

LITERATURE IN PERSIAN AND OTHER INDO – IRANIAN LANGUAGES

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Part One

LITERATURE IN PERSIAN

(*K. Aini*)

In Central Asia at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Iran and Transoxania were divided between two opposing forces, the Shaybanids under Shaybānī Khān (1500–10), expanding from the north-east to the west, and the Safavids under Shāh Ismāʿīl I (1501–24), expanding from the west to the east. The Shaybanid state in Transoxania, with its capital at Bukhara, and the Safavid state in Khurasan and Iran, with its capital at Tabriz, were established on territory ravaged by war. The third regional state was the Mughal empire, founded by Bābur, a descendant of Timur.

The state language in Safavid Persia, in Transoxania and in India was Persian (with different spoken forms called Farsi, Dari or Tajik, but a single literary idiom). As the Shiʿites predominated in Safavid Persia and the Sunnis among the Shaybanids and in Mughal India, their literature was inevitably influenced by these religious or sectarian orientations. Safavid Persia produced Shiʿite theological works, and its poetry – *qasīdas* (eulogies) and *masnawīs* (poems in couplets) – glorified the Prophet Muhammad, his cousin ʿAlī and his descendants. Safavid poetry became more mystical, and the prose more formal and refined. The imitative and pretentious literature (based on precedents for words and phrases and replete with complex imagery) which emerged in the middle of the seventeenth century was called the ‘Indian style’ (*sabk-i hindī*) because it had developed in India. The close link with India was typical of that period’s literature. The Mughal rulers (1526–1857), especially Bābur, Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, were discriminating patrons of Persian poetry. This is why poets and scholars migrated to India from Iran and Transoxania in large numbers.

Literature played a prominent role in society. The courts of rulers tended to become gathering places for outstanding literary figures, and the rulers and nobles were quite often poets themselves. Literature also developed to some extent among artisans and workers.

Principal prose works

A whole range of literary and historical works produced in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries are considered models of contemporary prose and are also the chief source for the study of the region’s literary and cultural life. Some of the basic works are Zaynu’ddīn Wāsifī’s *Badāyi’ al-waqāyi’* [Marvellous Happenings], Sām Mīrzā’s *tazkira* (biographical anthology of poets), the *Tuhfa-i Sāmī* [Gift from Sām], Sayyid Hasan Nisārī Bukhārī’s *Muzakkir alahbāb* [Remembrance of Friends], two translations into Persian of the *tazkira* entitled the *Majālis al-nafā’is* [Assemblages of Precious Objects] by ‘Alīshīr Nawā’ī (‘Alīsher Navā’ī), Hāfiz Tanish Bukhārī’s *‘Abdullāh-nāma*, the *tazkira* entitled *Khayr al-bayān* [Excellence of Narration] by Shāh Husayn b. Malik Ghiyāsu’ddīn Mahmūd, several historical works, and also three translations into Persian of Bābur’s memoirs, the *Bābur-nāma*.

Zaynu’ddīn Mahmūd Wāsifī’s memoirs (*Badāyi’ al-waqāyi’*) are an outstanding source of information about the cultural and political life of the period. This prose work skilfully unveils details of life in Khurasan and Transoxania. Wāsifī was from an educated Herat family close to literary circles. By the age of 16 he had met ‘Alīshīr Nawā’ī (1441–1501). Soon afterwards, because of the war between Ismā‘īl I and Shaybānī Khān and the fall of Herat to the Safavids in 1510, Wāsifī made his way from Herat into Transoxania. In 1513–14 he was in Samarkand, then he wandered among the cities of the region and in 1518 settled in Tashkent. Wāsifī’s legacy consists of a series of verses of great poetic skill, *ghazals* (odes), *qasīdas* and versified *nazīras* (responses) to the verses of Kātibī and Kamālu’ddīn Ismā‘īl Isfahānī; his verses were composed in the formal and very complex style that was fashionable at the time.

The *Badāyi’ al-waqāyi’* consists, as far as we can tell from surviving manuscripts, of between 46 and 54 parts. The first part contains a description of events in Samarkand, while the second is about life in Shahrukhiyya and Tashkent, and includes recollections of bygone times in Herat. Besides Wāsifī’s own works, verses and narratives, there are stories by other writers and information about them, and several stories about Abū ‘Alīb. Sīnā (Avicenna) and Kamālu’ddīn Bihzād. This is what Wāsifī usually talked about during audiences with the then ruler of Tashkent, Keldī Muhammad. He also recorded events in the lives of the *habitués* of the *madrasas*, the traders and inhabitants of the town’s old quarters, interesting information about talented artisans who were also poets and artists, and so on.¹ Boldyrev has argued that Wāsifī’s memoirs differed greatly from the predominant upper-class tendency in literature, and that he created a new literary style to meet the needs of the

¹ S. Aini, 1977, Vol. 13; Boldyrev, 1989; Wāsifī, 1971–2.

growing urban public.² The particular features of this style are a tendency towards realism, the rejection of rhetoric and a simplicity of language.

TAZKIRAS (BIOGRAPHICAL ANTHOLOGIES OF POETS)

The *tazkira* entitled the *Majālis al-nafā'is* by ʿAlīshīr Nawāʿī, written in Turkish, was translated into Persian in 1521–2. It provides details about 459 poets.³ The translation was by Fakhrī Herātī, who provided supplementary information about 189 literary figures. He entitled his translation the *Latāʾif-nāma* [Narratives of Pleasant Anecdotes]. In 1522–3 Muhammad Mubārak Qazvīnī, known as Hakīm Shāh, completed a second translation of the anthology of ʿAlīshīr Nawāʿī in Istanbul.⁴ These translations contain much new information supplementing that of Nawāʿī. Fakhrī Herātī also wrote two *tazkiras* of his own. One of them, completed in 1540–1, was dedicated to the women poets of Khurasan and Transoxania, and thus provides evidence of women’s role in literary life.

Sām Mīrzā Safavī’s *tazkira*, entitled the *Tuhfa-i Sāmī*, completed around 1550, is one of the main sources on the literature and culture of the first half of the sixteenth century. In it, Sām Mīrzā records information about 703 literary figures. The *tazkira* is divided into 8 sections compiled according to the authors’ social background (rulers, officials, religious leaders, and so on). In adhering to this principle, Sām Mīrzā embraces literary figures from all levels of society. Chapter 5 provides information about such popular sixteenth-century poets as Hilālī, Hātīfī, Bināʿī, Gulkhānī, Haydar Qulchapaz, Āgāhī and Haydar Kaukabī. The next section is devoted to ordinary people, including 62 literary figures, of whom 21 poets are artisans (a weaver, silk-spinner, blacksmith, barber, knife-maker, arrow-maker, and so on). Chapter 6 is devoted to 29 poets who wrote in Turkish, beginning with Nawāʿī. The last chapter is devoted to literary figures from Khurasan and Iran.⁵

The *tazkira* entitled the *Muzakkir al-ahbāb* [Remembrance of Friends] by Sayyid Hasan Nisārī Bukhārī continues the tradition and is a valuable source for the study of sixteenth-century literature and culture in Transoxania.⁶ Completed in Bukhara in 1566, Nisārī’s anthology contains information about 250 literary and cultural figures of the region. Some of them are representatives of the authorities and grandees, including some religious leaders. Another group comprises those coming from the middle classes, among whom Nisārī names 12 artisans, including Kasirī Bukhārī, Hāshim Samarqandī, Nawīdī Tūnī,

² Boldyrev, 1989, p. 306.

³ ʿAlīshīr Nawāʿī, 1961.

⁴ Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʿī, 1945.

⁵ Safavī, 1347/1968; Sattarav, 1972; Karimov, 1985, pp. 54–77.

⁶ Boldyrev, 1956; Maʿānī, 1350/1971, pp. 219–329; Karimov, 1985, pp. 77–84.

Mīrak Sayyid Ghiyās Herātī, Baqā'ī Herātī, Kamī, Sayfī Kirmānī and °Abdu'l Rahmān Mushfiqī. Nisārī's anthology consists of an introduction, 4 chapters and a conclusion.⁷

Sultān Muhammad Mutribī Samarqandī, author of the *Tazkirat al-shu'arā*, was a pupil of Hājī Hasan Nisārī. He was born in Samarkand in 1558 into an educated family and was educated in Samarkand and Bukhara. He completed his anthology around 1605 and dedicated it to the new ruler of Transoxania, Walī Muhammad Bahādur Khān (1605–11). Unlike previous anthologies, which were compiled according to the authors' social background, Mutribī's *tazkira* followed the alphabetical order under the *abjad* system. This method was adopted subsequently by the seventeenth–eighteenth-century *tazkira* authors Malīhā Samarqandī and Walī Dāghistānī. Mutribī's works mention 16 poets who were nobles, and give details of 317 literary figures who were the author's contemporaries as well as rare data about 244 Transoxanian writers and 70 artisans engaged in writing poetry. After completing this work, Mutribī set off for India, where he visited the court of Jahāngīr. In India, Mutribī added a large supplement to his anthology that mentioned 81 poets active during the rule of Akbar.⁸ Mutribī died in India in 1630–1. An annotated text of Mutribī's *Tazkirat al-shu'arā* was published in 1998 in Tehran.⁹

Malīhā Samarqandī's *tazkira* entitled the *Muzakkir al-ashāb* [Remembrance of Masters], completed in 1691, is a splendid source on seventeenth-century literature in Iran and Transoxania. The author was born in Samarkand in 1641 into the family of an educated *mufti* (expert in religious law). From childhood he amused himself with poetry, studied the sciences and travelled in Persia, mixing with poets, scholars and artists. While in Isfahan he had meetings with a famous literary figure, the *tazkira* author Mīrzā Tāhir Nasrābādī. In 1690 Malīhā returned to Bukhara, before going to Samarkand to complete his *tazkira*, which he supplemented with impressions of his travels and his meetings with the most interesting people. He modelled his anthology on Mutribī's *tazkira*, arranging the notices in alphabetical order. The contents of the supplement are ordered in chronological sequence. In the basic part of his anthology, Malīhā describes 165 poets from Transoxania and 56 poets from Iran.¹⁰

⁷ Khwāja Bahā'u'ddīn Hasan Nisārī Bukhārī, 1969.

⁸ °Abdu'l Ghānī Mirzoev published this part of the *tazkira* of Mutribī as a separate book: *Tazkirat al-shu'arā* by Emperor Jahāngīr, see Mirzoev, 1976. The tract is actually lifted from Nizāmu'ddīn Ahmad's *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, written in 1593, which, apparently by some misunderstanding, Mutribī thought Jahāngīr himself had written.

⁹ The *tazkira* of Mutribī was published from the text prepared from copies of the manuscript from the present author's own personal collection, see *Tazkirat al-shu'arā*, Sultān Muhammad Mutribī Samarqandī, 1998.

¹⁰ Mirzoev, 1960; Ma'ānī, 1350/1971, pp. 236–41; Sa'adiyev, 1985, pp. 77–103.

Mīrzā Tāhir Nasrābādī's *tazkira* is also a fine example of prose and a source on seventeenth-century literature. The author was born in 1617 at Nasrabad near Isfahan. He did not attend the court and did not praise or write odes to the ruler, but lived modestly on the income from his garden. He was a well-known literary figure and visiting intellectuals sought him out. In 1679, as already mentioned, Nasrābādī became acquainted with Malīhā Samarqandī, who had arrived in Isfahan with the envoy of the ruler of Bukhara. The information that they exchanged during their meetings subsequently became part of their anthologies of poetry. Nasrābādī's *tazkira*, in contrast to Malīhā's anthology, was compiled in the traditional way. The most valuable section of the anthology contains information about 1,000 literary figures from Safavid times, as well as poets from Iraq, Khurasan, Transoxania and India. The material in the second part of the fourth section was borrowed from Malīhā. This gives details of 55 poets from Transoxania. The penultimate part is devoted to his relatives and their creative work. Finally, there are snippets of historical information about *mu^cammās* (poetry puzzles). Nasrābādī completed his *tazkira* in 1703.¹¹

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL PROSE

Fazlullāh Ruzbihān Isfahānī's *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā* [The Guest Book of Bukhara] is a good example of sixteenth-century historical biography. It was begun in Bukhara and completed in Herat in 1509. The author spent many years at the court of Shaybānī Khān. In beautiful Persian, Ruzbihān details his impressions of daily life in Transoxania and western Turkistan, town and village, and the customs and clothing of the people living there. His language is noted for its simplicity and lack of pretension. His descriptions of nature are particularly attractive.¹²

Khawānd Amīr's historical work the *Habīb al-sīyar* [Friend of the Virtuous] was written in Herat between 1521 and 1524. The value of this work lies not only in the establishment of historical facts, but also in the multitude of reports about sixteenth-century cultural, scientific, literary and artistic figures who were the author's contemporaries.¹³ He writes about

¹¹ Ma^cānī, 1350/1971, pp. 391–404; see also list of authors' names from four *tazkiras*, see *Tazkiras*, 1926, pp. 27–70; in addition to the *Tazkira-yi Nasrābādī*, containing details of almost 1,000 poets of the Safavid period, mention should be made of a number of other highly important anthologies by Mullā 'Abdu'l Nabī Farrukhzamānī Qazvīnī, 1340/1961; Sabā, 1343/1964, which contains data on 2,410 poets who wrote in Persian, the majority of whom are not included in other anthologies (*Dibācha*, 'h'); Aslah Mīrzā, 1967, listing authors of Persian poetry, mainly from Shiraz, Bukhara, Isfahan, Samarkand, Mashhad, Yazd, Tehran, Kashghar, Tabriz, Tus, Kashan, Ardabil, Herat, etc. There are also supplements in four volumes, see Rashdī, 1969, Vols. 1–4.

¹² Ruzbihān Khunjī, 1962.

¹³ *Habīb al-sīyar*, 1874; K. Aini, 1957, p. 28; Karimov, 1985, pp. 40–53.

Binā'ī, °Āsafī, Hilālī, Darwīsh Dihakī, Hājī Muhammad Naqqāsh, Hājī Mīrak Naqqāsh, Maulānā Qāsim °Alī, Sultān Mashhadī, Kamālu'ddīn Bihzād and others.

Maulānā Fakhru'ddīn °Alī Safīwas a splendid prose writer of the first half of the sixteenth century and is of great importance to the history of Persian literature. He wrote 6 works, including the *Latā'if al-tawā'if* [Elegances of Peoples] completed in 1533. Its 14 chapters are written in a simple and rather laconic style. It contains legends from the past and stories about his contemporaries from various levels of society and includes depictions of ignoble deeds, ignorance and stupidity. Thus the author continues the tradition of the satirical works of writers such as °Aufī Bukhārī (thirteenth century) and °Ubayd Zākānī (fourteenth century).¹⁴

The 12-volume chronicle *Ahsan al-tawārīkh* [Excellent among Histories] by Hasan Rūmlū, the court historian of Shāh Tahmāsp I (1524–76), is a fine example of the best prose of Safavid times. The last volume details year-by-year events during the reign of the first three rulers of the Safavid dynasty. The chronicle ends with a *mutawaffiyāt* (obituaries) section containing details about famous people, including figures of literature, culture and science, who died in those years. The account breaks off in 1577–8. The work is written in clear and precise language, avoiding the complex Arabic forms and pretentious or veiled references typical of Persian chronicles.¹⁵

Hāfiz Tanish b. Muhammad Bukhārī's *Sharaf-nāma-i shāhī* [Book of Royal Glory], written in Bukhara in 1584, is an important historical work. The author, a historian, singer and poet, writing under the pseudonym Nakhli, served at the court of the Bukharan ruler °Abdullāh Khān II (1557–98). It describes °Abdullāh Khān's victorious campaigns, which is why it is sometimes called the *°Abdullāh-nāma*. Hāfiz Tanish provides information about nine Bukharan literary figures, including Mushfiqī, Nizām Mu°ammā'ī, Wafā'ī and Hazīrī.¹⁶

Amīn Ahmad Rāzī's *Haft iqlīm* [The Seven Climes], written in 1594, is a geographic and biographic encyclopaedia. The author's information about literary and cultural figures in many ways repeats that of his predecessors Khwānd Amīr and Sām Mīrzā. The influence of the urban culture developing at that time is clearly visible.

One splendid example of the huge number of historical biographies must be mentioned – Darwīsh °Alī Changī's *Tuhfat al-surūr* [Gift of Pleasure], also called the *Risāla-i mūsīqī* [Treatise on Music], dedicated to the 12 *maqāms* (musical modes). It contains little-known

¹⁴ Maulānā, 1346/1957.

¹⁵ Rūmlū, 1970.

¹⁶ Saifiyev, 1969; 1973; Karimov, 1985, pp. 114–21.

and valuable information about 96 famous cultural figures from Khurasan and Transoxania – poets, musicians, scholars, and others of various periods.¹⁷

Hājī Samandar Tirmizī, mentioned in Mahilā's *tazkira*, wrote the *Dastūr al-mulūk* [Rules for Kings] in 1688–9; it is an interesting example of didactic ethical literature. There is also valuable information about historical events in Transoxania and famous people from the region.¹⁸

The Mughal rulers of India also attached much importance to historiography. Many such works were written there, including translations of the above-mentioned *Bābur-nāma* of Zahīru'ddīn Bābur (1483–1530). The *Tārīkh-i Alfī* [History of the Millennium], a history of the Islamic world, and the *Akbar-nāma* [The History of Akbar] of Abū'l Fazl were completed at the court of Akbar (1556–1605). The *Tārīkh-i Farishta* (1606) is an important fullscale history of India.

The way in which the *Bābur-nāma* was translated is of some interest. First, Bābur's own secretary, Shaykh Zaynu'ddīn, rendered it into ornate prose. Then Mīrzā Payanda Ghaznavī (1586) made a partial translation. Finally, Mīrzā 'Abdu'l Rahīm Khān-i Khānān's highly accurate and literal translation of the Turkish text was made in 1589–90, and it is this that commands the most authority.¹⁹ It was part of Akbar's great project of promoting translations into Persian, which also included those of a number of Sanskrit works, from the great Indian epic the *Mahābhārata* to the famous collection of didactic tales, the *Pañchatantra*.

Major poets of Transoxania, Khurasan, Iran and India

Sayfī Bukhārī (d. 1503–4), also known as Sayfī 'Arūzī, was a skilled theorist of the *'arūz*, or classical verse metre. He was raised in the cultural milieu of Bukhara and Herat and was influenced by the works of Jāmī and Nawā'ī. He lived in Bukhara from 1487 until the end of his life. His works greatly influenced the literary training of the following generations. Sayfī was the author of two *dīwāns* (collections of poems) singing the praises of artisans and other representatives of the urban classes: plasterers, blacksmiths, shoe-makers, bakers, etc. He was also the author of three treatises: the *Risāla-i mūsīqī* [Treatise on Music], the *Risāla-i mu'ammā* [Treatise on Poetry Puzzles] and the *Risāla-i 'arūz* [Treatise on Classical Metre]. Sayfī is considered a founder of the urban (artisan) poetry movement.²⁰

¹⁷ The first reference to the treatise of Darwīsh 'Alī comes from Fitrat in 1927; Darwīsh 'Alī's work was translated by Semionov, 1940; Karimov, 1985, pp. 107–14.

¹⁸ *Dastūr al-mulūk* was published in a Russian translation in 1971.

¹⁹ 'Abdu'l Rahīm, 1890.

²⁰ Blochmann, 1872; Dānesh-Pajūh, 1962, pp. 3515–17 (*Sanā'i' al-badā'i'*); Mirzoev, 1955, pp. 3–18; Ma'ānī, 1346/1967, pp. 26–8.

Bābā Fighānī Shīrāzī (d. 1519, Mashhad) was the author of tender lyrical verses, *ghazals* and *rubāʿiyyāt* (quatrains, sing. *rubāʿī*). Jāmī considers the content and exposition of his lyricism to be unequalled by his contemporaries. Bābā Fighānī's lyricism is imbued with sincere emotion, reflecting the aspirations and pain of the human soul, which is why his contemporaries called him 'Hāfiz-i sānī' (the second Hāfiz). The language of his poetry is extremely melodious, full of popular expressions, proverbs and sayings.

ʿAbdullāh Hātifi (d. 1520), a nephew of Jāmī, was the author of several *nazīras* on the poems of Nizāmī (1141–1209, the Sufi poet, and author of *Laylā o Majnūn* and other classics); a *masnawī* devoted to Timur; and an unfinished poem called the *Sharaf-nāma* [Record of Glory], which he had begun at the suggestion of Shāh Ismāʿīl I, whom Hātifi had met in Khurasan. This poem was devoted to the campaigns and deeds of the shah.²¹

Hājī ʿĀsafī Herawī (d. 1517) was Jāmī's best pupil in the science of versification. Only his *dīwān* has been preserved. It contains *ghazals*, strophic poetry and *rubāʿiyyāt*. He is perhaps the only poet of his times who devoted not a single line to the rulers, officials and nobles. His poetry, according to *tazkira* authors, is unusually refined, elegant and powerful in style.²²

Kamālu'ddīn Binā'ī was a talented poet and wit, the author of two *dīwāns* of verses, two histories of the campaigns of Shaybānī Khān, two treatises on music and the poem *Bihrūz o Bahrām*. The *dīwāns* of Binā'ī contain examples of all styles of classical Persian poetry – *masnawīs*, *qasīdas*, *ghazals*, *rubāʿiyyāt* and *qitʿas* (short poems). He spent most of his life travelling ceaselessly back and forth between Herat, Shiraz and Tabriz, was in the service of Shaybānī Khān in Samarkand, and then, after Shaybānī Khān's death, returned to Herat and finally went to Qarshi (Nasaf), where he was executed by the Safavids in 1510 at the age of 59.²³

Badru'ddīn Hilālī (executed in Herat in 1529) was a lyrical poet, an acknowledged master of the *ghazal*. His poetry is full of sharp social criticism. Three poems (*masnawīs*) came from his pen – *Shāh o Darwīsh*, the *Sifāt al-ʿāshiqīn* and *Laylā o Majnūn*. In the first two the author develops Sufi ethical themes. In *Laylā o Majnūn* Hilālī presents a quite original version of a wellknown classical subject, for the first time suggesting the heroine's independent resolution of her fate against her parents' will.²⁴

²¹ Hātifi, 1788; 1976; Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 4, pp. 438–48.

²² *Dīwān-i ʿĀsafī Harawī* (A.H. 853–923), 1963; Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 4, pp. 369–74.

²³ Mirzoev, 1976; an autograph of K. Binā'ī's treatise on music, previously thought not to have survived, has been published in facsimile: *Risāla dar mūsīqī*, 1367/1988.

²⁴ The long poem *Shāh o Darwīsh*, 1896, has been translated into German by Ethe, p. 302. The only manuscript of Hilālī's *Laylā o Majnūn*, British Museum, London (No. 319), was published with notes by K. Aini, 1952; 1957; Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 4, pp. 428–32; Nafisi, 1337/1958.

Ahlī Shīrāzī (d. 1535, Shiraz), one of the major poets of the sixteenth century, was the author of numerous *ghazals*, *qasīdas* and *rubāʿiyyāt*. His *rubāʿiyyāt* were essentially of an edifying and ethical nature. His *Sāqī-nāma* [The Cup-bearer's Book] is composed in quatrains (*rubāʿiyyāt*). Ahlī Shīrāzī wrote the Sufi ethical poems, the *Shamʿ o parwāna* [The Candle and the Moth] and the *Zubdat al-akhlāq* [Essence of Ethics]. To Ahlī Shīrāzī is attributed the 'Iraqī style' of poetry (*sabk-i ʿirāqī*).²⁵

ʿAbdu'l Rahmān Mushfiqī Bukhārī (Marwīor Marwazī) (1522–88) is famous as a satirical poet. Educated in Bukhara, from 1564 he was a keeper at the Samarkand library of Sultān Saʿīd. In 1577 he travelled to India for a year. On his return to Bukhara, Mushfiqī occupied the post of *malik al-shuʿarā* (chief poet) at the court of the Bukharan ruler ʿAbdullāh Khān. He has left behind *ghazals*, *rubāʿiyyāt*, *qasīdas*, *qitʿas*, *muʿammās* and long poems. He was a renowned master of *ghazals* and the creator of the style of poetry called *musallas* (triplet). Mushfiqī's two *dīwāns*, compiled in 1565–6 and 1577–8, consist of 4,100 *bayts* (couplets). They also contain prose works and three poems, the *Sāqī-nāma*, the *Gulzār-i Iram* [Garden of Paradise] and the *Jahānnāma* [Book of the World]. Mushfiqī's poetry combines the classical literary style with a popular manner of expression. It should be mentioned that his verse often records particular events taking place in Bukhara as well as the dates of construction of new buildings.²⁶

Muhtasham Kāshānī (d. 1587–8) was the court poet of the Safavid ruler Shāh Tahmāsp I. He specialized in the composition of *ghazals* and *marsiyas* (elegies). Muhtasham's chief work is the *Haft band* [Seven Stanzas], which recounts tragic events from the lives of followers of the Prophet Muhammad.²⁷

Maulānā Shamsu'ddīn Kamālu'ddīn Muhammad (b. 1532–3; d. 1583–4), known as Wahshī Bāfqī, who came from Bāfq, a small town near Yazd, was the author of some splendid *ghazals*, *musammats* (stanzaic form of poetry), *qasīdas*, seven short *masnawīs*, and also the long poems the *Khuld-i barīn* [High Heaven] and the *Nāzir o Manzūr* [The Observer and the Seen], as well as the unfinished poem *Farhād o Shīrīn*. His poetry was particularly popular in India.²⁸

Jamālu'ddīn Muhammad b. Badru'ddīn, known as ʿUrfī Shīrāzī (d. 1590, Lahore), was an outstanding poet of the Indo-Iranian style (*sabk-i hindī*), otherwise known as the *sabk-i isfahānī*, or the Isfahan style. He spent a considerable part of his short life in India. His

²⁵ Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 4, pp. 447–53. Iraq during the period signified Iran or, more narrowly, western Iran.

²⁶ S. Aini, 1926, pp. 121–42; 1940, pp. 169–74; K. Aini (ed.), 1978.

²⁷ Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 792–8; Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 172–7.

²⁸ Bāfqī's *dīwān* has been published several times. See Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 760–77; Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 238–40, 181–2; Dihkhudā, 1993–4, Vol. 14, pp. 20, 455–6.

poetry, often embodying very bold ideas, had admirers not only in India and Iran but also in Transoxania and Turkey. He wrote two poems in the form of *naz̄īras* to Nizāmī's poems the *Makhzan al-asrār* [Treasurer of Secrets] and *Khusrau o Shīrīn*, and a *dīwān* entitled the *Gulshan-i rāz* [Garden of Secrets], containing 26 *qasīdas*, 270 *ghazals* and 400 *rubā'īyyāt*. His works are distinguished by subtle similes and an elegance of style.²⁹

Sā'ib Isfahānī (1601–77) was a famous poet, an outstanding practitioner of the Indo-Iranian style (*sabk-i hindī*). Educated in Iran, he spent six years in India where he gained access to Shāh Jahān (1628–58) and received the honorary title Mustafīd Khān. He returned to Isfahan, to the court of Shāh 'Abbās II (1642–66), and became the chief poet (*malik al-shu'arā*), but later, after Shāh Sulaymān came to the throne in 1667, he left the court for good. Sā'ib was the author of several *dīwāns* consisting of *qasīdas* and *rubā'īyyāt*, and the *masnawī* entitled the *Qandahār-nāma*. He also wrote poetry in Azeri-Turkish. His poetry is full of didactic, ethical and moral issues, encouraging the powers that be somehow to lighten the burdens of the people's life in this world. In his *ghazals* he develops the theme of love and human relationships, emphasizing the fateful misfortunes and injustices of the times, as well as the degradation and pain of the people. The works of Sā'ib were widely admired. His verses are sung in Persian *maqāms* and in Tajik *shash maqāms* (six modes).³⁰

Mirzā Abū Tālib Kalīm Kāshānī (d. 1651, Lahore) was one of the most important and original poets of the Indo-Iranian style. He was born in Hamadan and educated in Kashan and Shiraz. He travelled widely and then lived for some time at the court of Jahāngīr (1605–27). In 1619 Kalīm returned briefly to Isfahan before setting off for India. Under Shāh Jahān he was accorded the position of *malik al-shu'arā*. He spent the last years of his life in Kashmir. Kalīm cultivated all genres of poetry in Persian and left a legacy of *qasīdas*, *ghazals*, *qit'as* and *masnawīs*. Primarily he was a master of *ghazals* which, besides the traditional extolling of love, contain social themes, motifs of protest against violence and descriptions of the people's poverty. His fine sketches are rich in allusions to India

²⁹ 'Urfī Shīrāzī's *dīwān* has been published in Bombay and Iran. See Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 799–814; Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 241–9. The Indian style of literature, a brilliant continuation and creative renewal of the traditions of Persian classical literature, is discussed in greater detail in Prigarina, 1999.

³⁰ The author of the Indian anthology *Sham'ī anjuman* calls Sā'ib 'the imam of the masters of the elegant word, the most learned of the poets'. Azād Bilgramīn *Khazāna-yi 'Amira* places him fourth after the three poet-prophets (Firdausi, Anwarī and Sa'adī). The most important publications are *Dīwān-i Sā'ib bāhāvāshīwa tashīh ba khatt-i khwud-i ān ustād* [The *Dīwān* of Sā'ib with Notes and Corrections in the Master's Own Hand], see *Dīwān-i Sā'ib bāhāvāshīw...*, 1977, No. 52; *Dīwān-i Sā'ib*, 1357/1978; Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 1271–84.

and its people. A series of Kalīm's verses are in *qit'as* praising the artistic skill of Indian handicraft workers. His poetry also contains Hindi words and expressions.³¹

Nāzīm Herawī (1601–71) was a seventeenth-century Herat poet whose works reflect the influence of the artisan classes. This is particularly expressed in his *ghazals*, stanzas and *rubā'ciyyāt*. On the orders of ʿAbbās Qulī Khān, the ruler of Herat, Nāzīm completed in 1662 the *masnawī* entitled *Yūsuf o Zulaykhā*, which is considered one of the best poems on this theme in Iran and Transoxania. Nāzīm's *ghazals* are sung in the Tajik musical cycle, the *shash maqām*.³²

Known as Shaukat Bukhārī, Hājī Muhammad b. Is'hāq (d. between 1695 and 1699 in Isfahan) is one of the main representatives of the *sabk-i hindī* style and made a notable contribution to its development and improvement. Originally from Bukhara, Shaukat spent his life in endless travels across Persia and India, always on the road, rejecting all intercourse with rulers and the authorities. His *dīwān* consists mainly of *ghazals*, *qasīdas*, *qit'as* and *rubā'ciyyāt*, in whose composition he displayed great skill, protesting against the mendacity, envy and ignorance of the world's powers and extolling friendship, fraternity and true love.³³

Mīrzā ʿAbdu'l Qādir Bedil (1644–1720), a great representative of the *sabk-i hindī* style in India, was the creator of a whole literary trend, the *sabki Bedil* (the Bedil style), which had a profound impact on Persian literature in Central Asia. He was educated in the town of his birth, Patna, and took up poetry there. At the age of 40 he moved to Delhi, where he founded his own literary school. Bedil left behind almost 100,000 lines of poetry. His basic works are: two poems on Sufi philosophical themes, the *Tilism-i hairat* [Magic of Wonder] (1668) and the *Muhīt-i a'zam* [The Great Ocean] (1681), the poem the *Tūr-i ma'rifat* [The Attainment of Gnosis, an allusion to Moses at Sinai] (1687) on the application of Sufi philosophy to life, and the poem *ʿIrfān* [Gnosis] (1712) expounding his basic philosophical and ethical views of life and the state. The latter consists of 10 separate *masnawīs*, one of which is the well-known poem *Kamda o Madan*. Bedil wrote a whole cycle of Sufi philosophical lyrics – *ghazals*, *rubā'ciyyāt*, *qasīdas* and *qit'as*. He also left an enormous

³¹ The fullest collection of Kalīm's works, containing 15,000 *bayts* (couplets), has been published in Iran: *Dīwān-i qasā'id, ghazaliyyāt, masnawīyyāt, muqatta'āt-i Abū Tālib Kalīm-i Kāshāni* [Collection of *Qasīdas, Ghazals, Masnawīs, Muqattas* by Abū Tālib Kalīm Kāshāni], see *Dīwān-i quasā'id.*, 1336/1957; Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 1170–80; Browne, 1928, Vol. 4.

³² Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 1266–70; Khayyāmpūr, 1340/1961, p. 591; Mirzoev, 1955, p. 180.

³³ Safā, 1363/1984, Vol. 5, pp. 1333–9; Dihkhudā, 1993–4, Vol. 9, pp. 12, 849; Rypka, 1968, p. 302; Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, p. 265.

body of prose work, packed with original verses and numerous pieces of information about people and events and his life. His epistolary legacy is also considerable.³⁴

Fitrat Zardūz Samarqandī (born in 1657 and died at the beginning of the eighteenth century) was a prominent seventeenth-century Transoxanian poet. He was born into an artisan family in Samarkand and studied in Bukhara, where he spent the rest of his life. Fitrat displayed high skill, in Malīhā's words, in both poetry and prose. He composed in all styles of Persian poetry. His most popular work is the poem the *Tālib o matlūb* [The Seeker and the Sought], also sometimes called the *Gāzur pīsar* [The Young Laundryman]. The poem is dedicated to the tragic love of a laundryman and a young beauty, the ruler's daughter. In Fitrat's poems classical Persian literary language is combined with popular speech. In this sense they are close to the poetry of Saida Nasafī and are on similar themes.³⁵

Saida Mīr cĀbid Nasafī was the most outstanding seventeenth-century Transoxanian poet. He was born at the end of the first half of the seventeenth century at Nasaf (modern Qarshi), lived in Bukhara and died there between 1707 and 1711. He was a true singer of the artisans and other representatives of the middle classes, and a defender of their interests. His poetic work amounts to more than 18,000 couplets. Malīhāsaid of Saida that:

his superb *ghazals* are a model for literary figures, and his elegant *mukhammas* [verse of five lines] are roses in a basket, and his *shahr-āshubs* ['upsetting the town' – short love poems involving young craftsmen] caused commotion in the bazaars.³⁶

Saida embraced all styles of poetry and he introduced many novelties. To this should be added his allegorical *dāstān* [epic], the *Bahārīyāt* [Spring-time Verses], in which he developed the style of the allegorical story, and also his verses about handicrafts, in which he widely used artisanal terminology and expressions.³⁷

In Transoxania after the seventeenth century, as a result of the increased frequency of internecine wars, growing economic difficulties and the domination of ignorant rulers, court literature went into sharp decline and the people generally became subject to a decadent form of mysticism. The very lack of *tazkira* literature from the second half of the

³⁴ The twentieth-century discoverers of Bedil's creative work were Sadriddin (Sadru'ddīn) Aini (1912), cAbdu'l Ra'ūf Fitrat and E. Bertels, see S. Aini et al., 1945, pp. 117–22; the Introduction to S. Aini, 1954, pp. 5–8; K. Aini, 1992, pp. 112–26; Braginsky, 1975, p. 333; I. Muminov, A. Bausani (Italy), J. Rypka (Czech Republic), Z. Safā, A. Zarrinkūb, Muhammad Shāfi' Kadkanī (Iran) participated in an edition of the collected works of Bedil, first published in the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1997 (see *Kullīyāt-i Bedil*, 1376/1997); Habib, 1363/1984; Nur al-Hasan, 1363/1984; articles by experts on Bedil and odes in praise of Bedil published in a special issue of the bimonthly journal on language and literature, *Khurāsān*, 1985, Vol. 7, Nos. 4–5, pp. 1–217.

³⁵ S. Aini, 1926, pp. 171–5; Mirzoev, 1954, p. 186; Sa'cdiyev, 1985, pp. 123–42; Rypka, 1968, pp. 506–7.

³⁶ Mirzoev, 1954, p. 100.

³⁷ S. Aini, 1926, pp. 176–81; Ptitsyn, 1940, Vol. 2, pp. 275–83; Mirzoev, 1954; Sa'cdiyev, 1985, pp. 159–259.

eighteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth is evidence of this process. It is only in small collections of verses (variously known as *bayāz*, *jung* and *kashkūl*) that a few verses by local poets are to be found. The most noticeable feature of the Persian poetry of Transoxania in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the penetration and growing influence of the works of Mīrzā^c Abdu'l Qādir Bedil. The poets of the period include Mīrzā Sādiq Munshī, Rāsikh, Hāziq, Muhammad Sharīf^c Ārif and Makhzūn Samarqandī.³⁸

In his poetry, MīrzāSādiq Munshī (d. 1819) raises acute problems of the times, criticizing social injustice and poverty. In three poems and a *dīwān* of lyrical poetry he follows the style of Bedil and also continues the traditions of Amīr Khusrau and Mīr Hasan of Delhi, Hāfiz of Shiraz, and Kamāl Khujandī. One of his three poems, the *Dakhma-i shāhān* [The Rulers' Tomb], is considered in both content and style to be the exposition of a completely new form.³⁹

Junaydullāh Hāziq (killed in Shahr-i Sabz in 1843), a poet and physician, was born near Herat and studied in Bukhara. While there, he was drawn to the court and in 1805 was appointed imam (prayer leader) of the^c Alī *madrasa* in Bukhara. Avoiding court intrigues, he dedicated himself to poetry and composed the poem *Yūsuf o Zulaykhā* in which he shames court panegyrists and versifiers. Then he began his wanderings (Khwarazm, Kokand, Bukhara, Shahr-i Sabz). He also wrote over 800 *ghazals* and a historical biography, the *Wāqi^c āt-i islāmī* [Episodes of Islam], in which he champions the cause of the lower classes, opposing their oppression and humiliation and, for the edification of the emir of Bukhara, appeals for justice on their behalf.⁴⁰

In Persia in the middle of the seventeenth century a literary movement began against the domination of the *sabk-i hindī* and in favour of a renaissance of the classical *sabk-i^c irāqī* and the *sabk-i khurāsānī* (Khurasan style). In the eighteenth century the *sabk-i hindī* gradually gave way to the new literary movement. The chief representatives of this movement were Mushtāq, Nishāt, Mijmar, Qā'ānī Shīrāzī, Furūghī and Sabā.

Mushtāq (d. 1757) founded a new literary movement called Bāzgasht (Return). His *dīwān* of *ghazals*, compiled by his pupils, comprises 6,000 *bayts*. Mushtāq's *ghazals* were written in the tradition of the Sufi verses of Sa^cdī, Hāfiz and Khayyām.⁴¹

³⁸ Karimov, 1974, Part 1, pp. 34–40. Concerning major authors of this period see Karimov, 1989, Part 2. See also Habibov (ed.), 1984; Habibzada, 1995; Habibov, 1971.

³⁹ Karimov, 1972.

⁴⁰ S. Aini, 1926, pp. 257–9; Mirzoev, 1948, pp. 141–6; Amirqulov, 1969.

⁴¹ Aryanpur, 1350/1971; Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 283–4; Rypka, 1968, pp. 307–8; Zarrinkub, 1375/1996, pp. 459, 471; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, p. 22 (the section on Bāzgasht is written by M. Mulla Ahmedov); Makki (ed.), n.d.

Hātif Isfahānī (d. 1783) was a brilliant representative of eighteenth-century literature. The influence of Sa^cdī and Hāfiz may be sensed in his poetry too. Hātif was a master of the *tarkīb-i band* – a particular style of poetry with a refrain at the end of a stanza of two rhyming half-lines. He used it as a vehicle for the expression of Sufi ideas.⁴²

Mīrzā ^cAbdu'l Wahhāb Isfahānī, known as Nishāt (1761–1828), was a champion of literary renaissance and set up a circle of poets aimed at developing this trend. He gathered around him poets, singers, musicians, artists and calligraphers. In 1804 Nishāt moved to Tehran and became the chancellor of Fath ^cAlī Shāh (1796–1834), in whose reign poets and artists occupied state posts. Nishāt's best works were written in the style of classical poetry and prose and were copied by many contemporaries. They were included in the *Ganjīna-i dīwān* [The Treasure of the Poetry Collection], written in his own splendid hand.⁴³

Mijmar (Sayyid Husayn Tabātabā'ī, 1776–1810) was an active member of the Bāzgasht movement, grew close to Nishāt and, with his help, gained access to the Qajar court, where he became an adviser to the shah and received the title *mujtahid al-shu^carā* (chief consultant on matters of literature). He was a splendid poet who wrote *qasīdas* reflecting historical events and lyrical poetry about love with a Sufi flavour in the tradition of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century poets.⁴⁴

Qā'ānī Shīrāzī (1808–53) was one of Persia's leading poets in the first half of the nineteenth century and one of the chief leaders of the Bāzgasht movement. He was educated in Shiraz and Isfahan and lived in various Iranian towns before settling in Tehran, where he entered the service of Nāsiru'ddīn Shāh (1848–96). As a result of court intrigues he was deprived of his salary and he died from a psychiatric disorder. The poetic legacy of Qā'ānī comprises a large number of *qasīdas*, *ghazals*, two *masnawīs*, *rubā'īyyāt* and *qit^cas*, as well as a prose work, *Parīshān* [Melancholy], written in the tradition of the *Golestān* of Sa^cdī.⁴⁵

Mīrzā ^cAbbās Bastāmī, known as Furūghī (1799–1858), was a leading representative of the Bāzgasht movement. He wrote 25,000 *bayts* of lyrical poetry in the tradition of Sa^cdī and Hāfiz. The language of his poetry is unusually smooth and elegant, distinguished by its great eloquence. Following Qā'ānī, Furūghī strove to achieve simplicity in expressing

⁴² Zarrinkub, 1375/1996, p. 462; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, p. 22.

⁴³ Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, p. 311; Rypka, 1968, pp. 327–8; Zarrinkub, 1375/1996, p. 222; Aryanpur, 1350/1971, pp. 14–15, 29–35, 206; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, pp. 24–5; Nakh^cī (ed.), 1337/1959.

⁴⁴ Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 307–8; Rypka, 1968, p. 328; Aryanpur, 1350/1971, p. 206; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, pp. 26–7; Tabātabā'ī (ed.), 1345/1966.

⁴⁵ Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 177–81, 326–35; Rypka, 1968, pp. 329–31; Aryanpur, 1350/1971, pp. 93–109, 210–11; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, pp. 27–9; *Dīwān-i Hakīm Qā'ānī bā inzimām-i 'Hadā'iq ash-she^cr-parīshān-dīwān-i Furūghī*, 1277/1860.

thoughts and feelings, a distinguishing feature of the Bāzgasht style.⁴⁶ Furūghī's *ghazals* are sung in Persian and Tajik *maqāms*.

Sabā Kāshānī was an important poet who made a great contribution to the birth of the Bāzgasht movement. He was *malik al-shu'arā* at the court of Fath^c Alī Shāh. Having tested his poetical gifts in all styles of Persian poetry, Sabā was mostly famous for his *masnawī* entitled the *Shāhanshāh-nāma* [Book of Emperors]. This poem was a brave attempt to resurrect the epic traditions of the classical period.⁴⁷

In Persia the new Bāzgasht movement established a firm position in both poetry and prose. It is important to mention that at the time when the Bāzgasht style was coming into being, the leading style in Persian poetry was lyricism (in other words, the *ghazal*), which now tended to be displaced by the eulogistic *qasīda*.⁴⁸

Lexicography

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, India made a very distinct contribution to Persian lexicography. In 1608–9 Jamāl'uddīn Husayn Injū completed his great dictionary, the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, drawing upon 'Parsi, Pahlavi and Dari' words culled directly from a large number of poets' compositions, existing dictionaries and ordinary speech. His introduction contained an account of Iranian dialects and he identified certain important rules of language shift in Persian. Muhammad Qāsim' Surūrī' in Persia (1628–9) was more critical in accepting diverse senses for words, but made extensive use of the *Jahāngīrī*. In the eighteenth century, Siraju'ddīn^c Alī^c Arzu' at Delhi established a high level of lexicographic criticism in his *Chirāgh-i hidāyat* (c. 1740). His friend Tek Chand' Bahār' produced in the *Bahār-i 'ajam* (1739–40) a comprehensive dictionary based on citations that covered not only words, but also idiomatic expressions.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 336–7; Rypka, 1968, p. 332; Aryanpur, 1350/1971, pp. 82–6; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, p. 30; Mushfiq (ed.), 1342/1963; Browne et al. (eds.), 1334/1955.

⁴⁷ Fath^c Alī Khān Kāshī, known as Sabā, *Malik al-Shu'arā* [King of Poets] of Fath^c Alī Shāh. See Browne, 1928, Vol. 4, pp. 309–10; Rypka, 1968, pp. 326–7; Aryanpur, 1350/1971, pp. 20–8, 205–6; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, pp. 30–1.

⁴⁸ Zarrinkub, 1375/1996, pp. 463–4; *Istoriya persidskoy literatury XIX–XX vekov*, 1999, p. 31.

⁴⁹ Cf. Rypka, 1968, pp. 430–2.

Part Two

LITERATURE IN PASHTO

(R. Farhadī)

The earliest known work in Pashto ('Afghani') is the *Khayru'l bayān* [The Goodness of Narration] of Bāyazīd Ansārī (d. 1572–3), whose family came from Jalandhar in Punjab to Kaniguram in Waziristan. The *Khayru'l bayān* is written in both prose and verse and contains a call to high ethical standards in life. Bāyazīd proclaimed his own high spiritual status by saying: 'People are like fish and I am the water. Wherever the fish look, they look to water.' While using the Persian alphabet, Bāyazīd invented signs for writing particular Pashto sounds. Manuscripts of his work are now very rare, but the fact that he spread his message in his people's own language was perhaps one factor for winning him many followers; they called him Pīr-i Raushan (The Luminous Master) and both during and after his lifetime carried on a valiant war against the Mughals.

An orthodox author, °Abdu'l Karīm, known as Akhūnd Darweza, wrote the *Makhzanal-Islām* [Treasure of Islam] or the *Makhzan-i Afghānī* [Treasure in the Afghani (Language)], a prose manual in Pashto on the principles and ritual of the Hanafi school. In his manual, Akhūnd Darweza attacked the claims of Bāyazīd Ansārī. The *Makhzan* is a work that shows great clarity of exposition. Undoubtedly the Pashto language benefited greatly from the controversy between Bāyazīd and his orthodox opponents. Akhūnd Darweza issued the final version of the *Makhzan* in 1605; he died some time after 1612, the year in which he compiled the *Tazkirat al-abrār* [Notices of the Pious] in Persian.

Khushhāl Khān Khatak (1613–89), a warrior, is recognized as the national poet of the Pashtoons. Son of Shahbāz Khān, a chief of the Khatak tribe, the young Khushhāl accompanied his father in tribal wars. After his father's death in battle, Khushhāl succeeded him as khan. Thereafter he served in the Mughal campaigns in Balkh and Badakhshan in 1645–6. Later, in the time of the emperor Aurangzeb (1659–1707), the Mughal governor of Kabul aligned himself, along with some of Khushhāl's uncles and cousins, against Khushhāl. In 1664 Khushhāl, then 51 years old, was summoned by the governor to Peshawar, where he was arrested and sent in chains to a fortress. His poems written in prison are famous. He was released two years later, but was not allowed to return home until 1669. For the rest of his life, his sympathies rested with the rebel Pashtoon tribes who constantly

challenged the Mughal domination. Accompanied by one of his loyal sons, °Abdu'l Qādir Khatak, Khushhāl fought and defeated the people of the Kurram valley known as the Bangash, who were partisans of the Mughal cause. He also had to fight his third son, Bahrām, whom the Mughals sponsored in attempts to replace him as khan.

In 1674 Khushhāl voluntarily relinquished his khanship to his eldest son, Ashraf, also a poet, who was later (in 1683) put in jail by the Mughals. Khushhāl declared himself a rebel and spent the rest of his life with the Afridi tribe in the inaccessible hills of Tirah. He travelled from one tribal area to another, seeking assistance and refuge, and died in the Afridi country in 1689.

Khushhāl constantly sang of his love of beauty, honour and justice. As part of his opposition to the Mughal forces, Khushhāl preached the union of all the Afghan tribes and encouraged revolt against Mughal rule:

All the Pashtoons, from Kandahar to Attock,
All together are to support [their union] secretly or openly!

In a famous poem he declares:

My sword I gird upon my thigh
To guard Afghan honour and fame:
Its champion in this age I am,
The Khatak Khān, Khushhāl is my name.

In his verses Khushhāl celebrates his successes and laments his misfortunes. Hecensures those Pashtoons who accept gold rather than fight the Mughals.

Along with poetry, Khushhāl wrote other works in Pashto such as manuals on falconry and folk medicine, a dialogue between the pen and the sword, an account of his imprisonment and exile, and a geography of Swat. 'His lyrics and epics alike present his religious devotion, occasionally in mystic terms, his patriotic feelings, his moral code, his many loves in abject or joyful mood, and many other subjects.'⁵⁰ Khushhāl rightly claimed to be the originator of Pashto poetic form and metre. Like his predecessor, Afzal Ansārī, Khushhāl used the Persian poetic form, but instead of strictly applying its classical rules of prosody to Pashto, both poets adopted the metres of popular Pashto songs. 'This metre [i.e. the Pashtoon] is syllabic in nature, but the pattern is made by the stress usually recurring on every fourth syllable.'⁵¹

Khushhāl also left many *ghazals* in Persian under the pen-name Rūhī, and a Persian *qasīda* on the futility of this world in the same metre as the *Bahr alahrār* [Ocean of the

⁵⁰ MacKenzie, 1965.

⁵¹ MacKenzie, 1965.

Free] of Amīr Khusrau of Delhi. His Persian poetry is among the best of that written in the complex style known as *sabk-i hindī*.

Khushhāl's sons Sikandar and Ashraf (under the pen-name Hijrī) and his daughter Halīma were also poets in the Pashto language. The Khatak tribe also provided two other writers and poets: °Abdu'l Qādir Khatak and Kāmgār Khatak (d. 1693). Afzal Khatak (d. 1735), the grandson of Khushhāl Khatak, wrote in Pashto the *Tārīkh-i murassa*^c [History Adorned with Jewels], a history of the Pashtoons.

The poet °Abdu'l Rahmān, popularly called Rahmān Bābā (c. 1633–1706), has a sizeable Pashto *diwān*. The *ghazals* follow the traditions of the two famous Persian poets Sa'ādī and Hāfiz. The Sufi impact of the Persian poems of Amīr Khusrau of Delhi is also discernible.

Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (1747–72), the founder of the Afghan state, was a poet himself and composed a *diwān*. There is, however, a suspicion that the monarch had no time for poetry and that an anonymous poet may have composed the *diwān* with lyrical *ghazals* in the name of Ahmad Shāh and then discreetly offered and dedicated it to him.

The popular legend of the lovers Bahrām and Gul-Andām was written in Pashto by Fayyāz of Peshawar. Popular legends, some dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were not often recorded. A poet by the name of Mas'ūd b. °Abdullāh (d. c. 1786) put into writing the songs of the popular legend of the lovers, Ādam Khān and Dor Khānay. Ādam Khān was the leader of a group of 'soldiers of fortune' called *yārān* (pl. of *yār* in Arabic). The group was engaged, so the story goes, in battles and intrigues in India.

°Abdu'l Hamīd Mahmand (d. 1688) of the Mashu-Khel clan is the author of a Pashto *masnawī* entitled the *Nayrang-i °ishq* [Fascination of Love]. He also has a Pashto *dīwān* where fine images are admired. Pīr Muhammad Kakar's (d. 1782) *diwān* is also well known. He was interested in Pashto linguistics and was the author of the *Ma'rifatu'l afghānī* [Knowledge of the Afghan Language (i.e. Pashto)], a manual of Pashto grammar (1772). Kāzīm Khān Shaydā's (d. 1777) poetry has some very fine lyrical expressions of *sabk-i hindī* in the Pashto language.

Rahmat Dāwī, from Kandahar, was the author of the Pashto poetical work *Laylā o Majnūn* (1795), a legend based on an old Arabic folk song, and retold in Persian *masnawī* by classical poets. In 1841 Mu'īn'uddīn of Peshawar put the Arabic legend of Wāmiq and °Azrā, already composed in Persian, into Pashto verse.

The attention of Western scholars was first attracted to the large body of Pashto popular poetry by the publication in 1890, by James Darmesteter, of a collection and a French translation of Pashto folk poetry.⁵²

Part Three

LITERATURE IN THE INDIC LANGUAGES OF PAKISTAN AND NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

(*Irfan Habib*)

Besides Pashto and Baluchi, which belong to the Iranian subfamily of languages, the major literary Indic languages of Pakistan and such areas of northern India as are included in Central Asia under the definition adopted for this *History* are Kashmiri, Panjabi, Sindhi and Hindustani (Urdu and Hindi).

Kashmiri

Kashmiri ('Kashiru') belongs to the Dardic group of languages, which comprises a very archaic branch of the Indo-Iranian family. It naturally absorbed a considerable amount of Sanskrit vocabulary since the latter was the literary language of Kashmir until the fourteenth century. Yet Kalhana's famous history of Kashmir, the *Rājatarangini* (1151), already contained three words quoted from Kashmiri; and these are still in use today. Literature in Kashmiri began to take shape before our period, Lallā Ded in the fourteenth century being its first celebrated figure. She was a poetess, whose devotional verses addressed to the Hindu god Shiva were later gathered into a collection called the *Lallavākyañī*.

With Shaykh Nuru'ddīn's verses (early fifteenth century), Persian influence begins to appear in Kashmiri poetry. The poetess Habba Khātūn, reputedly the wife of the last independent ruler of Kashmir in the sixteenth century, introduced the *lol*-lyric (*lol* meaning 'a complex of love and tugging at the heart'). Both Sanskrit and Persian continued to exert an influence: Rūpā Bhawānī (d. 1720), a poetess, composed devotional verses in the *bhakti* (devotional) tradition, while Mahmūd Gāmī (d. 1855) composed a *khamṣa* (five tales) in

⁵² Darmester, 1888–90.

verse on the lines of the famous Persian poet Nizāmī. The prominence of women in Kashmiri literature is a remarkable feature of its history.⁵³

Panjabi

Panjabi is a language mainly spoken in Punjab, now divided between India and Pakistan. While some scholars tend to treat the Panjabi verses attributed to the Sufi saint Shaykh Farīd (d. 1265) of Ajodhan (Pakpattan, west Punjab) as the earliest examples of literary compositions in Panjabi, the truth seems to be that these are much later, possibly of the sixteenth century, composed not much before their incorporation in the Sikh scripture, the *Ādi Granth* (1603–4). The *Ādi Granth* contains the verses of Gurū Nānak (1469–1539) and his four spiri-tual successors (*gurūs*), which preach the message of the love of God and the rejection of caste and ritual. Much of the Panjabi literature of our period revolves around Sikh religious lore, notably the *janam-sākhīs* (hagiological biographies) of the Sikh *gurūs*. The *wār* (epic, funeral dirge) of Bhāi Gurudās (c. 1600) is a very widely respected collection of religious verses. The *Dasam Granth* of Gurū Gobind Singh (d. 1708) is only partly in Panjabi, much of it being in the Braj dialect of Hindi and of a diverse character. Sikh compositions were written in the Gurmukhi script, a variant of the Nagari script, in which Sanskrit and Hindi are written.⁵⁴

Outside Sikh religious compositions, Panjabi literature seems to have developed mainly in the eighteenth century. The famous romance of Hir and Ranjha, written in Panjabi by Damodar (c. 1600), was rendered into Persian verse by Āfarīn in 1730. But the tale was given its most popular version in Panjabi, c. 1766, by Wāris Shāh. A senior contemporary of his, and an equally popular poet in Panjabi, was Bulhe Shāh (1680–1757), a Sufi poet of great power, who could say in the strain of Kabīr:

The *hājīs* [pilgrims] go to Mecca; but in my house [heart] are both the Beloved and Mecca –
In which there are *hājīs* and *ghāzīs* [religious warriors] and all the thieves and ruffians.⁵⁵

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Hāshim Shāh composed a celebrated poem called *Sassī Punnūn*, the love story of Sassī and Punnūn.⁵⁶

⁵³ The history of the Kashmiri literature of our period is treated at some length in Sufī, 1974, pp. 398–46; also Grierson, 1990, Vol. 8, Part 2, pp. 233–40; Chatterji (ed.), 1978, pp. 524–9.

⁵⁴ On the development of Sikh literature, there is much in McLeod, 1975; for extensive translations, see Macauliffe, 1909.

⁵⁵ Sharda, 1974, pp. 148–71. The verse quoted is given on p. 161, but the rendering is ours.

⁵⁶ Cf. Grierson, 1990, Vol. 9, Part 1, pp. 607–23.

Sindhi

Sindhi, the language of the province of Sind (Sindh), is, like Panjabi, a language of the ‘Indo-Aryan’ subfamily, but it is far more distant from Hindustani and shows more influence received from Arabic than any other Indic language. Though Sindhi words occur in as early a work as the *Chāch-nāma*, which received its Persian garb in 1216–17 (and in its Arabic original, not extant, could be much older), the history of Sindhi literature seems to begin with Shāh ʿAbdu’l Latīf, who flourished around 1700. His long poem the *Shāh-jo Risālo* [Account of the Saint] is a Sufi work, which illustrates the doctrine with a series of tales. In the early nineteenth century, verses under *bhakti* and Vedantic influences were composed by Sachal (d. 1829) and Samī (d. 1850). The tale of Saswi and Punhu (the Sassīand Punnūn of Panjabi) was also composed in Sindhi, and was translated into English in 1863 by F. J. Goldsmid.⁵⁷

Hindustani (Urdu and Hindi)

The term ‘Hindawī’ came into use as early as the fourteenth century for the language of ordinary speech used in towns in different parts of northern India; it probably varied with local dialects, but its base was Prakrit (not Sanskrit) and it began to absorb Persian and Arabic words. By the seventeenth century it seems to have assumed a form similar to the Khari Boli dialect of the area around Delhi, while it increasingly came under the influence of the wordorder found in Persian. In the later years of Emperor Aurangzeb’s reign (1659–1707), Jaʿfar Zatlālī used Khari Boli effectively in the deliberately vulgar humour he gave vent to in his prose and verse.

By this time Awadhi (in eastern Uttar Pradesh) and Braj (in western Uttar Pradesh, eastern Rajasthan and Haryana), which are today considered Hindi dialects, had fairly rich literatures of their own. Kabīr (c. 1500) composed his monotheistic verses in Awadhi, in which too Malik Muhammad Jāisī (c. 1550) wrote his tragic romance the *Padmāvat*, and, finally, Tulsīdās wrote his great epic, the *Rāmcharitmānas* (story of the *Rāmāyana*). The Mughal noble, ʿAbdu’r Rahīm Khān-i Khānan (d. 1627), the translator of Bābur’s memoirs into Persian, composed devotional verses in both Braj and Awadhi. But in *bhakti*, the greatest poet in Braj was undoubtedly Sūrdās (d. 1563), who sang of the great love between Krishna and Radha. A notable prose work in Braj is Banārasīdās’s secular autobiography, the *Ardhkathānak* [Half a Tale], written in the first part of the seventeenth century.⁵⁸ These

⁵⁷ Grierson, 1990, Vol. 8, Part 1, pp. 5–14.

⁵⁸ Cf. H. P. Dwivedi in Chatterji (ed.), 1978, pp. 492–500.

trends had only a limited influence, however, in shaping the new literary languages, Urdu and literary Hindi.

The conventional historiography of Urdu literature traces its origins to the *rekhta* ('mixed') poetry patronized at the courts of Hyderabad and Bijapur in the Deccan in the seventeenth century and brought to Delhi by the poet Walī (his grave was levelled in Gujarat in 2001) early in the eighteenth century. Every cannon of Persian poetry, of technique, imagery and tradition, was applied to the poetry that was now produced in a refined form of Khari Boli. Written in the Arabic script, it soon received the name Urdu, from *ordu*, the Turkish word for camp or court.

Our period produced two very great Urdu poets: Mīr Taqī 'Mīr' (d. 1810), master of *ghazals* and singer of sadness and separation, and Mīrzā Ghālib (d. 1869), a poet of scepticism and reflection with an unrivalled command of the language. Urdu, however, lagged behind in prose, in which realm Persian still dominated.⁵⁹

What is now called Hindi, or rather literary Hindi, written in the Nagari script, began to take shape around 1800, its major exponents being Sadāsukh Lāl (d. 1824) and Insha Allāh Khān (d. 1818), both of whom composed Khari Boli texts from which Arabic and Persian words were excluded. Sadāsukh Lāl, himself a poet in Urdu and Persian, turned to the extensive use of Sanskrit vocabulary when he wrote in Hindi. Thus, though the spoken language remained the same (Hindustani), two separate literary traditions, Urdu and Hindi, were now firmly established.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ For the classical (nineteenth-century) history of Urdu literature (mainly of poetry), see Azād, *n.d.* See also M. Hasan in Chatterji (ed.), 1978, pp. 644–50.

⁶⁰ Grierson, 1990, Vol. 9, Part 1, pp. 42–56; King, 1994, pp. 1–52.

Appendix

THE LANGUAGES OF AFGHANISTAN

(*R. Farhadī*)

When Bābur captured Kabul in 1504 he found that ‘11 or 12 tongues [were] spoken in Kabul: Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Mongol (‘Mughūli’), Hindi, Afghani [Pashto], Pashāi, Parāchi, Gabri, Birki and Lamghani’.⁶¹ ‘If there be any country’, he adds, ‘with so many differing tribes and such a diversity of tongues, it is not known to me.’⁶² Afghanistan remains to this day a country of immense linguistic diversity. Table 1 below lists the various languages and dialects, along with some relict languages that are dying out (marked ‘R’), duly classified linguistically.⁶³

It will be seen from the table that there are many dialects of Persian (which is called Dari in Afghanistan and Tajik in areas further north), just as there are in Iran. But literary Persian is the same whether written in Persia or Afghanistan. Similarly, the literary form of Pashto coexists with its many dialects, which vary according to district and even according to tribe. The literatures in both these languages have been discussed in the main text of this chapter, while the history of literature in Chaghatay Turki (now designated Uzbek) is treated in Chapter 23. In addition, Baluchi is spoken in the south of Afghanistan. The following notes are essentially on the languages as spoken.

Pashto is an Indo-European language belonging to the Indo-Iranic subgroup, and therefore has common roots with the old Avestan language. All the spoken forms of Pashto, as well as its literary form, contain some striking archaisms.

⁶¹ Bābur, 1995, p. 203. Afghani was the earlier name of the Pashto language; both names were used in the seventeenth century and later.

⁶² Bābur, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 207.

⁶³ The table was prepared by Ch. M. Kieffer (CNRS, Paris), for whose assistance the Editors are extremely grateful.

TABLE 1. The languages of Afghanistan

Status Typology	Official	National	Regional	Local
1. W. Iranian	Daṛī (Persian)	Balučī	Kābolī Hazāragī	many Persian dialects
2. N.E. Iranian	Paštō			many Paštō dialects; the Pāmīr dialects: Shughnī Rōshānī Ishkāshmī Sanglēchī Munjī Wākhi 3. S.E. Iranian Ōrmūrī R Parāčī R
4. Indo-Aryan		‘Nuristānī’, i.e. Katī		Katī Waigalī Ashkūn Prasūn
5. Dardic		Pashaī		Gawarbātī Tirō R
6. New Indian			Panjābī	Sindhī Gojrī Inku (Lahndā)
7. Turkic		Ozbēkī Torkmanī	Qirghizī	Uighur R
8. Mongolic				Mogholī R
9. Semitic				Arabic R
10. Dravidian			Brāhuī	

Source: Ch. M. Kieffer. See also Kieffer, [1981a](#).

Notes to Table 1

1. The official languages Darī (Persian) and Pawtō are taught all over Afghanistan as first (mother tongue) or second languages: Darī is spoken by about 80% and Pawtō by about 50% of the population,⁶⁴ many people being completely bilingual.
2. The national languages that have had an official status since 1988 are in principle taught only in the concerned regions.⁶⁵
3. The difference between regional and local languages (subdialects) is somewhat subjective and is subject to revision.
4. R = Relict-language which seems to be dying out.
5. The use nowadays of a Mongolic dialect is very doubtful: Mogholī is almost extinct.⁶⁶
6. There are also some special languages spoken by itinerant groups; Ādurgarī by the Shekh-Mohamadī; Ghōrbatī, Qazilagī and Magadī by the Ghorbat; and Magatibay by the Jogī.⁶⁷
7. Some professional groups have their own jargon: the Zargarī of the gold and silver-smiths (*zargarān*, sing. *zargar*), the Qaābī of the butchers (*qaṣṣābān*, sing. *qaṣṣāb*), etc. And, at last, there is a kind of ‘lingua franca’: Lāzemī from *lāzim* ‘[it is] necessary’, spoken in the bazaars by foreigners and the Afghans who come into contact with them.⁶⁸

The dialects of Pashto may be divided into two groups, hard (*kh, g*) called Pakhto and soft (*ah, zh*) called Pashto. The line of division between the two dialects cuts right across the Durand line (the frontier between Afghanistan and Pakistan): the hard dialect is spoken in the north (Kabul province, Nangarhar, Peshawar, etc.) while the soft one is spoken in the south (Kandahar, Quetta, Waziristan, etc.)

The Dari dialects spoken in Afghanistan belong to the eastern sub-branch of Tajik-i Khurasani, while the dialects of the western regions of Iran belong to the western dialect groups.

⁶⁴ See Farhadi, 1955; 1975.

⁶⁵ See Kieffer, 1983a.

⁶⁶ See Kieffer, 1983b, p. 514.

⁶⁷ See Rao, 1982.

⁶⁸ See Kieffer, 1983a, pp. 502, 515.

In Afghanistan, Dari (Persian) dialects are spoken not only by the Tajiks but also by the Hazaras, the Aimaks and many others in the Ghur, Herat, Farah, Badghis and Laghman regions. Dari is therefore spoken by a numerical majority of the population of Afghanistan.

Uzbek is spoken in the north of the country by a fairly large number of people, who also generally understand Dari (Persian).

Baluchi, with its many dialects, is spoken in the south and south-west of the country, and belongs to the same language family as Persian.

Pashai, spoken in many valleys in Laghman, Kunar and Kapisa provinces in the form of many dialects, has a rich heritage of folklore and songs, preserved by oral tradition. Pashai belongs to the Indo-Aryan subgroup of the Indo-Iranic group of languages.

Among other Iranic (Avestic) languages are Ormuri (still spoken by a few families in Baraki-Barak in Logar) and Parachi (used in some villages of the Pachaghan valley in Nijraw in Kapisa province and the Shutul valley in Parwan province). To the same Avestic group belong the four languages spoken in the valleys of the Pamirs situated within Afghanistan (see table).

The Indic group is represented not only by Pashai, but also by Gawarbat (spoken in a few villages of the Kunar valley), Sawi (spoken in Saw in Kunar) and Tirahi (in a village of Nangarhar). Some Indian languages were subsequently brought into the country: for example, Gujuri is spoken by Gujur nomads travelling in the summer in the valleys of eastern Afghanistan. The Jats (gypsies of Afghanistan) are a sedentary people who speak Jati. The Bangliwals have their own language belonging to the Indic group. Almost 50,000 Hindus and Sikhs who immigrated from India to Afghanistan in the nineteenth century are citizens and merchants and speak Panjabi (in Kabul, Jalalabad, etc.) and Sindhi (in Kandahar).

One of the world's most interesting archaic groups of languages is found in Nuristan, formerly Kafiristan. They belong to the Indo-Iranic branch of Indo-European languages, but it is not certain whether they belong to the Indic or the Iranic branch. Professor George Morgenstierne of Norway concludes that these are the most archaic forms of the Indic branch (pre-Vedic, as he says, in which vestiges of the remnants of the original proto-Indo-Iranic can still be detected). The four languages of Nuristan thus represent a third subgroup or, more accurately, an archaic branch of the Indic subgroup of the Indo-Iranic group.

As to the non-Indo-European languages of the country, an archaic Mongolian is still spoken in three villages near Herat, viz. Kundur, Karez Mulla and Du-Rudi to the south-east of Herat. (A Mongolian-Persian glossary in verse has been discovered in the village of Zirni and was published by Iwamura in Japan in 1974. The Mongol-speaking village population is not characterized by any salient Mongoloid features.) The Hazaras of Afghanistan,

who claim a Mongol origin, do not speak Mongolian, but Hazaragi, a rather deviant dialect of Khurasani Persian. In the vocabulary of their spoken Dari, more than 1,000 words are remnants of their earlier language which is mainly Eastern Turkic (and not Mongolian).

Turkic languages are represented by Uzbek and small groups of other eastern subgroups of languages, such as Kazakhi (transplanted in Herat and other north-western parts of the country); Uighur (in a few villages in Badakhshan: Argu village of Utranchi and Ab-i Barik); and Kyrgyz (in the Pamirs). The Western Turkic languages are represented by Turkmeni (spoken by a fairly large number of people in several communities in the north-west of Afghanistan and also around Balkh) and Afshari (a variant of Azarbaijani still spoken by the Afshars in a village that is now part of a northern suburb of Kabul).

Arabic, spoken in many towns of Khurasan in the early centuries of Islam, is still heard in a few villages (Khoshal-Abad, west of Daulatabad district of Balkh province, Sultan Aregh near Aq-cha and Hasan-Abad near Shiberghan). They seem, like the Arabs of the Bukhara region, to be the remnants of the Arabs who were brought by Amīr Timur (Tamerlane) at the end of the fourteenth century. Brahui, a Dravidian language, has maintained itself as the only vestige of pre-Aryan times among a few thousand tribal shepherds living together with Baluchis from Shorawak to Chakhansoor.