānī.

Tadhkirat-id-'Ashiqīn—is a mathnawī² composed twice: (1) at Iṣfahān before 1127 A.H. (i.e., the date of death of Ḥazīn's father). It consisted of about 1,000 verses, of which the first 12 are quoted in the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed.³; and (2) in India.

In a prose preface prefixed to this and three other mathnawīs preserved in the Br. Mus. MS. Or. 356 (f. 160) Ḥazin says, that, the original drafts had been scattered in various countries, and that he had now written a sample of each, in order to com-

¹ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Mu'dsirīn*, Lucknow ed., p. 938.

* His mathnawīs are preserved in a fine collection entitled "*Mathnawiat-i-Munjamala-i-'Alī Ḥazīn*" (The collected Mathnawīs of 'Alī Ḥazin) in the King's College Library No. 124.

According to *Khulasat-ul-Kalam*, f. 211a, Ḥazin composed 5 mathnawīs in different metres, bearing different names, and containing 1514 verses in all¹. This is incorrect as will readily be seen.

¹ See *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥwal*, Lucknow ed., p. 48.

ply with the desire of a noble friend in India.¹ The beginning and end of the *mathnawi* have been lithographed at Lucknow and form pp. 889-902 of the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥāzin*.² It begins as follows :

ساق ز می موحدانه ظلمت بر شرک از میانه
با تیره دلان چو لمعه نور در نیم شبان تجلی نور
رده که ز خود کرانه گیرم بی خود ره آن یگانه گیرم

From the *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥāzin* (Lucknow ed., p. 901) we gather, that, Ḥāzin composed the *Tadhkirat-ul-'Āshiqz* (after 1143 A.H.) after the age of 40.² This is certainly inapplicable to the earlier work composed before 1127 A.H. With regard to the later one, it must be taken liberally : for Ḥāzin, as we know, came to India in 1146 A.H. at the age of 43. It therefore follows that he must have composed it after 1146 A.H.

Treatise on the Elementary Principles of Astronomy—Ḥāzin wrote it at the request of a friend while he was sick and infirm. He completed it in Jumada //, 1179/1765-66 ; at Banāras. Beginning :

بعد از ستایش و سپاس ایزد پاک و درود نا محدود الهی

It has been preserved to us in the R.A.S.B. MS. 1778, ff. 250a-265v. It is written in Irani.

Tahqīq-i-Ma'ad-i-Ruhant—is a treatise on the theological and mystical meaning of the doctrine of resurrection, based on appropriate *ḥadīth* etc., beginning :

وله التجدد فی الآخرة... و بعد در اشارات بملذات و الم البغ

¹ Br. Mus. Cat. II, f. 716b.

² Vide *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥāzin*, Lucknow ed., p. 901.

چل سال ز عمر بیوفا رفت تن ماند ز جنیش و قوی رفت

In both the Curzon Collection MSS. 1043 and 752 the name of the author and the date of composition are missing. But at the top of both the MSS. we have the words *ومنه دام بقاؤه* and it follows one of Ḥazīn's works.

Treatise explaining the Meaning of the Qur'ānic Verse XXXVI 78. In the Banklpur MS. 407, this treatise follows after the treatise called *Tahqiq-i-Ma'ad-i-Ruhāriṭ*. It is a treatise explaining the meaning of the verse :

قال من يعطى العظام وهى رميه

"Says he: who will give life to the bones when they are rotten?" Qur'aṇ, XXXVI, 78. It is written in Irānī. Beginning :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ناعجده وبه نستعين، كسانيكه سرمايه
حصول معارف حقيقيه على ما هى عليه و قوت ادراك حقائق شرعيه
و عقليه همگى يا بعض را نيافته يا نداشته باشند التبع -

The colophon of the Banklpur MS. 407 is dated Saturday 19th Rajab 1178 A.H, and is said to be copied at Murshidābād. See f. 2446.

Tafsir-i-Surat: Hal ata 'alal Irtsan —is a treatise 'iii explanation of the Qur'ānic verse LXXXVI, 1. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 270b. It is written in Arabic and is nowadays extinct.

Treatise on Meteorology—this is a short treatise explaining the different phenomena of this kind, beginning : سپاس و ستایش من خدايوا حل شاه

In the preface to the treatise Ḥazīn says: "I was questioned about some of the atmospheric existences. When I had explained them properly, I was

requested to reduce them to writing." Ḥazīn advised them to read his book called *Jam-i-Jam* which he had formerly composed in Īrānī. See *Supra*. He proceeds to say, "It is not now the exigency of my time to attend to these petitions. But as I do not wish to disappoint the proponent, I am writing these few lines and hope that they will prove useful."

The treatise is preserved in the R.A.S.B. MS. 1778, ff. 242b-249b.

Tajwiḍ-ul-Qur'an—is a work mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 2706. Written in Arabic. It is extinct.

Tajrīd-un-Nafs—is a work mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 2716- Written in Īrānī. The book is extinct.

Tarjumat-o-Du'a-iṣ-Ṣabah—is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272a. Written in Īrānī. It is nowadays extinct.

Tarjumat al-Jaushan-is-Saghir—is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 272a. Written in Īrānī. This work is extinct.

Tarjumat-ud-Du'a-il-Ma'ruf bil 'Alawi-il-Misri—is mentioned in the R.D.F., ff. 272a-b. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Tafsir-i-Surat-il-Ḥaṣhr—is an explanation of the *Qur'ānic* verse L/X, 2. It is mentioned in the R.D.F., f. 2726. Written in Īrānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Tawfiq—according to the *Tadhkirat-ul-Ahwal*, it is a treatise on the Agreement of Philosophy and the Sacred Law ; written at Isfahan. The R.D.F., f. 273a, describes another book called "*Al-Jam'i bain*

al-Ḥikmat-i-wash Shari'at..." (Book on the agreement between Philosophy and Religion and repelling the presumption of differences as supposed by the common-folk.)

Tarjuma Risālat-ul-Afyun—is a translation of the treatise on Opium by Shāikh Abū' Alī Sīnā. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Tarjuma Mantiq-ut-Tajrid—is a translation of the famous book called *Maṇṭiq-ut-Tajrid*. This translation is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Irānī. This book is extinct.

Tarjuma Uqlīdas—is a translation of the famous arithmetical work called *Uqlīdas* (for which see foot-note 116). Along with the work of translation Ḥazīn has also concerned himself with supplying further explanations. The translation is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 273a. Written in Irānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Taqsiṁ-ul-Asma wa Ma'anīha—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274a. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Tarjuma-i-Risālā fi Bāyan-i-"Qul-ir-Ruḥ min Amr-ir-Rabbi"—is a translation of Ḥazīn's father Abī Ṭālib's treatise dealing with the Qur'ānic verse XVII, 87. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274a. Written in Irānī. The book is extinct nowadays.

Tarjuma Risāta 'Araftu'l Lah... is a translation of Ḥazīn's father Abī Ṭālib's treatise dealing with the saying of 'Alī: *'Araft-ul-Lah-a-bi faskh-il-'AzaHm-i-wa ḥall-il-'Uqud*, that is to say: "I have

known God by His discarding my resolutions and untying my ties. The work is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274a. It is written in Irānī. The book is extinct.

Tajaddud-ul-Amthal—is a work mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, ff. 275a-b. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Tahqīq-ul-Azal wal Abad was Sarmad—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 2706. Written in Arabic. The book is extinct.

Tarjuma Risāta ft Tahqīq-i-Mā Hu-al-Haqq ft mas'lat-il-līm—is a translation of the treatise composed by Ḥazīn's father, Abī Ṭālib. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 274a. Written in Irānī. It is extinct nowadays.

Uṣūl-ul-Aḥḥlāq—is a treatise mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 275a. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

Uṣūl-ul-Mantiq—it is written after the fashion of Ainiq. It is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Irānī. The treatise is extinct nowadays.

Wujub-un-Nass-i-ala'l Imam—is mentioned in the *R.D.F.*, f. 272b. Written in Irānī. It is extinct.

WadVat-ul-Badi'at or Badia'at-ul-Wadi'at—is a mathnawi composed in imitation of the *Hadiqat-ul-Haqiqat*¹ of Sana'i in about 1173 A.H. Because, on f. 5 of the R.A.S.B. MS. 862, Ḥazīn mentions, that, he is about 70 years old at the time of writing. As Ḥazīn was born in 1103 A.H., the poem must have

¹ Ḥabib Ganj MS. Pers. 34/3, f. 663a :—

مندیب قلم ز طبع حزین طلبیدی حدیقه دومین

Hadiqatul-Haqiqat ; by Sana'i, Translation of the 1st book of *Hadiqah*, ed. by Stephenson. See *Der Islam*, Vol. 22, p. 101.

been composed in about 1173 A.H. See also Ḥabīb Ganj MS. Pers. 34/3, f. 663a :

عمرم در جوار هفتاد است مشیت خالی مرا پر از بادست

It begins :

كلما في الوجود ليس سواه وحده لا اله الا الله

The colophon of the Bankīpūr MS. 407 (ff. 249b-301b) is dated the 19th of Rabi'-uth-Thani, 1178 A.H.

Hazin had already composed 50,000 verses before composing the present mathnawī.¹

بعد پنجاه هزار شعر گزین که در آمد بدفتر تدوین
عمرم در جوار هفتاد ست مشیت خالی مرا پر از بادست

¹ Ḥabīb Ganj MS. Pers. 34/3, f. 663a.

APPENDIX

DOUBTFUL COMPOSITIONS

Risāla dar Tarikh-i-Hidustān—is classed by Ivanow (R.A.S.B. Pers. Cat 1924, p. 797, No. 1749) among the doubtful compositions of Ḥazīn. The reason advanced by the Cataloguer for doing so is, that, "In style it resembles the *Tadhkirat-ul-Aḥīval* after which it follows in the Majmifa (i.e., the R.A. S.B. MS. 225). "The argument of the Cataloguer holds no ground in face of the following facts:—

(a) The MS. does not bear the name of the author. This is significant in face of the fact that Ḥazīn generally gives his name either at the beginning or end of his compositions.

(b) The *Risāla dar Tarikh-i-Hindustān* is mentioned neither in any of Ḥazīn's compositions nor in any other book mentioning Ḥazīn.

(c) The MS., according to the colophon, was completed on the afternoon of Monday the 10th Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 1180 A.H./16th August, 1766, at Ḥusainābād ; i.e., exactly one month and twenty nine days before the death of Ḥazīn and at a place about 80 miles from Banāras. Now Ḥazīn (1) is known to have grown unable to move, out of weakness, towards the end of his life; and (2) believed to have stayed in Banāras for some time before his death having given up travelling due to weakness and advanced age. In fact, there is no evidence to show, that, Ḥazīn was ever at Ḥusainābād.

(d) The resemblance in style is no criterion of the authorship of a work.

The MS. has been misdescribed by the cataloguer as "A short note on the Muslim invaders of India chronologically arranged". It is not confined to an account of the Muslim Invaders of India. But is a general history of the Iranian Invaders of Sind and Hind from the earliest times up to the invasion of India by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī. It deals with 21 invasions. The last date mentioned is 1173 A.H. (f. 111b) :

در سنه ثلث و سبعين و مائة بعد الف [احمد شاه] رو بدھلی
آورده امرای شریر و لشکر مرهته را کہ درین جا بودند مقتول و
مذہبم ساخته -

The last historical event mentioned in the book is the struggle of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī against the Marhattas near Akbarābād (Āgra) f. 112a:—

والحال در نواحی اکبر آباد مشغول دفع متمردان و انتظام این
ملک ویران است -

The book begins with an account of the time of Mahārāj bin Kishan bin Lawāb who was dethroned by his courtier named Bahu. Mahārāj sought the help of Dahhāk who sent Garshāsp, the son of Aṭard, to the help of Mahārāj. Garshāsp defeated and killed Bahu and reinstated Mahārāj. The book begins :—

موافق سیر معتبره دفعاتی کہ لشکر ایران بسند و هند در
آمده در این مقام بایجاز و اختصار تمام... ثبت مینماید -

I am clearly convinced that the book has no relation with Hazin.

*Jawab'i-Su'alat-i-Sail*¹—apparently by the same Ḥazīn although the name of the author is not explicitly given. It is a series of replies to different questions concerning the application of the rules of Shi'ite Fiqh to local conditions of life in India. Beginning :—

سوال ' چه میفرمایند علمای فرقه معتزله امامیه الانح -

¹ Cf. R.A.S.B.— *Curzon Collection Pers. Cat.*, 1926, p. 487. No. 572 (2), it 161-167.

CORRIGENDA

Page	3 L. 11-12	} For <i>Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin</i> read <i>Siyar -ul-Muta'akh Khirin</i>			
"	25.. "				
"	6 " 21				
"	8 " 6				
"	16 " 2	"	Fiqah	"	Fiqh
"	etc.				
"	23 " 4	"	Nuskh, Raqa'	"	Naskh, Riqa'
"	64 " 26	"	نکئی	"	نکیم
"	71 " 7 etc.				
" "	" 32	"	Achhe	"	Achchhe
"	" 34				
"	126 " 27	"	Marharwi	"	Marahrawi
"		"	MSrharwi's	"	Marahrawi's
"	80 " 21	"	Thana'i's	"	Sana'is
"	90 " 2	"	Ḥazin	"	Ḥazin
"	134 " 17	"	'Ali	"	Abī Ṭalib
"	185 " 14	"	band	"	hand
"	201 " 27	"	انی	"	نی

