LIFE AND WORKS
of
ABDUL QADIR BEDIL

by
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To
My Kind Teacher
Dr. Muhammad Baqir
M.A., Ph.D. (London)
BEDIL’S TOMB (I) IN DELHI
(Courtesy Aqā-e-Sarwar Khan-e-Goya)
Gradual disintegration of the Mughal Empire, after the death of Aurangzib in 1707 A.D., has prejudicially affected Muslims of this subcontinent in more than one way. Few persons realise that their great cultural heritage in particular suffered indescribably due to the catastrophic happenings that took place during the unfortunate rule of the later Mughals (1707-1857 A.D.). The institutions of the Muslims ceased to exist; the foundations of the society, they had built so laboriously since Muhammad bin Qasim entered India in 712 A.D., were wrecked; the arts, they cherished most, were destroyed; and the valuable manuscripts of the works, they produced in India, were either reduced to rubbish or taken away by the Britishers and other Europeans. It is a sad story; and when the history of this period comes to be written, after full realisation of this cultural loss, the world would painfully know what the end of Mughal Rule in India meant to Muslims.

It is in this background that we have to study the Life and Works of 'Abdul Qadir Bedil—the great Persian Poet who was born in India in 1644 A.D., during the glorious reign of Shah Jahan, and died in 1720 A.D., when the Mughal Empire was tottering under the imbecile Emperor Muhammad Shah. Bedil's career at this critical juncture has done him much harm. In the confusion that followed the dissolution of the Mughul Empire, most of the works of our Poet, like those of many other writers hinted above, were either destroyed or taken away, and even to this day we search here in vain for them. Whatever is found, is absolutely meagre and quite incomplete. This explains to a great extent why very few people know Bedil. Moreover, soon after the establishment of the British Rule in India, the impact of the Western civilisation turned the eyes of the Muslims to Europe, and they got no time to consider what they had lost due to the historic disruption of their society in this subcontinent. Hence Bedil, too, came to be almost totally neglected.

Still, there were some writers who talked now and then about the great contribution made by Bedil to Persian literature. Even eminent poets like Ghalib and Iqbal sought inspiration from him, and
this was a pointer to the fact that a rich source lay untapped. I think myself very fortunate that gradually I got interested in the Great Poet, and, notwithstanding my humble attainments, I made up my mind to do research and to write a thesis about him. But his works were not available in the market. Nor could I get adequate help from any library in the country. Being disappointed from these quarters I entered into correspondence with the distinguished scholars and well-known writers. The reply I got from Niyāz Fatahpuri was very discouraging. He said it was not possible to procure Bedil's works, and, if procured somehow or other, age-long single-handed efforts would produce no results, as "Bedil is a boundless and fathomless Ocean." He further asked me to spend some four or five years with him, and he would tell me the few things he knew about Bedil. I think this rebuff was enough to extinguish the flame that had been kindled in my bosom by the ardent lovers of the Poet. But I was not disappointed and continued my efforts with redoubled vigour. Fortunately, Sayyid Sulaimān Nadvi, Maulānā Ḥasan Nizāmī, Maulānā Ghulām Rasūl Mehr, and Dr. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Abdullah very kindly encouraged me and made some very good suggestions. I was advised to turn my attention to Afghanistan where Bedil is extremely popular. Now it was a problem for me to establish contacts with the literary circles in that country, but through the never-failing courtesy of my friend, Malik Ḥabibur Rahmān, M.A., a trader, brought for me the matchless Kuliyyat-e-Bedil, lithographed in the Ṣafdarī Press, Bombay, and the admirable Diwān-e-Bedil, published in Kabul. With the arrival of these publications, my wishes began to materialise and I commenced studying the bulky works wholeheartedly.

Then the Panjab University granted me a scholarship, in the beginning of 1951, for making research about the Life and Works of Bedil. During those very days Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā—the leading literary figure in Kabul—paid a visit to Lahore and he advised me to go to Kabul, where excellent manuscripts of Bedil's works existed and which contained material that was not found in the two books mentioned above. Consequently my kind director, Dr. Muḥammad Bāqir, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Head of the Persian Department, University of the Panjab—due to whose enlightened guidance I have been able to accomplish a most difficult task—arranged for my trip to Kabul during the summer vacation of the same year. Arrangements for my stay in the city were made by Maulānā 'Abdul Qādir, the then Charge d'Affaires, Pakistan Embassy, Kabul; and Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā took me round to different libraries, and introduced me to the topmost literary persons in the city. I saw there most valuable and beautifully decorated manuscripts of Bedil's works, and copied much useful material. I discussed several
points with Afghān scholars like Sardār Faiz Muhammad Khān Zakariya, Khalīfūlāh Khān Khalīfī, Professor Ḥāshim Shaʿīq Afāndī, and Dr. Ans. It is a fact that but for my visit to Kābul much would have been wanting in this thesis, and my indebtedness to Kābul, therefore, is manifest in almost every chapter.

Bedil is really very popular in Afghānīstān. Almost every literary person there possesses the huge Kullīyat-e-Bedil of Safdarī Press, Bombay, which was being sold there for Rs. 700 Afghānī. While going to Paghmān Pass (a charming hill-resort in Afghānīstān—the cool pass from where River Kābul rushes down the snowclad mountains and begins to flow in the valley) with Āqā-e-Saʿīd Nafisī of Šīrāz, who happened to be there during those days, and Āqā-e-Sarwar Khān-e-Goyā, I was wonderstruck when our chauffeur told us that he too possessed that Kullīyat. Besides, I found that most of the manuscripts of Bedil's works had arrived from Bukhārā and Shahr-e-Sabz in Central Asia. Some of them were contemporary with the Poet himself. This proved that the Poet's fame had spread there during his lifetime and persisted to this day. I was told that even in the Chinese Turkistan in the East and Turkey in the West, Bedil was equally popular. People liked him for his elegant diction, novel conceits, superb mysticism, brave and sublime philosophy of life, and orthodox views. If a thorough study of the literature, produced in all the countries mentioned above, is made, one would be surprised to find that Bedil has many followers, and that he has vastly influenced literary trends and mystical speculations in those lands.

Besides the literary, mystical, and philosophical import of Bedil's works, the writers and thinkers of the modern Republics of Central Asia find inspiration from the Poet on account of his progressive ideas permeated by an anti-feudal spirit. This startling fact was made known to the world when, on the occasion of the Islamic Colloquium held in Lahore, in the first week of January 1953, Dr. Ibrahim M. Muminov, member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, and a delegate from USSR, told in his address that Bedil is widely known in Tadjikistan and Uzbekistan, and modern writers like Aḥmad Dānīsh, Farkat, Mukimi, and Asiri derived immense benefit from the Poet, and Aḥmad Dānīsh, in particular, made a complete study of his progressive social philosophical ideas, and used them in the struggle against the tenets of the Middle Ages. Dr. Muminov told that L. Penkovski's Russian version of Bedil's poem Kāndī and Madan was published in 1955 by the State Publishing House of Fiction, Moscow. He also said that, besides the lithographed editions, many manuscript copies of the Poet's works are available in Tashkand, Andjan, Samarqand, Bukhārā, Leningrad, Stalinabad, and other towns of the Soviet Middle Asiatic
Life and Works of Bedil

The learned scholar added that Bedil's popularity among the people finds confirmation in the appearance of popular reciters, commonly known as "Bedil-Khâns."

This was about Bedil's popularity in the lands of the brave Afghâns and the robust Uzbeks and Tajiks. But, in spite of the scanty attention paid to him, it cannot be denied that, in this sub-continent too, the Poet has been a great force. Modern polished and elegant Urdu owes much to him and, as a thinker, he influenced the mystical views of Ghâlib, and Iqbal's Philosophy of Ego. Still, as I have remarked above, the vast literature that flowed out of Bedil's pen lies untapped. In this thesis I have only made hints about his different aspects—his mysticism, his philosophy of life, his social ideology, his aesthetics, etc.—and many a research scholar, therefore, can dig into this literature and bring out rich treasure. Fortunately, of late, there has been an evidence of growing interest in Bedil. In addition to the sporadic effusions of Niyâz Fatahpuri, regular work has been done by some scholars. Dr. Ghuîâm Yâsîn Khân Niyâzî, M.A., Ph.D., was the first to write about the Life and Works of Bedil, in three instalments, in the Oriental College Magazine, in the early thirties. It was a good attempt, and, while at Kâbul, I saw that the article had been translated into Persian. Then Qâzi 'Abdul Wadûd of Patna collected everything, relating to Bedil, from the manuscript copy of the second volume of Khushgul's Safina, and got it published in Ma'ârif of May and July 1942. These were all articles, but recently, in 1952, a book, entitled Bedil, dealing with the Poet's Philosophy of Self, was published by the Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore. Its author, Khwâja 'Ibâdullah Akhtar, enjoys the honour of writing the first book on Bedil. As a fellow-worker in the same field I welcome his book. I would, however, suggest that in a future edition of the book, the learned author would remove the mistakes that have crept into the chapter dealing with the biography of Bedil, and also he would not let it remain sketchy and jejune. Moreover, enunciation of the Poet's views about paradise needs reconsideration. A thorough and deeper study of Bedil discloses that by paradise he means 'Self,' and not this world as stated by Khwâja Sahib. In addition to this, improvement at several other places, especially in the matter of the treatment of the subject, is desirable. After the publication of this book one gets the heartening news that a youthful scholar, Mr. Mahmûd Ahmad Nâ'ir, is making a comparative study of Bedil and Iqbal.

My thesis is now before the literary world and the scholars would judge its value. I would, however, like to submit that it has been written after a research of full seven years, and I have not given a separate history of Bedil's period, but I have tried to show...
how the Poet moved and lived during his times. No unnecessary details have been given, and if, for instance, some facts about Shāh Jahān have been given at a greater length, they would be found to have a profound relation with the development of the Poet’s personality. While speaking about Bedil’s Works, I have avoided repetitions, because I did not like to bore my readers. Moreover, I have quoted Bedil at every place to make my statements authentic and full of interest. The final chapter shows that Bedil’s Life and his Works are intimately connected with each other.

With these remarks I finish this prologue, and pray that may this humble work, which owes its vitality to my lifeblood, contribute towards making Bedil known to the world.

‘ABDUL GHANI
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>vii–viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Transliteration</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LIFE</strong></td>
<td>1–116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter I Origin and Early Life</td>
<td>1–31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter II Bedil—An Itinerant</td>
<td>32–61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter III Final Stay in Dehli</td>
<td>62–116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WORKS</strong></td>
<td>117–285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introductory</td>
<td>119–123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter IV Ghazal of Bedil</td>
<td>124–128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter V Masnavis</td>
<td>129–179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter VI Qasaid, Quatrains, Mukhammasat, etc.</td>
<td>180–218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter VII Prose Works</td>
<td>219–249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter VIII Bedil’s Personality and Poetic Genius</td>
<td>250–271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendices</td>
<td>272–295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>296–321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Errata</td>
<td>322–326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### List of Illustration

1. Bedil’s Tomb (I) in Delhi [Frontispiece]
2. Muhammad A’zami Shah [Facing p. 43]
3. An imaginary portrait of Bedil [p. 99]
4. Bedil’s Tomb (II) [p. 110]
5. Inscription on Bedil’s Tomb [p. 115]
6. Bedil’s couplets in Ghalib’s hand [p. 123]
Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l = a</td>
<td>خ</td>
<td>ع (e.g. Ma'bad, Shuja)</td>
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<td>ی = ï</td>
<td>د</td>
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<td>ی = i</td>
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<td>ح = h</td>
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<td>س = h</td>
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<tr>
<td>ح = ی</td>
<td>ق = y</td>
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For vowels study the following examples:

- یور = Aur
- یون = Un
- یول = Awwal
- یوس کمال = Mard-e-Kāmil
- دوست و دشمن = Dost-o-Dushman
LIFE
Various factors operate in moulding the personality of an individual, and the part played by race in this connection is not insignificant. Racial characteristics, secretly and silently, lay down the foundations and then the superstructure of personality gradually develops under the influence of environment and education.

In the case of our poet, 'Abdul Qadir Bedil, his biographers agree that he belonged to the hardy, warlike Mughul race. But when we want to know his tribe we find ourselves face to face with a baffling situation, because his biographers do not agree with one another on this subject. Husain Quli Khan 'Azimabadi, the celebrated author of the Tazkirah Nishtar-e-Ishq, says that the poet belonged to the Barlas tribe. As far as I know, no other Tazkirah-writer contributes to this view. Khan Arzū, followed by Rieu, writes that the poet was an Arlāt. There is yet a third view which is shared by many Tazkirah-writers, all of whom state that Bedil was an Arlās. To a superficial reader it would appear plausible that Barlas, Arlāt, and Arlās mean one and the same thing, but careful research reveals a totally different story.

The word Barlas means brave and of noble lineage. This title

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3. Ārzū, Sirajuddin 'Ali Khān, Majma'unnafās, Ms., p. 56a.
5. (i) Sher Khān Lodhi, Mirātul Khayāl, p. 336.
   (ii) Āzād Bilgrāmi, Sarw-e-Āzād, Khezāna-e-'Āmirah, Yad-e-Baizā, in Ma'ārif for August 1945, p. 86. Khezāna-e-'Āmirah, p. 152. In Sarw-e-Āzād it is Barlas which is palpably an error made by the calligraphist.
   (iii) Khushtar, 'Abdul Wahhāb, Tazkirah-e-Bnaqīr, p. 39.
   (iv) Khushgū in Ma'ārif, May 1942, p. 358.
was first assumed by Iradamcil Barlās, the eighth ancestor of Amir Timūr. All the Timurids are, therefore, Barlāses, and keeping in view the genealogy of Bābur, which shows that he was a descendant of Timūr, we can safely say that the illustrious Barlāses ruled over India for many centuries, till they were displaced by the British in 1837 A.D. Now we turn to the Arlāt sept. On the death of the father of Chingiz Khān, his mother married one Menglik Izka, who was a pious and virtuous man. The second son of Menglik Izka was named Arlat and from him came the tribe of Arlats. Thus the Barlāses and the Arlats have a glorious history and numerous prominent members of these tribes are mentioned in different history books of the Mughuls. Owing to the widespread popularity of these tribes, one can be easily misled to believe that Bedil was either a Barlās or an Arlāt.

But the evidence of about half a dozen of his biographers cannot be brushed aside. The author of Nishtar-e-Ishq, who wrote this Tazkirah in 1232/1817 (ناشتر رکجت, being the chronogram) and who says Bedil was a Barlās, was not a contemporary of our poet. His statement, therefore, cannot be trustworthy. Khān Ārzū, who says that the poet was an Arlāt, though a contemporary, seems to have taken no pains in finding out the tribe of Bedil. He says that he saw him only twice in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar (1713-1719 A.D.). In this connection I place my utmost reliance on Sher Khān Lodhi, the author of Mirātul Khayāl, who, after writing the account of Bedil in his Tazkirah showed it to the poet himself, who was satisfied with what Sher Khān had written about him. There we learn that Bedil was an Arlās. It has already been pointed out that Khushgū, in his Safīna, Azād Bilgrāmī in all of his three Tazkirahs, ‘Abdul Wahhab Ittikhār in his Tazkirah-e-Binaqir, are all unanimous in declaring that Bedil belonged to the Arlās tribe. The author of ʿIqd-e-Suraṣya also joins them. Out of these four
biographers, the last two are not contemporaries of Bedil. As regards Khushgū, he used to visit Bedil daily, and he says he was with him more than a thousand times. It means that at least for about three years Khushgū constantly visited Bedil. So far as Azād Bilgrāmī is concerned, he has admitted3 collected more details regarding the life of the poets he mentions than most of the other biographers. Moreover, in the Catalogues of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts of the Bankipur3 and Behar4 Libraries, too, we find that the name of the tribe to which Bedil belonged has been mentioned as Arūs. Now in Nūrūl Absār, a dictionary of the Turkish language written in the reign of Muhammad Shāh, the Mughul Emperor (1719-1739 A.D.), we read that Arūs is indeed the name of a Mughul tribe. Arūs tribe, though less conspicuous, is, therefore, the tribe to which Bedil belonged. The etymology of the word Arūs is unknown, though the author of Āsiful Lughāt writes that ‘the ninth intellect’ is called Arūs.

Nothing definite is known about the date of the migration of Bedil’s ancestors to India. Originally, they belonged to Tūrān—a country beyond the River Oxus—and lived in Bokhāra. Research regarding the question of Bedil’s ancestors, who first migrated to India, has also been fruitless. This much alone is known that for many generations his forefathers were soldiers.6 But we tread sureer ground when we come to speak of Bedil’s father—Mirzā ‘Abdul Khāliq.7 He was a well-to-do soldier; but, very early in his life, he renounced the world and lived the life of a șūfī devoted to the Absolute Reality. Through the spiritual assistance of a saint, Maulānā Kamāl,8 he had the rare fortune of being instructed in the

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1. Khushgū in Ma’ārif for May 1942, p. 269.
3. Ms. No. 391. Bankipur is properly the western suburb of Patna.
5. Rai Dhan, Nūrūl Absār, Ms. f., 492-A.
7. Khushgū, in Ma’ārif, May 1942, p. 356 Khushgū gives this name, but Hāshim Shāiq Afandī—a Professor of Persian Literature in Kabul University—possesses a manuscript Kulliyāt of Bedil, in which at the end of the Ruqqūt and in the beginning of the Munt lil-Muḥitt-e-A’rām, I saw the following statement: ١٨١٨

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But as Khushgū is a contemporary I believe him. For Hāshim Shāiq's Kulliyāt see Aryan, Kabul, Dalv 1229 (1370 A.H.).
Path by the spirit of Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jilani (470-560 A.H., 1077-1164 A.D.) himself, who was undoubtedly mainly responsible for the popularisation of the new note of passion and emotion in orthodox Islam, introduced into more intellectual circles by Ghazzali.1 Mirza 'Abdul Khalique thus belonged to the famous Qadiri2 order of the Sufis, which had entered India, through Sind, in 1482 A.D.

When Mirza 'Abdul Khalique was quite an old man, at a very auspicious hour in 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.), a son was born to him. Mirza Abul Qasim Tirmizi4 a Sufi Sayyid and intimate friend of Mirza 'Abdul Khalique, was well versed in Mathematics5 and Astrology. He foretold a brilliant future for the child, and, to commemorate this happy occasion, he brought forth two chronograms, each yielding the year 1054 A.H. Little did the family know at that time that the handsome child, who was indeed a divine gift (فیض خدا), would one day be one of the elect of the world. As he had an unshakably profound faith in the spiritual eminence of Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jilani, Mirza 'Abdul Khalique wanted to perpetuate the memory of this fealty in the name of his son who was called 'Abdul Qadir.6

The place where this child was born has been variously given by the Tazkirah-writers. Mr. Qudratullah Qasim, the author of Majmua-e-Naghiz, who wrote this Tazkirah in 1221 A.H. (1806 A.D.) says that 'Abdul Qadir was born in Bokhara, and came to India in his childhood.7 It may be noted that Mr. Sahib made this statement full eighty-eight years after the death of Bedil. 'Abdul Ghafrur Nassakh wrote his Sakhun-e-Sha'ura in 1281 A.H. (1364 A.D.) and he too has the same views about the birthplace of Bedil but it appears his authority is none other than Mr. Qudratullah Qasim. As already pointed out, Bokhara must have been the native town of Bedil's ancestors, but it cannot be the birthplace of the poet as asserted in Majmua-e-Naghiz. Mr. Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami, the well-known writer of the three Tazkirahs - Tade Baiga, Sar-e-Azad, and Khazana-e-

2. Ibid. This order was started by the renowned Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jilani.
5. Khushru in Ma'arif, May 1942.
6. Ibid.
7. Qasim, Mir, Qudratullah, Majmua-e-Naghiz, 113. A fantastic story was told to me in Kabul that Bedil was born in Bada-kshan, where tribe (شاکری) of Bedil still exists. No documentary proof was, however, produced.
Origin and Early Life

Emily, and who is, we know, very scrupulous about giving facts, says definitely in all the three books that Bedil was born in 'Azimābād, Patna. Āzād Bilgrāmī (born 1116/1704), it must be borne in mind, was a contemporary of Bedil, though much younger in age.

Internal evidence too can be easily arrayed on the side of Āzād. Whenever Bedil writes about Bihār and its towns one is emphatically made to believe that he is well acquainted with the province, and palpably this would have been impossible unless he had passed a considerable period of his early life in that part of the country. There is, besides, an implicit reference to his attachment for Bihār in a letter1 which Bedil wrote in his old age from Dehli, to someone living in Bihār. He wrote:

[Accept my congratulations for enjoying a happy life in Bihār Province].

This shows that he had a warm corner in his heart for the province even in his old age. A verse, too, is worth serious consideration in this respect:

ما سبى بختان جهاب قریه نومة دن خانه بر آبایت یکسر مرمد بگملا را

[We, the unlucky fellows, are the bubbles produced by the tears of disappointment.]

The people of Bengāl have their houses completely on water (leading quite a precarious life]).

Here we find a clear reference to his homeland. Bihār and Bengāl in those days meant one and the same territory. Khān Ārzū, certainly, had this fact in mind when he wrote in Majmaʿun Nafās that during his early days Bedil lived3 in Bengāl. Someone might say: “At the most we conclude from these facts that Bedil was a Bihāri, and he must have been called ‘Azimābādi as, according to Sayyid Sulaimān Nadvi,4 who himself belongs to Bihār,5 townspeople in Bihār are often called ‘Azimābādis.” He may be told that the central place, from where Bedil in his early life had been making journeys6 to other places, was Patna, and this could not be the case unless it was his native town.

3. Ārzū, Majmaʿun Nafās, Ms., f. 56a. The original statement reads:

6. Pages 12, 23, 26, 29 infra.
Moreover, not only Azād Bilgrāmi but other biographers also assert definitely that Bedil was born in 'Azimābād Patna. Husain Quli Khān 'Azimābādī writes in Nishār-e-Ikhq: '[Bedil was born in 'Azimābād Patna]. Similarly, Wazir 'Ali 'Azimābādī says in Mīrājul Khayāl: [His (Bedil's) birthplace is the beautiful town of 'Azimābād]. Shād 'Azimābādī even mentions the quarter in which Bedil lived. He says: '[Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil belonged to 'Azimābād Patna proper and the aged people say he lived in the Pattan Devī quarter.]

It may be noted that all the authorities quoted above hail from 'Azimābād. This fact shows that the belief that Bedil belonged to this town is shared by all the writers of that place and has been handed down from one generation to another. In a recently published booklet, Bedil has again been claimed as 'Azimābādī. Finally, we come to the short biographical sketch of Bedil given in the Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, where all what I have said so far has been tersely summed up:

"Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil. . . son of Mirzā 'Abdul Khālik of Turkish origin, belonging to the Chaqīta tribe of Arlās, was born in 'Azimābād Patna in A.H. 1054 (A.D. 1644) for which date the word, is a chronogram."

Now Bankipur is a suburb of Patna and a part of the Patna municipality. This life-sketch of Bedil, therefore, must be based on authentic facts. In view of all this, I affirm unhesitatingly that Bedil was born in 'Azimābād Patna, and that he must have passed at least a considerable part of his early life in the Pattan Devī quarter of the town, as stated by Shād 'Azimābādī.

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1. Husain Quli Khān 'Azimābādī, Nishār-e-Ikhq, Ms. f. 203a
3. Shād 'Azimābādī, Nawā-e-Watan, p. 220; in Mā’rif, August 1946, p. 95. The original quotation follows:

7. I have deliberately avoided to mention Akbarābād, Delhi and Lahore, which cities have been given by Khushqū, ‘Ali Quli Hidāyat, and Tāhir Naṣrābādī respectively as the native places of Bedil. During his lifetime our poet lived in these cities at one time or the other.
8. See above.
Numerous references have so far been made to 'Azmābād. It would, therefore, be desirable to give here a brief history and geography of this place.

'Azmābād is the Patliputra of ancient times, which was the capital of Magdha. When it was being built, Buddha (500 B.C.) predicted that it would become a great city. Later, Patliputra came to be called Patna. In 1704 A.D. it was re-christened 'Azmābād by its Governor, Prince 'Azmashāhān, a grandson of the Emperor Aurangzeb. As Bedil was born in 1644 A.D., it was then still called Patna, and, as he was an old man of sixty when it changed its name and became 'Azmābād, Bedil always calls it Patna in his writings. Nowadays again it is Patna of old days and is the capital of Bihar, and the headquarters town of Patna District. It is situated on the south bank of the Ganges.

At the time when Bedil was born, Shāh Jahan, the magnificent Mughul Emperor, was ruling over India. He had ascended the throne in 1628 A.D. (1037 A.H.), and during the sixteen years that had elapsed till the birth of Bedil, Shāh Jahan had fully established his claim for being an illustrious monarch. His armies had been victorious in all the campaigns that he had undertaken. His last gain was Qandhar, surrendered in 1638 A.D. (1047 A.H.), to the Imperial Armies by 'Ali Mardān Khān, its Governor. Since then necessity for entering upon a military enterprise had not arisen. The Emperor's victories had established Imperial prestige and consequently there was perfect peace and tranquillity in the Empire. Justice was administered equitably, a general sense of security prevailed, and trade and industry flourished.

Shāh Jahan had a natural taste for magnificence and elegance. The unrivalled Peacock Throne—an exquisite specimen of workmanship in jewels and precious stones—was constructed for him in 1634 A.D. (1044 A.H.) costing one crore of rupees. Foundations of the grandest
city of the Empire, i.e. of Shāh Jahānābād1 were laid on the 25th of Zil Hijja 1048 A.H. (29th April 1639) and constructions were going on 
apace under the directions of the ablest of the royal engineers. Muntāz Maḥal, the dearly loved wife of Shāh Jahān, had died2 on 
the 7th of June 1631 (17th of Zulqa'd 1040) in childbirth, gazing with 
tearful eyes at her royal consort, who later on gave expression3 to his 
affection and sorrow in the elegant and chaste Tāj. The marble 
monuments on its inner platform were completed in 1053 A.H.4 (1643 
A.D.) a year before the birth of Bedī. Thus the blessed child was 
born in a world whose imagination had been tickled by the magni-
ficence and graciousness of Shāh Jahān.

It may also be borne in mind that at this occasion, the Emperor 
had banned the practice of prostration5 before the throne, and had re-
introduced the Islamic calendar. The objections, so vociferously raised 
by al-Mujaddid,6 had thus been removed. Moreover, he had struck 
coins7 bearing the orthodox religious views, had arrived at a settlement 
with the Deccani Muslim rulers to the effect that the first three caliphs 
of Islam should not be abused,8 and he had also visited, as a pilgrim, 
publicly, the tombs of Khwāja Mu'inuddin9 Chishī Ajmer (in 1046/ 
1636 and 1053/1643) and Khwāja Nizāmuddin Awliya10 of Dehli (in 
1048/1638). The orthodox Muslims felt glorified and they adored Shāh 
Jahān as a hero. Shāh Jahān was, therefore, at the climax of his power, 
influence, and popularity when Bedī opened his eyes in this world.

He had opened his eyes in this world, but before reaching 
manhood he had yet to pass through the stage of infancy. Bedī 
himself gives an account11 of those days. At that time he could not 
distinguish good from bad, and man from woman. He was only 
sucking nourishment from the breasts of his loving mother and, when-
ever the supply of sweet milk stopped, he used to cry bitterly. 
For him this period had really the blessings12 of paradise. Wherever he

1. 'Ināyat Khān, Shāh Jahān Nāma, in Elliot and Dowson, VII, p. 89.
3. Ferguson, Mughal Architecture, p. 284.
6. 971-1034 A.H. For the biographical sketch of this eminent saint, whose 
full name is Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī, see Fārūqī, Burhān Ahmad, The Mujaddid's 
Conception of Tawhid, pp. 5-18.
10. Ibid., p. 112.
12. Ibid., p. 7.
lay, it turned out to be a soothing cot, and at every place a nurse's
lap welcomed his head. Gradually he began to recognise his parents,
and learnt to utter pappal and mamma, and then, after crawling for
some days on the ground, he managed to tread here and there. His
innocent monosyllabic utterances were loved by all. Soon he was
running, going freely even into the purdah-observing homes, and
chattering and laughing.

When he was about four years and a half his father, Mirzā 'Abdul Khāliq, breathed his last, and Bedil was left an orphan.
Brilliant reminiscences of the paternal care were the only thing he
could recollect in later years about his father. Now he was under the
protection of Mirzā Qalandar, a step-brother and also disciple of his
father. For some time no attention was paid towards the education
of Bedil, but in the beginning of the sixth month of the sixth year of
his life, his mother, a virtuous lady, taught him the alphabet, and
then he was put under the charge of teachers. He finished reading
the Holy Qur'an after the incredibly short period of seven months.
This shows he was highly intelligent. His mother had also died by
that time, and he was now under the sole charge of Mirzā Qalandar.

He learnt Arabic grammar and Persian prose and verse till he
was ten years old. His mind was not yet mature for philosophy.
Inspite of this, while speaking of new vistas of thought that were slowly
and steadily opening before his mind in those days, he says, "Every
crowd that I saw served as a Maktab contributing towards my
perfection, and every word that fell on my ears guided me a step
further. Every subtle point used to unfold before me a book of
mysteries, and every aphorism revealed volumes of truth. Such a
penetrating mind had been granted to me by the bountiful God!"
At this time when he was studying rhetoric and learning lessons from the *Gulistan* of the Great Sa’di, one of his class-fellows used to come to the *Maktab* chewing the fragrant clove jilly flower (قرنفل). Whenever the boy smiled or talked, the air was filled with sweet smell. This perfume stirred his latent creative faculties, and Bedil composed the following quatrain:

![Poem in Persian]

Whenever my beloved speaks,
A strange perfume comes out of his mouth.
Is it the fragrance of the clove jilly flower or that of rose,
Or there comes the sweet smell of the musk of Cathay?

All who heard this quatrain were surprised. They could not believe that such a gem could be produced by a boy of ten. While talking about this composition, Bedil himself feels glorified.

In this very year of his life, when he had finished the *Kāfia* and had just commenced the *Sharah-e-Mulla Jāmi*, a strange episode cut short Bedil’s regular education. One day, two of his teachers were holding discussion about inflections in Arabic grammar. In the heat of discussion, their jugular veins swelled, their eyes grew red-hot, and they lost their temper. Mirzā Qalānčar happened to be there. He thought if a life of devotion to Arabic studies ultimately results in such a shameless and childish behaviour, then woe upon schooling. He asked his nephew to leave the school forthwith and study the famous works of the master-writers of Persian at home. He reminded him that the chronograms of an eminent saint, Mirzā Abū Qāsim Tirmizi, predicted extraordinary intellectual and spiritual achievements and Bedil should, therefore, study privately, looking for guidance only to God, the Omniscient and Omnipotent. From that day he began to acquire knowledge with extraordinary self-devotion and emerged finally as a self-taught genius. We have to see how it happened.

Before crossing the Khyber Pass and coming into India, the Muslims of Central Asia had attained a high degree of civilisation, and their sciences had already reached their culminating point. I will only mention the names of Albirūnī (362-440 A.H.—972-1048 A.D.)

4. *Khsūagu* says these were two students, but Bedil writes:

They were, therefore, teachers. See *Chahār ‘Ustur* Safdarī Edition, pp. 25, 26.
and Ibn Sina (370-427 A.D.—980-1035-6 A.D.). They flourished in the territories from which came the main exodus of Muslims to India. About Ibn Sina, Bartold says that he mastered the entire scientific knowledge of his epoch and expounded it in an intelligible and artistic form in his Kitābush Shifa, which deals with logic, physics, metaphysics, astronomy and theology. When the Muslims had conquered India, they sat down to propagate their sciences, and very soon, even in the days of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khilji (crowned in 695/1296) the seats of learning in this country vied with those which the Muslims had left in Bokhara, Samarqand, and Khawarzim. Philosophy, Metaphysics, Exegesis, Jurisprudence, Theology, Grammar, Rhetoric and Lexicography were taught. During the Mughul period, the educational activities of the Muslims received a further impetus owing to continued peace and court patronage and encouragement. The highest pitch was reached during the reign of Shāh Jahān who, besides being a strong ruler, was a bibliophile, and made notes on manuscripts. Shaikh ‘Abdul Haq (died 1052/1642), Maulvi ‘Abdul Hakim Sialkot (died 1057/1656-7) and Shaikh Mūhammad Afzal Jaunpuri (died 1062/1551-52) were some of the distinguished ‘ulema of his times. Sa‘dullah Khan ‘Allāmi (died 1065/1655-6), the renowned Prime Minister of Shāh Jahān, knew the Holy Qurān by heart, and at the same time was proficient in all the sciences in vogue in those days.

We have spoken of India in general, but the ‘īlāqa, where Bedl was passing the impressionable period of his life, was still more fortunate in having the most enlightened ‘ulema and scholars and the best seminaries. It had maintained, since earlier times, the proud distinction of having high traditions of learning. Nalanda, the most famous seat of Buddhist learning in all India, was situated in this very ‘īlāqa. When Amir Timūr pillaged the country from the Indus to the Ganges in 1398 A.D., Dehli was ransacked and its people were slaughtered. The brilliant luminaries of Islam fled for their life to the East. Synchronising with these times, fortunately, the Kings of the East, or the Sharqī Kings, were establishing themselves in

2. Ibid., p. 89.
5. Law, Promotion of Muhammadan Learning, Foreword, p. xxvii.
Jaunpur. Ibrahim Shah, who reigned from 1401 to 1449 A.D., was the most prominent of the Kings of the East. He was an enlightened patron of arts and learning. All the Muslim scholars and 'ulema, therefore, flocked to Jaunpur and there they set up many seminaries.1

A new era of enlightenment was thus inaugurated, and the country, right up to the ancient city of Patna,2 became a cradle of learning and culture. So much so that Shah Jahan once remarked with a glimmer of delight in his eyes: "Our East bears comparison with Shiraz in respect of learning." The works of the later thinkers of Iran had been introduced in India during the days of Akbar the Great, and were included in the courses of study.4 After mastering the works of his predecessors, Mulla Muhammad Jaunpuri (died 1062/1651-2) had written his philosophical treatise—Shams-i-Bâiqhâ3—in 1042/1632-3 which stands out even today as a monument of learning and exposition.

From amongst the distinguished 'ulema of Bihar proper, we come across Mullâ Mohyuddin Mohan Bihâri6 (died 1068/1657-8) who was the teacher of Aurangzeb. Side by side with Bedil, Ghulâm Yahyâ Bihâri7 (died 1126/1715-6) and Qâzi Muhâibullah Bihâri8 (died 1119/1707) were also getting education. Later, the former earned a name as a philosopher, and the latter was called the virtual ocean of learning.

It is apparent that the environments in Bihâr were at this time very conducive to the attainment of knowledge. All sorts of facilities were available and one could reap benefit according to one's bent of mind and circumstances. We know that Bedil had been asked by his uncle to study the masterpieces of Persian prose and verse at home. He had been advised to collect selected9 verses and beautiful passages from different authors and then to show them to his uncle. It was essentially a research work. Conventional ways being abandoned, Bedil silently applied himself to poetical works, and reflection and concentration became his second nature. Gleanings of the day were read out to Mirzâ Qalandar, his uncle, whose appreciation

3. The province of 'Aqlînâbâd (Bihâr) has also been included here in دبب, i.e. the East.
5. Ibid., p. 238. The names of Dawwânî, Mir 'Sadruddin, Mir Ghîyâsuddin, etc., have been mentioned.
6. Ibid., p. 257.
7. Azâd, Ghulâm 'Ali Bilgramî, Ma'âriful Kirâm, I, p. 43.
9. Ibid., p. 175.
encouraged Bedil. Sometimes on hearing some elegant verse Mirzâ Qalandar was moved to ecstasy and used to compose couplets extempore. In view of the inspiration that Bedil received from his uncle, he counts him as one of his teachers. He says that he learnt good manners also from his uncle.

Mirzâ Qalandar, though illiterate, had a keen perception and could versify extempore with a fair degree of elegance. Once he had a piece of yellow silk tied over his eyes on account of some eye trouble. Someone enquired about it and he replied off-hand:

(My liver bleeded as I was debarred from seeing you.
What should my eyes do, when your eyes have cast them off?)

He was also extraordinarily strong and energetic. In a single pull, he could uproot a date-palm, with a rope of horse’s hair tied to its stem some five or six feet deep in the earth. He could break the hardest stone of apricot, under the pressure of his thumb, and could easily straighten the twisted articles of inflexible steel. The army unit which was commanded by him was always victorious at the battlefield. Once fighting in Hazâra, he showed his fortitude and resolution in a strange way. In the heat of the action his heel was dislocated and his shank bone fractured. Calmly and silently he set right his heel, tied pieces of arrows round the fractured bone, and continued fighting for full three days, till he was victorious. Then he told his companions what had happened, and all were surprised.

Scorpions could not move under his shadow and locks opened as soon as he pointed at them with his forefinger. The former novel trait, he said, was inborn, and the latter he had acquired by repeating constantly for full five years; an attribute of God. When he was feeling severely feverish, he would drink 300 Misqâl of ghee at a drought and regarded it as health-giving syrup; and he used to put ground pepper in his eyes to cure them of soreness.

2. Ibid., p. 23.
3. Khushgû says that in the beginning Mirzâ Qalandar was in the service of Prince Shujâ. We know that Prince Shujâ had been called from Bengâl by Shâh Jahân when he went to Kabul in 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.) in connection with the arduous Balkh campaign. It is just possible that Mirzâ Qalandar accompanied the armies of Shujâ on that occasion. When the Mughul armies retreated in 1057 A.H. (1647 A.D.), they were attacked by the heartless Hazâras in the way. But I cannot say definitely that Mirzâ Qalandar experienced a fracture of his shank bone at that time. See Khushgû in Matûrîf, May 1942, p. 359. Khâﬁ Khân, Muntakhabul Lubah, I, pp, 660, 670, 680.
He lived a life of contentment having no relish for nice dishes. He practised austerity, and, with a view to self-mortification, every now and then, he observed forty days of devotion and seclusion, as a consequence of which he would grow very thin and weak and only the entreaties of his friends compelled him to give up the severe self-discipline for some time. He said, "Strict self-discipline is essential if you wish to achieve perfection." We have also seen that he was a disciple of Mirza 'Abdul Khaliq — Bedil's father. He had no liking for having an established home. Bedil says, "Mirza Qalandar had covered all the stages of the Path and belonged to the Qadiri order of Sufism."

It has already been related that Mirza 'Abdul Khaliq had deep-rooted faith in a saint named Maulana Kamal. Mirza Qalandar too was a great believer in the spiritual eminence of this holy personage. Maulana Kamal belonged to Rani Sagar — a town in Bihar about sixty miles to the west of Patna. With a lowliness of spirit he had combined elevation of mind. He was the phoenix of his age in mysticism, and, in his regard for the canon law, he was a model for others. The Qadiri order of saints received much celebrity in Bihar because of the supreme excellence of his personality.

Bedil had known him from his very childhood. But at one time things took such a turn that Maulana Kamal began to bestow increasingly more attention upon the promising boy. Bedil was interested in incantations from his infancy. He would attend people at sick-bed, used to put his personal amulet around their necks, and recited the Holy Qur'an (i.e. سورة الاحمد), for invoking the blessings of God. Ailing persons, Bedil says, were thus relieved of their trouble. In this way he had developed interest in amulets and charms. Now, one day, Bedil overheard Maulana Kamal telling a charm to Mirza Qalandar for exercising the evil spirits. It so happened that, on a certain day, when Bedil was playing with his mates, he was told that a woman was being tortured to death by some evil spirit. Several exorcisers were called, but of no avail. A man, who could enter the woman's apartments, was sent for, and Bedil decided to try the charm of the Maulana. When the man came Bedil asked him to breathe the on the nail of the woman's thumb. She was immediately relieved. When

2. Page 11, supra.
4. Ibid.
5. Page 5, supra.
7. Ibid., p. 6.
8. Ibid., p. 7. Bedil's interest in charms continued till he was 25 (Chahar
9. 'Unsur, 110-20).
10. Ibid., p. 8.
Maulana Kamal heard the whole story, he was immensely pleased and gave Bedil his book of amulets which he had collected during the whole course of his life. From that day Maulana Kamal began to shower his favours upon Bedil.

It is evident that Bedil was initiated into mysticism by Mirza Qalandar and Maulana Kamal, who, by their personal example of self-renunciation, had inculcated in him disinterested love which is the basis of Sufism. Khushgul says that in the art of versification too Maulana Kamal was the teacher of Bedil.

When Bedil composed his first quatrain, he had been discouraged by some people who had remarked that such a nice piece of poetry could not be produced by a lad of ten. Nevertheless, at that very time, he felt some mysterious vibrations in his soul which impelled him to speak out in verse. He destroyed his compositions, for fear of the critics, although every hemistich was colourful like the rainbow and lofty like the crescent. During those days he wrote in the style of the classical Persian poets.

On account of his early contact with the custodians of esoteric doctrine, Bedil was led to believe that he too was destined to share their secrets. This belief had a profound influence over his career as a poet, and from the very beginning he thought that whenever he composed a couplet, he divulged a secret. It was perhaps because of this that originally he adopted Ramzi as his Takhallus. But Khushgul says, "One day Bedil was studying the Gulistan. When in its preface he reached the following hemistich:

بيتل از نشان به کریم پاز
[What should a man without heart (i.e. lover) Say about the untraceable God?] he was moved to excitement, and after he had prayed for guidance from the spirit of Hafiz, he decided to change his Takhallus from Ramzi to Bedil.''

There was another saint, named Shah-e-Muluk, in whose company Bedil learnt much about the Unseen. Shah-e-Muluk was above all worldly considerations, cared little for food and drink, even remained naked and lived for a long time under a tree in Sare-e-Benares, which is at a distance of about four miles from Rani Sagur, the town

3. Ibid.
4. Khushgul, in Matarif, May 1942, p. 361. Husain Quill Khan, however, says in Nighter-e-Isfah (Ms. f. 204-6) that Bedil sought guidance from the spirit of Sa'di, but I prefer Khushgul because it is Diwan-e-Hafiz which is invariably used for such purposes.
Life and Works of Bedil called مدينة الأولياء (the city of saints) by Bedil because of its being the native town of Shaikh Kamāl. Mirzā Qalandar lived in Rāni Sāgar for some time on account of his having deep faith in the sainthood of Shaikh Kamāl. Bedil too was there, with Mirzā Qalandar, as his ward and pupil. As Sarā-e-Benāres is not much away from Rāni Sāgar, Shāh-e-Mulūk used to come to see Mirzā Qalandar and lived with him for weeks on end. The Shāh was indifferent towards people but when left alone he would go on talking and making references to profound truths. One day in the course of such a soul-illuminating talk to himself, when Shāh-e-Mulūk observed that Bedil was listening with rapt attention, he asked him to pen down his extempore utterances. Most eagerly Bedil took pen and paper, and for three days he wrote hemistich by hemistich, till they were in all forty couplets, full of Vedanta terminology and in Rekha, i.e. Urdu. Bedil says that Shāh-e-Mulūk uttered a thousand similar verses day and night, but none was wise enough to pay attention to them. He expresses his gratefulness to the saint in the following quatrain:

بيتل جھنجر تو نفس سوزته اندر
ای شمع زبرتو تو اندیشہ کدیخت گریا بکذار دیت آروختہ اندر

[Bedil, how much pains have they suffered for your sake?
They have taught you to versify in such an impressive manner.
O, candle, by your flame the imagination has melted;
It means they lighted you by melting their heart.]

Bedil counts Shāh Yaka Āzād also among his spiritual guides. He was a saint of high standing and had come to Āra—a town at a distance of about forty miles towards the west of Patna. Crowds came to see the saint. As Mirzā Qalandar had no fixed abode, he was at that time residing in this town, and, not unexpectedly, Bedil also was with him. Mirzā Qalandar soon developed intimate relations with Shāh Yaka Āzād, and was full of praise for him. Whenever the saint returned visits, Mirzā Qalandar felt overjoyed and accorded him a hearty welcome. Bedil records a miracle displayed by Shāh Yaka Āzād. Once the saint was crossing the Ganges in a boat, when the river was overflowing its banks. He had no money, and in the midst of the river, he was pestered by the persistent demands of the oarsmen. All of a sudden, he stepped out of the boat, was seen walking on the river, and soon disappeared beyond the horizon.

2. O. Malley, Bengal District Gazettes, Shahabad, pp. 126-30. It is headquarters of the district and a historic town. It has a jāma' Masjid—a saracenic building erected in the tines of Aurangzeb.
3. Chahir 'Unsur, p. 16.
Shāh Yaka Azād, too, was very kind to Bedil, and many secrets about the Ultimate Reality were unfolded before him by the saint. One day in the scorching heat of the sun, Shāh Yaka Azād came suddenly to see Bedil and foretold that the excellence of the inherent powers of Bedil would soon be recognised by men of insight. He also said that his own death would occur shortly and advised Bedil always to ponder over the meaning of the following verses:

ابن تویی ظاهر که بنداری توی
آن تویی کان بر تاز واقع
و یک راز ای این توکه تخت
من غلام هر مارد خوددان چین

(This visible self of yours, which you regard to be your self, because of lack of self-realisation has enveloped your selfhood. That self is yours and not this, which is body. That self which is above all egotistical sayings. Your selfhood is entombed in another. I am a slave to the person who realises his self in this way.)

It was essentially an advice to show greater solicitude to the inner self. The same week Shāh Yaka Azād gave up the Ghost.

Miṟzā Qalandar, who, on all occasions, displayed readiness to pay homage to every saint, was also much influenced by the spiritual integrity of another holy man of distinction named Shāh Fāzil, who disliked that legends about his sainthood should spread abroad. Bedil, who was particularly receptive to spiritual teaching, was also swayed over by this holy personage and in his company realised that:

میلت صادقان جوهر اکسیر غناست
بی صاف قطره ممال است که گوهرکرد

(The company of the pure-hearted is the essence of the alchemy of self-sufficiency; It is impossible that a drop should turn into a pearl without a mother-pearl.)

It appears3 from the statement of Bedil that, like all the Sufis of that age, Shāh Fāzil was not only well versed in Exegesis and Hadis but also in Metaphysics and Rhetoric. Bedil says that the prose of Shāh Fāzil rhymed like verse, and, in the clarification of thought, his verse excelled prose. In a discourse Shāh Fāzil beautifully described "imperfection" of the phenomenal world and unreality of the

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
Life and Works of Bedil

...and urged that one should always contemplate of Him Who is remote from all imperfections. Bedil quotes Shāh Fāzīl saying:

[In the assembly of Unity of Appearance none but One is absolutely certain. How can then a ray of diversity appear? The people, who see and possess nothing except God, cannot attribute to themselves any quality.]

In that very meeting someone submitted his request to Shāh Sahib in the form of the following couplet:

[In our hut also a night can be changad into day.
If it has not a mat, it has at least its painting.]

Shāh Sahib was reluctant to grant the request, and asked Bedil to reply. He forthwith composed the following verses extempore:

[Come here yourself and see that in the domain of annihilation
Our times are different from the ordinary serial time.
The hut is only a whim and the painting of a mat the rust of mind.
We are concerned only with sincerity and purity.
The mat and the hut cannot have access into our realm.
Wherever we be, there is not a vestige of any ambition.
Burn down the hut and efface the painting of the mat.
Then alone you will see what is hid in the carpet of our,
Faqir.

So long as it does not consume us, it will not leave us,
Annihilation pursues us like fire.]

Bedil was in this way attending the discourses of the eminent mystics of his time, and studying privately and writing poetry,
when all of a sudden he felt tremors under his feet. It was the winter of 1675 A.D., and Bedil had just entered his teens. Rumours about the illness and then death of the majestic and beloved Emperor Shâh Jahân had been afloat in the land. It was being widely talked about that a prosperous and glorious reign had come to an end.

A complete blackout of the news about the illness of Shâh Jahân had been scrupulously arranged by Dârâ Shîkoh, the eldest son of Shâh Jahân and the aspirant to his throne. Naturally enough, wild rumours spread in the country.

Suddenly the people of Bihar learnt that prince Shujâ', the Governor of Bengal, had proclaimed himself emperor and was proceeding with his armies to Shân Jahânâbâd to seize the Peacock Throne. Ominous forebodings, therefore, filled the minds of the people.

Shujâ' reached Benares on January 24, 1658, but was surprised by Sulaimân Shîkoh, who had been deputed by his father Dârâ Shîkoh to meet Shujâ'. At his discomfiture, Shujâ' fled back and reached Patna on February 19, 1658. As Sulaimân Shîkoh was recalled on account of the threatening coalition of Auzâ'angzeb and Prince Murâd, he made peace with Shujâ', and left for Dehli. Shujâ' then made Patna a scene of great political activity and began to make preparations for the final fight for the throne. He appointed one Mirzâ `Abdul La'tif as the commander of his armies and vigorous efforts were made to collect treasure for paying the soldiers. Mirzâ `Abdul La'tif was a kinsman of Qalandar, and it was on this account that for three months Bedil also was in Tirhut with the armies of Shujâ'. Bedil, therefore, saw with his own eyes how the upheaval went on.

Like Shujâ', Murâd also had hurriedly crowned himself in Gujerat. But Auzâ'angzeb, who was in the Deccan at that time as the viceroy for the second time, assumed no royal functions. He made alliance with Murâd and proceeded towards the North. At Dharmat, towards the close of April 1658, both the brothers fought stubbornly against Maharâja Jaswant Singh (who had come to check them) and defeated him. Then Dârâ Shîkoh himself came out at the

1. Sâqî, Mustâ'îd Khân, Maârij-e-Alamgîrî, p. 3.  
2. Ibid.  
5. See supra, where it has been told that Mirzâ Qalandar was a stepbrother of Bedil's father. Hence Bedil does not acknowledge Mirzâ `Abdul La'tif as his own relative.  
6. A country towards the north of Patna.  
7. Sâqî, Mustâ'îd Khân, Maârij-e-Alamgîrî, p. 5.
Life and Works of Bedil

head of a huge army, and fought the sanguinary and decisive battle of Sāmūgarh on May 29, 1658. The fortitude and composure of Aurangzeb as a general and the fiery valour of Murād won the day. Poor Dārā turned a fugitive and Shah Jahān was made a captive. Not long afterwards, Aurangzeb thought it advisable to put Murād also into prison, where he was finally put to death.

Aurangzeb was hot in pursuit of Dārā Shāikoh in the Punjab, when he learnt that Shuja was proceeding towards the capital to wrest the crown from him. Leaving others to follow up Dārā, he returned by rapid marches and gave a crushing defeat to Shuja at Khajwa, near Allahābād, on January 2, 1659. There was a general stampede of the defeated forces, and Bedil, as an eye-witness, gives a vivid description of the same in the following poem:

In the field of repose room was left for none,
The dust of panic was flown so violently that footprints disappeared,
For the people the race-course of the world narrowed to such an extent
That even the place, where one could lift one’s eyelashes, was not left.
The sword of disappointment cut crowds asunder.
Red tinge on the face, speech on lips, and connection between limbs was no more.

3. Chahār ‘Unsur, Şafdar Edition, p. 120.
The fire of valour died out, and the essence of zeal melted away.

Out of that courageous stand nothing but awe remained in hearts.

Inasmuch as everyone had gone ahead of the place of refuge.

In nobody’s thoughts about today there was idea of tomorrow.

The word "Departure," struck the ears of the negligent and proud, and

Firmness in the nature of stone disappeared like a spark.

The groans reached the edges of the mountain, and

Whomever I saw he vanished from this Sahara of panic.

**Shuja** fled to the Arakans where he was killed by the wild Gonds. *Bedil* also wandered about in the jungles on horseback, with Mirzā 'Abdul Latif, for full ten days, and then reached Patna after suffering indescribable hardships.

The ignominy and captivity of **Shāh Jahān** had a lasting effect upon *Bedil*. In his childhood, like the other people of his age, he had evolved a sentiment of reverential love towards **Shāh Jahān**, and the infidelity of his sons, therefore, pained *Bedil* beyond description. He was still feeling the pangs when, in his old age, at sixty or so, he was writing the concluding chapter of his autobiography, i.e. *Chahār 'Unsūr*. He wrote about **Shuja**:

> [Shāh Shuja’ son of Shāh Jahān, thought that imperial administration had been paralysed owing to the illness of his father, and, therefore, inconsiderately, he marched his mad horse upon the capital of Delhi, so that he might raise the pedestal of the pulpit of greed with a vain Khutbah.]

And although for an exceptionally long period of over sixty years,

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3. Bedil finished *Chahār 'Unsūr* in 1116 A.H. = 1704 A.D. when he was sixty-two years old.
4. Chahār 'Unsūr, pp. 3, 4. He says:
   > [Why have you added to yours the account of others? *Bedil*, talk about yourself, because you too are not an insignificant person.]
he had heard encomiums of the “living saint” Aurangzeb, he wrote ironically about him:

[With the object of becoming the sovereign of Dehli Aurangzeb ‘Alamgir took the lead, and discharged his duty to his father before others.]

The mighty quake was, however, over, and, after the coronation of Aurangzeb, normal conditions soon returned, and Bedil too resumed his studies. After this we shall hear very little about Mirzā Qalandar, because he left for Bengal, and if at all he came back, Bedil did not live under his protection. One can, therefore, safely assert that the war of succession was a milestone in the life of Bedil.

There is nevertheless one incident of Bedil’s life connected with Mirzā Qalandar, which probably belongs to this period. One day, at Rāāl Śāgar, on the bank of a tank, whose water was crystal clear, Mirzā Qalandar arranged a convivial meeting. Graceful female singers were invited. One of them, in the excitement of the dance, upturned a cup and wine flowed out. Fierce glances were, therefore, cast at her from the assembly. At that moment Bedil apologised on her behalf in this vein:

[From the hands of Sāqī if a draught of wine fell down on earth.

2. Page 33, infra.
3. I have not been able to decide finally where to string this incident. Reference to Rāāl Śāgar would induce me to connect it with the constant visits of Mirzā Qalandar to that place, where he went to see Maulānā Kamāl. But the sacred object of his journey forbids me. The diction and phraseology of the verses suggest that the incident took place when Bedil had obtained sufficient mastery over the language. But as there is no indication of Bedil’s meeting his uncle after his departure to Bengal, I would say that it happened at the conclusion of War of Succession. But then its spirit is not in accord with the spirit of the post-war days.
Why the wave of coquetry wrinkled your brow?
Neither the hands of Sāqf shivered nor the cup slipped, then,
Who, should I say, threw it down the hands and spilt wine?
As soon as your eyes turned towards the cup,
Down it came and out ran the wine.
Blame sportive beauty for a while, why
It put fire in the cup by ruby lips?
Not to speak of the cup, in the presence of your over-bearing coquetry,
A thousand mirrors lost their lustre in this way.]

During these days, in 1070 a.h.\(^1\) (1659 A.D.), Mirzā Qalandar left for Bengal leaving his personal effects in Mehṣī\(^2\)—a town about twenty kos\(^3\) from Patna lying on the other side of the Ganges, and in those days the seat of the Qāzī. A business prompted Bedil to undertake journey to this place. Although Aurangzeb was now the undisputed monarch of the country, yet, as the revolution had just ended, the roads were still infested by robbers and dacoits. But, with faith in God, Bedil set out for Mehṣī, having only a servant with him.

He was a pedestrian, and never before he had the chance of making a journey in this way. Blisters soon appeared, and, after crossing the Ganges, when he had travelled only three kos, he sat down under a tree to take rest. He was utterly exhausted. His clever servant at first encouraged him, and then made sarcastic remarks, but Bedil would not move. As it was dangerous in those days to remain there any longer, Bedil mustered up strength and treded the intervening distance of two kos to Sara-e-Jamnapur till late in the evening.

Next morning at daybreak he was feeling no weariness. He wanted to hire a horse, but the people on their part tried to dissuade him from continuing the journey any further. Bedil, however, went on. At midday, when he had covered another three kos and when it was intensely hot, he stopped under the cool shade of a tree for repose. When the sun declined and he was about to resume his journey, one Jān Muḥammad arrived there with a mare and offered it to Bedil. Jān Muḥammad was a follower of Shāh Muḥammad, the next-door neighbour of Mirzā Qalandar in Mehṣī. The darvish was an old man, and Bedil did not like that the poor fellow should walk all the way and he himself should ride. Even the importunities of the compassionate darvish could not have prevailed but he ran away

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3. A kos is equal to a mile and a half.
leaving the mare behind when Bedil had gone aside to urinate. Bedil was now left with no alternative but to mount the mare. After travelling a distance of three kos, a place called Sera-e-Begoli was reached in the evening. The dervish had already arrived there. They passed the night in that serai (inn).

Next day Bedil covered the remaining nine kos on the same mare which had again been cleverly placed at his disposal. They reached Mchsi in the afternoon. The dervsh had already arrived there. They passed the night in that serai (inn).

1. Bedil gives a supernatural tinge to the incident towards the end. He says that the sons of Khwaja Shāh Muḥammad vehemently denied that they had a disciple named Jān Muḥammad. Similarly, at page 121 of Chahār 'Unṣur Bedil says that when he was in Tihrut during the War of Succession, he saw, with others, a peri in an unusually elegant and magnificent bungalow. We shall again come across such like apparitions in the course of Bedil’s biography.


3. Ibid., p. 50.
this meeting he composed the following quatrain\(^1\) which Shāh Abul Faiz very much appreciated:

\[
\text{O heart, think not of the sorrows and pleasures of the world,}
\text{Think not also of increase and decrease or of the difficulties}
\text{and convenience.}
\]

In the garden of the world like the morning breeze,
Come with a free mind and pass on with a light spirit.\(^2\)

Mirzā Zarīf was a trader,\(^2\) and, perhaps, as such in 1071 A.H.\(^3\) (1660 A.D.) he went to Cuttack, the capital of Orissa. Mirzā Bedil also accompanied him. Cuttack\(^4\) is situated on the Mahānādi and is a trade centre of some importance. People say it was founded by a prince named Makar of the Kesari or Lion dynasty. Since the reign of Akbar the Great it had been the capital of Mughul subjêrs, and when Bedil went there Khān Daurān Sayyid Muhammad\(^5\) was the Subēr of Orissa. Cuttack has a picturesque appearance in the apex of the Mahānādi and its branch the Katjuri. It has an extensive plain and lofty trees which line the foot and the sides of a chain of high mountains. Surrounded on all sides by such fascinating scenes, Bedil lived in a house on the riverbank,\(^6\) and, I am sure, the irresistible charm of these surroundings captured his imagination and developed his aesthetic taste. In his Chahār 'Unsur, Bedil makes a mention of the flowering meadows\(^7\) of Cuttack.

We already know that Mirzā Zarīf was a learned man. I think, he wanted to teach the commentary of the Holy Qurān to Bedil, and, with a view to do this, one day he had a disputation with the boy on this subject.\(^8\) Suddenly, a darvīsh came and said that a saint had come to see them. They welcomed the saint most heartily. He was very kind to Bedil especially and remarked, "Thank God, both of us have arrived here together. Now we shall always enjoy each other's company." He then displayed his mastery of the exegesis by explaining most lucidly a few verses from the Holy Qurān. Both, Mirzā Zarīf and Bedil, were so much impressed that in that very meeting they developed sincere and everlasting attachment for him. When the

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2. Ibid., p. 54.
3. Ibid., p. 40
4. Ibid., pp. 29, 42.
6. Chahār 'Unsur, p. 54.
7. Ibid., p. 43.
8. Ibid., pp. 29, 38.
saint was departing, he turned towards Bedil and said, "I have discovered your secret. Let me be a partaker in it." By an act of clairvoyance, the saint had discovered the secret of Bedil's love for God, which he had, so far, kept concealed from every other person and which had caused endless burning in his breast.

The name of this saint was Shāh-e-Qāsim Huvallāhī and he had arrived in Orissa from India in 1071 A.H. (1660 A.D.), the same year when Bedil also arrived there. Bedil waxes eloquent when he speaks of the saint. A fair analysis of these laudatory effusions discloses that the saint was well versed in Grammar, Exegesis, and Metaphysics, and could profusely cite apt quotations. He had passed through all the stages of mysticism, had attained the Unitive State and was the Pole of his times. A saint of high spiritual standing as he was, he could, now and then, display miracles. Association with such an eminent spiritual leader was, therefore, very useful for Bedil, because he was still at the formative stage of his life. Whatever Bedil wrote, in verse or prose, was shown to Shāh-e-Qāsim Huvallāhī who always generously encouraged him.

During his stay at Cuttack, Bedil studied selections from the Tāzikrātul Auliyā of Shāikh Fariduddin 'Aṭūr, and one day when he was deep in thought Shāh-e-Qāsim unexpectedly came in. Shāh Sāhib enquired what the matter was. Bedil replied that he was pondering over the following saying of the saint Shibl (334/945):

[Sūfism is polytheism, because it is the guarding of the heart from the vision of 'Other' and 'other' does not exist.]

Shāh-e-Qāsim was highly pleased to know it, and asked Bedil to prepare a collection of the sayings of saints. Bedil readily acted upon his advice, and, at the end of the preface of his work, he wrote a poem in which unambiguous references to the different problems of mysticism were made. This poem also won the approbation of Shāh Sāhib. The collection unfortunately has not come

1. Chahār 'Unūr, pp. 42, 44. At page 44 we find that Mīrzā Khānīf complained to Shāh-e-Qāsim about the indifference of Bedil to studies which he sometimes showed. Then Shāh-e-Qāsim said in private to Bedil, "You are a strange fellow. You have concealed your secret even from your own relatives.'
2. Chahār 'Unūr, p. 29.
3. An eminent figure in mystic hierarchy.
5. Ibid., p. 44.
6. Ibid., p. 69.
7. Ibid., p. 59.
down to us, but the poem has been given\(^1\) in Chahar 'Unsur and has sixty-two couplets.

On another occasion, Sháh-e-Qásím was sitting\(^2\) in the house of Mírzá Zaríf and some litterateurs had also assembled there. By and by, discussion centred on the figures of speech. The poet Wáláh\(^3\) of Herát was also there, who, Bedil says, was a Tázagú\(^4\) poet; and whose mastery over language and colourful images have been acclaimed by Bedil. Modern people may regard it as frivolities of taste, but right from the days of Faíz?, the renowned poet-laureate of Akbar the Great, who wrote his commentary\(^5\) avoiding all dotted letters, solicitude had been shown for the figures of speech in which letters either with or without dots were employed. In that assembly, too, such like figures of speech were discussed. Bedil also successfully tried his hands at these figures. On that occasion he composed the following couplet having all dotted letters which he later on incorporated\(^6\) in his Masnavi Tilisn-e-Hairat:

\[
\text{بیجشین تَیغ زن جین جینش}
\text{و*شَقَع بَشنی لَسن نَش جَینش}
\]

[In motion, the wrinkles of its brow cut like sword, and

Anger adds to the effect of its wrinkles.]

When Sháh-e-Qásím heard this verse he remarked that not only it rhymed well but also it was picturesque.

In their meeting Sháh-e-Qásím always asked Bedil to come forward with an appropriate quotation. This shows not only the regard of the saint for the brilliant young man but also the grand and goodly number of verses which Bedil always remembered. Moreover, such was the influence of Sháh Sáhib upon Bedil, and the affinity between their souls was so close, that even in his dreams Bedil found himself quoting verses at the instance of Sháh Sáhib. One night in a dream Bedil found himself in a meeting with Sháh Sáhib, where a discussion was going on about 'Modesty.' The saint asked Bedil to come forward with an appropriate verse, and Bedil said extempore:

\[
\text{حیا خوشانم گَکه گَرِد درْنام بَناء}
\text{ادب کردن رَقم دَر لَنط بَناء}
\]

[I read 'Modesty' and my glances remained stuck in the dust of the ink.

I was courtious and the ink of the writ remained in the dots.]

\(^1\) Chahar 'Unsur, Safdari Edition, p. 52.
\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 55-56.
\(^3\) Sarkhsh, Kalimash Shu'ra, p. 124.
\(^4\) See infra for Tázagú.
\(^5\) 'Abdul Ghant, A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, 11, pp. 41, 66.
\(^7\) Chahar 'Unsur, p. 69.
A few days later some persons were studying the pamphlet, Selections from Tażkiratul Auliya, in the presence of Shāh-e-Qāsim, and when that place was reached where a certain person asked Bāyazīd Bīyūnī what 'Modesty' meant, then Shāh Sāhib remarked, "Bedil, its real import is the same you expressed so tersely that night." Bedil was of the opinion that Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwallāh ranked in spiritual attainments with Bāyazīd (261/875), Ibrāhīm Adham (160/777), Junaid (298/910), and Shībī (334/945), the celebrated mystics of Islam.

Once, in connection with his commercial concern, Mirzā Zaríf went to Kesari—a town which, Bedil says, was at a distance of six days' journey from Cuttack and had a dry hot climate. Of course, Bedil too went with Mirzā Zaríf and was there for a period of five months. On account of the extreme heat of the place, Bedil fell dangerously ill with typhoid fever. On the night of crisis Bedil dreamt that Shāh-e-Qāsim had arrived to enquire after his health, and spread his mantle upon him. Soon the fever was gone and Bedil was convalescing. Seven days later a messenger brought an epistle from Shāh Sāhib stating that distance could not separate two harmonious souls; they might not see each other, but in reality they were always close together.

In Orissa we observe a strange spiritual awakening in Bedil. He considered himself above all worldly considerations. Material possessions, hopes and fears, worldly honour and dishonour alike, ceased to have any value for him. Whether awake or asleep, he was occupied only with the thoughts of the Absolute. It was a burning passion with him which consumed his soul. In a fit of ecstasy he would cry out:

ئاز هضبلة سرَاتت نزولني خودگوشی چه گوئم؟ که چونی
[Thou transcendest my praises of Thee,
Say Thyself, what should I say, how art Thou?]

In this state of mind one night in Cuttack in 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.) he saw in a dream that all the surroundings were illuminated and he was reciting the couplet given above. Suddenly, he heard the following reply:

ما هما با مس مصیر گوئم

1. 'Aṭṭār, Tażkiratul Auliya, p. 97.
2. Chahār 'Unsūr, p. 29.
3. Ibid., p. 41. I tried my level best to find out Kesari from Gazetteers, Geography books, and maps, but failed. The Kings of Kesari dynasty built temples at Bhūdanāswara, Nālīgirī, Udyānī, and Ratāṅgī. It is just possible one of these places was called Kesari in those days. The last three places are within 29°39' N, and 85°20' E, near the sea-coast and their climate in the summer season is very hot and dry. Also these places are farther removed from Cuttack.
Origin and Early Life

[Whatever we say is from us to ourselves,
We are like thee; what else should we say?]

This was pantheistic in import. On hearing it, he awoke. Bedil says that at that time he was experiencing a novel spiritual felicity. Early contact with saints was after all bearing fruit.

Bedil has remarked that he was with Shāh-e-Qāsim in Orissa for three years. But he reached there in 1071 A.H. (1660 A.D.) and from the preceding paragraph we learn that he was there till 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.). When all these things are put together we arrive at the conclusion that he must have gone to Orissa towards the end of 1071/1660, and returned in the beginning of 1075/1661.

Bedil was now twenty-one years old—in the full bloom of life. Middle-sized, broad-shouldered, and with a stout body, he had a very handsome face. He shaved himself clean. The archs of his eyebrows beautifully approached each other, and his brilliant broad forehead was indicative of the greatness which was destined for him. He spoke in low tones which only heightened the effect of his impressive and dignified appearance.

A descendant of the strong and energetic Mughuls as he was, he possessed herculean strength, to develop which he had made sustained efforts ever since his childhood. He had practised the art of wrestling, and every day for the sake of exercise, he would sit and stand four thousand times. He was also extraordinarily fleet-footed. Khushgū says that during the days when Bedil was in Patna, a trader brought for sale a fine Mesopotamian horse worth Rs. 1,000. He had a mind to buy it, and he wagered that if the horse proved his equal in race, he would pay Rs. 2,000; but if he outdistanced it, he would get the horse free. The owner agreed and himself jockeyed his horse. The race began in an extensive field and very soon Bedil was flying far ahead of the horse. Khushgū says that although Bedil won the race, still he was magnanimous enough not to take the animal as agreed upon.

Fickleness of Fortune had always marred the happiness of Bedil. He lost his parents when he was but an infant. His kind and loving

1. Chahār 'Untur, p. 29.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. We know Bedil never returned to Patna after he had left it in 1075 A.H. (p. 31, infra). This race, therefore, took place at this time.
5. I do not know how to believe Khushgū for this story of a race with a fine horse.
uncle left him and went away to Bengal, when he still needed his protection. He was now happy under the care of his maternal uncle Mirza Zarif, and was busy in his studies when, alas, this guardian also passed away. He felt a bitter grief, and mourned this loss in a poem wherein the following hemistitch occurs as a chronogram:

نيك فرجام عاقب مجمد

This numerically comes to 1075 A.H.

There was now none to support him. He had no source of income. How to arrange for the daily expenses was a constant headache. An old woman, with crooked back, visited Bedil's house and used to supply commodities to him daily. She was very kind to him. In these straitened circumstances also she looked after him. But this could not continue any longer. Loans could serve only as a temporary expedient. His friends advised him to go to Dehli, the Imperial capital, where he could show his worth. He loaded his simple effects (that is an ordinary carpet and an earthen jug) on a horse, and, with reins in his hands, went to say goodbye to the old woman. He said

impromptu:

مر برچب کوئی نبی تب دشمن آبن کیس
پہلے تکری چھاز دید اب بیدل چیک پہلی

[When there is no guardian, all are my enemies, Bedil leaves Patna town and goes to a foreign land.]

The hunch-backed old woman was very tender-hearted. Tears rolled down her cheeks and she said sorrowfully:

سر برسا رام مي لیکن کہ بدے ہے صبری
بیدل پی کرمت چھاز پرنا آب تکری

[God is the guardian, why then so much impatience? Bedil, don't leave it, my son. It is native town.]

1. Bedil says that as Mirza Zarif insisted that he (Bedil) should accompany him to Orissa he was separated from his uncle, Mirza Qalandar. Whether Mirza Qalandar left for Bengal when he found out the determination of Mirza Zarif for taking away Bedil with him is not of much significance. Also we do not possess any statement regarding the reunion of the nephew and the uncle after the latter's return from Bengal. It was therefore permanent separation. For Mirza Zarif's insistence, see Chahar Unus, p. 29.


But Bedil was determined to leave. He said, which gives 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.) as the year of his departure, and set off all alone for Delhi.

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1. "Kulliyât-e-Safdar" Qatifât, p. 51. Here is the stanza:

[From Bihar to DehI,
I set off all alone like a tear,
Shoulder to shoulder with God's grace, and
In the company of His favours.
The date of this journey
May be found from: 'God, and none else, the guide.']
CHAPTER II

Bedil—An Itinerant

We left Bedil on his way to Dehli. Shād 'Azīmābādī says1 that it was a difficult journey for him. According to the same authority, Bedil, on his arrival in the Imperial Capital, found that poetical contests and symposiums were commonly held, in which renowned poets took part, and, as he possessed a critical judgment and sublime ideas, his genius cast a novel lustre over that galaxy of illustrious poets, and he, therefore, became famous in the capital within no time. This statement of Shād 'Azīmābādī is only partially correct. Bedil's talents were not recognised so suddenly; but it is a fact that, within a few years of his arrival in Dehli, Bedil enjoyed unrivalled fame in the capital.

We do not know which of the eminent living poets took part in those contests.2 Ghānī Kashmīrī was alive (d. 1079/1668-69), but he was living in Kashmīr. The great Šāib3 (d. 1080/1669-70) also had left for Iran. As regards Nāsir 'Ali Sīrhindī4 (d. 1108/1696-97), the chief rival5 of Bedil, he came to live in Shāhjahānābād in the beginning of the twelfth century of the Hijra. And, so far as Muhammad Afzal Sarkhush6 (d. 1126/1714), another rival7 of Bedil, is concerned, he too settled in the capital towards the later part of his life. 'Āqil Khān Rāzī,8 a favourite noble of Aurangzeb and a mystic poet, could be expected in Dehli at that time, but we know Bedil developed very intimate friendly relations9 with him, but as nothing definite is known, I cannot say that he came in contact with Bedil in those days.

2. Āzād Bilgrāmī, Sarw-e-Āzād, p. 103.
3. Ibid., pp. 98-99.
4. Ibid., p. 81.
5. Sher Khān Lohdi, Miratul Khayāl, pp. 389-90; Sarkhush, Kalimātush Shuâ'rā, p. 15; Khushgü, in Ma'ārif, July 1942, p. 43.
7. Sarkhush, Kalimātush Shuâ'rā, p. 15; Khushgü, in Ma'ārif, July 1942, p. 43.
8. Sarkhush, Kalimātush Shuâ'rā, p. 40; Sher Khān Lohdi, Miratul Khayāl, p. 288; Salâhud Din, Bazm-t-Tinâ'iriya, pp. 267-69.
Although we may not definitely know the names of the poets referred to by Shād, yet it is a fact that on his arrival in Shāh Jahān-ābād, Bedil was introduced to a new style in poetry. He himself has admitted that so long as he was in Bihār, he was writing in the style of the classical Persian poets. Now he had found that quite a new style flourished in the Mughal capital—the style which has been called the Indian style, or भारतीय स्वभाविता. Bedil enumerates a few poets of the eras of Bābur, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzēb in the preface to his Masnāʿ Muḥit-e-Aʻzām, which he wrote a couple of years later, and from there we learn that he had studied the works of the poets of the Mughal period. He names Zuhūrī (d. 1025/1616), Hilālī (a poet of Bābur’s times), Zulālī (d. 1031/1621-22), Sālik (a poet of the days of Shāh Jahān), Tālib (d. 1036/1626-27), Sāmit (arrived in India in the days of Aurangzēb), Shaidā, a poet of the times of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, Sālim (d. 1057/1647), and Saʿīb.

When we consider the salient characteristics of the poetry of these poets, we discover that with them originality of thought, elegance of style and freshness of expression were of paramount importance. This they had termed لازم. If we go through Kalimātush Shuʿārā, a Taṣkīrah of the poets of those times, we find that at every page glowing tribute has been paid to almost every poet for this element of freshness in thought and expression. Nāẓirī5 (d. 1023/1614) in particular had shown a knack for the construction of new words and suggestive compounds. Mullā Zuhūrī, a contemporary of Naẓirī, had evolved a new graceful and ornate prose style and his Sāqi Nāma, which is a monument of perfect rhyme, sweetness of illustration, and warmth of emotion, had carved out for him a niche in the domain of literature. Kalīm (d. 1081/1665-6), Saʿīb and Ghāni Kашmīrī, the ultra-Mughalites,7 had marvellously employed8

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1. Page 32, supra.
2. Three styles, viz. ‘Irāqī, Kharāṣṭī, and Hindi, have been differentiated in Persian poetry. See Shāhīzī, All Akbar, Nauṣīkta-Adab-e-Irān-e-Mīzd. Though the author’s attitude, towards Persian poetry produced in India, is basically of negative character, yet it throws some light on the three styles in question.
5. Ghāni, A., History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, III, 499, for Hilālī.
6. Ibid., 139, 194, 203.
8. Shāhīzī, Bedil.
Life and Works of Bedil

poetical antilogy (حسن تنظیم) and aptness of illustration (متالیه) and they were known for their original conceits (معنى آرئی) and colourful images (رنگین خیال).

Bedil could not remain indifferent to these elements in Persian poetry. According to Khusrof 1 critical observation indisputably affirms the fact that Bedil followed Zuhūrī in writing prose. Besides, the Masnavī Multī-y-Āzām of Bedil, to which he himself gives the name 2 of Sādī Nāma, is unmistakably an echo 3 of the Sādī Nāma of Zuhūrī. In the preface to Multī-y-Āzām referred to above, we learn, however, that Bedil recognised only the genius of Sādī. Bedil may not acknowledge his indebtedness to the Tāzagū Shu'ārā, but his works undoubtedly point out that he was enamoured of the above-mentioned features of Tāzagū. 4 I think, it would be desirable if at this stage a few verses of Bedil are also quoted, with a view to showing that this new element is reflected in his lyrical poetry:

هد فکر تازه کیان گر خیال‌بر تو ازد
پر طاووس گردد جدول اوراق دیوان‌های

پنل از رنگ خیال های فرگت می‌زند
پرده رنگ بهار اوراق دیوان تر

پنل از هر مصرف موج نزکت می‌چمک
گرده ام رنگین یخور کیش لاغ تر

چنین که کلک می‌رنگ مسابی می‌چمک یادی
تراوان کلیش رگ ابر بهار ابن تآودان آنار.

[If my thoughts are reflected in the minds of the Tāzagū poets,
The rubric of the leaves of their Diwāns would change into peacock feathers.

A theory has been advanced in the first hemistich and has been proved by a concrete example in the second.

Bedil

آریان در نظر می‌رگنج خم ایروی، کیست حیرت است از قیبل رودو و جوانان محراها

The cause of an ordinary phenomenon is told poetically in such a manner that our curiosity is aroused.

Bedil

مرده هم فکر گفت دارد یار
آریان رنگ کیست دهار

Here a new meaning has been found out from the anxiety about the Day of Judgment. Mental process involved in this event and its meaning is the same.

See Shibli, Shīrūl 'Ajmon, III, 170.

4. See again the elements of Tāzagū (تازه جویی) (given at p. 33, supra.)
Because of your colourful conceits, it behoves, O Bedil,
That the leaves of your Divān should have a rubric made
of the spring's colour.
O Bedil, a wave of subtlety trickles down my hemistiches.
I have dyed my sword with the blood of a lean victim.
As the colour of conceits trickles down, my pen in this way,
O Bedil!

One can say that these gutters are in reality the arteries
of the vernal clouds.

The words may be noted in these verses. Moreover, in describing the figures
at pages 33-34 under note number 8 I have
purposely quoted from Bedil. All this shows that no sooner did Bedil
say good-bye to Bihār and arrive in Dehli, than his mind was
directed to new channels of expression.

Although Bedil was studying the current trends in Persian poetry,
yet his main preoccupation was mysticism. During those days in
Dehli he fasted continually, breaking the fast only with a handful
of gram. This fasting made him very weak. Sufis say the
successors of the acts of self-mortification.

When Bedil was in this way putting himself to tribulation for the
sake of God, he had a strange experience. One night when the
bazars had closed and he was returning after a stroll through them, he
found himself bodily lifted in the air. If he stopped and contempl-
ated he was on the ground, but as soon as he lifted his foot to
walk he was again up in the air. He was much perturbed and trembl-
ed with fear. He made supreme efforts and with much difficulty was
out of the bazars. When he was walking amidst the palaces of the
nobles, he was again lifted bodily, as if he was flying, and he could see
above the high walls in the compound of a palace where a grace-
ful lady was sewing in the light of a lamp. He was afraid lest
the people should upbraid him for this act. He sat down for a while,
and then somehow or other he went to the house of an acquaintance,
from where he deputed a boy to ascertain if what he had seen was
a fact. The boy returned and corroborated Bedil's experience even
to the minutest details. For a long time Bedil remained disturbed
on account of this happening.

Soon in Dehli he came across a Sufi who was firmly established
in the path and was already known to him. One day they

Life and Works of Bedil

were talking about the ecstasied saints.\(^1\) It was now 1076 A.H. (1665-66 A.D.) just a year after his marvellous dream in Orissa.\(^2\) One of the persons, who were present there, said that a saint lived in the ruins of the city, who, for weeks on end, cared little for eating and drinking, but when anything of the kind, even in very big quantities, was presented to him, he swallowed it up in a moment. In spite of his humbleness, his appearance was so majestic that none dared look at him. As at some previous date he was seen in Kabul, he was called Šāh-e-Kābulī. After that talk, when they sat down for dinner, Šāh-e-Kābulī suddenly made his appearance. All stood up to show respect to him and meal was offered to him. From the very beginning the saint was looking graciously at Bedil and now preferred to share his dish. After taking a few morsels he held Bedil’s hand in his own and made with him for his residence. There they sat down facing each other without uttering even a single word. The enchanting gaze of the saint was fixed at Bedil. It was in the afternoon that this eerie silence began and continued till late in the evening. Then all of a sudden Šāh-e-Kābulī burst into a loud laughter and recited the following couplet which Bedil had heard in a dream in Cuttack:

\[
\text{ازما با ماست هرچه گوئیم ما هچون توئی از وی گوئیم}
\]

[Whatever we say is from us to ourselves,

We are like Thee; what else should we say?]

On hearing this Bedil began to tremble. The night was pitch dark; everything looked so weird. Bedil, therefore, was very much frightened. With quivering lips he asked who the author of the couplet was. The saint laughed again merrily and replied that he himself was the author, there being no room for doubt. At this the saint stretched himself and asked Bedil also to lie down and enjoy sleep.

But Bedil sat extremely terrified. He was almost unconscious. He liked very much to weep but could not. He was in this agitated condition till very late in the night, when he fell asleep. Next morning when Bedil awoke, Šāh-e-Kābulī had already disappeared. Bedil made a thorough search for the saint for a long time, but failed to find him out.

This event removed all the doubts\(^3\) which Bedil had in his mind, and made him confident about the progress he had made in the spiritual field. Telepathic communications emanating from Šāh-e-Kābulī appeared to Bedil as revelations from God Himself. He thought he had attained the unitive state and therefore he remarked:

---

1. \textit{Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Chahar 'Unṣur, p. 64.}
2. Page 28, supra.
I saw all over the world a lightning—like illumination. The litter had no dust, I saw Laila herself. Because of the collyrium that Truth applied to my eyes, I saw the meaning wherever a word rose up.

This event is of the utmost significance in the spiritual development of Bedii. Since his very childhood he had sincere yearnings for establishing direct contact with Reality; and saints like Shāh-e-Kamāl, Shāh-e-Yakub Azād, Shāh-e-Fāzil and Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwallah had all told him he would reach the farthest stage in the mystic path. But the illumination at Cuttack and its voluntary verification by Shāh-e-Kabuli, who knew nothing about that vision and the antecedents of Bedii, was certainly a convincing proof of the fact that the much desired union with God had been assured. That is why Bedii says symbolically that he had the vision of Laila (the Beloved) herself. Moreover, with Bedii, the vision, the saint, and his own person were one and the same thing. It had been emphatically reiterated that:

He has also asserted elsewhere:

[In the realm of Truth, where profound convictions are the rule, the lovers of Reality are nothing but Reality Itself. If from the light you turn to sun, the sun has nothing except light; and if from the water you have been guided to the spring, the spring does not send forth anything except water.]

One would rush to the conclusion that it is pantheism, pure and simple. But we have not yet considered enough data and we should, therefore, abstain from arriving at the final conclusion.

Bedii had made noteworthy achievements in the literary as well as the spiritual fields in the year 1076/1665-66 and he would have, therefore, felt gratified, but two very sad events took place at this time which made him extremely sorrowful. Shāh Jahān, the Mughul...
Emperor, for whom Bedil had deep sentiments of respect and love, died of strangury, in captivity, in the Akbarābād fort on Monday, the 26th of Rajab, 1076 A.H. (first of February, 1665). The poet was painfully reminded of all the good and grand qualities of Shāh Jahān; he, therefore, wrote most dolorously about the glorious past in a very sad elegy, and for the gracious Emperor’s death he found out the following chronogram:

The elegy becomes more significant when we remember that Bedil could not expect any reward from Aurangzeb, who had made Shāh Jahān a captive.

In this very year Bedil’s uncle, Mīrzā Qalandar, also breathed his last. If, for the sake of comparison, we study the short poem written by the poet on the death of his uncle, we find, even after a cursory reading, that Bedil’s emotional frame was shaken more perilously by the death of Shāh Jahān. Moreover, in his verses Bedil speaks frequently about the transitoriness of the world, e.g.

[All colour is ready to disappear completely;]
This garden is a place where decanters are made and broken] and, I think, the woeful end of Shāh Jahān, rather the complete drama of his life, contributed not a little in his arriving at this conclusion. The war of succession, with all its piteous scenes, including the tragic end of once stately Dārā Shikoh, who was beheaded in 1659 A.D., after being paraded most disgracefully through the streets of Dehli, turned our poet’s thoughts automatically to matters of eternal significance: the nature of life and man, and his relation to God. The truth contained in the following Qūrānic verse was brought home to him with greater force:

[Everyone that is thereon will pass away. There remaineth but the countenance of thy Lord, the Mighty and Glorious.]
Bedil—An Itinerant

In a Ghazal Bedil elaborates his views more fully about illusory nature of the world. I quote only two verses:

[Life is nothing. Body, and survival are all nothing. 
Even non-existence, scorns your life. How long shall “Nothing” continue? 
You have observed the instability of life and have tasted the misfortunes of the world; 
In spite of these warnings you do not feel ashamed.] 

Although it is a profound truth, yet it looks very pessimistic but our poet-thinker did not stop here. We shall, in due course, see how side by side with this negative attitude, Bedil evolved his positive philosophy about life.

Bedil was in Dehli, but we do not know how long or where he stayed in the capital, nor do we know the means of his livelihood. We are trying to follow him chronologically, but many of the dates and other details, which we so earnestly desire to ascertain, have not been given either by Bedil himself or by his biographers. In the previous pages, a few events of the year 1076 A.H. (1665 A.D.) have been recorded. Now we take a leap and reach the year 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.) in which Bedil completed his Masnavi Muhil-e A’zam. The date of the completion of this poem is the numerical value of its name, which is 1178. As the Masnavi is a masterpiece, it should have established the poet’s fame in the literary world but, it appears, no notice of him was taken at the time. On some later date he sent a letter to ‘Aqil Khan Razi, a courtier of Aurangzeb, with this Masnavi and a few ghazals, and from that letter we learn that his first literary production did not bring Bedil the fame he had hoped for. The letter also shows that when it was written Bedil had already been introduced to ‘Aqil Khan Razi, but the contact was only of short duration, because the poet was afraid lest the Nawab should forget him. We do not know definitely how Bedil was introduced to the Nawab. This much, however, is known that when Bedil arrived in Dehli for the first time, and began to take part in poetical contests, ‘Aqil Khan Razi was living there as the Superintendent of the Imperial Bathroom. Now as the Nawab was himself a

1. Iqbal, Dr. Sir Muhammad, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 11.
Life and Works of Bedil

poet and also a mystic, he would have discovered Bedil in the course of those symposiums. In 1080 A.H. (1679-80 A.D.), Bedil wrote his second Masnavi Titism-e-Ha'erat which he dedicated to 'Aql Khan Razi. It shows that by that time their relations had certainly strengthened. I would, therefore, conclude that Bedil was introduced to 'Aql Khan Razi a considerable time before 1080 A.H. and also that the poet wrote this letter to the Nawab before this date and sometime after the composition of Mahin-e-Al'am. When Bedil found out that this Masnavi was not received warmly, he sent a copy of it to the Nawab and hoped and prayed that it might bring him credit.

Although the poet was not now an unknown figure in Dehil, yet he did not settle there, and, like a darwish, he preferred wandering about. The restlessness of his soul, which had increased after his meeting with Shāh-e-Kābul, was still there. One day he was passing through the valley of Brindaban—the land of monkeys and peacocks. The summer sun was shining brightly in the sky and it was awfully hot. Suddenly, Bedil developed an eyesore, and the pain was so acute that he could not open his eyes. The affliction disturbed him much, and he thought he must have refuge somewhere until the malady disappeared. In this state he reached the marketplace of Mathura. He was a stranger there. He tried his utmost to find some shelter, but the people were ungenerous. In the tiny corner of a dawer's shop, he found room to seat himself. His eyes were shut and the pain was growing in intensity. Still he did not mention it, lest the dawer should turn him out. After some time a man came near the shop and stopped. The dawer paid his respect and requested him to take his seat, adding that the stranger (Bedil) would be asked to make room. But the newcomer said that the poor afflicted person, meaning Bedil, was his friend and he wanted to enquire after his health. It was a familiar voice. When Bedil opened his eyes, he saw Shāh-e-Kābul smiling compassionately. Bedil rose respectfully and had hardly greeted Shāh Sāhib, when he was asked, in a tone of authority, to lie down and sleep. Shāh-e-Kābul added that he would wait there. When Bedil awoke Shāh-e-Kābul had gone. He had come like the guardian spirit and then disappeared. The eyesore had, however, healed. This happened two years after their first meeting, i.e. in 1078 A.H. (1667-68

1. Sher Khan Lodhi, Miratul Khayal, pp.283-90; Sarkhush, Kalimutush Sha'ari
40, note.
Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, I, 389.
5. Ibid., 389-90. It is the birthplace of Krishna and a great seat of idolatry.
A.D.), because the first had taken place in 1075 A.H. (1665-66 A.D.).

In the course of his wanderings Bedil went to Akbarabad also. He makes no hint about the date of this visit to Akbarabad, but from the mode of his life in that city I conclude that the visit was made during the period when he was comparatively an unknown figure.

One summer he was living there in obscurity, and had only a meagre stock of ground tragacanth (كرش سود) with him for eating. When it finished he began to starve. He thought it was meanness of spirit to beg for alms. He was reduced to the narrowest straits. One day he got up and, passing through the bazar, went to the riverside. Neither ablutions, nor sprinkling water on the head, nor drinking it could remove the pangs of hunger. He, therefore, decided to return to his residence to get ready for death which now appeared inevitable. He felt giddy when he reached the main gate of the city, and his legs staggered. He sat down but was afraid lest the people in the bazar should create a hell of noise on seeing him in that state.

Pretending to be thinking of purification after easing nature, he went under the shade of a building and placed his hands against its well-built wall to take rest. When he had regained his strength a bit, he began to find a lump of earth with his fingers from under the bricks. He thought he had found a grave, but in reality his fingers had picked up a coin of the times of Akbar the Great. Bedil believed God the Merciful had kept the precious coin for his needs since ages. By that coin Bedil was saved from starvation to death and he thanked God in this quatrain:

هجر شكر كه احتاج كوش تشليم
آكر هم كرد أخر أزضل قدام
ضر خنود بدير جر وجول كردم
[100، لجشة، بسبيكة، أروبود، بدير جر وجول كردم]

[A hundred thanks, because necessity which urged me to try,
Ultimately informed me of the favours of eternal God.
Although I turned towards the wall,
My hand did not reach except the skirt of merciful God.]

By this exercise of self-mortification Bedil showed resignation to the will of God, and, like the great Sufis, displayed abhorrence for begging!

1. The following reference may be seen.
3. Abul Khair, Abū Sa'id, in Studies in Islamic Mysticism, p. 16. Here the great mystic says that when he was practising self-mortification as a novice, he bound himself to eighteen things. One of them was abhorrence for begging.
On the main road from Akbarābād to Shāh Jahānābād, the city of Muthura lies on the right bank of the Jamna. During the days of Bedil, when journeys were made mainly by road, a person travelling between the two imperial cities, necessarily passed through Muthura. In the course of his aimless rambles, during the period under discussion, Bedil went to Muthura for the second time also. Again, no date has been assigned, but from the manner of his arrival in the city I conclude that the event belongs to this very period, i.e. 1078-79 A.H. (1667-68 A.D.).

Bedil says that one morning, when the sun had just risen, he started from Akbarpura, a village in the neighbourhood of Muthura. He saw a dazzling light in one direction, and he went thither. He beheld a few Sadhus sitting there. One of them cast such a lustrous and warm glance from his eyes that, for a protection against its heat which was burning his body, Bedil had to take shelter behind the tree trunks along the road. On account of this burning sensation, Bedil developed typhoid fever and consequently remained in Muthura for full three months. During the fever he used to sprinkle camphor on his body, but this brought him little relief.

In 1079 A.H. (1668-69 A.D.) when Bedil had shown some tendency to settle down, he was married against his will. As he was intoxicated with Divine love, he could not think of sensual pleasures. But on the night of his nuptials he had a revelation which told him that, regardless of the issues, the marriage had to serve a purpose. He, therefore, agreed, and commemorated the occasion in this chronogram:

\[
\text{بُشَقَتُ كل حدِّيقَة فَيْن}
\]

After his marriage, Bedil began to lead a settled life in Dehli with his wife. Incidentally, he has stated that the house where he lived was very elegant and that he had a maid-servant also. After two months’ stay in the house, it was found that it was haunted by evil spirits. It has been told previously that Bedil knew the charms for the extirpation of such spirits. He has again stated that his powers in this connection had become a marvel for all. The genii in the house were completely annihilated by Bedil, and during the next fifteen years when he again came twice to the house, the neighbours told him that the place had been immune from the evil spirits since his first stay there.

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1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, I, p. 369.
2. Chahār 'Unsur, p. 110.
4. Ibid., Qīfās, 51.
5. Ibid., Chahār 'Unsur, p. 113.
6. Ibid., pp. 114-16.
7. Ibid., p. 115.
Also quite involuntarily, Bedil displayed a miracle\(^1\) in those days. A maid-servant was suffering from fever. One morning she was declared to be dead and her relations were weeping around her bed. Bedil went there. As a result of some sudden and mysterious impulse he drove a fist into her breast, and she stood up on her legs crying loudly. After this miracle people began to call him a saint, but he cared little for the airy titles:

\begin{quote}
[Bedil, don't be proud of this life of short duration,
Your foundation lies on non-existence. Don't prosper.
The people may call you Abdäl,\(^2\) Qutb and Ghaus,
O earth, don't be pleased with this flying dust.]
\end{quote}

While describing this incident Bedil makes the following significant remarks:

\begin{quote}
[From that day to this date that thirty-five years have elapsed,
that maid-servant is still alive.]
\end{quote}

Bedil wrote this sentence before he had finished one-half of the fourth 'Unsūr, and he completed\(^3\) his Chahār 'Unsūr in 1116 A.H. (1704-05 A.D.). If the date of the composition of this line is taken to be 1115 A.H. (1703-04 A.D.), which seems probable, we can say that the miracle was displayed in 1080 A.H. (1115 - 35 = 1080), when Bedil was only twenty-six years old.

After his marriage Bedil joined the army like his forefathers. He was in the service of Prince A'zam Shāh, son of Aurangzeb 'Alāmīr. Khushgū says that by joining the army Bedil wanted to cultivate his latent powers and also to have some means of living. Bedil says that the object of his getting himself enlisted as a soldier was to find a way of escape from the ever-present feeling of self-gratification at his own asceticism and godliness. These moral values must have weighed with him but at the same time it is undeniable that, as Bedil had to run a home, he wanted a sure source of income, and he, therefore, joined the army.

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Besides being a master of Persian, Bedil was well versed in the Turkish language also, and these qualifications made him popular with Prince A'zam Shâh, who conversed in both these languages. Quite easily Bedil got the Manṣab of 500, and was appointed as the Superintendent of the Prince's kitchen. Shâd 'Azîmâbâdî, as well as the compiler\(^2\) of The Bankipur Library Catalogue of Persian MSS., says\(^3\) that Bedil got this Manṣab in recognition of his poetical talents. But a knowledge of the character of Bedil, and of the manner in which he finally quitted the service of A'zam Shâh, makes it abundantly clear that Bedil could not offer his poetical talents for sale in the market. I have mentioned it above that in those days Bedil was leading a respectable life in Shâh Jahânâbâd. I think it was because of this Manṣab.

In the beginning of his service in the army, Bedil was very much perturbed\(^4\) by conflicting views about life. On the one side, there were mendicant darwishes, who cared not a fig for the worldly possessions, and, on the other, there were worldly people who hankered after riches. He very much liked to share the blissful life of the former noble souls. But it was revealed to him that if poverty (طه) of this type was the object of life, then the whole of this grand and superb creation was useless. The fact is, it was disclosed to him, that Faqr was the Essence, and its attribute was Ghina. If a man, living in the midst of riches, could show indifference, he was indeed a Faqîr. This poverty, which was essentially of the spirit, required enormous mental striving, and anything got without striving did not become, according to Bedil, a high-minded person:

\[
\text{ماز همته بکسب دشواری کوشیدن است نه بر هوائی تن آسانی جوشیدن}
\]

[Manliness means to grapple with difficulties, and not to long for a life of ease and inaction.]

Bedil was, therefore, of the opinion that means of livelihood should not be abandoned, when in particular no special pains were required to procure them. He concluded:

\[
\text{پی تردد جمع اسباب معاف خوش رشت از کسب قاری باشانش}
\]

[If means of livelihood are obtained without much effort, it is better than the vocation of Faqr with much ado.]

One day\(^5\) in Dehlí while Bedil was in service, he was riding on a fine Arab horse through a bazar. Suddenly he saw that some people

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5. Ibid., pp. 67-68.
were looking at him. He went ahead and there too a few persons were looking at him in surprise. One of them cried out, “Look! How is the madman running after the horse, and how does he dance when he approaches it!” Bedil turned his head and saw Shāh-e-Kābuli running after him. Immediately he climbed down the horse, and, with reins in hand, respectfully made his way towards the saint. Shāh-e-Kābuli reached first and lovingly embraced Bedil. At the instance of Shāh Sahib, they repaired to a vacant shop where they sat sharing the secrets of each other. On that occasion Bedil said that he had been married, adding that according to a revelation he would get no issues. Shāh-e-Kābuli said, “It would be as you have understood. We are singles.” In support of this assertion he recited the following Qur'anic verse:

وَلَمْ يَكُن لَّهُ كُنْوَاءٌ أَسْمَد

Many and varied were the secrets revealed to Bedil on that occasion. He was surprised at their nature and extent. The infinite possibilities of the individuals (أفراد) almost bewildered him. He was in this state of bewilderment (حيرة) for a very long time, and when he came to himself he found that Shāh-e-Kābuli had again flitted. It was Bedil’s third and last meeting with Shāh-e-Kābuli. The second had taken place in 1073 A.H. (1667-68 A.D.) and the third had now come two years later, that is in 1080 A.H. (1659-70 A.D.). The overpowering effects of this last meeting were felt by Bedil even twenty years afterwards.

In the preceding paragraph mention has been made of the أفراد. As Bedil has been ranked amongst this class of mystics, it is in the fitness of things that the peculiarities and privileges of the أفراد should be given in brief. Theirs is the highest rank in the hierarchy of saints, so much so that the Prophet (peace be on him) himself, the mystics say, had this rank before the Revelation. A Quṭb receives the illumination of Attributes (ثوابات) while the Afrād are recipients of the Illumination of Essence. (ثوابات ذات). This shows the fundamental difference between a Quṭb and a Afrād. These saints, who are unique (أفراد) in their spirituality, are manifestations of the spirit of ‘All, the son-in-law of the Prophet (peace be on him). The Afrād conceal their secret, and are absolutely resigned to the Will of God, and hence they do not show miracles. When they attain perfection and advance in their spirituality they become the Poles of Reality and Unity (ثوابات ووحدة).

1. The Holy Qurān, CXII. 4.
We know that physically Bedil was a giant. One day when Prince A'zam Shāh was riding on horseback, and his usual retinue followed him along with Bedil, suddenly a tiger appeared, jumped upon the suite, and killed many of the Prince's retinue. Bedil alone had the courage to attack the tiger and did away with it as if it were a cat.

Bedil wrote his allegorical Masnavi  

Tilism-e-Hairat in 1080 A.H., and as he joined the army after his marriage in 1079 A.H., we conclude that he wrote this Masnavi when he was in the service of A'zam Shāh. The book was dedicated to 'Āqil Khān Rāzi and this shows that relations between the poet and the courtier were growing more and more intimate. Moreover, the poet did not dedicate his  

Tilism-e-Hairat to A'zam Shāh. This also indicates that Bedil was not inclined to make a display of his poetical genius before the Prince.

When Bedil was in the service of A'zam Shāh, he was seeking guidance in his poetical compositions from Maulānā 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat, son of Mullā 'Abdur Rashid of Akbarābād. He was a very learned man both in the revealed sciences and philosophy. He was considered matchless in the epistolatory style and in writing poetry. He was also skilful in the arts of soldiery. The Emperor wanted to raise him to the Manṣāb of Sa'īdullāh Khān 'Allāmi, the illustrious Prime Minister of Shāh Jahan. 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat was presented to Aurangzeb in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), when the latter was in Akbarābād. The Emperor was impressed by the grand personality and the unique qualities of the Maulānā, and in a few days promoted him to the Manṣāb of 500 Zat and 100 Sawar. In the Ruqq'āt of Bedil, we find four letters addressed to Maulānā 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat. They are all full of love and respect.

There were several poets in the service of Prince A'zam Shāh who was himself a critic of poetry and patron of poets. The names of these poets are: Husain Shuhrat, Mīr Muḥammad Aḥsan, Ijād Salīm, Sa'īdullāh Gulshan, and Khvāja 'Abdulāh Sāqi. The Takḥallūs of Ijād and Gulshan were suggested by Bedil. Ijād was also a pupil of Bedil. Khushgū says that all these poets associated themselves with and were friends of Bedil. This very biographer relates that on the day when Gulshan got his poetical name from

Bedil, Khushgū himself and Mir ‘Abduṣ Šamad Sakhun also were granted their Takhallus by Bedil. It is, therefore, certain that when Bedil was employed as a soldier, he had already gathered around himself a number of poets who admired him and who looked to him for guidance.

One day in the presence of the Prince a talk was going on about the contemporary poets. A favourite of the Prince remarked that not only in Shāh Jahanābād, but also in most of the other cities of India, no poet was a match for ‘Abdul Qādir Bedil who was in the service of the Prince. A’zam Shāh then said that the poet should be asked to write a panegyric, and if it showed some inherent worth, not only Bedil’s Manṣab would be raised, but also he would automatically rise in the Prince’s estimation.

In the collection of Bedil’s Qaṣi‘ād, there is a forceful Qaṣida in praise of Prince A’zam Shāh. It has two parts, in the same metre, but with different rhyme, and from there we learn that Bedil too, like other poets, expected favours from the Prince. The poet presents his case most eloquently:

[My condition makes itself evident through my non de plumes;
I have developed heartlessness on account of the ways of the world.

If the cloud of your munificence showers water over my field,
Like the ear of corn I shall grow hearts from head to feet.] Whether this Qaṣida was actually presented to the Prince or not, is unknown. But, it appears, it was written as a result of an inner urge, in appreciation of the valuable qualities of the Prince. When, however, it was conveyed to Bedil that he was expected to sing the praises of the Prince like professional panegyric-writers, he went immediately to the Paymaster and tendered his resignation. His friends insisted that he should write the required encomium, but he was not prepared to prostitute his talents, and he, therefore, abandoned his Manṣab.

Khushgū has remarked that Bedil was in the service of A’zam Shāh for a long period of twenty years. We have seen that

here and there in his works, such as *Chahār 'Unsūr, Qīṭāt*, and *Raggāt*, Bedil makes hints about his life. I have, however, come across no hint which might suggest that Bedil was in the service of A'zām Shāh for such a long period. Moreover, Bedil's life was eventful. After persistent efforts I have been able to collect only a few events connected with Bedil's life as a soldier. This shows that the period of his military service was very brief. Besides, A'zām Shāh was in the Deccan for the major part of his life, and none has ever expressed the view that Bedil too was in the Deccan at any time of his life. We know Bedil married in 1079 A.H. (1663-69 A.D.) and he joined the army after this. If he had been in the military service for twenty years, he could resign not earlier than 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.). In that case he would not have been able to move about freely so frequently as we shall see in the following pages, before the close of the eleventh century of Hijra. Finally, Sher Kāhān Lodhī makes a positive statement to the effect that Bedil was in the service of A'zām Shāh only for a few days. I must reiterate that the biographical note about Bedil written by Sher Kāhān Lodhī was seen by the poet himself. The statement made by the biographer, therefore, is perfectly reliable. In view of all this, I am of the opinion that Bedil was in the army for a very brief period.

Bedil had tendered his resignation so dramatically that a thorn kept rankling in the heart of A'zām Shāh for a long time. At one time he asked one Mir 'Atiquallah to go to Bedil and to bring his writings. As a consequence, Bedil supplied a piece of his prose and, on learning that it had been appreciated by the Prince, Bedil thanked him at the solicitation of the above-mentioned Mir. On another occasion, A'zām Shāh sent the following letter, under his own signatures, asking Bedil to enter his service again:

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Praise be to God and thanks are due to Him, because the physical strength of that honourable and brave person is still as good as ever. But to evade Imperial Service, in spite of having senses in a perfect working order, is against the faithful discharge of sincere obligations. Still the matter
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1. *Sāqī, Ma'ārif-e-Alamgiri*, pp. 216, 329. The Prince went to the Deccan in 1092 A.H., and was there till 1119 A.H.
3. Ibid., p. 337.
is not past remedy. Whatever is needed would be supplied on order from the provisions in the capital. He should immediately get ready to resume service."

Khushqū says that he saw this imperial communication, in original, with his own eyes, in the inkstand of Bedil. As A’zam Shāh had seen Bedil kill a tiger, he is in particular mindful of Bedil’s bravery, and promises to show him favours. He also recognises Bedil’s high-mindedness. It is clear that an elevated Manṣab was waiting for Bedil, but again he declined to accept it and wrote in reply:


[The youthful energies, which enable a man to discharge his duties with credit, have changed into disability of old age, and the efficacy of powers, which gives strength for joining service, is no more.]

I think, to satisfy the vanity of the Prince, Bedil sent with his letter an artistic ghazal eulogising him. Following is the opening verse of the ghazal:


[If I am a sun in the heaven or I am like dust by the roadside,

I am a beggar at the Prince’s door, a beggar at the Prince’s door.]

As far as I know, this closed the chapter of Bedil’s relations with A’zam Shāh.

After this we see our poet again in Akbārbād—the city on the Jumna founded by Akbar the Great. It owes its fame to the Tāj which was completed in 1053 A.H., a year before the birth of Bedil. Although no reference is found in his works, yet one can say with certainty that he must have seen this “dream in the marble” when he was in Akbārbād, and the purity and chastity of the Tāj must have exercised influence in the development of his aesthetic taste. He calls this city by the name of کل زمر (The Valley of Roses) and this is an
indication of the fact that he was deeply impressed by its supreme beauty.

One silvery bright night in 1081 A.H. (1670-71 A.D.) in Akbarābād, Bedil had a grand dream.¹ At first he found himself in the Realm of Unity (جمان آحدین), and then he descended to the Empyrean Heaven where he saw the angels. After this he observed the Intelligence,² and the Heavens of the Saturn, the Jupiter, the Mars, the Sun, the Venus, the Mercury, and the Moon. When he had beheld these seven heavens, he saw the truths of the spheres of earth, water, air, and fire, and at the end the realities of the four stages of existence, i.e. the mineral, the vegetable, the animal, and the human, visibly came before his eyes. He saw the similitudes of these things.

In the course of this vision, Bedil saw a person, sitting towards the pillow, and having Bedil's head on his knees. When Bedil looked closely he recognised the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). Bedil fought shy, but his head was still in the loving lap of the Prophet. He was overjoyed. After a while he observed another glorious world on that curtain of the similitudes. In a splendid palace he saw 'Ali, the sovereign of saints, reclining against a pillow on the carpet of Majesty. Bedil respectfully bowed and began to tremble with fear. But His Exalted Holiness graciously asked Bedil to come nearer, and then he attained the stage of Oneness, and was honoured with favours compared to which everything in the universe pales into insignificance. Bedil was encouraged and he therefore related how he had seen the Prophet in the dream. The Prince of the saints, i.e. 'Ali, interpreted the dream and told Bedil that the Reality of Muhammad (عاقلت خدا) was always guarding him, whether he observed the necessary ritual or not. On hearing this interpretation, Bedil felt infinite pleasure and he woke up.

We see it was, in fact, a splendid dream. Dreams of this kind are commonly seen by the mystics, and a perusal of the books³ on mysticism will show that there was nothing extraordinary in this dream. This only shows that Bedil belonged to the community of saints, and, as a unique saint (فرد), his spiritual relations with 'Ali,⁴ the son-in-law of the Prophet, were very intimate. Moreover, reference to

2. It refers to a theory of creation, according to which God created the First Intelligence (عقل أول) and from it the Other Intelligences, all the Heavens, and everything else came into being.
4. Page 45, supra.
the Intelligences and Heavens in the dream, indicates Bedil’s knowledge of Muslim philosophy.

In Akbarabad, Kāmīr Khān,² son of Ja'far Khān,³ Jumdatul-Mulk, was always eager to render service to the Faqīrs and Darwīshes and he treated Bedil also with the same considerateness, because he thought Bedil too belonged to the same order. Although he does not say it explicitly, yet there are implicit references to the effect that Bedil lived in Akbarabad for a considerable period, and it looked as if he had settled there. He says he was leading there a contented and comfortable life. It was this mode of life which induced Khushgū to write⁴ in his Safīna that Bedil belonged to Akbarabad.

In one meeting,⁴ in Akbarabad, a few poets had gathered, and they began to talk about the poets of the past. They themselves were not well versed in poesy, still they spoke slightingly about the master-poets like Khāqānī and Amīr Khusravī. Bedil could not bear disparaging remarks about the Great Poets, although he himself had no claim for being a poet.

It so happened that one day all of them went for a walk in the Zohra Garden⁵ in the company of Amīr Kāmīr Khān. The walls, the pleasure-houses, and the other scenery in the garden so fascinated the Amīr that he asked all the poets if someone would describe the beautiful scenes in verse or prose. Those bragging poets remained deaf and dumb, but Bedil immediately described the garden in prose, in figurative language, and aptly named it باغ ِ عسلة (the collyrium of honour). This essay was later on included in the prose section of Chahār 'Unṣūr.

Fortunately, Bedil gives dates of the composition of many of his productions, and from this we can understand how his literary genius

2. Sher Khān Lodhi, Miftahul Khayāl, p. 396; Sāqī, Mā'ārif-e-Ālamgīrī, p. 103. During these days Aurangzeb was in Akbarābād where Ja'far Khān Jumdatul-Mulk died after a protracted illness. Kāmīr Khān, his brother Nāmīr Khān, and the other members of the bereaved family felt very much elated when the Emperor personally went to their house for condolence. Aurangzeb was there from 1030 A.H. to 1032 A.H. See Mā'ārif-e-Ālamgīrī, pp. 91, 112. This is sufficient to show the standing of the family of Mirza Kāmīr.
3. In the Faqīḥāt of Bedil (Lucknow Edition) at page 70, there is a letter in which Bedil regretfully says that he could not receive Mirza Kāmīr as there was no saddle for his horse. At page 51 of the Qīṣā (Kuliyāt-e-Bedil) Bedil has mentioned a victory of the Amīr. The chronogram is نود غيب = 1082 A.H.
5. Lāṭif, Sayyed Muḥammad, Agra, p. 190. It is thought that this was a garden of Bābur's daughter.
Life and Works of Bedil gradually unfolded itself. He wrote his Qaṣīda Sawād-e-Aʿzam in 1032 A.H. (1671 A.D.). This name itself, like that of Muḥīt-e-Aʿzam, is the chronogram. The Qaṣīda is addressed to Man and is didactic in content. Most of the verses of the Qaṣīda have the figure (aptness of illustration) in which a truth is stated in the first hemistich and in the second a concrete example is given. This predominant use of the figure proves that at this period of his life Bedil was paying more attention to it.

Khushgū has recorded an event which shows that the poets in Akbarābād had grown jealous of Bedil. He shaved his beard as well as his eyebrows. One day a poet named ʿAbdur Raḥīm threw the following couplet into the palanquin in which Bedil was being carried:

جَبَهَةَ خَطَّةَ درَكَ خِطَّةَ ازْلَ دِيدَ آبَى كَهْ لَهُ إِصلاَحُ خَطْتُو رَيْشُ بِهِ نَازُ أَلَامَ أَسْتَ

[What defect did you observe in the downs made by the Eternal Master
That you have proudly begun to correct the downs and the beard?]

Bedil replied immediately:

مَخْتَصَرُكِنَّ بِهِ تَخَافُلُ هَوْسُ جَنَّكَ وَجَدَّلَ بِهِ مَسُ رَزْمَةَ تَحْقِيقُ دِرَاصَ أَمْدَادَ أَسْتَ

[Cut short by negligence your desire to continue this strife
The extent of the thread of research is wide.]

Bedil was otherwise perfectly satisfied with his life in Akbarābād but there was one thing which distressed him much. He very much longed to be in the society of Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwaišlāl whom he had left in Orissa. Letters and messages were being regularly exchanged but he was not satisfied with them. He ardently desired to see the saint himself.

One night in 1033 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.), Bedil was very much perturbed, and was awake till late in the night. At last, when he fell asleep he dreamt that he was in the company of Shāh-e-Qāsim. Bedil had a cup of water in his hands. Instead of taking it to his own lips, he offered it to Shāh Saḥīb. The saint had not yet taken even a drop when the dream melted away.

Next night Bedil saw the saint again in dream. The saint had a cup in his hand and a flask of wine under his arms, which he handed over to Bedil. Now Bedil thought Shāh Saḥīb was not at all intemperate; it must be some secret. He therefore filled the cup and offered it to the saint who said:

We finished last night the round of our cup. It was your share which has been made over to you. After this be merry from the effects of drinking to your desire, and never put yourself to trouble by vexing thoughts.

As the saint had asked him, Bedil drank a few cups, and as a consequence he began to reel like an intoxicated person. For a long time after this dream he felt as if he was drunk.

Bedil concluded from these dreams that the saint had left this world for ever. On the third night he saw a crowd of angels in a dream. They asked him to tell some chronogram about the death of Shāh-e-Qāsim and he said *improptu*:

زیٰ تمهینی ذات رفت نام صفت

The celestial beings grew ecstatic on hearing this chronogram. After six months a few friends of Bedil came from Orissa and they confirmed the news.

This is the last event which we know about the life of Bedil in Akbarabad. We get two dates, i.e., 1081 A.H. and 1083 A.H., from the events that took place in this imperial city. Nowhere has it been mentioned by any person that Bedil was at any other place during these dates. Consequently I am of the opinion that he was in Akbarabad from 1082 A.H. to 1083 A.H. (1671-73 A.D.).

From Akbarabad Bedil went to Delhi. But there he was living very dispiritedly, when suddenly he made up his mind to enjoy a visit to the Punjab. His spirits were revived and he composed the following chronogram in a cheerful mood:

شوق را از عزیمت لاہور یعنی از دامنہ الفسردن پای تکلب شروک ہادیست

[I am starting for Lahore and I feel
As fresh as on hearing a good news. It means: from the net of melancholy
I get glad tidings of being liberated for some time.
The chronogram for this pleasure trip Comes quite unaffectedly. Listen: 'God is the guide.']

In Chahar 'Unṣur, too, he speaks of the pleasure which he felt on the eve of his departure for the Punjab.

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2. Ibid., Chahar 'Unṣur, pp. 108-09.
He was alone. Moreover, he was travelling light. He had only a very blunt knife with him. On many occasions he had thought of taking the knife to some blacksmith, but now when he reached Sarai-Nakodar, an inn in Nakodar, Jullundur District, he saw a few smithies and went thither. He asked the blacksmiths to sharpen his knife. All of them displayed willingness, but their elder readily came forward and respectfully took the knife from Bedil. In an instant, the knife was sharpened brilliantly. Bedil thought of paying for the labour, but the elderly blacksmith accepted no payment as he said, he was there to serve the Faqirs—the holy people moving about like mendicants. The blacksmith smiled graciously and talked so compassionately that Bedil was very much impressed by his good manners. The bright lustre of his eyes was particularly wonderful.

Nothing is known about Bedil's stay in Lahore at that time, but we know he went to Hasanabdāl. It is a town2 in Attock District twenty-five miles east of Campbellpur, and has been held equally sacred by the Buddhists, the Muslims and the Sikhs. It is an attractive place, famous for its springs, and mulberry and pipal trees of large size. The Mughal Emperors used to halt here, when they were on their way to Kābul or Kashmir. Moreover, as the place is almost on the border of the Frontier Province, the Mughal Emperors, having encamped in the town, could easily supervise the action in the Frontier. When in 1085 A.H. (1674-75 A.D.) Bedil had gone towards that side, Aurangzeb also had reached Hasanabdāl to subdue the turbulent Khushbāl Khān Khatak—an inspiring poet and a valiant swordsman.

In the course of his journey to Hasanabdāl, Bedil had with him a learned Brahman as a fellow-traveller, who was deeply influenced by Bedil's magnanimity.6 One day the Brahman showed his surprise by saying that the Prophet of Islam had foretold that the Day of Judgment would come in the twinkling7 of an eye, but it had not come since his time, although the people go on twinkling the eyes a thousand times every day. According to Hindu philosophy, the Brahman continued, the annihilation of the Universe would take place after the Greatest Cycle of Time which closed after millions of

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2. Ibid., XXIX-A, Attock District, pp. 319-21.
7. The Holy Qurān, XIV. 77;

[And the matter of the Hour (of Doom) is but as a twinkling of the eye or it is nearer still.]
years. The Brahman meant to say that Hindu conception of Time was nearer the reality. Bedil replied that the Hindus believed ages piled on ages in the life of Brahma (The Creator of the Universe, and at whose end the Universe ended) were only a negligibly brief moment in the life of Vishnû. This Vishnû, Bedil went on, corresponded to Necessary Existence (نِعمَتُ الوجود) in Muslim philosophy, and it was, therefore, clear that, as compared to the Necessary Existence, which transcended time, the contingent (سُكُون الوجود), with all its huge piles of ages, was absolutely an insignificant entity. Bedil told the Brahman that such like deep truths were simply appalling to the imagination of puny man, and, therefore, metaphors like the twinkling of an eye were used:

[How can you understand the secrets of a sea when you do not have the ears of a whirlpool,
Because it is not the business of thorns and straw to understand a wave's tongue.]

When the Brahman was reminded of Vishnû, and informed of the nature of and he was worsted in argument, and he, therefore, embraced Islam.

Bedil removed the doubts of the Brahman very easily. This shows that Bedil had made comparative study of the Hindu and Muslim systems of philosophy. Khushgûz says that Bedil was interested in Theology, Mathematics, and Natural Sciences and he had also committed to memory the whole story of Mahâbhârata—a book of unequalled fame amongst the Hindus. Bedil had developed this taste for Hindu philosophy and traditions since the days when his teacher Shâh-e-Mulûk composed couplets having Vedanta terminology. We know that 'Aqil Khân Râzi, who was a patron of Bedil, had written in verse the Qissa-e-Padmawat and Madhamalat. This shows that the learned Muslims of those days were not ashamed of taking interest in Hindu learning.

When did Bedil return from the Punjab? Or, where did he stay after his return?—are questions which I have not been able to answer definitely. Bedil, however, has stated in Chahâr 'Unsûr


According to the Hindu Theory of Creation, Brahma is born out of the navel of Vishnû. Brahma then creates the universe which ends after many cycles each of which consists of 4,320,000 ordinary years. After Maha-Pralaya, i.e. Universal Dissolution, there is again creation. This periodical course of alternate creation, maintenance, and dissolution of worlds continues without end.

that once he stayed in Muthura continuously for three years. If his previous and future history is kept in view, one arrives at the conclusion that at no period other than this could Bedil stay in Muthura continuously for such a long time. I am, therefore, inclined to the view that Bedil was there from 1087 A.H. to 1089 A.H. (1676-78 A.D.).

Bedil says that he lived there on account of the fondness he had for the city. He was greatly impressed by the veneration in which the Hindus hold Krishna—the Lord of Love. Krishna had passed his life in the western part of Muthura District which is called Braj Mandal,\(^1\) or the country of Krishna, and where almost every grove, mound and tank is associated with some episode in Krishna’s life. Bedil saw there bands of pilgrims of all sorts, visiting the shrines most reverently, and he was surprised to see the depth of their feelings. Even after the lapse of centuries, he could hear, in those surroundings, the flute played by Krishna and could see the enraptured maidens (Gopis). He says\(^2\):

\[
\text{در زمینی که محت اثری کاشتی اسم}
\text{گرد او نیمین چندین طیش اشکورت اسم}
\]

[In a field, where love has sown its effect
There even the dust has collected a crop of palpitation.]

From the vivid account given by Bedil we learn that, in spite of the efforts made by different Muslim rulers to eliminate idolatry, Muthura had even then the exclusive stamp of Hindu religion and its traditions.

One day,\(^3\) in Muthura, the Governor of the fort complained to Bedil that life in the fort had become miserable, as the evil spirits flung stones, and the people being afraid were daily leaving the place. Bedil wrote the following couplet in Persian to serve as an amulet:

\[
\text{با عنارت جهانی دیگر چای کم نیست مکانی دیگر}
\]

[There is another world for the genii; Accommodation is not limited. There is another house.]

In this way the spirits left the place.

In 1089 A.H. (1673 A.D.), when Bedil was perhaps in Muthura, his teacher, ‘Abdul ‘Aziz, ‘Izzat breathed his last at the age of forty-eight. Bedil mourned\(^4\) his loss in two stanzas, and composed two chrono-

1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, p. 374
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., *Qāfī‘āl*, pp. 47, 50-51.
grams, viz. بخیه و خشت ساَیه مرد and بازگردان تور از حرُام عالم, to record the date of the demise of his beloved teacher. It is a characteristic feature of the elegies written by Bedil that therein the traits of the dying person are invariably recounted. Here, in these two stanzas, we learn about the religiosity, liberality and nobility of mind, erudition and the literary attainments of Shaikh ‘Abdul ‘Aziz ‘Izzat. In 1092 A.H. (1681 A.D.), when near the mausoleum of the Shaikh, a Maktab called زرتی ویزیل was opened, Bedil preserved its memory by the chronogram *

We see Bedil in Dehli again. This time when he was in Dehli, he posed before a famous painter, named Anüp Chitrā for a portrait. The painter was a favourite of Darā Shīkoh, and one of his chief works depicts Shah Jahān seated among his Amirs. Anüp Chitrā’s portraits have a sureness of touch, a keenness of expression, and a psychological intensity. Bedil praises him for his realism and regards him equal to the great Bihzād and to Mānī. The critical remarks of Bedil, about the paintings of Anüp Chitrā, are a proof of the fact that the poet was a very well-informed connoisseur. At first Bedil was disinclined to have his portrait drawn, but, being overcome by the entreaties of Anüp Chitrā, who was an old friend, he agreed at last, and when, with a few touches of the brush, the portrait was drawn, it was so lifelike that Bedil could not distinguish it from his own self. The portrait remained with him for ten years till he destroyed it in 1100 A.H. (1689-90 A.D.). It means that it was painted in 1090 A.H. (1679-80 A.D.) when Bedil was thirty-six years old.

Bedil had all the time been looking for a proper recognition of his talents, but his hopes were still un realised. He was not after the fulfilment of worldly ends, as it was customary with other poets of his times, but, on the other hand, he was in search of persons who had intellectual as well as spiritual affinity with him. We have seen that his respect for ‘Aqil Khān Rāzi had its origin in this similarity of mind and heart. But it appears, too exalted as ‘Aqil Rāzi was, Bedil could not develop the desired intimacy with him.

By this time Bedil had come to know that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, the son-in-law of ‘Aqil Khān Rāzi, was the proper man to

2. Ibid., Chahā ‘Unqur, pp. 110-11.
4. Ibid., p. 36. Bihzād was the most illustrious master of the school of Herāt during the times of the Thāūrid Sultān Husain Balghara.
5. Mānī was not a painter but the founder of a religion. See Browne, E. G., a Literary History of Persia, 1, 165-58.

Iqbal, Dr. Muhammad, Irān ba ‘Adh-e-Sair-i-yān (Urdu translation of L’Iran des Sasanides, pp. 230-63.)
be approached in this connection. The Nawab was a poet and had also written a commentary of the *Masnavi* of Ṭūmī. He was not only versed in the canonical law but also he was a mystic. His devotion to truth was well known. Moreover, his regard for poets and learned men had earned a name for him.  Ṣhaikḥ Naṣīr ‘Alī Sirhindī, the well-known Persian poet, and Ṣher Khān Lodhi, the famous writer of the *Taṣkirah Mir‘ātul Khayāl*, were recipients of his favours. It is probable that when he was the Governor of Sirhind, Naṣīr ‘Alī Sirhindī attracted his notice, and from that time close familiarity began between them. Ṣher Khān Lodhi gives the letters which passed between the peer and the poet.

Bedil, therefore, naturally decided to write to Nawab Shukrullah Khān. He had not yet seen the Nawāb, but he was confident the Nawāb would not disappoint him. He sent his *Masnavi Tilim-e-Hairat*, with a letter, in which he severely criticised the people who either attended merely to the felicity of expression or displayed solicitude only for the ideas. Bedil, however, stood for a happy fusion of both, the thought and the expression, and he believed that a clear-minded person like Nawab Shukrullah Khān would study the *Masnavi* from this point of view and would appreciate it. *Tilim-e-Hairat*, too, had not had a good reception, and, therefore, when he was sending it to a real patron of art and learning, he was very much delighted. He concluded by saying:

شاد باش ای دل که آخر عقیدت ات وا می شود
قظرة ما، می رسد چانیکه دریا می شود

[O heart, be pleased, your knot is being opened after long last.
Our drop would reach a place where it would turn into an ocean.]

Bedil’s expectations were fulfilled, and we find him staying with Nawab Shukrullah Khān in Dehli as a guest. The Nawāb was transferred from Sirhind in 1092 A.H. (1681 A.D.) and was appointed the Faujdār of Shah Jahānābād where he remained till 1904 A.H. (1682-83 A.D.) A separate room was reserved for Bedil and meals were regularly served. In addition to this there were uninterrupted meetings with Shukrullah Khān, which Bedil regarded as the fruit of his life. Nawab Shukrullah Khān had given headings to the different sections

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4. Ibid., p. 223.
of Tilism-e-Hairat, and also he had prepared a gist of its contents. In a letter\(^1\) to 'Aqil Khan Razi, Bedil praised Nawab Shukrullah Khan for his hospitality and good manners.

It appears that when Nawab Shukrullah Khan was transferred\(^2\) in 1094 A.H. (1582-33 A.D.) to Sikandarabad, Bedil moved to Muthura. The period since the date of the composition of Tilism-e-Hairat is marked comparatively by sterility, but this time when Bedil was in Muthura, he embarked upon the composition of his famous work Ghahat\(^*\) Coins Unsur in prose.

Now, after the war of succession (1068-69 A.H. 1657-58 A.D.), the life of Bedil was again directly influenced by the political events of his times. Aurangzeb quitted\(^3\) his capital in 1090 A.H. (1679 A.D.) and went to Ajmer to quell the Rajput risings, and from there he had proceeded\(^4\) to the Deccan, via Burhanpur in 1093 A.H. (1681 A.D.). This was his fateful departure from the capital. Exaggerated news of the persistent defiance of Mughal authority by the Marhattas and of their vigorous raids were daily reaching Northern India, and, taking advantage of the disturbed conditions, the truculent Jats had begun to commit depredations\(^5\) near Islamabād (Muthura) and Akbarābād. As Bedil was living at that time in the former city, he naturally suffered. He gives a sensational account of the prevalent conditions:

"The Emperor 'Alamgir\(^6\) had left for the Deccan and Hindustān was in a state of helplessness. The Governors were lazy and negligent of their duties. Consequently, the population surrounding Delhi and Akbarābād grew rebellious and, with designs for independence and self-aggrandisement, created havoc. The population of most of the parganas, neighbouring Muthura, had embarked on a career of lawlessness, loot and murder. The noblemen were imprisoned and humiliated and none heeded their implorations. Every day a new Governor was appointed from the Deccan, but he made inordinate delay in reaching Hindustān and taking over. Rebels swarmed about and could by no means be checked. The lawless mob made no distinction between the virtuous and the wicked. It was impossible to stay at home; and the bazars, the streets and the lanes too were unsafe. Undertaking journeys meant courting danger, and the caravans of traders had stopped where they were. The military itself was exposed to danger. In Muthura the rich people guarded

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2. Sāqi, Ma'sūr-e-'Alamgir, p. 233.
3. Ibid., p. 189.
4. Ibid., p. 217.
the pathways to their palaces by guns and arrows, but the poor were absolutely helpless."

This graphic expression we get from Bedil's pen. At last when, owing to the constant sufferings of full two years, endurance and patience had worn away, and it had become extremely painful to pass each day and each night, Bedil decided in 1095 A.H. (1685 A.D.) to reach Dehil somehow or other. People tried to dissuade him, pointing out the dangers in the way, but he was firm in his resolve.

A few bullock carts were hired and the journey was started. The first stop was 'Azimābād in the vicinity of Muthura. About fifty carts were already waiting there for an escort. Next day when Bedil's carts resumed their journey, those fifty carts also moved. They were, however, soon persuaded by the inhabitants of the village to stop, but Bedil went on with two servants. When Bedil's party had gone ahead only for a few yards, a darwish came with a parrot, and he predicted that victory accompanied them, hence there was no need to be afraid. On hearing this the people of the other carts too were encouraged, and they joined Bedil's party.

In spite of the intense heat, none ventured to stop on the way, nor did anyone go to the wells to quench thirst. When they had travelled some two or three kos in this way, they came to a marshy ground, which it was difficult to cross. There a cart of Bedil was broken and the luggage was loaded on the wounded bullock, but it gave way under the load. Such accidents were commonly an invitation for the ruffians to indulge in plunder and, therefore, getting afraid, the accompanying carts made good their escape hastily, leaving Bedil and his party in the lurch.

Bedil asked his men to abandon the load and the bullock and to proceed on. After some time the wounded bullock also arrived with its load. The people of the surrounding ilāqā used to gather by the roadside, perhaps with evil intentions. They were surprised to see the tiny caravan travelling without an escort. One night was passed by the bank of the Jumna, and all the party kept vigil. Some drivers were in league with the robbers, and they took the party to a dangerous village. But suddenly a man on horseback appeared, and angrily asked the drivers why they behaved faithlessly even with godly persons. The rider guided the party to the caravan and then disappeared.

In this way Bedil arrived safely in Shāh Jahānābād. From the luggage and the servants that accompanied him, it appears that Bedil had settled permanently in Muthura, and that he shifted to the Imperial Capital only on account of the disturbances.

CHAPTER III

Final Stay in Dehli

[27th Jamāda II, 1096 A.H., to 4th Safar, 1133 A.H.
31st May, 1635 A.D., to 5th December, 1720 A.D.]

Bedil arrived in Shāh Jahānābād on the 27th of Jumādā II, 1096 A.H. (May 31st, 1635). On his arrival in the metropolis, the first thing he did was to see ‘Āqil Khān Rāzi, who was the Governor there since 1091 A.H. (1680-81 A.D.). Appointment for weekly visits was made with the Khān. Procuring a well-located house was Bedil's next concern. He, therefore, wrote to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān for the same. Bedil wrote that he had left Islāmābād (Muthura) on account of the disturbances and had arrived in the capital with his women (بیا یا مشکسته چنگ). He added that the daily food had been fixed for all by God, he wanted a comfortable house by the riverside or in the outskirts of the city—a house which should remain permanently in his possession, so that, for the rest of his life, he may be freed from the trouble of changing it.

Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his son Shākir Khān bought the Havellī (bungalow) of one Luṭf 'Allī for Rs. 5,000 and presented it to Bedil. It was situated outside the Dehli Gate, in the quarter of Khikriān, by the Guzar Chat. It is apparent that both the conditions laid down by Bedil had been fulfilled. The Nawābs fixed two rupees as the daily allowance of Bedil, which was paid till the last day of his death. Khushgu remarks that in this house Bedil lived for the remaining thirty-six years of his life. As he died on 4th Safar, 1133 A.H. (December 5, 1720), we conclude that this house was arranged for him in 1096 A.H. (1684 A.D.), i.e. the very year of Bedil's final arrival in Dehli.

Bedil has mentioned in the letter quoted above that he reached Shāh Jahānābād with his women. This is the first occasion since 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.) when he settled in Delhi after his marriage in
that something has been mentioned about his family. We do not know how he arranged for the household expenditure all this time or where his family lived. From the letter in question, and also from the number of carts which brought Bedil's effects from Muthura, we form the conclusion that in Muthura, at least during his last stay there, Bedil's family was with him. Moreover, Khushgū says that the poet had four\(^1\) wives. We have seen that Bedil is in the habit of making hints here and there about the different events of his life, but it is strange that he has made no reference about such an important matter as the polygamous phase of his life. Although the words \(^\text{يَا} \text{أَيُّهَا} \text{شُكْرُ اللَّهِ} \text{كُحْشَاء} \text{زُرُّ} \text{(जिय)}\) lend weight to this remark of Khushgū, yet they are very ambiguous. Another statement also accompanies this remark. Khushgū says that, because of this nature of his life, Bedil used slaked red-orpiment. The author of 'Iqd-e-Surayyā states\(^2\) that when Bedil had permanently settled in Shāh Jahānābād, God provided subsistence for all the old and young. This shows that in Dehli Bedil had indeed a big family.

These were disturbed times. Aurangzeb was in the Deccan fighting the Marhattas and Muslim kings of the peninsula. Only the news of reverses to the Emperor's armies reached Northern India, and, as it has been mentioned previously, these news spread like wild fire causing panic in the country. The Jāts had risen in revolt and there was trouble in the whole of Mewāt, which is an ill-defined\(^3\) tract lying to the south of Dehli. One Bāji Rām, the proud Naruka Chief,\(^4\) with his seven brave sons, was the cause of mischief in the hilly territory of Mewāt. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was appointed to crush the Naruka who, being afraid to face the Nawāb, sought refuge in flight. On this occasion Bedil's chronogram was:
\[
\text{دُلْ نُرُكَةَ بِشَكَسَتٍ}
\]
which yields 1097 A.H. (1685 A.D.) numerically. In 1098 A.H. (1686-87 A.D.) the accused Bāji Rām was routed completely, and when the confused remnants of Bāji's army—the Meos, the Jāts, and the Rājpūts—fled away in all directions, Bedil sent a congratulatory letter\(^5\) to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān with a ghazal, the last verse of which is given below:
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{يَكْرَمَانَ خَفَاشٌ رَأَيَنِي} & \text{لا هَيْشْكَشُ يِبَ اَتَّبَعٍ} \\
\text{آَتَبَعَتْ آَتَبَعَتْ آَتَبَعَتْ آَتَبَعَتْ}
\end{align*}
\]
[A single flash from his intention is enough to drive away a world of bats.

He is indeed the sun, the sun, the sun, the sun.]

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3. Imperial Gazetteers, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, p. 223.
4. Kulyayāt-e-Bedil, Qiftāt, p. 49.
The chronograms which Bedil found out were غززة عجيب and تحر شگری (a strange war) and (a marvellous victory). In 1099 A.H. (1687-88 A.D.), Nawab Shukrullah Khan paid a visit to شه Jahān-ābād, and, I think, when he returned to Mewāt, he took Bedil also with him.

When Bedil went to Mewāt, he lived in Bairāt—a town 105 miles south-west of Delhi, 41 miles north of Jaipūr and 27 miles north-west of Meerut City. It is situated in the midst of a circular valley surrounded by low, barren red hills. Trees are in abundance in the il'am. Bedil passed the rainy season there. Being enchanted by the charming scenery of the countryside and the raining clouds, he experienced a spontaneous creative urge. In a short picturesque poem he describes the locality:

[It is morning in Mewat and jassamines have blossomed everywhere.]

It smells of coquetry. It must be the abode of the beloved. Hilarity is on the increase, enjoyment is limitless, and Love comes like rising waves. It is indeed a boundless sea. The clouds pour down desire and verdure is sowing beauty, Even the stone has a heart. It is a strange hilly country. If a flower blossoms in the garden, it chats with the soul, The heart says to the eye, "It is the hue of that beauty."

Pleasantness adorns the garden, and the excited flowers drink wine from the cup.

1. Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qīṭāt, p. 50.
2. Ibid., p. 51.
3. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, United Provinces, p. 320; Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, pp. 341-42.
Life and Works of Bedil

Colour and smell pervade everywhere. This spring knows no autumn.

Who is there to efface the impression of the perfect Essence? This lamp and this assembly. It is a favour of the Almighty. The realised wishes of heart are like flowers in skirt and there is a harvest of fulfilled desires.

The eyes of those who have lost their hearts have brightened up. It is the reward for waiting long.

Nawâb Shukrullah Khân was also a poet with the poetical surname خاکسار. He left a Diwân which however, has not been mentioned in any one of the catalogues. The Nawâb also tried to describe the beautiful scenes in a poem. In all humility, Bedil says that he followed in the footsteps of Shukrullah Khân, and, in addition to the poem given above, he wrote his masterpiece—the Maṣnâvi تپر-مطیفیت in two days. This shows that the creative urget was so strong that he was not satisfied with the exquisite short poem. The Maṣnâvi is a rare piece of natural poetry in the characteristic sweet and fluent style of Bedil. On his return from Bairât, Bedil sent this Maṣnâvi, like the Great Sa’di, to different persons as a present—to ‘Ayil Khan Râzi, to Nawâb Shukrullah Khân, and to Mirzâ Muḥammad Amin-‘Irâf and Mirzâ ‘Ibâdullah.

1. Sher Khân Lodhi, Mirâbul Khayal, pp. 292-93.
2. Khushkâ, in Maṭrif, July 1942, p. 41.

[My guide in this charming valley of desires was the breeze of Shukrullah Khân’s favour.

Otherwise of what consequence am I? How could I flutter wings? I was but a tear and that too motionless.]

4. تپر-مطیفیت, p. 19:

دو روزی در سب زانو نشتم خیال را بیا بیا به بسم
[I sat meditating for two days and painted an idea into spring.]

5. Ibid., p. 3. About the charm, Bedil says:

کهون در کرو پریات آب و رنگ است که هرسته چند بلند بردن فرست است
[Now the Bairât mountain has so much elegance and splendour, That every stone bewitches the heart like a French beauty.]

6. Sa’di has said:

دزیم آدم زان هم بی‌مست

[Out of all those gardens, I thought it regrettable,

To go empty handed towards the friends.]

Similarly, Bedil writes at page 34 of his Ruqâ‘ât (Lucknow Edition) that he brought تپر-مطیفیت as a present for the lovers of poetry.

We have so far spoken of the trouble in Mewāt and have made scanty references to the Deccan—the real arena of cataclysmic risings. Sambhaji Marhatta, who had given refuge to Akbar, the rebellious son of Aurangzeb, had proved a menace to the Mughul Empire, and Aurangzeb had, therefore, concentrated all his military strength in the Deccan. The armies of the Emperor captured Bijapur in 1097 A.H. (1685-86 A.D.) because Sikandar, the King of Bijapur, had made alliance with Sambhaji. Aurangzeb was very gracious towards Sikandar who was enrolled among the Mughul peers, and was granted an annual pension of one lakh of rupees. Golconda was then conquered in 1098 A.H. (1686-87 A.D.). The Marhatta leader Sambhaji was captured in 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.) with twenty-five of his followers and their wives and daughters. These happy news of imperial victories sent a thrill of joy in the hearts and the people had a general feeling of security. Our poet also shared the jubilations of the multitude. He wrote chronograms to commemorate these victories. For the fall of Bijapur, the chronograms were (the jamshid of victory has appeared) and (the Just Emperor granted amnesty to Sikandar). About Golconda he said (victory of the renowned monarch). When Sambhaji was captured, Bedil ejaculated: (Sambha has been made captive with women and children). The last chronogram became popular and has been given in Ma‘āsirul Umarā.

The short poems, which bear the chronograms given in the preceding paragraph, pay a glowing tribute to the justice, saintliness, and world-conquering resolution of Aurangzeb. This shows that, although Bedil entertained misgivings about the behaviour of Aurangzeb during the war of succession, his views about the pious Emperor had now undergone a happy orientation. Aurangzeb too seems to have formed a very high opinion of our poet. In his Ruqqāt,
the Emperor has quoted three verses of Bedil. In a letter to Prince A'gam Shâh, Aurangzeb exhorts speedy extirpation of the ruffians who infest the royal road between Bahadurpur and Aurangâbâd, and quotes Bedil:\n
\begin{verbatim}
[1] I do not ask you to lose or think of gain,
O thou, unaware of opportunity, be prompt in every undertaking.
\end{verbatim}

In another letter the same prince has been asked to redress the wrongs done to the poor, because according to Bedil:

\begin{verbatim}
[2] Be afraid of the sighs of the oppressed ones for when they pray
Acceptance rushes from the door of the Almighty to receive it.
\end{verbatim}

This verse has again been quoted in a letter to Asad Khan, and there the full name of the poet, i.e. 'Abdul Qâdir Bedil, has been given. At another place the following famous Maqta of Bedil has also been adduced:

\begin{verbatim}
[3] Greed is never contented, otherwise the goods, Which we require, are most often not required.
\end{verbatim}

That Bedil has been cited by the great 'Alamgir is a conclusive proof of the fact that the poet's enlightened contemporaries had begun to recognise his merit.

From the chronograms, concerning the victories of Aurangzeb in the Deccan, one may conclude that Bedil wanted to win the Emperor's favour. The same feeling rises in the mind when one reads Bedil writing to Nawâb Shukrullah Khan to mention the chronograms to the Emperor if some opportunity offers itself. It may also be mentioned in this connection that Nawâb Zafar Jang, who took part in the siege of Bijapur, had also asked Bedil for a chronogram, and Bedil wanted to comply with his request. If we...

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1. Ruqq'at-e-'Alamgir, p. 8; Letters of Aurangzeb, pp. 26-27. Khushgû in Ma'ârif, May 1942, p. 376. Khushgû is wrong when he says that the letter was written to Prince Mu'âzzam during the siege of Hayderâbâd.
4. Ibid., p. 45.
5. Ibid., p. 27. The occasion for quoting the verse given by Khushgû, in Ma'ârif, May 1942, p. 338, is wrong.
8. Sâqi, Ma'âhir-e-'Alamgîr, pp. 255, 261, 311; Khân Jahân Bahadur Zafar Jang was a noble at the court of Aurangzeb.
9. Ruqq'at-e-Bedil, p. 44.
study the historic letter of Bedil, in which these things have been narrated to Nawâb Shukrullah Khan, we can easily understand why the chronograms were discovered and why Bedil wanted them to be presented to Aurangzeb. Bedil says:

[The happy news of the victory of the Emperor, Defender of the Faith, which has brought peace and security to the people, has led me to think of chronograms.]

The significance of the word ज्युमित्य उल्लाम will be understood better if the graphic account of Bedil’s last days in Muthura, and of his journey at that time to Dehli with his family, is kept in mind. Naturally, Bedil wanted to pay homage to the victorious Emperor who had again promised peace to the realm. Otherwise, Bedil’s independence of spirit was unimpaired as ever, for in the same letter he says about Zafar Jang and Aurangzeb:

[Otherwise of what moment is the Nawâb and who is His Excellency? Nay, even what is Alamgir and what is the value of his glaring titles? I composed it selflessly and spoke in a disinterested manner.]

In 1100 A.H. (1688-89 A.D.) Bedil fell gravely ill, and was confined to bed for full seven months. He had a high burning fever which consumed his strength altogether. Every hope of recovery was lost. During those days a friend happened to open the book which contained Bedil’s painting by Anûp Chitrâ. The friend, immediately noticing the portrait, said, “It appears some child touched the painting with wet hands and effaced its colour.” All those present were sorry. Bedil himself saw it that only the indistinct lines remained—an illusion of the once colourful portrait!

[Of that garden only a scar was left on the heart, and Of the peacock only a crow’s feather was left behind.]

When Bedil recovered and was again full of vigour and vitality, he thought of looking at the portrait. He was wonderstruck to see that it was as colourful as ever, and it appeared as if Bedil was smiling through it. All were surprised to see this. In a fit of bewilderment, Bedil tore it to pieces and buried it.

1. Ruq'ât-e-Bedil, p. 44.
From this account it is clear that the portrait of Bedil, painted by Anup Chitrā, one of the master-painters of those days, was destroyed by the poet himself. But Anand Rām Mukhlīṣ (1111-1154/1699-1751), a pupil of Bedil, speaks about another portrait of our poet:

"In the library of this Fāqīr (Mukhlīṣ) there is an autograph copy of his (Bedil's) Diwān. And, so that the form and the spirit should exist together, his portrait decorates the last leaf of the Diwān.

In the Ma'ʿrif for January 1934, it has been stated that this Diwān of Bedil exists in the Hābīb Gānj Library. The Diwān is said to have 5,564 couplets of all sorts, and has been called 'Matchless.' It is said to have this significant remark in the handwriting of Mukhlīṣ:

[Beside the portrait of the Fakīr, Bedil in his native hand, with the autograph of Faqīr Anand Rām Mukhlīṣ showed it to Mirzā Šāhīb, and established its authenticity.]

It is a pity that no mention of the portrait has been made. We have, therefore, to be content with the pen-portrait of Bedil given previously.

Bedil was now living in Shāh Jahnābād, but as his attention had been claimed chiefly by the political events of those days, we could not speak so far about his life in the capital except giving an account of his illness. It is, therefore, essential that an attempt should be made to show how Bedil led his life in the historic city. First of all, we shall speak about his social relations. As it has been already pointed out, 'Āqīl Khān Rāzī, the patron of Bedil, was in those days in Shāh Jahnābād, as the Governor of the city. The Khān was a mystic poet and was well versed in mystical lore. As weekly meetings had been arranged with him, Bedil used to see him regularly. Khusligū says that in 'Āqīl Khān's society, Bedil learnt much about

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3. Mukhlīṣ, a page in his hand, f. 1. (Also in Oriental College Magazine.)
4. It is said the Diwān was compiled in 1093 A.H. But, it must be noted, Mukhlīṣ was not born then. See Bazm-e-Tīmūrīya, p. 310.
mysticism and poetry. Whenever in the meetings, ‘Aqil Khan Razi complimented Bedil for his verses, he used to stand up and bow respectfully to the Khan. This respect, Khushgū says, was merely on account of the learning and spiritual eminence of ‘Aqil Khan Razi, and not at all on account of his exalted worldly position. In the Kulliyāt of Bedil there is a very eloquent poem, in which he speaks glibly about the mystical ways of ‘Aqil Khan Razi, and urges the people to show utmost reverence to this perfect man:

\[
\text{[I mean}
\]
\[
\text{O thou foolish and ignorant people;}
\]
\[
\text{Open your eyes and circumambulate round the Perfect Man.}
\]

This poem discloses that in the person of ‘Aqil Khan Razi, Bedil saw the realisation of his cherished ideals about Man. This mutual respect made their relations so intimate that in one of his letters we find Bedil recommending one ‘Ala‘uddin to the grand noble.

Next we turn to the long and intimate acquaintanceship, amounting to passionate love, which existed between Bedil and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons. This is the glorious chapter of Bedil's life, detailed account of which will require a whole volume, but owing to the considerations of space, I shall try to be as brief as possible. Mir Ghulām ‘Alī Azād says that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was devoted to Bedil, with all the members of his family, and Bedil too was most sincerely attached to them. The Nawāb had three sons: Mir Lutf Ullah, Mir 'Inayatullah Shākir Khān, and Mir Karūmullah. But first of all we shall speak about Bedil's relations with Nawāb Shukrullah Khān Khāṣkhās himself.

Mir Ghulām ‘Alī Azād states that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān's last appointment was as the Governor of Mewāt where he remained till his death. He was, therefore, almost always away from Shāh Jahanābād, but his correspondence with Bedil never stopped, and at the time of his occasional visits to the Metropolis, meetings with the poet were eagerly arranged.

We have seen that once he took the poet away to Mewāt. At another time Shukrullah Khān was in Sahāranpūr and Bedil went to

2. Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qiṣṣāt, p. 53.
5. Khāṣkhās was the Takhallus of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān. See Sher Khān Lednī, Mir‘a‘ud Khayāl, p. 292.
see him. It was the rainy season and floods of water were rolling about. From Luni to Sheikupura, Bedil had to swim, but still he could not reach Saharanpûr and hence returned to Delhi. Moreover, when Nawâb Shukrullah Khân was away, a stream of presents continued to pour in from him to Bedil. Thus we see him sending sugar, patched clothing of a Darwâsh, cloth, henna on the occasion of 'Id; oil of roses, almond-oil, bottles of distilled rose-water, myrobalan and zedoary (همان وجدوار) when Bedil fell ill; jam, clothing for the summer season, and mangoes from Saharanpûr. We see that Nawâb Shukrullah Khân remembers Bedil on all occasions—on festivals, at the change of seasons, when the poet is indisposed, and ordinarily when the Nawâb thinks something will please Bedil. This, we know, is in addition to the daily allowance of Rs. 2 and the residential quarters arranged for Bedil by the Nawâb.

Bedil, on his part, had exclusive and excessive fondness for Nawâb Shukrullah Khân. At the end of a letter, Bedil writes to the Nawâb:

چہ امکان است وهم غير کنجد در دماغ من
توئی منتظر اگر چشم نوئی مسموع أکر کشم

[How is it possible that I should have fancies about others in my mind?]

My eyes have thee in view and my ears are lent to thine voice alone.] In another letter he says:

زبان را جز ستائش دش انجاب نفس کشیدن خیالات گویالی و دیده را جز
تصور آئجمال آفواش کشیدن یاس بینائنی.

[It would be shameful for my tongue to speak except in expressing my gratefulness to you; and would be disappointed with my sight if my eyes entertain fancies except about your lovely beauty.] In 1101 A.H. (1689-90 A.D.) marriage took place of Mir 'Inâyatullah, son of Shukrullah Khân, and Bedil wrote two congratulatory poems on the occasion. Every hemistitch of the one beginning with this verse:

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1. Ruqât-e-Bedil, p. 87.
3. Ibid., p. 71.
4. Ibid., p. 87.
Final Stay in Dehli

[This lodging invites you for merrymaking
O Time! be honoured with mirth]

is a chronogram, while in the other the chronogram is: تران مب واسفر تابل (the conjunction of the moon and the luminous sun). The latter poem has a very fluent and delightful metre and can rightly be considered classical. Similarly, a marriage had taken place in Shukrullah Khan’s family in 1099 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.). Bedil had written a nice poem on the occasion. We have also seen how Bedil wrote chronograms when Shukrullah Khan was victorious in Mewat. There are short poems (تودعت) written on the occasion of the Islamic festivals and on the Nawab’s promotion to higher Mansabs.

But we read poetry of the highest order when Bedil sings with an ardent longing in the absence of Nawab Shukrullah Khan asking him to come back to Shah Jahānābād:

[O the assembly of eternal bliss, come hither!
O the yield of a hundred thousand hopes, come hither!
Without thy presence this land is the abode of darkness.
With banners and drums, like the light of the sun, come hither.]

And again with greater sadness, deeper emotions, and profounder thoughts:

[O the flower-garden of fortune! O, with forehead like an Orchard! Come now.
The time for a walk through the heart has ended
Before my eyes you should come now.

2. Ibid., p. 47.
4. Ibid., pp. 8, 30; Beale, T. W., Miftah ut Tawārīkh, p. 286.
6. Ibid., p. 52.
Making special requests is against the etiquette of fidelity. Like sight in the eyes or like the soul in limbs, come now. I can no longer stand this heart-sore of separation.

Take me away where you are, or come now.]

In a letter¹ too, love-lorn Bedil writes in this strain to Shukrullah Khan. When the Nawab pays visits to Dehil Bedil's joy knows no bounds. He writes forceful, magnificent, sweet and soul-stirring² poems which, it is regretted, cannot be quoted at length for want of space.

Where there is boundless love, all formality usually disappears, and a unique unity of hearts is the result. We, therefore, find Bedil as one of the members of the family of Shukrullah Khan—a member who is loved, respected, trusted, and whose advice is cherished and valued. Nawab Shukrullah Khan wants to arrange for the marriage³ of his daughter and he consults Bedil. Delicacy of such tender and sincere relations also comes into view when we read Bedil expressing⁴ regret at leaving Shukrullah Khan's house without saying good-bye. At one place Bedil writes even about his slight bronchitis⁵ to the Nawab. There are also letters in which Bedil recommends⁶ people to Nawab Shukrullah Khan. Moreover, we find them sharing each other's sorrows. Bedil writes letters of consolation when any of Shukrullah Khan's relatives passes away.

Yet there is another phase of their relations which is far more important from our point of view. The literary world owes a great debt of gratitude to Nawab Shukrullah Khan, because it was due to his unreserved attachment for Bedil that we possess some brilliant literary gems.

Bedil got much-needed encouragement, appreciation, and stimulus from his association with the Nawab, who was himself, as we know, a poet. Bedil sent⁸ his Tilism-e-Hairat to Nawab Shukrullah Khan who gave titles to its different sections and sub-sections. Tur-e-Ma'rifat was composed at the instance⁹ of the Nawab. The poem Gul-e-Zard, which is said to have 150 couplets, was also sent to Shukrullah Khan on completion.¹⁰ In a letter Bedil writes to the Nawab that Ghahar 'Unsur and the Masnavi 'Irфан are both¹¹ being written, and Bedil must have sent these works on their completion to him.
had the Nawab been alive. A selection\(^1\) of Bedil’s Diwan was also made by Nawab Shukrullah Khan and Bedil wrote\(^2\):

![Image](image-url)

[The favour of the munificent seeks excuses. Whatever it liked, it liked, and whatever it selected, it selected.]

In addition to this, there are other instances of their collaboration in literary work. Nawab Shukrullah Khan was very much pleased with a *Maqala*\(^3\) and asked Bedil to complete a ghazal in the same metre and rhyme. The Nawab wrote a short poem necessitating the use of *شَمِّ وَدُلْ* and sent it to Bedil who wrote a similar\(^4\) poem. A poem of Bedil was rendered into prose\(^5\) by Nawab Shukrullah Khan and at another place we find Bedil correcting the Nawab’s verses. Besides, a small pamphlet in prose, called *Gudri Naanah*\(^6\), was written by Bedil when Nawab Shukrullah Khan sent a Gudri (patched clothing) to the poet. These literary compositions are, it is clear, in addition to the ones mentioned in the previous paragraphs.

In the presence of all this data, we can safely assert that with almost all the literary productions of Bedil Nawab Shukrullah Khan is related in one way or the other. Moreover, we know Bedil wrote his *Tillism-e-Hairat* in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.) and he began his *Chahar Unsar* in or about 1095 A.H. (1683-84 A.D.). As already pointed out, we observe that for a long period of fifteen years Bedil produced no work. As soon as he left Muthura, owing to the disturbances, and settled permanently in Dehli, full bloom of his literary talents began, and his comparative sterility was suddenly changed into prolificness of unusual character. We are, therefore, thankful to Nawab Shukrullah Khan for stimulating Bedil’s mind to literary activity, by establishing a sweet and enviable relationship with him and by arranging all sorts of comforts for him. The Nawab also gained much. He earned eternal fame simply due to Bedil.

Of the sons of Nawab Shukrullah Khan, Mir ‘Inayatullah Shākir Khan’s devotion to Bedil is unsurpassed. After Nawab Shukrullah Khan, ‘Abdul Wahhab Iftikhar, the author of *Tazkira-e-Benazir*, mentions\(^8\) in particular the name of Shākir Khan, who

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2. Ibid., p. 37.
3. Ibid., p. 42.
4. Ibid., p. 54.
5. Ibid., p. 37.
6. Ibid., p. 20.
Life and Works of Bedil

distinguished himself or his reverential regard for our poet. Shaki Khan had won this distinction during the lifetime of his father, as the following verses show:

[Ask of the Gulf of "Oman, about the efforts made in search by a drop.
Ask of the radiant luminary about the intention of the dew-drops.
If you want to make sure about the resort of Bedil, Ask of Shukrullah Khan and Shakir Khan.]

Shakir Khan's fondness for Bedil was so overwhelming that when Bedil tried to compare the father with the son, in this respect, he found no difference:

It is because of this deep and profound love that Shakir Khan can claim, of course after Nawab Shukrullah Khan, the largest number of the letters written by Bedil. In a letter a prayer for Shakir Khan gushes out of the heart of Bedil which is unique on account of its spontaneity:

[May you be a shining lamp in the assembly, and hue and fragrance in the garden.
May you everywhere be the flower of dignity!]

Such like spontaneous expressions of tender emotions can be multiplied but the space does not permit. We see that Shakir also, like his father, used to send presents to Bedil.

1. Kulliyat-e-Bedil, Qiltât, p. 60.
2. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 33.
5. Ibid., p. 71, 90; Kulliyat-e-Bedil, Qiltât, pp. 44, 55, 56. The poem beginning with: (Good news, O my heart, I have regained my passed age) shows in particular the joy Bedil felt on the arrival of Shakir Khan in Dehli.
Next, we shall speak of Mir Karamullah 'Aqil Khan 'Ashiq, the youngest son of Nawab Shukrullah Khan. Karamullah Khan was a poet and a pupil of Bedil. The Nawabzada earned a fame by writing a commentary of the Holy Qur'an. Bedil's excessive love for his pupil is manifest from the following couplets, which Bedil wrote in a letter to the Mir:

اُس حُسِرَت دُيُدَارَ چَہ گویم چَه نُویسُم دل می کُشذ آزار جَہ گویم چَه نُویسُم
خِجلت کِتِی شوُق اَسَت چَہ تحریروُجْ تقریروُج آخَر کم و بیسارہ جَہ گویم چَه نُویسُم

[About my longing for a meeting with you, what should I say or write?
My heart is under oppression, what should I say or write?
My writings and my speech cannot express my yearning;
After all, what more or less should I say or write?]

Mir Karamullah also used to send presents to Bedil.

Last comes Mir Lutfullah, the eldest son of Nawab Shukrullah Khan. It appears that this Nawabzada could not make headway in his relations with Bedil during the lifetime of his father. We only know that when in 1096 A.H. (1684-85 A.D.) Mir Lutfullah's son was born, Bedil composed two chronograms

تَیْمَان بِلَه ادْبِ وَ نَادِلْ شَجَال مْضِع وَ نَادِلْ شَجَال مْضِع
نَادِلْ شَجَال مْضِع وَ نَادِلْ شَجَال مْضِع

Mutual respect and attachment of this kind is not tolerated by jealous people. There was a Qalandar, named Shâd, who, out of jealousy and grudge, began to accuse Bedil of "flattering Nawab Shukrullah Khan and his sons notwithstanding the fact that they were his pupils." This, he said, did not become a fagir. One day, a certain Shah Murtaza told Bedil that the Qalandar had again indulged in his wonted accusations. Being sensitively jealous of his own reputation, Bedil flew into rage at this uncalled-for insolence from Shâd, and, in a letter, at first furiously called Shâd an infidel, an ungrateful ape, a stupid bear, the tweezers of the public region (سَمِیْهَ) and a foul-mouthed, contemptible, and wretched person, and then told him that he (Bedil) was not at all the teacher of Nawab Shukrullah Khan and his sons. If, on the other hand, Bedil continued, out of courtesy they called themselves Bedil's pupils, he was not so shameless as to call himself the teacher of those noble souls who were, no doubt, his patrons.

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 50.
6. Ibid., p. 20.
7. Ibid., pp. 84-85.
Jealous criticism and rivalry were expressed in another quarter also. Nāṣir 'Ali Surhindi, who had been in Karnatak in the Deccan for some time in 1103 A.H. (1691-92 A.D.) with Nawāb Zulfiqār Khān, the brave general of Aurangzeb, had come to live permanently in Shāh Jahānābād. We know Nāṣir 'Ali was at one time a favourite of Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān. When he came to know that unsurpassed love prevailed between Bedil and the Nawāb, he felt jealous. Sher Khān Lodhi says that one day in a meeting at Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān’s, Bedil had a chance to see Shaikh Nāṣir 'Ali. Bedil recited his ghazal beginning with the following verse:

[The mirror of our quality could not show our reality.
Like the meaning we remained hidden in so many words explaining our nature.]

The Shaikh grew ecstatic on hearing most of the verses, but about the Matla’ (the opening verse) he said, “The idea expressed in the second hemistich is against the rule. The meaning is always subordinate to the word, and, when the word is known, the meaning should automatically become clear.” On hearing this, Bedil smiled and said in reply, “The meaning, which you regard subordinate to the word, is itself nothing but a word. Take the example of ‘Man.’ In spite of all the details and the commentaries which we find about ‘Man’ in various books, his nature is still a mystery.” This peremptory reply silenced Nāṣir 'Ali. As Sher Khān Lodhi completed his Taṣkīrā Mir’ātul Khayāl, in which this event has been narrated, in 1102 A.H. (1690-91 A.D.), this meeting must have taken place before that date. When on his return from Karnatak in 1103 A.H. (1691-92 A.D.) Nāṣir 'Ali observed greater intimacy between Shukrullāh Khān and Bedil, the jealous poet naturally would have been more incensed.

The Shaikh was only four or five years older than Bedil, but at this time his literary activities had shown a decline, while, about the fertile genius of Bedil, Khushgū says, “Shāh Gulshan remarked now
and again that at the time when Bedil had composed 30,000 verses, and was making progress by leaps and bounds, Mián Násir 'Ali ceased to make any progress, and was contented with what he had already written." But Násir 'Ali found a very able lieutenant in the person of the famous poet Muḥammad Afzal Sarkhus, who was brought up in Sirhind and who used to practise versification with Násir 'Ali Sirhind, when both of them were of tender age. Muḥammad Afzal Sarkhus, too, had settled in Shāh Jahānābād. Sarkhus says that at the instance of Mián Násir 'Ali, he applied first hemistich to many verses of Bedil and changed them into Matla's (opening verses). I shall quote here only one example which appears to be a very successful attempt on the part of Sarkhus:

Bedil:

[In the twinkling of an eye my acquisitions are no more; I am a draft in colour written on a petal.]

Sarkhus:

[I have been kneaded with the transitoriness of pleasures; I am a draft in colour written on a petal.]

The word undoubtedly makes the idea clear, but, from the literary point of view, the charm contained in the appropriate words has been lost. There are other instances also but those need not be quoted for want of space.

Bedil had a favourite pupil, named Ahmad—a rebeck-player (Azād-Rūb Nūzāl), whose original nom-de-plume was Maftūn but he had changed it to 'Ibrat at the suggestion of Bedil. 'Ibrat had derived much benefit from Bedil, and was so dear to him that when he ('Ibrat) died in 1123 A.H. (1713-14 A.D.), tears went on trickling down the eyes of Bedil for a long time. Once Násir 'Ali composed a ghazal with the following Matla and proclaimed in Shāh Jahānābād that if anyone wrote a ghazal in reply, he (Násir 'Ali) would be convinced of the poet's leading position in the Realm of Literature.
The dwellers in your street are the grieved persons enduring hardships,
Whose groans if do not reveal them, they will remain hidden like fire in the flint.

By chance, none wrote a ghazal in reply but Bedil asked Ahmad 'Ibrat to compose one. 'Ibrat, therefore, composed a nice ghazal, with the following Mutla:

زوشک خوش روان هم جو چشمه گشته سنگ اند

[In your valley the gloomy and disappointed persons
Weep, and with their tears a stream, like that of a mountain, flows out]

Both the ghazals have been given in the Ta'zkar Mir'atu Khayal. When Nasir 'Ali heard the ghazal of 'Ibrat, he was reticent. It was because of this rivalry that when the Shaikh breathed his last in 1108 A.H. (1696-97 A.D.), Bedil's chronograms was:

As in the beginning Shaikh Sa'dullah Gulshan was a pupil of Sarkhush, and afterwards had begun to associate himself with Bedil also, Khushgū once thought that Gulshan could prove instrumental in bringing Sarkhush and Bedil together. Khushgū was of opinion that reconciliation between these two literary giants would certainly prove immensely fruitful. Khushgū and Gulshan, therefore, together approached Sarkhush, who refused, saying, “Perhaps you want to see the fight of two elephants.” Sarkhush then recited the following Mutla of Bedil:

از نفل حقیقی در دو جهان رمز قرنشة ایم
پک در گرنشت ایم و جه مشکم قرنشت ایم

[Through Divine Favour, we have abandoned both the worlds;
We have taken hold of one door and how tightly we hold it.]

and remarked that نفل حقیقی (Divine Favour) was required everywhere except in this verse. Khushgū says that Siraj-ud-Din 'Ali Khān Ārzū regarded this objection as absolutely wrong. This, however, goes to the credit of Sarkhush that in his Ta'zkar Kalimātush Shu'arā,
which he kept improving till 1115 A.H. (1703-04 A.D.), he has unqualified praise for Bedil as a poet and admits that no poet in Shāh Jahānābād was a match for him. This admission must have been made after the death of Nāṣir ‘Ālī.

From the literary field we should turn to the spiritual domain. Both Nāṣir ‘Ālī and Sarkhush were Śūfīs. The former lived in Shāh Jahānābād with claims to "polehood" (تیتیت) while the latter says about himself:

When the mysticism of Sarkhush attained perfection,
His spiritual leader granted him vicariate,
A large number of people came respectfully for benedictions,
The chronogram was: Vicar of Shāh-e-Jalāl.

Mīān Nāṣir ‘Ālī was about fifty when he claimed polehood and Sarkhush was forty-five when he talked about his perfection (کمال) in Mysticism. In direct contrast with these pretentious claims, Bedil's humility is marvellous. At the age of twentysix he had realised that the titles like تیتیت and کمال were quite unsubstantial, and about کمال (perfection) we have only to read the following verse6 from Bedil’s Muḥt-e-A’ẓam, which he wrote at the youthful age of twentyfour:

[I have heard that Bayazid, the leader of the world,
Had one night conference with Love.
In that flood of Glorious Light,
His mind ventured to reveal a wish.
"My Lord! What should this worthless person do

3. Ibid., p. 76.
4. Ibid., p. 129, footnote.
Which may be honoured with acceptance in this assembly?"
He heard a Voice from that Glorious Presence:
"The bloom of perfection is Our floor
Things like prayer, knowledge, and good actions
Are all assorted in this flawless Realm.
None would buy your perfection,
Nothing but imperfection is required here."

Bedil was in this way leading a very happy and successful life when two calamities befell him. In 1103 A.H. (1696-97 A.D.) Nawab Aqil Khan Razi died. Bedil mourned this loss in a poem,1 and the chronogram was:

[Alas! the glory of munificence is no more in the world,
The peacock displaying its beauty is no more in this nest.]

The following verse of this threnody2 shows the extent of bereavement:

[Every crowd burst into a flood of tears;
Nothing except the river Tigris remained in the length and breadth of Hindustan.]

While writing this poem of ten couplets, every hemistitch of which is a chronogram, Bedil was reminded of the kind regards and faithfulness (كرم ووفا) of Nawab Shukrullah Khan, the qualities which Bedil could never forget. Another4 chronogram was:

In a letter5 to Mir Lutfullah, the eldest son of Nawab Shukrullah Khan, Bedil sorrowfully remarked why he could not die with his friends and why he strayed behind his caravan. In another letter6 to Mir Lutfullah, condoling on his father's death, Bedil says:

1. Sāqi, Ma'āṣir-e-'Alamgiri, p. 383.
2. Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qītsāz, p. 57.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 62.
6. Ibid., p. 75.
Final Stay in Dehli

[On account of losing the skirt of Fortune, whose agreeableness made my life pleasant continuously for twelve years, my afflicted eyes find themselves face to face with loneliness and helplessness. There is neither the society of a kind-hearted friend, which might prove a remedy for the bereaved soul, nor have I the nerves to move about, so that I might go abroad (and remove my grief).]

This quotation shows that from 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.), the date of the arrival of Bedil in Dehli from Muthura, to 1108 A.H. (1696 A.D.), the date of the sad demise of Nawâb Shukrullah Khan, the period of twelve years was of unparalleled happiness for Bedil.

From a perusal of the Letters of Bedil and his Qīwāl we learn that Bedil’s relations continued as usual with the successors of both ‘Āqīl Khān Ṣā‘ī and Nawâb Shukrullah Khān. Qāyūm Khān Firdāsī, the son of ‘Āqīl Khān Ṣā‘ī, was a poet. He used to send his ghazals to Bedil, and letters were also exchanged between them on occasions. In 1114 A.H. (1702-03 A.D.), the title of Shukrullah Khān was granted by Aurangzeb to Mir Lutfullāh, the eldest son of Shukrullah Khān I. Bedil was very much pleased and communicated his congratulations in a letter, every phrase of which was a chronogram. In verses too, the event was similarly commemorated and the following hemistich is in particular noteworthy:

[That river has eternal life whose waves even have the qualities of a river.]

This is again a lengthy account and I should be content with the most essential things. At one time (1110/1698) Mir ‘Ināyatullah Shākir Khān, the second son of Nawâb Shukrullah Khān I, was appointed the Governor of Shāh Jahānābād and Bedil was very happy. At another time, to the great sorrow of Bedil, Shākir Khān was called by the Emperor to the Deccan, and there he arranged a Jāgīr for Bedil, but our magnanimous Faqir refused to take possession of it. With Mir Karamullāh Khān ‘Āshiq, the youngest son of Nawâb Shukrullah Khān I, too, Bedil’s relations continued to be as cordial as ever.

2. Ibid., p. 111.
3. Ibid., pp. 109, 110, 124.
4. Ibid., p. 45.
5. Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Qīwāl.
8. Ibid., pp. 104.
9. Ibid., pp. 41, 46, 61, 103, 105.
In the preceding paragraphs I had the occasion to speak about two pupils of Mirza 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, i.e. Ahmad 'Ibrāhīm and Mir Karamullah Khān 'Asīq. This fact of Bedil's having pupils brings to mind a very significant remark made by Rieu. He says, "In Delhi Bedil's house was the common resort of all lovers of poetry." At this stage I would, therefore, like to give here, one by one, a brief and relevant account of those persons who came in contact with Bedil in this connection during the reign of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr.

1. Mir Qamar-ud Din Shākir, son of Ghāzi-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Feroz Jang. This is the original name of Nizām-ul Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr granted him the Manṣāb of 5,000, with the title of Chin Qlij Khān Bahādur, and was the šūbēdār of Bijāpur till the Emperor's reign. In tracing the gradual development of Chin Qlij Khān's relations with Bedil, we come across a letter from which we learn that the poet sent his Diwan and his IVnasāvīh to the Nawāb at his request. The joy which Bedil felt on the arrival of Chin Qlij Khān's letter is manifest from a poem which is remarkable for its spontaneity, freshness of similes and metaphors, and the delightful metre, and in which there is a prayer for a meeting with the Nawāb:

بارب بان اجلي رحمة كغفضل تست أربع نوران زرخی قشم بیدلان
[O God! by that Glory of Thy compassion, which is thine favour.
Let Bedil's eyes be filled with the light of his shining face]

And when the Nawāb paid a visit, Bedil was highly pleased. Only a few selected verses are cited from the poem written on the occasion:

فرغ مهر از جن تلیج خان آدل
بسیر کشور ما از نوید اقبال
ساخت آمد و این آمد و این آمد
کرم نمود و پریان خستیک آمد
[Bring wine, I smell the advent of the life giving spring.
The glory of the sun of Eternity, i.e. Chin Qlij Khān, has arrived.
By the happy news of his fortunate visit, in our land,
Felicity, peace, and security have arrived.

1. Rieu, Catalogue of the British Museum, Arabic and Persian Mss. F. 705 B.
4. Kuliyya-e-Bedil, Qīl ʿār, p. 44.
5. Ibid., p. 35
Our Bedil had not the strength to see him.
He showed kindness and himself came to see the exhausted ones.]

These relations developed into sincere friendship, and, after Nawáb Shukrullah Khan I, the second member of the nobility of those days, entering into profoundest relationship with Bedil, was this Khin Qlij Khan. Whenever Bedil went to see the Nawáb at his residence he would respectfully receive and see off Bedil, and always offered his Masnad to him. Visits were returned by the Nawáb, and whenever he came, Bedil used to receive him at the door. Then, hand in hand, they would take the Nawáb inside, and very delightful meetings used to take place. The Nawáb very much liked the sweets prepared with eggs and he, therefore, often requested Bedil for the same. At the time of departure, when Bedil offered the Nawáb books like Kimiyā-e-Sa‘ādat, and Naḥfāt, the Nawáb would say, "Such like books are in abundance in my own library. I want the blessed gift of your own works." Then Bedil used to offer him autograph copies of his own works.

We have evidence in support of the fact that the Nawáb sent his ghazals to Bedil for correction, and he, therefore, always regarded himself as the pupil of Bedil. Khushgū says that the Nawáb compiled his Dīwān with the help of Bedil. In Haidarābād Deccan, two volumes of the Nawáb’s Dīwān, one with the poetical title of Shākir, and the other with Aṣaf as nom de plume have been published, and from both the volumes, the Nawáb’s indebtedness to Bedil is manifest. Bedil has a famous line:

[I was without a heart and now I have a thousand]

and the Nawáb says:

[By my weeping one heart broke into a thousand pieces.]

There is also a ghazal in which a line of Bedil has been inserted in this way:

5. Ruqqāt-e-Bedil, p. 5.
7. Ruqqāt-e-Bedil, p. 5.
10. Ibid., pp. 312-3.
Life and Works of Bedil

[Shākir! What a superb saying has Bedil—the noble-hearted, “Whatever Layla says to me, I should hear from the litter.”]

In the end I give below two opening verses of the ghazals of both the poets:

Bedil I:

के हैं जिसने मिलाया शहीद हो वाट की बाल रागीँ ऐसे जिसने आए स्कीत खोाँदित अती रागीँ

[At times by his hair-like thin waist the beloved gives publicity to subtle conceit,
And sometimes by the wrinkles of her brow she points to a pause even in a sublime verse]

Aṣaf 2:

निका से तोड़ बर को है मिलाया बाल रागीँ
रेख आ नौ तौ रहिल बार बर रस्तार निका

[Her tipsy looks fill an empty goblet with wine; and
Her face by its sweat lends freshness to the flowers of the rainy season.]

The rhyme and the metre of these two ghazals speak for themselves.

2. Nawāb Sā‘datullāh Khān 3 in his Gulshan-e-Sa‘ādat 4 is seen requesting Bedil for a gift of his Tīlim-e-Hairat, Mūhi‘-e-A‘īman and his Biyāz Khās (Anthology). The Biyāz (Anthology) has been ably described by Rieu 5 and contains choice poems by a vast number of poets. The Nawāb’s letter to Bedil for the gift is a proof of the fact that our poet’s works were studied eagerly by the scholars of those days.

3. Mīr ‘Abdūs Samad Sakhun: We already know the Mīr got his Takhallūs from Bedil. One day 6 Sakhun offered a Burhānpur-dagger to Bedil, who, being pleased with it, gave two amphibolic verses to Sakhun. As he lived with the Amir of low standing and, therefore, lived from hand to mouth, one day he read the following couplet complaining about his bad luck:

नलातो गर ग्रांडी सुहब आज़ बेठ देडरम
के हें खम्बात इशन तांड भुज गाजिह डारम

2. Aṣaf, Diwān, p. 5.
3. The Nawāb was a noble at the court of Aurangzeb. See Shāhnāvāz Khān, Ma‘āsinul Umara, II, p. 513.
5. Rieu, Catalogue of the British Museum Arabic and Persian Ms. under Nos. 16302-03.
Even if Plato himself came, he would not be able to cure me.

My mansab is a fiery brand and my jāgīr robs me of life.

On hearing the couplet, Bedil immediately changed the word آتشن into آتشک (syphilis). Sak hun was a pupil of Bedil, and, from a letter of Bedil, we learn that Sak hun sent his verses to Bedil, who was very much pleased and prayed:

[May the bloom of your verse be eternal!]

4. Lāla Shīr Rām Ḥayāt (d. 1144/1731) was a pupil of Bedil and wrote his Gulgašt-e-Iram in the style of Bedil's Ḥohār 'Unūr.

5. Lāla Sūkh Rāj Sabqat (d. 1138/1725) was the ablest of Bedil's Hindu pupils. He left a Diwān having 10,000 verses, which was destroyed. Once he wrote the following quatrain about the birth of Bedil and showed it to him:

[That Eternal Essence free from any mixture,
Gave its similitude the name of 'Abdul Qādir.
One was born to give new life to the Faith, and
The second now came for the Renaissance of verse.]

6. Muḥammad 'Aṭā ʿUllah 'Aṭā (d. 1136/1723) was a pupil of Bedil who belonged to Murādābād. 'Aṭā ʿUllah was a great humourist and whenever he came, Bedil used to speak of his facetiae instead of his usual monotheistic verses. Bedil would say that 'Aṭā deserved to be instructed in facetious verses. Once Bedil granted him his own inkstand and his Biyāz. At this 'Aṭā composed the following Rubā'ī thanking Bedil:

[Bedil, the sovereign ruler of the realm of the perfection of every art,
Regarded me with affection, and
He, therefore, granted to me his inkstand and Biyāz.
It means he made over to me the portfolio of verse.]

1. Ruqūʿ-ʾa-Bedil, p. 78.
7. Bindra Ban Das Khushgū. On the authority of the author of 
Maqūlātush Su'arā, Springer writes that Khushgū too was a pupil of 
Bedil. Khushgū himself says that from his early life he came 
in contact with Bedil and learnt from him the contents of pamphlets on Prosody and on Riddles, and also several Dīwāns of Tāzā- 
gū Poets. As both of them were of the same age, Bedil observed no formalities with Khushgū. It is from the Safina-e-Khushgū that 
many details about the life of Bedil are known. Khushgū says 
that he saw Bedil more than a thousand times in his life, and towards 
the end of Bedil's life he saw him almost daily.

8. Barkhurdār Beg Fardī (d. 1119/1707), a poet and a pupil of Bedil.

9. Mir Muhammad Ahṣan Īṭād (d. 1133/1720) got his Ta'khallus 
from Bedil and was also recommended by Bedil to Husain Quli Khān.

10. Gur Bakhsh Ḥuzūrī had meetings with Bedil for many years 
and thus attained perfection in versification.

11. Mughal Khān Qābīlā (d. 1142/1729) was a pupil of Bedil.
In the beginning his Ta'khallus was Sa'āt but changed it at the 
instance of Bedil.

12. Shāh Sā'dullāh Gulshan (d. 1141/1728) was in the beginning 
a pupil of Sarkhush, but on discovering a spiritual affinity with 
Bedil, he entered into the literary society of the latter. Both of 
them were Ṣūfī poets and both loved music. Bedil suggested to 
Shāh Sā'dullāh that he should have Gulshan as his poetical name 
in conformity with Shāh Gul, the name of his spiritual director.
In Maqālā tush Su'arā, he has been mentioned as one of the 
pupils of Bedil.

13. Khujā 'Abdullāh Sāfī was a friend of Bedil.

14. Aqā Ibrāhīm Faitān, son of Aqā Muḥammad Husain Khān Nāfī, often arranged poetical meetings at his house and invited
Bedil. Khushgī says that he derived much benefit from those meetings.

15. Mir Muhammad Zanān Rāṣīḥī (d. 1107/1695) had intimate social relations with Bedil and entered into friendly competition with him in writing poetry.

16. Izad Bakhsh Rāṣā (d. 1119/1707), a pupil of 'Abdul 'Azīz 'Izzat and a convert from Shi'ism. He adopted Sunnī as his Takhalīf, but, in view of his tall stature, Bedil suggested Rāṣā. The poet accepted the title as soon as he heard it from Bedil, stood up, and bowed respectfully. He used to send his ghazals to Bedil for correction.

At several places in his Rūqqa', Izad Bakhsh Rāṣā has made references about Bedil. At one place he writes to Prince A'zam Shāh:

[I saw Bedil who is all heart, and made enquiries about his intentions. Towards the end of the month of Ramāzān or in the beginning of Shawwāl he will reach there.]

In another letter he writes to the same prince:

[God wishing, Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil, who is all heart, will very soon make himself fortunate by entering your service.]

It appears that these letters were written when Bedil had not yet joined the army. We also learn from these quotations that Rāṣā was very much influenced by the spirit which actuated Bedil. Another statement made by Rāṣā shows that both the poets were fast friends.

At one time Bedil, Rāṣā, one Mirzā Muhammad Ibrāhīm, and another Khwāja Habībullah were living together in a serai (inn) when some armed soldiers began to fight amongst themselves. Bedil, Rāṣā and their two other mates rushed to the scene and Rāṣā was wounded in the side by a stray arrow. I have not been able to
Life and Works of Bedil

determine the date and place of this happening. Still, from this statement of Rasā we conclude that both the poets were intimate friends and associates.

17. Muhammad Amin ʻIrfan was a manṣabdar and a pupil of Bedil. On his return from Barat, Bedil sent his Masnavi ʻUrū-Mārifat to ʻIrfan as a present brought from a distant place.

18. Muhammad Ṣafī Ḥijā was a pupil of Bedil.

19. Šir Khān Lodhi had meetings with Bedil which have been mentioned in Mirāṭul Khayāl.

20. Mirzā ʻĪbādullāh was a cousin of Bedil through maternal uncle and was older in age. He was a poet and a couplet by him has been given by Khushgū:

[In such a way did the nightingale sew its eye on the flower, That the eye of nightingale became the garment of flower.]

In his letters Bedil addresses Mirzā ʻĪbādullāh as his brother. Mirzā ʻĪbādullāh used to send his ghazāls to Bedil who was always anxiously awaiting letters from his cousin. Bedil sent his ʻUrū-Mārifat to Mirzā ʻĪbādullāh also.

21. Rafi ʻKhān Bāzīl, the celebrated writer of Hamla-ʻAllī, having 90,000 verses, in the meter of Shāhnāma of Firdausī, and in praise of the Prophet and his cousin and son ʻAli. Bāzīl was a friend of Bedil. In a letter Bedil recommended one Mir Muhammad and his friends to Bāzīl when he was the Governor of Bareili.

22. ʻAshiq Muhammad met Bedil in Islāmābād (Muthūra). Bedil calls him the Embellisher of Nature (چمن طراز نظر) and recommends to one Khān Bahādur Miān Lāl Muhammad, a relative of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, and says that Ḥimmat had written a nice Qaṣīda, in the style of Ṣaḥīb Amlī—the poet-laureate of Jahāngīr.

1. Rasā says that the fight took place on the 7th of the Safar, but does not mention the year. At folio 40-a he says that on the 9th of the same Safar Aurangzeb allowed Prince Aʿẓam Shāh to make requests in the Darbār with the Bakhshīs. At folio 42-a a letter is dated Ḥasan Abdāl, the 21st Rajab 1085 A.H. Now we know Aurangzeb was in Ḥasan Abdāl in 1085 A.H. (vide Sāqqī, Muṣṭarīd Khān, Maʿṣūrī-ʻAllīmīt and Bedil too left Delhi, in 1085 A.H., for Lahore, and from there proceeded to Ḥasan Abdāl.


3. ʻAll Ḥasan Khān, Subh-e-Gulāsh, p. 34; Springet, I, p. 118; Sarkhshū, Kalimātūsh Ṣhūrā, p. 8; Khushgū, in Maʿṣūfī, July 1942, p. 42.

4. Sher Khān Lodhi, Mirāṭul Khayāl, p. 381.


7. Raqqūr-e-Bedil, pp. 50, 82; Sarkhshū, Kalimātūsh Ṣhūrā, pp. 125; Āzād Bilgrāmī, Saru-ʻAzād, p. 44.
23. Mawlū Muhammad Sa‘īd Ijāz Akbarābādī (d. 1117/1705) was a pupil of Shaikh ‘Abdul ‘Azīz ‘Izzat and had meetings with Bedil and other poets of his day. Ijāz used to write ghazals imitating the metre and rhyme of the ghazals of those poets.

24. Nawāb Husain Qu’l Khān,2 Khān Daurān, was a poet who used to send his ghazals to Bedil for correction. He was a friend of Bedil and, when he was in the Deccan, Bedil pined for a meeting with him. Bedil, therefore, was much pleased on the Nawāb’s return to Akbarābād. Once Bedil sent his works to the Nawāb, and at another time praised him for his success in copying his (Bedil’s) style. But as the Nawāb’s language was not so elegant on occasions, Bedil advised him to study his (Bedil’s) prose and verse regularly to acquire the desired elegance of expression. The Diwān of the Nawāb was with Bedil, and a few verses which the Nawāb had sent for correction were included in it. Bedil, after having gone through the Diwān completely, asked the Nawāb to give it to the scribe for transcription.

25. Last but not the least, I would mention Wail Deccanī who has been regarded as the Father of Urdu verse. He paid a visit3 to Dehli in 1112 A.H. (1700 A.D.) and recited his Urdu ghazals there. It has not been recorded by any Taṣkira-writer that Wail saw Bedil, but it is a fact that Wail was much influenced4 by Sa’duallah Gulshan, a close friend of Bedil, and he, therefore, must have at least known Wail. The author of Tūr-e-Kalim says that, when in 1133 A.H. (1720 A.D.) Wail’s Urdu Diwān reached Dehli, poets like Mīr Mu’tiz Mūsī Khān Fīrat, Mīrzsā ‘Abdul Qādir Bedil, and Mīrzsā ‘Abdul Ghani Beg Qābul imitated5 it. This assertion appears to be based on conjecture, for Bedil was in Lahore from 1131 to 1133 A.H., and returned to Dehli in Muḥarram 1133 A.H., only to die a few days later. It is, therefore, obvious that Bedil found no time to imitate Wail in 1133 A.H. In my opinion, the arrival of Wail himself in Dehli, and the common trend of the poets of those days to compose verses in Urdu occasionally, induced Bedil to write a few couplets in Urdu also. Hence the earliest Taṣkira-writers of Urdu give the following three

1. Sarkhuj, Kalimātush Shu‘ar, p. 6; Husain Qu’l Khān, Nishtar-e-Tīqa, Ms. f. 121b.
4. Ibid.
6. Mir Ja‘ar Zājālī, Aanad Rām Mukhliṣ, Khān Ārzi, Nawāb Amīr Khān Anjām, Shāh-e-Faṣīh Afshā and other friends and pupils of Bedil composed verses in Urdu. It may be noted that Zājālī was killed in the beginning of the
section by Bedil:

شَهْرَةَ ِحُسنَةَ ِمجَبَرَةَ ِمَلِكَ ِفَي ِإِنَّ ِحْنِيَّةَ ِمَجَبَرَةَ ِقَيَّمَ ِهِلْبَرَةَ

متوزع دل كل يائية ودل كُهان يه هيل
كن تنح ينش كان حامل كهان يه هيل
جب دل كل آبسان يعشق آن كُرَيُّ بُكرا
أردة ضبا يأر بولا بيدل كهان يه هيل

[The beloved fights shy on account of the fame of her beauty. She is angry with her face, why it is so lovely.

Don't make queries about the heart. Not that, but I myself am here.
That untraceable seed has no fruit. Only I am here.
When Love called out at the altar of heart,
The Beloved cried out of the veil, "Not Bedil but I am here."]

From what we have so far said about Bedil's stay in Dehli, one can easily learn how he was leading his life there. Still there are other details which must be known to form a clearer picture of his life in the capital. We are indebted for them to Khushgu, to Sayyid Muhammad, son of Mir 'Abdul Jalil Wasi (who, with his father, had meetings with Bedil), and to Bedil himself.

Bedil usually remained indoors for the whole of the day composing verses and studying books. In the evening he used to come out in his Diwan Khana (Drawing Room), where his pupils, his friends, and other visitors gathered round him. The meetings always continued till midnight, and Bedil used to relate significant anecdotes and worthwhile experiences in those meetings. In the course of such like talks he would say, "Let us now commence the praises of God." He would then take his Kuillyat which had four hemistiches in one line,
and would recite his verses. In the course of the recitation, all those present were addressed one by one. Although, ordinarily, he spoke very low, separating one word from the other, he recited poetry in a pronounced and majestic tone, which was burdensome for the audience, and was audible even in the street. Khushgū, of his own sweet will, wrote *Mafūzat*, in which he recorded what transpired in those informal but highly instructive meetings. Bedil had a servant named Mazmūn about whom Khushgū wrote:

> [Bedil, who sits on the throne of eloquence,  
> Has idea as his maid-servant, and meaning ( مضمون) as his slave.]

Bedil used to ask Mazmūn to prepare the Ḥuqqa for smoking and, whenever he gave an order, he spoke in a commanding tone, and knocked at the door although the servant was at hand.

Bedil was very particular about taking exercise. The number of his daily *biams* (sit-stand) reached four and often five thousand. While wrestling he used to pick up his rivals with his hands and then threw them down. As no man proved a match for him, he kept a strong horse with which he used to grapple on a high mound. Once Bedil was inclined towards a barber's son who, by chance, displayed undesirable behaviour. Bedil slapped him and the poor boy died instantaneously. On another occasion, Bedil's foot slipped. To keep himself erect, he suddenly took his hands to a wall which tumbled down. This shows he had the strength of a giant. The staff, which he carried in his hands, weighed thirty-five seers and he had named it Bulas, which means a slender twig. One day he came out of his house with this 'slender twig' in hand. Shaikh Kabīr, who was one of Bedil's friends and who had been visiting him continuously for years, began to talk about it. Bedil said immediately in praise of his staff:

> [The tradition of the prophets; the ornament of the pious;  
> the companion of the blind; the helper of the weak; and  
> the terror for the enemies.]

He also added that to drive away the enemy one must have a strong staff.

Bedil was a voracious eater and in his youth he could eat seven or eight seers of food. In his old age, too, he ate two or three seers, which Khushgū saw with his own eyes. Khushgū says that when Bedil was young he tasted the forbidden drink, but in old age it did not suit his temperament. In *Chahār 'Unsur* Bedil himself has described how he participated in a convivial meeting. Again, in *Chahār 'Unsur*...
Life and Works of Bedil

(which is a book of confessions too), Bedil says that when he saw Shāh-e-Qāsim, in a dream in Akbarābād, he handled the flask of wine very reluctantly. This shows that his conscience then had so much abhorrence for wine that, even in his dreams, he would not touch it. Khushgu makes another assertion too. He says that Bedil, in his old age, used Hashish-water during summer and called it Mauji, and replaced it by Auji during winter, which was an elixir of Hashish. Khushgu supports himself by the following couplet of Bedil:

[It is gratifying that I am not a regular opium-eater.
I have only fancy for Bhang (Hashish), and that too now and then.]

As Khushgu was a constant visitor of Bedil, we cannot declare his statements about intoxicants to be altogether wrong. This, too, has been stated by Khushgu that Bedil used slaked red-orpiment (केशाने, जबरियं).

There is still another phase of Bedil's life which needs some comments. At this time of his life, besides his wife (or four wives as Khushgu, says) Bedil's living relatives, who are known to us were: Mirzā 'Ībādullah, Mirzā Ruhullah, and Mirzā Muhammad Sa'īd. Mirzā 'Ībādullah was a cousin from a maternal uncle, and as in a letter both Mirzā 'Ībādullah and Mirzā Ruhullah have been addressed by Bedil as brothers, the latter also must have been similarly a cousin of Bedil. As regards Mirzā Muhammad Sa'īd, he was the son of Mirzā 'Ībādullah and, therefore, the nephew of Bedil. From among the descendants of Mirzā 'Ībādullah, the author of Majmū'a-e-Nağiz, gives the names of two persons: 4 Hākim Fazlullāh, a poet, and Hākim Muḥammad Haflī Khan of Panipat. Beyond this, nothing is known about the relatives of Bedil.

2. Ibid., p. 362.
3. Ibid. Dargāh Qulī Khān, Muraqqa'-e-Dehlī, pp. 10-11. Rauqat-e-Bedil, pp. 23, 59. Qudratullāh Qāsim, Majmū'a-e-Naḡīz, p. 179. Khushgu says that Mirzā 'Ībādullah was a khalil of Bedil, and Mirzā Muḥammad Sa’īd was a son of Mirzā 'Ībādullah. Bedil has twice addressed Mirzā 'Ībādullah as a brother, and, from the language used, we learn he was older than Bedil. The author of Majmū'a-e-Naḡīz says that Mirzā 'Ībādullah was the elder, brother of Bedil. And Dargāh Qulī Khān says that Mirzā Muḥammad Sa’īd was a nephew of Bedil. When everything is put together, we conclude that Mirzā 'Ībādullah was a khalil (cousin) of Bedil, and, in the Saffāra-e-Khushgu the scribe has erroneously written the word khalil.
4. Qudratullāh Qāsim, Majmū'a-e-Naḡīz, p. 179.
Final Stay in Dehli

Having learnt about the daily routine and private life of Bedil, we should proceed further. In 1116 a.H. (1704-05 A.D.), Bedil finished his Chahâr 'Unsûr which he had been writing since 1095 a.H. (1685-86 A.D.). This book is a dependable source for Bedil's life till 1100 a.H. (1690-99 A.D.) and beyond this we have to rely on different Tazkiras, Bedil's Ruqq'ât and Qift'ât and other contemporary History Books.

In 1118 a.H. (1707 A.D.), there was again a great upheaval in Hindustân. The Great Aurangzeb 'Alamgîr died at Ahmadnagar, in the Deccan, after a long reign of about fifty years, and at the climax of his power. A bloody war of succession soon ensued. Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahâdur Shâh, the second son of Aurangzeb, was ultimately victorious. A'zam Shâh and Kâm Bakhsh, the other two living sons of Aurangzeb, were defeated one after the other in battles. At one time, during the War of Succession, when Shukrullah Khân II, Shâkir Khân, and Karamullah 'Âqil Khân, all the three sons of Nawâb Shukrullah Khân I, were arrayed in Akbarâbâd against A'zam Shâh, Bedil was very much perturbed on their account; and when they were victorious, naturally he heaved a sigh of relief. But Bedil was very much grieved at the sad death of A'zam Shâh and his son Bedâr Bakht, in the battlefield of Jajau. The accession of Bahâdur Shâh was; however, greeted by Bedil in four chronograms, one of them being:

In 1120 a.H., to the utmost joy of Bedil, he was blessed with a son on the 1st of Rajab (Sept. 16, 1708), and on the night preceding Friday. The boy was named 'Abdul Khâliq. This happy occasion was

1. Kulliyât-e-Bedil, Chahâr 'Unsûr, The chronogram is:

2. Sâqi, Ma'ânî-y-e-'Alamgîrî, p. 521.
3. Ibid., p. 584.
4. Ibid., pp. 596, 538.
7. Ibid., pp. 107-08.
8. Ibid., p. 114.
9. Ibid., pp. 107-08.
celebrated with festivities and rejoicings, and alms were liberally distributed to the poor. Bedil found out various chronograms, and wrote letters of congratulations to friends. In those days Nawāb Shukrullah Khān II had gone away to the Deccan to subdue Prince Kām Bakhsh. The birth of his son had so much pleased Bedil that he communicated the happy news to the Nawāb in that distant country.

Bedil continued to add to his fame and popularity during the reign of Bahādur Shāh as well. The Emperor ordered his Minister, on many occasions to request Bedil for writing Shāhnāma of the Mughul Dynasty. Munīm Khān had known Bedil since a long time, and, therefore, made the request some five or six times in writing, but Mirzā Bedil refused. The final reply of the poet was very stern and determined. He said, “If the Emperor insists, I am a Faqīr, I cannot quarrel with him. I will leave his kingdom, and shall proceed to Walayat (Bukhārā).”

The Emperor conferred the title of Khān Daurān Bahādur on Chīn Qīlī Khān in 1119 A.H. (1703 A.D) and appointed him the Subedar of Oudh. Bedil, therefore, could now see him very often as he had come to stay nearer. Bedil wrote a magnificent Qaṣida in praise of Khān Daurān beginning with this verse:

[It is a long time since Destiny has been feeling proud about his dignity and splendour.

Come, so that I may disclose the power of Khān Daurān.]

As the title of Khān Daurān was conferred in 1119 A.H., this panegyric was composed when Bedil was over sixty-five years of age. This fact shows that Bedil continued his creative activities unabated in spite of his old age. When in 1124 A.H. (1712-13 A.D.) Chīn Qīlī Khān’s father,


The last two remind us of the chronograms giving the date of birth of Bedil himself.

4. Khāfī Khān, Muntakhabal Lutbāb, II, pp 621, 625. Kām Bakhsh was defeated in Haidarābād on 5rd Zilq’da 1120 A.H (January 14, 1709) and he succumbed to the wounds.
5. Khusha, in Ma‘arif, July 1942.
Final Stay in Dehli

Ghâzî-ud-Dîn Bahââdur, died, Bedil wrote a Qiṣâ having the chronogram:

شام باز عرش برآوا آموز

[The falcon, which could fly to the Empyrean,
We are sad for him.]

In this very year Ghân Qâlij Khân was made Nizâmul Mulk Bahââdur Fateh Jâng. His mansâb was raised to 7,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry. He has been addressed by Bedil in letters as Khân Daurân and also as Nizâmul Mulk.

One day in the house of Nizâmul Mulk, when perhaps he had retired from life on account of the supremacy of Nawâb Zulîfâqâr Khân in state affairs, Bedil found himself in a strange predicament. Muhammad Amin Khân, who later on became famous for arranging the murder of Êsain 'Ali Khân Bârâ, came in and saw a Faqîr sitting with beard and moustaches entirely shaved. He enquired, "Who is this?" "Mirzâ Bedil," the Nawâb replied. Muhammad Amin Khân remarked, "Do you call this man a saint who shaves his beard?" At this Mirzâ Bedil warmed up and said, "I shave my own beard and do not scratch anybody's heart." Being inflamed, the Khân at once took his hand to his dagger. Bedil, who was a Hercules in strength, challenged the Khân with clenched fists. The Nawâb, however, intervened and saved the situation.

Bedil's relations with the sons of Nawâb Shurkullâh also continued as sincere as ever. He wrote them letters and congratulated them on their victories. Once he addressed the three brothers in one letter beginning with the following verses of immortal value:

شكر امرؤ دو بحار وقاق
ربك و بر و شگفتی بهم انداز
ای خدا فصل کن که این گلها
همه اطف و عناوت و کرم انداز

[Thank God that today, in the spring of concord,
Colour, smell, and freshness are found together,
O God, show graciousness as these flowers
Are all Lutf (kindness), 'Inâyat (favour), and Karam (generosity).]

1. Āzâd Bilgrâmî, Khażâna-e-'Âmira, p. 35.
4. Ibid., pp. 131, 133, 134, 135.
5. Husain Dost, Taqâkra-e-Husainî, p. 75. Qâsim, Qudratullah, Majmâ‘a-e-
6. Yûsuf Husain, Nizâmul Mulk Āsaf Jâh, p. 51. Āzâd Bilgrâmî, Khażâna-e-
Life and Works of Bedil

Even the children of the family had grown intimate with Bedil. Whenever Bedil took up pen and paper for writing something, and Mir Mubarakullah, son of Mir Shākir Khān, was seated near, innocently the boy would snatch away the paper, at which Bedil's heart was filled with pleasure. When he was away, Bedil felt his absence and the boy's endearing ways were brought to his mind. At one time Mir Karamullah was in straitened circumstances, and Bedil gave him 200 gold coins, which had been presented to him by Nawāb Zulfiqār Khān. When in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.), Mir Karamullah Khān died, Bedil was extremely bereaved and he kept weeping for a long time. Mir Karamullah Khān, we know, was a pupil of Bedil and wrote verse in Bedil's style. The Mir left a Diwān. Bedil once remarked that Mir Karamullah had excelled him in writing poetry.

Now I give below, again one by one, the names of those poets who came in contact with Bedil during the reign of Bahādur Shāh.

1. Ni'mat Khān ʿAlī (d. 1123/1711), the famous satirist of those days. Whenever ʿAlī's name was mentioned by Bedil, he invariably said ʿHājī ʿAlī (Hājī, the satirist).

2. Shaikh Husain Shahrat (d. 1149/1736) was a friend of Bedil, and was known to him since the time when both of them were together in the service of Aʿzam Shāh. Shahrat used to compete with Bedil in versification.

3. ʿHājī Muhammad Aslam Sālim (d. 1119/1707) was a friend of Bedil, and used to write verse with him when both of them were in the service of Aʿzam Shāh. Sālim remained in the service of the Prince, and on his death arrived in Dehli and met Bedil. During the whole of his life Bedil never made a search for Diwān of any contemporary poet, but he arranged especially for Sālim's Diwān, and kept it with him for a few days.

4. Sayyid Jaʿfar Zatallī, the famous ribald poet of Bedil's times. Zatallī was in the service of Prince Kām Bakhsh in the Deccan and was dismissed for writing obscene poetry about his master. With the exception of Aurangzeb and Bedil none escaped his
scurrilous remarks. One night Zatali went to see Bedil with a maṣnawi in his praise. But as soon as Zatali had recited the first hemistitch:

Craig's emendation: Zatali went to see Bedil with a maṣnawi in his praise.

[‘Ur](f) and Faizi are quite insignificant before you]
Bedil gave him two gold coins, and dismissed him saying, “Thank you. I am an ordinary Faqir. Besides, I cannot bear such like remarks about master poets.” Khushgû and others requested Bedil to let Zatali recite the next hemistitch, so that it might be known how it was rhymed, but Bedil did not agree. On another occasion Zatali came to see Bedil when he was deeply absorbed in thought. Zatali enquired what line had been composed. When Bedil told:

لاِذَ يُفْتَرُ بِهِ دُرَّ جُون دَارَ

[Why has the tulip a scar at its breast ?]
Zatali said, in his characteristic ribald way, “Why so much deep thought? Say:

چوَیک سَی سِب زَب کَرَن دَار

[As it has a small twig under its anus].”

5. Mir 'Azmatullah Bekhabar Bilgrami was a šufi poet who frequently met Bedil. Once, as narrated by Bekhabar himself in his Safina, Bedil recited his mystical verses only so long as Bekhabar was with him. Bekhabar praises Bedil for his good manners, elegant taste, and his zeal for mysticism.

6. Mir 'Abdul Jalil Wasti Bilgrami, a šufi poet. He and his son Sayyid Muhammad had meetings with Bedil. To this line of Bedil

حَيَّ نَارُ شِداَء کَنَّا ابَس چَرَاغُ بَا

[The life of the rider is made miserable by the restive horse]
Mr Wasti applied this (first line):

غَرَّ مِشْوِکَه ابَلَق ایام زَم تَسْت

[Don't feel proud that the piebald horse of Time has been tamed by you].

On another occasion, when a talk was going on about the mysticism of Bedil, the Mir inserted Sa'di's famous hemistitch in his own verses:

دن کِسی چِیزِ زیاد نِشان چِه گویش باز

مُمَّقِی در جواب خرُآن جلیل

بَلِد ازِ یِلِد بَز

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1. Mir Taqi Mir, Nikatul Shitar, p. 32; Qaim, Qiamud Din, Makhzan-e-Nikâl, p. 13; Khushru, in Ma'arif, May 1942, p. 366.
[Yesterday someone said that Bedil,
Has beautifully explained the secrets of mysticism.
Jalil recited a hemistich in reply,
"How can Bedil tell about the Inscrutable."]

7. Sayyid Ja'far Khān (d. 1154/1731) came to Shah Jahanābād during the reign of Shah 'Ālam and met Bedil.
8. Rāni was a Hindu pupil of Bedil.
9. Umādatul Mulī Naṣīh Amīr Khān Anjām (d. 1159/1745) was one of the pupils of Bedil.
10. Ḥāfez Muḥammad Jamāl Talāsh (d. 1127/1715) was a pupil of Bedil and adopted the takhallus on his suggestion. He was seen with Bedil in the reign of Shah 'Ālam. Bedil appreciated this couple:

골용 주드 향부과 감여을 카드 괴드들 레인을 망게로
도나트 동산 라스 되어 아즈 휴지드 레이

11. Mīrzā Suhrāī Raunaq Bedil recommended him to Mīrzā Na'im, the Bakshī of Bahādur Shāh, and remarked that Mīrzā Suhrāī Raunaq wrote elegant prose and fluent verse.
12. Qayyum Khān Fidāl, son of 'Āqil Khān Rāzi, was a poet and sent his verse for correction to Bedil.
13. Muntīm Khān Mun'im, the prime minister of Bahādur Shāh 'Ālam, and the author of Ilhānīt-e-Mun'imī, Makhṣafat-e-Mun'imī, etc. He was a friend of Bedil. It was he who requested Bedil, on behalf of Bahādur Shāh, to write the Shahnāma of the Mughuls.

With his old and new pupils, friends, and acquaintances, Bedil was enjoying life when his dearly loved son 'Abdul Khāliq, who now walked holding his father's fingers in his hand, died on the morning of 9th of Rabī' II, 1123 a.h. (May 15, 1711) at the age of 2 years, 9 months; and 8 days. Khusygī says that Bedil displayed unusual self-composure at that time. With a perfectly composed state of mind, Bedil made arrangements for the burial of the dead body of his only son, and accompanied the bier up to the door. People came for condolence and wept bitterly, but he would silence them by saying, "Friends, how strange! It is my son who has died, why should you people weep?"

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2. Ṣafī Bilgrāmī, Taṣkira-e-Jalwa-e-Khāṣ, 97.
3. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, Bāzma-e-Saghun, 18; Muḥaffal, Ḥaq-e-Surrazi, 9; Gardazi, Taṣkira-e-Rekhtia Goyān, 2.
4. 'Alī Ḥasan Khān, Suhb-e-Galshān, 90; Khudghū, in Ma'ārif, July 1912, p. 46.
5. Rugfet-e-Bedil, p. 65.
6. Ibid., pp. 5, 111.
AN IMAGINARY PORTRAIT OF BEDIL IN THE LIGHT OF THE HEART-RENDING ELEGY HE WROTE ON THE DEATH OF HIS ONLY SON 'ABDUL KHALIQ. — (COURTESY—HADIYA, KABUL)
Although Bedil bore this grief with apparent tranquillity, the overpowering anguish, he felt on the occasion, can best be imagined by a perusal of the incomparable heart-rending elegy which Bedil wrote on the death of his son. Only two (stanzas) out of the eighteen of the (poem) are given here:

[Alas! What lightning has struck.  
The grief of the Doomsday has afflicted my soul.  
Whatever strength I had, has gone.  
My child has left this world.]

In a playful manner he went to the skies,  
Whenever he walked a few paces,  
He held my finger like a staff in his hands for support,  
O God! What a standard has been held aloft terribly.  
Why did he take away his hand from my hands?  
How without me did he make the journey to the next world.]

There was yet another cataclysm which shook the foundations of the Empire. On 19th Muharram, 1124 A.H. (February 27, 1712) Bahadur Shāh, the Emperor, died suddenly at Lahore and his son Mu'izzud Din Jahāndar Shāh succeeded to the Peacock Throne after killing his three brothers in battles near Lahore. The enthronement

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[In the beginning he said:]  
[Wherever the poxes have thronged,  
Beauty has completely vanished.  
O God, save everyone from this danger.  
This hateful blister is fit for the feet not for the face.]  
And when the disease grew worse he wrote

[a poem]  
[O Fate, in view of the excitement in this tavern,  
That is having regard to the lamentations of the wise and the mad,  
Do not take my lamp out of the assembly, and  
Do not set a moth's dwelling on fire.]
of the new Emperor was acclaimed by Bedil in a grand poem of which only the concluding verse, bearing four choice chronograms, is given below:

[The text of nobility, the Lord of Time, the Guiding Star, realm bestowing,
World conquering, having a staff like Moses, world reducing,
and with a ring like that of Jamshed.]

During Jahāndār Shāh’s brief reign also Bedil commanded the same respect and popularity as before. We find Nawāb Zulfiqār Khān, the Wazīr of Jahāndār Shāh sending apples and pomegranates to Bedil from Lahore, for which favour the poet thanked him in a Qīṭā. But the reign of Jahāndār Shāh was marked by licentiousness. The Emperor showed boundless partiality for his concubine, Lal Kanwar, and her relatives, who were all musicians. Bedil soon got disgusted and wrote two poems describing the shamelessness and immorality of those days, and in one of them he prophesied:

[The shameless epoch cannot continue for years or months.]

The scales soon turned against Jahāndār Shāh, and on 15th Zul-Haj 1124 A.H. (January 13, 1713) he was defeated by his nephew Farrukh Siyar (son of ‘Aẓīmsh Shān) and was finally strangled to death. As the new Emperor had got the crown with the help of ‘Abdullāh Hasan ‘Alī Khān and Husain ‘Alī Khān, the renowned Barha Sayyid brothers, the former was made the Chief Minister, and the latter Amīrul Umārā.

It was now the year 1124 A.H. (1713 A.D.) and from Bedil’s point of view as an author, the year was very important, because in this year he finished his mystical Masnavī ‘Irfān, which, Khushgū says, Bedil had begun about thirty years before. In a letter to Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān I, Bedil himself had intimated that both the

1. Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, Ms. (Khāb Kāsh-e-Ma‘ārif, Kābul), f. 1045.
5. Ibid.
'Irfaq and the Ghahār 'Unsūr were being written simultaneously. We know Ghahār 'Unsūr was begun in or about 1095 A.H., and if Khusāṣgu’s statement is kept in view, we can say, 'Irfaq was commenced in 1094 A.H. (1682-83 A.D.).

During the present regime also, Bedil’s star was in ascendant. The Emperor, Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, at first inquired about Bedil’s health, and, on discovering that he would not seek an audience, the Emperor granted the poet Rs. 2,000 and one elephant. The money reached Bedil but, as none of his agents went to bring the elephant, the greedy imperial servants took it to their own use. Shād ‘A‘īmābādī writes in his Nava-e-Watan that, the Emperor, Farrukh Siyar, copied Bedil’s verses with his own hand in his anthology, and many times quoted Bedil in his letters and orders. Bedil, too, highly esteemed these regards of the Emperor and in a fragment congratulated him on his marriage and praised him for his justice. Qutbul Mulk Sayyid ‘Abdulla Khān Barha, the Chief Minister of Farrukh Siyar, who had the Manṣub of 7,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry, twice or thrice sent for Bedil, and, as soon as he saw Bedil arrive, he used to leave his chair and run forward to receive the poet-saint. He would then embrace Bedil and would also leave his Maṣhab for him.

Amirul Umara Ḥusain ‘Alī Khān, the younger Barha brother, who possessed great energy and resolution, had been on good terms with Bedil since a long time, and used to send his verses to him for correction. One day the Amirul Umara was riding through the bazar and Bedil also was going to some place. The Amirul Umara could not recognise Bedil, as he had shaved his beard and moustaches, and was wearing on his head the Susi cloth, which he sometimes used instead of a turban. Mirzâ Bedil also could not greet him on account of inattention. When the Amirul Umara got sure that it was no other than Bedil, he went to the poet’s house, and took him away in a palanquin to his own residence. There he kept Bedil with him for two or three days, and gained much in his company. At the time of departure, the Amirul Umara made a present of Rs. 3,00,000 in cash

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3. Khaliyāt-e-Bedil, Mss., Ma‘ārif Library, Kābul, f. 1036. The opening verse is: 

5. Khurṣūd, in Ma‘ārif, May 1942, p. 357
7. Qāsim, Majmu‘-e-Naghz, p. 117.
and kind to Bedil which he was good enough to accept. But after a while, to maintain the honour of his Faqr (mysticism), very wisely Bedil said to the Amirul Umara, “You know there is no room for these rich gifts in my humble cottage. I cannot find a depository for them better than your good-self. I, therefore, entrust everything to your care. Whenever I shall need them, I will request you for their return.” Moreover, when the Amirul Umara was in the Deccan as viceroy, Mirza Bedil wrote to him a letter and made the following inquiries in a charming manner:

[O, the ebriety of Nature’s cup! how do you do? Are you intoxicated with drink or after removing crop-sickness? Have you wine in the cup, flowers on the head, and cup in the hand? Are you the hue of the garden, a garland of flowers, or the bloom of the spring?]

An incident pertaining to Mir Jumla, whose original name was Qazi ‘Abdullah Turan, and who was a great confidant of Farrukh Siyar and held the Man Sab of 7,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry, has also been related. One day a scribe of Bedil came to him after seeing Mir Jumla Tarkhan. The scribe said, “Just now Mir Jumla was saying that he had today seen Mirza Bedil, whom Qutbul Mulk Sayyid ‘Abdullah Khan had invited several times. Mirza Bedil, he added, appears to be a perfect man, but he has a defect; and then pointed to the beard and the moustaches.” On hearing this, Bedil said, “Indeed, only a handful of hair, which he possesses and I do not, makes us differ,” and then he recited his verse:

As Bedil’s fame as a poet had spread abroad, more and more pupils were coming to him. Many new poets, other than those mentioned above, eagerly sought Bedil’s company. A brief and available account of all such lovers of poetry is given below.

1. Anand Ram Mukhlis (1111-1164 A.H.) was a learned Hindu
and author of several works. In his youth he was a pupil of Bedil, and for a long time he got his verses corrected by him. Bedil granted an autograph copy of his Divān to Mukhlīṣ. It has also been stated by Mukhlīṣ that the last leaf of the Divān contained a portrait of Bedil.

2. Muhammad Aḥsan Sāmī of Dehli was a pupil of Bedil, but on his death became the pupil of Shaikh Husain Shuhrat and entirely forgot what he owed to Bedil.

3. Gul Muḥammad Ma'nīyāb (क्षण ताज़र) Khān Shāʾir (d. 1157/1744) distinguished himself amongst the pupils of Bedil. After the death of Bedil, Shāʾir was the most prominent poet in Shāh Jahānābād. Bedil loved him very much and granted him a sword and a staff which he kept with him for a long time.

4. Shāīr-i-Faṣīh Afsāh (d. 1192/1778). He was a pupil of Bedil. His Persian Divān smacks of mysticism like that of his teacher.

5. Mirzā Muḥsin Zulqadr (d. in the reign of Farrukh Siyar). This poet used to compete with Bedil in versifying since his childhood. Mirzā Muḥsin was originally in the service of Prince Shuja', son of Shāh Jahān. Khushgū saw this poet in his extreme old age, when he was over ninety, in the company of Bedil. It means Bedil saw this poet in Patna, when Shuja' was making preparations for winning the crown for himself, and when Bedil also happened to be with the army of Shuja'.

6. Mirzā Mubārakullah Irālat Khān Wāzi (d. 1128/1715-16) was a pupil of Bedil. Anānī Rām Mukhlīṣ saw him with Bedil during the reign of Farrukh Siyar.

7. Sirajud Din 'Ali Khān Ārzū himself says that he saw Bedil twice in the beginning of the reign of Farrukh Siyar. He admits that he derived much benefit in Bedil's company. Dargāh Qulī Khān says that Khān Ārzū called himself a pupil of Bedil.

8. Mir Abūl Faiz Māst used to get his verses corrected by Bedil. After the death of Bedil he became a pupil of Shaikh Husain Shuhrat.

9. Mir Muḥammad Haštim Fardat Mūsī Khān was in the service.
October 15th, 1937

Life and Works of Bedil


10. Naqim Khan, the author of Tarikh Farrukh Shati, died in the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Shah. Once he invited Bedil to dinner. In the course of table-talk, Naqim Khan told Mirza Bedil that in the following verse he had employed too fresh a colloquialism:

\[\text{The rich man, who talks of mysticism, is false, because} \]

A rug is not woven out of the hair appearing in porcelain.] Mirza Bedil replied that he was not such a fool as not to understand the taunt implied. The Khan said again that the colloquialism in question had undoubtedly been invented by Bedil. At this Bedil said, "From amongst the classical poets, whom would you regard a better authority than 'Asjadi, Farrukh, Mu'izzi, Mas'ud Said Salmaan, Khwaja Salmān and other master poets, all of whom use the idiom?"

Naqim Khan was surprised and ejaculated, "By God, one, who has misgivings about Bedil's mastery of the language, is indeed an infidel." Naqim Khan thenceforward always had great respect for Bedil. Khushgū says that everyone who, like Naqim Khan, raised objections about the authenticity of the idioms used by Bedil, was similarly silenced by him during his lifetime. On the other hand, Khushgū adds, Shah Sadullah Gulshan often remarked that Bedil's rank in the literary world was so high that after a century or two the literateurs and philologists would quote Bedil as an authority.

I have so far given an account of those poets only about whom there are hints or unambiguous assertions to the effect that they came in contact with Bedil at some definite period of his life. There is, nevertheless, quite a good number of such poets, both pupils and friends about whom the Taqkira-writers do not give sufficient details, and I, therefore, cannot say definitely when they had intercourse with Bedil. These are:

2. Mir Muhammad 'Ali Rāīj (d. 1159/1737) of Sialkot, Hakim Chand Nudrat of Lahore, Amānat Rām Amānāt, Mehr 'Ali Bekas (a Qazīzāda of Mathura), 8 Mir Muhammad Ashraf Hasrat (an intelligent poet amongst the pupils of Bedil), Sayyid Absul Faiz Ma'rif of Shāh Jahanābād (a mystic poet), Sri Gopal Tamiz (d. 1147/1734), Sayyid Murtaza Qāni't, Mir Muhammad

1. Khushgū, in Mu'ārj-i May 1942, p. 369; July 1942, p. 44.

8. Perhaps Bekas met Bedil when he lived in Mathura.
Ma’sūm Wijdān, Muḥammad Fānāh Kāmil (Qābil), ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ijād (perhaps alive till 1135/1723), Mīrzā Ṣādir-ūs-Zamān Faṣlī, and Iṣmāʿīliyyah Qābil. Ghuṭār Nābī (ʿAbdullāh ?) Waḥdat was a contemporary of Bedil and followed him in writing prose and verse. Khwāja ʿAbdullāh Samī1 (d. 1150/1737) belonged to Lahore and had meetings with Bedil in Shāh Jābānābād. Mīr Rabī Waḥdat was a friend of Bedil and once sent him a ḫuqqa.2 And Ḥāfiz Aḥmad Rāshīd once wrote prose and verse in praise of Bedil and Bedil thanked him in a letter. The Ḥāfiz Shāhīn appears to be the illustrious father of Shāh Wāliah of Dehli.

We have seen how the poets, the nobles having the Mānsāb of 7,000, and even the Emperors paid homage to our poet. Rarely would a genius command so much respect in his lifetime. The secret of all this lies, in the words3 of Khushghū, in Bedil’s versatility, good manners, magnanimity, balanced temperament, cheerfulness, keenness of intellect, quickness of understanding, his noble etiquette, his superiority as a conversationalist, his generous dealings with others, and other virtues. His attainments as a scholar and as a poet, which have again been counted4 by Khushghū, contributed towards this greatness. Bedil was interested in Metaphysics, Mathematics, and Natural Sciences. He was well acquainted with the science of Medicine, Astrology, Geomancy (الجیوجی), Arithmancy (الجیوجی), History, and Music. He knew the whole story of Māḥābhārat by heart. His epistolary style was unequalled, of which his Ruqqāt are the best specimen. His qualities as a prose-writer are self-evident. Moreover, he was such a fertile and prolific writer that he could compose 500 verses in a day.

Above all, Bedil’s contemporaries were very much impressed by his mysticism. Khushghū says that Bedil had not only a thorough knowledge of mysticism but also practised it completely, and in this respect he was the Junaid and Bāyāzīd of his time. Khushghū adds that most of the problems of mysticism, which Rūmī expressed in his Masnāwī and Ibn al-ʿArabi in his Ḥujūf, were stated again by Bedil, most lucidly and with fresh similes; and Bedil’s regard for the Unity of God was so intense that, even while abusing others, he did not let the string of Unity slip from his hands.5 Mukhlīṣ calls Bedil a perfect gnostic and says that Bedil regarded mystical knowledge

4. Ibid., p. 112. Also, Rahim Baḥgā, Ḥayāt-e-Walī, pp. 111, 113, 149.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 368.
as the best and profoundest of all sciences. Sher Khān Lodhi, another contemporary, also eulogises Bedil for his mysticism. Similarly, Khān Ārzū, too, pays a warm tribute to Bedil as a mystic poet. Even Muḥammad Afzāl Sarkhus, his rival, has said:

"Bedil is the sovereign of his time, in point of mysticism and trust in God."

Also the nobles at the court regarded Bedil as a saint. Thus Bedil had combined in his person numerous virtues and attainments, which surprised his contemporaries, whether high or low, and they were irresistibly drawn towards him.

Bedil's fame was not confined to Shāh Jahānābād only. Even in his lifetime it reached the farthest corners of Hindustān, crossed the north-western border and reached Afghanistān and Central Asia, where it still persists. For some of the best and most authentic manuscript copies of the works and Kulliyat of Bedil we have now to look to Kish (Shahr-e-Sabz), Bukhārā, and Kābul. In those countries many poets sprang up who took pride in imitating Bedil. In lands beyond the Oxus, Akmal Khqandī, Adā Samarqandī, and Šādīq Munshi made themselves prominent in this respect. In Afghanistān, ‘Ājīz Afghān,9 the court poet of Timur Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh Abdāl, copied the style of Bedil, in prose and verse, in form as well as in spirit, so thoroughly that he has been

1. Mukhlīs, The Page Written in His Hand, Mss. f. 1.
2. Sher Khān Lodhi, Mir'ātul Khayāl, p. 383.
3. Khān Ārzū, Majma'ūn Nafāsī, Mss. f. 56.
5. For instance Niẓāmul Mulk.
7. (a) In Kābul Museum:
Ms. No. 202, Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, copied in 1147 A.H. (only fourteen years after the death of Bedil) in Kish, Shahr-e-Sabz, by the scribe Muḥammad Yūnus Khwāja, son of Bābā Khwāja Khātī.
(b) In Kitāb Khāna-e-Ma'ārif, Kābul:
Ms. No. 503/9, Kulliyāt-e-Bedil, written in Kish in 1242 A.H. by 'Abdul Luṭfī.
Ms. No. 504/9, Kulliyāt-Bedil, written in Kābul in 1309 A.H. by Ghulām Husain scribe.
8. Tuhfatuṭ Abhū ʻfi Taṣkīratul Abhū, pp. 116-17, 41-42, 162-64.
9. Kābul Magazine, August to November 1937 A.D.
called Bedil II. Similarly, we find Sardār Mehr Dil Khān Mashriqi (1212-1271 A.H.) who was a notable poet from this point of view. The cause of the popularity of Bedil, in Afghanistān and Transoxiana, are his mysticism, his dynamic philosophy of life and his perfect Indian style (سیکه هندی).

Having considered in brief why Bedil was regarded by his contemporaries, within Hindustān and outside it, with the utmost esteem, love, and respect, we should now pass on to our narrative. Bedil was now a very old man. In a letter to someone in Bihār, while incidentally expressing his hidden love for that province, he wrote that his faculties had collapsed, and his senses had almost ceased to function on account of old age. To Mr Shākir Khān he wrote:

[In counting the (fixed) number of breaths, some mistake has occurred, and, therefore, the life, which had ended, has started anew. Or the caravan of age has lost the way to Non-existence and inevitably the escort of breath has stopped on the narrow passage of lips.]

These remarks about his extreme old age were made by Bedil when he was suffering from fever. He wrote:

[The tongue of the pulse of this feverish person moves continuously in prayer.]

In a letter to Nizāmul Mulk, Bedil intimated that he had been suffering from dysentery for full three months; and in a letter to Shukrullah Khān II, he mentioned several other ailments, and also expressed his intense wish that the question of his life and death should be decided one way or the other. This repeated indisposition and these feelings of dejection and disgust foretold that Bedil's end was drawing near. He had shown his preparedness for death even in 1123 A.H. (1711-12 A.D.) when in the courtyard of his house he raised a quadrangular mound for his tomb.

1. Kabul Magazine, November 1937 A.D.
2. Ibid, July 1937, pp. 91-93.
3. Rūq'ūt-t-Bedil, p.139.
5. Ibid.
On the one hand he had shown readiness and rather impatience to greet death cheerfully, and, on the other, he was anxious that his works, the fruit of his life-long labour, should have a safe voyage in the world. He got his Kulliyāt, comprising all of his works in prose and verse, and having in all 99,000 couplets, written in his lifetime. It had four hemistichs in one line, and weighed fourteen seers. When it was complete, it was weighed against precious metals and jewels which were given in charity. On that occasion Bedil said, "The Indians weigh their children against precious things and give alms to avert disaster. As Bedil’s issues are only these works, he prays to God for their safety and hopes the prayer will be granted.”

Bedil was in this way getting fully prepared for death when the political atmosphere darkened again. Relations between Farrukh Siyar, the Emperor, and his Chief Minister and the Amir Umara grew strained, because the claims of the Sayyid Brothers had become too preposterous to be acceded to by the Emperor, who, however, tried several times to patch up the differences. Ultimately the Sayyid Brothers imprisoned Farrukh Siyar in the fort on 9th Rabi’ II, 1131 A.H. (March 1, 1719). A needle was passed through his eyes, but it is reported he could still see. When two months later he tried to escape, he was strangled to death. As Farrukh Siyar was very popular with the common people on account of his profuseness and liberality, there was deep and universal sorrow at his cruel end, and Bedil wrote the following bitter chronogram on the occasion:

[Did you see how they behaved towards the noble Emperor? They inflicted on him a hundred thousand cruelties on account of folly:]

When I asked Wisdom for the date, it replied, ‘The Sayyids have been ungrateful to him.’]

The chronogram was very apt, and, therefore, soon got wind. The political atmosphere being overcast with faithlessness, Bedil thought:

2. Husain Dost says in his Taṣkira-e-Husaini, written in 1163 A. H., that in Kulliyāt weighed eleven seers. Sarkhush said much earlier that he weighed the works of Bedil which were more than fifteen seers. Husain Dost, therefore, speaks of some Kulliyāt which did not contain all the works of Bedil. See Taṣkira-e-Husaini, pp. 74, 374; Kalimābsh Khwāra, p. 14.
3. Ghulām Husain, Siyarul Muttakhkhirin, pp. 20, 30-40; Khāli Khān, Muntakhab Lushāf, II, pp. 791-820
5. Asād Bilgārim, Sarta-e-Āsād, p. 149.
it advisable to seek refuge in some distant place. He fled to Lahore where Nawâb 'Abduş Şâmad Khan1, the Viceroy of the Panjâb, treated him with the utmost respect. In the meantime Râfi'ud Darajût, and, at his sudden collapse, Râfi'ud Daulâ were crowned as Emperors. As Râfi'ud Daulâ, too, soon passed away, the King-maker Sayyid Brothers enthroned Roshan Akhter, with the title of Muhammad Shâh on 15th Zulqa'da 1131 A.H. (September 29, 1719). In the Deccan, Nizâmul Mulk was adding to his power against Amîrul Umarâ Husain 'Ali Khan and was defying his orders. Amîrul Umarâ, therefore, proceeded towards the Deccan, with Muhammad Shâh, to chastise Nizâmul Mulk but was killed in the way on 6th Zul Hijja, 1132 A.H. (October 1, 1720). Qutbul Mulk made desperate efforts to retain his position and crowned another Emperor Sultan Ibrâhim, but was defeated and then arrested and imprisoned.2 When the ascendency of the Sayyids was no more, Bedil returned3 to Shâh Jahânâbâd. As Husain 'Ali Khan was killed in Zul Hijja 1132 A.H. (October 1720), Bedil must have returned there in Muhaarram 1133 A.H. (November 1720). As Bedil had gone to Lahore about the middle of 1131 A.H. (1719 A.D.), we can say that he was with Nawâb 'Abduş Şâmad Khan for about a year and a half. On his return to Dehlî, Bedil wrote4 in a letter to Shukrullah Khân II:

[The adventure of Bedil baffles description.]

And in a letter to Nizâmul Mulk, after expressing gratification at the removal of difficulties which surrounded the grand Nawâb, Bedil wrote5:

[This well-wisher also was placed in a trying position but let the past alone.]

These expressions definitely relate to Bedil’s historic chronogram and his subsequent flight to Lahore. The wording points out that as the Sayyids tried to take revenge, Bedil sought refuge in flight. Bedil was, therefore, not unnecessarily afraid as Azâd Bilgramî implies6:

[Mîrzâ Bedil was afraid and went to Lahore]

1. Azâd Bilgramî, Sarw-e-Azâd, p. 149.
5. Ibid., p. 134.
It was in the beginning of 1133 A.H. (1720 A.D.) that Nizâmul Mulk established himself in the Deccan, and he then invited Bedil to that Peninsula. But Bedil, who had throughout led a life of contentment, did not accept this invitation and wrote in reply:

[If they give me the entire world, I would not budge a jot from my place, for I have applied the henna of contentment to my feet.]

This appears to be the last letter of Bedil, and it has not been included in the collection of his letters. After this his final illness seems to have overtaken him, and it appears that he had come from Lahore simply to die in Shâh Jahanâbâd.

He was down with typhoid fever towards the end of Muḥarram 1133 A.H. (November 1720). After four or five days the fever disappeared, and, thinking that he had recovered, Bedil took a bath on the 2nd of Šafr 1133 A.H. (December 3, 1720). On Wednesday the 3rd of Šafr there was a relapse of fever which remained for the whole of the night. Nawâb Ghairat Khân Bâhâdur, 4 Safâbat Jang, who was a friend of Bedil, was with him for the whole of that night. Sometimes Bedil swooned, and then came to himself. When he regained senses, he would burst into laughter involuntarily. The hopes of recovery waned at last, and at dawn the condition changed horribly. It was Thursday, the 4th of Šafr 1133 A.H. (December 5, 1720 A.D.) when six gharîs had passed after sunrise, that Bedil’s soul winged its way to Heaven. His sacred remains were buried in the courtyard of his

4. Khâfi Khân, Munâkhâbat Lubab, II, p. 901. This appears to be the same Ghâirat Khân who informed Quibul Mulk, Hâsan ‘Ali Khân, of the murder at Tora of Husain ‘Ali Khân, Amrul Ummâ.
5. Azâd Bilgrâmî, at page 150 of Sarw-e-Āzâd, says that Bedil died on Šafr 3, 1133 A.D. This date is wrong. Khuhgu, for his date of the 4th Šafr, has strangely been supported by a colophon given at f. 126 of the Manuscript Ruhâ’îyat of Bedil, completed on 9th, Rabî’I, 1133 A.H. There the scribe says that when he was writing the Manuscript in question, death of Bedil occurred on Thursday, 4th Šafr 1133 A.H. For this Colophon see Rieu, The Supplement of the Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, 212-2.

Moreover in The Bankipore Library Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, under No. 331; in The Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library, under No. 1676; and in The Ruhâ Library Catalogue, volume No. 1, under No. 410, too, the date of Bedil’s death is 4th Šafr, 1133 A.H. Khân Arzâ also gives this date in his Majma’un Nafâs, Ms. f. 56.
house, on the bank of the river Jamna, at the place specified by himself. Khushgū composed the following chronogram:

\[
\text{پر دنیا}
\]

[Sorry! Bedil concealed his face from this world.]

That pure essence slept under the earth.

When Khushgū asked the Intellect for the chronogram, It said, 'Mīrza Bedil departed from this world.'

When the dead body of Bedil was removed from his bed, his last compositions, a Rubā'ī and a ghazal, written in Bedil's own hand, were found under his pillow. The Rubā'ī is:

\[
\text{بیدل کف و سیاه پوشی نشیر مرسک سبک است بار دوستی نشیر}
\]

[Bedil, don’t be a black spot for the mourner, a trouble for his parched throat,

Die on the dust, and in the same manner be carried away by the winds. Your death is light. Don’t be a burden for any shoulder.]

What a noble sentiment! The ghazal had eleven couplets. Only the opening verse is given below:

\[
\text{بعد شینمی سیح این گلستان نساند خوش غبار خود را}
\]

[In the morning this garden shed the excitement of its dust in the form of dew.

[In our case] the perspiration flowed from the forehead like a torrent, but we did not perform our duty.]

The glorious rhyme of the ghazal, the perfect mastery with which the idioms and phrases are handled, and the profoundness of the truths

1. Hurain Qull Khan, *Mighttar-e-Ishq*, Ms. f. 206-b. In this *Taṣkira*, too, the case of Bedil’s death is Thursday 4th Safar 1133 A.H.

2. Khushgū, in *Ma‘arif*, May 1912, p. 374. In *Ma‘arif* for this month as well as for July 1912, we learn from Khushgū that Khān Ārzū’s chronogram was:

\[
\text{میشد کرده جناب سفین خرم رفت}
\]

that of ‘Atā was; and Sanat’s was 1179-46=1133; that of ‘Āṣā was; and Sayyidh’s was. The last two are numerically wrong, and I have failed to find out anything more about them. Azād Bilgrāmi’s chronogram:

\[
\text{میشد کرده جناب سفین خرم رفت}
\]

given at page 133 of his *Khasiān-e-Āmira*, though numerically correct, is the same as that of Khushgū. It is, however, worth consideration that Safina-e-Khushgū has not been included amongst the sources of *Khasiān-e-Āmira*, which was compiled in 1171 A.H. See its pages 3 and 7.

expressed, especially the emphasis laid on the development of Self; prove that Bedil’s extraordinary mental powers kept functioning properly right up to the last moments of his life. Khusgū says that, on the third day after the death of Bedil, he saw with his own eyes the paper, having the Rubā'ī and the ghazal, in the hands of Mirzā Muḥammad Sa’d son of Mirzā ‘Ībādullāh.

For a long time after the demise of Bedil, his death anniversaries were celebrated by his pupils and the other poets of Shāh Jahanābād. Kḥān Ārzū, who granted special interviews³ to people on each anniversary, as he considered himself to be a pupil of Bedil, gives a 4th Ṣafar as the date of these celebrations. But Dargāh Qūl Khān—an assistant of Nizāmul Mulk Āṣif Jāh—who visited Dehli in 1151 A.H., during the invasion of Nādir Shāh, says that the ‘Urs was celebrated on the 3rd Ṣafar. But as Kḥān Ārzū was himself one of the celebrators and the date of Bedil’s death is also 4th Ṣafar, we cannot agree with Dargāh Qūl Khān. It is just possible that as the poets of the Metropolis regarded the ‘Urs a most solemn occasion, initial activities began on the 3rd Ṣafar and the actual ‘Urs was celebrated on the 4th.

On that day illuminations were made by the people and food was distributed among the poor. The heavy staff of Bedil, which a strong man could carry with difficulty, even with both of his hands, was placed by the side of his tomb. The Kullāyat also was placed near by. It had the following quatrain in the beginning:

1. Read the following couplet of the ghazal:

بي خوئو شر نور، 
می کنندی جو سوی دریا که نور می خوردی
چه میر کرد آرزوی من بی گنجه که نوری ببر خود را
تو شخص آزاد بر فشانی قیامت است اینکه غنجه باینی
فزود خود داریت به زنگی که سنگ کردی شر از خود را

[Had you opened eyes to your own self, you would not have been a knot, like a wave on the surface of river.

Your desire for becoming a pea I was such a magic, that you changed your spring into a bud.

You are Freedom personified. Woe betide if you remain a bud.

Your self-respect has developed in such a way that you changed your sport into a stone.]

4. Kḥān Ārzū, Majma‘un Nafāsī, Ms. f. 56.
5. Dargāh Qūl Khān Murāqqa', 1; Āzād Bilgrāmī, Ḵẖazān-e-‘Āmirā, p. 223.
Ma'niyāb Khān Shā'ir, a distinguished pupil of Bedil, who helped the poet's relatives after his death, took prominent part in the celebrations. Muhammad 'Aṭā Ullah 'Aṭā, another favourite pupil of Bedil, was also very enthusiastic about the 'Urs. All the pupils and the other poets used to sit round the tomb, and a ceremonial opening of the proceedings was made by reciting a ghazal from Bedil's Kuliyāt. Then Ma'niyāb Khān Shā'ir recited his ghazal, as he had the foremost position among the poets of Shāh Jahānābād. Then other poets followed according to the descending order of their literary talents. It was always a very nice poetical symposium and all the participants experienced thrills of joy. Mirzā Muhammad Sa'id, being the son of a cousin of Bedil and therefore his nephew, was regarded as the spiritual successor (مجدده مشین) of the poet. He, therefore, made arrangements for entertaining the guests and for light on the occasion of the 'Urs. He was not a poet, but he made his living by selling the different electuaries (بساطین) and pills invented by Bedil, which had a good sale in Shāh Jahānābād.

Muhammad 'Aṭā Ullah 'Aṭā died in 1136 a.h. (1723 A.D.) but Ma'niyāb Khān Shā'ir lived till 1157 a.h. (1744 A.D.). Still there is evidence in support of the fact that the death anniversaries of Bedil continued to be celebrated even afterwards. Mīr 'Abdul Wali 'Uzlat—a poet from Surat—arrived in Shāh Jahānābād on 20th Jumada I, 1164 a.h. He took part in the 'Urs celebrations. It is clear that he could not do so before 4th Šafar, 1165 A.H. He says:

All the poets of Shāh Jahānābād had gathered on the occasion, and as usual they had brought the Kuliyāt of Bedil, which they opened in the meeting. Mīr 'Abdul Wali 'Uzlat wanted to find out if Bedil knew about their arrival. He opened the Kuliyāt and found the following Matla' in the beginning of the first page:

چه مقدار خون در عدم خورده پاشم كه بر خاکم آنی و من صرده باشم
[How grieved I feel in the other world, When you come to my tomb and I am dead.]
All those present saw this miracle (کرامت) of Bedil. The event narrated by 'Uzlat has been recorded by Āzād Bilgrāmī in his Ḳaṣāna-e-ʿAmira, which was compiled in 1171 A.H., and, while speaking about the Kulliyāt, which remained at the tomb of Bedil, Āzād says that he bought a copy of the ghaziyāt written in that Kulliyāt. This shows that the celebrations had continued till 1171 A.H., i.e. at least for thirty-eight years after the death of Bedil. The pupils of Bedil died one by one. We do not know when the death of Mīrzā Muḥammad Saʿīd, the Sajjāda Nashīn (spiritual successor) of Bedil took place, but it is certain that at his death, activities with regard to the 'Urs must have, at least, considerably slackened, if not altogether stopped dead. Ghulām Hamdānī Muṣṭafī compiled his Taqkira, 'Iqd-e-Surayja, in 1199 A.H. He says that at that time Bedil's house, which had the tomb of Bedil in its compound, was absolutely in a dilapidated condition. It means that long since this date the 'Urs had ceased to be celebrated. After this we learn about the death anniversaries of Bedil from Kabul where even in 1370 A.H. (1951 A.D.), the celebrations were held with usual solemnity in the house of Ḥāshim Shāiq Afandi, a professor of Persian in Kabul University, and eminent poets and scholars, like Ṣūfī Betāb, Khalifullah Khān Khalīlī, Dr. Ans, and Sarwar-e-Goyā participated.

Owing to constant neglect, the tomb of this great poet became unknown. We have seen above that when the twelfth century of the Hijra closed, Bedil's house was in a dilapidated condition. As there was none to look after the tomb, it must have disappeared, owing to the wear and tear of time, during the first three or four decades of the thirteenth century of the Hijra. Maulānā Ḥasan Nizāmī, author of several works about Dehli, wrote to me that when he translated the Muraqqa'-e-Dehli, by Nawāb Dargah Quli Khān, into Urdu, he mentioned therein that the tomb of Bedil was unknown. On reading it Maulānā Shāh Sulaimān Sāhib Phulwāri wrote to him that the tomb was in front of the Old Fort and in the vicinity of the tomb of Ḥāzrat Malik Nūr-ud-Dīn Yār-e-Parrān. The Maulānā went there. No vestige of the tomb was left, but he says he discovered the site. A request was then made to the present Nizām Āṣif Jāh VII, who remitted Rs. 2,000 and the tomb with a marble tomb-stone.

1. Āzād Bilgrāmī, Ḳaṣāna-e-ʿAmira, p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. 153.
4. Ibid., p. 16.
5. Aryan (Kabul) Magazine, p. 3.
6. Sayyīd Ahmad, writing about the tombs and buildings of Dehli about the middle of thirteenth century of Hijra (1847 A.D.), does not mention the tomb.
and a low enclosure of bricks was rebuilt. The inscription on it reads:

The tomb of Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir Bedil.
Date of death: 3rd Šafar, 1133 A.H.
[ Necessary repairs and constructions made in 1359 A.H., through the royal regards of His Highness Āḵūf Jāh VII, the ruler of the Deccan.]

The date of death as given in this inscription is incorrect. It should be 4th Šafar, 1133 A.H. Moreover, the house of Bedil, where he was buried at his death, was situated on the bank of the River Jumna, as stated by Husain Quţi Khan in Nishtar-ī-Isq; and outside the Dehli Gate and the City-Wall, in the quarter of Khikriyan by the Guzar Ghat (ferry), as stated by Khushgū. This authoritative description of the locality places the tomb of Bedil in the neighbourhood of Delhi Gate. But the Old Fort, where, near the tomb of Malik Nūr-ud-Dīn Yār-e-Parrān, Maulānā Ḥasan Nūrānī has discovered the site of Bedil's tomb, is at a distance of more than two miles from Dehli Gate. No doubt the River Jumna at one time flowed near the tomb of Yār-e-Parrān, and Bedil's tomb was also at the river-bank, but this alone cannot be a decisive factor in determining the situation of Bedil's tomb. Besides, the tomb of Yār-e-Parrān and also the equally famous tomb of Abū Bākār Tuṣī opposite it have existed since the days of the Khalji kings. But neither Khushgū nor Husain Quţi Khan has made any reference to these two very important tombs or to the Old Fort. Reference to Dehli Gate, therefore, shows that Bedil's house was nearer to this place than to the three almost contiguous historic places mentioned above. Finally, in Āsār-ūs-Sanādat by Sir Sayyid Ahmad, which was written in 1847 A.D., and also in the subsequent books: Gharābat Nīgār, Mazārāt-e-Auliya-e-Dehī and Wāqīʿāt-e-Dārul Ḥukūmat-e-Dehī no mention has been made of the tomb of Bedil. It is worth consideration that the last book in particular treats the subject exhaustively and mentions even the ruins.

1. Cf. the photo of the tomb attached.
2. Husain Quţi Khan, Nishtar-ī-Isq, Mss.
4. Sayyid Ahmad, Sir, Āsār-ūs-Sanādat, p. 47; 'Abdul Ḥaq, Gharābat Nīgār, p. 28.
of Dehli. \textit{Asār-us-Sanadid} also is of the utmost importance in this connection. Mirzā Asadullah Khan Ghālib\(^1\) (1797-1869 A.D.), who was an ardent follower\(^2\) of Bedil, wrote a review\(^3\) on the book. Had there been any vestige of Bedil's tomb in 1847 A.D., Ghālib must have asked Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan to mention it. It is, therefore, certain that absolutely no trace of Bedil's tomb was left by that time.\(^4\) In view of all this I am emphatically of the opinion that Maulānā Hasan Nizāmī has not been able to discover the right site of Bedil's tomb. A tomb, which, in spite of its indistinct shape, could be distinguished by Hasan Nizāmī in 1941 A.D. (1359 A.H.), could afford better visibility in 1847 A.D., i.e., about a century earlier. But we know Ghālib and Sir Sayyid Ahmad have not uttered even a single word about the tomb in \textit{Asār-us-Sanadid}. To locate the tomb, therefore, a thorough and scientific search is needed at the spot.\(^5\)

1. Mehr, Ghulām Rasul, Ghālib, pp. 1, 236.
2. \textit{Gulshān-e-Bahar}, in Springer, I, p. 229; Mehr, Ghulām Rasul, Ghālib, p. 334. Ghālib himself has said:

\[
\text{طرز بیدل میں ریختہ کہئید باؤد لپاتے،}
\]

\[
\text{اسدآئینہ بےوزار مثالی بات ہے}
\]

3. Sayyid Ahmad, Sir, \textit{Asār-us-Sanadid}, pp. 125-27. The following verse of Ghālib suggests that the tomb of Bedil had disappeared even before his (Ghālib's) times:

\[
\text{گر مسلہ حضرت بیدل کا خط لوح مزار اسد آئینہ بروا مثالی بات ہے}
\]

4. Ibid., p. 51. At this page Sayyid Ahmad seems to speak about the locality where Bedil's house was situated, but he has not mentioned the house or the tomb in question.

5. It may be noted that Dargāh Quil Khan places the tomb in the Old Dehli (Delhi Kāna), see Dargāh Quil Khan, \textit{Murqoppa'-Dehli}, p. 10.
WORKS
Bedil, we have seen, was very careful over the preservation of his works. Before handing them over to posterity, he weighed them against precious stones and pearls, gave alms, and prayed to God that his works be preserved. We know that the Kulliyāt, which was weighed in this way, remained at the tomb of Bedil for many years, and on every death anniversary the poets of Shāh Jahānābād placed it in their midst near Bedil's tomb and recited poems from it. But we do not know what happened to this Kulliyāt afterwards, nor whether now it does exist anywhere in the world or not. Moreover, not long after the poet's death in 1720 A.D. (1133 A.H.) the Mughal Imperial Government of Dehli had to pass through several vicissitudes until it finally ended in 1857 A.D. As for over a century, conditions were absolutely unsettled in Dehli, it appears that most of the manuscripts copies of his works were either destroyed or, with the exception of a few, they found their way to different European countries, especially England. Fortunately, during his lifetime, Bedil's fame had crossed the North-Western Frontiers of this subcontinent, and manuscripts of his works had reached Bukhārā and Shahr-e-Sabz, where the scribes made many copies and gave them a wide circulation. This explains why almost all the manuscript copies of his Kulliyāt, which exist in Kabul, have been imported from these two cities of Central Asia. From this account it appears that Bedil's prayer for the preservation of his works, was granted, although the original copy of the Kulliyāt, written under his own supervision, appears to have been lost.

1. Reference has been made here to the invasions of Nādir Shāh and Ahmad Shāh, the rebellion of the Rohillas and the Marhattas, and the conquests of the British.

2. For example, Kābul Museum Kulliyāt No. 33—having محمد أعظم زعيمات نهبه وجدت هجوم حيرت بهارستان جنون مسية اعتبار كليم بن نامه فللا طلسم حيرت خاموشى عرفن—was written in Bukhārā in 1235 A.H. by one Mulla 'Abdul Khaliq; and Kulliyāt No. 202—having تراجع بندر ربعيات جزيلات رضي بالله كيميات رساله غمخاس قصائد وقطاوان—has been translated by Professor J. F. Linschoten and published by the India Office.
A study of the printed catalogues, describing Persian manuscripts existing in various libraries of the world, brings to light some very important facts with regard to the works of Bedil. Some of his manuscripts were written during his lifetime, and some only a few years after his death. The Bankipur Library\(^1\) has a manuscript copy of the Masnavi Muhit-e-A'zam which was written in 1134 A.H. (1721-2 A.D.) only one year after the death of Bedil, by one Muhammad Wari ibn Muhammad Bāqir Siddiqi. Two copies of this Masnavi, written each in 1161 A.H. (1743 A.D.), which are older than the other known copies, are found\(^9\) in the Edinburgh University Library and the India Office Library.

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2. Ibid., No. 385.
5. Ibid., folios 707-a and 746-b.
Leaving aside these independent works found separately, we come to the Diwan or Kulliyat of Bedil. Its first copy was prepared towards the close of the eleventh century of the Hijra. Perhaps a manuscript of this Diwan, bearing the date 1098 A.H.—a copy of which remained in possession of Anand Ram Mukhlis, who obtained on it the autograph of Bedil—is found in the Habib Ganj Library. It has only 5,346 verses, and specimens of all types of verse have been given. Another copy of the old or first Diwan of the poet, having a Preface, Ghazals, Qasidas, and Ruba’is, is found in the India Office Library. This copy was finished on the 15th of Zulqadra, A.H. 1106 (May 13, 1693). It is not known whether these two copies of the old Diwan are identical or not. The Bankipur Library has a Kulliyat of Bedil, in two volumes, which was written only one or two years after the poet’s death. It is said to contain complete prose and poetical works of Mirza ‘Abdul Qadir Bedil. It contains:

**Volume I.** Chahat ‘Unsur, Ruq’at, Preface to the old Diwan, Qasidas, Qit’ahs, Ruba’is, etc., Satirical Ruba’is, and Ghazals.


But if the chronological priority of Bankipur Diwan is set aside, I would attach equal importance to the Kabul Museum richly adorned and elegant Diwan of Bedil, written by Muhammad Qasim Ibn Mullah Shafi’i Ullah in 1247 A.H. (1831-2 A.D.) because, although it does not contain تہیہ المیہشن and تہیہ المیہشن, it has Nikai and Isharat of Bedil, of which the Bankipur Diwan is bereft.

But this does not mean that these two Diwans put together contain all the prose and poetical works of Bedil. Much would still be wanting. The Masnavi Gul-e-Zard, about which Bedil wrote to Nawab Shukrullah Khan, has not been mentioned and unfortunately all the catalogues are silent about it. Besides, the Diwan in the Panjāb University Library has 29 Mukhammadat of Bedil, which have not been given in the above-mentioned Diwans. But the Panjab University Diwan, too, has not got the Mukhammadat beginning with the following lines:

اِنْ خَیْرِهِ سَرَى چَنَّدِ كَهْ نَتْنَى حَالِ وَ نَتْنَى أَلْدِ
السَّلَامِ عَلَى مَسْرُوْشَانَ جَامِ اَنْبَلِ طَرْبِ
أَيْ اِنَّ عَدْمَ نَا حَسِيِّ عَلَى نَفْسِهَا ِبَرْكَانُهَا

1. Mas‘ul, for January 1934 A.D.
2. India Office Library Catalogue, Ms. No. 1676.
5. Bedil wrote that he had written 150 verses of the Masnavi. I think it was incorporated by him in his Tur-e-Ma’rifat. I base my opinion on the following hemistich found in the latter:
I found three Mukhammasāt in the Diwān in Ma‘ārif Library, Kabul, written in 1309 A.H. (1891-2 A.D.) by Ghulām Husain Kābulī. This brings the number of the poems of this kind to 32, but when I was in Kābul, Professor Hāshim Shā‘īq Afandi told me that he had counted 45 Mukhammasāt. The Ma‘ārif Library Diwān, mentioned just now, contains some more additional material. It has a Tarkī Band, Tarjī Band, Riddles, and verses in praise of the elephant, the horse, the beloved, the sword, and Shab-e-Barāt. Both, Khushgū and the author of Gul-e-Ra‘nā, have included almost all of these in the works of Bedil. Moreover, in this Kābulī Diwān, there are 65 verses by Bedil in the Turkish language. I give only one verse from the Qasīda:

We should not be surprised to learn this because we know already that Bedil knew Turkish. Also Khushgū speaks about an Anthology (bi‘ād) compiled by Mirā Bādil which has been described by Dr. Rieu in the catalogue of the British Museum, London. Moreover, Bedil himself speaks about another work on Geomancy, called Tilīf ul Ahkām. No biographer, however, has mentioned anything about this work, although Khushgū has stated that the poet was well versed in the Art. This compilation, too, like the Ma‘navi Gul-e-Zard, seems to have been lost. Finally, both Khushgū and the author of Gul-e-Ra‘nā, tell us that Bedil composed about, 99,000 verses and they state that Ma‘navi Muḥi‘et-e-‘A‘gam of Bedil contains 2,000 verses only. But in the Edinburgh University Library there are

1. Ma‘ārif Library, Kabul, Ms. No. 504/9 folios 1031, 1042, and 1082 respectively.
2. It contains:
   أوراق جمل ونعل وساقب وتركيب بنك أوراق ند تعرف فبل
   أوراق حكاجت در علم كن شمسة أوراق در تعرفدن ود كلام مقنع وتمي فأصبة أوراق تراجع بند
   أوراق در تعريف شمسة أوراق غزليان أوراق قيعدة
   أوراق تراجع تولد غزل ورعيين يب فن أوراق رياصات أوراق ذرف مفت
   شب برات وعمرات وتاريخ ونفقات أوراق سموا وچیستان رياصات يهيبت
   تنزيف وحمخاس وریاسات

6. Page 44 supra.
8. Rieu, British Museum Catalogue, t. 737a-b.
11. Foot notes No. 3 and 4 above.
two manuscript copies of this *Mashnavi* and one is larger than the other. In the Punjab University Library, too, there are two copies of this *Mashnavi*, of which each has about 6,000 verses; and the one I saw with Hashim Shah Ali Aftabi in Kabul had also an equal number of verses. It is thus apparent that Bedil's works are scattered all over the world, and that no manuscript *Kulliyat* of Bedil contains his complete prose and poetical works.

Incidentally, it would be of particular interest to the admirers of the great Urdu poet Asadullah Khan Ghalib, that, in the Panjab University Library, there is a manuscript having Bedil's *Mashnavi Tur-e-Ma'rifat* and *Muhit-e-A'zam*, which were for some time with Ghalib. The *Tur-e-Ma'rifat*, on its first page, above the seal impression of Ghalib, has the following couplet in his own beautiful cursive hand:

اِزِنَ سَحْيَةُ بِذَرٍّ تُذُبْرِ عَرْقَتَ فَمَرْقَتَ أَسْتَ

*From this treatise a wide range of mystical knowledge is revealed in such a way that*

[Every atom is luminous like the mount Sinai of knowledge (طور معرفات)].

Similarly, the *Mashnavi Muhit-e-A'zam* has the following couplet:

هَرْجَابِي رَأَى كَهْ مَوِجَشُ كَلْ كَنْدَ جَامِ جَمَّ أَسْتَ

[Every bubble that rises from the wave is the cup of Jamshid and the Water of Life is but a streamlet from the (Great Ocean).]

The seal bears the date 1231 A.H. (1815-6 A.D.).

So much about the manuscripts. Now we should take up the published works of Bedil. As far as I have been able to discover, the *Rug'at* of the poet were published, with marginal notes, in Hasni Press, Lucknow, in 1260 A.H. (1844-5 A.D.) in the Nawilikshore Press in 1297 A.H. (1875-6 A.D.) and in the Ahmadi Press, Shahu-dara (Meerut). His *Chahar 'Unsur*, too, was published, in the last mentioned press in 1278 A.H. (1861-2 A.D.). Dr. Eche says that the old or first *Diwan* of Bedil, together with *Qasas* and *Rafayat* and *Kita'eb*, was lithographed in 1287 A.H. (1870-1 A.D.), at Lucknow, under the title *Kita'eb Bedil*. This was perhaps re-published in the Nawilikshore Press.

1. *Edinburgh University Library Catalogue, Ms. No. 315.*
2. *Panjab University Library, Ms. Nos. 3224 and 3226.*
3. Ibid., Ms. No. 1525. Khwaja Is'adullah Akhtar also gives these verses of Ghalib in his book *Bedil*, but as he got everything relating to these verses from the author of this work, the original source has been given here.
in 1292 A.H. (1875-6 A.D.), because it contains all the prose and poetical works of Bedil mentioned by Ethc. The Ghazil sat were published: in Shāhādara (Meerut) in 1170 A.H. (1756-7 A.D.), in the Nawilkishore Press in 1914 A.D., in Tashkand in 1830 A.H. (1912 A.D.), and in Lahore in 1332 A.H. (1915 A.D.). The last two are identical, and besides the Ghazal sat they have also the Qas'īd and Rubā'īyat. The Shāhādara copy has only Ghazl sat, while the Nawilkishore one has in addition Nikāt as well as a number of Rubā'īyat, and it is said that its original was brought from Bukhārā, in manuscript form, by some traders. All the Diwāns mentioned here have only selections of Bedil’s Ghazal sat. The Kulliyāt too does not contain many important works. I would, therefore, like to discuss at length the two most important editions of Bedil’s works.

Two traders, Mukhtar Shāh and Mullā ‘Abdul Ḥakim, once came to Bombay from Marghānā, a famous town near Farghāna in Transoxania, and brought with them a unique manuscript copy of the Kulliyāt of Bedil. They requested Mullā Nūr-ud-Din, the proprietor of the Safdar Press, Bombay, to arrange for the publication of the Kulliyāt. Mullā Nūr-ud-Din undertook to do the needful with the keenness and enthusiasm rarely shown by publishers. He collected the works of Bedil from every land where they were found (جاهز دیاریز مکمل کلام ندل ہائی فرم امر کردن). Eminent scholars of Persian were employed to collate the manuscripts and to correct the proofs. The calligraphist, Sayyid ʿAlī Khan, who wrote the transcript, had a beautiful Nasta’liq hand. The Kulliyāt was brought out in 1299 A.H. (1881-2 A.D.) and, as claimed:

it is really matchless. Whether it turned out to be a commercial enterprise or not, there is no denying the fact that the publishers rendered a great service to Persian literature.

The Kulliyāt is 13½ X 10 inches, four columns to a page for poetry. The maximum number of verses which a page can have is 72, 60 in the four columns and 13 on the margin, and the number of pages is 1,032. It has, therefore, not less than 70,000 couplets. No other known copy of the Kulliyāt of Bedil, whether manuscript or published, has so many couplets. Moreover, with the exception of poems on love, poetry, Turāk tahmāb, verses in praise of an elephant, etc., every other work of Bedil is included.

2. Kulliyāt-e-Safdar, last but one page at the end of Qīfāt.
3. Yaqūt, Mī’jamul Baladān, v. 8, p. 27.
4. The first two are perhaps lost, and, as far as I know, no Kulliyāt has all the poems together. As regards the rest of the works these introductory remarks tell a lot.
in this Kuliyat. Also I found that in it the Ma'navi Muhitt-i-Din has only 2,000 verses and not 6,000 as some manuscripts of the Ma'navi contain. The number of Ghaziyat and Qiyat too is less. In spite of these drawbacks it is, as I have remarked, far better than any other Kuliyat of Bedil.

At the end of the Kuliyat a brief biography of the poet has been given. We are told that he belonged to the Arjars tribe of Mughals, and that he was born in 'Azimabd, Patna. Other details too corroborate our researches. There is also a concise but instructive review on Bedil's verse.

Now I turn to the other Diwan of supreme value typed in Arabic script, with meticulous care, in Kabul in 1334 A.H. (1916 A.D.), at the behests of Amir Habibullah Khan. It consists only of ghazals, and is 13 x 13 inches. It has 232 pages, with 4 columns each except when there is a ghazal with a longer metre, and then there are only two columns. The average number of couplets to a page is about 82. The Diwan, therefore, has about 20,000 couplets in all. But the ghazals given in it go only up to the letter 'd' (dal). It is hence an incomplete volume, and probably remained so owing to the sudden and unfortunate end of Habibullah Khan. Still it is an invaluable edition. Its characteristic features are:

1. The Diwan has been arranged in alphabetical order keeping in view both the opening letter and the last letter of each ghazal. It is, therefore, very easy to search out a ghazal when its first letter is known.

2. The Diwan has the greatest number of ghazals under each letter. For example, in Kuliyat-e-Safdar under 'radif Alaf' there are 204 ghazals, while this Diwan has 335.

3. Every ghazal in this Diwan has the largest number of couplets. We take the ghazal beginning with:

\[ \text{ژیه نظاره را از جلود حسن تو زیورها} \]

The Kuliyat-e-Safdar and the Lahore Diwan have each 7 couplets in this ghazal. The Nawil's Diwan has 11, and the Diwan under discussion has 15.

4. In the case of several ghazals, having the same metre and rhyme, overlappings are observed in other Diwans but not in the Kabul Diwan. In Kuliyat-e-Safdar there are three ghazals of the metre and rhyme:

\[ \text{ژیه نظاره را از جلود حسن تو زیورها} \]

The first two have the same opening verse, and the second and
the third have the same concluding verse. Moreover, several other couplets have been repeated in all the three ghazals. The Kabul Diwān has also three ghazals, but it is absolutely free from this defect.

5. In the ghazals of the same metre and the same rhyme, the Kabul Diwān has the largest number of verses. In the aforesaid three ghazals, this Diwān has 43 verses, while the Kulliyāt-e-Safdari has only 33.

6. The hemistiches of verses in some cases have been interchanged even in Kulliyāt-e-Safdar and the verses, therefore, become meaningless. In the Kabul Diwān this intermingling too has been avoided. The following verses of both the Diwāns may be studied side by side:

**Kulliyat-e-Safdari**

نيست میں رنگ را بابوی گل آیخین
کمار آندر نرسی، پستان زن نازاده را

ساز خست نیست یبدل بی درشتھنی طبع
کم سن کگرد ککورت داسن آزاده را

**Kabul Diwan**

نيست میں رنگ را بابوی گل آیخین
کمار آندر نرسی، پستان زن نازاده را

ساز خست نیست یبدل بی درشتھنی طبع
کم سن کگرد ککورت داسن آزاده را

7. Last but not the least, the Kabul Diwān has more often the most correct form of each verse. The following verse in both these Diwāns may be compared:

**Kulliyat-e-Safdari**

سر سوداتی ما زا غم دستار کي باشد
کہ مچھول غنچه از بروت بٹولان سی رود سرها

**Kabul Diwan**

سر سوداتی ما زا غم دستار کي باشد
کہ مچھول غنچه از بروت بٹولان سی رود سرها

Everyone would agree with the aptness of the word ِبید in the Kabul Diwan.

Without minimising in the least the value of Kulliyāt-e-Safdari, I would hold that the Kabul Diwān is the superior-most publication of Bedil's Ghazals. But it is most unfortunate that political cataclysms did not allow this task to be completed.
We have considered above the manuscripts and the published Diwâns of Bedil in detail. It is, therefore, appropriate at this stage to give in one place all his works. Besides the two pamphlets and Ṭalâb al-ḥakâm, which have been apparently lost, the verse of Bedil consists of:


And his prose consists of:

I would discuss all these works in the following order:

Chapter IV. Ghazliyât.


Chapter VI. Qaṣâʿid, Quatrains (including poet’s facia), Mukhammasât, Tarkib Band, Tarjî Band, Fragments, and Riddles.

1. Under Persian Books, a work by Bedil has been mentioned in the Catalogue of the India Office Library. It is the story of Râmsûna versified by some other Bedil and has been lithographed in Lucknow in A.D. 1875. In the Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum, Edwards speaks about a work: كتب مشتاق لعنة ظاكرین بيدلل, lithographed in Teheran, in A.D. 1853-64, in three volumes. It is a history of Husain and other members of the Prophet’s family, and illustrated. Muhammad Ḥusain Aẓâd too, in Nigarîstân-e-Fâris, has mentioned a similar book named موجاس ایدل. But I don’t think Bedil ever wrote such like books. Doctor Ethe also speaks about another mystical poem by Bedil which is without a title and deals with love, the lover, and the beloved, in the metre شوق. I saw a poem of this nature, dealing with these very subjects, in Kâbul also. It is given towards the end of a Bedil’s Kulliyât, but it is in the metre شوق. Its author is some Mudrit, and hence the poem’s title has been given رسالت شوق. As regards the Masnavî spoken of by Ethe, I cannot say anything definitely because I have not seen it. For references see:
Aẓâd, Muhammad Ḥusain, Nigarîstân-e-Fâris, p. 180.
Ethe, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, No. 1676.

Kulliyât-e-Bedil, in Maʿrif Library, Kâbul, Scribe Mirzâ Muhammad Aẓâd son of Muhammad Amin.
Chapter VII. Prose Works: *Chahär 'Unsür*, *Raq'iät-e-Bedil*, *Nukät*, *Bidaż* (Anthology), and Prefaces.

Chapter VIII. Bedil's personality and poetic genius.

The verses about *Shab-e-Barā*: are not available in the Panjab, and I have already given a verse in Turkish language as a specimen. Hence these will not be discussed.

Before closing these introductory remarks I wish to guard against a possible misunderstanding. While going through the contents of different *Divāns* of Bedil found in the world, one comes across certain names of his works which have not been included in the list of the works given in the two preceding paragraphs. This does not mean that they are of spurious character. The fact, however, is that Bedil himself incorporated those pamphlets, etc., in one of his works or the other. Thus, *Tans-e-Wadāt*, *Fawā'id Qānūni*, *Sāna'a Aghtār*, *Hujjat e-Wādi* and *Dūr-e-Parāsān*, spoken of in the Kābul Museum Kulliyāt No. 33, can be seen in the Third Chapter of *Chahär 'Unsür* and in the *Raq'iät*. Moreover, the Kābul Museum Kulliyāt No. 52 speaks about a *Maṣnawi* by Bedil. This too has been given in toto in the *Maṣnawi* *'Iršād*.

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3. *'Iršād*, *Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī*, pp. 14-25. Its first and last verses are:

    ای حذف یا شعور اسم و صفات قدست خیرت تندس ذات

    کرم مبارک جا لسائنه سے کوئی نہ مبتین، لا اله الا الله
CHAPTER IV

Ghazal of Bedil

Bedil appeared at the stage when ghazal, the sweetest form of Persian poetry, had passed several stages in its evolutionary process. Originally, a part of the Qasida, it assumed an independent position later on, and in the hands of Rūdaki and Daqiqi it was confined simply to earthly love. The social and cultural conditions began to change gradually and, with the passage of time, mysticism became popular in Muslim lands, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era Sa'ādī, Rūmī, and Ḥāfiz introduced the mystic element into Persian ghazal. As these poets were inspired by Divine Love—a purer and more enduring passion—ghazal assumed a sublimity and sweetness unknown before. Sa'ādī (1184-1291 A.D.), the well-known master of ghazal, sang about Divine Love, using common similes and metaphors, and in such "a soft, refined, musical, and melodious way" that his lyrical poetry became universally popular in Muslim countries. It was Ḥāfiz (d. 1389 A.D.) in particular who imparted much-needed fervour and burning passion to ghazal and, like Rūmī, expressed in it his metaphysical views freely and very sweetly. This philosophic element got a further impetus from the Şafawi Dynasty (A.D. 1500-1736) which took special pains to popularise speculative studies.

When the scope of ghazal had been amply widened by these ardent poets, and, due to the changes in the cultural outlook of the people, erotic love, mysticism, philosophy, and moral and social values had become the subject-matter of ghazal, Bābā Fīghānī of Shīrāz (d. 925/1519) created a new School of Poetry in the beginning of the Şafawī Period and poets followed him not only in Iran but also in India. Fīghānī introduced conciseness and a novel intricacy with

2. For Rūmī, see 'Abdul Ḥakim Khalifa, Metaphysics of Rūmī. For Ḥāfiz see Shibli, Shi'rul 'Ajām, V, pp. 31-33.
3. Ibid., p. 57.
greater emphasis on freshness of similes and metaphors. This school of Poetry was called تازاغیل in India ‘Urfi, Naqiri, Zuhri and other poets followed Fighani; and this new element, in the hands of the Indian poets, evolved a unique finesse and subtlety, not only in thought but also in expression. When Bedil was a child, Ghani Kashmiri (d. 1079/1668-9) and Safi (d. 1080/1669-70) were further developing this Indian style in Persian verse, and they were very enthusiastic about original conceits, poetical etymology, and aptness of illustration — figures which require lofty imagination and larger exercise of intellectual effort.

Bedil inherited all those trends in Persian Ghazal; the evolution of this class of Persian verse was before his mental eye as a single developing creative process, and he, therefore, did not select for imitation any particular group of poets representing a particular style. This endowed him with comprehensiveness and a balanced attitude of mind. In him, therefore, we find elements of all styles and of all schools of thought prevalent in Persian literature. A man of fastidious tastes, and a voracious reader, he began his studies with Rudaki and ended with Mullâ ‘Ali Rażâ Tâjallî — his contemporary, though much older in age. All the great poets of the intervening period, who left their mark in Persian literature, were eagerly studied by him, and in many cases he followed them not only in form but also in spirit, and we shall see that ultimately, after a successful imitation of the master-poets, he developed an original style on account of the loftiness of his thought and the vigour and originality of his mind.

We know, when Mirza Qalandar, Bedil’s uncle, heard two teachers of Bedil exchanging hot words between themselves, in the course of a discussion, he asked Bedil to leave the Maktab for good and to study the works of master-writers of prose and verse at home under his personal supervision. We also know that so long as Bedil was in Bihâr, he wrote verse in the style of classical poets. Researches have revealed the names of only a few poets he studied and followed because only scanty references are available. But if the references made by Bedil during the whole of his life are kept in view, and the accounts given by different Tazkirah-writers are minutely studied, we gather a fair crop of names which discloses Bedil’s profound indebtedness to the classical writers of Persian. Bedil wrote a quatrain, in the form of a dialogue, imitating a similar quatrain

2. Ibid., III.
3. See the succeeding paragraphs.
4. Page 10, supra.
5. Page 15, supra.
written by Rūdakī seven centuries before him. He showed his preparedness to quote 'Asjadi, Farrukhī, Muṭızal, Masʿūd Saʿd Salīmān, Khwāja Salīmān, and other classical poets, when once Nāẓim Khān objected to the use of the idiom Yavānī in Bedil's verse. He wrote his Maṣnāvī Irfān in the style of Hādīqā of Sana, and his famous Tārīqān in imitation of the equally reputed Tārīqān of 'Irāqī. In his Qasā'id Bedil followed Khāqānī, Amir Khusrau and others. Mir 'Azmatullah Bilgrāmī tells us that Bedil recited the following couplet of Khāqānī:

[When the neighbour heard my cries, he said, "Poor Khāqānī has to go through the ordeal of another night."]

when he (the Mir) had a meeting with him. For Anwārī, 'Attār, Saʿdī and Hafīz the following couplets of Bedil may be studied:

رلغ الآثار نسب جوهر یدنى مشکل است

ترجمة مروره دار معركة عطار شاش

ازکل ومسته نظم وثر معذب دائم

این طراوت در گلستان پیشتر دارد یبار

---


آباد برین که یاردی وقت سخر ترسبید ز که خصش که یبر

دند پنهن جه بوسه کجا چلی وبیر بلدنه جه غفلتبدون تیر

["Came to Me."] "Who?" "Beloved." "When?" "At dawn." "Was afraid." "Of whom?" "Of the enemy." "Which enemy?" "Her father." "I printed." "What?" "A kiss." "Where?" "On lips and breast." "Were they lips?" "No." "What then?" "Rabobes." "Their taste?" "Like honey."]

This quatrain, as we see, sung only of female love, but as Bedil was a mystic and was occupied with deeper thoughts, he spoke symbolically about matters of deeper significance:

ده خرن که ناکه در کجا خرن یک

دار از که زخور چرا از ستی باطل کنند که بار از که سر برد بدل

["Slept yesterday." "What?" "Dromedary." "Where?" "In the mire."

I made." "What?" "Cries." "Why?" "I thought of my destination."

I complain." "Against whom?" "Against myself." "Why?" "On account of my vain effort. Because fell." "What?" "Burden." "From where?" "From the head." "On what?" "On the heart."]

Khubgū adds that Sirāj-ud-Dīn Khān Ārzū liked Bedil's Rubā'ī very much.

2. Page 104, supra.


4. Ibid.

In these verses Bedil praises Anwari for his mastery over language pays tribute to 'Attar for his mysticism, eulogises Sa'adi for his graceful expression, and acknowledges his indebtedness to Hafiz for his thought-provoking poem. Again, Bedil compiled the gist of 'Attar's Tagkiratul Auliya, his poetical title owed its origin to an inspiring hemistich of Sa'adi, and he wrote ghazals in imitation of Hafiz. I give below a few selected verses from two ghazals, one by Hafiz and the other by Bedil, which show how far Bedil followed Hafiz.3

Hafiz

[If sword comes like rain in the street of that moonlike beauty, We have bent our heads. God’s will must prevail. I am a lover and a debauchee, how can I repent? God forbid. God forbid.

We also know the canons of asceticism; But there is no help with the perverse Fate. We are not acquainted with the priest or the holy man, Either a cup of wine or nothing else. O Lover! Don't grieve. If you want union, Take draughts of your heart’s blood at all times. Hafiz, you would not have been so much disheartened, If you had only given ear to the advice of the well-wisher.]

1. Page 26, supra.
2. Page 15, supra.
3. Sarkhush says in Kalimatash Shurara at page 15 that Bedil imitated a ghazal of Hafiz with a change in rhyme and quotes Bedil’s following verse in support:

The concluding verse of Bedil’s ghazal quoted here by me shows that it was written in Bedil’s old age. Although Sarkhush went on making additions to his Tazkirah till 1115 A.H., he does not appear to have seen this ghazal of Bedil. Her Bedil followed Hafiz, using his metre and rhyme.
How long can the straw guard itself against the flame?

In the good luck of the arrow (of the beloved's bewitching glances) there is instantaneous death.

The instrument of perfection has a hundred defects.

There are so many crescents before and after the perfect Moon.

My heart is a prey to love, and is ruled by none else, (that is) Allah's orders in Allah's land.

The world and the religion, doubt and faith have nothing to do here.

It is Allah and Allah alone that sways.

I fretted and fumed for ages and then changed into dust.

This passage equal to a pace was so many parsangs long.

Bedil, why should I weep on account of the disappointments of the old age?

Like that of the candle, my day from the very dawn was illumined.

There are yet two more classical poets who can be mentioned here. In his Muhit-e-Azam Bedil is found seeking inspiration from Rumi; while, Bedil's Tilism-e-Hairat is written in the metre of Jami's celebrated Masnavi Yūnis Zulaikha. Moreover, we know, whenever Nizamul Mulk went to see Bedil, books like Nafhat of Jami were presented to him by Bedil. With Jami the classical poets come to an end, and we note they number 15.

As regards the poets of the later period, whether followers of Baha Fighani or the others, we can say authoritatively that Bedil made his knowledge of Persian verse quite up-to-date. Ricou, while describing the anthology compiled by Mirza Bedil, says that it contains choice poems by a vast number of poets from the age of Khāqānī to the author's time. Several poets have thus been enumerated. Khusugi says that he learnt the Diwans of the Tazagū poets from
Bedil. Also it has already been remarked\(^1\) that Bedil mentioned many poets in the preface to his *Muḥiḥ-e-Aʿzam*. Most of them were Tāzagū poets, and I had occasion to speak about them in the beginning of the second chapter of this volume. From all these sources the names of the following additional poets have been gleaned:

- Hilāli (a poet of Bābur’s times), ʿUrfi (d. 999/1590-1), Zuhāri (d. 1025/1616-7), Zulāli (d. 1031/1621-22), Ťālib (d. 1036/1625-7), Jalāl Āṣr (d. 1049/1639-40), Shaidā (a poet of the times of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān), Qudāl (d. 1056/1646-7), Muḥammad Qulī Sālīm (d. 1037/1627-8), Sālik (a poet of the days of Shāh Jahān), Ḥakim Ruknā (d. 1066/1656-6), Sāmi: (arrived in India in the days of Aurangzeb), Mir Yāḥyā Ḵāshānī (d. 1074/1663-4), ʿṢāib (d. 1060/1650-70), Nakhsbāšī, ʿAbdu’l Ṭahā Ṭahdāt, Mūṣirī, Muhammad Saʿīd ʿAshraf (the teacher of princess Zebun Nisā); and Mullā ʿAlī Rázā Tajālī (d. 1088/1677-8).

The names of Niʿmat Ḵān ‘Alī and Irādat Ḵān Wazīh have also been given by Rieu, but they were contemporaries of Bedil, and already a detailed list of the contemporary poets has been given in the third chapter. Finally, to a discerning reader it would have occurred that Naẓīrī (d. 1023 A.H.)—a Tāzagū poet—has not been mentioned here. But I think the following couplet of Bedil:

\[
\text{دلیل متقصد ماسکه تانبیز بود}
\]

is an echo of this couplet of Naẓīrī.

At the end of this paragraph I like to give another couplet by Bedil which again shows his regard for ʿṢāib:

\[
\text{هویت آسان کرده بیدل پیش موژوانان هنر}
\]

Before the Indian poets Bedil easily made a pretentious claim,

That he will collect a few hemistiches and become equal to ʿṢāib.

We have seen above that the whole sweep of Persian verse, from Rūdaki down to his own times, was before Bedil’s eyes. Rieu tells\(^2\) that in his anthology Bedil has classed a vast number of poets according to the various styles of poetical composition. This shows that Bedil was fully conversant with the prominent traits found in the styles of each era and also of each poet. It is because of this

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1. Page 33, supra.
comprehensive and deep study of the masterpieces of Persian poets that Bedil has been able to combine in his verse all the good features of other master poets. Niaz Fatahpuri, a modern critic, writes that when we study Bedil we find in him all that is best in literature in such abundance that we need not study any other poet. This may be a hyperbolic admission of Bedil's greatness as a poet, but the fact remains that in his verse Bedil gracefully introduced all the salient characteristics of the great Persian poets. And, not content with what he had inherited from his predecessors, he made several improvements and enriched Persian literature in many ways. It was manifestly a gigantic effort, and he might have erred at some places, but this in no way detracts from the supreme value of the creative experience he had in his life. With this as background we proceed to consider Bedil's peculiarities as a writer of ghazals:

1. Linguistic elegance (حسن للغة). Bedil's concern for the most appropriate, colourful, and polished words was noticed in his lifetime by Shih Khan Lodhi and Khushgū. In our own times Niaz Fatahpuri, who has been quoted already, grows over-enthusiastic in his praise for Bedil's linguistic elegance. About this peculiarity, Bedil himself says:


[How can the mere boasts of the pearl approach the brilliance of your words?

Bedil, the tied words have no value here.]

I give below instances to show Bedil's mastery in this respect:


[Every petal in this garden has the writ of spring.
The world appeared from the scrapings of the gem of His Name's Love.]


[Whether the lofty sky or the humble atom, everything flutters its wings in longing for you.

You are the spring, and this elegant and graceful world is the nest for your manifestation.]

2. New compounds (تراكيب نازيه). Concern for linguistic elegance naturally develops into a love for new compounds. 'Urfit and Naqiri

were famous for coining fresh constructions. Bedil too enriched the language considerably by brilliant and graphic constructions.

Instances:

Notwithstanding the fact that Bedil has immensely enriched the language by his fresh compounds, some people of Iran as well as of India, object that here and there Bedil's compounds are uncolloquial. Azad Bilgrami admits that: A man of lofty nature alone can understand Bedil, but he joins these detractors, and says that in the following couplet:

Bedil's idiom is objectionable. Again Azad Bilgrami says that in the following couplet written by Bedil on the happy occasion of the marriage of Mir Lutfullah Khan:

the use of the word for the husband and the wife is not warranted. But Khan Arzu has justified such like innovations in his Dede-Sakkun. Khushgul, however, steers a midway course and says, "Granted that at the most about one thousand couplets of Bedil are objectionable from this point of view, but what about the rest? Can someone favourably compete with him there?"

3. Freshness of similes and metaphors. All the Tazagh poets showed taste and skill in finding fresh similes and metaphors. It is in the employment of these figures that Bedil's imagination is seen at its best. The following instances would suffice:

[What is this garden and its blossoming?
- Only oil spilt on the surface of water.]

[Farhad's heart is the splendour of the mountain's peak, And the head of Majnun is the flower in the Skirt of the Sahara.]

1. Shibli, Shi'irul 'Ajom, III.
4. *Division of verses*, having the same measure, sometimes mutually rhyming and at times rhymeless. This peculiarity lends sweetness, charm, and force and vigour to the verses, and is the result of perfect mastery over language. It is surprising that, in spite of these self-imposed limitations of rhyming parts and the measure, no superfluous word is found in Bedil's verses.

5. *Novelty of expression* (جاہت یان). By expressing common facts and ordinary ideas in a novel and unusual way, 'Ursli and Naziri had lent elegance and fascination to their verse. Also sublimer thoughts were expressed in this manner and maximum effect was produced. Bedil too excelled in this respect:

6. *Aptness of illustration* (شمالیہ). Šāib in particular had wielded this figure with great dexterity. In it some theory is advanced in the first hemistich which is supported by a very apt illustration in the second. This figure, therefore, can be usefully employed in didactic poetry and in establishing truths of eternal value. Šāib died\(^1\) when Bedil was twenty-six years old. During his youth, therefore, Bedil was breathing in the society which was all praise for this figure and hence his fondness for it. There are very few Ghazals of Bedil

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1. Page 32 supra.
Life and Works of Bedil

in which at least one or two couplets are not couched in this figure. Bedil calls a wave of subtlety:

"موج نازاکت می چکد
کرده ام رگنگ بخون هم لاغر تغ را"

[Bedil, out of every hemistitch of mine a wave of subtlety trickles down,
I have dyed the sword with the blood of a lean prey.]

This verse occurs in a ghazal which overflows with this figure. Three couplets of this kind may now be studied:

"از لوه سک دنیا اهل ترک آسرد اند
دام راه، تشنگان می باشند، امواج سراب"

[Those who have practised renunciation are reposeful in spite of the deceiving tricks of the world. It is the thirsty people who are ensnared by the waves of the mirage.]

"در بزگاه عشق، هر یک، هر مطالعه گرم چرگه شود، دود، جسته است"

[Into the assembly of love sensuality has no access. When the flame is hot in self-display, smoke leaps away.]

"زیر گردن، جون سحر دریک، نفس گردیدم یپر
می شود سوی، آسران زود در زندان سیف"

[Under the sky we grow old in a moment as the morning does. True, the hair of the prisoners turn quickly grey, in the prison.]

7. Poetical etiology. In this figure facts and events are interpreted in such a manner that our curiosity is aroused. Bedil's contemporaries were very fond of it. The following two verses are cited as example from Bedil's Ghazals:

"غمیست دل بنفلت، شوید گرید، می کند
این تمام، می چه چرذ، چرذ است"

[For long my heart has been weeping bitterly on account of its negligence. This black document is in fact the vernal compassionate cloud.]

"این چرذ تظیم، یرتگ، خم، ایروی، کیست
خیر است از قلب، رو گردانند، محرمها"

[For the elegant arch of whose eyebrows is there so much respect? I am surprised to see the Mihrábs of the mosque turning their faces away from the Qibla.]
8. Original and subtle conceits. Bedil is known for the success which his penetrating intellect attained in finding striking poetical thoughts. Azād Bilgrāmi says\(^1\) that from his early youth to the end of his life, Bedil consistently tried to produce ingenious thoughts. Sarkhūsh quotes\(^2\) Bedil saying that with him (Bedil) versification was synonymous to finding original conceits. In his ghazals Bedil makes numerous references about his amazing skill in finding original conceits; for example:

جینه کتر کلک پارناک معانی من چکر بیدل
توان تنمن زکا. ابر پهلو این تا و دانه‌نارا

یاد از فطرت ما تصر معانیست بلند
پایه داد به سخن از کریم، اندهشت، ما

سر گذارد بر دماغ یک جهان معنی تدمر
لغزشی کی خانه چتر، خرج از بیدا قول

معنی، برجسته شرایم نمی گنجم بلکن
همچون پری گل تکرر پیران عربان سرا

شستی عمرها هستی، کسین لفظ بدرازی
زخون کشته زمان غازه، شو حسن بمعان را

In these verses Bedil speaks boastfully about the grace which his conceits have. He claims that the grandeur of the ingenious thoughts in the world is simply due to his penetrating genius, and that he is so prolific in this respect that even a slip from his pen creates a world of such like thoughts. As he finds his mind overflowing with subtle and original conceits, he says that words are but poor vehicles for his thoughts and that they cannot contain them. Naturally enough, he exhorts himself to attend less to the words and to work with greater keenness for the glorification of the Ma‘ānī. I will now quote verses to show Bedil’s proficiency in this connection:

عمرست درین انجنی از فعلن و تأثیم
خلال رسایید پایی سکس از ما

[For long out of weakness my body has been bent in this world.
I may now be used as an anklet for the ankles of the fly.]

زک گل آمرئین شوپی کسین مید در دارد
که زیب نک دست انسایه، رنگ حنا دارد

1. Azād Bilgrāmi, Sarm-e-Āzād, p. 163.
2. Sarkhūsh, Kalimānush Shafarāz, p. 34.
The mirthful beloved, whose sleeve is made of the tender arteries of rose, wants to capture me.
(But she is so delicate) that she would find her hand under the stone, on account of the shadow of hena’s colour.

Sometimes Bedil’s conceits are so subtle that one is afraid they may evaporate if the slightest possible carelessness is shown:

جِو عربيه شهرت زاهينك سكروران
صدای بال صرخ رنگ نبود در بریدنها

[Do not seek the uproar of popularity from the symphony of nimble-spirited people.
When the bird of colour flies its wings make no noise.]

باد شبیم گلزار عرفت عریست
خیال مشق قدسی کند باشم گلاب

[In memory of the dew drops of the rose-garden of her cheeks, it is ages since
My thought has been floating in the sweet smell of rose-water.]

In these verses the ideas have been given a lifelike touch. Materialisation of the spiritual and the intellectual is one of the characteristics of Bedil. Moreover, we see that at times Bedil creates a conceit out of his own Takhallus:

بن و تاب وصال و طاقت دوری چه حرفست این
اسیری را که عشقت خوانده پیاد دل کجا دارد

[How can I possess courage for union and strength for separation?
A captive who has been called Bedil (without-heart), how can he have dil (heart)?]

People have criticised Bedil by saying that sometimes he indulges in farfetched, insipid, or pedantic conceits, but so long as fancy has its value in literature, Bedil’s conceits will not lose their flavour.

9. Grace and fluency of language and fullness of expression. If couplets of Bedil are selected and arranged under this heading, one is surprised to know how a poet celebrated for his conceits could impart such fluency and grace to his verse and how his language could be so richly eloquent. Not only selected verses but also many complete ghazals of Bedil possess this marvellous virtue. I would very much like to quote at length, but space does not permit:

ند بدامنتی زرجا رسه نه بستگانه دعا رسه
جورا سه نست بارسه کف دست آبلا دامرا
[Out of modesty it can neither reach the skirt nor have the strength to rise in prayer.
If my blistered hand at all can, it has relationship with the (beloved's) feet.]

[Sometimes sighs carry me off, and at times tears take me away.
I am but a handful of dust in the midst of so many storms.]

[Your lip is a petal from the garden of smiles, and
Your look is a wave from the Oman gulf of feigned negligence.
Your tress is the long-drawn letter Alif (الف) of the Ayat (verse) of fairness, and
Your eyebrows are the Bismillah (opening verse) of the Diwān of negligence.]

10. Lyricism. Husain Quli Khan, the author of the Tagkirah Nishtar-e-Tashq, has collected those verses of every poet which speak of erotic love; but he complains that Bedil’s verses of this kind could not be found in sufficient numbers as his ghazals have only concets. As already pointed out, Bedil is comprehensive, and, therefore, when we go through his ghazals, we come across a large number of verses which sing most charmingly of female love. There we find descriptions of the beauty points, of the lovely face and the tall and waving stature of the beloved. The same old topics of separation, union, envy, etc., have been re-stated by Bedil, using fresh similes and metaphors, of course with a deeper touch of emotion. Dr. Rieu says that, in his Bāz, Bedil has given his own Maṣnawi descriptive of female beauty, but unfortunately that Bāz is not available at present. I shall, however, quote relevant verses from Bedil’s ghazals:

Wherever coquetry appears, entreaties also are not absent. You should walk gracefully with a hundred ways of figura negligence, and I would cast a look having a hundred supplications.

Don’t ask about the charm of the bad names I heard from those ruby lips.

My beloved wanted to stone me but instead threw pearls on me.

It was your well-wisher, whomever I saw in this garden. Your colour is seen boiling in the rose, and for smell the wine is indebted to you.

It will be seen that these verses constitute best specimens of lyricism. When, however, lyricism begins to wane, Bedil’s art steps in and makes up the deficiency. Then, as Niaz Fatahpuri has pointed out, a sweet and harmonious blending of Art and Lyricism takes place, and, although the emotional element has diminished, the verses are as fascinating as ever. For example:

[The garden, whose spring consists entirely of stone, is the beloved’s heart; and
The Sahara whose dust is all water is our heart.]

Here the words although contraries, have been brought together in such a way by the figure antithesis that we feel an irresistible charm.

II. Sense of beauty (المحسس حسن). This sense is common to all poets, but only a few have distinguished themselves in this respect. Bedil appeared in India at a time when the Mughal Art was at full bloom, and its brilliance, grandeur, and grace had reached their climax in Shāh Jahān’s architecture. Naturally his aesthetic taste developed, drawing sustenance from the colourful images he received while studying Persian poetry, which is rich in this taste, and also while travelling here and there and observing beautiful objects. There is no space here for a detailed discussion of his aesthetic taste, but very few poets in the world compare favourably with Bedil in this respect. He has an eye for the rich gorgeous colouring of the peacock, which he saw in hundreds near Mathura, and also he can

appreciate the light rainbow tints, which he observed now and again during the monsoon rains. Sometimes the intellectual has been beautifully brought down to the level of the sensible. A few verses of this nature may now be studied:

آبد زکلان ناز آن جوهر تسم دل درکف تنافل گل بر سر تسم
[From the garden of coquetry came that essence of smiles, With heart on the palm of negligence, and over smiles the rose.]

خط آن لمل دود خر�� ما حمد قلم برق حامل کهست
[The down on the ruby lip is the smoke of our harvest, but Whose gain will the flash of that eye strike as lightning?]

زخار هر مہ صد رنگ موج کل چशد بابده گر گر گزر افتد خیال روئید ترا
[From the thorn of every eyelash a wave of flowers of variegated colour would burst, If the thought of your face passes my eyes.]

یتکر ناز کی گویان گر خیال یام بر تر انداز ی بطاوس گردد چدول اوراق دیرانها
[If my fancy casts only a reflection on the thoughts of Tazagū poets, The marginal lines on the leaves of their Diwāns would change into peacock feathers.]

12. رعایت لفظی و معنی. Comparison of the same words in different contexts producing some striking effect, or of the same ideas expressed in a different way or in an improved manner, is very much appreciated by the lovers of poetry.

In Bedil both of these peculiarities are found in their perfect form. He is very fond of using the word آئینه again and again. The following two couplets, having this word, have been regarded the best in this connection:

پار در آغوش و نام اونمی دانم که چیست
سادگی ختم است چین آئینه بهرنیمان ما
[My beloved is in my arms, but I do not know her name. Like the mirror my forgetfulness is beyond help.]

بدل نقشی نمی بندد که با وحشت به پیوند
نمی دانم کدا مس به ونا آئینه چید اینجا

Life and Works of Bedil

[No image is formed in the heart which does not bear fright.
I do not know which faithless person placed the mirror here.]

Another couplet of this type is still more attractive:

[In order to give a hint to the messenger about my longing for the vision of the beloved,
I lapse into bewilderment and thus tie the mirror on the message.]

As regards the same ideas expressed differently I quote below two verses about the winning ways of the beloved. See the improvement effected in the second verse.

[If fire points to the warmth of your nature,
At the same time by its flames it raises a finger in caution.]

[My desire has been enchanted by the charming manners of whose coquetry?
Blandishments ask to keep away while the splendour of beauty invites to come nearer.]

13. *Pet words.* Like every poet, Bedil has some pet words. This peculiarity has been noted by Qārī 'Abdullah Khān of Kābul also.

The words are:

\[\text{امن، جوهر، حیرت، نیر، برى، شیشہ، بینا، سبز، کریمان، میں، رخ، رنگ، شکست شریف، رنگ، رنگ خواب، رنگ سبک، دو عالم، بند، یک.}\]

The last two words are particularly used in forming combinations.

14. *Pet metres.* In one of his letters we find Bedil asking one Mirzā Fāzīl for a Persian violin. Moreover, one of his closest associates, Shāikh Sa'dullāh Gulshān, was an expert musician, and also his favourite pupil, Ahmad 'Ibrat, belonged to a family of professional singers. This shows Bedil's interest in music and melody. It is because of this that he seems to have taken pains for imparting rhythm and melody to his verses. As in Bedil's ghazals the sound of

words comes to its full power, the Qawwals, especially in Afghanistan, are heard singing his ghazals in convivial meetings or sober assemblies and also on the radio, and a magical effect is produced.

When Bedil was so particular about the sounds of the words used in his verses, it was quite natural if he developed an interest for metres suiting different occasions. Khugshlu says¹ that Bedil successfully manipulated all the metres given in the books on Prosody. But here also Bedil's preference for the longer metres, which were popular with the Arabs, though the Persians rarely employed them, earned a name for him. Inspired by Bedil other poets also turned their attention towards these metres, and we see Mir Muhammad Husain Kallim—an Urdu poet—cultivating longer metres in imitation² of Bedil. Abul Kalam Azad, a modern scholar of Urdu, becomes voluble when he speaks³ about the longer metres of Bedil. It is a fact that when we read and recite Bedil's ghazals in these metres, a tide of excitement runs through mind, and, in the words⁴ of Richards, there is a cyclic agitation which spreads all over the body. A careful reader will also note that, in spite of the length of the metres, there is nothing redundant in the verses. The metres are:

(i) بحر کامل سمن (the perfect octametre)

(ii) بحر متدارک (the continuous metre. It is called صوت التناقوس (the bell's sound) also. It has eight feet in each hemistitch.

(iii) بحر مطیعی بشن (the folded octametre)

(iv) بحر خفیف بشن (the light octametre)

2. Qāsim Qadratullah, Majmū'a-é-Ya'jiz, II, p. 140.
5. Richards, I.A., Principles of Literary Criticism, p. 140.
the convergent metre. It has eight feet in one hemistich.

Here and there, two deviations of the original have been employed.

15. Abstruseness of his verses. As Bedil condenses a broad idea in a single verse, some relevant pieces are left out which Bedil expects the reader would think out for himself. In this couplet:

Bedil likens himself to حب, and the frowns of his beloved to بیج، but as there is no clear indication, it is not very easy to comprehend this relation. Sometimes the correlated phrases in a verse are placed at a distance from one another. Again at times Bedil's conceits are far-fetched and his language is not colloquial. All these factors taken together make many verses of Bedil obscure and abstruse, and in some cases his verses become absolutely incomprehensible. I give below a few verses which are not at all intelligible.

In view of the abstruseness caused in some of Bedil's verses, owing to the various factors mentioned above, some eminent Ta'khirah-writers have suggested that someone, well versed in Persian literature, should prepare a selection of Bedil's verses avoiding all those couplets which have objectionable elements. Azâd Bilgramî says that if such a selection is made a very elegant and highly fascinating collection of Persian verse would be obtained.

16. Dotless ghazals. Some letters as well as Ghazals of Bedil are dotless. Although their number is small, yet they show Bedil's mastery in this figure. The grace and fluency of the verses is

2. In the library of Hâfiz Nûr Muhammed at Kâbul, a large number of such like verses have been collected.
particularly noteworthy:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{دل آواه ام طور رم آسوده دارد} \\
\text{آخر گرد ملال آورد صحرا ارم کردم}
\end{align*}
\]

17. Several Ghazals in the same measure having the same rhyme. Mullā Zuhūrī was in the habit of showing his mastery over language by writing more than one mutually rhyming Ghazals in the same metre. Similarly, Bedil too displayed his superior skill by writing two to five Ghazals of this kind. It is noteworthy that almost every Ghazal of this kind maintains its independence from the point of view of emotional, ideational, or literary content.

18. Consistency in thought. Although originally Ghazal was a part of the Qaṣīda and had continuity and harmony, yet, when separated, it became a jumble of incongruous couplets. Love and enmity, joy and sorrow, union and separation, good luck and misfortune, in short, all the discordant ideas were expressed, of course with the necessary change in emotion, in the same Ghazal. This made it absolutely unnatural. Saʿdī observed this defect in Ghazal and introduced consistency. Amir Khusrāw, Naṣīrī, and Zuhūrī followed him. Bedil too wrote a large number of Ghazals, having singleness of purpose, which can be seen in his Diwān.

19. Prolificness. We have seen above the extent of Bedil's dominion over verse from the literary point of view. Apart from the quality of his Ghazals, their quantity also is surprising. Sher Khān Lodhī, the author of Mir'atul Khayāl, writing in 1102 A.H., said that Bedil's Diwān had 20,000 couplets. Sarkhūsh compiled his Kalimatush Shuʿārā in 1093 A.H., but kept replenishing it till 1115 A.H. He says that Bedil is a boundless ocean and that only the redivive part of his Diwān has 5,000 verses. Khushgū wrote his Safīnā after Bedil's death and there we learn that Bedil's Ghazals have 55,000 couplets. This shows Bedil's prolificness, and at the same time we incidentally learn that the most productive period of Bedil's life was after 1102 A.D. (1690-1 A.H.).

1. Āzd Bilgārmi, Sarw-e-Āzād, p. 150.
2. Qāṣf 'Abdullāh Khān, Aabātīāl, p. 182.
From the foregoing statement of the peculiarities of Bedil we come to know that he had a wonderful mastery over language, his creative imagination made an elegant contribution to Persian literature—a contribution whose freshness can never fade—and that Sabuk-e-Hindi, the style developed in India by the Persian poets, reached the acme of perfection in Bedil's hands. These facts have been noted by various scholars of repute and they, therefore, consider him one of the master-poets of Persian. His friends as well as his rivals and detractors share this view. Sarkhush, Bedil's rival, says, "Bedil is a master of the Art." Khushgul, Bedil's friend and pupil, writes, "In this Art Bedil is one of those master-poets, who have a style of their own." And again, "Bedil stands peerless in creating a style." Anand Ram MckhliS was a very learned pupil of our poet. He says, "Bedil has adorned the page of Time with verses of all kinds and very subtle figures. Everywhere the people talk about him and he is known in all the lands. It is a fact that, after Amil Khusrau of Dehli no poet was born in India who could match Bedil."

These were contemporaries. After Bedil's death many Tazkirahs were written and all the writers paid equally glowing tributes to him. Azad Bilgrami, in his Saru-e-Azad as well as in his Khażna-e-'Amirah, praises Bedil wholeheartedly. He accords him a lofty position in verse and says none has the requisite mental vigour to compete with Bedil. He eulogises Bedil in a couplet too:

\[ \text{[He raised the rank of conceits to the ninth heaven] } \\
\text{[Only a high-minded person can appreciate Bedil's verse.]} \]

If the views of all the Tazkirah-writers are given the attempt will result in tedious and monotonous details. I would, therefore, give here only the translation of what the author of Chamnistan-e-Sha'ara, writing in 1175 A.H. (1761-2 A.D.), said about Bedil's Art. He has beautifully summed up all that the others say in this connection:

"Abdul Qadir Bedil is a Mani who paints the Arzhang of conceits, and a Euclid who works magic in verse. The East of subtle thoughts has been eternally illuminated by the resplendent Sun of his genius, and the orchard of sweet discourse has been lavishly adorned by the melody of his wit which, like the nightingale, recites a thousand tales. The eye of the mean Time has not seen such a majestic person of refined ideas, although it has the torch of the Sun in its hands; and also the azure sky has not heard about
such a sweet-tongued seeker of conceits although there exist the planets as its ears. It is befitting if I call his genius the spring of life, because verse owes its life to it; and it is right if I consider his pen to be a vernal cloud, because every dot in his writings is superior to the pearls. In fact in the territories of India such an accomplished poet has never been born, and the brush of the Whyless Painter has not so far portrayed the match of this captivating seeker of thoughts."

From these remarks it is apparent what a unique position Bedil has in Persian literature. His consummate creative powers have after all been recognised in Iran too. Dr. Razā Zāda Shafaq says, "Bedil is the last renowned Indian poet of genius. In fact in the mystic Ghazals, in elegant verse, and in the Maṣnāvī he has shown perfect skill and has placed before us the best model of Indian style (سیک شناسي)." Bedil's own opinion, about his style, would be of infinite interest at the close of this discourse. He says:

مدعی در گذر از دوسته و گر آیاز
[O Pretender! give up your claims to Bedil's style.
It is impossible for the magic to have the qualities of a miracle.]

With such a high opinion about his style, he hopes he will enjoy everlasting fame:

سنن تا در جهان باشیست معروف آزادم
زبان کچکتوها با ولو بروز است منتقا را
[So long as verse lives in the world I cannot cease to exist, for
The tongue of discourses serves as the wing for the flight of the Phoenix.]"

So far we were concerned only with the literary side of Bedil's Ghazals. We should now try to find out the basic idea round which his entire verse revolves. The entire life-story of Bedil is before our eyes and we know that he was cut out a mystic fired with Divine Love. In his childhood he lived in the society of mystics and learnt the Secrets of the Path from them. When he was grown up and he left his home-province Bihār for Shāh Jahānābād, he came in contact with 'Āqīl Khān Rāżī and Nawāb Shukrullān Khān, who were mystics, and who had a thorough knowledge of the Maṣnāvī of Rūmī. We also know about Bedil's fondness for Sana'ī, 'Aṭṭār, Rūmī, Sa'dī, 'Irāqī, Hāfiz and Jāmī—the great mystic poets. In addition to this Dr. Rieu tells us that in the Bi̇ż of Bedil, in the London Museum, the tract,

1. Shafaq, Dr. Raza Zada, Tārīkh-e-Adabīyāt-e-Īrān, p. 179.
2. Pages 45 and 64, supra.
3. Pages 135-6, supra.
Life and Works of Bedil

Khwaja 'Arif in by Khwaja 'Abdullah Ansari, is given in six Bahas (chapters). Khwaja Sahib is known in particular for his Munajat or supplications, which he makes in all humility to God the Almighty. The influence of these supplications on Bedil is manifest from his Grazaal beginning with the following verse:

[You are Generous Absolute, O God, and I am a beggar. Do nothing except calling me. Or, Show me the door whither I should turn if You drive me away.]

Moreover, the great al-Ghazali, whose philosophic and sincerity appeal alike to the intellectual type and the common folks, also counts among the mystic writers who have influenced Bedil. The cumulative effect of all this was that mysticism became the life-blood of Bedil and his basic sentiment was love for God. He says:

[Without the hymn in Your praise O God, the dulcimer of verse Shall produce a melancholy note from its strings.]

Bedil’s verse is thus quite lifeless, if he does not sing in love and praise of God.

Like all Sufis, Bedil starts with a purification of his soul, and, as a preliminary to his love for God, he wants to purge himself of all other love. As a consequence he has no love for the world and its objects, for the family or a dwelling, and even for his own person:

[If the heart tries it can quite easily have the pilgrim’s garb of purity. According to the degree of its polish, the mirror has water for ablutions.]

2. Browne, E. C., Literary History of Persia, II, pp. 269-72. Shiikhul Islam Khwaja 'Abdullah Ansari (396-431 A.H.) of Herat was a descendant of Ayyub Ansari, the famous companion of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). The Khwaja was a celebrated mystic and author of several works.
As your heart is impure you grieve about the good
Polish your mirror with sandal and be relieved of the headache.

[About the joy of renouncing the abode ask of the free people.
None but the sound knows the value of the breaking of a mirror.

Nothing but renunciation of love for one's self is the substance of contemplative abstraction.
The sword should be tested on one's own head.]

The considerations of the Ka'ba or the monastery, of the rosary and the girdle, of the faith and infidelity, and of the hell and the paradise no longer detain him, for he is enamoured only of God, and ardently desires to have His Vision:

If we got freedom from the monastery, love of Ka'ba attracted us.
O God, where does the striving of self lead us to?

Having been freed from the girdle, regard for the rosary detained us.
Life keeps the son of Adam busy with so many strings.

Indifference made no distinction between infidelity and faith.
From where, O God, the invention of false honour came into being?

I am anxious for the vision. I care not for the paradise and the hell.
Wherever You call me, I absorb myself in Thy contemplation.

Sorrows and pleasures do not affect him. Honour and dishonour—have
Life and Works of Bedil

no significance for him. He would rather prefer dishonour because it helps annihilate the evil self in him. And in him all the world passions and desires are extinguished:

[Sorrows and pleasures should not influence you, for where is the minstrel or the mourner?

Only a handful of ignorant wild rue is making noise in the censer.]

[Do not seek the uproar of popularity from the symphony of nimble-spirited people.

When the bird of colour flies, its wings make no noise.]

[The height of my madness wanted the rich stone of popularity.

Out of so many hills I selected the stone of dishonour (blame).]

[If the desires fade away, the edifice of heart is built.

The breaking of the wave creates the bubble.]

All these were stages of passing away (باج). After self-surrender: self-devotion begins and our Sufi devotes himself exclusively to God. Concentration upon the thought of God engenders bewilderment (حیرت) and this absorbs him completely. Although at this stage there is some sadness and anxiety, yet earlier excessive crying and violent agitation is gone, for the lover’s gaze is now fixed on the beauty of the Absolute and he has been given access to the hidden secrets.

[Our melancholy heads are not perplexed by the worries of turban;

For, like the bud, by Your smell our heads have gone stormy.]
Ghazal of Bedil

[Your thought went through the four corners of the world, and
The shops have thus been filled by the bewilderment of the mirrors.]

[Int is impossible to end our relation with the mirror.
So long as the Beauty has mirror, we are filled with bewilderment.]

[Quicksilver cannot separate itself from the mirror.
My bewilderment, therefore, has restlessness in the cage.]

[Agitation has no access to the illuminated place of bewilderment.
Even if you completely change into tears, you cannot drop here.]

[In the wilderness of bewilderment do not expect moisture from us.
The eye of the portrait is indifferent to tears.]

[On account of the gaiety of your beauty agitation of the heart is no more.
Bewilderment in the mirror is like the wave in the flood.]

[With the bewilderment of the heart we united the strings of your veil.
Here making a mirror is not an ordinary job.]

In this state of mind our Sufi passes away from action, because it is only humility and resignation that pay:

[So elevated is the nest of my helplessness, O Bedil!
That it is impossible to reach it without breaking the wings.]
Out of the hundred and one problems of mysticism, so pro-

fusely and sweetly dealt with by Bedil, I have given hints on:

about a few. Verses from his Ghazals about the states and stages:

of the necessity of the pearl of resignation.

Here beading in prayer amounts to a proud plait in a side

of the cap.

Bedil flourished at the time when the ascetic quietism of the
earlier Sufis had long changed into a theosophic doctrine of mysti-
cism. Al-Ghazālī and Rūmī, who influenced Bedil to a great extent,
were both representatives\(^{3}\) of this type of mysticism. In addition to
these two thinkers, Ibn al-'Arabī (560-638 A.H./1164-1240) also
inspired Bedil. Khushgū says\(^{4}\) that most of the propositions deal:
with by Ibn al-'Arabī\(^{5}\) in his Fusūsul Ḥikam (The Bezels of Divine
Wisdom) were expressed again in detail by Bedil. On the other
hand, we observe another very important circumstance which influ-
enced Bedil considerably. Only a few years before the birth of our
poet, religious thought in India had been completely revolutionised
by Mujaddid-e-Alif-e-gānī Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (971-1034 A.H./
1563-1624 A.D.) who had taught byondness\(^{6}\) of God in opposition
to the pantheism of Ibn al-'Arabī. As Bedil lived in the society
where teachings and stories of the Mujaddid were still fresh, he
imbibed the spirit of the Great Reformer. Shaikh Sa’dullah Gulshan,

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1. حوالـ (States): Meditation, nearness to God, love, fear, hope, longing,
immaey, tranquility, contemplation, and certainty.

2. ست (Stages): Repentence, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience,
trust in God, and satisfaction.

See Nicholson, Mystics of Islam, pp. 28, 29.

3. بَلْ يَجِزُ الْعَذَابَ مَنْ أَسَدَّ اللَّهَ مَسْتَوى٠
Nay, it goes even a step further. It includes indifference to the rewards
of the next world also.

4. For Al-Ghazālī see Smith, M., Al-Ghazālī, p. 227. For Rūmī see Khalifa
‘Abdul Ḥakim, Metaphysics of Rūmī.


a close associate of Bedil, was a disciple of Shāh Gul—a descendant of the Mujaddid. If nothing else, this fact alone is sufficient to confirm the statement made here. Side by side with this, the following verses of Bedil reveal that he had a high opinion about Plato and Ibn e Sīnā (Avicenna):

From what I have said in this paragraph, one arrives at the conclusion that, to comprehend Bedil's mystical thought properly, one must be conversant with the fundamentals and the evolution of the theosophic element in mysticism and philosophy of Islam. A study of the Ghazals of Bedil shows that, as usual, he has much to say about these topics, but again no detailed treatment of them can be undertaken in these pages, and I would, therefore, be content with a few remarks only.

In his Metaphysics Bedil starts with Primeval Unity and talks of creation in the form of emanation. According to the following famous tradition of the Prophet (peace be on him):

Absolute Beauty manifested itself in creation. The tradition, therefore, talks of emanation and emphasizes the spontaneous bursting forth of being. Bedil also contributes to this view:

When as yet there was no sign of Time,
Beyond the knowledge and the Manifestations only His Essence existed.

Neither in His Pure Reality was there any thought of Attributes,
Nor on the book of His Essence was there the writing of Names.
He looked within Himself, and showed to Himself
The potential reality of all things existing in His Essence.

1. Azīd Bilgānī, Sarw-e-Aṣūr, pp. 193-9; Sarkhsh, Kalimāt wa Shaltārā, p. 96.
2. Khalīfā 'Abdul Ḥakīm, Metaphysics of Rumi, p. 31, footnote.
He looked at His own Beauty with a hundred thousand eyes, and
With a hundred thousand longings wanted to find Himself.
With a desire to show the preception of the meaning of
mysteries,
Ha walked gracefully towards the Sahara from the cover of
the unseen.

The last verse in particular underlines pantheism. In these verses
we see that the poet’s imagination is boldly at work in expounding
his Theory of Creation, and whenever and wherever Bedil speaks
about it he makes similar bold expressions rich in detail. We know
that the Neoplatonist1 in their attempt to give a unified cosmic
order enunciate the Theory of Emanation, which means light eman-
ating from a luminous body or water overflowing a cup, and in this
connection they talk about the Universal Intellect. The following
couplet of Bedil shows that he too was conversant with the Universal
Intellect:

با هر کمال‌الملک آشتفتی خوش است
هرچند متل کل شدهای بی چون مباش

[With every perfection, there must be some agitation of
love.
Although you have become the Universal Intellect, don’t
be without madness.]

Ibn Sīna too, in connection with his cosmological order, discusses2
Intellects and Heavens, and we know Bedil had much regard3 for
his philosophy.

On the one hand Bedil believed in Pantheism—perhaps owing to
his studies of Ibn al-‘Arabī and Neoplatonism, through translations
or commentaries, and on the other hand he talks most emphatically
about the Transcendence of God. It is here that we can trace the in-
fluence of Mujaddid-e-Sirhindī, who, as stated already, believed in
the Transcendent God. A perusal of the following verses of Bedil
will show that, like4 the Mujaddid, he thinks God is unapproachable,
inexperienceable, inexplicable, and unknowable:

102-110; Fāzāl Ḥaq, *Tajāliyāt-e-Ibn Sīna*, p. 174. According to this Theory, God
created the First Intellect. This Intellect created the Second Intellect and the
first Heaven and so on to the tenth Intellect and the ninth Heaven. The last or
the Active Intellect then created the world.
In the face of Immanence and Beyondness of God expressed by Bedii in his Ghazals, we are forced to the conclusion that, like Rumi and Ghazzali, he believed in Panentheism, a theory which conceives of an all-embracing Divinity "in whom we live and move and have our being."

These were Bedii's speculations about the relation of creation to God. We should now consider in brief how Bedii philosophises about Divine Love. Bedii says this love is due to the beauty of the Absolute, which, according to the Qur'anic verse (lv. 29):

\[
\text{کل بیوم هو فی شاان}
\]

is every day, nay every moment, displayed in a fresh glory:

\[
\text{هر نفس مد رنگ می گیرد ع만 خانه اش}
\]

[Every moment a hundred hues hold the reins of His Beauty.]

And this love is Universal:

\[
\text{آتش پرست شعله اندیشه ات جکر}
\]


The liver is the worshipper of the fiery flame of thought about you, and
The breasts mirror the heart-sore formed in your love.

The fire of love when once kindled in a heart is never extinguished. The excitement and restlessness of the lover is everlasting, and the lover himself is made immortal by this undying burning of the heart:

DAAG عشقم نست الفت باتن آساني مسا
Beth و فات شعله ناشد نغش بشاني مسا

[I am love-sore, and have no liking for self-indulgence. To fret and fume like the flame can be seen printed on my forehead.]

[If you want eternal life, develop the consuming qualities of love, Because the heart, when it bleeds, acquires the properties of the water of life.]

If even a base thing comes in contact with Love, it is sublimated and is transformed into something very noble. *Love of the transient beauty of the phenomenal, therefore, would in this way rise to the noumenal origin of Beauty:

دیس لسانان دیبیشین آن نگرام سوخت
خشم که شعله این شم خارخزارد سوخت

[No more of sensuality, as the Love of that Beauty has consumed me through and through. I feel gratified as the flame of this candle has burnt all that remained of sensual desires.]

ماغر عشقم مجازم نشی، یتحقيق داد
ششت خونم جوش مجنون می یزد و مصرف شد

[The cup of the love of the phenomenal had the excitement of the noumenal. The handful of my blood fretted like Majnun but ultimately became Maṣṣūr.]

From the above we conclude that love has great potentialities. It is the cause of the grace and prosperity of the world, and also it adds to Divine Effulgence:

بی عشقم مال است بود رونق هستی
بی چاره نورشید جهان نامه سیاست

1. Majnūn was fired with the love of Laïla, which stands here for the love of the phenomenal, and Maṣṣūr al-Hallāj was consumed by love of God, as he said: *اَنِّي اللَّهُ (I am God), after a complete self-negation.
[Without love it is impossible for the world to have luster, as
Without the appearance of the sun the world is but a dark page.]

[One cannot be negligent of the break caused to the heart of
the lover, for
Prosperity of the world depends upon this ruined one.]

[If love were to make a display of its potential radiance,
By its melted heart it could lend oil to the lamp of the
Mount Sinai.]

As such it is far superior to the utilitarian intellect:

[How can the fabrications of the intellect prove equal to the
pains of Love?
The brush of the painter can never paint groans.]

In spite of this Bedil does not minimise the importance of intellect.
He only wants that even if your intellectual powers have reached the
highest point of perfection, you should not be devoid of love, because
it lends elegance to all perfection:

[With every perfection some agitation of Love looks graceful,
Although intellectually you are equal to the Universal intel-
ligence, don’t be without madness.]

It is because of his regard for the intellect that he feels elated about
his perception:

[The dust raised by my shaking off the skirt will create a
hundred heavens,
If the flame of perception sustains me only for a moment.]

In this verse, in intellect, Bedil considers himself superior to the In-
telligences which, according to the Neoplatonists, created all the
Heavens and the world.

This much would do about Bedil’s conception of Love. The dis-
cussion would grow endless if we try to find out how much Bedil

1. Here a reference has been made to the revelation of Lord’s Glory to the
Mountain at the request of Moses. See al-Qur’an, vii. 143.
borrowed here from Plato, Ibn Sina, and Rumi (who have all much to say about Love) and what was his original contribution to it. Suffice it to say that, in view of his lofty conception of love, he joins other great thinkers on the subject on terms of equality.

Out of the many and varied topics of Metaphysics, discussed by Becil, I shall touch briefly one more. Man's origin, his relation to the Universe, and his destiny have been the subject-matter of poets, mystics, and thinkers in all lands and in all ages. Beginning with the Greeks, right up to this day, this inexhaustible subject has been discussed by every successive writer of repute, and everyone has had something useful to say. As the Muslim writers derived inspiration from the Qur'an, their dissertations in this connection are chiefly based on the Qur'anic verses. About soul the holy book says:

الروح مس آسي رئي

[The soul is from the command of my Lord (xvii. 85).]

Again, while speaking about Adam when his body was created from clay, the Qur'an says:

و لنفخت فيه من روحي

[I (God) breathed My spirit into it (xv. 29).]

These verses speak manifestly about the Divine element in Man.

Bedil too takes his cue from these verses and says:

مي مزد هر تقسم پای نق پویسدن
گارد پاگا نام می رسد این زندت حدود

[It would be proper if every moment I kiss the feet of my breath,
As this lame one of creation arrives from the holy land of Eternity.]

Bedil is fond of making mention of this Divine aspect of man, but I shall quote only two sweet verses:

ضائع تطرها، نیز میز جز چیز میخی شنا را
تومی پرایی اکر جوش کردادی ما را

[In the nature of the drop nothing but the moisture of the ocean is to be found
When You have caused us to boil, it is You who will trickle-]

دی من و دلدار از ربط آب و گوهر داشته
این زمان بايد زیبا ذاعم تام او بر سبز سوخت

[On account of intimacy, Yesterday I and my beloved were
together like the pearl and its lustre, but
Now I can do nothing except asking His Name from the messenger and burn.]

Bedil, therefore, feels proud when he thinks of his Divine Origin:

 مو بمعلومی چشمه، بر ق تجلی، اقت اورست
 طور امر آتش نوروزد کرم شب تاب نست

 [Every hair of mine is the spring of His Glory.
 If mount Sinai lights its fire, it is only my glow-worm.]

 پیش از آن در آینه من ما، نور
 که بهره دار و خورشید ناپذیر تقسیم

 [In my mirror the stock of light is much more than
 That I should distribute among every atom and the Sun.]

 Surrounded on all sides by Matter, Man becomes a prey to forgetfulness, and he turns his attention to those objects which attract his eyes by their glamour. Bedil, therefore, asks man to understand himself, as, according to the famous saying:

 من عرف نفس قد عرف رید

 he who knows his own self, knows God. Some relevant verses of Bedil may now be considered:

 سفر نشته فقرتی ته خاک آز چه غفلتی
 نفس صرف جوش کن از خم جرخ سرکن

 [You are the morning of the excitement of Eternity.
 What negligence keeps you under the dust?
 Employ a moment in exciting yourself
 And rise head and shoulders above the curve of the sky.]

 ضم است اکوهست کشید که به سیر سرو سن در آ
 تور صنه کم نه دیل دای در دل کفا بچن درا

 [It would be unjust if you vainly desire to have a walk through the cypresses and the Jassamins.
 You are not sprouted inferior to the bud. Open your heart
 and walk into the garden.]

 کدام رمز و چه اسرار خوشی را دریاب
 که هرچه هست نهنان غیر آتشکار تروست

 [There are no mysteries and no secrets. Find yourself,
 For what is hidden is not different to what is manifest in you.]

 Bedil repeatedly brings the vast potentialities of Man to our notice:

 جهف نشکا فیتم رده دل دانه بودست سیره مرد

 [Sorry, we did not tear the veil of the heart.
 A grain had sealed a heap of corn.]

 زل آسیوه ما شور امکان در نفس دارد
 گهر زدیده است بین جا عبان سرچ درا را

 [Our quiet heart has encaged within itself a world of uproar.
 A pearl has stolen here the reins of the boisterous waves of the ocean.]
By a warm heart, the entire Universe can be set on fire. We have material for many furnaces, although we have only one spark.

In view of his noble origin and immense potentialities, Man has been asked to cherish noble and lofty aims, to be engaged in a continuous and everlasting struggle, and to avoid evil and vain desires:

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"By a warm heart, the entire Universe can be set on fire. We have material for many furnaces, although we have only one spark."
[The nine heaven with their open lap are waiting for you, saying:

"O thou plant of the garden of colourlessness, come out of this mire of the world."

In view of the vital importance of Man in the Universe, Bedil says that when Man will cease to exist the universe also will be no more:

لا يوجد ما هى هذا علم خواهد شلل
تادرين أنتهى أيم عالم عالم است

[Without our presence this existence will become non-existence. So long as we appear in this mirror, the world will continue to exist.]

If there are obstructions in the world and tribulations, Man should not be overawed or discouraged, because these only unfold his nobility. He must know that it is only the hardships which ultimately bring peace and tranquillity. Bedil makes another suggestion also. He says that a man, who has realised his self, is totally immune from these misfortunes:

قاعدت عنى أسانش بود آزاده مشرب را
كما موج بحر دارد ان شكلت خوشخ جوبرها
[For a man, having independence of spirit, calamities bring peace of mind.

Because the wave of the ocean when it breaks makes pearls.]

زمانت تتوان مزده كشا كش بات
بدل شكلت أكر هست فتح باب طلب

[The happy news of deliverance cannot be had from a comfortable life.

If there is a breach in your heart ask for the opening of the door.]

اي طالب سالت از آيات تكنكري
در ساحل انش ست تو كشي بر در آب
[O Thou, who art in search of safety, do not shun calamities. There is fire on the shore, hence take your boat to the waters.

حوادث مزده امن است أكر دل جميع شد يدخل
گهر اسانش دايند شورش امواج جيرون را
[O Bedil, if your mind is composed, the disasters bring the good news of peace. With the pearl, the uproar caused by the waves of Oxus, is only a myth.]

1. The nine heavens are:

1. The nine heavens are:

2. Divine Essence divested of Attributes.
These are instructions of practical nature and quite in keeping with Bedil's positively healthy philosophy of life. As regards Man's destiny he says:

\[
\text{جَوَانِسِلُ بَيْخَوَدَانِهِ سُوَى بِحَرِيَ مِجَرَم} \\
\text{أَكَّهِئَ ثَإِمَ دِينَ كِرَبُ دَارَ قَدْرٍ عَتَانَ} \\
\text{[Like the torrent we are helplessly running towards the sea.} \\
\text{We are not aware whose hand holds our reins.]}
\]

\[
\text{تَنُقَتَ جَوَامِعٌ وَأَلِيمَهُ مَيْ جِرَادَ بِبِمِ} \\
\text{أَزْنِرَمَاَكَّ بْيِمِ دِعَانَ دَانَانَ} \\
\text{[Till the day of resurrection the mirror and its lustre would agitate together.]}
\]

Your skirt cannot be cleaned of our dust.] Union with God is the final destiny of Man. After descent Bedil is hopeful of ascent towards Absolute Reality.

These were only a layman's references to various problems of Metaphysics discussed by Bedil. I simply wanted to introduce this aspect of the poet to the literary world. It appears that Bedil had made a vast study of Islamic philosophy, for, in his Ghazals, we find references now and again to the Necessary and the Contingent (واجب و ممكن), the Eternal and the Temporal (تام ومستحيل), transcendence and anthropomorphism (نزوع و تشبيه), Unity and Plurality (وحدة و كثرت), substance and accident (جوهر و عرض), matter and form (حول و شكل), etc. Salahud Din, a modern scholar of Afghanistan, in his tract, Asfār-e-Shā'īr, tried to explain a few philosophical verses of Bedil, but an attempt like this can prove fruitful if all the topics, dealt with by Bedil, are systematically elaborated in an independent work. Bedil's Ethical philosophy, too, is a brilliant chapter of his writings—a chapter which impresses us very much on account of its magnitude also. But this is not a place to deal with his Ethics. As the basic points, about the Mysticism and Metaphysics of Bedil, are known, an idea about his Ethics can be easily formed.

At this stage it would be advisable if an attempt is made to judge the personality which will be the result of Bedil's philosophy. As soon as we start meditating in this direction, our imagination pictures a man with a sharp intellect ruled by selfless love. Though humble in spirit, he is fully aware of his noble origin. He works in the world courageously, facing all the hardships manfully to actualise the vast potentialities of his self. He shuns all worldly prizes, honours, and pleasures and, with a singleness of purpose, he struggles ceaselessly.

1. Salahud Din was for some time the Afghan Consul in Delhi, when India was not partitioned. For the explanations referred to here, see his Asfār-e-Shā'īr, pp. 16-36.
to conquer the Infinite. The universe is subservient to him. He uses the universe, as a young bird would its nest, for the development and unfolding of his inner capacities, and, as soon as his self is fully developed, he will seek union with the Absolute. A man, with keen intellectual powers, and a tremendous dynamic love, mastering the universe and then seeking union with God, is what Bedil has in view. So acute is Bedil's keenness for his object that, if it is not realised, his very self and the universe appear illusory to him, for it is only the Absolute Reality that counts, and it is only because of contact with It that Bedil's Man begins to have significance.

This was the speculative side of Bedil's thought. We should now briefly consider the socio-economic element in his Ghazals.

Bedil was born in 1054 A.H. during the prosperous reign of Shāh Jāhān, and died in 1183 A.H. during the reign of Mūhammad Shāh when Mughal power was dwindling in India. He saw four regular wars of succession, and also witnessed the ghastly incidents in which the Barha Sayyid brothers were the principal actors. He observed that during these upheavals the foundations of the society were shaken and the economic make-up of the country was shattered. The aristocratic society, laboriously built up by the Mughal Emperors up to Aurangzeb, lost stability during the last days of Bedil. It had already been unnerved by prosperity continuing for generations, but successive upheavals tore asunder its yarn of values also. Thus Bedil passed not a minor part of his life in the degenerate, demoralised, and pompous Mughal society, which was drifting rapidly towards its final extinction. As a sage and philosopher he thought deeply about this sad state of affairs and tried to reform his society. His mysticism and his philosophy assume quite a new pattern when viewed in this context. He addressed the rulers, the aristocracy, and the common folk and warned them of their evil deeds. He informed them of the sad consequences of their conduct and persuaded them to adopt healthier ways. For a student of history such like sayings of Bedil are very important because they make available the first-hand information of the social conditions prevailing in those days.

To the rulers, in general, he said that the glory of kingship was short-lived:

ٍغتَبَتْ دَرْ مَنْ تَحْبَبُ دَوْصُرَتَم

[The colour has not the quality of durability.
All dignity passes away like the wave.]

He told them there was no difference between an emperor and an ordinary man. On the other hand, he added, an emperor grows ignoble and inferior, because he becomes vain on account of the crown he wears:
Life and Works of Bedil

There is not much difference between the bubbles and the waves of this ocean.

The enthroned monarch has only some air in his head.

After the death of Shāh 'Alam in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.) when Jahāndār Shāh ascended the throne and gave himself up to voluptuousness and carousing, Bedil was very sorry to see such a brainless monarch seated on the glorious Peacock Throne. He said:

[Through incapacity imperial grandeur has been reduced to the disgrace of a sweeper.]

Instead of the bones one who eats faeces becomes Phoenix here.

The entire Ghazal in which this verse occurs censures those times and the ungenerous and silly emperor.

But Bedil's invectives grow very fierce when he addresses the aristocrats. Before him no poet, except Sa'di, had discharged this sad duty so courageously and boldly. Bedil talks about the pomp and show, the kettle-drums and the bugles, and the vaulted chambers and the palaces of the Mughal aristocrats, and tells them that if they thought these things were to last for ever, they were sadly mistaken:

If this is the splendour of your vaulted chambers and palaces,
Then the foundations of the dust flying in the air have become secure.

The aristocrats were in the habit of making a display of their splendour. Bedil told them it was extremely harrowing:

[The elegance of splendour proudly harrows the hearts.]

Whenever the hand is sportive it uses the nails.

Most of them were light-headed and talked boastfully. They were mentally of a low calibre and did not thank God for His favours:

1. Hali, Allīf Husain, Hayāt-e-Sa'di, p. 18. Here see how fearlessly and selflessly Sa'di criticised the courtiers of his day.
In prosperity the puny intellect becomes thankless to God.
As like the cup sattisfly is the seal of silence for its mouth.

They were base and vile and thought that the engraving on the stone in the ring (اقشة تكسي) was the height of glory:

[For honour the entire world has become crazy, but it forgets
That it is meanness which finds the height of glory in the engraving on the stone.]

On account of their love for the worldly riches, they did not care for supreme virtue of Faqr. Also as they were proud of their elevated ranks they behaved like Antichrist in religious affairs:

[Do not talk about the True Faith before those who are proud of their ranks.

The exertions of Mahdi cannot be expected from Antichrist.]

They were incurably negligent of their duties. There were rude, ill-tempered, ill-natured, and vindictive. They were full of evil thoughts, their countenance was always sour, and they indulged in severe and harsh talk:

[The evil-thinking persons are absolutely ignorant of the truthful people, Bedil.
Through the finger the eye of the ring has completely the needle of blindness.]

In addition to this, lust was consuming their soul and body, so much

1. About the luxurious ways and voluptuousness of those days we learn a good deal from the book Muragga'-e-Deshi, which was written by Nawab Dargah Quli Khan, during the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah. We learn from the book that once Wazirulmaslak I'timaduddaula gave drinking cups, etc. worth Rs. 70,000 to a dancing girl named Bahania-e-Filsawar (p. 75). It has been told that the courtiers were sodomists (pp. 27, 28, 38, 70-72), and that they celebrated days when nothing but luxury and gratification of sensual pleasures was the order (p. 33). For this there were separate quarters where the censor could not go. One of such places was Kasalpura, and about it Nawab Dargah Quli remarks (p. 38):

Its air is lustful and its atmosphere incites sexual intercourse.

Women too had such like places which were rendezvous for meetings with lovers,
that amongst them could be found passively sodomitical persons:

[O, Bedil, what meanness it is that the changed times
Have placed the quality of a woman in the nature of man.]

Besides, they oppressed the people. They were callously cruel. Their glib tongue also had the venom of vindictiveness:

[The soft speech of the cruel man is never devoid of vindictiveness.
When jealousy rears a flame in the water, it is only a subtle art.]

Cruelty was prevalent and Bedil said pathetically:

[Be afraid of the sighs of the oppressed ones, for when they pray
Acceptation rushes forward from the Divine door to welcome their prayers.]

As this undying verse has been quoted by Aurangzeb, it shows: It was composed by Bedil when that Emperor was still alive and that the officers in the service of that God-fearing Emperor, too, were oppressors. It was because of this widespread oppression and political instability that Bedil wrote:

[In our times the colour of peace has winged off and disappeared like the fabulous Phoenix.]

For the common folk Bedil had a warm corner. Although a man of elevated genius and respected by the most elevated people of his times, he loved the lowest class and the life of poverty (नगर).

He was moved whenever he saw the sad and quiet faces of the poor,

Nāgal was one of those places, and there, on the seventh day of every month, women used to go in large numbers in their best make-up (p. 39). The author says:

[A stranger comes to that elegant place, he will immediately pair.]

This book was written when in 1152 A.H. Nādir Shāh, the Persian soldier of fortune, came to Delhi and Nawāb Dargāh Quli Khān was there in the service of Najmūl Mulk Šāfī Jāh (Murazqā, Preface, pp. 15-17, 20; and Khaqānā-‘Āmīra, p. 222).

If such a society could not resist its enemies and fell an easy prey to them, it was but natural!

1. Page 95 supra,
and whenever they were vociferous in expressing their complaints, he justified them:

جیب حسن گهر از پیغه لواض کشود
زینت دست تیشان باشد این طلسم نگره

[The uproarious complaints of all are due to the pangs of poverty.
So long as there is pith in its bones the reed will not moan.] He advised the poor not to be dismayed, and also asked them not to take their grievances to the hard-hearted rich. When such were the ways of the society he had a hazy conception of some extreme action:

ژندگی درون و قید رسم و عادت می‌دان است
دست دست بیشتر ابن طلسم نگر و

[Life is but wearing out in the bondage of customs,
You have got your hands. Why don't you break this spell?]

This was the human side of Bedil, and with this I have finished what I had to say about Ghazals. Now I give below translation of only three Ghazals of Bedil. I regret the translation lacks the flavour of the original.

1

خاکساز تو طییدن کنند آغاز جرا
چرچ آبیه بروده دهد آواز چرا
جب حسن گهر از پیغه لواض کشود
دیده ما پیش تو نشته خرا
دل بدن است از دارش تو درگیر طالع
خودمانی تکنند آمیزه رواز جرا
سیل بیاب جهان است نظر وا گره
هرما هم نشود خانه بر انداز جرا
ساز بیشان دل گیرنده عموش آهنگ است
نفس از بین طاش می شود آواز چرا
گره نه سازیست یقین تارابته مر بی و زبر
شکوه شد زمزمه طالع ناساز چرا
پی نازی اگر آز عیب و هنر نمستش است
خبرت آمیزه دارد لب غمار چرا
نست جز خودشکنی دان ایپال یلد
آخری اگر نمی گزارا به هم پرواز چرا
پید ازینه معروف نا در بر تست
این آیازیکه تو داری نشور ناز چرا

[Why should your humble slave be in violent agitation?
Why should the bell-like blister have a sound?
The breast of your charms removed the knot from the steel-egg, but
Why my eyes have not opened at your beauty?]
My heart is in your hands and I belong to you. Then what prevents you,
Who are busy with the mirror, from self-display?
Your opening the eye undermines the foundations of the world like a torrent, then
Why should not the structure of our reason come tumbling down?
If the instrument of the restlessness of heart is not producing a resounding symphony
Why the breath, being afraid of agitation, is changing into sound?
If faith does not keep order in the high and low tones of the instrument,
Why the complaint has changed into the song of ill-luck?
If that, who is free from want, is indifferent to faults and virtues,
Why does the bewilderment of the mirror have a tale-bearer-lip?
The skirt of glory cannot be held aloft except by self-renunciation,
O thou handful of dust, why then so much of flight?
The beloved showing mirror is in your bosom, Bedil, then
Why this humility, that you have, should not change into pride?

[If your eye turns cheerfully towards me even from its corners,
My thorns shall assume a haughty air before the garden,
and my defects shall laugh at the virtues.
How long on those cheeks, contrary to the will of my glances,
Shall the flower-like eyes glow, out of the curls of your tresses?]
In the realm of the lovers, without a ray from your face,
Why should the sun shine, and why should the morning
dawn?
If I weep like the cloud, my heart trickles down my eyes,
and
When your ruby lips smile like lightning, my soul sprouts
from them.
Everyone is sincere to the annihilated ones.
Like the candle, one should laugh when the head is gone.
O God! What subtleties are there in the world of comeliness?
(The fair ones).
Stretch themselves equal to the height of a hundred peaks
and then the hair of their waist appears smilingly.
In the stream of the blade of your sword there is sweetness
of water,
Because on account of excessive sweetness the wound caused
by it laughs at the sugar.
By whatever cash we have it is easy to enjoy ourselves.
How much does the morning laugh with but a couple of
breaths?
Every dewdrop in this garden is a flower in the making.
Be courteous to weeping so that it might influence (the be-
loved).
Give up greed, Bedil, for in this garden,
Even when the flower laughs mockingly, it does so on account
of having a golden side.

Give up greed, Bedil, for in this garden,
Even when the flower laughs mockingly, it does so on account
of having a golden side.
Life and Works of Bedil

I have lost all hopes of love from the people, and
Like the pearl I have found a corner in the heart of the ocean.
As the base also aims at having a structure of dignity
After this walls made of shadow would appear.
By splendour the base cannot make a display of greatness.
The dust when it rises up cannot become a sky.
Your desires vainly think of the impossible,
Have a journey vainly through yourself. Why do you make a search for the Phoenix?
Helplessness is the direct route to the destination of peace.
When the wings break prospects of having a nest become bright.
Except bewilderment, ask for nothing from the madness of such unlucky persons as we are.
The rings of the chain of tresses produce no sound.
In patience the lover distinguishes himself from the sensual people.
The mirror and the dewdrop have been tested in bewilderment.
O God, how much of pain and sadness the departed ones had?
Even now the fire relates the tale of the caravan.
If my parts have rubbed themselves into non-existence
I am full of delight, as
Wherever cotton changes into linen there is a flood of moonlight.
Even the sky could not cure my winglessness.
It is impossible to pluck flowers from the cypress by the efforts of the gardener.
In the domain of heart the position of dignity and of dishonour is the same.
The threshold of the house of mirrors is seen high up.
I am sad because my making requests receives no attention.
However I shed the water of my face it does not run.
You are the dawn of this (agreeably) vociferous assembly, don't neglect a peep into yourself.

If you become manifest even for a while, you will display a unique world.

The beloved's eye, O Bedil, does not get tired of shedding blood.

The cup of wine is never intoxicated by drinking ceaselessly.

The poet who wrote such excellent verse, of supreme literary value, having the greatest number of greatest ideas, could not fail to have followers after his death. In India, as well as in Central Asia, there have been many poets who took pride in imitating Bedil. About the poets of the latter region, I had occasion to speak in the third chapter, and I should, therefore, confine myself here to the Indian poets alone. Leaving aside the second-rate poets I shall talk about the two topmost ones, i.e. Ghālib and Iqbal, whose fame has crossed the frontiers of this subcontinent, and whose talent is recognised by all and sundry.

Asadullah Khan Ghālib (1212-1285 A.H.) was the renowned poet of Persian and Urdu, and his fame is growing daily, particularly because of his Urdu Diwān. His earliest biographer and pupil, Altāf Husain Hāllī, says that in his childhood Ghālib followed Bedil. The two Māṣnāvis, طارق مسیرت which were in Ghālib's possession, bear the date 1231 A.H. This shows that Ghālib was nineteen years old when these Māṣnāvis were with him. Ghālib himself has also admitted that he studied and imitated Bedil (and others of his type) till he was twenty-five years old. He adds that when the literary productions of that period were collected, a large Diwān was the result. But as at that time Ghālib did not have sufficient skill in writing poetry, and also as he followed Bedil mostly in finding original conceits, which again at that age could not be easily reached by him, he was embarrassed. His verses became extremely abstruse, and he had to say:

[Writing of lyrics in the style of Bedil, Is extremely difficult, O Asadullah Khan.]

This phase of Ghālib's earlier attempts at versification makes a sad
story, mainly because the lovers of Ghālib ascribe his earlier abstruseness entirely to Bedil, and consequently a bias exists against our poet. I shall therefore make a brief statement of the positive gains of Ghālib resulting from the intensive study of Bedil:

1. Ghālib says:

\[
\text{में हर जा सेठन ५ टेह या तारे दाली है गुजर रंग पहर बिजाडी भाल पढ़ आप}
\]

[Asad, wherever in the verse a new garden has been grown (it is because)
I like Bedil's style which produces (colourful) spring.]

It is a very important couplet pointing definitely to the influence of Bedil on the creative imagination of Ghālib. Dr. 'Abdur Rahman Bijnauri says that at every page of Ghālib's Diwān there are verses which an artist can express in colour. This was actually done by 'Abdur Rahman Chughtāi, who brought out a very popular pictorial edition of Ghālib's Diwān. Now, if the above-mentioned verse of Ghālib is to be believed, which we must, this was the influence of Bedil. In addition to what I have said in this chapter about Bedil's sense of Beauty, a perusal of the Maanavīs and Musammat, which we know were studied by Ghālib, establishes the fact beyond doubt that Bedil's imagination is ablaze when he is describing beautiful things. His (description of spring) expressed in a running glowing metre is a thing of everlasting beauty. And in the rainy season, which is a description of the scenery, during the rainy season, of a hill called Bairāt, Bedil has said in all subtness:

\[
\text{मूज बर सेंक आय एनार देशी के मिया डे भील गुलायलए मेह}
\]

[Don't strike your hands against its stones,
For a drunk Beauty is asleep there with a flask under the arm.]

When Bedil has such a charming expression of the 'Beautiful,' the aesthetic taste of Ghālib must have been deeply influenced by it.

2. But beauty does not exist in thought alone; it appears in expression also. Similes, metaphors, combinations of words, diction are all influenced by it. Examples of Bedil's graceful expression have been cited above. Now if we go through Dr. Bijnauri's inspired comments about Ghālib's peculiarities of style, we find that Bedil's characteristics are also the same. Dr. Bijnauri has cited Ghālib's new

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2. See Muraja'at-e-Ghālib, the pictorial edition of Diwān-e-Ghālib, brought out by 'Abdur Rahman Chughtāi.
combinations\(^1\) of words, e.g. 

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and if they are compared with Bedil's combinations,\(^2\) we observe striking similarities. Such like combinations abound also in the poetry of Bedil. We tread still surer grounds when we read Häfz saying\(^3\) that in Ghālib's Persian prose, elements of Bedil's style have been incorporated.

3. Again Bedil said\(^4\):

> شاعری عبارات از معنی تازه پاییست
> [Poesy is synonymous with finding out original conceits]
> And Ghālib has said: \(^5\)
> بهرنیش شاعری معنی آرونی و نیایه پیام بپیس
> [Brother! Poesy means creating original conceits and not only bringing together mutually rhyming verses.]

Who can say this sentiment of Ghālib was not strengthened as a result of imitating Bedil?

4. Finally, Altaf Husain Häf says that, although to escape the charge of abstruseness Ghālib found refuge in Nazirī and other poets of his type, yet for a long time Ghālib was inspired by the spirit of Bedil. We know about Bedil's mystical speculations and his notions about the origin and destiny of Man. When Dr. 'Abdur Rahmān Bijnauri discusses this phase of Ghālib's thought, he poses the question: Who knows from where Ghālib imbied this spirit? Had the learned Doctor made researches about the suggestive remark of Häf, quoted above, he would have certainly agreed with Häf that it was indeed Bedil who inspired Ghālib in this respect. Fuller implications of this statement would be more clearly brought home to us, if the following parallel verses of Bedil and Ghālib are studied:

**Bedil:**

> [Everything is invisible here and nothing visible,]
> All is hidden, nothing is apparent.

---

2. Page 190 supra.
6. Ibid., p. 310.
It is impossible to see Absolute Beauty. 
That who drew the curtain is not here. 
Because of your Existence all non-existence has hopes. 
For it is said, “There is Allah when there is nothing.”

Ghalib:

[It is hidden what we consider to be apparent.
Those who have awoke in sleep are still asleep.

When everything was non-existent, God existed, and had there been nothing, God would have been there.
This existence has been my undoing. What would I have been (God) ; if I had not been.]

No impartial and unbiased scholar can overlook the importance of these positive gains in the development of Ghalib’s genius. Although, in order to secure facility of expression, Ghalib turned to poets like ‘Urs and Nagiri, yet his earlier contact with Bedil, extending over a long period of ten years, gave a definite pattern to his thoughts and expression which later enabled him to reach the dizzy heights of glory.

As regards Dr. Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938 A.D.), the well-known poet whose Philosophy of Self has earned him an undying fame, one can assert indisputably that right from his early age to the end of his life, he held Bedil in high esteem and derived much benefit from the diction and philosophy of that poet. He has twice quoted Bedil in his works, once in Banga-t-Darâ, published in 1924 A.D., and inserted the following couplet of Bedil:

[Quoted Bedil in his works, once in Banga-t-Darâ, published in 1924 A.D., inserting Bedil’s following couplet:]

As the flask had little capacity, the colour of the wine remained outside.

1. Naskha-e-Hamidiya, p. 14. Ghalib himself admits here that he imitated Bedil for ten years, beginning when he was 13 and leaving when twenty five.

2. Iqbal, Banga-t-Darâ, p. 278.
On both the occasions he talks very respectfully about our poet and in *Bang-e-Darā* he calls him **مرشد کامل**. In his *Lectures and Malfūzāt* too Bedil has been mentioned. In the former Bedil has been called "Our Great Poet Thinker," and in the latter Iqbal appreciated Bedil's dynamic mysticism in preference to the Philosophy of Asadullah Khān Ghālib, which, Iqbal says, is inclined to be static. From what we have said so far it is manifest that both Iqbal and Bedil share each other's hatred for dry as dust intellectualism, belief in the vast potentialities of Man, and love for activism. These facts will become all the more clear if a comparative study of the following verses of both the great poets is made:

**Bedil**:

![Quran](https://www.quran.com/en/113/8)

[It is not essential to be always with reason, One should also be mad for a couple of days.]

![Quran](https://www.quran.com/en/113/9)

[Sorry we did not tear open the veil of the heart. A grain had sealed the granary.]

![Quran](https://www.quran.com/en/113/10)

[O, my cries, cross the heavens and conquer the Placeless. How long will you keep your sword hidden under the shield?]

![Quran](https://www.quran.com/en/113/11)

[Being in tune with the instrument of the accidents brings peace. If the times create tumult be a storm.]

**Iqbal**:

![Quran](https://www.quran.com/en/113/12)

[It is preferable that reason should be with the heart as guardian. But sometimes it should leave it alone.]

![Quran](https://www.quran.com/en/113/13)

[You would have got a priceless treasure of Beauty, Had you, O Farhad, dug the mildernes of heart.]

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1. Iqbal, *Reconstruction of Religions Thought in Islam*, p. 11.
[In the waste-land of my madness the angel Gabriel is but a worthless prey.

O, high-minded courage, catch God in your noose.]

[Pass through the hills and the deserts like the swift torrent]

If there is a garden in your way, be a sweet singing stream.

A strange identity of temperament, thought, and outlook makes itself apparent from these verses of both the poets. A detailed comparative study of the life and works of each one of them is bound to be more fruitful, but I must be content here with saying that both of them tried to reform and regenerate the society, in which they were born, by their soul-stirring verse and their lifegiving thought. It was because of this that Iqbal, who came after Bedil, was full of praise for his forerunner in thought.

Still there is another phase of Iqbal's indebtedness to Bedil, which S. A. Vahid, a learned writer on Iqbal's Art and Thought, draws our attention. He says:

How beautifully Iqbal has sung of his philosophy of ego in his graceful and melodious verse. It needed a superb artist to achieve this, but it must be remarked that Iqbal's task was rendered easier by poets like Hafiz, Bedil, and Ghalib. So far as I know, Hafiz was the first great poet to discuss philosophy and sociology, as he knew them, as well as politics in his lyrics. This trend continued in Persian till we find in 'Urfi and Bedil, abstruse philosophical subjects discussed with the grace and the charm of which only a Persian Ghazal is capable.

This similarity of diction in Bedil and Iqbal was first of all detected by the poet Akbar Husain Akbar (d. 1921 A.D.) of Allahabad who, while praising Iqbal, wrote to a friend:

What a fine expression. Even Bedil would be enamoured of it.

Iqbal himself wrote to a poet named Ghulam Husain Shaki-Shiddiqi of Gujranwala, Panjab, to study Bedil in order to improve his diction. This shows how much the charm of Iqbal's expression is

2. Maqsum, Lahore, for October, 1949, p. 21. It was in a letter to Mira Sulaiman Ahmad.
3. Maqsum, Lahore, for October, 1949, p. 21; Mabani, Rawalpindi, for December 1952, p. 10.
4. Ghulam Husain Shaki Shiddiqi follows Iqbal in his poems and writes mostly about historic topics. His works are Araghun-e-Ulfa (a novel), Salat-e-Darein (a collection of doxological poems), Razi-e-Ishq (Ghazals), Guzar-e-Khayal,
due to the graceful wording of Bedil. We have studied Bedil's combination of words; we should now study Iqbal's for the sake of comparison:

A passing reference to the indebtedness of Urdu language to Bedil would not be out of place. As far as I know, Bedil wrote only three verses in this language, but his pupils Anand Ram Mukhli, Mirza Aziz Khan Arzu, and Nawab Amir Khan Anjum have left many verses in Urdu. As after Bedil's death in 1033 A.H., poets of Shah Jahanabad turned in large numbers to Urdu, the celebrations of the death anniversaries of Bedil attracted Urdu poets also who got inspiration from Bedil's verse. Moreover, we have just talked about Ghalib and Iqbal, who wrote in Urdu also, and everybody knows they have enriched this language vastly by the sweetness of their expression and the loftiness of their thoughts. Thus it is clear that indirectly Urdu language owes much to Bedil. This fact can be explained further by enumerating second-rate Urdu poets who followed Bedil, but this will unduly lengthen the discussion, and I should, therefore, finish it here and move to the next chapter.

Bāhār-e-Khayāl (both collections of national and historical poems), and Tid-e-Qalander (mainly versified addresses to Iqbal and the letters from the Poet of the East). In this connection, read an article by Shākir Siddiqi, captioned Tid-e-Qalander, contributed to Māhānt for December 1952.

1. Page 190 supra.
2. Yūsuf Husain Khan, Rāh-e-Iqbal, p. 110.
4. Sauda, Kuliyat, pp. 470, 471. Here Mirza Muhammad Rafi 'Sauda (d. 1193 A.H.) writes a satire in Urdu about the poet, Nudrat Kashmiri, who took part in the celebrations.
that it has about 6,000 couplets. It has a brief preface in prose and eight chapters. The names of the chapters are given in the following eight lines.²

The preface begins with the praise of the Creator Who honoured Man by saying:

وَلاَقِ كَرْمًا بِنِي آدَمٍ

And surely We have dignified the children of Adam.] Then Bedil names the poets Zuhūrī, Hilālī, Zulālī, Sālik, Tālibī, Sāmīt, Shaida, Sa'llīm, and Sāib, who (with the exception of the last two) could not be expected to comprehend properly and appreciate this Masnavi. In the first chapter Bedil tells how Pure Being gradually descended and entered the realm of manifestation. In the second chapter he informs how the wine of Divine Love, nay the Light of Heavens, was turn by turn distributed among the different prophets, i.e. Ādam, Idrīs, Nūh, Yūnus, Ibrāhīm, Ya'qūb, Yūsuf, Sulaimān, Ayūb, Mūsā, 'Īsā, and Muhammad (Peace be upon them), and then among Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣmān, and 'Alī—the four Orthodox Caliphs of Islam. This fact reminds us of Ibnul 'Arabi, who named the chapters³ of his Fawṣūl Hikāt after different prophets and discussed in each chapter an appropriate aspect of Mysticism. The third chapter deals with Manifestation, the fourth with the universal passion of love for God, and the fifth tells that perfection is attained by approaching the Almighty in a spirit of humility. In the sixth the tavern of the intoxicated lovers of God has been described, and in the seventh the unique position of Man in the universe has been emphasised. The eighth chapter marks the end. Here and there in the Maṣnawi anecdotes have been introduced to illustrate some point. The metre of the poem is the famous running metre of the Shāhnāma of Firdausi.

1. Muḥtī-ʿAlīṣ, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 1526, f. 47 b. See the following couplets:

ای بسته دان به طوف بعنی احرام در حلقه؛ این میکنند کن دور تمام

مفتاح بیست معرفت درکن تست از دور، اس کر در آگر بایی جام

2. Kuṭūlūs-e-Ṣafdar, Muḥtī-ʿAlīṣ, p. 3.

3. In the Ms. of the Maṣnawi, mentioned above, it is: شورس شنش شراب بزم بنجامان ای نیان خیال؛ بزم لیبرلگ افرادی نیال; see f. 47b.

4. The Holy Qur'ān, xvii. 70.
5. Page 46, supra.
Masnavis

Rūdāki, the father of Persian poetry, was also the first poet to write a Masnavī in Persian. He related in verse the famous story of Kāliya and Damma and thus Masnavī, as a class in itself, came into being. The Masnavī was, therefore, originally a narrative, but gradually its scope was widened, and romantic, epic, philosophical, ethical, didactic, and mystical Masnavīs were written in course of time by different poets. When Bedil was born, all the great Masnavīs: the Ḥadīqatul Ḥaqīqat of Sanā′, the Masnavī of Jalālud Dīn Rūmī, the Shāhnāma of Firdausī, the Panj Ġanī of Nizāmī of Ganja, the Bostān of Saʿdi, and the Haft Auranj of Jāmī, had been written and were universally popular in Muslim countries. Bedil, therefore, was able to study Masnavī in its fully developed form. The language of the Masnavīs, too, had improved to such an extent that topics of all sorts, whether nature poetry, battle scenes, emotions, customs, character-sketches, philosophical subjects, or other problems of life, could be handled without facing any difficulty in expression. Suitable words, appropriate phrases, apt similes and metaphors, and carefully coined terminology could be found in abundance; and an intelligent, well-read, and original writer like Bedil could express himself with a charm and elegance which could not fall to the lot of the Maṣnavī-writers of earlier ages. Having enumerated, in brief, the advantages which Bedil had over his predecessors, we should study his Maṣnavī in the chronological order.

1. MUḤIT-ḤA’ZAM

Bedil was twenty four years old when he wrote this Maṣnavī in 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.). Its name is the chorogram, Khushgū says that it has 2,000 couplets, but some manuscript copies of this Maṣnavī, which are found in different countries of the world, show

1. In a Maṣnavī both the hemistiches of every couplet rhyme with each other and the rhyme changes with every next couplet. The minimum number of couplets in a Maṣnavī is two, but there is no limit to their maximum number. Similarly, Maṣnavīs are not written in a particular metre. Any metre can suit them.
2. Page 55 supra.
There are four aspects of the poem, and hints about them have been made by Bedil himself. In the preface Bedil says that the poem is a *Tavern for the Revelation of Truths*, i.e. its philosophical aspect has been referred to. In the same preface it has been called بَيْسَت مَيْرَت also, which means the Paradise of Gnosis, and thereby the mystical import of the poem has been emphasised. In his *Ruqʿat*, Bedil writes that it is a *Saqīnāma*, i.e. a Bacchanalian Song. Again, in the *Chahār 'Unsūr this Maqānīv* has been named a ٍنَهْرَهْ, i.e. a vernal ode. I would like to speak briefly about all the four aspects of the *Maqānīv*, but, before doing so, I should reiterate that it was the first *Maqānīv* of Bedil, written at the youthful age of twenty four, when the memories of his spiritual preceptors, who were accustomed to talk about the mystical philosophy in their meetings, were still fresh in his mind.

While speaking of God Bedil begins with Pure Being, devoid of qualities and relations, when there were no accidents, no contradictions and no talk of the Necessary and the contingent. All this uproar was then hushed up in *Huwiyya* (He-ness) "which signifies the inward Unity in which the attributes of the Essence disappear." Bedil says figuratively:

Transcendence was lamp of Its chamber,
Sanctity was a blossom of Its garden,
Quietness breathed a melodious song in Its assembly, and
Bewilderment strewed flowers in Its orchard.
Neither the cup had opened its eye on the bearer's hand,
Nor the melody was aware of the minstrel's tune.
There was neither sorrow, nor joy, and neither autumn nor spring.
Similarly there was neither exhilaration produced by wine
nor the pain of drunken headache.

2. Pages 181 supra, footnote No. 1.
5. Pages 21-41, supra.
In the unseen tavern of Divinity,  
The cup-bearer, the wine, and the bacchanal were all drunk togerther.

The flute, the melody, and the heart-ravishing minstrel,  
Were all hidden behind the curtain of the instrument of Unity.]  

The last hemistich of the verses quoted above shows that Pure Being marked its first approach to manifestation in Aḥadiyya (واحدت), i.e. Abstract Oneness. After this Being descended to Wāḥidiyya (واحدت), i.e. Unity in Plurality, and then the attributes, the contingent, the intelligences, the spirits, the heavens, the elements, and the three kingdoms appeared. This, in brief, is Bedil’s scheme of Ontological Devolution. Bedil’s purpose in describing this scheme was largely to emphasise Man’s position in the Cosmos. Bedil says that Man is the spirit and life of the whole Universe—a Microcosmos in form but Macrocosmos in meaning:

به معنى محيط و به صورت نمي ز.offer نفس در نفس عالمي  
[An ocean in meaning but a drop in form.
Through a puff of breath, a world in the cage.]  

And he therefore tells Man:

[Because of your agitation, there is tumult in this world and The world becomes quiet when you are silent.]  

The philosophical aspect of the Masnavi ends here, and when, after this discussion of the Ontological Descent of the Absolute, Bedil speaks about the ascent or return to It, the mystical aspect begins. As in the case of devolution, here also Bedil makes only brief references to the final destiny of Man when he is absorbed in the Pure Essence. He says:

[The people who get acquainted with that secret wine, Cease to be ghouls, and become Perfect Men.
From Men they rise to the level of angels and thence get access to Pure Essence.
This is the effect of the sublime secret.]  

In the first hemistich of these verses, Bedil speaks of the intoxication of love. In fact the whole of the poem revolves round this single idea, and it would be very useful if I could describe, in detail, Bedil’s views about love, but at present, I must be content with a few remarks only. According to Bedil, Love is a universal passion:

به میرا خوائی ازین پادة است به خرین این برقر افتاده است  
[Every head is exhilarated by this wine, and This lightning has struck every stack.]
It sublimates and elevates:

Through it a lifeless body becomes an embodiment of spirit.

Moreover, it enlivens, gives strength and has vast potentialities.

Above all it is because of love that man is delivered from the contaminations of the phenomena:

In the course of this dissertation, Bedil speaks about the Sufis' spiritual organ, i.e. 'Mind' (دل), whose nature, he says, is intellectual rather than emotional:

Bedil refers to the opposite qualities which heart comes to have when it is darkened by sin or illuminated by faith and knowledge. Our mystic asserts, in addition, that not pride of virtue and asceticism, but a humble acknowledgement of one's drawbacks makes one esteemed in the eyes of God:

Having described these things Bedil sums up the characteristics of gnostics. He says they observe reticence, but have a warm and
restless soul; they are ever contemplating, ever prepared to bow before God, but always above formal prayers; and they are dignified, humble in spirit, modest, generous, unceremonial, freedom-loving, intoxicated with the love of the Absolute, sharp-witted, and hateful of worldly desires. Bedil has also mentioned the names of Bāyazīd of Bīšām (261/875), Junaid of Baghūdād (297-9/999-11), Manṣūr al-Hallāj (309/922), and Jalālūd Din Rūmī (672/1273), the prominent Ṣūfis of Islam, whom he wishes to follow.

After a passing review of the mystical aspect of the Masnāvī, we should talk about it as a bacchanalian song. Zuhūrī’s (d. 1025 A.H./1616-7 A.D.) celebrated Sāqīnāmā had won wide popularity, and it was because of this popularity that, as soon as Bedil’s creative talents were developed, he wrote a similar song, incorporating the good points of Zuhūrī, and adding what he thought to be essential. We learn from Bedil himself that he had Zuhūrī in mind when he wrote this poem. Bedil says, at the outset, after the usual doxologies, in the prose-preface to the poem:

[It is the tavern for the revelation of truths and not the Sāqīnāmā of Zuhūrī’s verse.]

The fundamental difference between these two poems has been very aptly stated by Khushgū, the biographer of Bedil. Khushgū says that Zuhūrī’s Sāqīnāmā is a poetical composition, but that of Bedil has been written in a mystical strain. This difference becomes all the more clear when both the poems are studied side by side. For example, both the poets have addressed the Cup-bearer in their poems. Zuhūrī’s general drift of thought can be gathered from this address:

Come, O Sāqī, all blossoms as thou art.
Come, come, thou art a rose, and I am a nightingale in the midst of autumn.
Come, O Thou, the strutting drunk peacock, and
Place thy feet on my head, as I am staggering.
Come, O Thou called fairy, and entitled Sāqī, and
Sprinkle on me drops out of the cup of wine.]

But Bedil’s Sāqī has quite a different appearance and absolutely a different character. The following verses may be studied:

1. Muḥi-'l-Aʿẓam, pp. 16, 30, 32.
Life and Work of Bedil

It may be seen that Zuhuri's is an ordinary fair-faced coquettish saqi, but the saqi of Bedil is the finest production of the best mystical speculations. I need not dilate on this difference any more, but I would like to say a few words about a few more points where Bedil tried to rival Zuhuri. To assure the cup-bearer of their burning desire for a cup of wine, both the poets have sworn in an eloquent language, using rich imagery, novel similes and metaphors, and a wealth of sweet and elegant phrases. Zuhuri had written1 95 couplets of Oath, and one could say that the subject had been exhausted by him, but, only half a century after his death, Bedil wrote2 123 couplets of the kind, which are of supreme literary value. Similarly, Zuhuri wrote 15 couplets, in one breath, about heart (دل), and Bedil has written 13. Finally, Zuhuri was very fond of employing3 the figure antithesis (پشت تضاد), and very charming instances of this are found in his Sāqīnāma also. Bedil, too, used this figure in Muḥīṯ-e-Aʿẓam with equal success. For example, these verses from the Oath:

[I swear] by the rouge of the face of longing ;

By the redness of the tear of the eye of separation.

2. Muḥīṯ-e-Āẓam, Panjab University Library Mss. No. 1524; ff. 82-86. In the Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī only 77 couplets have been given.
By the consciousness possessed by the head of unconsciousness, and
By the talk made by the lips of silence.

In view of the categorical difference between the two Sāgināmar, it is not difficult to imagine how Bedil would describe the wine, the cup, the goblet, the vat, the tavern, the tavern-hunters, and the different musical instruments placed in the tavern. They have all been assigned a symbolical significance. This peculiarity Bedil had consistently in view even while talking of his Metaphysics in the Masnavi. He begins with Pure Being, and notice how the bacchanalian terminology has been employed:

How pleasant the times when in the Banquet House of Eternity,
There was a wine without its effects,
Transcending the thought of the temporal, and
Free from the dregs of the dust of Attributes.
It was neither indebted to appetite nor in need of throat,
and
Was beyond the reach of the goblet and the cup.

It is, of course, a very appropriate beginning and indicative of the earnestness of Bedil's soul. Indeed, the passionate way in which Bedil has sung of the wine and the flowing running verses of the Sāgināmar, like the surging torrents coming downhill, make the poem an inspiring reading.

Now about the poem as a vernal song. There is no dearth of poetry, about the splendour and joy of the spring, in Persian literature, and almost every poet has sung about the rose-garden, the nightingale, and the meandering sweet streams. Bedil, therefore, inherited aesthetic taste from his forerunners. This, however, goes to his credit that, because of his vivid imagination and powerful description, he produced exceedingly beautiful poetry, whenever he talked about things of beauty. In this poem he has described, at length, the bloom of the spring in an exquisite manner, and I would like to quote a few verses:

It is a spring in describing which
The breath turns into a bud of colour and smell.
It is the air through the fragrance of whose praise
The speech on the tongue is changed into the vein of the
rose-petal.
A wave of colour trickles down the air, and
The footprint is overfull, with wine, like the cup.
If the eye gets a share from its colour,
The wet eyelid becomes the virtual rose-petal.

Notice the sense of beauty, particularly in the last hemistich. Bedil had indeed a novel creative experience. While speaking about his state of mind, during the composition of this poem, he says, “At the time when the Vernal Ode of Muhit-e-A'zam was taking form, and the oasis of its usefulness was developing, freshness, with the hue of the conceits of a hundred gardens, gracefully moved in the imagination; and elegance, with the beauty of a world of eloquence, pleasingly appeared before the mental eye.” Here Bedil talks about his conceits, his imagery, and his eloquence, and one who reads this description of the spring and goes through the Mašnavi will surely reap a rich crop of these things.

I have spoken above about all the aspects of the Mašnavi—philosophical, mystical, emotional and aesthetic—and have made references to its peculiarities. It is indeed one of the great Mašnavis of Persian language, and in fact a masterpiece of our poet. In it the young poet sang of wine, love, and beauty, and of his aspirations for a high ideal. His emotions had been sublimated by his apprenticeship as a mystic and this lent a novel charm to his poem. Like an ambitious thoughtful youth, the poet tried to cover the whole of Reality by his Philosophy. Such an all-embracing poem, making an impassioned appeal alike to the heart and to the mind, ought to have been received warmly by the public, but it is a pity that it was not popular in the beginning, and when Bedil sent it, with some of his Ghazals, to 'Aqil Ehan Rāz, he had to pray:

[May these utterances, which are accused of having rhyme, and these expressions, which are known for their unpopularity, light the candle of honour through the reflection of that assembly, which is the destination of the sun.]

1. Kulliyāt-e-Safiari, Citaht 'Urdu, p. 86. Bedil writes:

This prayer was granted and a time arrived when people eagerly requested the poet to give them copies of this Masnavi, and, I am sure, because of its sterling virtues, it will always be studied with undiminished interest.

2. **TILISM-E-HAIRAT**

Bedil wrote this *Masnavi* in 1030 A.H. (1669 A.D.) according to the following chronogram. 3

कहन تاریخی عطت زبان یاب
پی تاریخ نظر فی اب
سراندیشی تا دُر چرب
پر زیار گیش از عالم غیب

Bedil had joined the Army after his marriage in 1079 A.H. (1668 A.D.), and we, therefore, come to the conclusion that he was still in the service of Prince A'zam Shâh when the *Masnavi* was written. I think his sad experience about Mu'alls-e-A'zam had taught Bedil that the new *Masnavi* could be a success if it was dedicated to a scholar-courtier of the reputation of 'Aqil Khan Râzi. The poet was, therefore, overjoyed when he learnt that the grand noble had agreed. He thanked him and wrote: 6

صمد شکر که برده نامه ام رنگ نیول
بدل بودم عزاس دل گوردیم

[Numberless thanks to God, as my request in the letter has been granted.

I was without even a single heart, and now I possess a thousand.] But this dedication did not fulfil the expectations entertained by Bedil. He, therefore, sent it to Nawâb Shukrullah Khân the son-in-law of 'Aqil Khan Râzi, and at the end of the introductory letter 7 he wrote:

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1. Page 121 supra.
2. Spenger's apprehensions about his inability to solve the chronogram were not baseless. He has given 1125 A.H. (1713 A.D.), as the date of the composition of this *Masnavi*, which is palpably incorrect. 'Aqil Khân, to whom the book was dedicated, and Shukrullah Khân, to whom it was sent by Bedil, both died in 1103 A.H. (1696 A.D.). It is, therefore, clear that Spenger's attempts at solving the chronogram have proved infructuous, and that Eber and the author of the Bankipur catalogue have both followed Spenger, in this respect, in an uncritical spirit. The solution of the chronogram is not at all difficult. If we subtract 73, the numerical value of ک, from 1153, the numerical value of عام غیب, we get 1080, the Hijri year of the *Masnavi*'s composition. For the references in this note see Spenger, Oudhe Catalogue of Persian Mss., p. 379; Eber, India Office Library Catalogue of Persian Mss., under No. 168; Bankipur Catalogue of Persian Mss., under No. 382.
4. Page 60 supra.
5. Page 56 supra ? 'Aqil Khân Râzi wrote also *Waghiat-e-Ālamgiri* also.
7. Ibid., p. 3.
Feel delighted, O my heart, because your knot is after all being opened.
My drop will reach the place where it will turn into an ocean.

The Khan gave headings to the different sections of the Masnavi and prepared a summary of its contents. It was, therefore, this Masnavi which established the happiest relations between these two persons, and, although in point of theme, depth of feelings, and spontaneity of expression, this Masnavi is inferior to Muhitt-е-A'zam, yet for practical purposes it proved more fruitful, because with it Bedil's place as a poet was recognised.

In the Masnavi, as well as in his Raq'i, Bedil has referred to the circumstances in which the Masnavi was written. He had settled in Dehli after his marriage. He found there many poets, having voluminous Diwan, who attended mainly to niceties of expression, fanciful conceits, and conventional poetry, but they lacked thoughts.

On the other hand, there were poets who had thoughts, but their verse lacked the necessary decorative element. While sending Tilism-e-Hairat to Nawab Shukrullah Khan, Bedil remarked:

These days the people, who attract our notice by the freshness of their colourful expression, show utter disregard for meaning; and the persons, who, on account of their regard for the meaning, boastfully talk of their originality of mind, attach no value to the elegance of expression. The meanings, therefore, are like the melody hidden in some unknown musical instrument, and the language consists of unintelligible songs.

When Bedil observed these defects in the compositions of his contemporary poets, he decided to effect a reform. He wanted to write something which should be the positive counterpart of what he had seen in other poets. He wished that in his composition the ideas and their expression should balance each other in a most beautiful manner. He prayed to God for a suitable theme, and one night he was thinking deeply, when all of a sudden an idea flashed in his mind. It began to develop and very soon his mind was full of ideas:

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2. Page 64 supra.
3. Page 60 supra.
He, therefore, commenced writing this Ma'navi, and when he finished it he was satisfied with the result. Later, when he was sending it to Nawâb Shukurullah Khân, he wrote:

Consequently it is ages since the language of 'Tilism-e-Hairat' of Bedil has crept into the narrow corners of the meanings, and its meanings have concealed themselves under the cover of the words.

He was complaining against the bad taste of the people who could not appreciate a poem in which thought and expression had balanced each other beautifully. This shows Bedil's opinion about this Ma'navi,

'Tilism-e-Hairat' is an allegorical Ma'navi. It begins with a description of the Essence and Attributes of God, and of the scheme of creation. From a study of the contents of this part of the Ma'navi one concludes that, while writing it, Bedil had in view this verse of the Holy Qur'ân (lvii. 3):

هوایول ولاخ واظهار والباطن [He is the First and the Last and the Ascendant (overall) and the Knowe of all hidden things.]

Here Bedil's prayer:

شوم رازی که در گفتنت نگنجم، زنم جوشی که من درم نگنجم [May I change into inexpressible secret, and May I feel overpowering excitement!]

for the development of his own self brings to our mind his following verse in Mu'til-e-A'gam:

کرم گرم حسکه، مس خوشی نگنجم بیراهم راز خوشی [My frame should get uproarious like a musical instrument, So much so that the covering of my secret may not be able to contain me.]

It means he was still passing through the formative period of his life, of which he was fully aware. After this he praises the Holy Prophet in a very original manner:

زبانم نابل حبل هاد خدا شد که با نام هاد آن نش [Zaher Nabi Khamal-Dowande, Astem, stem and Amir-Jahan, Dorowande, Astem]

Life and Work of Bedil

My tongue was able to praise God,
Because it got acquainted with the name of the praised one.
How excellent the name, for which the soul is frenzied with love, and
Everything in the world loves it passionately.
When I opened both the worlds like the pearl-oyster,
Lo, the pearl of his name was in my hands.
Through an explanation of this name the heart knows

The mystery of the meaning of "All praise is due to Allah."

The simple and unadorned language of the verses, the gradual development of the idea, and the sublime and graceful thought contained in them are simply wonderful. From the metaphysical point of view, the Prophet has been represented as Logos—the doctrine which tends to identify the essence of Muhammad (和平之主) "with the active principle of revelation in the Divine Essence." This idea seems to have been borrowed¹ from Muhyud Din Ibuul ‘Arabi (638-1240) and 'Abdul Karim ibn Ibrahim al-Jili (b. 1365-6 A.D., d. 1406-17 A.D.), but probably from the former². The following verse of Bedil may be studied in this connection:

[His externality is the rouge of the confines of the Universe, and

His internality is the majesty of the Absolute.]

The summary of the Ma'navi now follows. Soul, the monarch of the exalted Dominion of Holiness, came down to have a walk through the sub-lunary world, and resided in a pleasant place, called body, which is governed by phlegm, blood, yellow bile, and black bile—the four humours. The king selected for itself three citadels, one of them being brain, this citadel had ten stations, and at every station there was a master, their names being: the five senses (hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch), common sense, fancy, reflection, imagination and memory. The last five are the internal senses. After this the soul, i.e. the king, moved towards the citadel of Liver, where there were eight teachers—nourishment, growth, generation, figuration, attraction, retention, digestion, and expulsion. The third citadel was the heart where six persons resided. They were

2. Khushgū, in Ma'ārif, May 1942. Khushgū has remarked that Bedil was inspired by Ibnul ‘Arabi. Khan Arzū also said in his elegy of Bedil:

[He was Ibnul ‘Arabi in Persian language.]
hope, fear, affection, enmity, pleasure, and sorrow. The king, i.e. soul, drove away sorrow, fear and enmity from the heart and indulged in merry-making. But soon there was trouble and the king fell ill on account of the mutual jealousy of the humours and the conspiracy of the unpleasant emotions which had been driven out of the heart. Pleasure and affection asked the soul to approach: beauty and love in this connection. Beauty and love, however, refused to help. Hope then invited reason who, out of compassion, came and was useful to a certain extent, but the situation deteriorated with the onset of weakness. Then resolution stood in good stead: the patient turned the corner and soon recovered. Now beauty formed a sincere alliance with the king, and then love too arrived. The king experienced bewilderment and restlessness, but was told that he could not attain his object without self-renunciation. The king, relying upon Trust and accompanied by Love, had a walk through the Realm of Belovedness; and, beginning with the feet, he saw the charms of the calves, the legs, the buttocks, the waist, the belly, the navel, the breast, the waists, the neck, the mole, the down, the dimple, the tresses, the lips, the mouth, the cheeks, the nose, the eyes, the eyebrows, the forehead, the curling lock, and the stature. As the king wanted to see Absolute Beauty, he then moved to the Realm of Lovingness. In this realm the lands of blame and misery, the valley of separation, and the region of body (القلم بالمن) were seen one by one. In spite of his prolonged wanderings through the realms of Belovedness and Lovingness, the king's object was not attained, and naturally he was disheartened and disappointed. Love now told the king that both the realms were illusory, and that his own self was the Reality which prevailed everywhere. When the king found it out, he raised his eyes to have a look at his own self, and:

**He saw a realm free from the accident of form, and**

The bloom of a spring immune from the taint of dust.

It was the realm were the Absolute Essence of God had sway. Here the Masnavi reaches its end, and the poet reminds us of the import of this saying:

**[He who knows his own self knows God.]**

It is clear that the Masnavi has a very coherent plot. Nothing inconsistent has been introduced. The soul's stay in the body, the different faculties that serve it, the causes of its troubles, the ways in which those troubles can be alleviated, and the nature of its real destiny in the world have all been described with a scrupulous regard for proportion. Interest has been created by the lively debate...
between the humours, the illustrative use of apt similes and metaphors, and by a description of the prolonged journeys of the soul as a monarch, which fact has introduced the element of movement in the Mašnavī. While going through the summary of the poem one feels, when the humours and faculties are named, that it is a philosophical poem, having dry and tasteless discussions; but the treatment of the subject-matter, and the poet's rich imagination have changed it into a romance. The artistic description of the beauty points, the emotional tension, and the soft and tender language have collectively produced a romantic effect. The didactic element comes in only incidentally and appears to be a natural development of the idea, and then after a moment the narrative goes on as before. The poem is, therefore, a great success in conception as well as in execution. The poet's claim that thought and expression should balance each other has been well established in the Mašnavī. The following two verses, about jealousy and revengeful spirit, would serve as an example:

 março كاه ان لاح ٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍرٍئٍr
the Narūkas in 1098 A.H. (1686-7 A.D.). One can say, therefore, that Bedil went to Mewāt when Nawāb Shukrullah Khān proceeded to fight against Bāji Ram. But this Masnavi does not indicate at any place that the poet lived in Mewāt in the midst of active armies and constant warfare. On the other hand, it appears that the Masnavi was written at a time when there was perfect calmness all around, and when both, Bedil and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, could peacefully enjoy the scenery of the place, and could find leisure to describe it in verse. A few verses of Bedil disclose that, before he went to Mewāt, he had heard much about the beautiful scenery of Bāirāt. In all likelihood it was Nawāb Shukrullah Khān who told Bedil about the charms of the place, and the Nawāb could not do it before his return from Mewāt in 1099 A.H. (1687-8 A.D.). Moreover, immediately after his final arrival in Dhai in 1095 A.H. (1634-35 A.D.), Bedil asked Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, in a letter, to arrange permanent residential quarters for him; and from this we form the conclusion that when Bedil arrived in Dhai from Mathura, with his family, in 1096 A.H. (1684-85 A.D.), Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was already in Mewāt, and, therefore, Bedil had to request for the house in a letter. All this shows that Bedil did not go to Mewāt when the Nawāb's armies first moved towards the place. Āzād Bilgrāmī says that Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was the Governor (Faujdar) of Mewāt till he died there in 1108 A.H. (1696 A.D.). I am, therefore, of the opinion that Bedil accompanied Nawāb Shukrullah Khān when he went to Mewāt for the second time after 1099 A.H. (1687-8 A.D.), and it was then that the Masnavi Tūr-e-Ma'rifat was written.

The Masnavī has been written in the metre of Tilism-e-Hairat, which Bedil wrote about twenty nine years before in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.). It has two names: Tūr-e-Ma'rifat and Gulgasht-e-Haqiqat, which occur in Bedil's Ruq'at as well as in the Masnavī itself. It was

1. Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī, Tūr-e-Ma'rifat, p. 4. Here Bedil tells how he was pleased to see the scenery.
4. Page 89 supra.
5. Āzād Bilgrāmī, Safdar-e-Āzād, p. 149.
6. In this connection see p. 91 supra also.

Za'ūrūr pārmat munti Srai
Bedil marta kāru ḍi Nāzīd Chādiā
Bimāsh 'Aīr-īn Mā'ātūn e-Malāqūn
Bedil Thīr e-Ma'ātūn e-Malāqūn
written in two days and has about 1,200 couplets. The **Masnavi** describes the scenes, during the rainy season, of Bairat, which is a town in Mewat. The following introductory remarks, in prose, given at the top of the first section of the poem, make a reference to its character and declare that the poem is primarily a description of the scenery of Nature.

Bairat is surrounded, on all sides by low and bare red hills, and when, having crossed the rugged hilly ranges, one gets at once a glimpse of the circular valley, having very fine and abundant trees, with a beautiful town in its midst, one is surprised to see the fascinating scenery. The valley is about 2½ miles in diameter, and from seven to eight miles in circuit. The valley, therefore, appears like the exquisite gem of a ring. Says Bedil:

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زین ذوق طراف آن صنم زار
گر مشتاقان پر کرده کشیده کهسار

[On account of his intense desire to walk round the beautiful place,
The mountain circumambulated like the lovers.
The sky was proud of its ring,
Because it got a gem like its ground.]
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When Bedil was in Bairat, it was the rainy season, and the skies were overcast with clouds, with all those glories for which the monsoons in India are known far and wide. Bedil, who, being a mystic poet with a fine aesthetic taste, was much influenced by the sublime and the elegant, could not but be moved by these scenes. He says:

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کشین در کوه بیران آب و زنگ بست
که هر یک به پر بندر فنگ بست
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1. Kulliyāt-e-Šafiari, Tūr-e-Mārifat, p. 19. The following verse:

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دوروزی در این زنگنشتمن خالی زا بهاری تقصین بسم

[[I sat meditating for a couple of days, and

Turned a thought into the spring.]
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2. It is strange that according to Khushgul, in Ma'rif, May 1942, p. 375, the number of couplets is 3,000. The Manuscript, as well as the published copies, of the **Masnavi**, which I could lay my hands upon, have only 1,200 couplets, and also no catalogue of Persian Mss. gives a larger number.

Khusgul has also said that the maximum number of verses, that Bedil could write in a day, was 500, and when Bedil himself says this **Masnavi** was written in two days, how can the number of the couplets of the **Masnavi** be 3,000?

3. Page 92 supra.


6. Ibid., pp. 340-42.
[At present there is so much of light and colour in the hills of Bairat,
That every one of them captivates the heart like a French beauty.]

Although Bedil has said that in writing this Maṣnāvī he followed Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, who had written a poem describing the scenery of Bairat, yet there is no denying the fact that Bedil himself was much impressed by the scenery, and as a consequence the creative urge was so powerful and the inspirational thrill, in his imagination as well in his emotions, was so acute that he could not express himself adequately in verse. He says sorrowfully:

زیافتم تفریح ریزان
ولی که فرم خط سرمه برست
مثعلی ششاندین شتر می‌بود
[I have become eloquent on account of my walk through the valley of Reality, and
My tongue has grown into a thousand beaks,
The sound of the meaning's instrument plays riot,
But at the time of composition this sound is silenced.
If composition had not silenced them,
The meanings would have produced the tumult of the Resurrection.]

This Maṣnāvī, therefore, does not consist of Nature-Poetry conventionally indulged in by Persian poets, but here we find a poet who sings about Nature because he must. A spontaneous production of this kind deserves careful consideration, and I shall, therefore, pause here for some time in spite of the limits imposed by my thesis.

As a piece of descriptive poetry of Nature, this Maṣnāvī shows that Bedil had a highly developed and comprehensive landscape sense. Beginning with the small particles of dust and earth, he describes meadows, gardens, flowers, thorns, mountains, waterfalls, springs, clouds, raindrops, bubbles, the sky, and the evenings, and the mornings. The pictures drawn are under particular moments, and under particular moods. In the brief description of the Bairat town, with its surroundings, Bedil speaks of all the objects mentioned above, with such a regard for the minutest details, that at the end of the section the complete picturesque scene of Bairat appears before our eyes with all its brilliance. Not content with this, Bedil describes all the objects of Nature separately, and then he makes a magnificent display of his powers of description, his keen observation, and his vivid imagination. See for example the clouds with contrasts of shade:

Life and Work of Bedil

[If the black could shower drops, it looks as if
The stars are coming down the skirt of night.
And if the white cloud breaks loose, it appears
The very joyful dawn is sprinkling dew-drops.]

Now he describes the stationary interwoven black clouds with raindrops coming down:

[What cloud?—the mirror of the blandishments of the Rose
and wine, and
The delight of a hundred closets of tresses and curls.
But they are like a lock of hair, which by a slight movement
in the air,
Can invent a thousand hearts.]

But the realistic effect, when Bedil describes the flying clouds with flashes of lightning, is splendid:

[At times it laughs at the world through the clouds, and
At times lets down a stream of tears on the dust.
Sometimes it rubs its breast against the mountain-peak, and
At one time flies away to meadows and weeps.]

The falling of rain-drops is a scene where Bedil's creative imagination is at its best:

[The pearls of the ocean of the sublime world
Roll down to the ground through roundness.
The world appears to be the bright lamp of an august assembly,
Because of these wingless moths,
With the object of dropping down, is journeying
A caravan of hearts from the highest point of rapture.]

Brilliant metaphors of this kind continue for a considerable length.

Here and there, in the Maqnavi one comes across fantastic exaggerations, for example:

[Its climate is so invigorating,
[That there one can live even without breathing.]
[If you write a word about its dampness, 
A boat can be plied in the stream of the ruler. 
If the ascetic makes ablutions with this water, 
His staff will turn into a water-spouting spring and his rosary will become a water-wheel.]

But it will be seen that these exaggerations have their origin in reality, and hence these may be termed simply instances of which was the predominant literary trend of Bedil’s times. In this Maṣnawi, when Bedil says at one place:

بَهْرُ سَوْنَ لَمْ يَعْلَمْ نَظَارَهُ تَزْمَ است

[From every direction the rays of the scenes dazzle the eyes.] and thus emphasises the descriptive nature of the poem, at another place he makes a reference to its conceits also:

زَ تَشْمِيَشُ سَمَانَ حَسَنَ بِرْنَگ

[On account of its transcendence the meanings assume a colourless beauty.] These extravagant expressions, therefore, may be viewed in this context.

A study of the colour-sense of Bedil is equally interesting. The damp climate, the varying hues of the sky, and the dust-washed brilliance of the scenery gave an opportunity to Bedil to make an extraordinary display of his colour-sense. The splendour of the rainbow has been described in this way:

گَرَ از رَضَفَ تَقَزُّحُ جَوْرِدُ بَیَانُ رَنگ
کَمَ کَهْ خَمْ شِیْامُ بَیَانُ دَوْشُ تَقَزُّحُ
رَنگُ ابِر پَرْهَاسُانُ بَیَانُ رَنگُ طَاوْسُ تَقَزُّحُ درْنَگُ
پَرْ طَاوْسُ صَرَفُ رَشَتُهُ دَامُ خَیالُ لَعْلَوْ عَلَوْ خَوْلُ بَرْ لَمْ جَام

[If expression gets coloured by the description of rainbow 
Right from the earth to the sky, the colour would grow. 
What should I say about this wonderful painting? 
Because this time have bent the shoulders of thinking. 
It is the streak of the cloud of a marvellous spring. 
Or the talisman of the tassel of a carefree person is in hand. 
Or the peacock’s feathers have been used as the strings of snare.]
working in his mind in the following verses:

\[ Zehr Senk Eylan bi qil va qalal serstani va zanouz. \]

[Indisputably through every stone one can see

The head of a drunkard on the knees of thought.

I don't know what happened to these tipsy people,

Because everyone remained where he happened to be.]

When we have studied these verses, we almost feel persuaded to show utmost reverence to the stones:

\[ Bi ca'far, don't strike your hands against a stone,

Because a person drunk may be asleep with a goblet under his arm.\]

And this is the climax. Sympathies with inanimate Nature are here unique and supreme. Elsewhere, in this poem, Bedil's aesthetic taste finds lovely virgins in the stones:

\[ Pera petur muta'dal won don dar dast 'unds \]

[On account of having waited for us for a long time, are aggrieved

The fairy-born sparks in the glass of stone.]

In conjunction with this depth and universality of feeling we find the undercurrent of another thought running in the mind of the poet. We have already studied his views about Man as the epitome of creation. His belief about the vast potentialities of the microcosm urges him to regard every smaller object with respect and honour, and he appears to have the idea that all objects of the kind have similar potentialities. About the bubble he says:

\[ Keh emmar khalid qalab \]

[From its bubble would grow the life of Khizr—the Prophet.

Iljās.]

The drop is described in this way:

\[ Kada bi qalbe sheki 'owidad zard don gor der qalab \]

[What drop?—Eagerness personified.

Through subtlety an ocean hidden in a pearl.]

Similarly, the thorn, according to Bedil, is not a commonplace thing:

\[ Ben hern khard goshan der aqeeq \]

[The tip of every thorn has a hundred gardens in its bosom.]

And the microscopic particle of dust:

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2. Page 247 supra.
4. Ibid., p. 6.
5. Ibid., p. 4.
6. Ibid.
[The heart of everyone of its atoms is the seed of a spring season.]

And lastly as regards a handful of dust, Bedil has a similar belief:

[In every handful of dust a universe is hidden.]

These ejaculations tell that it is the poet's own self speaking through the smaller objects.

This influence of Bedil's Metaphysics brings into limelight the intellectual element in his poetry, and we are reminded that in his poetry, mysticism, and philosophy are all one. So far as this Masnavi Tūr-e-Ma'rifat is concerned, we learn from Bedil's Ruq'at that he himself was fully aware of this unity of thought in this poem.

To Nawāb Shukrullah Kānān he wrote:

[Patron of Learning! Tūr-e-Ma'rifat, on account of a crowd of waiting eyes, has equipment for the illuminations of a world and, in order to make an offering to that interlocutor with God, in the Secure Valley of Reality, it has in its skirt a hundred thousand pearls of conceits.]

In this sentence it has been told that the Masnavi embodies poetry, mysticism, and philosophy. Again, to 'Āqil Kān Rāzī he wrote that it is لکھیت حکمت, i.e. the Pleasure Ground of Reality. Similarly, to Mirzā Ibadullāh he intimated that the poem has بحثیت حکمت, i.e. Rays of Reality. But while writing to Mirzā Muḥammad Āmin 'Irfān the reference was a bit more elaborate:

[In the general terms of its language, a particular idea has been couched, and from its special purpose the most special truth can be discovered.]

If I speak at length about all the aspects of this Masnavi, I shall only be repeating what I have said elsewhere in the foregoing pages

1. Tūr-e-Ma'rifat, p.5
2. It is because of this that he again forcefully urged in this Masnavi to study self:

محبی معاشی معاشی معاشی
[You are a riddle, a riddle, a riddle,
If you wish to solve it, open your eyes.]
4. Ibid., p. 64.
5. Ibid., p. 45.
6. Ibid., p. 34.
of this work. I shall, however, quote a few verses to show how symbolically the poet enumerates the characteristics of a gnostic. He writes about the bubble:

How excellent is the round shape of the bubble.
Its very form expresses bewilderment.
Its breath has stopped dead in its heart, and
Its glance has closed itself because of shamefulness for negligence.
It is out and out a heart with self-restraint, and
From every side it is a glance and a wet eye.
If it is an eye it does not look towards others, and
If it is a foot it does not journey out of itself,
Like the cup it is the monarch of the realm of water, and
By observing the rules of decorum it feels exultant.
Modesty, like the eye-pit, is its steel-forward,
Silence, like the lip, is the painting on its gem:
Lightness of spirit is its proud distinction, and
Self-renunciation is the cause of its dignity.]

Moreover, Bairat was known for its copper mines. While speaking of the mines and the mineral wealth of the place, Bedil had occasion to criticise the wealthy people on account of their "stone-heartedness" and their pride. He is, however, all praise for those rich persons who are humane and good.

As regards the literary peculiarities of the *Masnavi* we find the same soft and elegant expression, the same fresh and fair combinations of words, the same original conceits, the same materialisations of

1. Cunningham, *An Ancient Geography of India*, p. 342
3. For example:

The talk of its verdure adorned the expression, and hence
The talk appeared in the form of a green parrot.

If the verse borrows lustre from its moonlight,
Brilliance will trickle from the forehead of graceful expression.
the abstract, the same lively discussion of the abstruse, and the same emotional flow and thrill for which Bedil has been praised in these pages. The traits, which distinguish this Masnavi from the other works of Bedil, have however been mentioned here and there in the course of discussion. The Masnavi occupies a unique place in Persian literature, because, although the great Persian poets like Firdausi (d. 415/1025-6), Minuchihri (d.433/1041), Nizami of Ganja (d. 599/1202-3), Sa'adi (d. 1291 A.D.) and others have described Nature in their own way in their works, Fûrû-e-Mar'îfat of Bedil is almost the only Masnavi whose theme is Nature-poetry, and if in it there are references to other topics, philosophical or mystical they are only casual.

4. IRFAN

This Masnavi was completed by Bedil in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.) according to the following chronogram given at its end, which at the same time serves the purpose of dedication:

Khushgû says that the Masnavi was completed in thirty years. It means it was begun in 1094 A.H. (1682-3 A.D.), when Bedil was living in Mathura. In a letter to Nawab Shukrullah Khan Bedil writes that he was writing this poem, 'Irfa, and his prose-work Chahâr...
'Unṣur simultaneously, and at page 6 of *Chahār 'Unṣur* Bedil writes that he was then fortyone years old, indicating thereby that this prose-work was also begun in 1094-5 A.H. (1682-4 A.D.). This fact is corroborative of what Bedil writes in his letter, mentioned above. Khushgū has also stated that the metre of 'Ir̄fān, is the same which great Sanā ’Ī employed for his celebrated *Hadīqatul Ḥaqiqat* i.e. تعاریف مسئولین نعامان. This metre, according to Browne, is halting and unattractive.

Not only that the metre of both the *Masnaṿīs* is the same but they resemble each other in other respects also. Both of them deal primarily with mysticism, they have ten chapters each, and every chapter in both of them has a distich for its rubric. These things go a long way to prove that Bedil, like Rumi and other mystic poets, was largely influenced by Sanā ’Ī. About the time when Bedil was born in 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.) the literary people in India must have rededicated their energies to the study of Sanā ’Ī owing to almost missionary


It has throughout discussions about mysticism.


6. *Hadīqā*, with commentary of 'Abdul Latīf, *Index*, p. 8. As regards 'Ir̄fān, Dr. Rieu speaks in the *British Museum Catalogue*, at f. 707a, that it has such like headings, but he does not give any. In Kābul, however, I saw the following, written by hand, in the beginning of the different chapters of the *Masnavī*, in *Kuliyāt-e-Safdarī*, which was in the library of one Ḥāfiz Nūr Muhammad. The first, the seventh, and the eighth headings were however missing.

7. Of: the famous couplet of Rumi:


It has throughout discussions about mysticism.


6. *Hadīqā*, with commentary of 'Abdul Latīf, *Index*, p. 8. As regards 'Ir̄fān, Dr. Rieu speaks in the *British Museum Catalogue*, at f. 707a, that it has such like headings, but he does not give any. In Kābul, however, I saw the following, written by hand, in the beginning of the different chapters of the *Masnavī*, in *Kuliyāt-e-Safdarī*, which was in the library of one Ḥāfiz Nūr Muhammad. The first, the seventh, and the eighth headings were however missing.

7. Of: the famous couplet of Rumi:
real shown' by Khwāja 'Abdul Latīf in collating the different manuscripts of the Hadīqa and in commenting and annotating it in 1038 A.H. (1628-9 A.D.). Two manuscripts of Khwāja Latīf's commentary, with text, exist in the Panjab University Library also, and one of them (of 1040/1630) is a very excellent copy. This fresh interest in Sanā'ī might have induced Bedil to write a Maṣnawi similar to Hadīqa. As regards the number of verses in 'Irfān, Bedil himself says that it has 11,000 lines:

[But when counted
They were found to be eleven thousand.]

and this is roundabout the number of lines in Hadīqa which is 11,500. On actual counting the number of couplets in 'Irfān came up to be a few hundred more than those stated by Bedil. Thus here is another similarity between the two Maṣnāvis. As Bedil wrote his 'Irfān in imitation of a most famous mystical Maṣnāvi, and as he spent full thirty years of his life in composing it, he believed that 'Irfān had a high literary value. Khushgū says:

[He was proud of that Maṣnāvi and many a time I heard him saying that the only worthwhile thing he had was the Maṣnāvi 'Irfān.]

Bedil himself has confirmed Khushgū in a Ghazal. He says:

[In this abode of negligence our 'Irfān too has a freshness.
One becomes out and out the pith of wisdom without understanding anything.]

This much about the historical background of the Maṣnāvi and other necessary details. We should now make an objective chapter-wise study of its contents.

1. Stephenson, The First Book of Hadisqatul Haqiqat, Preface XIV-XXV.
6. Reference has been made here to the unknowability of God in spite of our best efforts,
Life and Work of Bedil

The Maṣnawi opens with assertions with regard to Man being the epitome of creation, and the entire discussion is based on this central idea:

*[The sea of the universe and whatever it has]*

and after pleading his point forcefully Bedil says:

*[Who can comprehend the miracle that Man is.]*

His wonder grows when he beholds the insignificant body of Man:

*[A handful of dust having so much vastness, and A drop as big as the ocean itself]*

Then Bedil praises the holy Prophet and speaks about him as Logos: Then he exhorts Man to realise and discover his self and incidentally speaks highly of India, its fertile plains, and pleasant climate. After this a most philosophical discussion ensues, in which Bedil talks of Life's struggle, for an unknown purpose, which began with eternity and will end in eternity, assuming always new forms and new shapes, and he begins this discussion with a statement of how thoughts (خلالات) are the material of the Cosmos. After this there is again advice to Man and a discourse about Love, and here the introduction ends. The introduction has four interwoven stories.

At this stage Bedil incorporates his Maṣnawi Mirātulrah, which I saw in Kabul in the form of a separate manuscript also. This shows that it was an independent work, compiled before the

1. Nicholson, R.A., Studies in Islamic Mysticism, I can not do better than reproducing here what the learned author has said in the foot note: Mystics hold that God reveals Himself in five planes (یثارة): (1) the plane of the Essence, (2) the plane of the Attributes, (3) the plane of the Actions, (4) the plane of similitudes and phantasy (Khayal), (5) the plane of sense and ocular vision. Each of these is a copy of the one above it, so that whatever appears in the sensible is the symbol of an unseen Reality. For a clearer wording of this idea of Man being thought in essence, read Nicholson at page 84 of this book: "Man, in virtue of his essence, is the cosmic Thought assuming flesh and connecting Absolute Being with the world of Nature."

And also:

3. Ibid., pp. 5, 7, 11, 13.
5. In Maṣārif Library, Kabul.
composition of *Irfan*, and was incorporated because of identity of metre and subject. *Mir'âullah* deals exclusively with the Arc of Descent and Ascent, and whatever Bedil had said, here and there on this subject, in the form of brief references, has been expressed here with a regard for detail. The *Masnavi* discusses how the Pure Being became gradually qualified and the Cosmos appeared. In the first descent (*Ta'yyun-e-Awwal*), Bedil says, the Absolute became conscious of itself as Pure Being, and His consciousness of Attributes was only general. This was the stage of Unity. Then there was the second descent and Unity became conscious of itself as possessing the Attributes in detail. After this stage of Necessary Existence, the Being got related with intelligence on account of determination, and Universal Intelligence came into being. Then Bedil explains the nature of intelligence (*عقل*), spirit, (*نفس*), substance (*هيولى*), etc., which, he says, are all conceptual entities. Bedil further says, substance (*هيولى*) assumed forms (*صور*), and, by another determination, changed into bodies, and heavens flashed about. Bedil enumerates all the heavens, with their characteristics, and tells of which Attribute each is the manifestation. He states that the heavens of the Saturn, the Jupiter, the Mars, the Sun, the Venus, the Mercury, and the Moon are, respectively, the manifestations of the Attributes: *رب* (the Lord), *علم* (the Knowing), *عظام* (the Supreme), *نور* (the Light), *مصير* (the Fashioner), *محسن* (the Omiscient), and *سيِن* (the Manifest). Each of these attributes produces the effect inherent in it.

Bedil holds that the entire creation is the manifestation of the Names and Attributes of God. As regards the four elemental spheres of fire, air, water, and earth, Bedil tells that these are the effects of the Names: *قابض* (the Seizing), *حي* (the Everliving), *مسى* (the Life-giver), and *شمّيت* (the Destroyer), respectively.

Descent ended with earth, and then Ascent ensued, because everything tends to return to its origin. In this way three kingdoms of minerals, vegetables, and animals proceeded respectively from the Names: *عزيز* (the Mighty), *رزاق* (the Sustainer), and *محل* (the Subduing). Man, being the flower of creation, appeared last of all, and was the manifestation of the Name *جامع* (the Comprehensive).

Bedil waxes eloquent when he reaches here:

Now it became definitely known that the Hidden Beauty Had been making efforts for this manifestation.

1. While speaking about the celestial universe, Bedil has mentioned the following also:
This was the destination of the journey, through heavens, of the Sun and Moon, and
This was the pivot of the revolution of the nine heavens.
The eye of Beauty now opened on Itself, and Bewilderment became the mirror of manifestation.]
At this stage, with an emphatic appeal to Man, the purport of which is:

[Although you have been thrown down on the earth,
You are superior to a hundred thousand heavens.] the Mašnavi Mir'atullah ends. Several philosophical doctrines and various problems of Natural science have also been discussed in the Mašnavi, but I have ignored them, because an independent treatise is required to do them justice.

As soon as Mir'atullah ends, the Mašnavi 'Irfān begins. Bedil says:

[The composition of the poem, 'Irfān, becomes
A story through the attention of Man.] He tells that, as Mir'atullah was an old composition, he was writing a poem which embodied fresh thoughts. The poem commences with the expression of a sense of bewilderment by Man because he was unable to understand the cause of beauty and of restlessness of spirit found universally in the world. Man, therefore, approached the sun for a solution of the dilemma, and was told that everything was due to Man himself. The sun then proceeded to illustrate it by a story, which ended with the end of the Mašnavi. The story has been told in ten chapters. In the course of the poem several topics have been discussed, relative importance of many occupations has been emphasized, and numerous stories have been told. These features have made the Mašnavi a comprehensive poem. As indicated in the beginning of this discussion, I would only give the bare outlines of the chapters.

The sun told Man about a gnostic who lived at the foot of a mountain. The gnostic had ten sons, and when he was dying, they requested him to advise them. They were told that the life had too little a span. Still, he added, one should try to attain perfection in keeping with one's capacities. With these words the gnostic breathed his last. After his death, his sons were absolutely idle for some time, and they were thus put into straitened circumstances. One day they sat together and decided that they should not sit idle any longer.

1. Bedil's theory of scientific evolution includes genii and angels too. He holds that angels are superior to men. These points too have been discussed here.
The eldest brother remarked that as they had different capacities and dissimilar views about life, they should first of all decide what should be done, lest owing to the unsuitableness of the aim, they should fail in spite of their best efforts. The youngest said that he would act upon the decisions arrived at by his elder brothers, but he could not refrain from saying that the life of poverty and helplessness was most troublesome, and only the rich people led a respectable life and their wishes alone were fulfilled in the world. Bedil tells here the story of a rich man who bought a fair-faced slave-girl, brought in the market by a trader, while a poor man, who loved her passionately, was consumed by love. After this story the chapter ends. Besides this, eight other stories too have been told in this chapter. Bedil has most emphatically denounced here the effortless life, and has preached that our life should be characterised by constant struggle and ceaseless activity. Study the following verses:

[Sor for the feet which have ceased to walk, and Woe unto the hands which do not work.]

[A living person should not be spiritless, Because only the dead are spiritless.

[High endeavour will never seek rest, The flame runs up till its death.]

The second chapter is about peasantry. Towards the end of the first chapter, we left the ten sons of the gnostic deliberating about the choice of an occupation. In that chapter the occupations of the scholar, the painter, the tailor, the weaver, the blacksmith, and of the butcher were mentioned, and every occupation was considered to be honourable. In this chapter the peasants have been praised for they are the backbone of the society in every country, and it is due to them that everyone prospers in the world. Bedil tells a story how the minister of a king likened the peasant to the paradise, but, Bedil adds, this paradise is being reduced to hell owing to the greed of the kings. Most sadly Bedil remarks:

[The doings of the proud people have resulted in Reducing the tenant to the position of a labourer.]

At this stage the story of a cat has been told which lived in the

2. Ibid., pp. 27, 42, 46, 47, 49, 52, 54, 56.
3. Ḫifān, pp. 72-81.
wilderness to protect the rats from the vultures, and Bedil says that apparently just laws are framed to safeguard the interests of the peasantry, but in practice the poor folk are shorn of their fleece; Bedil is, therefore, of the opinion that it is a crime to be weak in the world:

جَرَّ النَّفْسُ مِنَ النَّعْمَةِ، فَذَلِكْ أَسْتَغْفَرُ لُهَا
[Softness is another misfortune.]

The heap of cotton is reduced to ashes by a single spark.
On account of being weak and humble
The ant needs must be trampled down.]

and further:

کَرَزُ سَخْشَةٍ الْمَهْمَ نَمَى بِرَأْدُهُ
[If its hardness were not to trouble them,]

The people would have devoured stones like water.]

The third chapter describes the blessings of trade and commerce. It is because of this occupation that one can undertake journeys to new cities and fresh lands and the wealth of the whole world is brought to one's own country. Moreover, the traders bring a wealth of information which could not be obtained otherwise. Bedil tells a long tale of learned men who reached the source of the Ganges and found out why its water was so sweet and pure, simply by adopting the profession of traders. It is a romantic tale, with thrilling incidents, described most impressively, and forms a good short story told in verse. The moral of the story is contained in this couplet:

همت مَرْدُ أَكْرَمْ كَنَّدَ شَوَّدَ
[If the highmindedness of Man were to serve as rope-ledder,]

The sky could not be too high.]

As in this chapter Bedil talked about the learned men, the fourth chapter has been devoted to learning, enumerating its advantages. Above all, Bedil says, immortality can only be attained by learning. Here the story of Alexander the Great has been told who wanted to enjoy eternal life, and was therefore in search of the Water of Life. Bedil concludes that Alexander could not get the water, but he was made immortal by Aristotle, who wrote a book about the exploits of the conqueror. In the beginning of this chapter, Bedil displayed his ingenuity by discussing the novel ideas suggested by the forms of the Persian letters.

The fifth chapter deals with scientific philosophy (ٌٌٌٌ). We know Bedil starts with noumena and gradually comes to the phenomena. In this chapter Bedil says that God's first Illumination was
through His Attribute الحكيم (the Wise), and then through His wisdom gradually created the heavens, the elements, and the three kingdoms. Interest develops when Bedil begins to talk about mineralogy. He tells how the different precious stones and the metals appeared, and also he gives proofs to show that minerals too have intelligence and feelings of love. While speaking of vegetables, Bedil proves that in them intelligence is at a higher level and hence purposive activity begins, and also memory, senses of hearing and sight, and modesty are discernible to a certain extent. In this evolutionary process, according to Bedil, moisture miraculously gives birth to animal soul, and movement from one place to another commences. Cavity appears in the body and thus enteric system, lungs, liver, brain, and other organs and faculties are developed. At this stage we see only instinctive activity. Evolution culminates in Man, and here again Bedil cannot contain himself:

[Whatever I spoke of my knowledge of secrets, I got bewildered when I reached here. The name of Man reached my tongue, and immediately both the worlds were before my eyes.]

Man is the most advanced stage of organic evolution and hence the qualities of the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal souls are in Man in their most perfect form. The soul of Man, Bedil says, appertains to the spiritual world, and its perpetual strivings upwards, to reach God, elevate it over everything else. Bedil devotes a few pages to transmigration of souls too, and relates two stories about it, one related to him by a Hindu friend belonging to Southern India, and the other a true story which developed before his own eyes in Bihār. He appears to be impressed by these stories, but still he remarks that had the theory of the transmigration of souls been true, other nations and religions in the world too would have believed in it.

The sixth chapter is about the kings and their ways. Bedil says that the king who is just and who cherishes his subjects is indeed the shadow of God upon the earth. About the resolution of kings he says:

1. Wisdom or Knowledge of God is one of His Attributes which forms the basis of the theory of creation. Cf. Muzaffarud Din, Muslim Thought and Its Source, p. 115. The sixth chapter of the book, dealing with Hikmat, may be studied for understanding Bedil properly.

2. Ibn-e-Sinaa wrote a treatise about Mineralogy which was for a long time studied in the West. Cf. Shushtery, A.M.A., Outlines of Islamic Culture, I, p. 134.

3. Read similar outbursts, p. 209 supra.

4. Irfan, pp. 118-134.
If both the worlds were to be swept away by the torrent of blood,
A king's resolution would not falter.

In support of this Bedil has related two very nice stories. The second story has the elements of romance, epic, tragedy, and comedy, splendidly brought together in one place. The expression is as elegant and as impressive as could be expected of Bedil. The high ambition and resolute will of kings remind Bedil of alchemists who, in view of the great advantages of gold, show equally great determination and spend the whole of their lives in this pursuit. The seventh chapter of the Masnavi, therefore, has been devoted to alchemy, and Bedil tells the story of an alchemist whose endeavours bore fruit in his old age, and whose knowledge and experience proved useful to another man, after the alchemist had sacrificed himself for the attainment of his object. All along in the course of this chapter Bedil used only the terminology connected with alchemy.

The eighth chapter is about enchantment, and Bedil says that this too is a true Art. Bedil expresses the opinion that the throne of the Queen of Sheba was brought to Solomon by the force of magic. Bedil relates here three stories to prove his assertions, and one of the stories is about his friend, one Ghani, a poor fellow from Balisar, who under the influence of magic, found himself transplanted to Nilgh Hills, where he led a lordly life, in a citadel, for full one year.

The ninth chapter is about intellect and reason. Here, Bedil urges people to cherish noble aims, and forbids them to pursue mean and low sciences like alchemy and magic. He attaches utmost importance to intellect and says that it mirrors the universe and is the body of the soul. He would not tolerate contented puny people, but would praise and welcome the noble-spirited persons, full of love for highly intellectual pursuits, and fond of bold endeavour. He says, a man of this type:

کس زمین کے آسمان گردد هرچاپ شریک پسند ان گردد

[Is at times the earth then the heaven;
He becomes whatever he desires to be.]

In this chapter Bedil again relates stories. One is about a Brahman who was in search of the Effulgence of the Necessary Being and who learnt that not the sensible but the thoughts are the Reality. The other story is about a Jew who did not believe in the Ascension.
to skies of the holy Prophet of Islam, but, by a strange coincidence of supernatural character, he readily began to believe in it.

Bedil has been relating all this time the discourse made by the sun before Man, who wanted to understand the cause of beauty and restlessness in the Universe, and the sun had said that it was due to Man himself. In order to illustrate it, the sun had related the story of the ten sons of a gnostic who sat making deliberations, after the death of their father, about the choice of an occupation. Their discussions and consultations have brought us to this stage. The eldest brother, winding up whatever had been said on the point, remarked that the accomplishments, relating to their corporeal being, were of a limited character and they should, therefore, develop the capacities of their hearts and souls which would take them high up into the heavens. They, therefore, agreed to adopt Fāqr (Poverty of soul, i.e., mysticism) as their profession, and love became their guiding spirit. This was the path of self-annihilation, but it did not mean any congealing of life’s blood. On the other hand it meant restlessness of soul, constant struggle, and consuming love for the noblest ideals. The sun told Man that in this way, in a year, every vestige of their sensual desires and earthly ambitions was gone, and the ten brothers were transformed into spirits and are now known as the ten Intelligences.

This is the end of the tenth chapter and then the epilogue follows, in which Bedil speaks about the Transcendence of God in this way:

\[ \text{It is impossible for you to come nearer to comprehending Him, and} \]

\[ \text{It is not possible for you to call Him except by the pronoun 'He.'} \]

\[ \text{How long should I speak about the Almighty?} \]

\[ \text{We are far away. How should we speak?} \]

This is a brief summary of the contents of ‘Irfān, and, although the verses have been rendered freely, I have tried to make a correct exposition of the poet’s thoughts. The summary may be inadequate, but I think all the essential points have been carefully analysed. As regards the style, this Maṣnawi embodies all the virtues

2. Ibid., p. 165.
of Bedil's other Ma'navis. It describes scenes, landscapes, and towns; it relates thrilling stories, delineates character, and discusses morality, philosophy, and mysticism. No doubt, the Ma'navi Mir'atullah is boring; but 'Irafān itself, on account of its perfect and graphic expression, absorbing stories, lively character-sketches, and usefulness in everyday life, is full of interest. The stories of the rich man who bought slave-girls, and the scholars who went to find out the source of the Ganges, and also the tragi-comic story of Kamdi and Madan, have been told in an exquisite manner, and Bedil's Art is here at its best. Besides the literary interest of the poem and its thought-provoking discussions, its practical value, as I have hinted above, is by no means negligible. It lays premium on a life struggle, and all through it a spirit of enterprise has been inculcated so much so that Bedil's definitions of 'Irafān and 'Isrā' make one feel that instead of encouraging lethargy and inertia, their very conception means only a life of activity and endeavour:

[Whoever sows the seed of patience,
He is only waiting for the result (of his efforts).
To ask for remuneration without having put in work,
Is extremely shameful.
O thou who art devoid of endeavour,
It is shameful to get remuneration for idleness.
You call idleness to be trust in God,
Sorry, your vain thoughts have gone astray.]

In view of these peculiarities of 'Irafān, we hold Bedil justified if he was proud of it.

5. MA'NAVĪ TANBĪHUL MUHAVWISIN.

It is a small Ma'navi, of 210 couplets, about alchemy. It rebukes the alchemists very strongly for their vain efforts, and directs them instead to transform and sublimate their thoughts and sentiments. All the terms used by alchemists have been mentioned by the poet in such a manner that they contribute to the exposition of Bedil's views about the realities of life. The Ma'navi has two sections. In the first, general remarks have been made, and in the second a story

1, 2 and 3. 'Irafān, pp. 66-72, 63-, 94, 121-124 respectively.
4. See p. 297 supra.
has been related about an alchemist who gave up his life in the pursuit of his accursed Art. Khushgū says that Bedil did never believe in the efficaciousness of this Art.

6. THE DESCRIPTIVE MAŞNAVİ.

Descriptions of the sword, the horse, and the elephant in verse, having the same metre, exist in the Kulliyāts of Bedil. The aim of the poet has been to describe the appearance and the work of these things. Although their performances in the battlefield have also been mentioned, the poet’s treatment of his subject is mostly fanciful, abounding in conceits. In view of all these similarities, I am of the opinion that these descriptions do not constitute different poems, but form different sections of the same poem. And as, like a Maşnavi, all the verses rhyme differently, I conclude that the poem is a Maşnavi. It has in all 536 couplets: 391 about the horse, 100 about the elephant, and 45 about the sword. As it is apparent from the number of verses, the horse has been described more elaborately. About a hundred couplets have been written about its general peculiarities, and then its head, neck, mane, fatness, shoulders, mouth, teeth, eyes, ears, tail, hair, and neighing have been dealt with one by one. The description is forceful, and shows the love of a Mughal of Central Asia for a horse. The largest number of verses, i.e. 49, have been written about the neighing of the horse, and the next place has been given to its mane for which 33 verses have been composed. The elephant reminds us that we are moving in the Indian environment. Specimens are now given below:

The sword when it is red with blood:

When ever you put on the robe of blood,
Wet rubies trickle down the emerald branch.
If your lips become wet with the blood of the enemy,
It appears as if twilight has appeared at the time of morning.

The horse running swiftly:

When it is engaged in a swift race,
The air becomes a glass for this fairy.
When it comes out dancing ecstatically,
A resurrection comes out of the tavern.

The elephant's firm stand and calm walk:

Wherever it stands firmly,
The earth gets tortured and the sky is backed.
Wherever it places its foot in walking,
None can hear the sound.

7. **Ishārat o Ḥikāyat**

As it is apparent from Appendix A, this is not an independent work, but consists of selected verses from the four Mānavīs of Bedil: *Muhit-i-Āzam*, *Tilism-e-Hirāt*, *Tūr-e-Mā'rifat*, and *ʿIrshād*, and also from *Chahār ʿUnṣur*—the poet's autobiography in prose. As the selections are not from a single poem, they do not have the same metre throughout. The printed title of *Ishārat o ʿHikāyat* discloses that it is related to *Nikād*—another similar work of Bedil in prose, but as the selections are mostly from the poet's Mānavīs, it was befitting to talk about the work in this chapter. But no detailed discussion of the work is necessary, as all the works, from which the selections have been made, have been treated separately in these pages. In the Appendix, however, I have given the subject-matter against every selection.

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1. In the Appendix, at a few places, pages of the works, from which the verses have been taken, have not been given, simply because I could not find out the particular pages. The metre and subject-matter of the verses, however, disclose the work from which they have been selected. At two places I could neither determine the work nor the page.
2. See p. 350 infra.
CHAPTER VI

Qasaid, Quatrains, Mukhammasat, Tarkib Band, Tarji' Band, Fragments and Riddles of Bedil

I. QAŞAİD

Lī거 Qhazal and Maṣnavī, Qaşida also had reached the highest point of its development when Bedil was born in 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.). Beginning with Raudaki, numberless poets had written Qaşād, and even during the Mughal period, up to the birth of Bedil, several illustrious poets like 'Uršī (d. 999/1590-1), Fa'īzī (d. 1004/1593-6), Naẓirī (d. 1023/1614), Ta'lis Amuli (d. 1036/1625-7), and Qudsi (1056/1646) had very successfully tried their hands in panegyrical-writing, and perfect specimens of the highest art were, therefore, available to Bedil in plenty. No doubt, Bedil was averse to writing Qaşidas like the professional masters of the art, as he says most scornfully:

شئري كه دردل آرزوي گلیان پرورد
بر معن بشش و برق الناز ابیری

[As for the couplet, which nourishes in the heart a desire for begging,

Please urinate on its meaning and stool on its words.]

but, in view of the splendid potentialities of Qaşidas, in being the most impressive vehicle for expressing strong emotions and sublime thoughts, Bedil could not neglect it altogether. Sincerity was the primary feeling of Bedil. He says, while expressing his attitude towards Qaşidas:

میازگ چنل نه ژلا شیرنه انوری

[I praise Nature. I am neither Zahir nor Anwari.]

1. Shibli, Shi'rul 'Ajam, V, pp. 16-20, pages 180-2 supra of this work.
2. Ibid., I, p. 31.
3. Page 53 Supra.
As such Bedil has praised, out of the fullness of his heart and without having any worldly end in view, only those persons whom he admired passionately. In doing so he wrote sometimes replicas to the famous Qasidas of the master-poets like Anwari (d. 1189-91 A.D.), Khāqānī (d. 1185 A.D.), Zahir Fārūqy (d. 1201 A.D.) Amir Khusrau Dehlī (d. 1325 A.D.) and Muḥammad Jamālūdīn 'Urfi (d. 1390-1 A.D.), and we see that, on account of spontaneity, loftiness, and vigour of both thought and expression, he has carved out a niche for himself among these great writers. His Qasā’id may be small in number, but in quality they rank among the best specimens of the Art. This would become clear when we have studied his Qasā’id one by one.

The First Qasida. The prototype of this Qasida of Bedil is the famous Qasida Mantiq Tu’ur of Khāqānī—a replica to which had been written by Amir Khusrau as well. Khāqānī wrote his Qasida in praise of the holy Prophet. It has two parts (دو مسطح) and 67 couplets in all. In the first part there is a description of the Ka’ba, and in the second, the prologue (تشيیب) consists of a dialogue between different birds, which praise their own beloveds until their caliph, the phoenix, arrives, and from there a transition (گذرین) is made to eulogise the holy Prophet. Bedil, too, has two parts, but the number of his verses is 168, and, in spite of the length of his Qasida, its flow and force continue unabated to the end. In the first part there is a brief description of a garden in the spring season, and in the second we see a maid of charming beauty having a walk through the garden. The description of her beauty is matchless, and elegant words and beautiful phrases have been used most powerfully. For example:

[The splendour of her cheeks was like the light of many mornings, and

The curls of her proud hair were snares for a thousand suns.]

1. Vide the discussion that follows.
3. Kulliyāt-e-Khāqānī p. 78; Amir Khusrau, Nihāyatul Kamālī, p. 48, Salāhūd Din, Afkār-e-Shā‘ir, p. 39; The opening lines of Khāqānī, Amir Khusrau, and Bedil respectively are:

1. زد نفس سرمی صبح سلمع نگاب
2. صبح جرو آفای راجبه نمود از نگاب
3. ذی که زیاد سحر طره شب خورت نگاب
Her splendour was marvellous, her coquetry was killing,
her manners were bewitching, and the manner of her
glances in flames.

When the lovely maid wanted to leave the garden:

Verdure fell on her feet and roses held her stirrups.

At this stage the nightingale arrived and began to say how painful
it was that the life of the flower was so short:

The rose did not pitch its tent in the garden of existence
for a year,

Why then does it quickly rush back to the wilderness of
non-existence?

The nightingale continued her sad tale for some time and asked,
when death was so common, how one could be happy in life. The
wise maid first told the profound universal truth:

Nothing but destruction is eternal, and
Nothing but change is constant.

and then added that the safest way in the circumstances was to keep
in view always the charming beauty of the holy Prophet. From
this place the Qasida, as such, begins and the poet's feelings begin
to mount. In the heat of emotion and at the height of inspiration,
the hemstitches are automatically divided into halves, sometimes
rhyming mutually and sometimes without rhyme:

High and low alike feel proud of a desire to serve him,
The dust by its table-cloth of forehead, and the sky by the
laying down of its neck.
The cloud is eager to kiss his footprints with every one of
its drops, and
The sun has an earnest desire to go round his stirrups with
every one of his atoms.

In this state of emotion the poet coins excellent titles for the holy
Prophet:

The king having Unity as his crown, and the monarch
having Eternity as his court, and
The full moon having transcendence as his lustre, and the
exalted and holy sovereign.
While expressing his inability to praise the Prophet in a befitting manner, he uses a nice original simile:

O my dear the Meccan Prophet! who am I to praise thee?
The buzzing of a fly has no relation with the heaven.

It is a very eloquent Qasida. Its diction shows Bedil’s perfect mastery over language. Everything has been described very impressively. The metaphors and similes are fresh and appropriate, new and powerful phrases have been coined quite spontaneously, and novel conceits and the figure poetical etymology develop quite naturally. Salahud Din, an Afghan writer, declares that this Qasida is, in every respect, superior to its prototype by Khâqânî.

**The Second Qasida.** It is an imitation of 'Urfit’s Qasida and has been written in praise of the holy Prophet. From the very beginning a passionate address has been made to him without observing the usual formality of having a prologue. The word ٝ is repeated as a refrain after the rhyming letters, and hence the whole imagery has been limited to the narrow confines of a garden. In spite of this, in the 75 couplets of the Qasida, its force nowhere diminishes. On the other hand, with every new verse its vigour increases and an addition is made to the colourfulness of the Qasida. The following couplet, expressing the poet’s love for the holy Prophet, is remarkable:

[The memory of union with him is the light of life, as the splendour of the mirror is its lustre. The brand of his love decorates the heart as the flower is an ornament for the turban.]

**The Third Qasida.** Here Bedil has replied to Zahir Fârîyâbi who praised Malik Nuṣrat ud Din in a Qasida congratulating him on

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2. Kulliyâh-e-Qâ’dirî, Qâ’id, p. 24-5.
3. ‘Urfit, Divân, pp 30-33. ‘Urfit wrote his Qasida in praise of Emperor Akbar. His first verse being:

5. Qâ’id-e-Zahir Fârîyâbi, p. 17. The opening verse of Zahir is:

‘Urfit too has a Qasida, having this rhyme and metre, in praise of Hazrat Ali. In his Qasida ‘Urfit, has sworn beautifully showing his love for Hazrat Ali, but it appears Bedil did not ‘Urfit in view while writing his Qasida. For

ascending the throne of his uncle Qızıl Arslân. The Qaṣida of the renowned panegyric writer is very famous, and Shibli Nu'mânî has quoted the following verse from it in his Shīrul 'Ajam:

[The garden had not yet washed the milk of clouds from its lips, but]

Like the fair ones, its downs grew round its checks.

The Qaṣida of Zahîr has one only, but that of Bedîl has (three parts), and has 288 couplets of exquisite literary value.

Zahir is known for his original conceits, elegant and impressive combinations of words, and subtle and charming similes. In these pages, Bedîl too has been praised again and again for these peculiarities, and, when we know that, in this replica to Zahîr Fârîyâbî, Bedîl has eulogised the holy Prophet of Islam, whom he loved more than anything else in the world, we can easily imagine with what warmth of feeling and with what force of diction he would have composed the Qaṣida. I quote only the following verses and leave the judgment with my readers:

[Without your teachings the knowledge of the inhabitants of the world is null and void.]

Without your command the doings of Man and the Genii are useless.

Whichever way you direct thither is the Qibla, and
To whatever thing you point that is the vision.

Whatever your kind attention likes is a gift, and
Whateer you disapprove is the sin—yours being the authority.

Although the Jews and Christians worship God,
But since you are disgusted, the brand of infidelity is their late.

1. Shibli, Shīrul 'Ajam, V, p. 5.
2. Ibid, pp. 4-5,
The head which is not warmed by the feeling of love for you like the candle,
By the flame of the jugular vein, will have its turban consumed.]

The Fourth Qasida1. It is an original Qasida in praise of Abul Hasan Asadullah Ghalib 'Ali Ibn-e-Abi Taliib—the illustrious son-in-law of the holy Prophet. The prologue consists of a statement of the wickedness of the heaven, wherein the crescent has been likened to the claws of a wolf. Bedil says that only that person who takes refuge with the revered 'Ali is safe from the viles of the sky. Having made transition to eulogy in this way, the poet praises 'Ali very forcefully for his strength, bravery, love of justice, magnanimity, sincerity, vast and deep learning, and his knowledge of the Occult. The poet's fidelity to the holy personage can be gathered from this verse:

[It is ages since like breath I have been flapping my wings in his memory, and
For many years my pulse has been beating with passion of devotion over thoughts of him.]

The Fifth Qasida.2 This Qasida has a very difficult rhyme and is a replica3 to a Qasida by 'Urfl. Both the Qasidas have two parts but, while 'Urfl's has only 74 verses, Bedil's has got 178. Both the poets have mentioned heavenly bodies in their Qasidas, but Bedil's Qasida is decidedly more forceful. Bedil in his Qasida has sung praises of Hazrat 'Ali.

The Sixth Qasida.4 This Qasida is a replica to the famous Shiniyya5 of Khagani, replicas6 to which had already been written by Amir Khusrau, Jami, 'Urfl and others. The Qasida of Khagani has one Matla7 and 78 verses, while that of Bedil has 'Sih Ma'la' (three parts) and 149 verses. The Shiniyya Qasidas of Khagani:

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2. Ibid., pp. 30-32.
3. 'Urfl, Qasid, pp. 51-55. The opening verses of 'Urfl and Bedil respectively are:

   1. جبَرِی ثَلَاث جُبَرَات خَلَفَهُ سَلَم
   2. شب وَشَرْعَ دُونِه‌ا وَ رُؤِّهَ دُونِه‌ا مُسْتَقِیل

4. Kulliyat-e-Safdar, Qasid, pp. 32-4
5. Shiniyya is a poem which rhymes in akh.
6. Kulliyat-e-Khagani, I, p. 2; 'Urfl, Divan 61; Amir Khusrau, Divan, Panjab University Library Mss. No. 2037, f. 18a; SalahuD Din, Askari-Shahir, p. 87.
Amir Khusrau, and Jāmī are didactic in nature, but that of Bedil is in praise of Ḥāẓrat ‘Alī. Ḥāṣānī, in his Qaṣīda, had made references to numerous doctrines of various sciences, and Bedil too has made allusions to many topics of History, different verses of the holy Qur'ān and the Sayings of the holy Prophet, and to diverse problems of mysticism, metaphysics, and philosophy. In point of expression also Bedil’s Qaṣīda is not inferior in any respect. It seems, however, to gain in elegance. For example these verses of praise:

[His nature is compassionate, his disposition is intercessory, His favours are munificent, and his benevolence ensures salvation.]

[His manner springs from modesty, his lineage is known for good faith, His companions have amiable manners, and his enemies are repulsive as hell.]

The Seventh Qaṣīda.2 Ṣawād-e-A’gān, the title of the Qaṣīda, which occurs at its end, is a chronogram, and yields the date 1082 A.H. (1671-2 A.D.). It means Bedil was only twenty eight years old when he wrote this Qaṣīda. Its prototype is the famous Qaṣīda, Daryā-e-Abrār, of Amir Khusrau. Bedil was not the first poet to use it as model,3 but before him Jāmī (d. 899/1492) and Mir ‘All Sher Nawāl (d. 906/1501) also had used it as a pattern while writing their Qaṣīdas Lujjatul Āsrār and Bahārul Afkār respectively. All the Qaṣīdas are didactic and Bedil also was true to the tradition. Amir Khusrau, in every one of the verses of his Daryā-e-Abrār, had made an assertion4 in the first hemistich, which was aptly illustrated in the second. Now this figure, i.e. aptness of illustration,

3. Amir Khusrau, Divān, Panjāb University Library Ms. No. 2037, f. 35a; All Shīr Nawāl, Majalisun Nafāt, p. 358; Wahid Mirza, Life and Works of Amir Khusrau, 161, footnote No. 2. The opening lines of Amir Khusrau, Ḥāmī, ‘All Shīr Nawāl, and Bedil are, respectively:

κορνη ασμη καλε καλε καλε καμανα
cos shē khāla kāla kāla kāla
κατα ποτι δια ιερον
kata poti dia ierion
κατα φεον κατα γραματ.
kata feon kata gramat.

4. Shibli, Sh'rul 'Ajam, II, p. 133.
had been popularised, during the times of Bedil, by Kalim (d. 1061/1651) and Saib (d. 1080/1669), and Bedil too had developed a great affinity for it. In these circumstances it was but natural for Bedil to compete with Amir Khusrav, where some other illustrious masters of the Art had also tried their luck. The Qasida of Bedil has 158 verses in three parts (سه مطلع), and he has also displayed his mastery in the use of the figure "aptness of illustration." The following verses are cited as example:

[Don't weigh the endeavour of a lover with the struggle of a worldly person.

The mock-dance of the children is different from the ecstatic swings of the lovers.]

[The freedom-loving heart should not be made to congeal by seclusion.

Wherever the running water changes into ice, it becomes marble.]

[When the heart has been illumined, pomp and glory are needless.

For conquering the world, the Sun alone is an Army.]

Shibli Nu'mani has quoted the following verse of Amir Khusrav, from his Daryā-š-Abrār, as the best specimen of his Art:

[The hero hiding in the blanket is the ruler of the world, just as.

The sword asleep in a scabbard is the guardian of the realm.]

When it is compared with the last verse of Bedil, quoted here by me, it loses much of its significance. It was because of this success in writing the Qasida that Bedil said to himself:

[Interpreter are the secrets of the Absolute, otherwise as far as reason goes,

Production of so many conceits by your mind is incredible.]
The Eighth Qasida. This Qasida has 54 couplets in all and its theme is "Love and its supreme value in life." It is a reply to a panegyric by Anwari. After a digression to didactic topics it reverts to its main theme towards the end. There is nothing new in the whole of the Qasida except for the similes and metaphors with which the poet illustrates his propositions. For example he speaks about humility—a time-worn topic but made attractive owing to the brilliant simile:

جَرَى مَا لَوْ مُهْرَكَةٌ آلِينَ تَوَاصَعَ أَرْذَ أَيْشُ
طَلَّتُ خُوْدَةٌ رَأْحَاغٌ حَنَتُ دُوْرَهُ بَيْنَاءُ

[Like the new moon, one, who acts upon the principle of humility.
Will find his countenance illuminating the seven realms.]

But there is one verse which reveals the working of Bedil's mind. When he has said that ability is not attained easily, he remarks that, for a proper recognition of one's merits, the pomp and grandeur of Ibn-e-Sîna, who was attached in his life to different kings as a minister, is required:

لاَفْ، ذَا، ذِنْجَ بُهْ، ء يُسُحُي جَهَذَ جَنْو، لِدُوْعَ بَيْشَ بَرِدٍ
يَوْقِيُّ هُمْ شَهِرَتُ عَلَمٌ أَزْ كَرُ وَفَرِ يَا،

[One cannot boast of learning unless his efforts seat him in a place of dignity.
Bû 'All was also known widely for his learning on account of his elevated rank.]

The Ninth Qasida. The whole philosophy of Bedil revolves round his deep-rooted faith about the dignity of Man. His Metaphysics, we have seen, have added unexampled weight to this faith, and whenever, therefore, he speaks about Man he waxes eloquent. This original Qasida, of 95 couplets, has been dedicated by Bedil to his most favourite theme, i.e. Man, and its very opening verse declares with what force he is going to address:

أَيْ شِجَارَ بَيْضَمْ قَلَاسٌ نِدَانَمٌ جَيِّ مُخْمِرُي
كَزَرَهُمْ خَيْرُ رَخِينَ وَفُغْيُ مُكَدَّرِي

[O the candle of the banquet of sanctity! I don't know what you do.
By your phantasy, you are at times bright and then gloomy.]

The metre and rhyme of the Qasaid are very much suited for such a

1. Kulliyât-e-Safsari, Qasïd, p. 36-7.
2. Divân-e-Anwari, 305. Anwari's Qasïd begins with the following line:

5. Anwari too has four verses having this metre and rhyme. See Divân-e-Anwari, p. 749.
forceful address, and it is due to this that here we come across some of the most emphatic utterances of Bedil. He tells Man:

\[ \text{In the realm of Pure Being, you are superior to the Heaven; But in the land of greed you are inferior even to a particle of dust.} \]

Why don't you try to understand your reality?]

Don't be forgetful of yourself, because like the Sun, You are the glory of the seven assemblies, and the nine blue palaces.

[You are better than all those things which your intellect can realise, And you are loftier than all those places where your understanding can reach.]

In whatever direction the sight goes, you have reached there, and Wherever the wings of imagination fly, you fly there.]

These verses speak for themselves. Freshness of metaphors may, however, be enjoyed in the following verse:

[Do not have a fancy for the image as you are the peacock of the garden of Eden, Take your head out of the dregs, as you are the fish of the river Kausar of Paradise.]
over language. Anwari’s Qasida has only 23 couplets while Bedil’s has 61. Bedil’s theme is the criticism of the ways of the people.

The Eleventh Qasida. This Qasida has been named Muḥīt-e-Bikarān and is rich in conceits and visual imagery. It deals only with didactic subjects. It has been written as a replica to a Qasida by Khāqānī, in which the great master speaks about personal matters. The opening verse of Khāqānī is very brilliant, but in other respects both the Qasidas are very meritorious. Both the poets employ the figure ‘aptness of illustration,’ though Bedil uses it more often. Moreover, in both the Qasidas there are conceits, Bedil albeit grows more fanciful. The following verse of the master poets may be compared:

Khāqānī:

لِلَّدِّ مَعَّرِ يُحْوَى هَائِلَ آسَانَ زِبَرٌ كَهَّ هَسَّت
پُر وَزَنُ كُرَ هَائِلَ آسَانَ چوَن آسَان

[Don’t be fond of the amorous playfulness of the sky, because The ways of the sky are groundless like itself.]

Bedil:

خُفُفْ رِنْكَى هُمْت وَضَع طَالِعٌ طَالِعٌ بَزَد
نُسْتِ غِبَازُ كُمْكَشَانُ نَشِرَ جَبِينٌ آسَان

[A paleness of colour is natural to the fortune of a high-minded person, as The painting on the forehead of the sky is nothing but the milky-way.]

In the following verse Bedil speaks about betel-leaf—a thing connected exclusively with India—and this local colouring lends originality to his Qasida:

بَرْكَ عِيْشٍ سَيْنَهُ بِبِيَ تِلَاثٍ آباَدادُ إِسْت
زَخِسْهَا أَزْ خَوْنَ خِوْنَ دَارَنُدَ يَوْ لُبَ رَنْكُ بَلَن

[For us, who have a torn breast, the leaf of enjoyment is available without any effort, just as The wounds have the dye of the betel-leaf on their lips out of their own blood.]

The Twelfth and the Thirteenth Qasidas. Both the Qasidas, having in all 68 verses, are in praise of Prince Muḥammad Aʿzām in whose service Bedil remained for some time. Although the Qasidas have a different rhyme, they are in the same metre, and the second Qasida, therefore, appears to be a continuation of the first. From the second it

1. *Kulliyāt-e-Khāqānī*, p. 473. The opening lines of Khāqānī and Bedil are respectively:


3. Rage 63 supra.
appears that Bedil expected that the Prince should patronise him. The following verses in the Qasida show that the Prince had promised the poet an award of a title but he said he was already the Khān-e-Khānān of the domain of literature:

بي تكتب خان خانان جهان معني
تا بد تشيرن خطابك كردي ان امتدار
موسى بودم كراته خدست قابل اين معني
شد ينتم كايقدرا يدلى كرست كار

[To speak unceremoniously, I am the Khān-e-Khānān of the world of conceits.]

As they had made me a candidate for the title,
I was thinking deeply: as a reward for what service I deserve
this Mansab?
I was sure that my heartlessness had wrought this miracle.]

But it appears that, as the poet resigned service dramatically,  he was not awarded the title.

The Fourteenth Qasida is about a worn-out tent in which Bedil had to live at one time. The Fifteenth was perhaps written when Nawāb Khukrullāh Khān arrived in Dehli. In the Sixteenth the poet congratulates the Prince on the birth of a son in 1107 A.H. (1695-6 A.D.). The Seventeenth Qasida expresses Bedil's joy on the arrival of Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān, and is a model of sincerity. The Eighteenth Qasida is very forceful and is the second replica to the Shiniya of Khāqānī. It is in praise of Nizām Mulk and was written after he had been made Khān Daurān by the Emperor Shāh 'Alām. The chronogram for the date of the award of the title is: خان دوران بهادر, which comes to 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.). The Nineteenth and the last Qasida shows utmost joy of Bedil which he felt on learning the news of the arrival of Šākir Khān son of Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān.

### QUATRAINS

Ṣalāḥud Din, in his *Afkār-e-Shā'ir* gives fourth place, in point of merit, to the Quatrains of Bedil, and places his Ghazals, Mannavīs, and Qasīdās, respectively, before them. Bedil's contemporary and
friend, Shaikh Sa’dullah Gulshan, once said that it was Bedil’s privilege alone to write Quatrains. It means Bedil’s Quatrains may not rank high, as compared with the other three classes of his verse mentioned above, but in themselves their artistic value cannot be underrated. Apart from their quality their number also is considerable. Ivanow talks\(^2\) of a huge collection of the quatrains of Bedil, but does not give their number. Dr. Ethé, however, says\(^3\) that the manuscript of Bedil’s quatrains, transcribed seven years before the poet’s death and existing in the India Office Library has 3,500 epigrams in strictly alphabetical order. The learned author believes that it is the most complete collection extant. In Kulliyat-e-Safderi, however, the number of quatrains, according to my counting, is 3919.\(^*\) This shows that, like Faridud Din ‘Attar who wrote plenty\(^6\) of Quatrains, Bedil too left a large number of them. In view of the number and high literary value of Bedil’s quatrains, a volume is required to do anything like justice to them, still a few observations are made here.

We know Bedil’s first attempt\(^6\) at versification appeared spontaneously in the form of a Rubā’I, in which he spoke in his childhood about the sweet odour breathed by a schoolmate. This shows Bedil’s inherent aptitude for this class of verse. This aptitude was further strengthened by his association, from a very early age, with mystics who traditionally cherished Rubā’Is. Prominent mystics like\(^7\) Shaikh Abul Hasan Kharqāni (d. 425/1034-5), Shaikh Abū Sa’d Abul Khair (d. 440/1049 ), ‘Abdullah Anṣari (d. 431/1083-9) and Faridud Din ‘Attār (d. 657/1266-9), had distinguished themselves by writing Rubā’Is about their experiences and other problems of mysticism. The Rubā’I has an inherent capacity for expressing a vast idea in the fewest possible words. It was, therefore, particularly\(^8\) liked by the mystics, who, being preoccupied with their code of self-mortification, meditation, and recollection, could find very little time to express themselves in other forms of verse. A lofty and great idea they could easily express in a Rubā’I, in a few minutes, and then could

1. Khushgū in Ma’arif May 1942, p. 376 He says:
2. Ivanow, Catalogue of Persian MSS. Asiatic Society of Bengal, under No. 813.
4. 122 towards the end of the Qitāt, and 3497, in the separate collection of Rubā’iyāt in the Kulliyāt.
6. Page 14 supra.
8. Ibid., 220 248-56.
Life and Works of Bedil

betake themselves to their exercises of ascetic and ethical discipline. Also the soft and delicate metre of the Rubā‘ī was suited to their calm and serene temperament. In addition to the mystics, Philosophers like Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1036-7) and 'Omar Khayyām (d. 515-30/1121-36), too, wrote Rubā‘ī for stating their deeper thoughts. It was, therefore, but natural that Bedil, as a philosopher-mystic, should pay greater attention to Rubā‘ī-writing. Consequently we find Bedil’s views about Divinity, Creation, Man and other allied topics fully expressed in his Rubā‘īs, and had I not earlier stated his views about these subjects, while discussing his Ghazals and Maṣnavīs, I would have undertaken a detailed discussion of them at this place. I shall, however, make brief references in support of the assertions made here.

We are acquainted² with Bedil’s views about the descent of the Absolute, but nowhere has he expressed himself more tersely than in this³ Rubā‘ī:

\[
\text{بُدِيل از بسُكه جِلْوه مَشْتَاقُ شَدَم}
\text{بِي بَرَدَه زَآئِنِهِ اَطَلاقَ شَدَم}
\text{بَوشْدِان خَرْشِم اَنِ مَال سَمِكن لَيْست}
\text{عَرَان شَدَم آَنِدُرُ كَهْ أَطَلاقَ شَدَم}
\]

[Inasmuch as, O Bedil, I wanted to display myself,
I cast off the veil from the mirror of the Absolute.
It is not possible to cover myself again,
I have become so naked that I am the Universe.]

It was a mighty thought but Bedil has succeeded in expressing it in the four short lines of the Rubā‘ī. The conception of the Pure Being, the desire of the Absolute Beauty to express itself, the consequent appearance of the Universe, and the predominant position of Man in the Cosmos, all the great ideas have been expressed here with a strong note of pantheism. Again, Bedil says that God is the Real Being, and that plurality only shows Unity. This idea has been stated, in the following⁴ Rubā‘ī, very brilliantly using charming imagery:

\[
\text{آن ذات خُفِي كَهْ نَيْست غَيْر شَهُوَد}
\text{دَرَ هَيْزَى مَرْنَك سَلَع جِلْوه مَنْوَد}
\text{زَان كَونَهُ كَهْ صَد مَيِّوه دَهَد يَك دَانَهُ}
\text{وَان دَانَهُ بَيْنَ مَيِّوهَ مَبَنِي مَوْجَوُد}
\]

1. Weir, T.W., Omar Khayyām the Poet, pp. 21-31, 77-80; Sulaimān Nadvi, Khayyām, p. 238.
2. Page 247 supra.
4. Ibid., p. 78.
[That hidden Essence, except whom none is manifest,
Displayed itself in every part like the colour in the rose,
Just as one seed gives a hundred fruit,
And in every fruit that seed is present.]

This thought has been continued in the following Ruba‘i with the qualification that not-Being only goes to establish the Real Being:

By negating ourselves, we garnered your confirmation,
We had a walk through the garden by losing our colour,
If our ashes, like the morning, were cast to the winds,
We only made mirror of the Sun brighter.

But the transcendence of God also is a favourite subject of Bedil. In the following Ruba‘i the poet says that it is impossible to praise God:

It is impossible for the created beings to praise God,
Give up all pretensions. Here only shame is in store.
The Sun cannot be accommodated within the lips of an atom.

Bedil, thou art nought. What art thou about?

After Monism Bedil’s next preoccupation is Man. We have seen how enthusiastic he grows and how exalted he feels when he begins to talk about Man. In his Ruba‘is too this predilection continues, but an original thinker as Bedil is, everytime there is some development of the idea. In a quatrain Bedil tells how after incessant and miraculous efforts, on the part of Nature, Man appears in the world:

Numberless drops and waves create a storm,
So that a gem may be produced from the Ocean,
Nature ceaselessly makes frantic efforts for ages, and,
Then a miracle takes place and Man is the result.

Not only the entire Universe is busy in producing Man, but God Himself is in search of him:

2. Ibid.
3. Pages 233, 255 supra.
The eternal secrets passed through a hundred manifest and hidden things, and
Then found their vestige in Man's pocket.
The Gnostic, who opened here the veil of Truth,
Saw God as lover and Man as beloved.]

God's desire to see Himself is fulfilled in Man and thus His search for him. When a perfect man enjoys this enviable privilege, Bedil expostulates that our respect even for his tomb should be profound:

Every shadow of a thorn in this wilderness,
Was a lovely corner for the thought of the beloved.
It is not easy to respect properly the tombs of the lovers.
This dust a couple of days before was (elevated like) sky.]

But our knowledge of these mystical and metaphysical doctrines would be incomplete if Bedil the realist also does not express himself. In the following^ quatrains he teaches us the doctrine of the survival of the fittest:

[Bedil, no detraction of your dignity before the people.
So long as you can be an arrow, don't be a bow.
It is in the essential nature of this struggle to kill the humble.
Beware, lest here you look weak.]

The Ruhā'ī reminds us of the following impressive verse of Bedil occurring in his Ghazals:

[On this road would be trodden down by calamities
The person who is asleep like the footprints.]

In these verses the poet maintains that we should be on the guard lest we should be wiped off the surface of the earth due to complacency, or, due to degeneration into servility and subservience, on account of the absence of assertion and the will to march forward.

A large number of quatrains, bearing on these subjects, can be given; but, I think, enough has been said to show that Bedil, in his

1. Kullijat-e-Saharî, Ruhā'īyat, p. 86.
2. Ibid. p. 44
3. Ibid. p. 99.
quatrans, stands very high as a thinker and a poet. Among the great quatrain writers, such as Abū Sa'id Abul-Khair and 'Omar Khayyām, he would occupy a respectable place because of his elegant expression, high ideals, and comprehensive philosophy. Abū Sa'id Abul-Khair makes a saint of a Man—indeed a laudable achievement in itself—but he does not go beyond that. It was left for Bedil to enable the saints, by his life-giving philosophy, to be a vital force in the world. 'Omar Khayyām, on the other hand, is a pessimist. He leaves the riddle of the universe unsolved and finds an escape in wine. The sharp intellect of Bedil, however, pierces the hearts of the atoms and soars to the heavens. He has a complete view of the Reality and offers a most positive philosophy to man for the realisation of his self, and thus equips him to play a most constructive role in life. If, therefore, out of the huge collection of the quatrans of Bedil, a fair selection is made, with a proportionate regard for the different topics dealt with by him, and an elegant volume is brought out, the world would indeed be richer in literature of everlasting value.

Besides expressing these deeper thoughts, Rubā'īs have been employed in connection with every other topic which concerns man. Chronograms on births, deaths, and other occasions; joy or sorrow felt on the arrivals and departures of near and dear ones; congratulation; complaints; bacchanalian topics; statements regarding one's faith, facetiae, etc., etc., all are themes for the Rubā'. When we go through the Rubā'īyat of Bedil we come across all these topics, and thus a flood of light is thrown on the private life of the poet. The constant demands, made by his friends, acquaintances, and other people, for chronograms pestered him very much, and he complains:

[Bedil how far has understanding diminished,
The times have arrayed a party of fools.
For long all those, who know or do not know me,
Have not asked me except for chronograms.]

Bedil's relations with Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān and his family are well known. There are Rubā'īs which express Bedil's love for and gratefulness to this family. Moreover, there are many Rubā'īs which give

1. In this connection read the masterly account of Abū Sa'id Abul-Khair, given by R.A. Nicholson in his Studies in Islamic Mysticism.
2. Weir, T.H., 'Omar Khayyām—the Poet, pp. 23, 24;
4. Kulliyyāt-e-Safdari, Rubā'īyat, p. 17
information about the poet’s faith. From some quarter he got relics of the Holy Prophet, and he said joyfully:

[Bedil, the world is proud of me, 
On account of the rich treasure which the Prophet has granted to me. 
When he saw I was away and could not go round his door, 
He sent his blessed relics to me.]

The following two quatrains also may be studied in connection:

[Bedil, you want the hidden and manifest secrets. 
You like to know the secret of the Prophet and the mystery of the Friend. 
The Creation is the mirror. See there the light of Ahmad. 
Comprehend the Real Being if you like to know ‘Ali.]

[The seed of Reality whose tree is the Prophet, 
(According to the people whose faith is creditable) 
Has Abū Bakr as roots, ‘Umar as leaves and branches, 
‘Uṯmān as buds, and Mūtazā the fruit.]

Bedil makes references about his versification also. He complains that people do not realise his worth. He states that he does not eulogise anybody, but writes verses for their own sake—for the pleasure of making them; and if at all in his poems he has praised some persons, it is only on account of his love for them. There is also a quatrain, in the collection, which ought to have silenced his critics:

[Bedil, It does not behove me to practise religious jurisprudence. 
My interest is not concerned with perfection or its reverse. 
Do not object to the defects in my verses, 
After all these are not the sayings of Šafi’i or Nu‘man.]
Finally, it is regrettable that a poet of Bedil's standing should stoop down to the position of facetiae-writers. There are nineteen Rubā'is of this nature given at the end of the Qītā in Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī. The language of these Rubā'is is very filthy and the subject-matter is awfully obscene. It appears that to guard his sublimest expressions against the evil eye, Bedil indulged now and then in such like offensive sayings. I too quote only one Rubā'ī of this nature with the same object:

آن نفسم غرہ تو تاب منى
کر اہل تکریست و امعباب منى
یا رب پبیس پریس وواکن
یتش ريشی بشوی با آب می

[That depraved, proud, and egotistical fellow.
Who is one of the haughty and arrogant people.
May God disgrace him with his attire of old age;
That is wash his beard with semen.]

The Rubā'ī shows that Bedil was certainly angry with an old man wearing a long grey beard.

As regards the form of Bedil's Rubā'īs, the first, second and the fourth lines of each Rubā'ī rhyme with each other, and the rhyme consists of a single letter, or a particular phrase or word repeated as refrain, after the proper rhyming consonant or vowel. There are also quatrains having dotless letters and all the letters having dots.

1. Kuliyāt-e-Safdarī, Qītā, pp. 58-62. The catalogue of the Arabic Persian Mss. in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur, Vol. III, states under No. 381, that there are 3,000 verses of this kind. Khushgū too says that the number of such like verses is 3,000. Doctor Rieu says that in the British Museum there exists a manuscript which contains satires in Qasida form, and quotes the following verse with which those satirical fragments begin:

ابید دور در حیات است وضع نیتی که دارد
باد یوت مرنگ غیر آن سرین که دارد


I saw three satirical fragments in the Kuliyāt copied by Ghulām Husain Kābuli at page folio 1029-a. As regards the additional satirical Rubā'īs, which have been mentioned later in the Bankipur catalogue under the above-mentioned manuscript, and whose first line is:

پاران در زندگی زهرمی رسا

I think, at least some of them are given in the collection of Rubā'īyat in Kuliyāt-e-Safdarī, because at its page 5 the foregoing line, with the complete Rubā'ī has been given. Similarly, the following satirical Rubā'ī has been given at p. 97 of the collection:

زاهد سنگ از صدیق و صنف می گفتند
که بومی ای مستره آخره شعور است انجا
می نزد کوال و وست ورجی بست

Many more Rubā'īs of this sort can be quoted from this collection.

4. Ibid. pp. 89, 95, 100.
MUKHAMMASAT (Pentastitches). 1

It is strange that no Tazkirah-writer paid attention to the Pentastitches of Bedil. In all likelihood it was due to the fact that their object was simply to give short notices about the poet. In the *Bankipur Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts*, however, the Pentastitches of Bedil have been mentioned, but it has not been mentioned whether they exist in the Library or not. As it has already been said, Bedil wrote a large number of poems of this kind, but I have been able to see only 33. Their large number shows that Bedil was very fond of writing Mukhammasat, so much so that the touching elegy, he wrote on the death of his only son, is also a Mukhammas. The language of these poems is very simple and colloquial, and one feels at every step that the thought predominates the expression. In addition, therefore, to their simplicity, fluency, beauty of expression, and force of emotion, their deep thoughts also attract our attention. The poet himself is aware of these things and he says5:

جید صحرایی از پیدا از دیگ تغییر
قبیله انگیز یا پیام تنه غیر
یرب وان درد برده تا کلی باد آرای
زاسب نقل یک شاه صدیقه، دل که تدار
بلع تست خوشنی خو کرهمار ندارد

[What magic is performed, Bedil, by your original verses.
A resurrection is the result or a spring exciting disturbance.
A thousand hues tear open the veil before you produce a rose.
Through the tune of the bubbling noise of a cup-like heart, which you do not have
There is an uproar in your mind which even the hills do not have.]

In writing these poems Bedil does not seem to have followed any poet, but in one Mukhammas,6 he has inserted this hemistitch7 of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi:

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1. A Mukhammas or a pentastitch is a poem of several "bands" each having five lines. The fifth line in every "band" sums up the idea.
5. Ibid., f. 449-a.
6. Ibid., fs. 461-a to 462-b.
This line occurs in the thirty-second Maktub (letter) of the divine.

Except for only three Maktamasat, in all the rest Bedil discusses those topics with which we have become familiar in the course of this work. Freshness is introduced only by originality of expression, and from the literary point of view it is a great achievement.

For example he speaks about the Primal Being:

My Sun did shine without the fear of decline.

My years and months moved without the dust of months and years.

Neither on account of the cycle of time I knew the change of thoughts,

Nor because of the revolution of the sky my condition altered.

I was the centre of my compass and had a world for myself.] Bedil wrote these verses while talking about the origin of Man. Similarly, he reminds Man of his superiority in the universe and urges him to realise his self. The attempt will result in a tedious repetition if quotations are made about all these and other familiar topics, still it may be seen how fresh the topic of the superiority of Man appears in these lines:

[If the morning opens its wings, it is in memory of your eyelashes,

And if the evening develops hair, it is again in memory of your eyelashes.

Wherever you open your eyes there is the blackness of your eyelashes.

The secret of both the worlds is the shutting and opening of your eyelashes.

2. Ibid., f. 450-b.
When there is no more a wall in the house a Sahara is the result.

Besides this novelty and beauty of expression, these poems have, as already indicated, a remarkable force of emotion. In the following lines, we have been asked, in a most feeling manner, to make an earnest search for the Ultimate Reality which, the poet adds, is not far off:

[O nonsensical people, don't talk in a mood of disappointment.

The Rose can be seen gratis. See and smell it.
That Rare Gem, for which you wander about,
Has not gone far from your sight, find it out.
After all you should not be so perplexed.]

In another Mukhammas Bedil has described the feelings which he experienced when he had the vision of the Ultimate Reality. He did not think that he would have the vision, and he was, therefore, very much surprised to see the unexpected thing take place:

[Although I do not possess the power to have the vision, and I am contented with the Thought, and with only a sight of the spring.]

I was extremely wonderstuck to see
That you brought me face to face with the graden of desires.
O my eyes, a thousand mirrors may be sacrificed for your single glance.]

In addition to the feelings of joy and wonder, our Gnostic experience on that occasion a feeling of elation also:

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2. Ibid., f. 4395-440-a,
Qasaid, Quatrains, Mukhammasat

[O Bedil, you have brought the news of eternal bliss.
You drank a full cup and thus feel intoxicated like Jamshid.
The sound of the bass and treble of your fortune has reached
the ears of the Venus,
O atom, your proud head has touched the Sun.
We did not have so much knowledge about your rank.]

These were examples of emotional felicity. The best example of the
expression of the poet’s emotional break-down is the pathetic and sad
Mukhammas¹ he wrote on the death of his son. It has already been
quoted in chapter² third and may be seen there.

When we have noted literary points of additional interest in the
Mukhammas, we should review the speculative element in the
poems, mainly to find out what fresh grounds have been covered. At
several places, during their perusal, one feels that, to make his
philosophy perfect and workable, Bedil is accumulating the necessary
details and making the much-needed qualifications. I would be
content with only one example. We know, in describing his mystical
philosophy, Bedil has urged people to give up their worldly desires and
to adopt Faqr, i.e. poverty of heart. One could say that Bedil wanted
men to renounce the world altogether as did the recluse, and herein,
therefore, was a ground for misunderstanding. Hence, to clarify his
views on this point, Bedil has written a Mukhammas³, beginning with
the line:

...لَتْقُوِيَكَ تَكِيَارَ زِيْتُانَ بِهَا

[I do not say that you should leave your jobs completely.]

In this poem he has emphasised that gradually one should develop a
particular attitude of mind which should attach more and more
importance to spiritual life. I quote the stanza which sums up the
central idea:

تَعَلَّقُ، فَشَكْ أَنْتُ حُكْمُ جَسَدَكَ تَعَلَّقُ،
فَشَكْ أَنْتُ حُكْمُ جَسَدَكَ تَعَلَّقُ.
[By nature you are an Essence. How long would you love
the body?
Don’t wither, therefore, because of your anxiety to flatter the
body.
This rustic shoe of a body should not stick to your feet so
closely.

1. Page 142, supra.
2. Page 142, supra.
3. Kulliyat-Bedil, Vol. II, Panjab University Library Mas No. 255,
   3s, 4346-4356.
If your attachment for the body does not permit you to discard it forthwith,

Then, like water, trickle slowly out of this earthen pot.]

The gradual process outlined in the fifth line shows that the poet was anxious to remove every difficulty which people could feel in practising his philosophy.

There is still another point about the Mukhammasat of Bedil which must be considered. The poet has written two Shahr Asho poems, of the kind, which criticise his times. Bedil had seen the golden times of the mighty Emperors Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, but when after the short and comparatively not a bad reign of Shāh 'Ālam (1707-1712 A.D.), the sceptre passed into the hands of voluptuous and self-indulgent rulers, Bedil witnessed depravity and degeneration of unprecedented character, and he was, therefore, much pained. Most sorrowfully he describes the ways of the society of those days and foretells the downfall of the Mughals. In view of the historic significance of the description its summary has been given below. It may be borne in mind that these are not the observations of an ordinary poet, who is usually heard complaining against his contemporaries. On the other hand, here we learn well-thought-out and considerate views of a thinker who, as a social philosopher, was fully aware of the trend of his times:

The Emperors were pusillanimous and lascivious. Their courtiers too were worthless and licentious. Gone were the glorious days when aristocracy consisted of men of integrity. Instead only pampered, senseless,

2. Jahāndār Shāh, the successor of Shāh 'Ālam, had a concubine named Lal Kanwar—a music girl by birth. Undreamt of honours were showered on her, and her relatives were elevated to the highest ranks. See my article about her published in the *Yārāb* for September 1951. About the low-born relatives of Lal Kanwar and the mischief created by them, Khāfi Khān remarks in *Muntakhab Lūbāb*, Vol. II, at p. 659:

[The community of the musicians, minstrels, and songsters had such a good market for their songs and music, that it looked as if the Qājār himself would become a drunkard, and the Muftī a tipsy. All the brothers, and near and distant relatives of Lal Kanwar were made prominent among their community, by raising them to the Mansāta of 4,000 and 5,000, and by granting them elephants, drums, and priceless jewels. No more there was any respect for the old, loyal and faithful courtiers, other accomplished persons, and the 'Ulema.]
vain, and proud people had been promoted to higher ranks. They were base in nature, light in intellect, and corrupt in morals. Their only concern was to amass wealth, and to add to the number of their palatial buildings and their horses and elephants. Those self-conceited braggarts were proud of their strength and valour, but in fact they had grown effeminate, and like women busied themselves in make-up before the mirrors. They were more quarrelsome than womenfolk, but by their big bellies, large moustaches, angry faces, and proud posture tried to overawe the people. None recognised their authority, still they thought they were potentates. The general public, too, had adopted their ways and men, having greater potency for sexual intercourse, were respected in the society. Unnatural sexuality had become so common that sodomy was practised openly, and women searched “husbands” for their men. As the husbands were henpecked they pimped for their wives. When the society had grown so hollow, in every respect, Bedil prophesied:

[The change in the condition of the unmanly will occur sooner than later.]

Soon will this shameless crowd disperse.
How long can the cuckolds be brave and the panderous to their wives be kings.]

And the Muslims of India know, at their cost, how far this prophecy was correct!

**TARKIB BAND**

This poem of Bedil consists of thirty stanzas (bands), rhyming turn by turn in different letters, in their perfect alphabetical order, and each stanza has twenty one couplets. The first three stanzas are doxological, and praise God as the Self-sufficient Reality, from which everything originated, and of which everything is now enamoured. The fourth stanza has a discussion about the Eternal and the Contingent, and the two succeeding ones are didactic in content, and urge Man to attend more to heart:

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1. This looks obscure, but I am simply faithful to the original.
2. Study in this connection *Muraqqa‘-e-Dehlī* by Dargah Qulī Khān who wrote this book only a few years after the death of Bedil. The book has already been quoted (p........supra), and the reference serves the purpose to a great extent.
3. *Kulliyāt-e-Safdar, Tarkib Band* *(In Qaṣṣād)*, pp. 2-11. A Tarkib Band is a poem consisting of many stanzas of equal length. In Bedil’s Tarkib Band the last hemistiches of all the stanzas rhyme with one another.
4. No bands, however, rhyme in these letters:
Without the meaning of the heart nothing is comprehensible.

The seventh, eighth, and ninth stanzas have been dedicated to the praise of the holy Prophet of Islam, and in the next four, the four Orthodox Caliphs of the Prophet, i.e. Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Ugma and ‘Ali, have been eulogised. In the fourteenth stanza the poet sums up what he said about the Caliphs in the four preceding stanzas and he gives the central idea in this verse:

One is the sphere of truthfulness, the second is the essence of justice; the third is the ocean of modesty, and the fourth the sign of sincerity.

The next fifteen stanzas are again didactic, teaching Unity and love, self-renunciation, and self-realisation. The last stanza, i.e. the thirtieth, is a pathetic statement of how all the great men—great in intellect, in status, and in spirit, feel helpless when they are at the point of death, and Bedil, therefore, has urged:

You should have attachment for the Almighty who, out of extreme kindness, will not like you to be so helpless and distressed on such a day.

Some of the verses in the Tarikib Band are extremely beautiful, for example:

If the freshness of the lips of the beloved is not in sight, no joy can be had by looking at the pearls and rubies.

Like the mother of pearl you have a pearl in your bosom, there is no fun then in running about, like the wave, to every shore.

When your heart is settled, why to have yearning for restlessness.

The pearl is in your grasp. Don't strike it against the stone.
TARJĪ' BAND

It is one of the best productions of Bedil, and appears to be written at the highest pitch of inspiration. It embodies all the fundamental principles of the mystical philosophy of the poet, and he commands, in this poem, a force and spontaneity rarely met with elsewhere—in his own works or in the works of other poets. It was written as a replica to a famous Tarji' Band of 'Iraqī (d. 688/1289) whose refrain is:

كد بیفهان دل، مین جز دوست
هرچه ییه پال دان که طظهر است
[That with the eyes of heart see nothing except the Beloved. Everything that you see should be regarded His manifestation.]

I am quoting here Khushgū. He continues: "As 'Iraqī spoke like a mystic, who is still on the Path, he said that everything is a manifestation of God, while a gnostic believes that the objects are the Essence Itself. Bedil, therefore, said:

کد بیفهان نیست که توان دوست
این بن، وال دان که طظهر است
[That the world is nothing except the Light of God.]

These, I and others, have all a relative existence.

As this refrain shows, according to Bedil, the universe, as well as everything else that it contains, has a relative existence, i.e. these things exist only in name and not in reality:

نیست جز آسم بال پوپارش
فمهم کن آتشیان علت را
[The wings for his flight are nothing except a name. Just think of the nest of phoenix.


3. I have not been able to find this Tarjī' Band in the manuscript for published Kulliyāt of 'Iraqī. Professor Arberry has edited 'Iraqī's Uṣṭāq Nāma, but there too, in the life-sketch of the poet, I could find no mention of this Band. Browne also does not speak about it in his Literary History of Persia. There is, however, another Tarjī' Band by 'Iraqī, having the metre of Bedil's Band, and it has this refrain:

کد هوم اوتست هرجه مست بیچ
جان و جیان و دلبر و دل ودن
The first strophe of this Tarjī' Band has been rendered into English verse by Browne. See Kulliyāt-e-'Iraqī, Panjab University Library Ms. No. 237, ff. 33-36a. Ibid., Nawilksheir Edition, pages 39-44; Browne, E.G. The Literary of Persia, III, pp. 129-30; Arberry, A. J. A., The Song of Lovers (Uṣṭāq Nāma ed.).
It is, therefore, God alone that exists and the world as such is nominal and unreal. Whatever reality is ascribed to the world, it is because of its descent from God, and in that sense it is identical with God. But, inspite of this essential identity, it is impossible that after its descent from the Absolute Being, there may be any possibility of its going back to its place of origin. A wave separates itself from the ocean, but then, inspite of its best efforts, it cannot think of becoming ocean again:

\[
\text{روز قار يست از محيط بتا هجموسح أو نتاه آيم جحا}
\]

[Ages have passed since out of the Ocean of Eternity

We separated like the wave.

بتخذت محيط توان شد نوج بیهوده درد سر دارد

It is impossible to become ocean by exertion,

In vain does the wave trouble itself.]

From Bedil’s point of view, then, the world is absolutely different from God, and he therefore does not say, like Ibn-al-'Arabi, that the world is God and that God should not be sought beyond this world. Bedil elaborates this thought further at another place in the poem while addressing man. He says:

\[
\text{أي تراشده نسب مظهر دور عیجت نماند بیال}
\]

[O thou who hast forged the relation of manifestation

Weep as the period of thy identity is no more.

آئینه گر هم حضور شود ند نماید ز شخص جز تئمال

[Even if the mirror is all in presence,

It would not show except: the image.]

Bedil thus maintains that Man can no longer claim identity with God on the score of being His manifestation and image. This shows that Bedil was not at all a thorough going pantheist as Khushgul’s remarks, quoted in the beginning, make him out to be. According to Bedil, then, the world may have a relative existence, but, as it is, it is other than God. In my opinion, it is the fundamental difference between Bedil and 'Iraqi, because the latter was a cent per cent 'Umri, i.e. pantheist, and followed Ibni al-'Arabi to the letter.

There is still another difference between 'Iraqi and Bedil, and that again is of fundamental nature. In 'Iraqi’s Tarji *Band,3 we find only an exposition of the poet’s pantheistic views and nothing more. There is no place in 'Iraqi’s philosophy for Man which makes him an envy of the whole creation. 'Iraqi’s main concern is monism, but with Bedil Man too occupies a pre-eminent place in the scale of

1. Fārūqī, Mujaddid’s Conception of Tawhid, pp. 61, 62.
3. I mean the one mentioned at page 245 supra, foot-note 3.
The very first strophe of Bedil's Tarji' Band is a vigorous encomium of Man. Only the following four verses may be studied:

We are associates of the society of Occult Secrets;
We are drunk with the wine of blessed vision;
We are the ebullition of the ocean of Lahut (Divinity);
We are the grace of the morning of the world of light;
God manifested Himself in our form;
Undoubtedly we have got strange modes;
We are the lightning of love and we smile flames;
We are the cloud of longing and we rain lamentations.

The whole of the Tarji' Band stresses the unique position of Man. It makes discussions about his potentialities, it tells how to bring that potentiality into actuality, and it describes the miraculous powers of Bedil's Ideal Man. While comparing Man with other objects, Bedil says that they too may have their origin in the same Reality, but they cannot claim equality with Man:

They cannot be weighed with the ruby,
Although the stones and iron come from mines.
In the chamber of the forgetfulness of the Universe,
Man is the luminous Sun.

Bedil asserts again and again that Man has boundless power and enjoys free will:

[If Godship is sultanate,
To be a Man is also a viziership]

[If your look surges out with confidence,
You would find happening whatever you desire.]

[You may select paradise or hell,
For you have got freewill.]

With his freewill and his prerogative Man controls the destiny of the Universe:
Life and Works of Bedil

The musical instrument of the Universe is absolutely quiet. We are the uproar of its bass and treble. The invisible is visible here. The writ of the mysteries of both the worlds, if it is transcribed, it is transcribed by us. The cloud of inquiry showers bounty. A world comes a-begging at our doors and we give.

Repetition of the consonant 'm' in the rhyme and refrain of the verses, points out with what emphasis Bedil wanted to express his views. Man being so sublime and so mighty, it is sorrowful, says, if after realising his self, he is not proud:

[The musical instrument of the Universe is absolutely quiet, We are the uproar of its bass and treble. The invisible is visible here. The writ of the mysteries of both the worlds, if it is transcribed, it is transcribed by us. The cloud of inquiry showers bounty, A world comes a-begging at our doors and we give.]

Man being so sublime and so mighty, it is sorrowful, says, if after realising his self, he is not proud:

I am sorrowful on account of the indifferent disposition of my heart. It has realised itself and still does not feel elated.]

Exaltedness is thus the natural outcome of self-realisation, this is the ego-sustaining positive feeling on which Iqbal, in his times, has laid much stress.

The foregoing remarks sum up the main characteristics of the Band of Bedil and point out how it is different from 'Iraqi's Band. It is also apparent that Khushgul, being a Hindu and more naturally inclined to thorough going pantheism, could not grasp the real significance of this strophe-poem of Bedil. It is also true that, in the development of mystic thought, Bedil's contribution is emphatically pointed out emphatically to the path which culminated in Iqbal, and as a thinker, Bedil is thus the forerunner of the Poet of the east as Iqbal is called. Finally, all these comparisons and contrasts tend to show that the Tarji Band of Bedil, having thirty-four stanzas of twenty verses each, excluding the refrain, will stand out as the poet's magnitude production.

FRAGMENTS

After the Qesaid many Qit'at are given in Kulliyat-e-Bedil of the Press, Bombay. All of them relate to different episodes of the poet's life, and I have, therefore, already spoken about them while dealing with the biographical portion of this work. This may, however, be repeated that the fragments constitute a nice model of sincerity and

[1. Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam, p. 165. Iqbal says: The ego-sustaining deed is respect for the ego in myself as well as in others.]


[3. Kulliyat-e-Safdar, Qit'at, pp. 44-58.]
spontaneousness and proclaim the liberality of the poet's heart. One of the fragments is about the poet's beloved, and describes how lovely the hands and the feet appeared, when dyed with henna. The fragment is exclusively of artistic value, and, as I have not mentioned it before, I give its opening and concluding verses:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{آن رنگ که نی داشت دریان از ورق کل از دور کف دست تو بسیده و پیا بست} \\
\text{[The colour which kept itself back from the rose, Kissed your hands from a distance and stuck to your feet.]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{بچل تو هم از شوق حسن ذو که به این رنگ شیرازه دیوان تو امروز حنا بست} \\
\text{[Bedil you should also blossom like the garden, because with this colour, The tape of your Diwan has been dyed.]}
\end{align*}
\]

RIDDLES

The 
\text{Kulliyat-e-Safdarî} has four riddles also. In the first by the repetition of a word \( \text{لا الله} \) (There is no god except Allah) is obtained, and the word is \( \text{هلال} \). The second is about the seeds, which grow without being sown, and when they are brought together, they grind like a mill. Those seeds are the teeth. The third is a riddle about the tongue, and the fourth about a mill. The last is quoted below to show the nature of this kind of verse.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{شخصی دیدم لئه سر عیان نی گردن لبها برهم نبانده وابانده دهن} \\
\text{دندانش هزار لیکا اینبیان بشکم کارش همه وقت خوردن و نالیدن}
\end{align*}
\]

1. Sher Khān Lodhi says that this beautiful fragment was written when Mir Lutfullah son of Nawāb Shukrullah Khān was married and henna was applied to his hands and feet. See, Sher Khān Lodhi, \text{Mir'atul Khayāl}, p. 392.

2. \text{Kulliyat-e-Safdarî, Qasaid}, p. 64.
CHAPTER VII

Prose Works

1. CHAHĀR 'UNSUR

This is the chief prose work of Bedil and, as already stated, it is primarily the poet's autobiography, though it has not been written in the chronological order; and, therefore, for a proper and complete biography of the author, it must be supplemented by other sources. It was Sirājūd Din 'Alī Khān Ārzū who first of all pointed out that some of the events of Bedil's life have been described by Bedil himself in Chahār 'Unsur. It can, however, serve as a useful source for the poet's life up to 1100 A.H. (A.D. 1683-5), and hence for the events of the later years of his life we must tap other sources. It was begun in 1095 A.H. (1683-4 A.D.), and was completed in 1115 A.H. (1704 A.D.). Thus it took Bedil more than twenty years to finish Chahār 'Unsur. The book has been divided into four chapters or 'Unsurs. In the first 'Unsur Bedil vividly represents the moral character, the religious sentiments, and the literary careers of several distinguished persons, with whom he passed the early period of his life. The second 'Unsur has been devoted to the description of the circumstances in which he wrote some of his verses. The third tells how some of the prose pieces given in this section were produced. And the fourth gives some of the strange and miraculous happenings of his life. While writing the biography of Bedil, I used Chahār 'Unsur as a source off and on, but as the general plan of the book is unknown to my readers, and as some of its material could not be included in the biography, I proceed to discuss the chapters one by one as briefly as possible.

1. Page 133 supra.
3. Page 133 supra.
4. Page 85 supra.
5. Page 133 supra.
The book begins with a preface, in prose, which expresses that God transcends all descriptions of Him, He is unknowable, and that neither His Essence nor His Attributes are known to us. Then, after praising the holy Prophet and telling why and with what plan the book is being written, Bedil begins the First ‘Unṣur.’ At first he talks about his infancy and childhood, the death of his father, his admission into a Maktab, and his sharp intelligence, which began to manifest itself in the very beginning. Then one by one he speaks about Shaikh Kamāl, Shāh Muluk, Shāh-e-Yaka Āzād, Shāh-e-Fāzil, Mirzā Qalandar, and Shāh-e-Qāsim Huwallah—the eminent persons who are all Bedil’s spiritual teachers. Like Farīdud Din ‘Aṭṭār, who begins every chapter of his Taṣkīratul Auliya with metrical epithets about the new saint to be discussed, Bedil also employs sonorous adjectives in praise of each one of these saints. Having made the beginning in this way Bedil continues the account in a florid style initiating his points by Masnavis, Ghazals, fragments, single verses, or Rubāis. More often than not statement of a fact leads to some profound conclusion, and then Bedil commences, in his characteristic style, discussion of some very abstruse problem connected with Metaphysics or mystical philosophy. This shows why Bedil calls Chahar ‘Unṣur as the rose-garden of Mysticism.

About the saints mentioned above, necessary details have already been given in the first and second chapters of this work, and I should not repeat them here, but I would like to state a few more factors about Shāh-e-Qāsim that have been mentioned in this ‘Unṣur. Sayyid Mahmūd, a descendant of Khwāja Ya’qūb Charkhī, was the Governor of Orissa, when Shāh-e-Qāsim and Bedil were there. The Sayyid was suffering from a grave malady. Mirzā Zarrīf, the maternal uncle of Bedil, requested Shāh-e-Qāsim to pray for the Sayyid, and consequently he recovered very soon. Three more miracles were also displayed by the saint. A certain person, named Asad, who was a shī’a by faith, talked irreverently about Shāh-e-Qāsim at the time when he prayed for the recovery of Sayyid Mahmūd. Soon after, when Asad was going in his palanquin, it was overturned automatically and he was thrown off into a pool of filth. There was also another Shī’a Ḥakīm Ẓāhir Gilānī. He was a highly cultured

4. Khwāja Ya’qūb, a disciple of Khwāja Bihāḍ Din Naqībandī (d. 791/1384), belonged to Charkh—a suburb of Ghazna. He died in 851/1447, when his fame as a saint had spread far and near. See Ghulām Sarwar, Khaznatul Aṣfiya, I 566.
5. Page 36 supra.
person and an illustrious physician, and Shāh-e-Qāsim was very much pleased with him. One day the saint said that he had prayed to God to make the Hakim’s inner self also as pure as his outer self was, but he did not know why there was so much delay. The same evening Hakim Tāhir Gilānī went as usual to the tomb of his father, Ḥakīm Nūrud Dīn, to pray for his soul. At first he smelled something stinking, and then he saw an apparition rising out of the tomb. Tāhir Gilānī was terribly afraid, and was going back, when he heard: “Tāhir, I am your father Nūrud Dīn. This is my real self. Learn a lesson from me. My false faith has made me miserable.” This led Hakim Tāhir Gilānī to renounce Shiism. When this proselytisation took place Shāh-e-Qāsim recited the following verses of Maulānā Maghrībī:

ما چام جهان نائی ذاتما لما هادئی علم صنایع
کو مره ذه با که روح گشتیم کو تشه با که ما فراتیم

[We are the world-showing cup of His Essence.]
[We are the guides in the realm of His Attributes.]
[Ask the dead to come so that we might grant life.]
[Ask the thirsty to arrive as we are the Euphrates.]

The last karāmat of Shāh-e-Qāsim is about a rich Tūrānī Big, who was suffering from consumption, but remained hale and hearty so long as he was in Cuttack in keeping with the advice of the saint, but died immediately when he started on his journey for Tūrān.

At the end of the First ‘Uṣūr Bedil eloquently praises the saints and says:

وفی ابن طائفه تفسیر کلام الله است

[The praises of these persons constitute the exegesis of the Holy Book.]

And he rebukes those poets pungently who sing praises of the kings who love only worldly glory.

In the Second ‘Uṣūr Bedil tells how on ten different occasions he composed some particular verses. At first he tells how he composed his maiden Rubā‘ī at the age of ten, and then he describes how he made a versified reply on behalf of Shāh-e-Fāzīl when somebody requested him to pay a visit to his home. On that occasion, Bedil says, Shāh-e-Fāzīl remarked that Man is the embodiment of all the

3. Ibid., 47.
4. Ibid., 48-50.
5. Page 27, supra.
secrets of Being and hence deserves all the worldly and divine perfections. On that very occasion a person enquired how the I-amness of Pharaoh differed from that of Mansur al-Hallaj. Shah-e-Fazil replied that Mansur uttered 'I am the Truth' only after complete self-annihilation, when he was perfectly sure about the truth of Unity; but Pharaoh said, 'I am your Lord, the most high' when he was still wandering about in the forest of plurality, and hence, on being tested, even the drops of the former's blood bore testimony to his truthfulness, while the latter, on finding himself in the midst of the surging waters of the Nile, cried out that he believed that there is no God save Him in Whom the children of Israel believed.\(^1\)

Having described the circumstances, in which Bedil composed the fragment on behalf of Shah-e-Fazil, Bedil gives an account of a meeting with Shah Abul Faiz, at the residence of Mirza Zarif, when different topics of Metaphysics were discussed, and when, at the end of the meeting, Bedil composed\(^3\) a Ruba'i. The fourth occasion, when Bedil composed verses extempore, was the convivial meeting at the bank of a tank in Rani Sagar. The fifth composition is a verse in which all the letters have dots and which was written in Orissa in the presence of Shah-e-Qasim and the poet Walah of Herat. The sixth are 57 couplets which Bedil added to the preface of the collection of the sayings of saints, made by Bedil in Orissa. Bedil says that Shah-e-Qasim sent this collection to another saint, named Shah Nimatullah Frizpuri, with the remarks that it was the first composition of a novice in mysticism, and Shah Nimatullah in return praised Bedil and foretold that he would have a brilliant future. The seventh is a description of how a single couplet by Bedil drove of genii from a fort in Mathura. Here Bedil expostulates that even the words of a man, spiritually enlightened, have a mysterious force. The eighth is the following couplet:

\[
\text{از همچه سراپم نزین خود کوئی چه گوئیدم چونی}
\]

[Thou art beyond what I sing about Thee,
Tell Thyself how art Thou?]

---

1. Reference to the Holy Qur'an, x. 90. It may be noted that the quotation in Chahar 'Unsur is incorrect.
Bedil used to sing it in Orissa when his heart was consumed by love for God. It was this verse which introduced Bedil to Shāh-e-Kābulī in Dehli in an occult atmosphere. All the three meetings between Bedil and Shāh-e-Kābulī have already been described in connection with this couplet. The ninth^1 is the couplet told by Bedil to Shāh-e-Qāsim, in a dream, on the subject of modesty, and the tenth^2 is the chronogram about the death of Shāh-e-Qāsim, which Bedil told to the angels in a dream.

Now the third chapter,^4 or 'Unṣur-Seyyom as named by Bedil, contains six prose pieces of metaphysical, ethical, mystical, and literary value. In the beginning Bedil describes the difference between prose and verse, and maintains that essentially they are identical, with the only difference in quantity—prose being verse in detail, and verse only brief prose. According to Bedil, therefore, prose and verse are similar in nature, and if in Bedil's prose we find embellishments, usually met with in verse, we should not be surprised. After clarifying his views about these literary conceptions, Bedil begins his first^4 prose composition with these words:

نيستى آهستگان محفل اغیاث بوري از ذهن وند ته برده اند

[The mortal ones which form the assembly of the essences of things do not have even the faintest tinge of beingness.]

This is the Persian version of the following saying given in the commentary of Fūṣūsul Hikam by Kāshānī:

الا عیان مانست رائحة من الوجود

[The essences have not got the slightest touch of reality about them.]

The occasion for this discussion of a metaphysical problem arose when, in a meeting, people were talking sorrowfully about the dead and Bedil remarked:

هر نقشی که نیستی حریست که می شنوی

[Whatever you see is a word that you hear.]

This discussion is hard to understand, and I, therefore, give its summary in as intelligible terms as possible.

2. Ibid., 71-2. Page 76 supra.
3. Ibid., 73-100.
4. Chahar 'Unsur, 73-78.
Bidil says that God alone is the Real being and everything else has only relative existence; and creation is simply the manifestation of the Names and Attributes of God, as Man is the manifestation of the Name جامع (The Gatherer of all). When a Name, i.e., a word, is the origin of everything, Bedil holds, whatever we see is a word that we hear. Again, the essences of all things are eternally known to God, and His creative word (Kun, ‘Be’) actualises their existence. Thus creation depends on knowledge or mere thought. Bedil, therefore, is of the opinion that on the passing away of a person one should not feel bereaved because he was essentially a thought—devoid of all real existence.

The second is a short composition about liberality and is named Isariya. Bedil wrote it before he was busy with this ‘Unsar and append-ed it here to praise the liberal and to condemn the mean. Bedil says that the holy Prophet (peace be on him) has been praised for his excellent manners, and, as we learn from a study of his life, the excellence of manners and morals lies in liberality, which means trying always and under all conditions to win over the hearts of the people by conducing to their happiness. Bedil further explains:

 كيفية في بُناء لا مك ممّا علمته الدكّة تا كريم سأفا را مصنون تصوّر ثناء جوه

[The quality of generosity has been kneaded so delicately that if the generous person thinks the beggar is under obligation to him, the essence of generosity is lost; and if the liberal person is of the opinion that he has done a favour, the meaning of modesty ceases to have significance.] Liberality has been explained in such a way that it comes to include reason, modesty, and faith also. Bedil speaks disparagingly about the mean and stingy and illustrates his point by two stories, one of a mean trader and the other of a stingy mulla.

The third is a purely literary composition called Baharisht-e-Junna (The springtime of Madness). When Bedil wrote his vernal song in his Muhil-e-’A’zam, those of his friends who were interested in the beauties of prose requested him to write a similar piece in prose too. Although the subject had been thrashed threadbare by his predecessors, yet Bedil consented to describe the charms of spring in prose, which, he again asserts, is verse in detail. Elegance of words,

4. Page 258 supra.
freshness of similes and metaphors, colourfulness of imagery, and a pleasant abundance of fanciful conceits have lent this composition a novel charm, a glimpse of which can be had from the following sentence:

[The sight, like the parrot, may fly as far as possible, it will find itself face to face with verdure; and the imagination may wing its way to any place, it will find itself in the garden.]

At the end of this composition is a Maqāmī, having seventythree verses, in which the enchanting scenery of spring has been described again. The epilogue consists of a statement which reaffirms that Man himself is the spring.

*Huji-m-e-Hairat* (Abundance of Bewilderment) is the fourth piece of prose in the 'Unṣūr. It is a short philosophical-cum-mystical composition, and its literary attractiveness has been successfully maintained. It expresses bewilderment, at the irremovable close relationship, existing between all things of Nature and stresses the importance of solitude. The fifth is again a literary production called *Surma-e-Fīsār* (the collyrium of Honour). As already indicated, this was written by Bedil when he lived in Akbarābād with Kāmghār Khān. It is a composition having *curiosa felicitas* and about it Sher Khān Lodhī remarks:

[In fact if the wise and learned put the collyrium of the ink of these words in their bright eyes, it behoves; and if by virtue of this collyrium they begin to have respect for his (Bedil’s) towering genius, it is right. Had Zuhūrī been alive today he would have adopted Khafal as his pen-name, and, out of justice, he would have abandoned all pretentious claims as a writer of prose.]

1. Ghāzār 'Unṣūr, 92-94.
2. Ibid., 94-97.
3. Page 74 supra.
The sixth and the last piece of prose is about the advantages of silence (توبة خاسئي). Although it has mystical import, yet the practical wisdom of Bedil is also there. He asserts emphatically that moderation should be observed while acting upon this maxim of conduct, otherwise life-blood in the veins would be congealed. Also he says that expediency should be the guiding rule in this connection. One must speak when it is necessary, and silence should be observed when exigencies of the situation so require. Bedil has also remarked that the end of the Third 'Unsür has been quite suitably dedicated to "silence."

The Fourth 'Unsür. In this 'Unsür Bedil describes some strange things observed or experienced by him during his life. The total number of the things of this kind is twelve. Bedil says that these things may be considered supernatural but in fact they are the result of the potentialities found in Nature. Having made this qualification, Bedil proceeds to describe first the wonder of Life. He tells how life starts from the microscopic particles of dust, moving in the "absolute soul" (روح مطلق) which rises in the form of moisture from the dust. He then traces how step by step life appears in minerals, vegetables, and animals, and how finally it perfectly blossoms out in Man. He has explained that it is will which is the cause of the appearance of ear, eye, tongue, hands, nose, and other organs in Man. Bedil is of the opinion that accidents go on combining endlessly to form new substances, and hence the interminable series of creation.

After this Bedil describes, one by one, the hypnotic glances of a blacksmith in Sara-e-Nkudar, the burning looks of a Sadhu in Akbarpura, near Mathura, the mysterious disfigurement of his portrait, when he was ill in 1100 A.H. (1688-9 A.D.), and then its automatic restoration to its former state on his recovery. These incidents are followed by those which demonstrate Bedil's consummate skill in the matter of charms and amulets—one tells how a dead maid-servant was restored to life, and the other shows how the spirits, which haunted a certain house in Dehlī, were driven away by his charms. Then

1. Chahār 'Unsūr, 97-100.
2. Ibid., 100-135.
3. Ibid., 100-107.
5. Ibid., 109-110.
6. Ibid., 110-112.
7. Ibid., 112-115.
8. Ibid., 114-116.
Bedil states how once in Delhi, while coming back from a walk through the bazar in the evening, he found himself actually lifted and moving in the air. The eighth incident took place in Akbarabād when Bedil found a gold coin of the days of Akbar, and the ninth in Tābriz, near a place called Chand Chor, when Bedil, with two other persons, named Sarmast Khān and Mubārak Khān, saw a peri. Bedil then describes two of his journeys in dangerous times, one from Patna to Mehsi in 1070 A.H. (1659-60 A.D.), and the other from Mathura to Delhi in 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.). The twelfth and the last wonderful happening, described by Bedil, is a unique dream in which he saw and visited in Akbarabād the world of similitudes, and when he also saw the holy Prophet and Hazrat-e-Allāh. Here Chahār 'Unṣur ends, and Bedil gives two chronogram which tell that the date of finishing the book is 1116 A.H. (1704-5 A.D.).

The book was begun in 1095 A.H., and hence it took Bedil about twenty-one years to complete it, but this does not mean that he was working at it at a uniform speed. Towards the end of the Second 'Unṣur, when the third meeting with Shāh-e-Kabuli, which took place in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), has been described, Bedil remarks:

[Today it is twenty years since I have been intoxicated with that wine.]

From this we deduce that Bedil wrote this sentence in 1100 A.H. (1688-9, A.D.), or the first two chapters of this book were written in a period of five years (1100-1095 = 5). Again, in the beginning of the Fourth 'Unṣur, when Bedil has narrated how a maid-servant was saved miraculously by him when he had settled in Delhi after his marriage in 1079 A.H., he makes the following significant remark:

2. Ibid., 118-119.
3. Ibid., 119-124.
4. Ibid., 124-128.
5. Ibid., 128-132.
8. Page 64 supra.
11. Page 60 supra.
[Since that date up to this day that thirty-five years have elapsed, the maid-servant is still alive.]

This shows that Bedil wrote this sentence not before 1079+35 = 1114 A.H. (1702-3 A.D.). It is, therefore, clear that it took Bedil at least fourteen years to write the Third 'Unṣūr. And when we know that this 'Unṣūr consists mainly of those prose compositions written in previous occasions, we arrive at the conclusion that during the fourteen years of the twelfth Hijra century Bedil had almost stopped writing his Chahār 'Unṣūr. He finished it in 1116 A.H. (1704-5 A.D.). This is a conclusive proof of the fact that his speed was the fastest while writing the Fourth 'Unṣūr. But when we keep in mind that the book has only 136 pages,2 we gather that Bedil wrote and compiled it quite leisurely, sometimes leaving it altogether, and again writing a page or so after long intervals. It was perhaps due to the fact that Bedil was, during that time, busy3 with his Magnān ʻIrān.

Chahār 'Unṣūr is the chief prose-work of Bedil, and hence it represents his style as a prose-writer. It is, therefore, advisable that a few remarks should be made about the style of the book. While assessing the literary value of his prose, Bedil’s critics group themselves into two opposite camps. One group has denounced him vehemently while the other has unqualified praise for him. One of his chief detractors is Shaikh ʻAlī ᴵazīf (d. 1180/1765) who says:4

[The prose of Bedil is unintelligible. If I go back to Iran, no better gift can be thought of for entertaining the friends.]

Iznīf is followed by Muḥammad Ḥussain Āzād (d. 1910 A.D.) who has said:5

"The Chahār 'Unṣūr... of Bedil is a famous specimen of fanciful conceits. One is surprised to read it. It is full of izāfats,6 metaphors, involved sentences, and conceits within

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1. Pages 74, 318 supra. Surah-e-Itbār was written in Akbarābād when Bedil was living with Khān in 1081 A.H., and Bahārīstān-e-Jafārī after the composition of Muḥīt-e-A’zam in 1078 A.H. A perusal of the contents of the third will relate the same story about the other compositions also.
2. I have in view the Chahār 'Unṣūr of Kullīyāt-e-Safdar.
3. Ṣaqqār-e-Bedil.
5. Ibid., Sakhundur-e-Fārs, 93-4.
6. The relation of a noun with the genitive case following it is expressed by a, and is called Kasrān-e-Izāfat.
Moreover, the sentences rhyme with each other and are sonorific. The conceits are so subtle that they escape one’s notice, and whatever one comprehends that has no reality. Diction is most elegant but it lacks sense. One is at a loss to understand what has been written and why has it been written. If some history book, or a treatise on Ethics, or a book dealing with some science, or still again some ordinance of the Government is written in this style, what would be the plight of the readers?

It is apparent Maulana Azad is too harsh, and he fails to see any virtue in Bedil’s prose. To these traducers Altaf Husain Hali (d. 1333-1914) has replied:

Due to the evergrowing taste for a natural style, these subtleties may be disliked by the people, but these are simply trends of times which are ever changing. This, therefore, cannot minimise the proud achievements of those masters who invented a new style.

Thus, according to Hali, the true criterion, for judging the value of Bedil’s prose, is to see it in the light of the literary trends of his times. This will automatically explain why Bedil’s prose was liked by his contemporaries, or by those who see eye to eye with them.

Zuhuri (d. 1025/1616-7) had evolved a new poetic style in prose in his Nau Ras, Gulzar-e-Imam, and Khan-e-Khalil, and this style had become very popular in India. He avoided high-sounding words of Arabic vocabulary and adorned his expression by fresh similes and metaphors, and employed allusions and exaggerations. But he was not satisfied with elegance of expression only. He thought subtle conceits were also indispensable. Thus he used to express subtle thoughts in a most elegant manner, and invariably introduced in his verbal and literary artifices an element of novelty. In addition to this he used to write parallel sonorific sentences, and this parallelism was so perfect that no sentence could be replaced.

Now, as remarked by Khushgu in his Safina, if we observe Bedil’s prose carefully we come to the conclusion that it is an imitation of Zuhuri’s style, and if we go deeper and make comparisons we find that Bedil’s style is an improvement upon the original model. His diction is more elegant and chaste and his aesthetic

2. Quill, Chah Sharbat, 57.
Prose Works

I have deliberately avoided to give translations of these sentences, because a diction so chaste and constructions so graceful and original could not be reproduced in another tongue. It was in view of these peculiarities of Bedil's prose, that his contemporaries liked this style very much. His rival Sarkhush says:

**Bedil writes elegant prose.**

'Abdul Wahhab Iftikhar remarks:

*His (Bedil's) fertile imagination weaves enchanting webs of conceits in prose.*

And Husain Quli Khan, writing in 1233 A.H. (1817-8 A.D.) has stated:

**Bedil adopted a new style, and had great mastery in writing both verse and prose.**

Even a modern critic, Niaz Fatahpuri, praises Bedil for his elegant prose and adds that each and every word used by Bedil should be prized as life. There is still one more peculiarity of Bedil's prose which has not been noted by anyone else. Like Sa'di, he is fond of writing short, pithy and parallel sentences, e.g.

 Forgiveness is very much in search of excuses and liberality is very condescending.

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1. Page 43 supra.
2. Sarkhush, Kalimatu'llah Shu'arâ, 14.
3. 'Abdul Wahhab Iftikhar, Ta'zkira-e-Be nagîr, 39.
Life and Works of Bedil

Otherness is only the form of things, and not the meaning of belief; and plurality is the dust of wilderness and not the lamp of the private apartment of Unity.

Also, as it is self-evident, he omits verbs in the corresponding sentences. All this shows that Bedil wrote artistic prose, and, as in the case of all other artists, Bedil says in Chahâr 'Unsur that he underwent severe mental pains to produce his works:

Every dot that is made by my pen
Is a tear anxious to go down the eyelashes.
If I wrote the word 'Scar' it was of my roasted liver,
And if a sigh was written it rose from a heart.

But when everything has been said in favour of Bedil’s prose, this should also be admitted that, if it is to suit all occasions and all needs, the language should not be so ornate.

This was about the diction used by Bedil, but so far as the contents are concerned, he stands all alone. Abul Faţl (d. 1011-1602) employed the whole wealth of his high-sounding constructions and the train-loads of his adjectives to uphold the dignity of Emperor Akbar. Similarly, the florid style of Zuhûrî simply served to gratify the self-esteem of his patron Ibrahim ‘Adî Shah. But if Bedil praised anybody in his prose they were saints, whose praise, he believed, was just commentary of the holy Qur’an. Moreover, as hinted in Ma’âr-e-'Ajan, Bedil consecrated his skill in writing elegant prose to the exposition of ethical, mystical, and philosophical problems. Also it goes to the everlasting credit of Bedil that, in his Third 'Unsur, he has given five specimens of pure literary prose. These factors, therefore, mark a distinct advance in the direction of employing prose for better ends and higher aims. In view of these peculiarities of Chahâr 'Unsur, it should be classed with the Kimiyâ-e-Sâ'âdal of al-Ghazâlî, the Ta’zkiratul ‘Adîya of ‘At’ar, the Gulistan of Sa’dî, and the Nafahât of Jami. Its style may differ from that of the books mentioned here, but it belongs certainly to their class.

2. Ibid., 194.
As it is clear from the Appendix B, the total number of Bedil's letters is 273. These were written to thirty-nine different persons. These include 9 letters whose addressees have not been mentioned. Also some of the letters were written by Bedil on behalf of other persons.

The largest number of letters was written to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān and his sons: 93 to the Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, 48 to his son Mīr 'Ināyatullah Shākir Khān, 36 to his eldest son Mīr Lutfullah Shukrullah Khān II, and 15 to his youngest son Mīr Karamulla 'Āqil Khān. The last named died young, and hence the number of letters addressed to him is very small, although we know Bedil loved him very much. 'Āqil Khān Rāzi and Qayyūm Khān Fiddī, the father and the son, can claim only 10 and 5 letters respectively. The sixth position is enjoyed by Hūsain Quli Khān, Khān Daurān. These facts show the extent of Bedil's relations with different persons.

In the letters one comes across confusion on account of two Shukrullah Khāns and also two 'Āqil Khāns. But it can be easily removed. Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I and Nawāb 'Āqil Khān Rāzi both died in 1103 A.H. (1696-7 A.D.), and hence all the letters, which mention happenings of the later years, could not be addressed to these grandees. Moreover, while addressing these two persons of elevated rank, Bedil is always more respectful. As I have consulted and quoted all the letters every now and then while writing the Life of Bedil, I need not discuss their contents here, but I may add that because of the historical references made by Bedil and the chronograms and dates given by him, and also with the help of additional data available in different Tazkirahs and contemporary chronicles, it is possible to arrange the letters chronologically. A study of this thesis will, I presume to hope, prove very helpful in this connection.

As regards the style of the letters, we have to agree with 'Abdul Ghani, the learned author of the History of Persian Language and
Life and Works of Bedil

Literature at the Mughal Court, that in his Ruq'at Bedil has endeavoured to make his meaning obscure rather than clear owing to the overdone rhetoric and floridity. It may also be mentioned that the objections raised so vehemently by Muhammad Husain Azad, and quoted by me while discussing the style of Chahar 'Unsur, refer chiefly to Ruq'at, because Azad has cited a letter of Bedil in support of his contentions. It seems probable that it must have been Bedil's obscure style in his Ruq'at which made Chahar 'Unsur unpopular. Moreover, there are two letters in the Ruq'at, in which all the words used are dotless. This figure may show Bedil's mastery over language, but it looks frivolous according to the modern taste.

Still the good points in the style of the Ruq'at should not be overlooked. Every time that Bedil finishes a letter he prays in a different way, which is in keeping with its spirit and general contents. Moreover, there are similes, metaphors and novel conceits. Emotive element is also there. The feeling of helplessness and sadness may be observed in the following:

"ما في ما بناحان از علم مه ارد و قداسسو نجم خواهشیم "
"این و آن کم حاصلی که نگشتیم و نداشتم نادیدیم "

[What had we poor people brought from nonexistence and what would we take away from the world, that we should feel sorry (for losing what we had not or what we do not have?)

The philosophical deduction in these sentences has been made simply to console the grieved heart, but the feeling of sadness is so overpowering that philosophy has been suppressed. Another literary peculiarity of the Ruq'at is that at times we come across chaste expressions of the kind we frequently find in Chahar 'Unsur. The following sentences may be studied. I have not again given their translation.

"شمع تا نظر می کشاید چشم بر درف روشن کرده است و موج تاسیر بر می آرد "
"زندگی بر آن آمده چون تسم در گذشتن ناجار است و بیمانید "

The letters have many chaste and spontaneous verses also. It was in view of these peculiarities of the letters that at one time people studied them most eagerly.

There are also philosophical statements and literary discussions in the letters, and at one place Bedil says that in writing Persian the idioms and colloquial language used by the people of Persia must always be kept in view, for in India Persian is not a mother tongue. These things, however, should not detain us here.

3. NIKĀT-E-BEDIL

As it is evident from Appendix C, the Nikāt, i.e. the ingenious thoughts of Bedil, are his short and pithy sayings selected mostly from Ghāyār 'Unṣūr. Their number as well as their subject-matter varies in different editions lithographed in different presses. The Kulliyāt, brought out by the Ṣafdarī Press, Bombay, has 70 Nikāt, and every Nukta, i.e. a subtle thought, in prose is generally followed by a Rubāʾi and then either by a Ghazal or a Mukhammas. The Nawilkishore Edition has 69 Nikāt, and their order, and sometimes even their subject-matter, differs from that of the Nikāt in the Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī. In addition to this, every Nukta in this edition has the relevant Ishārāt-o-Ḥikayāt printed separately in the abovementioned Kulliyāt, and also it does not contain Mukhammasat. There is yet a third edition of the Nikāt, lithographed in the Ahmādī Press. This has 76 Nikāt, and, like the Nawilkishore Edition, it has Ishārāt-o-Ḥikayāt at their proper places after the Nikāt. This difference, in the number, order, and contents of the Nikāt found in different editions, shows that different manuscript copies of the Nikāt exist, but unfortunately I have not been able to see any.

As remarked by Ivanow in his Description Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, under No. 384, these subtle thoughts have been written in an exceedingly bombastic and very obscure style usually adopted by Bedil when he begins to make some philosophical discussion. Besides sometimes the Nikāt have been made absolutely unintelligible owing to the mistakes made by the calligraphists. For example in Nukta No. 63, in Kulliyāt-e-Ṣafdarī, the words غرابط Ṭarmān and غرابط Ṭarmān have been written for غرابط Ṭarmān and غرابط Ṭarmān. This shows that the calligraphist was ignorant of the philosophical terms used by Bedil. It is, therefore, advisable that the Nikāt should be studied with reference to the context, and this has been made easier by Appendix C.

The Nikāt themselves may not be so tasteful, so far as their wording is concerned; but the Rubāʾis, the Ghazals, the Mukhammasat, and the Ishārāt-o-Ḥikayāt they contain, are some of the finest specimens of his art. Almost every Nikta has a Ghazal in which we know how melodious, how fine, how juicy Ghazals of this type are. On account of these sweet verses the Nikāt have become very interesting, and we feel encouraged that after the short prosaic

1. It is because of this that I have given them under Majnavī.
2. Ivanow, Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, under No. 384.
line or passage of a Nukta we would have the finest blossom of the highest Art.

All the ingenious thoughts and pointed anecdotes refer to religious, moral, and philosophical subjects discussed by the author again and again in his works. In an elaborate discussion of Bedil's thought, these Nikat have their place, but when I have already made hints about Bedil's speculations while discussing his different works, I should speak here only about those Nikat whose basic thought has so far received scant attention. Although only brief remarks would be made, yet it would be possible to form an idea about the contents of the Nikat. I may, however, add, that if a detailed exposition of the Nikat is made, it would be found that they comprehend the whole of Bedil's Philosophy.

The first Nukta speaks about Khatrat, i.e. the ideas that occur to the heart, and thus it opens the discussion usually made by Muslim thinkers about inspiration, may it be of the saints or that of the prophets. Bedil says that inspiration of the saints and of the prophets is identical in nature, and there is no reason why we should believe the one and disbelieve the other. In a letter to Qāzī 'Abdur Rahīm, father of the saint Wali Ullah of Dehli, Bedil says that the ideas that occur to the hearts of the saints are inspiration direct from God. The ideas of this nature, the Sūfis says, are of four kinds: the divine, the angelic, the sensuous, and the devilish, but Bedil talks only about the first kind. Having once begun the topic, he reverts to it again and again in the Nikat. He says that the prophets on receiving such an experience compare and contrast it with the conditions prevailing in the world, and if the experience is of unquestionable utility for mankind, they translate it into action. This is not, however, the case with other people. They act at the first impulse, without weighing the pros and cons of the Khatrat of their hearts, however defective or full of dangerous implications they may be. Further, Bedil compares the knowledge attained by this spiritual organ, i.e. Mind, with that got by sense-perception. He says that even the iota of knowledge gained in this way is imperishable, while volumes of learning gathered otherwise will certainly go to wrack and ruin. In addition to this, he asserts, by acquiring knowledge through intuitive experience of this kind, we would be saved from the ignominy of aping others, and would thus store our
minds with something absolutely original. Bedil, therefore, suggests that we should constantly take resort to seclusion for contemplation and studying the heart, i.e. Mind. At another place in the Nikāt he says that this regard for the heart means self-study and ruminations about Reality. He warns that, while doing so, day-dreaming should be avoided, and Reality should be invariably kept in view. He also adds that if a man continues contemplation in this way, one day he arrives at the Truth and becomes one with it. At that time duality disappears and Unity is established. But although every heart has latent capacity for getting this unitive experience, it must be purified by self-mortification, and then alone its innate powers would be actualised. Only after purification the heart would be able to receive inspiration in its purest form. But here Bedil again warns that self-mortification should not be carried beyond the proper limits, for the prophets, who left a model for all, had recourse to it only so far as it was necessary for the purification of the soul. He also maintains that for an even growth of personality cogitation and spiritual development should accompany cultivation of physical powers.

This is a brief account of some of the topics connected with Khāṯrat. As we have no space to talk about other subjects discussed in Nikāt we should take up the next prose-work of Bedil.

4. BIĀZ-E-BEDIL

It is a Persian anthology compiled by Mirzā Bedil. Only two copies of this anthology are extant in the world and those too in the British Museum, London. Dr. Rieu has given a brief description of the contents of the Byāz in the British Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, and the following account has been taken from there.

The anthology contains choice poems by a vast number of poets from the age of Khaqānī to the author's time, classed according to the various styles of poetical composition, and arranged, in each class, in alphabetical order, according to the rhymes. Poems written by different authors in the same measure and with the same rhyme are grouped together. The names of the poets are given in versified headings like the following:

2. Ibid., Nukta No. 7, p. 4.
3. Ibid., Nukta No. 40, p. 17.
5. Ibid., Nukta No. 6, p. 3.
6. Ibid., Nukta No. 4, p. 3.
7. Rieu, Catalogue of the Persian Ms. in the British Museum, fs. 737a-738b.
The two uniform volumes of the Biaż have 429 and 453 folios, which have been written in fair Shikasta Amiz and dated Lahore, Zulqa'da A.H. 1152 and Muḥarram A.H. 1153 (A.D. 1740). In the beginning there are Qasidahs, Ghezals, Mu‘ammās or riddles, Rubā‘īs, Mustazād, and short pieces in Masnawi rhyme. There are longer Masnavis by the following poets:

1. Salim, Muḥammad Quli, a native of Tehran.
2. Ashraf, Muḥammad Sa‘īd, of Māzandran, instructor of Zibun Nisa, and a favourite of Bahādur Shāh.
3. Mīr Yahiya—a native of Kāshān, who came to India, wrote a Shāhnāma for Shāh Jahan and puns in praise of Dārā Shikoh, died A.H. 1074.
4. Ḥakīm Ruknā.
5. Tālib Amull.

These Masnavis are followed by Mukhammasāt, and Masnavis descriptive of female beauty by Mīrzā Bedil and Masnavis on moral subject by the same. Then there are letters and other compositions in prose by Bedil and other writers, Musaddasāt, Riddles in prose, and versified chronograms relating chiefly to the death of poets and brought down to A.H. 1121. After this there is a tale of a simple-minded Brahman and the wiles of his artful wife in prose.

The margins contain, besides some additional short poems, the following pieces:

1. Ṣadād al-Fārin—in six bāhs, ascribed to the celebrated Ṣufi, Khwāja ‘Abdullah Anšārī.
2. Lāifikasi—Ingenious observations by ‘Abd al-Ḥādi al-Fārābī.
3. Nasmū‘ wa waṣīf—‘Counsels and exhortations’ by Nakhshabī.
4. Maraj Khayal—an erotic poem by Tajallī, Mullā ‘Alī Rāzā, a native of Ardakān, province of Yazd, stayed sometime in India, during the reign of Shāh Jahan, and the later part of his life under Shāh ‘Abbās II and Sulaimān, in his native land, where he died in A.H. 1098.
5. Mubāḥaṭtah Ḳawākib wa Ṭimākūt—a contest between poppy and tobacco—a Masnavī by Muqrim.
7. Tarjih—anecdotes of the great.
8. Extracts from Ṣabā‘ah al-Ḥamū‘ wa Ṣubā‘ah by the same Nīmat Khān.
9. Gūlshan Razz—a Tarjih by ‘Urfī and other poems of the same kind.

As it is apparent from the above description it is a very important Biaż, particularly for the information that it gives about the
contemporary poets of the author, and, therefore, every library in the East must possess its rotations. As I have made remarks about its contents here and there in this work, I need not make further comments.

5. Prefaces

Some of Bedil’s works have prefices in prose and it is, therefore, desirable to make brief references to them.

I. Muhīr-e-A’gām’s Preface. After the usual doxologies Bedil says that the poem is not like the Sāgināma of Zuhūrī, but it is a “Tavern for disclosing Truths.” He also says that the poets like Hilālī, Zulākī, Sālik, Ṭālib, Ṣāmit and Shaidā cannot apprehend its contents, and only those who possess ripe judgment like Salim and Ṣālib would be able to form an estimate of its value.

II. That of the Old Diwān3: It has also been mentioned4 in the catalogues of the Persian Manuscripts in the India Office and Bankipur Libraries. It is a very eloquent preface and shows the author’s diction and thought at their best. The following verse gives an inkling of the acute pains suffered by the author, to produce something really remarkable, while praising God:

كُلَّ ازُ للزار حسَّ أو كَمْ كِيدَ كَمْ هُنَّ أَزَامَ أَزَامُ بِسْيَةُ ثُلَّتَ

[Only that person can pick flowers from the garden of His praise
Who wept like the wound with blood-stained lips.]

Similarly, his eulogy of the holy Prophet, both in prose and verse, wins the reader’s approval. The following two verses may be studied:

نَامُ أو بَردُنُ إسَائِيَ نَدَمُ عَمَّدُ بَحْرٍ إِمَّ اَمْبِ أَوْدُمُ زَدْنُ ذِكْرُ تَرَانُ رِيَجْنُتُ

[When his name was mentioned the eternal names reached the tip of the tongue.
A talk was made about his lips and verses of the holy Qurān were produced.
By his beauty the painting of the knowledge of eternity was prepared.
And by his accomplishments the meaning of Man’s Truth was made known.]

The author says that the contents of the Diwān are mostly the result of his early attempts at verse-making, and naturally in some cases, there must be some flabbiness of language, but he has included all

2. For these poets see pages 46-7 supra.
3, Kulliyāt-e-Safdārī, the first three pages.
such verses because everyone knows "the clear sweet waters are under the rough turbulent waves."

III. That of the Ruq‘al. All the different editions of the Ruq‘al contain the preface, but the Kulliyat-e-Safdari gives much additional material. At first there is a preface to an unknown book. It appears it was some treatise about mysticism, and most probably it was the collection of the sayings of mystics, prepared by Bedil at the suggestion of Shāh-e-Qāsim. After this a few sentences have been given to preserve the memory of a Maktab, named ʿAẓm-e-Zazā, established near the tomb of Bedil's teacher, ʿAbdul ʿAziz Izzat, in 1092, and the chronogram is ʿDLic ʿI. The third is a preface to a treatise about Geomancy, compiled by Bedil, when he found that all the valuable extant books, about this science, had been spoiled by the mistakes, in calligraphy, made by the calligraphists. The fourth is the preface to the Ruq‘al proper and has nothing mentionable.

CHAPTER VIII

Bedil's Personality and Poetic Genius

Bedil was born in Patna towards the half of the seventeenth century of the Christian era, when Shāh Jahān, the owner of the Peacock Throne, was ruling in India. Those were glorious prosperous times, with perfect peace in the land. Trade and industry thrived, and various arts developed, independently as well as under court patronage. It was also a flowering period for science and literature and in the chronicles of the times we come across several distinguished men of learning and various gifted writers and poets. Moreover, the place, where the talented child was born, had not only the traditions of being in the vicinity of Nalanda, the famous seat of Buddhist learning during the Middle Ages, but also it was in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur, at one time the capital of the Sharqi Kings, and in the days of Shāh Jahān known solely for being a great educational centre where different sciences of the Muslims flourished. In view of all this Patna had come to enjoy those blessings of economic prosperity and cultural development which the times could bestow.1 Thus the environments in which Bedil found himself at his birth were such that, with his expanding energies, he could grow loftiness of mind and sharpness of intellect.

Bedil traced his descent from the Mughal race and his ancestors were soldiers. His uncle, Mirzā Qalandar (under whose care he was brought up after the death of his parents), was known for his prowess and skill in military tactics, and, of course, Bedil too began to take interest in physical culture from his very childhood. When, on account of the illness of Shāh Jahān, the war of succession broke out in 1657 A.D., the wiry child, who was yet at the beginning of his teens, went away with the armies of Prince Shujā’ and saw the action. After this, all through his life, this descendant of the brave hardy Mughals was taking exercise regularly to maintain robust health. He

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1. For the purposes of this paragraph chapter I of this work may be studied anew.
had a race with a horse at Patna and won it. He used to wrestle with a stout steed he kept for the purpose. And, once, when in the service of Prince A'zam Shāh, he killed a lion single-handed. In this respect he does not stand as the unique figure in his age. There are many other persons of his times who are known for their bravery and feats of valour. Aurangzib himself, in whose prolonged reign Bedil passed about fifty years of his life, was a most valiant person. He conducted the siege of eight forts in person in his extreme old age and put his generals to wonder. It was also this age which produced brave generals like Zulifqār Khān, the conqueror of Jinji, and Husain 'Ali Khān, the Bahā Sayyid. Our poet's physical strength and his courage, therefore, fit in with the traits of similar nature found among his contemporaries.

But, in spite of his physical fitness, Bedil did not take up the calling of his ancestors. He was a soldier for a very brief period and then tendered his resignation to lead the life of a dārwiš. In doing so he was prompted by the example of his father, Mirzā 'Abdul Khāliq, who renounced the world at a very early age and lived the life of a mystic. Bedil's uncle, Mirzā Qalandar, too was a mystic. Thus from his childhood Bedil found that the atmosphere around him was charged with mysticism. These influences were further strengthened when the sensitive boy came in contact with the pious, loving, and learned mystics living in Bihar in those days. In this way Bedil developed an emotional attachment for the Real Being, and the roots of that sentiment went deep down into his soul, which had to direct his energies throughout his life. This sentiment of love for the Absolute Reality was also reinforced by the happenings of the four successive bloody wars, which were fought during his life for the Peacock Throne, and which wars did not spare even the Emperors, the Princes, and the Chief Ministers. Bedil's early contact with learned mystics gave also a philosophic basis to his mystical tendencies and he was introduced to Metaphysics. To this knowledge he made addition by his study of al-Ghazzālī, Ibaul-'Arabī, Rūmī, and al-Mujaddidī. Thus his mysticism went on growing in emotion and thought with his advancing years.

Bedil's racial characteristics had made his personality dynamic, and, although he had adopted mysticism as his creed, which in many cases leads to a stationary life, he used to roam about freely in the Indo-Gangetic plain. While in Bihar he kept marching for some time with the armies of Shujā'; and, with his uncles, he went to Rānī.

2. Ibid., p. 317.
Sāgar, 'Ārā, Mehsī, Cuttak and Kesari. When he had left the provinces of Bihar and Orissa he kept moving for full twenty years between Dehli, Akbarābād, and Mathura, and even paid a visit to the Panjab and reached as far as Hasan Abdāl near Attock. When he had finally settled in Dehli, after 1095 A.H. (1685 A.D.), he went to Bairāt, although the Jats were rioting there and journeys were absolutely unsafe. And his last journey was again to the Panjab when he was about seventy-seven years old. He had to go there to seek refuge with Nawāb 'Abdu Samad Khān, against the Sayyid Brothers who wanted his life. On account of his constant travels, therefore, he came to have personal experience of all situations. He came across people of all shades of opinion, following different trades and professions, and had intimate conversation with them. He met high and low, rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims, and developed sincere relations with them. He experienced hardships of war and tasted the fruits of peace. He saw landscapes of all varieties and stored his mind with all that those scenes stood for. In this way Bedil came to possess extraordinarily rich experience of all kinds.

The impression made by the personality of this middle-sized, broad-shouldered Mughal, with a handsome face, was unique. When at the age of twenty-one years he left Bihar and came to Dehli, he was quite unknown and absolutely friendless. But before he was twenty-six years old he had found access to the upper ranks of the society in the Metropolis, and was honoured and respected. 'Aqil Khān Rāzī and Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, two peers of Aurangzib, held the young mystic in high esteem, and so long as they were alive their reverential regards for him went on multiplying. Before Bedil had joined the Army and he held any mansab, Izad Bakhsh Rāsā, a contemporary poet, met him, and he expressed the effect made by Bedil’s personality in this way:

[بیدل همه دل را دیدم]
[I saw Bedil who is all heart.]

This shows that Bedil’s profound love for God, the deep emotions with which he spoke, and the thoughtful expression he employed influenced all who came in contact with him.

The effect of his personality was heightened by his character. High thinking, of an independent nature, with wide sympathies, he lived a simple life. He prized purity of morals above anything else, and when on one occasion he found that the son of a barber, whom he loved, had taken to things unseemly, he slapped the boy angrily.

1. Khushgū, in Ma‘ārif, for May 1942, p. 353.
and he died at the spot. Except for the one occasion when he took
part in a convivial meeting in Rani Sagar, when he was in his teens,
everything on record proves that he was a perfect teetotaller, and
we cannot imagine that a person who lived up to his ideals could
show self-indulgence of any kind. Riches, mansabs, jagirs, and a life
of pomp and glory were not relished by him. On the other hand, he
loved the life of a darwish—a humble mystic devoted to God, and hence
a poor man was as near to his heart as a member of the nobility.
He did not feel elated when the Mughal and their chief ministers
showered their regards on him; and he did not think he was humbled
when he associated with the low. He had a warm corner for all,
a kind word for every one, and benevolent smiles for all
and sundry. It was because of his noble character and personal
magnetism that his house, in Delhi, was the common resort of high
and low, rich and poor, elite and humble. He stood for justice
and whenever some trying situation arose he sided with the oppressed.
This shows that he was a first-class humanist, and in this respect
he stands all alone in his age.

He had no prejudices and was magnanimous and generous.
He had many Hindus as his pupils and held them very dear. They
too reciprocated his feelings, and Bindrāban Dās Khusugtū and Anand
Rām Mukhlīs, in particular, speak about him most respectfully.
As regards his generosity, once a trader from Kābul brought pome-
granates and almost all of them were spoiled. He brought the few,
that did not rot, to Bedil and related his sad tale. At once Bedil
wrote the following couplet to Nawāb Lutfullāh Khān, the eldest son
of Nawāb Shukrullāh Khān:

ये जिन्हें किसी ने अलग नहीं किया।
तकरीबी यदि तुम्हारा दिन नहीं किया।

[It matters little if the stitches of my shoes have opened out.
Even the Heaven mocks at my wandering about in this way.]
The Nawāb thought that Bedil's shoes had worn away and he wanted
money. It was a golden opportunity to render a bit of service to
the grand darwish, and the Nawāb, therefore, sent Rs. 100,000, which
Bedil gave immediately to the trader. On another occasion when
Mir. Karamullāh Khān needed money, Bedil sent him 200 gold coins
which Nawāb Zulfiqar Khān had presented to him.

1. Page 32 supra.
2. Thākūrī says that Bedil used Ḥaṣbī, but the evidence is too meagre.
4. Page 137 supra.
As head of the family he was kind and affectionate. When his son 'Abdul Khāliq was born, he was overjoyed, and found out various chronograms for the happy occasion. He communicated the good news to Nawāb Lutfullāh Khan, who was then away in the Deccan fighting against Kam Bakhsh. And when unfortunately the boy died, he expressed his bitter grief in a most pathetic elegy. His dealings with his relatives were also full of affection. How anxiously he waited for letters from his cousin Mirzā 'Ubādullah, and how pleased he felt whenever there was any prospect of meeting him! Bedil was on very intimate terms with his friends too. All of us know, his attachment to Nawāb Shukrullāh Khan and his family was most sincere. Even the children of the family were impressed by Bedil's affability and played with his pen and inkpot even though he was writing. When they were away with their parents, he expressed his love for them in letters with a throbbing heart. But a person who loved so passionately also hated vehemently whenever there was something unpleasant. A courageous man as Bedil was, he expressed his dislikes quite fearlessly. But these feelings of contempt were never based on malice or selfish motives. As a high-minded person he disliked only those persons who were led away from the path of justice, reason or virtue. This shows that his feelings of hatred only guarded his comprehensive sentiment of purity. His negation of unworthy practices was only an affirmation of worthy ideals.

From his very childhood our poet was given to contemplation. His uncle, Mirzā Qalandar, asked him to leave the Maktāb and to study Persian works of master-writers at home. This was the first step towards developing a contemplative mood in the boy. Then he came in contact with mystics who always advised him to look towards his "heart"—i.e., his self which is the source of all intuitive experience. In Dehli he gained the friendship of Nawāb 'Aqīl Khan Rāzī and Nawāb Shukrullāh Khan, who were both mystics, and thus Bedil's tendency for looking into the "heart" was all the more strengthened. Khushgū has said that Bedil remained indoors throughout the day, contemplating and writing his thoughts in verse. Bedil had his lighter moments also. He was fond of music and at times he enjoyed the sweet tunes of the musical instruments. There is a letter in which he has asked his friend Mirzā Fazālī to send a Persian violin. Also in his meetings in the evening he passed some time in a humorous mood. Again, whenever his pupil 'Atā came to

2. Ibid., 90.
see him, he used to recite his facetious verses, and felt very much pleased. This goes to prove that, in spite of his high ideals and noble living, Bedil too, like us, needed "salt" to make his life tasteful.

A few brief remarks have been made above about the personality of Bedil. Now we should discuss his poetic genius. I may say at the outset that, in this connection, we are, guided to a great extent by Bedil himself, for he is in the habit of making hints about his diction, creative experience, and creative process, etc. The basic fact about the relation that subsists between the poet and his verse has been admirably stated by him in this hemistich:

[Bedil, the verse unveils the poet.]

According to Bedil, therefore, the personality of a poet is reflected in his poetical compositions. Now if we want to understand Bedil we must study his works minutely. It will not be possible, however, to do full justice to this most important side of our studies at present, still some observations are made to point out the fundamental things in this connection.

At the age of ten Bedil composed a quatrain about the fragrance breathed by a class-fellow. It was a chance utterance, but this revealed to him that he had innate capacities for versification. He had discovered a great fact, and he began to repeat deliberately the triumph he had attained in the beginning quite accidentally. Even the verses he composed in those days were not of a mean order. It means he was one of those rare individuals who have exceptional sensibility and expressive skill. The mystics, under whose influence he lived in his childhood in Bihar and Orissa, gave him not only the sentiment for mysticism, which was the source of his inspiration, but also improved his expressive skill. We know the highest point in the development of this sentiment was reached, when in Dehli, in 1076 A.H. (1665-6 A.D.) Bedil met Shâh-e-Kâbuli, who repeated, while awake, the verse which Bedil had heard in a dream in Orissa, when his love for the Ultimate Reality had grown overpowering. Thenceforward Bedil was fully confident about the attitude he had adopted in life, and this confidence contributed to the power in his expression.

But still these things were not enough to make Bedil a great poet—a poet who transcends all ages. He was yet in need of some inner urge to speak, without which every composition is lifeless. Bedil wrote his first Masnavi, i.e. Mukhtil-À'am in 1078 A.H. (1667-8 A.D.). If we go through this poem, we find that the innermost springs of the poet's life have been perturbed and consequently his
diction is full of vitality and power. The key to this state of Bedil's feelings is the question posed by him in the following verse:

\[ \text{اگر عالم این است آدم کجاست آگر آدم بیلیم کجاست} \]

[If this is the world, where is Man?
If Man is in the world, where is He?]

One concludes from this verse that the young mystic was painfully disgusted with the conditions prevailing around him. He liked to see the Man of his ideals, but he was nowhere to be seen. Bedil had been in Dehli, the capital of the Mughal Emperors, for about three years, and he had sorrowfully observed that the society in the metropolis had degenerated miserably. There was before him only the prospect of decadence. He was dissatisfied with the contemporary poets, because there was no reality or nobility in their feelings, and they rejoiced only in employing conventional diction. He was displeased with the religious people because they were not sincere to their faith. And he was disturbed to see that aristocracy, the ruling clique, was cruel and unjust. He said in the poem:

\[ \text{زدوزان کیتی دام ساده نیست زعماش عتان غیری داد، نیست} \]

[My heart is not free from the vestiges of Time,
And there are no reins to guide it to the path of justice.]

\[ \text{په نیرنگ عشاق نظراہ بر آب زیاداد نلماش چگرفنا کیاب} \]

[Through the artfulness of its justice the eyes are wet, and
On account of its oppressive cruelty souls are burning.]

He was disillusioned. As he was a new-comer in the metropolis, its conditions had offered him a striking contrast. It was this prospect of universal frustration that goaded him to try to reconstruct his society. Consequently, all through his life he was trying most ardently to give a comprehensive philosophy of life to his contemporaries.

Bedil had in this way got a theme for his poetical compositions, and in the development of this theme his early apprenticeship as a mystic and the disappointing ways of his contemporaries had both an equal share. The one accumulated the powder and the other ignited it. He thought as if he had been commissioned to restore Man to his pristine glory of thought and conduct. He, therefore, devoted the whole courage of his convictions, the whole power of his expression, and all the wealth of his metaphysical knowledge to persuade Man to fulfil his destiny in the world. He had to call Man back to God. He had to tell him that, after God, he was the only being who counted in the whole of the universe. He advanced all sorts of arguments. He quoted verses from the Holy Qur\'an and the

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1. See particularly the preface of \textit{Muḥīṭ-e-Āḵān.}
sayings of the holy Prophet. He cited the views of various thinkers—Muslims as well as non-Muslims. And he appealed to commonsense. It was indeed a gigantic enterprise. The theme which he had adopted was no doubt the noblest a poet could dream of. His early training as a mystic had taught him to look more and more to intuitive experience, and, therefore, when he was called upon to address mankind he addressed out of the fulness of his heart. This shows how our poet expressed the noblest of themes in the sublimest diction.

A high theme is worthy of high language. But language of this sort is not given readymade to the poet. He invents it. No doubt, in language and style he is indebted to his predecessors, yet as his personality and his thoughts are quite distinct, he evolves quite a different diction. In a state of inspiration, when the poet is going through creative experience, he feels that the former associations and combinations of words do not suit the shades of meaning or the modes of feeling he wants to express. He, therefore, coins new words, of necessary expressive quality, and assigns them new places with other words. This shows that the words rise from the idea which the poet wants to express. Bedil says:

ءِلَّا مِبِيِّنَتُ كُرُونَاقَانَةَ لِفَظِّي بَالَدَ وَاذَا مَا[The real thing is the meaning, because of whose (natural) requirements]

The word and its peculiarities evolve.]

Only a writer of high standing could have expressed the theory of style, and the cause of a poet’s predilection for particular words, in so skillful a manner as Bedil has done in this couplet. This explains how Bedil, as a great poet, gave a rich vocabulary to Persian language.

At this stage it must be reaffirmed that, for the freshness of expression, the necessary prerequisite is not a new idea. All that is implied in the above paragraph is this that if a poet expresses those thoughts, which he has lived through, then his Art is inevitably endowed with the characteristic of freshness. We know Bedil studied the philosophies of the mystics and other thinkers, and on comparison we find that basically no new addition has been made by him, but, as because of mystical experience all those thoughts have been saturated with emotions, he was able to express them in a most poetical way. Also Bedil expressed mostly those sensations, emotions, and thoughts which he had gained as a result of his actual acquaintance with life, i.e. actual experience of the world in its varied aspects. All this was fresh, and, therefore, he expressed it in a style overflowing with fresh, limpid diction.
To resume our discussion. In his quest for suitable words, most often Bedil finds out the predestined word for a thought, and uses it so adroitly that the thought becomes his special property. In his poem 'Irfān, when Bedil talks about Adam's fall from the heaven, he writes the following verse:

جَوَلُ ذَرَىٰ تَرَى فِي كَفَّارٍ الْأَمَامَةُ، أَنَابِيَةٌ زَأْسُانٍ انتِمَاء

[When he fell into this dark earthly dungeon,
It was a sun which came down from the skies.]

The vivid and visual words used so effectively have made this thought a property of Bedil. The metaphor is so apt that it cannot be replaced. The thought and its expression have become the life-blood of each other.

Bedil is fully aware of the final relation that is established between form and substance. He remarks that as spring means colour and fragrance brought inextricably together, expression and thought are also similarly interrelated. He says:

زَرْعٌ مَودِرَتُ وَمَثَى دُلْ خَوُدُ جَمَعُ كَنْ يَبَدَّل
بِهَارٍ تَنْبَغِضُ سَامُشُ دُوَالُ بُوْتَى بِرُونُ رَنْحِكَ

[Bedil, soothe your heart with regard to the secret of form and meaning.
Here is the advent of spring, sweet smell within and charming colour without.]

It was like uniting the soul and body—giving a beautiful thought a beautiful form. Bedil followed this principle of style all through his life and his use of appropriate similes and metaphors was also determined by it. Similarly, his metres are also in keeping with the general spirit of his thoughts. They have the peculiarity of naturalness. They are the natural tone of the mood of the poet. For example the metre of the following verse expresses sadness—the mood which predominated while writing the poem:

چِبِيْسَ اَيُّ يَغُوْ وَأَيْنِ فَغْفَغُنِيْها
سَرْ آَيِنْ وَسَرَيْ رَوْغُنِها

[What is this garden and its blossoming?
Only oil spilt on the surface of water.]

In this way Bedil employs metres which suit his different moods. Thus, in Bedil, as he himself says, the thought and its expression, i.e. the words, similes, metaphors, and metres in which the thoughts are couched, all grow and develop spontaneously.

We observe vigour and force also in Bedil's style. This vitality is the result of various causes. His firm convictions and his sublime theme are the two factors, hints about which have already been made. But there is another fundamental ingredient of the poet's spirit which should not be overlooked in this connection. It is his
masculinity. His race, the traditions of his family, and his personal courage had made his mind very masculine, and this peculiarity quite naturally found its way into his diction. In addition to this Bedil has used various artifices for making his style vigorous and emphatic. An account of such like artifices was made while enumerating the literary peculiarities of Bedil's Ghazals. I may add at this place that Bedil is very fond of repeating the same word for this purpose. In the Musnawi Tur-e-Ma'rifat, he tells Man that he is an enigma waiting for solution, and uses the artifice of repetition of words to lend force to his statement:

[You are an enigma, an enigma, an enigma.
If you like to solve it, open your eyes.]

Here the 'm' sound itself is very emphatic, and stress on the word ماما has been laid in the first hemistich with the object of drawing pointed attention to what is being said in the second. A large number of similar verses can be quoted.

We have considered so far how Bedil's expression came to have life and power. We have yet to find out how he was poetically inspired while writing his poems. With a view to this we must consider the circumstances in which Bedil wrote his poems. He wrote his Tillism-e-Hairat in 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.), and there he has told how the central idea of the poem developed in his mind. One night he lay awake and tried to find out a motif, until an idea occurred, but it was not so vivid in the beginning. He focussed it and grew imaginative. This visualisation moved him, and very soon he was charged with inspiration. We find here that concentration was the cause of creative experience. Now we turn to another type of poetic inspiration. Bedil went to Bairat with Nawab Shukrullah Khan, and he was so much impressed by the scenery of the place that this beautiful Masnavi Tur-e-Ma'rifat was the result. In the case of this poem we find that the creative urge was the outcome of influences received from without. There are many more poems, of this nature, which Bedil wrote, when he had seen some scene or read some poem or verse of another poet. If we study Bedil's poems one by one we find that inspiration was either the result of reflection or that of the impact of some outward object or event upon the personality of the poet, and he was moved to supreme poetical activity. But as the poet's personality was coherent his principal theme remained unaltered.

I give below two verses of Bedil which refer to the two distinctive processes pointed out in the foregoing paragraph. The first is:
Beclil’s Personality and Poetic Genius

In a moonlit night our relish for weeping has abundant food, Is there some ignorant person who will not get oil (ghee) from such like milk."

This emphasises the objective nature of creative inspiration. The second verse is:

[Love may roll always on earth. It will still create Beauty. The untiring efforts of Farhād ultimately turned the stone into Shīrin (his beloved.)]

This refers to the subjective element in all artistic creations. It will be noted that Bedil did not contribute to any particular view, but he realised the significance of both objective and subjective origin of Art.

Having reached here we are in a position to visualise Bedil’s creative process, hints about which have been made by—-the poet himself here and there in his works.1 A certain incident, or a poem, or a verse, or some thought has caused a tinkling, shivering feeling to run through his body, and his imagination has been set ablaze. He is expressing the genuine and real feelings through which he is passing at the time. The feelings may be of joy or sorrow, he is experiencing the consequent pleasure or pain. The thought is developing as the poem grows. He has to find adequate phraseology, and then the ideas are so numerous, rather infinite, that they cannot be contained in finite words. And sometimes the pen-picture, he wants to draw, is too ideal to take the form of words, and he says painfully:

[In his longing for your cypress-like stature Bedil rolled in blood, But by his constant practice in sighing he could not produce a single lovely Alaf.] So long as these creative pangs continue, he has no rest, and when the experience is over, his poem is also complete.

We have seen how Bedil’s poems came into being. He speaks from a bleeding heart and, therefore, his poems must move others.

1. Kulliyāt-e-Safdar, Tilm-i-Hairāt, 8 ; Tūr-e-Mārifat, 2 ; Chahār 'Unūr, 73.
Life and Works of Bedil

[Bedil! my liver is bleeding. I am a nightingale without wings and feathers.
Hence my groans cannot fail to move the people in this distressed world.]

But to appreciate his poems one must approach them with a sympathetic heart:

[My agitation is that of a dropped tear.
Who can reach the depth of my secret?
Perhaps by having a broken heart
You might understand my woeful tale.]

These are Bedil's confessions. After studying them try to imagine the anguish through which the poet passed during his life. His was indeed a most afflicted soul.

The origin of a poem displays the emotive and imaginative powers of a poet, and its structural characteristics show the synthetic side of his mind—it shows how his mind developed a poem into a harmonious whole. Persian lyrics are rarely the result of consistent thought, and there unity is generally maintained by the measure and rhyme. Bedil's lyrics are not an exception to the rule, although he has got a large number of such lyrics in which this defect has been avoided. His Rubā'i's, fragments, panegyrics, and quintets (مختارات), like those of the other Persian poets, express individually an uninterrupted mood or inspiration. His Tarkib Band is a loose poem, while the Tarji Band is perfectly coherent—the unifying element lying in the idea contained in the recurring verse (ترجم).

But these were comparatively shorter poems. Difficulty arises with the longer ones, i.e. the Maşnavi, where so many emotional moods are to be strung together. If a poet succeeds there, he is fit to be called a major poet. Bedil's first Maşnavi is Muhil-e-Aşam which he wrote in 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.), at the age of twenty-four. As it was the poet's maiden attempt its plot is not so unified, but as the poem progresses one feels the presence of an unexpressed cohesion because of unity of thought and similarity of emotion. His Tlsm-e-Hairat was written two years later. Being an allegory, this poem is a perfect model of harmony and concord. Interest is kept alive by action, dialogue, and visual imagery. The third long poem of Bedil is Tūr-e-Ma'arifat which was

1. Cf. Read, Collected Essays, 57. “The distinction between a major and a minor poet is the capacity to write a long poem successfully.”
written towards the end of the eleventh century of Hijra. As the poet says at the end of the poem:

[I painted spring out of a thought]

he conceived an idea on seeing the charming scenery of Bairat, and this poem, which is a nice specimen of natural poetry, came into being. It is well knit and describes a simple emotional mode though the result is picturesque and rich in details. The last and the longest poem of Bedil is the \textit{Masnavi 'Irfān} which was completed in 1124 A.H. (1712 A.D.). In fact, it has two \textit{Masnavīs}: \textit{Mirātu'llah} (The Divine Mirror) and the \textit{Irfān} proper. The former is more philosophical and less poetical. It is informative and conceptual, and is devoid of action or illustrative stories. The poet has tried to introduce imagery at various places, but as the theme of the poem is the "Cycle of Descent and Ascent"—a most abstruse theme, it makes very tedious reading. The poem, therefore, has coherence but at the cost of poetical element. \textit{Irfān} proper is the longest and best poem of Bedil. Like a panorama, it unrolls a number of fascinating scenes, many stories of abiding interest, diverse characters full of life and individuality, and different kinds of poetry: natural, romantic, epic, and philosophical. It is, besides, most poetical and least philosophical. The form and the thought balance each other beautifully, and at times the expression is marvellous in point of depth and clearness of thought, intensity of emotions, and economy of words. The poet is in fact at his best in this poem. It was really extremely difficult to create unity in this diversity but the poet succeeded by sticking to the dominating idea—a story in the form of a dialogue which more often changes into a lively discourse. A study of the structure of all these poems has shown that Bedil ranks among Firdausi, Rūmī, Nizami, and other major Persian poets who were very successful in writing longer poems.

In the preceding paragraph a reference was made to the different kinds of poetry found in Bedil's \textit{Masnavi 'Irfān}. I must tell a basic thing about all these kinds of Bedil's verse. Before doing so, however, I like to emphasise the point that Bedil not only loved and described the beautiful scenes he saw while journeying about, but also he loved the country in which he found them. India, a land of light, colour and scent, has received unqualified praise from him. He likes its betel-leaves also, and has described them beautifully at various places.

\textit{I. Page 284 supra.}
Now the basic point about Bedil's poetical compositions. If we go through his works, from one end to the other, we find that his poems are permeated with his philosophical thought. While speaking about his *Masmānī Tūr-e-Ma'rifat* I have already shown how Bedil's belief about Man being the epitome of creation runs as an undercurrent in the poem. Taking our cue from these remarks, if we study Bedil's *Ghazals* or his *Qasīdas*, etc., we will find that the same belief is reflected in so many other verses. Similarly, when Bedil says, "We see only the charms of Man in the Moon, the stars, the brilliant twilight, and in the colourful rainbow and the beautiful rose-garden," we should not conclude it is mere sentimentality, but we must know Bedil, the thinker, is telling that Man is the spirit whence all things have their origin. In Bedil's works there is an overwhelmingly large number of verses which only a philosopher habituated to thought could write. We see that the background of his words consists of considered process of thought; and his epithets and metaphors, though highly poetical, are in reality related to his philosophy. The first two pages of the *Masmānī 'Irfān*, and his *Qāsida*, in which Man has been addressed, may be studied for this purpose. It will be found that Bedil's rhetoric is very powerful, and a closer study would show at the same time that it is compact with thought. We may, therefore, read any type of Bedil's verse, we are sure to find the poet-philosopher lurking there.

As Khushgu and S.A. Vahid have remarked, it goes to Bedil's credit that he expressed the abstract thought of Ibn al-'Arabi and other writers of his type, in an extremely poetical way, using all the elegant expression of the Tāzāgū poets. Bedil's art is, therefore, a most coherent system of thought expressed in a most elegant way. It is clear that Bedil made a great experiment in Persian literature. He fused mystical thought, philosophical speculations, and sweetness of expression in such a way that they became

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1. Page 274 supra.
2. For example study the following verses:

   دل هر تار، گرداده، به یک عواب حنیفت، را
   تامل درین هر سوگره، صد باقی می‌بیند

   خیالآشفته تحلل اکثر شود صرف یک یک تامل
   دل غباری وجد، چمک‌گل ت کم‌سوري، وجد، چرا گان

   These poetical expressions have at their bottom the idea that Man is a microcosmos in appearance but a macrocosmos in essence.

vital for one another. As such Bedil belongs to that class of poets who have earned everlasting fame for expressing philosophical thoughts in a most poetical way.

This basic point about Bedil's verse discloses his attitude towards Art also. He was not one of those poets whose main object is Art itself. He used his skill in writing poetry for the attainment of a nobler object which lay beyond Art. His contemporary poets, who were proud of their Tazaghi, looked simply to niceties of expression, but Bedil had something else in view. He said:

\[\text{To secure expression of thoughts is something else, but to make a display of skill is totally different.}\]

\[O \text{ Bedil, it is impossible to design a cup from a mirror.}\]

He wanted that his Art should serve him only in expressing his thoughts, or, according to him, "communication is style." He had a mission in life—a mission to regenerate mankind, and he wished that Art must be subservient to it. Other poets wrote panegyrics of the Emperors and princes, and expressed therein their false feelings. But Bedil did not like to be false to himself. He expressed only his genuine feelings in everything he wrote, and, therefore, he called himself a poet who would eulogise only his nature. He wrote neither the encomiums of the monarchs, nor he worshipped the deity of Art, but employed his extraordinary poetical talents for the advancement of human good, and this too in an age when very few, if any, thought that Art could be consecrated to higher aims.

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1. In this connection study: Read, H., Collected Essays, 69-88; Santayana, Three Philosophical Poets. Herbert Read has successfully shown that philosophy is not inconsistent with poetry. He says that as poetry of this kind is the result of the triumph of reason in blending all knowledge and experience into one coherent system, it is very powerful. It expresses thoughts about whose significance we feel most intensely.

2. For this purpose read Kalimaurch Shu'arâ by Sarkhush.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Ishārāt-o-Hikāyat</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Subject-matter</th>
<th>From where selected</th>
<th>Name of the Book</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 Praise of the <strong>Tilism-e-Hairat</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Holy Prophet</td>
<td>Ms. F.1048</td>
<td><strong>Muḥīṭ-e-Aʿẓām</strong></td>
<td>f.996 inclusive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 Life universally <strong>Tūr-e-Maʿrifat</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>found.</td>
<td>Ms.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 Love is all <strong>Muḥīṭ-e-Aʿẓām</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>inclusive.</td>
<td>Ms.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 Symbolic nature</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bedil's wine.</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>Ms. F.1048</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 Water, fire, stone <strong>Tūr-e-Maʿrifat</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>explained.</td>
<td>Ms.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3 Poverty (فر) as do</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>the essence of joy.</td>
<td>Ms. F.1048</td>
<td>Ms. F.1048</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3 The part points <strong>Muḥīṭ-e-Aʿẓām</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>to the whole.</td>
<td>Ms.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3 Meanness denounced.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ms.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3 No lethargy in <strong>Tūr-e-Maʿrifat</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nature.</td>
<td>Ms.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>3 Beloved appears <strong>Muḥīṭ-e-Aʿẓām</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>everywhere.</td>
<td>Ms.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>3 Every object <strong>Tūr-e-Maʿrifat</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>manifests beauty and unity.</td>
<td>Ms. F.1048</td>
<td>Ms. F.1048</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Muḥīṭ-e-Aʿẓām** Ms., Punjab University library No. 1524. This manuscript has been used for all references in this Appendix to the Ms. copy of the **Makāni**.  

*287*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Ishārāt-o-Hikayat</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Subject-matter</th>
<th>From where selected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The rich are stoney-hearted as their gold is extracted from stones.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Book: Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat</td>
<td>Page 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Silence should come with death alone.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Book: Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Illusory nature Tilism-e-Hairat of life.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Book: Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Fastidious regard for dress.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Book: Muḥīt-e-Aţıţ</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Prayer to God Tilism-e-Hairat</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Book: Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Self-annihilation, Muḥīt-e-Aţıţ</td>
<td>f.95a</td>
<td>The Book: Muḥīt-e-Aţıţ</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Unity of Self.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Book: Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Unity in Plurality.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Book: Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Duality an illusion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Book: Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Time is fleeting.</td>
<td>6</td>
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</tr>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Discover the Self</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Attributes nothing but Essence Itself.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Book: Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>A credulous person.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>The Book: Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>A braggart.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>The Book: Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Existent Beings are God's words.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>The Book: Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Speech prevails everywhere</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>The Book: Tūr-e-Ma'rīfat</td>
<td>Page 19</td>
</tr>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Self the sole Reality.</td>
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</tr>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Universe created 'Irfān for Man.</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>کودکی نال باست پازی داشت.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>While abusing we abuse ourselves.</td>
<td>'Irfān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>ای تو هم غیار دشت چن.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Creation an illusion</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>شوکت دسته هست می.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Life an illusion.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>بود کم نظر از خرد خالی.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Over-carefulness is ruinous</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>ای عدم زاده وجود طراز.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>The Universe is not-being.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>دو کمال انتظام ابکانی.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>It is extremely difficult to be a Man.</td>
<td>do</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>چیست این باغ درسکه یم.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Everything in the world is perishable.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>شعله چوشی بس انجیش.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Self-annihilation.</td>
<td>do</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>چیست فترو غنایی ملک وجود.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Poverty and riches explained.</td>
<td>do</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>این گی شمع مجلسی افروخت.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Present more important than Future.</td>
<td>do</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>زبر یابان که وحشت انجام است.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Vain desires.</td>
<td>do</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>مردی طع ناشکیی داشت.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>دخمه اسب ابای پساط کردوخیار.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Men are but corpses.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>به هم رنگ آنفی صرف سادات وس.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>The Universe is an illusion.</td>
<td>Muhit-e-A'zam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>ای ترد نسب توکل چند.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Trust in God not synonymous with idleness.</td>
<td>'Irfān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>آینیا صاحب دمروت یوردنه.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Shameless people are but ghouls.</td>
<td>Chahar 'Unsur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>آدمی فطرت است و نظرت تام.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Elegant expression is a great virtue.</td>
<td>do</td>
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<td>Serial No.</td>
<td>Ishārāt-e-Hikayāt Name of the Book</td>
<td>Page Subject No.</td>
<td>Opening Lines</td>
<td>From where selected Page Name of the Book</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>The Fools too have a philosophy of their own.</td>
<td>'Irfān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Duality has no ground.</td>
<td>Chahār 'Unsur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>ای بیانی راز طبیعی ظهور ہوئ،</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Vain efforts.</td>
<td>'Irfān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Concomitants of love.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>راز طبیعی حرمس کمین.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>A cat as the guardian of rats:</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>What wheat means for Man?</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Death inevitable and weakness criminal.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Greed denounced.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>A cruel Beauty.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>To lack worth is dangerous.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>The consuming Love.</td>
<td>Muhīt-e-A'zām 1.69a Ms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Spiritless life a curse.</td>
<td>Chahār 'Unsur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Futility of worldly desires.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Universe the result of (Be !)-it itself the sound</td>
<td>Muhīt-e-A'zām 1.180a Ms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>The Universe is but God's word. Chahār 'Unsur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>کیوں دیدز در کھانے کیا؟</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Spiritless life a curse.</td>
<td>Chahār 'Unsur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Futility of worldly desires.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Universe the result of (Be !)-itself the sound</td>
<td>Muhīt-e-A'zām 1.180a Ms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>The Universe is but God's word. Chahār 'Unsur</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Note: The table contains excerpts from various works, including 'Irfān and Chahār 'Unsur, discussing themes such as duality, the nature of fools, and the consumption of love.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Opening Lines</th>
<th>Subject-matter</th>
<th>From where selected</th>
<th>Page Name of the Book</th>
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<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16 Gnostics praised.</td>
<td>Chahar ‘Unsur 46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16 The word (Ba!)- has filled the void.</td>
<td></td>
<td>do 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17 The world is an illusion.</td>
<td>Muhi-e-A’zam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17 Description of Spring Season.</td>
<td>Chahar ‘Unsur 91</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18 Prayer to God.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
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</table>
### APPENDIX B

**Number of Letters addressed to Different Persons**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Names of the addressees</th>
<th>No. of letters addressed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nawāb Shukrullah Khān I</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>‘Ināyatullah Shākir Khān</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Lutfullāh Shukrullah Khān II</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Karamullāh ‘Āqil Khān</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>‘Āqil Khān Rāzi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Husain Quli Khān</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Qayyūm Khān Fidaī son of ‘Āqil Khān Rāzi</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Chin Qilch Khān Niẓāmul Mulk</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Mirzā Zainul ‘Ābidīn.</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Mirzā ‘Ībādullāh</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Mirzā ‘Īzād Bakhsh Rasā</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Mirzā Fazāil son of Mir Muhammad Fāzil</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Mirzā Muḥammad Na‘īm Bakhshī of Bahādur Shāh</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Prince A‘zam Shāh</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Mirzā Mu‘īn</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Shaikh Muḥammad Māh’</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Mirzā Dāwār Yār</td>
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<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Muḥammad Amin ‘Irfān</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>Shaikh Ghulām Muḥy-ud-Dīn</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>Mir Raẓī Wahdat</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>Mi‘ān La‘l Muḥammad</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>Rafi‘ Khān Bāzī</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Mirzā Ṛuhullāh</td>
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<td>25.</td>
<td>Mirzā Salman</td>
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<td>26.</td>
<td>Fattū Khān</td>
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<td>Mirzā Kāmgār</td>
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<td>28.</td>
<td>Husain ‘Ali Khān Bahādur</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Names of the addressees to Different Persons</td>
<td>No. of letters addressed</td>
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<td>Mir 'Abduš Şamad Sakhun</td>
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<td>Mullâ Bâqir Gilânî</td>
<td>... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Miân Shâhid</td>
<td>... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Mir Sharaf-ud-Dîn</td>
<td>... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Mirzâ Muhsin</td>
<td>... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Munshi Qâil Khân</td>
<td>... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Mirzâ Khusrau Beg</td>
<td>... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Qâzî 'Abdur Rahîm</td>
<td>... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Mirzâ Abul Wiqâr</td>
<td>... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Mirzâ Fâzil Beg Türk</td>
<td>... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Mirzâ Abul Khair</td>
<td>... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>To a relative</td>
<td>... 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>... 7</td>
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</tr>
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N.B. The longest letter was written to Mirzâ Fâzil.
# APPENDIX C

Showing where the Nikat can be found in Chahār 'Unsūr

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of the Nukta</th>
<th>Nikat in Kulliyāte Sa'dārī</th>
<th>Page of Chahār 'Unsūr where found</th>
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<td><strong>N.B.</strong> - Nikat from I to XVIII could not be traced from Chahār 'Unsūr</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>XIX ...</td>
<td>طبعاً را ترتيب اوضاعاً يكديز</td>
<td>8  27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX ...</td>
<td>عارفي داش درس تشه، ديد</td>
<td>9  —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI ...</td>
<td>اعمال مارد را بر مقدمه، ائوال</td>
<td>9  —</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXII ...</td>
<td>صبحث دان درعا ليكيه</td>
<td>9  15</td>
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<td>XXIII ...</td>
<td>نفس رحماني كة اصطلاح اهل تحقيق</td>
<td>9  61</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXIV ...</td>
<td>آتش در طبع جماد</td>
<td>10  61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV ...</td>
<td>په پریشانه، هر چند فردوس</td>
<td>10  52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI ...</td>
<td>آئهه، تحقیق صبر است</td>
<td>11  72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVII ...</td>
<td>نوبهای طرز عبارات</td>
<td>11  74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII ...</td>
<td>کل گردان رمز غیب و شهادت</td>
<td>12  69</td>
</tr>
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<td>XXIX ...</td>
<td>تاکمر بشکست خود له بستهّ</td>
<td>13  25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXX ...</td>
<td>آدمی بعل نفسون امل</td>
<td>13  —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXI ...</td>
<td>زبان لا ف را آندر</td>
<td>13  —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXII ...</td>
<td>آدمی رشته، استدیادیست</td>
<td>14  45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIII ...</td>
<td>حکم الکتروکنفس واجد</td>
<td>15  44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIV ...</td>
<td>آئهه از نسخه، دل قوم کنی</td>
<td>15  27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXV ...</td>
<td>روی انالی جواهریست بیسیط</td>
<td>15  8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVI ...</td>
<td>ساز تحقیق از دست مجاز تراشان</td>
<td>16  10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVII ...</td>
<td>عالمی بوتصخ خود خورساند است</td>
<td>16  11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVIII ...</td>
<td>متصدر از سیر کریپان</td>
<td>17  51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIX ...</td>
<td>تطین آدمی بحكم الناس لیام</td>
<td>17  51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XL ...</td>
<td>ایمان محل ابکان را</td>
<td>17  92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLI ...</td>
<td>بهاء بی تینی</td>
<td>18  —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLII ...</td>
<td>معنی، کرم در جمع احوال</td>
<td>18  79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIII ...</td>
<td>تثال ظهور احوال</td>
<td>18  72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of the Nukta</td>
<td>Nikāt in Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī</td>
<td>Page of Chahār 'Unṣūr where found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIV ...</td>
<td>در عصر آیاد کینیت ظهور</td>
<td>19 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLV ...</td>
<td>در چارسوی کینیت ظهور</td>
<td>19 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLVI ...</td>
<td>تاثیر در طباع ارباب کرم</td>
<td>19 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLVII ...</td>
<td>گنگی ارها و بنال</td>
<td>19 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLVIII ...</td>
<td>تا سخنها، اندیشه هستی، ما و من</td>
<td>19 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIX ...</td>
<td>عالم ایجاد سیرکه جلوه افدا</td>
<td>19 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L ...</td>
<td>از برگ اسیدند که بجکم ان بیعی</td>
<td>20 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LI ...</td>
<td>کینیت سخاگ انرا کتی سراشته اند</td>
<td>20 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LII ...</td>
<td>شریازه اجزاء حواس</td>
<td>20 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIII ...</td>
<td>مظیبی نماین تستخ نزار</td>
<td>20 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIV ...</td>
<td>روح انسانی شاهدیست لا ربی</td>
<td>21 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LV ...</td>
<td>کمال الهی که چابع حقیقت جمال و جلال</td>
<td>21 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVI ...</td>
<td>ورد سخن نزول بالاتن است</td>
<td>22 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVII ...</td>
<td>از برگ اسیدند خواب انقل است</td>
<td>23 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVIII ...</td>
<td>عالم از درشتی طبیعی</td>
<td>23 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIX ...</td>
<td>از زمان تا آسان یک در فیض</td>
<td>24 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LX ...</td>
<td>حسن اکر بسایش ایزه پرآزاد</td>
<td>24 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXI ...</td>
<td>غیب مطلی مرتهاست</td>
<td>24 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXII ...</td>
<td>جمع خلائقی بجکم صحتی طبیعی</td>
<td>25 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXIII ...</td>
<td>اینیه عالی میخواهی صحتی، دلی</td>
<td>25 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXIV ...</td>
<td>جائن یا مغری مگنت</td>
<td>26 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXV ...</td>
<td>حصول نعمت کمال پی وسایت</td>
<td>26 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXVI ...</td>
<td>تحریر و تقریر مرآب اکثری</td>
<td>26 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXVII ...</td>
<td>از آزاده حق چصی یالیم</td>
<td>27 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXVIII ...</td>
<td>توجیه خاطرنا الفت قرا</td>
<td>27 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXIX ...</td>
<td>معتبری حالتی که هیچ مر صدی</td>
<td>28 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXX ...</td>
<td>تجبه کاران امتحان کدای شعور</td>
<td>28 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.—For both Nikāt and Chahār 'Unṣūr, Kulliyāt-e-Safdarī should be consulted,
Index

A

'Abdul Ahad, Wahdat, 134, 268
'Abdul 'Aziz Ijad, 105
'Abdul 'Aziz Izzat, 57, 87, 89, 270
'Abdul 'Aziz Izzat, Maulana, Shaikh, teacher of Bedil, 46; death of, 56
'Abdul Ghafur, Nassaib, 4
'Abdul Ghani, 27, 33, 262, 263
'Abdul Ghani Beg Qabul, Mirza, 89
'Abdul Hakim, Khalifa, 129, 154, 155, 157, 160
'Abdul Hakim, Mulla, a trader, 124
'Abdul Hakim Sialkoti, Maulvi, 11
'Abdul Hamid Lahori, 7, 8, 11
'Abdul Haq, 115
'Abdul Haq, Shaikh, 11
'Abdul Jabbar Khan, 88, 104
'Abdul Jalil Wasti, Mir, 90, 97, 104
'Abdul Karim Jilai, 50, 192
'Abdul Khaliq, Bedil's son, 93, 98, 99, 275
'Abdul Khaliq, Mirza, Bedil's father, 3, 4, 6, 9, 14, 272
'Abdul Khaliq, Mulla, a scribe, 106, 119
'Abdullah Ansari, 150, 231, 268
'Abdullah Anwar Beg, 177, 248
'Abdullah Khan, Qazi, 93, 100, 144, 146, 147
'Abdullah Khan, Sayyid, Bakhsha, 102
'Abdullah Sami, Khwaja, 105
'Abdullah Saqi, Khwaja, 45, 86
'Abdullah Wahdat, 105
'Abdul Latif, Khwaja -(Commentator of Hadiqa), 206, 207
'Abdul Latif, Mirza, Commander of armies of Shuja', 19, 21
'Abdul Luft, 106
'Abdul Qadir Jilai, Shaikh, 4, 85
'Abdul Qadir, Maulana, viii
'Abdul Wadud, Qazi, x, 86
'Abdul Wahhab Iftikhar, 1, 2, 47, 73, 83, 261
'Abdul Wali, 'Uzlat, Mir, 113, 114
'Abdun Nabi, 186
'Abdur Rahim, a poet, 52
'Abdur Rahim, Qazi, 105, 266
'Abdur Rahman Bijnauri, Dr., 174, 175
'Abdur Rahman Chughtai, 174
'Abdur Rashid, Mulla, 46
'Abdur Razzq, 45
'Abduh Samad Khan, Nawab, 109, 278
'Abduh Samad Sakhun, Mir, 47, 84
Absolute Being, 152, 164, 246
Abu Bakr, Caliph, 181, 236, 244
Abū Bakr Tūsī, 115
Abū Hanīfā Nu‘mān, Imām, 236
Abul Faiz Ma‘nī, Sayyid, 104
Abul Faiz Shāh, 24, 25, 253
Abul Faiz Mast, 103
Abul Fażal, 2, 262
Abul Ghāzi, 2
Abul Hasan Khārqānī, Shaikh, 231
Abul Khair, Abū Sa‘īd, 33, 41, 231, 235
Abul Qāsim Tirmīzī, 4
A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Manuscripts of the Kings of Oudh, 3
Adābīyat, 93, 100, 144, 146, 147
Ādām, Prophet, 151, 150, 181, 279
Adā Samarqandī, 106
Āfandī, Hashim Shāqi, ix, 3, 114, 120, 122, 123
‘Affīfī, 208
Afghanistan, viii, ix, 106, 107, 145, 165
Afghans, x
Afghan Scholars, ix
Afkar-e-Shā‘īr, 164, 220, 222, 224
Afṣāh, Saints, nature of, 43
Africa, 101
Afṣāh, Shāh-e-Fasīh, 89, 103
Agra, 51
Ahādīyya, 183
A Handbook of Travellers in India, 57
A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, 27, 33, 262, 263
Ahmad Dānīsh, ix
Ahmad ‘Ibrāhīm, 77, 78, 82, 144
Ahmādi Press, Shudhārā (Meerut), 125
Ahmadnagar, 93
Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, 106, 119
Ahmad Sirhindi Shaikh, al-
Mujaddid, 8, 11, 154, 155, 156, 238, 272
Alwāl-e-Tasawwuf (States), 154
A‘in-e-Akbarī, 2
‘Ājīz Afghān, 105
Ajmer, 59
Akbarābād, 6, 33, 41, 42, 46, 49, 51, 52, 53, 59, 89, 92, 93, 256, 259, 273
Akbar, Akbar Husain, 178
Akbarpur, 42, 257
Akbar, son of Aurangzeb ‘Ālamgīr, 63
Akbar the Great, 12, 25, 27, 41, 222, 258, 262
Akbar ‘Abdullāh, Khwāja, x
Akmal Khuqandī, 106
‘Alqī-ul-Dīn Khījlī, 11, 69
Albīrūnī, 10
Alexander the Great, 212
Al-Ghāzālī, 154
Al-Ghazālī, 4, 83, 150, 154, 157, 262, 272
‘All Akbar Shihābī, 33
‘All Hasan Khān, 75, 85, 86, 88, 98, 103, 105
‘All Hazīn, Shaikh, 259
‘Ali Hujwīrī, Sayyid, 43, 152
‘Ali ibn Abī Tālib (son-in-law of the Prophet), 50, 88, 181, 222, 224, 225, 244, 238
‘Ali Khān, Sayyid, Caligraphist, 124
‘Ali Lutf Mīrzā, 46, 90, 103
‘Ali Mardān Khān, 7
‘Ali Quīl Hidāyat, 6
‘Ali Rażā Tajallī, Mulla, 130, 134, 268
‘Ali Shīr ‘Awālī, Mīrzā, 225
A Literary History of Persia, 57, 205, 222, 252
‘Ali Yazdī, Shāhāsud-Dīn, 2
Allahābād, 29, 173
‘Alāmī, Sudullāh Khān, 46
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>'Alvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Amānat Rām Amānat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89, 98, 179</td>
<td>Amir Khān Anjām, Nawāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51, 131, 147, 148, 220, 224, 225, 226</td>
<td>Amir Khurrau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 11</td>
<td>Amir Timūr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63, 89, 102, 103, 105, 106, 112, 121, 179, 274</td>
<td>Anand Rām Mukhlīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63, 89, 104, 131</td>
<td>Acr.anat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105, 106, 112, 121</td>
<td>Amir Khusrau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51, 131, 148, 148, 220, 224, 225, 226</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63, 89, 102, 103, 105, 106, 112, 121, 179, 274</td>
<td>Anand Rām Mukhlīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63, 89, 102, 106, 148</td>
<td>A Page in the Hand of Mukhlīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix</td>
<td>Anjān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Ans, Hadīya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix, 114</td>
<td>Anti-christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Anūp Chitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57, 67, 68</td>
<td>Anwar Beg, 'Abdullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114, 115, 116</td>
<td>Aẓīrūs Sanādīd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>'Āṣāq, Mūḥammad, Himmat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>A Short History of Aurangzeb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>Ashtaf, Mūḥammad Sa'id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix</td>
<td>Asīrī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104, 131</td>
<td>'Asjādh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>'Ashkī, Mūḥammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Astrology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85, 111, 113, 275</td>
<td>'Aṭā Ullah 'Aṭā, Mūḥammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>'Atīqullāh, Mīr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25, 28, 50, 79, 129, 131, 132, 149, 205, 231, 251, 262</td>
<td>'Attār, Farīd-ud-Dīn, Šaikh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54, 273</td>
<td>Attock District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191, 209</td>
<td>Attributes of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Aurangābād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 12</td>
<td>Aurangzeb 'Alamgīr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, 19, 23, 32, 33, 33, 39, 43, 46, 51, 54, 62, 65, 67, 75, 81, 82, 84, 83, 93, 95, 134, 155, 168, 242, 271</td>
<td>23; leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Deccan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>quotes Bedil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Aurangzeb, Bedil's disparaging remarks about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Ayyūb Ansārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>Ayyūb, Prophet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>'Āzād, Abūl Kalam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127, 259, 260, 264, 265, 274</td>
<td>'Āzād, Mūḥammad Ḥusain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 32, 33, 46, 47, 52, 68, 69, 76, 77, 73, 79, 82, 83, 86, 88, 95, 96, 97, 99, 102, 103, 104, 105, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 131, 136, 139, 146, 147, 148, 155, 195, 230</td>
<td>'Āzād, Ghulām 'Ali, Mīr, Bilgrāmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127, 259, 260, 264, 265, 274</td>
<td>'Āzād, Mūḥammad Ḥusain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 66, 87, 88, 93, 96, 169, 229, 272</td>
<td>'Azam Shāh, Prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Azarbājān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Life and Works of Bedil"

'Azimābād (near Mathura), 60
'Azimābādis, 5
'Azimābād Patna, 125
'Azimush-Shāh, Prince, 7, 100
'Azmatullah Bilgrāmī, Mir, 131

Bābā Fighānī, 129, 130, 133
Bābā Khwāja Kishī, 106
Bābur, 2, 33, 51, 134
Badakhshān; 4
Bahādurpur, 66
Bahādur Shāh, Muḥammad Mu'azzam, Emperor, 93, 94, 96, 98, 99, 155, 242, 268
Bahār, Aqā-e-Muḥammad Taqī, 251
Bahār Sur Urdu Shāhī, 6
Bahāristān-e-Janān, by Bedil, 106, 119, 128, 225, 259
Bahārīya-e-Bedil, 174
Bahlīna-e-Filsawār, 167
Bahārul Afsār-e-Nawātī, 225
Baiqārā, Sultān, Ḥusayn, 57
Bairāt, 63, 64, 174, 194, 195, 196, 197, 201, 209, 280, 283
Bāji Rām, Narūka, 62, 194, 195
Balīsar, 214
Balgh Campaign by Shāh Jāhān, 13
Bār-e-Darā, 176, 177
Bankipur, 3, 6
Bankipur Library, 120, 121
Bankipur Library Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, 3, 6, 10, 44, 110, 120, 121, 122, 189, 238, 250, 267, 269
Barāni, 11
Bāreṣ, 88
Barha Sayyids, 165, 273
Barkhurdār Beg Fardī, 86
Barās, 2
Barlūs tribe, 1
Barneet, L.D., 55

Bartold, 11
Bahīr-ud-Dīn, 115
Bayāzīd Bīgāmī, Saint, 28, 79, 105, 185, 186
Bāzm-e-Sakhura, 98
Bāzm-e-Tīmūrīya, 32, 68, 102
Braele, T.W., 71
Bedār Bakhsh, son of 'Azām Shāh, 93
Bedil, 'Abdūl Qādir, vī, vīlī, x; period of, x; race and tribe of, 1-3; his ancestors, 3-4; his father, 3-4; birth of, 4; birthplace of, 4-7; historic conditions at birth of, 7-8; infancy of, 8; his father's death, 9; early education of, 9, 10; first composition, 10; his regular education cut short, 103; studies at home, 12; interest in charms, 14, 257; his early compositions, 15; pupil of Maulānā Kamāli, 15; change of his nom de plume, 15; his Sūfī teachers, 17-18; eyewitness of war of Shāh Jāhān's sons, 19-22; joins a convivial meeting, 22; his journey to Mehsī, 23-24; sees perī, 24; in Orissa, 25-29; collects sayings of saints, 26; quotes verses, 27; his interest in dotted letters, 27; his spiritual awakening in Orissa, 28; pen-portrait of, 29; physical strength of, 29; leaves Patna for Dehli, 30-32; his interest in Tāzāgūlī, 34-35; flies in air, 35; meets Shāh-e-Kabulī, 36; contacts with 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, 39, 40; in Mathura with eye-sore, 40; starves in Akbarābād, 41; marriage of, 42; joins Army, 43; restores a dead to
Index

Bédil, by 'Ibādullāh Akhtar, x, 123
Bédil-Hāfiz, compared, 133
Bédil Khān, x
Bédil’s Dīwān, Selection of, by Shukrullāh Khān, 73
Bédil’s popularity, in Afghanistan, ix; in Chinese Turkistān, ix; in Turkey, ix; in U. S. S. R., ix; causes of, ix
Bédil’s works, vii, viii, ix
Bekhabar, Mir ‘Azmātullāh, Bilgrāmil, 97, 131
Bencana, battle of, 19
Bengal, 5, 13, 19, 22, 23, 24, 30
Bengal District Gazetteers, Patna, 6
Bengal District Gazetteers, Shāh-ābād, 16
Bernier, 38
Bhubaneswar, 28
Bihār, 5, 7, 12, 14, 19, 31, 33, 35, 107, 150, 149, 213, 272, 273, 276
Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Champaran, 23
Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Cuttack, 25
Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Patna, 7
Bihār, called ‘Azīmābād Province, 12
Bihār-ud-Dīn Naqīshbandī, Khwāja, 251
Bihzād, 57
Bijapur, 65, 66, 82
Bīrūr-Bedil, 84, 85, 122, 124, 127, 128, 133, 134, 141, 143, 267-269
Bombay, viii, ix, 124
Horān, 180
Brahma, 55
Brahma knowledge, 55
Braj Mandal, 56
Brindaban, 40
British, 2, 119
Britishers, vii

British Museum Catalogue of Persian Mss., 1, 82, 84, 120, 122, 127, 133, 134, 141, 205, 267

British Museum, London, 120, 122, 267

British Rule, vii

Browne, E.G., 33, 57, 150, 206, 225, 245, 252

Buddha, 7

Buddhist learning, 11, 271

Buddhists, 54

Buhcr Library Catalogue, 110

Bukhārā, ix, 3, 4, 11, 94, 106, 119, 124

Bulas, Bedil's staff, 91

Burbanpur, 84


C

Campbellpur, 54

Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library, 110, 120, 121, 123, 127, 180, 231, 269

Catalogue of the Persian and Arabic Mss. of Bokar Library, 3

Central Asia, ix, 10, 106, 119, 173, 217

Chaghšāl tribe, 6

Chahār Sharbat, 103, 260

Chahār 'Unsūr, of Bedil, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12-25, 27-30, 35, 37, 40-43, 48-57, 59, 60, 67, 72, 73, 85, 91, 101, 128, 182, 263, 265, 266, 218, 250-252, 264, 265, 281; finished writing, 93

Chamanistān, 102

Chamanistān-e-Mukhliş, 68

Chamanistān-e-Shu'ārā, 90, 143

Chandr Chor, 258

Charkh, 251

Chinese Turkistān, ix

Chingiz Khan, 2

Chin Qilij Khan, 94, 95; see also . . .

Nizāmul Mulk Aṣaf Jāh

Chirst, 186

Civilisation of the East India, 57

Classical Persian Poets, Bedil follows style of, 22, 33

Collected Essays, 282, 285

Colloquial Persian, 264

Conception of Time, Bedil's, 55

Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 231, 245, 263

Cosmos, 232

Creation, scheme of, 183, 191, 236

Cunningham, A., 7, 11, 63, 166, 206

Cuttack, 25, 26, 28, 36, 37, 252, 273

Cycle of Descent and Ascent, 283

D

Dād-e-Sakhun, 136

Daqīqi, 129

Dārā Shīkhār, 19, 20, 38, 57, 268

Dardāi, Mu'in-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, 6

Dargāh Quli Khān, Nawāb, 92, 103, 112, 114, 115, 165, 168, 243

Darjā-e-Abṭār of Amir Khusrau, 225, 226

Davy, 2

Dawwānī, 12

Deccan, 48, 59, 62, 65, 75, 81, 89, 93, 94, 102, 104, 109, 110, 115, 275

Deccan, Aurangzeb in, as viceroy, 19

Deccani Muslim rulers, 8
| Deccan Victories, Bedil writes chronograms of, 65 |
| Dehli Gate, 61, 115 |
| Description M&tncSi by Bedil, 217--218 |
| Development of Metaphysics in Persia, 157, 160 |
| Dharmat, battle of, 19 |
| Diwān-e-Albisa, 101 |
| Diwān-e-Amīr Khurram, 224 |
| Diwān-e-Anwarsi, 227, 228 |
| Diwān-e-Āṣaf, 84 |
| Diwān-e-Bedil, bearing poet's autograph, 103 |
| Diwān-e-Bedil (Matchless), 68, 124-126 |
| Diwān-e-Chālib, 173, 174 |
| Diwān-e-Hāfez, 15 |
| Diwān-e-Shāhīr, 83 |
| Diwān-e-'Urfī, 222, 224 |
| Diwān-e-Wali, 90 |
| Dreams, Bedil's, 28, 36, 50, 52 |
| Dughfāt, Mirzā Haidar, 1, 2 |
| Durarul Mansūr, 97 |
| Edinburgh University Library, 120 |
| Edinburgh University Library Catalogue of Persian Mss., 120, 123 |
| Education, of Muslims, in Central Asia, 13; in India, 11; in Jaunpur, 12 |
| Edwards, 127 |
| Elliot and Dowson, 7, 8 |
| England, 119 |
| Erose, 160 |
| Essence of God, 191, 192 |
| Essence of Muhammad (صلى الله عليه وسلم), 192 |
| Ethe, Doctor, 123, 124, 127, 189, 231 |
| Ethics of Bedil, 164 |
| Euclid, 148 |
| Euphrates, R., 252 |
| Europe, vii, 119 |
| Europeans, vii |
| Evolution, theory of, advocated by Bedil, 213 |
| Exegesis, 25, 26 |

**F**

<p>| Facetiae of Bedil, 127 |
| Faizi, 27, 219 |
| Faiz Muḥammad Khān, Sardār Zakarīya, ix |
| Faqīr (فریق), 18, 154, 167, 168, 241 |
| Faqīr, meaning of, 215 |
| Fārghāna, 124 |
| Fārḥād, 136, 177, 231 |
| Fārrukhi, 104, 131 |
| Fārrukhi Siyar, 2, 90, 100, 101, 102, 103, 108, 109 |
| Fārūq, Burhān Aḥmad, 8, 154, 156, 246, 254 |
| Fawā'id-e-Khānoshī by Bedil, 106, 119, 128, 257 |
| Fāzal Ḥaq, 156 |
| Fāzūlullāh, Ḥakīm, 92 |
| Ferguson, 8 |
| Fīdā'i, Qayyūm Khān, 81, 98, 263 |
| Fīghanī, Bābā, 129, 130, 133 |
| Fīqh, 24 |
| Firdausī, 88, 180, 181, 203, 283 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghulam Nabi, Wahdat</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghulam Sarwar</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghulam Yahya Bin Ali</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghulam Yasin Khan Niyazi, Doctor</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossary of Turkish Words</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God, Attributes and Names of</td>
<td>209, 235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God, His Transcendence</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golkunda</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonds, kill Shuja'</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Poets, Bedil's respect for</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeks</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grosset, R.</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grube</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guddi 'Nama, by Bedil</td>
<td>7, 106, 119, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujerat</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujranwala</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gul-e-Ra'na</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gul-e-Zard of Bedil</td>
<td>72, 121, 122, 124, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulgasht-e-Haigat of Bedil</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulgasht-e-Iran, by Shiv Ram</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gul Muhammad Ma'niyab Khan Shahir</td>
<td>108, 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulistan</td>
<td>10, 15, 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulshan-e-Beghumbar</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulshan-e-Hind</td>
<td>46, 90, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulshan-e-Safadat</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulzar-e-Ibrahim by Zuhuri</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gur Bakhsh Huzuri</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guzar Ghari</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habib Ganj Library</td>
<td>68, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habibullah Khan, King of Kabul</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habibullah, Khwaja</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habib-ur-Rahman, Malik</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadiqa</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadigatul Balaghah</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadigatul Haqiqat</td>
<td>180, 206, 207</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Life and Works of Bedil

Iran, ix, 32, 129, 135, 149, 259
Iran bā 'Ahd-e-Sasāhīyān, 57
'Irfān, 72, 100, 101, 119, 120, 121, 127, 128, 131, 203-217, 219, 259, 279, 263, 284
'Irfān, Muhammed Amin, Mirza, 64, 88, 203
'Iraqī, 131, 149, 245, 246
'Iraqī style, (شبك عراقي), 33
'Iṣa, Prophet, 131
Ifrīya of Bedil, 255
Ishārāt-e-Hikayāt, 127, 218, 255
Islam, 4, 11
Islamābād (Mathura), 59, 61, 88
Islamic Calendar, 8
Islamic Colloquium, Lahore, 1958, ix
Islamic Philosophy, 164
'Iṣmatullāh Qābil, 105
Israel, 253
Istilāḥāt Fumān, 45
Istilāḥāt Sūfīah, 45
I'timādād Daula, Wazirul Mamālik, 167
Ivanow, iv, 231, 245, 265
Izād Bakhsh Rāsā, 87, 88, 273
'Izzat, 'Abdul 'Azīz, Shaikh, teacher of Bedil, 46; death of, 56

Ja'far Khān, Jumdatul Mulk, 51
Ja'far Rūḥil, Sayyid, 98
Ja'far, S.M., 63
Ja'far Zaṭalī, Mir, 89, 96, 97
Jahāndār Shāh, Mu'tizzud Din, Emperor, 99, 100, 109, 242
Jahāngir, Emperor, 33, 54, 63, 134
Jaipur, 53
Jajān, battle of, 93
Jalāl Asir, 134
Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī, see Rūmī, Jalāl-ud-Dīn
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jami, ‘Abdur Rahmān</td>
<td>1, 83, 133, 149, 180, 194, 224, 225, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamil Salibā</td>
<td>155, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamshīd, King</td>
<td>100, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jān Muḥammad</td>
<td>23, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaswant Singh</td>
<td>19, 224, 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jat disturbances, account of, by Bedīl</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jats, rebellion of, 59, 62, 273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaunpur</td>
<td>12, 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinjī, fort</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jullundhur District</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumna, River</td>
<td>42, 49, 60, 111, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junaidi, Muḥammad 'Aqīl Haq</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junaid, Saint of Baghdad</td>
<td>28, 105, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabī, 151, 220, 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul</td>
<td>vii, ix, 3, 4, 36, 54, 106, 114, 129, 122, 123, 127, 144, 145, 206, 208, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul District</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul Magazine</td>
<td>105, 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul Museum</td>
<td>73, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul Museum Kulliyāt No. 33</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul Museum Kulliyāt No. 52</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul, River</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kābul University</td>
<td>3, 114, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāšra</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalila and Dimna</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalim, Mīrzā</td>
<td>33, 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kām Bakhsh, Prince, son of Augrangzeb</td>
<td>93, 94, 96, 275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamī and Madān</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṁgar Khān, Amir</td>
<td>51, 255, 259, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karamullāh 'Aqīl Khān, 'Āshīq Mir</td>
<td>73, 81, 82, 93, 95, 96, 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnātak</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasalpūra</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāshān</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāshūni</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāshf al-Mahjūb</td>
<td>26, 42, 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāshf-e-Isilāhāt</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katjūri, the</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesāri</td>
<td>28, 273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesāri Dynasty, kings of</td>
<td>25, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāfi Khān</td>
<td>7, 8, 11, 13, 18, 21, 38, 49, 59, 65, 93, 94, 99, 100, 101, 102, 108, 110, 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khājwā, battle of, 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalīf, Khalīlullāh Khān, Ustād</td>
<td>ix, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalīf kings</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khān Ārtū, Sirajuddīn 'Alī</td>
<td>1, 2, 5, 78, 89, 103, 106, 110, 111, 112, 131, 136, 179, 192, 250; works of, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khān-e-Khalīf, by Zuhūri, 260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khān-e-Khānān, Bedīl's title in domain of literature, 230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāqānī, 51, 133, 220, 224, 225, 229, 267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khārāt</td>
<td>265, 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāyyām</td>
<td>231, 232, 235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāzāna-e-'Amīra</td>
<td>1, 4, 47, 63, 82, 85, 89, 95, 102, 104, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 136, 146, 147, 148, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāzīnātul 'Asfīya</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khītīrīan, quarter of, 61, 115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khūrāsānī style (سیک خراسانی)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khūshgū, Bindrā Ban Das</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 15, 29, 32, 34, 43, 44, 46, 47,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Life and Works of Bedil


Kushal Khan Khatak, 54
Khwaja Salmon, 104, 135
Khwarzim, 11
Khyber Pass, 10
Kimlya-e'Saadat, 83, 262
Kish, 106
Kitab-e-Mustakab-e-Talifatuz Zaki
Kabul, 105
Kitab Khana-e-Ma'arif, Kábul, 106
Kitatbush Shiffi, 11
Krause, 157
Krishna, Lord, 40, 46
Kulliyat-e-Bedil (compiled by the poet), recited by him, 50, 91, 108, 112, 113, 114, 119; story of compilation, 121; published, 123
Kulliyat-e-Bedil, in Bankipur Library, 121
Kulliyat-e-Bedil, in Kabul Museum, 119, 121
Kulliyat-e-Bedil, in Ma'arif Library, Kábul, scribe Mirzá Muhammad 'Aziz, 122, 127
Kulliyat-e-Bedil, Manuscript (Kábul), 94, 95, 99, 100, 101, 106, 217, 242
Kulliyat-e-Bedil, Panjáb University Library manuscript, 233, 239, 240
Kulliyat-e-Iragi, 245
Kulliyat-e-Khaganí, 220, 224, 229

Kulliyat-e-Sauda, 179
Kulliyat-e-Wali, 89
Kulliyat-e-Zalall, 96


Lachmi Narain Shafiq, 90, 146
Lahore, viii, ix, 6, 53, 54, 88, 89, 99, 100, 104, 105, 109, 110, 124, 205, 207, 269

Lahore Diwan, of Bedil, 125
Laila, 37
Lal Kanwar, 100, 242
Lal Muhammad, Miân, Khán Bahadur, 83
Later Thinkers of Iran, 12
Laţif, Sayyid Muhammad, 51
Law, N.N., 11
Leningrad, x
Letters of Aurangzeb, 66
Letters of Bedil, 81
Life and Works of 'Abdul Qádir Bedil, vii, x
Life and Works of Amir Khushrav, 224, 225
Life, origin and evolution of, 213, 257

Literary History of Persia, 33, 150, 245
Index

| Logos, 192 |
| London, viii |
| London Museum, 149 |
| Love, 183, 227 |
| Love, its potentialities, 159 |
| Lubā-ut-Tawārīkh-e-Hind, 7 |
| Lucknow, 123, 127 |
| Lujjatul Asrar-s-Jamhurr, 22 |
| Lumi, 70 |
| Lutf Allah, 51 |
| Ma'arif Libray-y, Kabul, 122, 238 |
| Ma'asire-e-Ajam, 252 |
| Ma'asire-e-Ālamgiri, 19, 21, 33, 45, 49, 51, 54, 58, 59, 61, 65, 66, 70, 80, 82, 88, 89, 93 |
| Ma'asir-ul-Bīrām, 12 |
| Ma'asir-ul-Umarā, 1, 39, 65, 68, 75, 84, 89 |
| Magdha, 7 |
| Magribi, Maulānā, 252 |
| Mahābhārata, 105 |
| Mahābhārata, Bedil's knowledge of, 55 |
| Mahanadi, River, 25 |
| Mahaul, Rawalpindi, 178 |
| Mahdi, Imām, 167 |

| Malikānā, 168 |
| Majalis-e-Beedil, 127 |
| Majalis-un-Nāfis, 225 |
| Majma'un Nafis, 1, 2, 5, 103, 106, 110, 112, 136, 250 |
| Majma'ut Tawārīkh, 109 |
| Majmū'a-e-Naghz, 4, 88, 92, 95, 101, 145 |
| Majnūn, 135, 158 |
| Makar, Prince, 25 |
| Makdīf-e-Mun'im, 98 |
| Meekz, Magazine, 178, 205 |
| Makūbāt-e-Imām-e-Rabbānī, 238 |
| Makūbāt-e-Nidāz, 135, 143, 361 |
| Malāmatīs, a sect of mystics, 152 |
| Malfūzāt-e-Beedil, 91 |
| Malfūzāt-e-Iqbat, 177 |

Man, a mystery, 76; and universe, 162-163, 181, 183; pre-eminent position in universe, 216, 247, 248; in cosmos, 232; his origin and superiority, 239; destiny of, 154, 175; speculations about, 160-165; epitome of creation, 202, 208, 284; flower of creation, 209, 213, 233, 257; dignity of, 227, 228; glory of, 269; God in search of, 232, 233; identity with God deniced, 246; as Logos, 284; manifestation of a Name, 209, 255; embodies secrets of Being, 252, 253; when spiritually enlightened, his words even have a force, 253; an enigma, 280; called spring, 256; Bedil's search for, 277; call to, for fulfilling his destiny, 277 |

Māni, 57, 148 |
| Mansūr al-Ḥallāj, 158, 185, 186, 253 |
Life and Works of Bedil

Maniqut Tuyūr, Qaṣida, 220
Maqālatush Shu‘ārā, 85
Maqāmat-e-Taṣawwuf (سواقت تخصص), 154
Mārghīnān, 124
Marhattas, 59, 62, 119
Mashriqī, Sardār, Mehr Dīl Khān, 107
Maṣnavi-e-Ma‘nāvī, 58, 105, 149, 180
Maṣnavī, evolution of, 180
Maṣnavī of Rūmī, 58
Maṣnavī of Bedil, 184-218, 230
Mas‘ūd Sa‘d Salmān, 104, 131
Mathematics, 4
Mathura, 40, 42, 56, 59, 60, 62, 67, 73, 81, 86, 104, 142, 195, 205, 233, 257, 258, 273
Maulānā Kamāl, 14-15, 16, 22
Maulvi Hussainī, 154
Māzandarān, 268
Mazārit-e-Auliyyā-e-Delhi, 115
Mozūn, 63
Mehr ‘Ali Bekas, 104
Mehr, Ghulām Rasūl, Maulānā, viii, 116
Mehtā, 23, 24, 253, 273
Memoirs of Bābur, 2
Memoirs of Jāhāngīr, 54
Menglik Izkā, 2
Meos, rebellion of, 62
Metaphysics, 26; discussed by Bedil’s teachers, 253; of Bedil, 155, 164, 187, 202, 203, 227, 251
Metaphysics of Rūmī, 129, 134, 155, 157, 160
Mewāt, 62, 63, 65, 69, 71, 194, 195, 196, 263
Middle Ages, 271
Miṣṭahut Tawārikh, 71
Mind (J), 184
Minuchihri, 205
Mir ‘Abdul Jalīl Wāsī Bilgāmī, 90, 97, 104
Mir ‘Abdul Wa‘l ‘Uzlāt, 113, 114
Mir ‘Iraj-ul-Khayālī, 6
Mir‘atul Khilāl, 103
Mir‘atul Khayāl, Tagkīrah, 1, 2, 32, 40, 47, 49, 51, 58, 61, 64, 68, 69, 70, 76, 77, 78, 87, 88, 13, 105, 135, 144, 147, 160, 168, 249, 256, 260
Mir‘atullah, by Bedil, 128, 209-210, 216, 283
Mir ‘Azmatullah Bilgāmī, 131
Mir Ḥasan, 90, 97, 103
Mir Ḥumāna, Qāzī ‘Abdullah Tūrānī, 102
Mir Karamullah Khān ‘Aṣḥiṣq, 81, 82, 95, 96
Mir Lutfullāh Khān, 69, 73, 80, 81, 136, 249, 253, 274, 275, see Shukrullāh Khān II also
Mir Mubārakullāh, 16
Mir Muḥammad, 88
Mir Muḥammad ‘Ali Rājī, 104
Mir Muḥammad Asārāf Ḥāsrāt, 104
Mir Muḥammad Ḥusain Kālm, 143
Mir Ṣaaduq, 105
Mir Ṣadr-u-Dīn, 12
Mir Shākīr Khān, 95, 98, 107
Mir Taqī Mīr, 90, 97, 102, 145, 179
Mir Yaḥyā Kāshānī, 134, 268
Mirzā Fāżālī, 144, 275
Mirzā ‘Ībādullāh, 64, 88, 92, 112, 203, 275
Mirzā Muḥammad Amin ‘Irānī, 64, 83, 203
Mirzā Muḥsin Zulqādīr, 103
Mirzā Na‘īm, 93
Mirzā Qālāndār, 9, 10, 16, 17, 19, 23, 24, 30; 130, 251, 271, 272, 275; educates Bedil,
Index

Muhammad Haftiz Khan, Hakim, 92
Muhammad Husain Khan Najj, Aq, 86
Muhammad Ibrahim, Mirza, 88
Muhammad Talish, Haji, 96
Muhammad Jamilud Din *Urfi, 220
Muhammad Jan Qudsi, Haji, 7
Muhammad Jaunpuri, Mulla, 12
Muhammad Panah Kamil, 105
Muhammad (peace be on him), 50, 54, 83, 181
Muhammad Qasim ibn Mulla Shafi' Ullah, 121
Muhammad Quil Salim, 33, 134, 181, 263, 259
Muhammad Siddiq Ilqa, 88
Muhammad Sa'id Ashraf, 134
Muhammad Sa'id Ijaz Akbarabadi, Maulvi, 89
Muhammad Said, Mirza, 42, 112, 113, 114
Muhammad Sayyid, 90
Muhammad Shafi, Dr. Maulana, 102, 186
Muhammad Shah, Emperor, vii, 3, 104, 109, 165, 167
Muhammad Wariq ibn Muhammad Baqir Siddiqi, 120
Muhammad Wijdan, Mir, 104
Muhammad Yusuf Khwaja, scribe, 106, 120
Muhammad Zaman Rasikh, Mir, 87
Mushibullah Bihari, Qazi, 12
Muhit-e-A'gam, Bedil's Masnavi, 3, 33, 34, 52, 79, 84, 106, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 127, 133, 134, 173, 174, 175, 180, 189, 190, 191, 218, 255, 259, 269, 276, 277, 282; composed, 39, 40; Preface, 269
Muhit-e-Bakarain, of Bedil, 229

12, 13; personality and character, 13; life of, 14; goes to Bengal, death of, 39
Mirza Zarif, 24, 25, 26, 27, 26, 251, 253, death of, 30
Mohyud Din Mohan Bihari, Mulla, 12
Moscow, ix
Moses, 100, 159
Mu'azzam, Prince, 66
Mubarak Khan, 258
Mughal Khan Qabli, 86
Mughul Architecture, 8
Mughul Rule vii; Empire, vii, 65; Armies, 13; Emperors, 54, 165, 274, 277; Authority, defiance of, 59; Peers, 65; Government, 119; Art, 142; Society, 165; Power, 165; Aristocracy, 165
Mughul Period, 11, 219; poets of, 23
Mughuls, 2, 3, 29, 125; later, vii; their downfall foretold, 242
Muhammad 'Abdullah, Sayyid, Doctor, viii
Muhammad Afzal Jaunpuri, Shaikh, 11
Muhammad Afzal Sarkhush, see Sarkhush
Muhammad Ahsan, Sami', 103
Muhammad 'Alam Shah, 115
Muhammad 'Ali Thani, 45, 266
Muhammad Amin 'Irfan, Mirza, 64, 83, 203
Muhammad Amin Khan, 95
Muhammad Aslam Salim, Haji, 46, 96
Muhammad 'Azmatul Haq Junaidi, 262
Muhammad Baqir, Doctor, viii
Muhammad bin Qasim, vii

Mubarak Khan, Hakim, 311
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muhjīd Din Ib'n aṣ-Ṣābīl</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chiṣḥī, Ajmēd,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khāwja</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu'īz Muṣīvī Khān Fīrāt, Mīr</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu'īzzi</td>
<td>104, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhīd</td>
<td>8, 154, 156, 240, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muṣjamul Baldān</td>
<td>101, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muṣjam</td>
<td>134, 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukhammasāt-e-Bedil</td>
<td>119, 121, 122, 124, 127, 238-243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukhīś, Anand Rām</td>
<td>68, 89, 102, 103, 105, 112, 121, 148, 179, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukhtar Shāh</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukimi</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mumūrīv, Ibrāhīm, M., Dcotor,</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mumtāz Mahāl</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munīm Khān Khānān</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mus'm Khān Mun'im</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munir, author of Risāla-e-Munir</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustakham-ul-Lubāb</td>
<td>7, 8, 11, 13, 19, 21, 38, 49, 59, 65, 89, 93, 94, 99, 100, 101, 102, 108, 109, 110, 242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murād</td>
<td>19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murādābād</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muragga-e-Dholī</td>
<td>92, 193, 112, 114, 116, 167, 168, 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muragga-e-Ghālī</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murtaza Qānī</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūsā Kāzīm Bilgrāmī, Sayyid</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūsā, Prophet</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushafī, Ghulām Hamdānī</td>
<td>2, 62, 68, 98, 102, 106, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music, loved by Bedil</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Kings, of Deccan</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Philosophy, Bedil's knowledge of</td>
<td>51, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Sciences, 17, 271; taught in India, 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims in India, vii, 11, 243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim thought and Its Source, 213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Culture, 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustā'īd Khān, Sāqī, see Sāqī, Mustā'īd Khān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muṣīvī Khān Mīr, Muḥammad Hāshim Jurāt, 103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mughaffarud Din</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mystical Philosophy of Bedil, 251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysticism, 25, 181; theosophic element in, 154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mystics, 14-19, 24-28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mystics of Islam, 17, 43, 79, 154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nādir Shāh</td>
<td>112, 119, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nādir-uz-Zamān Faṣīh, Mīrzā</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṣẖāt-ul-Uns</td>
<td>83, 133, 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṣfī, Aqā-e-Sañīd, ix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgal</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naqīmah-e-Wahdat, by Bedil</td>
<td>119, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naqīshabī</td>
<td>134, 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakodar</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nālanda</td>
<td>11, 271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naltigiri</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṣīr Khān, son of Ja'far Khān</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṣīristān-e-Bedil</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṣīr 'Ali Sirhindī, Shaikh</td>
<td>32, 58, 76, 77, 78, 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṣīrūd Din Tūsī</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṣākh, 'Abdul Ghafūr</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṣi, of Zuhūrī</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naqīmah-e-Wahdat</td>
<td>3, 6, 30, 32, 44, 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawālīkshore Dīvān-e-Bedil</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawālīkshore Press</td>
<td>123, 124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

Nāzīm Khān, 104, 131
Nāzīri, 33, 130, 134, 135, 137, 147, 175, 176, 219
Nāzīr, Māhmūd Ahmad, x
Neoplatonists, 156, 159
New Persian-English Dictionary, 13
Nicholson, R. A., 17, 26, 43, 50, 152, 154, 157, 182, 192, 208, 233, 284
Nīgarīstān-e-Fāris, 127, 259, 247
Nīhayatul Kamāl, 220
Nikāt, 218
Nikāt-e-Bedil, 120, 121, 127, 128, 255-267 Šafdar, Nawīl-kishore and Ahmadi Presses editions, 265
Nikātush Shu'arā, 90, 97, 102, 145, 179
Nīl, River, 253
Nilgri Hills, 214
Nīmat Khān 'Allī, 96, 134, 268
Nishīr-e-Ishq, 6, 10, 15, 85, 89, 110, 111, 115, 135, 141, 261
Niyāz Fatahpūrī, viii, x, 135, 143, 261
Niyāzī, Ghulām Yāsin Khān, Doctor, x
Nizām Aṣīf Jāh, VII, 114, 115
Nizāmī of Ganja, 180, 205, 283
Nizām-ud-Dīn Awliya, Khwāja, 8
Nizāmud Din Māhmūd Yazdi, 101
Nizām-ul Mulk Aṣīf Jāh Bahādur, Fath Jang, 82, 83, 94, 95, 106, 107, 109, 110, 112, 133, 158, 230; 95 see Chīn Qilj Khān also
Northern India, 19, 59
North-Western Frontier, 119
Not-Being, 239
Nudrat Kashmirī, 179
Nūh, Prophet, 181
Nūr Muḥammad Ḥāfīz, of Kābul, 146, 206
Nūrud Dīn, Ḥakīm, 252
Nūrud Dīn, Mulla-124
Nūrud Dīn Yār-e-Parrān, Ḥaẓrat Malik, 114, 115
Nūrud Dīn, Zafarābādī, 12
Nūrul Abīṣār, Dictionary, 3
Nūrul Ḥasan, 89
Nuskhā-e-Ḥamīdīyā, of Ghālib’s Diwān, 173-176
Nūsratud Dīn, Malik, Patron of Zāhir Fārīyābī, 222

O

Oath, couplets of, by Bedil and Zuhūrī, 186
Old Dehli 116
Old Fort, Dehli, 114, 115
O’Malley, 6, 7, 16, 23, 25
‘Omar Khayyām, 232, 235
Omar Khayyām, the Post, 232, 235
Ontological Devolution, 183
Ontological Evolution, 183
Oriental College Magazine, x, 30, 31, 32, 44, 168
Orissa, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 35, 52, 251, 253, 254, 273, 276
Orthodox Caliphs of Islam, 244
Orthodox Muslims, 8
Oudh, 94
Oudh Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, 189
Outlines of Islamic Culture, 181, 213
Oxus, River, 3, 106, 163

P

Pāḍghānāmā, 7, 8, 11
Page Written by Mukhlīs, A, 102, 106, 143, 168
Paghman Pass, ix
Pakistan Embassy, in Kābul, viii;
Life and Works of Bedil

Panegyrics of Kings, hated by Bedil, 47-49, 219, 252, 285
Panipat, 92
Panjab University, viii
Panjab University Library, 84, 87, 121, 123, 181, 186, 195, 207, 224, 250, 260, 261
Panji Ganj, 180
Paper Written by Mukhilis, 112
Pathiputra, 7
Patna, x, 3, 12, 21, 23, 24, 29, 30, 86, 103, 236, 271, 272
Patna, 'Aṣīmābād, 5, 6; history of, 7; scene of political activity, 19
Pattan Devi Quarter, 6
Peacock Throne, 7, 19, 99, 166, 271, 272
Penkoviski, L., ix
Perfect Man, 183
Persian, 173
Persian Ghazal, 130
Persian Language, x, 124
Persian Literature, vii, 3, 129, 130, 135
Persian Poetry, current trends in, 35
Persian Poets, 135
Persian Poets of India, 130, 148
Persians, 145
Pharaoh, 253
Philosophy of Ego, Iqbal's, x
Philosophy of Self, 176, 178
Planes, five, in which God reveals Himself, 208
Plato, 85, 155, 160, 186
Plato's thoughts, 160
Poetic Style in Prose, 254, 255, 260
Poet of the East, The, 127, 128
Poets, contemporary, Bedil's relations with, 46, 47
Poets, contemporary, in the service of A'zam Shah, 46

Portrait, Bedil's, 57, 67, 68
Prefaces Written by Bedil, 127, 128, 269-275
Premchand Bharti, 55
Primal Being, 239
Primeval Unity, 155
Principles of Literary Criticism, 145
Promotion of Muhammadan Learning, 11
Prophet of Islam, 191; Ascension of, 214, 215; as Logos, 192; his family, 127
Prose and Verse, differentiated by Bedil, 254, 255
Prose Preface of Bedil's Old Diwan, 269
Prosody, 145
Punjab, 20, 53, 55, 128, 178, 273
Punjab District Gazetteers, XXIX-A, Attock District, 54
Punjab District Gazetteers, XIV-A, Jullundur District, 54
Pure Being, 131, 182, 187, 209, 228, 232

Q
Qabūl, 'Abdul Ghani Beg, Mirzā, 89
Qādiri Order, of Sufis, 4, 14
Qāim, Qāmūd Din, 97
Qāim, Qudratullah, 90
Qamarud Din Shākir, Mir; see Nizāmul Mulk Ash af Jāh
Qandhar, 7
Qārī, 'Abdullah Khan, 93, 100, 144, 145, 147
Qasaid-e-Bedil, 47, 119, 121, 124, 127, 131, 216, 219-230, 284
Qasaid-e-Urfī, 224
Qasaid-e-Zāhir Faryābī, 222
Qāsim, Mir, Qudratullah, 4, 95, 101, 145
Index

Qatîl, 103, 260
Qâyûm Khan Fida‘î, 81, 98, 263
Qâzî ‘Abdur Raḥîm, 105, 266
Qīṣṣa-e-Padmâvat and Mathâ-mulâṭ, 55
Qīṣṭ, Bedil’s, 30, 31, 42, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 56, 62, 63, 65, 69, 71, 72, 74, 80, 81, 93, 94, 95, 98, 102, 119, 121, 127, 194, 237, 248-249
Qâzî Aṣlân, 223
Quatrains of Bedil, 230-237; see Ruhâ’iyāt-e-Bedil also
Qudsî, 134, 219
Qudsî, Muhammad Jan, Ḥâji, 7
Qur’ânic verses, 160

R
Raf‘î Khan Bazîl, 88
Raf‘u’d Darajât, 109
Raf‘u’d Darajât, 109
Rahîm Bakîsh, 105
Rahmân ‘Ali, 11, 72
Rai Bhara Mal, 7
Rai Dhan, 3
Rajput risings, 59
Raputs, rebellion of, 62
Ramayana, story of, 127
Râmî, 98, 109
Rani Sagar, 14, 15, 16, 22, 233, 272-273
Râṣâ‘îl by Kh. ‘Abdullah Ansârî, 150
Ratnagirî, 28
Rauḍât-e-Adabi-e-Īrân-e-Hind, 33
Râza Zada Shafaq, Dr., 149
Râzi, ‘Aqîl Khan, see ‘Aqîl Khan
Râzi
Read, H., 282, 285
Real Being, 233, 236, 255, 272
Reality, 267
Reality of Muhammad, 50
Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, 39, 162, 177, 218
Rekhta, 16
Republics of Central Asia, ix
Riṣâ‘âsh Shu‘arâ, 129, 146
Richards, I.A., 145
Riddles, by Bedil, 122, 127, 245
Rieu, Doctor, 1, 82, 84, 110, 122, 133, 134, 141, 149, 205, 237, 267
Riṣâ‘âsh-e-Kimâyâ, by Bedil, 119
Riṣâ‘âsh-e-Mu‘tirî, 127
Rohillas, 119
Roz-e-Rauskhan, 85, 86, 103, 104, 105
Ruhâ’iyāt-e-Bedil, 110, 119, 120, 121, 124, 127; see Quatrains of Bedil also
Rudâki, 129, 130, 131, 134, 160, 219
Rûh-e-Iqbal, 173
Rûdhullah, Mîrzâ, 92
Rûmî, Jalâl-ud-Dîn, 105, 129, 133, 149, 154, 160, 185, 183, 206, 272, 283
Rûg‘â‘î-t-e-‘Alamgîr, 66
Rûg‘â‘î-t-e-Bedil, 3, 5, 34, 39, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 91, 94, 95, 96, 98, 100, 101, 103, 106, 107, 109, 119, 121, 127, 128, 144, 145, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, 195, 197, 203, 205, 263-264, 275; Nawilkhosh, Ḥasnî and Ahmadî Presses Editions, 263; published, 123
Rûg‘â‘î-t-e-Rasâ, 87

S
Sa‘dâtullah Khan, Nawâb, 84
Sabâhûd Din, 102
Sabhatul Mirjân, 12
Sabuk-e-Hindî, 33, 107, 148, 149
Sabuk Shindâl, 231
Life and Works of Bedil

Sadhus, Bedil meets them, 42
Sa’di, 15, 64, 97, 129, 132, 147, 149, 165, 180, 261, 262
Sadig Munshi, 106
Sadruddin, Mir, 12
Sadullah Guichan, Shaikh, 46, 75, 76, 86, 89, 104, 144, 154, 231
Sadullah Khan ‘AIIami, 11
Safdar Press, Bombay, viii, 124, 248, 265
Safina-e-Bekhabar, 97, 131
Safina-e-Khusigü, x, 1, 2, 34, 51, 66, 92, 111, 147, 260
Safir, 90, 97, 99
Safvi Dynasty, 129
Saharanpur, 69, 70
Sahbâi, 173
Saib, Mirzâ, 32, 34, 130, 134, 137, 181, 226, 269
Sa'id Nafsi, Aqâ-e-, ix
Sam, hierarchy of, 43
Sakun, ‘AbduR Samad, Mir, 47, 184
Sakhundan-e-Farís, 259, 265
Sakhund Din, 32, 220, 222, 224, 230
Sakhund Din, Afghân, 164
Salim, Haji Muhammad Aslam, Bedil contemporary, 46, 96
Salim, Muhammad Quli, 33, 134, 181, 258, 269
Samavand, ix, 11
Sambhaji Marhatta, 65
Samit, 33, 134, 181, 269
Samugarh, battle of, 20
San’at, 129, 137, 143, 180, 266, 207
San’at, 111
Santayana, 285
Saqi, ‘Abdullah, Khwaja, 46, 86
Saqi, Mustaid Khan, 19, 20, 33, 46, 48, 51, 54, 58, 59, 61, 65, 66, 76, 80, 82, 88, 93
Saginama-e-Bedil, 3, 34, 182, 185, 187
Saginam-e-Zukuri, 33, 34, 185, 269
Sar-e-Benares, 15, 16
Sar-e-Jamnapur, 23
Sar-e-Nikudar, 57, 257
Sarkar, J. N., 272
Sarmast Khan, 258
Sarûli, translator of Hayat-e-Sadi, 129
Sarwar Khan-e-Goya, viii, ix, 114
Sarw-e-Azâd, 1, 4, 32, 33, 46, 58, 69, 76, 77, 78, 83, 86, 88, 96, 97, 98, 102, 103, 109, 110, 113, 131, 139, 146, 147, 148, 155, 195, 230
Sauda, Mirzâ, 179
Sawâd-e-A’zam Bedil’s Qasida, 52, 225
Sayyid Ahmad, Sir, 114, 115, 116
Sayyid Brothers, Barha, 108, 109
Sayyid Mahmûd, 251
Sayyid Muhammad, Khana Dauroo, 25
Sayyid Muhammad, son of Mir ‘AbduR Jalil, 97
Sciences, known to Bedil, 55
Selections from Ta’zikratul Auliya, 26, 28
Self (Ego), x
Serâ-e-Begoli, 24
Shab-e-Barât, a poem by Bedil, 127, 128
Shâd ‘Asmabâdi, 3, 6, 30, 32,
Index

33, 44, 101
Shāh, Qalandar, 75
Shāhī, Imam, 235
Shāhī, Lāshahmī Nārāīn, 90, 148
Shāh 'Abbās, 11, 268
Shāh Abul Faiz, 24, 25, 253
Shāh 'Alam, Emperor, 230
Shāhīdara (Meerut), 123, 124
Shāh-e-Faṣīh, Afṣāh, 83, 103
Shāh-e-Jalāl, 79
Shāh-e-Kabīr, 25, 254, 258, 276; meets Bedil in Mathura, 40; final meeting into Bedil, 43
Shāh-e-Kamāl, Maulānā, 37
Shāh-e-Muḥammad, Khwaja, 23, 24
Shāh-e-Qāsim, Huwwalāhī, 25, 27, 28, 37, 52, 92, 251 252, 253, 254, 270; death of, 53
Shāh Fāzīl, 17, 18, 37, 251, 252, 253
Shāh Gūl, Saint, 80, 155
Shāh Gulshān, see Sa'dullah Gulshan
Shāh Jahānābād, 19, 32, 33, 42, 44, 47, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 71, 76, 77, 79, 81, 52, 103, 104, 105, 105, 109, 110, 112, 113, 119, 149, 179
Shāh Jahānābād, built, 8
Shāh Jahān, Emperor, vii, x, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 21, 33, 46, 57, 103, 134, 165, 207, 242, 268, 271; sickness of, 19; captivity of, 20; death of, and Bedil's grief, 37, 38
Shāh Jahān Nāma, 8
Shāh Jahān's architecture, 142
Shāh Muḥammad, Khwaja, 23, 24
Shāh Murtaza, 75
Shāhnāma, 130, 181
Shāhnāma, by mir yaḥyā, 258
Shāhnāma, of Firdausī, 8
Shāhnāma, of Mughal Dynasty, 94, 98
Shāh Nawāz Khān, 1, 39, 67, 68, 76, 84
Shāh Ni'matullāh Feruzpūri, 253
Shahr-Ashīb (شہر ظوب), poems of Bedil, 242-243
Shahr-e-Sabz, ix, 106, 119, 120
Shāh Sa'dullāh Gulshan, see Sa'dullāh Gulshan
Shāh Sulaimān Phulwāri, Maulānā, 114
Shāh Waliullāh, 105, 266
Shāh Yaku Azād, 16, 17, 37, 251
Shāida, 33, 134, 161, 259
Shāikh Kabīr, 91
Shāikh Kamāl, 251
Shā'īr, Gūl Muḥammad Ma'niyāb Khān, 103, 113
Shākir Khān, 61, 93; see also 'Inayatullāh Mīr
Shākir Siddiqī, Gīkulām Husain, 178
Shama'-e-Anjuman, 77, 87, 96, 93, 103, 104
Shams-e-Bazīgha, 12
Shamsud Din, Faqīr, 206
Shāhul Iṣḥārī, 156
Shāh-e-Mulla Jāmī, 10
Shāqri, Khāzīr, 11, 12, 271
Sheba, Queen of, 214
Sheikhbūpūra, 70
Sher Khān Lodhi, 1, 2, 32, 40, 47, 51, 58, 61, 64, 68, 70, 75, 77, 78, 87, 88, 103, 106, 135, 144, 147, 249, 256, 260
Shiblī, Nūmānī, 33, 34, 129, 130, 135, 205, 206, 219, 223, 275, 276
Shiblī, Saint, 26
Shihābī, 'Alī Akbar, 33
Shīniyā of Bedil, 224
Shīniyā of Khāqānī, 224, 230
Soviet Middle Asiatic Republics, x
Sprenger, A., 3, 103, 104, 116, 189
Springer, 85, 86, 88
Sri Gopal Tamiz, 104
Sri Krishna, 55
Staff (La) of Bedil, 91, 112
Stages of Descent, 183
Stalinabad, x
State Publishing House of Fiction, Moscow, ix
Stephenson, J., 206, 207
Studies in Islamic Mysticism, 35, 41, 50, 154, 182, 192, 208, 235, 264
Subh-e-Gulshan, 75, 85, 86, 88, 98, 103, 104, 105
Sufi Betab, 114
Sufis, 154
Sufis of Islam, 185
Suhrawardi, Hasan, 4
Suhrab Raunaq, Mirza, 98
Sukhraj Sabqat, Lala, 85
Sulaiman, King of Iran, 268
Sulaiman Nadvi, Sayyid, Maulana, viii, 5, 11, 231, 232, 235
Sulaiman Shikoh, 19
Sultan Ahmad, Mirza, 178
Sultan Ibrahim, 109
Supplement of the Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum, 110, 273
Surat, 113
Surma-e-I'tibar, by Bedil, 51, 106, 119, 138, 255, 259
Susa, 101

T

Tabinda Gunabadi, 150
Tabriz, 252
Tat-shirahin Naghina, 90
Tahir Gilani, Hakim, 251, 252

Shiraz, 12, 129
Shirin, 281
Shirul Ajam, 33, 34, 129, 130, 135, 203, 206, 219, 223, 225, 226
Shiv Ram Haya, Lala, 85
Shujah, Prince, 13, 103, 271, 272 proclaims himself Emperor, 19, 20; Bedil's disparaging remarks about, 21
Shukrullah Khan I, Nawab, 57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67-73, 74, 75, 76, 81, 83, 85, 93, 95, 100, 121, 143, 190, 191, 194, 195, 197, 203, 205, 230, 235, 263, 273, 275, 280; Bedil's relations with, 58; his victories in Mewat, 62, death of, 80, Shukrullah Khan II, 93, 94, 107, 109, 189
Shushtery, A.M.A., 181, 213
Stalikot, 104
Siddiq Hasan, 77, 85, 86, 87, 96, 93, 103, 104, 105
Sikandarabad, 59
Sikandar, king of Bijapur, 65
Sikhs, 54
Similitudes, 50
Simai, Mount, 123, 159, 161, 186
Sirajud Din 'Ali, see Khan Arzu
Sirhind, 58, 77
Siyyar ul Mutaakhhirin, 98, 99, 100, 108, 109
Smith, Margaret, 79, 130, 154, 157
Socio-Economic Element in Bedil, 165-691
Solomon, Prophet, 101, 214
Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India, 68
Song of Lovers (Qasidatuna), 245, 246
Southern India, 213
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tažkirah-e-'Ulamā-e-Hind, 11, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tažkirah Nishtar-e-'Ishq, 1, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tažkiraatul Auliya, 26, 28, 50, 79, 132, 251, 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tehran, 127, 263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thānawi, Muḥammad 'All, 45, 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory of Creation, 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory of Creation, of Hindus, 55; of Muslims, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory of Emanation, 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thought, as basis of Reality, 214; as material of Cosmos, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Philosophical Poets, 285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigris, River, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tilism-e-Ḥa'irat, Bedil's Maṣnawi, 27, 46, 59, 72, 73, 84, 106, 119, 120, 121, 127, 133, 139-194, 195, 200, 218, 280, 281, 282; composed, 40; sent to Nawāb Shukrullah Khān, 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timūr Shāh, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirhut, 24, 258; Bedil in, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomb of Bedil, 113, 114, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tora, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcendence of God, 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transmigration of Souls, theory of, 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transoxiana, 107, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travels in the Mughul Empire, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuhf atul Ahbāb fi Tažkira tul Aṣḥāb, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūrān, 3, 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūrānī Beg, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūr-e-Kalim, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūr-e-Ma'rifat, 72, 88, 120, 121, 123, 127, 173, 174, 175, 194-205, 218, 280, 281, 282, 284; Bedil composes, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey, ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish Language, 3; Bedil's knowledge of, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ťūtī, Naṣīruḍ-Dīn, 156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
U

Udyagiri, 23
‘Ulema of Bihar, 12
Ultimate Reality, 17, 37, 240, 276
Ultra-Mughalites, 33
‘Umar, Caliph, 181, 235, 244
Universal Intellect, 156
 Universe, annihilation of, 54, 55
Urdu, 16, 145, 173
Urdu Language, x, 89, 114; indebted to Bedil, 179
Urdu Magazine, 5, 30
Urdu Poets, 179
‘Urft, Muhammad Jamāḥud Din, 130, 134, 135, 137, 176, 178, 219, 220 222, 224, 268
‘Ushshāq Nāma, 245, 246
‘Uṣmān, Caliph, 181, 235, 244
USSR, ix
Uzbek Academy of Sciences, ix
Uzbekistan, ix
Uzbeks, x
Uzlat, ‘Abdul Wali, Mir, 113, 114

V

Vāḥid, S.A., 178, 284
Vedanta terminology, 16, 55
Vernal Ode (श्वातु) of Bedil, 122, 187, 188
Verses by Bedil in Praise of an Elephant, a Horse, the Beloved, the Sword and Shab-e-Barat, 122
Verses in Turkish Language by Bedil, 122, 127, 128
Vishnu, 55

W

Wāḥid Mīrzā, 224, 225
Wāḥid Qureshī, Doctor, 260
Wāla Daghistani, 129, 145
Wālah of Herāt, poet, 27, 253
Wali Deccani, 69
Wali ʿUllah, 103, 266
Waqīʿat-e-Darul Ḥukūmat-e-Delhi, 115
Waqīʿat-e-Ālamgiri, 189
War of Succession, of Shāh Jahān’s sons, 19-22, 24, 38, 57
Wars of Succession, 19-22, 93, 99, 100, 108, 109, 165, 271, 272
Wāziḥ, Idrāṣt Khān, Mīrzā Mubārkullāh, 103, 134
Wazīr ʿAle ‘Asimabādī, 6
Weir, T.W., 232
Weir, T.H., 235
Western Civilization, vii
Works of Shākīr Siddiqi, 178

Y

Yad-e-Baiṣā, 1, 4
Yādgār-e-Ghālib, 173, 176, 260
Yaʿqūb Charkhi, Khwaja, 251
Yaʿqūb, Prophet, 181
Yaʿqūt, 101, 124
Yār-e-Parrān, Malik Nūrūd Din, Ḥaḍrat, 114, 115
Yaṣrāb, Magazine, 242
Yazd, 268
Yazdi, Niẓāmud Din Maḥmūd, 101
Yūnus, Prophet, 181
Yūsuf Husain, Khān, 94, 95, 179
Yūsuf, Prophet, 181
Yūsuf-ud-Din, 3
Yūsuf Zulaikha, 133
Index

Z

Zādul 'Ārifīn, 150, 262
Zafar Jang, Nawāb, Khān Jahān
Bahādur, 66, 67
Zafarnāma, 2
Zāhir Faryābī, 219, 220, 222,
223
Zakariya, Faiz Muḥammad
Khan, Sardār, ix

Zarb-e-Kalīm, 176
Zaṭallī, Mīr Ja'far, 89, 97
Zebua Nisā, Princess, 134, 258
Zohra garden, 51
Zuhūrī, Tūrshizī, Mullā, 33,
34, 130, 134, 147, 181, 185,
186, 256, 250, 262
Zulālī, 33, 134, 181, 269
Zulfiqār Khān, Nawāb, 76, 95,
96, 100, 272, 274
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Incorrect</th>
<th>Correct</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Footnote 8</td>
<td>Page 3 supra</td>
<td>Page 1 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Behar supra</td>
<td>Behar</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Footnote 6</td>
<td>Pages 12, 23, 26, 29 infra</td>
<td>Pages 16, 21, 23, 25 infra</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Page 11 supra</td>
<td>Page 9 supra</td>
</tr>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Footnote 2</td>
<td>Page 5 supra</td>
<td>Page 3 supra</td>
</tr>
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<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Page infra</td>
<td>supra</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Qalândar supra</td>
<td>See page 9 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>See infra</td>
<td>Pages 15, 17, 25 infra, 27 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>See infra</td>
<td>See page 15 infra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Page 33 infra</td>
<td>Page 23 infra</td>
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<td>Footnote 4</td>
<td>See infra</td>
<td>See pages 15-17, 25-27 supra</td>
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<td>Footnote 2</td>
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<td>See page 15 supra</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>See supra</td>
<td>See pages 15-17, 25-27 supra</td>
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<td>Footnote 4</td>
<td>See supra</td>
<td>See page 21 supra</td>
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<td>Naodhâna</td>
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<td>Footnote 1</td>
<td>See supra</td>
<td>See page 15 infra</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>see supra</td>
<td>See page 15 infra</td>
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<td>36</td>
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<td>See page 21 supra</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>شکیت حسن</td>
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<td>Footnote 1, line 18</td>
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<td>149</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>شکیت حسن</td>
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<td>149</td>
<td>Footnote 2</td>
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<td>149</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>pages 43 and 34 supra</td>
<td>pages 40 and 58 supra</td>
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<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>pages 133-5 supra</td>
<td>pages 131-33 supra</td>
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<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>page 119 supra</td>
<td>page 63 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>page 134 supra</td>
<td>page 155 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>pages 43 and 34 supra</td>
<td>pages 40 and 58 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>(The fair ones)</td>
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<td>173</td>
<td>Footnote 1</td>
<td>page 152 supra</td>
<td>page 152 supra</td>
</tr>
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<td>173</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>page 172 supra</td>
<td>page 172 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>page 190 supra</td>
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<td>„</td>
<td>page 190 supra</td>
<td>page 190 supra</td>
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<td>180</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>page 55 supra</td>
<td>page 55 supra</td>
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<td>„</td>
<td>page 171 supra</td>
<td>page 171 supra</td>
</tr>
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<td>181</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>page 45 supra</td>
<td>page 45 supra</td>
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<td>181</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>page 21-24 supra</td>
<td>page 21-24 supra</td>
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<td>last line</td>
<td>page 121 supra</td>
<td>page 121 supra</td>
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<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Footnote 1</td>
<td>page 60 supra</td>
<td>page 60 supra</td>
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<td>„</td>
<td>page 56 supra</td>
<td>page 56 supra</td>
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<td>„</td>
<td>page 81 supra</td>
<td>page 81 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>„</td>
<td>page 60 supra</td>
<td>page 60 supra</td>
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<td>„</td>
<td>page 91 supra</td>
<td>page 91 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>„</td>
<td>page 65 supra</td>
<td>page 65 supra</td>
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<tr>
<td>195</td>
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<td>page 91 supra</td>
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<td>202</td>
<td>Footnote 2</td>
<td>page 247 supra</td>
<td>page 183 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>page 35 supra</td>
<td>eternity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>Footnote 5</td>
<td>page 19</td>
<td>Ma'arif Library</td>
</tr>
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<td>19</td>
<td>p. 360 supra</td>
<td>rope-ladder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>Footnote 5</td>
<td>pages 180-2 supra</td>
<td>p. 265 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>page 68 supra</td>
<td>pages 129-30 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>Footnote 2</td>
<td>pages 47 supra</td>
<td>page 47 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Rood Tashke' 'Yar</td>
<td>Rood Yar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>page 47-9 supra</td>
<td>page 52 supra</td>
</tr>
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<td>222</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Qas'id</td>
<td>pages 183, 202-3 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>page 68 supra</td>
<td>pages 48-49 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>page 14 supra</td>
<td>page 10 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>Footnote 4</td>
<td>pages 247 supra</td>
<td>page 183 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>pages 283, 286 supra</td>
<td>pages 203, 213 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>Footnote 3</td>
<td>page 247 supra</td>
<td>page 121-2 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>page 170 supra</td>
<td>page 99 supra</td>
</tr>
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<td>231</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>page 142 supra</td>
<td>page 99 supra</td>
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<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>page 142 supra</td>
<td>men of integrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>page 133 supra</td>
<td>pages 21, 93 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>page 85 supra</td>
<td>page 67 supra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>page 133 supra</td>
<td>page 59 supra</td>
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<td>pages 26 supra</td>
<td>page 26 supra</td>
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<td>Footnote 1</td>
<td>page 39 supra</td>
<td>مصحف الإغوان</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>page 76 supra</td>
<td>page 27 supra</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>page 258 supra</td>
<td>page 53 supra</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>page 74 supra</td>
<td>page 185 supra</td>
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<td>page 33 supra</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>page 64 supra</td>
<td>page 51 supra</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>page 61 supra</td>
<td>page 93 supra</td>
</tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>page 60 supra</td>
<td>page 45 supra</td>
</tr>
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<td>258</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>pages 74, 348 supra</td>
<td>page 43 supra</td>
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<td>page 42 supra</td>
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<td>page 46 supra</td>
<td>pages 51, 256 supra</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>page 137 supra</td>
<td>page 77 supra</td>
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<td>263</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>page 113 supra</td>
<td>page 95 supra</td>
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Note: The table above represents a listing of errors in a text, showing the incorrect version on the left and the corrected version on the right. The corrections include changes in text, page numbers, and annotations.
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