



**A CRITICAL STUDY
OF
CHANDRA BHAN BRAHMAN AND HIS WORKS**

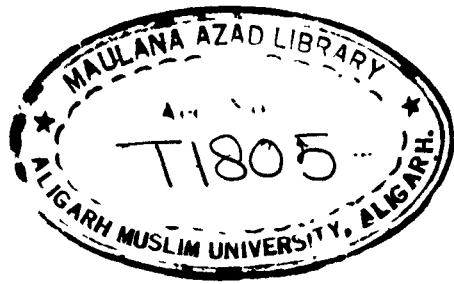
**THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
PERSIAN**

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**DEPARTMENT OF PERSIAN
Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh**

1976



T1805

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 Mullā Dānā, Khwāja Baibāk Dās
 Khākī, Bal Krishan Sengal,^h Mullā
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 Burhān, Mullā ʿAqilī, Mullā Muḥam-
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In transliterating Arabic and Persian names the following system has been adopted:

Consonants

- الف = a
- ب = b
- پ = p
- ت = t
- ث = th
- ج = j
- چ = ch
- ح = h
- خ = kh
- د = d
- ذ = d
- ر = r
- ز = z
- ژ = zh
- س = s
- ش = sh
- ص = s
- ض = d
- ط = t
- ظ = z
- ع = ' ()
- غ = gh

Vowels

(Long):

- ā = ā
- ī = ī
- ū = ū

(Short):

- ◌ = a
- ◌ = i
- ◌ = u

(Diphthong):

- ◌◌ = au
- ◌◌ = ay

Consonants

ف = f

ق = q

ک = k

گ = g

ل = l

م = m

ن = n

و = w

ح = h

ی = y

While transliterating words in which حرف شمسی is preceded by ل , ل has been dropped and pronunciation alone has been taken into account. The final 'h' (برای مخفی) has been dropped such as خانہ (Khāna).

حروف شمسی : ت - ث - د - ذ - ر - ز - س - ش - ص - ض - ط - ظ - ن -

In common familiar names the current forms have been preferred such as Lucknow, Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta etc.

List of Abbreviations

A.B.N. Collection	Aparao Shola Nath Collection, Gujarat Vidya Sabha Collection, Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.
Adabiyāt	Adabiyāt-e-Fārsī-Mān- Hinduon-kā-Hissa, by Dr. Sayyad Abdulla.
Afkār	Taḍkira-i-Natāij'ul Afkār by Maūlānā Muḥammad Qudratulla, Gopānwī Hindī.
Ādar	Ātash Kade-i-Ādar by Lutf Ālī Big.
A.G.	Akbar The Great by Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava.
A.H.I.	An advanced History of India by R.C.Majumdar.
Āin	Āin-i-Akbarī by Abul Fadl
A.K.	Akbar by J.M. Shelat.
A.N.	Akbarnāma by Abul Fadl.
A.O.B.D.	An Oriental Biographical Dictionary by Thomas William Beale.
Blochmann	H. Blochmann (English Transla- tion), Āin-i-Akbarī by Abul Fadl.
Browne	E.G.Browne; Supupplementary Hand list of Muḥammadan Manus- cript, The libraries of the University and Colleges.
C.C.A.	Chahār Chaman Abdus Salām Collection, MSS. Maūlānā Azād Library, Aligarh.
C.C.J.	Chahār Chaman Jawāhar Museum, MSS. Maūlānā Azād Library, Aligarh.
C.C.L.	Chahār Chaman Lucknow, Personal Library; Professor Mas'ūd Hasan Ridwī.

G.C.N.	Chahār Chaman National Museum, MSS. Delhi.
G.C.R.	Chahār Chaman Rāmpūr, MSS. Radā Library, Rāmpūr.
Dīwān U.C.	Dīwān-i-Brahman University Collection, MSS. Maūlānā Azād Library, Aligarh.
Ethe	Ethe, Hermann, Catalogues of Persian Manuscripts; Library of the India Office.
Fārooqī	Dr. 'Abdul Hamīd Fārooqī; Chandra Bhān; Life and Works with a critical Edition of His Persian Dīwān.
Gaūshṭī	Gaūshṭī Bābā Lāl Dayāl, MSS, Jawāhar Collection, Maūlānā Azād Library, Aligarh.
Ghanī	Prof. Muḥammad 'Abdul Ghanī A Short History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal Court (Akbar).
G.R.	Gūl-e-Rānā, MSS Anjuman Taraqī Urdū, Aligarh.
Gūldasta	Gūldasta, MSS Subhān Alla Collection, Maūlānā Azād Library, Aligarh.
G.V.S. Collection	Gujarat Vidya Sabha Collection.
Husāinī	Tadhkira-i-Husāinī by Mīr Husāin Doost Sambhī.
Ikrām'ul Haq	Sheikh Ikrām'ul Haq; Shēr'ul Ajam Fīl Hind.
Inshā	Inshā-i-Munīr by 'Abdul Barakāt Munīr.
I.O.L.	India Office Library, Catalogue of Persian MSS.
Iqlīmī	Haft Iqlīm by Amīn Ahmad Rāzī.

Kaifī	Kaifī Pandit Brig Mohan Datta-triya, Kaifiyya.
Kalīm	Abū Tālib Kalīm; <u>Diwān-i-Kalīm</u> .
<u>Khāfī Khān</u>	Muhammed Hāshim <u>Khāfī Khān</u> ; <u>Muntakhab'ul Lubāb</u> .
L. Hist. of Persia	A Literary History of Persia by E.G. Browne.
Lūdī	Amīr Shīr 'Alī Khān Lūdī; <u>Tadhkira-i-Mirātul Khayāl</u> .
Maāthir	Maāthir'ul Umarā, Nawāb Sansāmud Daula Shāh Nawās Khān.
Makhtūtāt	Makhtūtāt-e-Fārsiā, Edited by Manzoor Ahsan Abbasi, Public Library Lāhore.
^a Mikhāna	Tadhkira-i-Mikhāna by Mullā 'Abdu'w Nabī Fakhruzzamānī Qaswīnī.
M.I.Hist	The March of Indian History by P.Saran and D.R. Bhandari.
Mirāt	Mirāt'ul 'Alam, Bakhtāyar Khān, MSS. University Collection Maūlānā Azād library, Aligarh.
Mu.E.	The Mughal Empire by Dr. A.L. Srivastava.
Muntakhab.	Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh by 'Abdul Qādir Badāoni.
Mu.P.	Mughal Poetry by Prof. Hādī Hasan
Munshaāt H.	Munshaāt-i-Brahman, Habīb Ganj Collection, MSS. Maūlānā Azād Library, Aligarh.
Munshaāt L.	Munshaāt-i-Brahman Lucknow Nayal Kishore Press.
Munshaāt Q.	Munshaāt-i-Brahman Qutubuddīn Collection, MSS. Maūlānā Azād Library, Aligarh.
Munshaāt S.	Munshaāt-i-Brahman Subhan Alla Collection, MSS. Maūlānā Azād Library, Aligarh.

Munshaāt Sul.	Munshaāt-i-Brahman Sulaimān Collection, MSS. Maulānā Azād Library, Aligarh.
Munshaāt U.	Munshaāt-i-Brahman University Collection, MSS. Maulānā Azād Library, Aligarh.
Mihāwandī	Mullā Abdul Bāqī Mihāwandī, Maāthir-i-Rahīmī, Vol.III.
Nuqūsh.	Nuqūsh, Lāhore No. (Generale)
Opp.	Opposite.
Rieu	Charles Rieu; Catalogue of Persian Manuscript; British Museum.
Safīna	Safīna-i-Khūshgū ^ū by Brindaban Das Khūshgū.
Sālih	Amal-e-Sālih by Muḥammad Sālih Kambo Lāhorī.
Saxena B.P.	Banarsi Prasad Saxena, History of Shāhjahān of Delhi.
Shamʿi-Anjuman	Tadhkira-i-Shamʿi-Anjuman by Muḥammad Siddīq Hasan Khān Nawāb, MSS. Habib Ganj Collection, Maulānā Azād Library, Aligarh.
Shiblī	Maulānā Shiblī Naḥṣānī; Shērʿul Ajam.
Shuārā	Kalmātʿush-Shuārā by Muḥammad Afzal Sar Khūsh.
Storey.	C.A. Storey; A Bio-bibliographical Survey; Persian Literature, Part I; Vol. II. Sec.II; Fasciculus-3; M. History of India.
Sukhan.	Sīr-i-Sukhan by Ahmad Muṣaīn Ahmadi Rasmjū.
Sunnāmī.	Bahār Sunnāmī, Sardār Dīwān Rāi Bhagwant Rāi Sālih; Gulzār-i-Bahār Marūf-Bi-Basm-i-Nazm-Brahman.

Ṭabaqāt	Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Khwāja Nizā-muddīn Ahmad
Tārīkh.	Tārīkh-i-Adab-e-Urdū, Vol.I.
T.B.M.I.H.	Text Book of Modern Indian History by S.C. Saxena and K.K. Datta.
Ṭimūriā	Baḡh-e-Ṭimūriā by Sayyad Sabā ^h -uddin Abdur Rehman.
Tuzuk	Tuzuk-e-Jahāngiri by No ^u ruddīn Muhammad Jahāngir Pādshā ^h .
Umara	Umara-i-Hanūd by Munshī Muhammad Saīd Ahmad Hārehrāwī.
Vir Vinod	Vir Vinod by Maha Mahopadya Kavi Raja Shyam Lal.
Yādgār	Yādgār-e-Raftgān by Jigar Bareilwī.
Zuhūrī	Zuhūrī's Life and Works by Prof. Nadir Ahmad.

P R E F A C E

Persian is among the living languages of the world, and its literature because of its importance and significance commands respect and credibility. The literature, which has been produced in India, is generally known 'Indo-Persian literature' and it embodies the contribution of Indian poets and writers, of the mediaeval period to Persian language and literature. The Persian language and literature was mainly produced ^{during} in the Mughal Period. Raja Todar Mal made Persian as the court language. Therefore, every Indian, who was living in the Mughal ^h dominion and was in touch with the court, was greatly influenced by this language. Even Hindūs, who entered and joined the royal court, preferred to learn Persian and, ultimately, they adopted it as their own language. They have ~~come~~ ^{come} to hold a position in the field of Persian literature. They translated Hindi and Sanskrit books into Persian with the help of Muslim writers and vice-versa. They had a command over the language and soon became capable of composing verses in Persian too. Mughal rulers adopted the healthy tradition of judging the intelligence of a person by holding poetical contests. Hence, the scholars and poets of that period had an opportunity to display their knowledge in the form of discussions and poetical contests occasionally held in the court or at the residence of the nobles and dignitaries of the court. Hindūs, also participated in such literary ~~every~~ gatherings.

Chandra Shān Brahman is one of those Hindūs who

learned Persian and composed verses in that language. He has actually surpassed other Hindū poets and writers in the field of Indo-Persian literature of his time. He not only excelled many Hindū poets; he deserves to be placed among the Muslim writers and poets of his period. Brahman was an eminent poet and writer of his days and earned fame as a poet in India as well as in far off countries like Irān and Turān, in his very life time. Even, today, he is admired and appreciated, due to his compositions, by the scholars, writers and poets who are in touch with Persian language and literature.

I, therefore, made up my mind to select Brahman for a detailed study in order to ^{determine his} place among the poets and writers of the Mediaeval Age. I have tried my utmost in making an attempt to determine the position of Brahman and, also to deal with the life, time and works from ^{the} research point of view; I have also tried to bring out, from external and internal sources, which are not, of course, easily available, the erroneous facts and figures which have penetrated into his life and works.

The present thesis has been classified into five Chapters including the conclusion. The general method of transliteration of 'Arabic and Persian names has also been adopted and ^a system of abbreviations has also been followed, on the pattern of the present-day writers. The introductory portion and the contents have also been given in the beginning of the thesis. As Brahman flourished during the reign of Shāhjahān, well-known as Sāhib-Qirān-i-Thānī, the period preceding Shāhjahān covers the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr

and, hence, in the introduction, efforts have been made to reproduce a precise and brief sketch of the social, cultural and literary history of the above mentioned period to establish the position and place of Brahman in the appropriate historical set-up.

The first chapter covers a comprehensive study of the life of Chandra Bhān Brahman which describes the place and year of his birth, parentage, relatives, places and residence, education, Name and Nom de plume and his association with and the favours he received from Afdal Khān, Shāhjahān, Dārā Shikūh and Aurangzib.

In the second Chapter, efforts have been made to give a detailed description of various patrons of Brahman like 'In-āyat Khān, Mīr 'Abdul Karīm, Afdal Khān, Sādulla Khān, Islām Khān, Jāfar Khān, Dārā Shikūh, Shāhjahān and Aurangzib.

The third Chapter is based on the estimable and valuable works of Brahman which have been mentioned in the introduction of his most important work "Munshaāt" viz., Dīwān, consisting of Ghazals and Rubā'īs, Mathnawīs and some prose works like Guldasta, Chahār Chaman, Tuhfat'ul Anwār, Kārnamā, ^ḥMajma'ul Fūṣahā, ^ḥMajma'ul Faqr and Munshaāt, itself; and also other works which are preserved in the different catalogues of various libraries such as Gaushtihī Bābā Lāl Dāyāl, a discourse held between Dārā Shikūh and the Hindū saint Bābā Lāl, in the form of questions and answers, which were translated from Hindī into Persian by Brahman; the collection of the said dialogue is also known as ^ḥMakhsan-i-Nikāt or Nādir'un ^ḥNikāt, Tuhfat'ul Widād, Tayārīkh-i-Rājāha-i-Delhi-Hindūstān and Nāzuk Khayālāt.

Munshaāt-i-Brahman has already been published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in the month of April 1885 A.D. and the next one, which is a collection of his Mathnawīs, published in the Majmu'a-i-Rasāyāl in the month of December, 1885 A.D. and according to Hijrī in the month of Safar 1303. The third important work of Brahman is a collection of Ghazals and Rubā'īs, popularly known as Dīwān, published alongwith the thesis of Dr. 'Abdul Hamīd Fārooqī for which he has been awarded the degree of ^D Doctor of Philosophy. The works of Brahman, which have been under study are Munshaāt, Chahār Chaman, Guldasta, Gaushtī Bābā Lāl Dāyāl, Dīwān and Mathnawī which are available in the form of Mas, or in the printed form.

In the fourth Chapter, contemporaneous poets and writers have been mentioned categorically, from the time of Akbar upto the period of Shāhjahān and the early age of Aurangzib in which Brahman reached his climax.

The last and the fifth Chapter contains a brief sketch of Brahman's life and works and contribution which he made to enrich the Indo-Persian literature, with special reference to the contribution of the other Hindū poets.

Alongwith the above mentioned Chapters, the efforts have been made to clarify the references with foot-notes and translations of some relevant press-extracts and verses have also been made from Persian into English, whenever it was found necessary.

There may be many errors and omissions which I have committed in evaluating Brahman's life and works, but efforts

have been made to reproduce his works honestly in a proper form. I therefore, hope that the readers would forgive me for my acts of commission and omission.

Owing to various circumstances, it could not be possible for me to complete my research work earlier, and due to many compulsions it became difficult for me to consult and study some other works of Brahman which are preserved in various catalogues of different libraries of India and far off countries.

It would be a great omission on my part if I do not acknowledge my indebtedness to my supervisor and well-wishers who encouraged me in the completion of my thesis. It is my foremost duty to express my gratitude to my respected and honourable supervisor Dr. Muhammad Shamoon Israēli and Professor Nazir Ahmad, the Head of the Department of Persian, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, without whose valuable suggestions and kind guidance it would not have been possible for me to complete my thesis. I also pay my homage to Late lamented memory of Professor Masūd Hasan Rīṣvī who helped me in providing manuscripts of Chahār Chaman and a published book of Bahār Sunnāmī on the 'Life and works of Brahman, along with a Diwān, which were preserved in his personal library. My thanks are also due to the then director of the National Museum Delhi and the then incharge of the Mss. Section of the National Museum, who gave me assistance whenever I required the same. I am also greatly indebted to the librarian, Mr. Intāz 'Alī 'Arshī of the Radā library Rāmpūr, who also helped me

in consulting the Mss. I am also grateful to the Assistant librarian of the Manuscript Section and Mr. S. A. K. *Ghori* of Maūlānā Āzād Library, Ālīgarh who assisted me in consulting the manuscripts and books.

In the last, I would like to express my feelings of gratitude to all my well-wishers and friends who always gave me inspiration and encouraged me to finish my research work as early as possible.

INTRODUCTION

Munshi Chandra Bhan, surnamed Brahman, son of Dharam Das, was employed as a Munshi and held a Mansab at the court. Brahman's native place was Lahore. He received his education under the stewardship of Mulla Abdul Karim. As regards his knowledge of mysticism, he was the disciple of Mulla Shah Badakhani.

1. Sagora B.P; p. 254.

"Chandra Bhan surnamed Brahman is the first gifted Hindu poet of the Mughal period."

2. C.C.A; Fol. No. 57a.

"و آباد اجراء این برهن درست اعتقاد بطرز قدیم خود علی نموده اند تا آنکه نوبت به دهرم داس بر فقیر رسید آن مخدوم نویسنده کار ادبی بود مرقی در سلک منتهی ارادان به کار خالص شریفه انتظام داشت بعد از آن نظر بر ایشان روزگار بهر اراد داشته استغای خدمت و منصب نموده -"

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.; Fol. No. 57, 57a.

"این شکسته دل درست اعتقاد چند جهان برهن که شکستگی دل را باعث درستی حال خود میداند - برهن زاد ملک پنجاب است و در زمره اهل زنا بر بهر همان اعتباری است اگر چه بحسب عرف و عادت بجهت کسب معشیت با اشتغال مختلفه روزگار بردارد نزدیکترین شیوه این طالیفه است که پاس مراتب صوری و معنوی داشته بوجهی که در کتب معتبر قدیم در ماده این کرده ثبت شده عمل نمایند و آراستگی ظاهر و باطن را عنوان جریحه اعمال خویش سازند مولود و منشاء این نیازمند شهر دار السلطنت لاهور است -"

6. Ibid.; Fol.No.57a

"و این برهن و ناکیش استفاده علوم فردی در خدمت مخدوم فاعله دان عالم عابد بر جاده فقیر و قیام مستقیم ملاعبه اگر هم نموده - شناگر دی آن مخدوم را مستقی میبویست -"

7. C.C.N. Fol.No. 14, 14a.

Before we assess the position of Chandra Bhān Brahman as a poet and a letter-writer of this period, it is but necessary to make a brief survey of the social, cultural and literary conditions prevailing in the days just preceding Chandra Bhān Brahman.

According to the "Umarāi Hanūd" and the Chahār Chaman,¹ Chandra Bhān was first introduced to Shāhjahān after the death of Afdal Khān in 1048 A.H./1638 A.D. He presented the following Rubāī² before Shāhjahān.

شاهی که مطیع او درو عالم گردد ÷ هر جا که سر نیست پیش او خم گردد
از بسکه بدوش یافت شرف ÷ خواهد که فرشته نیز آدم گردد

In the light of the above mentioned Rubāī, we are in a position to say that Brahman flourished during the reign of Shāhjahān. It is, therefore, essential to review the social, cultural and literary history of the period pertaining to Akbar and Jahāngir.

The source material for the study of the social conditions of the time of Akbar and Jahāngir is rather rare and scattered. We find random references in the Memoirs of foreign travellers who visited India in the sixteenth and the seventeenth³

1. G.O.A; Fol. No. 7.

2. *Ibid.*

3. T.B.M.I.H; p. 285.

در چون بدولت و اقبال مستند آرای سلطنت در جا بنانی گردد بدین این رباعی
نقد از نظر انور گز شده در ج تحسین یافت -

"Our sources for the study of the social and the economical life of the people in Mughal India are not as abundant as for that of political history. But the accounts of the foreign travellers, who visited India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the contemporary records of the European factories in India, supply us with some valuable informations."

centuries A.D. and some of the contemporary historical works in Persian also speak of it. We also find references in the historical works compiled by later writers which are mainly based on the contemporary historical works in Persian.

AKBAR AND THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

India of Akbar's days was not, of course, like that of today. There were no modern means of transport and communication. Modern achievements of science and technology were unthinkable in the reign of Akbar. Even big and important cities were connected by Kachchā roads. Trees were planted on either side of the roads. There were Sarāis for travellers and public men to stay. It is said that forests were better preserved in the days of Akbar than even now. Gardens were found in the vicinity of big towns and cities and the cities were thickly populated.

The inhabitants of India in Akbar's time were generally divided into four distinct classes. The first and the richest class was, of course, that of the kings and their families, the ministers and other high officers of the state. The second class of people was that of the merchants, manufacturers and money-lenders. They spent their money on charitable buildings.

1. Mu. E.; p. 234.

"The various parts of the country and most of the important towns were connected by Kachchā roads".

2. Ibid. p. 235.

"Large gardens were found in all parts of the country, particularly in the vicinity of big towns."

3. M.I. Hist, p.258.

"Considering the Society from economic and political point of view, we find that it was divided into four distinct classes."

Traders and businessmen of ordinary status were placed in the third class. These people lived a simple, happy and prosperous life. The last and the fourth class was that of the ordinary skilled workers, labourers and menial servants. Financially, they were very poor and passed their life in a very wretched and miserable condition.

The population¹ was heterogeneous^e in character, and the Hindus were in majority. Among the Hindūs, the upper class consisted mostly of the Kājput, Brahman, Kāyasth, and Vaish castes. The treatment of the higher classes among the Hindūs towards the so-called untouchables² was far from satisfactory.

Other evils pervading the Hindū Society were child marriage, prohibition of widow re-marriages and Satī. They were not inclined towards inter-caste marriages. On the other hand Muslims were divided into two sects³, Shīas and Sūnnīs and they too were not free from evils e.g. they started indulging⁴ in various forms of idolatory.

1. I. Mu. E. p. 235.

"The Population was not homogeneous".

2. M.I. Hist. p. 259.

"The treatment of the higher classes towards the " so-called untouchables were far from Satisfactory.

3. Ibid.

"The second biggest class of people were the Muslims They were also divided into two main sects, Shīas and Sūnnīs."

4. M.I. Hist.; p. 259-260

"In course of time the Muslims of India had become as superstitious and idol worshippers as the Hindūs were. Particularly worshipped tombs and Sūfi saint in which practice many Hindūs also joined them."

1

Akbar had a secular out-look and tried his best for the fusion of the Hindu and Muslim Communities into an integrated unity. He also made efforts to purge the Society from social evils. He issued orders to wipe off these evils from the Society between 1586 A.D. and 1594 A.D.

Some of the reforms made by Akbar are as follows:

1. Abolition of enslavement of the war prisoners

According to "Mughal Empire," Akbar was unlike his predecessors. He disliked the practice of enslaving prisoners of war and sale of the wives and relations of those who lost

1. Ak.; Vol.II; p. 196.

"These marriages had great effect in the shaping of both secular and religious policies."

2. A.G.; Vol. I; p. 385.

"He set the example by observing Hindu religious ceremonies along with those enjoyed by Islam at the wedding of his sons so as to pave the way for a fusion of the Hindu and Muslim Communities."

3. Ibid

"Akbar tried to purge the Indian society of some of its social evils, and with that object in view he issued a series of edicts from Lahore between 1586 and 1594 when that city was the head-quarter of his government."

4. M. E; p. 146.

"Soon after entering his twentieth year Akbar showed evidence of a broad-mindedness which his predecessors had lacked and which was to make him famous as the greatest Muslim ruler of India. Early in 1562 he issued orders strictly forbidding the practice of enslaving the prisoners of war."

5. Ibid.

6. Ak; Vol. II; p. 336.

"The year 1562 saw the passing of an order which did away with the military custom, prevailing since several centuries, of enslavement and sale of the wives and relations of those vanquished in the wars."

their lives in war. So, he passed an order to stop this practice in the year 1562 A.D. People were, however, allowed to sell their children in the days of famine and afterwards they might take them back from the person to whom they had sold, if, they had sufficient means to pay.

2. Regulations regarding taxes.

Akbar was very liberal, and susceptible to the feelings of the people. Once, in 1563 A.D., when he was on his way for a hunt in the neighbourhood of Mathura, it was brought to his notice that a tax was levied on the pilgrims who used to assemble there in search of Divine light. Akbar issued an edict forthwith forbidding the collection of the tax from the said persons throughout his kingdom.

1. Muntakhab; Vol. II, p. 391.

دیگر وقت محضه واضطرار صادر و پدید در این مملکت فرزند ان خود را بفروشدند و چون دست یا بنزد زرد اده از رقیب رقیبت خلاص سازند -

2. Ak; Vol. II, p. 356.

"Hunting near Mathura in 1563, Akbar noticed a tax being levied on the pilgrims who had gathered there."

3. A.N.; Vol. II, p. 189, 190.

از سوا نوح آنست که خاطر عشرت برای حضرت شاعشاهی متوجه شکار اجانب متواشیر با جمعی از خاصان بان محبوب نهضت نمودند و فنون شکار در خواه بنده - از انجمله روزی هفت غیر شکار آن نیز شکار شدند پنج مارا بپر و قنقک بجاک و خون بر آب سبختند و یکی را آن سر مایه افتخار دلاوران و دلبران بدست خویش زنده گرفت و باعث جزاران نجات شد و دیگری را جمعی از ببادوران بزدل القاب نموده بدست آوردند و در همین شکار عبادت را باعثت میکردند ساخته بدولت آرای بودند که بوقف عرض مقدس رسید که از دیر باز است که در هنر و ستان نام شکره که از این طبقات کرد و بعبادت اقسام عبادت و تقویات می آیند حکام آن سرزمین با اندازه و حالت و ثروت بملکی مخصوص بنگرند و کرمی نامند بفتح کاف و سکون را - شاکل شاه خود نموده از فراخ و ملکی و دور بینی و حق اندیشی تمام آنقدر در (که کز ورها میشد) بختیدند و چنین اخلاص اموال را ناستوده الگاشته بمنع آن بر لایق مقدس بر ممالک محموده اصل از فر خود نند -

4. Ibid.

J.M. Shelat writes in his book "Akbar" that the next order to stop the collection of Jizya and Tamgha was passed in the month of March 1564 A.D. but according to Badaoni, it was issued in 987 A.H./1579 A.D. The aforesaid dates are contradictory but on the basis of "Muntakhabu't-Tawārikh," the year 987 A.H. of issuing the order, appears to be more reliable and correct. However, the nobles and some of the narrow-minded people were in-different towards him but Akbar remained firm in his decision¹⁰.

Taxes on Marriages: The practice of dowry was common among the people at the time of Akbar, but he discouraged such a practice and sent orders all over the country to collect a tax from both the parties to the marriage. The Collection of the tax was made according to their status.³

3. Regulations regarding Marriages:

Akbar took a keen interest in the reform of marriages. In India, marriages were often ceremonialised before attaining the age of puberty.⁴ Akbar took exception to this custom and took

1. Ak; Vol. II; p. 336.

"Realising that the Empire he was building must rest on the solid foundation of emotional attachment to his person of all classes of his subjects, Akbar took the momentous step in March 1564 of abolishing that most hated Jizya impost."

2. Muntakhab, Vol. II; p. 276.

«دو دین سال (۹۸۷ هجری) هم تخاوم جزیه که حاصل آن بچند کور و میر سیله بطوت ساختند و فراموش
در تائید از صادر شد.»

3. Ain; Vol. I; p. 143.

«در برای سپاسگزاری خواسته از هر دو سو باز ستانند و پایتخت فرزندگی سرانجام با پدر از پنج هزار تاهری
ده هزار تا با صدی چهار و پس تا صدی دو و تا دو بیسی یکی و از نرکش بنده تاده باشی و دیگر شروت می سنزان چهار
روپیة و از میان هر دو یک روپیة و از عامه یک دام - حال پدر بزرگش رو دو پایتخت او اعتبار گیرند.»

4. Ibid.

«دو دین و در زمان سیدة نکو هیله شمارد -
تکشی بنر پنج سپاهی و ده بانغی بکر دال غیر منقوط زمیندار و مالک ده ۱۲ -
شروت بانای شلنده بسیاری مال و بسیاری مردم ۱۲ -»

the courageous step to check the celebration of such marriages i.e. before the age of twelve, for in his opinion, early marriages were fruitless. He also considered the marriage between near relations or one's cousins, improper. So he passed a regulation that nobody could marry their own cousins or near relations and that boys and girls could not marry before the age of sixteen and fourteen years respectively. The consent of the bride and the bride-groom and the permission of their parents was considered essential in marriage contracts.

Akbar passed an ordinance in the year 995 A.H./1586 A.D. enacting the following reforms:

1. That a man should have only one legal wife, but if she

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1. *Āin*; Vol.I, p.143. ”گزین سودی نبود دسترگ زبانی اندیشه کنه-“
 2. *A.N.*; Vol.III; p. 380. ”کتر ازدوازه ساله بیونو زنا سونی نگر دک زبانی آن فرادان و سود بس ناپیر-“
 3. *Muntakhab*; Vol.II, p.306. ”و همچنین دختر عم و خال در فرابت قریبه را نکاح نکنند که میل کم میشود-“
 4. *Āin*; Vol.I; p. 143. ”در رفوشا و نوری نزدیک ناسن ادا اند در زبان قدسی چنان رود آنکه در باستان دختر توام نرادی-“
 5. *Muntakhab*; Vol.II; p. 306. ”و همچنین پسرا بیشتر از سائزده سالگی و دختر را پیش از چهارده سالگی نکاح روا نباشند که فرزند ضعیف میشود-“
 6. *Ibidi* p. 338. ”در وقت سال می ام از جلوس و نوروز سلطانی که در برابر نوروز جلالی است رسید و در ششم ماه ربیع الاول سن بهمنه و نوروز در تحویل حل واقع شد... و دختر پیش از چهارده سالگی در برابرش آنزده سالگی نکاح بستن منع فرمودند-“
 7. *A.G.* Vol.I; p. 386.
 8. *Āin*; Vol. I; p.143. ”و رضامندی بیوس و داماد دستوری پسر و مادر ناگزیر اندیشند-“
 9. *Muntakhab*; Vol.II; p. 355-356. ”در روز دهم شهر ربیع الثانی سن بهمنه و نوروز پنج شنبه نوروز سلطانی و آغاز سال سی و دوم لقبول میرزا سوم از جلوس شد و بیانی که گذشت جنبها منظر محنت و هوا بط دیگر با ضافه انعام یافت-“

is proved barren, he might marry a second wife.

2. Before the enactment of this ordinance, widows of both the Hindūs and the Muslims of even tender age were not allowed to marry and were put to a lot of hardship and ill-treatment.

Akbar, kind hearted as he was, rightly considered this practice as inhuman and callous and through the afore-said ordinance, allowed re-marriage of such widows, if they so desired.

3. In case of the Hindūs, he specially decreed that a young widow should only be married to a person whose wife had already expired.

4. That a Hindū converted to Muslim faith, willingly or un-willingly, in his childhood was allowed, if he so desired, to go back to his father's religion.

1. Muntakhab; vol.II; p.356.

” از انجمله اینکه بنیز از یک زن نکاح نکنند مگر آنکه نازاد باشد -“

2. Ibid.

” و مگر نه خدایکی و زن یکی -“

3. Ain; Vol.I; p. 143.

” دافزون از یک زن بهر کس نه پسندد و دشواریش طبیعت و آشوب خانه اندیشید -“

4. Muntakhab; Fol.No. 251a.

” و بیو ما اگر خواهند که شوهر کنند مالی نباشد چنانچه اهل هند منع می نمایند -“

5. Ibid.

” و هندو زنی خرد سال که تمتع از شوهر نگرفته باشد نسوزد و اگر هندوان این را دشوار دانند و تمتع نشوند پس از هندوان زن کسی که مرده باشد دختر بگیرد و به همین مقاله بنورد -“

6. Ibid; Vol.II, p.391.

” دیگر هندو را که در زمان طفولیت یا غیر آن با کراه مسلمان کرده باشند اگر خواهد باز دین آباءش را اختیار نماید و بر هیچکس تکلیف نمایند و هر کس از هر دینی که خواهد انتقال بگیرد کند -“

5. That if a Hindū woman fell in love with a Muhammadan and entered the Muslim fold, she should be taken back from her husband by force and returned to her parents, if she liked. Akbar appointed an officer, called "Director of marriages or Tūi-Bēgi, to register marriages, in order to enforce these regulations.

4. "Regulations regarding Sati".

The custom of Sati, in India, was very common, especially among Chattriyas. They regarded it as a symbol to preserve honour and reputation. Although Akbar had great regard for voluntary sacrifice of a Hindū woman, but he felt that this practice was rather cruel and inhuman. He took strong exception to a woman being forcibly made a Sati and instructions were, therefore, given to all the Kōtwāls that no woman should be burnt against her will. He passed an order in 999 A.H./1590 A.D. that, if, a Hindū woman showed her inclination to enter the flames along with her husband's corpse, she should not be prevented.

1. Muntakhab; Vol. II, p. 391, 392.

2. Aīn; Vol. I; p. 143.

« و زن هندو اگر بر مسلمان فریفته شده در دین مسلمانان در آید چهره او قهر گرفته با اهل او سپارند -
 « و دو فرزند سوره کم از بر گزارد یکی از حال مردان پیش نماید و دیگری در کار زمان دید بانی کند و
 هر کدام را "تونی بیگی" نامند و ببا مانند که این مثل شکر بیگی باز گردد - و برای سپاس گزاری
 خواسته از هر دو سو باز ستانند - ... حال پرورش و پیش رود پایت او اعتبار گیرند - »

3. A.N.; Vol. III; p. 402. « و پاسبانی آبر و ناموس بندارند - »

4. Muntakhab; Vol. II; p. 375.

« و در بیست و چهارم جمادی الاول سال نهم صد و نود و نه مجلس نو روزی بآئین سالیانی
 دیگر ترتیب و تزیین یافت و آغاز سال سی و ششم از جلوس شده - »

5. Ibid; p. 376.

دیگر زنی هندو و که همراه شوهر بسوزد مانع نیاید و بجز و اگر آه نیز نسوزانند - »

Occasionally Akbar, himself, reached the spot and checked the performance of Sati and he also advised the women of tender age or those who had small children to refrain from such a callous intention.

1. A.N.; Vol. III; p.402-3.

درین ایام بی مل را پیش از ای بنگاله با سبب بام فرستاده بودند - از تیز روی بی همیار
افزونی تابش در حدود جو ساجراج، زنگانی و ادافه گشت دختر توتی راجه (که همچو ابه او بود)
بسوختن بهشتن یاوری نکرد - او دیننگم پس او با برخی از گنر اولان بنزد برین پیدا بهمت گماشت -
چاشنی بلند بود که در شنبستان دولت آبی رسید - شاهنشاه معدلت اثر و رماندیش و آنکه سادا
در فرستادن دیگران تا خیر راه یا بد بزنگا و بر باد سپا بر آمده رهگری آن سرزمین شدند و چون از حقیقت
کار آبی نبود یعنی زمانه شورش گرفت - هرزه رایان شوریده سر و سادده لوحان خیالی پرست
داستان آویزه بگو ناگون روشن کرد اردن گرفتند - وفرو بان اخلاص نهاد و مبارزان سعادت
سرشت جوق جوق بر جوشیدند و شورش را بنگاهها شند و سلاح پوشی در زم آرائی پرداختند
کوتاه حوصلگان اخلاص مگر ارا کار از دست رفت یعنی نیز و مندان نیکو نهادنگا بود گرفتند و
رویان تباہ شست در بساط ناهمیدگی یافته گو - مگر گرایان تا یک درون ترانه ساز خوشدی
درین تیز روی ارای کشک هم بنیاد شدند و سیله و از بر ستادان حضور چندی نزدیک بمقتضی پرستند
از شکوه شاهنشاهی آن گروه را دست از کار رفت در آن زمان (که آن سبب و عرصه اقبال
بران به گامه نزدیک شدند) چنانچه و ای سال پیشتر رفته سر گروه نادان آشفته رای را گرفته
آوردند - شهر یار قدر در آن نقش پیشانی از پیشانی آن گروه بر خوانند و در چنان جوشش خشم
جان بخشوده زانندانی مگر دانید - شهر یار بشیار خرام در کمتر زمانی عهد التبرک در رفت
والا و شجاعت بزرگ بجای آورده با دامگاه آمد مگر در شورش فرو نشست و ترانه
شادی بلند آواز ه شد -

2. Ibid. p. 641.

دوازدهم ارداد گیتی خداوند بخانه رای داینگم سایه هر بگتر دو
دلاویز پیشش در ادرار هم شد - در ستاد درخت او پور راجه را چنبد داشت چون
راجه را روزگار بر آمد او را نواخته بدان بوم فرستادند در راه از سگاس افتند و
بچاره گری خون گرفت و از شست و شوی تا هنگام نزد بنگاه در قصه کوه در گذشت
ازین آبی دخت داینگم بیچ سوختن در گرفت از خرد سائی زنگان ازان
سگالش باز آوردند -

5. Faith in Circumcision

Muslims had much faith in the ^{rite} custom of circumcision. They, usually, performed it before the age of twelve. Akbar's views were different as he had not much faith in the custom of circumcision. So, in the year 999 A.H./1590 A.D.; he made a rule that they could perform the circumcision only after consulting the boy when he crossed the age of twelve.

6. Problem of Beggary.

Poverty results in beggary. Even, in the sixteenth century A.D., India was confronted with this problem and Akbar ordered the erection of three different buildings, named Kcaīrpūrā, Dharaṃpūrā and Jogīpūrā, for Muslims, Hindūs and Jogīs respectively, in the year 991 A.H./1583 A.D. According to Sadāonī, free food was supplied to the beggars at the said places through Abul Fadl's men at the cost of the Government.

7. Wine, Prostitution and Gambling

Most people indulged in excessive drinking. In order to keep drinking within reasonable limits, Akbar ordered for a wine-shop to be opened near the palace and the wife of a porter who belonged to the caste of the wine-seller, was made in charge

Muntakhab; Vol. II; p. 376.

«دوخته پیش از دوازده سالگی نکنند بعد از آن اختیار دارد خواه بکنند و خواه نکنند.»

2. Ibid; p. 321.

«چون سال بیست و هشتم جلوس آمد نو روز بیست و نهم موافق بیست و پنجم ماه صفر احمدی و تسعین و نسیماه (۹۹۱) بنیاد شد.»

3. Ibid; p. 324.

«دو دین ایام بیرون شهر دو محل از برای اطعام قوای مسلمان و هندو بنا فرموده یکی را خیر پوره و دیگری را دهر پوره نامیدند و چندی از کسان شیخ ابوالفضل مومل بوده از زریاد شاهی بفقو اطعام میدادند و چون جوگیا نخیل می آمدند برای ایشان / ای دیگر آبادان ساخته جوگی پوره نام نهادند.»

4. Ain; Vol. I; p. 140 -

5. Muntakhab; Vol. II; p. 301, 302.

«و از برای رعایت عدالت دو مکان شراب فروشی بر دربار باه تمام خاتون در بان که در اصل از نسل نهار است بر پا کرده.»

6. Ibid.

of it. People might purchase wine as medicine on the recom-
 endation of the Physician and for this purpose a clerk was
 appointed to note-down the names of the father, Grand-father
 and the names of those who required wine for medicinal purposes.
 Prices were also fixed by regulations. Again, order was also
 issued to build separate quarters for prostitutes outside the
 town, and it was called Shaitānpurā; young women of loose
 character were asked to live there and take up the profession.
 Akbar appointed another clerk to maintain the register for
 those who wished to associate with them. According to Badaoni,
 a large number of people were daily punished but it did not
 result in moral improvement.

In the year 992 A.H./1584 A.D., gambling-houses were
 set up by Akbar to bring it under his control, by distributing
 loans to the players. Fixed charges were also levied on the
 game.

1. Muntakhab; Vol.II; p. 301.
 ”دیگر شراب اگر بچسته رفاهیت بدنی بطریق اهل حکمت بخورند۔“
2. Ibid., p. 302.
 ”سرخی معین بنادند تا هر کسی که برای علاج بیماری اتباع غیر نماید نام خود را از پدر و جد از سرف
 بویساند۔“
3. Ibid.
 ”دیگر خواست ممالک محروسه که در پای تخت جمع شده از حد حصر و عدل افزون بود نیز از شهر بیرون
 آبادان ساختند و آن را شیطان پوره نامیدند و اینجا نیز محافظی در دروغه و حشر فی نصب کردند
 تا هر که آن جماعت صحبت دارد یا بخانه به برد اول نام و نسب خود بویساند۔“
4. Ibid., p. 391.
 ”وزنی جوانی که در کوچه و بازار شهر میگردید با شهردار آن حال یار و نیز شهردار و کفاده کرد
 همچنین زنی ناسازگار حبله عمر که با شهردار میگردید در محله خواست برد و آن کاره کرد۔“
5. Ibid., p. 302.
 ”و با وجود آن احتیاط فتنها و فساد عاصم بر میزد و هر چند عجمی را هر روز عقوبت و ایندای کردند
 نتیجه بران مترتب نمی شد۔“
6. Ibid.; p. 338.
 ”درین وقت سال سی ام از جلوس و زور سلطانی که در برابر نوروز جلالی است رسید و در
 هشتم ماه ربیع الاول سن غصه و زور و در تحویل حمل واقع شد۔“
7. Ibid.
 ”و تقاریر باجلال شد و دیگر محرمات برین قیاس و تقاریر خانه در بار بنام کرده زوی بسود بقماران از
 خانه میبردند و سود و شغل داخل کفایت می شد۔“

8. Prohibition of killing of Animals

Akbar issued a decree in the year 999 A.H./1590 A.D.,
to forbid the eating of flesh of the animals and he, further,
ordered to cut off the hands of one who ³ takes ^{took} food with a
b^cutcher and if he is one from among the members of his family,
then his little finger should be chopped off.

Another order was passed to prohibit the slaughtering
of animals on certain days in 991 A.H./1583 A.D. Akbar issued
an order to classify the good inhabitants from the bad and
also to look into their income and occupations.

1. Muntakhab; Vol.II, p. 375.

2. Ibid, p. 375-376.

” و آغاز سال سی و ششم از جلوس شده و از جمله احکامی که درین سال فرار
یافت تحریم گوشت گاو و گاو میش و میش و اصیپ و شتر بود - “

3. Ibid.

” دیگر اگر کسی با شخصی که ذبح جانور پیشینه او شده باشد و طعام بخورد دست او
ببرند و اگر از اهل خانه او باشد انگشت اقل قطع نمایند - “

4. Ibid; p. 321-322.

” و بعضی از احکام اختراعی درین ایام نیز فرمودند از آن جمله ذبح جانور مطلقاً
در روز یکشنبه بجهت آنروز بافتاب خصوصاً درین هرزده روز در تمامی ماه آبان که
ماه میلاد است - “

5. A.N.; Vol.III; p. 346, 347.

” ویر لایح و الاصل در یافت که جاگرداران و شفقاران و دارندگان قلمورده
بده ساکنان را بنام و حرفه بقلم آورند و در یکدیگر منظم گردانند و نگذارند که بی دستمایه
پیشینه و التزام عمری زندگانی نمایند و در دخل و خرج مردم تصرف نگی (که از بدگوهری
و نیک ذاتی فراهم آمده باشد بکار ببرند - “

He devoted himself to the construction of sarāis, wells, schools and the places of worship for travellers, and poor aliens.

Culture during Akbar

The culture of India, before the advent of Muslim rule, was purely Indian in character. After the Muslim rule, however, since Muslims mixed up with the Hindūs in every sphere of life, this fusion resulted in a new culture ^{which} ~~within~~ may be called Indo-Muslim Culture. This culture reached its zenith during the Mughal period due to the efforts of Akbar, Jahāngir and Shāhjahān, but the credit goes to Akbar who inspired the people to enrich this culture with the help of their own wits. Akbar tried his best to develop this culture through Education, Music, Painting, Calligraphy, Architecture, Gardens and minor arts etc.

"Literary Activities at the Court of Akbar."

Besides the study of the social and cultural activities in the days of Akbar, it is also essential to shed some light on the literary activities of the day.

The sudden death of Humāyūn was the main hindrance in Akbar's education. He could not receive his education properly but learned a little from his preceptors ² namely Muhammad 'Alī Taghī, Mullā Isāmuddīn Ibrāhīm, Maūlānā Ba-Yazīd, Maūlānā

1. Aīn; Vol. I; p. 115.
 "وہرا یا کہ سرمایہ آسودگی جهان نوردان آسائش جای فریبان کہ مایہ است جا بجا ساخته
 گردد و زادان آنگر و چاہ کہ جان دار و بی زندگیان و آمردی زمینا است ہر وی کار آید و
 دانشگر با و ریاضت خانہا اساس یا ہر و پیش طاق آہی بگزیں طرزی و آرائش یزد۔"

2. Ghani; Part III; p. 6.

'Abdul Qadir, Mullā Pīr Muhammad, Mīr 'Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī and Bairam Khān. He could, hardly, read and write. The late Professor Hadī Hasan observes ¹ "Akbar cultivated his mind through the ear, not the eye—a remarkable instance of a person who did not know how to read and write and yet was steeped in culture". He was, however, expert in composing verses in the persian language. Professor Hadī Hasan speaks of the exchange ² of verses between Akbar and Khān Zamān of Jaunpur who was eventually killed as a rebel in 974 A.H./1566 A.D. Professor 'Abdul Ghani writes, ³ "on one occasion when the news of the fight of his (Akbar's) governor of Kashmīr with a pretender by name Yādgar Mirza, reached his ears, he recited off-hand the following verse of his own composition."

کلا، خسروی و تاج، شاهی
بهر، کل، کی رسد حاشا و کلا -

Abdul Fadl records the following verse as one of the ⁴ best compositions of Akbar:

نیست ز بجز جنون در گردن، مجنون، زار
عشق دست، دوستی در گردش انگیزه است -

He, however, showed more inclination towards riding, archery

1. Mu. p.; p. 73.

2. *Ibid.* p. ~~p. 73~~

3. Ghani; Part III; 113.

4. A.N.; Vol.I; p. 271.

and other sports than towards the dry schooling; but he was an intelligent and a tactful man and had a very good memory. He was interested in listening to the tales of brave deeds, and was also very fond of hearing the wonders of science and boons of philosophy etc, contained in the book of great scholars. Although, he was not much educated but he had a very keen desire to encourage and patronize Persian, Hindī and Sanskrit literature. Poets and scholars from all over India and also from foreign countries, especially, from Irān, came to his court. Abul Fadl mentions the names of some fifty-nine poets in Āin-i-Akbarī, who adorned his court. Many more poets (viz, Qāsim Gūnābādī, Damirī Safahānī, Wahani, Wahshī Ba Faqī, Muhtashim Kāshī, Malik Qumī, Zuhūrī Tarshizi, Walī Dasht Bayādī, Nēkī, Sabri, Figārī, Hudūrī Qamī, Qādī Nūrī Safahānī, Safī, Banibī Samnānī, Taufī Tabrizī, Rashkī Hamadānī), who actually did not attend his court, received adequate regards and admiration by the Emperor. They usually sent encomia composed by them.

It does not seem necessary to dis-cuss the works of all the scholars and poets of Akbar's time. It would simply suffice to add the names of some of the important ones:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <u>Faidī</u> | 2. <u>Urfī</u> | 3. <u>Zuhūrī</u> |
| 4. <u>Sūr Dās</u> | 5. <u>Tulsī Dās</u> | 6. |
| 6. <u>ʿAbdur-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān</u> | 7. <u>Sanāī Mashhadī</u> | |
| 8. <u>Shakībī</u> | 9. <u>Bairam Khān</u> | 10. <u>Qāsim Arsalān Mashhadī</u> |

1. Ghanī; Part III, p.9.

2. Āin; Vol.I; 168-182.

3. Ibid; Takmil of Page 182.continued page 1-4.

11. Kesar Dās 12. Abdūl Fadl 13. Badāonī and
14. Farishta among the historian of that time.

Jahāngīr

Jahāngīr ascended the throne on 21st Oct, 1605 A.D. under the ^{title} (title) of Nūruddīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Pādshāh Ghāzī, and he intended^d to root out the evils prevalent in the then Social fabric.

"Social condition during Jahāngīr"

The social status of the people during Jahāngīr's regime did not differ materially from what it was in the days of Akbar. He tried to reform the Society and hence passed the following twelve edicts at the time of his accession.

1. Prohibition of cesses (Zakāt etc.)
2. Regulations to weed out highway robbery and theft.
3. Uninterrupted inheritance of property of the deceased persons.
4. Prohibition of the sale of wine and of all kinds of intoxicating drinks.
5. Prohibition regarding possession of houses and cutting off noses and ears of criminals.
6. Prohibition regarding forcible possession of property (Ghadabī)
7. Building of hospitals and appointment of physician to attend to the patients.

8. Prohibition in regard to the slaughter of animals on certain days.
9. Respect paid to Sunday (a tribute to the memory of his father who held that day in great veneration).
10. General confirmation of Mansabs and Jāgīrs.
11. Confirmation of aīms (described in the Wāqīāt-i-Jahāngīrī as 'lands devoted to the purpose of prayer and praise.'
12. Amnesty for all prisoners in forts and in prisons of every kind.

The above mentioned edicts, however, had not much practical effect.

"Culture during the reign of Jahāngīr"

There was not much cultural development during Jahāngīr, for he adopted no new ways and means in this sphere; he, however, followed in the foot-steps of his father. Jahāngīr was a lover of books and paintings, and was interested in education, music, calligraphy and gardening etc. According to Jān Jahān Khan 'Author of Tārikh-i-Jān-Jahān, and Khāfi Khān, he repaired the madrasahs and utilized the money, which was escheated from the rich man who died intestate, in the erection of madrasahs, monasteries and similar institutions etc. Jahāngīr constructed water-works at Burhanpur for the general good of the public and the army also benefited from the same.

"Literary activities under Jahāngīr"

In the realm of literary activity, Jahāngīr played a vital role. He patronised the following poets and writers by giving rewards in cash or in the form of immoveable pr

property etc:

1. Maūlānā Shakhāibī Isfahānī
2. Hakīm Lāhījānī
3. Afdal Khān Daknī
4. Maūlānā Muhammad Sūfī Mazandarānī
5. Nazīrī Nishāpurī
6. Tālib-i-Āumli
7. Maūlānā Hayātī Gilānī
8. Maūlānā Ātāī Jaunpurī Mārwī
9. Ābdun Nabī Fakhurazamānī.

After a brief survey of the social, cultural and literary activities of the period preceding Chandra Bhān Brahman, it is worth while to go into the period in which Chandra Bhān lived; so that we might place him in the proper historical set up.

Period of Chandra Bhān Brahman: Chandra Bhān was born in the days of Akbar. During the reign of Jahāngīr, he remained ^{inactive} but, after the accession of Shāhjahān, he became a renowned poet among the Hindūs and was considered a talented person in the realm of letter-writing. He also served Dārā Shikūh and Aurangzib. Hence, he came into contact with the following ^{poets} and writers who attached themselves to the said rulers and their attendants.

The name of kalim of Kāshān deserves to be placed at the top of the poets among his contemporaries. He was the poet laureate of Shāhjahān. Qudsi stands second to be mentioned. His full name was Hājī Muhammad Jān and Qudsi was his

pen-name. After, the said two names, the under-mentioned names of the poets, also deserve to be noted as Salīm, Masīh.

Rāfī, Fāruq, Munīr, Shaidā, Brahmān, Ḥadiq, K̄hiyālī, Dilīrī, Māhir, Āshnā, Ahsan Baikhūd and Mullā Shāh etc.

There is a large number of prose writers who compiled the historical works and the letters of Munshis are also appreciated for their elegant and ornate style and fanciful imagery. The letters of Munīr, Chandra Bhān Brahmān, Afdal Khān, Saḍulla Khān, Fādil Khān, Shaykh Ināyitullā, Mullā Mahmud Jaunpuri, Ḥakīm Ḥadiq and Shaidā are still appreciated in the field of Indo-Persian literature.

CHAPTER - I

EARLY LIFE OF CHANDRA BHĀN BRAHMAN

Chandra Bhān¹ was born in a Brahman family of Panjāb² in the year 1620B/982 AH/1574 A.D. at Lāhore. His father's name was Dharma Dās. Bahār Sunnāmī writes in his introduction of the Gulzār-i-Bahār, Marūf Bi-Bazm-i-Maḥm-i-Brahman, (on the basis of a letter³ written by Chandra Bhān to his brother), that the father of Chandra Bhān died in the town of Jaūnpūr in the suburb of Akbarābād. But the name of the place, where his father⁴ died, is mentioned in other copies of the manuscript

1. G.O.A.; Fol. No. 57.

» بہرین زاد ملک پنجاب است و در زمرہ اہل زنار بہرینان امتیازی و اعتباری است۔ «

2. Ibid.

3. Sunnāmī; p. 26.

» خدا بھلا کرے منشی سبیل چندہ کہ جنھوں نے ان کے حالات لکھے اور خوب لکھے، مگر افسوس کہ یہ کتاب ہمیں دستیاب نہ ہوئی۔ ماہ ہروی اسی سہ ماہ لکھتے ہیں کہ چندہ بھان ۱۶۲۰ء میں بمقام آگرہ پیدا ہوئے۔ «

4. Islamic Culture; Vol. XL No. 2; April 1966; p. 79.

5. Sunnāmī; p. 59.

» احوال بہادر بھوڑ بھوڑ اینست کہ در ایام بہار گلشن طبع سیراب و خاطر شاداب بود از آفات خزان روزگار مضامین اکبر آباد در قصبہ جو پور نسیم در آلودہ ہشام این مستہام رسید و کاروان در درو اندوہ از ملک ناگامی بپہرستان خاطر خونین و دل غمگین بار اقامت کشاد یعنی صدائے غم افزائے ساخنہ مانندہ خداوند صورت و معنی والد بہر زگوار پندہ از گوش غفلت بہ آرد۔ «

of ¹Munshaat-e-Brahman and ^{2,3}Chahār Chaman, variously as ⁴Naūba, Lūriya, Pūriya. Hence, it is difficult to decide the exact and correct name and location of the town where his father took his last ^{his last.}breathed | Chandra Bhan in a letter (coupled with a ^{5,6}Naṣn) addressed to his son as "Asīsī", writes about his father's death. He, however, makes no mention of his

1. Munshaat S.; Fol.No. 42a.

” احوال برادر بنجور و بنجور اینست که در ایام بهار گلشن طبع بر آب و پنجه خاوشاداب بود از آن کتاب خوان روزگار در مضامینات قصبه نوبه نسیم درد آلودی بمشام این مشام رسید و کاروان در دو انزوه از ملک ناکامی بشهرستان خاطر حزین و دل غمگین بار است کشاد یعنی صدای علم افزا ساخته تا یله خداوند صورت و معنی و الله بزرگوار پیغمبر گوش غفلت بر آورد -“

2. O.C.A.; Fol. No. 72.

” احوال برادر بنجور و بنجور اینست که در ایام بهار گلشن طبع بر آب و پنجه خاوشاداب بود از آن کتاب خوان روزگار در مضامینات قصبه نوبه بر نسیم درد آلودی بمشام این مشام رسید و کاروان در دو انزوه از ملک ناکامی بشهرستان خاطر حزین و دل غمگین بار است کشاد یعنی صدای علم افزای ساخته تا یله خداوند صورت و معنی و الله بزرگوار پیغمبر گوش غفلت بر آورد -“

3. O.C.L.; Fol.No. 48a.

4. O.C.N.; Fol.No. 58a, 59.

” احوال این برادر بنجور اینست که چون از دار السلطنت لاهور که آب و هوایش دلکش و دلنشینی است و خاک عین بر سرش دامن گیر از خدمت ابوی قبله گاهی بمقتضای تعلقات جهانی اختیار جدای نمود و چون بمضامینات قصبه نوبه رسید نسیم سیم درد آلودگی از صحرای علم و پیشه انزوه و زبیره بمشام این مشام رسید و کاروان در دو انزوه از ملک ناکامی بشهرستان خاطر حزین و دل غمگین بار است کشاده و صدای چرسن علم و تراشه تحمل الم از برون وادی علم نیز یعنی قصیده علم افزا کلفت اثر در مجال آن قبله گاهی از ملک هستی و خراشش آن بلبل پرواز عالم معنی از حقیض السی باف قدس رخ روح این شکسته بر و بال را در پرواز آورد -“

5. Munshaat S. Fol.No. 51a, 52.

” دیگر از وضع روزگار بگوید و چه تواند گفت بیک تفرقه که بر سینه جمعیت وقت افتاد و آن در مجال قبله گاهی ابوی از مقام عاریت و رجوع بمقام اصلی بود -“

پدر تا سایه انگن بر کرم بود	شراب بی معنی از ساغر ام بود
چو بر سایه اوصفت کشیدی	فلک در زیر پای من خمیدی
دل زین درد انش علم بود	که گر غم آمدی او را چه غم بود
کنون زان گونه غم در دل اثر کرد	که غمهای کین را تا زه تر کرد

6. O.C.J.; Fol.No. 13a.

mother, sister and daughter in any of his works, but Brindāban Dās Khushgū gives the name of his son-in-law in his book "Safīna" ¹ as Bhagwant Rāi and Qalandar as his pen-name. This shows that Chandra Bhān had a daughter as well. Dr. S.A.H. 'Abidī writes in his article ² that Chandra Bhān sent letters to his mother which are noted in the second Chaman of the Chahār Chaman of Chandra Bhān Brahman. However, the assumption of Dr. 'Abidī's seems to be incorrect because letters ³ indicate that they were written to his father and not to his mother. A study of his work shows that he had only one son

1. Safīna; Vol.III; p. 8.

” بگونت در ای قلندر مخلص داماد در ای خیزد بر جهان منشی که از یاران ایشان بود پیش
فقر نقل کرد که روزی همراهی ایشان بایک کس دیگر در ”تخم“ که ساز سواری برداشته
از بازار دہلی میگردد شتیم بره زوشی را دیدیم که با زن جمیل خود عریضه دارد و بیج
از خواشش نیگیزد ارد. ناگاہ میان نام علی از رتخم برجست مارا آسمان این کہ
برای قضای حاجتی خود آمده -“

2. Islamic Culture; Vol. XL.No. 2. April 1966;p.89.

"In this Chahār Chaman the first Chaman deals with the life of Shāhjahān and the events of his royal court. The second Chaman consists of letters sent by Brahman to his mother, brothers and dignitaries of the period like Islām Khān, Sadullah Khān, Qudsī Mashhādī, Khwāja Lāl Chand, Fatch Chand, Khwāja Bindrāban, Afzal Khān, Rāi Zādah Shyam Dās and others."

3. C.C.N; Fol.No. 46a-50.

'Tej Bhān'. In one of the copies of the manuscript
¹
 "Chahār Chaman, the name of his son is given as 'Bijai Bhān'.
^{2,3,4}
 But in this other works, the name is spelt as 'Tej Bhān'.
 On the basis of his other works, therefore, we can say that
 the name of his son was 'Tej Bhān.' Chandra Bhān writes to
 his brother, "Mullā 'Ashiqī ^{5,6,7,8} is ^{has} engaged a tutor to his son,
 'Khwāja Tej Bhān.' He instructed his brother also to look
 after Tej Bhān; and enquired from him, whether Mullā

1. Ibid; Fol No. 76,77, 118,124.

2. Munshaāt S; Fol. No, 43a, 46,62a.

3. C.C.A.; Fol.No. 72a.

4. C.C.L.; Fol.No. 31,34a,49a.

5. Ibid; Fol.No. 31.

6. Munshaāt s. Fol.No. 62a.

7. C.C.N.; Fol.No. 76.

8. C.C.J; Fol.No. 33a.

” از اتفاقات روزگار در این ایام فضیلت پناه ملاعاشقی مشغول تعلیم فرزندی خواجگیج بیان است -“

Jān Muhammad could prove to be a competent tutor; if so, he might be engaged to teach him. Chandra Shān states in his work, Chahār Chaman, that he had two blood brothers, Rāi Shān^{5,6} and Udai Shān. Rāi Shān entertained the desire of freedom⁷ in his mind and therefore, indulges himself

1. C.O.J.; Fol. No. 37.

2. Munshaat 3, Fol. No. 64a.

”دیگر مسجد مبرکه ملا شہا محمد است کہ از فیض الہی و مقام کسب علم انست اما چون بقدر مسافتی دارد بخود فرستادن فرزندش درین سن با جانی توان نمود۔ ملا سعید التمد و خلیفہ خود کجا دعاغ و خرخرہ از تحصیل علم دارند کہ باین جزئیات ہر دارند۔ درین صورت ملا جان محمد را اگر دعاغ این معنی داشتہ باشد تکلیف میتوان نمود۔“

3. C.C.L.; Fol. No. 67a.

4. C.O.N. Fol. No. 126.

”چون فضایل و کمالات مرتبت ملا عبد الکریم و خلف صدق ایشان ملا رضا علی از درویشان و آزادان روزگار اند و قید تعلق بہ خاطر ایشان بغایت گرانست بخاطر رسیدہ کہ فضیلت مرتبت ملا جان محمد را تصدیق دہند کہ ایشان بنا بر ادی فقیر ساخت و شمارا برادر خواہد رسانید۔“

5. C.O.L.; Fol. No. 45a.

”رای بجان و اودی بجان ہر دو برادر حقیقی فقیر اند۔ رای بجان را ہوس آزادی در سر افتاد۔“

6. C.O.A.; Fol. No. 57a.

”رای بجان و اودی بجان دو برادر حقیقی فقیر اند۔ رای بجان را ہوس آزادی در سر افتاد۔“

7. Ibid.

Thus we are in a position to say that Rāi Bhān was about thirty years of age when he died. A letter, written by Chandra Bhān before the death of his brother, Rāi Bhān, indicates that Rāi Bhān was his younger brother. Udai Bhān, the third one received his education under the stewardship of Aqil Khān. By virtue of his ability and talent, he played a vital role in his worldly life. But, as the said Khān died in his youth, Udai Bhān left the worldly affairs and devoted his life to spiritualism. Though Udai Bhān was also

1. G.C.N. Fol.No. 117, 117a.

« برادر عزیز از جان عزیز تر خواجہ رای بھان ہمیشہ محفوظ لطف
 ایندی باد اگرچہ آن برادر عزیز درین مدت یاد این برادر مشتاق
 نگردد اما این نیاز مند پیوستہ در عالم --- کہ وقت را غنیمت
 دانستہ بیخیزی صرف کند کہ عاقبت بکار آمد و کار او در روز را بفردا
 نگذرانند جو فردا در سدا کار فردا کنم سلامت باشند۔»

2. G.C.A. Fol.No. 57a.

« و اودی بھان بمقتضای قابلیت و استعداد سرگرم نشاء روزگار
 و تربیت در صحبت نتیجہ الاری عاقل خان یافت و چون خان مذکور
 در عین جوانی و کارائی از جهان بی بقای و کرای فانی بملک جادوانی
 شتافت در ہمان ایام اودی بھان را از ختم خانہ حقیقت حام
 محبت دادند و نشاء ابدی سرخوش گردانیدند۔»

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

the younger brother of Chandra Bhān but he was revered and respected as an elder by him, and was always considered as superior to him; because, Udai Bhān was in the service of Āqil Khān and the Khān was much impressed by his sincere devotion. Both the brothers, Rāi Bhān and Udai Bhān, followed in the foot-steps of their ancestors. However Dr. Ābdulla has mentioned the name of a third brother also, namely, Indra Bhān, but according to Dr. Ābidī the name of the third brother, Indra Bhān, could not be traced any where. On the

1. Munshaāt S.; Fol. No. 56a.

» چون برادر حقیقی فقیر اودی بجان اگر چه بحسب سن از فقیر کهنتر است لیکن چون منظور نظر آن صاحب قدر دان گشتند او را بهتر و بهتر از خود میدانند که پیوسته در خدمت حجاب بود کسب سعادت جاوید حاصل میکنند. «

2. C.C.J. Fol. No. 5.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid; Fol.No. 4a, 5.

5. Munshaāt S. Fol.No. 32a.

» اما از آنجا که فقر و سلوک آئین قدیم بهرین است پدر و جد فقیر بود برای بجان و اودی بجان هر دو برادران فقیر اند که قدم از بزرگان خود گذارستند. «

6. C.C.A.; Fol.No. 66a.

7. Adabiyāt; p. 72.

8. Islamic Culture; Vol. XL. No. 2. April 1966; p.82.

* Dr. Ābdulla has mentioned the name of third brother, Indra Bhān, which has not been traced anywhere.*

1

basis of Chandra Bhān's letter, however, we might say that the statement of Dr. 'Abidī is not correct. In this letter, he recommended his name to 'Aqil Khān for employment and in the end wrote a Ghazal for his patron, 'Aqil Khān. Hence, the name of Indra Bhān is traceable, but it is difficult to say whether he was his real brother, cousin or a mere relative. Paras Rām Wats, resident of Moga, district Ferozpur, wrote a letter to the editor of the journal 'Maarif', published in the month of March, 1947. He claimed to be one of the descendants of Chandra Bhan Brahman. He requested the editor to let him know about Chandra Bhān Brahman's works like Munshaāt-1-Brahman, Chahār Ghaman, Nigār Nāma, Guldasta, Tuhfat'ul Fusahā Majmūal Faqr and a Taḍkira of Persian poets.

1. Munshaāt S.; Fol. No. 21, 21a.

عاشق خان تاگشته :-

جداغت از من جدا نشد
 اگر اظهار نسبت و اخلاص بی ریا نماید پیش اخلاصی که از ریا بزر است معقول میگردد
 و گریب بجزف بکشاید که تحمل و حوصله لهذا بر دعای اخرونی عود دولت آن زنی
 پیران آتفا و اختصار نموده پیاد صحبت گمراهی خوراسندی باشند در ایام که فخر گوشت گزینی
 اختیار نموده برادران و خویشان فخر همین حال دارند انجمله که اندر جهان جوان باشند
 است --- قدر دانی ایشان اندر خط شکسته را در صحبت مینویسند فی الجملة بر لب
 کلام آشناسیست التماس مخلص آنست که او را در سبزه فیض آینه جا داده تربیت
 نمایند و بر مخلص میگردد تست گذرانند - غزلی که بتاریکی طرح شده بود اینست -

غزل
 این عزیز روی تمام شد
 عالم تمام گشت نشانه علم او تمام شد
 شادان کسی نوبت خود را تمام کرد
 ساحل امیر ز لب تشنگی بسوخت
 آن مشکلی در پیش نظر بود برین

در آرزوی حل معاتمام شد
 حرفی یکی است حجت دانا تمام شد
 زان پیشتر که با ده زمینا تمام شد
 لب تر نکرد عاشق دریا تمام شد
 زان یک ادای عجب ایمان تمام شد

Residential home of Chandra Bhān Brahman:

There are different statements about the residential home of Chandra Bhān. The writer of *Umarā-i-Hanūd*, on the basis of an extract from the history of Agra by Munshī Seel Chand, says "Chandra Bhān built a house and a garden for his residence in Agra and it was in the possession of an English-man at the time of Mutiny in 1857. He sold this property to Lāla Surj Bhān, resident of Belanganj, Agra, and

1. *Umarā*; p. 183, 184.

باغ چندر بھان: رائے چندر بھان نے ۱۶۶۱ء میں انتقال کیا۔ انھوں نے اپنے ایام امارت میں بمقام اکبر آباد ایک وسیع تالاب اور ایک خوشنما باغ تیار کرا یا تھا۔ باغ کے اندر اپنی کچھری کے واسطے بہت نفیس عمارت تعمیر کرائی تھی افسوس ہے کہ آگرہ کی صوبہ کی دیگر عمارت کی طرح یہ تالاب اور عمارت بھی ہستی ناپا ئدار سے مفقود ہو گئی صرف باغ اور عمارت کا نفیس اور خوشنما سرخ پتھر کا دروازہ اپنے باپ کی عظمت کی یادگار میں اس وقت تک موجود ہے۔ غلط ۱۸۵۷ء کے زمانہ میں یہ باغ ایک انگریز کے قبضہ میں تھا اس نے آگرہ کے سپاہیوں کو لالہ سورج بھان ساکن محلہ بیلن گنج کے ماتھے اس شرط پر فروخت کر دیا کہ عمارت قدیم میں کوئی دست اندازی نہ کی جاوے اور وہ بدستور اپنی حالت میں قائم رکھی جائے۔ یہ بھی مشہور ہے کہ لالہ سورج بھان کو اس باغ سے ایک بہت بڑا دھینڈہ دستیاب ہوا۔ بہر حال لالہ سورج بھان بہت تعریف کے مستحق ہیں کہ انھوں نے نہ صرف اس آثار قدیمہ ہی کو محفوظ رکھا بلکہ باغ کو بھی خوب رونق دی اور اب ان کے انتقال کے بعد ان کے بیٹے لالہ چندر بھان مالین اور اپنے باپ کے نقش قدم پر چل رہے ہیں یہ باغ سکندریہ کی سڑک پر آگرہ اور سکندریہ کے درمیان میں واقع ہے اور باپ کی نیک نیتی کہنے خواہ اتفاق وقت سمجھئے کہ باپ یا جائتین مشتری کے نام سے باغ چندر بھان کے نام سے موسوم چلا آتا ہے۔

after his death, it came under the possession of his son, Lāla Chandra Bhān.

Now, the building of his residence is untraceable but the ruins of the garden are still found in between Agra and Sikandra Road and it is called as "Bāgh-e-Chandra Bhān".

Another writer Dr. Kalika Ranjan Ganungū quotes from Gazetteer, "A conversation; in the form of questions and answers, took place between Dārā Shikūh and a saint, Bābā Lāl, at the house of Chandra Bhān Brahman, situated in Neula. At that time Dārā Shikūh was taking rest in Lahore for three

1. Lahore District Gazetteer; (1884).
2. Dara Shikoh; p. 159, 160.

"लौहौर में दार के तीन सप्ताह के बिआम में (दिसम्बर, १६५३ के मध्य तक) निपुला में स्थित राय चन्द्रभान काष्मण के घर पर राजकुमार तथा हिन्दु तपस्वी के बीच में एक बहुत शान्त धार्मिक संवाद हुआ।"

3. Ibid. "निपुला लौहौर के नगर का वह भाग मालूम होता है जिसको इस समय नौलखा कहते हैं। (लौहौर जिला जेजेटियर में इसकी स्थिति का वर्णन इस प्रकार है — "माल के उत्तर में कुछ दूरी पर और एक खुले तथा अब तक निर्जन क्षेत्र द्वारा इससे विभक्त रेलवे स्टेशन है जो बंगला के एक उपनिवेश का केन्द्र है। ----- स्टेशन के इस भाग को नौलक (नौलखा) कहते हैं। यह एक समय प्राचीन नगर का एक भाग था")"

1
weeks and Bābā Lāl was living in Kotāl Mehran, a sub-division of Lāhore."

2
Chandra Shān referred to his brother about the said meeting with saint, Bābā Lāl, who was staying in one of the villages of Kalamwar (of Kalā Nūr, which climatically, was a nice place in Punjab. At that time 'Ināyat Khān was working on deputation in place of the deceased Āsaf Khān, in the Capital, Lāhore. This meeting took place in the garden of Shīkh Farīd Murtāda Khān where Bābā Lāl had come to enjoy the sight of the city with Ināyat Khān. However, he writes in reference to the contents of the capital, Lāhore,"The house

1. Dārā Shikōh; p. 159.

"कोटल मेहराँ निसन्देह "कुईमीरन" हूँ जो लोहौर का एक उपनगर है। (लोहौर जिला गेजटियर १८८४ - पृ० १६२)।"

2. C.C.N. Fol.No. 113, 113a.

--- از اتفاقات روزگار اول صحبت کسی دست بهم داد بابا لال از درویشان مشهور آزاد مجرد صاحب حال است از ایام شباب تا حال که سن بهفتاد رسید در وضعی کلا نوری که از جایای خوش آب و هوا و ملک پنجاب است و نزدیک بکوہستان واقع شدہ مقام ساخته باز میدان کہ ہمیں انفاس گزای و صحبت سہای بچرتہ عالی رسیدہ نظر بر جلوسہ بیک رنگی کثرتہ اند بر سر پیر در ایامی کہ عنایت خان بہ نیابت آصف خان مرحوم بہر و رغور در دار السلطنت لاہور بود بابا لال بطریق بکر در شہر آمدہ در باغ شینخ فریدز قلی خان جا گرفت این نیاز مند عقیدت کیش شب بیدار سرخیز را کہ ہمیشہ در صحرائی شہہای در از طی مراحل فکر پای بلند سر از در پیچہ صبح مقصود بہری آورد۔۔۔۔۔"

3. C.C.A.; Fol.No. 48, 50a.

"در خانہ این مورضعیف کہ تصنیف این نسخہ بدیع است در ہمیں شہر واقع است۔"

4. Ibid.

of this week^a ant, the writer of this manuscript, is situated in the^{very} city". He also mentioned the name of the garden as 'Naulakh'.

Hence, on the basis of his writings, we are in a position to say that he had a house in the city of Lahore. Brahman passed his early life in the capital, Lahore, and was bred up and brought up by 'Inayat Khān the then Sūbedār^{2,3}.

EDUCATION: Chandra Bhan completed his education through the medium of Persian. He became an eminent letter-writer and a good poet of Persian. Lachmi Narain Shafiq⁴ quotes the third Chaman', "He received his education under the stewardship of

1. O.G.A.; Fol. No. 49. "و در سواد شهر اگر چه باغات / بز و گلزار همیشه بهار مثل باغ در گلشن و باغ دل آینه باغ ناموس العالمین / مستم حاجت و باغ میرزا کاران و باغ نو کلمه، و امثال آن بسیار است -"

2. Ibid. Fol.No. 61a. "عرفیه اخلاص این که بخدمت عمده الامرای نامدار از بهر خواهی بلبله مقدر آصف خان خانخانا سپه سالار در تم پذیر کلک نیا ز گشت، کمترین خزان نشانی عقیدت نشان چهره جهان بوقت این ساسی میرساند که این نیا ز مندر در دار السلطنت لاهور نشو و نما یافت عنایت خان هویدار لاهور که از بلبله های تربیت کرده و پیورده لطف و احسان نواب نامدار بود -"

3. Munshaat S.; Fol. No. 8a.

4. G.R.; Fol.No. 112a, 113.

"بر همین در اوایل همین سیوم می نویسد که من بر همین زاده پنجابم آبا و اجداد من با شغال مختلف روزگار میکردند مگر در هر داس پدر من نویسنده گی میکرد و در دریل منصبداران پادشاهی امتیاز داشت آخر آنرا و آنرا در ای جهان و اودی جهان و من سب برادر بودیم و در ای جهان تجرد اختیار کردیم و اودی جهان بکسب معاش افتاد و در خدمت عاقل خان میگردد و ایند هرگاه پادشاه پجانه خان مذکور نزول اجلال فرود من هم بلبله ای نشان روشناسی شدیم خان مذکور را فیلی داده بود تا در سواری هم کلام با منم - تلذذ بخدمت عبدالحکیم سیالکوٹی دارم -"

Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm Siālkotī." On the other hand, Chandra Bhān writes that he got his early education of Three Ra from Mullā 'Abdul Karīm. In one of the manuscripts of Chahār Chaman, it is written that he received his early education from Mullā 'Abdur Rahīm. It seems that the scribe, mistakenly, spelt the name as Mullā 'Abdur Rahīm in place of Mullā 'Abdul Karīm; because the latter name of his tutor has been repeated by Chandra Bhān at several places. Thus on the basis of this

1. Reading, writing and Arithmetic.

2. Munshā'at 8.; Fol. No. 64a.

« اگر چه از ادب و فضل و کمال در آن شهر حینت نظر فرقه فرقه و طبق اند اما از جای که این نیازمند بهره برده خدمت مخدومی ملا عبیدالکریم است چون ایشان را جذب به حالت درویشی غالب است و خلف الصدوق ایشان ملا یوسف علی نیز بهمان حال دارد - لهذا به تکلف تعلیم بر این بزرگان تصدیح محض است - »

3. C.C.A.; Fol. No. 57a, 58.

« و این بر همین و ناکیش استفاده علوم ضروری در خدمت مخدومی قاعده دان عالم عابد بر جاده فقر و قیام و مستقیم ملا عبیدالکریم نموده و شاگردی آن مخدوم را مستی تجربیست - »

4. C.C.L; Fol. No. 45.

« و این بر همین و ناکیش استفاده علوم ضروری در خدمت مخدوم قاعده دان عالم عابد بر جاده فقر و ناکیش مستقیم ملا عبیدالرحیم نموده و شاگردی آن مخدوم را مستی تجربیست - »

5. J.C..N; Fol.No. 93.98.126.

« در اصل مشا را ایله از شاگردان رشید فضیلت تربیت تقوی منزلت ملا عبیدالکریم

6. Ibid; Fol. No. 94a.

« در معلوم برادر گرامی باد که از شاگردان خلدیم مخدومی ملا عبیدالکریم یکی سیل سنگم لیسر کشنده اس نامی جوان است که لیسر ان شاه تلی خان رجوم میگردد بر اند جوانان قابل سخن فہم سخن گو اند - »

7. C.C.J. Fol. No. 36a, 37.

repetition⁴ of the name, we can assume that Chandra Bhān got his education from Mullā 'Abdul Karīm. From his early life, he practised at Khat-e-Ta'aliq under the guidance of Banārsī Dās, son of Pratāp Rāi Kāyath who was employed as Treasury Officer. Sunder Dās, brother of Banārsī Dās also used to write Khat-e-Shikasta in the style of Mirza Muḥammad Husain. Chandra Bhān learned Khat-e-Shikasta² from Jatmal Sudreh and became a reputed discip³le of this class. Brahman also got his Khat-e-Ta'aliq⁵ corrected from Mullā 'Atā Ullā. In one of his letters to his son⁶, he refers to the under-mentioned works of the

1. C.C.N.; Fol. No. 97.

“معلوم برادر در دست گزین باد که فقیر از آغاز حال مشفق خط تعلیق بخدمت بنارسى داس و لدر پرتاب رای کا یتیم خود مشار الیه در سلک مشرفان سرکار خالصه شریفه انتظام دارد -“

2. Ibid Fol.No. 97,97a.

“این نیازمند عقیدت کیش در عنفوان شباب مشفق خط شکسته را از جمل سودره گرفته مشار الیه از قفس جهانی برآمده بعالم روحانی خرامیده و یادگاری که از آن مسافر عالم بقا مانده و نسبت رای برادر حقیقی اوست -“

3. Ibid.

“در اصل از قوم سودره بگونت رای و نرایین داس و دیگر برادران بنویسندگی مشهور اند فقیر بنا گردی این قوم اشتها دارد -“

4. Sudreh: It is a caste of indignified people among Hindūs.

5. Ibid. Fol. No. 88a,89.

“این نیازمند نیز بخدمت ملاعطاء التدریسیدره و اصلاح خط تعلیق گرفته -“

6. C.C.A.; Fol. No. 75a,76.

poets and writers which he had studied during his early education. In the light of the experience, Chandra Bhān advised him that he should acquire knowledge; and for that, it is necessary to go through the study of Gulistān, Būstān and letters of Ḥadrat Mullā Jāmī in the primary stage and when he is able to understand them, he should read books on ethics and history of the predecessors like 'Akhlāq-e-Nāsiri, Akhlāq-e-Jalālī and Jannat-us-Sēr, Raudat'us Saifa, Raudat'us Salātīn, Tārīkh-e-Guzīdah, Tārīkh-e-Tabrezi and Zafar Nāma, Etc. After finishing them, he should study Dīwāns and Mathnawī's of some of the Ustāds as Hakīm ThSanāi, Mullā Rūmī, Shams Tabrēz, Sheikh Farīduddīn ^tAḥar, Sheikh Sa'adī, Khwāja Ḥāfiz, Sheikh Wahdī Kirmānī, Mullā Jāmī and also other poets and eloquent writers like Mullā Rudakī, Hakīm Gaṭrān, Ashjādī, 'Unsurī, Firdausī, Farrukhī, Nāsir Khusraw, Jamāl Uddīn, 'Abdur Razzāq, Kamāl Ismā'īl, Khāqānī, Anwārī, Amīr Khusraw, Hasan Dehlwī, Mullā Jamālī Zahir Fāryabī, Fāryabī, Kamāl Khujand, 'Arūdī, Khamīr Qandī, 'Amīq Bukhārī, 'Abdul-Wāsi Jablī, Fakhr-uddīn, Bandī, Radāī Meeshīd, Majdehkar, 'Abdul Mu'khir Rāsi, Masūd Sa'ad Salmān, Masūd Bēg, Farīduddīn and also biographies of 'Uṣṣān ThMukhtārī, Nāsir Bukhārī-Ibn-Yamīn, Hakīm Saūmī, Farīd Katib'ul Walālī Ganj, Azragī, Malkī, Suwādī, Bābā Fughānī, Khwāja Kirmānī, Asfi, Mullā Sabātī, Mullā 'Ummad Mu'ani, Khwāja Akānī Bisātī, Lutf-ullah Halwāi, etc. It is also essential to go through the study

of Dīwāns and Mathnawī's of the modern scholars as Ahli, Halākī, Muhtashim, Wahshī, Qādī Nūr Turki, Qusmī, Usedi, Mirzā Qāsim Gūnābādī, Mullā Zamānī, Partwī, Hairānī, Jamī, Sārī, Qanirī, Rashkī, Nishānī, Mullākī, Kherābī, Azizī, Surahī, Tūfī Hamī, Saqāī Fadīhābī, Mahwī Fardī, Sūmī Candhārī, Jafri, Khidrī Illāhī, Darkī, Hudūri, Dabirī, Farqī, Sarqūri, Karmī, Mullā Kāfī, Nazrī, Daumī, Wahdī, Misrī, Fikrī, Rubānī, Arsātī, Adāī, La'ālī, Shikōhī, Raūnaqī, Anbārī, Liel, Azli, Arqī, Faid, Shaqī, Jahānī, Nazrī Nāu, Nasīm, Nuḡmān, Mīr Sadr, Mīr Masōm, Natar Mashhadī, Omī Dast Biyādī, Anōya, Tafsīdī, Maumin, Husāin Romī, Madām, Mullā Murshid, Anayā Halwāī, Mirzā Nizām and others.

Name and Nom de plume: Chandra Bhān was his full name and Brahman his pen name. There is a controversy in respect of 'Brahman' being surname or pen-name. Banārāī Prasad Saksena is of opinion that Brahman was his surname¹ while Jigar Barelwī² and Mohāmmad Saīd Ahmad

1. Saxena B.P.; p.254.

" Chandra Bhān surnamed Brahman is the first gifted Hindū poet of the Mughal period."

2. Yādgār; p. 86.

» چندر بھان نام پر پہلے تخلص تھا۔ «

¹ Marehrwi point out that 'Brahman' was his Takhallus.
 Brahman mentioned the name of his contemporaries in his works
 as Dayāl Dās Brahman and ² Khwāja Bihārā Mal Brahman³. He
 used the word 'Brahman' in the composition of verses⁴ his
 Nom de Plume. Hence, we can venture to say that Chandra Bhān
 used the word 'Brahman' in both the sense i.e. pen name as
 well as his surname.

Chandra Bhān was a man of submissive nature. The
 under-mentioned story would give an idea of his humble and
 polite nature. Dr. A.H. 'Abidī quotes this story⁵ from Safīna-
 1-Khūshgū which is preserved in the Majlis library, Tehrān:
 that one day Chandra Bhān met with a Khattri girl on his
 way. She was feeding her cow. He, then, enquired of the
 girl whether her father had no Prohit or priest and ^{since} she

1. Umarā; p. 183.
 " تو ا کے بہن اور لاہور کے رہنے والے تھے۔ حساب کتاب، معاملہ نہیں،
 تحریر و تقریر میں کار گزار اہلکار اور انشاء پرداز ہی اور مطلب
 نویسی میں نظر سمجھ جاتے تھے۔ موزوں طبع اور بہن بہن تخلص کرتے تھے۔ "

2. C.C.N.; Fol. No. 114.

3. Ibid; Fol. No. 91.

4. Diwān U.C.; Fol.No. 1.

مانند غنچہ گریہ خوشیم بہنیں ÷ لیکن پیر از نو است جو بلبل زبان ما۔

5. Islamic Culture; Vol. XL. No.2; April 1966;p. 80,81.

was feeding the cow. The girl replied in a taunting manner that her father's Prohit has become the secretary of the king and he does not pay attention towards us and he also did not like to take bread from us poor people, and his name is Chandra Bhān. The reply was very impressive and Chandra Bhān ordered one of his servants to bring bread from her every day. He also begged her father to be pardoned.

The humble nature and poetic talent of Chandra Bhān became the main factor in achieving the favour of many patrons among whom the following ^{are} not ^{to} be worthy:

1. Afdal Khān.
2. Shāhjahān
3. Dārā Shikūh
4. Aurangzib.

CHAPTER- IIPATRONS

Chandra Bhān Brahman was fortunate enough to have secured the sympathy and favour of the nobles and the emperors of his time; he had an occasion to serve under them too. He presented his poetic compositions before them, both for correction and appreciation. He mentions the names of Ḥasif Khān, Afḡal Khān, Islām Khān, Sa'adulla Khān, Mūazzam Khān and Jāfar Khān (in the beginning of his Munshāat) under whom he is alleged to have worked. The above mentioned persons were his well-wishers and patrons and he enriched his literary genius under them. A detailed description of his patrons is as follows:

1. Ināyat Khān was the first person under whose patronage Brahman was brought up. Chandra Bhan writes

1. Munshāat S., Fol.No. 1.

” چون از عنفوان شباب این برهن عقیدت کیش را میل در محبت بدر یافت
 دقائق شعرو انشای بهم رسیده و بعد فراغ مطالعه کتب و توارنج و نسیجی نظم و نثر منتقدین و
 متأخرین بمقتضای سعادت ازلی نقش خدمت و عبودیت در بارگاه سلاطین پناه سلیمان
 جاه صحبت و زرای عظیم الشان مثل عبدالخلافت آصف خان سپه سالار علامه العصر
 الدوران افضل خان و رکن السلطنت اسلام خان و علامه ارستطوی فطرت سعد الله
 خان و وزیر اعظم معظم خان و دستور معظم افلاطون و سپه سوم جعفر خان در دست نشست
 خدمت مستطیر مسوده و فرامین جهان مطاع باین نور ضعیف تعلق یافت و اشعار این
 ذره بمقدار بدرجه تحسین رسید -“

1,2
 in a letter to Āṣif Khān, the commander of the Royal army,
 that, when he lived in the capital, Lāhore, he was brought
 up under the patronage of Ināyat Khān, the then Governor³
 of Lāhore. We are, therefore, in a position to say that
 'Ināyat Khān was his first patron.

2. Mīr 'Abdul Karīm: The first man, under whom Chandra Shān
 appears to have served, was Mīr 'Abdul Karīm. Brahman wrote

1. Munshaat S.; Fol.No. 8a.

«عقیده الخلافتہ قدوسہ خوانین بلند مکان ادرای عالمیان ممالک مدار سپہ سالار
 آصف خان: کترین خیر اندیش بموقف عرض میرساند در هنگامی کہ این نیازمند در
 دارالسلطنت لاہور نشو و نما یافتہ عنایت خان صوبہ دار لاہور کہ از بندہ های
 تربیت کردہ و پروردہ لطف و احسان نواب نامدار بود۔»

2. G.O.A.; Fol.No. 61a.

«عریضہ اخلاص آمیزین بخدمت عمدۃ الابرار نامدار از نژاد خوانین بلند
 مقدار آصف خان خانانان سپہ سالار رقم پذیر ممالک نیاز گشت: کترین
 خیر اندیشان عقیدت نشان چندر بھان بموقف عرض ساجی برساند کہ این
 نیازمند در دارالسلطنت لاہور نشو و نما یافت عنایت خان صوبہ دار لاہور
 کہ از بندہ های تربیت کردہ و پروردہ لطف و احسان نواب نامدار بودہ۔»

3. Ibid.

a letter¹ to his brother where in he asked him to inform Mullā 'Abdur Rahīm that the latter was recommended by Chandra Bhān to Sa'adulla Khān for the post of a Munshī which was required at the time when the Khān was appointed 'Mīr Sānān-e-Sarkār'. And Chandra Bhān added that Mullā 'Abdur Rahīm was known to him for a long time. Brahman further asked his brother to inform Mullā 'Abdur Rahīm that Khwāja Bhagwant Rāi had communicated all in favour of him to Sa'adulla Khān while Khwāja Bhagwant Rāi was in the service of the Khān. Chandra Bhān adds that when he was associated with Mīr 'Abdul Karīm, in

1. G.C.N.; Kol.No. 86,86a.

در معلوم آن برادر و مالکین باد که درین ایام نخبه آغاز که متاع قابلیت و استعداد را اگر می بازر است خلیف زمان و خرد جهان در صدد تهر بیت و مقام رعایت طبع ارباب هنر و اهل استعداد است فضایل و کمالات مرتبت و انادت و اناصت منزلت خان و الا نشان سعادت الله خان بخدمت جلیل القدر میر سامانی / کار فیض اثار بلند و فقیر گشته بحسن سلوک و کمال کار دانی سرگرم / انجام مهمام بر جوع است و از آنجا که در هر خدمت از خدمات متعلقه روزگار مصالح از ضروریات است بمشئی مدعا نویسی قاعده دان احتیاج دارند - اگر چه نزد ارباب دولت اجتماع این جماعه در کمال آسانی است اما شخصی که بتجمع وجوه شناختگی دسترس باشد بهر سبب آن خالی از اشکال نیست این نیازمند بهر کیفیت حال جامع صفات کسی و موهبی ملا عبد الرحیم از قدیم اطلاع داشت در مجلس خان وزارت مکان آنچه باید بر زبان صحبت آورد فواجبه بگوشت رای مشئی که در خدمت آن خان قدر دانست در یعنی محمد خود باحت و ایشان از روی قدر دانی در باب طلب اخوند مبالغه فرمودند و این برین دفا گیش ملوکود این یعنی بخوده بر خود گرفت چون آن برادر قدر دان همین اظهار خو بهیای خدای و صفاتی آن اخوند قاعده دان میگردد الحال که با تفاقات حسنه این قسم مهر کور بپایان آمده لایحه قدر دانی آنست که فضیلت مآب مستشار ایبه بدریافت صحبت خان بلند مکان ترغیب داده رفیق بر درقه عنایت الهی ساخته روانه اردوی ظفر قرین سازند یعنی را بیاد اخوند جبر خواهند داد که در آغاز حال نیز این نیازمند در خدمت سیادت و نجابت پناه میر عبد الکریم محرک سلسله تعلق شما گشته شما را از صحرا نشینی بهتر آورده بود الحال بخواست الهی از شهر با دروشی آورد -

the beginning of his career, Mullā 'Abdur Rahīm was also in his service. Dr. Muhammad 'Abdul Hamīd Fārooqī, however, holds that one of the patrons of Chandra Bhān Brāhman was Mullā 'Abdul Karīm under whom the former received his education. Mullā 'Abdul Karīm was originally in charge of the buildings at Lāhore and was later on entrusted, together with M^ukramat Khān, with the construction of the Tāj at Agra. He further adduces the evidence of Munshā²t to describe the 'Mushā'iras', held at the residence of Mullā 'Abdul Karīm. Brāhman, however, gives the names of these different persons on various occasions, in his works. The names are:

1. Mīr 'Abdul Karīm.
2. Mullā 'Abdul Karīm
3. Sheikh 'Abdul Karīm.

1. Mīr 'Abdul Karīm has been mentioned as the person

1. Fārooqī; p. 45.
2. Ibid.

at whose residence the 'Mushaira' was held in Lahore and
 who was put in charge of the construction of Taj at Agra

1. C.C.N.; Fol.No. 73.

» برادر قاعده دان من روزی در دار السلطنت لاہور کہ آب خوشگوار و ہوا
 فرحت افزایش یاد از روضہ رضوان میلہ بہ - حد ایامی کہ نسیم بہار گری بخش نگاہ
 عند لیبان گلشن سخن بود مجلس رنگین در منزل سیادت مرتبت میر عبد الکریم صورت
 العقاد یافت از اتفاقات حسہ آنکہ طوطی شکر سندان فصاحت و بلاغت ملا منیر
 و عزیزان دیگر مثل ملا جلال دہلوی و ملا نور قاسم خانی و ابوسعید حافظ آبادی
 ملا عبد الرحیم و ملا جان محمد سیالکوٹی کہ از شعرای روزگار و منشیان بلاغت
 آثارند نگاہ آرای بزم روحانی بودند۔«

2. Munshāt 8; Fol.No. 61.

3. C.C.L.; Fol.No. 29.

» برادر قاعده دان من روزی در دار السلطنت لاہور کہ آب خوشگوار و
 ہوا فرحت افزایش یاد از روضہ رضوان میلہ بہ حد ایامی کہ نسیم بہار گری بخش
 نگاہ عند لیبان گلشن بود مجلس رنگین در منزل سیادت مرتبت میر
 عبد الکریم صورت العقاد یافت از اتفاقات حسہ آنکہ طوطی شکر سندان
 فصاحت و بلاغت ملا منیر و عزیزان دیگر مثل ملا جلالی و ملا دہلوی و ملا نور قاسم
 خانی و ابوسعید کہ از نظم و نثر دستگاہ نام دارد نگاہ آرای بزم روحانی بودند۔«

4. C.C.J. Fol.No. 31, 31a.

5. C.C.R.; Fol.No. 115.

6. C.C.A.; Fol.No. 47, 47a.

» اگرچہ از آثار محمد علی ابن شہر مقبرہ منورہ حضرت رضوان مرتبت عرش استانی
 است اما مقبرہ مظہرہ مقدسہ در البہ اللہ و رانی خاتمہ الزمانی کہ در عہد ابد قرین سعادت
 آئین باہتمام مکر متخان و میر عبد الکریم صورت تمامیت یافتہ کیفیت دیگر دار دار
 مبلغ صرف عمارت ان شدہ کہ خراج کشتوری و حاصل ملک عظیمی بہ ان
 برابر لستہ۔«

together with Makramat Khān.

1,2,3,4,5,6
2. Mullā Abdul Karīm was a different person under whom Chandra Bhān received his education. In one of the copies of the manuscript of Chahār Chaman, the name of Mullā Abdul Karīm has been wrongly written as Mullā Abdur Rahīm but in another letter⁷ of the same copy as well as in other works, the name is written as Mullā Abdul Karīm in place of

1. G.C.A.; Fol.No. 57a,58.

« و این بر همین وفا کیش استفاده علوم ضروری در خدمت مخدوم قاعده دان عالم عالی بر جاده فقر و قیام و مستقیم ملا عبد الکریم نموده شناگر دی آن مخدوم راستی مجربست - »

2. G.C.N.; Fol.No. 77.

« لیکن از جای که این نیازمند فیض یافته خدمت مخدومی ملا عبد الکریم است و ایشان را جز به حالت درویشی غالب است و خلف الصریق ایشان ملا رضا علی نیز همان حال دارد لهذا تکلف تعلیم باین بزرگان تصدیع محض است - »

3. Ibid; Fol.No. 126.

4. Munshaat S. Fol.No. 64a.

« جای که این نیازمند بهره برده خدمت مخدومی ملا عبد الکریم است چون ایشان را جز به حالت درویشی غالب است و خلف الصریق ایشان ملا یوسف علی نیز همان حال دارد - »

5. G.O.J.; Fol.No. 36a,37.

« از جای که این نیازمند فیض برده خدمت مخدومی ملا عبد الکریم است چون ایشان را جز به درویشی است و خلف صریق ایشان ملا علی نیز همان حال دارد لهذا تکلیف تعلیم این بزرگان تصدیع محض است - »

6. G.O.L.; Fol.No. 34a.

« این نیازمند فیض برده ملا عبد الکریم است و خلف الصریق ایشان ملا رضا علی نیز همان حال دارد لهذا تکلیف تعلیم باین بزرگان تصدیع محض است - »

7. Ibid; Fol.No. 45a.

Mullā 'Abdur Rahīm. Hence it seems that the scribe wrongly spelt the name of Mullā 'Abdul Karīm as Mullā 'Abdur Rahīm.

3. ^{1,2,3,} Shīkh 'Abdul Karīm: The third person was ⁴ Shēikh 'Abdul Karīm who accompanied Brahman together with the son ⁵ of Rānā Rāj Singh of Udaipur, to Ajmer where the Emperor

1. Munshaāt 3.; Fol.No.7.

» درین اثنا شیخ وزارت پناه شیخ عبدالکریم با فرمان مرحمت عنوان رسیدند و نزد
صدر و حکم دالدار اجبت لشکر نرفت اثر نگوش را نا که نیز ازین مانع در روانه ساختن پسر نداشت
در سائید را نا که همان احکام مطلع و مستفاد گشته پسر را یک هفته بیشتر از او دیور بر آورده بود
تبارگی درین مدت و احسان عنایت و مرحمت مگر ایند شیخ مشاور الیه و بنده های درگاه بالیر
را نا صبح یکشنبه دو از دهم محرم ۱۰۱۸ روانه ملازمت سر اسعد سعادت مگر دیدند

2. O.C.N.; Fol.No. 101a, 102.

» برادر کامگار من روزی کمترین بندگان بخدمت وزارت و شیخ پناه شیخ عبدالکریم رفتند بود
از اتفاقات حسن سعادت پناه میر محمد خانی که از مردم مستعد قابل خوشنویس پندیده و وضع پاکیزه
در درگاه است و ملاطفتها بیسری که در دم بخته جهان دیده صاحب نظم و نثر است بهنگام آردای صحبت
دو حافی بودند سخنان رنگین و دلنشین بر زبان میرفت شیخ مشاور الیه بعد از فروغ ایوانی و انجام
جهام در جویم درویشان و صوفیانه میگذازانند و بزرگی شیخ مدد بود در بنده و نشان شهر است بوجهی که
قاعدۀ بزرگان قدر شناس است الحال این خیر اندیش در می داشتند و سخنان خوب بیان آمد.

3. O.C.A.; Fol.No. 41a.

» در نا که گوش سخن شنود و در ساد است خواجه متفوق خود راجع و فراسیم آورده تکلیف بر کرم
الیه و عنایت شاهنشاهی ساخته جگر گوشه خود را که در سن شش و هفت سالگی بود بجزم دریافت
ملازمت اقدس اعلی روانه بارگاه معلی نمود بقادر آن شیخ منزلت شیخ عبدالکریم از درگاه
سلطین پناه رسید زمان عالیشان بنام حمده الملکی سعید الترخان در باب مراجعت لشکر فروری
اثر آورده عاقر منصوره مطابق حکم دالدار چیتو سعادت نمود پسر را نا همراه شیخ مدد بود
و کمترین بندگان بخدمت مبر که اجیر رسیدند به ملازمت اشرف اعلی مستعد مگر دیدند.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

2,3

was encamped. Sheikh was for some time the Governor of Lāhore as well in the year 1651 A.D. The above mentioned three persons thus play a totally different role. We are, therefore, in a position to say that Mīr 'Abdul Karīm is the person under whom Chandra Bhān Brahman served in the beginning of his career.

3. Afdal Khān: Among the great patrons of Brahman, Afdal Khān, named Mulla Shukrulla Shīrāzī, was the third and most important one. He was a person of noble character and was greatly drawn by Brahman's intelligence and genius. He was the first person who encouraged Brahman to produce good poetic compositions and prose writings. Chandra Bhān got a fine opportunity to show his skill under his kind patronage. He gives a detailed description about his kind and sympathetic treatment which he showed towards him. He has addressed the Khān as a true and genuine patron. It is not possible to

1. C.C.A.; Fol.No. 40a, 41.

» ذکر فتح چنبره که قلعه مشهور هندوستان است القیاد و اطلاع زبده راجان
والله تبارک و تعالی ستمگر بجز تدبیر فریب شمشیر عالمگیر! چون بحر بیکیان خاطر در پانچوا
بادشاه عظیم الاشراف در طنطنه لفظی از جانب موج ان است بادشاه آفاق
گیر گیتی ستان بمقتضای مصلحتی که مکنون ضمیر آفتاب نظر و مرکز خاطر ملکوت ناظر بود
از دار الخلافه حضرت شاه جهان آباد لشکر عظیم و سامان و سرانجامی که ستایان این دولت
ایده پیروز است فراهم آورده خود بدولت و اقبال و عبادتی میزوری روانه خطه انجیر
گردیدند - «

2. Ibid; Fol.No. 50a

3. Nuquah; p. 68.

4. C.C.A.; Fol.No.62.

» کمترین بنده گان عقیدت کیش و دعا گو یان خیر اندیش خنده بهمان که رشت
بنده گی در گردن اخلاص و صندلی غلامی بر جبین اعتقاد دارد ذره آسای بوقف
عرض صاحب و قبله حقیقی و کعبه بمقتضای میرساند - - - - - «

decide about the precise date, when Brahman entered the the service of Afdal Khān. His pen is also silent on the subject. Brahman, in one of his letters to ^{1,2} Āsif Khān mentions that Ināyat Khān, the then Governor of Lāhore, had promised him to inform Nawāb Afdal Khān about Brahman's condition and circumstances when he would reach there but, by chance, it did not come about. Brahman further mentions that he got himself associated with Afdal Khān through his intellectual gifts, and was immediately placed in the category of the servants at the court of Afdal Khān. Brahman writes that he was also bred up by ³ Afdal Khān and it is a well known fact that he was a disciple ⁴ of the Khān. Chandra Bhan has

1. G.O.A.; Fol.No. 61a.

« عرضیه اخلاص آئین که بخدمت عمده الامرای نامبردارند برده خوانین بلبله مقدر آصف خان خانجنان سید سالار رقم پذیر کلک نیاز گشت: کزین خیر اندیشان عقیدت نشان چندر جهان بوقوف عرض سمای میرساند که --- عنایت خان صوبه دار لاهور --- بر احوال کزین بنده گمان مطلع شده قرار داده بود که چون بخدمت سمای بر سر حقیقت حال این خیر اندیش را از روی نفس الامری بر من نواب قدر دان که رنج جهان بیان اند میرساند از اتفاقات روزگار ایمنی دست بهم نداد تا آنکه بمقتضای مناسب معنوی در صحبت علامه العم و الدوران افضل خان بار یافت و از اینجا در زمره بنده های درگاه جاه و جلال اقدس اعلی منتظم گشت - »

2. Munshat S.; Fol.No. 8a.

3. G.O.A.; Fol.No. 17a.

« روزی علامه اطلون کز در افضل خان بر منبر وزارت نشسته بود نزدیکترین بنده گان که پیورده و تربیت کرده آن خلاصه علامه العم و الدوران است در خدمت فیض موهبت آن عمده امیران روزگار کسب سعادت می نموده بشاگردی آن استاد دانا استهار داشت - »

4. Ibid.

recorded some of the incidents which took place during the service of Afdal Khān when the latter became Wazir-i-Kūll in the first year of the Shāhjahān's reign. When Shāhjahān was a prince, Afdal Khān served as Dīwān independently and when Shāhjahān ¹ sat on the throne, Afdal Khān discharged his duties independently as Mir-i-Samān.² And when the Khān was called by the Emperor to the capital city of Agra (Akbarābād) from Lāhore, he entrusted him with the services of the Nizārat-e-Kūll³ of Hindūstān i.e. the services of the Prime-Ministership of Hindūstān, Chandra Bhān quotes about the mood of trance of Afdal Khān saying that once when the Khān was busy in the performance of his duties as ^a minister, Brahman selected one of the books for study and, during the course of study, Afdal Khān over heard that the time of death was a very violent⁴ one

1. O.C.A.; Fol.No. 16a .

” در ایام محنة فرجام بادشاه زادگی خدمت دیوانی با استقلال داشت -“

2. Ibid.

” در عهد حینت مکانی میرسامانی مستقل در قوت شهر با حق خدمت ثابت نموده بود حسب الطلب از دارالسلطنت لاہور بمقتضی الخلافت ابرآباد بفرست ملازمت خود را آفاق خلیفہ بادشاه والا استحقاق مستقل دیگر دید بخیرت وزارت کل ہندوستان بریلندی یافت -“

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid; Fol.No. 17a.

” این فقرہ از کتابی انتخاب نموده بمطالعہ ایشان در آورده کہ فوت وقت شہید تراست از مفارقت روح زیرا کہ این برین است از خلق و آن زمین است خالق- علامہ صاحب حال را از استماع این معنی حال دیگر چون شدہ ولی اختیار از عمر دیوان بر خاستہ بخلوہ در وقت نمودند و چون بحال آمدند این رقم با ما رسید کہ از صاحبان و دسازان ان خان بلہ ضلوت بود در قوم قلم فرخندہ رقم گردانیدند -“

and when the Khān heard that the soul migrates from this world and reaches heaven, the condition of Afdal Khān was transformed; he left the court and went into a lonely place and began to shed tears. When he recovered from the mood, he ordered Chandra Bhān to write a letter to Āqā Hashīd, who was one of his companions and friends. In the above mentioned letter Brahman discloses about the age of Afdal Khān i.e. it had touched seventy. Brahman has also recorded the categories of ministers, as if told by the Khān. According to Khān, there are two types of ministers and he has also given the peculiarities of each category. He further incidentally describes the affection and love of Afdal Khān had for him. Afdal Khān took out a pen from the ink-pot when Brahman

1. O.C.A; Fol.No. 17a.

2. Ibid; Fol.No. 17a, 18.

” امیر که اللہ تعالیٰ ازین علائق دنیوی بجز د خوبی شمارا منقطع ساخته بخود استنای کرامت ... از راتب دنیا نشان حرکت جذبہ الہی است ہر گاہ میخواہد کہ بندہ را بسوی خود راہ دہد ازین دل گیر میسازد ازین دل گیری خود از راتب دنیا خوشحال باشیہ و این معنی را نشان سعادت دانید این دوست شما را نیز آن داعیہ کہ میباید انہذا بسیار بجزکت و دل گیری اند امور دنیوی ہم رسیمہ ظاہر است آن در آملون عمر است بسال ہفتاد چون این سخن را پایان بنیست ماتمام کاغذ تمام نمود۔“

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid; Fol.No. 18a, 19, 19a, 20.

بہ بیان بعضی از سخنان دانش و دانائی کہ وزیر دانا افضل خان ہر زمان داشت اول آنکہ خان مرحوم میگفت کہ وزیر دو قسمی باشد یا آنکہ اینجہ بادشاہ بگوید درست نہمہ و موافق آن عمل کند یا آنکہ اینجہ او بگوید بادشاہ بر گزیدہ و چہیدہ او عمل نماید۔“

5. Ibid; Fol.No. 58.

در درحیتی کہ این ذرہ بمقدار از انعامات حسد در کار بخوابش و ہر بانی تمام در خدمت علامتہ العرف والوردان افضل خان شرف نفاذ یافت از غایت قدر دانی لطف و عنایتی کہ زیادہ از حالت و حوصلہ این میاژمند بود درمی و ببلد دل گردانیدند و در جان وقت قلبی از غلبہ ان ہر آوردہ فرمودند کہ باین قلم بنویس لیلہ ازین بہ اسلوب ہر اشق و رفتہ رفتہ نسبت عبودیت از غایت رسوخ عقیدت و صفای طوبت و درستگی اخلاص و راستی محض و دولام خدمت بمرتبہ حریمت رسیمہ۔“

entered his service^{*} and asked him to write with this pen and cut it after the pattern indicated by him. And he, gradually, became one of his confidants.¹ Although Munshis² of elegant hand, had gathered together from Irān, Turān and Hindūstān at the court of Khān and the latter displayed his favour towards them all without any distinction, but Chandra Bhān was the object of his very special favours, on account of his sincere devotion towards him. The fact is borne out by the undermentioned statement of Chandra Bhān Brahman.

Once, the Emperor Shāhjahān arrived at the capital, Lāhore, to visit the Manzil of Afdal Khān. Brahman was personally introduced by the Khān to the Emperor for employ-³ment. On another occasion, he was awarded an elephant to ride on and to accompany Khān on his journeys. In some of the manuscripts^{5,6,7,8} it is mentioned that Brahman was

1. C.C.A; Fol.No. 58.

2. Ibid.

اگر منشیان خوشن لولین فاعده دان از اهل ایران و توران و هندوستان در خدمت آن بزرگوار
داشود فرقه بفرقه فراهم آمده بودند و فیض آثار نظریه‌ها تا سر آن بزرگوار صوری و صوری
بر همه نس یکسان بود اما بمقتضای موافقت صحبت نظر ترتیب بر این مورد ضعیف
داشتند -

3. Ibid.

« و آثار صدق این معنی آنکه در وقتی که بنده گان اعلیای خلیفای الهی در دارالسلطنت لاهور
بتماشای منازل آن خان بلند مکان نزول اجلال فرود آمد این دره ببقعه ادرابشرف که در نش حضور
و ملازمت کرامت سعادت الشرف اقدس اعلی مستفید گمردار بنده در شناس این سعادت ساختند - »

4. Ibid.

« دیگر آنکه طبعی با این مورد ضعیف رحمت فرموده بودند که در سواری همیشه بر آن خان و الا نشان
همریان میرفت - »

5. Munshaat S.; Fol.No. 31a.

6. C.C.J. Fol.No. 38.

7. C.C.L. Fol.No. 35a, 36.

8. C.C.N. Fol. 50, 50a.

« این نیز مندر در خدمت علامه العوام و الوردان افضل خان اختیار سفر دولت آباد نموده خود را مستعد سعادت
خدمت ایشان ساخت در عالم صورت که صورت بنیان نظر بر آن دانند آن خان در دران القدر لوازم معلوفت
بظهور رسانیدند که این ضعیف را اسرار فیض گمردار بنده - »

seated by Afdal Khān on an elephant when he journeyed to Daulatābād. The duty of recording Farsi¹ns was entrusted to him and he had to be in the company of Afdal Khān from dawn till ^dmidnight. The Khān sympathetically listened to his ²verses and, among them the following couplet is noteworthy:

نظر بشا هر معنی ز پرده دوخته ام بخجابت عینک چشم است مرد بنیاد را -

Whenever, scientific discussions, spiritual discourses and practical discussions³ followed and meetings of learned persons and scholars were held, Chandra Bhān, too, used to sit on a carpet in a corner and whatever transpired at these meetings, he recorded them all. Brahmaⁿ gives a very touching account of the condition of his patron, Afdal Khān when the Emperor, Shāhjahān came to see him on his death bed⁴. The Emperor gave him consolation when tears trickled down his⁵

1. O.C.A. Fol.No. 58a.

« و از طلوع بزم اعظم تا نصف الیل در حاشیه نشینان بزم کثرت و خلوت جاداشت
و نظر سوده ز این سعادت آیین مخصوص این شکسته نویسن بود - »

2. Ibid.

« و اکثر اوقات اشعار این خاکسار بسبب اشتقاق اصفا میفرمودند از جمله این بیت
خالی ایشان بود - »

3. Ibid.

« در هر گاه صحبت روحانی و مباحثه علمی و علمی بمیان آمد و هر اجتماع فضلا و بلغا مجلس منعقد
میشد - این درده خاکسار نیز در گوشه بساط جامی یافت و آنچه بر زبان میگوید سنت بنوک قلمی
آورد - »

4. Ibid; Fol.No. 59, 59a.

« در وقتی که اعلیحضرت خلیفه زمان از عایت مهربانی و قدردانی دست مبارک را بر دست
آن علامه روزگار گذارند استغضبا ر حال میفرمودند آن نیکو پر زبان بی زبانی یاد از نسبت
قدیم و قدم خدمت نموده اظهار تشکر عنایت اقدس اعلی می نموده و بی اختیار رفته نموده
آب از چشم میریخت بادشاه مهربان قدردان از مستشاهده این حال سخنان عطفوت
آمییز بجهت تقویت حال آن خان و الاشان بر زبان الهام بیان می آوردند - »

5. Ibid.

^{cheeks} eyes, but Khān could not live long and he died on the twelfth Ramdan, the twelfth year of Shāhjahān's accession, at Lāhore. He also gives the names of Wazir Khān, Hākīm-i-Panjāb (the Governor of Panjāb); ~~Muhammad~~ Khān, the Mīr Bahshahī, Makrasat Khān the 'Mīr Sāman and other respectable persons who accompanied the dead body to the burial place. According to Brahman the under mentioned hemistich ² gives the chronogram of ^{his} death:

سه ز خوبی برد گرغ نیکنای -

Amānat Khān, the blood brother of Afdal Khān was greatly shocked to hear the sad happening and he resigned his post and passed his life in seclusion.

4. Sādulla Khān: After the death of his beloved patron, Afdal Khān, Brahman attached himself to Sādulla Khān who succeeded to the Chief Ministership after the deceased. Chandra Bhan records that Sādulla Khān, gradually, rose to become a noble ³ and in a short while, he was awarded the honour of the 'Khān'. ⁴ He later became Mīr Sāman ⁵ and was

1. C.O.A.; Fol.No. 59a, 30.

«و بحسن خلق و حق شناسی و نیکو آئی استقامت یافت میا در فرموده عنایت خاص خود را کرد در باره آن وزیر در انقودار استقامت بر جهان بیان ظاهر کرد اینگونه - در او از همه شهر رمضان شد، دو از ده از جلوس و الا این قضیه با پلم در در دار السلطنت لا بورد - - - شد وزیر خان حاکم پنجاب در معتقد خان میر بخش و مکرمت خان میر سامان و دیگر بزرگان همراه جنازه آن لرد و ملک بقا برده و چشم عبرت بین نظاره عالم مانی می نمودند -»

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid; Fol.No. 22, 22a.

«در تمام آنکه در ساعت سحر در درو تخانه دار السلطنت لایم و لایم ملازمت لازم سعادت مستعد کرد بیره منظور نظر فیض اثر خود بر جهان گشت و چون جوهر قابل و استوار کامل گشت بمساعرت اخلاقی بنده مقبول طبع شکل این خدایت عالم افتاد و وزیر میر میر و در درجه میر میر شرف امارت قایل گردید و در اندک مدت بخطاب خانی سرافرازی یافت -»

4. Ibid

5. Ibid.

«از داروغگی علیان بخدمت میر سامانی سرکار فیض آن تاد سرافرازی یافت -»

made incharge of the office of the Dīwānī¹. Later on, when Mulla Alāul Mulk got the honour of Fādil Khān and also became Mir Sāmān, Saādullah Khān was promoted to Chief Ministership.² Shortly after, he attained the position of Mansabdār of five thousand, and assuming the commandership of the army, he proceeded to Bulkh and Qandhār on an important mission. Brahman also describes the celebrations held in Lahore when the Emperor returned from Kashmir. On the occasion of these

1. C.C.A; Fol.No. 50.
 «و چون عمده ارای منبع انشان بصاحب صوبگی دکن تعیین شد خدمت دیوان کل را معاملات خالصه شریفان بان خان علامه العود الدوران مقرر گشت -»

2. Ibid; Fol.No. 51.
 «تا آنکه ملا علامه فاضل خان خطاب یافت و بخدمت میر سامانی سر بلند گردید عمده روزگار وزیر اعظم شد و از غایت قابلیت و استعداد در مدت قلیل منصب پنجزاری ذات و موافقت گشت و بپرداری لشکر نظراً اثر بهم بلخ و قندهار رفت.»

3. C.C.N. Fol.No. 15a, 16.
 «در بیان احوال شاهنشاهی که در خطه کشمیر روی نمود؛ در حینتی که رایات عالیات انزیر دستکار خطه چلیزیر کشمیر راحت فرموده فلذ و در وسایر برصاحت دیار فیض آثار ملک پنجاب انداخته در داد السلطنت لا بود مجلس جشن و زن مبارک شمش و قمری شرف العقاد یافت در بهان روز سعادت آئین عمده الملك دکن اللدلت علیردان خان امیر الاراد از کابل آمده شرف اندوز ملازمت لازم که بعبادت گردید و بانواع رعایت و عنایت و نوازش و مراسم سر بلند می یافت و بعد از لحظه اجنابت خلعت و انعام نقد فراد مگردید و در همین مجلس فرخنده آئین جمعی از بلندای درگاه والا باضافه مناصب سر فرادی یافتند چنانچه سیادت و ثفاست پناه الصلور میران سید جلال و حیده الملکی ملادار الهامی سید امیر خان بمنصب شش هزاری فائز گردید -»

celebrations, 'Alimardān Khān came from Kābul and was honoured with robes and awards. And, on the same day, Saādulla Khān was also honoured with the Mansab of six thousand.

On account of his erudition and learning, Saādulla Khān was known as 'Allāma,' the learned Saādulla Khān and was generally considered as the successor of ¹Shikh Abdul Fadl. In addition to Arabic and Persian he was well acquainted with the Turkish language and he surpassed the Arabs and the Persians in conversation. Chandra Bhan usually passed most of his time with the Khān, being engaged in the discharge of his official duties. Sometimes he remained with him from dawn to dusk and again from dusk to dawn.^{4,5} Brahman writes in the

1. Ibid.

2. G.C.A.; Fol.No. 23.

«حقیقت نسبت و حالت آن خان از سلطان مشهور عالم و عالمیان است بهم در جامعیت یاد از علامه بی عوض و بی بدل شیخ البرافضل میآید.»

3. Ibid.

«با وجود زبان عربی و فارسی زبان ترکی آشنای تمام دارد و در هنگام تکلم بر فضیلت عرب و عجم ترجیح تمام داشت.»

4. Ibid; Fol.No. 23, 23a.

«مکرمین بندهگان بموجب حکم معلى از هم زبانان و دستکاران آن خان فضایل مرتبت بود اکثر اوقات در صحبت آن خان قدر شناس از نقطه شام تا صبح صادق بیک دماغ بسر میرفت که شب بیدار و سحر خیز بود.»

5. Ibid Fol.No. 61.

«و دستور اعظم وزیر معظم علامه العرف الدردران سعد الله خان را اتق و متائق بهات کل شله خلیفه زمان خدیو جهان از روی قدر دانی و بهر باقی این ذره بیقدر را بر دستور مقربان خان و الا نشان متعلق فرمودند و خلاصه ملاقات در صحبت آن خان بلند مکان حرف کارهای بادشاهی میشد و بعضی از اوقات از آغاز صبح تا شام و شام تا صبح بیک دماغ بسر میرفت.»

third Ghaman of his 'Ghahār Ghaman', that when Saʿdulla Khān was engaged in military operations, he also accompanied him to Balkh to record the ¹ events and be incharge of correspon-^{2,3} dence, under the royal command. He wrote in a letter to Saʿdulla Khān that as long as Afdal Khān was alive, he used to send his verses to him for correction every day, but, on his demise, he made up his mind to present his compositions before your honour for correction and it is hoped that the following Ghazal would be approved by you:

باشمعی روی دوست باضانه ساختم . بخ . چون شمع سوختم در چوپروانه ساختم
 با صمد زبان خوشی نکو بود . بخ . با پیچ و تاب رفت تو چو شانه ساختم
 آباد باد ملک مروت که ما بخوشی . بخ . در گنج غم جو گنج بریرانه ساختم
 با ما ساخت قاعده عقل در برین . بخ . فارغ شدیم و بادل دیوانه ساختم
 تا آشنا شدیم برین بخوشی
 با آشنای دل بیگانه ساختم

1. C.C.A.; Fol.No. 61.

در وقتی که آن عمده خوانین و الامر تبیت را بجهت قیام لازم انجام بر بلخ فرستادند
 مکتوبین بندگان نیز حسب حکم الاعلی بجهت طرز العین و نگارش سوانح از عالم بر ایان
 ان عقد الخلافه بود . «

2. Ibid; Fol.No. 63a, 64.

3. Munshaāt S, Fol.No. 10, 10a.

Chandra Bhān also gives an anecdote about an incident which occurred in his last days when the construction of Saādulla Khān's house was completed. Saādulla Khān took his seat on the carpet and his eyes fell upon a gold-plated Verandah. He heaved a sigh and recollected that the world was transitory and the old and the young were equally subject to annihilation. The Khān died in his youth on ²Wednesday, the ³twenty second of the month of Jamādius-thāni, the thirteenth year of the accession of the ruling ^{monarch} monarch, in the capital Shāhja-hanābād. The Emperor visited the Khān's place and the public was also informed of this happening.

5. Islām Khān: Islām Khān was also one of Brahman's patrons.

1. G.C.A. Fol No. 23a.

« در هنگامی که عمارت حویلی آن خان والاشان صورت انجام یافت و آمده بر
مسند دولت نشست نگاه می کرد ایوان زرنگار نمود آهی برکشید از اینجا که آسیای
انقلاب فلک همیشه در گردش است پیر و جوان دانا و نادان دانه این
آسیاست - »

2. Ibid.

« آن علامه جوان بخت پیر تدبیر در دار الخلافت شاه جهان آباد در عین جوانی و
کاروانی بعالم جاودانی شتافت - »

3. Ibid; Fol.No. 24a.

« روز سه شنبه بتاریخ ۲۲ شهر جمادی الثانی سنه ۳۳۰۰ هجری از جلوس بیعت مالوس جهان
گذران را گذر شده از تنگنای عالم جهانی گذر شده بعالم روحانی شتافت - »

4. Ibid; Fol.No. 23a.

« اعلیحضرت خاقانی درین ایام عارضه آن وزیر بی نظیر از غایت مهربانی و تندرستی
بمنزل آن وزیر شایسته تشریف آردانی فرموده عنایت و تندرستی خود را بر
جهانیان ظاهر و آشکارا اگر دانند - »

During the former's ministership i.e. upto 1645 A.D., Brahman
 was one of his assistants. He wrote a letter to Islāh Khān
 in which he mentioned the fact of his discipleship and he
 addressed him as a 'true teacher'. In the beginning of the
 of the said letter, he wrote the undermentioned poem:

ز کرم دیده عاشق کجا شود روشن بخ. بیامیز آملدنت چشم ما شود روشن
 غبار کوی تو کحل الجواهر لبر است بخ. که چشم تیره باین تو تیا شود روشن

Brahman apologised to the Khān for the coloy in the
 letter and submitted a couplet:

مادون می شبانه را میید اینم بخ. احسانه عاشقانه را میید اینم
 بی جنبش دست و پا برقص آرد دل بخ. ما شودش این ترانه را میید اینم

1. G.C.A.; Fol.No. 21a.

”در ایام وزارت آن عمده الامرای عظیم الشان کمترین بیادگان عقیدت
 نشان حسب الحکم اشرف اقدس از دستیاران آن خان قدردان بود -“

2. Munshaat 3. Fol.No. 16.

”نواب مهربان قدردان قصر سان سلامت ملات یک قرن است
 که فقیر نسبت شناگر دی در خدمت آن استاد حقیقی دارد -“

3. Ibid.

”اگر چه در بنیاد از سعادت خدمت کیمیا صحبت محروم بوده اما سر رشته
 حق عقیدت را از دست نداده الحال که نوید مقام گرامی بگوش این گوشت
 گزین مبر سل دل افسرده بی اختیار بگوش می آید -“

He also noted the fact that Islam Khān by virtue of his intelligence, was appointed Chief-Minister of Hindūstān and was also awarded robes of honour and horses.

6. RUKNUS - SALTANAT JAFAR KHAN: Brahman also seems to have served under Jafar Khān the Chief Minister. He addresses him in ²letter as follows:

جعفر خان سلامت --- الخ
عمدة الدولت ركن السلطنة عقدا الخلافة لواب بهربان قدردان دستور الوزرای روزگار

In the next letter ³ he addressed him in the following words:

کوشش تسلیمات بندگی و دعا گوئی حقیقی که غاشیه عقیدت به روش عبودیت
کشتیله به دعای از دیار عمر دولت گرامی مشغول است --- الخ

1. C.C.N. Fol.No. 26a.

دو عمدة الملك ركن السلطنة اسلام خان که بقتضای استعداد ذاتی و صفاتی
بوزارت کل هندوستان / فراز است بجنابیت خلعتهای خاصه و اسپان باد نزار
که در رنگ و روشن و خرام و رفتار و حسن صورت و پیرت از خوشن فعلی و خوش
خرامی و جای کردی و تیز بگامی مستغنی الاوصاف اند بارینهای و مطلق
اعتقاد بچرخ دوار سودمند و پای آرزو بر کاب مراد گزاشتند.

2. Munshāt S, Fol.No. 11.

3. Ibid; Fol.No. 11a.

The second letter which was also written by Brahman^{man} for Jafar Khān opens with the following encomium:

« خانی که بلند قدر و عالیشان است
 مجموعه دانش و کمالات جهان
 سرچشمه فیض و منبع احسان است
 امروز درین زمانه جعفر خان است
 کورشن و بندگی و تسلیمات عبودیت بر همین عقیدت کیش که صندل اخلاص بر چنین وز تار اعتقاد بر
 گلو دارد و از مدت یک قرن غاشییم بندگی بر دوش کشیده یک لفظ از دماغش نبرد
 فارغ و غافل نیست بدرجه عالی قبول باد ----- »

Dr. 'Abdul Hamid Fārooqī, referring to the Munshaāt,² writes that in the above mentioned second letter Brahman recommended one Murārī Dās to Jafar Khān but I could not find any trace of the same in the Munshaāt,³ preserved in the Azād Library, Aligarh.

A letter of felicitations was sent by Brahman, with the following Qasīda, to Jafar Khān when the Khān was promoted to the post of Chief Minister in the early days of Aurangzib's rule; but the letter, which is preserved in the Munshaāt⁴ was addressed to Shāista Khān, for the name has been written on the margin of the letter.

در زیر اعظم دستور عهد جعفر خان	بجز آفتاب بر آمد کشاده پیشانی
ز مروت تو برین سخن چگونه کند	بزار مشک که امروز خلک دیوانی
که مشکلات جهان حل کند باسانی	پیش بر کف او گرفتار نشان مگرد
که خط بحر کند اوری و خاقانی	گوهر نشان شد در دست آصف ثانی
سحر و طلح دولت بکام محتاجان	بجز که هست دست دلش همچو امرتسانی

1. Munshaāt S. Fol.No. 11a.
2. Fārooqī; p. 50.
3. Munshaāt S. Fol.No. 11a.
4. Munshaāt S. Fol.No. 12a.

Brahman passed his time in the company of the Khān. He wrote a letter to Rāad Andāz Khān in which he pointed out that their relationship was so close and cordial that the Khān always called him as his son:

« همیشه لفظ زردی نسبت بر فقیر بر زبان می آوردند - - »

Chandra Bhān writes "When the Emperor was camping back to ^{at} Shāhjahānābād after enjoyed a hunt at Mukhlispūr, he stayed in the capital, Akbarābād. after a few days, ^{2,3} festivities were observed in connection with the weighing ceremony according to lunar and solar system and ʿImdatul mulk Jāfar Khān was promoted to the Wizāret-e-Kūl of Hindustān (Chief Ministership of India). On the same occasion, the following ^{4,5} Rubāi of Brahman was greatly admired by the Emperor:

رباعی
 امروز که روز شاهنشاه است
 صدگونه نشاط در این بهار است
 از وزن شاهنشاه جهان یافت شرف
 میزان دوپله اش ز بهر و ماه است -

Today is the day of the Emperor,
 hundreds of pleasures find their way into the hearts,
 The world received the honour of the weighing of the Emperor,
 The two pans of his balance are the sun and the moon.

-
1. Munshāat v. Fol.No. 22.
 2. U.S.A.; Fol.No. 12a.
 3. G.C.R.; Fol.No.60.
 4. Ibid.
 5. U.S.A.; Fol.No. 12a.

8. Dārū Shikūh: Any important writers (1,2,3,4,5 and 6) are of the view that Jhendra Shān Brahman served as a Munshī under the patronage of Dārū Shikūh, entitled 'Jaland Iqbāl'. But Brahman does not appear to have mentioned this fact in any of his works.

1. Hūbainī; p. 73.

» دعاگوی شاعران خوش سخن منشی چندر بھان برہمن از سکنہ اکبر آباد دست با منشی گری داراشکوہ بادشاہ زادہ امتیاز داشتہ - «

2. Lodī; p. 213.

» چندر بھان برہمن ز نامہ دار : از سکنہ اکبر آباد بودہ برہمن تخلص می کرد و خانی از دارستکی بود در کار شاہ بلند اقبال سلطان داراشکوہ عنوان منشی گری داشت بدست آویز جرب زبانی بدولت ہم زبانی رسیدہ بود و نظم و نثرش پسند خاطر شاہ زادہ می افتاد - «

3. Umārā; p. 183, 184.

» کچھ عرصہ کے بعد شاہ زادہ داراشکوہ نے انکی حسن لیاقت اور تحریر و تقریر کا حال سن کر بادشاہ سے ان کو مانگ لیا اور اپنا منشی مقرر کیا - مدت تک یہ اسی عہدہ پر کام ل رہے ۱۶۶۷ء میں علامی سعید اللہ خان وزیر اعظم کے انتقال کے بعد بادشاہ نے جبر اپنے یہاں بلا لیا - «

4. Khāfi Khān; Part I; p. 740.

» چندر بھان کہ در مطلب نویسی بی نظیر بیست کردہ افضل خان بودہ و چند گاہ داراشکوہ بخدمت پادشاہ التماس نمودہ با خود گرفتہ بود باز از شاہ زادہ بلند اقبال گرفتہ بخدمت دارالانشاء و خطاب رای چندر بھان بردگیگرفتہ منشیان ہنود امتیاز بخشیدند - «

5. Timūriā; p. 209.

6. Adabiyāt; p. 72.

9. Patronage of Shāhjahān and Introduction to the Court :

C.A.Storey, referring to Rieu, writes that Brahman's first introduction to the Royal Court took place at Sirhind on the eve of the Nawraūs festival, when Shāhjahān was preparing for the conquest of Bahākhshān in 1055 A.H./1645 A.D. However, much authenticity can not be attributed to these dates, as the source of information has not been indicated in Rieu's Works. On the contrary, some more authentic sources show beyond doubt that Brahman's introduction to the court took place much earlier than the date mentioned by Rieu. Chandra Shāh Brahman himself, writes^{2,3} that Afzal Khān introduced him to the Emperor when the latter came to visit the Khān at his residence in the capital, Lahore. The Khān presented him before the Emperor saying that he was the same person whose documents received the attention of his Majesty⁴

1. Storey; p. 570-572.

2. O.C.A; Fol.No. 58,58a.

3. G.C.N; Fol.No. 15,15a.

چون تماشای کنان یو سبط باغ رسیدہ کترین بندگان را کہ در سلک
مشیان آن خان قلدردان منظم بود دست گرفته بشرف ملازمت لازم
السادت اشرف اعلیٰ مستعد گردانیدند و بعرض رسانیدند کہ بہمان شخص
است کہ توہنجات او مکرر از نظر افود اقدس گذشتہ در جہ قبول یافتہ -

4. Ibid.

and were accepted. Afdal Khān died in the year 1048 A.H./ 1638-39 A.D.; on 12th the Ramdān, the 12th year of Shāhjahān's accession. Therefore, this introduction should have taken place before the death of Afdal Khān i.e. before the year 1048 A.H./1638-39 A.D. Brahman, again, writes that after the demise of his beloved patron, Afdal Khān, all his family members, clerks and secretaries were presented before the Emperor by Aqil Khān, the nephew of the deceased Khān, and every one of them got employment according to capacity. And, when his turn came, he presented a Ghazal, written in an elegant Shikasta Style, which was admired by the Emperor. Brahman was appointed as a Chronicler³ in the Emperor's court and even the service of recording the personal diary of the Emperor was entrusted to him. This further proves that Brahman was introduced to the court much earlier, that is,

1. G.C.A.; Fol.No. 60, 60a.

« بیان ادراک سعادت ملازمت را بر سعادت بندهگان علیحضرت خاتمانی قلیله و بهمانی سبحانی صاحبقران ثانی؛ چون عنایت الهی شامل حال سعادت مندی گردد وقت مسامحت نماید درجه بدرجه مرتبه منتهای مطلب فائز شود امید از رحلت خان قلدردان افضل خان از خاکدان جسمانی بصورت عالم روحانی بقیه الادای عاقل خان جمع از منشیان و متعلقان آن خان رضوان مکان را از نظر اقدس اعلیٰ گذرانند هر یکی در جور حالت و قسمت تجلیت و رعایت کربلندی یافت - »

2. Ibid. « چون زُبت بفقیر رسیده خط شکست این نیاز مندی که خالی از درستی نبود بنظر کیمیا اثر در آید و عزیزی از ارحامی طبع ناقص بجامع جاه و جلال رسیده در هم قبول یافت - »

3. Ibid. « مقتضای مناصب رسالت و واقع نویسان حضور پیر نور استقام گرفت و خدمت نظیر بیاض خاصه باد سنا هم نیز باین نیاز مندی مقرر گشت چنانچه در راه کابل و کثیر کیفیت بر منزل واقع بر مقام را از خصوصیات راه و آب و هواد شکار هر روز و نوشته بعضی اورد اعلیٰ رسانیده بر بیاض میرسد - »

4. Ibid.

before 1645 A.D., the year mentioned by Rieu. Chandra Bhān
 Brahman has recorded the journey of Kābul and Kashmīr,
 describing the climate, the hunting expeditions and other
 daily occurrences. The Emperor used to call him as ² *هندوی فارسی دان*
 (Persian-Knowing Hindū) from the very beginning. On the
 occasion of holidays and festivals, the composition of emin-
 ent poets were admired by the Emperor and the Rubāī of
 Brahman also received the attention of the emperor and he
 was honoured in the shape of promotion in rank and rewards.
 An account of these festive occasions has been written by
 Brahman under the title of 'Afāna-i-Nishat Afzā'; out of
 his verses the following Rubāī was presented before the
 Emperor, when, most of the nobles and courtiers like the
 commander, *Asif Khān Khān-i-Khānān* and *Sadrus Sadoor Mūsawī*
Khān etc were present in the capital, Lāhore. It was admired

1. C.O.A. Fol.No. 60a.

2. *Ibid.*

”ودر آغاز حال این برین عقیدت کیش را بر زبان اهام بیان هندوی فارسی دان میفرمودند۔“

3. *Ibid.*

”ودر روزی جشن و ایام چیرگی هرگاه اشعار شعرای مشهور از نظر اعلیٰ امیکه شست رباعی نیازمند
 بمساع جاه و جلال میرسیله و به اضافه انعام سرافرازی یافت۔“

4. *Ibid.* Fol.No. 6, 6a, 7.

”افسانه نشاط افزا: روزی بنه گان اعلیٰ حضرت خاقان زمان خدیو گیهان بادشاه بجز و بر شهنشاه هفت کشور
 در دار السلطنت لاهور رسیده بمانی و اورنگ کشورستانی جلوس فرموده بودند اکثر عده جای وزبده های
 دولت آمد بیرونه مثل رکن الدولت اصفهان خانانان سیم سالار و صدر الصمد و موسویان دیگر آن در
 خدمت فیض موهبت مقدس معنی و محفل خلد آیین بهشت نیزین که مرجع سلاطین روی زمین است
 بار داشتند۔“

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.* 6, 6a, 60a.

”حکم اقدس الشرف لقا یافت که متعلقان و مشربان افضل خان درجوم مغفور از نظر مبارک بگذرند چون
 زوبت باین نیازمند رسیده خط شکسته محقر که خالی از دستمی نبود بنظر کمیاب اثر در آورد و پسند طبع شکل پسند افتاد از
 اشعار این خاکسار رباعی بیع مبارک معنی رسیده درجه تحسین یافت۔“

by the Emperor.

رابعی: شاهی که مطیع او دو عالم گردد
 هر جا که گریست پیش او خم گردد
 از بس که بدورش آدمی یافت شرف
 خواهد که فرشته نیز آدم گردد -

The king, to whom, both the worlds are subservient;
 And every one bows down his head before him,
 During his reign, the human beings have secured such
 a privileged position,
 That even the angels desire to become human beings.

When Islam Khān came to Lahore from Bengal and was
 appointed Diwān-e-kul, the Emperor assigned the post of
 'Khawānīn-e-Suland Makān' to Brahman, and all other matters
 pertaining to accounts in occupied territories were entrusted
 to him. After the death of Saqulla Khān in 1067 A.H./1656
 A.D., Brahman was honoured with the title of Rāigī. Dr. Abdul

1. O.C.A. Fol.No. 61.

در وقتی که عمده ارای رفیع القدر اسلام خان حسب السلطنت الشرف اعلیٰ از بنگال به دار السلطنت
 لاهور آمده بخدست جلیل القدر دیوانی کل سرانزادی یافت -

2. Ibid.

اعلیحضرت خانمانی ظل سبحانی ابن نیاز مندر اصالح کار دیوان اعلیٰ دانسته بهمدین خوانین بلبر مکان منسوب
 گردانیدند سوای خدمت دارالانشاء خدمت تقسیم و موازنه کل محاکم محروسه که تعلق به اهل حساب دار دین به این
 یز انزایش متعلق گشت -

3. Ibid; Fol.No.61,61a.

در دستور اعظم در زیر منظم علامه العرف الوردان سعید الله خان رائق و مانق جهات کل مشرف خلیفه زمان حکم پوجیان
 از روی خدمت دانی و مهربانی این ذره ببقیده در راه سلوک مقربان خان و الا نشان متعلق فرمودند و خلاصه ملاحظات در
 صحبت ان خان بلبر مکان و کاد بلای بادشاهی میسرند و بعضی از اوقات از آغاز صبح و مشاء تا صبح بیکد ماغ بر سر وقت
 در وقتی آن عمده خوانین و الامرتت را بچندت قیام لازم انجام به بلخ فرستادند که برین بنده گمان نیز حسب الحکم الاعلیٰ بچندت
 نیز از ایض و کلاطس سواخ از عالم بر ایان ان عقیده الحمله بود چون ان خان منبع انان از عام در گذشت اعلیٰ حضرت
 خانمانی قدر دان بر منبر و بر طایفه اند این عقیده کیش را بر ساهند در خدمت و زراسی عظیم انان کسب نایز بر نوده خطاب
 را یکی سرانزادی بخند بخدست سوده نویسی فرامین جهان مطاع در جهان و جهانبیان امتیاز و بچندت -

Hamid Farooqui, on the basis of Qanungū's statement writes that after the death of Sadulla Khān, Brahman was honoured with the title of Rāi, on 9th April 1659, but Dr. Kalika Ranjan Qanungū, himself writes that according to Muḥammad Wāriḥ, the writer of Shāhjahān Nāma, Brahman was honoured with the title of Rāi, on 9th April 1656 A.D. Brahman was promoted to the post of Chief Secretary and the work of drafting Royal Farmāns was entrusted to him.

The following are the various occasions on which Brahman presented his compositions before the Emperor personally or through some mediator. In return, he either got a reward from the Emperor or his verses were admired.

1. L.W.; p. 55.

2. Dārā Shikōh; p. 98.

3. O.C.A; Fol.No. 61,61a.

”چون آن خان منبع النان از عالم درگذشت اعلیٰ حضرت خاقانی قدردان
 برهنه و هر طایفه اندک این عقیدت کیش را بر ساها در خدمت مسوده نویسی فرامین
 جهان مطاع در جهانشیان امتیاز بخشیدند۔“

4. Ibid.

When the Emperor was staying in the Capital, Akbārabād¹ Sayyedur² Nisa suffered from pain. Dārā Shikūh³ 'Būland Iqbāl' was busy in attending to her. Physicians, like Hakīm Fathulla, Hakīm Jwālēh and Hakīm 'Abdu'l-Rahīm also came to attend to her. Muqbil Khān and Hakīm Masīhuz-Zamān of⁴ Lāhore also reached there. But, by chance, Hakīm Dāūd who had freshly arrived from a foreign country, was also engaged in her treatment and at last she recovered as a result of his treatment through God's blessings. On this auspicious

1. C.C.N. Fol. No. 20a.

بہتر بیان احوال شاہنشاہی؛ در ایامی کہ رایات نفرت شعار فیروز آثار والوہیہ گردون سار طوطا از در دار الخلافۃ اکبر آبا در نزول اجلال داشتند - «

2. Ibid; Fol.No. 21.

تو اب الحجاب قدس القاب ناموس العالمین ملکہ زمان مالکہ دوران رابع کردار در نیم اطوار فاطمہ زمان سیدہ النساء صاحب لسنون دہر کہ در امن قدس بیرونش برودہ بر روی دوران بہشت کینہ و محفل عزت و ہوج رفعتش سایہ پر خورشیدہ جهان افزونہ انگندہ رسیدہ باعث آنرا آن رابع دوران فاطمہ زمان کہ دیدہ اند این جہتہ عباد تمام ہر آیینہ خاطر ملکوت ناظر الشرف اعلیٰ راہ یافت آن تختہ نشین تنق عفت با وجود این حال و این قسم الی کہ از انوارہ تحریر افزون بود بمقتضای خدا پرستی و حق شناسی بعبور و شکیبائی کہ رسیدہ بجایات در دیار و حجاب رضا و حضرت باری است جل شانہ در ساختہ لب بحر و بی کشور و بہر در ہنای ساختہ - «

3. Ibid; Fol.No. 22.

بادشاہر اودہ بلند اقبال در درج دولت اجلال شد الی روز و روز از شب شناختہ بیوستہ چون سایہ بافتاب در خدمت الشرف اقدس اعلیٰ بودہ شریک این رنج بودند - «

4. Ibid.

Occasion, festivities were organised in the Capital, Akbarābād, on the fifth^{2,2,3} of the month of Shawāl and continued till the twelfth of the said month. Those who were attached to the court were honoured with robes and favour. Mulla Jān Muḥammad Qudsi, Mulla Muḥammad Amin and Mulla Yahya,⁴ working as Wāqia Nawis, also composed Qasāid, Mathnawis and Rubāis on this occasion and they were honoured in hard cash⁵ and robes etc. In another copy of the Chahār Chaman the names of Ṭalib Kalīm, Mīr Ilahī and Mīr Bakshī have been added to those who also got the said reward. Brahman also read the under-

1. C.C.A.; Fol.No. 4a .

2. C.ON. Fol.No. 23 .

3. C.C.R.; Fol.No. 45 .

4. C.C.N. Fol.No. 23a .

« و در باب فصاحت و بلاغت از شعرای فصیح زبان مثل ملا محمد جان قدسی و ملا محمد امین و ملا یحیی که در سلک حرافع لویان منظم است قصیده و مثنوی و رباعی در تعریف این جشن گزای گفتند و بالعام نقله و عنایت خلعت سر بلیندگیدند - »

5. C.C.A.; Fol.No. 5,5a .

« و در باب فصاحت و بلاغت از شعرای فصیح زبان مثل محمد جان قدسی - طالب کلیم و میر الهی و میر یحیی و یحیی و یحیی و یحیی آن قصیده، مثنوی و رباعی در تعریف این جشن گزای گفته بالعام نقله و عنایت خلعت سر بلیندگیدند - »

mentioned Rubāī¹ on this auspicious occasion of Naūrūs, the
 birth day ceremony, and was also honoured with robes and
 favour.

رباعی: در جشن مبارک شهنشاه جهان
 شایسته آفاق و خدیو گیهان
 دریا شده از آب گهر روی زمین
 هر خانه شد از لعل بدخشان کان

On the auspicious festive occasion of the ruler of
 the world;
 The Emperor of the world and the lord of the
 universe,
 The surface of the earth became ocean-like due to
 the luster of jewels,
 And every home became a mine of ruby of Badakhshan.

But in another copy of the 'Chahār Chaman'³ the said
 Rubāī is written as follows:

رباعی: در جشن مبارک شهنشاه ÷ چون آب گهر گشت بهر خانه مروان
 دریا شده از آب گهر روی زمین ÷ هر خانه شد از لعل بدخشان کان -

On the auspicious festive occasion of the Emperor,
 The luster of the jewel began to enlighten every
 house,
 The surface of the earth became ocean-like due to the
 luster of jewels;
 Every house became a mine of the rubies of Badakhshan.

1. C.C.A.; Fol.No. 6.

2. Ibid
 چون این بر همین عقیدت کیش که در مسلک منشیان این درگاه آسمان جاده منسک
 است و در روزهای جشن عظیم مثل نوروز جهان افزون مجلس سالگه مبارک و روزن شمسی
 و تری رباعی از نظر نور سیکه در این جشن فرخنده همین نیز رباعی خوانده بعنایت خلعت
 سر از روی یافت -

3. C.C.N. Fol.No. 24,24a.

Brahman writes, on another occasion, under the title 'Afsāna Inhrat Paira' that when the Emperor was on his way to Kabul, his following lyric, composed during this journey, was over heard and admired by His Majesty through the mediation of Bahshul-Mulk Muṣṭafā Khān:

دریت بافتاب از نواب و تاب را
 ای از تو صد شرف شرف افتاب را
 دریادی دوست تو چون در عطاست
 دست تو داد شیرین بخشش سحاب را
 از بهیت تو آب شود آتش ستم
 هوش کرد چشم فتنه بدر تو خواب را
 بوی بهار لطف تو آفاق را گرفت
 دیگر چه اعتبار بود مشک تاب را
 ستایان بجاک راه تو پیرا فلنگه اند
 در جوش موج بحر چه وقتی جناب را
 یان بر همین مدام دعا کن ز روی صدق
 شاه بلند اختر دگر دون جناب را
 هر روز او خسته چه نوز در عید باد
 در دور او شرف شرف افتاب را

On the following occasion,² Omdatus Saltanat, Islām Khān³ presented the under mentioned Rubāī of Brahman, before the

1. G.J.A. Fol.No. 7.

« افسانه عشرت پیرا ؛ در حقیقتی که در آیات نصرت آیات فیروزی شعرا لبفر خندگی و فیروزی
 متوجه بر خطم عدد لکنشای عشرت سرشت کابل گردید - در اثنای راه غزنی از زاد های طبع ناقص
 بوساطت بخشش الملکی معقله خان که از بند های سخن سنج سخنگوی درگاه والا بسبع مبارک رسیده
 درج قبول یافت - »

2. Ibid. Fol.No. 7a.

3. Ibid.

« گزین بنده گان که از خانه زادان این رودمان دولت نشان است بوساطت عمده السلطنه
 اسلام خان رباعی از نظر انور اقدس گزیده را بنده از غایت ذره پروری که سرشته ذات ملکی
 مقول است بلاست مبارک گرفته بزبان معجز بان خواننده تحسین فرمودند - »

Emperor Shāhjahān at Sirhind, when His Majesty was going to Punjab from Kharābād:

روزی تو سال تو مبارک بادا . بخ . ملک تو مال تو مبارک بادا
ای انکه خیال ملک گیری داری . بخ . تمهید خیال تو مبارک بادا

May thy days and thy years prove to be auspicious,
And May thy country and thy wealth be blissful;
Oh, you who has an idea of capturing the country,
May the prelude of thy idea be fortunate.

Once, the Emperor celebrated a ¹ festival at Kashmir, in a village, Taluw-yandī, ² located in the suburb of Aminābād. The nobles and courtiers, like Omdatul Mulk Bahādur Khān, Sādulla Khān Rukn-us-Saltanat Islām Khān, Bakhshī'ul Mulk Asālat Khān, Khalīl Khān, Āqil Khān and other servants, were participating in it. On the same day, Islām Khān received an order to reach the court; he was ordered to be posted to Khalsai-Sharīfa in Punjab; and Asālat Khān left for the province, Kābul, on March 28th, 1645. ² On the said occasion the undermentioned Rubāī of Brahman was taken by the Emperor and read ³ it.

ای از تو شرف یاغته ایام شرف
خورد شید ریخ تو برده هر ماه کلف
ای طنطنه نهضت دولت تو
در نه فلک و شش جهت و چار طوف

1. C.O.A. Fol.No. 8.

2. Saksona B.P.; p.191.

3. C.O.A.; Fol.No. 8a.

- O! You who has added glory to the glorious days,
The sun of thy face has eclipsed the moon,
O! The fame of the pomp of thy good fortune has
pervaded the nine firmaments, six regions and
the four directions.

Chandra Bhān writes under the title 'Afsāna Shīrīn',
that the Emperor returned from Kashair and stayed at Lāhore
in the Punjab. The nobles reached there from all directions.
The following Rubāī^{2,3} met the eye of the Emperor through the
mediation of Sādulla Khān:

ایام کرد و کیر پیخ رسید
صلگونہ طرب بعالم پیر رسید
از چار طرف نوید شادی بر فاست
شاعشہ آفاق ز کشمیر رسید -

The time of joy and the enjoyment of hunting has come,
The old world is filled with a hundred kinds of
pleasures,
The happy tidings of merriment rose from the four
directions,
The Emperor of the world arrived from Kashair.

Brahman's undermentioned Rubāī⁴ was heard by His

-
1. C.C.A.; Fol.No. 8a.
 2. ibid.
 3. C.C.N. Fol.No. 20a.

Majesty on his birth day ceremony, held in the Capital, Lahore. 'Alī Mardān Khān came from Kābul, was placed in the service and the envoy of Tūrān paid homage to the Emperor. He got reward in cash and was honoured with robes.

شکر و زن مبارک شاهنشاه جهان
شاهنشاه آفاق خلدیو گیهان
چون شاه جوان بخت یمنین نشست
صله یله بلند شد ز گردون زمان

The auspicious weight of the lord of the world was taken,
One who is the Emperor of the horizons and the lord of the world.
When the fortunate Emperor sat in the scales,
Hundred of ^{rose} rose from the firmament of Time.

2
On one occasion, when Hakīm 'Abdul Khālīq was present at the time of meeting which was held at Akbarābād, the under-mentioned Rubā'ī of Chandra Bhān Brahman met the eyes of His Majesty.

1. U.C.A.: Pol.No. 8a.9.

افسانه راحت بخش : در حین آنکه در دارالسلطنت لاهور بفرمودم میمنت لزوم
اشرف اقدس بر شکر خلدیو برین گشت مجلس سنا لکیره مبارک در برج دو تخته
فلک اساس شرف انتظام یافت در همین روز سعادت اللوز عمده امرای بلند
مکان علی برادران خان امیر الامرای اندکابل آمده بشرف ملازمت لازم سعادت مستعد
گشت و ایچی توران سعادت کورنش یافته بانعام نقد و عنایت خلعت سر بلند
گردیدند

2. Ibid. Pol.No. 9.

ای روی تو آفتاب عالم افروز بینی و بخت تو بهر کام در عالم افروز
 هر سال تو فرخنده تر از سال دیگر است هر روز تو نوروز تر از هر نوروز

Oh, you whose face is the sun which sets the universe
 alight,
 Oh, thy good fortune is kindled by the realisation
 of the objectives of the two worlds;
 Thy every year is more auspicious than the other,
 Thy every day is more vernal than every Kāūrūz.

One day ^{it} happened that His Majesty suffered from
 some trouble in his cheek; he however got relieved ^{by} healing.
 Brahman gave this incident, the title of Afsāna Ghām Zada
 (افسانه غم زده) His following Rubāī ^{met} passed through the eyes
 of His Majesty.

هر تو نشان از چه خواهد بودن
 مقدار زر و گهر چه خواهد بودن
 جان را ز پی نشان اگر پیش آرم
 این هدیه مختصر چه خواهد بودن

What suits thee to be a sacrifice for you,
 What should be the quantity of gold and jewels,
 If I offer my life before thee for sacrifice,
 This small offer ^{will} be of little consequence;

1. C.C.A; Fol.N^o. 10a.

» افسانه غم زده ای! در ایامی بخت بشریت روزی خد عارضه بود و فایض الجود
 مقدس معلی که ذات بابر کاش آئینه رحمت این دل نیست لری داده بود و بگرم نشانی
 مطلق شرفای عاجل و صحبت کامل نصیب ذات ملکی ملکات گردید این رباعی بفرز
 نظر اول اقدس گذشت - «

2. Ibid.

On one occasion when the Emperor reached Akbarābād from the capital, Shāhjahānābād, the undermentioned Raubāi¹ remained ^{under} the regal study. Chandra Bhān calls this happening as Afsānā² Mubārak.

شایا بتو مملکت مبارک بادا
پیرایہ سلطنت مبارک بادا
این خانہ اساس خانہ دولتهاست
تشریف بدولتت مبارک بادا

O King; May the Domain be auspicious for thee,
May the embellishment of thy kingdom be blissful
to thee,
This house is the very foundation of the house of
good fortune,
May your contact with good fortune be auspicious
to thee.

On another occasion Brahman writes, under the heading Afsāna-i-Kāmarāni, the description of the festive occasions when the Emperor dismounted in the Capital, Shāhjahānābād, after hunting and enjoying in the forest situated in between Doabā. After a few days, the solar festival was primarily held and after that the lunar festival was celebrated.

1. C.G.A; Fol.NO. 11.

2. Ibid.

”در حقیقت که اعلیٰ حضرت خلدیو جهان از دار السلطنت شہا، بھمان آباد
محقق الخلافت اکبر آباد دولت شرف ازانی فرمودند این رباعی نثر
بمطالعہ خاص رسید۔“

On the said occasions, the princes and nobles like ⁶Alī Mardān Khān, Rustam Khān, Rāja Jagwant Singh, Mirza Rāja Jai Singh, Jafar Khān, Khalilulla Khān, Qāsim Khān and other prominent figures felicitated the Emperor and got rewards. When the following Rubāī of Brahman passed through the eyes of His Majesty, he was honoured with gifts and rewards:

پوسته بکام و کامدانی باشی ÷ هر لحظه بعیش و شادمانی باشی
 این اول قرن دوره سلطنت است ÷ صد قرن دیگر بنزدگان باشی

May success and triumph ever accompany thee,
 May you, every moment, enjoy pleasure and merriment,
 This is the first decade of thy reign,
 May you live for a hundred other decades.

1. C.O.A.; Fol.No. 11, 11a.

افسانه کارانی: در حقیقت که پادشاه از پیر و شکار تو انگه کرد در میان دو آب
 واقع است بدولت و اقبال مراجعت فرموده بدو اختلاف حضرت شاه جهان آباد نزول
 اجلال فرمودند در عرض چند روز اولاً جشن وزن مبارک شمسی بعد از آن جشن مقدس
 قمری صورت انتظام یافت - پادشاه نژاد پادشاه و والایان و ارباب و اعیان عظیم مثل علیزادان
 خان امیرالارای و عمده ارای منیع الشان رستم خان و راجه جیونت سنگه و رزاق راجه
 جی سنگه و عمده الملک جعفر خان و امارت مینا خلیل اللہ خان و ایالت منزلت تاسم
 خان و دیگر ارای نامور تسلیم مبارک باد بفرمودیم رسانند و پیشکشهای گرانمایه از نظر انور
 گذشت و اکثر بندگی به اضافه های سرافرازی یافتند و اهل عیش و نشاط طبق طبق و
 دامن پیر از در بند خاستند چو رباعی گزین بندگان بنظر مقدس در آمد به پیرایه بخشش و
 انعام امیناز یافت -

2. Ibid.

Brahman describes another happening under the title of 'Afsāna-i-Faid Tarāna, when the Emperor set out for Mukhlispūr, from Shāhjahānābād, to enjoy hunting. Hunters also arrived there, and the Emperor stayed there. On account of its pleasant climate it came to be called as Faidābād. On the said occasion, Hsān Hāg Rafī, Mullā Saīdī and Mullā Faroghī read their Mathnawī, Qasīda and Ghazals in its praise and they were listened to by the Emperor. They received robes. Brahman also read the under-mentioned Ghazal according to the usual custom and was favoured by the Emperor with kind benevolence.

شرف از در فیض آباد در صندلستان دارد
 ز خوبی هر چه در اندیشه گنج پیش از آن دارد
 ز صبح از فرج سینم حاصل میکند دانا
 ز شام او شفق صد حرف رنگین بر زبان دارد
 بهوای باغ و آسایش بیفزاید نشاط دل
 که هر سو بزرگ زار و هر طرف آب روان دارد
 صفای آب دریا دیده دل میکند روشن
 ز صافی یک بیک را از فلک هر خود عیان دارد
 گهر بز کف گرفته هر نفس مستانه می آید
 بگشاید شوق نشاز باد شاه بحر و مکان دارد
 شهرنشاهی که خنک عزم او هر سو کند جولان
 سعادت در رکاب و محبت دولت بهمنان دارد

1. C.C. No. Pol. No. 11a, 12, 12a.

افسانه فیض ترانه: در ایامی که بادشاه گنج بخش دریا نوال دولت و اقبال و کام بخشی و کاروانی از دارالاحکام شاه جهان آباد بسیر و شکار مخلص بود بهشت فرود آمد که گمان و صید انگنان قطع منازل فرموده آن لایحه دلگشای را بفرمودیم بیمنت از در شرف گزدا دیده فیض آباد تو همو اگر دایره ندر روزی چند در آن کر زمین خجسته آیین نرول اجلال فروده داد عیش و کاروانی داده راحت فروده حسن بیک رفیع و ملا صیدی و ملا فردوسی مشهوری و قصه فرود منزل در تعریف آن مکان بهشت نشان گفته بمساع رسیده خلعتها یافتند و کمترین بنده گمان نیز بر رسم مهور غزلی از زاده طبع ناقص خوانده بجایه در رعایت کرازی یافت -

2. Ibid.

ز شوکت از فریدون و سنگدل تاج بستانند
 بعدل و داد صد مرتجع به لوتیروان دارد
 ملاحظون از سبق خوانان دار الحکمت عملش
 نه بیند در کمالش هر که میل امتحان دارد
 جهان امروز اگر به خویش نازد جای آن دارد
 که شهنشاه عالم گیر چون ستاره جهان دارد
 زدست بنده لا غیر از دعا دیگر چینی آید
 برین روز و شب ورد دعایش بر زبان دارد

After enjoyment and hunting, the Emperor returned from Mukhlispūr to Akbarābād via Shāhjahānābād. And, a few days later, a festival on solar and lunar occasions, was celebrated at Akbarābād. On this occasion, ¹Umīdatul Mulk Jāgar Khān was promoted to the post of ²Wizārat-e-kūl of Hindūstān. The following Rubāi of Brāhman was appreciated by the Emperor.

اروز که روز شاهنشاه است
 صد گونه نشاط را بدایا راه است
 از وزن شهنشاه جهان یافت شرف
 میزان دو پیمایش ز مهر و ماه است

Today is the day of the Emperor,
 Hundred of pleasures find their way into the hearts,
 The world received the honour of the weighing of the
 Emperor,
 The two pans of his balance were made from the sun
 and the moon.

1. G.C.A.; Fol.No. 12a.

افسانه بنفست آگین : در ایامی که اعلیحضرت خلافت منزلت حاقان گیتی ستان بعد از مراجعت از
 یروشکار خلص پور زدار السلطنت شاهیجهان آباد بمسقطه الخلافت اکبر آباد نزول اجلال فرمودند مجلس
 وزن مبارک شمسی و قمری بمفاصله چند روز شرف انعقاد یافت و در همین ایام عمده الملك جعفر خان
 بخدمت وزارت کل هندوستان کمر بند شد این زبانی فقیر از نظر تقدس درجه تحسین یافت -

2. Ibid.

While describing Chitter, Brahman writes that the Emperor had confidence in him and he was honoured with robes and favours.

Brahman also writes in his work 'Guldasta' the description of His Majesty's pomp and glory and the daily occurrences which he saw with his own eyes. He further wrote a Mathnawī in its praise. Some of its lines are quoted below:

زبان هر که گوید در دنیا نیست
 ثنا خوان شهنشاہ جهان است
 شهنشاہ جهان در جوان بخت
 که خورشیدش کرویاج آسمان بخت
 فلک بر صبح سازد از بهر خویش
 بنار خاک در آتش گوهر خویش
 بر آفاقست چرخ من سایه گیر
 که باشد در شکوه از چرخ بر تر
 همه در سایه آن چیز و الا
 کند سایه دولت مہیا
 فلک طاقست از کاشانه او
 چراغ آسمان پرواز او

During the course of the description of His Majesty's routine work, Chandra Bhān further out-lines the daily meetings in private apartments at night, in which historians, narrators, story-tellers, singers and dancers used to take part till mid-night. He composed the following verses

1. C.C.A; Fol, No. 41,41a.

”دعا کر منصوره قلعه چیتور را مسمار نموده بهر که دند و کمرین بندهگان را که در حضرت اہل اعتماد در پیش این جماعت واجب الاعتقاد داشت لبنایت خلعت مفتخر گردانیده -“

2. Guldasta; Fol.No. 2,2a.

3. Ibid; 2a, 3

4. Ibid; Fol.No. 14, 14a.

4. Ibid; Fol.No. 14a, 15.

نو اسازان بزم شاه عالم
 ز نزلان گونه مطرب زخمه بر تار
 مگر مطرب که تاد روزان است
 مبارک باد ببری جاودانه
 برید از دست حل را از دل غم
 که در جنبش در آید نقش دیوار
 شهنشاہ جهان شاہ جهان است
 هزاران فتح نو در هر ترانه

Brahman further relates a number of anecdotes about His Majesty's far-sightedness and clear-vision. At the time when prince 'Nandār Kāngar' was assigned an expedition of a province, Brahman required to note-down the happenings. Hence he wrote the following Rubāī.

ظہیر شہنشاہ نورانی
 شناسائی سفیدی و سیاہی
 دلش آئینہ صاف معانی
 درو پیدا ہمہ راز پنهانی

His conscience is the seat of the manifestation of divine light,
 A distinguisher of good and evil,
 His heart is the crystal mirror of truths,
 All the hidden secrets are manifest in it.

The following verse, generally associated with Brahman is very popular among most of the writers.

مرادلی است بگو آشنا کہ چندین بار
 بکعبہ ہر دم بازش بر زمین آوردم

The writer of Gul-i-Nana, Lachmi Narain ² writes

1. Guldesta; Fol. No. 16a, 17.

2. G.R. 113.

گویند روزی شاہ جهان بادشاہ اورا حکم خواندن شعر کرد او این بیت خواند
 مرادلی است بگو آشنا کہ چندین بار
 بادشاہ خوشنماہ خان حاج بادشاہ را در یافتہ خود را بر خواند
 فرعیسی اگر بکہ آورد
 چون بیاید بہروز خراب شد

that one day Shahjahan asked Brahman to recite the above verse. Brahman obeyed the king's order and recited the verse. The Emperor, on hearing the above mentioned verse, felt enraged but Afdal Khan, immediately added the following verse :

ن خرسی اگر بکده رود
چون بیاید هنوز خراب شد

The anger of Emperor subsided on hearing this verse of Saadi¹ by Afdal Khan. Muhammad Hade Afdal Sar Khun² also adduces about the said event. Other writers like Nir Hussain Daust Sambhā³, the writer of Taqīrat-i-Husainī⁴ and Sūr Khān Lōdī³ too, corroborate the said view but Brahman, himself, is silent on this subject and makes no mention of it in any of his works. Thus, on the basis of Brahman's internal evidence we are prone to think that the above mentioned event is fictitious. Dr. Sayyad Abdulla⁵ also doubts the authenticity of the above mentioned story.

1. Shuāra; p. 18.
2. Husainī; p. 73.
3. Lōdī p. 153.
4. Adabiyāt; p. 74, 75.

10. Last Patron and the period of retirement.

Most of the writers have made conflicting statements regarding Chandra Bhān Brahman's retirement. ¹ Shīr Khān Lōdī writes that Brahman was employed under Dārā Shikūh. He resigned from his post after Dārā's execution and proceeded to Benaras where he passed his life-time in seclusion. Lōdī further writes that Brahman died in Benaras in 1073 ² A.H./1662 A.D. ⁴ Mīr Husain Dūst Jambhālī, ⁵ Muḥammad Siddīq Khān HasanKhān Nawāb, ⁶ William Seale and Dr. Sayyad 'Abdulla corroborate the above statement. No trace is however, found in support of Lōdī's statement in the works of Chandra Bhān Brahman. But, Brahman has written some letters, addressed to Shāhjahān and Aurangzīb which are traceable in Munshāat. Brahman has also written a Rubāī ⁷ in one of the letters ⁸ to felicitate Aurangzīb on his accession to the throne of Delhi in 1658 A.D./1069 ⁹ A.H.

1. Lōdī; p. 153.

» القصصی الیہ بعد الاقتل دارا شکوہ ترک نوکری نمودہ بشہر بنارس رفت و در
الجا براہ در رسم خویش مشغول می بود تا آنکہ فی شہور سنہ الف و ثلث و سبعین
در آن شکوہ خاکستر گردید - «

2. Ibid.

3. Hussaini; p. 7A.

4. Shāh-nāmah; p. 92.

5. A.O.S.; pp. 114.

6. Adabiyāt; p. 73.

7. Munshāat S.; Fol.No. 7a.

8. Ibid; Fol.No. 7a,8.

9. A.H.I.; p. 491.

شایم عالم مطیع زمان تو باد
 خودات تو خلق را نگهبان باشد
 لب ریز ادای شکر در رختان تو باد
 هر جا باشی خدا نگهبان تو باد

O Emperor, May the world be subservient, your command,
 May the people of the world ever sing profusely their
 gratitude to you,
 As thy personage is the guardian of the creation,
 May God be thy invariable guardian.

T

The abovementioned Rubāī^{1,2} has also been repeated in
 the Chahār Chaman with an expression of gratitude on some
 occasion. The said description is mentioned under the heading
 'Afsāna-i-Ishrat Sarisht. The Rubāī also seems to have
 caught the eyes of His Majesty, but the second hemistich of
 the Rubāī mentioned in the Munshaat is different from the
 aforesaid second hemistich of the letter:

شایم عالم مطیع زمان تو باد
 جانهای گرامی همه قربان تو باد
 خودات تو خلق را نگهبان باشد
 هر جا باشی خدا نگهبان تو باد

O Emperor, May the emperors of the world be subservient to thy command,
 The lives of all august personages be sacrificed to thee,
 As thy person is the guardian of the creation,
 May God be thy invariable guardian.

-
1. G.C.A; Fol.No. 10a .
 2. G.C.R.; Fol.No. 56 .
 3. G.C.A.; Fol.No. 10a .

1

In another letter, Brahman pleads with Aurangzib that he would be unable to look after mausoleum, for his old age and, subsequently, requests him to accept his resignation.

2

The said letter opens with the following verse:

I have grown grey under the sin and hope that my sins would be forgiven in honour of the virtuous young.

Brahman, further gives a detailed information in the next letter about the Majlis-i-Maulūd, held at the mausoleum

3

1. Munshaāt S. Fol.No. 7a, 8.

«پیر بادشاه عالم گیر نوشته: شکریم پیر زعقویان و چشم اندازم است که جرم ما بجانان پارسا بخشد اراده این مورد ضعیف آن بود که در بارگاه... که مرجع زمان روایان بهفت اقلیم است بوسیله دوام حضور سعادت ابدی حاصل نماید لیکن از آنجا که ایام خوابی بر خلاصه عمر و زندگیانی است در خدمت این دو در مان خلقت نشان بر آید و هنگام شهادت تشبیه رسید و آن حال در خواست محمد نما نه قوت قدمت تردد در بارگه آثار در خود کمتر یافت لهذا استغای خدمت حضور انور نموده بجاک روی روضه منوره مقبله متله که در میان دنیا و آخرت واقع شده کسب سعادت دارین میکند و بچند ماتی که ما مور است از روی دیانت و بیغرضی و معامله منجی و نفس الامر که ساهار در دریا ان اعلیٰ اشق آن نموده / گرم می باشد و بر موج عقیدت و صفای ارادت به تعالی از دباد عدولت ابر پیوند که بر روضه و خیر لایف لازم و متعمم است اشتغال پیدا کرد اگر چه حقیقت حال هر یک بر همین الزام که آینه جهان نمای عبارت از آنست پیدا او آشکار است لیکن ظاهر اکثر بندهای بکار فیض آثار شاه حسن اخلاص این بر همین نیز گوشه گیر اند.»

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid; Fol.No. 8, 8a.

«پیر بادشاه غازی نویسد: موید داشت که بن میرگان درگاه سلطان بنیاد تلبهات بندگی و سجدات علمی تقدیم رسانید چنین نیاز در زمین محمودیت بوده ذره آسا بر وقف عرض ایستادگی پاییز بر خلافت... و در بارگاه عالم بنیاد آسمان جاه برساند که ششمین همزی قدر سلیمان جلوس اقبال مانوس در روضه منوره مجلس مولود بآیتی که شایان این بزرگان جنت نشان است شرف نفاذ یافت عمده الملك رکن السلطنه وزیر خان با اکثر بندهای درگاه و الا تمام شهادت دو پر روز در روضه مقدسه مجلس را آورده و در باب علم و عمل و اهل زهد و صلاح با حافظان و مولود خوانان فرقه فرقه طبقه حاضر بودند مبلغ شش هزار روپیه بجهت صرف خیرات و سایر اخراجات مولود مقرر و معین است بنقلات و طعام و ارکیه و بیان و دیگر لوازم مجلس از روز رنگی بود و چه خیرات و سایر اخراجات در مجلس مولود بنما و فضلا و صلی و قرا و حافظان و ذخایر آن در گوشه و کنج دیان در گوشه نشینان دیر دروازه روضه منوره مبر که بختاجان و سکینان... وضعیه درخور حالت و استحقاق هر کدام قیمت یافت جمع کین بعضی رسید به دعای دوام دولت ابر پیوند اشتغال نمودند اسباب ضروری که از قلعه آورده بودند بعد اتمام مجلس مولود داخل قلعه شده قبله عالم و عالمیان سلامت قبل ازین خوانه روضه منوره درون قلعه نگاه میداشتند هنگامی که خوانه منور سوای خوانه نذر با خوانه دعای ممداد اللطیف متناهیان آبا در ارسال یافته از یک بعد معافی البودت بود که محمول منور بات و آنچه حاصل مواقع روضه منوره پیروی جمع میشود درین باب هر چه حکم معنی صادر کرد در آستانه دولت در روز افزون تا بان و در خوشان باد.»

on the night of the 17th of Bīqāḍ in the sixth year of the accession of Aūrangzīb. Ūmdatul Mulk Ruknuls-Salṭanat wasir Khān also participated in it with most of the courtiers, for the entire night extending uptill midday. It is not, however, clear from the abovementioned letter ^{that} the resignation of Brahman was ever accepted by the Emperor, 'Aūrangzīb.

CHAPTER - III

WORKS OF BRAHMAN

Chandra Bhān Brahman was a poet as well as a Munshī. The 'works' of Brahman may, therefore, be divided into two categories, namely prose and poetry. Prose works comprise mostly the letters and the description of important events during his association with the courts of Shāhjahān and Aurangzib. On the other hand, poetry consists of Ghazals, Rubā'ī and Mathnawīs.

Brahman himself enumerates ~~the name of~~ his works in the introduction to one of his works 'Munshaāt'. It would therefore ^{be} quite appropriate to introduce primarily the work, 'Munshaāt', for a detailed study. Brahman, in the beginning of a brief introduction, ^{1,2,3} refers to his inclination right from his early youth towards poetry and letter writing in all sincerity. After a study of books on history, poetical compositions and prose works of early and later writers, he used to move regularly to the courts of the then rulers and enjoyed the company of great ministers like Āsif Khān Sipahsālār, Afdal Khān, Islām Khān, Sa'dulla Khān, Muazzam Khān, Jāfar Khān and others. He describes how the work of drafting Firmāns was entrusted to 'this weak ant; and the verses of

-
1. Munshaāt Q; Fol.No.1.
 2. Munshaāt L; p. 1.
 3. Munshaāt S; Fol.No. 1.
 4. Ibid.

this insignificant particle were appreciated. Meanwhile, the ¹ Dīwān, consisting of Ghazals, Mathnawīs, Hubāīs and some prose works, ² viz., Gūldasta, Chahār Chaman, Tuḥfatul Anwār, Kārnamā Majmūl-Fūdālā, Tuḥfatul Fuṣṣā, Majma'ul Faqr were arranged in proper order by Brahman. The work which is a collection of letters, "addressed to the then heavenly ruler's court and great ministers; talented and wise persons and other relations and other relations, is named as 'Munshāat-i-Brahman. He ^{3,4} further hoped that 'these writings which were sent to the ^{5,6} learned persons for correction, might be appreciated. In continuation of this introduction, he says that, though, the letters of this humble one are renowned in Irān and Turān and also, the fame has reached every nook and corner of India; "But some ikar letters have been transcribed and left as a memorial on the surface of the earth."

Hence, according to the introduction of Munshāat-i-Brahman, we may determine the number of his works as nine, including the Munshāat itself. But, on the basis of the

1. Munshāat S; Fol.No. 1.

2. Ibid; Fol.No.2.

3. Ibid.

4. Munshāat Q; Fol.No. 2.

5. Ibid.

6. Munshāat U; Fol.No.2a.

7. Munshāat H. Fol.No. 2,2a.

اگرچه وقایع و روئیخات این نیازمند در ایران و توران شهرت یافته باطراف و اکناف هندوستان در هر ملک بهر ناحیه رسید و لیکن بعضی از عوالمی اخلاص امین که بخصیضای این سعادت کوشش و حسن خدمت بخدمت ملوک و وزیر و براهی دولت ابرترین داشته نقل انرا بطریق یادگار بر صحنه روزگار گذارد.

evidence derived from the study of the catalogues of different libraries, I gather that some more works of Munghī Chandra Bhān Brahman are traceable. The following works can justifiably be added to those enumerated above:

- (a) Tuhfatul ¹Widād.
- (b) ²Tawārīkh-i-Rājāhī-i-Delhi-i-Hindūstān (Juzw-i-Awwal)
- (c) ³Gaūshī Bābā Lāl Dāyāl or Makhsan-i-Mikāt or Nādir'un-Nikāt.
- (d) ⁴Nāzuk- Khyālāt

After the said brief introduction, the work, 'Munshaa āt-i-Brahman, may be divided into five parts, which contain letters addressed to a particular category of people. The first part consists of those letters which are addressed to the then Emperors; the second part comprises letters written to the ministers, nobles and the high class officials. The third part deals with the letters addressed to the contemporary poets, wise-men and men of letters. The fourth one comprises those letters which were written to Rājās, Rāyān and Rāizādagān, and the fifth part deals with the letters addressed to his relatives, friends and disciples.

1. G.V.S. Collection; Part I; p. 228/2 .
 2. A.B.N. Collection; Part II; p. 418.
 3. Gaūshī; Fol.No. 1.
 4. Storey; p. 730.

The available copies of the manuscript of Munshaat-i-Brahman, which are under-study, are seven. One of the said copies has already been published in the month of April, 1885 A.D. by the press of Munshi Nawal Kishore of Lucknow. Among the above mentioned copies, the oldest one has been transcribed from the manuscript 'Chahar Chaman' by Chandra Shān Brahman, Munshī, on Wednesday, the day of Chahār Shamb-e-Bist-o-Shisham Shahr Safarul-Muzaffar 1094 A.H. at noon, by Fateh Muhammad Ibn Sheikh Nūr Muhammad, Ibn Sheikh Ibrahim who belonged to the town of Unao in the Province of Awadh, under the Government of Lucknow at the door of Skul Das Kayasth, resident of Jajmau town in the province of Allahabad under the government of Kōrat. The title of the said manuscript has been wrongly inscribed as 'Chahār Chaman'; because the introduction and the letters contain the same matter and content which are found in the other copies of the manuscript of Munshaat-i-Brahman. Hence we might say in the light of the said evidence that the said copy of the manuscript is Munshaat-i-Brahman and not Chahār Chaman as the title on the title page of the manuscript has been mistakenly written by the scribe. This copy of the manuscript contains introductory matter and seventy letters approximately. In the different

1. Munshaat L.; Fol.No. 80.

2. Munshaat Q.; Fol.No. 42.

catalogues of the Manuscript Section of the Maūlānā Āsād Library, 'Alīgarh Muslim University, 'Alīgarh, the other five copies of the Manuscript of Munshaat-i-Brahman contain the following number of letters approximately, excluding the introductory portion; the name of the scribes in the concluding part with the year of the inscription and the number of catalogues in the beginning of each of the manuscripts.

The next copy of the manuscript of Munshaat-i-Brahman is available in Subhan ^uAllah Collection, bearing the catalogue number 891.5528/8. It contains one hundred and fifty ^{four} (154) letters and it was written by Muhammad Khan for the study of Dalpat Rai the Faujdār of Chakla Gawaliar, during the period of Muhammad Farrukh Sir Pādshah-i-Ghazi, on 19th ShahruJamād-i u-th thānī in the year 1126 A.H. The third copy of the said manuscript of Habib Gnaḥ collection was inscribed in the year 1174 A.H., which covers one hundred and seven (107) letters only. The catalogue number of the above mentioned collection is 50/150. The copy of the manuscript of the collection of 'Abduṣ Ṣalām which bears the number of the

1. Munshaat S; Fol.No. 67.

”بدا لفظ مستأب بر عین تصنیف چند بیجان منشی در بهر حضرت خلد لوزمین و زمان فرا و نیز مکین مکان قدیرت سلیمان منزلت
 کبیر و بر محمد فرخ پیر بادشاه غازی خدمت خویداری خان امارت نشان محمد خان بیکش که توجیه ارجح و ایار بودند در
 در عهد مذکور به بخط نیازمند درگاه الهی رود انیکه بهیتمه خوانندک بر خوردار دلبت رای تبارج نوزدهم شهر هادی انشانی
 ۱۱۲۶ هجری صورت انجام گرفت امیدار از قاریان نیز فهم انکه بهوی و خطای در تحریر لفظه واقع شد منشی معاف نموده
 قلم اصلاح جاری سازند۔“

catalogue 294/64² has one hundred and thirty eight (138) letters and the year of its inscription is 1193 A.H./1836 Bikrami. It does not contain the name of the scribe.

One ^hundred and sixteen (116) letters are found in the copy of the manuscript of Sir Sulaiman Collection which has the number of the catalogue 362/95. The date and the year of its ins^scription has not been written and it, also, does not bear the name of the scribe. The copy of the said manuscript of the Lytton or University collection, bearing the catalogue number 3/65 ³, covers one hundred and forty seven letters but it also contains no date and the name of the scribe.

The sixth one, which has already been mentioned above, was published by Nawal Kishore Press in 1885 A.D./1303 A.H. It contains about one hundred and forty three (143) letters which, also, does not bear the name of the scribe.

The first letter of the manuscript of Munshaat-i-Brahman of the ⁴Sub-uddin collection, which was addressed to the then Mughal Emperor, covers the description of Udaipur, when Munshi Chandra Bhan Brahman was sent with the other nobles of the court on a diplomatic mission by the Emperor, and was expected to attain the desired objective within a

week. Brahman writes that he sought permission to leave from His Majesty on the day of Dussehra and ²preached on (Monday) ³Doḥ Shamb-e-Bist-o-Yakum Shahr Diul Hajj, the auspicious day. In the copy of the manuscript of Munshaat-i-Brahman of Subhan Allah Collection, the year of his arrival at Udaipur has also ⁴been mentioned as twenty eight. Maha Mahopadhyaya Kavi Raja Shyam Lal Das, the writer of the history Vir, Vinod ⁵also writes and supports the date and year of the arrival of Munshi Chandr Bhan Brahman at Udaipur. Brahman further describes that at ⁶the end of the day, Hana, who was waiting for reception, came there. Next day, he ushered Brahman into privacy and made inquires about ~~the~~ mission and also wished to acquaint Hana with the acts of omission perpetrated ^{by} ~~by~~ him. In continuation of this letter, the verbose and expressive language,

1. Munshaat Q; Fol.No. 2.
 "عوضها شدت کمترین بزرگان عقیدت نشان بعد از ادای لوازم بلذگی و عبودیت و تقدیم بر اسم اخلص و عقیدت ذره وار بر حق
 عرض بار یارانگان محفل جاه و جلال و ابتداء یای بزم دولت و اقبال محل میسرمانند که روز دهم از خدمت / اسناد
 رخص گشته میخواست که در رخص یک هفته بمطلب رسید."

2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid ; 2a. "چو بر یافت کسان حکم ز بنده و آ نها ی و الا تبار عامر بود همراه آنها طی سافت بخورده روز
 مبارک دو شنبه بیت و حکم خدیجه با و دیور رسید."

4. Munshaat S.; Fol.No. 2a.
 5. Vir Vinod; Part I; p. 403-414
 6. Munshaat Q. Fol.No. 2a.
 "در مبارک دو شنبه بیت و حکم خدیجه با و دیور رسید.
 در آخر روز در نادری جای که چینه استقبال مقراست آمده بود در منشور الماع الزور عنایت بر هیچ صبح مشرف نگردد بعد از
 ادای مراسم ادب کنیزین سیدگانرا بنده در سنت اعتقاد صافی نهاد جناب عالمیناب در التیم خلافت دیگر دستار یاد در
 کفاره که وقت و متواضع که در خور دستار استمان دولت نشان باشد پیش آمده در سواری حوت زمان تا تمام خود برده
 از انچه رخصت کرد. روز دیگر در خلوت طلبیده در حضور معلمان مدار علیه خود استفسار معنون احکام لازم الاجام
 نمود و خواست که بر جزایم تفصیلات خود مطلع گردد."

used by Brahman to remind the Emperor about the instructions made by His Majesty at the time of Brahman's departure, is as follows:

«بنبره بنا بر مزید احتیاط آنچه از زبان معجز بیان اترت اقدس ارفع اعلی از ارشاد یاخته بقلم تعلیم در آورده بود آنرا در نظر داشته بزبان قریب الفهم عام قریب خاص پسند شروع در نگه داشتن نقلات لازم العلام نمود»

And after the said wordings, Brahman said to Rānā¹ that now 'the time has come to become cautious and to listen to the order which he has to obey carefully and also beware of the faults which had been committed by him and his father. The acts of omission which were pointed out by Brahman in an emphatic language, are as follows:

2

1. The first crime, which was perpetrated by Rānā and his father, was the construction of the fort of Chitor. In fact, the fort was conquered by the Emperor and was devastated and demolished. On the first day, an agreement came into existence to the effect that neither the fort would be erected on the original place, nor ~~it~~ would ^{it} be constructed or repaired and

1. Munshaat Q; Fol.No. 2a.

«و بر آن گفت که الحال وقت شنیدن کلمات بوشن از آن است لحنی از خواہش ظاهر و باطن خود را آنرا ہم آورده احکام مطاع را بگوشش بوشن بشنوید و بر تقصیرات بیدر خود و خود مطلع بشوید»

2. Ibid. 2a, 3.

«اول تقصیری که از بیدر شما بشنا بوقوع آمد ساختن قلعه چیتور است و در واقع قلعه را که پادشاه افغانستان بضرقتشیر عالم بگشود کرده خراب بطلق ساختن بجای برابر گردانیده باشند که اصلاً جای در آن قلعه نسا زد و تعمیر نکنند و درست ننمایند بلکه بپیرامون آن نگرددند چنانچه هست بجای دارند و تصرفی در آن نکنند باس این حکم نه انقضت آن عهد بود که در از اموشن گردانیده چشم بصیرت بر شنیده از قبح این فعل ننیده شنیده شرح ساختن جای آورده»

fortified. It must remainⁱⁿ the original condition as it was. No alteration should be made in it. Compliance was not made according to the order by Rāmā and the agreement was put to nought; he renounced the intelligence and out of unruliness could not ponder upon this activity and began to construct that place. Hence, in the eyes of the Emperor, no fault was greater than that.

2. The next ² fault was that the action of exit and entrance of the mob of riders and pedestrians from Udaipur came into play and this kind of act was called by the name of 'Pilgrimage for bath' when the Emperor had intentionally on an important mission towards the frontier side.

3. Brahman expressly pointed out the next point to Rāmā about the grandeur³ of the Emperor and said that it is apparently clear among the people of the world that this state belonged to His Majesty where Sultāns, Khāns, Mirzās of Iraq, Khurāsān, Mawra'un Nahr, Balkh, Badakhshān and Kashghar etc were submissive and obedient to him and the people of Deccan,

1. Munsakāt Q; Fol.No.3.

« و در ورگاه سلطانین بنیاد هیچ تقصیر عظیم تر از این نیست که اندیشه خلاف حکم و عهد و قول بخاطر کسی بگذرد. »

2. Ibid.

« دیگر در چیزی که در ایات جاه و جلال از ستمو الخلفه بعزم همی بر خرد و در دستش برده باشد و از او دوری پر با جمعیت بسیار از سوار و پیاده بر آمدن و در آمدن بملک پادشاهین و انرا زیارت و غسل نامیدن حمل هر چه توان نمود پیش پادشاهان این تقصیر کلان است. »

3. Ibid. 3a.

« دیگر آنکه بر عالم عالمیان ظاهر است که این دولت خدا داد در جمع قاصد پادشاهان بهفت اقلیم است و از دوز سلطانان و خانان و در زایان و اوق و خراسان و ماوراء النهر و بلخ و بدخشان و کاشغر و سمرقند در رکاب طفر انتساب کمر بسته حاضر اند. »

also, obeyed his order. And people from all corners of the world used to join his services, without any distinction of caste and creed, every month and year. It was the peculiarity of his grandeur that one who did not get employment any where could seek it in this government very easily and that person would not like to go to other place. If a man desired for leave then it would not be granted and he could not go anywhere. Thus this sort of benefit could not be obtained at any other place.

4. ^{Next} Brahman narrated the event which had occurred during the campaign of Gandhār, when His Majesty encamped in the vicinity of Ajmer and the victorious military was posted at Chittor. Hence, His Majesty's ^{main} ⁶ ^{that} aim was either Rānā would accept his

1. Munshaat G; Fol.No. 3a.

«تا به بنیاداران دکن که حلقه و بیگگی در گوش و غایتی عیبودیت بر دوش این درگاه سلاطین شاهانند»

2. Ibid.

«در هر ماه در هر سال طبقه از هر قوم از اطراف و جوانب بدرگاه معنی آمده —
بنیاد بر انتب سر از ای یا بنید»

3. Ibid.

«و یکی از اوزام این دولت این پیوند که هر که آورد جای دیگر نباشد جای او اینجا است و بجای دیگر می رود و اگر کسی را فرزندی رود بهر تا از حضرت خلافت رخصت حاصل نماید بجای دیگر نمی توان رفت»

4. Ibid.

«و این ضابطه مخصوص بادشاهان عظیم الشان است و به دیگری نمی رسد»

5. Ibid; Fol.No. 4.

«در دیگر آنکه در وقتی که هم قندهار در میان و نظام آسمان عیار جوام اخلاص بندهای عقیدت کیش بر وجهی لاک عدم وجود آنرا نگار اشتغال این چه دعوی اخلاص است و پیش بادشاهان عانک ستان کوتاهی خدمت خصم در تکلم ضرورت تقصیرات کلانی است چون این هم تقصیرات از جانب شما بنظر پیوست و در بیوفات که بی وفایان و اشراف اقدس این از بیخ طرف نگرانی نداشتند و بجهت یاداشن این جزایم عساکر ظوفا از اندازه حساب بیرون و افزودن طلب داشته متوجه اجیر کردند و افواج قاهره منصوره بر حیثیور تعیین نمودند»

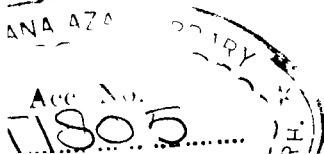
6. Ibid; 4, 4a.

«و خاصه من مقدس آنکه بار انا بملامت هر که سعادت اشراف اقدس مستعمل گردید هر چه بنده درین اثناء فرستاد یا شمار سیدند و بوسیدیم بار یا فغان محفل بهشت آئین استغضای تقصیرات شما نمودند بهرگان اشراف اقدس بمقتضای فتوت ذاتی و دروت جلی خان مان آبادان چندین ساله شما را که نزدیک به زوال و اختلال رسیده بود بحال داشتند»

services or he would do whatever he liked. In the mean-time a messenger reached there and, therefore, on account of his generosity and mild nature, the Emperor forgave Rānā for all the crimes and kept the family and house hold goods in the same state as they were for many years when the condition of Rana's state tended to decline and everything fell in disorder. And, hence he ordered that the Victorious army which had reached Chittor to destroy the repaired and constructed place, may be forbidden and the place should remain intact on the condition that Dalair Singh would go to Ajmer and be obedient and submissive for ever and, also, would seek permission to leave; and all the people, who were actually present and those on record, he posted to Deccan, with your ^{مند} caste-fellowmen, for ever. If, in future, anything happened from his side against His Majesty's will, then the Emperor would do what ever he likes to do in regard to the province in ^{the} vicinity of Ajmer. This worthy act of kindness must be taken as a fact and gratefulness for the same should be expressed and Dalair Singh must set out at once and delay, in this matter, was not permissible. In the copy of the manuscript of Munshaat-i-Brahman of Subhan Allah collection and also in the other copie

1. Munshaat Fol. No. 48.

و اکتفا بهین فرودنده افواج قاهره منصوره به بلع جیتور رفته جایا را که ساخته مرت کرده باشند سمار نموده
برگردنده دلیر سنگه در اجمیر بملذمت انزف اعلی رسیده سعادت ابدی حاصل نموده رخصت شود و جمعیت
مقوری موجودی و به کاغذی همیشه با برادر شمشا تعیینات حرکتی با سنده و در آئینه ابری خلاف حکم قدس
از شمشا رزنده باب عنایت برگزینات واجی اجمیر در انچه ضای مقدس باشند بعمل خواهد آمد در این عنایت
را ابراق باید دانست و تشکر این نعمت را ارجا باید آورد و در غیر سنگه را از دروان باید نمود و تاخیر درین
کار جایز نباید داشت -



of the said manuscript, the name of Dalair Singh has not been mentioned but only the word ¹ *Rānā* has been written and in the Habīb Unaj collection's copy, the name has been scribed as ² Dev Singh in place of Dalair Singh. Further, Brahaman called himself out of humility (³ فقیر) Fquir. He explained in detail all that had taken place; *Rānā* was not used to such talks before, and had not visualised the gravity of these faults. *Rānā* came to his senses immediately on hearing such remarks; he felt astonished, repented and apologized. He said, thus, that these faults were mostly committed by his father and he committed less but he would like to confess all of them and hoped to be pardoned. ⁴ And after this, nothing would happen against His Majesty's will from *Rānā*'s side and he would remain strict to his words. Even the trustworthy dignitaries of *Rānā* who accompanied him in solitude, could not ⁵ utter a single word and remained mum. Brahaman, further expressed

1. *Munshaat S.*; Fol.No. 4a.

2. *Munshaat H.*; Fol.No. 5a.

3. *Munshaat C.*; Fo.NO. 4a

چون فقیر این تعقیبات درست تلخ و تلخین را شرح بط آئینی کرد در خور ز ستادای این دولت با پیران با شکر ادب و راناکم هرگز در بیعت گوش او آشنای این کلمات نشنیده بود و بی این تعقیبات نموده بود استماع این سخنان به پیش آمد در حیرت و ذرات و عذر نخواهی در آمده عذر داین تعقیبات خواست و همین قدر گفت که اگر چه این جرایم کبراست که نسبت به پیران دارد و کمتر عین.

4. *Ibid*; Fol.No. 5.

اما من همه را بر خود گرفته قبول دارم و عذر میخواهم و امید عفو دارم و بعد از این اصلاً امری که خلاف رضی طبع مقدس باشد از من بظهور نخواهد آمد و بر جاده بندگی زیادت از اسلامت خود ثابت قدم خواهم بود و معتقدان مملو علیه راناکه درین خلوت بودند بیکس را جواب بنامه و پیش سخنان معقول سلامت مانده اند.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *Ibid*.

in respect of himself that ~~was~~ he was an honest and sincere person, who had no object or desire, belonged to His Majesty's court and this Brahman's caste had a peculiar type of distinction from the very beginning. All the affairs were being discharged rationally and boldly. Next day, Rānā consulted it in his chamber and searched for a meaningful and worthwhile formula and came to an agreement that Dalair Singh would accompany Brahman to be present before His Majesty. After a great discussion one point was raised that people out-side and inside felt perturbed due to the victorious army at Chittor which had destroyed the fort and it must go back at once and that was on this condition that the very day, Dalair Singh would leave with Brahman for Ajmer. Brahman said to Rānā that despatch of his son and all the other talk was useless at this time. On this point, Rānā expressed his views that, though, he had firm determination to despatch his son which was proper for him to do but the inhabitants of this region, who had considerable regard, became fearful. As

1. Munshaāt Q.; Fol.No. 5.
 «فیر چون بنده راست در دست کار فیض آثار است اصلاً غرض این نفسانی مطیع نظر ندرت در پیش این قوم نیز از آغاز آفرینش یک گونه اعتباری دارد مطلب ای حجابانه وی با کانه امانه از روی معقولیت ادا نمود.»
2. Ibid. 5, 5a.
 «روز دیگر در انا در خانه مشورت نموده راه بیرون خود پیرده قرار داد که دلیر سنگه خود را همراه فقیر روان در گاه نمایم یعنی که بعد از کنکاش بسیار بر زبان آورده اینست که چون درون و بیرون از رسیدن انواع قاهره متوهم و مضطرب بنده اند همین که لشکر لغزت از قلعه جیتور را خراب ساخته بازگرد در دلیر سنگه را همان روز بر فراقت کریم بنده گمان روانه اجیر سازد.»
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
 «فقیر با او گفت که در فرستادن پسر و این همه اینجاست اظهار کرد که خاطر من بالکل رفع شده و فرستادن پسر را سعادت میدانم اما چون اهل این دیار وحشی بناد اند ملاحظه کنی دارند بجز در روانه شدن لشکر از جیتور پسر را بلا توقف در همان روز روانه میسازم.»

soon as the force was removed from Chittor, son would be ready to proceed without delay. At last, Rānā reached the said conclusion after exchanging his views with his dignitaries. When at last they adopted this proposal which was not a myth but it was full of reality and apparent, was sent to His Majesty and, hence, Brahman deemed it worthwhile for Rānā to send his son. But this very notice that the regiment, coming from the side of Mondsor and the army which was deputed to Chittor, became the cause of their terror. At this time they came to know that the large army had reached Chittor. It also came into the notice of Brahman that, some days ago, the inhabitants of this place had despatched their luggage with their families to the near by hills and they would, also, call them back to Udaipur as soon as the army would be despatched away from Chittor. The compliance of His Majesty's order was carried out accordingly and, thus, Rānā was compelled to agree

1. Munshaat 2; Fol.No. 5a.

”جون رانا و همراہیانش بعد از رد و بدل بسیار قرار داد این معنی نمودند۔“

2. Ibid.

”عرضداشتت لوشفته محبوب بود که آشنای معامله است خالی از راستی نیست فرستادن پر سعادت میداند اما ملاحظه لشکر چیتور و آمدن فوج بجانب مندر سو در بر آنها متولی شده۔“

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

”عنقریب از خاطر آنها بری آید تا حال اخراج بجز امتزاج بچیتور رسیدگی کاری که باید کرده باشند همین که اینها را بنایر سده که چند روز پیش ازین اهل عیال خود را با اجمال و القال خود در اجمال فرستاده اند که چون لشکر ظفر از چیتور برگردد آنها را به او پیوسته بطلبند۔“

5. Ibid; Fol.No. 6.

”موجود است در الا ادای احکام واجب از روی راستی و درستی نموده در پیوستگی و بیخبری خود را بر انا ظاهر ساخته و هم رانا را که معقول تر از ارباب کنکاشن خود داشت بحسن سلوک و سخنان راست و درست از خود راضی گردانیده امیدوار است که بگریم کار سازد اینقدر متوجه احسن تقدیم برسد۔“

with the conversation. It ^{was} hoped that by God's blessings, it would prove fruit-^tful. Though Raghunath Singh was a Rajput but he was aware of all the rational matters and often in privacy and at every place, he remained with Brahman. He was also present with his followers. The bearer of this letter, named Khwāja Jamāl ² ^{in order} Aquil Khānī reaches to discharge the services and he would explain it impressively, if His Majesty would enquire from him. In the Subhān Allāh collection's manuscript, the name Khwāja Kamāl ² Aquil Khānī was written in place of Khwāja Jamāl ² Aquil Khānī. Brahman in the end of this letter describes that the fruit Badrang ⁴ (باد رنگ) were found in large numbers and were known as 'Kakri' in the colloquial language of that region. Sugarcane was tolerable and Pomegranates (انار) were brought from the garden of Rānā but they were not sweet. In the continuity of the letter, Brahman gives information about the climate of Udaipur. During the day time the weather remained warm but the nights were slightly cold. The inhabitants of this country were settled hither and thither and the

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1. Munshāat 4; Fol.No. 6.
 « لکھونات سنگم اگر چه در اجبوت است اما خالی از معقولیت و معامله نمی نیست در خلوت و کثرت
 او را همه جا با فرد مشفق ساخته و او با جمعیت خود حاضر است. »
 2. Ibid. « مؤمن است را محبوب نجار جمال عامل خان روان ملازمت فیض موسیت خود اگر در نزد پیران شود شاید در آغاها. »
 3. Munshāat 5; Fol.No. 5a.
 4. Munshāat 9; Fol.No. 6.
 « بنوه این ملک بالفعل همین با مدنگ کلان است که بزبان اینجا کانگری گویند - فی شکر هم بد نیست اناری
 چند از باغ انا آورده بودند اگر چه کراب بود اما شیرینی نداشت. »
 5. Ibid.
 « میان روز هم اقله گرم است و شبها مایل بسردی است. »
 6. Ibid.
 « رعیت این ملک جایجا قرار شده آبادانی کمتر بنظر می آید و در او پیرانتری از هاجن و بیو پاری و مل
 شهر نیست و هم کس نظیر اصلاح این معامله دارد. »

population was scattered. Mahajan's, businessmen and the natives of the city had no influence in Udaipur and all of them were waiting for some solution.

Brahman concluded the said letter with the following words: "ایام دولت و اقبال مستدام باد۔"

May the days of His Majesty's glory and fortune remain perpetual!

Brahman also used some Hindi words as nakri, Mahajan and P^{to}saupari etc.

1

He wrote another letter from Udaipur to His Majesty, informing him about the condition and state of Rana who was waiting for His Majesty's kind benevolence and was duly informed of the subject matter which was full of favour. Rana was arranging for necessary equipment to ask his son to leave before His Majesty's order. Although, Rana got consolation at Brahman's arrival and His Majesty's order but he was influenced by the returning of the army and he traced out a fruitful way. He gathered reliable persons and Prohita and prepared to send his son after Friday in the night, past 7 o'clock on Shabe of the month of Muharram. But in the copy of

1. Munshāt; Fol. No. 6a.
 "عزیزداشت کرتین ہزارای عقیدت نشان بعد از ادای و از مہرگی ذرہ و ابوقت رخصت با رہا نتگان محفل ہمیشہ آئین میرساند کہ فخری آنحضرت و اجلال کہ در دارالبرکتہ اجمیر شریف نفاذ یافتہ بود و زود یافت آداب بزرگی و استیصال بقدریم رسانیدہ سعادت کہین حاصل نمود و در آنرا کہ منظر و منظر نوید عنایت والا بود بر مضمون عنایت شیخ آن مطلع گردانیدہ بیشتر تا کہ روانہ ساختن کرد خود را تا آنکہ بعد از مشاہدہ مشہور لامع النور و رسیدن بہنگان عقیدت کیش مطہین خاطر گشتہ و خود را از ساختن بسز بود اما از غایت حیست و براس نظر بر مراجعت لشکر فروری اخراج شدت الحال کہ تبارگی بر مضمون امر لازم التباع کہ درینوقت محض از روی کشف صادر شدہ بود مطلع گردیدہ ہزارہ تقویت ظاہر و باطن حاصل نمود دل بہبود و سود خود بردہ۔"

2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid.
 "ہرچ معتمدان و بیروہتہان لاجع ساختہ۔"
 "بعد از انقضای روز جمعہ پس دگر مشتق ہفت گھری از شب شنبہ شہر حرم الحرام ساعت روانہ ساختن بسز اختیار نمودہ۔"

Munshaāt of Subhan Allah Collection, the desired time of the departure of Rānā's son has been mentioned as the night after 7 O'Clock on Shamb-e-Ghaharum (Wednesday) of Muharram in the year twenty eight. Thence, Rānā expressed his desire that he would receive more than the desired one; no harm and damage would be done to his finances and his country and his son would be returned to him soon but he was duly perplexed and sad which was natural for him. Hence, Brahman gave him consolation and satisfaction. Brahman, further repeatedly, informs His Majesty that instability and disunion has found its way into this country and the inhabitants have been evacuated out of the city of Udaipur before his arrival and they had gone with their bag and baggage to the hills. Homes and markets have been vacated. Only, the attendants and servants of Rānā remained in the city. And here the people were saying if no solution was declared in this matter then Rānā would remain on the hill but by encouragement, he got strength and patience

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1. **Munshaāt S; Fol.No. 6.** "بعد از انقضای روز جمعه پس از گذشتن هفت گوی شب شنبه چهارم محرم ۱۲۸۸ ساعت روانه ساختن پسر احتیاط نموده -"
 2. **Munshaāt Q; Fol.No. 7a.** "در انا اهلها رینمودم که چون من سعادت و اطاعت حکم بجاء آوردم یقین که به هیچ وجه من کل الوجوه فتوری و اسپیدی بملک و مال من نخواهد رسید و زیاده از اسلاف خود ارباعیت خواهم یافت و بین الاثران کربلمندی حاصل خواهم نمود و پس من زود بمن خواهد رسید چون صید قلوب و حسی نهادان لازم است - بنده ای در نگاه دلاسا نموده خاطر مطمئن مینمورد -"
 3. **Ibid.** "تزلزل و لغزته تمام جبال اینک راه یافت پیش از رسیدن بنده ای شهر او دیور را خالی ساخته مال و متاع را بکوه فرستاده اند بازار را و خانه ها خالی افتاده همین نوکران انا اند که در شهر باشند -"
 4. **Ibid.** "ردم اینجا میگویند که اگر اصلاح این معامله می فرمودند تا حال رانا در جبال بود بتقویت دلاسا بنده ای استقلال ادبجال حائز -"

and remained at his place. A mendicant of seventy years of age appeared in this country who was passing his life in seclusion for forty/^{years} with pleasure. As the management was in disorder and the city was vacated, the arrival of Brahman, became the cause of their patience and all of them were waiting for betterment. Brahman concluded the letter with the following words:

«ایام دولت و اقبال مستدام باد مگر در داس و کلیان داس را جیوت بر وقت رسیدند مجرای خدمت آنها شود.»

May The days of His Majesty's glory and fortune may remain efer ever. Girdhar Das and Kalyan Das, Rajput, reached in time and they may be entrusted with their services.

The third letter which was addressed by Brahman to His Majesty, contains the matter of the content, more or less the repetition of the previous letters. Brahman informs His Majesty, after completing the formalities of address, as follows:

«بسی نبیره های عقیدت کیش که تفصیل آن در حضور بعضی خواهر رسید - کنور را بعد از انقضای هفت گوی شب شنبه رخصت نموده در نواحی او دیو و غیمه ایستاده کرده فرود آورد - الحال مسلمان هم ایهیان او میکنند و رانا و معتقدان او التماس اند - امیر و ارم که لشکر ظفر اثر چیتور را خراب ساخته زود برگردد که تا بخاطر حج در او پیور تو اتم بود و کنور جمعیت خاطر با جیمیر توانا ندر رفت - در کوشش از جانب نبیره های تقصیر زفته و سخنان عقلی و نقلی نیست و بله رانا را معقول بر ساخته شده - اما چون وقت راست گفتن و راست نوشتن است آنچه از این جماعت شنیده میشود بی کم و کاست معروض داشتن لازم است آفتاب عالم تاب دولت و اقبال تابان و درخشان باد.»

1. Munshat Q; Pol.No. 7a.

«در ویش هفتاد ساله گو شده گزین درین ملک بنظر افتاد چهل سال است که گنج خول گرفته وقت را خوش نیگذازد درین ولایت شهر ویران شده تفرقه جمعیت او راه یافته از رسیدن نبیره های فی الجمله امنی هم بریده اما بالفعل کسی را داغ دیدن و صحبت داشتن دیگری نیست همه کس را نظر بر اصلاح معاملت است.»

As a result of the efforts of this faithful one, the details would be received. Kunwar would start after passing 7 o'clock in the night of Saturday. The tent, which was erected in the suburb of Udaipur, had been brought down. At present, his luggage was with his companions. Rānā and his followers entreat you. It was hoped that the victorious military which had destroyed Chittor, might be allowed to return so that peace might be restored in Udaipur, and Kunwar might be able to go to Ajmer with peace of mind. In making efforts, none of the faults had been omitted on Brahman's part. Rānā had come to see reason with reasonable and rational remarks and by ups and downs. But, as the time is ^{that of} ^{ing} tell the truth, hence, whatever was heard from that community, it was necessary to mention it without any omission. May, the sun of His Majesty's wealth and fortune, which glows all ^{over} about the world, be luminous and bright.

The fourth letter, which was addressed by Brahman to His Majesty, is not found in the copy of the manuscript of 'Munshaat' of Qutubuddin Collection, while it is available in the other copies of the collections which are under study. Brahman, in the said letter after completing the formalities of address, ^{has} given information to His Majesty about the arrival of Shaikh Abdul Karim who reached Udaipur with an entrusted Firman. The subject-matter of the said letter is as follows:

حقیقت برآمدن لیردانا شب شنبه چهارم محرم از شهر اودپور و فرود آمدن بخیمه که در یک گروهی از شهر نصب نموده بودند و دانشان را نا چشم انتظار بر معاودت لشکر فروری اثر پیشین ازین بر ضد داشت نموده بود- امید که بسبب والای رسیدن با شکر درین اثنا شجرت بیله وزارت پناه شیخ عبدالکریم با فرمان مرحمت عنوان رسیدن و نمرده صلوات حکم والا

راجت لشکر نصرت اثر بگوشش رانا که نیز ازین مانی در روانه ساختن پسر نداشت رسا نیند رانا که پیمان احکام
 مطلع و متعال گشته پسر را یک هفته پیشتر از او دیوید بر آورده بود بنا بر گریه پسر و احسان عنایت و رحمت
 گردانید و شیخ نثار الید و بنده های درگاه با پسر رانا صبح یکشنبه دو از دم حرم روانه ملازمت پسر سعادت
 گردیدند و خبری که از رسیدن بنده های رانا که از عنایت اضطراب پاید در کابل و عنان در دست داشت
 و نگاه داشتن او به لطایف عقلی و نقلی نسبت و بلندی و طلبیدن پسر او از کوه و بر آوردن از شهر او دیوید و فرود
 آوردن از خیمه از بنده های با اخلاص بظهور آورده آمدند که رأی بنده ضمیر الو که کر جام جهان نما عبادت از انست
 پسر تو انداخته باشند - ایام دولت و اقبال مدام مستدام باد -»

It was a fact that the son of Rānā came out of the city of Udaipur in the night of Shamb-e-Chāharum (Wednesday) of the month of Muharrum and came down in the camp which was erected by one of the groups in the city. Rānā had to wait for the return of the victorious army. Before this letter, His Majesty would be able to see the previous one and hoped that it would also be heard. In the mean while, Shaikh Abdul Karīm, the attendant of his ministry, reached with a Firmān which contained the favourable subject. And Rānā despatched his son on hearing the good news of His Majesty's order for the return of the victorious force, who, previously, was not inclined to send him. Rānā, who brought his son from Udaipur a week ago, became convinced and aware of His Majesty's order and also of the recent obligation, magnanimity, favour and mercy. Aforesaid Shaikh and Brahman himself left with Rānā's son to present themselves before His Majesty in the morning of Sunday, the twelfth of the month of Muharram. The arrival of Brahman, impelled Rānā to call his son from the hills and bring him from the city of Udaipur and come down in the camp, who, mentally had been disturbed. All the said factors

appeared on account of Brahman. Brahman hoped that the banner of His Majesty's luminous conscience, that became the cause of World's radiance, would throw light upon this matter. May, the Days in of His Majesty's wealth and fortune, be perpetual for ever.

The letter which is preserved in the copy of the published 'Munshaat', the year of their departure is also mentioned as twenty-eight¹ which corresponds with the year in the letter of the copies of the manuscript of Habīb Ganj and Abdus Salam collections³ but in the letter of the copy of Abdus Salam collection, the days is mentioned as Saturday and in the letter of the copy of Sulaimān collection, the date is not mentioned but the year is noted as eight which may be an omission of the scribe.

It has already been pointed out in the sub-heading of the 'last patron and the period of retirement of Brahman' in the Chapter of Patrons of Brahman that he wrote about three letters to Aūrangzib. In the first letter, Brahman felicitates Aūrangzib on his accession to the throne and presented a Rubāī in his Majesty's praise. The second one opens with a verse, consisting of the subject-matter of Brahman's retirement in which he requests his patron to accept his resignation

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1. Munshaat L; Fol.No. 10.
 2. Munshaat H; Fol.No. 10.
 3. Munshaat A; Fol.No. 8.
 4. Munshaat, sul.; Fol.No. 5a.
- «شیخ شاد الیوم و بزمه های درگاه با پسر انا صاحب یکشنبه ۱۲ جمادی الثانی در آن ملازمت / الر سعادت / در آن روز»
 «شیخ شاد الیوم و بزمه های درگاه با پسر انا صاحب یکشنبه در آن ملازمت / الر سعادت / در آن روز»
 «شیخ شاد الیوم و بزمه های درگاه با پسر انا صاحب یکشنبه در آن ملازمت / الر سعادت / در آن روز»

owing to his old age and, hence, he is not able to look after the mausoleum where he discharges his duties. In the third letter, Brahman describes in detail about the festival of Majlis-i-Maūlūd, held at ^{the} mausoleum on the night of the 17th of Dīqād in the sixth year of the accession of Aūrangzib. The date, in the copy of the manuscript of 'Abdus Salam, is mentioned as Bist-o-Haftum Shahr-Dīqād in the sixth year while the copy of the manuscript of Subhān Allah collection gives the information about the year as tenth, but in the other copies of the manuscript of Munshāat-i-Brahman which are under study, except the copy of Qutubuddin collection in which the said three letters are not found, gives the same date, and year as mentioned above. Brahman, further writes that Wazir Khan also participated in it with most of the courtiers for the entire night extending upto midday. Wise and learned persons, ascetic and devout persons used to be present in groups and parts with recitals and reciprocals. About six thousand rupees were granted to be spent on all items of

1. Munshāat A.; Fol.No. 8a.

2. Munshāat S; Fol.No.8.

3. Ibid.

” عمدة الملك ركن السلطنة وزير خان باكثر شہدہ یاری در گاہ والا تمام شب
تادویر روز در روضہ مقدمہ مجلس آرا بودہ دارباب علم و عمل و اہل زہد و صلاح با
حافظان و مولود خوانان فرقتہ فرقتہ و طبقہ طبقہ حاضر بودند و آشتن ہزار روپیہ ہر وقت
وسایر اخراجات مولود مقرر و معین است - “

expenditure and charitable deeds. Sugar-plums, food, Arkaja, betels and other nicoties were available. Charitable funds and the aforesaid things were distributed among all sorts of persons like ^{the} learned persons, ^{ones} scholars, poorā, Hāfiẓ, saints hermits, Widows, needy persons, ^{and} beggars, old and weak persons etc, at the door of the mausoleum. The persons, who sought these occasions, paid homage and prayed for His Majesty's long life and ^kwealth. As soon as the Majlis-i-Maūlūd was finished, all the necessary equipment, which were brought from the fort, were returned. Brahman, further, informs His Majesty that the treasury of mausoleum was kept inside the fort but after, this Majlis, the said treasury, except the general charitable fund, was despatched to the capital, Shāhjahānābād. Remaining gold from the exempted one, which was collected from the markets and also from the locality of the mausoleum, was collected in the treasury outside the fort, after spending on

1. Munshaāt S; Fol.No. 8.

”بنقلات و طعام و ابرکچ و بیان و دیگر لوازم مجلس افزون رنگی بود و چه خیرات و سایر اخراجات در مجلس مولود بلاء و فضل و صلحا و فقرا و حافظان و ذرا کران در گوشه و کنار به مجزویان و گوشه نشینان و هر دووازه روز منوره متبرکه که به محتاجان و مسکینان و عورات بیوه و ضعیفه در خور حالت و استحقاق هر کدام قیمت یافت جمع کثیر بفیض رسید که رعایای دولت ابر پیوند اشتغال نمودند - اسباب ضروری که از قلعه آورده بودند بعد اتمام مجلس مولود داخل قلعه شدند -“

2. Ibid; FolNo. 8a.

”قبله عالم و عالیان سلامت قبل ازین خزانة روضه منوره درون قلعه نگاه داشتند - بنگاشیکه خزانة مذکور سوای خزانة نذر یاخرانہ رعایای بزرگوار الحلافت شاهجهان آباد ارسال یافتند و دریکه بعد معافی الجواب از محصول مندیات و آنچه حاصل مواضع روضه منوره بیرون قلعه جمع میشود درین باب هر چه حکم صادر گردد آفتاب دولت روز افزون تابان و درختان باد -“

3. Munshaāt L; p. 12.

”دریکه بعد معافی الجواب از محصول مندیات و آنچه از حاصل مواضع روضه منوره فراهم می آید پس از صرف ضروریات در خزانة منوره مقدر سه بیرون قلعه جمع می شود - درین باب هر چه حکم صادر گردد آفتاب سلامت دولت روز افزون همواره از مطلع جاه و جلال ساطع و لایع باد -“

the necessary requirements, Hence, in this connection, whatever be the order, would be duly informed. May, the sun of glory, which was indreasing day by day, be luminous and bright.

Brahman informs Asif Khān, the command^r of the Royal Army, in a letter that 'Ināyat Khān, the then Governor of Lāhore, brought him up when he was in the capital, Lāhore, and his obligation ^{and} benevol^ence were upon him. The Khān had no match in respect of truth and honesty. The further information about this letter has laready been mentioned in the previous chapter of 'patrons'.

The letters, which were written to Afdal Khān by Brahman have already been discussed in the last chapter of 'Patrons' in connection with Afdal Khān's patronage.

Brahman wrote a letter to Islām Khān in which he informs him that Brahman could not intimate the Khān about the duties of writing the manuscript of 'Munshaāt'. But the very day when he got some relief and time, he would be able

1. Munshaāt S; Fol.No. 9a.

« اینکه درین مدت خود را بیاد نهاده خراز خود نداشتند امروز اندک به پیش آمد آنچه از دل بیاد آمد این بود که خود را بیاد صاحب مهربان دهد و داد نام آور پیانی خود بخواند که چرا صاحب حرفی من یاد من دعا گوئی / ایا اخلاص نکرند من انصاف از که خواهم و داد از که طلبم چند آنکه است قلم بر من کاغذ میسر اگر دست من بر من عنایت نواب مهربان بر سر داد خود ستانم فریاد رسا عذر پذیرد ای یک شب از روز و روز از شب نشناخته با تمام این نسخه بدیع که بوجوب حکم اشرف اقدس ارفع اعلیٰ به قیطر و تحریر این مامور است سالی و گر گرمی باشد.»

to inform the Khan about the said duty. He was so busy in writing this manuscript of 'Munshaat' that he did^{not} remember about the day and night. Now, the following Ghazal which was written, might be appreciated by His royal Highness.

کسی ز بیکسیء ما بجال ما نرسد
 کسی بجال غریبان بی تو نرسد
 راست دست طلبت داس تو بلند
 ز کوتاهی ست که دستم بهر جان رسد
 جبین شوق بر آه تو سوده می ایم
 که طی حله عاشقی بهر پا نرسد
 عیار کوی تو کحل الجواهر لبر است
 علاج دیدر عاشق بر تو تیا نرسد
 بود چه حال خسته بر زمین را
 ز کارخانه لطف تو گر دوا نرسد

No one comes to my rescue due to my helplessness.
 No one sympathises the condition of a poor and indigent person.
 My hands, for begging, are low and your skirt is high,
 Due to lowliness, my hands do not attain the objective;
 I came to you with the forehead of love, rubbing against the ground;
 For the feet would not traverse the path of love.
 The dust of thy lane is collyrium for the eyes.
 And the treatment of the eyes of a lover would not be done by antimony.
 What would be the condition of Brahman's injured heart;
 If the medicine would not be available from the factory of your favours.

The aforesaid Ghazal is preserved in the letter which was addressed to Islām Khān, in the copy of the manuscript of Qutubuddin Collection. The next letter opens with the following Rubai, addressed to the Khān whom he called a true teacher and reminded ~~it~~ him of the relationship for about a decade.

ز سرها دیده عاشق کجا شود روشن :×: بیاگر آمدنت چشم ما شود روشن
غبار کو تیر کحل الجواهر بصر است :×: که چشم تیره باین تو تیا شود روشن

How could the eyes of a lover become bright with collyrium,
May be, by your coming, ^{our} lover eyes be enlightened.
The dust of thy lone is the collyrium for the eyes,
The gloomy eyes became illuminated by this antimony.

Brahman apologised to the Khān for the delay in the letter and concludes it with under-mentioned couplet.

ما ذوقِ حُجّ شبانه را میبدرانیم :×: افسانه عاشقانه را میبدرانیم
لی جنبش دست و پا برقص آرد دل :×: ما شورش این ترانه را میبدرانیم

We know the taste of the nocturnal wine,
We know the amorous fables of the lovers.
Without the movement of the hands and the feet,
the heart begins to dance,
We know the forceful effects of this song.

He addressed the third letter to Islām Khān in which he presented the newly composed verses for appreciation.

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1. Munshaāt Q; Fol.No. 10a .
 2. Munshaāt S, Fol.No. 15a-16 .
 3. Ibid .
 4. Ibid; Fol.No. 16, 16a .

Brahman intimated Sa'adulla Khān, the then Prime Minister, in one of his three letters, that he used to send his compositions, daily, before the deceased Afdal Khān when he was one of his attendants, for correction and appreciation. Hence, Brahman liked to send his verses to Sa'adulla Khān for necessary correction and admiration. He informed ¹ Aqil Khān in one of his letters that, though Udai Bhan was the younger brother but he considered him superior and better as he served under him and was admired by the Khān. He further, ² wrote and recommended Indra Bhan who had brotherly relations with Brahman and presented a Ghazal for a critical appreciation. He wrote letters to out-standing contemporary poets and men of letters with freshly composed Ghazals for correction and appreciation e.g. Zafar Khān, Hājī Muhammad Jān Qudsī, Mullā Munīr, Dānishmand Khān, Shāyasta Khān, Mirzā Dīa'ulla, Mukhlis Khān, Sayyad Jalāl, Bahādur Khān, Mīr Abdul Karīm and Sheikh Qutub. He further, wrote ^{3,4} ^{about} five letters to Rāi Bindrabān. In one of the said letters, Brahman informed him about Nand Lal ⁵ and Kharag Sen and in the other one, he recommended Sel Singh for employment. In the third letter, he ⁶ congratulated Bindrabān for the title of Rāi which was awarded to him. The fourth letter contained a Ghazal and the fifth one was written in an informal way to the Rāi.

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1. Munshaat S; Fol.No, 10, 10a, 56, 56a.
 2. Ibid; Fol.No. 56a, 57.
 3. Ibid; Fol.No. 21, 21a.
 4. Munshaat L; p. 32.
 5. Munshaat H; Fol.No. 56, 56a.
 6. Ibid; Fol.No. 56a.
 7. Ibid Fol.No. 59-59a.
 8. Ibid; Fol.No. 55a-56.

He also wrote a letter to Badī'uzzamān with the following Ghazal in which Brahman desired him to note it in his (بای) diary.

گر شاخِ محبت نغری داشته باشد
 نخلِ دلِ من نیز نغری داشته باشد
 دل در بر من نیست ندانم که کجاست
 شاید که ز جای نغری داشته باشد
 سرمایۀ ماییت بغیر از دمِ تسلیم
 گو راهِ محبت خطری داشته باشد
 طوفانِ بلا از در و دیوار بر آید
 مگر گریه عاشق اثری داشته باشد
 در معرکه عشق در آید چو برین
 هر کس که بمیران جلگه داشته باشد

Brahman, further dispatched three letters to 'Abdul-Nabī Khān with a Ghazal; and in one of the said letters, he requested 'Abdul-Nabī to recommend those persons who had been arrested at the time of raid when they gathered in to attend a function, held in that village so that they might be able to get rid of him. In the next letter, Brahman recommended Khwāja Kūnj Behārī Dās who was formerly in the service of Aītiqād Khān and also presented a Ghazal. The name of 'Abdul-Nabī Khān is mentioned as 'Abdul-Khān in the Subhān 'Allah Collection. He also wrote a descriptive letter to Ikhlas Khān in which he informed the Khān about the impression of

1. Munshast H; Fol.No. 47a-48.

2. Ibid; Fol.No. 34a.

3. Munshast B; Fol.No. 2f.

4. Ibid; Fol.No.20a.

5. Ibid; Fol.No. 17-17a.

the journey of Daulatābād with a Ghazal.

Jafar Khān also received approximately five letters from Brahman. Two of them consisted of Ghazals for appreciation. In the third letter, Brahman informed the Khān about his illness. The other two letters were written in connection with the recommendation of Kūnj Behārī Dās, son of Subhan Chand and Khwāja Kishwar Dās. Brahman wrote a letter to Multafat Khān, in which he recalled about his literary association with him when Brahman used to participate in the literary activities with his friend, Khwāja Fateh Chand, once in a week and concluded it with a Ghazal. He addressed Muḥammad Abid as 'My dear' (عزیز) in one of his letters, which consisted of a Ghazal in the end of the letter and asked him to assist Ustād Lutfulla who deserved for it. Brahman, in one of his letters, informed Abdul Latif Lashkar Khānī with a Ghazal about the well-known poet and scholar, named Muḥammad Jān^{7 Qudsi} who had recently come from Irān and stayed at the house of Imām Qulī Bēg in Lāhore, where he went to see Qudsi. He further wrote about five letters to Rāja Raghunath which are preserved in the different copies of Munshāat. In one of the said letters, Brahman recommended Shankar Dās who was one of the relatives of Rāi Niko Rāi, and in the next letter, he pleaded for the services of Sūrat Singh⁹ who was one his

1. Munshāat S; Fol.No. 21, 11a, 12.

2. Ibid. Fol.No. 11.

3. Ibid; Fol.No. 12, 12a.

4. Munshāat H. Fol.No. 20-200a.

5. Ibid; Fol.No. 24, 24a.

6. Munshāat A; Fol.No. 35a.

7. Munshāat S; Fol.No. 22a - 23.

8. Ibid; Fol.No. 28.

9. Ibid; Fol.No. 28a.

disciples and caste-fellow. In the third letter Brahman recommended Prān Nath to be absorbed in the category of clerks¹. He was a young and talented person and in the fourth letter he pleaded for Shānkir Mal to be made one of his attendants.² He also gave information to Rājā Raghunath about Mahant Prayag Dās Puri in his fifth letter.³ Brahman also pleaded Rājā Todar Mal Shāhjahānī in one of his letters, for Shānkir Mal to pay attention to him who was on leave; and in the next letter he informed Todar Mal about Gowardhan Dās Suraj Dhawaj.⁴ In one of his letters, Brahman recommended Prān Nath to Khwāja Lāl Chand to appoint him as a clerk and also informed the Khwāja about Sūrāt Singh.⁵ He also introduced Sūrāt Singh to Rāi Makrand, Asad Khān, Amin Khān and Rāi Dalpat Rāi in his letters. Brahman also introduced Dayāl Dās and Gowardhan Dās to Khwāja Nand Rāi, Ikram Khān and Rāi Bhagwant Dās or Bhagwatī Dās respectively in their letters. Further, Brahman wrote letters to Rāizāda Subhan Chand, Āqa Hāshid, Askar Khān, Dāod Khān, Irādat Khān, Fidāi Khān, Muḥṣan Khān, Najābat Khān Rasik Dās Sa'adulla Khān with the recommendation of the son of Mohan Dās Kayasth, Udai Raj, Tulsi Ram Sahu, Muhammad Hāshim, Har Nath, Khwāja Annad Rūp, Mān Singh, Bhopal Rāi Munshī and Lāl Chand respectively. He reminded Rāid Andāz Khān about his relationship with him from the time of the deceased Khān whose relations with Brahman were so close and

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1. Munshaat H. Fol.No. 49a-50.
 2. Ibid; Fol.No. 50a-51.
 3. Ibid; Fol.No. 49-49a.
 4. Munshaat H. Fol.No. 51, 51a.
 5. Ibid; Fol.No. 51a-52.
 6. Ibid; Fol.No. 54, 54a.
 7. Ibid; Fol.No. 53a-54.
 8. Munshaat S. Fol.No. 22.

cordial that the Khān always addressed him as his son:¹
 « همیشه لفظ فرزندی نسبت به فقیر بر زبان می آوردند. »
 Brahman also addressed some letters to Khawāja Muḥammad Mīrak
 or Mubārek, Deep Chand Rūstam Khānī, Khawāja Fateḥ Jhand,
 Rāizāda Siam Dās, Munshī Uḍai Raj, Rāizāda Gopal Dās, Muquīmā
 Kāshānī, Qābil Khān, Sheikh Mūsa, Makramat Khān Thānī, Munīr
Khān, Mahābat Khān, Muswī Khān, wazīr Khān, Nāmdār Khān, Reḥmat
Khān and Mīr Hātīf Kāshānī. Brahman wrote most of his letters
 to his father, Dharam Dās, brother, Uḍai Bhan, and son, Tej
 Bhan. The most important letter which Brahman addressed to
 his father, saying that Brahman was an obedient and faithful
 son of his father and worshipped him only next to the almighty
 God.² Brahman was, therefore, fully aware of the dignified
 status of a father.³ The date of its inscription is also men-
 tioned in the said letter. He informed his brother about the
 places which he had chance to visit. He visited Delhi and
 went to the grave of Amīr Khusraw where he improvised the
 following verse:⁴
 « شاعری تر اظنه روز بازار است : که کس نیافته دعای خریدار است. »⁵
 Next day, Brahman went to see Sheikh Abdul Haq and
 Noor'ul Haq who were eminent scholars and Juris-consults of
 their time and they also had command over prose and poetry.
Ghairat Khān⁷ was the head of the province of Delhi and a

1. Munshāat H; Fol.No. 36a-37.

2. Munshāat Q; Fol.No. 19a.

3. ibid.

4. ibid; Fol.No. 30a.

5. ibid.

6. ibid.

7. ibid.

« حال تحریر که نیم جادی الاول ۱۱۱۸م در ازده جلوس مینیت مانوس است. »

poetical contest was held wherein sheikh Abu al-shad Amin also participated. In the next letter, Brahman gave information to his brother about the poetical contest which was held in the capital, Lahore, at the house of Mir Abdul Karim, where Mulla Munir and other persons like Mulla Jalali Dohli, Mulla Anwar Qasim Khani, Abu Sa'id Hafizabadi, Mulla Abdur Rahim and Mulla Jan Muhammad Sialkoti, took part in it. He, further informed his brother about the journey of Gujrat where he met sheikh Daula who was leading a pious and holy life and whatever he received from the travellers, he distributed it in the name of God. Brahman passed his day-time in the house of Lal Chand Munshi, a well-known person of the city and at night, he went to the house of Kharag Sen. Next day, he reached the town of Ganja where Mulla Khatiq Dad and Mulla Alhadad, both real brothers, passed their life in seclusion. From this place, Brahman proceeded to the town of Sialkot which was one of the famous old towns. He narrated a saying that the inhabitants of that city used to go to the mausoleum of sheikh Wali'ul Haq or Ali'ul Haq once in a week and Mir Qalandar, who was also in that city, lived the life of a Sufi. Mulla Gulshani and Mulla Nadari were famous poets of that region. Mulla Dupiyaza, who was a jovial, witty and improviser also

1. Munshast 2. Fol.No. 19x 31-31a.

2. Ibid, Fol.No. 31a.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid; Fo.No. 32.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

belonged to that city and he had a son ^{named} ~~named~~ ¹ Asfali, who composed verses of exceptional quality. Once he presented a Qasida and a Ghazal before Islām Khān which were admired by the Khān. Brahman passed his night at the house of Sīdarha, who was one of the prominent figures of that city. He also indicated that next day he went to see ² Sheikh Bakaria and also met ³ Jalpat Fāi and ⁴ Dayāl Dās. He further wrote that Fatch ⁵ Qhand, who was a talented man and had command over the composition of the verses, had a copy of the manuscript of ⁶ Mirāt'ul Afḡānī (مرآت الافغان) in Persian which was one of the books of Hindawī. He informed his brother that when he was passing via Hāfizābād, he visited ⁷ Sheikh Abdul Latīf who was a Sūfī and composed a Mathnawī on the style of Nal Daman. Further, Brahman gave instructions to his brother that if he got an opportunity to study those Mathnawīs, he should note them on a paper as they were not easily available at any place nor in the market. He further writes that, though, ⁸ Sir andāz Khān was a brave warrior, but he had a literary taste, and a poetical contest took place at his residence in which ⁹ Nullā Amwar Lāhorī and Khalīfa ¹⁰ Qhandāz also participated and on that occasion Brahman's brother's name was pronounced. He informs his brother about the scribes who had attached themselves with

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1. Munshāat Q; Fol.No. 314.
 2. Ibid; Fol.No. 32a.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Munshāat Q; Fol.No. 32a.
 7. Ibid; Fol.No. 33.
 8. Munshāat S; Fol.No. 63.
 9. Ibid.
 10. Ibid.

Islām Khān. Imām Qulī Bēg¹ who held the post of Khānsāmāngī, was an intelligent and diligent scribe and used to participate in the company of scholars. Hājī Muhammad Jān Qudsi², who came from Irān had a poetical contest at the house of Zafar Khān, the then governor of the province of Kashmīr but at present Qudsi reached Lāhore and stayed in an inn where Brahman also had a literary contact with him. Another person, who had also come, recently, from a foreign country, was Shidāi³ (سیدای ایران) of Irān. There were also some scribes like Jādū Rāi, Akhs Raj and Nilkantha⁴ etc. In one of his letters, Brahman described the events which occurred during the journey of Lāhore when Afdal Khān proceeded to his native land from Akbarābād. He passed by the town of Rahīmābād and met Mulla Huri⁵ or Hauzi who had a Miwān with him and he composed his verses on the style of his predecessors. He also informed about the poetical contest held at the house of Khwāja Muhammad Sādiq⁶ when Brahman was discharged^{ing} his duties under Afdal Khān at Akbarābād. Mulla Shidāi, Mulla Munir, Jalāli, Mulla Haidari, Mulla Abdul Karim, Mulla Abdul Rahim, Mir Burhan, Mulla Hashmatī and Mulla Abdul Latif took part in it and Brahman also participated in it. Brahman further informs his brother about the work of collections of letters of good scribes⁷, entrusted to him by His Majesty when he was appointed

1. Munghast 8, Fol.No. 63.

2. Ibid; Fol.No. 63a.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. Fol.No. 64.

6. Ibid.

7. Munghast 9; Fol.No. 35a.

a scribe. Therefore, he would like to send him all the information¹ in connection with the letters which would be made available some-how or the other. Sheikh Jalāl was attached with Sayyad Khān Jahan as a scribe and he used to write in Khat-e-Shakista with Nasta'liq. Mulla Gada² Ali and ^{Agha} ~~Qas~~ Zahir³, who^{were} the head of the scribes, served under the deceased Khwāja Abdul Hasan. Mulla Gada⁴ Ali, who reached Bengal and passed his time in binding books, had a command over Shakista hand writing and well-known for Taqi and Nasta'liq both. Abdul Latif⁴ was appointed in the category of scribes when the deceased Khān Zamān was the head of province of Deccan and Brahman went to see him with Gopi Nath Khān⁵ Khān Zamānī. Abdul Sanad⁵ was one of the Munshis. Brahman further gave information to his brother that some scribes, such as Muhammad Taqi⁶, Mirza Muhammad Munshi⁷, who served under Zafar Khān when Khān was in Kashmir, Inayat'ulla Kamboh⁸ was in the service of Qalich Khān, the then governor of Punjab and, previously, he served Islām Khān and Jafar Khān. He had a Shakista and Nasta'liq handwriting. Mirza Abdulla⁹ also discharged his duties as a scribe under Jafar Khān and Muhammad Qasim¹⁰, who was a famous scribe, served under Muzaffar Khān and Asad Khān for many years but at present he was in the service of Jafar

1. Munshat Q; Fol.No. 37.

2. Ibid; Fol.No. 37a.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid; Fol.No. 38a.

5. Ibid, Fol.No.38a-39.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid Fol.No. 39.

8. Ibid Fol.No. 41.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

¹ Rāidas, the grand son of Rāja Kishan Dās, was also among the scribes of Jafar Khan. Mullā Nihāl Lāhorī served under Munshī Nūr'ulla and later on he discharged his duties as a Munshī under Prince Shāh Shujā. Brahman also described in one of his letters to his brother that he reached the town of ² Thaneswar where he went to see the tank of Kurukshetra which was ~~stsk~~ an old place for worship. Darwishes and saints used to go there. It was an attractive and charming place. There lived a person, named Mullā Nishbatī ³ Thaneswarī or Nasimī ⁴ Thaneswarī who was famous as a devotee and composed verses e.g.

زماجد ا دل ما را بنیر خاک کنند ÷ باین ستم زده در یک نزار نتوان شد -

⁵ Mullā Fardī was his tutor in mysticism and who was buried in the said town.

Brahman addressed many loving, affectionate, stimulating, instructive and admonitory letters to his beloved son, ⁶ Tej Bhan. The following letter is one of the specimens of Brahman's style of address to his son:

« فرزند دلبند، چراغ خانداک زندگانی، شمع نیرم شادمانی، نور دیده رمد رسیده، آرام خاطر
 عم کشیده، قوت ایام پیری، عصای هنگام دستگیری، گل گلزار امید، مایه عشرت جاوید، در مان
 خاطر رنجور، رحم زخم ناسور، سر در صینه، پیوند دل، لخت جگر، سرمایہ تجارت، روزگار، حاصل
 گردش، لیل و نهار، گلشن همیشه بهار، انیس خلوت بر رفیق، زرت، پی بر طریق، تسلیم در رضا، در و
 دادی صدق و صفا، رمز شناس، قاعده دان، ارادت گزین، عقیدت نشان، فرزند بر خردگار
 تیج جان - - - - - »

1. Munshaat Q; Fol.No. 38a 41.

2. Ibid, Fol.No. 30.

3. Ibid.

4. Munshaat S; Fol.No. 60.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid; Fol.No. 43a.

He advised him that Tej Bhan was the son of a father who believed this material world as mortal, which is full of attraction and pomp and show and is perishable. One, who is wise, never attached himself with this material world and remain alert. He recommended him to achieve the beauty and tranquillity of the External world and emphasised the value of time. The time, which has passed away, will never come. Brahman further, referred to the fact that, when he came of age, his father also gave him some advice and he acted accordingly. Although, the advice of elders was acrimonious but it was just like a medicine for a disease and ointment for a sore. He used the word acrimonious () in a figurative sense. He constantly instructed his son to acquire knowledge or learn something which is a gift of God and it is a symbol of pleasure to make efforts for its achievement. Brahman advised him to acquire a little knowledge by practice which is

1. Munshaat S; Fol.No. 44 .

« نظر برین معنی این نیاز مندر را که پدر آن پس بر خود ارضای جوی خوشحالی است بمقتضای این نسبت لازم که لازم نصیحت را از آن گزای فرزند در ایچ ندردی بایده که آن فرزند در اینله در همه جا و همه وقت در خواب و بیداری غفلت و بوسه شیباری بفریب عروس پر نقش و نگار از جا برود و نظر بر خود بی بود این برای فانی اندر انداخته جلوه ظاهر را از خواب و خیالی پیش نپذیرد و نداند که آنچه در عالم صورت وجود گرفته تشریف علم و کسوت فنا خواهد پوشید و هر که در دیار بیدار فانی رخت امامت انداخته بصوب ملک جاودانی خواهد شناخت پس توقف و فرصت چند روزه این جهان فانی را از معتقات دالته - »

2. Munshaat S; Fol.No. 44-44a .

« این نیاز مندر وقت که در سن آن فرزند بود پدر بزرگوار من از غایت الفت و محبت جلی و عظمت بنده و نصیحتی چیزی خود نوا جمله در گوش جاگرفته اند و با آواز برود چه بمقتضای نادانی و جوانی طبع را از قبول آن ششوف یافت - »

3. Ibid.

« نصیحت بزرگان اگر چه تلخ است اما تلخ دارد است از برای رضی اراضی چهل زام ایست بجهت زخم ایام حال هر چند در آن استجال بکار رود اصلاح اقرب باشد - »

4. Ibid.

« کسب علوم نعمت خدا داد است و کوشش در آن علامت سعادت - »

5. Ibid.

« علم بی عمل شاخ بی برگ و علم قلیل با عمل بهتر از علم کثیر بی عمل نتیجه عمل درست است آنست که ترک تعلقات و عوارض صورت نموده بود آن فرزند بنا بر انداخت و حاصل عمر گزای که عبارت از علم با عمل است - »

better than the abundance of knowledge without practice. He reminded him to remember and rely upon the real creator i.e God. The essence of advice was to acquire knowledge with practice. Brahman also narrated an event which happened during his youth time. He said that he had entertained the desire of freedom in his mind and, hence, the matter reached such an extent that he usually passed his nights in thinking of meditation and enlightenment from evening and intermittently used to go towards loneliness and often, confusingly, returned to the city from loneliness and he also quoted the undermentioned ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰

مهره نه در شهر و نه در صحرا قرارم -

Therefore, Brahman had impressions of Derwish and saints and had the qualities of a Brahman in the sense of character and morals. Brahman, further, referred to his father who was the grand_father of Tej Bhan, that, though he,

1. Munshaat U; Fol.No. 55a-56.

در عهد شباب دایم جوانی که ایامه زرد وادی غفلت را هوای آزادی ذکر افتادگار جای رسید و معاظمی کشید که نهیهای دراز را به پیداری و پوشیداری و فکرهای عمیق و لغزوات بلبلان و از می آورد و روزی با ندرت نهیهای دور و دراز بشام میرسانید که گاهی زنده بهجای رفت و گاهی بر اسیر و از صحرا بهتری آمد -

مهره نه در شهر و نه در صحرا قرارم - اگر روی گل بشام میرسد پیام چون میبارد و اگر زای بلبل بگوش در می آید ناخن به دل میزد و در هم جا که نشانی و اثری از هنر زبان و گوشت نشینان دور ویشان صاحب سلوک می یافت - هر از قدر ساخته خود را به آن مکان رسانیده از دور گاهی می کرد و اگر گنجایش می یافت خود را بجانشین میساط میرسانید و لایه گاهی قانع بوده وقت را خوش میباشتم کلی آنکه پاس من رستم ز نادر و گفتار و کردار خود داشته - 66

2. Munshaat S; Fol.No. 45.

پرو فیکر جوشنا بود اگر چه کسب ظاهر شایسته به اهل تعلق داشت اما در عالم باطن خود را اینگونه اهل روزگار میدانست و همیشه این شعر میسر زبان داشت که صاف بودن بهتر از آلودگیست بعد از آنکه بقضای نصیب و قسمت این خرد بهیچدر در محفل خلد آهین و صحبت بر در مکان ناموار از شرف با ریافت پیوسته مقام میگرد چون بکار آمده بشیار باش و این شعر شیخ سعدی علیه الرحمه بر زبان داشت که گفتت بیچون در اندازتن ÷ جوانداختی دست و پای برتن

outwardly seemed to be attached with this material world but, inwardly, he was detached from this mortal world and he always used to recite the following hemistich:

مصرعہ صاف بودن بہتر از آلودگیست -

He also quoted the undermentioned couplet of Sheikh Sādī which Brahman's father usually uttered.

کہ گفتت بچگون در انداز تن ÷ جواندختی دست و پای بزین -

Brahman, like a true mystic, guarded his son against worldly attachment and instructed him to observe moderation in life of this world. According to Brahman these attributes could be achieved in the company of pious and noble persons. he also recommended books like Akhlaq-e-Nāsāri, Akhlaq-e-Jalālī Gulistān and Bustān for his study.

Brahman, in one of his letters, advised Tej Bhan to look after his brother who was his revered uncle and behave like a gentleman.

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1. Munshaāt S; Fol.No. 45 .
 2. Ibid; Fol.No. 45 .
 3. Ibid; Fol.No. 45a .
 4. Munshaāt S; Fol.No. 47 .

» در خدمت گزارى اخوت پناه که قبلہ گاہ شماست سعادت در این خود
دانستہ موافقہ خرد در باشد و در ہر باب سلوک آدمیانہ کنندہ - «

According to the writer of ^{as} Basm-e-Timūriya, Munshaat-i-Brahman was prescribed in the course of the study in Madras for long time.

2. Chahār Chaman: It is the most important and valuable prose work of Brahman. Though, it does not contain a systematic history of the period but it has precious and valuable matter from the point of view of history. It is a well-known work among the historians of India and has its own importance. Chahār Chaman means four flower gardens. Dr. S.A.H. Ābidī, relying upon the manuscript No. 2751, preserved in the Rada library, Rampur, writes that the work, 'Chahār Chaman' was presented to the Emperor in 1055 A.H./1645² A.D. at Sirhind. The writer of Basm-e-Timūriya also corroborates the statement³ of Dr. Ābidī. But, on the other hand, according to Rieu the work appears to have been written shortly after 1057 A.H./1647⁴ A.D., as the restoration of Balkh to Nadr Muhammad Khan which took place on that date has been mentioned as⁵ recent transaction. There are four copies of the manuscript of Chahār Chaman which are under study. One of the copies of the manuscript of 'Chahār Chaman' is available in the collection

1. Timūriya; p. 210.

2. Islamic Culture; Vol.No. XL No.2, April 1966, p.88.

3. Timūriya; p. 209.

4. Rieu; Vol. XI; p. 838b.

of 'Abdus Salām, Maulānā Azād Library, 'Alīgarh Muslim University, 'Alīgarh, under catalogue No. 293/63 (4). This manuscript contains about Ninety four Folios and it begins with the following lines:

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 «چون اول مشتعل بر ایرابی و شادابی دولت ابد پیروز و بیان خصوصیات و مجلسها و صحبتها و بذایا و
 عطاها و فتوحات عهد سعادت فرین اگر چه در عهد سعادت آئین و زمان قسمت فرین اعلی حضرت خاتمان
 زمان خدیو گیتی ستان بادشاه گنج بخش دریا نوال سایه رحمت دو الجلال هر روز صحبتی تازه و در هر ماه و سال مجلسها و
 جنبنا عظیم منعقد میگردد و از شش جهت نسیم غز شمیم فتح و نصرت بمشام فیض انبام میرسد و مواد حشمت و اسباب
 دولت این خلافت ابد طراز احبابی و شادابی نیست و اکثر از آغاز بهار دولت و اقبال کیفیت جشن روز
 افزون و طراوت و نظارت گلزار همیشه بهار این دولت پایدار رقم پذیر خانه سواخ نگار گرد در
 چندین دور بگذرد اما بطریق این خصوصیات بعضی از ایام خجسته فرجام را که بچشم تماشا مشاهده افتاد در قوام
 قلم راست رقم میگردد اند -»

and in the end of the said copy of the manuscript the name and the date of inscription is mentioned as follows:

«تمام شرح نسخه چارچین تصنیف برای چند بهان بر تهن منشی کاتب الحروف کنجی و الامسار ام ابن گهای
 رام کایتمه جتنا گرساکن قصبه بهاندر بتاریخ سیوم شهر جمادی الثانی سکه جلوس والا شاهی تحریر یافت
 هر که خواند عاطع دارم زانکه من بنده کعبه کارم -»

Chahār Chaman contains four parts and each part is known as 'Chaman'. The first Chaman consists of the description of various events and festivals at the court of Shāhjahān which he had the good fortune to see with his own eyes; and also the festivals of weighing of the Emperor. Some account of the achievements of various ministers and dignitaries of Shāhjahān and the relevant qualities of a minister, a secretary and as well as King pronounced by them when they came to power.

Brahman has also recorded the doubtful points, raised by him and other persons who served under Saadulla Khān during the time of his Prime Ministership which are ⁱⁿ the form of questions and answers e.g.

سوال :- اراده خود را برابر اراده خلق مقدم باید داشت یا اراده خلق بر اراده خود ترجیح باید داد -
 جواب :- تا مقدر و بر باشد اراده خلق را برابر اراده خود مقدم باید داشت و اگر تو متیق این معنی حاصل
 نشود بعد از حصول اراده خود سعی در اراده خلق باید نمود - دیگر آنکه ملاحظه خلق بچگونگی نوع از خال و بزرگی
 و بی خطره چگونگی زندگی گمانی نموده شود - دیگر آنکه اگر چه این معنی ممکن نیست و دفع خطرات
 اصلاً میسر نه لیکن ... مقدر ... در غیر خواهی خلق غایب و حاضر و غایب تا اهل روزگار کیسان
 دیگر ننگ باشد ... الخ

2
 He has described the event when the title of Rāi was bestowed upon Brahman and the work of drafting was also entrusted to him. Mir Jumla was also awarded the title of ³ Asan Khān and got the Mansab of six thousand riders; and was promoted to the Prime Ministership of Hindūstān.

Brahman has also recorded some of the events which occurred during the various conquests in the time of Shāhjahān. The fort of Daulatābād ⁴ was captured through the efforts of Mahābat Khān. ⁵ Fateh Khān son of Malik Ambar, confessed his guilt and accepted the service of the Emperor. The boundaries were also extended upto Bijāpūr and Gūlkunda which came ~~was~~ into the possession of His Majesty. ⁶ Adil Khān and others also came under him. ⁷ Serms and coins were released in the name of His Majesty all over Deccan. Hāshas recorded the following

1. O.C.A. Fol.No. 25,25a,26,26a.
2. Ibid; Fol.No. 27.
3. Ibid; Fol.No. 27a.
4. Ibid; Fol.No. 30.
5. Ibid; Fol.No. 30.
6. Ibid
7. Ibid.

¹
hemistich, composed by Nand Rāi Munshī of Afdal Khān's period, in connection with the surrender of Jhajhar Singh Bundela before His Majesty.

معریت سے آئندہ ملک و مال بندہ یلہ بہ دست -

He has further, described the event of the capture of the fort of Candhār when Sa'adulla Khān was the head of the army and Rāja Jagat Singh was discharging his duty as Vanguard. Brahman has also recorded in detail the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan and the recapture of the fort of Chittor, in his first Chaman.

The second ^CChaman deals with the description of the new capital, Shāhjahānābād, and the various principal cities and provinces of the Mughal Empire.

Brahman, during the course of the description of the province of Shāhjahānābād, mentioned the boundaries of Shāhjahān's domain, extending from Bengal to Qandhār and Bijāpūr to Balkh, and each province consisted of districts. He enumerated the provinces of His Majesty's kingdom as Shāhjahānābād Akbarābād, Lāhore, Kashmīr, Kābul, Multān, Tath, Ajmer, Gujarat and the provinces of Deccan like Berar, Khāndesh, Daulatābād,

1. C.C.A. Fol.No. 31.

2. C.C.A. Fol.No. 31a.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid; Fol.No. 31a, 32, 32a, 33, 33a, 34, 34a.

5. Ibid; Fol.No. 40a, 41, 41a, 42.

6. Ibid; Fol.No. 42a.

”صوبہ دار الخلافت شاہجہان آباد اگر چہ احاطہ ملک و ممالک این خدیو کثیر کشتا از حد بنگال تا قندھار و بیجاپور تا بلخ است۔۔۔ الخ“

7. Ibid.

Telangana, Bagālānā, Malwa and also the provinces of Awadh, Allahabad, Bihar (Patana), Bengal and Orissa. He also mentioned the important cities, towns, villages and famous forts like the fort of Daulatābād, Asir, Gawalior, Chittor, Kalanjar, Ohunaw, Rohtas and Junagarh. He further described the well-known parts like Sūrat, Lāhorī Bandar and Hugli etc. Brahman composed the following lines³ in connection with His Majesty's magnanimous spirit and firm determination in the expansion of the boundaries of his domain.

شماری ملکش افزون از حساب است ÷ که او در ملک گیری آفتاب است
بر آن تیش آن تیز گام است ÷ که جولان گاه فرمش ارم و شام است

Brahman further gave a brief sketch of the following provinces and cities:

1. Shāhjahānābād: The foundation of Shāhjahānābād was laid by then ruler of Shāhjahān. Brahman quoted the following couplet⁴ in defining the beauty of Shāhjahānābād city.

بیت سه اگر فردوس بر روی زمین است ÷ همین است و همین است و همین است -
He wrote that it was a big city, and consisted of two

forts. Buildings and houses were magnificent and attractive. Rivers and tanks were large and wide. Markets, shops and inns were also found in this province. He has described the climate of that region also.

2. Delhi: It was an old city. Mendicants and saints like Khwāja Qutubuddin, Sheikh Niẓāmuddin, Sheikh Nasiruddin

1. C.C.A.; Fol.No. 43.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Chiragh-e-Delhi, Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagauri and other persons like Amir Khuraw and Mulla Jamali were buried in this city. The town of Panipat was in the suburb of Delhi and Humayun's tomb was also found in this city. Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khanan and Mahabat Khan Sipsalar were also buried in the city of Panipat. Chakla Duaba, Chakla-e-Sirhind and Hisar's boundaries reached upto Multan and was entrusted to Raja Todar Mal. Mahabat Khan, Aitqad Khan, Baqar Khan, Asalat Khan, Allah Wardi Khan, Makramat Khan, Khalilulla Khan and Sa'adat Khan were the former governors of Delhi.

3. Akbarabad: It was founded by Akbar, 'the Great' and was the then Capital of Hindustan. Palatial buildings and houses of dignitaries, ministers and princes such as Asif Khan, Islam Khan, Shayista Khan, Aitqad Khan, Jafar Khan and Saif Khan etc were located in this city and gardens like Jahan Ara, Moti Mahal and Mehtab Bagh were also found in the city of Akbarabad.

There was ^a mausoleum which was constructed under the supervision of Makramat Khan and Mir Abdul Karim. In the neighbourhood of Akbarabad, there was a town known as Fatehpur where Salim Chishti spent his life in seclusion. The fort of Gawalior also belonged to the province of Akbarabad which was under the governorship of Qasim Khan, Islam Khan, Mubtasham Khan, Baqi Khan, Ayadat Khan and Raja Girdhar Das.

4. Lahore: It was one of the big cities of India. There were also palatial buildings of Ali Mardan Khan, Afdal Khan, Sa'adulla Khan, Islam Khan, Asam Khan, Wasir Khan and Jafar

Khān etc. Poets and Derwishes also lived in this city. Some gardens like the garden, Dil Kūshā, Bagh-e-Dil Amiz, Bagh-e-Mirza Kāmran and Bagh-e-Naulakh and tanks and canals were also found in this region. Wasir Khān's mosque was also popular in the city. Chandra Bhān Brahman's house was also situated in the very city of Lāhore. The fort of Kalanjar was one of the famous forts of this province. Afdal Khān, Cāsim Khān, Sādiq Khān, Ināyat Khān, Asif Khān, Wasir Khān, Mu'tamid Khān, Sayyad Khān Jahān, Qalich Khān, Salid Khān, Alimardān Khān were the governors of the province, and later on, it was under the governorship of Qadi Muhammad Afdal, Sayyad Salabat Khān, Sheikh Abdul Karim, Khwāja Muin, Bahādur Khān.

5. Multān: It was an old and holy place. Sheikh Bahāuddin Dakaria, Sheikh Rukn-e-Alam, Sayyad Yūsof Gardezi and Sheikh Jalāl Khakā were buried in the province of Multān. Bāqar Khān Amir Khān, Alimardān Khān, Najābat Khān, Qalich Khān were the former governors of the province. For some time, it was under the possession of Sultān Murād and Muhammad Aurangzib. Later on, it remained under the governorship of Muhammad Ali Khān, Mīrān Sayyad Abdul Razzāq who was honoured with the title of Izzat Khān and Sheikh Mūsa Gilāni.

6. Kashmīr: It was a very charming, beautiful and attractive province and remained under ^{the} governorship of Zafar Khān for many years and, later on, it was under the administration of Alimardān Khān but afterwards, Lashkar Khān was incharge of the province of Kashmīr. The monastery of Mīr Sayyad Ali Hamadāni was also found in this region.

7. Kābul: It was one of the main provinces of India. Its climate was good. It was mostly a hilly region. It extended from the river Attock to the mountain Hindu Kush cities like Kābul, Peshāwar, Jalālabād, Ghazni, Kurwez and Kohwat, belonged to this province. Formerly, Zafar Khān, Lashkar Khān, Said Khān (سید خان), Ali Mardān Khān and Hidayat Khān son of Mahābat Khān, who received the title of Mahābat Khānī during this period, were governors of the province and later on Rustam Khān became incharge of the province but it was again restored to Mahābat Khān. Babar Bādshāh was also buried in this region.

8. Thatta: It was located in the vicinity of the river Shoor and Lāhri which was one of the famous parts of Hindūstān, belonged to this province. Yusuf Muhammad Khān, Amir Khān, Shād Khān and Zafar Khān were the former governors of the province and later on Muhammad Ali Khān and Sayyad Ibrāhīm were the governors of this region.

9. Ahmedābād: It was also the chief province of that time. The important city, situated in this province was Sirohi. Famous parts were Sūrā and Behrauch etc. For some time, it was under the governorship of Sipah Dār Khān, Bāqar Khān, Islām Khān, Āzam Khān, Mirza Isa Khān and later on it was under the possession of Murād Bakhsh, Sheikh Ahmad Shāh and Shāh Ālam were the learned and distinguished persons of this province.

10. Deccan: It consisted of the provinces of Khāndesh,

Berār, Ahmedābād, Daūlatābād and Bengal. Burhānpūr was an important city of this region. Makaramat Khān and Mullā Abdūl Latīf Lashkar Khānī were despatched to Sijāpūr and Gūlkunda, respectively, by the Emperor when he reached Daūlatābād in his early period. Later on, Adil Khān who received the title of Adil Shāh, Abdur Rahīm Khān-e-Khānān, Mahabat Khān and Khān Zaman with Islām Khān, Shāh Nawāz Khān, Shāyasta Khān were sent to look after this region. Two important forts of Daūlatābād and Asīr which was located in the suburbs of Burhānpūr, belonged to this province and was conquered in the time of Shāhjahān. Sayyad Gaisū Darāz and Shāh Zainuddin were also buried in this region.

11. Mālwa: The fort of Māndu and cities like Ujjain, Saraunj, Sarangpur, Chandairi belonged to the province, Māndu Khān, Dūrān Bahādur Muzrat Jang, Shāh Nawāz Khān, Sardār Khān and Shāyasta Khān were former governors of it and later on Jafar Khān became incharge of it.

12. Ajmer: It was the native place of Rājputs, Rānās and Rājās. Some distinguished personalities like Khawāja Muīnuddīn Chishtī, Munawwar Mirān, Sayyad Husain etc lived in this province. The fort of Chittor was one of the important and famous forts of this region. The city of Nāgaur also flourished during that time. Mīr Shāh Alī Abū Saīd, the great grand son of Aitamāduddāula, Bahādur Kamboh and Mīr Jafar were governors-general and later on it passed on to Sayyad Ahmad.

13. Awadh: It was the famous province of Hindūstān. The city of Khairābād was under the administration of Sayyad Murtada Khān and afterwards it was under Tarbiyat Khān. The province was crowded with Darwishes and Mendicants.
14. Allahābād: The most important city of this province was Benares. Forts of Kaianjar and Chunāwa were famous in India. These forts remained under the administration of Shujāt Khān, Bāqar Khān and Shayasta Khān for a long time and later on, it was under the governance of Izzat Khān, Sayyad Saḥūd, Salabūt Khān and Shahamat Khān. The city of Jaunpur was under Makaramat Khān and Iradat Khān.
15. Bihār: Patna was the residence of the governor of Bihār. Aītaqād Khān, Said Allah Khān Bahādur Jafar Jang, Jafar Khān, Dulfiqar Khān and Allah Wardi Khān were the then governors-general, respectively, of this province.
16. Bengal: It was a big province. Akbar Nagar and Jahāngir Nagar, popularly, known as Dhāka, were the famous cities of Bengal province. It remained under the supervision of Mahābat Khān, Fidāi Khān, Islām Khān, Aītaqād Khān and Sultān Shujā.
17. Orissa: It was located in the neighbourhood of province of Bengal and its boundary touched Gūlkunda. Bāqar Khān, Muḥ-tasid Khān, Muhammad Diā and Tarbiyat Khān etc. were governors of this province.
18. Pandhār: It was conquered in the time of Shahjahan. Safā was its famous city. Fruits were found in abundance. In the

suburb of the city of Gandhār, the tomb of Bābā Wālī was situated and the inhabitant of the city and places near by used to visit it as ^a place of pilgrimage on every Friday.

19. Balkh and Badakhshān: It remained under the leadership of Nazr Muhammad for many years. Later on, it came under Shāhjahān and, hence, sermons and coins were released in his name. Jhandra Bhān Brahman, writer of this Chaman, also reached the land of Balkh and Badakhshān, where he enquired about the climate of that region in detail. Later on, it was restored to Nazr Muhammad. Khawaja Abun Nasr Pārsā and Shafiq Balkhī were buried in this region.

The third Chaman consists of the early life of Brahman. We have already discussed these points in the chapter ^{dealing with the} of 'Life' of Brahman. It ^{has been} also dealt with the letters which he wrote to the then Emperor Shāhjahān who was popularly known as Sāhib Qirān-i-thānī, Afdal Khān, Asif Khān, Muḥṣan Khān, Islām Khān, Jāfar Khān, Sādulla Khān and Munir Lāhorī.

Brahman in the fourth Chaman, explained moral and religious teachings under the following heads:

- (i) The desire of real truth.
- (ii) The light of awakening.
- (iii) Regret over the days of Ignorance.
- (iv) Continuous ^{old} study.
- (v) Stages of repentance and perseverance.
- (vi) Results of real friendship.
- (vii) Stability of the way of ^SResignation.

- (viii) Remedy for negligence.
- (ix) Acquisition of Practical knowledge.
- (x) Observance of time and season.
- (xi) Traversing the path of detachment.
- (xii) The world of ambition.
- (xiii) Magnificence of ^{The} Transitory world.

The other copy of the manuscript of 'Chahār Chaman', exists in the Tonk collection of the National Museum, New-Delhi, under catalogue number 3340. It is incomplete and contains about one hundred and forty folios but a few folios towards the end of the manuscript are not traceable. The first Chaman of the ^{said} copy consisted of the life of Shāhjahān and the daily occurrences of his court. The second Chaman dealt with the letters written by Chandra Bhān Brahmaṇ to the dignitaries and officials of his period like Afzal Khān Islām Khān, Sa'ādulla Khān, Aqil Khān, Muzaḥfar Khān, Mīrak Bakshī, Mīr Muhammad Jān Qudai, Mullā Munir, Deep Chand, Khwāja Subah Chand, Khwāja Lal Chand, Khwāja Fateh Chand, Khwāja Bindrāban, Nāizāda Sīām Dās, father, brothers etc.

The third part of the Chaman comprises the letters mostly written to his brother Uḡai Bhān.

The fourth part consisted of the letters sent by Brahmaṇ to his son Tej Bhān. The third copy of the manuscript of 'Chahār Chaman' is available in the Jawāhar Museum Collection, Maulana Azad library, Aligarh under catalogue number

۴۱۲ ج but the name on the title cover's back ^{of the} Folio is mentioned as Munshāt-i-Brahmaṇ. It is also an incomplete

manuscript and consists of about forty five folios. Some of the pages are missing ~~in~~ in the beginning of the copy as well as towards the end of the manuscript but the date of inscription is mentioned as follows:

”تمام شهر انشاء چهارمین تصنیف ببلبل گلزار فصاحت و... در وستان بلاغت آخرین سخن عزال
بردار سخن سنج معنی طراز چندر جهان بزین بتاریخ چهاردهم شهر ذی قعد ۱۱۳۹ هجری یک هزار و یک صد و سی و سه هجری
مطابق سنه محمد شاه پادشاه غازی تمام شد.“

It also comprises mostly the aforesaid letters. The fourth copy of the manuscript of 'Uhabār Uhaman' is ^{was} found in the custody of the Late Professor Masūd Hasan Rīdā of Lucknow. It has fifty one folios and it is not a complete manuscript. Some of these folios are missing in the beginning and towards the end of the manuscript. It has also the same subject matter as that of the aforesaid manuscripts. Name of the scribe and the date of inscription do not exist.

Guldasta: The third important and significant work of Munshī Chandra Bhān Brahman is Guldasta. One of the copies of the manuscript, 'Guldasta' is preserved in the Maūlānā Azād library, Alīghr, under the collection of Subhanulla^h with catalogue number 891.5568/20. It comprises twenty six folios and begins with the following lines:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
گلدرسته از تصنیف چندر جهان منشی
چون ادای شکر نعمت حضرت صدریت و انبیا و علما و ارباب و مناقب خاصان بودیت از اندازه بر زبان ناقص بیان این منبری...
-- در این منبری از رون و بیرون است نظر بر علم استعداد خود دانستم متوسل بجز قهوه میگردد گل بر سنگ گلستان سخن نام رنگ لوی
موج شنای ذات مکی ملکات پادشاه آفاق بر آستان عالم پناه شنا پناه گیتی ملک دستگاه خلد بر حق شناس حقیقت آساس
حق پذیر حق طلب حق خواه حقیقت گزین مورد عقل عمل نشاء جویم اول بر شد کامل خانان عادل منظر قدرت صمد اخیر فیض سخن
تمام خرد لطف جمله کرم از من شن علم علش عمل علش نر من شن حکمت جویم عرض کائنات بزازه نسه موجودات موصوف تصنیفات
حق سایه ذات مطلق شناسای رموز حکم غواص بحر حقیقت ابروی گویم فنوت در تک پاره دروت عهد شما ستوار من شن بر
قرار بر دست در یاد دل صبح نفس آفتاب چنین دانای را از نهانی بینای جلوی ربانی ظل سبحانی خلیفه الرحمانی
صاحب قران ثانی خلد الله ملکه ابراً و در نیکن و معطر میگردد اند این گلشن همیشه بهار معانی را با بهام فیض چهارچوبه

بهرین موسوم میسازد امید که بهر شحات سحاب لطف قبول خاطر فیاض بلند طبع مشگل
پسند مقدس معلی طراوت و نضارت دیگر یا به مامل ز کرم و احسان ارباب
دانش و اصحاب پیش آنکه در همه جا و همه وقت بیاد آورند و هر جای که سهو
خطای که لازم بشریت و انسانی است بنظر در آورده بلکه اصلاح منت
بر این نیازمند گذارند -

”چون کمترین بندگان درگاه آسمان جا از آغاز جلوس و الاد در سفر خضر از ملازمان
رکاب نظرافتساب بود حق بندگی قدیم و عظمت و قدر دانی بادشاه رحیم کریم فرمان
قدر دان بر ذمه اخلاص داشت بعضی از خصوصیات این دولت ابد طراز که بدیده
بین مشاهده نموده درین نسخه جامع مرقوم کلک مدعا نگاری سازد حقیقت بر
روزه حال تجت مال اشرف اقدس را گلرسته بزم ارباب سخن میگرداند -“

In the light of the ^{above} mentioned facts, we might assume that
it is almost a supplement to the Chahār Chaman-e-Brahman. Bra-
hamn recorded the daily occupations and the routine of Shāhja-
hān and gave a vivid picture of His Majesty's pomp and glory
of the royal court. A few lines are quoted below to give an
idea of the glamorous life and the feudal system obtaining
in the time of Shāhjahān as well as to shed light on the power
and influence of Brahman in recording the descriptive event
and various phases of the royal life with a natural flow and
simplicity.

”طلوع آفتاب جهان افروز سلطنت از مطلع دولت و اقبال یعنی جهرو که در سن مبارک
بادشاه کا بخش فیض رسان بعد از فراغ نعمت خاصه مطابق قاعده قدیم این دولت عظمی و خلافت مغزی
بجانب جهرو که در سن مبارک که در دار الخلافت شهابجهان آباد و دار الخلافت اکبر آباد و
دار السلطنت لاہور شرف بر در بای است و افضای دلکشاد میدان

و سبع در پیش دارد نگاه فرموده دیده ام میرواران و منتظران را بیدار
 فالین الاوار منور میسازند جنگ فیلان جنگجوی عربده خوی که از خزائب تماشای
 است و گویا در کوه روان با هم در تلاش اند در همین میدان و سبع واقع میشود
 طرز جنگ و زدن دندان و پیمیدن خرطوم بر خرطوم و از هم جدا شدن پس رفتن باز
 دویدن بهم رسیدن و رسانیدن استها و خیلهای کوه انگن بیکدیگر کردن چرخها و بانها
 دلبتن کشادن و زنجیر در عین جنگ و تلاش جان بازمی جان دادن یکی نشستن و
 دیگری خود را بر فیل هجوم عماد و فعله فیلانی که کثرت خلایق در آمدن مردم در دست
 و پای فیل سلامت مانند بر خاستن و دویدن افتادن یکی برد دیگری دیگر ادایا .
 طریقی غیر مکرر تعلق به دیدن وارد دویدن فیل بر اسپ و دیدن جمله ارای
 کلان و اجتماع از باب لعب و رقاصان با دیگران هر دیا ر تفریح تماشای
 بواسطه وسعت فضا در همین ضلع دلکش بوقوعی آید چون نیت صافی طریقت
 اقدس اعلی در همه جا و همه وقت خوانان عدل و داد است مطالب
 مدعا طلبان پی و ساطت فیزی بسبع مبارک باد شاه عادل فریاد
 رس میرسد -

1

Towards the end of the said Guldasta, the date of its inscri-
 ption and the name of the scribe have been mentioned as follows:

« تمت شدہ نسخہ گلہ سنیہ تصنیف چند رجحان برہنہ از نسخہ کہ از کتاب بہتر تو دمل
 خد شکاری در ایام قلی بیگ - - - در بلدہ ماگو ایاز بچہتہ خواندن بہ خوردار سعادت لالہ
 دلپت رای واقع تبارخ ہنم شہر شعبان المعظم ۱۲۶۶ھ ہجری مطابق جلوس فرخ شاہی
 بخط سبزہ خاکسار اودی سنگم صورت اتمام یافت - »

4. Makhzan-i-Nikāt or Nādirun Nikāt or Gaushtī Bābā Lāl Dayāl:

The fourth philosophical prose work is a discourse which took place between a Hindū ascetic, Bābā Lāl Dayāl and Dārā Shikūh in the form of questions and answers. This dialogue was originally written in Hindī and known as Gūshthī Bābā Lāl Dayāl. Brahman translated these questions and answers in Persian which were named Makhzan-i-Nikāt or Nādirun Nikāt as Dr. S.A.H. Abidī¹ mentioned in his paper, published in Islamic culture of 1966 A.D. according to Dr. Abidī, Nādirun Nikāt or Makhzan-i-Nikāt has been translated into Urdu under the name of Arar-i-Mārifat² which was published by Muftabai Press. He further writes that one of the manuscripts of the Makhzan-i-Nikāt is in the possession of Mr. Dwarka Das Shūla³, Narain and Co; Gurdwara Road Delhi-5. Besides, "The questions and answers of Dārā Shikūh and Bābā Lāl Dayāl, along with its Urdu translation named Shua-i-Mārifat have been printed by Muir Press. Two manuscript copies of this book are with Mr. Dwarka Das Shūla."

Dr. Abidī quotes some of the questions⁴ and answers translated into Persian as follows:

بادشاہزادہ پیر سید کہ اول و آخر فقیر چیست ؟
 گفتا کہ اول و آخر بقا -
 گفتم کہ سر بلند ی (کذا) فقیر چیست ؟
 گفتا کہ سر نگوئی -

1. Islamic culture; Vol.XL.No.2.p. 94 .

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Islamic Culture; Vol.XI.No.2.April 1966;p. 94

گفتم که خر مندی (کذا) فقیر چیست ؟
 گفتا که بجز دلر باهر بیکیس نبندد -
 گفتم که تو انائی فقیر چیست ؟
 گفتا که نا توانی -
 گفتم که روشنائی فقیر چیست ؟
 گفتا که خود شناسی -
 گفتم که رنگینی (کذا) فقیر چیست ؟
 گفتا که خدا ادانی -
 گفتم که بر سر فقیر چیست ؟
 گفتا که سایه خدا -

One of the copies of the manuscript of *Gūshthī Bābā Lāl Dayāl* which is under study and is available in the *Jawāhar Museum* collection under catalogue number 70 of *Maulānā Āsād Library, Ālīgarh*, contains about twelve folios and fifty point in the form of questions and answers which begins with the following lines:

سری گرو گو بنزد است
 گوشت بابا لال دیال دباد شا هزاره بلنڈ اقبال دارا شیکوہ تصنیف چندر بھان
 منشی - سوال عزیز کہ عبارت از شاہزادہ والا گوہر و جواب کامل کہ اشارت
 از ان محرم اسرار ذوالجلال است از زبان ہندی ترجمان فارسی صورت
 جلوہ گری پذیرفت -

It is clear from the aforesaid that this *Gūshthī* of *Bābā Lāl* and *Dārā Shikūh* was originally written in Hindi and later on it was translated into Persian.

Toward the end of the above mentioned manuscript the date of its inscription is also mentioned which is as follows:

”نمت تمام شهر نسخ گوشت بابا لال دیال من تصنیف چند جهان نشی واقع بیست و یکم شهر ذی الحج سنه جلوس محمد شاه بادشاه غازی موافق سنه ۱۰۰۰ هجری در بندر بروج“

Some of the questions and answers from the available copy of the manuscripts are given below as a specimen.

- ۱- سوال عزیز :- در ناد و بید چگونه فرق توان کرد ؟
 جواب کامل :- چنانچه بادشاه و حکم بادشاه یعنی ناد و حکم یعنی بید است.
- ۲- سوال عزیز :- از ورود کله آدم در بهشت داخل میشود ؟
 جواب کامل :- فی الواقع ورود کله شریف همان قسم است اما شخصی که میان قلب نباشد چنانچه روبرو نقره پاک را اقراف نگاه ندارد و قلب را اندازد و سنگ بر --- واقع است لیکن پاک عزیز است.
- ۳- سوال عزیز :- در خبر است که حضرت مصطفی صلی الله و سلم را سایه نبود و جسم بی سایه ممکن نمی باشد - این معنی چطور دانسته ؟
 جواب کامل :- هم چنان است که جسم بی سایه یعنی باشد لیکن حضرت رسالت پناه سایه خدا عز و جل بود و سایه بجسم تعلق داده سایه را سایه می شد.
- ۴- سوال عزیز :- در مانتاب روشن چیسیت و سیاه چیسیت و سفیدی چیست؟
 جواب کامل :- مانتاب در اصل رنگی و شعاعی ندارد یک چیزی محض صاف است. شعاع آفتاب در می ماند سفیدی عکس دریاست و سیاهی عکس زمین -
- باز عزیز میگوید :- که اگر عکس باشد در آفتاب چرا نمی نماید؟
 کامل می فرماید :- که آفتاب مجموعه آتش است و مانتاب مجموعه آب عکس در آب می نماید در آتش -

- ۵- سوال عزیز :- فقیر اعلیٰ چہ باید کرد ؟
 در مینویس کامل جواب نہ داد۔
 عزیز درخواست نمود طاعتی عمر کہ ازان حالت آگلا بود۔
 گفت کہ ایشان دانہ بر سید کہ چہ گفت خاموشی۔
 ۶- سوال عزیز :- در توحید و حال چہ فرق است ؟
 جواب کامل :- خاموشی از حق توحید است و آغاز سخن حال کہ طاقت گفتار نمی ماند۔

Poems of Brahman: It is one of the fifth important works of Brahman. His Dīwān is a collection of lyrical poems and quatrains. The collection of Mathmawis is separate. Dr. Sayyad Abdulla refers to the copy of the manuscript of Nashtar-e-Ishaq¹, volume I and folio number ninety and writes that Brahman once transcribed many copies of his Diwan and decorated them in artistic manner with beautiful bindings and were sent to the learned persons and poets of Iran and Tūrān with a request to make a selection of his good qualities of poems but unfortunately, they returned the decorated elegant portions to Brahman and the ^{rest} of Dīwān was destroyed. He further says that nothing can be said about its ^{being a} fact and reality, but a conclusion be made that Brahman compiled his Dīwān in his ^{life} time. But Bahar Sunnāmi² refers to one of the works of Brahman named Tuḡḡatul-Fushā³ and writes that the specimen of Brahman's calligraphy in Shikasta handwriting

1. Adabiyāt; p. 82.

فلا نشتر عشق کے بیان سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ بہرین نے ایک دفعہ اپنے دیوان کی کئی نسخے نہایت عمدہ خط میں لکوائے اور ہر صفحہ کو نہایت اعلیٰ ہیل پوٹوں کے ساتھ آراستہ کیا اور ہر نہایت نفیس جلد بندی کر کے ایران و توران و غیرہ ہر ذی ہمت کے علماء و شعرا کے پاس بغرض انتخاب روانہ کیا لیکن علماء کی ستم نظری یعنی با بی ذوقی کا ہر ایسے کہ انھوں نے کتاب کی مطلقاً جلد اور آراستہ ہیل پوٹوں کو اس کی طرف راہیں صحیح دیا اور دیوان یعنی متن کو ضائع کر دیا۔ اس حکایت کی صحت اور درستی کے متعلق کچھ نہیں کہا جاسکتا لیکن افسانے سے یہ نتیجہ اخذ کیا کہ بہرین نے اپنا دیوان اپنے جیتے جی مرتب کر لیا تھا۔

Sunnāmi;

2. Kulliyāt; p. 99.

”آن آشنا ذکر این بہرین فارسی دان بوسیدہ شعر و خط شکستہ کہ علای سعید اللہ بخان و مقرب آن حضرت السلطانی از ہندوستان بلایت ایران بھوب جان ثنا رخاں ایلچی فرستادہ بودند، بمان آمد و این دو بیت فقیر در آن دیا و مشہور است۔“

in the form of his poems was taken to Irān at the request of Saʿdulla Khān, by Jān Nithār Khān, an Indian envoy, and according to him, the following two couplets ¹ attained fame in that region:

باید بد اعنهای نمک سود ز لیستن
بودن تمام آتش و بی دود ز لیستن -
چشم تا بر هم زدی انجام شد آغاز عمر
طی شد این راه آبخندان کا دار پای برخواست -

On the other hand most of the writers like Muhammad Sālih Kambo, Laxmi Narain Shafiḳ, Sayyad Sabāhuddīn 'Abdur Rehman, Shīr 'Alī Khān Lōdī and Muhammad Afdal Sar Khūsh are silent on this point. Dr. 'Abdulla writes that Brahman was probably the first accomplished Hindū poet ² who left his Dīwān as a memorial and was admired as a poet during the period of Shāhjahān, on account of the sweetness and simplicity of his verses. He further says that the famous poet Sāib ³ noted Brahman's poems in his diary. Mīr Husain Doust Sambhalī, the writer of Tadhkira-i-Husainī ⁴, describes that Brahman left, as a memorial, his Dīwān and prose works which were very simple. Sar Khūsh ⁵ says that Brahman composed his verses on the style of his predecessors and among Hindūs, he was tolerably good and he ⁶ was also compiled his Dīwān. Shīr Khān Lōdī, the writer of Tadhkira-i-Nirātul Khīyāl, selected the following Ghazal

-
- Sunnāt;*
1. Kulliyāt; p. 99.
2. Adabiyāt; p. 83.
3. Ibid; p. 82.
4. Husainī; p. 73.
5. Shu'ara; p. 18.
6. Lōdī; p. 213.

from his Dīwān:

کنم ز سادہ دلی، بند دیدہ، مزگان را .×. بمشیت حسن نتوان بست آراہ طومان را
 جگر فشان شدہ ام باز جای آن دارم .×. کہ لاله زار کنم دامن و گریبان را
 ہمیشہ زلف تیرا اضطراب در کار است .×. چگونہ جمع کنم خاطر پریشان را
 شبی خیالی تو آمد بجواب، آسودیم .×. دگر ز ہم نکشادیم چشم گریان را
 برین آرزو سخن بی دلیل بنواہم
 کہ اعتبار نہ باشد دلیل و برہان را

On the other ^{hand} ~~hand~~, Sheikh Ikrām'ul Haq, the writer of Shir'ul
Ajam Fil Hind, appreciated some of the verses of Brahman in
 respect of the Vedantic thoughts which were assimilated with
 and they
Sūfism are as follows:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----|--|
| ۱- ای برتر از تصور و وهم و گمان ما | ×. | ای در میان ما و بدون از میان ما - |
| ۲- در جهان باش ولیکن ز جهان فارغ باش | ×. | ہم کہ فارغ ز جہانست جہانی با اوست - |
| ۳- گذشت عمر درین فکر من نذاںستم | ×. | کہ جرم کفر کہ ام است و ثواب ایمان چیست - |
| چو ہر دور از نظری بہ بہار رحمت او | ×. | ہم نزاع دل کافر و مسلمان چیست - |
| ۲- ذابل در دہر ہمیں کسی غنی بہر سہ | ×. | گناہ بیکسی ما ز جانب ما نیست - |

E.G. Browne informs about one of the copies of the
 2
 manuscript of his Dīwān which contains folios fifty eight of
 twenty by fifteen c., written in Nim-Shikasta, undated, incom-
 plete at the end and consists of Ghazals and a few Rubā'is.

Further Hermann Ethe adds to our knowledge and writers, "This
 3
Dīwān contains Ghazals, in alphabetical order, or fol. 1b,
 beginning:

ای برتر از تصور و وهم و گمان ما .×. وی در میان ما و بدون از میان ما -

-
1. Ikrām'ul Haq; p. 37.
 2. Browne; p. 87.
 3. Ethe; Vol. I; p. 859.

Rubāi's, on fol. 55a, beginning:

مارا چو بچال خود شناسا کردی
از خار گل و ز قطره دریا کردی -

He further adds that the original Dīwān ends on fol. 58b and is dated the 19th of Dhu-alhijjah, A.H. 1143 (A.D. 1731, June 25); on ff. 59-67a supplementary collection of Ghazals by the same poet is added, rhyming in δ and δ and δ . No. ghazals rhyming in δ and δ are found in the principal part of the Dīwān.

No. 1189, ff. 67, 2 coll., coach II.15; careless Nast-aliq, mixed with Shikasta; size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ in by $4\frac{5}{8}$ in".

Next copy of the Dīwān which has been published along with the thesis of Dr. Abdul Hamid Fārooqī, consisted of three hundred and forty two Ghazals and thirty six of Rubāi's.

The Dīwān which is under our study comprises two hundred and ninety three Ghazals and sixteen Rubāi's. It opens with the following Ghazal of Brahman:

ای برتر از تصور و هم و گمان ما ای در میان ما و بدون از میان ما
آئینه گشت سینۀ ما از فروغ عشق شد جلوه گاه صورت معنی زبان ما
جا که در میان رگ در لیشۀ مهر دوست پرورده شد بمنز و فنا استخوان ما
استاد عشق حوصله فرمای عاشقست صد جا شکست تا یلب آمد فغان ما

مانند غنچه گمر چه خوشیم بر زمین
لیکن بر از نواست چو بلبل زبان ما -

1. Fārooqī; p. 5-207.
2. Dīwān U.C.; Fol.No.1.

Oh, One who is beyond our imagination, supposition
and concept,
Oh Thou are amongst us and still beyond us.
Our heart has become a mirror by the lustre of love,
Our innerself has become the place of manifestation
of the reality of image.
The love of the friend has penetrated deep into our
veins and capillaries.
Our bones have been reared up with the marrow of
faith.
The teacher of love adds to the courage of the lover,
Our wailings (of love) broke into hundred pieces
till at last they reached over^{our} lips.
Oh' Brahman although we remain silent like a bud,
But our tongue is full of sweet notes like nightingale

It closes with following Rubāī and, at the end, the date
of inscription has been mentioned as Bist-ā-Panjum-Shehr-
Dīqaād 1262 A.H. on the day of Monday at one O'Clock. The
name of the scribe is written as Shiv Gopal.

”آنانکه بگفتگو زبانی دارند ÷ مانند جرس هرزه فغانی دارند
جز بر در خانه نلک بکشایند ÷ آنها که ز راه کاروانی دارند
الحمد لله والمنته که نسیم دیوان برهن تنایخ بست و پنجم شهر ذی قعد ۱۲۶۲ هجری روز دو
شنبه بخت خام احقر العباد شیوگوبال عفی الیه عنه بوقت یکپاس روز صورت اختتام
گرفت -“

Some of the exquisite verses of Brahman's Diwān are as follows

اُسناد عشق حوصله فرمای عاشقیت ÷ صد جا شکست تا بلب آمد فغان ما

The master of love adds to the courage of lover;

Our wailings(of love) reached the lips after they broke at a
hundred places.

در کنه ذات راه نبرد عقل دور بین ÷ جز بجز نیست تحفه درگاه کبریا -

The far-seeing intellect traversed into the realm of the
essence of the external being;

Nothing but humility is the gift of the court of the Most
blessed.

هر نفس بوی محبت آید از گفتار ما ÷ میتوان فهمید از گفتار ما مقدار ما -

Every moment smell of love comes out of our speech;
One could understand from our talk our worth and value.

در خم زلفش دل دیوانه دارد پیچ و تاب ÷ چون گشاید زلف بگشاید گره از کار ما -

The heart of the intoxicated is ⁿentertained in the ^tcurls of his locks of hair;
With the untying of the locks, the knot of our affairs would be untied.

با ناکسان سنگ دلاک حسن اختلاط ÷ باشد بوی سنگ زدن آنگین را -

Cordial relationship with the ignoble and stony hearted people is like the striking of glass against the surface of a stone.

صد جا شکست شیشه و صد باره متاده جام ÷ در بزم عشق کس نرساند سبزه دست -

Glass broke at a hundred places and the cup of wine fell a hundred times;
In the gathering of love, no body carried the cup intact.

کونین را به خلوت دل ره نمی دهد ÷ آزاده ای که ترک دنیا گرفته است -

A free-lancer who has abandoned all desires, does not allow the two worlds entry into the solitude of the heart.

تا ز زلف بغیر نیش تا بر موئی برده ایم ÷ هر چه بود بر تن من کمتر از ز نثار نیست -

Since we have taken away a fibre of the hair from her amber ⁿⁱladen locks of hair;
Every end of the hair on my body is ^{no} less than the sacred-thread.

کوته اندیشان بوی بیش و کم بچیده اند ÷ مرد عارف را نظر بر اندک و بسیار نیست -

The short-sighted are enamoured of more and less;
While a gnostic does not cast a glance at more or less.

چرخ هر جامه که بر تن عزیزان میبردخت ÷ گرد آن تازه طراز غم حرمان میبردخت .

Whenever the skies have sewn a garment to fit in for the body of the dear ones,
Around it a fresh embroidery work of grief and privation has been ~~xxx~~ sewn by them.

راز دل چون سوسن آزاد نتوان کرد فاش ÷ همچو برگ لاله در دل داغ پنهانی بس است .

The secrets of the heart can not be divulged like the lily;
A hidden scar in the heart is enough like the ~~petals of petals of~~ the tulip.

ما ز لیجا دارم گردان بر مهر بیکیسی ÷ یوسف مادرستان کاروان بوده است .

We are wandering about like Zulekha in the city of helplessness,
While our ^{Joseph} gasaph is among the members of a caravan.

چشم تا بر هم زدی انجام شد آغاز عمر ÷ طی شد این ره آنچنان کاد از پای برخواست .

With a wink, the genesis of life reached its end;
This path (of life) was traversed in such a way that the sound of a single foot could not be heard.

کیمیا بیست قناعت در آید بعل ÷ آنچه زین خاک توان یافت ، ز زر نتوان یافت .

Contentment, if acted upon, is alchemy;
What one can achieve from this dust, he can not secure from gold.

همیش بخواب بر پیشان نصب باد ÷ آشفته خاطری که گرفتار کا کاست .

May peace of mind be his lot in his Puffed sleep;
The one who is disturbed at heart due to his ensuaring in the locks of hair.

در طریق عشق بی کوشش بطلب میسر ÷ هر که ترک مدعا را مدعا دانسته است .

Whosoever considers the abandonment of objective as its realisation, would attain his aim in the path of love without an effort.

لذت چاک گریبان نتوان گفت بکس ÷ دال بی حوصله گیراست رفون که تراست -

The pleasure of the skirt being torn as under, could not be conveyed to any body;
The darning which you resort to, speaks of your lack of courage.

هرگز بگام کس ندهد جرعه مراد ÷ این دور روزگار ندانم بگام کیست -

This world does not provide the draught of objective to the mouth of any person;
I do not know whose objectives are realised through the cycles of time.

بیار پاک دامن و صافی باطن ÷ کمر بخدمت ز تار بستن آسمان نیست -

Bring tidiness of skirt and purity of heart;
It is not easy to gird up loins to serve the sacred-thread (of religion).

لازم آمد بر ما خدمت بیت بهین ÷ محو کی گردد هر آن نقشی که در دهاشت -

It became essential for us to bow before the idol of Brahman;
How could these ^{impressions} impressive be erased which are deeply planted in the heart.

سرش بگنبد گردون فرو نمی آید ÷ کسی که از خس و خاشاک راه لبستر اوست -

One who has his bed out of the weeds of the path, does not bow his head before the cupola of the firmaments.

حساب عمر بتدبیر ناصواب گذشت ÷ فغان که نقد گرای باین حساب گذشت -

The period of life passed away in incorrect planning;
Alas: The most valuable cash was wasted in this manner.

فارغ نشد دل ز ام های روزگار ÷ تا یک دو گام دور تر از مدعا نشد -

The heart is set free from the tribulative^{ness} of time,
When it resta one or two steps aloof from the objective.

هرگز نظر بجیفه دنیا نیفکنم ÷ شهباز را بیال بگس احتیاج نیست -

Never cast a look at the carcass of the world;
Royal falcon is not in need of the wings of a fly.

بنای قصر جهان را ثبات ممکن نیست ÷ بجز اساس محبت درین بنیاد است -

Durability cannot be visualised for the foundations of the Palace of the world; alone
It is basis of love which is strong in foundation.

طاثر اندیشیم را بر اوج معنی راه نیست ÷ عالم مقصود را از اندیشیم ما برتر است -

The flight of imagination does not find its way into the culmination of Reality;
The world of objective is beyond our imagination.

بارها بروی ریا آمد ز نقشِ بوریایا ÷ بر زمین مانند نقش بود یا باید نشست -

The texture of rush-mat produced the smell of hypocrisy on several occasions,
One should sit on the ground like the texture of the rush-mat.

خیال قد و رخ و عارضی نگار مرا ÷ بسیر کرد و گل و لاله زار شد باعث -

The visualisation of the stature, face and the cheeks of our beloved impelled us to look at the cypress, rose and the tulip-bed.

بیرهن نیست که چون چاک شود بتوان دوخت ÷ سینم چون چاک شود باز رفو نتوان کرد -

It is not a garment which could be stitched when it is torn;
The heart, when it is rent asunder can not be darned afresh.

بجفظ را از محبت نخست این شرط است ÷ که هر چه در دل است افتاد بر زبان نرود -

The first condition for the protection of the secret of love is that whatever befalls a heart should not be translated through the tongue.

دعای اهل محبت ز دعا است بیرون ÷ دعا کنند ولی یاد دعا نکنند -

The blessings of the lovers are beyond objective;
They bless but they never recall the objective.

چو کردم آزاد یا تهی دستی ÷ بنهر دور نلک پشت را درم تا نکنند -

Free men like the cypress, despite their empty-handedness, do not bend down their backs before the revolutions of the spies.

توسر کشیده بخواب غرور، غافل از آن ÷ که راه بردم، شیخ است و همهان رفتند -
 Your head is shrouded in the dream of self-righteousness;
 Unaware of the fact that the path is on the edge of the sword your companions have left.

شکر در مشرب، عشاق نخستین قدم است ÷ خویستن را از مقام کلمه انداخته اند -

Gratefulness is the first step in the path of lovers;
 They have flung themselves away from the pedestal of complaint.

قدم در لیر منه در گرای بی بنیا > ÷ که استقامت، خش مشکل است در دره باد -

Do not place your foot stubbornly in this house without base;
 for the steadfastness of hay is simply difficult against the passage of wind.

غبار راه تعلق بگردن شان نرسد ÷ سبک چو باد نسیم اندر دم آزاد -

The dust of the path of attachment does not settle around them;
 Free people are light like breeze.

قدم شکسته و لب بسته راه بمنزل بر ÷ که در طریق محبت همین بود ارشاد

Traverse the path to destination with broken steps and tongue tied;
 For this is the direction in the path of love.

صورت حال گواه، دل غمگین کافینست ÷ شرح این راز به تقویر زبان نتوان کرد -

External appearance bears testimony to the grieved heart;
 Elucidation of this secret cannot be made with the tongue of description.

ز تلخیهای شیرین آنچه بر فریادی آید ÷ اگر آهسته گویم سنگ در فریادی آید -

What befell Farīd from the vicissitudes of Shirīn;
 If I were to speak gently about it, the very stone is prone to wail.

حدیث عشق، همان به که تا بیان نرسد ÷ بدل همیشه بود ثبت و بر زبان نرسد۔

It is better if the discourse of love is not given to expression;
It is always imprinted at heart, but does not reach the tongue.

غلامِ همت، آزادگان بی قیدیم ÷ که گرد راه، تعلق بگر در شان نرسد۔

We are the slaves of free people, unnumbered; for the dust of the path-way of attachment does not reach them.

نظر بشا به معنی بچشم دل دارم ÷ حجاب، عنیک چشم است مرد بینا را۔

I behold my beloved of Reality (the eternal being) with my inner eyes;
The spectacle of (physical) eyes ^{is} an impediment for a man of vision (mystic)

حدیث عشق از گفتار و تکرار است مستغنی ÷ برین در محبت کفر باشد قصه خوانها۔

The discourse of love is beyond the description of speech and reiteration;
Oh: Brahman, the citation of tales is blasphemy in love.

هر که دارد هوس عشق نشانی با اوست ÷ چون گل لاله بدل داغ نهانی با اوست۔

Who so ever possesses the desire of love, has a sign from Him (God);
Just as the flower of Tulip has a hidden scar in its heart.

6. The sixth work of Brahmar is a collection of Mathnawis which has already been published in the 'Majmū'a-i-Rasāyāl' by the Nawal Kishore Press of Lucknow in the month of December

1
1885 A.D. and according to Hijri in the month of Safar 1303
A.H. It consists of about twenty-four Mathnawis.

Some of the Mathnawis of Brahman are quoted below:

2 در کیفیت نشای خویش گوید

- 1

بجوش آمد دگر طبع رسایم	بجز ما چشمه فیض آشنایم
سخن اندک و بسیار گویم	حکایت از زبان یا گویم
سخن گویم سخن چین بشمار است	که بسنان کم گل بسیار خار است
به معنی بزر بود آنکه محوش است	در دل خالی بود زان در خورش است
سخن لبریز معنی بر زبانم	زبان در کام و چون غنیم خوشند
سریخ زبانم تند و تیز است	بجوش آورد مغز استخوانم
در دایم سخن بیدان من بس	سعد طبع شوخم گرم خیز است
سخن چون رازداری چو منی یافت	بمیدان سخن جولان من بس
سخن بسیار دارم در خوانه	لوگوئی گنج خود را مخزنی یافت
کسی در خلوت دل آشنای نیست	ولیکن رخصت گفتن رانه
نه از رنگ و نه از رنگی نشان بود	که اینجا جز سخن یک مدعا نیست
چو گفت و گوی خواهش در میان شد	صفات حق چو ذات حق نهان بود
بنودی گر سخن گفتن زبان را	سخن چون بر زبان آمد بیان شد

سخن خواهم که باشد بر زبانم
چه شد گر نیست گوهر در میانم

1. *Maḥmūd-i-Rasāyān*; 1885 A.D. p. 116.
2. *Ibid*; p. 92.
3. *Ibid*; p. 95.

1 صحو الرحمن

ای تو ز انرازه دانش فزون * وی ز تو بر گشته درون و بیرون
 عقل به ادراک تو دانا شده * چشم بیدار تو دنیا بشد کا
 هر طرفی طنطنه ساز تست * هر دو جهان گوش بر آواز تست
 ای بیجان هم و بر کران * زمزمه نام تو بر هر زبان
 هیچ کس را اثر تو بیگانه نیست * از توحید اعاقل و دیوانه نیست
 شیخ و برهمن به تو دارد نظر * در نظر نیک همه بیخبر

بهر فکر موج ز ندر طرف
 خشک لب افتاد بساحل صدف

2 خدا یا ابراهیم را از کن * در فیض بر روی من با از کن
 به فضل خود کن شناسای خویش * بنده پیش و سازد بنیای خویش
 دلم کوه طور است تو گنج نور * تجلی توان کرد بر کوه طور
 چو شکر صاف آئینه سیند ام * قدر عکس معنی در آئینه ام
 عبادی که دارد در راهت نشان * بود سر همه چشم صا حیدلان
 به یکتای تو نه گنج دوئی * توئی و توئی و توئی و توئی
 چو من سیند خویش را کاتم * بگام نخستین ترا یا متم
 کنون در من از من توانی مانند * ترا دیدم از من نشانی مانند
 نهادم که دیگر چه خوانم ترا * توئی در من و من نهادم ترا
 چو من خویش را در تو گم ساختم * چنین بر دم و آبخان با ختم

شود محو در حضرت پاک تو
 برهمن کند سجده خاک تو

3

Pandit Brij Mohan Kaifi Dattatriya and the writer

of the 'Tārīkh-i-Adab-e-Urdū' are of opinion that Brahman has
 also composed his verses in Urdū. In the latter book, it has
 also been mentioned that according to some scholars, the

1. Majmū'a-i-Rasā'iyā; p. 95.

2. Ibid; p. 909, 109, 110.

3. Kaifi, p. 24.

4. Tārīkh; Vol. I; p. 28.

first Ghazal in Urdu was composed by Pandit Chandra Bhan Brahman during the time of Shahjahan in Northern India which is as follows:

خدا جانے کس شہر اندر صحن کو لاکے ڈالا ہے
 نہ دلبر ہے نہ ساتی ہے نہ شفیق ہے نہ پیار ہے
 پیار کے ناؤں سمون کیا چاہوں مگر وہ کیسے
 نہ تیسرے ہے نہ سمون ہے نہ کنٹھی ہے نہ مال ہے
 پیار کے ناؤں عاشق قتل باعجب دیکھے ہوں
 نہ بر چھی ہے نہ کر چھی ہے نہ خنجر ہے نہ بھالا ہے
 خوبان کی باغ میں رونق ہوے تو کس طرح یا ران
 نہ درونا ہے نہ دروا ہے نہ سو من ہے نہ نال ہے
 بہر ہمیں واسطے اشنان کے پھرتا ہے بگیا سین
 نہ گنگا ہے نہ جمن ہے نہ ندی ہے نہ نال ہے

But we are not in a position to say with authenticity that the above mentioned Ghazal really belonged to Brahman, because no internal evidence is traceable to support the aforesaid statement of Pandit Kaifi and the writer of Tārikh-i-Adab-e-Urdū.

According to G.A.Storey, a Vedantic work, Nāzuk Khāyalāt was translated by Chandra Bhan from the Ātma Vilās

1. Tārikh-i-Adab-e-Urdū, Vol.I; p. 28.

”شاہ جہان ہی کے زمانہ میں بیچ دہلی میں وہاں کی ایرانی زبان نئے نئے لہجے سے زور سے بولی جاتی تھی۔
 عالم گیری برج جہان اور کھڑی بولی کی آگھاڑ پچھاڑ کا زمانہ ہے بالآخر عہد عالم گیری کے آخری زمانہ
 میں برج کے قدم ادبی حلقوں سے اکٹھے جاتے ہیں لیکن اس کا سلسلہ شاہ جہان کے عہد سے شروع
 ہو گیا تھا۔ بعض محققوں کے مطابق شمالی ہندوستان میں اردو کی پہلی منزل شاہ جہان کے عہد میں
 پہنچتی ہے۔ جہاں پر ہم نے لکھی تھی۔“

2. Storey. p. 730.

ascribed to Shankara Āchārya and was published at Lāhore in 1901 A.D. No authentic proof is, however, available in the works of Brahman to support the statement of Storey. It was translated by many persons. Manasa Ram Khūshābī also translated it by the name of Nāsuk Khayālāt which was published in 1902 A.D.

CHAPTER IV

Contemporary poets and writers

The poetical compositions and writings of Persian poets and writers are remarkable from the very outset. These works may be classified into two categories. The first category relates to those poets who were inclined to compose the traditional poetry contributing to the spiritual ideas. They expressed their views in respect of devotion to God and the holy Prophet, Muhammad. The second category of poetry is to be traced to the contributions of those poets who wrote verses in praise of their ruling Emperors or those with whose courts they were associated. This second category of poets can be divided into two groups. One, who regularly attended the court and received awards, and the other who did not actually attend the court but received handsome rewards and won recognition by their patrons. The aforesaid groups of poets can be traced to the time of Akbar. On the other hand, the prose works are found in the shape of letters, historical works and translations of books on different subjects in various languages. This pattern was also followed by the poets and writers during the reign of Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān and Aurangzīb.

We have already mentioned the works of Brahman in the previous chapter. It is, therefore, essential to know something about the poets and writers of his age and the age preceding him. Primarily, we would like to enumerate the names of the poets associated with the court of Akbar. A number of

eminent poets produced works of merit under the patronage of Akbar.

1. Ghazālī: Majumdar says, "Ghazālī¹ was the most famous among the verse writers in the days of Akbar. Next in importance to him was Faīdī, a brother of Abul Fadl." Badāonī writes that Ghazālī² fled from Irān to Deccan, because people wanted to kill him for his heresy in Irāq. Khān-i-Zamān called him to Jaūnpūr, where he passed a long span of his life. Later on, he went to the court of Akbar who conferred upon him the title of 'Malikush-Shuārā'. He accompanied Akbar in the war against Gujarat where he suddenly died in the night of Friday, the 27th Rajab, 980³ and was buried at (سارکنج) Sarkanj, near Ahmadābād under orders from Akbar. Faīdī's⁴ ingenuous Chronogram on his death is سارکنج the year 980. At his death, he left a fortune of twenty lacs of rupees.⁵ But according to Mirāt'ul Ālam, Ghazālī⁶ left a sum of thirty lakh of rupees at his death. Blochmann refers, in his foot-note⁷ of Āin-i-Akbarī, that Ghazālī of Mashhad⁸ was the first poet who secured this title. In the Tadkira-i-Natā'ijul Afkār,⁸ the year of his death is mentioned as 908 A. H. On the

1. A.H.I.; p. 580 .

2. Muntakhab. Vol.III;p. 170 .

3. Ibid.

4. Blochmann, Vol.I; Foot-Note No. 1,p.568.

5. Ibid.

6. Mirāt; Fol. No. 369.

7. Blochmann; Vol. I; Foot-Note No. 3; p. 548.

8. Afkār; p. 511.

basis of Badāonī's statement, we can, authentically, say that the year of his death in *Tadhkirah-i-Nata'ijul Afkar* is a misprint. One of the sources of his works, *Mirāt'ul-Ālam*,¹ mentions two books written by him, viz, *Asrār-i-Maktūb* and *Rāshahātul Hayāt*.² Blochmann in the foot-note of the translation of *Āin-i-Akbarī*, referring to the *Haft Iqlīm*, adds one more book entitled *Mirāt'ul Kāināt*.³ But in the original copy of the *Haft Iqlīm* the name of the third work is mentioned as (*آيات الكائنات*) *Mirāt'ul Kāfiyāt*.⁴ Badāonī⁵ estimated his verses at forty to fifty thousand. On the other hand the *Haft Iqlīm*⁶ and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*⁷ mentioned 70000 (seventy thousand) and 100000 (one lac) verses respectively. But *Ātashkada-i-Adar*⁸ says that Ghazālī wrote sixteen books which contained 40000 (forty thousand) verses. He further adds to our knowledge by saying that Ghazālī fled from Persia during the reign of *Shāh Tahmasp Safawī*.⁹

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1. *Mirāt*; Fol.No. 369.
 2. *Ibid.*
 3. Blochmann; Vol.I; Foot-Note No.1,p.568.
 4. *Iqlīm*; Vol.II;p. 212.
 5. *Muntakhab*; Vol. III; p. 170.
 6. *Iqlīm*; Vol. II; p. 212.
 7. *Ṭabaqāt*; Vol.II; p. 484.
 8. *Adar*; p. 122.
 9. *Ibid.*

2. Faīdī: The next and the most important poet of the period of Akbar was 'Faīdī'. His full name was Shāikh Abul Faīd-i-Faīdī, Fayyādī. He was the elder¹ son of Shāikh Mubārak Nāgaurī. Faīdī was born in Agra in the year 954 A.H.^{2,3} H. Blochmann,⁴ referring to Riādush Shuārā says that Faīdī was the pupil of Khwāja Husain Thenāī of Mashhad. Akbar acknowledged his genius and conferred upon him the title of Malik'ush Shuārā when he was thirty⁵ years of age. On the other hand, Blochmann, translator of Āin-i-Akbarī, describes that Faīdī was made ~~Foot-Laureate~~ Foot-Laureate at the age of thirty⁶ three. In his early life, he composed verses under the pen-name of 'Faīdī' but, in the later period of his life, he adopted 'Fayyādī'⁷ as his pen-name.

1. Māthir, Vol.II; p. 584.

2. Ibid; p. 585.

3. Āin; Vol.I, p.168.

4. Blochmann; Vol. I; Foot-Note No.6; p. 550.

5. Māthir; Vol.II; p. 587.

6. Blochmann; Vol.I.p. 491.

7. Ibid; p. 548.

He himself says in the 'Nal Daman':

زین پیشی کرسکه ام سخی بود : نظم^{1,2}
 فیضی دم نگیں من بود
 اگون که شلم بعشق رتاض
 فیاضیم از محیط فیاض

Faīdī was appointed teacher³ of the princes; he also discharged the duties⁴ of an Ambassador occasionally. He was eminently well-versed in several branches of learning. He composed many works in Persian and Arabic. He wrote, 'Hawāt-i-ul-ilhām,⁵ and^{an} undotted commentary of^{the holy} Qurān in Arabic and Hawārid'ul Kalim.⁶ He began to write Quintlet at the age of thirty three⁷ e.g. (1) Sulaimān-o-Bilquis on the pattern of Khusraw Shīrīn and (2) Nal Daman in the style of Lailā Majnūn, each consisting of 4000 (four thousand) verses. The Haft Kishwar, on the pattern of Haft Paikar and Akbar Nāma in imitation of the Sikandar Nāma; each of these works contains 5000 (Five thousand) verses; and Fanj Nāma which he could not complete. Maūlānā Muḥammad Qudrat Ullah Gopawī Hindī, the author of Natāij'ul Afkār, says that Faīdī⁸ composed Markaz'ul Adwār on the pattern of Nisāmī's Makhsan' ul Asrār, containing 3000 (three thousand) verses and its matter was collected by Abul Faḡl after

1. Maāthir; Vol.II; p. 588.

2. Āin; vol.I;p. 168.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Afkār; p. 534.

two years of his death as Blochmann, the translator of Āin-i-Akbarī, refers to the same in the foot-note. Faīdī contains a Dīwān², which was lithographed at Delhi, in the year 1261 A.H., excluding Panegyrics. According to Abul Fadl, Faīdī composed one hundred and one³ books. The author of Mirāt'ul Ālam⁴ and Maāthir'ul Umara⁵ support the statement of Abul Fadl in respect of the above number of Faīdī's works. Abul Fadl and Badāonī estimate his verses as fifteen thousand and twenty thousand⁶ respectively. Faīdī died in the 40th year of Akbarī i.e. on the 10th Safar 1004⁸ A.H.

3. Naṣirī: After Faīdī, Naṣirī took his place among the versifiers of India. He held a good reputation and possessed a poetical talent. His name was Muhammad Husain and used to compose poetry under the pen-name of Naṣirī. Taqī-Uddīn Kāshī, in the foot-note of Tadkira-i-Maikhāna says that Naṣirī's real native place was the town Jūwīn⁹. The author of Ātash

1. Blochmann; Vol.I; Foot-Note No.6;p. 549.

2. Ibid; p. 550

3. Āin; Vol.I;p. 168.

4. Mirāt; Fol.No. 371.

5. Maāthir; p. 588.

6. Āin; Vol.I; p. 168.

7. Muntakhab; Vol.III; p. 301.

8. Āin; Vol.I;p. 168.

9. Maikhāna; Foot-Note No. 1;p.785.

Kada-i-Ādar also writes that some of the writers have mentioned his native place as Jūwīn¹ (جوين) but it is generally said that he belonged to Nishāpūr. The other writers such as Khwāja Nizām-uddīn Ahmad, Abul Fadl, Maūlānā Muḥammad Qudarat-ulla Gopaswī Hindī, Prof. Ābdul Ghānī, Mullā Ābdun Nabī Fakhrussamānī Qaswīnī, R.O. Majumdar and E.G. Browne support the authenticity of his native place being Nishāpūr. Nazīrī was the disciple of Āllāma Maḥsharī Khwansārī of Gujrat. Blochmann and the writer of Maāthir-i-Rahīmī⁴ describe that Nazīrī left Nishāpūr and reached Kāshān where he indulged in the poetical contests with several other poets viz; Fahmī, Hātim, Maqsood Khurde, Shujā⁵ and Fadāī. One of the couplets of Nazīrī's verse, which was composed in Kāshān, runs as follows:

ز خود هرگز نیازم دلی را که میترسم درو جای تو باشم

Nazīrī proceeded to India after leaving Kāshān in 991 A.H.⁶ He attached himself to the court of Khān-i-Khānān. In the year 1002 A.H./1593-4 A.D.,^{7,8,9} Ābdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān¹⁰

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1. Ādar; p. 194.
 2. Makhtūtāt; p. 461.
 3. Blochmann; Vol. I; Foot Note No. 2; p. 579.
 4. Mibāwandī; Vol. III; p. 115.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Ghānī, Part III; p. 67.
 7. Ibid.; p. 75.
 8. Shibli; Vol. III; p. 114.
 9. L.Hist. of Persia; Vol. IX; p. 252.
 10. Ibid.

provided him ^{with} necessary equipment to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, in response to the under-mentioned Qasida beginning with:

ز هنر بخود نگنم جو نجم می معانی
 بدار لباس بر تن جو بجز شدم معانی
 من اگر ز شیخ طبعی علم لنگری دارم
 علم است همت من، بھوای باد بانی
 سنگ آستانم اما هم آشب تلامده خایم
 که سر شکار دارم، نه هوای پاسبانی

On the contrary, Blochmann, in his foot-note of *Āin-i-Akbarī* mentions the year of Naṣīrī's pilgrimage to Mecca as 1012 A.H. i.e. 1603 A.D. Emperor Jahāngīr also writes in his *Tūzūk-e-Jahāngīrī* that he called Naṣīrī to his court. He came to the court with a Qasida in imitation of an encomium of Amrī in 1019 A.H. which runs as follows:

ترتیب کین تازه شد آئین زمانرا
 نوداد نسق، شاه بهانگیر جهانرا
 از قاعده دانی سپهر و ملک نسق کرد
 آری نسق کار شود قاعده انرا
 خاک از اثر تر بیتش عین سپهرست
 حق پرده برا نراخته جنات بهانرا

The Emperor, further, mentions that he gave him one thousand Rupees, a horse and a dress of honour in reward for the said panegyric of Naṣīrī. After returning to India,

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1. *Maikhāna*; p. 786, 787.
 2. Blochmann; vol. I; Foot Note No. 2, p. 579.
 3. *Tūzūk*; p. 91.
 4. *Maikhāna*; p. 791.
 5. *Tūzūk*; p. 91.

Nazīrī lived at Ahmad Nagar in Gujrat where he died in 1022 A.H. One of the eminent scholars of his period composed a chronological verse, indicating the 'Tārīkh' of his death,² which is as follows:

علم بکوی ابرازد پیغمبر شعراء -

According to the above mentioned hemistich, the date of Nazīrī's death comes to 1022 A.H. Prof. 'Abdul Ghani³ and E.G. Browne⁴ however mention the year of his death as 1003 A.H./1594 A.D. and 1021 A.H./1612 A.D. respectively. Nazīrī's works consist of Dīwān, a collection of Ghazals, Qasāid, Qitā'at and Tarjī-Band. Most of the Qasāid are in praise of Akbar, Khān-i-Khānān, Jahāngīr, 'Abdulla Khān Gujarati and some princes.

4. 'Urfī: Prof. 'Abdul Ghani⁵ writes his full name as Maūlānā Jalāluddīn Muḥammad, and 'Urfī as his pen-name. The writer of Tadhkira-i-Maikhāna⁶ adds to our knowledge by mentioning his father's name as Khawāja Balwī Shīrāzī and 'Urfī's name as Muḥammad Hussāin, as given by 'Urfī's maternal uncle i.e. Khāloo Shams-ul-Anam Shīrāzī. In his infancy, he was acclaimed as Maūlānā Sayyadī by the people, but, at the time of his youth, the natives of Shīrās called him, 'Urfī', due to his composition

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1. Blochmann; Vol. I. Foot Note No. 2; p. 579.
 2. Maikhāna; p. 793.
 3. Ghani; Part III; p. 75.
 4. Hist. of Persia, Vol. IV; p. 252.
 5. Ghani; Part III; p. 103.
 6. Maikhāna; p. 217.

of high quality. Qazwīnī, further, quotes Safīna-i-Khūshgo¹ in his foot-note and mentions his name as Maūlānā Sayyad Muhammad but poetically know² as 'Urfī Ibn Khwāja Zāin-uddīn-
'Alī bin Jamāl Uddīn Shīrāsī renowned as Khwāja 'Chādar Bāf'.
On the other hand, the author of Maāthir-i-Rahīnī² gives
'Urfī's real name as (Khwāja Sayyadī Muhammad) جواجه سیدی محمد .
The Takhallus 'Urfī' has a reference to the occupation of
his father, who, as Dārogha to the Magistrate of Shīrās, had
to look after religious (شرعی) and 'Urfī (worldly) matters.
According to Haft Iqlīm, 'Urfī went by sea to Dakīn in Hind-
ūstān in the year 992 A.H. where his talent was not recogni-
zed. Taqī-uddīn Kāshī also supports the said statement of
Haft Iqlīm and says thus:

”تقی الدین کاشی گوید: در شهر سنه ۹۹۲ از راه دریا بجانب هند خایم و مدتی در احمد نگر
رحل اقامت انداخته در آن دیار مسکن گزید.“

'Urfī, therefore, proceeded to Fatehpūr Sikrī and met
Hakīm Abūl Fatah Gīlānī and wrote the following Qasīda,
expressing ~~hakt~~ his desire to join his service:

که از دمشق رود اعجاز عیسوی بر باد	حکیم عهد ابراهیم آفتاب صحر
که چو مدتی تو نتوانم بلب استاد	خدا یگانا دارم حکایتی بر لب
ز روی کسب شرفی ز روی استاد	خیال بیدگیت درش نقش می بستم
بر آستان تو بایر نشست یا استاد	بخدمت آمدم اینک بگویم صحت است

After the death of Hakīm Gīlānī, 'Urfī became an atten-
dant of 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-e-Khāzān and composed a Qasīda

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1. Maikhāna; p. 217.
 2. Nihāwandī; vol. I; p. 295.
 3. Iqlīm; vol. I; p. 238.
 4. Maikhāna; Foot-Note No. I; p. 218.
 5. Ibid.

on this occasion which begins as follows:

ز آسمان وز زمین شترده ناگهان آمد
 که آفتاب زمین تاج آسمان آمد
 بگو خلاصه تقدیر خانانان است
 که همعان شهنشاه انس و جان آمد
 خدایگانا حال دلم تو میدانی
 بگو سیمت که دلم چون زغم گران آمد

'Urfī was introduced to the court by his patron named Khān-e-Khānān. He died at the age of thirty six on Shawāl 999 AH. at Lāhore. Mīr Alla-ud-Daūla Qaswīnī composed a verse about the date of his death which is as follows:

افسوس که زود عرفی از عالم رفت
 نادیده بگام دینی از عالم رفت
 چون معنی محض بود از آن گفت خرد
 تاریخ وفات "معنی از عالم رفت" ۹۹۹

Mirza Faṣīh,³ poet laureate of Khurāsān, sent a person from Herāt^t to Lāhore to take the dead body of 'Urfī to Mashhad but, ten days before the arrival of Faṣīh's messenger at Lāhore, the poet Sābir of Isfahān took away his body and buried it in the holy ground of Najaf. The dead body of 'Urfī was taken according to his prophetic utterance which he made in the following verse:⁴

بگوشش شتره از گور تا به نجف بروم
 اگر بهیند هلام کنی و گم به تبار

Maulānā Rūnaqī Hamadānī⁵ composed a Naṣm, in connection

1. Maikhāna, p. 220.
2. Ibid p. 221, 222.
3. Ibid p. 225.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. p. 225-226.

with the date of 'Urfī's body taken by Mīr Sābir of Isfahān to Hajaf and it is as follows:

یگانہ گوهر دریای معرفت عرفی	کہ آسمان پی پروردنش صدف آمد
چو عزا و لبسرا آمد نہ گردش گردون	شکست بر صفت دہا پر شمع آمد
بگوش چرخ رسانید حرف جانسوزی	کہ عمر از تو چو در معرض تلف آمد
بکاوش شترہ از گورتا نجف بروم	نگذد شتر دعای کہ بر صدف آمد
رقم نہ دار پی، تاریخ رونقی حکلم	بکاوش شترہ از ہند تا نجف آمد

Hence, according to the last hemistich of the said verse, the date is 1027 A.H. Blochmann writes in his footnote of *Āin-i-Akharī* while giving a description of 'Urfī of Shīrās that the first edition of his poetical works contained twenty six Qasīdas, two hundred and seventy Ghazals, seven hundred Qatā' and Rubā'is. His *Mathnawī*, *Hajmū'ul Ābkār* is often wrongly called *Hajmū'ul afkār*. The Lahore edition of *Sāqī Nāma* of Maulānā 'Urfī Shīrāzī consists of Forty three² (43) Bāits. His chief adversaries, with whom he held poetical contests, were Muhtasham Kāshī, Wahshī Yezdī, 'Arif Lāhījī, Husain Kāshī etc. 'Urfī's fame chiefly rests on Qasīda, but he, himself says that his sphere is Ghazal:

تصیبرہ نظم حوس پینگان بود عرفی تو از قبیلہ عشقی وظیفہ ات غزل است۔

5. Zuhūrī¹: was the famous poet and prose writer of his age. He lived under the patronage of Sultān Ādil Shāh of Deccan. Prof. Nadīr Ahmad, an authority of Zuhūrī's 'Life and works', writes that Zuhūrī's proper name was Nūr-ud-Dīn Muhammad. As regards his birthplace, he states that Zuhūrī was born in one of the villages of the district or division of Qāyīn.² The said statement is based on Ibrāhīm Zubairī's³ version, the author of Basātin-us-Salātīn, who at two places mentioned him as Qaini which would mean that he was a native of Qāyīn. He, further, relies upon the two lines of Zuhūrī's which are the internal evidence to prove that Qāyīn was the birthplace of Zuhūrī. The first line occurs in Zuhūrī's Saqī Nāma⁴ and the other in his Qasīda,⁵ composed in praise of Ibrāhīm Ādilshāh II, in connexion with his loyalty and sincerity to him. As regards, Zuhūrī's date of birth, most of the writers held different opinion but our learned Prof. Nadīr Ahmad concluded, after a detailed study of various biographies,⁶ that Zuhūrī was born in A.H. 944/1537 A.D.

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1. Zuhūrī; p. 8.
 2. Ibid; Foot-note No. 1, p. 9.
 3. Ibid; p. 11 to 16.
 4. Ibid; p. 9.
 5. Ibid; p. 9 to 10.
 6. Ibid; p. 32 to 34.

According to him, all the biographers unanimously fix the date of his death, AH. 1024/1615 A.D. and a detailed description about the date of Zuhūrī's death is given in Chapter VI (sixth).

We have already pointed out that Zuhūrī was a poet as well as a prose writer. According to Prof. Naḍīr Ahmad, Zuhūrī's work may be classified into poetry and prose.

1. Poetry: His collection of verses is known as Kulliyāt-e-Zuhūrī. It comprises Qasīdas, Ghazals and Mathnawīs. The Mathnawīs consist of Sāqīnāma and another Mathnawī. The Sāqīnāma begins with the following lines:

شنا میکنم این د پاک را	✽ شریا ده طارم تاک را
که خورشید را صورت بجام از دست	✽ شراب شفق در خم شام از دست
از دلاله شاه بر فرق می	✽ در دستگر نغمه در کام می
دگ تاگ امیر را نم ازو	✽ لکله کوب مستی کرم غم از دست

The other Mathnawī comprises about 1000 lines dealing with the following topics:

- (1) Hym to God.
- (2) Prayers and supplication to God.
- (3) The praise of the ~~god~~ prophet.
- (4) The Holy Ascension.
- (5) The praise of the cup-bearer of Kaḥṣar.
- (6) The praise of Shāh Nawās Khān's building.

The next poem is written in imitation of Makhsan-i-asrāt

1. Zuhūrī; p. 26.
2. Ibid; p. 283, 299.
3. Maikhāna; p. 365.

2. Prose Works: The prose-works of Zuhūrī consist of the following:

- (a) A short letter addressed to Husāin Th Ẓanāī when, Zuhūrī was in Ahmad Nagar in A.H. 995 or 996/1586 or 1587 A.D.
- (b) A letter, which was addressed to Faldī, written during his stay in Ahmad Nagar near about 996 A.H./1587 A.D.
- (c) Another letter which has a historical value is addressed to Imād Khān of the Mughal court.
- (d) When Zuhūrī was in the court of Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh about 1006 A.D./1596 A.D. the preface to the Kitāb-i-Nāuras was written.
- (e) Preface to the Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm was written after 1008 A.H./1599 A.D.
- (f) His preface was written in 1013-14 A.H./1604 A.D. to the Khawān-i-Khalīl.

The collection of the above last three prefaces, published under the title of the Sih Nathr, ^{were} written during the course of eight years. The other important prose works of Zuhūrī are as follow:

- (1) The Mīnā bāzār.
- (11) The Panĵ Ruġā.

The prose work 'Mīnā Bāzār' is a description of a market which ^{was} held in two different sections. One of the sections of the market was for women only and the other one was for the male traders. The next work is a collection of five love letters which are as follows:

- (۱۲) شہید تبسم دیت (۱۲) آب الفرق (۱۳) زیبا عروس دولت
(۱۷) قربانی چشم (۱۷) پشت بد لوار نشستم -

C. Thānāī: Thānāī was the native of Mashhad. His name was Khvāja Husain and Thānāī was his pen-name. The name of his father was Ghiathuddin Muhammad of Mashhad. Luṭf 'Alī Bēg, the author of Ātashkada-i-Adar says that Khvāja Husain was the son of 'Ināyāt Mirzā. Qazvīnī writes, Khvāja Ghiathuddin 'Alī, the name of ~~the~~ his father referred to in the Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī³, in foot-note, to indicate Thānāī's father's name as Ghiathuddin Muhammad. The statement of Luṭf 'Alī Bēg seems incorrect due to the wrong reading of the word 'Ghiath' (غیاث) as 'Ināyāt (عنایت) Thānāī was in the service of Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā. He composed a panegyric which begins with the following lines, presented before the Sultān.⁴

در روش حسن و ناز هست بسی خوش نما ÷ غمزه بطرز ستم، عشوه برنگ جفا

After the death of Sultān Ibrāhīm Mirzā, his son, Shāh Ismā'īl Thānāī became Sultān. On this occasion Husain Thānāī presented himself before the Shāh with a Qasīda whose three lines are as follows:

بوسفت زچهره آمد و بر آسمان نشست	بر تخت جم سکندر گیتی ستان نشست
در سنگ خاره ذات تو نو لاد سان نشست	شاهان اگر ز اختر بد مهر مدتی
بر نرده نر شود چه بسنگ فسان نشست	باین سپهر صلحی داشت زانکه تیغ

When Shāh Ismā'īl Thānāī heard the said Qasīda, he felt

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1. Ādār; p. 90.
 2. Ma'āthir; p. 190.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid. p. 203.
 5. Ibid. p. 204.

enraged and exclaimed that it did not mention his name; and accused him of having originally composed it in honour of Sultan Ibrāhīm Mirzā. Hence, due to fear, Thaṅī fled to India and took shelter under Emperor Jalāluddīn Akbar Badshāh Ghāṅī. According to Qaswīnī, Thaṅī died at Lāhore in the year 995 A.H. 1586 A.D. but he has also referred to Khūshgū and Sprenger in his foot-note who mentioned the year of his death as 995 A.H./1586 A.D. and 996 A.H./1587 A.D. respectively. Khwāja Husaīn Thaṅī had a Dīwān, comprising three thousand Bāits, Sikandar Nāma and Sāqīnāma. Some of the very out-set lines¹ of his Sāqīnāma⁴ are quoted below as for example:

بکش جام معنی صورت گداز	با دل بمجانء اهل راز
که از دیده گردی نهان چون ببری	چنان خویش را کن ز صورت ببری
بکوی خرابات جایب شود	مگر شوق آن رهنمایت شود
درودشت او آفریده ز ذوق	جہانی بنیابی لبالب ز شوق
چو صفت ندیده ز بستی نشان	چو عارف بزده بستی گمان
نه پای تر در ملک را در آن	نه دست تصرف فلک را بران
در و گشته شخص تو کل مقیم	ز رفتن در و فکر امید و بیم
نیا ز از عدم زاده در دانش	ز کبر و معنی دور پیر انگش
بلا مانده هم دور از او بر زمین	ز رفتن دعا زو بچرخ برین
بهرل کرده با کفر ایمان درو	مگر فتنه وطن عشق چون جان درو
ز عکس جهان گشته صورت پذیر	ز پیش جو آئینه صافی ضمیر
ز لال جیاتش بر و گشته ضم	هوایش موافق نه بر طبع غم
کمالش ندیده چو نقصان زوال	هوایش مبراً ز کبر و طلال
چو چشم جهان روی اهل عذاب	ندیده رخ ز حد ترا حد بخواب

1. ibid.; p. 205.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.; p. 206.

7. Bairam Khān: was the son of Saif 'Alī Bēg¹. He was born at Badakhshān. After the death of his father, he proceeded to Balkh for the sake of study. At the age of sixteen, Bairam Khān entered the service of Humāyūn and was appointed guardian of Prince Akbar in the year 963 A.H./1555 A.D. At the accession of Akbar, he was promoted as Wakil on 2nd Rabī' II 963 A.H. at Kalanur and also received the title of Khān Bābā. Bairam Khān was married to Salima Sultān Bēgum in 965 A.H./1557 A.D. After his assassination by a Lohani Afghan on Friday, 14th Jumādī I, 968 A.H./1560 A.D. Akbar married Salima Sultan Bēgum, the widow of Bairam Khān. The under-mentioned lines belonged to Bairam Khān.

حرفی نوشتی دل ما شاد نہ کردی : ما را این بان تلی یاد نہ کردی
آباد شد از لطف تو صر خاتم و ویران : در این نہ ما بود کہ آباد نہ کردی

8. Mirzā 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān: was one of the court nobles of Akbar who deserved the foremost place as a supporter of Persian art and literature among the contemporary rulers of Persia, Turkey and India. He was also a great patron of Persian poetry in the East. Khān-i-Khānān was the son of Bairam Khān. He was born at Lāhore, 14th Safar 964 A.H./1556 A.D. His mother was a daughter of Jamāl Khān of Mewāt. At the death of his father, he was four year old and was brought up and educated under the patronage of Akbar. Khān-i-Khānān translated the Wāqīāt-i-Bāburī from Turki into Persian. After the death of Akbar, he served under Jahāngīr for about forty years. He died in the year 1036 A.H./1626 A.D. and was buried

1. Blochmann; Vol. II; p. 315.
2. Afkār; p. 103.

near the tomb of Shāikh Nizāmuddīn Auliya in Delhi. The contemporary historians, other than Abul Fadl, viz, Badāonī, Abul Bāqī Nihāwandī and Nizāmuddīn Ahmad speak of his poetic taste and the patronage of poets like Urfī, Maxirī etc. He was also a scholar of Sanskrit as well as a poet of Hindī.

We have already mentioned in the introduction the names of many more poets, who actually did not attend the court but received reward and admiration by the Emperor.

After a brief sketch of the poets, it appears worth while to discuss the most important prose-writer of the court of Akbar. Mostly, the prose works are found in the shape of histories. The names of the following historians are noteworthy:

1. Abul Fadl: Shāikh Abul Fadl Allāmi was one of the ministers of Akbar's court and later he was promoted to the post of Prime Ministership. He was born at Agra on 6th Muharram 958 A.H. i.e. 14th January, 1551 A.D. during the reign of Islām Shāh. He was the second son of Shāikh Mubārak of Nāgaūr. He had six brothers, including himself and four sisters. Abul Fadl's son, well known as Shāikh Abdurrahman Afdal Khan, born on 12th Shabān 979 A.H. Akbar gave the name of Abul Fadl's grand-son as Bishotan. As a writer, Abul Fadl stands unrivalled. His style is grand and the force of his words, the structure of his sentences, and the elegance of his pen, are such that it is difficult for a person to imitate. Hence, on one occasion, Abdulla the King of Bukhārā, said that he was more afraid of Abul Fadl's pen than of Akbar's arrow. Abul Fadl was well-known as the great Munshī all over India. His

T. Blochmann; Vol.I;p. XXXV.

letters were studied in all Madrasahs. The following works of Abul Fadl are note-worthy.

- (1) Akbarnāma.
- (2) Āin-i-Akbarī.
- (3) The Maktūbāt-i-Āllamī or Insha-i-Abul Fadl.
- (4) Āyār Dānish.

Besides, these works, Abul Fadl also wrote a Risāla-i-Manājāt or treatise on Prayers; a Jamī'ul-lughat; a ¹lexicographical work and a Kashkol.

2. Badāonī: His full name was Mullā 'Abdul Qādir and poetically styled as Qādirī. He was born in the year 947 or 949 A.H./1540-1542 A.D. at Badāon, one of the present districts of the province of Uttar Pradesh in India. Shāikh Mulūk Shāh the father of 'Abdul Qādir, died in 969 A.H./1561 A.D. He was the pupil of the saint Beshu of Sambhal. Badāonī received his education ¹ from Shāikh 'Abdulla Badāonī and Shāikh Mubārak Nāgaurī. On account of his beautiful voice, he was appointed court Imām for Wednesdays. He was earlier introduced to Akbar by Jalāl Khan Qarāshī. Badāonī lived with Shāikh Mubārak, Faīdī and Abul Fadl for about forty years but he could not develop sincere friendship with them because he looked down upon them as heretics. He died in the year 1004 A.H./1595 A.D. ² His valuable works are as follows:

- (1) Translation of Rāmāyan from Sanskrit into Persian in 1589 A.D.
- (2) Translation of Mahābhārat from Hindī into Persian.
- (3) Extract from the history of Rāshid,

1. Maktūbāt; p. 35.

2. Ibid.

- (4) The Bahr'ul Athmar, a work on the Hadiṡ.
 (5) Najāturrashid.
 (6) Muntakhab'ut-Tawārikh, a historical work.

Blochmann writes in his foot-note in Āin-i-Akbarī that in respect of style, Badaonī was much inferior to Bakhtawar Khan and Muhammad Kazim, the writers of Mirāt'ul Ālam and Ālangīr Nāma, respectively; but he was superior to his friend Mirzā Nizāmuddin Ahmad of Herāt the author of Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī and Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, the writer of Fādha Nāma.

3. Nizāmuddin Ahmad: belonged to the pedigree of Khwāja Abdulla Ansārī of Herāt. His father's name was Khwāja Muqīm-i-Harwī. First of all, Muqīm-i-Harwī served under Bābar and then he became Wazīr of Mirzā Askarī, the then Hakim of Gujarat. Nizāmuddin Ahmad was appointed as Bakhshī of Gujarat in 29th Jalūs of Akbar and later on he was promoted to the post of Bakhshī'ul Mulk. He died at the age of forty five years i.e. on 23rd Safar 1003 A.H. or 28th Oct. 1594 A.D. He was the author of Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī. It is a well-known history of India; it consists of historical accounts from the period of Sultān Mahmūd Sabuktigin till the first thirty seven years of the reign of Akbarī i.e. 373 A.H./983 A.D. to 1001 A.H./1592 A.D. The said book begins as follows:

”سپاس رفعت اسماں بادشاہی را از مذکہ حل و عقلم نظام عالم و ضبط و رابط بنی آدم در وجود عالی و در
 زمان و ایان محمدت پیشینہ و مملکت پیرایان نصفت اندیشہ و دیعت ہنہا۔۔۔ الخ“

Like Akbar, Jahāngīr also possessed a literary taste and extended his patronage to scholars. The period of Jahāngīr's reign consists of the following note-worthy poets and writers.

1. Maūlānā Shakībī Isfahānī: His name was Muhammad Radā and was the native of Isfahān. Mullā Abdul Baqī Nihāwandī, the author of Maāthir-i-Rahimī, writes that Shakībī was the son of Zuhri-uddin Abdulla of Isfahān. He studied under the stewardship of Amir Taqīuddin Muhammad of Shīrāz. He left Isfahān and reached Herāt via Khurāsān; and developed contacts with poets, like Khwāja Husain Thanāī, Mirzā Qulī Maīlī and Walī Dasht Bayādī. When he became popular as a poet, he returned to Shīrāz for a short while and, then came to India and joined the court of Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān. Shakībī was introduced by Mahābat Khān to Jahāngīr with a Qasīda. The undermentioned three Baits form the beginning of the said Qasīda.

قادر بر هر م از هجوم نقش جباهه ÷ بر آستان جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه
 چه رفعتت تعالی الله استانش را ÷ که از بلندی آن بر بخت رخ نگاه
 ز بس که ناصیه خویش سوده اند ملک ÷ نگار خارند چنین گشته خاک آن درگاه

2 ² Taqīuddin Awhadī describes that Shakībī was the sister ³ son of Amir Raūs Bhan Sabrī, who heard the news of his death ³ on Rajab 1023 A.H./1614 A.D. at Agra. Mir Illāhī Hamadānī gives a chronogram ⁴ of his death as follows:

روزی که کشید ملک تقدیر آله * بز خاک شکیبی رقم طاب ترا
 گفت از بی تاریخ آلهی ناگاه * "دو ایلا و اصیبا و اشواقه" ۱۰۲۳

Blochmann in the foot-note of the translation of

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1. Maikhāna; p. 304.
 2. Ibid; p. 306.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid; p. 306, 307.

Āin-i-Akbarī writes that Shakībī died at the age of sixty seven in 1023 A.H./1614 A.D. and further mentioned the chronogram, composed by Jasmi Hamadāni on Shakībī's death, being "صدر رحلی رفت" ¹. But Qaswīni writes in his Maikhāna that he died in 1022 A.H./1613 A.D. Shakībī composed a Mathnawī which ³ begins with the following lines:

بویران گشت گلستان کنیم	×	بیا تا زمینجان بستان کنیم
چو گل تادی هست ساعتر زینم	×	خدر اگل باده بر سر زینم
نشایم در باغ دل ریشم اش	×	گلی را که بلبل بود شیشم اش
که بر هر گلشن بلبل بروریم	×	بسیند درخت گلی بروریم
بهار بستش بر ستوده یی	×	دم صبح از نچم اش خنجره یی
بیا چشمه عمر باقی بیا	×	بیا شیشم بردار ساقی بیا
طرب را کلید گلستان بیا	×	بهار دلی برستان بیا
منش جان دم او نم جان خورد	×	که بخورد مرا گلستان برد

2. Afdal Khān Dakani: His proper name was Mirzā 'Alī ⁴ and was born in the city of Qum. ⁵ In his early youth, he came to Dakan with his father and entered the rank of panegyrists of Burhān Shāh Behrī who entitled him as Afdal Khān and, there, he adopted 'Fusūnī' ⁷ as pen-name. Abul Faql mentions that 'Fusūnī' was the native of Shīrās ⁸ and his name was Mahgūd Bēg. ⁹ Qaswīni in his foot-note of Tadkira-i-Maikhāna writes that Afdal Khān ¹⁰ Fusūnī served under Akbar and Jahāngīr. For a long time, he was in Sind; and at present, he lived in Bengal. He further ¹¹ describes that Fusūnī died in the year 1028 A.H./1628 A.D.

1. Bloeschmann; Vol. I; Foot Note No. 2; p. 576.

2. Maikhāna; p. 306.

3. Maikhāna; p. 307.

4. Ibid; p. 472.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Āin; Vol. I; p. 181.

9. Ibid.

10. Maikhāna; p. 473.

11. Ibid.

and his Dīwān consists of about five thousand (5000) ¹ Baits.

The following lines are the specimens of his compositions.

قطع: سرت گمدم ای پیر دردی ز روش	که بار غم بر گفتمی ز روش
ترا سو میایی ده از لای غم	که یا ایم شکستت در پای غم
رباعی: گم دیر به بدیدن جال تو خوشست	گاهی دل نمکین بمجال تو خوشست
از تو بجز از فراق تو ناخوش نیست	آن نیز با مید وصال تو خوشست

3. Mulānā Muḥammad Sūfī Māzandarānī: was a man of Sūfistic nature on account of his mild and gentle nature. He was born in Māzandarān and lived about fifteen years in Mecca. Later on, he lived in Gujarat, where from, he proceeded for the pilgrimage of Khwāja Muīn-uddīn Chishtī and met Shāh Nūr-uddīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr in the year 1022 A.H./1613 A.D. He wrote sixty thousand verses (60,000) and named the collection of these verses as 'But Khāna' (بتخانه). ² Qazwīnī mentions the year of his death as 1035 A.H./1625 A.D. and his chronogram of death being ³ مجرد از یکی شهر بجن محمد صوفی: ۱۰۳۵. The undermentioned verses appear in the beginning of his But Khāna.

بستی و دیوانگی کبر آرد	الا ای دل مانده از کار و بار
نبستیم طرفی ز دیوانگی	ندیدیم خری ز فرانگی
هان جای فخر و مباحات ما	شنیدیم که اندر خرابات ما
که ابلیس نبود پیشش سجود	یکی آتش آمد سحر در وجود
شراری بنزد من کافر آرد	از آن آتش ای کودک میگسار
پس آنگاه در روز و شب ز غم	که در خانه دین و مذهب ز غم

1. Maikhāna; p. 473.

2. Maikhāna; Foot Note No. 2; p. 477.

3. Ibid; p. 47C.

4. Ibid; Foot-Note No. 1; p. 480.

4. Tālib-i-Āmulī was born in Māzandarān. At the time of his departure from Marw to Hindustān, he composed the following Quatrain.

طالب گل این چمن بیستان بگزار * بگزار که پیشوی پشیمان بگزار
 هند و نبرد تیغ کس جانب هند * تخت سید خویش بر ایران بگزار

Āmulī came to Agra in 1020 A.H./1611 A.D. and due to his wits and talents, he was highly admired and appreciated by Jahāngīr and was made Malikush Shuharā (poet-laureate) in 1028 A.H./1626 A.D. Tālib-i-Āmulī died in the year 1036 A.H./1626 A.D.

5. Hakīm Faghūr Lāhijānī: His name was Muḥammad Ḥusain and was the native of Lāhijān of Gilān. His father Sayyad Aḥmad was the favourite of Khān Aḥmad Gilānī, the son of Sultān Ḥasan, who was the then ruler of Gilān. He reached Agra via Candhār and Lāhore where he came in contact with Hakīm Āli Gilānī who introduced him to Jahāngīr. Swālih Tabresī composed a chronogram over his death and it was engraved on his Tombstone and it is as follows:

رفت فغفور سخن از ملک نظم ÷ داغها بر سینم احباب هست
 تا دهد آب از سحاب چشم ما ÷ گوهر بگردان را در خاک گشت
 چون بهشتی بود شد تاریخ او ÷ "هنوا با غنای بیان بهشت" ۱۰۲۹ -

6. Mūlānā Atāī Jaūnpūrī: was a learned and talented young man. He was skilful in composing verses and adopted Maḥawī (معنوی)

1. Maikhānag p. 548.

2. Ibid; p. 551.

3. Ibid; Foot-Note No.2; p.551-552.

4. Ibid; p. 459.

5. Ibid; p. 848.

as his pen-name. His father, Maūlānā Fakhruddīn, was one of the nobles of Jaunpūr where Atāī was born. He ^{was} attached with Jahāngīr and used to live at Agra.

The above mentioned poets flourished during the reign of Jahāngīr. The most important and eminent writers are the following who secured a place among the historians of the days of Jahāngīr.

1. Jahāngīr was the son of Akbar, the 'Great Mughal' Emperor of Hindūstān. He, himself, wrote a Memoir known as Tūsuk-i-Jahāngīrī. It is a history upto the end of the seventeenth year of Jahāngīr's reign. He gives information about his birth in his Tūsuk as follows:

” از عنایات بنیایات ابی یکساعت بخجی از روز پنج شنبه هشتم جمادی الثانی هزار و چهارده هجری گذشت در
 دارالخلافه آگره در سن سی و هشتم سالگی بر تخت سلطنت جلوس نمودم پدرم را تا بیست و هشتم سالگی
 فرزندم زلیست و همیشه بجهت بقای فرزند پدر و ایشان و گوشه نشینان که ایشان را قرب روحانی پدرگاه
 ابی حاصل است التجای بردند چون خواجہ بزرگوار خواجہ معین الدین حبیبی / چشمہ / اکرا او لپائی ہنہ بودند بر خاطر
 گذرا بند کرد بجهت حصول این مطلب رجوع باستان متبر کہ ایشان نمایند با خود قرار دادند کہ اگر اللہ تعالی پسری
 گرامت فرماید و او را بمن ارذانی دارد از آگرہ تا بدرگاہ روضہ منورہ ایشان کہ یک صد و چیل کردہ
 است پیادہ از روی نیاز تمام متوجہ گردم در سن نصد و هفتاد و هفت روز چہار شنبہ ہفتہ ہم ماہ ربیع
 الاول ہفت گوی از روز منہ کو گذشتہ --- الخ“

It is a valuable asset to literature. He has described the most important names of scholars and nobles of his time and also mentioned the names of eminent poets among his contemporaries e.g. Bābā Talīb Isfahānī, Mullā Hayātī Gilānī, Mullā Nazīrī Nishāpūrī, Mullā Muhammad Sūfī Māzandarānī, Malikush-Shūrā Talīb-i-Āmulī, Saīdāī Gilānī, Mīr Masūm Kāshī, Fusūnī Kāshī, Mullā Haīdar Khisālī and Shaīdā. All the said nobles and scholars received reward and honour on various occasions by the Emperor Jahāngīr.

2. Mīnātullā was the author of Makhzan-i-Afaghina. He served about thirty years in the Khālsa department in the days of Akbar and occupied the post of Wāqīa Navīs under Jahāngīr for eleven years. He was librarian with Khān-i-Khānān during the year 1595 A.D. and was patronised by Khān Jahān Lūdī near about the year 1608 A.D. The first four chapters of Makhzan-i-Afaghina deal with the history of Lūdī and Sūrī dynasties and the fifth one gives an account of the ancestors of Khān Jahān. The last event relates to Khān Jahān's retirement to Alīchpur in 1612 A.D.

3. Mirzā Kāngār Husain wrote Māthir-i-Jahāngīrī in 1630 A.D. while Mītanad Khān finished his Iqbāl-nāma after 1632 A.D.

4. Mullā Abdun Nabī Qazwīnī was born in Qazwīn. His father's name was Khalaf Bēg (*خالد*) who was a general merchant. Qazwīnī was a man of letters and an eloquent writer and composed verses under the pen-name of 'Izzatī (*عزت*). He reached Lāhore via Qandhār at the end of the year 1017 A.H./1608 A.D. and then went to Agra in 1018 A.H./1609 A.D. When Mirzā Nizāmī was the Dīwān and Bakhshī of Kashmīr, Qazwīnī wrote a book named Dastur'ul Fusahā. It consists of stories and tales. In the year 1027 A.H./1617 A.D., he developed his association with Sardār Khān Khwāja Yādgar, brother of Abdulla Khān Fīrozjung and wrote Mākhāna in the name of Sardār Khān and Sāqīnāma too, in which he used his pen-name as 'Abī'. He wrote the introduction of Navādir'ul Hikāyat. He was alive in the year 1041 A.H./1631 A.D.

Shāhjanān also tried to emulate the example of his predecessors in respect of the literary activities obtaining in his time. He patronized the following poets and writers and awarded them suitable rewards and honours.

1. Abū Tālib Kalīm deserves to be placed in the first grade of poets of Shāhjanān's reign. Kalīm speaks highly of India and composed the following lines in its praise.

توان بهشت دوم گفتش باین معنی
که هر که رفت ازین بوستان پشیمان شد.

As regards Kalīm's date of birth, nothing can be said and as regards his birth place, there are different opinions. E.G. Browne says that Kalīm was born in Hamadān and lived in Kāshān till he came to India. The undermentioned line gives an idea that he neither belonged to Hamadān nor Kāshān.

من ز سواد سخنم چون کلیم ÷ نه حمدانی و نه کاشانیم

Kalīm visited India twice. First of all, he came to India in 1027 A.H./1617 A.D. and returned in 1028/1618 A.D. The following verses give the chronogram of his journey from India to Irāq.

طالب ز هوای پرستی هند
تاریخ توجه عراقش
برگشت سوی مطالب آمد
(توفیق رفیق طالب) آمد
۱۰۲۸

Next time, he again reached India in 1030 A.H./1620 A.D. and was awarded the title of poet laureate to Shāhjanān.

1. Kalīm Oshani No. 499. p. 287

2. Ibid; p. 78.

He died in 1061 A.H./1650 A.D. at Kashmīr. The collection of his poems consists of the following:

(1) Qasāid (2) Maqtāt (3) Ghazals (4) Sāqī Nāma (Tarjī Band, Tarīkh Band) (5) Mathnawī (6) Rubāiyāt.

2. Qudsī Mashhadī: His real name was Muhammad Jān and Qudsī was his pen-name. He arrived in India and attached himself to the court of Shāhjahān. He made Qudsī Malikush Shuārā. Kalīm composed Tarkīb Band in his praise and also wrote a chronogram over his death which is as follows.

گل ز شبنم چه تن اشک نصیب مندر و گفت ÷ دور از آن بلبل قوس میچم زندان مندر
1056

Hence, according to Kalīm's chronogram, Qudsī died in the year 1056 A.H./1646 A.D.

3. Mīrzā Muhammad Qulī Salīm: was a native of Tehrān.² He passed his early life in the company of Mīrzā 'Abdulla Wazīr Lāhinjān and, then, he came to India in the time of Shāhjahān. Salīm developed his friendship with 'Abdus Salām Mashhadī who was honoured by the title of Khān. Later on, the Khān became Wazīr-e-Kūl and then was entitled with the title of Islām Khān.⁴ He composed a Mathnawī in praise of Islām Khān. Salīm died in Kashmīr in 1057 A.H./1647 A.D.

The following lines belonged to his Qasīda.⁶

مکن بجلقه آن زلف تابهار انگشت که میچ کس نکند در دیران مار انگشت
گره گشای کار مرا هنوز کم است بسان شان اگر باشدم هزار انگشت

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1. Kalīm; Ghazal No. 499; p. 332.
 2. Afkār; p. 322.
 3. Ibid; p. 333.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Ibid.

4. Masīh: Better known as Hakīm Ruknā Kāshī. His proper name was Ruknuddīn Masūd and Masīh was his pen-name. His father's name was Hakīm Nizāmuddīn. Masīh composed a Mathnawī in his father's praise in which he described his peculiarities and attributes e.g.

که او پیر خرد را به ز فرزند	منم فرزندان پیر خرد مند
ز فکر او دماغ عقل سوزان	چرخ حکمت از طبعش فوزان
کمالش پادشاه شکر حرم	نظام حکمت و دین راز و نظم
دلش بر یاد حق عودی بر آتش	همیش با محبت در کشاکش
نهان در طینتش کار مسیحا	عیان از فیض آثار مسیحا
که او را چون مسیح من پیر نیست	مسیح چرخ با من / لبیر نیست

Masīh was born in Kāshān and migrated to India. He reached the court of Akbar through the efforts of Mirzā Jafar Āsif Khān. But, after a short while, he proceeded to Allahabad and came into contact with the prince, Sultān Salīm. Masīh arrived in ⁱⁿ Ajmer in 1023 A.H./1614 A.D. and became attendant to Mahābat Khān. When Emperor Shāhjahān came to the throne, Masīh presented a chronogram on his succession before His Majesty and received a reward of rupees twenty thousand (20,000). The chronogram is as follows:

خرم و شاد کاران باشند	پادشاه زمانه شاه جهان
در جهان باد تا جهان باشند	بهر سال جلوس او گفتم

In the year 1041 A.H./1631 A.D. he got a cash reward of rupees five thousand (5000) ³ from the emperor to perform his pilgrimage to ~~perform to Mashhad from the Emperor~~ ⁴ He died there in 1066 A.H./

1. Maikhāna; p. 494.

2. Ibid. p. 502.

3. Bāliḥ; vol. I; p. 504.

4. Afkār; p. 642.

/1655 or 56 A.D.

5. Mullā Munīr: He was properly named Abū Barakāt and poetically named 'Munīr'. He was born in 12th of Ramiān 'ul Mubārak, the 1019 A.H.¹/1610 A.D. at Lāhore. He was the son of Mullā 'Abdul Majīd ¹ ملا عبد المجید of Multān. Muhammad Sālih Kamboh mentioned his father's name as 'Abdul Jalīl Ibn Hāfiz Abū Ishāq. Munīr flourished in the days of Shāhjahān. He was the companion of Muhammad Sālih, a well known historian. According to Gopāswī Hindī, Munīr died in 1054 A.H.²/1644 A.D. but, on the other hand, it is mentioned in 'Nuqūsh' that he died at the age of thirty six in 1055 A.H.³/1645 A.D. approximately. The importance of Munīr lies in poetry and as well as in his prose. Especially, he had a command on letter writing. A collection of his letters is known as Inshā-i-Munīr; published in the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow in the year 1879 A.D. It begins with the following lines:

» بعد از حمد این دو جل و علا و پس از درود سید المرسلین مصطفی اصلی الیه علیه وسلم و علی آله و
اصحابه اجمعین بر دراز شناسان سخن نهفته مباد ---- الخ «

In respect of poetry, Munīr, too, surpassed his contemporaries of Indian origin. Some of the specimens of his

verses are quoted below:

رنگی کرده آن گل در شکر گلشن خانه ما را ÷ که می بپر سوز از بلبل ره کا شتاز ما را
ای ز رنگین چهره ات گل در کنار آئینه را ÷ موسم حسنت بود فصل بهار آئینه را

1. Nuqūsh p. 871.

2. Afkār p. 638.

3. Nuqūsh p. 871.

Munir also composed the following verse at the time of 'Alangir's accession like other poets.

سکھ ز دور جهان جوید زمینگر شاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر

6. Shaidā was born and brought up in Fatehpūr Sikrī and migrated to Delhi. He belonged to the clan of Taklu. His father came to India from Mashhad. He was patronized by 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, Shāhjahān and Islam Khān. Shaidā entered the service of Shāhjahān through the good office's of Khān-i-Khānān. He was endowed with a pungent wit, ability, intelligence and originality. Jahāngīr also writes about Shaidā in his Tuzk-e-Jahāngīrī in connection with other poets. According to Banarsi Prasad Saxena, he wrote a Mathnawī amzā named Daulat-i-Bidar on the model of Makhzan-i-Ganjūr. Shaidā went to Kashmīr in his later life and died there in 1080 A.H./ 1669 A.D. He had a Dīwān also.

7. Maulānā Nisbatī Thanewarī: His name ^{was} of Maulānā Shāh Mubammad ² Salih and surnamed Nisbatī. His real native land was Rāst ³ (راسط). He came to India with his father and settled, permanently, in Thanewar. Although, he is reckoned among the Indo-Persian poets but, he called himself, ⁴ (واسطی) Wāstī in the following verses.

دور از دریا بر آمد لعل از کان ز واسط نسبتی طالب ز آمل
اگر چه نسبتی از واسط من دل من طالب آمل فتاد است .

1. Afkar p. 384.
2. Makhtūtāt p. 512.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Kisbatī's name has been referred to by Chandra Shāh Brahman as a saint of Thansewar. The editor of *Makhtūtāt-e-Fārsiā* has mentioned the year of his death between 1062 A.H./1651 A.D to 1070 A.H./1659 A.D. On the other hand, Gopāswī Hindī writes that he died in 1100² A.H./1689 A.D.

8. Mirzā Muhammad Tāhir, pen name *Āshnā*, was the son of Zafar Khān, better known as *Ahsan* (احسن). The author of *Mataej'ul Afkār* writes that he was among the Mansabdārs of five hundred. He wrote the daily occurrences of thirty years of Shāhjahān's reign. After the accession of *Ālangīr*, Mirzā Tāhir left for Kashmīr and died there in 1081 A.H./1670 A.D.³

9. Mullā Shāh was the native of Badakhshān and reached Lāhore via Kābul with a merchant. Mīān Mīr was his spiritual guide and Mullā became his disciple. He passed his summer in Kashmīr⁴ and winter in Lāhore.⁵

Shāhjahān, Dārā Shikōh and other nobles of the court had faith in him. According to Beale, Shāhjahān used to say that there were only two Shāhs in Hindūstān. The first one was Mullā Shāh and the second Shāhjahān, that is, himself. After the assassination of Dārā Shikōh and Shāhjahān's imprisonment, *Ālangīr* (*Aurangzīb*) called him by force from Kashmīr.⁶ At last he reached Lāhore and presented the following verses at the time of *Aurangzīb*'s succession to the throne.

حق ظاهر شد و غبار باطل را رفت
ظل الحق گفت الحق این را حق گفت

صبح دل من چون گل خورشید شکفت
تا اینجا جلوس شاه اردنگ را

1. *Makhtūtāt*; p. 512.

2. *Afkār*; p. 721.

3. *Ibid*; p. 51.

4. *Khafi Khān*, p. 549.

5. *Ibid*.

6. *Muqūsh*; p. 873, 874.

When Ālangīr read these verses, Mullā Shāh was forbidden to attend the court and was ordered to live in Lāhore. According to Āmal-e-Sālih, he died in the year 1072 A.H./1661 A.D. Mullā Shāh composed his verses on the sūfistic pattern. The undermentioned verses belong to his compositions:

از هر طرف دام ربودی آخر	۱- از شش بهتم رومی نمودی آخر
بر تحقیق آمدم تو بودی آخر	بیرون و درون جلوه گری می دیدم
دزد گری آنگهی گلو با مردان	۲- ای دوست مگر زور و بابی و مردان
غفلت نام شریعت نامردان	آنگاه حق شریعت مراد است
حال است که دست دفع اراضی و عقل	۳- مشکل که شود ز عقل یک مشکل حل
روشن نشود چنان ز نور مشعل	در حال محال حق شناسی از عقل

10. Sāib Tabrīzī: The name of Sāib was Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī Bin Mirzā 'Abdul Raḥīm Sāib Tabrīzī, better known as "Sāibā". After learning the art of composition of poems from Hakīm Ruknā-i-Kāghī and Hakīm Shifāī, Sāib reached Kābul via Herāt and attached himself with Zafar Khān, the then ruler appointed by Shāhjahān. He could not live permanently in India. At last he returned to his native place and sought favour of Shāh 'Abbas Thānqī who awarded him the title of post-laureate. He composed the verses under the headings, which are as follows:

(۱) اندرز (۲) بی نیازی (۳) جزا (۴) شمع آینه (۵) بیرون از جهان (۶) استغناء (۷) پیروی
(۸) نغمه عشق (۹) عشق مجازی (۱۰) اندیشه کن (۱۱) کعبه عدل (۱۲) و مفردات -

All the writers are unanimously of the view that Saib¹ died in 1081 A.H./1670 A.D. But the author of *Natāij'ul Afkār* differs on this point and writes that he died in 1080 A.H./² 1669 A.D.

11. *Maulānā Nasīm* or *Nasīmī*: *Amin Ahmad Rāzī*, the author of *Haft Iqlīm* and *Munir*, both of them are silent on the accounts of his life. *Munir* writes in one of his letters about *Nasīmī*³ as follows:

» ذکر بعضی اعزّه بزبان قلم می آرم و ازین نام شان سخن را بلند آوازه می سازم
 نخست مولانا نسیمی که آب حیات از گفتارش فرو چکیده گلهای معنی از کلکش برداشته
 بهار سخنودی را نسیم صباست و چشم آشنای را نگاه آشنای تیغ گذاری را برافراشته
 و بجان سپاری بره برداشته آینه طبیعتش خیال انگیز است و چهره سخنش رنگ آمیز مری
 بر نبض شناسی قلم گدازیده و روزگاری در زاجدانی سخن بسر برده با تیغ دمساز
 ست و با قلم همراه --- الخ «

⁴
Amin Ahmad Rāzī only describes as follows:

» مولانا درویش نسیم: اگر چه در سلک موالی شوریده مداح انتظام داشته اما نسیم شهرتش بهیچ
 جا رسیده و شمال سخنش چون باد صبا راحت بخش خاطرها گردیده این رباعی بین الجمهور است.
 رباعی: با آن گل تازه رو در قیام لیم بنی گویند که اختلاط کم کن نسیم
 ایشان سخن از برای خود میگویند بنی گل را بنسیم اختلاطیست قدیم

1. *Sukhan*; Vol. II; p. 209.
 2. *Afkār*; p. 410.
 3. *Inshā*; letter No. 35.
 4. *Iqlīm*; Vol. III; *Iqlīm VI*; p. 122.

12. Maulānā Haidarī: According to Amin Ahmad Rāsi, he arrived in India at his young age and got favours and sympathy from Muhammad Qasim Mīshāpurī. Haidarī wrote a Rubāī relating to India which is as follows:

رباعی: در کشور هند شادی و غم معلوم ÷ آنجا دل شاد و جان حرم معلوم
جای که بیک روی آدم بخرند ÷ آدم معلوم و قدر آدم معلوم

He also composed a Qasīda in praise of Āzam Khān and got a reward of rupees One thousand (1000). He secured access with the Emperor through the efforts of Mir Muhammad Khān and presented a Qasīda which is as follows:

قطعه: در سبوح پادشاه سخن سنج ملک هند ÷ گفتم قصیده که بینه بد هرگز دیر
زین سان قصیده که بگلا نوستش ÷ آب حیات بر ورق از خامی بگیرد

As soon as he heard the said Qasīda, the Emperor awarded him two thousand (2000) of rupees together with robes and horses.

13. Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī. He was born at The birth place and the residence of Abdul Hamīd was Lāhor. He received his education under the stewardship of Allāmi Abul Fadl. He began to live in "Tath" on account of unfavourable circumstances, but, when the news of his intellect and talent reached the Emperor Shāh-jahān, he was called by His Majesty and the work of writing history of his period after the style of Akbar Nāma was entrusted to him. Before Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, the work of 'Pādshāh Nāma', was assigned to Mirzā Muhammad Amin Bin Abul Hasan Gaswīnī. He wrote the events of the first ten years which

consisted of the date of birth of Shāhjahān and the pedigree of Jahāngīr to Amīr Timūr and also referred to prominent personalities. The Rādashāh ^{ma} of Abdul Hamīd Lāherī was written in three volumes. The first volume contained events from 1037 A.H./1627 A.D. to 1047 A.H./1637 A.D.; the second one from 1047 A.H./1637 A.D. to 1057 A.H./1647 A.D. and the third volume consisted of occurrences during 1057 A.H./1647 A.D. to 1067 A.H./1656 A.D. The Emperor gave him an Elephant on 4th of Dī'ul Haj 1054 A.H./1645 A.D. and was weighed in gold to the ^{time} of rupees three thousand (3000). Abdul Hamīd died on August 30th, 1654 A.D.

14. Muhammad Sālih Kamboh: He belonged to the pedigree of Sheikh Ināyāt 'ulla of Lāhore and was brought up in his guardianship. He entered the royal service under advice from Sheikh Ināyāt-'ulla. He discharged the duties of Sūbedār in Lāhore. He has completed a detailed history of Shāhjahān's reign in 1659 A.D. which was named 'Amal-i-Sālih'. He also wrote a Bahār-e-Sukhan. It comprises four parts, Sālih died in 1057 A.H./1665 A.D. or 1085 A.H./1674 A.D.

15. Amīnāi Qazwīnī: was the first official historian of Shāhjahān's period. According to his own assertion, he entered the imperial service in the fifth year of his reign, when the terrible famine occurred in 1630 A.D. He was under the training of Afdal Khān when the Emperor visited Kashmīr in 1633 or 1634 A.D. Shāhjahān was much impressed by Amīnāi Qazwīnī and the former appointed him as his court historian.

Pādshāhnāma of Qaswīnī had a peculiar type of style of pure Persian. Its language is very simple and graceful.

16. Jalāl-uddīn Tabātabāī: He also wrote another Pādshāhnāma of the same type as that of Qaswīnī, in which he described the account of the early years viz; 5th to 8th years of Shāhjahān's rule. It was completed in 1640 A.D. Its style is native Persian and the language is highly ornate and picturesque.

17. Muhammad Wārith recorded the events of the third cycle of Shāhjahān's time in the Pādshāh Nāma^{wa} which was entrusted to him after the retirement of Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī due to his old age. The description of the buildings of Shāhjahānābād is very graphic.

18. Muhammad Sādiq: The first and the most important work of Sādiq was Shāhjahān Nāma. He wrote the name of four^s uncles, three of them held responsible posts in the government service. Muhammad Yār was merely an Ahādī or gentleman trooper, Bāqī Khān was the governor of Akbarābād, while Amīr Khān was Mīr Tusuk. His fourth uncle was the Mīr Sāmān of Mumtāz Mahāl. He was not a court historian.

Besides the ^{above} mentioned names of poets and writers among the contemporaries of Chandra Bhān Brahma, we may add the following names ⁱⁿ the list of his contemporaries.

Girdhardas Kayath (Kayasth) translated the Ramayan in an ¹ abridged form in the Persian Language in A.H. 1033/A.D. 1623²

1. I.O.L. Vol. II; No. 1965; p. 1097.

2. Ibid.

or 1624/ Samvat 1681 and dedicated his poems to the Emperor Jahangir. It begins with the following lines:

شای شکر آن بختنزه جان را
 پرید آرنده کون و مکان را

another one is Dharam Narayan Ibn Kalyansal Kayath¹ who wrote *Be-lig al-funūn*² in A.H. 1074/1663 A.D. Brahman, himself, makes a passing reference to the following poets and writers, such as Madan Das, pen-name Rindī, Har Lochan, Govind Das son of Jai Das Amānat Khārī, Dayal Das Brahman, Amadidas Kayath, Sūrāt Singh³ brother of Sadanasi Kamboh, read a Qasīda in the presence of Afzal Khan before a large gathering which begins as follows:

مدارگر نهند بر ستون خانہ او ÷ جگونہ خیمہ زندہ چرخ بیدار بلند

Ramchand⁴ also composed verses e.g.

بر آن / م که دگر عزت اختیار کنم
 جو نقش خانہ بیک گوشہ قرار کنم
 تمام کام و از حسن هزار کار آید
 کسی که کار نفاہدم چه کار کنم

Khwāja Bindraban Munshī, also came from Candhār to participate in the function, which was organised in Akbarābād, the then capital. He adopted his pen-name as Hind and wrote a history on the poverty^t of Bundelas. Brahman further quotes the names of Khwāja Kalyan Das Munshī, Rāi Udai Chand Kakar, composed a Qasīda; Rāi Bihari Das, Faujdar Sarailly, Mullā Dānā,

~~Khwāja Saibek Das pen-name Khākī, Hal Krishan Sehgal, Mullā~~

1. I.C.N.; Vol. II; No. 2259; p. 1233.

2. *Ibid.*

3. C.C.N.; Fol. No. 93a.

4. *Ibid.*

5. O.C.N.; Fol. No. 92, 92a.

Abdul Latīf; Mullā Jalālī, Mīr Burhān, Mullā Āqilī (ملاعقلی)
of Amīrābād, Mullā Muḥammad Amīn Kashmīrī, Sheikh Murād;
Mullā Azwar Qāsim Khānī, Abu Sa'īd Hāfizābādī, Mullā Abdur
Rahīm Munshī, Mullā Jān Muḥammad Siakotī, Mullā Khauzī had
his Dīwān with him, Mullā Muḥammad Amīn, Mullā Yahyā, Hira
Nand, Mullā Fardī, the teacher of Mullā Nisbatī; Khwāja
Khīrad (> ۲۱۹); Mullā Ashghalī, Mullā Shamsuddīn Kātib;
Mīr Illāhī, Mīr Bakshī, Nand Rāi Munshī etc.

1. C.C.J.; Fol.No. 28a.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion:

After making a detailed study of Brahman's works and of the various sources of different writers, we are emboldened to give a resume of Brahman's life and works in the following pages.

Rāi Munshī Chandra Bhān Brahman was born in Lāhore in the year 1574 A.D./982 A.H./1620B. He was the son of Dharam Das who was employed as a Munshī in the court. He had two younger brothers, named, Rāi Bhān and Udai Bhān. He had a son Tej Bhān as well as a daughter who was married to Bhagwant Rāi Qalandar. Rāi Bhān entertained the desire of freedom in his mind in his early youth but could not live long and died at the age of thirty. Brahman's father also expired in his max life time and only Udai Bhān survived him. Udai Bhān received his education under the stewardship of Āqil Khān and also served under him. After the death of Āqil Khān, Udai Bhān also followed in the foot-steps of his ancestors. About Brahman's mother, however no account is traceable. We may simply presume that she also left this world in Brahman's life time. The name of his daughter is also not traceable. Mullā Āshiqī was the tutor of Tej Bhān but Brahman enquired from his brother, Udai Bhān, whether Mullā Jān Muḥammad would be a competent tutor to teach him. He also advised his son to behave towards his brother, Udai Bhān like a gentleman.

Brahman was brought up by Ināyat Khān, the then Subedār of Lāhore. He completed his education under the stewardship of Mullā Ābdul Karīm. He learned Khat-e-Ta'aliq from Banarsi Das, son of Pratap Narain Kayasth, who was the treasury Officer and also practised Khat-e-Shikaste under the guidance of Jatal Sudreh and Khat-e-Ta'aliq was also corrected by Mullā Ātā Ullah. Mullā Shāh Badakhshānī was his tutor in mysticism. Chandra Bhan used to write the word 'Brahman', in two senses, as his surname as well as his pen-name. He composed his verses under the Nom de plume of Brahman. He secured the favour and sympathy of Ināyat Khān, Mīr Ābdul Karīm, Afdal Khān, Shāhjahān, Dārā Shikūh and Aurangzīb. First of all, he served under Mīr Ābdul Karīm and then under Afdal Khān, who discharged his duties as a Diwān and Mīr-i-Sāmān when Shāhjahān was a prince; but when Shāhjahān became the ruler of Hindūstān, Afdal Khān was promoted to the Prime Ministership of India. After the demise of his beloved patron, Afdal Khān, Brahman was presented to the Emperor Shāhjahān by the deceased's nephew Āqil Khān and, thereafter, he was appointed as a chronicler in the court of Shāhjahān i.e. earlier, before 1645 A.D. Shāhjahān also used to call him as *مندی ناری دان* (Persian knowing Hindū) from the very beginning. After the demise of Afdal Khān, Brahman came to be associated with Sa'ādulla Khān who, later on, secured the post of Afdal Khān and became Prime Minister. He also used to send his verses for correction every day to Sa'ādulla Khān. Brahman was one of the attendants of Islām Khān upto

1645 A.D. and he addressed^s the Khān as true teacher. He also served under Jafar Khān, when Khān was the Chief Minister. Emperor Shāhjahān assigned the post of 'Khayānīn-e-Buland Makān to Brahman, when Islām Khān came to Lāhore from Bengal and was appointed as Dīwān-e-Kūl. After the death of Sa'adulla Khān, Brahman was promoted to the post of Chief Secretaryship with the title of Rāi on 9th April, 1656 A.D. and the work of drafting Farmāns was entrusted to him. Brahman also composed a Rubāī to felicitate Aūrangzīb on his accession to the throne of Delhi in 1658 A.D./1069 A.H. He requested Aūrangzīb to accept his resignation as he would be unable to look after the mausoleum on account of his old age. It is not clear however from the said request whether his resignation was granted or not. About the demise of Brahman, no authentic evidence is traceable. But we can only presume from the letter of Brahman which was addressed to Aūrangzīb about the Majlis-i-Maūlūd, held at the mausoleum on the night of the 17th Diqād in the sixth year of Aūrangzīb's accession to the throne which corresponds to 1075 A.H./1664 A.D. that Brahman was alive at least till the said date of the Christian Era.

Shandra Bhān Brahman secured fame and popularity in India as well as in foreign countries like Irān and Tūrān due to his wits and talents as a poet, as a calligraphist and a letter-writer, during the reign of Shāhjahān. Hence according to the internal evidence derived from the introduction of his

Munshāat we have come to know that he completed some of his works in his life-time e.g. Dīwān consisting of Ghazals and Rubā'īs, Mathnawīs, and the valuable prose works from the point of view of literature as Munshāat, itself, Guldaste, Chahār Chaman Tuhfat 'ul Amwār Kārnāma, Majmū'ī Fuḷā, Tuhfatul Fusahā Majmū'īl Faqur. Some of his other works may also be added to the aforesaid list of his works, like, Tuhfat 'ul Widad, Tawārikh-i-Rājāhāi-i-Delhi-i-Hindūstān (Juz-i-Awwal), Gaushtī Bābā Lal Dayāl or Makhza-i-Mikāt or Nōdir'uh Mikāt as the sources of information collected from the catalogues of different libraries.

1. Munshāat-i-Brahman: It is a collection of letters and occasionally noted, the recently composed verses for correction or appreciation along with these letters. In the beginning of Munshāat, an introduction was introduced to throw ample light over the content of his work. These letters were addressed to the then Emperor, Shāhjahān, Aūrangzib, and other dignitaries of the royal court and also to some of his friends and poets of his days. The first four letters were addressed by Brahman to Shāhjahān from Udaipur, when he was despatched on a political mission, to inform His Majesty about the discourse held between Brahman and Rana of Udaipur to bring about reconciliation between His Majesty and Rana. He has also given an account of all the events from the beginning to the end and, has, also described the climate, the people, the fruits and vegetables grown in that region. He, further, pointedly has

made a reference of ^{to} an old saint of seventy years of age who ~~passed~~ his life in seclusion far from the madding crowd, but his peace of mind had been perturbed by the strife which took place between the Rana and the Emperor, Shāhjahān. Brahman has written next three letters to Aūrangzib. One of ~~the~~ them was addressed to him at the time of his accession to the throne with a Rubāī to felicitate him and in another letter, Brahman requested him to accept his resignation because he was unable to discharge his duties to look after the mausoleum on account of his old age. The third one was a descriptive one in which he described the events of the festival of Majlis i-Maulūd, held in the mausoleum on the night of the 17th, Diqād, the sixth year from the accession of Aūrangzib to his ~~throne~~. The other letters were addressed by Brahman to Asif Khān, Afdal Khān, Islām Khān, Sa‘ādulla Khān, Mukhlis Khān, Zafar Khān, Hājī Muhammad Jān Qaisī, Mullā Mānir, Dāniṣhmand Khān, Shāyasta Khān, Mirsā Diā‘ulla, Sayyad Jalāl, Bahādur Khān, Mīr ‘Abdul Karīm, Sheikh Qutub, Ikrām Khān, Irādat Khān, Dāud Khān, Rāi Bindra Ban, Badi‘-uzzamān, ‘Abdul‘ Nabī, Ikhlas Khān, Jāfar Khān, Multafat Khān, Muhammad ‘Abid, ‘Abdul Latīf, Rāja Raghunath, Rāja Todar Mal, Shāhjahānī, Khwāja Lāl Chand, Rāi Makrand, Asad Khān, Amin Khān, Rāi Dalpat, Nand Rāi, Rāi Bhagwant Das or Bhagwati Das, Rāizāda Subhan Chand, Aqā Rashīd ‘Askar Khān, Fidāi Khān, Mu‘azzam Khān, Najābat Khān, Rasik Das Sa‘ādulla Khānī, Rāid Andaz Khān, Muhammad Mīrak or Mubarak, Deep Chand Rustam Khānī, Khwāja Fateh Chand, Rāizāda Siam Das, Munshī Udai Rāj, Rāizāda Gopal Das, Muquīmā Kāshānī,

Qabil Khān, Sheikh Mūsa, Makramat Khān Thānī, Muḥābat Khān, Mūsawī Khān, Wazīr Khān, Māndār Khān, Rehmat Khān, Mīr Hātif Kāshānī. He also wrote some of the letters to his relatives like his father, brother Rai Bhan and Udai Bhan and son Tej Bhan. Some of the names of the needy persons were also recommended by Brahman in his letters like Indra Bhan, Mand Lal, Kharang Sen, Sel Singh, Khwāja Kunj Behari Das, son of Subhan Chand, Khwāja Kishwar Das, Shankar Das who was one of the relatives of Rāi Nīke Rāi, Sūrāt Singh, Pran Nath, Shākir Mal, Dayal Das, Gowardhan Das, Udai Raj, Tulsī Ram Sahu, Muḥammad Hashim, Har Nath, Khwāja Annand Rup, Man Singh, Bhopal Rāi Munshī, Lalā Chand.

2. Chahār Chaman: It is among the most important prose works of Brahman. It contains four chaman i.e. four flower gardens. It is a valuable work from the point of view of history though it does not deal systematically with the history of the period. The first two sections of the Chaman are descriptive. In the first Chaman, Brahman describes the life of Shāhjahān and various events and the celebration of festivals in the royal court of Shāhjahān which were seen by him with his own eyes and also the festivals of the weighing of the Emperor. Some account of the achievements of various ministers and dignitaries of Shāhjahān and also the chief qualities of a minister, a secretary as well as a king pronounced by them when they came to power. He also describes the doubtful points raised by him and other persons before Sa'ādulla Khān and their answers

were given by the Khān during his Prime Ministership in the form of questions and answers and Brahman also recorded the events of conquests which had taken place in the time of Shāh-jahān.

The second Chaman consisted of the description of the new capital, Shāhjahānābād, and the various cities and provinces of the Mughal Empire, like the provinces of Shāhjahānābād itself, Akbarābād, Delhi, Lāhore, Kashmīr, Kābul, Multān, Tath, Ajmer, Gujrat, Ahmedābād and the provinces of Deccan e.g., the province of Berār, Khāndesh, Daulatābād, Telangānā, Begālānā, Mālwa, Avadh, Allahabad, Sihār, Bengal, Balkh and Bada-khshān and Orissa. He has also recorded the names of famous forts like Daulatābād, Asīr, Cawaliar, Chitter, Kālanjar, Chunay, Rohtas and Junagarh and the names of the ports too, noted in his Chaman like the ports of Sūrat, Lāhorī Bandar and Hugli.

The third Chaman deals with the early life of Brahman and the letters addressed by him to them^{then} Emperor, Shāhjahān, who was famous as Sāhib Qirān-i-Thānī, Afdal Khān, Asif Khān, Muāzzam Khān, Islām Khān, Jāfar Khān, Sa'ādulla Khān and Munir Lāhorī, Āqil Khān, Musaffar Khān, Mīrak Bakshī, Hāj Muhammad Jān Qudsī, Deep Chand, Khawāja Subhan Chand, Khawāja Lal Chand, Khawāja Fatch Chand, Khawāja Sindraban, Rāisāda Siam Das, father, brother etc.

The fourth Chaman comprises the letters, which were written to his son, Tej Shan. He expounded the moral and religious teachings in these letters and advised his son to act upon them accordingly.

3. **Guldaste** : It is really a supplement to the **Ushāh Chaman-e-Brahman**. Hence, it is an important and significant work of Brahman. It throws ample light upon the daily routine of **Shāh Jahān's** life and gives a vivid picture of his pomp and glory and a glimpse of **Shāhjahān's** majestic life and the tenor of his feudal system of life. It also gives an idea of ^{power} and command of expression of Brahman in describing the events and various phases of the royal life.

4. **Goshtī Bābā Lāl Dayāl or Makhsan-i-Nikāt or Nādir'un Nikāt**: This is a Persian translation of a discourse, held between **Dārā Shikūh** and **Bābā Lāl Dayāl**. The questions raised by **Dārā Shikūh** and their answers were given by the **Hindū Saint, Bābā Lāl Dayāl**. It was originally written in **Hindī** and later on, it was translated into Persian by Brahman. It is an admixture of **Hindū** and **Muslim Philosophy** based on **Hindū** beliefs and rituals.

5. **Tuhfat'ul Widād**: The work throws ample light on views of the author on mysticism.

6. **Tawārīkh-i-Rajahai-Delhi-i-Hindūstān**: Brahman gives in it historical notes on Kings and ^{the} Emperor who ruled Delhi. He benefited from the material which was collected from the **Hindī** books as well as Persian, like the **Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī** of **Bakshī Nizām'ud-Dīn** who died in 1594 A.D.

7. **Nāzuk-Khayālāt**: It is a translation in Persian of **Atma-Vilasa**, a Vedantic work in **Hindī**, which is ascribed ^{to} **Shankara Acharya** and was translated by Brahman in Persian under the title of **Nāzuk-Khayālāt**. But, no authentic evidence is available to support its credibility.

8. Dīwān: The popularity of Brahman does not rest, only, on his prose works. His fame also lies in his Dīwān which is a collection of lyrical poems (Ghazals) and (Rubā'is) quatrains and also Mathnawīs. Brahman's fame, as a poet, reached Irān and Tūrān and every nook and corner of India during his very life time. His Ghazals mostly consist of five couplets but some of them have more than five couplets which are composed by him to praise and felicitate Shāhjahān and they may be termed as Qasīdas. The most fascinating and striking feature of his Ghazal lies in its simplicity of words. He writes the language of the common mān. He does not prefer to use staggering hyperbole or resounding similes. The subtle thoughts are expressed in very simple and graceful style. Unlike other poets, he does not express the mystical and pantheistic ideas in a verbose and complicated way. His elegant and natural expression are the hall-mark of his lyrics. His lyrical poems attract the reader's mind to ponder, and the reader never feels exertion.

9. Mathnawīs: Brahman also composed didactic Mathnawīs like Prayer, Praise of pen; A heart susharged with divine love; Transitory nature of the world; Moon light and effulgence of Dawn; Warning against Lust, etc. They are full of vigour and ardour. Brahman frees himself from all sorts of artificiality and obscurity. He makes his verses an instrument for expressing his ideas with sincerity, clarity and flow. After a study of Brahman's Dīwān and Mathnawī, we hold that he was very much influenced by the sufistic ideas and its spiritual

and moral aspects and one can easily understand from his poetry what the idea of the detachment from the material world really signifies.

He has been acclaimed as a poet of Urdu also, which is hardly credible.

In fact it is difficult to enter into a comparison between Brahman and other writers due to dissimilarity of personal and external circumstances between them and also on account of certain individualistic considerations and factors that considerably weigh in the critical estimate and assessment of a particular poet's literary achievement. However, a comparative study of Brahman's poetical renderings with those of other Hindi^u versifiers, would at once reveal that the former's poems in general stand much superior in quality and worth, as comparedⁿ to those composed by others, both in the matter of content and thought, as well as in point of form and diction. Brahman exhibits originality and poetical sensibility far above the average. Those qualities are lacking in the verses of his counterparts. Firstly, we find that Brahman's literary out-put is much greater as compared to that of others. The bulk or the larger part of his hitherto known works has come down to us, while in the case of others, only selected or fragmentary portions have been preserved and those do not present a very encouraging or appealing image. Mirza (or Muhammad) Manohar, poetically surnamed Tausani (توسنی) is, no doubt, a talented poet of Akbar's time, but his ideas

and poetical form are not as mature and impressive as those of Brahman. For instance, he employs in the couplet, ^{cited} below, the epithet (phrase or word's combination).... شربت آشنا (addressing or calling the beloved as one who drinks or enjoys beverage) which is quite apparently, queer and odd. He writes with a slight touch of obscurity.

شربت آشنا میا در بزم مادر دی کشان
کز در کف کباب و خون دل در ساغر است

O! thou who sippest Sherbet! do not visit the assembly of us who drink the leaves;

For our livers supply us with roast-meat, and the wine cup is filled with our heart's blood.

His ideas are originally dull and are devoid of any Charm; while Brahman's verses possess freshness of expression and beauty and sublimity of ideas. However, even perusing ^u Tāusanī's fragmentary specimens of poetry available in certain anthologies, we do not discover any notable novelty of ideas or uniqueness of expression. Another poet with whom we may compare our poet is one Amrānī Das Kayasth, poetically named 'Aql-i-Kūl (*فکر*). Although from the following verses of a Qasida, ^h he appears to be quite pedantic and forceful in the expression of his feelings or ideas of praise for his patron, for whom he writes; he basically lacks that inner charm which is the essence of poetry. Much of his poetical composition has not come down to us; we have to content ourselves with the citation of the following verses only, which quite obviously reveal ^s that ~~the~~ ^{the} veryifier as a philosopher rather than a poet.

جمال حسن تو بگرفت عرصه آفاق جو صیت عدل شهنشاه مالک گهباں
 The grace of thy beauty, my beloved, has captured the
 entire span of this universe;
 Like the fame of the justice of the Emperor who is the
 master of the world.

یگانہ گوهر عقد جواهر خمسہ خلاصہ سمہ موالید مغز چادر ارکان

The unique and the matchless pearl in the string of the five
 essences;
 And the substance of the three Kingdoms of nature and the
 marrow (Kernel) of the four elements.

فروغ شش جہت و شمع نیرم ہفت اقلیم دردانہ فلک و انتخاب ہر دو جہاں

The glow of the six dimensions (sides) and the candle of
 the assembly of the seven olines;
 And the choice of the two worlds.

ز چاروشان فلک پایہ اش یکی مغفور ز حاجبان در دولتش یکی خاتان

From amongst his exalted (as high as the skies) attendants
 Faghfar (the title of the old Chinese kings) is one, and
 from amongst the chamberlains of the threshold of his
 exalted court, Khāqān is one.

بدرس گاہ کمال تو عقل کل تلمیز ولی صبی نو آموز و طفل ابلہ خوان

At the school of thy accomplishments (perfections) even
 'Aql-kūl' is in the position of a pupil (student);
 Like a child who has started learning and a boy who reads
 the letters.

In order to bring out the difference between Brahman
 and other contemporary poets, we may simultaneously quote here
 some representative and selected verses to make our point
 of view clear and vivid. Manohar Tausani writes:

شیخ مستغنی بدین و بہرین مغز و کفر مست حسن دوست را با کفر و ایمان کار نیست

The Sheikh is obvious of his religion, the Brahman aware of
 his idolatry;
 He who is intoxicated with the beauty of the Friend has
 nothing to do with idolatry or fidelity.

نگردانست حرف از جان و دل گفتن بعشق دل چو خون سخت بسته جان چو باد مر است -

it is shameful for men to ~~make~~ make mention of soul or heart
in case of love;
But our hearts are like congealed blood and our souls are
like the bitter blast.

توسنی برده سمنه شوق در میدان عشق ی رسی این بمقصد رهبرت چون اکبر است

Tāūsānī gives reins to the steed of desire in the field of
love;
Thou shalt safely attain thy desire with akber or ^{mo} thy guide.

غرض ز خلقت سایه همین بود که کسی بنور حضرت خورشید پایخ خود نهد -

The purpose of the creation of shadow is nothing but this,
that no one should put his foot on the (area of) light of
exalted sun.

Brahman whose canvas of ideas is very wide and who
possesses variety of them^e:

ای برتر از تصور و دم و گمان ما وی در میان ما و برون از میان ما

Oh: one who is beyond our imagination, supposition and concept;
Oh: Thou are amongst us and still beyond us.

بگشاده چو در صحن چین بند قبا را بوی دگر از زود دم باد صبارا

When the beloved unfastened the band of her gown in the court-
yard of the garden, the sweet-smelling breeze acquired fresh
wave of fragrance.

نظر به شایده معنی بچشم دل دارم حجاب، عینک چشم است مرد بینا را

^{behold}
I should my beloved of Reality (the eternal being) with my
inner eyes;
The spectacle of (physical) eyes is an impediment for a man
of vision (mystic).

کونین راه خلوت دل ره نمی دهد آزاده ای که ترک تنها گرفته است -

A free-lancer, who has abandoned all desires, does not allow
the two worlds entry into the solitude of the heart.

چرخ هر جامه که بر تنه عزیزان میروخت گرد آن تازه طراز غم حرمان میروخت

Whenever the skies have sewn a garment to fit in for the
body of the dear ones,
~~Around has been sewn by them.~~ it a fresh embroidery work of
grief and privation has been sewn by them.

And the following contains the typical strain or view of lyricism:

در خم زلفش دل دیوانه دارد پیچ و تاب چون گشاید زلف بکشاید گره از کار ما -
 The heart of the intoxicated is intertwined in the curls of his locks of hair; With the untying of the locks, the knot of our affairs would be united, untied.

We, however, quote below a few more couplets composed by Brahman, which fully display his mastery over poetic expression as well as his flight of imagination and elegance of style.

راز دل چون سوسن آزاد نتوان کرد فاش همچو برگ لاله در دل داغ پنهانی بس است -

The secrets of the heart can not be divulged like the lily; A hidden scar in the heart is enough like the petals of the tulip.

ما ز اینجا دارم اگر گردان بر مصر بیکسی یوسف ماد در میان کاروانی بوده است -

We are wandering about like Zulikhā in the city of helplessness; While our Joseph is among the members of a caravan.

در طریق عشق بی کوشش بطلب میرسد هر که ترک مدعا را مدعا دانسته است -

Whoever considered the abandonment of objective as its realisation, would attain his aim with in path of love without an effort.

In the following couplets, Brahman strictly follows the in-imitable Hāfis of Shirās, but with a peculiar poetic beauty of his own:

نبای قهر جهان را ثبات ممکن نیست بجز اساس محبت که دیر بنیاد است

Durability cannot be visualised for the foundation of the place of the world; It is the basis of love alone which is strong in foundation.

Some verses of Brahman speak of and indicate such elegance, sublimity of content and terseness of thought and

diction that they fall in point of value much higher than the verses of other poets. Such lines are quoted here as proof of our statement.

طاثر اندیشتم را ابراج معنی راه نیست عالم مقصود از اندیشتم ما برتر است -

The flight of imagination does not find its way into the culmination of Reality;
The world of objective is beyond our imagination.

بارها بوی ریا آموز نقش بر ریا بر زمین مانند نقش بر ریا بایده نشست -

The texture of rush-mat produces the smell of hypocrisy on several occasions,
One should sit on the ground like the texture of the rush-mat.

بجفا را در محبت نخت این شرط است که هر چه در دولت افتاد بر زبان نرود -

The first condition for the protection of the secret of love is that whatever befalls a heart should not be translated through the tongue.

دعای اهل محبت ز مدعاست بدون دعا کنند ولی یا د مدعا کنند -

The blessings of the lovers are beyond objective;
They bless but they never recall the objective.

شکر در مشرب عشاق نختین قدم است خویشین را از مقام کلمه انداخته اند -

Gratefulness is the first step in the path of lovers;
They have flung themselves away from the pedestal of complaint.

ز تلخبهای شیرین آنچه بر فهادی آید اگر آهسته گویم سنگ در فزایدی آید -

What befell Farhad due to the vicissitudes of Shirin;
If I were to speak gently about it, the very stone is prone to wail.

حدیث عشق، همان به که تا بیان نرسد بدل همیشه بود ثبت و بر زبان نرسد

It is better if the discourse of love is not given over to expression;
It is always imprinted at heart, but does not reach the tongue.

به نیم جرعه شود امتحان هر پیر و نیک
چو کار با محک افتاد هر چه هست بر آید -

Only in half of the gulp or the draught one can test the good and bad qualities of a person (i.e. we can determine the qualities of a good or the attributes of the bad man through it) as when the matter is brought to touch-stone, the truth as it is, is revealed out.

دلم چو خواست بجمیعت آشنا گردد
صبحا حکایت زلف تو در میان آورد -

Whenever I desired to be acquainted with tranquillity (peace of mind)
The morning breeze brought forth the story of thy tresses.

Yet another poet who may be mentioned here just

casually for the sake of comparison with Brahman, is one Rāi Pran Nath, having the pen-name, Ārām. Some lines of a Ghazal of his are reproduced below to point out the degree of merit he possessed as a poet in contrast and comparison with Chandra Bhān Brahman, whose verses we have already studied above, for the sake of assessing his poetic calibre.

چه شد که منملم فرمانروای هفت اقلیم
حروف سکر ام امانه در بند ز زو سیم -

What difference does it make if I happen to be poor; in fact I am the commander of the seven climes.
Though I am like the letters engraved on the coins, but I am free from the bondage of gold and silver.

سپند شعله ام سوز دل پر دانه عشقم
که امین شمع محفل سوختن ما کرد تعلیم

I am destined like the rue to be cast over the fire (flame of fire) and I am the burning sensation of the heart of the moth of love;

I do not know which candle of the assembly of lovers has taught me (given lesson to me) to consume my-self in fire.
And the following verses of Ghazal:

بلبل از ناله گل از خون دل ایجاد کنیم
عالم ناز و نیاز دگر آباد کنیم -

Let us now create a bulbul (nightingale) out of our lamentation and the rose from the blood of our heart and also cultivate and recreate afresh a new world of supplication and variety i.e. love.

رفت مجنون و خرابات بیابان جنون
 برگرد بادِ دگر از خاکِ خود ایجاد کنیم
 The distracted lover i.e. Maḡnūn, has departed as well as the
 ruined desert of the insanity of his love (for Layla),
 Now the time has come that we should recreate a new whirl-
 wind out of our dust.

عمریست که از خواهش کونین گذشتیم
 بروج تمنا بنویسند ز ما هیچ
 A very long time has passed since we have denounced or deta-
 ched ourselves from the desires of the two worlds.
 On the tablet of aspiration, they would inscribe naught
 with relation to our-selves.

As we see, these are obscure and dull verses and do not possess any note-worthy grace or charm. In an anthology called the *Tadhkirah-i-Maqālāt'ush Shu'rah*, compiled by Mīr 'Alī Shīr Qānī, we come across the names and brief notices of certain Hindū poets, such a Chandra Bhān, poetically surnamed Rāhib, Daulat Rāi, and Dargāhī Mal also appear to be the predecessors as well as contemporaries of Chandra Bhān Brahman. Hardly, one or two stray verses are available in the afore-said biography; their poetical specimens have been quoted but they only seem to be minor composes. We may, more appropriat-ely designate them not as poets but mere poetasters, display- ing no originality or novelty of thought or form. I would, however, like to quote these couplets in support of my conten- tion.

Rāhib says thus:

در جن جلوه آن کرد خرام - قمریان را بکنند خواب حرام -

In the garden, the manifestation of the elegant gait of that
 cypress like beloved of ours;
 Makes sleep impossible, even for the ring dove or the turtle.

کرد هر چند که آزاد بود - راست دیده قدر او گشته غلام

The cypress, though it called free, became enslaved right at

the moment when it beheld the fine stature of the beloved.

Daulat Rāi writes the following verse:

محبّت را بجان ماست پیوندد اگر با در نزاری راست پیوندد -

Love has been very closely related with our soul;
If you disbelieve it, get attached to it right now.

And Dargahi Mal composes as follows:

درد سندان ازل را از هم ازل می رسد
سوی دل هر کس تو چه کرد مستغنی شود -

Those who are eternally afflicted, get ointment from the
sympathies of the heart;
And who-so ever turned towards his heart, became free from
affliction or care.

Even some poets of the period of Shāhjahān like Sūrat
Singh Shāhjahānī and Ram Chand of whom Brahman, himself, makes
mention in his Chahār Chaman, fall too short to be able to
stand at par with Chandra Bhān Brahman is ^{his} poetical elegance.
Brahman has quoted the following couplet in respect of Sūrat
Singh:

مداگر ننهند بر ستون خانه او چگونه خیمه زند جرخ بیدار بلند -

If they do not fix up the pivot on the pillar of his dwelling
place, ^{does}
How then the pivotless sky put up its tent so high.

In the case of Ram Chand, he gives the following two
lines as specimen.

بر آن سرم که دگر عزت اختیار کنم چون نقش خانه بیک گوشه قرار کنم

I have firmly resolved that I should retire to the ^Ccorner of
seclusion,
And should confine myself to a corner like the figure of the
house.

تمام کارم و از سن هزار کار آید کسی که کار نفرمایدم چه کارکنم -

I am the source of all actions and thousands of affairs are accomplished through me;
If no function or deed is assigned to me, it is certainly no fault of mine what can I do.

From what we have noted above it is, however, conclusively proved that Brahman by virtue of his numerous works left in this field, and also by virtue of his calibre and aptitude as a master poet-sum-writer, undoubtedly, ranks among the most distinguished exponents of the Indo-Persian School of Persian Poetry. As a literary figure, he occupies a notable position among those who have contributed to enrich that mass of valuable literature that has been produced in India, more particularly during the glorious epoch when the enlightened and gifted Kings of the house of Timūr held sway; and, at the same time, very remarkably promoted the cause of Persian ^{or} language and literature under their benevolent care and patronage.

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CHAPTER X

**Planning and Development
of the City**