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KHĀKĪ—AN UNKNOWN MYSTIC POET OF URDU

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His Life

KHĀKĪ, is a great mystic poet of Urdu. We have got no record¹ of him except what we can gather from his work. His complete 'dīwān' is preserved in the Ḥabībganj Library (Dist. Aligarh) and is perhaps the only copy available so far. Its 91 folios, written in a very beautiful 'naskh' script, contain more than 1,800 verses. The colophon is as follows:—

تمت تمام شعر - دیوان رنگین من کلام تزیید انجام سید محمد تادری عزت مارن صاحب²
ابن سید جمال اللہ تادری مظہر عالمی -
خط نوشتہ سید حسین تادری عرف شاہ میاں، تاریخ دہم ربیع الاول ۱۲۷۲ھ بمصر
قلمشہد۔

From this colophon the following points are to be noted:—

(a) The name of the poet ("Khākī" being the pen-name) was Sayyid Muḥammad, *alias* "Maḍan Ṣāhib".

(b) His father's name was Sayyid Jamālu'llāh, who was his spiritual leader as well. This we gather from his following verses:—

جمال اللہ مرشد جب دیکھا کر بیوکون خاکی - کیا ہے بکون او محرم بھی ناموس کی طلب
خاکی جمال ذات ایس پیر کون سمجھو - بکون کیا ہے مست جوان بیوسوں ملا
اپنے خاکی کتب جمال اللہ - نت پیاسوں ایسے ملاوینا

(c) The term "Qādirī", added to the name of Khākī and to that of his father, shows that they belonged to the "Qādirī" order of saints, tracing origin from 'Abdu'l Qādir Jilānī (d. 561/1166), in whose praise there are several panegyrics by this poet; one of the finest of them begins thus:—

¹ Maulana 'Abdu'l Ḥai has tried (in his book *Gul-i-Ra'na*, p. 11) to identify this Khākī to one, mentioned by Mir Ḥasan in his biography. But his conclusion appears to be wrong, as we will see later.

² Mr. Ṭamkīn (in his *Ṭadhkirah-i-Rekhti*, p. 36) has read it as "Bu'dde Ṣāhib".

نوں بادشاہ دو جہاں یا غوث الاعظم دستگیر - ہے لامکاں تیرا مکاں یا غوث الاعظم دستگیر

And like a faithful devotee, Khākī asserts to have that saint's spiritual favour every moment:

یو تصدق ہے غوث الاعظم کا فیض ان کا ہر آن ہے ہوتن

(d) The scribe was some Sayyid Ḥusain Qādirī (most probably a relative of Khākī), *alias* “Shāh Miyān”, who completed the ‘dīwān’ on the 10th of Rabi I, A.H. 1182 (= Monday, the 25th July, A.D. 1768).

(e) The words دکلمہ العالی (= may his great shadow be lasting!)—an expression to be used *only* for a living person—show that Sayyid Muḥammad “Khaki” was alive at least upto the time when the scribe completed his ‘dīwān’, *i.e.*, upto the year 1182/1768.

Besides the above authentic accounts of Khākī, we find some apocryphal anecdotes about him in Berar (then in the Deccan) as well. But before writing them I would like to judge the statement of Maulānā ‘Abdu’l Ḥai who tries³ to identify our Khākī with one, mentioned in Mīr Ḥasan’s Ṭadhkīra. In the latter, which was written between⁴ 1188/1774 and 1192/1778, that Khākī is said to have lived at Delhi in the reign of Jahāngīr. The actual words, thereof, are as follows:—

خاکی - تخلص مردے بود درویش از شاہجہاں آباد در عہد جہانگیر - امواتش معلوم
نیت - از یک مرد پیرے این شعرش بگوشش خورد، از دست -
5 شہانی ہے اپنے من میں اب تو ہی ستر سخن تجھ پی کی گئی میں خاکی کو خاکست ہونا

According to the said Maulānā, there is a mistake in this passage, *i.e.*, there should be the word “‘Ālamgīr” in place of “Jahāngīr.” Hence this Khākī, as he says, flourished in the reign of ‘Ālamgīr (Aurangzeb) and not in that of Jahāngīr. But if we judge the date of our poet, even this view of the Maulānā does not appear to be correct, because we have already seen in the colophon of our poet’s work that he was alive at least upto the year 1182/1768, *i.e.*, *much after* the death of Aurangzeb even. This clearly shows

³ *Gul-i-Ra’na*, pp. 11–12, footnotes.

⁴ Mīr Ḥasan’s Ṭadhkīra, M. U. Aligarh Press, 1922, p. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

that our *Khākī* was quite different from that poet of the same pen-name who had lived either in the reign of *Jahāngīr* or in that of 'Ālamgīr. Moreover, the verse, as quoted by *Mīr Ḥasan* (and mentioned in the above passage), to have been composed by that poet, does not exist in the complete work our *Khākī*. On the other hand, our poet did belong to the Deccan (and not to Delhi), as it is quite evident from his language. Had he been of Delhi, *Mīr Ḥasan* could have easily given us some information about him, because both of them would have been of the same age and place. Besides the language of our poet, one more point helps us in taking him to be a resident of the Deccan and it is this: Throughout his whole work we do not find any reference about or praise of any Indian saint, except one panegyric, which speaks of the greatness of *Ḥaḍraṭ Gesū Ḍarāz* "Banḍa Nawāz" (d. 825⁶/1422) of Gulbarga (Deccan) and it begins thus:

نزل رحمت رب کریم بہت در نواز
تو فیض بخش ہے گنج بہت در نواز

The presence of this panegyric suggests our poet's both local and spiritual relations with that saint. Now, when it is proved that our poet had been a resident of the Deccan, the anecdotes related to him in Berar (Deccan) appear to be genuine, because there is none, except him, of the same pen-name, age and qualities in the whole of the Deccan. Any way, for the sake of an interesting (though apocryphal) record I would mention those stories here:—

(a) About 175 years ago *Khākī*, as a wanderer, came to *Arḡāoṇ*,⁷ a place in the district of *Yeotmal* (Berar) and close to the boundaries of the modern Deccan. There one gardener was sitting along with his wife. When they gave him some food, he prayed for their everlasting prosperity. Ever since that date the gardener's progeny, even upto this day, lead there a rich life in their profession.

(b) During the short stay of *Khākī* at *Arḡāoṇ*, his miraculous fame reached all the neighbouring towns. So, one low-caste *Hinḍū*, namely, *Malkū*, attended him every day from *Ajanṭi*, a place about nine miles away from *Arḡāoṇ*. *Khākī*, too, liked him very much and turned him to be a saint. That *Malkū* then led a life of seclusion, and, on his death, was

⁶ *Urdu-i-Qadīm*, p. 23.

⁷ On the motor-road between *Amraoti* and *Yeotmal* there is a village *Ner* in the middle. From that place, at a distance of about six miles, the village *Ajanti* is situated, and *Arḡāoṇ* lies about nine miles away from it.

buried at Ajanṭī, where, like at Argāoṇ, lies the artificial grave of Khākī⁸ as well.

(c) The third is the popular anecdote assigned to other saints also as to Khākī, viz.:

Once Khākī was praying when suddenly he put his hand under his prayer-carpet, and, after a while, when he took it out it was all besmeared with mud. People asked its reason, then he told them that he had saved some ship from sinking. And it so happened that after some days a certain officer of the same ship came to thank Khākī for that kindness.

His Works

The Ḥabībganj MS. of Khākī's 'dīwān' of 91 folios (each page having usually ten verses) contains the following varieties of his poetry:—

(a) Ghazals.

(b) Qaṣīdas (panegyrics), several in praise of the Holy Prophet and 'Abdu'l Qādir Jilānī; one in praise of Ḥaḍraṭ 'Alī, the Fourth Pious Caliph, beginning with:—

صاحب شجاع و ہبلی بے شک لی اللہ علی
نہی ہے جراحن سوں کبھی بے شک لی اللہ علی

There is also one panegyric in praise of Ḥaḍraṭ Gesū Ḍarāz "Baṇḍa Nawāz", as has already been mentioned above.

(c) Mu'sṭazāds; and

(d) one 'mathnawī' of 55 verses, having allegorical interpretations for some religious doctrines. Its opening lines are as follows:—

⁸ Khākī's real grave is said to be at Pāk-Patan (Punjab). There is again one doubtful anecdote about Khākī in Jubbulpore, C.P., where his *alias* "Maḍan Ṣāhib" (as we have seen in the colophon) is popular. After him "Maḍan Maḥal" of Gaṛha (Jubbulpore) is said to be known. He is said to have lived as a bachelor throughout. But his younger brother Sayyid Kallan Shāh Qādirī's progeny still lives at Gaṛha. This Kallan Shāh, as I have seen his Persian sanad with his great-grandson Sakhāwaṭ 'Alī Qādirī, had been granted two villages Konda and Baḍanpūr in 1773 by the Gond Rāja Nizām Shāh (d. 1776). But for lack of any historical record we cannot, in any way, identify this "Maḍan" to our Khākī.

کہوں کیا زبان سوں خدا کی صفت
خدا کوں صفت سب سزاوار ہے
صفت ہو کہ موجود ہے سب جگت
وہی جسز وکل کا سدا ہے
رہے ہو کے اعلیٰ حشر تک و ہیں
اپس چہو میں دیکھئے پتو کوں
بیان کبول کرتا ہوں س کوں بچان
دستے پر سچ او ہی کلمہ ظہور
اسے سن آتا دل کے توں کانوں
کہ خورشید کا نور اس میں بسے
سچ اس کنتیں بے خبر کیوں ہا
کہ پاتا ہے او صلوة بطوں
سننے ہو رکھے بلکہ او ذات سوں
صلوة بطوں سوں ادا ہوئے اونے
سخن رب سوں کرنا نماز بطوں

These are all the various kinds of Khākī's poetry, and Maulānā 'Abdu'l Hai appears to have been wrongly informed when he says that Khākī had composed the lengthy 'mathnawī' "Faiz 'Am" also.⁹ I uselessly searched for it in the library of its supposed owner the late Maulavi 'Abdu'r Razzāque, the Chief Translator of the Nagpur High Court. But from his son Mr. Ḥamīdu'r Razzāque I could know that its copy is in the possession of his (latter's) uncle Mr. 'Abdu's-Saṭṭar of Ellichpur (Berar). There I studied it and found that it was a 'mathnawī', composed by absolutely a different poet 'Abdu'l Muḥammad and that it gives a detailed account of the 'Mahḍawī' propaganda and work done by some Mu'sṭafā¹⁰ (bin 'Abdu'r-Rashīd)' whose grandfather Shaikh Waish (?) was a 'companion' of Sayyid Muḥammad 'Mahḍi' of Jaunpur (d. 910/1505). This 'mathnawī' contains about 4,000 verses and begins with the praise of God thus:

⁹ Gu'l-i-Ra'na, p. 11, footnote.

¹⁰ Mr. Ḥamīdu'r Razzāque has got a MS., containing 90 letters by this Mu'sṭafā. In his 72nd letter these Urdu words are reported to have been uttered by the "Mahḍi" of Jaunpur:—

ہمیں تموں میانے خدا بہتر کے محب ہے جو۔

خدا کی کروں صفت اول بیاں بنایا بنے سب زمین آسماں
 بھی انسان کون خاک سیستی کیا انا اللہ کا شرف اس کون یا
 بنے جان کون آگ سو کر بدن پری جن کا تبتیں پنجبا رتن
 گیس جن نے پیدا حیوانات کون نباتات کون ہو چھا دست کون
 جو کچھ دکھیستا بین ارض و سما کونہا ر سب کا ہے بے شک خدا

After the 19 lines of ‘hamd’ begin the praises of the Holy Prophet, and the four Pious Caliphs, and then a short account of Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Mahdī’ and his five great companions Sayyid Maḥmūd, Sayyid Khund¹¹ Mīr, Shāh Ni‘maṭ, Shāh Nizām and Shāh Dīlāwar. Then begins the detailed account of Mu’ṣṭafā, as taken by the author from a Persian work of some Shaikh Ādam. The opening lines are:—

اٹسن بیاں اس قصے کا ہے با اگر تو اچھے دل منے ہوشیار
 میاں مصطفیٰ کا قصہ فارسی بسایا تھا دل کھول جیوں آری
 میاں شیخ آدم میں کر بیاں سو بولے تھے اس کون مبارک زباں
 دلے ان پڑھیا اس کون کیا بوجھتا کہ جیسے اندھے کون نہیں سوجھتا
 سہل کر کو دکھتی میں جڑی کتاب سمجھنے میں ہر اک کے آدے شتاب
 کیا ہے پو دکھتی زباں سوں کلام رکھنا ناتو اس کا یقین فیض عام

As it is beyond the scope of this essay to deal with this ‘mathnawī’ in detail, I would like to finish it by quoting here its ending lines which give the date of its composition:—

¹¹ The same gentleman has got a “mathnawī”, by a poet Sharaf, on the “martyrdom” of this Khund Mir.

نویں چاند شعبان کی رات کوں
 اتھا سن تجھری جہاں یک ہزار
 سو عبدالمحمد نبی کا غلام
 اتا چاہتا ہے یو عاجز غریب
 کہ یعنی خدا آپ کر کر فضل
 شریعت نبی کی او پر مستقیم،
 پڑھے جو میساں مصطفیٰ کا ذکر،
 تو اپنی زباں سوں خدا کے بدل
 وگر جو خطا چوک دکھیں کبھی
 نبی پر ورواں پڑھو بے شمار

خدا نے یو آخر کیا بات کوں
 بھی بیک سو پو چالیس یک در شمار
 خدا کے فضل سوں کیسا پر تمام
 کہ ہو عاقبت بیسج نیکی نصیب
 سو ایساں بخشے عطا بے خلل
 رکھے آپ صاحب غفور الرحیم
 بھی جو کہ عقیدہ سنے کان دھر
 دعا سوں کرے یاد صاحب عقل
 تو کہ عیب پوشی سنو اریں سبھی
 بھی مہدی پہ پیکر سلا ماں ہزار

These lines clearly show that the accounts of Mu'ṣṭafā were completed by the poet 'Abḍu'l-Muḥammad in the night preceding the 9th of Sha'bān, A.H. 1141 (=Wednesday night, the 27th of February, A.D. 1729). In the presence of this clear proof about its author we cannot even think for a moment that this mathnawī, as Maulānā 'Abḍu'l Hai writes, had ever been written by *Khākī*, who was alive at least upto 1182/1768, i.e., more than forty years after the completion of "Faiz 'Ām" by 'Abḍu'l-Muḥammad. Furthermore, had *Khākī* been a "Maḥḍavī," he would have written, like 'Abḍu'l-Muḥammad, the praise of "Maḥḍī" also in his *ḍiwan*.

Was Khākī a "Rekḥṭī"—writer ?

There is much difference of opinions regarding the origin of *Rekḥṭī*. Some scholars like Dr. Zoar¹² and Mr. Ṭamkīn¹³ take Hāshimī of Bijāpūr (*d.* 1697) to be the first *Rekḥṭī*-writer, but Maulānā 'Abḍu's-Salām Naḍvī,¹⁴ professor Mas'ūd Ḥasan Rizvī¹⁵ and Mr. Mubīn Naqṣvī¹⁶ deny that fact, because, according to them, "Rekḥṭī" is that sort of poetry which is based upon the sentiments and ideas of women and is written in their peculiar colloquial language. Hence, they (the latter scholars) regard Rangīn

¹² *Urdu Shah-pārey*, Vol. I, pp. 259-60.

¹³ *Ṭadhkīra-i-Rekḥṭī*, Preface, p. 2.

¹⁴ *Shi'ru'l-Hind*, Vol. II, p. 83.

¹⁵ *Majālis-i-Rangīn*, Preface, p. 8.

¹⁶ *Ṭārikh-i-Rekḥṭī*, Preface, p. 3.

(d. 1835) to be its originator. Any way, we have to judge whether our Khākī was also a writer of “Rekḥṭī”. Mr. Ṭamkīn has quoted one ode of such poetry by him, and it is thus:—

پیاہن لے سہیلی انجوں سے گھر دھوتی ہوں
 کرو پوپو پیرسین ظاہر یوسب بل سات ہو سکیاں
 جو جاری عین ممکن ہو ملے جب دیکھ بالا سوں
 رہوں میں کب تک جھرتی جلا کر دل کتیں کڑتی
 رہوں کیوں ابتدا میں میں سے جب تہا چھ کوں
 سجن کا ورد کر لے کو محبت کے یوسشستہ میں
 دخت عاشقی کوں میں فقر کے پھول پھل ہونے
 کردوں ممکن کہ ساقی میں کبھی سسیر لدنی کا
 17 مردسوں شاہزادہ کی ترنی پاکے لے خاکی

کبھی میں منتع گہرا اندھارا دیکھ روتی ہوں
 جنم سب بحر میں غم کے تیرے بن نت یو کھوتی ہوں
 بھٹی سوں برہ کی تب میں نخل یوسا سوتی ہوں
 کھاب غم کے پہاڑوں پر پھلا ہے سر بڑوتی ہوں
 فنا فی الشیخ ہو کر میں بقا با اللہ ہوتی ہوں
 سدا میں من کے تکلیوں کوں پس لکھوں پڑتی ہوں
 نت اٹھ کر دل میں ہیں اپنے او تخم عشق ہوتی ہوں
 چلوں جب باٹلے بیو کے یوں تب کوں ہوتی ہوں
 شبھی وحدت کے دریا میں ملے پن ڈوبتی ہوں

In my opinion, these lines fall short of the definition of Rekḥṭī, as given above, and were written merely after the Bhāshā poetry, which had influenced, a great deal, the Urdu prose and poetry of the Deccan in that age. The presence of a few words of women cannot totally change the name and nature of this poetry whose whole structure is Bhāshā alone.

Khākī's Mystical Ideas

Like Rūmī (d. 1273) Khākī also speaks wholly of the Eternal Love and there are hardly a few lines in his ḍiwān which lack the spiritual tones. The popular mystical aphorism “The Phenomenal is the bridge to the Real” has been propounded by several mystic poets, as by Jāmī (d. 1492) also in his mathnawī “Yūsuf-o-Zulaikḥā” :—

¹⁷ Ṭadhkira-i-Rekḥṭī, p. 36.

18 دلے فارغ زور عشق دل نیست تنے بے درد دل جز آج کل نیست
 مناب از عشق رو، گر چه مجازی ست کہ این بہر حقیقت کار سازی ست
 بلوح اول الف با تا نخوانی ، زتسراں درس خواندن کے توانی

But Rūmī totally discards the worldly love and directly reaches the Real one by saying :—

عشقہائے کز پئے رنگے بود عشق نبود عاقبت ننگے بود
 عشق نبود آں کہ در مردم بود این فساد از خوردن گندم بود
 عشق بامردہ نباشد پا مدار عشق را بر حئی و بر قیوم دار

Similarly, Khākī, though has a touch of the “Phenomenal”, yet discards even the worldly marriage, as he says in his mathnawī :—

جو کرتے ہیں عالم سوشادی ہمیں کہ احمق ہیں کرتے ہیں شادی ہمیں
 جسے اس حقیقت کا لذت لگے مجازی طرف دل کبھی نہ جھکے
 مجازی حقیقت سوں کر نہیں جدا نظر سے حقیقت یہ رکھ توں جدا
 خودی چھوڑ کر پا خودی کوں جدا خودی بن نہ ہوئے کا حاصل خدا

But Khākī’s “Phenomenal” is not the worldly love of Jāmī but exactly Rūmī’s “Fanā—Baqā¹⁹”, as we find in the following verses :—

میں فنا کوئی شے، ہے سین بقا نفی کہتے سو بے وہی اثبات
 یوں سمجھ عارفان نے جز کل میں، ہو رہیں ہے سدا وہی یک وصات

¹⁸ Like Jāmī, Dr. Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl has also a message for the ‘body’ and ‘heart’ in a very fine quatrain (*Payām-i-Mashriq*, p. 18):—

تنے پیدا کن از مشت غبارے تنے محکم تراز سنگین حصارے
 درون او د لے درو آشنائے چو جوئے در کنار کوہ سارے

¹⁹ Rūmī has clearly said :—

گر چه آں وصلت بقا اندر بقاست یک در اول بقا اندر فناست
 آئینہ ہستی چہ باشد نیستی نیستی گزیریں گر ابلہ نیستی

Hence the religious tenets and dogmas have been described by him with allegory, whose goal, according to him, is gnosis alone. Some such verses of his mathnawī are as follow:—

سخن رب سوں کرنا نمازِ بطوں	سمج لے خدا کا بھی ہے قول یوں
وہ ہے روزہ باطنی یار کا	طلب جن کوں ہے حق کے دیدار کا
ہمیں کس کوں افطار دیدار بن	ہے افطار، دیدار دیکھ ہے جن
اسی کا کہا ہوں بیاں میں سبھی	گواہی ہے اس پر حدیثِ نبیؐ،
بیاں اس کا کرتا ہوں سُن خوب تزل	جو چوتھا فرض ہے زکوٰۃ بطوں
اگر پا کے ظاہر کرے خلیق سوں	محمدؐ کے جن نور ہو ذات کوں
کیا ذکر تحقیق کریں یو با ست	سمج لے یو باطن کا ہے گا زکوٰۃ،
بیاں کھول کرنا ہوں س کوں سمج،	فرض پانچواں یار او بوج حج،
وہی حج اکبر نہیں ہے خلاف	اپن دل کوں پا، دل کا کرنا طواف
نہ سمجھتوں یو مضنہ گوشت کیس	کہ او دل جسے نہیں ہے یو، دل نہیں،
کہ بے شک ہے او کعبۃ السدء ملام	ہمیں ہیں نبیؐ قلب مومن دوام،
کنزوری کوں حدت کے آگودھروں	شریعت کے لوگاں کوں دعوت کردوں
حقیقت کے دولاو لہن کوں ملاؤں	اناہیں طریقت کی شادی گناؤں

بچھونے کوں کر لائے ددلی کوں تب	اوشاہد امیں گنجِ مخفی میں جب
لنگے وصل میں محو ہو جاٹے	کہ دولا بھی عاروس یک جاٹے
ملا جا کہ عاروس سوں ایکٹ ہو	مشاطہ کوں دولے نے اس وقت کھو
کہ احمق ہیں کرتے ہیں شادی نہیں	جو کرتے ہیں عالم سو شادی نہیں

Khākī again seems to follow Rūmī in assigning the highest place to his spiritual leader. Rūmī calls Shams of Tabriz as follows:—

Khāki—An Unknown Mystic Poet of Urdu

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شمس درخشاں اگرچہ بہت فرد
 ایک آں شمسے کہ شد مستثنیٰ شیبہ
 در تصور ذات اور گنج کو
 شمس تبریزی کہ فرمطلق است
 مثل او ہم می توان تصویر کرد
 بنو و شس در ذہن و در خارج نظیر
 تا در آید در تصور مثل او
 آفتاب است و ز انوار حق است

And also at one place:—

دستِ پیہ از غائبان کوتاہ نیست
 دستِ او جز قبضہ اللہ نیست

Similarly, *Khāki* addresses his spiritual head thus:—

مرشد جمال اللہ ہے خاکِ وہی اللہ ہے
 عین اللہ جمال لے خاکِ
 عین اللہ ہے جمال اللہ
 جمال اللہ کون کل میں دیکھ رہنا
 کل شبی لوجہ اللہ جا دیکھ در سر آن مجید
 جس سوں پایا نشان ہے ہو حق
 خاکِ اس کے قدم پہ جا بل بل
 کفایت ہے کفایت ہے کفایت

But just as *Rūmī* wants the spiritual leader to be the follower of “*Shari‘at*”:—

رہبر راہ طہ لقی آں بود
 گریبا شد در عمل ثابت و تدم
 کو بہ احکام شریعت می رود
 چوں رہا نہ خسلق را از دست غم

so also *Khāki* has the following stages for reaching the Real:—

پیو کا توں مقام پاوے تب
 اولاً پاک پر شریعت سوں،
 تب طریقت میں رکھ و تدم اپنا
 خاکِ دریا کوں معرفت کے پیر
 جب کرے توں عروج نہ درجات
 نفس کے دور کر توں سب خطرات
 لے حقیقت کا دیکھ کر لذات
 بوج عرفان میں توبے شک ذات

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AN OLD BILINGUAL (PERSIAN—URDU) POEM

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The Manuscript

In connection with the *Rauḍaṭu'sh-shuhaḍā*, *Rauḍaṭu'l-'Uqbā* and *Rauḍaṭu'l-Anwār* by Walī of Vellore, we had mentioned two more Urdu doublets, the *Panḍ-namā* (1000/1592) and the *Asāsu'l-Muṣallā* (1004/1596), which rank with the earliest ones known so far.¹ We discuss here an old poem² of the same nature, though technically to be called a *qaṣīda*. Every verse of it ends with 'r' and is in the eight-footed 'rajaz' metre. This poem, namely the "Ṭu'hfa-i-Naṣāyih" (= a Gift of advice), is bilingual in the sense that it had been originally in Persian, but has an interlinear translation—though by a different poet—in Urdu verse as well. It opens with these lines :—

(۱) جسے گویم بے عدد، مرغانِ جن و بشر
کردہ مسلکِ آسمان، ہم اخترانِ بشر
بدولِ صفت میں لگے گنت، اس خالقِ جن و بشر
زودھا کر آسمان رکھیا، سورج، ستارے چاند
(۲) عظمتِ بادشہ عرشِ ناز، پروازِ پائشِ طائر سے
چوں برق، سالے پارِ صداں گہ رسدِ پاکِ دگر
یوں دی بزرگی عرشِ کون، بچھی لگے یکے کاتے
جوں برق، برسانِ چار و آپڑے بڑاں پاسِ دگر

And the colophon runs as follows :—

کامل شد کتاب مستطاب . . . من تصنیف حضرت مولوی، زبدہ دودمان مصطفوی، نقادہ خانم
مرقزی، طب الدین والاسلام، میر میرج شریعت (شاعر علیہ السلام) ماجی ظلمت، ناجی بدعت
مسی حضرت شاہ راجہ جمال - من یدر احقر العباد جو امیام مھدوی

This shows that the poem was composed by the saint Sayyid Shāh Rājū Qaṭṭāl and written by the scribe Jiwā Miyān 'Mahḍawī'. But he was the author of the Persian work only, as the Urdu version was done by some Quṭbī or Rāzī, as the following verses of the translation denote :—

¹ See the *Ma'ārif*, January 1940.

² I am obliged to Mr. Hamīdu'r-Razzāque, Chief Translator, Nagpur, for kindly lending me the MS. It has got this poem in 64 ff. and each page generally contains about 13 verses, but the total number is 1,572, as we shall see later. Copies of this poem are found in the India Office, Hyderabad, etc.

سہ ہاشم جہاں میں میں کیا، کینا بڑائی کی جو بھی قلمی دھریا امید یوں یا ہوں سب صاحب نظر
 ۳ سہ بنیاں میں سب کم تر مندہ رازی تخلص قلم کا تحفہ کیا دکنی زبان، شہ کی رضائے میں جو

The author of the Persian work (“Rāju Qaṭṭāl”, being the title) mentions his name and the purpose of the poem in the following verses, which we copy here along with their Urdu version:—

<p>از بہر خلق خوشش لقا بوالفتح آن نور البصر خوش خلق سیرت شامہ میں بوالفتح نور البصر یارب گردان چچاں، پذیرا زس این ستر یارب کریں قبول یوں منت کریں اتنی قدر ساکت بگردان چچاں چو لہ زبانشکر ساکت کریں اس جوت کے اونا اچھے دیا سب سے بگو یار شہنوم بنم جہا نے پیش در بے سبق عالم کون او دیکھو جہاں اس وار پر دڑے ست آخر بے بہا دگوش کن جان بد موتی تے آخر بے بہا دھکان لے جان بد دزخ سیر پا کال بن شو قبول شیر چیخ کن پا کال کری نظر اسنے منظور ہوئے جوں کن جملہ جہاں عاشق شو خوانست ہر شام بحر عالم جتا عاشق ہوئے پڑتا اچھے شام بحر</p>	<p>(۱) تجوید عین یوسف گدا در غنظ سخن بند ز را بوسے بھی یوں یوسف گدا بند میں کینا با تاں چل (۲) آن رکن دین از علم خود عبور دار در کنہ سا دور کن دین اپ علم اتنے موڑ رکھے سب طرف (۳) از تو بخواہم ہر او علم و عمل تقویٰ و دوع تج سے منگوں اس کے بدل علم و عمل تقویٰ و دوع (۴) از صدق دل خواہم تو یارب گردان پذیرا بن اخلاص سون تجھ پاس میں دن کی یارب تجھ لکھے (۵) بند سے بگویم بعد ازین شہنوم زہر با بے زہن ایسے کون پنداسن بچیں ہر باب سن مجھ سے تج (۶) تحفہ نصلح نام میں کرم زحق دارم جس پنڈال کا تحفہ نا تو کر امید تے یوں دھوں، (۷) یارب فضل لطف خود گردان چچاں میں تحفہ را یارب پس کے پیار تے کرنا تو اس تحفہ کو یوں</p>
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In these verses the following points are to be noted:—(a) The first verse shows that the author of the Persian work was Yūsuf and not Yūsuf Gaḏā, as Dr. Ethe thinks,⁴ because “gaḏā” (meaning a beggar) is, in my opinion, a conventional name used by the poet for himself and is not a part of his name. (b) The work, as the first and the fifth verses denote, was written for the author’s own son Abu’l-Faṭ-ḥ,⁵ better known as “Gesū-Ḍarāz” of

³ Mr. Shamsullah Qādirī’s *Urdu-i-Qadīm*, p. 68, but our MS. does not contain these two verses.

⁴ *India Office Catalogue*, p. 136.

⁵ The writers of *Rauḏaṭu’l-Auliya* (Tr. ‘Abḏu’l-Majīd, p. 73), *Khazīnaṭu’l-Asfiya* (Vol. p. 366), etc., say that this poem was written for Gesū Ḍarāz, but his ‘Kunya’, “Abu’l-Faṭ-ḥ” could not be found in any book.

Gu'lbarga (Deccan), who died in 825/1422 and who is more famous than his name-sake Ḥaḍraṭ Ru'knu'd-Ḍīn Abu'l-Faṭ-ḥ⁶ (d. 735/1335), whose equality the author wishes from God for his son in the second verse. (c) In the sixth and seventh verses the work is named as "Ṭu'hfa-i-Naṣāyih" (=a Gift of advice).

The Authors

The author of the Persian work is a prominent figure amongst the Indian saints, but, unfortunately, there is much difference of opinions regarding his dates. According to Maulānā Āzāḍ Bilgīrāmī, this saint started from Delhi on the 20th Ramaḍān, A.H. 725 (=Friday, the 30th August, A.D. 1325), along with his family, and, after four months, reached Ḍaulaṭābaḍ (Deccan), where he died on the 5th Shawwāl,⁷ A.H. 731 (=Friday, the 12th July, A.D. 1331) and was buried close to it at Khu'ldābād. The writer of Khazīnaṭu'l-Aṣfiyā (Vol. I, p. 367) gives the date of his death as 774/1372, but even the latter is wrong, because the saint completed this poem of 45 cantos and 786 verses on Monday, the 10th of Rabi II, A. H. 795 (= the 23rd February, A.D. 1393), as its last lines show:—

ابیات گفتہ ہرملکہ ہفتصد بران ہشتاد و شش
 ابواب چہل و پنج ہم اندر حساب دہم حصر
 بیان کیا نسبت سو بھی چار تیس پوچھے پُر
 چالیس پر بھی پانچ ہیں بابا توں گنا کیان دہر
 ہفتصد تو دیکھے دگر بھرت محمد مصطفیٰ
 عاشر ربیع آخری، وقت ضعی، روزِ قمر
 تھے سات سو پر بھی نو دیکھے دگر بھرت نبی
 دسواں ربیع آخری، وقت ضعی، دنِ تھانڈ

So, about the date of his death this much is certain that he died after 795/1393. Now, as for the details of his gnosis it is agreed upon by his biographers that having had the full command in religious knowledge he studied spirituality under Ḥaḍraṭ Naṣīru'd-Ḍīn "Chirāgh-i-Ḍihlawī",⁸ (d. 757/1356) and thus being the follower of the "Chishtīya" order he also became his "Khalīfa" (= spiritual descendant). It was because of this relation that he has praised his spiritual leader thus:—

⁶ His accounts are found in *Firishta*, Vol. II, pp. 411–12. In *Khazīnaṭu'l-Aṣfiyā* (Vol. II, p. 51) the date of his death is 735, but in *Firishta* (Vol. II, p. 411) the date of his father's death is recorded as late as 776/1374.

⁷ *Rauḍaṭu'l-Auliya* (Tr. p. 73) and *Masāliku's-Salikīn* (Vol. II, p. 441, Agra edn.). The latter adds that he started from Delhi in 724 and that he had been a courtier of Ghiyathu'd-Ḍīn M. Ṭughlaq (d. 725/1325).

⁸ This is the date of his death in *Firishta* (Vol. II, p. 399), but from p. 416 (*ibid.*) we know that in A.H. 772 Sayyid Jalāluddīn came to see him at Delhi. His full name Naṣīru'ddīn Maḥmūd is found on the same (latter) page as in the verse quoted.

مرح شیخ المشایخ العالمین وطلب الشاکلین نصیر الحق والدین قدس سرہ العزیز
 (۱) شیخ منظم سیر یا محمود صاحب تدرک چون او نہ باشند پنج کس ہم مختصر ہم مشہر
 شیخ منظر سیر محمد محمود صاحب ماں جون دو اہے ہین لڑکونی یوں تہم ہوتہ ہر
 (۲) عالم عالم مجو او ہرگز نہ دیدہ مردے اندر کرامت مثل اذیت نہ دجا دور قمر۔
 عالم عمل سوں جوک دو ہرگز نہ دیکھا آدمی ہو رہی کرامت ہیں جون دو ہرگز نہ دجا کمان دگر
 (۳) او پوڈ شیخ مقتدا اور اہل نے وقت دری گشتند امی سا کماں چون رفت ان صاحب
 دو شیخ تھے یکت مقتدا سار چہا ایش تھی اندھے ہوئے سب لکاں جوا دگیا تہا نظر

His tomb at Khuldābād is still visited by huge crowds every day and the title⁹ “Qaṭṭāl” (a great killer) is believed to have been given to him because of his ‘fiery’ spirituality, which commands the phenomena so much so that no bird can pass over his grave and if any one does, like one turtle-dove which is buried close to him, it would instantly die. Such is the people’s belief and is exaggerated even more.

About Qu’ṭbī or Rāzī, the author of the Urdu version, nothing is known, except that he was a contemporary of the Su’lṭān ‘Abdu’llāh Qu’ṭb-Shah¹⁰ (1035/1625–1083/1672) and that he completed his work in 1045/1635, as the following verse shows:—

ہجرت تھے دس برس مال ہر چالیس بجی پانچ آتھے تہا یہ مرتب سب ہوا تحفہ سود گئی نامور

The Scribe

Now something is to be said about the scribe “Jiwā Miyān”, who gives his father’s name as Faqīrullāh in the colophon of the attached work of our MS., containing the famous 90 Letters¹¹ by Mu’ṣṭafā (d. 984/1576), a very prominent worker of the ‘Maḥḍawī’ mission. Amongst the followers of the ‘Maḥḍawī’ sect (the scribe being one of them) the “Ṭu’ḥfa-i-Naṣāyih”, the poem under discussion, seems to have been very popular, as it is referred to in Āḍhīn’s “Risāla-i-Rāg”, written in 1181/1767:—

⁹ There is one more saint of this title (see *Firishta*, Vol. II, p. 417).

¹⁰ *Urdu-i-Qadīm*, p. 67.

¹¹ In the colophon of those letters the scribe calls himself “Sag-i-āstāna-i-ḡargāh-i-muṣannif” (= a dog at the threshold of the court of Mu’ṣṭafā), and this term suggests that his father is the same man who copied *Baḥru’-n-Nukūṭ* by ‘Abdu’llāh in 1236/1821 and is the seventh direct descendant of Mustafa (see the *Oriental College Magazine*, Part I, Nov. 1940, p. 75). This eventually means that our scribe copied the MS. after 1236/1821.

بھی تحفہ انصاف دیکھو سو کیا ہے، دیکھو دیوان حافظ جو کیا دکھا دتا

تحفہ میں ہو ہو لکھا سو کھول لکھ دیکھو دیوان حافظ میں کھول با دتا¹²

And this popularity seems to have been misused by the scribe, as he adds two verses himself to the following lines of the 3rd canto :—

مرقہ ۱۱) از بہر مردہ زندگان بدست صدقہ یادعا گردن عذابے دوریشاں یا بند راحت بیشتر
 جیسے تو باں کے کارتے خیرات یا مانگے عا ان کے عذاباں دوریوں پاویں گے راحت بیشتر
 (۲) مشکل جو کار سے مرزا آید گے، میوزاں عا مفرج عبادت وان عا، وارد دعا جانان اثر
 مشکل کھل کچھ کام تجھ ہو یگا گرا تو منگت دعا مفرج عبادت ہے دعا، دھرتے دعا نما صا
 (۳) دانی قیامت را نشان حال، دیگر دایہم عیسیٰ فرو و آید، کشت و حال را از پشت خمر
 جا تو قیامت کے نشان و حال ہو رہی واہر دجال کون مارے گے یاں عیسیٰ او پر تے آئے کرے
 (۴) یا حج با ما حج ہم سپید شونہ زندان جہان سر ہائے بعضے آسمان باشند بعضے کبوتر
 یا حج ہو را حج بھی دنیا میں پیدا ہوئیں بعضاں کے سر آسمان لگت بعضے تو آہن لکھتے

After the second verse the scribe puts a caret and in the margin writes the following two verses in Persian :—

ہندی بیایدے شک و غولے دار مصطفیٰ تصدیق او فرستے براں انکار او باشد کفر
 ہندی بود فرزند ما کفتمہ پیمبر ہم چنین او پس زماں آید یقین سالے چو تو صیخ و کر

In my opinion these two verses were certainly added by the scribe himself, because (a) they do not contain their (interlinear) Urdu translation, which means they were not in existence at the time of the translation and (b) the year 905/1499, which is given in the second verse for the appearance of the "Mahdī", is not found in any authentic tradition of the Holy Prophet.

Now we turn to the 45 cantos of the poem, which contain 786 verses and they are as follows :—

(1) The praise of God, the Holy Prophet and the author's spiritual leader Khawāja Naṣīru'd-Dīn "Chirāgh-i-Ḍihlawī", and also some bits of advice; (2) religion; (3) religious beliefs; (4) knowledge and its virtues; (5) ablutions; (6) prayers; (7) Zakāt (religious income-tax) and charities; (8) fast; (9) pilgrimage, journey and religious wars; (10) recitation of the

¹² Oriental College Magazine, Part I, Feb. 1941, pp. 29-30.

Holy Qu'r-ān, other prayers and requiem; (11) livelihood and contentment; (12) marriage; (13) the propriety of bringing a wife; (14) eating; (15) drinking; (16) wearing clothes; (17) sleeping; (18) selling and purchasing; (19) moving in the society of kings and rich people; (20) culture, manners and consultation; (21) following the good traditions of the ancestors; (22) compliments, talks, advice, etc.; (23) jealousy, malice and pride; (24) sincerity; (25) fear of and hope in God; (26) thanksgiving and piety; (27) repentance and piety; (28) miserliness and generosity; (29) good behaviour with and doing good to people; (30) endurance and anger; (31) enforcing the ordained and condemning the disdained; (32) permission for song, music and ecstasy; (33) different games; (34) sacrifice of animals; (35) months, seasons and days which are auspicious and otherwise; (36) old age and youth; (37) merits of attempts and demerits of lethargy; (38) troubles and condolence; (39) martyrs and martyrdom; (40) poverty and distress; (41) richness; (42) attainment of Paradise; (43) Hell; (44) miscellaneous topics; and (45) a hymn and epilogue.

Under these exhaustive heads necessary religious guidance has been instructed by the saint to his son in order to regulate every walk of life scientifically and in the most natural way, and it is needless to discuss them when they are all based upon the original authorities. But it will be important to quote this *Chishtī's* views about songs, music, etc., for the guidance of the present followers of the *Chishtiya* order of saints, who over-estimate the exact permission about them:—

دردِ دل سے اور سماع باشد روا اس کس کہ میری نفس را
جاسے بوزندہ درو، ورنے ترا بہتر خد
ہے سب سے اس سننا ڈا، جو نفس چوں اس کاموا
اس کا اچھے جینا جو، نیک تو بہت پرہیز کر

(۱) تاہم ترا قوت بود رقصہ مکن اسے جان من۔
جو کثرت تھے ہوئے سبکالت ہو کر لے کھج
دردِ دل سے (۲) مطلق ہوا حرمت غنا مشنومنا ہی، بیچ گم
تقسیم تے رکھ راکت کے چومع جو ناسن گدیس
(۳) و طبل ہم حرمت ہوا الا طبل غازیان
غازیاں کے طبلوں بلج بھی سری حرام ہو کھیل
(۴) دانی غنائے زن ہوں چوں زہا آن شبنوی
ناہور تاں تے راکت سن، حرمتوں جب گیت ا
(۵) اندر سماع چوں شبنوی کس نعرے آہے می زند
جو سب سے کوں سننے وقت ہا کاش نعرے مازتا

منکر شہوا پر طلال را داں قال و تیل بیشتر
منکر نہ ہو اس حال تے نا بوج توں اس کھیل کر
طنبور و برابط، چنگ نے جملہ حرام ست دفتر
نے، چنگ، رباب ہو رٹنیر تھکے حرام کس نبر
دف ہم مزین در بیچ جاجز و دعوی لے پسر
دف نا بجاکس گھر سنے، مندل عروساں کے پیڑ
بے شک بیعتی در بلا بر بند زیں کئی حسد
بے شک بلا میں لٹھے اس کلام تے پرہیز کر
ہرگز مشنومند و راں شاید کہ باشد از کر
نا بھول توں ہرگز اسے البتہ او ہونے کا مگر

Language

We have already seen above that the author of the Persian work was fully qualified in all branches of religion and naturally in Arabic as well, but, like the mystic writers of that age, he had a free choice to modify the pronunciation of certain words to fit them in the rhyme; e.g., 'ḥiṣar', (ḥiṣr), 'makar' (makr), 'muqar' (muqir), 'qabar' (qabr), 'qaḍar' (qaḍr), etc. He has also overlooked prepositions and also short syllables in metrical feet, which we can notice in the verses quoted above; and at one place in the last canto he has translated a Hindustani proverb thus:—

کرم ہوس چوں زانہا رقتما رکبکماں چوں کرم
برباد و نند رفتا رس گشتم نخل ہم سنسکر
بیوں کی ہوس کیتا کو اجر چیاں رس کی بیوں
انگنی او اپنی چال بھی بیوں بول گل تیران تر

About the Urdu translation it will be enough to say that it is in the old 'Deccani' language and therefore contains generally those words which are not common now; e.g., 'apin' (self), 'jauṭ' (like), 'kaḍ' (sometimes), 'ker' (of), 'kila' (alone), 'kubal' (difficulty), 'latakna' (to be proud), 'latpatna' (to be insnared), 'lorna' (to request), 'luk' (upto), 'thāṇ' (place), etc.