

'KITAB-I-NAURAS

By

Ibrahim Adil Shah II

Introduction, Notes & Textual Editing

By

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Foreword

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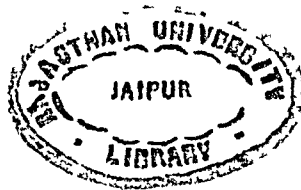
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Secretary Sangeet Natak Akademi

1956

Price Rupces Fifteen

Published by
BHARATIYA KALA KENDRA
5-B, PUSA ROAD
NEW DELHI



Printed by
THE CAXTON PRESS
PRIVATE LTD
CONNAUGHT CIRCUS
NEW DELHI

PREFACE

Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur and his work *Kitab i Nauras*, have so far been mere names to our historians and musicologists. The scholars were no doubt aware of the existence of a few manuscripts of the work in various libraries but they were not readily available. Dr Nazir Ahmad has secured and carefully edited a manuscript and has written a detailed historical introduction to it. I have no doubt that this will be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the history of musicology in our country.

Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah was no freak child of Indian history. A talented ruler, he represented the same historical forces in the South which the Great Akbar represented in the North. His generous tolerant and fruitful reign not only embodied but helped to carry forward a great cultural renaissance that was taking place in our country during his time.

It was a period of renaissance, not only of music but of all arts. Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah himself was interested in architecture, painting, calligraphy, music, poetry etc.

In our efforts to rediscover our country's cultural heritage we have been devoting more attention to architecture, painting and other forms of art. Very little has been done in the field of music. Take for example the age of Akbar

We know more about the architecture and painting of the time than about Tansen and the musical upsurge of the period. The same is true of the time of Ibrahim Adil Shah in Bijapur. The wonderful monuments of his time remain there for all to see. The fine paintings of his period adorn various museums and a few of them have been reproduced in scholarly works of research on Indian painting. But *Kıtab-ı-Nauas*, which contains the songs he wrote, has not seen the light of day so far. It is being published for the first time.

In this work, songs composed by Ibrahim Adil Shah have been given in Urdu and Nagari scripts with their English renderings. Care has been taken to verify and correct the text by consulting all available manuscripts.

All these songs were meant to be sung, and were sung. But due to the vicissitudes of history and lack of any system of notation we have lost their *Gayaki*. However, from the poetic content of the songs we do get an idea of what moved the musicians of his time.

Ibrahim belonged to an age of *Dhrupad* to which the illustrious Tansen had already made his contribution. Emperor Jahangir and the musicologists of the period had recognised him as a great *Dhrupadi* of the age, who had not only popularised *Dhrupad* but made his own contribution to it.

The traditional *Dhrupad* has four stages—*Sthayi*, *Antara*, *Abhog*, and *Sanchari*. Sultan Ibrahim's compositions had only three stages—*Sthayi*, *Antara* and *Abhog*.

It is noteworthy that *Khayal* which acquired dominance in the subsequent historic period has only two stages—*Sthayi* and *Antara*. Thus, it can be presumed that the *Dhrupad* compositions of Sultan Ibrahim were a transitional stage in the evolution of *Khayal Gayaki*.

It is hoped that some of our musicians will make serious efforts to set to music Ibrahim's compositions, bearing in mind the stage of development and other peculiarities of his time.

From this work we get to know, in an authoritative manner, of the musical instruments in use in those days and of their relative importance and

varying popularity. Once again, our loss has been great, because the style of playing (*Bay*) is not known.

Sultan Ibrahim's historic importance in the musical heritage of our country consists in the fact that he helped in the creation of a style of Hindustani music in the South and nourished a school at Bijapur, the region where Karnatik music flourished. It may be recalled here that after the collapse of the Vijayanagar Empire most of the great Hindu musicians of the South had come flocking to Ibrahim's court. It would be a very interesting and useful subject of study and research to investigate what effect the Bijapur school had on Karnatik music in the South. I hope competent research workers would make an effort in this direction. I am sure that the publication of *Kitab-i-Nauras* would pave the way for such a venture.

Sultan Ibrahim not only took Hindustani music to the South but was also instrumental in spreading Arabic and Iranian culture in that region. As a great patron of art, his fame had travelled far and wide and poets and artists had come rushing to his court from Arabia and Iran. Many of them made our country their home and thus contributed to the enrichment of our culture.

Persian was the dominant court language of the times and the Muslim rulers recognised Persian as the vehicle of creative literature. Just as in Akbar's court Muslim poetic talent took to Hindustani as their medium of expression so also Ibrahim himself wrote in *Deccani*—the Hindustani as it grew in the Southern regions. A careful study of the language of *Kitab-i-Nauras* would also help us to study the historic evolution of Urdu, Hindi and Hindustani.

Dr. Nazir Ahmed in taking up this work has done a piece of pioneering research. I have no doubt that this will be received with due appreciation. As is the case with all works of this nature the result is bound to provoke controversies which would only strengthen our common efforts to rediscover and understand better our national cultural heritage. I myself do not agree with a few observations made by Dr. Nazir Ahmed. But this is no place to discuss them.

The manuscript had to be rushed through the press and this has resulted in quite a few technical imperfections which will be corrected in the second

edition I earnestly believe that in view of the rich fare offered in this book the readers will overlook the annoyance caused by these imperfections

In conclusion I would like to express my gratitude to Bharatiya Kala Kendra for giving me this opportunity to pay my homage as a humble devotee of music to Ibrahim Adil Shah, the Musician

I would also like to thank the Caxton Press and especially Shri Bankelal for the unstinted help and co-operation at all stages of the production of this book

NIRMALA JOSHI

FOREWORD

I have great pleasure in introducing this learned monograph by Dr Nazir Ahmad on *Kitab : Nauras* composed by Ibrahim Adil Shah (A D 1580—1627) the most cultured king of Bijapur and a true devotee of Saraswati who is not only the goddess of learning but of fine arts. She was regarded as a "Kala devata" or goddess presiding over Kalas or fine arts* as the commentator Yasodhara informs us in his commentary on the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana. The *Kamasutra* refers to the temple of Saraswati (Saraswati Bhawan) where the artistes gave performances on specific days.

The Bharatiya Kala Kendra of Delhi is verily a Saraswati Bhawan where an image of Saraswati ought to be installed and worshipped by all votaries of learning and fine arts. As a student of the history of Indian Culture I have always entertained the highest regard for all genuine votaries of fine arts and have published a few papers pertaining to the history of these arts though I am not an artiste in any sense of the term. It was this regard which has tempted me to write this Foreword to the present monograph on *Kitab : Nauras* in response to the request of Miss Nirmala Joshi the Secretary of the Sangeet Natak Akademi and the General Editor of this publication. Though not competent to evaluate the contents of the *Kitab : Nauras* pertaining to music I can heartily bless its publication on the strength of the clear exposition of its contents.

vide p 51 of *Kamant a* Ed. by J edarnath Bombay 1900

संस्कृती च सागरवाद्या विद्याव्याप्तुः ऋषिर्देवता ।

An encyclopaedic history of Indian music based on all known sources is still a desideratum. Many books and articles bearing on the different aspects of Indian music have already been published. Sanskrit scholars writing about music generally take note of all known Sanskrit sources. The non-Sanskrit sources which may have influenced the course of Indian musical theory and practice, especially during the late mediaeval times, should also be taken note of by these writers. In this connection the development of music under the patronage of the Bijapur king, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, as reflected in his book *Kitab-i-Nawās*, is noteworthy. All lovers of Indian music will be grateful to Dr. Ahmad for the labour spent by him in giving us a complete picture of the development of fine arts, and music in particular, under the paternal care and guidance of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, who was rightly called "Jagadguru" by his Hindu subjects. Art knows no barriers of caste, creed or race and the unstinted patronage given by this Bijapur king to the votaries of art, amply reveal his spirit of tolerance, not to say his highest regard for artistes irrespective of their caste, creed or race.

It is only in recent years that the history of Indian Culture, ancient and mediaeval, is receiving attention in our Colleges, Universities and Research Institutes. The old conception of history which confined itself only to the political and dynastic history is now widened by the addition of cultural history which gives flesh and blood to the dry bones of the dynastic history of a region or nation. The work of the historian of Indian Culture will be greatly facilitated by monographic scholarly studies like this which provides a veritable paint-box to the historian to draw a colourful picture of Indian Culture as it developed in the Deccan during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II.

The *Kitab-i-Nawās* or *Nawās Nama* embodies a collection of songs composed by Ibrahim Adil Shah II. These songs were intended to be sung in the melodies of Hindustani music. Possibly the author of these songs wished to introduce the nine *Rasas* (*Nauras*) of Indian literature among the Persian-knowing Muslims not conversant with Sanskrit language and thereby rouse various sentiments in the minds of those who happened to sing these songs. This collection of songs bears ample testimony to the attempt of the Adil Shahi Sultans of Bijapur to bring about a cultural renaissance in the Deccan with universal and popular appeal by the fusion of Hindu and Muslim

cultures It was a noble attempt with a lesson of its own for all Hindu and Muslim thinkers of today

The total number of songs of the *Kitab i Nauras* is fifty nine only Most of them deal with Saraswati Ganesa and other Hindu deities Some songs allude to incidents in the domestic and private life of the Sultan Dr Ahmad has closely examined the merits of this book

In concluding this brief Foreword I must not fail to convey my best thanks to Miss Nirmala Joshi for giving me an opportunity to read this learned monograph and also to Dr Nazir Ahmad for his labours on the *Kitab i Nauras* which have considerably added to my scanty knowledge of the history of Indian music I now join with Ibrahim Adil Shah in his homage* to Saraswati in song No 37

Saraswati is white Jasmine flower, Ibrahim having put on a garland bows his head before her and offers his prayers

27th June, 1956

P K GODE

* This homage reminds us of our usual prayer to Saraswati in the following stanza

या कुन्देन्दु तुषार द्वार पवना या शुभ्रनस्यावृता
या दीयावरदण्डमण्डितवरा या स्वेत पद्मासना
या ब्रह्माच्युतशरप्रभृतिभिर्वै सन्ना वन्दिता
सा मां पातु सरस्वती भगवती नि शेषनाम्थापहा ॥'

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The *Kitab-i-Namas* attracted me ever since I began to work on Zuhuri in 1940. Thereafter I gradually nourished the idea of giving a practical shape to the book which till then was only a collection of scattered pages. The difficulty of the task and the extent of the labour involved, however, made me postpone the work for a long time until Professor Syed Husan Askari sent me a copy of the Bankipur MS of the book, which gave me a fresh impetus to take up the task. Later, I succeeded in obtaining a copy of the Rampur MS. Soon after, the President of the Central Records Office, Hyderabad, sent me a photograph copy of his valuable MS free of cost as a token of his deep interest in the advancement of learning and research. In 1952, I obtained copies of six valuable MSS preserved in Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad Museum, and Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Then I plunged into the laborious task of comparing and collating various MSS of the book and after one year, succeeded in preparing a critical version of the text both in Persian and Devanagari scripts with an English translation. The Introduction dealing briefly with the political and cultural history of the period of Ibrahim Adil Shah II and various aspects of the book and the glossary gave the final shape to the work.

In spite of great efforts I have not been able to decipher quite a large number of words and phrases. I would also like to mention that my interpretations of what I could decipher, should not always be taken as final. They

are intended only to serve as an aid to the study of this interesting book which demands serious attention of the scholars of music and literature

Lastly I would take this opportunity of expressing my sense of gratitude to Dr T N Devare (Poona) Prof B D Verma (Poona) Prof Syed Husan Askari (Patna) Dr B D Trivedi (Lucknow) Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad (Hyderabad) Mr Nazir ud Din Ahmad (Hyderabad) Prof Husam Ali Khan (Hyderabad) Mr S K Pande (Nizam College) and Mr Gyanı (Bombay) who through their unsparing assistance and voluntary collaboration equally shared with me the pleasure at various stages in bringing out this book I would fail in my duty if I do not express my thanks to Miss Nirmala Joshi Secretary Sangeet Natak Akadami, New Delhi whose profound interest in and love for Indian music made the publication of this book possible My sincere thanks are also due to Mr N C Jain of the Sangeet Natak Akadami who in my absence from India saw the book through the press

In conclusion I crave the sympathetic consideration of the reader for such errors as might have crept in the present edition and cordially invite constructive criticism

May 1 1956
The University Club
Tehran University
Iran

NAZIR AHMAD

CONTENTS

	PAGE
General Editor's Preface	i
Foreword by P K Gode	v
Acknowledgements	viii
Introduction	1—94
Ibrahim Adil Shah & His Age	1
Literature	14
Art	27
Architecture	40
Music	46
The <i>Kitab-i-Nauras</i>	55
Text	95—127
Notes on the Text	128—147
Vocabulary	148—160

نو در کج حاکم میر و مسار
 کلد حور حاکم کار و انکار
 خواهی که بر ارباب آرزو رسد

A p g fr il M qqa i Adil
 Sh hi By i te y f t e il te
 f Sal J M e i H y l e b a l



Ib hm Adl Sh h th N a
 l ph t By t y f t l il ti
 f S l J g M s m H s d b d

CONTENTS

	PAGE
General Editor's Preface .	i
Foreword by P K Gode	v
Acknowledgements	viii
Introduction ..	1—94
Ibrahim Adil Shah & His Age ...	1
Literature	14
Art .	27
Architecture	40
Music	46
The <i>Kitab-i-Nauras</i> . .	55
Text	95—127
Notes on the Text .	128—147
Vocabulary ..	148—160

لو در کجایم و میسر

گلد حور و حمان و از تالان

خواهی که ترا لب از لب رسد

A page f m il Mu aqq Ad l
 Sh h B y c t y f il a th u
 f S l a j M Hyd bad



Ib h m Ad l Sh l t l N a
 l ph t B y t y f il a th t
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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

۱۰

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

۱۰

ابول

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A p g f o m M S b B y
e u t e y f t h e a u t h i t e s o f
S l a y g M i e u n H y d e r a b a d

کتاب کتب سوری و جوامع

در سالی سما و عتیدان

در سالی سما و عتیدان

پیشانی سرب کھول آیت

پیشانی سرب کھول آیت

پیشانی سرب کھول آیت

A p g f m M S B y u t s y f
P f H Al Khan Hyd b d

پیشانی سرب کھول آیت

۱۱۱
 کتاب اوی سکه منجانبان
 ارا پیر شیخ مونیجان
 ایوانا ناوی ریحانی

A page from MS c By courtesy of the authorities of Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad

کتابت سدری کینی جادی
 تمام کتبی
 کتابت ہوشیوشینا
 رام کزی کا کینی کتبی
 کیا سو کتبی کتبی
 الامرحصہ ت الامرحصہ ت
 امامت اسکا رسد امامت اسکا رسد

A page from MS f By courtesy of the authorities of Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad

INTRODUCTION

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH AND HIS AGE

THE period comprehending the 16th and the first few decades of the 17th century is very significant in the history of Indian civilization and culture. This period is chiefly characterised by the fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures and a unity of indigenous and foreign principles. In the North through the efforts of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan, we come across a very pleasant picture of the social and religious structure. The Deccan, however, did not lag behind; instead it acted as a forerunner to the North in bringing a revolution in the social and religious orders of the time. But unfortunately the efforts of the rulers of the Deccan aiming at this cultural advancement have not been fully appreciated by the scholars and the historians.

The monarchs of the Deccan particularly the Adil Shahi Sultans attempted to evolve a distinctive culture based on a unity of indigenous and foreign traditions which resulted in the transformation of the entire fabric of common life of the people. Ultimately they succeeded in bringing about a cultural renaissance in the Deccan with universal and popular appeal.

As in the North the role of the Rajputs in this respect will ever be held in high esteem so the loyal support of the Marhatis for consolidating the Adil Shahi Kingdom and thereby contributing immensely to the evolution of a mixed culture will ever be appreciated by the posterity. Several Adil Shahi Sultans had great regard for and were sympathetic to the customs and traditions of their subjects. They secured the services of the Marhatis and other Hindus as army chiefs, administrators, financial experts, architects, painters and musicians etc. and lavishly rewarded them for their skill and ability. A few of these rulers were even devotedly attached to Hindu religious customs and traditions. For example Ibrahim Adil Shah II was much criticised for his devotion to the Hindu gods and goddesses, the chief of whom being Saraswati, the goddess of learning and knowledge and Ganpati, the god of wisdom and intellect. His knowledge of Hindu history and mythology and subsequently his adoption of the title of the *Jagat Guru* (the World Preceptor) are clear indications of his catholicity and religious tolerance. He is stated to have surpassed his predecessors in extending

his patronage to Hindu artists, painters, architects, musicians and dancers etc besides those employed in the political¹ departments. Consequently, he succeeded in effecting a cultural revival in Bijapur in view of which he should justly be regarded as one of the brightest luminaries on the firmament of Indian culture and civilization.

Politically, the long reign of Ibrahim II is not of much importance, and his achievements in this respect would hardly claim for him a place worth anything among the Indian monarchs. He succeeded to the throne² at a time when the Mughals had completed their plan for subverting the Deccan monarchies and though the combined efforts of Ibrahim Adil and Malik Ambar of Ahmadnagar saved them, for some time, from complete destruction, yet it was merely a temporary phase. At the time of his succession he was only nine. A regency was thereupon set up with Chand Bibi, the widow of Ali Adil Shah, as chief regent entrusted with the care and training of the young Sultan. Kamil Khan, an officer of high standing took upon himself the charge of the state affairs, but very soon he gave offence to the queen by his haughty and insolent behaviour. Consequently, in a vain attempt to oust the chief regent, he himself was deposed and killed by Kishwar Khan. Though Kishwar Khan manoeuvred to get the appointment of the successor to Kamil Khan, he could not prove himself a better substitute as a consequence of which his star could not long be in the ascendant. The nobles of Bijapur in consultation with Chand Khatun, appointed Mustafa Khan Ardistanî, governor of Bankapur, to supersede him. But Kishwar Khan, getting news of this, sent off a force against Mustafa which murdered him. Then he prevailed upon the queen to proceed to Satara, where she was imprisoned. On hearing the news of this daring and impudent behaviour, Ikhlas Khan, who was engaged in a battle against Nizam Shah, proceeded towards Bijapur only to find Kishwar Khan gone. The latter had made for Ahmadnagar whereupon he fled for life to Golconda only to be slain there.

¹Antu Pandit, apparently a Maharashtrian who held an important post in the Government, was the most famous of them all. He was a trusted noble and a good diplomatist. When Ibrahim Adil sent his presents to Akbar through Asad Beg in 1603, Antu Pandit accompanied the Mughal envoy to Agra whence he returned only in 1608 (*Tuzuk*, Vol 1, p 78, *Potdar Commemoration Volume*, pp 190 and 192). Ibrahim is stated by Asad Beg to have called in the aid of some Brahmin diplomats when the latter was heard to leave Bijapur without least delay (*Ibid* p 188). From Firishtah we learn that towards the outset of the Sultan's reign Rasu Pandit was appointed as *Mustaufi-ul-Mumalik* (Chief Secretary of State) but was soon killed by Ikhlas Khan.

² For the details of the political history of the reign *vide* Firishtah's history, Vol II, pp, 47-92, Rafiuddin's *Tazkirat ul-Muluk*, pp 261-365, Fuzuni's *Futuh-at-Adilshahi*, pp 1-377, Zuhur's *Mohammad Namah*, (relevant portions), Zubairi's *Basatin-us-Salatn*, pp 152-282.

Kishwar Khan's deposition was followed by Chand Bibi's release from the Satara Fort and Ikhlas Khan's ascendancy to power. His reign, however, marked by invasion from without and civil strife within which spelled disaster to his authority and he was deposed. Abul Hasan was appointed to succeed him but very soon he was imprisoned by the Abyssinians, the chief of whom being Dilawar Khan. Subsequently in A H 990/1582 the latter succeeded in overthrowing and imprisoning both Ikhlas Khan and Hamid Khan, the rival candidates for the post of the prime minister.

Dilawar was the most dominating personality. He wielded much more influence over the state, the king and the queen than any one before. He even meditated dethroning Ibrahim and putting his brother Ismail in his place, but the plot was unearthed and Dilawar fell into disgrace. But within a short time he regained the favour of the Sultan. His rule is marked by the establishment of a peaceful administration within the state. He also succeeded in upholding the cause of Adil Shah against the neighbouring states by entering into matrimonial alliances with them. In A H 995/1587 Ibrahim consented to marry Chand Sultan, properly known as Malka-i-Jahan of Golconda and to give the hand of his sister Khadija Sultan in marriage to Miran Husain son of Murtaza Nizam Shah the ruler of Ahmadnagar. Despite all this the star of Dilawar could not be in ascendancy for long. In A H 997/1589 the forces of Ibrahim Adil were defeated by the Nizam Shahi armies, the sole responsibility of which fell on the shoulders of Dilawar. The young Sultan who was very much tired of overbearing behaviour of his minister could not tolerate the disgrace and accordingly the latter was dismissed from his post. Dilawar Khan fled to Ahmadnagar wherefrom he again returned to Bijapur only to be imprisoned.

After disposing of Dilawar in A H 998/1590 the young Ibrahim resolved to act independently and appointed Rumi Khan to help him in discharging the administration of the state. In A H 1000/1592 another Abyssinian slave Ikhlas Khan was placed in charge of *mali* affairs, while three years later Shah Nawaz Khan Shirazi (then only Umid Khan) was appointed as the chief minister. These two officers served their masters for a long time, the former even outlived him, having throughout been loyal and faithful not only to Ibrahim but also to his son Muhammad Adil.

The plot to dethrone Ibrahim and to place his brother Ismail on the *masnad* came to a head under the leadership of Ain ul Mulk and Ankus Khan who succeeded in capturing the fort of Belgaum and proclaiming Ismail as king. But this rising was suppressed by Hamid Khan. Ain ul Mulk was put to death and Ismail was blinded and imprisoned, and subsequently died the same year.

Ibrahim Adil Shah being, for the time, relieved of inside and outside worries, took upon himself the business of civil government and, we are told, he was so assiduous in its execution that he heard and disposed of petitions and attended the public *darbar*. Four years later Ibrahim Adil conceived the idea of transferring the seat of government from Bijapur to a pleasant spot four miles to the west of the city where a new city, Nauraspur, was being built. But the idea was eventually abandoned

The last thirty years of the reign of Ibrahim are insignificant in so far as no incident worth mention occurred within the state. But externally the period is of much significance. It coincided with the ascendancy of Malik Ambar at Ahmadnagar and the Sultan of Bijapur, first of all, tried to have amicable relations with him and as a result of their combined efforts the Mughals could not completely sack either of the Deccan monarchies. But subsequently Ibrahim severed his connexion with Malik and entered into alliances with the Mughals as a consequence of which the astute Ambar invaded Bijapur and after defeating the combined Mughal and Adil Shahi forces, besieged Bijapur and later on sacked Nauraspur only three years before the Sultan's death

During the greater part of this period Shah Nawaz Shirazi was at the helm of affairs. He was helped by Ikhlas Khan in the discharge of financial and civil administration of the state. Towards the closing years of Ibrahim's rule Mulla Muhammad Lari, a good statesman and a notable commander, seems to have replaced him. Mulla Muhammad was killed in A H 1033/1624 on the occasion of the siege of the fort by Ambar

On the eve of the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah, Ikhlas Khan was the premier of the state; Diyanatul Mulk Shirazi (a near relation of Shah Nawaz Khan), with the title of Shah Nawaz Khan, was in charge of *Kar-i-Mulki*. The third dominating personality was Aminul Mulk Aqa Riza Shirazi who was in charge of the financial and military affairs. He was so dear to the king that the latter always called him as Nawab Khan Bhai.

Ibrahim's relations with Qutb Shah and Nizam Shah

The long reign of Ibrahim was contemporaneous with many rulers of Ahmadnagar. During the first eight years of his rule, Murtaza Nizam was on the throne of Ahmadnagar. The first year of his rule was marked by internal quarrels particularly the deposition of Kamil Khan, which was followed by a civil strife among the nobles who fought within the palace precincts. This gave an opportunity to Nizam Shah and Qutb Shah to revive their hostility with

Byapur At this juncture Afzal Khan Shirazi marched against them with a formidable army and defeated each opponent before they could combine together. Very soon Murtaza Nizam got an opportune moment. On the deposition of Kishwar Khan, there was a great internal insurrection in Byapur for possession of the office of *Vakil*. Murtaza strengthened by the forces of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (the young Sultan of Golconda) invaded the territory of Byapur. They laid a siege on the fort of Shahdarg but subsequently they raised the siege and advanced towards Byapur. The Adil Shahi forces being scattered and the nobles busy in their tussle for power, no resistance was offered to the enemy and Byapur was invested. But the confederate forces could make little impression upon the city and were forced to raise the siege. The Nizam Shahi forces retreated but Qutb Shah planned to capture Gulbarga. In the meantime Dilawar Khan marched towards Gulbarga to meet the Qutb Shahi forces and in a battle the latter were utterly defeated leaving behind much booty.

At this period Dilawar Khan had risen to power. He thought of having amicable relations with the two neighbouring states. With this object in view he prevailed upon his master Ibrahim, to consent to get his sister Khadija Sultan married to Miran Husain of Ahmadnagar and to marry Malika-i-Jahan of Golconda. From this time onwards the Qutb Shahi armies are not seen invading Byapur territory. But with Ibrahim's alliance with Ahmadnagar other problems cropped up.

Towards the close of Murtaza's reign, he developed lunacy and manoeuvred to kill his son Miran Husain, whom he had already imprisoned in Daulatabad. Mirza Husain the Nizam Shahi premier aimed at dethroning Murtaza and placing Miran Husain on the *masnad* which he did with the help of Dilawar Khan. But the young Miran acting on the advice of his minister killed his own father which resulted in a civil strife and bloodshed in the capital. Ultimately Miran Husain was killed and was succeeded by Ismail Nizam son of Burhan. Ibrahim Adil espoused the cause of Burhan against his son, Ismail and his supporter, Jamal Khan. Dilawar Khan was despatched with an army which with the Mughal and Khandesh forces succeeded in defeating Ismail and placing Burhan on the Nizam Shahi throne.

In the meantime Dilawar having been deprived of his office fled to Ahmadnagar and was accorded a welcome by Burhan. He was so ungrateful to Ibrahim that instead of sending Dilawar back he sent a huge army at the latter's instigation against Ibrahim. The ruler of Byapur did nothing but only got Dilawar Khan captured through a clever trick and subsequently sent a force fourteen thousand strong under the combined command of Rumi Khan and Ilyas Khan

The latter forced the Nizam Shahi army to retire which subsequently marched on Sholapur. The Adil Shahi forces blocked the way and ultimately a battle was fought in which the Nizam Shahi army sustained a heavy defeat. Thereupon Burhan concluded a treaty with Ibrahim.

Burhan violated the terms of the recent treaty when he sent an army to espouse the cause of Ismail against Ibrahim Adil. But before the rebels could coalesce with Nizam Shah, they were captured and the rising was quelled. But very soon Burhan sent another force against Ibrahim at the provocation of the ruler of Vijayanagar. The Nizam Shahi forces sustained a defeat, the news of which was so alarming that Burhan fell seriously ill and subsequently died. Then his eldest son, Ibrahim, succeeded to the throne. Treating certain Bijapur envoys with insult, he forced Ibrahim Adil Shah to take the field against him. In an action that was fought in the closing month of 1003/1595, the ruler of Ahmadnagar was killed.

Upon the death of Ibrahim Nizam, the nobles of Ahmadnagar differed greatly in the selection of his successor. Mian Manjhu and Ikhlās Khan espoused the cause of Ahmad Shah but it was shortly revealed that he was not the direct descendant of the ruling dynasty. Meanwhile the Mughal forces laid siege on the fort of Ahmadnagar for the first time. During this period Chand Khatun appeared on the political arena of Ahmadnagar. It was she who had successfully managed the affairs during the unsettled conditions which had followed Ibrahim's death. She now resolved to defend the fort against the Mughals which she did so gallantly that the latter were forced to conclude a treaty on fair terms. Now Ibrahim Adil, too, became interested in Ahmadnagar affairs and very soon, through his efforts, Ahmad Shah was substituted by Bahadur Shah. Upon this there was again a civil broil among the nobles. Chand appealed to Ibrahim Adil to restore order which he did in A.H. 1000/1597. The Mughals finding the moment opportune invaded Ahmadnagar for the second time in A.H. 1006. Although the campaign lasted long, yet the fort at last fell to the Mughal forces in A.H. 1008/1600. In the meantime the noble lady was shamefully put to death by the treacherous nobles of Ahmadnagar. Subsequently Malik Ambar rose to power and he made common cause with Ibrahim. It was the combined efforts of Ambar and Ibrahim which saved for some time the Deccan monarchies from complete destruction. The later course of events saw the alliance of these two dominating personalities of the Deccan; but they soon fell out and Ibrahim joined hands with the Mughals, thereupon Ambar was so much enraged as to invade the Bijapur territory and to defeat the combined Mughal and Adil Shahi forces. Subsequently he marched on Bijapur; the

ruler of the place put no resistance to the astute Malik who sacked and plundered Nauraspur on which occasion the notables of the forces were either killed or made prisoners. The Adil Shahi commander, Mulla Muhammad Lari, was also slain then. The triumphant Ambar, however, died the following year.

Ibrahim and the Mughals

While such skirmishes were going on between Bijapur and the neighbouring states a cloud was gathering in the North which was destined to grow and to bring down a storm. By 1590 Akbar had conquered the whole of the Northern India the Deccan only had remained a field for his aspirations. He had ultimately resolved to annex the Deccan Kingdoms. At first he tried to persuade the rulers of Golconda, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Khandesh to accept his suzerainty¹. But when this attempt failed, he took recourse to arms. Though the Emperor had to sacrifice his son, prince Murad (and thereafter the third son, prince Daniyal, an event which proved so fatal as to bring an early death of the Emperor) at the altar of Deccan conquest yet he did not budge an inch. He penetrated into the Deccan and before the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Khandesh fell to the Mughal forces the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda had been anxious to conciliate Akbar. Ibrahim Adil first sent a gift of a valuable ruby and used supplications. So also did Qutb Shah. They had wished that some persons might be appointed from the court to allay their fears³. In response to this gesture on the 12th Bahman⁴ A.H. 1009/1601 Sharif Sharmadi was sent as an envoy to Bijapur with excellent counsels⁵. Successively on the

¹ In 1591 four envoys were sent to each of these kingdoms. Mir Mohammad Amin Mashhad was appointed as an ambassador to Bijapur (*Fisihat* Vol I p 267) but in *Akbar Nama* the envoy's name appears as Mir Mohammad Rizvi (Vol III p 597).
Akbar Nama (Vol III p 782)

Ibid

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ *Ibid*. But the *Batin us Salatin* (pp 254-255) states

Sharif Sharmadi was sent to Bijapur with such lofty designs and sublime message as had deafening effect upon Ibrahim. It seems the Emperor had demanded an annual tribute from the Sultan. But Dr P. M. Joshi on the basis of the same authority points out that Akbar also collected a tribute (Asad Beg's Mission to Bijapur *Potdar Commemorative Volume* p 185 foot note 11). Dr Joshi further states that Sharif's Mission was to allay the fears of the Sultan (of Bijapur and Golconda) and to assure that the Emperor had no aggressive designs against them (*Ibid*). He again claims that Sharif was sent there in response to the gestures of the Sultan of Bijapur in shape of offering his supplication and in consenting to give the hand of his daughter in marriage to prince Daniyal (*Ibid*). Some points however must be cleared at this stage.

() Sharif had arrived in Bijapur before the marriage was proposed. Mir J. M. Luddin, who was sent some months after, was appointed to arrange the proposed marriage.

(b) Sharif was not sent to Golconda either. *Akbar Nama* (Vol III p 782) informs that different person, M. Sued Beg, was appointed as an envoy to Golconda.

29th¹ Isfandarmuz Mir Jamal-ud-Din Husain Anju² was sent off to Bijapur for asking³ the hand of Adil Shah's daughter⁴ for prince Daniyal. But the offer was pending⁵ and the Mir had been⁶ long at the court of Ibrahim at Bijapur enjoying fat allowances from the latter. The Mir's behaviour in prolonging his mission and his excuses for further delay⁷ gave a chance of much annoyance⁸ to Akbar who deputed Asad Beg⁹ in 1012/2603 to bring back Jamal-ud-Din with the promised bride. The new envoy performed his mission so well that not only the marriage was¹⁰ arranged in Ahmadnagar but he succeeded in prevailing upon Ibrahim Adil to make a gift of his choice elephant, Chanchal¹¹, to the Mughal Emperor with gold ornaments weighing ten

¹ *Akbar Namah*, Vol III, p 785

² Elliot and Dowson, Vol VI, p 162, pronounce it as Inju. They claim on the basis of Asad Beg's account that since Ibrahim had professed himself as a follower of the Emperor, it was thought to exalt him by uniting his daughter with prince Daniyal (*Ibid*)

³ Abul Fazl (*Akbar Namah*, Vol III, pp 785, 823 and 827) and Asad Beg (*Potdar Commemoration Volume*, p 185) claim that Ibrahim himself petitioned that his daughter might enter the prince's harem. But *Firishtah* (Vol I, p 271) and *Basatin* (p 255) point out that the proposal came from the Mughal side. Since in A H 1009/1601 Ibrahim's daughter was hardly above eight, it is difficult to accept the former's view point (Vide *Firishtah*, Vol II, p 67, where it is stated that the first son born to Sultan's wife in 1000/1592 died after two months)

⁴ Her name was Sultan Begum (Vide *Firishtah*, Vol I, p 271 and *Basatin* p 255) But Dr Joshi has written Begum Sultana and Sultana Begum (Vide *Potdar Commemoration Volume*, pp 185 and 195, vide also *Akbar Namah*, translation p 1176 f n where the name appears as Begum Sultan)

⁵ Both the father and the daughter were unwilling to accept the proposal (*Ibid* p 186) May be the age of the daughter was another cause

⁶ Over three years and seven months

⁷ *Potdar Commemoration Volume*, p 186

⁸ *Ibid*, *Akbar Namah*, Vol III, p 823, Elliot and Dowson, Vol VI, p 163

⁹ But the *Akbar Namah* gives a different version, Vol III, p 823

¹⁰ "As Mir Anju had been long at Adil Khan of Bijapur's court, H M became aware of the latter's craftiness and issued orders to Prince Daniyal and the Khan Khairat to the effect that he would come to the Deccan and by chastisement awaken the slumbering Adil Khan. These orders were entrusted to Inayatullah Kitabdar. When he conveyed them to the prince, the latter sent him on to Adil Khan and wrote him a letter of advice" (Beveridge's translation, p 1234)

¹¹ Asad Beg arrived in Bijapur in Shaban 1012 and left for Ahmadnagar in Ramzan 1012 with the bridal party. The marriage was finally solemnised near Panthari (or Patan) on the banks of Godavari in Safar 1013 ("Asad Beg's Mission to Bijapur"—*Potdar Commemoration Volume*, pp 190, 194, 195)

¹² The Sultan has alluded to his chief elephant, Atash Khan, in the *Kitab-i-Nauras* (vide songs Nos 7 & 9). He has referred to the fact that he is separated from his dear elephant. But there is nothing to show that Atash Khan was identical with Chanchal and songs depicting his pangs of separation were composed on the occasion of the elephant's having been granted as a gift to the Emperor of India.

Asad Beg has referred to the fight of Chanchal with Giranbar after he started on his second mission in 1015/1604 and to an ugly dispute which so vexed the Emperor that his slight indisposition proved fatal (Elliot and Dowson, Vol VI, p 138). But according to Jahangir (*Tuzuk*, Vol I, p 199) he gave the title of Giranbar to one of the finest elephants, Bakht-i-Baland, sent as a gift to him by Ibrahim Adil.

It is strange that Akbar is stated to have written a very mild letter to the ruler of Bijapur (Elliot & Dowson, Vol VI, p 163 and *Potdar Commemoration Volume*, pp 190-191) in which he showed his willingness to restore to him a place, Gwalior by name. But the way in which Ibrahim had received the envoy and his *farman* indicates the fear the latter had of the Mughal Emperor.

maunds prepared within a short duration of ten days. The other valuable presents which caught the Emperor's attention were one Huni Nauras¹, nine other huns, one piece of Nine Ibrahim nine Khan nine Laris and nine coconuts.

The details of Asad Beg's mission to Bijapur indicate Ibrahim's extra caution to avoid Akbar's displeasure and thereby to protect himself from falling a victim to the victorious Mughal arms, even at the cost of wounding his self-respect and honour.

Asad Beg was next appointed² envoy in 1013/1604 to the four provinces of the Deccan to collect fine elephants and rare jewels available there. He proceeded on his mission but on reaching Ujjain the news of the sudden demise of his master was conveyed to him. He however went to the Deccan but was soon recalled by Jahangir.

Upon the death of Akbar Ibrahim heaved a sigh of relief. He however seems to have sent an envoy at the time of Jahangir's coronation. But very soon the Sultan of Bijapur joined hands with Malik Ambar of Ahmadnagar and consequently sent a force ten thousand strong to intensify the latter's activities against the Mughals. Again in A.H. 1017/1608 when Ambar was in action against the Emperor's forces Ibrahim sent fourteen thousand horsemen for the former's support³. As a consequence of these alliances the Mughal forces were repulsed twice. But alarmed at the growing prowess of Ambar, Ibrahim ultimately deemed it essential to have alliance with Jahangir and on the former's request it was suggested that the Khan-i-Jahan⁴ should be sent as an envoy to Bijapur. Antu Pandit who had accompanied the Adil Shahi presents sent to Akbar was allowed to return to Bijapur with the above Khan. Subsequently Ibrahim Adil is heard of making requests in the beginning of A.H. 1019/1610 to Jahangir to send Husain Anju⁵ as a Mughal envoy to the court of Bijapur who was asked to proceed on his mission on the 16th Urdi Bihisht of the same year. Husain Anju with other Bijapur envoys arrived at the seat of Ibrahim Adil on the 22nd Shaban and was accorded a warm reception. But the latter's loyalty could only be confirmed till 19th Ramazan 1020/1611 when Jahangir received a letter⁶ from Khan-i-Azam of the same purport.

Huni Naura was a coin devised by Ibrahim Adil

It will be judged from this fact that he suggested to his daughter to entertain and feast the Mughal envoy more than once (*Poind Commemoration Vol. III p. 188*)

Elliot & Dowson V I VI p. 154

Batin us Salatin pp. 265 & 267

Tuzuk V I I p. 78

Ibid pp. 85-86

Ibid p. 100

In A H 1021/1612 Ibrahim sent an envoy to Jahangir offering his submission. Two years later Bakhtar Khan visited the court of Jahangir at Ajmer in Darwish's cloak, and the latter, having realised his status and mission, gave him a warm reception. The envoy had the proud privilege of attending on the Emperor during night hours and singing to him Ibrahim's compositions contained in the *Kitab-i-Nauyas*. The honour which Adil Shah's envoy received at the court might be judged from this single fact that the expenditure of his four months' stay amounted to a lakh of rupees¹. The same year another ambassador from Bijapur, Sayyid Kabir, was sent to the Mughal court, his visit, though very short², went a long way to strengthen the relations of Adil Shah with the Mughals. The latter course of events saw Ibrahim's encounter with Malik Ambar with a view to recapturing portion of the Mughal territory from the latter and restoring it to prince Khurram who was so well impressed as to prevail upon Jahangir in procuring the title of *Farzand*³ for the ruler of Bijapur. In A H 1026/1617 on Jahangir's visit to Burhanpur, Ibrahim sent Bakhtar Khan and Sayyid Kabir with valuable gifts, who were allowed to return to Bijapur in Zi-Qadah, 1027/1618. The two envoys are again heard of receiving due honour from the Mughal Emperor, at whose hands the latter sent his portrait to Ibrahim Adil⁴ in response to his previous request through prince Khurram.

The Mughals⁵ after over 25 years' continuous efforts ultimately succeeded in wielding the supreme command of the Deccan. During this period the most dominating personality in the Deccan, besides Ibrahim Adil, was Malik Ambar

¹ *Ibid* pp 134, 142, but it is strange that Dr Moti Chand has misrepresented the fact (*Marg*, Vol V (I), p 24). It is incorrect to claim that in 1614 Ibrahim was staying at Lahore and that he met Bakhtar Khan there and gave his brother's daughter in marriage to him and appointed him his teacher. If he was really the Sultan's teacher, he must have taught him earlier. Dr Moti Chand is again mistaken in stating that on account of Jahangir's kind treatment of Bakhtar, Ibrahim began to show favour to the Mughal envoy, Mir Jamaluddin, by keeping him beside him and by reciting his own (Ibrahim's) composition to him (Mir Jamal)

² *Ibid* pp 147-148

³ *Ibid* pp 192-193

⁴ *Tuzuk*, Vol II, pp 245-246

⁵ The Mughal influence over Ibrahim will be judged from the following account of Pietra Della Valu, an Italian, who travelled in India in 1623-24, towards the closing years of the reign of Ibrahim. "But indeed *Adil Shah* fears the Mughal, yet he fears and observes him so much that he pays an annual tribute, and when the Mughal sends any letter to him which is always brought by some very ordinary Soldier or Slave, he goeth forth with his whole army to meet the latter and him that brings it, who being conducted to the Palace sits down there, whilst *Adil Shah* stands all the time, and the letter being lay'd upon a carpet on the pavement, before he offers to put forth his hand to take it up, he bows himself three times to the earth, doing reverence to it after their manner"—*Architectural Remains in Bijapur*, p 14 (F N)

who had previously defeated the Mughal forces with heavy loss. But subsequently he also sent his envoy Ali Sher to the Mughal officer Mahabat Khan in A.H. 1032/1623 to express his obedience and devotion. He was, however, not to accept the Mughal suzerainty at any cost. In a competition for becoming the sole custodian of the affairs of the Deccan both Ambar and Ibrahim approached the Mughal officer to obtain Imperial assistance and so triumph over his enemy. Mahabat Khan would not turn down the request of the latter who had been on friendly terms with the Mughals for over fourteen years. Though Ambar was sorry to lose the Imperial support, he was not dejected at all; he decided to overrun Bijapur territory. Meanwhile Mulla Muhammad Lari, the chief minister of Bijapur, proceeded to Burhanpur to look after the affairs of the place in the absence of Mahabat Khan who had left for Allahabad. It was on this opportune moment that Ambar, having plundered Bandar, marched on Bijapur. We have already seen how he defeated the combined Mughal and Adil Shahi forces and thereafter carried destruction and desolation to the very walls of the capital. Nauraspur, the new city, not then completely walled, fell an easy prey to his arms and was plundered and ruined.

Character and Achievements of Ibrahim II

The historians lost in the details of the political history throw hardly any light on the cultural and artistic achievements of the liberal prince of Bijapur, who patronised learning and the fine arts and who was passionately fond of music and song. His own accomplishments in various branches of fine arts had won him the title of *Jagat Guru* which he had received before completing the 30th year of his life. As a result of the title, which was a mark of recognition of his excellences in various aspects¹ of his life, all persons—poets, writers, politicians, calligraphists, musicians—attached to his court were looked upon as his pupils. According to Zuhuri, the Sultan took upon himself the responsibility of imparting instructions to his pupils with a view to rendering service to humanity and to appreciating learning and scholarship.

¹ But Ibrahim's own line suggests that the title was obtained because of his accomplishments in music.

ابراہیم گانے بجانے پر جنگ جنگ گورو نام محبوب خطاب مانے۔

While Smith ascribes it to something fantastic. He was tolerant to men of all faiths at his court and it is said that his partiality for Hindus led his Muslim subjects to give him the title of *Jagat Guru*. (World Precedent) *Oxford History of India* 1923 p. 296

The term was subject to alteration. Sallams calls the Sultan as *Jagat Guru* and this same term appears on the flyleaves of two manuscripts of the *Kitab-i-Nauras*. But the Sultan has used the term for the Prophet of Islam.

Ibrahim Adil Shah was a poet and critic of no mean order. He composed both in Persian and Dakhani under the pen-name of Ibrahim. Unfortunately no example of his Persian compositions¹, except two lines composed on two different occasions, is available. But his Dakhani poems² are contained in the *Kitab-i-Nawās* about which we shall speak later. The book is a collection of songs intended to be sung in various tunes of Hindustani music, but they are very imaginative and poetic and the book may be regarded as a beautiful poetical composition of great merits. The book reveals Sultan's skill in music and also his knowledge of Hindu mythology and tradition and of Sanskrit and allied languages. We may have a glimpse of his progressive views on poetry and various other aspects of literature in the writings of Zuhuri and other poets of his court. The following examples are quoted to illustrate the same.

“He has repeatedly said that an author must first weigh his words, for there are many a construction to and from which, though not a word is added or subtracted, yet the meaning sits with fresh glory on a chair of word by a slight alteration. He has commanded to pick up the stones of hard words from off the path of discourse and has forbidden to use those to which the hand and foot of understanding may not find a way owing to their subtlety and equivocation. Examples of this sort have been repeatedly heard from him”³.

“One day some verses were being read in praise of a fat leopard and dispraise of a lean horse. Some twenty-three meanings with suggestive similes were given by him in a most impressive manner. One he uttered was that if the leopard was not tied to the pegs of his own spots at a hundred places with the chains of his veins and sinews, the animal would quickly leap away from his own skin. The other was that the horse was so weak and feeble that if, during the time its picture was being painted, there was a slight shake to the pen, the horse would fall to the ground”⁴.

According to Zuhuri, the Sultan, though below thirty, held the literary sittings in the library (situated within the precincts of the royal palace in

¹ From Firishtah (Vol II, p 80) we learn that, when in A H 1603/1595, Shāh Nawaz Khan was appointed *Vakil*, he so arranged that the Sultan himself used to read the reports which were sent to the capital. Gradually he developed a taste for Persian and within a short time he could study the important works in Persian and could speak it like a Persian. But Asad Beg in his *Waqai* (“Asad Beg's Mission to Bijapur”, *Potdar Commemoration Volume*, p 191 and Elliot and Dowson, Vol VI, p 152) states that Ibrahim Adil Shah understood Persian very well, but could not speak, and if at all, broken. It is strange that this account is about six years later than that given by Firishtah above. One line from one of his *ghazals* is quoted in the *Subh-i-Sadiq* and the other line appears along with a portrait.

² Ibrahim is reported by Asad (*Ibid*) to have occasionally spoken in Marhati. This shows that he was an adept in Dakhani, Marhati and Persian, but he seems to have developed more liking for Dakhani.

³ *The Sih Nathr*, p 20

⁴ *Ibid* pp 40-41. For his progressive views on all forms of verse *vide* pp 54-55

Bijapur) where all the scholars sat together and had deliberations on literary topics. The greatest masters took it as a proud privilege in calling themselves as Sultan's pupils and in adding profits to themselves by his deliberations. He is stated to have written a treatise on chess, but we have no knowledge about its language and other details. This further reveals the Sultan's fondness of this particular game. The writings of the scholars of his reign fully endorse the above. For example Zuhuri speaks about the Sultan's accomplishments in chess in these words¹

'The blessed heart (of the Sultan) takes immense delight in spreading the chess board. And even the cautious players have not been able to play more than ten or twelve games at a time while in the aforesaid treatise there are plans according to which even thirty to forty games can be arranged and played simultaneously.

It was on this account that the poet happened to compose eighteen *rubais* extolling his skill.

Ibrahim Adil's excellence in painting may well be judged from the following line occurring in Zuhuri's *Sih Nathr*

In painting he is superior to the accomplished artists in the same proportion as he is to the beloveds. But we have nothing concrete to form a definite view about his skill in this important branch of fine arts.

The contemporary *Majmaul Gharab* have spoken very highly of the Sultan's achievements in the art of penmanship. Its views have fully been endorsed by the later historians. Firishtah too speaks of his early training in calligraphy (Vol II, p 48)

It is stated that he was well versed in various styles of Persian calligraphy particularly in Naskh Suls and Nastaliq hands. Zuhuri's composing eighty three *rubais*² and one long *qasidah*³ extolling the Sultan's success in the art of calligraphy, fully establishes the latter's elevated position in this art.

Among other things of Sultan's interest was the game of birds and beasts. He went hunting on his favourite elephants the names of two of which Atash Khan and Nauras Paikar, are still preserved. He tamed the falcons and parrots. Zuhuri has composed several *rubais* in praise of Sultan's interest in these birds. His taste for keeping choicest elephants and jewels is fully confirmed by the fact that Akbar sent a special envoy to demand from him the famous Chanchal elephant which was accordingly presented. The three choicest elephants with

¹ Ibid p 56

² The *Basit n us Salatin* p 275 and the *Fatihah Adil Shahi* p 367

³ *Illyyat i Zuhuri* pp 646 651

⁴ *Ibid* p 46 *Vid* also the *Sih Nathr i Zuhuri* pp 58 60

⁵ *Ibid* pp 659 60

many others which the Sultan subsequently presented to Jahangir were¹ Sarnak, Mahupat and Bakht-1-Baland. Amongst the fruits he liked mango most ; so he arranged for its special varieties. The writings of the poets of his court fully exhibit the Sultan's interest in it. His garland made of jewels attracted the poets so as to compose poems for it. These formed a part of Sultan's dress, as is proved by some of his portraits which have come down to us. Of his special guitar, Moti Khan, we shall speak in detail later on. He also used to take a kind of intoxicating preparation called, "Phelonium Romanum". Zuhuri and Malik² did not let it go unnoticed. We find a number of poems in their *diwan* in praise of the same³.

Ibrahim Adil Shah's Patronage of Arts and Letters

Ibrahim lived in the scholarly atmosphere of poets, musicians, artists and architects, who having been attracted by the liberality of the Sultan, flocked round the seat of government. His appreciation and patronage had been so much reputed both at home and abroad that within a short time eminent scholars, learned theologians, wise statesmen, skilful musicians, ingenious artists migrated to Bijapur to receive honour and reward beyond expectation at the hands of the ruler of the place, with the result that, through their generous contribution to various branches of learning, they succeeded in evolving a cultural renaissance at Bijapur which was not inferior to that of the North.

I LITERATURE

Persian—General

It is an established fact that Persian literature produced in India during the later half of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century is in no way inferior to that of contemporary Persia. The conscious and unconscious efforts of the Mughal emperors and of the Dakhani rulers played an important role in bringing about a literary revival in India. Under their fostering care, a number of poets and scholars played a prominent part in the development of Persian literature in the Indian sub-continent and we are proud of the splendid heritage left by them.

It has been stated more than once that the pivot of the literary activities was the personality of Ibrahim Adil II who was superior to all the monarchs of the Deccan in respect of personal attainments as well as in appreciation of art and

¹ *Tuzuk*, Vol I, pp 196-199

² Manuscripts of their *Kulhyyat*, pp 663-64 and foll 17-18

³ A description of Bijapur as given by Asad Beg in the *Waqai* (*Vide* Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol VI, pp 163-164) and by Zuhuri in his *The Sih Nathr* (pp 8-9) would reveal the Sultan's musical and festive activities

letters Attracted by the brilliance of his court scholars and poets from Persia and Iraq and even from other parts of India, migrated to Bijapur The general tendency of the Safawi monarchs of Iran to treat indifferently the poets and scholars went a long way in enriching these courts They made their way to India to earn here a decent living in return of the recognition of their scholarship Since the easiest route was through the sea the Deccan monarchies stood more chances of attracting the migrating scholars

Prior to Ibrahim's rule Ahmadnagar was not a less significant literary centre But after the death of Murtaza Nizam Shah the seat of the capital became a prey to broils from within and invasions from without There had occurred distasteful massacres many times within the precincts of the royal palace in which most of the foreign scholars inhabiting Ahmadnagar were killed The rest of them were forced to leave the city As a result a great number of them made their way to Bijapur On the occasion of the great killings at the hand of Jamal Khan in A H 998/1590 about 300 persons fled to Bijapur for their life During the short rule of Ibrahim Nizam when Ikhlas Khan thought of killing the foreigners, a large number of men including scholars and skilful men arrived in Bijapur Zuhuri and Malik happened to come at this time¹ In short, owing to these remote and immediate causes the court of Bijapur became a great centre of learning and scholarship

The poets and writers of his court may be classed under two heads the minor poets that is to say, those who either on account of their lesser abilities or because of the shortage of the duration of their stay, did not contribute much towards the literary revival of Bijapur, the second class would comprise those who by their active participation in the literary activities, have left a deep impress upon the Persian literature in general

Minor Persian Poets

1 Mir Hasan Askari of Kashan came here from his native town and spent about eight years in Bijapur and Golconda Ibrahim Adil Shah wished him to stay in his court but the poet did not give his consent

2 Rashid of Qazwan was a minor poet who wrote under the *nom de plume* of Nauras He has been briefly mentioned in the *Arafat ul Ashuqin*² and subsequently in the later biographies and six lines from his *ghazal* are quoted in the

¹When R f ud Din Shahi who had gone to settle the Nizam Shahi affairs returned to Bijapur about twenty thousand men of all classes accompanied him to Bijapur where they received due honours (*Basatin us S lati* p 243)

²The *Majkhanah* pp 477-491

³Fol 781

former. It has been stated in the *Majma-un-Nafais*¹ that his pen-name is also the result of the popularity of term during the reign of Ibrahim Adil. But he contributed nothing towards the literary activities which would claim for him an elevated rank in the file.

3 Aqa Muhammad Namı of Tabriz² was a poet and musician of the court of Ibrahim. At first he was with the Khan-i-Khanan but subsequently he went over to Bijapur and got an easy admittance at the Adil Shahı court. The *Maathur-i-Rahimi* speaks very highly about his skill and attainments

4 Maulana Fahim was Shah Nawaz Khan's panegyrist. He is seen composing a *qasidah* on the occasion of a son's birth to the above Khan in A H 1010/1602, ten lines of which are quoted by Firishtah³.

5 Abdul Qadir with the pen-name, Naurasi, seems to have kept it only after the popularity of the word 'Nauras'. He has been claimed as an eloquent poet in the *Basatin-us-Salatin*⁴, but no specimens of his writings have come down to us as to fix his comparative position among the poets of the court of Bijapur

6 Muhammad Rıza Shakebi, the panegyrist of the Khan-i-Khanan, who hailed from Isfahan, is included among the court poets of Bijapur by Nasiruddin Hashimi. His only claim was that he happened to come to India in the company of Sadullah Shirazi (who figured more brilliantly in the history of Bijapur under the title of Shah Nawaz Khan) and is stated to have arrived in Chival⁵ in 995/1590. But it is not known whether he arrived in Bijapur or not, even if it may be supposed that he arrived here, his stay would be quite nominal on the ground that in the beginning of the year A H 999 when the Khan-i-Khanan was engaged in an action against Muzza Janı, the poet was in Sind

7. Abu Talib Kalım's attachment to the prince of Bijapur was not on a permanent basis. Despite his compositions extolling the Sultan, he could not be classed with the court poets of Bijapur. His presence in Bijapur and even stay for some time is further proved by a chronogram which he composed on the death of Malık in A H 1025/1616

8 Mention should be made of Khwajah Ahmad with the pen-name of Fani, a native of Dahdar in Shiraz and a pupil of Shah Fathullah of Shiraz. He came to India and settled at Bijapur during the regime of Alı Adil I. It is stated in the *Mahbub-uz-Zaman* (p 887) that on the occasion of Shah

¹ Fol 496

² The *Maathur-i-Rahimi*, Vol III, p 1600

³ Firishtah, Vol II, p 78

⁴ *Ibid* p 250

⁵ Firishtah, Vol II, p 78

Fathullah's leaving for the Mughal court Fani too left the Adil Shahi court and proceeded to Ahmadnagar. Since Shah Fathullah was some time with Ibrahim Adil, Fani's attachment to the latter's court though for a very short time is evidently proved.

In Ahmadnagar Fani came in contact with the learned theologian Sheikh Najafi and other notable scholars of the Nizam Shahi court of whom Zuhuri Malik, Zihni and Firishtah are significant. Burhan Nizam II is stated to have lavishly patronised him. He died in A. H. 1016/1607 at the age of 69. He is the author of many works both in prose and verse.

Leading Poets and Writers

1. Zuhuri¹ whose proper name was Maulana Nur ud Din was born in Qain and not in Turshiz as is popularly known some time about A. H. 943 44/1537. He received his early training in his native town and then proceeded to Yazd with a view to competing with the outside world. He stayed there for a long time in the company of Mir-i-Miran and held poetical competitions with Wahshi. From there he made his way to Shiraz about A. H. 979/1571 and stayed at this centre of learning for seven years. In A. H. 988/1580 he is stated to have left for India and arrived in Ahmadnagar in the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah who warmly received him. Subsequently he gained the favour of the King and busied himself in composing songs in praise of Murtaza Nizam, his ministers Salabat Khan and Mirza Naziri and many other nobles of the court. He also sent some poems extolling Khan-i-Khanan and received favours from him.

Zuhuri composed his *Saqi Namah* in praise of Burhan Nizam I who ruled from A. H. 999 to A. H. 1003 and was abundantly rewarded by this liberal patron. After the latter's death the poet left Ahmadnagar for Bijapur about A. H. 1004/1596 and got an admittance into the Adil Shahi court to which he had been attached until his death in A. H. 1025/1616.

Though Zuhuri died at an advanced age of over eighty the last twenty five years are more significant in respect of his literary activities. Of the voluminous *kulliyat* of his works comprising more than thirty thousand verses of all forms, besides the prose writings the larger part was completed during this period of his life. His Bijapur compositions would not amount to less than fifteen thousand verses. It was here that he composed poems parallel to Nizam's *Makhzan-i-Asrar* to Sadi and Wahshi's reputed *saqi namahs* to Hafiz and Sadi's *ghazals* and to Zahir Anwari and Khaqani's *qasidas* in most

cases, at the instance of the ruler of the place. Besides these, he wrote a large number of other poems in praise of the Sultan and his minister, Shah Nawaz Khan and many other nobles of the court. The *Sih Nathr* which is considered to be the best type of ornate prose, was completed at Bijapur. In short Zuhuri's rich contribution to Persian literature at Bijapur was mainly due to Ibrahim's appreciation and patronage to scholarship and learning.

2 Maulana Malik's career and achievements run almost parallel to those of Zuhuri, his son-in-law. Born at Qum about A. H. 934/1528, he left it for Kashan at an early age and stayed there for not less than twenty years till he attained the age of about forty-eight years. During his stay at this important centre of learning Malik came into the file of the poets of first order. Here he must have been favoured by Haider Muammai and improved much in the company of Muhtasham and Zamiri and subsequently entered into poetical competitions with the notable poets of the place. From Kashan, the poet made his way to Qazwin and stayed there for four years. Here again he is seen indulging in literary competitions with the poets of whom Shani Taklu is stated to have satirised him most bitterly. He left Qazwin for India in Ramazan A. H. 986/1578 and arrived in Ahmadnagar a year later during the reign of Murtaza who favoured the poet beyond expectation. The next year his life-friend and son-in-law, Zuhuri, also arrived in India and from this time their parallel literary activities begin. Malik is also known to have written poems for the same patrons and on the same occasions as Zuhuri. His poems in praise of Murtaza, Salabat Khan, Burhan Nizam and Khan-i-Khanan are still preserved in his *kulliyat*. During his long stay of seventeen years at Ahmadnagar Malik produced a large number of poems of all verse forms besides a *diwan* of *ghazals* which had been completed before his arrival in India.

On the death of Burhan, Malik left Ahmadnagar for Bijapur and found an elevated rank among the literary figures of the place where subsequently he and his son-in-law were destined to shine most brilliantly in the galaxy of Bijapur poets. Then he engaged himself in contributing richly to the Persian literature. The result was that within a comparatively short period of twenty years he composed so many poems as form more than half of his present *kulliyat*. His Bijapur productions comprise poems of various forms written mostly at the instance of Ibrahim Adil, with a view to rivalling earlier masters of the art. For example, besides his prose treatises and the two joint anthologies, the *Gulzar-i-Ibrahim* and the *Khwan-i-Khahl*, his *Manba-ul-Anhar* is parallel to Nizam's *Makhzan-i-Asrar*, his *tarji bands* are similar to those of Sadi and Wahshi and a number of *ghazals* and *qasidas* are on the model of Anwari,

Khaqani, Sadi, Hafiz and others In short Malik did not lag behind in richly contributing to the development of the Persian literature during the regime of Ibrahim Adil at Bijapur

3 Muhammad Hashim Sanjar of Kashan son of the illustrious Mir Haider Muamm was the third shining orb on the horizon of literary firmament of Bijapur He was born in Kashan about A H 980/1572 and received his early education and training by his father While quite young he happened to go to Isfahan twice once at the tender age of seven or eight and again about A H 996/1588 when he stayed there for about two years It is stated in the *Arafat ul Ashuqin* that from Isfahan he made his way to India about A H 1000/1592 but the *Maathir* shows that on the eve of his departure for India he was present at Kashan Biographers differ widely about the place where he arrived first In all probability on entering India he went to Sind and stayed there at a time when it was annexed by Akbar and Mirza Jani was appointed as its governor He composed poems in praise of Jani and his son Ghazi From Sind he went to the Mughal court some time before A H 1009/1601-2 where he received due favour from the Emperor Akbar and accordingly composed many poems in his praise He was also patronised by prince Salim and prince Daniyal and even by prince Khusrav each of whom has been emphatically eulogised by the young poet Besides these several nobles of the Mughal court extended their patronage to him But unfortunately he was ultimately imprisoned by the Imperial order and was sent to the Rajah of Gujerat and at length, after a year or so some time about A H 1013/1604 Mirza Aziz and the Rajah became instrumental in securing his release Then he proceeded to Bijapur where a number of his town fellows were also staying and he was treated very kindly by the Sultan of the place

Sanjar enjoyed the favour of Ibrahim upto the closing year of his life and accordingly he composed various panegyrics and threnodies in praise of the Sultan and his minister Shah Nawaz Khan Subsequently the ruler of Bijapur received a message from Shah Abbas of Persia to send Sanjar back to his native land Ibrahim Adil consented and was making arrangements for the poet's departure when all of a sudden the latter fell ill and breathed his last in A H 1021/1612 Sanjar's beautiful and eloquent poems composed in Bijapur should be deemed as a valuable contribution to the stock of Bijapur literature of the period He is also stated to have attempted to rival Nizami by imitating the *khamseh* But only one *mathnavi* without a title is preserved in his *kulliyat* which might be termed as *Khusrav o Shurrin* His *saqi namah* and one *tariq band* have certainly been composed in a spirit of competition

All these are his Bijapur productions the credit of which goes to the talented prince of the place

4 Baqir of Kashan is another poet who has contributed in no small measure towards the revival of Indo-Persian literature under the regime of Ibrahim Adil. He was the younger brother of the more significant bard, Maqsud Khurdah Farush and was born at Kashan some time about A H 960/1552-3 where he was brought up and received his training in poetry from Muhtasham of Kashan. Besides poetry he excelled in calligraphy and his success in this art has been very much appreciated by his friend and well-wisher, Taqi of Isfahan. He learnt this art from such an eminent calligraphist as Mir Muiz-ud-Din of Kashan who had no equal in this branch in his own time. During the early part of his life he entered into poetical competitions with Fahni and Hatim. But in A.H. 1000/1592 he was imprisoned by the order of Shah Abbas on the charge of having leaning towards the faith and teachings of Mir Sayyid Ahmad Khan Kashi. Subsequently, on the recommendation of the author of the *Maathu* and his elder brother, the governor of Kashan, he was released from his confinement in the closing months of A H 1001/1593. He was then attached to the Nawab Farhad Khan, the prime minister, and was placed in charge of the Nawab's library to which post he stuck for about two years. Then he proceeded on a sacred journey to the holy shrines and stayed in Karbala and Najaf for about two years wherefrom he returned to his native town and stayed for about a year. Subsequently he bade farewell to his motherland and arrived in Bijapur where he stayed for over twenty-seven years until his death in A H 1034/1626.

At Bijapur the poet got his admittance into the Adil Shahi court and was ultimately placed in charge of the royal library of Bijapur. It is strange that the poet could not keep amicable relations with such a generous patron as Shah Nawaz Khan, the prime minister of the Sultan. Despite this he enjoyed a peaceful life and like all other Bijapur poets he also contributed his mite to literature. He composed a *mathnavi* in imitation of the *Makhzan-i-Asrar* at the instance of Ibrahim Adil and wrote two *tari* bands, one parallel to that of Wahshi and the other to that of Sadi.

5 Haidar-i-Zihni was the last luminary in the galaxy of Bijapur scholars. Born at Kashan in a well-to-do family, he began to compose poems very early. But he was indifferent to eulogising worldly personages and thereby to flattering their vanity, so he adhered to *ghazal* writing. But in this respect he did not progress much for he wasted his time in various pursuits and did not stick to studies. He was an expert in various indoor games and was a ready wit.

Besides poetry he excelled in painting and portrait making. Being a humorist and a man of pleasing temperament he was more successful in humorous *ghazals*, specially in the dialect of Kashan. His *ghazals* though few are very elegant and chaste.

In his native town Zihni was closely associated with Sayyid Rukn ud Din Masud who ultimately proceeded to India and resided at Ahmadnagar. Zihni too after some time followed suit and renewed his associations with Masud at Ahmadnagar where he stayed probably until its siege by the Mughals. Thereafter he proceeded to Bijapur where he was so honoured that his receptive dictums and poisoned shafts of wit were all worth in gold. It is stated that on one occasion he received a reward of one thousand gold pieces for a pen picture of the Sultan.

Although he does not seem to have contributed to the Persian literature yet certain very pleasing incidents are related about him in which the healthy literary atmosphere at Bijapur is evident.

These were some of the poets who were busy in adding immensely to the existing stock of Persian literature. Ibrahim's laudable efforts in encouraging poetic compositions on the models of some popular works of old masters of the language will be appreciated by the coming generations. We have already seen that Malik and Baqir's poems modelled on the lines of Nizami's *Malhazan* and Sanjar's poem based on the model of Nizami's *Khusraw o Shirin* are still preserved. This proclaims to the world the literary service rendered by the gifted Sultan of Bijapur. Zuhuri's poem though no longer extant is still fresh in our memory. Zihni's witty *rubai* concerning Malik's poem reflects upon the scholarly intercourse seasoned with delightful talks and wits. It further goes to prove the developed taste of Ibrahim that he ordered his court poets to compose poems parallel to Sadi and Wajshi's *saqi namahs*.

Ibrahim's devotion for Persian literature and his reverence for the Persian poets of the earlier period is to be judged by this single fact that he sent two thousand gold *mohurs* for the reconstruction of the tombs of Sadi and Hafiz. The fact has vividly been described by Malik in his *Manba ul Anhar*. Examples of such liberal patronage of scholars and appreciation of learning and scholarship and of heavy rewards for the poets and scholars are not commonly found in the literary history of Persia. Once on the occasion of the composition of the *Gulzar-i Ibrahim* the benevolent prince sent to its joint writers Malik and Zuhuri so many gold *mohurs* that they had to engage several camels to carry them. Again when Malik completed the *Manba ul Anhar* the poet was awarded gold pieces equal to one camel's load. The other Bijapuri poets also

received generous rewards for their similar compositions. But Zihni composed only the following quatrain when asked to compose a poem in imitation of the *Makhzan-ul-Asrar* .

“Oh, Emperor of the Deccan! excuse me if I did not compose (a poem parallel to) the *Makhzan* in your praises. It is a pity that only to extract gold of one camel’s load I should have the blood of two thousand bad lines on my neck ”

The line confirms the amount of reward which Malik received from his patron. It is also known that the liberal prince bestowed an equal amount on Zihni. Once the Sultan was so pleased with Zihni’s repartee as to order for the payment of gold to the poet for his brilliance of humour in the manner of Abjad system of reckoning for all the set phrases the author put to use. It is further reported that the same poet got one thousand gold pieces for composing a caricature of his patron which caused Malik to narrate the event under a sub-head in his *Manba-ul-Anhar* which finishes on this verse .

“A king who can afford to purchase abuses willing, may prove the highest bidder for purchasing words of his own praises.”

Historical Literature

Ibrahim’s services to the cause of historical literature are commemorable. Firishtah’s history, entitled *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* or *Nauras Nama*, which occupies an elevated rank amongst the historical annals both with regard to details and authenticity of facts as well as the special charm of its style, was written at the instance of the Sultan of Bijapur. The great statesman and scholar, Rafi-ud-Din Shirazi prepared his *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* and the abridgement of all the six volumes of the *Rauzat-us-Safa* and the seventh volume of the *Habib-us-Siyar* in response to his master’s wish. Mulla Zuhur’s (Zuhuri’s son’s) completing his voluminous history of the reign of Muhammad Adil under the title of *Muhammad Nama*, only fourteen years after Ibrahim’s death, will also give a credit to the latter.

Another work of the same period which needs introduction is *Mayma-ul-Gharab* written in A H 1027 in Bijapur and dedicated to Ibrahim Adil Shah. The book deals very briefly with the wonders of the world in respect of climes and regions. Its author, Muhammad Harun Abdus Salam with the pen-name, Salami, was a native of Khash, a minor place in Persia, who left his native town for India after A H 1000 through the sea route. Subsequently he arrived at Dabhel wherefrom he wished to make his way to the capital. But owing to the commotion caused by the rebellion headed by Ain-ul-Mulk and Ankus Khan, all

the passages were blocked. Consequently he got himself enlisted as a soldier and arrived at Bijapur and was fortunate enough to gain the favour of Ikhlas Khan who extended his patronage to him. The book could not be popular. Its original manuscript prepared in A H 1027 in the hand of the author himself is preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

Dakhani Language and Literature

Ibrahim Adil Shah was a versatile scholar. He aimed at enriching the stock of the Persian language which being both the court language as well as the language of those who wielded much political influence in Bijapur and elsewhere had greater claims than any. But he was sympathetic to Dakhani and earnestly wished to render valuable service so as to bring it to the level of a cultured and developed language. It was but natural on the part of one who was more inclined to prefer and even to some extent adhere to the local and indigenous principles. In all probability he must have felt it in the core of his heart that the domination of foreign influences whether political or cultural and social was undesirable but he could have found no effective solution to check it. However he adopted some effective measures to check the centuries old dominance of the foreign order. We learn from Firishtah that he usually spoke Hindustani (Dakhani)¹ and only on specific occasion he spoke Persian though spoke it so well that every one would take him for a Persian. Thus his leanings towards and sympathies for Dakhani which was probably his mother tongue should not be taken as unusual and strange. It was one of the reasons that he composed his songs only in Dakhani and not in Persian. These songs further display the same command over the subject and the language as could be expected of a gifted native.

Though towards the close of the 16th century Dakhani was in its evolutionary process yet books both in prose and verse were being written in it from earlier times. But unfortunately we are not aware of the poets and scholars of the reign of Ibrahim who chose to produce works in Dakhani. Dr Zor in his *Urdu Shah Pare* and subsequently Hashimi in his *Dakhani Makhtutat*² have unequivocally claimed that amongst a large number of Dakhani writers the most conspicuous were Atashi Muqimi, Nuri and Amin and that Muqimi's *Chandrabadan o Mahiyar* and Amin's *Bahram o Husn Banau* are still preserved. Amin was essentially an elegy writer but none of his poems have come down to

¹ V I II p 80. But Mughl Invoiy Asad B g points out th t he spoke M r h t i and could not p k Persi n w ll (*Potdar C m n m rat n Volum* p 191 and Elliot and Dowson Vol VI p 152)

p 35

pp 193 208

us. Professor Basu¹ has agreed with them, on the basis of the *Futuhāt-i-Adil Shāhī*, in this respect that he has classed two of the above, *viz.*, Atashī and Muqīm, with the poets of the court of Ibrahim II. But he has not claimed them to have composed in Dakhanī ; instead he regards them as Persian poets. But this information is erroneous and misleading on the ground that the above-mentioned two poets were attached to the court of Muhammad Adil, the son of Ibrahim and not to that of the latter himself. The misunderstanding has been caused by the fact that the author of the *Futuhāt*² has dealt with the poets and scholars of the two courts under the same chapter which has three different sub-heads. Under the first, only one calligraphist, *viz.*, Khalilullah, has been mentioned, under the second, four poets, *viz.*, Malik, Zuhurī, Zihni and Baqir have been described and under the last, Hakim Atashī and Mirza Muqīm have been dealt with. Though these three sub-heads are not so distinctly divided as to differentiate the one from the other, yet a careful study of the headlines would clearly reveal that the first two are concerned with Ibrahim Adil and the last with Muhammad Adil. The following considerations are worth examining

1. The author of the *Futuhāt*³ finds Atashī quite young in A.H. 1051/1641 in the reign of Muhammad Adil, 14 years after the death of Ibrahim Adil

2. Mirza Muqīm is stated to have arrived in Muhammad's reign

3. Muqīm's Persian *qasidah*, quoted in the *Futuhāt*⁴, is in praise of Muhammad Adil and not in Ibrahim's praise

4. The *qasidah* referred to above was, in all probability, written on the occasion of Muhammad's visit⁵ to the shrine of Gesu Daraz in A.H. 1047/1638.

5. Both the poets have been mentioned as the court poets of Muhammad in Zuhur's⁶ *Muhammad Namah* and subsequently in Zubairi's *Basatin-us-Salatin*⁷

6. Atashī's Persian *kulliyat* is preserved⁸ which contains the panegyrics of Mustafa Khan, the prime minister of Muhammad Adil and the *mathnawī, Adil Namah*, commemorating the conquests of Muhammad, which is dated

¹ Journal, Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol 16, pp 158-163

² pp 367-389

³ p 378

⁴ pp 383-84

⁵ *Muhammad Namah*, pp 150-151

⁶ Sarkar's copy is silent, but vide the *Basatin* p 333

⁷ *Ibid*

⁸ India Office Catalogue Vol 1 p 838

A H 1043/1634 The *ghazals rubais* and one *mathnawi* are dated A H 1034 a date in which either the last two figures are transposed or these should be regarded his Iranian compositions The complete absence of any poem in praise of Ibrahim would not claim him as a poet of the latter's court

As for Dr Zor's hypothesis regarding their composing in Dakhani it is wholly ungrounded and would have no claim to acceptance in view of these

1 Mirza Muqim mentioned in the *Futuhat* and Muqim cannot be identical as both wrote under two different pen names Dr Zor's evidence that the author of the *Chandrabadan o Mahiyar* bore the pen name of Muqim and that the story is associated with Bijapur and lastly that Muqim has been claimed in the *Bahram o Husn Banau* as the author of some Dakhani poems is very weak

2 There is nothing to show that Muqim was a Bijapuri poet The evidence brought forth by Dr Zor is wholly unacceptable

3 Muqim was a native Persian It is too much to expect from him that he would choose to write in Dakhani

4 He was a new comer It was almost impossible for him to acquire such a mastery over Dakhani as to select it as the medium of his expression

5 In the *Akhal us Salatin*¹ some Atashi is stated on the authority of another history to have composed in Dakhani But on this slender material and weak evidence it is undesirable and unscholarly to hold the above Atashi identical with Hakim Atashi mentioned in the *Futuhat*

Similarly the hypothesis of Dr Zor and Hashimi regarding Amin and Nuri's composing in Dakhani has not been fully substantiated It is strange that despite the date of the completion of Amin's *mathnawi* under the title of *Bahram o Husn Banau* definitely belonging to Muhammad's reign the poet has been assigned to Ibrahim's court We have nothing to show that Nuri really composed in Dakhani It is not known whether Dr Zor regards him identical with Sayyid Nurullah the Persian poet of the court of Muhammad Adil

There is however one definite poet at the court of Bijapur who composed in Dakhani He is Abdul whose proper name could not be correctly deciphered He completed his *Ibrahim Namah* in A H 1012/1604 in compliance with the order of the Sultan himself The book being a description of some of the domestic social and cultural aspects of the life of Ibrahim Adil throws some light on the social order of the time The author who belonged to the Northern India wrote it in a language essentially Dakhani which retains

¹ V de Urdu Shah Pare p 36

² Vide Prof B D Verma's article in Hindustani Adhyma Journal Allahabad pp 95-108 and Dr Zor's *Taski as Udu Mukhtutat* p 267

some traits of the western Hindi generally spoken in the suburbs of Delhi. It further abounds in religious and mythological terms of Hinduism and other words of Sanskrit origin, approximately about seventy per cent, consequently rendering the book difficult to interpret, but testifying to that tolerance of men of all faith which the Bijapur prince was chiefly noted for. The language of the book is somewhat similar to that of the *Kıtab-ı-Nauras*; but its rhyme and metre are Persian as against those of the latter.

Scholars and Theologians

The court of Bijapur was not conspicuous by the absence of the scholars and learned theologians. Some of them whose reputation was not confined only to one province, are introduced briefly in the following pages. It is sad that none of their works have come down to us. But it may be safely claimed that most of them had original works to their credit.

1 Shah Kamal-ud-Din Fathullah Shirazi¹ was the most notable mathematician, philosopher and scholar of his age. He seems to have come to Bijapur twice. Once he came in the reign of Ibrahim I and then returned to his native country. Ultimately he was sent for by Ali I and lived here until A.H. 990 in which year he was prevailed upon by the emperor Akbar to come to his court. Most of the important figures at Bijapur, including Ali Adil I, were his pupils. He wielded much political influence throughout the reign of Ali Adil and the first two years' of Ibrahim's reign.

2 Afzal Khan², whose proper name was Ghiyasuddin Shirazi, was one of the pupils of Fathullah. He came to India during the reign of Ali I and ultimately rose to the highest post of chief minister. He became instrumental in inviting thousands of scholars from Persia and Arabia to the court of Ali. He was the cousin of Rafi-ud-Din, the author of *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, and wielded much influence during the first year of Ibrahim's reign when he was shamelessly put to death.

3. Shah Nawaz Khan³, who has been mentioned most often in the foregoing pages, was a resident of Shiraz and a pupil of Fathullah. He came to Bijapur during the regime of Ali and then returned to Shiraz. He came again in A.H. 998 and was appointed chief minister by Ibrahim Adil in A.H. 1003, which honour he enjoyed until his death. He had the proud privilege of teaching Persian to his master, Ibrahim Adil. He was the most dominating personality during the long reign of Ibrahim II.

¹ Firishtah, Vol II, pp 34, 47 and 52 and the *Basatin*, pp 73 and 131

² The *Basatin*, pp 130 to 132

³ Firishtah, Vol II, pp 77-83

4 Mustafa Khan¹ whose proper name was Sayyid Kamaluddin was a native of Ardistan in Persia. On his arrival in India he got himself attached to Alı Adil and was later appointed as his chief minister. He was well versed in all branches of learning. During the first year of Ibrahim's regime he wielded much influence but was treacherously murdered by Kishwar Khan.

5 & 6 Shah Abul Qasim Anju² and Shah Murtaza Anju were the notable scholars of the reign of Alı Adil. They also figured well during the first two years of Ibrahim's rule and were ultimately exterminated from Bijapur by Ikhlas Khan in A H 989/1581 along with Shah Fathullah.

7 Mir Shamsuddin Sadr-ı Jahan Isfahani³ was present in Bijapur on Alı Adil's death in A H 987 and on Ibrahim's coronation. But after this he does not figure so well in the history of Bijapur. He is stated to have been a distinguished scholar of his time.

8 Shah Muhammad⁴ was a learned theologian of the reign of Ibrahim Adil. He acted as a *Vakil* on behalf of the bride when the Sultan's daughter, Fatima Sultan, was married to Shah Habibullah Husaini, one of the direct descendants of Sayyid Husaini Gesu Daraz of Gulbarga.

9 Maulana Muhammad Lari though himself the prime minister was a great military commander. He was killed in an action against Malik Ambar in A H 1034/1621. He was a notable scholar of his time.

10 Maulana Habibullah⁵ was one of the devout theologians of this time. He was one of those who were much profited in the company of Shah Sibghatullah Husaini on the latter's arrival from Madina after A H 1000/1592.

Besides these, a number of saints were living in Bijapur and its suburbs. There were two notable monasteries, one at Gulbarga and the other at Bijapur. We are informed that Shaikh Hamid Qadiri and his brother Shaikh Latifullah Qadiri died at Bijapur in A H 1011/1603 and 1021/1613 respectively, whose mausoleum, erected by Fatima Sultan, is still preserved⁶.

II ART

Painting

The memories of Ibrahim Adil Shah will ever be fresh in the minds of posterity for establishing the Dakhani school of painting on a firm footing.

¹The *Basatin* pp 133 137

Fr htah Vol II pp 47 52

Ibid p 47

The Bas tin pp 258 59

⁵*Ibid* p 277

Architectural Remains in Bijapur pp 79 80

Truly speaking the high water-mark of this school is the period of the talented prince of Bijapur, who himself has been claimed as a skilful painter and calligrapher. The earliest examples of Dakhanī paintings are found in the miniatures of the *Nujum-ul-Ulum*¹ painted in 979/1570 during the reign of Alī Adil I. These paintings represent a mixed style in which the art of Vijaynagar is harmoniously blended with Persian and Turkish influences. The output of the Persian and Turkish painters employed at the court of Yusuf (the founder of the dynasty) might have indirectly influenced the Hindu painters of the later period whose emigration from Vijaynagar to the Adil Shahī capital began after the sack of the kingdom in A H 974/1565. As a result of this migration a mixed style grew up in Bijapur during the rule of Ibrahim I and continued in the reign of Alī and Ibrahim II. The most striking feature of this style was a fusion of the emotional fire of Indian subject and the decorative quality of Persian colouring².

There is no doubt that during the long reign of Ibrahim II the Bijapur school of painting received a fresh impetus. His patronage of art had attracted not only the Indian and Persian artists but even European painters³ abroad. The Hindu painters who were left without patrons after the sack of Vijaynagar must have been chiefly attracted by his religious tolerance. The European painters are also stated to have been employed at the court. The result of this was that a special type of mixed style evolved in Bijapur during this period, which combined the Vijaynagar style with the Persian and Turkish and even to some extent with the European elements. The special features of this style according to Dr Moti Chand are as follows⁴.

1 It is marked by the depth of colours (blue being the most favourite⁵) and lavish use of gold. This aspect distinguishes it from the contemporary Mughal school of the North.

2 The miniatures are often limited to a single figure and even when there is more than one figure, there is no attempt at showing perspective, the action being confined to a single plane.

3 The human face is in profile in direct contradiction to the Persian and early Mughal school of painting.

4 The treatment of woman is typically Indian, both in form and spirit. She wears a *sari* and bodice in typically Dakhanī fashion. The treatment

¹ Khandalavala, *Marg*, Vol. V, Book II, pp 26-27

² Basil Gray, *Indian Miniatures*, p 8

³ Meadows Taylor points out that the Sultan maintained cordial relations with the Portuguese at Goa and that he obtained Portuguese painters to decorate his palaces. (*Manual of the History of India*)

⁴ *Marg*, Vol V, Book I, pp 25-26

⁵ Basil Gray, *Indian Miniatures*, Pl I, p. 8

of her face in profile is quite distinct from the face of a woman represented in early Mughal paintings

The Bijapur style of painting under Ibrahim Adil may be divided into two parts,¹ one lasting roughly from A H 998/1590 to A H 1013 14/1605 and the second from A H 1014/1605 to A H 1037/1627. The first period is marked by a mixture of Persian Indian and European influences, while in the second we come across a mixed Mughal and Dakhani style. But the Dakhani school still retains some of its peculiar characteristics. There is evidence that by A H 1027/1617 the Mughal paintings were available in Bijapur. Jahangir on the request of Ibrahim II, sent his portrait to the latter. The exchange of diplomats between the kingdoms of the Deccan on the one hand and the Mughals on the other paved the way for the fusion of the two styles of painting.

The available portraits of Ibrahim Adil drawn by the contemporary painters are helpful in tracing the evolution of Bijapur school of painting. The earliest in the series is a bust of Ibrahim by Murtuza Naqqash in Sir Cowasji Jahangir's collection. In the portrait the Sultan seems to be between twenty two and twenty-five years of age² and accordingly it is ascribed to the period *circa* A H 1001/1593. Even this portrait shows an evolved Dakhani style with a depth of colour peculiarly Dakhani in its intensity. The technical excellence of the miniature evidently displays the skill of the artist who seems to be a Persian somewhat influenced by the Portuguese painters at Ibrahim's court. The treatment of the face and hands however suggests western influence. The inclusion of the winged angle on the top of the miniature is a device borrowed from a Christian painting. The portrait possesses that quality which stamps it as a product of the Deccan school and it is high water mark in the late 16th and early 17th century⁴.

The second portrait has been published⁵ by Dr Goetz in which the Sultan is wearing a brocaded *jamah* and a *chadar*. His turban and shoes are shown passing through thick foliage. He has a long staff in his right hand and a narcissus spray in the left and a four stranded rosary round his neck. The Sultan seems to be about twenty five and hence the painting should be assigned to A H 1004/1595. To the same period belongs a third portrait in the collection

¹ Basil Gray *Indian Miniatures*

The Tuzuk V I II pp 245-46

² B t D M ti Chand reg d the S ltan to be n t above sixty and the f r the p rt a t should date 1586 (*Mog* Vol V Book I p 27). But Khandalaval's view seems to be correct (*Vide Mog* Vol V Book II p 29).

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State* Pl te V III

of Mr. Khandalavala Here the prince is wearing a typically Dakhani turban, a muslin *jamah*, a *chadar*, *kamaband*, socks and slippers Facing the king on the right is a typical Dakhani lady. She wears a bodice and a typical *sari*, a part of which covers her head and the other she holds in her right hand Her ornaments consist of ear-rings, pearl necklace, bangles and anklets

There is one portrait of Ibrahim in the Salar Jang collection (Hyderabad), which is of special significance because its painter, Farrukh Husain was the royal artist In the portrait the Sultan is riding an elephant named Nauras Paikar (or briefly, Nauras), the name being artistically embroidered in the covering over the elephant. In the picture, before the Sultan is sitting the elephant-keeper with a long lance in his right hand. The elephant is in motion The picture is a pencil work and hence the question of the intensity of colour which was the special feature of the Dakhani School, does not arise at all The inscription on the top reads :

حسب الامر نه طرر هندی کشیده شد

[In compliance with the royal order this picture was drawn in the Hindi (Hindustani) style].

Below the trunk of the elephant is a Persian line composed by the Sultan himself on the occasion of riding the elephant The line is headed by . 'Farmudai Jahān Panahi', that is, composed by the Emperor himself The line reads :

میل بورس که درسواری آمد نه نطق سوار شکر ناری آمد

The Persian inscription in the space between the first two legs reads *Amal-i-Farrukh-Husain-i-Adil Shahi*, that is, the painting of Farrukh Husain of the court of Adil Shah

Without entering into a description of the merits of the painting, certain things must be cleared The painter Farrukh Husain was probably a native of Persia Dr Moti Chand styled¹ him as Farrukh Hasan Shirazi, which implies that he was a resident of Shiraz But his styling the painter as Hasan instead of Husain and adding an appellative of his home or birth place to his name is perhaps due to some misunderstanding The source of his information is Zuhuri's *Sih Nathi*² in which the name of the painter is only Farrukh Husain (without any appellative) exactly as quoted in the miniature itself In short though the artist seems to belong to Persia, he was not particularly a native of Shiraz According to Zuhuri who was the painter's friend, the latter was one of the most favourite courtiers of Ibrahim Adil and the best artist of his age and "nothing better than his painting could ever be expected from any artist".

¹ *Marg*, Vol V, Book 1, p 26

² p 79

No other portrait of Ibrahim Adil Shah which has come down to us was painted at the instance of the Sultan himself. Even this much is not known with certainty that they were drawn by any contemporary painter. The name of the artist is known in only one case, but his personality could not be exactly ascertained. But here is a picture which was painted by the best artist of the age and by the order of the Sultan himself. Besides the pictures of the royal elephant and its keeper add immensely to the value of the miniature.

The Sultan is stated to have developed his devotion for the word *Nauras* after A H 1008/1599, but we have definite reasons to believe that his own composition, *Kitab i Nauras*, was completed earlier than the above date. But it is certain that the term came into popular use after that date. Hence the miniature containing the picture of an elephant having the title of *Nauras* could only be prepared much after A H 1008/1599. The artist has been mentioned in Zuhuri's third essay which was completed after A H 1013/1605. Hence we may assign a date near about A H 1013. But the Sultan seems to be over forty five hence the painting should correctly be assigned to A H 1024/1614.

The Persian inscriptions in *shikast* hand appearing in the miniature are good examples of Persian calligraphy.

The portrait is suggestive of the peculiar trait of the Bijapur school of painting in which the Persian style was gracefully blended with the Hindi style. It further indicates Ibrahim's interest in the Hindi style (or the style of the art of Vijaynagar) which elaborately testifies to his religious tolerance. This mixed style was prevalent even after A H 1014/1605 the probable date after which according to Dr Moti Chand¹ the Bijapur school began to borrow from the Mughal school of painting. This however, fully confirms the view of Dr Moti Chand that even during this period the school maintained its peculiar features.

The two portraits of the Sultan (*Marg*, Vol V, Pls 1 & 2) belong to second period of the Bijapur painting when it was influenced by the traditions of the Mughal school. In the first Ibrahim is shown in three quarter profile. The scene is of a luxuriant vegetation with a typically Dakhan castle in the background. The trees in the background are planted in a peculiar manner of green ground. The king wears a Dakhan costume consisting of a turban *chadar kamarband*, muslin *jama* trousers and shoes. He holds a pair of *katals* which is quite in keeping with his love for music. In his second portrait he wears

¹ *Marg* V I V B ok II p 26

² *Ibid*

a turban, a muslin *jama*, a *kamarband*, golden trousers and shoes. He also wears a necklace and holds a sword with both hands. Certain technical details speak of Mughal influence. A third portrait is in the Salar Jang collection in which the Sultan wears a typically Dakhani turban, a *jama* and a *chadar*. He holds a long staff in his right hand and the part of the *chadar* in the left. The Persian inscription on the top of the painting reads *Taswir-i-Ibrahim Adil Shah, Badshah-i-Bijapur*, that is, the portrait of Ibrahim Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur. It is also suggestive of its contemporaneous nature.

The early *Ragmala* paintings of Dakhani origin, preserved mostly in the Bikaner collections, are in a charming style of mixed Turkish, Persian and Hindu element, most common in Bijapur during the reign of Ali I and Ibrahim II and even to some extent in the time of Ibrahim I, chiefly because of the collapse of Vijaynagar when its skilled artists had to find patrons at the courts of Adil Shahs, Qutb Shahs or Nizam Shahs. The Bikaner collection¹ has twelve such paintings two of which (*Kamod* and *Dhanasri*) have been reproduced by Dr Goetz in *the Art and Architecture of Bikaner*² tracing their origin to Ahmadnagar between 1565 and 1569 without producing any specific evidence for doing so. Mr. Basil Gray, while agreeing with the conclusions of Dr Goetz, dates *Vasanta Raga* (wrongly identified as *Hindola*) to 1570 and an unidentified *Raga* (probably *Kanhara*) to 1570-90 and finds a circumstance tipping the balance in favour of Bijapur³. But both Dr Moti Chand and Mr Khandalavala are of the opinion that it is more appropriate to ascribe⁴ these *Ragmala* pictures to no one else other than Ibrahim Adil. The reason for doing so is that, according to these two scholars, he was the first monarch to think of representing the "pictorial motifs" associated with certain *raga* and *raginis* in his *Kitab-i-Nauas*. His devotion to music and his choice to be portrayed with clappers in his hands are suggestive of his keen interest to have a series of *Ragmala* paintings.

It must be noted that in the series of earliest *Ragmala* pictures only *Vasanta*, *Kanhara*, *Hindola*, *Kamod*, *Dhanasri*, *Khan Godhu* and *Nat Balhanika*⁵ are definitely known to have been represented. Amongst these only one, *viz* *Kanhara* or *Karnati* has been visualised and only two melodies, *viz*, *Kanhara* or *Karnati* and *Dhanasri* have been reproduced in the *Kitab-i-Nauas*. If

¹ *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner*, p 101

² p 102, plates II and IV

³ Basil Gray, *Indian Miniatures*, p 8

⁴ *Marg*, Vol V, Books 1 and II, pp 28 and 27 respectively

⁵ Vide *Art and Architecture of Bikaner*, p 102 and *Indian Miniatures*, pp 8-10

these representations were made only at the instance of the king or only in his reign it seems no reason why the painters did not keep in view the particular *ragas* and *raginis* which were of much interest to him. It is interesting that the idea in representing the *Kanhara* or *Karnati ragini* is different at two places. In the *Kitab-i-Nuras*¹ it is visualised as a charming lady whose hands and eyes in tenderness and handsomeness resemble to lotus. She is dressed in blue *sari* and yellow bodice. In the spring season when the lady separated from her lover hears the Indian cuckoo repeating cheerfully the name of its lover her afflictions grow intensely. This pen picture is not only different from the representation of the melody in the above series, but also from the ideas associated with it in the later paintings.

If Dr Moti Chand and Mr Khandalavala are correct in their hypothesis that Ibrahim Adil was the author of the idea of *Ragmala* paintings and that the *Ragmala* miniatures belonging to Bikaner and Baroda Museums and to Mr Sveloslav Roerich² were produced at his court then it is certain that these paintings were the work of Hindu artists who were comparatively more at home with the pictorial representation of Indian melodies than the foreigners.

Unfortunately we have no information about the Indian, Persian and even Portuguese painters in the court of Ibrahim Adil who had produced works of great excellence. It is, however, known that the most significant royal artist was Mullā Farrukh Husain⁴ whose one pencil miniature is preserved in Salar Jang Museum. The other painter Murtuza Khan Naqqash seems to have worked for the prince of Bijapur. The Persian inscription appearing in the lower right hand corner in a beautiful Naskh style of Persian calligraphy is also suggestive of the contemporaneous nature of the painting. Since the portrait is attributed to circa A.H. 1004/1594 Murtuza Khan should be considered as an earlier painter. Both these artists seem to be Persians but Dr Moti Chand⁵ is incorrect in attributing Farrukh's birth place to Shiraz. A third painter Muhammad Ali has produced the miniature of a 'poet in a garden' which is attributed by Khandalavala to Ibrahim's reign though Coomaraswamy styles it as Mughal. If the former is correct in his theory then he would be the third known artist of the reign of Ibrahim.

¹ Vid. s. ng No 35

Vide *Marg* Vol V Book I and II pp 28 27 esp. t. ely

Ibid book 1 p 27 and G. etz. *Art and Architecture of Bihar* p 101

⁴ Such words and phrases as black, p. n. musk, navel, mu. k. and tul. p. fl. ers. occ. r. n. Zuh. ri. d. c. pt. n. of. h. s. cc. mpli. hments. as. n. t. suggest that h. w. an. ad. pt. in. u. g. th. black. and. red. colour. (Vid. th. *Sh. Nath* pp 79 80)

⁵ *Marg* Vol V Book I p 26

The list of the notable miniatures and portraits of this period has been prepared by Karl Khandalavala¹ :

- 1 The young Emperor Ibrahim II's Siesta (E. Kuhnel. *Islamische Miniatures Malerei* 1923 , Pl. 104).
2. Yogini (Ibid 104).
3. Yogini with Parrot (Arnold and Wilkinson, *Library of Chester Beatty*. Vol 3 Pl 93)
- 4 Yogini (Kuhnel and Goetz, *Indian Book Painting*, 1926, Pl. 40, Fol 6 B)
- 5 The Elephant Chanchal (N C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, Pl. 47).
6. Ragini (*Kala Nidhi*, No. 1, opposite to p 25).
- 7 Ibrahim Adil Shah II with Clappers in His Hand (*Marg*, Vol V , No 1, p 23)
- 8 Ibrahim Adil Shah (Ibid. P. 25)
- 9 Ibrahim Adil Shah II with His Mistress (Ibid P 26).
- 10 Ibrahim Adil Shah II with Clappers in His Hand (*Artibus Asiae* MCMXXVII No 1, p 11, Fig 5, where it is incorrectly stated by Coomaraswamy as Mughal and wrongly attributed to the period *circa* 1700 A D)
11. Ibrahim Adil Shah with Retinue (Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner*, Pl 8)
12. Poet in a Garden (Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures Persanne*, Pl 19) It is attributed to a painter Muhammad Ali and is incorrectly described by Coomaraswamy as Mughal in the Boston Museum (Catalogue No. 6, Pl 25)
- 13 Ibrahim Adil Shah (*Islamic Culture*, April 1935).
- 14 Portrait of A Nobleman (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, Pl 145, No 813)
- 15 Portrait of A Nobleman (*Burlington Magazine*, August 1938, "The School of Bijapur" by Basil Gray, Fig C)
- 16 The Cowherds in the Brinda Grove (Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner*, 1950, Pl. 7 It is incorrectly described by Goetz as Rajasthani)
- 17 The Portrait of A Nobleman (*Kala Nidhi*, No 1, opposite page 32, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay)
- 18 Portrait of A Nobleman (*The Art of India and Pakistan*, Pl 145, No 811)
19. Young Ibrahim on A Throne (*Burlington Magazine*, August 1938, "The School of Bijapur" by Basil Gray, Fig. A.)

¹ *Marg*, Vol V, Book II, p 27

20 Lady with a Lute and Lion (In the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala Poona—Not Published)

21 Elephant Fight (Ibid Not published The painting is on silk This is a rare feature in Deccan and Mughal painting)

22 Horse Led by the Groom (In the collection of Cowasji Jahangir, Fort Bombay—Not published)

23 Yogini (similar to the Chester Beatty example In the collection of Muhammad Ashraf of Hyderabad—Not published)

But none of the above paintings might be assigned to the period of Ibrahim Adil on any definite historical evidence The slender material on which account they have been attributed to Ibrahim would not stand the test of evidence For example take the figure of the elephant appearing in Mr Mehta's book (No 5 in the above list) Mr Mehta only calls it a Dakhani painting In the meantime Asad Beg's mission to Bijapur reveals that Chanchal was the famous royal elephant of Ibrahim Adil and that it was sent to Akbar with gold ornaments weighing two maunds Since in the above painting the elephant is richly decorated it was deemed identical with Chanchal But no student of history would agree to the above conclusion

The only painting whose genuineness could in no case be suspected is that painted by Farrukh Husain about which we have spoken earlier However, to the above list might be added the various *Ragmala* miniatures and the two paintings in the collection of Salar Jang (still unpublished)

In short the above examples afford ample proof of this fact that the Bijapur school produced portraits and miniatures comparable with the output of the contemporary Mughal school If Akbar gave a new outlook to painting in the north Ibrahim Adil Shah brought the Dakhani painting to an elevated position and this would claim for him an important rank in the history of Indian Art

Calligraphy

It has been pointed out that Ibrahim Adil Shah II was himself a skilled calligraphist¹ who could write various hands artistically But no specimen of his excellence in the art of penmanship has come down to us Owing to his own devotion to this art and his proverbial liberality however a number of renowned calligraphists from Persia and Arabia thronged his court in Bijapur with the result that the Sultan succeeded in introducing a Dakhani school of calligraphy The styles which were popular during the reign of this prince

¹ Vide the *F i h t* p 367 the *Basat* p 275 the *S h Nathr* pp 58-60

were *Naskh*, *Suls*, *Raihan*, *Riqa*, *Shikast* and *Nastaliq*. But the more popular was the *Naskh* which, being the important fundamental style, is chiefly responsible for bringing in a renaissance in the art of calligraphy. The popularity of the style lies in "the tendency to realise the grace latent in the script itself; that is, the writing, and not the ornamental rhythm it could display, became the object of calligraphy¹." Despite the fact that this style was mostly used by Arabic speaking peoples, the chief causes of its popularity in Deccan, during this period, could not be known. It was not without Sultan's special fondness for this style that all the significant manuscripts of his *Kitab-i-Nauras* (except one which is in *Raihan*, an off-shoot of the same) are found in the *Naskh* calligraphy. The *Munazzaqat-i-Adil Shahi*, an album containing the art of various penmen at the court of Bijapur, is chiefly dominated by the specimens in the *Naskh* style. The scattered inscriptions found in paintings, architectural buildings and elsewhere are also suggestive of the popularity of this particular style.

The *Suls* is the ornamental variety of the *Naskh* style. It differs from the latter only in the proportion of its curves and strokes. In this style strokes take the form of a dagger and curves run smoothly like waves of water. As *Suls* was generally used in ornament, it was generally written in bold curves and wide swinging waves slightly recoiling at their pointed tops². The royal calligraphist, Abdul Latif Mustafa, used the *Suls* hand in transcribing the *Kitab-i-Nauras*. The *Munazzaqat-i-Adil Shahi* shows the popularity of this style after the *Naskh*. The inscriptions of the buildings are mostly in this style.

Resembling the *Suls* and its pointed strokes is the style called *Raihan*. Its strokes end in straight points and rarely turn up in a curve as in the *Suls*. The strokes which are thick in the middle gradually become thinner towards the end. Sometimes they are like straight shafts descending slantingly towards the left³. The oldest manuscript of the *Kitab-i-Nauras* having been written in *Suls*, fully confirms its popularity during the reign of Ibrahim. The above album consists of sufficient specimens of *Raihan* style pointing to its popularity as well.

The *Shikast* style is a simplification of the *Nastaliq* in which the letters are rarely disconnected from each other. At first sight the style looks as having been written in a careless way, but it requires much practice to write *Shikast* hand in an artistic way⁴. This is a common style. We come across various specimens of this style during the reign of Ibrahim which proves its popularity in that period.

¹ Ziauddin, *A Monograph on Muslim Calligraphy*, p. 45

² Ibid

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

The *Nastaliq* style is the latest Its curves develop round like crescent or smooth or oval like an egg Its strokes are long and pointed in the form of a straight sword and flow either horizontally or with a slight increasing bend towards the middle in the manner of a sword¹

The important calligraphists at the court of Bijapur were these

1 Khalilullah Butshikan by descent a Sayyid of Herat, occupied the foremost place among the royal calligraphists of Bijapur His *Nastaliq* style excelled the writings of all the earlier and later penmen In the prime of his youth he went to Shah Abbas and served him as his teacher When Shah Abbas left Khurasan for Iraq Khalilullah set out for India and was tied to the apron string of Ibrahim II The Safawi monarchs of Iran having been on friendly terms with the sovereigns of the Deccan Shah Abbas sent for Khalilullah and the latter was sent off to the Persian court by Ibrahim Adil as his plenipotentiary Having received proper esteem at the court of Persia he returned to India and passed the rest of his life at the Adil Shahi court with glory and distinction² Zuhuri has given³ a vivid and graphic description of Khalil's skill and dexterity in the art of penmanship It is said⁴ he copied the *Kitab i Nawras* with great care and presented it to the Sultan in A H 1027/1618 who was extremely pleased with the gift and the accomplishment of the artist He conferred on him the title of *Badsha i Qalam i e* 'the king of pen' and as a mark of respect made him sit on his throne After the ceremony was over he bade his courtier to accompany him to his residence The words *Shah gardid badshah i qalam* give the date of the ceremony

2 Muhammad Baqir of Kashan⁵ the notable poet at this court who has already been examined earlier was an accomplished calligraphist and in a number of his verses he has alluded to his excellence in the art of calligraphy His teacher in this art was Muizzuddin Khattat of Kashan one of the most reputed calligraphist of his time Baqir's early excellence in this art had claimed for him the charge of the library of Sadr ud-Din Muhammad Waiz of Shiraz even earlier than A H 975/1567 He was again placed in charge of the library of Nawab Farhad Khan the prime minister of Shah Abbas most probably at the suggestion of the Shah himself in A H 1001-1002/1591 1592 It was owing to his accomplishments in the art that on his arrival in Bijapur the charge of the state library was made over to him where he was to supervise the work of

¹ Ibid

² *The Futuhat* p 367 and *Journal of Indian History & Records Commission* Vol XVI

³ *The Sikh Nith* pp 77 79

Th Ta kir i Khushnav an pp 79 80

⁴ *Vid Mith r e R himi* foll 140 141 the *A afat* foll 152 153 the *Suhuf i Ib ahim* foll 138

ordinate scribes and to look to the quality of their handwriting. He was on this post for over twenty-eight years until his death in 1034/1626.

The biographers, and even one historian, have unusually admired his style of calligraphy. The contemporary *Naasu-i-Rahim* mentions him with the title 'Khush-Nawis'; the author of the *Majma-un-Nafais* who has seen his *diwan* in his own hand, also mentions the same title. The other contemporary, Taqi pays a very glorious tribute to his skill in this art. But it is not known which style or styles he skilled in. In Taqi's biography the term 'Raihan-i-Khat', used figuratively, may, however, refer to his excellence in the *Raihan* style of calligraphy.

Unfortunately no specimen of his handwriting has been traced so far. The manuscripts of his *diwan* preserved in the Salar Jang Museum apparently of contemporaneous nature, have been revised very carefully with additions and modifications, in a different *Shikast amiz* hand. These corrections may be ascribed to the author himself but for a term, 'Walahu', used only for the third person. On the title page of the copy of the *Kitab-i-Nawas* prepared by Mustafa, appears a note in an elegant *Nastaliq* about the introduction of the manuscript into the state library in A H 1022/1613. Since at that time Baqir was the supervisor of the state library, the above note may be assigned to him.

Baqir might have copied the Sultan's book, but no such manuscript is traceable. The one preserved in Bankipur, (in the Khuda Bakhsh Khan Library), was transcribed by Muhammad Baqir, but there is nothing to show that he is identical with the famous calligraphist at the court of Bijapur.

3 Zuhuri, the well-known poet at the court of Bijapur, was an adept in the art of calligraphy. He could write *Shikast* and *Naskh* styles very well. It is said he copied out the *Rauzat-us-Safa* many a time and thereby earned a lot. However, specimens of his *Naskh-cum-Nastaliq* style, appearing in the manuscript of his *diwan* having been corrected in the author's own hand, adequately prove his excellence in this art.

4 Abdul Latif Mustafa was an important calligraphist of the court of Ibrahim Adil. He was a master of many styles, and a number of specimens of his *Naskh*, *Suls*, *Raihan* and *Riqa* styles are available to us through the *Muraqqa-i-Adil Shahi*. He prepared a manuscript of the *Kitab-i-Nawas* in *Naskh* and *Suls* styles which was subsequently removed to the state library at Bijapur in A H 1022/1613. In the above *Muraqqa* he mentions him as Abdul Latif Mustafa, Abdul Latif Majlisi or only Abdul Latif. The name is generally preceded by such words as 'Kamtarin Shagirdan' or only 'Shagird'. The dates accompanying the specimens vary from A. H 1024 to A H

1033/1615 1624 It shows that his reputation as a calligraphist had only been established during the last twenty years of the Sultan's reign. His son, Abdul Halim was also a calligraphist of equal reputation. The artist seems to be a Persian.

5. Abdur Rashid was another adept in the art at the Adil Shahi court. His accomplishments in calligraphy had claimed for him a reputation which he so well deserved. He made a copy of the Sultan's *Kitab-i Nauras* and presented it to the author who kept it in his private collection. The manuscript has come down to us and is dated A. H. 990/1582 in the hand of the scribe himself. But it is incorrect for the manuscript could not have been prepared earlier than A. H. 1012/1603. It was however removed to the state library of Bijapur in A. H. 1037/1628. The manuscript is in a beautiful *Rashan* style fully displaying the mastery of the scribe in the art of calligraphy. Abdur Rashid was a master of *Naskh* and *Suls* styles as well and it is fully proved by the specimens of such styles in the *Muraqqa-i Adil Shahi*. He also seems to be a Persian calligraphist.

6. Abdul Halim son of Abdul Latif Mustafi was a more reputed scribe than even his father, who specially excelled in the *Naskh* and *Suls* styles of calligraphy. A number of specimens of his writings in various styles have come down to us through the above *Muraqqa*. He had the privilege of transcribing the *Kitab-i Nauras* which is preserved in the collection of Prof. Husain Ali Khan of Hyderabad. The manuscript in the *Naskh* and *Suls* styles bears so close resemblance both in form and spirit, with that of his father that it would be difficult to distinguish one from the other. Despite the fact that his copy of the *Kitab-i Nauras* is not dated, nor is any of his specimens still we have reasons to believe that he also belonged to the court of Ibrahim. It is also possible he might have served Muhammad Adil Shah as well.

7. Yusuf Ibrahim Shahi was a skilled artist as is proved by the specimens of his writings in various styles found in the above *Muraqqa*. He was a master of various styles of calligraphy but chiefly excelled in the *Naskh* style. The title Ibrahim Shah appended to his name is suggestive of his attachment to the court of Ibrahim Adil. However, there is no hesitation in calling him a Bijapur calligraphist of the reign of Ibrahim Adil II.

This is not the exhaustive list of the calligraphists who had flourished during the reign of Ibrahim Adil. The specimens of these artists however adequately prove that under the Sultan's patronage Bijapur had been a chief centre of the art of calligraphy which rendered valuable service to the cause of this art by popularising the special variety of *Naskh* calligraphy.

III ARCHITECTURE

The long reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II is chiefly noted for constructing palaces, mosques, tombs and mausoleums, notwithstanding the frequent expeditions on which account the Sultan and his nobles had to stay out for long periods at a time. The architectural work during Ibrahim's reign is chiefly characterised by the lavish use of the delicate decorations in which the influence of the Hindu architect is very apparent. This further testifies elaborately to the Sultan's religious tolerance which was one of the main causes of effecting a cultural renaissance in Bijapur.

During Ibrahim's reign a more elaborate style of work was introduced into his capital. The ingenuous Sultan became instrumental in discarding the plaster and concrete buildings of his predecessors and launching out into the free use of sculptured stone work in which his masons had revelled. Since they were restricted to geometrical designs and conventional form of foliage, they having excelled in these, subsequently succeeded in evolving a complicated, though pleasing combination. They further reproduced the texts of the Quran in an interlacing of Arabic letters which were most suitable to decorative effect¹.

During the Sultan's reign were built a number of architectural buildings some of which are critically examined below.

1 *Haft Khan*

The pile of apartments collectively known as Haft or Sat Khan or Sat Manzil (Seven-Storeyed Palace) stands a little way to the south-west of the Gagan Mahal². At present it rises to a height of five storeys or ninety-seven feet over all, but a narrow staircase rises from the fifth to the sixth which is not in existence now. It is also possible there may have been still higher terrace. It was built during³ the reign of Ibrahim in A H 991/1583, as a palace but it must have been far more extensive than it is now. Mr Henry Cousens regards it as an adjunct to the buildings⁴ around it including Chini⁵ Mahal.

The building was erected for pleasure⁶ and for royal baths and not for business purposes. The abundant distribution of water and bathing cistern

¹ H Cousens, *Bijapur and Its Architectural Remains*, p 63

² Built about 968/1561 in the reign of Ali Adil Shah

³ And not 'by Ibrahim' as stated in *Bijapur and Its Architectural Remains*, for the Sultan was a minor of 12 years

⁴ These are called 'Granary', *Ibid*, p 63

⁵ Identical with Farakh Mahal built in A H 921 (A D 1514) during the reign of Ismail *Ibid* pp 25 & 66

⁶ A reference to this building is found in the *Kitab-i-Nauras* which also proves the same (Vide song No 41)

is the peculiar feature of this class of buildings. The walls were subsequently painted with human figures¹. But being without definite form or design it is no longer a handsome building now. The richly carved window frames and screens when in existence, must have improved the appearance considerably. In those days of unrest when the lives of the kings were fraught with danger, the building formed a great coign of vantage for the inmates of the palace.

2 *Haidaryyah Mosque*

According to an inscription the mosque was built by Haidar Khan son of Jamil in A H 991/1583 during the reign of Ibrahim II. The builder was one of the Sultan's generals to whom was entrusted the erection of the great gun-tower known as Haidar or Upli or Uprī Burj. He was one of Dilawar Khan's party and was subsequently removed from his post by Ikhlas Khan. The mosque has nothing worthy of attention save its connexion with a notable character in Bijapur history. The design of its facade is almost identical with the Ibrahimpur mosque; however, the proportions are better in the mosque under review.

3 *Malika i Jahan Mosque*

This is the first mosque in the new style introduced during the rule of Ibrahim Adil in which the masons made free use of sculptured stone work and subsequently reproduced the texts of the Quran in an elaborate interlacing of Arabic letters. The mosque was erected about A H 996/1587 in honour of Sultan's wife Chand Sultan, popularly known as Malika i Jahan the sister of Muhammad Quli Qutb of Golconda. It is also called Zanjiri Masjid on account of the small stone chains which once adorned its cornice. The amount of delicate work compressed within the space between the arches and the dome displays the skill of the masons. Its proportionate distribution among the various parts is suggestive of the finest taste and judgement of its builders. The richness of the fretted skyline, the minute tracery of the little *chhatris* (kiosks) the serrated and foliated fringe of the eave slabs of the cornice and the wonderful beauty and elaboration of the brackets which support them combine to form

¹ In 1844 Mr James Bird found a drawing of Muhammad Adil the sixth king with his favourite dancing girl Rambha seated on a cushion near which are laid the kī gā *sehtar* a basket of flowers and Persian book (*Bijapur and its Architectural Remains* p 64). Dr P M Joshi has claimed on the basis of the Malika's history that Rambha was Ibrahim's Marhata Mistress (*Malga* Vol V Book II p 28). Her probable portrait is displayed in *Marg* Vol V Book I p 26. The presence of the *sehta* is suggestive of calling the drawing a picture of Ibrahim Adil rather than that of Muhammad.

such a profusion of loveliness as is not surpassed elsewhere in Bijapur¹. The graceful minarets, merely serving as ornamental appendages and in keeping with the delicate style of work, contribute very much to the prettiness of the mosque

4 *The Kali Masjid at Lakshmeshw*

Though the Kali Masjid (black mosque) is situated at a great distance from Bijapur, it is in no way inferior to those in the city in respect of design and finish. The mosque is a good example of the style evolved in Bijapur and introduced in the foregoing mosque, and is probably of the same date. Its most peculiar feature is the wonderful stone chains hanging from every conspicuous point, mostly used for decorative detail 'Before these chains were damaged by swing to the winds and even mutilated by human hands, the little mosque must have looked liked a creation in silver filigree work'.

5 *The Ibrahim Rauza*

The groups of buildings collectively called the Ibrahim Rauza, are the *magnum opus* of the Adil Shahi. It must have been in progress during the greater part of Ibrahim's rule. Fergusson declares it as "a group as rich and as picturesque as any in India and far excelling anything of this sort on this side of this Helles port²" which is "more remarkable for the profusion and richness of its ornamental details than for either its dimensions or the elegance and the propriety of general form. The two (the tomb and the mosque) must, however, be taken together as parts of one composition, and with their gateways, their terraces and their external colonnades, they make up a group of gorgeous splendour, that it would be difficult to make in any part of the world³".

This splendid group situated at a short distance beyond the Makka⁴ gate upon a high terrace, comprises two large buildings facing each other. The building to the east of the terrace is mausoleum⁵ of the king and certain members of his family⁶ which was primarily erected as the memorial of his

¹ *Bijapur and Its Architectural Remains*, p 69

² *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol II, p 273

³ *Architecture at Beejapoor*, Taylor O and Fergusson, pp 89-9

⁴ The western gate of the citadel

⁵ It is also called the mausoleum of Zuhra Sultana, his daughter after whom the adjacent suburb is called Zuhrapur

⁶ There are six tombs arranged in a row from east to west. They are of Badi Sahiba (the mother of the Sultan), Taj Sultana, Ibrahim, Zuhra who died at 6 years of age, the king's youngest son, Burhan Shah, and the eldest son, Darwish. But in the text of *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains* these names are mentioned Taj Sultana, Badi Sahib, Ibrahim, Zuhra, Darwish and Sulaiman Sultan (another son)

queen Taj Sultana, but the Sultan dying earlier was buried first¹ within it. The building on the west of the terrace is a mosque, the usual adjunct to a tomb. In Bijapur a mosque generally is a subsidiary structure, but here the case is otherwise. The mosque is a counterpart of the tomb in size and its main outlines so that the general balance and the symmetry of the whole composition may not be disturbed.

The particular style of work introduced in the foregoing two mosques reaches its culminating point in respect of conception, design and proportion of the richest decorative details which mark the group of Ibrahim Rauza. The more elegant and lighter distribution of the equally fine work upon these buildings adds immensely to their prettiness which well match with the magnificent Taj at Agra. With the advantageous situations of the latter the architect of the Ibrahim Rauza would certainly have produced more picturesquely magnificent and much more impressive than the pride of India. Indeed for certain qualities these buildings stand quite matchless and these qualities rank very high among the art principles of architectural designs.

Amongst the various inscriptions the most significant are those which form the chronogram for the death of Ibrahim Adil II and his wife Taj Sultana and which reveal the personality of Malik Sandal the architect of this splendid pile the creator of all this fretted loveliness.²

6 *Malik Sandal's Mosque*

The small mosque of no architectural significance situated in the Langar Bazar is claimed in an inscription to have been built by Malik Sandal the architect of Ibrahim Rauza in A.H. 1024/1614 thirteen years before Ibrahim's death, and during the period when the Rauza was being constructed. This is a small mosque and there is a little pavilion over a tomb. Some scholars hold that the great architect lies here in the grave in the open but according to H. Cousens he is buried in a village fifteen miles to the west of Bijapur.

7 *The Anand Mahal*

The Anand Mahal³ (the palace of pleasure) situated in the citadel close to the Gagan Mahal, is stated to have been built by the Sultan in A.H. 998/1589

¹ In the first list two of them viz his daughter and his youngest son died earlier in the second only his daughter Zuhra. The rest survived him. His beloved wife Taj Sultana o Jahanbegum (but not Malika Jah) the first queen and the mother of Durr Shah Badshah daughter of Abdur Rahman and mother of Muhammad Sultan Adil died six years after. The Sultan's mother has never been mentioned by the title of Hajirah which was only preceded by her namesake the Queen of Muhammad Adil and the mother of Al II.

Architectural History of Bijapur p. 85

³ It has been converted into the joint residence of the Collector and the Judge.

Mr Henry Cousens¹, on the authority of the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, claims that it was constructed for dancing and singing and that the great central hall bears out the statement It is modelled upon the lines of the Gagan Mahal with the addition of a lofty basement upon which the palace stands and which has considerably improved the appearance of its frontage

It is stated that Ibrahim Adil on the occasion of his signal victory over Ibrahim Nizam in A H. 1004² rode to this palace amidst great rejoicings.

8 *The Anda Mosque*

The Anda Mosque standing on the east side of the road from the citadel to the Qassab bastion, is a two-storeyed building whose upper floor alone was intended to be a prayer chamber for the women as is evident from the absence of the pulpit It is one of the best buildings of Bijapur Its facades made up of three equal-sized arches and many other architectural qualities improve immensely its general appearance According to an inscription, the architect of this mosque was Itibar Khan, one of the nobles of Ibrahim's court who constructed it in A H. 1017/1608.

9 *Nauraspu*

From purely architectural point of view Ibrahim's period is very significant, for not only the mosque of Malika-i-Jahan and the splendid group of Ibrahim Rauza were constructed, but the Sultan projected quite a new city at Torweh, few miles to the west of the old city It is said that Ibrahim intended to transfer the seat of the government³ to the new spot which had preferences over the old city in respect of water supply and lovely neighbourhood In 1008/1599 the work commenced and Shah Nawaz Khan was placed in charge of the work. Within a few days so many grand and magnificent palaces were erected that the new city was to eclipse Bijapur But subsequently Nauraspu, still brand new from the mason's hand, was wrecked completely by Malik Ambar in A H. 1033/1624 The whole city is now in ruins All that is left is the great wall surrounding the city, about the centre within a high wall enclosure are the ruins

¹ *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains*, p 77 But from the printed copy it appears to be his residential palace and even that of his son, Muhammad Adil (Vide the *Basatin* pp 231 & 362) The author speaks very highly of this building (Ibid pp 283 and 342) but nowhere is mentioned the purpose it served as found above

² In *Firishtah*, Vol II, p 88, the actual date is 13th Muharram, while in the *Basatin* and in *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains* it is 13th The corresponding A D era 1591 as appearing in the last should be 1595

³ The scheme was relinquished (Vide *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains*, p 83, and the *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, p 348 (Sir Sarkar's copy), where the author mentions the capital's name being changed into Vidiyapur)

of the Nauras Mahal and beside it the Nari Mahal. Beyond this are the Taghi and other mosques, tombs and buildings. The Nauras Mahal is a duplicate of the Gagan Mahal in the old city. It had originally much wood work. Fuzuni of Astrabad, the author of the *Futuhāt-i Adil Shāhī*¹ visited the city only seventeen years after its sack, and found its buildings not only superior to those of the northern India but even to those of Iran and other parts of the world which the historian had personally visited.

10 *The Mihtar Mahal*

The Mihtar Mahal which is one of the show buildings of Bijapur, stands upon the south of the road running between the Jamī Masjid and the citadel gateway. Though its design is of no exceptional merit there is nothing in Bijapur to surpass this building in respect of gracefulness and delicacy of treatment. It is not a palace but a gateway to the inner courtyard of a mosque which in itself is a building par excellence. The attribution of the building to the period of Ibrahim Adil Shah II is on traditional ground.

The most striking feature about this building are the balcony windows whose projecting seats supported beneath by deep bracketing and ornamented with hanging beds are similar to the arrangement under the cornice of the Ibrahim Rauza. The mosque has many points of resemblance with Malika-i-Jahan's mosque.

This is not the exhaustive list of the buildings constructed during the reign of Ibrahim Adil II. In addition to these a large number of mosques, tombs and palaces are definitely known to have been constructed either by the king himself or by his attaches, but these could not be described owing to shortage of time and space. Some of the buildings erected during the Sultan's reign are these:

- 1 Dilkusha Mahal
- 2 Bukhari Masjid
- 3 Mausoleum of Shaikh Hamid Qadiri and his brother, Latifullah Qadiri
- 4 Batula Mosque
- 5 Parkhan Mosque
- 6 Another Mosque
- 7 Haji Hasan's tomb

¹ p 161 (Sir Sarkar's MSS) The author was a great traveller and he visited Delhi, Agra, Ajahbad, Lahore and Kashmir in India and Madras, Peshawar, Nishapur, Jijana, Ray, Amul, Tus, Qum and many other places in Iran.

8. The Shahpur Mosque.
9. The Zumurrad Mosque.

At a glance over the list above it would be realised that amongst the architectural buildings, mosques and tombs are predominating. This was the general feature of the structures of the whole Adil Shahi regime, for it was safer to put money and work into these which being surrounded by religion's sanctity were not exposed to destruction.

IV MUSIC

Ibrahim Adil Shah II devoted the best part of his life to the cause of music in which he was interested from his early age. But we are at a loss to attribute to anything Firishtah's unusual silence about the Sultan's accomplishments in this branch of fine art. He has mentioned¹ his early education and training and other things of special interest which did not include music. But contrary to this is the view expressed in the *Tazknat-ul-Muluk*² and the *Sih Nathr*³ and subsequently, in the *Basatn*⁴, that he was fond of music since his childhood. This view is quite correct, but the circumstances in which he grew this tendency are not known. The atmosphere of Bijapur was surcharged with the musical effect owing to the influx of a number of Hindu musicians from the most important cultural centre of Vijaynagar after its sack, when they were left without support. Ibrahim spent most of his time in their company and gradually became sympathetic to the culture and traditions of his subjects. It was on this account that he invoked Hindu gods and goddesses and was traditionally attached to Sarswati and Ganesh.

Some scholars have attempted to establish the theory that Ibrahim Adil Shah II was an adept in music while a small child. In this connection an interesting episode, though dubious in its authenticity, is recorded in the *Basatn-us-Salatn*⁵.

'His great adherence to this art led him to master Hindu sciences and to attach himself to their religious beliefs. Gradually it was revealed that the Sultan was about to renounce his own religion. Alarmed at it, Maulana Sibghatullah Husaini hastened towards Bijapur with a view to dissuading the Sultan. Subsequently the saint was informed by the Sultan that his devotion for Saraswati was aimed at having an attractive voice. He, however, assured the Maulana

¹ Vol II, p 48

² Ibid p. 354

³ Ibid pp. 9-11, 15, 17 and 60-63

⁴ Ibid pp 252-53 and 275

⁵ Ibid pp 276-278.

that his faith in Islam was unshaken. Thereupon the Maulana blessed him and his voice grew more musical than before.'

The Maulana's arrival in Bijapur in A H 1000/1592, as stated in the *Basatin*, when the Sultan completed his twentyfirst year, is indicative of his acquiring excellence in music in the prime of his youth which is a probability. But the incident seems to be dated incorrectly. Maulana Sibghatullah is stated to have seen the holy hair of the Prophet of Islam in Bijapur which could have not been earlier than A H 1005/1596 for the hair was presented as a valuable gift to the Sultan only that year by Maulana Muhammad Salih of Hamadan. Consequently the Maulana could have come much after A H 1005/1596. The Sultan's excellence in music and his leaning towards the goddess of learning and intellect could have been known outside India so much as to cause the above sultan (in Madina) to come for taking him to task for his predilection for music and Saraswati only after the compilation of the *Kitab-i Nauras* in A H 1008/1599.

It would not be out of place to point out that at the end of the manuscript of the *Kitab-i Nauras* prepared by Abdur Rashid, appears the date A H 990/1582 from which it would be concluded that the said book must have been completed earlier than this date. But this date apparently in the handwriting of the scribe—close resemblance of the two styles apparently removes all chances of suspicion—is incorrect in view of the following:

- 1 Ibrahim in that year was below eleven years. The book contains certain things which a child of that age cannot usually conceive of.
- 2 The manuscript has some references which were not in existence in A H 990/1582.
 - (i) The name of Chand Sultan, popularly known as Malika-i Jahan¹ occurs in the present manuscript. She was the Sultan's wife, married only in A H 995/1587. Consequently her name could not have found access in any book prior to this date. If she is taken as the gallant Chand Sultan of Ahmadnagar the manuscript would be assigned a date even much later on the ground that Chand Sultan got this title only on her gallant defence of the fort of Ahmadnagar after A H 1003/1594.
 - (ii) Nauraspur (city) and the Nauras Mahal have been alluded to, which were only projected in A H 1008/1600³. A manuscript

¹ Firuhtab Vol II p 57

² Ibid p 161

³ The *Tazkirat ul Muluk* p 348

containing such references could only be completed after this date

(iii) Bidiyapur has been referred to in the manuscript. The name of Bijapur was changed into Bidiyapur (Vidiyapur) only in A H 1012/1604¹. Thus the above manuscript could only be completed after this date.

In short the attempts of the scholars fail to establish the hypothesis that Ibrahim was an adept in music even before he was in his teens. But as pointed out earlier it is a fact that he acquired excellence in this art much earlier than is usual.

The Sultan's achievements in music will be best judged from his own composition, the *Kitab-i-Nawas*. He is stated by Jahangir² to have learnt this art from Bakhtar Khan, a notable statesman at the court of Bijapur, to whom the Sultan is stated to have married his niece subsequently. He took much pains while studying and practising it. Zuhuri points out³ 'while engaged in its study, most often he did not wink his eyes for the whole night but continued practising it'

Ibrahim was a master of *Dhrupad* and his book in the same style became so popular as to attract even the Mughal Emperor Jahangir. On the occasion of Bakhtar Khan Kalawant's visit to the court of Jahangir in Ajmer in A H. 1023/1613, the Mughal Emperor was so much impressed by the Sultan's skill that he ordered the great musician to sing to him the songs of the *Kitab-i-Nawas*. The Emperor further endorses that this particular form of *Dhrupad* was his own invention. Ibrahim's basing this book on the north Indian or Hindustani school of music and not on the south Indian or Karanatic school, reflects on the political and social influences which northern India had exercised over the Deccan even before the advent of Jahangir with whom Ibrahim's relations are stated to have strengthened.

The Sultan's adherence to music is personally reported by Asad Beg⁴ who visited him in A H. 1013/1604 at Akbar's behest. When the Mughal envoy was to leave the Adil Shahi court, a grand musical concert was arranged to celebrate the occasion. In that farewell party Asad Beg found him so much wrapped in listening to music that he could hardly reply to his (Asad Beg's) questions. Their conversation centred round music and musicians. Ibrahim enquired about Akbar's fondness of music and was told that he listened to it

¹ Ibid

² The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol 1, p. 134

³ The *Sih Nathr*, p 57

⁴ 'Asad Beg's Mission to Bijapur', *Potdar Commemoration Volume*, p 193

sometimes He then enquired of the Mughal envoy whether Tansen stood or sat while singing before the Emperor and was told that in the Darbar at day time he had to stand while singing, but at night and on festive occasions Tansen and other musicians were allowed to take their seats while engaged in their performance Ibrahim is stated to have expressed that music should be heard at all time and musicians should be kept happy and contented He held the musicians in high esteem which is proved by his marrying his niece to Bakhtar Khan Such an enterprising deed on part of the Sultan of the Deccan is not a thing of small consequence The court poet Zuhur¹ has also given very graphic picture of the Sultan's achievements in the art

The story of the incompetency of Avicenna and the tale of his mastery are carried to the ear of the people of the world through song If he opens his lip to claim a miracle in the art of singing ears begin to speak to bear testimony to his claim He calls the hand which does not move on a fixed principle a fruitless branch and the chest whose breath is not associated with melody a musical instrument of broken strings Ever since songs were elicited from the motion of the heavens such an easy flowing thrill has not been heard from their throat and on the blank page of sound so excellent an impression has never been stamped From the repetition of the rhythmical phrases and high pitch in songs the love and fondness of listeners are on the point of increase

Zuhur's writing over fifty *rubais* and several other poems in praise of Ibrahim's accomplishment is suggestive of the elevated rank which should be assigned to him amongst the musicians of the highest order

At first the Sultan is found busy in the study of this art subsequently he thought of rendering some service for the cause of music and his composing songs in a new style is the first step in that direction Ultimately it dawned upon him that without some important step no better result could be achieved As a consequence he thought of various plans to popularise this art which was till then confined to only a few With these object in view he attempted to classify the musicians into three grades Prior to his own time, and even in the first twenty years of his reign the musicians were ordinarily divided into the following grades

- 1 *Atai* were the highest of the order
- 2 *Dhadi* were the average musicians
- 3 *Guniyan* were the last of the rank

They were all commonly termed as *Kanchanyan* and *Kalavant* The term *Gur*

¹ The *Sih Nath* pp 60 61 (Vide also A Ghani's History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court Vol III pp 441 442)

Guni was also used for some. In the *Kitab-i-Nauras* all these terms have been used¹. Ibrahim's three grades were these².

1 *Huzuris* who were not only the skilled masters of art but were also well versed in various branches of learning. On the basis of their scholarship they were allowed to be constantly in the company of the Sultan and were profited by the latter. When he happened to compose a song³ he would recite it to the *Huzuris* who in their turn would commit it to heart by repeating off and on. Subsequently, they would teach it in batches to those who were lower in rank. Their constant presence before the Sultan earned them the title of *Huzuris*.

2 *Darbanis* were lower in rank than the *Huzuris* on account of their comparatively lesser attainments. They were allowed to sit in the *darbar*, day and night and were always taught by the *Huzuris*. Their duty was to learn the art of reciting the newly composed song from the *Huzuris* and then they would repeat it and memorise it. They would teach it in their own turn to those lower in rank. Their attachment to the *darbar* (court) entitled them for the title of *Darbari*.

3 *Shahis* were those who, while residing in Nauraspur, were busy learning this art. They learnt it from the *Darbaris* who in turn were profited by the *Huzuris*. They received this title because they lived in the newly projected city of Nauraspur⁴.

They were all provided for by the Sultan, some of them received monthly allowances from the government; some were paid from the revenue of Shahpur, some from Nauraspur and some even from Bijapur. In addition to their allowances some of them were granted big estates.

Besides the daily engagements⁵ of all classes of musicians, on festive and ceremonial occasions, they were allowed to participate in, and in some cases to

¹ Song No 7—دورس گاؤ گئی گنیچن گن گنچ بنی

Song No 46—اتائی دعاقی گنیچن ترحگ گسائین ترلوچن

Song No 38—اراشیم دکھیں دورس گنیچن پد گوت چوپ سیرک کلاروت

² Vide the *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, p 354 and the *Basatin-us-Salatun*, p 252

³ It was called a Naqsh in Persian. The songs of the book were called in Persian as Naqsh-i-Nauras, at times even, Naghmaha-i-Nauras.

⁴ This implies that the gradation of the musicians was completed much after the compilation of the *Kitab-i-Nauras*, only when the new city was constructed.

⁵ Sanjar has given a graphic picture of the musical party of the Sultan which was included in the daily routine in those times (fol 35 b)

نه محصلت که از و دم کشی بود نعل
 نه محصلت که از آن عنچہ بود گلشن
 تمام شب یکی بعد از یکی تی تی تی
 تمام دور گنیچن سان نه تن تن تن

give performances specially on Id 1 Nauras days they displayed their musical feats

It has been claimed by some scholars of repute that Ibrahim II was the first Dakhani ruler to commission a *Ragmala* series 'In fact he was probably the first monarch to think of representing in line and colour the pictorial motifs which had come to be associated to music¹ These scholars have attributed all the Dakhani *Ragmala* paintings preserved in Bikaner Baroda and other Museums and private collections, to his court of which we have spoken earlier In this respect the Prince of Bijapur would stand out as an outstanding personality

Ibrahim's efforts aiming at the popularisation of music do not come to an end He is stated to have introduced a special institution called *Id 1 Nauras* which was observed in great rejoicings On the ninth of each month which happened to fall on Friday a great soiree was held in honour of the Id 1 Nauras in the Nauras Mahal for which great preparation was made The Lashkar-1 Nauras comprising the singers and musicians and all others somewhat inclined towards music including the nobility were ordered to participate and make the show a success The skilled musicians made a display of their art by giving performances² The generous Sultan subsequently feasted and lavishly rewarded all and sundry The result was that music was so popular that the sons of nobility thought it a proud privilege to have an acquisition of this science and to be classed with the musicians of the court In short the democratisation of this branch of fine art goes to the credit of this gifted Prince of Bijapur

Ibrahim Adil Shah was not satisfied with these steps alone He wished that skilful musicians should adorn his court by their constant presence With this object in view he sent his messengers to various climes and regions in search for those who were either adepts in their art or at least showed a tendency to grasp it With promises of heavy rewards much favours and better prospects they were invited to the court at Bijapur The result was that within a short time about nine hundred skilled musicians thronged Nauraspur where a particular seat was allotted to them It was probably thereafter that Ibrahim Adil set out classifying them into different categories according to their abilities The number which was nine hundred, if taken as accurate rose to two to three thousand when Zuhuri wrote his third preface some time about A H 1013/1604 and three to four thousand when Rafiuddin completed his *Tazkiratul Muluk*

Karl Khandalay la *Marg* Vol V Book II p 27

It is also stated that on the same day the governors and other officers were sent to their respective provinces

four years later Towards the close of the reign of the Prince, according to the *Basatn-us-Salatn*, the best musicians, including their pupils and taught, were about four thousand while the foimers alone numbered to 1445

Asad Beg¹, who visited Bijapur sometime in 'A.H. 1012-13/1604-1605, gives a description of the seat of Adil Shah which was so surcharged with music through the efforts of its ruler

“On another side may be a wine merchant’s shop and an establishment of singers and dancers, beautiful women adorned with various kinds of jewels, and fair-faced choristers, all ready to perform whatever may be desired. In short, the whole *bazar* was filled with wine and beauty, dancers, perfumes, jewels palaces and viands . . . perhaps no place in the wide world could present a more wonderful spectacle to the eye of the traveller ”

Probably it was at this time that Shah Sibghatullah visited the capital and was shocked to learn the state of affairs at Bijapur

Unfortunately the names of only two of the musicians have survived ; the first is Bakhtar Khan about whom we have spoken earlier. He is stated to be the King’s teacher in *Dhnupad* form of music But he seemed to be younger than the Sultan himself Jahangir reports² that Ibrahim got her niece (brother’s daughter) married to him We know that Sultan’s only brother, Ismail, died in A H 1003/1595 at the age of eighteen years In case Ibrahim’s niece was his daughter, then she would have attained the age of majority not earlier than 1017/1608. Consequently her marriage with Bakhtar Khan could have not been solemnished earlier than this date Hence it would be in the fitness of things to presume that the *Kalwant’s* age was not more than twenty-five But these conclusions are not in conformity with those derived from the *Memours* of Jahangir The Mughal Emperor claims the *Kitab-i-Nauras* to be in form of *Dhnupad* which the Sultan learnt from Bakhtar We have seen that this book was composed earlier than A H 1007/1599 when Bakhtar (i e the Sultan’s teacher) was about fifteen years This age is not sufficient to have a privilege of teaching the Sultan In short, if Jahangir’s statement, that Bakhtar to whom the king’s niece was married was the king’s teacher, is correct (which we cannot reasonably question) then he would be of an advanced age at the time of his marriage to the Sultan’s niece, which is some what unusual and unexpected

¹ Elliot and Dowson, Vol VI, p 164 , *vide* also the *Basatn-us-Salatn*, pp 277-278 Zuhuri’s pen-picture that the Dakhanis are holding entertainments on every side and festival in every direction and are reclining at the table of taste of his presence and the table cloth of comfort and delight, refers to an earlier period of his reign (*the Sil-i-Nathr*, p 9)

² The *Tuzuk*, Vol I, p 134

The other musician at the court of Ibrahim was Chand Khan. He is mentioned by the way in the *Basatin us Salatin*¹ which shows that he was one of the pupils of the Sultan and was classed with the *Huzuris*. He is stated to have wielded much influence and was a favourite of the Sultan. He presented two of his servants Daulatyar and Mubarakyar to the Sultan. The former was a Marhata and was very cunning and wise. He gained the favour of the Sultan and received the title of Daulat Khan but one day the Sultan in a mood to test the loyalty of the servant asked him to spit on the face of his old master, Chand Khan. Daulat Khan without hesitation spat on his master's face on which account he incurred the displeasure of the Sultan. Daulat under the title of Khawas Khan figured very brilliantly in the first part of the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah.

Ibrahim Adil Shah was not merely a successful composer but also an expert guitar player. His favourite guitar was named Moti Khan to which his attachment may be judged from the fact that he has alluded to it in a number of songs in the *Kitab i Nauras*. He has several times mentioned that nothing was more pleasant to him than playing on guitar. He thinks himself blessed by God that he is able to play so well on this musical instrument. It is interesting that he has expressed in some lines his feeling of separation from that instrument which is suggestive of his devotional attachment as well as his composing songs when away from the city on military expeditions.

The importance of Moti Khan can be judged from the fact that almost all the poets attached to his court have referred to it in their writings. Zuhuri and Malik have composed 128 *rubais* exclusively for this tambourine. Sanjar has beautifully referred to it in these lines:

دو اس کورس و سلیم اران ده موی جان که ساه جون حلماتش گویته در دامن
درے کہ دامن ساهش صدف بود ساند کہ جان فسادش ار مہر دانہ معدن

This signifies that when the Sultan took the guitar and sat in a posture of playing on it his courtiers bowed down before it, made obeisance and paid a respectful homage to it. But from these lines Warustah³ has concluded that when the king wished to take it from one place to another it was placed on a throne followed by the royal flag and the trumpet etc and the accompanying nobles paid respectful homage by bowing down before it. Possibly Warustah may be correct but his conclusions are slightly different. Sanjar closes his poem on the line in which the instrument has been alluded to for the second time.

¹ *Ibid* p 282

² *K. Huzat* f 1 33b

³ *The Mustalhat ut Shuara* p 241

Of Zuhuri and Malik's various compositions some are examined below. Malik says .

طنبور تو تار و پیود عشرت بسته ما عیش اسد عقد احبوت بسته
آراسته شاهدے ست در مجلس خاص صد حا کمر خویش نه خدمت بسته

Thy guitar has the wharp and whoof (string) of pleasure ; it has tied a knot of friendship with external joy. It is a well adorned beloved in the King's assembly , or you may call it a royal attendant who has girded up his loins at several places in the Sultan's service.

این سار که کارنامه تقدیر است ما نغمه او اثر تانیر است
هر نقش که در خیال شه صورت بست تصویر کند کارگه تکریر است

This musical instrument which should be regarded as the masterpiece creation of divinity, produces notes of efficacious nature. It represents the actual picture of the song which appeared in the Sultan's mind , then why should it not be called a workshop of writing ?

سار تو ر نغمه گشت لاهوتی حان گسرده ر نغمه هائے باسوی حان
تکریر و بدخشان چو محاط گشتند شد دست تو لعل و او موی حان

Thy musical instrument became celestial on account of its musical notes , it no longer produces profane music , when Behrein and Badakhshan were searched, such a pearl and diamond have been procured¹.

طنبور تو رار حگر صدکال است تکرے ست که حدولش در عطاں است
مضرب قلم ساخته بویسد برکان گهر حراج موتی حان است

Thy instrument is the heart containing secrets of hundred mines It should be taken as an ocean and its strings the rolling waves. The plectrum is the pen with which he writes a letter demanding the tribute from the mines of the pearls in form of Moti Khan

Zuhuri says²

این سار که تاج تارک تکریم است بر دهره ر رتبه صد تقدیم است
در کعبه دل روت عم بامال است ار دست گردنگان اسراهم است

This instrument is the crown of the head of glory , it occupies a position more exalted than that of Venus ; in the Kaba of heart the idols of afflictions are trampled down, for it is one of those who obtain Ibrahim's support (whose hands the king Ibrahim holds).

شاه ابراهیم در هذر حمشید است هر مطرب برم عشرتکس باهید است
تار است خط شعاع بر طنبورش آره ر دروع عارضش حورشید است

¹ *Kulliyat*, fol 25-27

² The poet's use of mines and oceans may be in relation to Moti Khan , but it may also suggest that it was studded with pearls and other precious jewels and it was probably on this account that such a title was assigned to it.

In skill the king Ibrahim resembles Jamshid , every musician of his assembly is similar to Venus , the strings of the tambourine are the lines of the rays while the instrument itself has been transformed into a sun under the light of the brilliant face of the patron

THE KITAB I NAURAS

We are somewhat acquainted with the *Kitab i Nauras* which embodies a collection of songs composed by the Sultan and intended to be sung in one of the melodies of Hindustani music. Now we shall deal in detail with various aspects of this book in the following pages

The Title

The actual title of the book is *Kitab i Nauras* which has occasionally been termed as 'Nauras'. Some scholars however claim it to have been styled as *Nauras Nama*. The cataloguers of the libraries at Hyderabad have generally assigned the same title. But all manuscripts of this book bear the title *Kitab i Nauras* which is also confirmed by contemporary evidence. For example Zuhuri and Malik, in their respective introductions to the book call it as such, but in their writings we come across the term Nauras which applies to the book itself. The songs of the book have at times been termed as *Naqsh* which is a Persian rendering of the word 'Lakshan'

It is interesting to know the reason for naming the book 'Nauras'. Zuhuri in his introduction to it assigns the following reasons¹ for doing so

وچه سمیة ان کتاب هندوان نه سمره محتتمع را روس می گویند و فارسیان اگر بروس بهال
فضل و کمالش دانند، بحساب و نه ان معنی که ان ساند یه صفت از برده شمع نه خلوه که ظهور
بو رسده روس حوا اندش هم رو است و عیاس مسی ارس اسم کنر -

The reason for giving this title is that Indians call a mixture of nine juices Nauras, and if Persians regard it as a new fruit of the tree of excellence and perfection it is quite appropriate

Ras literally means juice or essence of anything. In Sanskrit poetics a peculiar feeling or sentiment prevailing in a piece of poetry or even prose is called a *Rasa* of a particular kind. The nine commonly known *Rasas* are as follows

- 1 *Shringara* or the sentiment of love and romance
- 2 *Veera* or the sentiment of heroism and chivalry
- 3 *Veebhatsa* or the sentiment of disgust
- 4 *Raudra* or the sentiment of anger and fury

¹ The *Sih Nathr i Zuhu* : p 16

- 5 *Bhayanak* or the sentiment of dread and terror.
- 6 *Hasya* or the sentiment of joy and humour.
- 7 *Karuna* or the sentiment of compassion and pathos.
- 8 *Adbhuta* or the sentiment of wonder and amazement
- 9 *Shanta* or the sentiment of peace and contentment.

It is clear that the Sultan had in mind nine *Rasas* of Indian literature† the traits of which he wished to introduce among the Persian-knowing Muslims not conversant with the Sanskrit language and its various *Rasas*. His intention was to compose and collect such songs as would rouse various sentiments in the minds of those who happen to sing them

Ibrahim Adil was so much enamoured of this word that he styled many things as such. It is fruitful to find out the time and the reason of the King's attachment to the word. There is a legend in all histories of Bijapur, including the contemporary Rafi-ud-Din's *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* and Fuzuni's *Futuh-at-Adil Shahi*,¹ that on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the new city of Nauraspur, a man from Torweh, a village, brought a vessel full of wine and presented it to the Sultan who was so pleased with its delicious taste that he uttered these words امرور مر اکیبیت نو رسیده "From that day onwards," remarks Rafi-ud-Din, "the wine was named *Nauras* and the city also was assigned the same name." According to the *Basatin* these words were regarded as very auspicious and so the city was named Nauraspur‡. The city was founded only after 1008/1599, but the word was in use before this time. Probably it was popularly used only after the foundation of the city. In the *Futuhat* it is further stated that the Sultan got prepared a delicious mixture of nine saps which had an intoxicating effect similar to that of wine. Hence the word was aptly uttered by the King, for in Dakhini 'Nau' means 'nine', and since then the figure 'nine' was looked upon as auspicious and whatever was given was called 'Ek Nauras' or 'Du Nauras'.

The causes of the introduction and popularity of the word 'Nauras' as given in the *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*, the *Futuhat* and the *Basatin*, on the one hand, and those in the *Sih Nathr*, on the other, are more or less similar. But the dates given in the three histories are slightly different. It is known with certainty that the second treatise in the *Sih Nathr* was written after the first, i.e., the introduction to the *Kitab-i-Nauras*, before A. H. 1008. This clearly proves that both the introduction as well as the book were completed much earlier than this date.

† Vide *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XIX, April 1945, p. 142. But a friend of mine holds that it was an ancient tradition which Ibrahim merely carried forward.

¹ P. 348 and pp. 157—168 (respectively).

‡ According to some the statement is dubious in its authenticity.

Whatever the reason was and whensoever the word was introduced and came into common use the Sultan's fondness for the word assigned it to a large number of things amongst which the following are known to us

- 1 Nauraspur, a city at a distance of four miles to the west of Bijapur
- 2 Nauras Mahal a royal palace in Nauraspur
- 3 Nauras Bahisht, a portion of Shah Nawaz's palace in Bijapur
- 4 The Amal 1 Nauras the drinking of the delicious wine
- 5 The Alam 1-Nauras, the royal flag
- 6 The Nauras an executive and administrative department
- 7 The Hisab 1 Nauras, Accounts Revenue and Finance departments
- 8 The Sikka 1 Nauras, or Ibrahim Nauras, a coin
- 9 Nishan 1-Nauras, the yellow colour the royal emblem and the seal
- 10 The Id 1 Nauras a special festival
- 11 The Lashkar 1 Nauras various classes of musicians
- 12 The Nauras Nama the title of Firishtah's history
- 13 Naurasi, the pen name of a poet
- 14 Nauras the pen name of another poet
- 15 The Naghma 1 Nauras or the Naqsh 1 Nauras the songs of the *Kitab 1 Nauras*
- 16 Nauras Paikar the elephant
- 17 Nauras quantity or measurement
- 18 Hun 1 Nauras, a new coin devised by Ibrahim which was equal to nine Huns of the Deccan¹

The Date of its Composition

The exact date when the *Kitab 1 Nauras* was completed and compiled is not known. It is however certain that the book which embodies a collection of songs, could not have been composed on one occasion. There are definite proofs that some songs were composed when he was out on some expedition. Thus it is definite that the various songs were composed from time to time. But it is almost impossible to find out the exact date when any particular song was completed. The fact that the number of songs and their arrangement differ from manuscript to manuscript (even the contemporaneous ones) is suggestive of the

¹ As d Beg's Mission to Bijapur *Potdar Commemoration Volume* p 195. The coin had the inscription

بوس مہر عادل ساهی حکم گرو داد الہی

† According to Baqir's following chronogram it was constructed in A.H. 1009/1601

حوکم سالی نمانشی بہست روح انورا

(*Dist n 1 Baq* fol 6b)

Sultan's activity in composing songs even when the book was ultimately compiled. There are, however, some events which help us in calculating the approximate date when the songs were compiled under the title of *Kitab-i-Nawās*. In Zuhuri's second treatise in the *Sih Nathr* the Sultan is stated to have been in his third *Ashra* which was completed in A.H. 1009/1601. That is to say, this piece was written about 1008/1600 (or even before) at the latest, consequently the first treatise in the *Sih Nathr*, viz, the introduction to the *Kitab-i-Nawās* and hence the book, was written much before this date. Since Zuhuri's arrival in Bijapur took place about 1004/1596, the period within which the book was completed is from 1005-1007/1597—1599. But this date refers to the first copy made at the instance of the Sultan himself. The authentic copies prepared during the reign of the author himself embody such songs as could not have been completed earlier than 1012/1603. This proves with certainty the Sultan's activity in composing songs which subsequently were incorporated in the later copies of the *Kitab-i-Nawās*.

The copy of the book prepared by Abdur Rashid is dated 990/1582, but it has been proved earlier that this is a wrong date, for it embodies such songs as could have only been composed after 1012/1603. Maulana Sibghatullah's arrival in Bijapur is stated to have occurred in 1000/1592, which might assign an earlier date to the *Kitab*, but we have seen that the said saint could not have arrived before 1005/1597.

The two other contemporary manuscripts, viz, those of Abdul Latif and his son, Abdul Halim, have no claim to be the first copy or a copy thereof on the same ground as stated above. The former, having been prepared earlier than 1022/1614, contains songs on events of 1012/1603, while the latter is of a much later date.

Its Introduction or Preface

Zuhuri has clearly stated that the King did not take upon himself to write the preface to his book. It was left to Zuhuri to supply the necessary preface, and he did it at the suggestion of the Sultan himself. Although no reason is given for the Sultan's indifference to contributing a preface, Zuhuri calls¹ his preface "a worthless stone for the garland made of royal pearls," and compares it to thorns and weeds in the cool refreshing atmosphere of the garden, adding in picturesque language that it should be regarded as "pitch beside camphor and as colocynth before sugar." But the apparent cause of the Sultan's inability to supply the preface seems to be the paucity of the Dakhini language which was

¹ *Vide the Sih Nathr*, p 19

not copious enough to express a coherent theme particularly in prose in a systematic form. This defect of the language is fully evident even in the book itself some songs of which are very simple while others so difficult as to have no resemblance to the former. Consequently the choice fell to Persian, greatest masters of which were attached to the court this was why the preface was written in a different language and by a different person. But Zuhuri's view about his indebtedness to the Sultan's skill in writing a preface should not be interpreted as such. He is rather paying respectful homage to the author, for in poetry his position was certainly much superior to the Prince of Bijapur.

Zuhuri's father in law, Malik of Qum, also wrote a preface to the *Kitab-i Nauras*¹ but he was actuated to do so out of jealousy or in a mood of rivalry and competition. According to his own statement, when Zuhuri's prose became very popular everyone taunted Malik on his inability to produce a work of that quality, with the result that the latter came forward to compete with the former. He at the same time discloses his close attachment and devotion to Zuhuri with a view to clarifying the position and circumstances under which he did so. In short, Zuhuri first wrote the preface and he did so at the command of the sovereign, but Malik only imitated the style of Zuhuri.

It is however, strange that none of the contemporaneous manuscripts has been prefixed by either of the two prefaces. Apparently these prefaces were meant as reviews introducing the book to the public and not to be prefixed to the book as a preface. It is also possible that only Zuhuri's might have been prefixed to the first manuscript prepared some time about A H 1007 and never after.

Zuhuri's preface written in an ornate and florid style is regarded as a very good specimen of ornate Persian prose. He is stated to have introduced a special kind of ornate prose style which subsequently became so popular that a number of prose writers have attempted to imitate him but without much success.

It would not be out of place to note that the nature of Zuhuri's preface to the *Kitab-i Nauras* is shrouded in mystery. Scholars of repute have claimed three prose pieces, collectively known as the *Sih Nathr*, to be the three prefaces to the said book. But the fact is otherwise, the second and the third pieces were intended to be the prefaces of the *Gulzar-i Ibrahim* and the *Khwan-i Khahl* two joint anthologies prepared by Malik and Zuhuri at two different dates. Zuhuri's introduction begins with these words

سرود سرانجام عسرت کده مال که نه بروس سراستان حال کارگام و زبان ساختہ

¹ Its only two copies are known. Both are contained in the two MSS of Maliks *Kulliyat* at the Riza Library (Rampur) and R A S B Library (Calcutt)

² Vide R A S B MSS fol 152

(The singers of the pleasure house of speech who with the fresh fruit of the garden of—)

It ends with the line

دین دعاها بر اجابت منب بسیار باد

(With these prayers, let the fulfilment be under much obligation)

Malik's introduction begins as follow .

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نورس نستان کلام قدیم

(“In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate,” the new fruit of the garden of eternal discourse)

It ends with the lines

با نغمه و نظم بادشاه ابراهیم حدم است ملک سخن حروش اولی

(The discourse reaches its culminating point in the songs and verses of Ibrahim , so we should keep silent)

The Commentary on the Translation of the Book

The biographers are generally silent on the point whether the book was annotated or not. It is Abdur Razzaq who has referred¹ to the translation of the songs contained in the Sultan's book. But his remark shows that only some of its portion was rendered in Persian. But Zuhuri in his preface has clearly stated² that the generous Sultan did not like to deprive the inhabitants of Iraq and Khurasan of his favours and blessings, so he wished that the book should be rendered into Persian. With this object in view he ordered the scholars of his court to prepare a comprehensive but brief commentary on the *Kitab-i-Nauas* some of whose technical terms should be elucidated separately. Malik too³ has claimed that since the King was very kind and sympathetic to foreigners, he wished that they must share his blessing and accordingly it was ordered that the book should be translated into Persian. But the translation should be brief and comprehensive.

In some later manuscripts of Zuhuri's preface there is a different reading of some words which suggests that the commentators were different from those deputed to explain the technical terms and allusions etc. But Abdur Razzaq has clearly discarded such readings.

It is stated both by Zuhuri and Malik that the scholars took great pains to comply with the royal wishes and accomplish the work entrusted to them. But when they submitted it for favour of royal approval, the Sultan found it so

¹ The *Maqaddamat-i-Zuhuri*, p 10

² The *Sih Nathr*, p 18

³ *Kulliyat*, fol 152

much below the average that he had to revise it entirely with the consequence that the annotation of the book went to the credit of the Sultan himself. But it is not clear whether the translation was in prose or in verse. The manuscript of the *Kitab-i Nauras* preserved in the Oriental Library, Banipur (Patna) contains the Persian translation. But it is difficult to hold it identical with the one made at the instance of the Sultan for it is not of a high standard though we should certainly have expected it to be of the same order as is the *Sih Nathr*. This translation is very faithful one and is in prose.

Contents of the Book

A number of scholars have mentioned the existence of this work but none of them has made an attempt to interpret its songs. All the scholars have connected the subject matter with music but none of them has arrived at correct conclusions. Mr Hashimi has quoted some lines in his work¹ but apparently he has not understood the language as he has quoted them in a mutilated form. The credit of correctly introducing the book and interpreting its songs goes to Mr B G Gayani of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay who has written an exhaustive article² on the book, basing it on the manuscript in the above mentioned Museum. He concludes correctly that the *Kitab-i Nauras* is a collection of stray songs composed from time to time and that the songs were meant to be sung in different melodies of Indian music and that all the pieces are independent of each other having nothing like a continuous narration on any particular subject. The book fully indicates the author's command over the language and the subject or the theme and his religious tolerance.

The number of songs available so far is fifty-nine but no single manuscript contains so many. The original manuscript certainly contained less for, as pointed out earlier, the Sultan continued composing such songs even after the first copy was made. These songs were subsequently incorporated in later copies. The fact that one manuscript contains fewer songs than the others does not necessarily prove that it is of an earlier date. On this assumption Mr B G Gayani has assigned an earlier date to the Hyderabad Museum copy than to the one at the Hyderabad Records Office, though the case is just the reverse. This principle is not applicable even in the case of contemporaneous manuscripts for the Salar Jung Museum copy, though it contains fewer songs cannot be assigned a date earlier than that of the Records Office copy.

¹ V de the *Maqalat-i Hashimi* pp 31-41. Mr Hashimi notes a difference between A.H. 1005 and 1010 (*Natwa-i Adab* January 1955 p 47).

² *Islamic Culture* V 1 XIV No 2 April 1954 pp 140-152.

These fifty-nine songs composed by Ibrahim Adil Shah and collected in various manuscripts of the *Kitab-i-Nauras*, were intended to be sung in any of the following seventeen melodies of Indian music. In addition to these there are seventeen *Duhas* dealing with various topics in the most poetic way. They are not meant to be sung in a particular melody but are prefixed to the song under various *Ragas*.

(i)	Bhupali	:	2
(ii)	Ramkri	.	2
(iii)	Bhairava ¹	.	6
(iv)	Hajiz	.	1
(v)	Maui	.	2
(vi)	Asavari	.	2
(vii)	Desi	.	1
(viii)	Purba	:	1
(ix)	Barari	.	1
(x)	Todi	:	4
(xi)	Malar	.	5
(xii)	Gauri	:	2
(xiii)	Kalyan	.	4
(xiv)	Dhanasri		2
(xv)	Kanara or Karnata		19
(xvi)	Kedara	.	4
(xvii)	Nauroz		1

It has been stated earlier that there is nothing like a continuous narration of any subject in the book. All songs are independent pieces; their contents differ from song to song. Consequently it is difficult to give an exhaustive list of contents of its various songs; however, some of the topics which have been repeatedly mentioned are these

1 Most of the songs deal with Saraswati, Ganesh and other Hindu deities,

¹ In the three contemporaneous manuscripts the *Hajiz* melody is missing, while in the later copies all the six songs of *Bhairava* are placed under *Hajiz*, only in the Prince of Wales Museum copy one song is quoted under *Bhairava* and the rest under *Hajiz*. It seems these songs were sung in both the melodies. But in the text of one of them the name of the actual *Rag*, viz., *Bhairava* appears, whereas really the *Rag* has been visualised, but even that song appears under *Hajiz* in later copies. The visualization of a *Rag* means representing in line and colour the pictorial motif associated with a particular melody. It is commonly believed that each melody has a presiding deity and that without visualizing the image of that deity no favourable impression of the song is made on the mind.

which testifies to the Sultan's tolerance of all faiths on which account he has been much criticised by the Muslims Some songs are examined below

ہوسوں سو رحمتِ حگِ حویٰ اتر سوز گئی

(Dohra No 1) ہوسوں سرتی مانا ابراہیم درساں ہمیں دہنی

In these lines he invokes Saraswati for her blessings and favours and he regards her as his (Spiritual) mother

گہتی مروت ہنس مہکتہ مد برکت دانی

(Song No 24) دہن دامن گہت گہور گہور ملداں ہال دہو دانی

The *Megh Nakshatra* which is a season for heavy rains resembles Ganesh (Ganpati) in all respects the lightning is the tusk and the thunder is the bell and the rainbow, the forehead of Saraswati

سرتی دہر سواہت حل کیسین حی حاتی

(Song No 24) ابراہیم مکتا نکست نا لارن بہتین مانی

Again the goddess of learning (Saraswati) resembles the pure rain drops of Sewati (when the moon is in the 15th mansion) which produce pearls in shells

بہلی اسیں لاک درگا دوس دہکتہ ما و سوز دہکتہ

(Song No 25) لکتا سکر حلی کنت ہر ہر

The appearance of Saraswati (Durga) has put the sun to shame and so it is trembling out of it

سرتی گڑی حیسیے گم دہن دہنی کو کس ستارے سلوارے ملا

(Song No 37) نا ڈارن گہتی دہاو مان مانگ مکتہ سوزوپ کیلو انا

In these lines the author compares Saraswati to a beautiful ivory (elephant tusk) sculpture on which account Ganesh has represented himself as an elephant

بہلی اسیں لاک درگا گڑی ستاس سہت ستونی سنا

(Song No 37) ابراہیم مالا دہت سہس روا ما و ددوت کرپ حلتا

Saraswati is a white jasmine flower Ibrahim having put on a garland bows his head before her and offers his prayers

گہتی ہم روپ کی نکت حوی ما و سوز حگتے رت سکت

سودست سادست بہی و ناک ملوہر سلکتہ دیکھن کہن سادک دن دہن

حلتا جہانی حلتو مکتہ کلکت استومی بہی سنے کنت

(Song No 38) ابراہیم اکھن روس گنیش دگاوت حوی سیرک کلاوت

The whole song is a beautiful description of Ganesh A portion of his radiant face resembles the clear sun of the spring season, the spot in the moon is out of jealousy having been roused after hearing his praises Ibrahim's songs in praise of Ganesh would be sung by the musicians of his court

ساردا گنیش ماتا پما تم مانو نرمل بیب بہتک سیسی تاش
 ابراہیم گیت گہسو اب بواج برکت کینو دهن میرو داس (Song No. 39)

In this the author sings the praise of Saraswati and Ganesh who have illumined the path of learning , now he addresses them as his mother and father and invokes them to bestow their blessings on him

لیو سہ نام سری سرستی کو تب بایو حس نورس رنگ
 ابراہیم کرن گہت دندوت کرت تب ہوب روم روم بیدوامنگ (Song No 49)

Ibrahim advises all to wash the eight parts of the body with the water of the Ganges and then to pray to Saraswati in a respectful manner. The author does so and only then he enjoys peace and pleasure

سرستی سوچہ سندری مہا ا تم حات نرمل
 ایک ہست بستگ دوچہ ہاتری سمرن تیچہ شہہ شکہ چوتہ کمر کمل (Dohra No 17)

It is one of the many verses in which he has given a description of the physical form of this deity She is robed in a white dress holding a book in one hand, a garland or rosary in the other , a conch in the third and a lotus flower in the fourth

In the following lines the author has given a graphic description of Shiva who has a camphor-like complexion with a crescent on the forehead, three eyes and the Ganges flowing from the *Jata-Mukuta* The other emblems of Shiva are tridents, a human skull, the bull, the skin of the lion and the adornment of snakes

بیرو کردور گورا ہمال تلک چندرا تری نینرا حتا مکمت گنگا دہرا
 ایک ہست رتہ برا ترسول ترسول حگل کرا یاہن لپیورد سیت حاب گشائیں ایسورا (Song No 5)
 In the following lines we find a reference to Indra, the god of rain .

بیور کنچن تہال مروتیا بہر اندر پتہایو بیحتہارور وار قاریو ہانی ہر
 ابراہیم آکھیں یو سمیررس درن دراحت رحمت چہینت کیسری وسو (Song No 25)

We come across various poems in which the author has alluded to Indra's white elephant, the Airawat, his fairies, Apsaras, the ten *Rupas* of Rama, the burning of Lanka by Hanuman, Sita, Kamdeva, the third eye of Shiva, Parbatī, and many other religious and mythological allusions of the Hindus

2 Despite his devotional attachment to the Hindu gods and goddesses, he like a devout Muslim, sings in praise of Sayyid Husain-i-Gesu Daraz, the renowned saint of Gulbarga It was on account of his special attachment to the Saint that he got his daughter married to Shah Habibullah, son of Shah Yadullah of the Saint's family in 1606 Some of the songs are examined below .

ابراہیم چاہے اتم ندیا دان دہوم
 سید محمد کی دہائی کریم کرتار (Song No 1)

Sayyid Muhammad is invoked so that through his intercession God may bestow on him the favour of acquiring learning and scholarship

سید محمد نور مدد ہو رو سزا ہی دوس
(Song No 11) ابراہیم بابا ام منسا ناری نورس

The Saint is invoked to show him his handsome face

In the following lines he offers his sincere prayers to the Saint

سید محمد مرے دلور ناروں جیوں رسول کر لکھے عرش بہاوں
گسٹ دے جیوں جرد مددنا کئے علیف ہور موبدوں جونا
جیوں دیہک سمن دیے مددنا تک نکدنا مسک عمیر بچھارے انکنا
(Song No 28) سہوے اوسن جگ درالعد مہنا

In the following song the author beautifully compares the tomb its minarets, domes coverings etc to various things of nature

مخدوم سد محمد حسنی گندو درار عاسی سہار سرورار
(Song No 17) سد سنی سد محمد اچھے مونی

In the following lines the Sultan invokes the Saint to favour him so that he might succeed in his enterprise

جیوں چھنا بہا حصر ظلمات میں دے
مدرا من سکندر ہووا دھوندے دے
(Song No 32) سید محمد ابراہیم کو دکھا کے دے

In the following song he speaks of the exalted position the Saint occupied in the realm of spirituality and says that without thought of him no mental pleasure or peace can be had

جیوں نارے حاند کو جسے احب نکلیا سب جہنم
نورس سب دو عالم سد محمد ادیوں
(Song No 52) ابراہیم دیکوتا ہے اس حب اوے سد کی ناس سب ہووے گا اس

Sayyid Muhammad was the leader of all saints

(Song No 59) سید محمد نبی مدرا جیوں رس من ام ہرا

The poet feels the pangs of separation from his spiritual guide, Sayyid Muhammad and requests him to forgive his faults

سد محمد ملین ناں سوکھے سب دل در نہیں سب حاوے درکھے
(Song No 35) ابراہیم گنگار وں بھسے حوک

(ii) In a number of songs Ibrahim Adil Shah alludes to incidents in his domestic and private life

(a) The following verse is in praise of his elephant named Atash Khan¹

(Song No 7) نورس گاو گنگت گنگتس کن گنگ ہی حہم حہم ایش حان سدا مسب عہدی

¹ M. Gayani says that the song to Ganesha does not contain the word elephant (Ma g Vol V I p 24) But the text mentions a thing but the chief elephant (vide Bankipur Manuscripts copy of Na a)

(b) This song is a depiction of the feeling of separation from his beloved elephant,¹ which was praised by poets, heroes and others .

آتشِ حان کے برہے کیسے روسے آگ
قیامت سو منگل بھے کون گذشت کیرے بہاگ
سور سرایت سراوست سارے سرہائس آتشخان
چتاری چتر چہاتے بہات بھولے بکھان
سب دیکھوں تھک دھے ابراہیم بیچ حیران (Song No 9)

(2) Ibrahim's attachment to his favourite tambourine, Moti Khan, is judged from these songs

حینن حینن حین مروتی خاں کی تات گائے
تال بردگ بھید سون بورس ناے (Song No. 27)

The author felt the separation from this musical instrument when out on some expedition

بیگ ملارے پیارے سنخان ناہارے سکھ محہہ ان بان
(Song No 34) ابراہیم برہے مروتی خاں

Life divested of learning (particularly skill in music) has no pleasure at all

دیا چہاتے حیوانیو اچرح سس مورکھے مویو بران
(Dohra No 9) کو کھیھونا ابراہیم سندیسا آپکا کہیں سمیت مروتیخان

In the following songs he beautifully compares Moti Khan to an ocean .

مروتی خاں ساگر اہمان پور تاپر تانت کلرل لہو گور (Song No. 15)
مروتی خاں ناھا کو بھید کروا کی دعاو اُتبت لچھیں (Song No 23)

(3) He refers to his mother, Bari Sahib, and his wife, Chand Sultan,² commonly known as Malika-i-Jahan, in some of the songs. For example

حم حم حیو بری صاحب آپ پوت سیس پر (Song No. 11)

The Sultan has beautifully praised the physical beauty, intellect, skilfulness, scholarship, pleasing nature and other virtues of his wife in these two songs .

ابراہیم سب سندری دیکھیایو لچھیں ھے کہاں
(Song No 21) حات چاند سلطان ناو بی بی ملکیکھان

دھنی بی بی چاند سلطان ملکیکھان اتم سندر ناری ایسی کہاں
روم روم چاتر سب بھید سنپوروات مہاگن
(Song No 22) ساریاں لاج تھکناں ناریاں ایسی تو کیرتس

¹ Ibrahim presented his best elephants to the Emperor Akbar in 1603, the chief of which, according to Asad Beg, was Chanchal The Sultan of Bijapur subsequently presented three of his chief elephants, viz , Sarnak, Mahupat and Bakht-i-Baland to Jahangir in 1027/1618 But Atash Khan is different from either of them for the above songs must have been composed earlier than 1022/1613

² Scholars have misunderstood her for the Sultan's aunt, the famous Chand Sultan (of Ahmadnagar), for it would be quite inappropriate on the part of the nephew to praise her physical beauty Moreover, she did not bear the title of Malika-i-Jahan Consequently it is quite natural to regard her as the wife of the Sultan

Ibrahim seems to be at his best while depicting the affliction of a lover who is separated from his beloved. This hackneyed and commonplace topic receives a novel treatment at the hands of the poet who has usually painted life like pictures. It is remarkable that in such songs he is very simple and does not try to show his erudition.

(1) The following song is a description of the feelings of union and separation. It is a true picture, effective and simple.

دیارے بنارے انک ناس ہاں جیوں بول نہیں بھیری بھول ناس
کتا د کہوں و مکھ ان بنوں نہیں سب ہونی خو کہ
دنی د وں دل نہ دایع دکھ

(Song No 13) حل میں جیوں تلے معدن گھڑی انک منج حارے دن ا راہم حکور حاند میں

(2) In these lines the poet bursts forth into a true lyric full of pathos and charm.

ہردم آوے بنارے بندے تسی کی نار منج
وہی ساگمے حدو کو نہیں و حارے گا منج

مسب میں ہور احدل امروی وں دے
(Song No 33) مول را کہیں حدو سانب و اول ہوں دنوں دے

(3) In the following verses the poet advises the breeze to refrain from going to the lovers who are burning with the fire of love. The lover is not afraid of himself being burnt; he fears the fire would spread throughout the world and consume it to ashes.

ارے دن بجا ان در جن بڑی کہیں اگن بھاگ
(Song No 31) ہوں جٹوں کتہہ در نہیں در جک حل جائے اس اگ

(4) In giving a description of the physical beauty of the beloved, the Sultan has followed in the footsteps of the Sanskrit poets who sometimes even cross the limits of propriety.

(Dohra No 16) کلیانی رمی بدور کتا بندوبدی مگ منی اعان بلوی ام

The Merits of the Book

After a careful and critical study of this interesting book I have been able to conclude that it should be studied not merely as a book of stray songs, but as one which has a certain literary and historical significance and as a piece of literature which can compare with works having an established position among the best literatures. I shall deal with the three aspects of this book.

- 1 As a book of music
- 2 As a literary composition
- 3 As a book of linguistic importance

As a Book of Music

It has been pointed out that this book has nothing to do with the principles of music or its technique. It is simply a collection of songs composed by the Sultan of Bijapur from time to time. These songs were meant to be sung to some melodies and tunes of Indian music. At the beginning of each song or *geet*, the particular *Raga* or *Ragini* in which it was to be sung is mentioned. For example, a song in *Bhupali* or *Ramkri* or *Bhairava* bears a headline, such as Dar Maqam-i-Bhupali, Dar-Maqam-i-Ramkri or Dar-Maqam-i-Bhairava etc. These words are followed by the term 'Nauras' in most of the manuscripts. Each song is divided into three scientific stages, the first stage should be regarded as *Sthayi* (though the term appears in no song), the second is *Bain* (or *Antra* which has been used in a few songs only) and the last stage is *Abhoga*. It is strange that the divisions of no song correspond to the four scientific stages through which a song passes. The *Sanchari* or the third stage is completely absent from the book. Apparently the last three stages of the usual form have been combined into two. It seems to be the Sultan's own creation and it was on this account that Jahangir, while paying a tribute to the poet's accomplishments in music, specially in the *Dhruwad* form, has called¹ him the expounder of this system which should be considered midway between *Dhruwad* and *Khayal*. It is, however, strange that Mr B G Gayani has overlooked this particular aspect of the book. He has clearly stated² that all the four stages are marked in almost every song of the *Nauras*, though, as a matter of fact, none of them is divided into the four usual stages. Dr Moti Chand has also committed the same mistake in claiming³ that the songs of the *Nauras* are divided into the four usual stages. In some songs, however, more than one *Bain* or even two *Bains* are found while there is only one *Abhoga* in all cases.

The author was aware of the classification of *Ragas* and *Raginis* as these two terms appear in at least one line; but he does not strictly follow this classification. In Persian we have twelve notes or melodies called Duwazdah Muqam-i-Musiqi, so the author styles all the seventeen melodies as Muqam, which may equally be applied to both *Raga* and *Ragini*. He styles in the body of the text (and not in the headline) *Bhairava*, *Malar* and *Asawari* as *Raga* and *Ramkri* as *Ragini* though except the first all the three are recognised as *Raginis*.

Of the seventeen melodies under which he had composed various songs, two are foreign. The *Nauras* has been claimed in the *Akbarnama*⁴ as one of the old

¹ The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol I, p, 143

² *Islamic Culture*, April 1945, p 144

³ *Marg*, vol V (1), p 26

⁴ Beveridge, vol 1, p 50, *Gangoli Ragas and Raginis*, p 54

Khwarazmite tunes to which Akbar was specially attracted and which was subsequently Sanskritised as *Natarochika*. The second is *Hajiz* one of the recognised Persian melodies, later Sanskritised as *Hujeja*. But the credit of the introduction of these foreign melodies does not go to the author of the *Kitab-i-Nauras*, for they were known to Indian music earlier than his time.

Representation of Songs

The sources of all pictorial representations of the Indian melodies, the *Ragamala* paintings or pictures, are the *dhyana* formulas in the shape of Sanskrit verses, representing the *devata maya rupa* the image forms of the *Ragas* and *Raginis*. It is believed that without visualising the image of the presiding deity of a particular melody no favourable impression is made on the mind of the musician. Consequently, he fails to achieve the objective of the *Raga viz ras* or the aesthetic emotion—the motif of the melody. The two phases of the melody viz the sound form and its corresponding image form were recognised from early times though this dual aspect is not referred to in any text earlier than *Raga Vivodha*¹. There is no doubt a reference to the presiding spirit of each *Raga* in many of the old legends, as well as its indication in earlier texts, but the images and the pictures of the melodies are completely absent there. The practice of composing *Ragamala* verses describing the images of the *Ragas* seems to have been current long before the middle of the fifteenth century. But it is difficult to say whether pictorial illustrations corresponding to the descriptive word picture have been painted much before the sixteenth century.

Ibrahim Adil Shah has given a description of some of the melodies in his book. These pen pictures are in some cases different from the images usually painted. I shall briefly deal with his descriptive word pictures in the following pages.

(1) *Raga Bhairava*. This *Raga* which resembles the god Shiva is described 'as having a camphor like fair complexion with the crescent on the forehead and three eyes and matted locks over which the Ganges sparkles. In one hand he has a human skull and in the other, a trident. His vehicle is a bull and his body is white (besmeared with ashes). He has the skin of an elephant and of a lion on his back and carries ornaments provided by snakes and sits under the shade of the heavenly *Kalpavriksha*. A beautiful woman in white is playing on the *Mirdang* beyond the Kailash mountains. Ibrahim is composing a beautiful *Lakshan* of *Raga Bhairava*'.

¹ *Ras and Raginis* pp 101-104
The *Kitab-i-Nauras* Song No. 5

This picture is somewhat different from that given in *Raga-Sagara*, the earliest known text dealing with the iconography of *Ragas*¹ "Contemplation of Bhairava the sea of notes and microtones, with the nectar of all varieties of rhythms and time-measures, the fulfilment of the desire of the worship of Shiva, with the body always besmeared with ashes, decked with matted locks, with the shine of the young moon on the head, with skulls as decorations, I adore Bhairava, the skilful Dancer "

The picture painted by the Sultan again differs from that of Mesakarna (1509) who represents the *Raga*² as follows .

"White in complexion, clad in white, carrying the crescent and the horn and wearing a garland, Bhairava is born from the mouth of Shiva, and carries poison on his neck and his eyes are red . He also carries the trident, the skull and the lotus and wears jewelled pendants on his two ears and matted locks "

(2) *Raga Asavari*³ . "*Asavari* is a charming lady of white jasmine complexion, dressed in saffron-coloured robes and a blue bodice . Having decorated herself she has captivated the heart of her lover by the wrinkles on her forehead . The lover is holding her fast and drags her towards himself . The lady with her mischievous and playful eyes seems to be enamoured of her lover . The poet Ibrahim is composing this *Lakshan* "

This pen-picture of *Ragini Asavari* is quite different from its usual description which is as follows⁴ .

"*Ragini Asavari* is represented as a female *yogi* (who has renounced the world), seated on a promontory inside a fort surrounded by water beneath a sandal tree . Its delicate and perfumed foliage bends towards her to protect her from the morning sun's warm rays . Her dawning womanhood is arrayed in the salmon-coloured garb of *jogan* . Her raven hair is massed on the top of the head in a *jata* . On her white brow gleams the sacred mark of religion in camphor . Her slumberous eyes are heavy with the power of her music and her mouth is on a *pongi* which she is blowing . The deadly serpents and peacocks are attracted beyond control "

(3) *Ragini Ramkri*⁵ . "*Ramkri* is a fascinating and heroic lady of incomparable beauty who has converted her bed into a battlefield , her heart is full of emotions and enthusiasm and her playful gait and walk resemble lightning

¹ *Ragas and Raginis*, pp 107-108,

² *Ibid*, p 111, see footnote 16

³ *The Kitab-i-Nauras*, Song No 14

⁴ *Sangit of India*, p 62

⁵ *Kitab-i-Nauras*, Song No 3

Having cunningly deceived her husband this charming lady is engaged in dallying with her companions. She has adorned herself with precious jewels and saffron coloured clothes. O, Ibrahim, *Ramkrī Ragini* s black and musk scented tresses are fastened into locks '.

This word picture is somewhat similar to the earlier available description as given in the *Raga Sagara*¹

'Contemplation of *Ramakriya* seated in heroic posture holding a bow and arrows, golden in complexion. I always adore the goddess *Ramakriya* '.

The *Ragini* is represented in the *Ragamala* pictures as follows

'A charming lady robed in blue with the sacred mark on her forehead, Having fully adorned herself she is anxiously awaiting the arrival of the lover who comes in the meantime and lays before her the excuses for his delay. The lady turning a deaf ear to his excuses turns her back on him.

(4) *Ragini Kanara*. The *Karnata* or *Kanara* has been represented in the *Kitab i Nauras*² as follows

'*Karnati*, a lady of surpassing beauty with white complexion resembling the Kewra (Pandanees Odoratissimus) flower, is dressed in a blue *sari* and yellow bodice. Her hands resemble the white lotus (*Kumud*) in tenderness, and the eyes are like the lotus (*Kamal*) in attraction. It is the spring season and the Indian cuckoo is calling. The lady, who is suffering from the pangs of separation is advised by the poet not to be grieved for her lover would soon arrive '.

The above pen picture is fundamentally different from the description of the *Ragini* which may be summed up thus ³

She is represented as a female warrior with handsome features robed in white and adorned with sparkling gems, a naked sword in one hand and an elephant tusk in the other. The entire premises are burning and a huge grey elephant is supplicating her for her lost tooth. The delicate nostrils of the lady are dilated with disdain and she gives him a withering glance. Her dark eyes flash fire.

(5) *Raga Kedara*. This melody has been visualised by Ibrahim Adil Shah⁴ in these words

Kedari is a young maiden of incomparable beauty who having been separated from her lover is greatly afflicted and has grown weak and feeble. She

¹ *Ragas and Ragis* pp 108-9

² *The S'rma i Ishrat* p 67
S ng N 36

³ *Sa git of Inda* p 62

⁴ *The Kitab i Nauras* Song No 55

has curly locks and a white complexion and she is robed in white. She is sitting and is sprinkling powdered *chandan* on her body and is drawing pictures on the ground with her nails ”

But this picture stands in sharp contrast with that found in the *Ragamala* paintings which may be described as follows¹ .

“*Kedari* is a beautiful lady robed in crimson red. She is so absorbed in the meditation of Mahadeva that she assumes his form Her matted locks are massed on the top of her head and from them flows the Ganges With the mark of the crescent on her forehead and a black serpent coiled round her head, the lady is sitting on the skin of a lion ”

Only these five melodies have really been visualised by the author of the *Kitab-i-Nawās*. But Mr Gayani has claimed² that three more *Ragims*, viz , *Malar*, *Gauri* and *Kalyani* have been represented in the above book The lines quoted by Mr Gayani to prove the visualisation of the last melody are actually taken from a *Dohna*, not contained in any contemporaneous manuscript. However, its introductory word is *Kalayani*, which might refer to the melody concerned. This is, no doubt, the feature of all the melodies which have been represented Their names occur in the beginning of the description. But it is strange that when there were four songs in this particular melody, why he preferred a *Dohna* which has nothing to do with any particular *Raga* or *Ragini*, for visualising the melody concerned.

Though the name of the melody occurs in the text, it is difficult to say that the author really visualised the *Malar Ragini* It stands in sharp contrast to those songs which are known to have represented the melodies The song quoted by Mr Gayani to show that the *Gauri Ragini* has been visualised has no peculiarity on the basis of which such a claim can be made If these two songs are regarded as the representation of two melodies, all the songs contained in the book may be supposed to represent one or the other of them

Historical Value

The *Kitab-i-Nawās* is significant in respect of providing some useful material for the evolution of the history of the art of music From this book one may conclude that the *Kanara Ragini* was the most popular melody towards the close of the sixteenth and in the beginning of the seventeenth centuries in the Deccan, more particularly at Bijapur It was on this account that out of a collection of fifty-nine songs, nineteen are meant to be sung in this *Ragini*

¹ *The Sarma-i-Ishrat*, p 78

² *Islamic Culture*, April, 1945

Then comes *Bhairava* the popularity of which may be ascertained from the fact that six songs have been composed in it. The *Malar Kedara* and *Todi* come next in respect of popularity for the Sultan composed four songs to be sung in each one of these three melodies.

The introduction of the *Hajiz* and *Nauroz* suggests that Indian music had been sufficiently influenced by Persian and other foreign music. The substitution of *Bhairava* for *Hajiz* in the later copies is indicative of the Sultan's interest in the foreign imported melody with the advancement of his age.

We gather other useful information also. For example, this book confirms that Ibrahim Adil was conversant with the classification of melodies in *Ragas* and *Raginis* but he did not strictly adhere to it. We also come to know of the various musical instruments commonly used in the Deccan.

(a) The following popular instruments were fitted with metal strings and were played with plectrums or fingers.

- 1 Tambourine
- 2 Kamacha—an instrument played with a bow, it has bars for the guidance of notes
- 3 Rubab—an instrument having four strings, it has no bars and is played with a plectrum
- 4 Jantar } both are stringed instruments
- 5 Chang }

(b) These four are the drum species struck either by the hand or struck

- 1 Dulak
- 2 Daf
- 3 Hurgtal
- 4 Birdang or Mirdang

(c) These five were pipe like instruments blown by mouth

- 1 Shahnai
- 2 Pawa
- 3 Nai
- 4 Khalu
- 5 Upang

In short this small book though containing stray songs is of much interest for the material offered for the history of music.

Literary and Poetic Merits

Ibrahim's only poetical compositions are available from the *Kitab-i-Nauras* on the basis of which he would not be classed with the first rate poets of his time. But there is no doubt that this interesting book is a masterpiece of poetic art. It

affords ample proof of the Sultan's originality and excellence in the realm of poetics. Zuhuri has quoted some instances of the Sultan's flight of imagination which is fully confirmed by the poetical compositions contained in the book. However, we shall deal briefly with its rare and incomparable similes and metaphors and other poetic artifices.

Here are some similes and metaphors original and unknown.

دنیا گھڑا بھرے چندنا درد

(Song No. 6) اوپر نرمل مسکا سو چاند سو دہ

The world is a milk pot which is full of the milk of moonlight; the moon is its pure butter.

یا چکرنگ چندر چندنا راس موتی

یا اندرا اندو چندنا ایراوت ہسنی

(Song No. 6) یا ویدھا ویدھو چندنا حل بہاگرتی

The moon is a duck, the moonlight a heap of pearls; or the moon is Indra who is riding on the white elephant (Airawat) of moonlight. Or you may call the moon a Brahman, bathing in the Ganges of moonlight.

یا کپالی چندر چندنا منقل ویدھوتی

(Song No. 6) یا بدن چھائی چندر چندنا آرسی حوتی

Or why should we not call the moon a *yogi* who is besmeared with the ashes of moonlight? Again, the moon should be regarded as the reflection of the body in the mirror of the moonlight.

In the following lines the readers will find a number of original and delicate similes in respect of the religious mark on the foreheads of Brahmans:

مکہ گورا پھتک تلک چھائی اندھ

(Song No. 8) تلک اکشہا سو ایشور اگن بیتر

The fair-complexioned face is a crystal, the reflection of the lip in the mirror is the sacred mark which should, in its turn, be taken as the fire flashing forth from the third eye of the god, Shiva.

تلک چندن بیج اکشہا

متدل سمدر مدہ میرو پردہا

(Song No. 8) یو اپماں مومس لاگے نس پنی لچھس دھرنا

The red spot in the middle of the white circle of *chandan* should be regarded as the imaginary Meru Mountains in the midst of the ocean (round which the sun moves). Or the spot of *Akshata* (rice) should be taken as the spot in the moon and the white circle of *chandan* as the bright part of the moon.

اوپماں آکھوں بہال تلک حکتر

کون کلک کسے کسوتی کر

(Song No. 8) ابراہیم ہیم پرچت تارکا مدھوتہ پر

The forehead of the Brahman is the touchstone (its wrinkles should be regarded as the lines of the touchstone) on which the genuineness of the gold of the sacred mark *tilak* is tested Ibrahīm too assayed the gold with the help of the pupils of his eyes

The point is that just as pieces of gold are collected with the wax so the poet collected the gold (*tilak* appearing on the forehead of the beloved) into his eyes with the help of the pupils of the eyes resembling wax This is indeed, a unique type of theft and the poet is proud of it

The beautiful picture of the beloved reflected in the eyes resembles Joseph who was thrown into the dark pit

لوں سے بچھائی ہوئی مہربان
 (Dohra No 7) ابراہیم مہا سندر یوسف پور دہیا کرپ دیکھے دار

The body is a glass in which the function of the soul is exactly that of sand in an hour glass This is done to see the time of the beloved's arrival

ریگ کر ہواؤں نام میں جو کتنی سیسی ناس
 (Dohra No 3) حال دیکھے حدو ہو کب آوے منجھ ناس

The moon with its black and shining portions resembles the eyes of a beautiful lady, the cloud covering the moon is like the border of the veil on the face of the beloved which when removed by the breeze unveils the face, and there after when the breeze abates, it is concealed again

سوم دور سہب مد سپام ماؤں ساندی روپ لکھن
 (Dohra No 6) ہادر ہادر مرگ آگے کب گت کب دے بدن

Readers will find rare and delicate similes in the following lines where the poet compares the whiteness of the eye to a pond full of water the eyelashes to the shore the pupil of the eye to the lotus and the line of collyrium is represented by the stalk of the lotus flower

درک دعوئی تاندو دیکھ دور دکھان نال
 (Dohra No 8) سوہے ہادر ہادر ماؤں ملیں انجھ نال

The poet compares the sun to a burning fire in which all the stars are burnt as easily as black seed in the fire The milky way is the axis over which the sky moves like a fan

ہر دس دھارنی سوں اسپند ہارے سارے
 (Dohra No 11) ملنداکلی دندی گن دکھا ہورے سدا ہارے

Here is a beautiful comparison of the eyes to letters The white portion in them stands for paper, the lines of the collyrium (*Kajjar*) are the letters the pupil of the eye the seal and the eyelashes are besmeared with lac for sticking the flaps of the envelopes

گامت سعت برمل بین سندرا اکھر کہت کیر کاحر
بیچ سکا تار کا لکھوتی لبیتے تاپر

In the following lines original similes and metaphors may be noticed. He says I am searching my beloved who has hidden herself behind the thin curtain of eyelashes. Just as Khizr hid himself in the dark, and Alexander went out in search of him, my mind plays the role of Alexander

میرا بیو دوسدوں دے دل سوں انکھیان بھینر دے
حمدنا دیکھوں کھانا داؤں دے اس پلکھان کے بردے میں آچھ دے
ملج گنہ عذاب نا چھوڑے دے

(Song No. 32) میرامن سکندرھوادھونڈے دے

Here we find a beautiful simile of moonlight, it is like pure water, its rays have woven a net which is spread in water Ibrahim is a fish and his eyes are the full-blossomed lotus flower

چندنا امرت حل بر برملا چندا کیروں دوری بوں میلی حالا
(Song No 12) ادراہیم میں ہیں بھول کھیلے کلا

As a poet Ibrahim seems to be at his best when he depicts the feelings of separation or draws a pen-picture of the beloved. These common and hackneyed topics are given a novel treatment by the royal author. Enough quotations have been examined to prove the Sultan's skill of drawing a life-like picture of an event.

The lines quoted above on various occasions fully display the Sultan's gifted imagination. It is this characteristic which distinguishes him from mediocre personalities. Some other examples are examined below.

In the following lines the author explains why, in spite of his heart breaking into pieces, the lover does not die. He picks up those pieces and by stringing them together prepares a rosary to repeat the name of his beloved. Now, though he would wish to die rather than suffer the pangs of separation, it is difficult to die, for the very thought of the beloved serves the purpose of nectar which will keep him alive in all circumstances.

اس ذراقوں ہوا تکرے تکرے دلا
سمرن کیتی سب لی چون چون ملا
(Song No. 47) تیرا دھیان امرت اب مرنا مشکلا

The lover was burning with the fire of separation during the night hours. The moon taking pity on him came to lessen the intensity of heat of the burning fire, in order to relieve the lover of his afflictions, but with no avail. The moon itself was adversely affected by the burning fire and completely transformed, and in the morning it appeared in the shape of the sun. The result was that

many persons were deceived and sun worship is an indication of the same deceit

مدم نس مروری لاک سوام اور مو ملانوس
 مروری اکن حل دنکھت اور موهم گون
 اب گرمی بھندی اندو کیا روپ لکھن
 روپ هو برکت دسی ساریان کبری لوجن
 سو اس لکن بھول بڑے بھو دران
 سوز موج سیرا کھتی اور حکا حوت نکی بھان (Song No 57)

In the following lines the poet, while describing a novel idea, has revealed his own view about superstitious beliefs Love entered the eyes and first of all met with two pots (pupils of the eyes) full of water so it wished to leave with sighs but in the meanwhile a friendly squeeze on the way prevailed upon it to stay on because the water was an ocean of knowledge in which good omens could be distinguished from the bad ones

دوکت دوکت داروب دوری برہم بھیس بھنی بیت بیہ روز گگر
 اسان سبھت حائے خامت بیت چھیلک بھنی دھنی میرو بھاک اچاکر
 سکن اوسکن بھیکین برحمت حاتم نم سکل بندہ کو ساگر (Song No 42)

The lover wishes to put out the lamp because it acts as a spy on behalf of the sun which being the harbinger of the dawn is the bitterest enemy of the lover The moon too is a fellow sufferer, so the lover asks for its help and sympathy

دیارے خلدا اکھوں کلت دیں دوری دکھی
 من حائے سووس بھنی ہم دم دھنن آن سکھی
 بھیا و دیپک کون براسون دیکر اونکا
 گھر گھر حبت رۓ حاسوس سب سدھ بھلناویکا
 درۓ بھارے و دنکھ حاناک دھارونکا (Song No 10)

The following song is a beautiful example of the pathetic fallacy in which the moon is called a hunter who, in an attempt to escape from the eyes of its prey bends itself low But the tyrant is instantaneously caught in the snare of its own rays

چھلک نکلتانس حاندا اسن نارنی ہولیا کیوں کا پاسدا
 احب من کیونکر انا بھارا مٹ اے نادکھے کوی بھورے بھارا (Song No 12)

In the following line the author emphasises that on hearing the praise of Ganesh the moon's jealousy was roused and it had a mark of grief on its face which is represented by the spot

حاندا بھانی حاندر مکھ کلکک استونی بھری سلے کلتہ (Song No 38)

Linguistic Importance

From a purely linguistic point of view the *Kitab-i-Nauras* is a book of special significance. Being one of the oldest extant books in Dakhini, it could play an important role in the development of the Hindustani language. But its linguistic utility has been curtailed owing to the absence of a continuous narration of a given topic. Scattered and independent pieces have greatly influenced its style and language which could not be kept the same throughout the book. Similarly its main theme, *viz*, music, has caused the author to present it in a language somewhat different from the spoken and in some cases even the written language of the period. The temper of music, being more akin to Sanskrit culture and Hindu mythology, has a great bearing upon the style of the book.

After a careful and critical study of the book one may conclude that the songs contained in it may be put into two categories: simple songs and difficult songs.

The examples severally quoted in the foregoing pages would clearly show that while some poems are simple, charming and attractive, the others are so intricate that some of them are still a puzzle. This is because those songs which deal with some mythological belief of Hinduism abound in Sanskrit words, phrases, and terms not easily intelligible even to experts of the Sanskrit language. The songs, however, which are either personal or deal with his faith in Sayyid Gesu Daraz, including those with an air of lyricism, are simple and straightforward. The language of this category of songs was the prevalent language of the period. For example

ایک نار دیکھیا کھڑی سامنے

(Song No. 16) پدم رات کی مکر چاندنی

It would correctly give an idea of the language prevalent in Bijapur during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

The songs under the above two categories are so different in their style that it is difficult to believe that they were written by the same person. In short, in spite of a number of difficult songs and their intricate style, one may easily find out the main characteristics of the language commonly spoken and written during that period. The simple songs may serve as the basis of modern Urdu or Hindustani, while the difficult ones as the basis of Hindi. Thus this book may be regarded as a sacred heritage for the protagonists of both the Hindustani and Hindi languages.

The peculiarities of the Dakhini language available from the above book are these

(1) The infinitives were occasionally formed from nouns, such as,

Chitrana (to draw a picture) from *Chitra* (picture) *Dipna* (to shine to burn) from *Deepak* (candle)

(2) In the cases of verbs in the past indefinite tense, the latter 'va' was added before *Alief* as for example لوانا from لوانا , دیکھا from دیکھا , سلوارا from سلوارا , ناکیا from ناکیا

(3) The plural was formed by adding 'an or yan to the single (in nouns adjectives and verbs) e g

ناری from ناری , سہیلیاں from سہیلیاں , ناکھہ ناکھہ from ناکھہ ناکھہ , حوسی حوسی from حوسی حوسی , ہوا ہواں from ہوا , جھومتیاں from جھومتیاں , بھولتیاں from بھولتیاں , بھک بھک from بھک , ساریاں from ساریاں , چھپا چھپناں from چھپا

(4) The verb agreed with the subject in number and person, e g they would say

سارمان ناریاں نے لکھاں or چھوڑاں درمان چھپاں

(5) The above example also shows that the adjective also agreed with the noun qualified in number and person

(6) Some words are formed without any rule for example in Dakhini instead of chitrakar they would say chitari

(7) When two words were repeated a ya was occasionally added to the first e g محلے محلے . But this practice was strictly observed later In this work we also come across pairs of two common words but without an addition of 'ya , e g کھنگ , کھنگر

(8) Arabic and Persian words in some cases have been simplified, † e g

عصب for احسا	عود for ارد
حط for کہتا	مدد for مدد
برارو for برارو	دیوانہ for دیوانا , دیوانا
کاکڈ for کاکڈ , کاکس	کککول for کککول
	سیسہ for سیسہ

(9) The peculiar use of pronouns clearly shows the various elements (languages) which have influenced the style of this book A classified list of all the

† Sanskrit words have also been simplified in this book as for example श्रीतम श्रीतम for श्रीतम , सत सत for सत , श्वत श्वत for श्वत , पारधी for पारधी , नेतर नेतर for नेतर , सत सत for सत , सत सत for सत , भाग्यरथी भाग्यरथी for भाग्यरथी , चित्र चित्र for चित्र , अवछरा अवछरा for अवछरा etc In some cases ६ has been dropped while in some it has been added generally for rhyming purposes

pronouns is given below .

	First person		Second person		Third person	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	ہوں	ہم	تو-توں	تم	X	X
Possessive	میرا-منج-منج میرا-منج-منج	X	تج-تیرا-تو	تمارا آپکا	X	X
Objective	منج-منج-منج	X	تج-تج-تج تج-تج-تج	X	واکو-اس تاپر	X

(10) The following prepositions and conjunctions have been used :

سے for تیں and سوں
کو for کوں
کھپی for کدھوں
تک for لگ and ہوں
اور for اور † and ہور
منج for بیج

حسں-حیسے for حیسوں
for 'in' میں

(11) The demonstrative adjectives are

یے and یو for proximity
و for remoteness †

(12) The author is not very particular about the use of gender, e.g., he uses حیہ تھوزا , تیراصمت

(13) In some cases ی or الف or ن or و has been added¹; while in others the order of the letters has been transposed

دل for دیل	سیپی for سیلپی ³
بہشانی for شانی ²	سوں for سن
دوکھ for کھ	چوں for چن
کیرن for رن	گنہا ⁴ for گناہ
پہندا for پھندا	بیرت for یریت
دین for دن	بھیدی for بھدی
سوں for سن	سراہیں for سرائیں
بدمینی for مینی	

† The conjunction اور appearing more than once in the book evidently proves that it was in use as early as the 6th century

‡ The word آھے was in use along with 'ھے'

¹ In some cases it has been done for rhyming purposes

² But the word شان has been used without modification

³ At least one word ساس has been used in which "ن" has been dropped.

⁴ The word گنہ has been used in this book.

The language employed by the Sultan in the *Kitab : Nauras* is somewhat influenced by the Brajbhasha¹ of the north. According to some scholars the reason is that Ibrahim had himself learnt Brajbhasha. But in reality the closer contact of the north and south on political grounds resulted in effecting a change in the prevalent language of the Deccan which was somewhat similar to that used in the Sultan's book. The influence of Brajbhasha as found in this book is in respect of these points

(1) The author has used کوی for کوئی e.g.,

کہہ جائے مانگت کہہاڑ کوئی دین سال
کوئی بہوخت واسہ کوئی دھامان دھوڑو
کوئی اکس کوئی بتال

(2) The personal pronoun (first person, singular number and possessive case) is generally used of Brajbhasha e.g., میری من میری بانو میری من

(3) The verb اکھوں or اکھیں (I say, I narrate) is taken from Brajbhasha
اکھوں کلب مسکل اکھوں , ابراغیم اکھیں , اکھیں ابراغدم

(4) Some verbs are also of the Brajbhasha form, e.g. آرت لاکھت etc

Zuhuri s Estimate

The description of the book will not be complete without Zuhuri's graphic description². He says: Of the many obligations that the Sultan has imposed on scholars one is that he engaged himself in the composition of the *Kitab : Nauras*, and he did it in such a way that just as the freshness of meaning gives freshness to the words, so the newness of the tunes that are associated with these verses, produces great effect and, with the air of the breath of singers wipes off all sorrow from the heart of the listener.

The world is full of rejoicing on account of the King of the Deccan. The dust of grief is laid by the water of his song. The masters of songs are his old pupils even one who has newly become his pupil has the style of a master singer. The landscape of sight is a flower garden from its pages and the blunt aptitude is bright ended by its clearness. Every page is a garden and every line a tree whose leaf is its heart-enchanting word and whose fruit is its pure meaning. The nightingale of eloquence is singing on the flower of the elegance of his writing and the eyes of the spectators are enchanted by the waves of the freshness of his flowing style. The hyacinth like letters come from the sighs of impatient lovers the violet like dots are from the mole of the

¹ Dakhini was influenced by Marhati but since the Sultan was well versed in the latter its influence on the language of the *Kitab : Nauras* should have been more.

² Malik has praised it in the same strain in his introduction to the book. Baqir has also composed stray poems in praise of the *Kitab : Nauras*.

beloved. From the moisture of the freshness of its words, the canal of its line overflows with nectar. Khizr is thirsty for the moisture of its style, the Messiah dies for its life-giving breath. He alone can paint a garden like this, who can gather roses from the fire, like Ibrahim. The songs of *Nauyas* came from the just and learned King.

To redress the complaint of the breaths
With his genius at his command and his self in obedience to God's decree,
He made words the body and melody the soul,
What a charm he concealed in melody,
That the passage of fading is blocked on freshness,
Speech was so conscious of its loftiness and glory,
That it built its castle in the King's *Diwan*.
If we touch the edge of the leaf with the finger,
Every page will begin to tell a hundred tales
Its lines are made of the thread of sound ;
Its leaves are the films of a musical instrument
Tell newness to grow freely,
For the *Nauyas* has trampled down oldness!
May God grant it the garment of recognition,
And protect it from every absurd criticism †

Manuscripts of the Kitab-i-Nauyas

So far only five copies were known to scholars. I have been able to trace the existence of ten manuscripts of which copies of nine have been obtained. The tenth (belonging to Professor Haidar Hasan of Hyderabad), being misplaced, could not be available to me. I have, however, been informed by the owner that it was comparatively a later copy. The text of the *Kitab-i-Nauyas* has been prepared with the help of these nine manuscripts which are described in the following pages

(I) *Manuscript preserved in the Library of the Daftar-i-Diwan-wa-Mal (now Central Records Office) Hyderabad*. This copy in beautiful *Naskh* and *Suls* styles contains seventythree pages in all, each page has seven lines, the first, fourth and last lines being in bold letters of *Suls* calligraphy, the remaining four in small letters of *Naskh*, the headlines appear in red. Its scribe, Abdul Latif Mustafa, was one of the royal calligraphists at

† The *Sih Nathr-i-Zuhuri*, pp 11-12 and Abdul Ghani's *History of the Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, Vol III, pp 339-41

the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah Besides these two styles he was adept in the *Raihan* style as well, adequate examples of which are available from the *Muraqqa 1 Adil Shahi* This manuscript is very significant in following respects

(i) It was included in the State Library of Bijapur as is evident from the following note appearing in *Nastaliq* on the title page

کتاب بورس دولتی حذا عبداللطیف خلد رن دارمچ و برگ طناب و دستگیره طلا پوسته اوران حبل
جمع کتاب خانہ عامرہ سدہ دارمچ ۵ ماہ محرم سنہ ۱۰۲۲

(ii) Its title contains a seal of Ibrahim Adil Shah in which these words appear

عهد ابراهيم عادل — مهر عدول

(iii) On the top of the title page these words appear indistinctly probably in the hand of the scribe himself

کتاب بورس پوستہ اسرف اندس ارفع ظل اللہ

(iv) At the end of the manuscript the scribe has written his name as—

کمبرس ساگردان عبداللطيف مصداني

(v) The manuscript is illuminated in gold throughout It was purchased for the library in 1941 for one thousand rupees The manuscript was in Calcutta in 1867 where a copy was made from it for the library of the then ruler of Rampur State

(vi) It is a very old manuscript copied out before 1022/1613 which the royal author seems to have gone through On the title page appears a word which looks like Adil in *Shikast* calligraphy and which is claimed to be the signature of the Sultan himself, and for this reason it is concluded that it belonged to the author's private collection

(vii) Its importance may be judged from the fact that three of the nine copies were made from it

With the passage of time its arrangement has been disturbed more than once Owing to the discontinuous theme and the difficult language the folios separated from their places could not be restored to their original position After working on it for six months I have managed to arrange the folios in their proper order On the title page the number of folios is indicated as forty but at present the manuscript contains only thirtyseven folios There are indications that some folios are missing after the first two, as the song quoted under the *Bhupati Ragini* has a beginning but no end while the song under the *Bhairava* has an end but no beginning The lines comprising the missing portions of these two songs would cover one folio But the remaining two folios are still untraced

I presume that between these two melodies were placed the two songs intended to be sung in the *Ramkri Ragini*. The basis of my presumption is the copy of *Namas* prepared by Abdul Latif's son, Abdul Halim, from the one under consideration, in which the two songs of the said *Ragini* appear in between *Bhupali* and *Bhairava*. These two songs of *Ramkri* would cover two folios and would fill in the gap of the two missing ones.

The only defect in the manuscript is that its headlines are not recorded in fresh lines, but appear in the middle, beginning or at the end of the line where the sentence is completed. The peculiarity of its writing is that the letters, ت, ث, ق, ك, ز, ك, د, د, ك, ر, ن each having three dots below it

The manuscript, in a good condition of preservation, is one of the rare books of the Library. It contains forty-six songs (two of which are defective) under fourteen *Ragas* and *Raginis* with nine *Dohras* and begins :

پرس سرر حگ حگ حوتی آن سررگنی

(II) *Manuscript in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad*. This manuscript in the elegant *Raihan* style of Persian calligraphy comprises sixty-four pages, each page containing seven lines in small letters. The first two pages are illuminated. The marginal lines are in gold and many other colours. All the headlines in red are separate and distinct. The scribe is Abdur Rashid, who was one of the royal calligraphists of Bijapur. He was a master of *Naskh* and *Suls* styles examples of which can be seen in the *Muraqqa-i-Adil Shahi*. The title page bears the following note in *Nastaliq* in the hand of some responsible officer of the State Library of Bijapur

کتاب پرس خط زیجان کاتب عبدالرشید، حمد سرخ ناترینج و ریحیرة طلا، بوسته ناست
حامد، حانه جمع کتاب حانه عامره شده - نتارینج ۱۷ مائة حمادی الاول سنه ۱۰۳۷ اورداق سی و دو -

The original binding which has been described in the above lines is still intact. The last page of the manuscript contains the concluding portion of a *Doha* which is followed by the name of the scribe thus. عبدالرشید کترین شاکردان. Below the words appears the date, A. H. 990, in the hand of the scribe himself.

According to Mr Gayani, A. H. 990 is evidently the year in which this copy was prepared from the original which was perhaps in the Sultan's own hand. The other date, A. H. 1037, coincides with the year of his death, when the manuscript is recorded to have been removed from the King's private collection to the public library of the State. The Sultan's accomplishment in the art of calligraphy is the basis of the hypothesis that the original manuscript must have been in his own hand. It is known with certainty that the songs embodied in the book were not composed at any particular time but from time to time, and

no doubt must have been collected and compiled under the present title at a particular time. It is possible that some songs must have been in the Sultan's own hand but not all, so the theory, that the Sultan collected the songs in his own hand in the form of a book, seems to have no justification. The first copy must have been written by the best royal calligraphist. The different arrangement in different manuscripts is suggestive of the scattered nature of the Sultan's compositions and of their collection by various calligraphists in their own way. Mr. Gayani's second theory, that the manuscript was removed from the Sultan's private collection after his death, is based on the words *Babat Jamadar Khana* occurring in the note on the title page. The word *Babat* is used in a peculiar way. Had there been *az* in its place the sense would have been clearer¹. The wardrobe (*Jamadar Khana*) might have been the Sultan's personal property but it is something different from private collection or library. However since this manuscript was removed to the State Library on the 17th Jumadi ul Awwal, 1037, and the Sultan had died five months earlier the assumption of Mr. Gayani seems to be correct.

Something has already been said about the date A. H. 990 appearing at the end of the manuscript. As it is in the hand of the scribe himself nobody would reasonably disapprove of it. But since the manuscript itself contains such things as were not in existence then, the date is wrongly entered either by the scribe himself or by someone else in order to give it an air of antiquity.

One important point is to be stressed here. The lines appearing on folio 31^b belong to a song of the *Ragini Nauroz Nauras* which begins on folio 31. This song is incomplete as its concluding lines are missing. All the same the lines appearing on folio 32 are the concluding lines of a *Dohra* the beginning of which is missing here. This is a clear indication of the defect of the manuscript in this place. The lines supplying the concluding portions of the songs and the earlier portions of the *Dohra* would cover less than two pages (*i.e.* a folio which is the minimum). This again suggests that in all probability more than one folio is missing here though in the Hyderabad Museum copy this *Dohra* is preceded by the same song. This defect in the manuscript is not of recent origin, it was presented in a defective condition in A. H. 1037 since the thirty-two folios as stated in the note are still intact.

The manuscript is in a very good condition. All the folios were however, in a disarranged form, I have put them in their proper order. The leaves are

¹ If the *انساب* is put after *باب* the sense is clear that the book belonged to the *صمدار خانہ*.

left unbound so that the original condition of the manuscript may not be disturbed

This copy comprises thirtyfive *Geets* (one defective) under thirteen *Ragas* and *Raginis* with eleven *Dohnas*. The fact that it contains fewer songs than the foregoing copy may lead one to assign it an earlier date. But in view of the defective nature of the manuscript nothing definitely can be said about its actual number and the date. However, it is certainly one of the earliest manuscripts which have come down to us.

At the top of each song, the particular *Raga* or *Ragini*, preceded by the words *Dar Muqam* and followed by *Nauras* (with one or two exceptions), is mentioned. The peculiarity of the writing is exactly the same as in the foregoing copy, size is 7" × 11". The manuscript begins as the foregoing copy.

(III) *Manuscript in the collection of Professor Hosain Ali Khan, Hyderabad.*

This defective manuscript comprises only twentythree folios in which the margins of one are intact while the textual portion is missing. The figures marked on the folios indicate that the manuscript originally contained fortyone folios. But really it must have contained even more. It is defective in the beginning where a number of folios are missing, similarly some folios comprising some songs of the *Kanada Ragini* are not traceable. Of the missing folios only six have been replaced.

This manuscript is an excellent example of *Naskh* calligraphy. The scribe is Abdul Halim whose name appears at the end of the copy thus. *الراحي الى شعاة المصطفى*. *عدد الحكام من مصطفى عادل شاعى* [the relier on the intercession of Mustafa (the Prophet Muhammad)] Abdul Halim bin Mustafa Adil Shahi was the son of the scribe of the first manuscript, Abdul Latif Mustafa. Like his father, Abdul Halim was a skilful calligraphist, abundant examples of whose art are found in the *Munazzaqat-Adil Shahi*.

Abdul Halim prepared this copy from that of his father. Like its original, each page contains seven lines of which the first, fourth and last are in bold letters and the remaining four in small. This manuscript contains at least two songs under *Kanada Ragini* which are not traceable in any other copy.

The scribe no doubt belonged to the court of Ibrahim Adil and his manuscript seems to have been in the State Library of Bijapur. But since the title page, with some other introductory pages, is missing, nothing can be said definitely. However, the ink, the paper and the *Naskh* calligraphy point to its contemporaneous nature. The headlines are in gold and the manuscript is illuminated in gold throughout.

The manuscript contains forty-eight songs (inclusive of the portions supplied by me whose genuineness is certain) under sixteen *Ragas* and *Raginis*. It is however, very conspicuous by the complete absence of *Dohras*. The peculiarity in writing is exactly the same as in the first two copies its size is 4 × 6.

The three manuscripts examined so far are very significant because of their contemporaneous nature their inclusion in the State Library and the personalities of their scribes. These are also similar in this respect that all the songs intended to be sung in a particular melody are quoted together under that headline. In the first two all the *Dohras* are recorded with the songs appearing in the beginning exactly in the same order. These peculiarities are not found in the third manuscript.

(IV) *Manuscript in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay* This manuscript of crown 1/16 size, measuring 4 × 6 is written in beautiful Persian *Naskh* style in shining black ink. The headlines appearing distinctively are in gold the marginal lines are in various colours.

The manuscript comprises fortysix folios each page having seven lines. Some pages are illuminated while in some the concluding letters in each line are in gold. Two folios are missing the lines of which have been supplied. The first should come after folio 1 and the second after folio 3. The fragmentary line appearing on the title page indicates that the manuscript originally contained seventeen *Ragas* fiftyfour *Geets* and fourteen *Dohras*. After supplying the two missing folios it would comprise only sixteen *Ragas* and fiftythree *Geets* and all the fourteen *Dohras* that is it still would be short by one *Raga* and one *Geet*. The manuscript in all probability contained originally the *Desi* melody with one song intended to be sung in it which is missing at present. The headline and the song would cover one full folio. Hence if we supply it the manuscript would be complete in all respects.

The order of the manuscript is defective only in one place that is to say folio 4 should come after folio 36. One *Geet* of the *Gauri Ragini* (on folio 9) is incomplete in the manuscript (the concluding lines being missing) but this defect must have crept in when it was originally prepared.

This manuscript is somewhat similar to No V in respect of its beginning and the order of its songs and melodies and of its *Dohras*. The *Dohras* occasionally have been termed as *Duhas* exactly as in No V. The scribe was very particular in adding the term *Nauras* to the heading of the melody. Only one of the songs of the *Bhairava* melody of the first three copies appears under the said *Raga* in this copy the rest with an additional song come under *Hajiz* which is completely missing in all the first three copies.

The manuscript bears a seal with a fragmentary remnant of the date which, according to Mr Gayani, may be A.H. 1011. But to me the seal, which appears to be of Sultan Muhammad Ghazi, bears the date of A.H. 1101. It is difficult to hold this Sultan to be Sultan Muhammad Adil who was occasionally mentioned by the word 'Ghazi' in a general way. On the basis of this date, the manuscript could not be held as contemporaneous. But the ink, the paper and the beautiful *Naskh* calligraphy would assign it an earlier date.

The manuscript begins with a song in *Hajiz*.

بوردس گؤ گیت کن حں کن کم پتی

At the top of this page appear these words: *Kitab-i-Nauras Tasnif-i-Jagattar Gnuu*.

(V) *Second Manuscript in Salai Jung Museum, Hyderabad*: The manuscript in the beautiful *Naskh* style of Persian calligraphy, comprises one hundred and fourteen folios, each page containing five or six lines, two or three in Persian and the same number in *Devanagari* scripts. Some pages are illuminated, the marginal lines are in gold and so are the headlines. Though we cannot hold it definitely to be of a contemporaneous nature, it is most significant in respect of the following points .

1. This copy is written in Persian as well as *Devanagari* scripts. First a line appears in Persian letters; subsequently the same in the *Devanagari* script. But the headlines appear only in the former. The *Devanagari* script is much influenced by the Marhati, particularly ल, म, ख and some others have different shapes, even the *matras* are slightly different. Being an example of the *Devanagari* script as prevalent in the Deccan during the early seventeenth century, it is of much historical value.

This script has rendered the task of deciphering the words a little easier. The Sanskrit words written in Arabic characters (in which even equivalent letters are not found) were not only unintelligible but also unreadable. The existence of this copy went a long way in making the task of the publication of the book easier.

2. It is the most exhaustive of all the manuscripts known so far. It contains fiftyseven songs under seventeen melodies with seventeen *Dohras*. All the songs from the available known manuscripts are found in it. Only two songs of manuscript No III, which are not traceable in any other manuscript at our disposal, are not contained in it. But all the *Dohras* found in the known manuscripts with three additions are included in it.

3. It is the only copy in which no folio is missing. At one or two places

the order is no doubt disturbed, but the folios have been put in order without any difficulty

4 It has a vocabulary of three hundred and eightyone words and phrases (covering three folios in the beginning), some of which are in alphabetical order Where the meanings of the words are given in words or phrases the common Dakhni words have been used where a whole sentence has been employed to explain a word or a phrase, it is in Persian This would again assign it an earlier date of transcription The folios are slightly disarranged, the first being in its proper place, the second and third forming folios seventythird and seventyfourth

On the title page appears a fragmentary note in the hand of the scribe himself giving the name of the book and of the author which is not quite distinct On the top of the page on which the text begins appear these words *Kitab i Nauras Kovit Jagattar Guru*

All the songs of the *Bhairava Raga*, as appearing in the first three manuscripts with an addition are quoted here under the *Hajiz*, *Bhairava* being completely discarded In all probability the scribe of the manuscript under consideration had manuscript No IV before him while busy with the work, in view of the following

1 The incomplete song under the *Gauri Ragini* had been incompletely transcribed in it the concluding portions of which were supplied later in the margin This is suggestive of the scribe's consulting more than one copy

2 The words appearing on the top of the opening page are almost similar In both the cases the Sultan has been termed as *Jagattar Guru* instead of *Jagat Guru*

3 The beginning and the order of melodies and songs and of *Dohras* are somewhat similar The three additional songs of the manuscript under review are quoted towards the close of the copy

The paper and ink, the illumination and the *Naskh* calligraphy of the manuscript would definitely assign an earlier date to it

(VI) *Manuscript in the Hyderabad Museum* This manuscript covering thirty folios is transcribed in an elegant *Naskh* style each page having seven lines of which the first, fourth and seventh are in bold letters and the remaining four lines in small letters like those of the I and III manuscripts The whole copy is illuminated richly, the marginal and other lines are in gold the headlines and the Sultan's name too appear in gold Its scribe was

Ismatullah† whose identity could not be exactly ascertained Besides the rich illumination, the *Naskh* calligraphy, the ink and the paper, there are other indications which may point to its contemporaneous nature For example, the term '*Huwal Khalil*', appearing on the opening page, may refer to Ibrahim Adil. Similarly the following words quoted at the end of the book may refer to the author himself

حسب الامر حصرت سلاه عالم دنياه خاد الله ما كنه عباداته ناسك مال رسيدى ندى العقدر عصمت الله

[In compliance with order of Shah Alam Panah (the refuge of the world—may God perpetuate his Kingdom¹), it was completed in a hurry, in the hand of the humble, Ismatullah]

Though the phrase, 'Shah Alam Panah', may ordinarily refer to each ruler, yet *Abdul*‡, in his *Ibrahim Namah*, has often used the term for Ibrahim Adil Shah A note appearing on the title page would induce one to assign an earlier date to this copy If such be the case, the scribe Ismatullah would be classed with the royal calligraphists of Bijapur, and this copy would be singled out as having been transcribed at the instance of the Sultan himself But in spite of so many points giving an air of antiquity to the copy under review, there are serious defects in the manuscript itself which are inconceivable in a manuscript prepared under the command of the King who happened to be the author himself

1. The necessary precaution in dots and vowel-marks desirable in such a manuscript has not been observed in it In this respect it is inferior to all the foregoing copies

2 At some places the words have been transcribed wrongly, particularly the last page is full of such mistakes A manuscript with so many mistakes could not be a worthy present to a king who is the author of the same book

3 Folio 30 is in disorder, its two pages contain songs which should be in different places Folio 30^a should find its place two folios back, its song is of the *Kedana Raga*, while the lines quoted on folio 30^b are the concluding portions of the song intended to be sung in the *Ramkrī Ragini* which commences on folio 29^b This error has been caused either by the carelessness of the scribe or by the defective nature of the manuscript from which this copy was prepared In

† One Ismatullah, the nephew and pupil of Mahammad Arif, Yaqut Raqam, excelled in calligraphy and prospered in the regime of Shuja-ud-Daulah, the ruler of Lucknow (1169-1188) Since Yaqut Raqam was a master of the *Naskh* style, Ismatullah's accomplishments in this particular style seem to be a probability (vide the *Tazkira-i-Khushnawisan*, p 126) In case the above scribe is identical with this calligraphist, the above manuscript could not be a contemporaneous one

‡ He was a poet of the reign of Ibrahim Adil II

either case it detracts from the value of the manuscript. It is however evident that the scribe did not understand the language of the book and copied it as he found it. The only excuse that may be made for the scribe is that he prepared it in a hurry.

The manuscript opens with the *Gauri Ragini*. The usual heading of the *Raga* is occasionally preceded by the term *Anchal*. Though containing both the introductory and the concluding portions, it is very defective as many folios are missing. It has been possible to trace at least ten folios, but all the songs could not be restored. The manuscript would thus contain thirtynine songs under thirteen melodies with ten *Dohras*, though originally it comprised fortyfive songs under sixteen melodies with ten *Dohras*. As is evident from the note appearing on the title page, the introductory and the concluding words of some pages have been cut off in binding the manuscript.

(VII) *Manuscript in the Khuda Bakhsh Khan Oriental Public Library, Patna*

It is the shortest of all the nine manuscripts under review, comprising only twentyfive songs under thirteen melodies with nine *Dohras*. Its scribe is Muhammad Baqir, but his identity could not be exactly ascertained. It contains thirtyfour pages. The most outstanding feature of the manuscript is that its text is followed by a Persian translation which has rendered the task of preparing the text and its annotation easier. But it is so disarranged that hardly a song can be pointed out of which all the lines appear in the same connection. The lines of one song are scattered over different pages. It is thus evident that the defect in arrangement could not be removed by merely putting the folios in order. The original manuscript from which this copy was made must itself have been defective, and probably the folios were in disorder. The scribe did not copy it out line by line and page by page with the result that in many cases the contents of one page of the original manuscript were scattered over two or even more pages in this transcription. Like the fourth and fifth manuscripts, it also begins with the song in praise of Atash Khan. All the songs of the *Bhairava* melody are followed by the word *Nauras*.

(VIII) *Manuscript in the Riza library Rampur*. This is a transcription from the first manuscript. The scribe made it a point to copy it out line by line and page by page. It also contains seventythree pages, each page having seven lines, and was transcribed by Abdul Halim in Calcutta at house No. 6 Taltala Street, on the 12th Muharram 1284 A. H. or 17th May 1867 for his brother Abdul Hakim, who ultimately presented it to Nawab Kalb Ali Khan of Rampur. The scribe copied the last line of the original manuscript in which appears the

name of its scribe, *viz* , Abdul Latif Mustafa. The slight difference between the order of the folios of the two manuscripts is suggestive of the disturbance in the order of its folios even after A H 1284. It is further evident that the three folios which are missing at present were missing as early as A H. 1284

(IX) *Third Manuscript in the Salar Jung Museum*: It is an ordinary copy in ordinary *Nastaliq* containing twentyfive pages, each page having eleven lines. This also is a copy from the first manuscript, as the beginning and the end in both of them are just the same. Moreover, the incomplete song of *Bhupali* appears as such in this copy as well, similarly, the introductory lines of the song under *Bhairava* are also missing in it as in the first. The copy is full of mistakes and blunders pointing to the carelessness of the scribe who copied it without understanding its language. The term *Manu* has been written as *Ruma*, and the same mistake is traceable in another copy which may suggest that possibly it may be a copy from the latter

Besides the ten known copies, there were others about which we have no certain knowledge. It is, however, known that the royal calligraphist, Khalilullah, prepared a valuable copy of the *Kitab-i-Nauras* in A H. 1027 and presented it to the King who was pleased to bestow on him the title of Badshah-i-Qalam (King of the Pen). Professor Haider Hasan (Hyderabad) informed me that he had come across a splendid manuscript of the book for which the Sultan had bestowed a rich reward on its scribe. The manuscript offered for four hundred and fifty rupees was ultimately purchased by Dr Abdul Haq.

After a critical study of the manuscripts we may conclude as follows :

1 The fact that there are more songs in later copies is suggestive of the continuance of the Sultan's activities in composing songs even after the completion of the *Kitab-i-Nauras*, which were subsequently incorporated in the later copies. But none of the copies is identical with, or is a copy of, the original manuscript.

2 The book was arranged in two ways. In the first type all the songs intended to be sung in a particular melody were put together. Some of the compilers gave priority to a particular song while the others did otherwise. For example, Abdur Rashid preferred *Bhairava* while Abdul Latif gave priority to *Bhupali*.

The compilers of the other type attempted to arrange these songs in respect of similarity in their subject matter. The copy in the Prince of Wales Museum and the bilingual copy the Salar Jung Museum are arranged in this form. The other feature of this arrangement is that the simpler songs are inscribed first and are followed by the difficult songs. Copies having these peculiarities begin with a song under *Hajaz*. But the Hyderabad Museum copy, though somewhat

of the same type has a different beginning. In all the manuscripts of this group the songs of the *Bhairava Raga* appear under *Hajiz*, which suggests that, at some later date the Sultan probably sang them in the latter *Ragim*. It is however, strange that in the copies in Hyderabad Museum and the Salar Jung Museum (bilingual copy), even the song in which the author visualised the *Bhairava Raga* has been placed under *Hajiz*. But in the Bombay Museum copy this single song is found under *Bhairava* and all others under *Hajiz*.

3 It was in accordance with the Sultan's wish that the *Naskh* style was selected for transcribing the book. It also seems to have been the royal suggestion that each page should contain only seven lines.

In presenting the text of the *Kitab : Nauras* the arrangement of the first group of manuscripts has been preferred for the simple reason that the copies so arranged had been examined by the author himself. Again, among the three manuscripts of this group I have chosen to follow the order of the first manuscript because it contains more songs than the other two. The object in preparing the text both in Persian and *Devanagari* scripts is to facilitate the task of reading and pronouncing the words correctly. The songs have been annotated so that the readers may grasp the idea underlying each piece without which much of the text would have been Greek and Latin to average readers. The vocabulary appearing at the end is a step further towards understanding the text in a better way.

As pointed out earlier the letters ک, گ, ب, پ, ت, ڈ, ڌ, ڏ, ڙ, ڙ, ڻ, ڻ, ڻ have been substituted uniformly in all the manuscript by their corresponding letters ک, گ, ب, پ, ت, ڌ, ڏ, ڙ, ڙ, ڻ with three dots just below each of them. In the present text it was deemed desirable to prefer the actual letters.

One peculiar feature of all the manuscripts is that some words have been spelt in two or three different ways e.g.

	آئس	and	ايس		حوب	and	حوبى
آخري	آخري	and	آخري	آخري	دس	and	دس
	اُم	and	اُم		دس	and	دس
	آند	and	آند		دس	and	دسلى
	ب	and	بيبا		دنگر	and	دنگر
	ب	and	ب		كچه	and	كچهو
	ڊ	and	ڊوڙ		ڪتا	and	ڪتا
	ڊم	and	ڊم		ڙب	and	ڙب, ڙب, etc

These different forms have been retained in the present text So far as possible, I have followed the reading of the actual word and have avoided the original Sanskrit reading

The manuscripts used, have been represented by these letters

I	by	<i>a</i> ,
II	by	<i>b</i> ,
III	by	<i>c</i> ,
IV	by	<i>d</i> ,
V	by	<i>e</i> ,
VI	by	<i>f</i> ,
VII	by	<i>g</i> ,
VIII	by	<i>h</i> ,
IX	by	<i>i</i> .

† They are not merely the cases of different spelling They indicate the influences of other languages and that of the *Kitab-i-Nauras*

KITAB-I-NAURAS

क़िताबे नौरस — کتاب نوری

Dohra' No 1

नवरस स्वर जग जग जानि² आणी गव गुनी नूरस सुर हक हक हकी³ अर सुरो क्ली
यो सन³ सरमुनी⁴ माता दवरा 1 म प्रगाद गई दुनी नो स³ सुरसुकी⁴ माता अनामि रसाक भी दुरी

Song No 1

दर मुकाम⁵ भुपाली नौरस⁶

दर माम⁵ हुनली नूरस⁶

हजरत मुहम्मद जगतर गर गुसाई
तू दगह⁷ चुमक भग मन सार

हजरत मुहम्मद हकतर गर गुसाय
नो दगह⁷ चुमक मेरो मन सार

अ नरा⁸

अनरा⁸

द्वितीय जपत तु नाव पावै प्रान⁹ की पुरान
अचरिज¹⁰ महा पीर¹¹ अवला वनी तू ही साचो अवतार

द्वितीय जपत तु नाव पावै प्रान⁹ की पुरान
अचरिज¹⁰ महा पीर¹¹ अवला वनी तू ही साचो अवतार

¹ The word is spelt variously in different MSS in *a* نوره and نوره in *b* نوره (दाहना) and नूर in *d* and *e* नूर (दोहा) and नूर in *f* नूर and नूर दोहरा in *g* नूर. I have preferred نूर दोहरा

² Originally ज्याति

³ Its correct form is सरसुकी

⁴ Its correct form is सरसुकी

⁵ The word is generally spelt as Maqam particularly in *a* and *b* but muqam is

more correct at present

⁶ *a* missing

⁷ This line in the hand of Abdur Rashid (in *Naskh* calligraphy) appears in the *Muraqqa i Adil Shahi* (fol 18)

⁸ *a* missing

⁹ Originally प्राण

¹⁰ *b* अचरज (अचरज) *d* अचरज (अचरज) and

e अचरज (अचरज) originally आ चम

¹¹ *a* नूर

कोऊ¹ चाहे मातग तुषार² कोऊ³ रतन माल
कोऊ⁴ भोजन वासा कोऊ⁵ धामान धवलार
इबराहीम चाहे उत्तम⁶ विद्या दान घरम
सय्यद⁷ मुहम्मद⁸ की दोहाई करीम करतार

कोऊ¹ चाहे मानग त्कहार² कोऊ³ रतन माल
कोऊ⁴ भोजन वासा कोऊ⁵ धामान धवलार
इबराहीम चाहे उत्तम⁶ विद्या दान घरम
सय्यद⁷ मुहम्मद⁸ की दोहाई करीम करतार

Dohra No 2

जीव जीव सब कहे पीव न कहे कोई
जीव का जीव पीव कर जाने होई सती सोई

जीव जीव सब कहे पीव न कहे कोई
जीव का जीव पीव कर जाने होई सती सोई

Song No 2

दर मुकाम भूपाली नौरस⁹

दर मुकाम भूपाली नौरस⁹

सकल जन विद्वास¹⁰ और कवि¹¹ और महा उत्तम चातुर¹²
सुन या कहा घराई

सकल जन विद्वास¹⁰ और कवि¹¹ और महा उत्तम चातुर¹²
सुन या कहा घराई

अन्तरा

अन्तरा

एक चद बीव¹³ पेखत¹⁴ एको छद मेरी माई
वोट¹⁵ मानो दरपन¹⁶ भई मूरत और परछाई

एक चद बीव¹³ पेखत¹⁴ एको छद मेरी माई
वोट¹⁵ मानो दरपन¹⁶ भई मूरत और परछाई

अभोग

अभोग

तेरी उपमां सुघाशु¹⁷ लच्छन¹⁸ चाहे अमृत¹⁹ दिखाई

तेरी उपमां सुघाशु¹⁷ लच्छन¹⁸ चाहे अमृत¹⁹ दिखाई

¹ a and f को को

² f त्कहार तषार

³ a and f को को

⁴ a, b and f को को

⁵ a and f को को

⁶ e उत्तम

⁷ Generally without تشدید

⁸ Generally the first letter with र, vowel

⁹ a missing

¹⁰ d and e वदवासा वदवासा f वासा

¹¹ a . without को

¹² b चातुर

¹³ b बीव , probably from बिब

¹⁴ f and g पेखत

¹⁵ f and g वोट वूत

¹⁶ f दरपन

¹⁷ g सुघाशु

¹⁸ originally लक्षण

¹⁹ f the last two words missing

मो बख चकोर परिवित¹ अपना आध सगाइ²
 इबराहीम मछन³ भयो रीच सुदरताइ⁴
 अघर⁵ अमत चला बहुर जिलाइ⁷

مړوځکه ځکه ځکور دوحه¹ ابلې ادعه² سگای³
 اړانم مړوځون⁴ هه ورسدهی سلدنای⁵
 ادعه⁶ اړوب ځکه ځکه هه ورسه ځلی⁷

Dohra No 3

रेग बर फिगाऊ⁹ नमन जोवेती गोशी⁹ तास
 फाल देख जीव पीव कच आवे मुज पास

رنگ کر بهراں⁸ دم ن جو کدی س سی⁹ ناس
 فال د کهه حنہ ندو کب اوے ملع ناس

Song No 3

दर मुकाम रामकि नौरस

در مقام رامکری نورس

रामकि बना¹⁰ आयो सेत्र सग्राम चित चाह्यो¹¹
 चोप चत्री चचउ चपला

رامکری بنا¹⁰ او سده سلگرام حب चाहيو¹¹
 چوب چای چنحل حنا

अंतरा

انرا

सखिमा¹² सगत¹³ सु¹⁴री हूसा¹⁵ खलत¹⁵ छाड¹⁶
 पीतरम¹⁷ आनरनी¹⁸ ठग¹⁹

سکھيان¹² ساگت¹³ سندرې هلست¹⁴ ځپل¹⁵
 چهان¹⁶ دمدم¹⁷ اوکری¹⁸ ډهگا¹⁹

अभोग

ابوگ

मगुता भूपन²⁰ भूपिता²¹ सीत रवताम्बर²² चटव²³ छबला
 इबराहीम रामकि रागिनी कस्तुरी श्याम⁴
 सुवेग⁵ वसे²⁶ धम्मिग⁷

مگنا هوس²⁰ بهوسنا²¹ سب رننامد²² چنگ²³ چه ملا
 اړانم رامکری واکلی کسموړې سنام⁴
 سکھس⁵ کسه²⁶ دهملا⁷

¹ d e and f حب جفت

² originally आदि

³ b f and g सकी मकाई

⁴ b مړوځون مځن

⁵ f सी ताई missing

⁶ f अघर missing

⁷ f चलाई

⁸ g हरा ओन किरा ऊ

⁹ d e and f missing but refer to song No 39

¹⁰ f बनाई

¹¹ f सी छायी probably छायो हामो

¹² f सीकया or सह्या

¹³ d and e सब समेत

¹⁴ b हसत, f missing

¹⁵ f खन्ती

¹⁶ f चादी

¹⁷ originally प्रियतम or प्रीतम

¹⁸ f अनरनी (अनरनी) probably अगोषी

¹⁹ f दग and e छला

²⁰ originally भूपण

²¹ f भूपिता

²² f रवताम्बर

²³ b चटव

²⁴ f रवताम्बर the word has been spelt रवाम

and श्याम

²⁵ f सुवेग

²⁶ probably कसे वसे

²⁷ f धम्मिग

Dohra No 4

پارہ¹ کھیلن مری آئے سدا بہرور جائے پارہ¹ खेलन हरि आये सदा बहुर जाये
 مست ماتنگ واکو چارو ماستر² کو لے کدوں کر کھائے मस्त मातग वाको चारो माजर² कोले बयोकर खाये

Song No 4

در مقام رامکری نौरس

در مقام رامکری نौरس

بردن³ بدن موہن پوتری مہرو واو سوم آيو

بردن³ بدن موہن پوتری مہرو واو سوم آيو

بھچھیا⁴ مگن भुच्छया⁴ मगन

انتر⁵

انتر⁵

کھکھ کھکول لے دھائی یاہی تھیں⁶ پاوریں⁷ بر

کھکھ کھکول لے دھائی یاہی تھیں⁶ پاوریں⁷ بر

سندر آروگن⁸ सुन्दर आरोगन⁸

ابھوگ

ابھوگ

بھوٹی⁹ پیرت¹⁰ کو لکھن¹¹ یاہی ہے فیرے بڈی بڈی

بھوٹی⁹ پیرت¹⁰ کو لکھن¹¹ یاہی ہے بھوٹی

بھوٹی بھوٹی

بھوٹی بھوٹی

ابراہیم¹² سوخ دھام دوار پتھ سوس بھوٹی

ابراہیم¹² سوخ دھام دوار بھوٹی

اک بھوٹی بھوٹی بھوٹی

اک بھوٹی بھوٹی بھوٹی

Dohra No 5

دینکر جوتی¹⁴ پتی سو توج ناہی کوئی توج سار¹⁵ رے

دینکر جوتی¹⁴ پتی سو توج ناہی کوئی توج سار¹⁵ رے

سارے تارے چاد بھوٹی نہی جوتی توج تار¹⁵ رے

سارے تارے چاد بھوٹی نہی جوتی توج تار¹⁵ رے

Song No. 5

در مقام بھرو¹⁶ نौरس¹⁷

در مقام بھرو¹⁶ نौरس¹⁷

بھرو کرپور گورا¹⁸ بھال تیلک چندرا

بھرو کرپور گورا¹⁸ بھال تیلک چندرا

تری بھرو¹⁹ جتا مکت²⁰ گنگا دھرا

تری بھرو¹⁹ جتا مکت²⁰ گنگا دھرا

¹ originally پارہ

² originally ماجرا (cat)

³ e بدن بھوٹی

⁴ f بھوٹی بھوٹی, originally بھوٹی

⁵ f missing

⁶ f تھی

⁷ f پور پور

⁸ f بھوٹی بھوٹی

⁹ d بھوٹی بھوٹی, f بھوٹی

¹⁰ originally پرت

¹¹ originally لکھن

¹² b ابراہیم و سوخ, may be put as ابراہیم و سوخ

بھوٹی بھوٹی

¹³ f بھوٹی بھوٹی, c بھوٹی بھوٹی

¹⁴ originally جوتی

¹⁵ f سار سار

¹⁶ e and f بھوٹی بھوٹی, a introductory lines upto بھوٹی بھوٹی missing

¹⁷ c missing

¹⁸ e گورا گورا

¹⁹ originally بھوٹی

²⁰ b مکت مکت

बन

एक हस्त रड नरा तसूत्र जगल¹ करा
बाहन² बलीवर³ सेन⁴ जात गुनाड⁵ ईश्वरा⁶
नास कुन्त कुजर⁷ पट⁸ चरम⁸ यागरा⁹

अभाग

सरप सिगार टिपन¹⁰ परछाइ बल्पतरा
रमनी वापन मदग धाम कलास तदुपरा¹¹
प्राहिम उवखत तछन राग भरव महा उत्तिम सु¹²रा

نهن

اک هست رند را برسوں جکل¹ کرا
ناهن² ملی ورد³ سب⁴ حاب کسان⁵ اسسورا⁶
کاس کرب کلنتر⁷ درسپه⁷ حرم⁸ وناگرا⁹

ادھوک

سرت سنگار سدهن¹⁰ د رچهای کلنتر
رملی وادن مردگ دعام کلاس بندورا¹¹
ادراشم اکرت لحتپن راگ بهرو مها اسم سندرا

Dohra No 6

सोम दोर सेत मद¹² स्याम माना नयन सु¹³री रूप¹³
रचछन¹⁴
बादर अबर तापर मयत लग नव गपत वव
प्रगट दिसे बदन

سوم دور سبب مد¹ سيام مانو نهن سندی روپ¹³
لحتپن¹⁴
ادو ابرت نا د مبر لگے کت گت کت
دربگ دیس بدن

Song No 6

दर मुकाम भैरव¹⁵ नीरम¹⁶
दुर्गा पश भरे चदना दू¹⁷
ऊपर निमल मखना सो बाद सू¹⁸
बन
या चकरा¹⁹ चदना²⁰ रास मोती
या इद्रा इडु च ना ऐरावत हती
या वेधा विधु चदना जल भागिरती

در مقام بهرو¹⁵ برس¹⁶
دنالن گهرا به ے خلدنا دور¹⁷
اور نومل مسبا سو خاند سو¹⁸
نهن
نا حکربگ¹⁹ خلدن²⁰ دننا وائس موبی
نا اندرا اندو خلدنا اراو هسی
نا ویدعا ودهو خلدنا حل نهاکری

¹ b جکل جکل f جکل جکل

² f باहन

³ b and c ملی ورد

⁴ originally स्वत

⁵ b कुसाइ

⁶ a स्वरा

⁷ e कुजरा

⁸ a b and c पपट or पपट

⁹ originally चम

¹⁰ a and d नाकर याकर b नाकर याकर
originally याध

¹⁰ d and e टिपन

¹¹ a missing

¹² e f and g मध्य

¹³ e f and g वाको रूप

¹⁴ originally लक्षण

¹⁵ d e f and g हजीज

¹⁶ a and c missing

¹⁷ e and d डूध and सूध

¹⁸ g चकरव

¹⁹ g चकरव
²⁰ g चद

या कपाली चन्द्र चन्दना मडल विभूती
या बदन छाई चन्द्र चन्दना आरसी जोती
यो कवित आखें¹ इबराहीम ससार गुरुपति

या कपाली चन्द्र चन्दना मडल विभूती
या बदन छाई चन्द्र चन्दना आरसी जोती
यो कवित आखें¹ इबराहीम ससार गुरुपति

Dohra No 7

लोइन बीच परछाई पिऊ की मूरत अवरिज² चमत्कार
इबराहीम महा सुन्दर यूसुफ पवित्र भया कूप दीजे डार

लौन बीच परछाई पिऊ की मूरत अवरिज² चमत्कार
इबराहीम महा सुन्दर यूसुफ पवित्र भया कूप दीजे डार

Song No 7

दर मुकाम भैरव³ नौरस⁴

नवरस गाओ गीत गुनि जन गुन गज पती
जम जम जियो आतश खा सदा मस्त हनी

बैन

आपी पारदी⁵ हुआ⁶ बहुत चतुर शाना
घन्ट नाद सुना जग किया दिवाना
अब दीपक होना सो तुज नाऊ आतश खाना

बैन

धन्य धरित्री दमामा दायम धरे हाता
नित खुश्याँ अलोल बजावे⁷ भुइ⁸ पर मारे दाता
वाजे फतेह नुसरत अतीत⁹ अनघाता¹⁰

अभोग

सोड उचावे नफीरी बजावे जग रिझावे दील
इबराहीम अबर लोक अप पराई¹¹ राखें मील
यो गज नाऊ तुज क्यो साजे¹² इसराफील

दर मुकाम भैरव³ नौरस⁴

नवरस गाओ गीत गुनि जन गुन गज पती
जम जम जियो आतश खा सदा मस्त हनी

बैन

आपी पारदी⁵ हुआ⁶ बहुत चतुर शाना
घन्ट नाद सुना जग किया दिवाना
अब दीपक होना सो तुज नाऊ आतश खाना

बैन

धन्य धरित्री दमामा दायम धरे हाता
नित खुश्याँ अलोल बजावे⁷ भुइ⁸ पर मारे दाता
वाजे फतेह नुसरत अतीत⁹ अनघाता¹⁰

अहोग

सोड उचावे नफीरी बजावे जग रिझावे दील
इबराहीम अबर लोक अप पराई¹¹ राखें मील
यो गज नाऊ तुज क्यो साजे¹² इसराफील

Dohra No 8

दृग धुनी पाडु पय पुर पलखा पाल
सोहे तापर तारिका मानो नल्लिनि अजन नाल

दृग धुनी पाडु पय पुर पलखा पाल
सोहे तापर तारिका मानो नल्लिनि अजन नाल

¹ or आकही

² b अचरिज, d अचरज, e अचरिज, e (Nagari) अचरज

³ d, e, f and g हजीज

⁴ a and b missing

⁵ originally पारधी

⁶ d, e, f and g हा

⁷ f वाजे

⁸ f भुइ पर missing, in g पर missing

⁹ g सुमतीत

¹⁰ b अनाखाता, g अनाखाता

¹¹ e बडाई

¹² a: साचे

Song No 8

दर मुकाम भरव¹ नौरस²
 मुख³ गोरा⁴ फटिक तिलक छाये प्रधर
 तिलक अक्षता सो ईस्वर अग्नि नेतर
 बन
 तिलक च⁵न बीच अक्षता
 मडल समुद्र मध्य⁶ मेर पवता
 यो उपमा⁷ मो मन लागे निस पति⁸ लच्छन धरता
 अभोग
 उपमा⁹ आकडू माल¹⁰ तिलक जगतार
 कौं कनक बसे बसोटी कर
 इबराहीम हेम परिचित तारिका¹⁰ मधुघ पर

در مقام بھرو² نورس²
 مکھ³ گورا⁴ بہتک بلک جھالی ادھر
 بلک آکستا سو ایسور اگن بیتر
 بن
 بلک جلدن معج آکستا
 ملدل سنگدر مدھ⁶ مدرو درن
 و اوسان⁷ مو من لگے سن نئی⁸ لحدن دھرا
 ابھوک
 افس⁹ اکھوں بہال¹⁰ بلک جگتر
 کون کلک کسے کسونی کر
 ابراھم ہم درجہ مارکا¹⁰ مدھوہ در

Dohra No 9

विद्या छाड जोवना यो अचरज¹¹ सुन मूरख मूयो¹² प्रान
 को खीजोना इबराहीम¹³ सदसा आपका कहें समेत मोती खान
 دران
 سس مورکھ مویو¹² سن مورکھ مویو¹² دران
 سندسا اپکا کہیں سمیت موٹی خان

Song No 9

दर मुकाम भरव¹⁴ नारस¹⁵
 आताग छा के बिरहे कसी बरसे आग
 आखिरत¹⁶ मुमगन भ¹⁷ को¹⁷ कष्ट केरे भाग
 बन¹⁸
 धाया आप को अग्नि बरी जल जान
 तलाव बीच डारिया¹⁹ डोग²⁰ गरव आन
 जग जल बडबडा बयो कर धारे ना भूसू सुबहान

در مقام بھرو¹⁴ نورس¹⁵
 آتہا جہاں کے بڑھے کیسی بڑھے اگ
 احر¹⁶ مومنگل بھئی کون¹⁷ کلسب کیرے بہاگ
 بن¹⁸
 دھانا اپ کون اگن دھری حل خان
 دلاؤ معج داریا¹⁹ دیلگ²⁰ گوب ان
 جگ حل بڑ بڑا کون کون ہمارے نا بوجھوں سھان

¹ d e f and g حضرت ہجیج

² a and b missing

³ a مک مک

⁴ f and g لاندو پاڈ

⁵ f مد مد

⁶ f اپما

⁷ f سستی نیتپتی

⁸ f اوسا اپما

⁹ f بہاگ باک

¹⁰ f مارکا تارکا

¹¹ e अचरिज but in e (Nagari) अचरज
as in other MSS

¹² a मो मो for मूयो

¹³ g इबराहीम

¹⁴ d e f and g حضرت ہجیج

¹⁵ a and b missing

¹⁶ g कयामत

¹⁷ b कौं कौन or कौन

¹⁸ g अतरा¹⁹ डारया

²⁰ a दीपक (probably the dot of ॐ is missing)

बभोग¹

सूर सरायत सराव² सट³ सारे सरहाये⁴ आतश तान
चित्तारी चितर छाडे भाट भूले वखान
सब देखो ठक रहे इबराहीम बीच हीरान

ادھوگ¹

سور سرایت سراد² ست³ سارے سرھائیں⁴ آتش حان
چناری چنر چھاتے بیات بولے نکھان
سب دیکھوں تیک رہے ابراہیم بیچ حیران

Dohra No 10

कागन सेत निर्मल नयन सुन्दरा अक्षर⁶ रात केर काजर
बीच सिका तारिका पलखान लखोटी लपेटे तापर

کاگت سیٹ برمل نیں सुन्दरा अक्षर⁶ केर काजर
बीच सिका तारिका पलखान लखोटी लपेटे तापर

Song No. 10

दर मुकाम भैरव⁶ नीरस⁷

प्यारे चादा आखो कन्य दीन दुइ दुखी
मन चाहे सो निस भई हम तुम रहें अब सुखी

बैन

बुझाऊ दीपक को त्रामो दिनकर आवेगा
घर घर छप रह जायूस सब सुध पोहचावेगा
पोह फाटी तो देख जा टाक धावेगा

अभोग

इबराहीम न सो जाग ऐमा पीऊ कहां पावेगा
सन्ध्या⁸ कर सिगार लोव⁹ कठ लावेगा
रात थोडी¹⁰ मदन बहुत बना उठ जावेगा

दर مقام भैरव⁶ नीरस⁷

बियारे चानदा आखों कन्ये दीन दुखी दुखी
मन चाहे सो निस भई हम तुम रहें अब सुखी

बैन

बुझाऊ दीपक को त्रामो दिनकर आवेगा
घर घर छप रह जायूस सब सुध पोहचावेगा
पोह फाटी तो देख जा टाक धावेगा

अधोग

इबराहीम न सो जाग ऐसा पीओ कहां पावेगा
सन्ध्या⁸ कर सिगार लोव⁹ कठ लावेगा
रात थोडी¹⁰ मदन बहुत बना उठ जावेगा

Dohra No 11

ब्रिदन¹¹ धुपारती सूरन¹² असवद¹³ सारे तारे
मडागिनी¹⁴ दडी¹⁵ गगन पखा फिरे सदा पहारे¹⁶

ब्रिदन¹¹ धुपारती सूरन¹² असवद¹³ सारे तारे
मडागिनी¹⁴ दडी¹⁵ गगन पखा फिरे सदा पहारे¹⁶

¹ g अन्तरा

² g सराव

³ a सत (probably three dots and Ta are missing)

⁴ e सराई, g सरिन

⁵ e अक्षर (अक्षर) अक्षर (अक्षर), g अक्षर, a and b missing

⁶ d, e, f and g हजीज

⁷ a and b missing

⁸ a and f सन्ध्या, b and e सन्ध्या

⁹ e लोव

¹⁰ b थोरी

¹¹ e ब्रिदन

¹² e and g missing but originally सुवर्ण

¹³ e असवद; g अस्पद

¹⁴ e मडागिनी also मडागिनी

¹⁵ g गगन दडी गगन

¹⁶ e पहारे

Song No 11

'दर मुताम हजीज नौरस'

जम जम त्रियो बग्ने साहब घण पून साग पर
जब लग अमरम उमुमती गिगाति दिावर

बन

भाग बूँ नि नि सदा जाति मगल
करो सुपां जगा^१ मोक्ष तन्त्र ताल मन्त्र
राज भोगो माता^२ सा जुग जुग भू मन्त्र

अभाग

मा सागर दाग मगुता^३ शबरग जग पुर शरग
सध्य^४ मुहम्म^५ पीर मन्त्र यो रागनाई दरग
इबराहीम पाया उत्तम^६ मनगा^७ तारा तबरग

'दर مقام حصدر' بورس'

حم حم حدہ پڑی صاحب اب ہوں سیس نو
حب لگ آ ہوم آہومتی سن متی دیکر

سن

سنگ بلند دین سن سدا حب ملکل
کرو حسنا حسن^۸ کیس لب نال ملکل
راج ہوگو انلا سن حک حک ہو ملکل

اہوگ

سن ساگر دان مکتا^۹ حکریگ حک دور برس
سید محمد دیر مدب^{۱۰} ہو روستا^{۱۱} برس
اہراغم نایا ام^{۱۲} ماسا^{۱۳} ناری بورس

Song No 12

'دर मुताम माग् नौरस'

झलवन निहया निग पांदा
घाप^१ पारदी ह्यालिया बीरत वा पां ।

बन^२

अजय पन विद्या वर आया भाग
मन एसे ता देग वाइ विरे तवारा^३
जने तारे गा^४ भर ह्याया^५ पाग

अभाग

चदना अगत जल पुर निमल
चदा^६ बरा दूरी योन^७ मोले जाल
इबराहाम मोत नवन पू^८ मोल वगन

'दर مقام मारु' بورس'

چہلک نکایا سن حدادا
اسین^۹ نارسی ہوا یا کیس با ہاندا

۱۰۰

احس فن کیس کو ایا ہارا
مت اسے نا دیکھے کو ی ہوئے ہوا^{۱۱}
حیثے نازے گون ہور لیا^{۱۲} حارا

اہوگ

حدادا امرت حل نو برما
حدادا^{۱۳} کرس دوری بس^{۱۴} میلے جا^{۱۵}
اہراغم سین سن ہول کہیلے کلا

¹ a b c and g song missing As all the songs of the *Bhairava Raga* are under *Hajiz* in d e f and g this song has been given here just after *Bhairava*

² e and f missing

³ f حس جت

⁴ e (Urdu) and f مکتا مگتا

⁵ e (Nagari) उत्तम

⁶ d ملہ مٹا

⁷ a c and e missing

⁸ b e f and g اسین अप

⁹ g अतरा अतरा

¹⁰ b तवारा तवारा, e नारा नारा

¹¹ f लया

¹² d and e missing

¹³ or ह्योरी ह्योरी

Dohra No 12

आगास¹ उपमान बुधवल साचे सारा उडगन¹ सारे
निसपति किया विरुद दिनकर वाजी हारे

اگس¹ اُپمان ددهه بل ساچھی ساران اُزگن¹ سارے
نسنپتی کیا دن دنکر ناحی ہارے

Song No 13

²दर मुकाम³ मारू नौरस⁴

प्यारे प्यारे एक पास
हा ज्यो बोल थे बिछरे⁵ फल बास

वैन

कितना⁶ देखू यो मुख
इन नयनो थें सत्र हुई चूक
ददी देवे⁷ दिल पर⁸ वाग दुख⁹

अभोग

जल विन ज्यो तिलमिले¹⁰ मीन
घडी¹¹ एक मुज जावे दीन
इवराहीम चकोर चाद वीन¹²

در مقام² مارو³ نورس⁴

بیارے بیارے ایک پاس
هان حیون بول تھیں ددھرے⁵ بهول پاس

بیں

کتنا⁶ دیکھوں دو مکھہ
ان بیٹوں تھیں سب ہوئی حوک
دی دی دیوس⁷ نال در⁸ داع دکھ⁹

ابھوگ

حل ن حیون ناملے¹⁰ مین
گھڑی¹¹ منیج حارے دین
إبراهیم چکور حاند بیں¹²

Song No 14

दर मुकाम¹³ असावरी नौरस¹⁴

असावरी अस्त्री¹ गौरी चम्पक सार
¹⁵रगत पितम्बर¹⁶ कचुकी नीली सर्व विगार

अन्तरा

जीती जीती हसि बोलत पी पें चौपर¹⁷ फासे डार
एचत वस्तर नर कर धर नार

در مقام¹³ आसारी نورस¹⁴

آساری آستری¹ گوری چندگ سار
رگت¹⁵ دند¹⁶ کنچکی نیای سروسنگار

ادرا

حیئتی حیئتی هسس نرلب نی دین حور¹⁷ بها سے دار
ایداچت وسدرو کر دھو بار

¹ آکاس आकास

¹ a उरकन, b उरगन

² f, अचली दर मुकाम

³ a, b and g song missing

⁴ c, e and f. missing

⁵ f वीछरे

⁶ कित ना in all the MSS

⁷ f दीस

⁸ f: सर

⁹ d and e दोक दोख, f. दोक दोघ

¹⁰ f तिलमीली

¹¹ f घरी

¹² d विन

¹³ f अचली दर मुकाम

¹⁴ a, b and f missing

¹ originally इस्त्री

¹⁵ The words of this distich are very defectively transcribed in f

¹⁶ e पीताम्बर

¹⁷ e चौपड

अभोग

अभोग

बबल बबल बब पीतरम को अनेक प्यार
यो लच्छन आकहे¹ इबराहीम कवित¹ कार

حلحل حمل حمله مدموم کو ار ک دعار
مو لحدین اکھیں² ادراعیم کو¹ کار

Song No 15

³दर मुकाम असावरी नौरस³

³दर³ مقام اسازری دورس³

मोती खा सागर उपमां पुर
तापर तत कळोट लहु गूह

मोती हाں सागर असांन³ पुर
नादर दस कळां लहु³

बन

बन

योमगुता समुद्र ओ जल सारी
य जल मीठा⁴ ऊत्रल खारी

यो मगता समुद्र ओ जल सारी
ये जल मीठ⁴ ओ जल खारी

बन

बन

ओ पुर क्षक दादुर यो पुर गुनिजन
एक जल जीव एक विद्या मन

ओ पुर क्षक दादुर यो पुर गुनिजन
एक जल जीव एक विद्या मन

अभोग

अभोग

मो विद्या अधिक करपा की परवरदिगार
गह⁵ इबराहीम तम्बूरकार

मो विद्या अधिक करपा की परवरदिगार
गह⁵ इबराहीम तम्बूरकार

Song No 16

⁶दर मुकाम देसी नौरस⁷

⁶दरमाम दससी दौरस⁶

एक नारि देखिया खडी⁸ सामनी
पुनिम रात की मकर चादनी
या शमके मेघ रत सीगमिनी⁹

एक नार देखिया खडी⁸ सामनी
पुनिम रात की मकर चादनी
या शमके मेघ रत सीगमिनी⁹

बन¹⁰

बन¹⁰

बन¹¹ रूप खले खत क,मिनी
हो ना जानू तुकिनी वरहामनी¹
आपों¹² नर रूप आप¹³ रूप सुहागिनी¹⁴
दस रूप ईस्वर¹⁵ की ल्याई निगानी

बन¹¹ रूप खले खत क,मिनी
हो ना जानू तुकिनी वरहामनी¹
आपों¹² नर रूप आप¹³ रूप सुहागिनी¹⁴
दस रूप ईस्वर¹⁵ की ल्याई निगानी

or अकहे¹ अकहे

⁶ a and g कहेरी खरी

¹ f कविता कविता

⁹ g सी हना सी हना

² b song missing

¹⁰ g अतरा अतरा

³ a and c missing

¹¹ g फलु फलु

⁴ a मीठी मीठी

¹ originally ब्राह्मणी

⁵ e कबगर कबगर

¹² g आप आप c and d अप अप

⁶ b e and f song missing

¹⁴ g रसनी रसनी

⁷ a and c missing

¹⁵ g राम राम

अभोग¹
चित्तारी चितर नसके होये मानी
ज्यो मौज पर मौज आवे पानी
बोले वाता शीरी जुवानी²
इवराहीम मिलतें† चरन धरो पेशानी

अभोग¹
چیتاری چیتار ناسکے ہوئے مانی
جیون موج پر موج آوے پانی
دولے نادان شدریں ربانی²
ادراہیم مانیں† چرن دھروں پیشانی

Song No 17

در मुकाम पोरवा⁴
मखडूम सय्यद मुहम्मद हुसैनी गेसू दराज
आशिक शहनाज सरफराज
बैन
तुमारी कवर सीपी⁵
सय्यद मुहम्मद आछे⁶ मोती
ऊपर गलेफ दरिया आसमान गुमती
देवे तारे कलम कुदरती
अभोग⁸
भिस्त* दरवाज फिरिश्ते खिदमतगारा
उदका धुवा भरे हर हो जहा पारा
मुकाम इवराहीम तुमारा ठारा⁹

در مقام پوروا⁴
مخدوم سید محمد حسینی کیسو دراز
عاشق شہناز سرفراز
بیں
تماری قدر سینی⁵
سید محمد آچھے⁶ موتی
اوپر عایف دریا آسمان گمٹی
7. دے تارے کاس ددرتی
8. اہوگ
ہیشت* دوواریے در سے حد مگارا
اوردنا دھروں بے دے ہردو جہاں بارا
مقام ادراہیم تمارا تمارا⁹

Song No 18

در मुकाम बराडी¹⁰ नौरस¹¹
मो¹² सोगे¹³ तुम्ब¹⁴ भये¹⁵ जल थे
अन्तरा
पलखा थारे¹⁶ नयन भागिरती
अभोग†

जुलुफ तेरी कल¹⁷ आंकुस पुतरी मेरो मीन हती
इवराहीम ता नोड¹⁸ जडाव दीपे¹⁹ पाछे²⁰ पारद
आवत छत्रपती

در مقام درازی¹⁰ نورس¹¹
12. سوگی سوگی 13. تب 14. دھئی 15. حل تھے
انتر
پلکھاں تھارے¹⁶ بین بھاکرتی
1. اہوگ†

دلف تیری کل¹⁷ آنکس دوری میرو میں ہنی
ادراہیم تا روز¹⁸ حراؤ دیسے¹⁹ باچھیں²⁰ دار
آوت چھتر بئی

1 g انتر
2 c جانی
† a ملنیں
3 b, f and g song missing
4 e پوروا
5 a سینی
6 c, d and e آچھے, e (Nagari) آچھے
as in the text
7 c: This line missing
8 c missing
* e ہیشت but in other MSS it may be
read as ہیشتہ as well.
9 a تھارا

10 e and g براری
11 a and c missing
12 e without مو
13 g سوگی
14 a تب, b تونب
15 a بھئی, d, e (Urdu) and f بھئی
16 e تھاری
† a missing
17 d and e کل, seems to be correct
18 b and g نور, seems to be correct
19 a دیسے, b دیسے e and g .
یوں دیسے
20 a یاچھیں

Song No 19

¹در मुकाम तोडी नीरस²

सधाती सधात सब सहेलिया सग
कर पीरत केरया बाजियाँ शोट धरती³ जग⁴

बन

होया हो लट पट सट बिट रग तरग
जे देख भूले मन नव रतन नारी अग

बन

कदम कस्तूरी केसरी⁵ कुसुम रग
डोलतिया⁶ झूमतिया मद शराव भग

बन

उत्तिम बहुगन गावें नवरस आह्य
हम्बूरा रवाव जन्तर कमाच चग
'डोलक डफ हुडग ताठ त्रिदग⁸
गनाइ पावा नय छालू जग

अभोग

इबराहीम बसत खल समुद्र गग
भानु बसत विनती करे अरुन रग मग

²در معام بزوی بورس²

सलकेयाँ सलकेयाँ सब सपेनायाँ सलक
करस मरुत कदरान नारान जेवत डेरुनी³ चक⁴

बन

होनां हो लट पट सट बट रग
जे देखे भोले मन वरस नारी अग

बन

कदम कस्तूरी केसरी⁵ कुसुम रग
डोलतियाँ⁶ जेवतमान मद शराव भेग

बन

अम बेवु कन गावें नवरस आह्य
नदोरा रवाव जन्तर कमाच चक

डोलक डफ हुडग ताठ त्रिदग⁸
सला नारा ७े हालो अग

अभोग

अब्राहम नसब केहलस सन्दर कलक
बेवु नसब भेली करस अरु रग मग

Song No 20

दर मुकाम तोडी नीरस¹⁰

शरीर शीशा निमल पुर रगन दाव शराव
मदन सदा मस्त मतवाला भोजन दिल कवाव

बन

दीपक सो प्राण बादवान¹¹ सवारैया तन
काजर करो झूट धवा दिसे अजन¹²

⁹در معام वसी بورس¹⁰

सरो सुस्ता रमल नर रग नुआके शराव
मदन सदा मस्त मतवाला बेवुचुन डल कना

बन

दुसक सो वरान नदोरा¹¹ सवारैया न
काजर करी जेवत डेरुनी¹² दिसे अजन¹

¹ b song missing f introductory lines missing

² a and g missing

³ e (Urdu) डेरुनी धरती

⁴ c चक

⁵ f केसर केसर

⁶ d डोलतिया डोलतिया probably from डोलतिया डोलतिया

⁷ d, e and f last two lines headed by *Bain*

⁸ e (Nagri) त्रिदग

⁹ f heading missing

¹⁰ a and b missing

¹¹ f missing

¹² f missing

अभोग¹
चित्तारी चितर नसके होये मानी
ज्यो मौज पर मौज आवे पानी
बोले वाता शीरी जुवानी²
इवराहीम मिलतें[†] चरन धरो पेशानी

अभोग¹
چٹاری چدرسکے ہوئے مانی
حیون موج پر موج آوے بائی
دولے داناں شدریں ربانی²
ادراہیم مائیں[†] چرن دھروں پیشانی

Song No 17

³در मुकाम पोरवा⁴
मखदूम सय्यद मुहम्मद हुसैनी गेसू दराज
आशिक शहबाज सरफराज
वैन
तुमारी कबर सीपी⁵
सय्यद मुहम्मद आछे⁶ मोती
ऊपर गलेफ दरिया आसमान गुमती
देवे तारे कलम कुदरती
अभोग⁸
भिस्त* दरवाज फिरिश्ते त्तिदमतगारा
उदका धुवा भरे हर हो जहा पारा
मुकाम इवराहीम तुमारा ठारा⁹

³در مقام پوروا⁴
مخدوم سید محمد حسینی گیسو دراز
عاشق شہداز سرفراز
بیں
تماری قدر سینی⁵
سید محمد آچھے⁶ موتی
اوپر علیف دریا آسمان گمتی
دنیوے تارے کاس قدرتی
अभोग⁸
بہشت* دوواریے درشے حد منگارا
اودنا دھروں بھوے ہردو جہاں بارا
مقام ادراہیم تمارا تھارا⁹

Song No 18

در मुकाम बराडी¹⁰ नौरस¹¹
मो¹² सोगे¹³ तुम्ब¹⁴ भये¹⁵ जल थे
अन्तरा
पलखा थारे¹⁶ नयन भागिरती
अभोग[†]
जुलुफ तेरी कल¹⁷ आंकुस पुतरी मेरो मीन हती
इवराहीम ता नोड¹⁸ जडाव दीपे¹⁹ पाछे²⁰ पारद
आवत छत्रपती

درمقام برادی¹⁰ نورس¹¹
مو¹² سوگی¹³ دنب¹⁴ دھئی¹⁵ حل تھے
انٹرا
پلکھاں تھارے¹⁶ بین بھانگری
अभोग[†]
دلف تیری کل¹⁷ آنکس دوری مدرو میں ہئی
ادراہیم نا روز¹⁸ حراؤ دپیں¹⁹ پاچھیں²⁰ دارد
آوت جھتر دی

¹ g ادرا अन्तरा
² c جवानी
[†] a मिलतें
³ b, f and g . song missing
⁴ e पूरपा
⁵ a सीपी
⁶ c, d and e आछे, e (Nagari) आछे
as in the text
⁷ c This line missing
⁸ c missing
^{*} e भिस्त but in other MSS it may be
read as भिस्त विहित as well.
⁹ a थारा

¹⁰ e and g बरादी
¹¹ a and c missing
¹² e without मो मो
¹³ g सोकी
¹⁴ a तनुब, b तनुब
¹⁵ a भयी, d, e (Urdu) and f वही
¹⁶ e थडी
[†] a missing
¹⁷ d and e कल, seems to be correct
¹⁸ b and g नूर, seems to be correct
¹⁹ a दपें, b दपें e and g
यो दीपें
²⁰ a पाचें

Song No 19

1در मुकाम तोडी नीरस²

सघाती सघात सब सहेलिया सग
करे पीरत केरया वाञ्छियाँ शोठ घरनी³ जग⁴
बन

होया हो लट पट सट विट रग तरग
ज देखे भूले मन नव रतन नारी अग
बन

कदम कस्तूरी केसरी⁵ कुसुम रग
ढोलतिया⁶ झूमतिया मद गराव भग
बन

उत्तिम बहुगुन गावें नवरस आहग
तम्बूरा रबाव जन्तर कमाच चग
ढोलक ढफ हुडग ताठ त्रिदग⁷
गनाइ पावा नय साछू उगग
अभोग

इवराहीम बसत खल समुद्र मग
भानु बसत विनती करे अरुन रग मग

2در مقام बोयी بورس³

सलकियाँ सलकियाँ सब सपेदायाँ सलक
करस बेरत कदरान नारान चोपट देसरी⁴ चक⁵
मन

होयाँ हो लट पट सट विट रग तरग
ज देखे भूले मन नव रतन नारी अग
मन

कदम कस्तूरी केसरी⁶ कुसुम रग
ढोलतियाँ⁷ झूमतियाँ मद गराव भग
मन

उत्तिम बहुगुन गावें नवरस आहग
तम्बूरा रबाव जन्तर कमाच चक
ढोलक ढफ हुडग ताठ त्रिदग⁸
गनाइ पावा नय साछू उगग
अभोग

इवराहीम बसत खल समुद्र मग
भानु बसत विनती करे अरुन रग मग

Song No 20

1در मुकाम तोडी नीरस¹⁰

गरीर गीशा निमल पुर रगन दाख शराव
मदन सदा मस्त मतवाता भोजन दिन नबाव
बन

दोपक सो प्राग वादवान¹¹ सेंवारेया तन
काजर करो झूट घुवा दिसे अजन¹²

10در مقام बोयी بورس¹¹

सरीर सस्ता रोमल नर रकत दाके सराव
मदन सदा मस्त मत्वाला बेवचन डल कमा
मन

दोपक सो प्राग वादवान¹¹ सेंवारेया तन
काजर करो झूट घुवा दिसे अजन¹²

¹ b song missing f introductory lines missing

² a and g missing

³ e (Urdu) घरती

⁴ c चक

⁵ f केसर

⁶ d ढोलतियाँ probably from ढोलतियाँ
ढोलतिया

⁷ d, e and f last two lines headed by *Bain*

⁸ e (Nagri) त्रिदग

⁹ f heading missing

¹⁰ a and b missing

¹¹ f missing

¹² f missing

वहुर कचन थाल मोतिया भर इन्द्र पठायो¹ नैछावर²
 वार डारेव वानी³ पर
 इबराहीम अकहे यो समयूरस वरन विराजत रजत
 छोट केसरी वस्तर

भुर कन्चन तहाल मोतिया भर अन्द्र पठायो¹ नैछावर²
 वार डारेव वानी³ पर
 इबराहीम अकहे यो समयूरस वरन विराजत रजत
 छोट केसरी वस्तर

Song No 26

दर मुकाम मलार⁴ नौरस

दर मुकाम मलार⁴ नौरस

उपमा सुन्दरी सोहे सुद⁵ सदा वरसात
 विजल्या झमके⁶ जगा जोत सो वतीसी दात
 वैन⁷

अमान सुन्दरी सोहे सुद⁵ सदा वरसात
 विजल्या झमके⁶ जगा जोत सो वतीसी दात
 वैन⁷

किसवत रग रग दिसे ज्यो बादल
 छाये वरसे मेघ⁸ सो खोये जल
 वैन

किसवत रग रग दिसे ज्यो बादल
 छाये वरसे मेघ⁸ सो खोये जल
 वैन

सब तन केस रूख परकार
 सरस जानी रत⁹ आई वार
 अभोग

सब तन केस रूख परकार
 सरस जानी रत⁹ आई वार
 अभोग

गरजे¹⁰ सो तू कहे राग मलार
 इबराहीम मोर रीझ नाचे पुकार

गरजे¹⁰ सो तू कहे राग मलार
 इबराहीम मोर रीझ नाचे पुकार

Song No 27

दर मुकाम मलार¹¹ नौरस

दर मुकाम मलार¹¹ नौरस

झनन झनन झन मोती खा की तात गाजे
 ताल¹² वृदग भेद सो नवरस वाजे
 वैन¹³

झनन झनन झन मोती खा की तात गाजे
 ताल¹² वृदग भेद सो नवरस वाजे
 वैन¹³

इम जग में दो कुछ¹⁴ लीजे
 एक तम्बूरा एक कामिनी कीजे
 अभोग

इस जग में दो कुछ¹⁴ लीजे
 एक तन्दुरा एक कामिनी कीजे
 अभोग

इबराहीम जब तू वृझे
 तब विहित¹⁵ अमृत क्या करू मूझे

इबराहीम जब तू वृझे
 तब विहित¹⁵ अमृत क्या करू मूझे

¹ a and d पधायो पधायो

² c नैछावर नैछावर

³ e पानी पानी

⁴ b मलार मलार, a, c and f missing

⁵ d, e, f and g सुद सुद

⁶ a झमके झमके

⁷ g अन्तरा अन्तरा

⁸ a and b मेग मेग

⁹ a रत रत

¹⁰ c करजे करजे

¹¹ b and e मलार मलार, a, c and e without नौरस

¹² d and e योतो योतो, g योताल योताल

¹³ g अन्तरा अन्तरा

¹⁴ e (Urdu) कुछ कुछ

¹⁵ in some MSS विहित विहित

Song No 28

دُر مُکامِ گُورِی نَورس

سبھ^۱ مہمدمد مہر دِل پر ناہ
جیو رَسُوڑ کر تِکھ اہرا ٹاہ^۲
بہن^۳

گمات^۴ تِس جیو تِرد مہدِی نا
کِیہ گلےف ہر ماہینو چُنا^۵
جیو دِوپک م دِیسے مہا ناہک نگی نا
مُکھ اہویر دِیکھای اہن نا
سےہے آہوے جگ جُلکاہد مہی نا
اہوہی

پُت مہو کا پار مہدانا
جِس پگ پارس ہُدی جمانا
دِہا اہم اہان پر سا ہوا سونا^۶
جیو نُر سُر پ تِ چاہ ہوا رونا
کِیہ مہا جِس سبہر سبہر گنہا^۷

دُر مہام گُورِی نورس

سند مستند^۸ مددے دان در نا
حدوں رسول کو لکھے عرس بہا^۹
میں^{۱۰}
گمب^{۱۱} دے حدوں حرد مددنا
کے عامک پور مہوہوں حوا^{۱۲}
حدوں دسک میں دے مددہ تاک نگنا
مسک مدد مددہاے اگنا
سدوے اورس حک دورالعہد مددنا
اہوہگ
دوت ہی کا ہر مہدانا
حسن نگ نورس ہوئی رمدنا
اہرامک خاک در سوں ہووا سونا^{۱۳}
حسن نور سور نہیں لے خاند ہووا روسنا
کے نورس سب مددے گلہا^{۱۴}

Song No 29

دُر مُکامِ گُورِی نَورس^۱

جان ہرہامنی اہل ڈہا کامینو
بہن^۲

اہرن جاتہا نہن دے
پڑکھا پیتہہر واہ لےتی
اہم جت پڑک^۳ کوئی
جپ ہر دِوہ^۴ ہڈنر پارہتی
اہوہی

پُستک اچھو^۵ سو مُرہری
سہت^۶ ہا جہر ناہن^۷ ہا ڈری^۸
پڑکھا جِلت^۹ جود ہا دےری
دِہراہیم پُتہری مورت دِہ مہا دےری

دُر مہام گُورِی نورس^۹
دات رہامنی ا کھڑیاں نامنی

میں^{۱۰}

آہن حابوا میں دے تاکہاں مددہر اند لہنی
اچھو حل خلک^{۱۱} کھنی حب کرد سب^{۱۲} اسے رناری

اہوہگ

دسک اچھو^{۱۳} سو سندر
کھپ^{۱۴} باہر اند^{۱۵} ہا ندری^{۱۶}

دکھاں خلد ہر ہا ند ری
اہرام نورس سورب نو مہا دےری

¹ b and g song missing f اہتای دُر مہام
اہن جہری دُر مُکام a c and e heading
without اہر نورس

² c مہمدمد مہمدمد d and e مہمدمد

³ a ہا ہا

⁴ a missing

⁵ a گمب c گمب

⁶ f جہا

⁷ d and f سنا سونا

⁸ f گنا

⁹ a b and e without نورس نورس
اہن جہری دُر مُکام

¹⁰ a missing

¹¹ e سندر سندر

¹² c d e (Urdu) and f ویست

¹³ b d and g with سندر سندر f اچھو اچھو

¹⁴ a کھپ or کھپ

¹⁵ a کاکہ کاکہ e کاکہ کاکہ g کاکہ کاکہ

¹⁶ b ہا ندری

Song No 30

1در मुकाम कल्यान नौरस

1در مقام کایان نورس

चतुर चितारी चितर चितारे

چتر چاری چتر چتارے

गगन कागत सोम मोहरा दी तारे²

گگن کاگت سوم مہرا دی تارے²

वैन³

دین³

सूर कनक जल धोल⁴ सवारे

سور کذک حل کھول⁴ سدوارے

परचित किये लेखनी लिखन हारे⁵

پرچپ کئے لیکھنی لیکھن ہارے⁵

टुमके⁶ धरे जमके सारे सितारे

تمکے⁶ دھرے جھمکے سارے سیتارے

अभोग

ادھوگ

धन्य यो उनहार जियो मुलकेजहा रे

دھنی یو اُنہار جیو ما کھجہارے

सुन्दर समुद्र सिगार करतार कीतारे⁷

سندر سمدر سنگار کرتار کیتارے⁷

इवराहीम आकहें⁸ छटिक सर्व वनेतारे⁹

اِبراہیم آکھیں⁸ چھٹک سرو دایتارے⁹

Song No 31

10در मुकाम कल्यान नौरस

10در مقام کایان نورس

जग सुख¹¹ नित अनन्द¹² भये¹³ ही¹⁴ सदा

جگ سکھ¹¹ نیت اُنند¹² بھئے¹³ ہوں¹⁴ سدا

जनम खोए विरहे काज

جنم کھوئی ورھے کاج

ए विरहे मो विचित्र अनन्द मो मन लागे पलपल कोट

اے ورھے مو وچتر اُنند مو من لاگے دل دل کوٹ

कोट राज

کوٹ راج

वैन¹⁵

دین¹⁵

अरे पवन न जा उन पर जिन¹⁶ विरहे कठिन प्रगिन भाग

اے ہون بھنا اُن در جن¹⁶ ورھے کٹین اُگن بھاگ

हौ जलो कुच डर नही मुज डर जग जल जाये उस आग

ہوں جلوں کچ در بھیں مہج در جگ حل جائے اُس آگ

अभोग

ادھوگ

विरहे साथी¹⁷ भुजग मानुस प्रगत¹⁸ अदीक¹⁹ सोमा¹⁹ सूर

ورھے ساتھی¹⁷ بھوجنگ مانوس درگت¹⁸ ادیک¹⁹ سومہا¹⁹ سور

ये विरहे वचन आकहें इवराहीम तिस बीच जरा²⁰

یے ورھے دھن آکھیں اِبراہیم تیس بیچ درا²⁰

छटिक²¹ चूर

چھٹک²¹ چور

¹ g song missing a, c and f नौरस

¹¹ b, e (Urdu), f and g सुक

missing

¹² e आनन्द

² तारे

¹³ f. भी

³ e and f अन्तरा

¹⁴ e हो, g हो

⁴ a and b खूल

¹⁵ g अन्तरा

⁵ c लखनहारी

¹⁶ b परचन, f जन

⁶ a and b तमकी

¹⁷ f साथी

⁷ c कितारे

¹⁸ f and g without dots

⁸ e missing

¹⁹ e (Nagari) अधिक

⁹ a वनतियारे

¹⁹ f missing

¹⁰ a, c and f without नौरस f अजाय दरमقام

²⁰ b and e जरा

²¹ f छटक

دَر مُکَامِ کَلْیَانِ نَوِیْرَس

دَر مَعَامِ کَلَمَانِ نَوِیْرَس

میرا پیڑ ڈھڑے
دیل سُو اَبلییا بَیْتَر^۶ رے
بَن
جیتا دیکھو کھانا نا پاؤ^۷ رے
ہس پانکھا بے پَردے مَے باخِے رے
مَجز گنہ اَجاَبِ نا ڈَیوڈ^۸ رے
اَبمَیوگ
"یا اَظپا^۹ یا اَبلیز جُلْمَاتِ مَے رے
میرا مَن سَیْقِ دَرِ هُوا غُذَنے^{۱۰} رے
سَمْیَدِ مَھْمَمَدِ اَبْرَاھِیْمِ نا دَیلاگے^{۱۱} رے

میرا مَعُو دَیوڈوں دے
دَل سُونِ اَنکھیاں بَیْتَر^۶ دے
بَن
اَتنا دیکھوں کھانا نا پائوں^۷ دے
اَس لَکھیاں کے دَردے مَعْنِ اَحْصے دے
مَلیح گُنہ اَعْدَابِ نا اَھوڑے^۸ دے
اَبمَیوگ
اَحْدوں اَھمَیوگ^۹ بَہا اَحْضَرِ ظَلَمَاتِ مَعْنِ دے
میرا مَن سَکَلْدَرِ هُورا دَیوڈے^{۱۰} دے
سَندِ مَھْمَدِ اَبْرَاھِیْمِ کو دَکھانگے^{۱۱} دے

Song No 33

دَر مُکَامِ کَلْیَانِ نَوِیْرَس

دَر مَعَامِ کَلَمَانِ نَوِیْرَس

ہر دم آوے پیارے ترے اِسھِ بَیو باو مَجز
وہی سُلْغَاوے^۱ جِیو نا نہی تو اَباوےبا وِج
بَن
مَست نَیْمَنِ هُورِ اَظپَکِ اَبمَیوگِ یا رے
مَیوگِ رَاخِے جِیو ساوے تو اَبو^۲ ہوں دَظ رے
اَبمَیوگ
جَ مَن سَبِ تُوہی کوں کوں کَر گن لائے دے
اَبْرَاھِیْمِ وے مَن بَھصے اَس مَعانے اے دے

ہر دم آوے ہمارے دَردے عَسی کی ناؤ مَع
وہی سُلْغَاوے^۱ جِیو کوں بَھنوں نا اَجاوےبا مَع
بَن
مَست بَنِ هُورِ اَحْضَلِ اَمَیوگی نون دے
مَیوگِ اَکھیں اَحْصے ساہیو مَیو اَوَلِ ہوں دَظوں دے
اَبمَیوگ
جے گن سب نون ہیں کن کوں کر گن لائے دے
اَبْرَاھِیْمِ وے گن مَن بَھصے اَس مَعانے اے دے

Song No 34

دَر مُکَامِ دَھَناسَری

دَر مَعَامِ دَھَناسَری

نِیْسَدِیْنِ جَپَتی مَیوگِ وِجَن^{۱۰} کَر
سَربَن^{۱۱} تَراؤ کَر لَکھِ جَولِ ناکَر

نِیْسَدِیْنِ حَدی مَعانے بَھنوں^{۱۰} کَر
سَربَن^{۱۱} رَاوِو کَر لَکھِوں حَوکھتے کَر

^۱ a b c and g the song is missing but its last two distiches in hand of Abdur Rashid (the scribe of b) are quoted in the *Muraqqa* which is indicative of its later composition, f اَبمَیوگِ اَبلیز جُلْمَاتِ مَعْنِ دَرِ مُکَامِ
^۲ f بَیْتَرِ بَیْتَرِ
^۳ f نا پائوں نا پائوں
^۴ f اَھوڑے اَھوڑے
^۵ f اَھمَیوگِ اَھمَیوگِ

^۶ f دَیوڈے دَیوڈے
^۷ f نیکویرے نیکویرے probably it would mean دَکھانگے دَکھانگے
^۸ d and e song is missing e the heading is without نَوِیْرَسِ نَوِیْرَسِ
^۹ e سُلْغَاوے سُلْغَاوے but vide Song No 20
^{۱۰} a b and c song missing
^{۱۱} f بَھنوں بَھنوں
^{۱۲} g نون نون

دین¹

क्या मंदिर में जीव दीपक टुक रह्या
जगा जोत² सो भेज भान प्यारे दया
अब तकिया तुज पर करहू सब सह्या

अभोग

वेग³ मिलारे प्यारे सुवहा
ना भावे सुख मुज अन पान
इवराहीम विरही मोती खान

دین¹

کیا مندر میں حیو دیپک تک رہیا
جگا جو² سون بھیج نہان بیارے دیا
آب تکیا تح پر کر ہوں سب سہیا
انگ
میگ³ ملارے بیارے سمحاری
نا بہارے سکھد منج آن پان
ابراہیم درھی موتی خان

Song No 35

⁴در मुकाम धनासरी

एती वाट देखी मै पीउ⁵ की
केता धूडती फिरी मै तो की
दैन

आस पकडी पास रहने की
नही⁶ ताकत होर मुज सहने की
वात नही किस धिर कहने की
अभोग

सय्यद मुहम्मद⁷ मिलतें पाऊ सुख
तव दिल पर थी सब जावे दुख
इवराहीम गुनहगार तू वखशे चूक

⁴در مقام دهناسری

اینی بات دیکھی میں بیو⁵ کی
کیتا دھونڈتی بیری میں توکی
دین

آس بکڑی پاس رہنے کی
بہیں⁶ طاقت ہوور منج سہنے کی
بات بہیں کس دھر کہنے کی
ابھوک

سید محمد⁷ ملیں پاوں سوکھے
تب دل پرتیں سب حاوے دوکھے
ابراہیم گنہگار ہوں بخشے چوک

Song No 36

⁸در मुकाम कनडा नौरस

करनाटी गौरी मानो केतकी बीच⁹ सेत पतर
अन्तरा

सारी¹⁰ नीली कचुकी¹¹ पीली¹² कुमुद कर कमल नेतर
अभोग

कोयल कूके क्रीडा¹³ करत वसन्ती मूले कल्पतर¹⁴
इवराहीम मनाये विरहे घेरी अब आयें लाल कछु न डर

⁸در مقام کنڈا نورس

کرناتی گوری ماو کسکی بیچ⁹ سیت پتر
اندر

ساری¹⁰ نیلی کنچکی¹¹ پیلی¹² کمد کر کمل بیدر
ابھوک

کوئل کوکے کریرا¹³ کرت وستی موئے کلپتر¹⁴
ابراہیم ملائے مرھے کھیری اب انیں لال کچھو ہنر

¹ g انترا

² f جکا جو

³ f بیک بیک

⁴ a, b, c, and g song is missing

⁵ d and f. و

⁶ f. نہیں

⁷ d محمد محمد, e. محمد محمد

⁸ g missing, a and c without نورس

⁹ a, b, c and d بیچ

¹⁰ d, e and f ساری

¹¹ a کسکی

¹² a and c. پالی

¹³ a کررا کررا or کررا کررا

¹⁴ d and f کلپتر

Song No 37

'दर मुकाम कनडा नौरस

'در مقام کنڑا نورس

सरस्वती गौरी जस गज'त
पुतरी को बस सुनारी सवारे वा
अतरा

سرستی گوری جسے گنج دہک نو ری کو کس ستاری
سلوارے دلا

मा नारत गनपती दीनो मान
मातग मुख स्वरूप कीनो अपना
अभोग

اجرا
ما دارن گلدتی دلاؤ! مان مانگ مکھ سوروپ
کدلو دلا

फुने^१ एसें^२ लागत दुर्गा गौरी सुवास^३
सान सेवती सुमना

بھلے^۴ انسن^۵ لاک دولا گوری سپاس^۶
سب سنبولی سنا

इवराहीम माला पेनत सीस नवा^७
मानो दडवत वरत जपना^८

ادراغعم مالا ددب سس نو! ما و ددو
کرت ددلا

Dohra No 13

'प्रयम सुपरभात की सुतरी बयार मानो राही
आरोही सास नवरस को
वारी बारी पोहप हस्त उडगन पर पेख
दर तुम आछे छवे मो

'برہم سدو دفا کی سویری نازماتو روئی
اروئی ساس نورس کو
ناری ناری ہم سہم آڑگن در نکہ
دیے ہم آحے چیت مو

Dohra No 14

'गनपति रीझ दीनो मुभ सबल देवना वहे टेर आमोन
सरस्वती परसन भइ इवराहीम वड वम अधिक
अधिकाम दिन दिन

'دلپتی رنکھ ددلو سب سکل ددونا کہے ندر اسن
سرستی نورس پہنی ادراغعم کنده س ادغک
ادغکے دن دن دن

Song No 38

'दर मुकाम कनडा नौरस

'در مقام کنڑا نورس

गनपती तुम रूप की तनव जोत मानो मूर
जगमगे ऋतु वसत

गल्दती म रूब की दनक चोव मा و सुर
ककमे रब नसल

¹ a and c without नौरस نورس

² b f and g song is missing

³ Dr Devare holds it as दुर्गा देऊ (दिव दू) (द)

⁴ Probably दू पुन

⁵ a एसें

⁶ a सुवास

⁷ e नो निवा

⁸ c जपता

⁹ Dohra in e only

¹⁰ Dohra in e only

¹¹ a and c without नौरस نورس

¹² f and g missing

अन्तरा

सुदिष्ट सादिष्ट- भई विनायक² मनोहर सन्मुख
देखन कठिन सावक नयन पत³
अभोग
चिता छाई चन्द्र* मुख कलक अस्तुति तेरी सुने कन्त
इवराहीम आकहें नवरस गनेस पद गावत
चोप सेवक कलावत

अन्तरा

सودشت सदशत¹ भैती वनाक² म्दुहर सन्के
दिकेन क्तेन सावक नैन भन्त³
अभोग
चान्ना चैतानि चन्द्र* मके कलक अस्तुति तेरी सुने कन्त
इवराहीम आकहें नवरस गनेस पद गावत
चोप सेवक कलावत

Song No 39

⁴दर मुकाम कनडा नौरस

⁴दर مقام कन्डा नौरस

विद्या पथ सूजत नही या कारन सरसुती
गपती¹ रवि ससि भये⁵ परकास
अन्तरा⁶
वाक विनायक जुगल तुम्बडवीन⁷ भयो रे
दुख धरन को सुख करन भोग विलास
अभोग
सारदा गनेस माना पिता तुम मानो निर्मल
वीव फटिक सीसी तास
इवराहीम गुप्त⁸ घेसो अपनवाज प्रगट
कीनो धन्य मेरो रास

दिया पन्नेह सोचत नहिन या कारन सरसुती
रव ससि भये⁵ परकास
अन्तरा⁶
वाक विनायक जुगल तुम्बडवीन⁷ भयो रे
दुख धरन को सुख करन भोग विलास
अभोग
सारदा गनेस माना पिता तुम मानो निर्मल
वीव फटिक सीसी तास
इवराहीम गुप्त⁸ घेसो अपनवाज प्रगट
कीनो धन्य मेरो रास

Song No 40

⁹दर मुकाम कनडा नौरस

⁹दर مقام कन्डा नौरस

नवरस भेद को उत्पति वचन आखो
सर वननी हित चित लाये
अन्तरा
ताल चटक सम स्वर मध्यम उपज¹⁰
न्यारी न्यारी कर देखाये

नौरस भेद को उत्पति वचन आखो
सर वननी हित चित लाये
अन्तरा
ताल चटक सम स्वर मध्यम उपज¹⁰
न्यारी न्यारी कर देखाये

¹ b सादिष्ट सादिष्ट

² b वनाक

³ e (Nagari) भन्त पथ

* a and c चन्द्र चदन

⁴ a headline missing, f and g song is missing, c : song incomplete

¹ e : गनेस

⁵ d भी

⁶ a missing

⁷ a and b तुम्बडवीन

⁸ b : कन्त, a and e गुप्त

⁹ a and e : without नौरस, c, f and g song missing

¹⁰ a अवज

इबराहीम गाय बजाये रिझाये लच्छमो त्याग पाय
हम सेवक सिव के बल बल मया क
दिन दिन अधिक अधिकवाये

ابراهيم گايے بچايے لچھمي دماگ نايے
ہم سہوک سہوک کے بل بل منا کے
دن دن اسسک اسسکے

Song No 41

1 दर मुकाम कनडा नौरस

1در مقام کلڑا بورس

बलद² महल सप्त³ खन सप्त³ तिन की मूरत सोपान
बीनी पहिमाल बी लघम कर
अतरा

بلدد² مهتل سبت³ کهن سبت³ کن کی مورب سونان
کیلی گھریال کی اوردعم کو
اترا

सप्त³ उगन सप्त³ खन की दीपव नहिच⁴
कर और सब नछतर भये अरती* नछावर
अभाग

سبت³ اڑگن سبت³ کهن کی دیمک بهیتن⁴ کو اور
سوربتتتر بهی ارنی* سبھار
ابھوک

सप्त³ रन सप्त³ स्वर वानो वनाथ अमर थोर कोट
माज मानो पारस बीनो दिनकर
इबराहीम मुक्केजहा राग रागिनी सूरत नवरस
धुनि⁵ मुनि मुरछना⁶ भई अबछरा⁶ इनदर

سبت³ کهن سبت³ سور نانی بلانے امر اور کوٹ
ماتح ماتو نارس کنلو دنگر
ابراہیم ملکیتھان راگ راگنی سورب بورس
دغلی⁵ سنی مرجھن ا بهی اسبھرا⁶ اندر

Song No 42

1در मुकाम कनडा नौरस

1در مقام کلڑا بورس

दरपक दुग⁷ दार⁸ आवत पुतरी¹⁰ प्रयम भेट¹¹
भय¹² थीव पयह पुर गागर
अतरा

दरپک درگ⁷ دار⁸ اور پوری¹⁰ پریم بهیت¹¹
بهی¹² بیب دیه دور لاگر
اترا

उसास¹³ समेत जाय चाहत¹⁴ पय छीव
भई धाय मेरो भाग उजागर

ا ساس¹³ سمعت حایے चाहت¹⁴ پلقه حهیلک
بهی دغلی میرو بهاک ا جاگر

¹ a and e without song is missing
² d and e In Marahati the word is pronounced as such
³ a सप्त e सप्त and it is correct
⁴ e नहिचें
⁵ e आरती
⁶ a धनि
a मरछन

⁶ e (Urdu) अनछरा (Nagari)
⁷ a without c song is missing
⁸ a missing
⁹ f दर
¹⁰ f and g missing
¹¹ f भेट
¹² f भी
¹³ a उसास
¹⁴ a b and f चाहत

सगुन¹ औसगुन² नीकें³ परिचित जानत तुम सकल
बुध को सागर
इबराहीम⁴ आकहे⁵ आसिरवाद⁶ चिरजीव प्रान
देव नैछावर

سگن¹ اوسگن² نیکین³ پرچت حات تم سکل
مدھ کو ساگر
إبراهیم⁴ آکھیں⁵ آسرواد⁶ چرنندیو پرآن
دیو بیچھار

Song No 43

⁷दर मुकाम कनडा नौरस

⁷दर مقام कनडा नौरस

विरहनी[†] जपा कुसुम सुमन अरे रुख पाखें पतर न कर⁸
अन्तरा
पवन थी⁹ पावक अधिक भई मेरो कह्यो
साच मान सीतल न होये कर
अभोग
छार¹⁰ याही खौर¹¹ चदन तन तापर¹² अगार कहु कहु
बुझ रहे कोयले मानो मधुकर
इबराहीम आकहे यो कविन नवरस नवरस¹³ पुर गुन नगर

درهنی[†] حبا کسم سمن اری رکه باکھیں پنر نکر⁸
انتر
پون تھیں⁹ پاوک ادعک بھئی میرو کہیو
سائچ مان سیتل بہوئے کر
अभोग
چهار¹⁰ یاعی کہور¹¹ چندن تن تاد¹² انکار کہوں کہوں
نکھہ رہے کوئلے मानو مدھकर
إبراهیم آکھیں یو کویت نوری نوری¹³ پور گن نگر

Song No 44

¹⁴दर मुकाम कनडा नौरस

¹⁴दर مقام कनडा नौरस

वना वनी बालक वाली
मानो बीव¹⁵ पुहुप कली एक डाली
बैन
वन बीच¹⁶ थाडी¹⁷ नवरस गाती
भर भर दारु प्याला पिलाती
चाल चरती डगमगाती¹⁸
अभोग
चोडी कसी लटपटाती¹⁹
अधर चूम चूम गरें लगाती
इबराहीम को देख उलास मुसकाती

ना बनी बालक वाली
मानो बीव¹⁵ पुहुप कली एक डाली
बैन
न बीच¹⁶ तहाडी¹⁷ नौरस गाती
भर भर दारु प्याला पिलाती
चाल चरती डगमगाती¹⁸
अभोग
चोडी कसी लटपटाती
अधर चूम चूम गरें लगाती
इबराहीम को देख उलास मुसकाती

¹ b and g सगन

² b औसगन

³ a नीकें

⁴ a इबराहीम

⁵ a and f अखें

⁶ e (Urdu) and g आसिरवाद

⁷ c missing, f part of the song missing

[†] a दरहनी

⁸ a नगर

⁹ b तई

¹⁰ b, e (Nagari) छार, f चार

¹¹ e खौर

¹² g तापरा

¹³ f नवरस पुर गुन नगर missing

¹⁴ c last line missing, g song is missing

¹⁵ a, b, d and f बिव

¹⁶ all MSS बीच

¹⁷ e (Urdu) and f ठाडी

¹⁸ a डगमगाती

¹⁹ e (Urdu) पताती

1در مۇقام كىنڭا نۇرۇس

ندر مەم كىلۇرۇ بۇرۇس

مىست نەن گىزى² سەمۇن رىخى³ ڧىزى
كىر سىكى ڧاڧى⁴ رىخ رىزى

بىن⁴

كىلى كۆر مۇل كىيە رىگ سەڭگىرى⁵ اڧىناڧ
اىك ڧا ڧى⁶ ڧاڧى رىخ ڧى⁷ ڧىراڧىت ڧاڧى
بازۇ⁸ ڧى⁹ اڧىناڧ ڧى¹⁰ سىنىن اڧى

بىن⁵

كىمىل ڧى¹¹ ڧى¹² ڧاڧى¹³ سار
سوى¹⁴ ڧى¹⁵ سوى¹⁶ لىگار¹⁷
ڧى¹⁸ ناڧى¹⁹ ڧاڧى²⁰ نەڭ اڧاڭ²¹

بىن¹¹

ڧى²² بوى²³ ڧى²⁴ اڧاڭ²⁵ ڧاڧى²⁶
بىنا اڧاڭى²⁷ بىر رىخى²⁸ تۇن ڧاڧى²⁹
ئىسكى³⁰ ڧى³¹ ڧى³² كىر سىكى³³ كى³⁴ نەڭر

بىن¹⁴

ڧى³⁵ تۇه بىر تار رىخى³⁶ ڧى³⁷ ناڧى³⁸
ڧى³⁹ لى⁴⁰ سار ڧى⁴¹ بىن رىخى⁴² ناڧى⁴³
اڧى⁴⁴ بىل اڧى⁴⁵ تەرى سۇر ڧى⁴⁶ ماڧى⁴⁷

بىن¹⁶

اڧى⁴⁸ اڧاڭى⁴⁹ باڧى⁵⁰ ڧاڭى⁵¹ ناڧى⁵²
سوى⁵³ ڧى⁵⁴ ڧى⁵⁵ اڧى⁵⁶ ڧى⁵⁷ رى⁵⁸
ڧى⁵⁹ ڧى⁶⁰ تەرى تۇن كى⁶¹ سار

مىست بىن كى⁶² سىكى⁶³ رىخى⁶⁴ ڧى⁶⁵
كىسكى اڧى⁶⁶ رىخى⁶⁷ رىخى⁶⁸

بىن⁴

لۇل كۆر مۇل كى⁶⁹ رىخى⁷⁰ سى⁷¹ ڧى⁷²
اڧى⁷³ بىنا اڧى⁷⁴ رىخى⁷⁵ اڧى⁷⁶ رىخى⁷⁷ ڧى⁷⁸
بازۇ⁷⁹ ڧى⁸⁰ اڧى⁸¹ سى⁸² ڧى⁸³ اڧى⁸⁴

بىن⁵

كىللى بىلى⁸⁵ ڧى⁸⁶ ڧى⁸⁷ سار
سوى⁸⁸ ڧى⁸⁹ سوى⁹⁰ لىگار⁹¹
ڧى⁹² ناڧى⁹³ رىخى⁹⁴ ڧى⁹⁵ لىگار⁹⁶

بىن¹¹

ڧى⁹⁷ بىن⁹⁸ بىن⁹⁹ سار
بىلۇن اڧى¹⁰⁰ رىخى¹⁰¹ كى¹⁰² رىخى¹⁰³ سار
اڧى¹⁰⁴ كى¹⁰⁵ ڧى¹⁰⁶ رىخى¹⁰⁷ كى¹⁰⁸ ڧى¹⁰⁹

بىن¹⁴

مىست بىن بىن كى¹¹⁰ رىخى¹¹¹ ڧى¹¹²
ڧى¹¹³ لى¹¹⁴ ناڧى¹¹⁵ سار بىن رىخى¹¹⁶ سار
اڧى¹¹⁷ بىر بىرى سار سار

بىن¹⁶

اڧى¹¹⁸ بىن رىخى¹¹⁹ سار
سوى¹²⁰ بىلۇن اڧى¹²¹ رىخى¹²²
ڧى¹²³ بىر بىر كى¹²⁴ سار

¹ a and b without ڧى¹ نۇرۇس ڧى¹ سار

ڧى¹ بىلۇن ڧى¹ سار

² a كى² ڧى²

³ a بىن b اڧى³

⁴ g اڧى⁴ سار

⁵ a سار سار

⁶ g اڧى⁶ سار

⁷ b كى⁷ ڧى⁷

⁸ a سارى سارى

⁹ f لىگار

¹⁰ f سارى

¹⁰ e and f سار

¹¹ a missing g اڧى¹¹ سار

¹² f ڧى¹²

¹³ e ڧى¹³

¹⁴ e f and g سار

¹⁵ a missing g اڧى¹⁵ سار

¹⁶ f and g لى¹⁶

¹⁷ g اڧى¹⁷

¹⁸ a سارى سارى d e and f سارى سارى

¹⁹ a سارى سارى

²⁰ c سارى سارى

नूर तुज अरजानी दायम सूरना रख सके तुज कायम
पा गर¹ तेरा इक्क इबराहीम

نور تج آرزای دائم سو رہا رکھ سکے تج قائم
پانگر¹ تیرا عشق ابراہیم

Song No. 46

²दर मुकाम कनडा नौरस

دَر مقام کنڑا نورس

अताई धाडी³ गुनीजन त्रिजग गोसाईं तिरलोचन
वैन⁴

اتائی دھاتی³ گنی جن ترحگ گسائیں برلوچن
بیں⁴

भाका न्यारी न्यारी भाव एक कहा तुर्क कहा वरहामन
वैन⁵

بھاکا بیاری بیاری بیاؤ انک کہا ترک کہا برھامن
بیں⁵

उत्तिम भाग नीको सो सोहे जा सरसुती होये परसन⁶
अभोग⁷

اُم بھاک بیکو سو سوھے حاسرستی ہوئے پرس⁶
ابھوگ⁷

इबराहीम ससार चाहे विद्या
सवदगुरु सेवा जप कर एक मन

ابراہیم سوسار چاہے ندیا
سد گر سیوا حب کر ایک من

Song No 47

⁸दर मुकाम कनडा नौरस

دَر مقام کنڑا نورس

लाल मोसो निकुर किये हट परसेज रहे मुज सेज सट
वैन

لال موسوں نکر کئے هت برسبیج رھے منج سیج ست
بیں

इस फिराको हुआ टुकड़े⁹ टुकड़े¹⁰ दिला
सुमिरन कीते सब ले चुन चुन मिला
तेरा ध्यान अमृत अब मरना मुश्किला
अभोग

اِس دراقوں ہوا تکرے⁹ تکرے¹⁰ دلا
سمرن کیئے سب لے چون چون ملا
تیرا دھیان امرت اب مرنا مشکلا
ابھوگ

ना छोडया¹¹ जावे ध्यान जो जीव दे सको
कौन¹² पडित यो दुबुध सेती राखो
इबराहीम मिलते¹³ यो सब मुश्किल आखो

نا چھوڑیا¹¹ حاوے دھیان جو حدو دیسکوں
کون¹² پڈت یو دو بدھ سینتی راکوں
ابراہیم ملتیں¹³ یوس مشکل آکوں

¹ a, e (Urdu), f and g پانگر
² b song missing, a, c and f نورس نौरस is missing
³ e and f ڈاڈھی ڈاڈھی
⁴ b missing, d, e and f انترا اندرا
⁵ g انترا انترا, d and e ابھوگ अभोग
⁶ d परसती परसती
⁷ d and e missing

⁸ f introductory part is missing, a, c and g نورس نौरस is missing
⁹ a तुकरे तुकरे; b and d टुकरे टुकरे
¹⁰ a तुकरे तुकरे
¹¹ a, c, d and f छोरया छोरया
¹² a कौन कौन
¹³ a मिलते मिलते

Dohra No 15

रस मुना तन त्यो वदना मुख ऊपर चाद
नमन हमारी चकोर हो² पीरत सा रहे वाद

رس سنان بیوں جلدنا مرکہ اُردو حاد¹
بہن ہماری حکور ہو² بیوت سوں رہے ناند

Song No 48

³در मुकाम कनडा नीरस

در مقام کنڑا نورس

आयों मिल रे प्यारे सजन नवल लाल नातिद्र भजन
वन

آین مل رے ندرے سجن نول لال دادر بهلجن
بہن

याकूतनि हरद बजरनी⁴ घन⁵
मुपाननी पीक रस बीच दसन

یادونلی ہرد بجزنی⁴ گہن⁵
موبانلی بیگ رس بیج دسن

वन

بہن

अधर सीपी बाउ मोती वचन
जोहरा मुतरी नुखगारी च⁷ वदन

آدھر سینپی بادل موبی بجن
جوہرا مستری بخساری جلدر بدن

वन

بہن

सरस मस्त हस्त कपोल जीवन
सब तन महने वास अगर वदन

سرس مست هست کپول جویون
سب تن مہنے واس اگر جلدن

वन

بہن

धाराव नयनगी सी सागे⁶ धारा अजन
भरी भरी⁷ सोहे प्याली⁸ सरवन कु⁹दन

دھارون بن سہسی سوگے⁶ دھارا اجن
بہری بہری⁷ سوہے پیالی⁸ سروون کلدن

वन

بہن

दाऊद इलहान बोयल कूके वन
सोस केस नाग लटपटी⁹ फन¹⁰

داد الھان کوبل کوکے بن
سوس کس ناگ لب نی⁹ بہن¹⁰

अभोग

ابھوگ

यूसुफ सूरत पदमिनो तन
इब्राहीम मधुकर¹¹ सीस धरे कमल चरन

یوسف صورت پدمینی بن
ابراہیم مدھکر¹¹ سس دھرے کمل چرن

¹ a b and c Dohra excluded

² j ہیں ہ

³ b and g song missing f introductory lines missing a, c and e برس نورس missing

⁴ a آسن شاپ

⁵ a ہیں بجزرنی

⁵ c کہن بن d کہن گہن e (Nagari) کہن بن

⁶ a سوکی سوکی

⁷ e (Nagai) ہرے ہرے ہر ہر ہر

⁸ e پیالے پیالے

⁹ a پتی پتی

¹⁰ a ہیں

¹¹ f ہورا ہورا

अन्तरा

اندر

एक हस्त सतगत पुस्तक दूजे पारणी फटिक सुमिरन
तीजे शय सीत स्वा चौथे अम्बुज¹ कर²
अभोग

ایک ہست سگت پسک دوچه پارنی پھتک سمرن
تیجے شیہ سیت سوا چوتھے اندھ¹ کر²
ابوگ

तन मनझन² नयन अजन मोतिन अभरन³ कचन पैजन⁴
चकरग वाहन सुमन सहासन वसती⁵ कुमुदतर
इवराहीम सर्व देव देवी थाडे भगत करत
नगर कोट राणी सीस छतर

تن منجھن² بین اسن موتن اہورن³ کلچن بدلیسن⁴
چکرنگ نامن سمن سہاسن وسنتی (دندنی⁵) کمدتر
ابراہیم سرو دیو دیوی تھادے ہیگت کرت
نکر کوت رانی سیس چھتر

Song No 54

दर मुकाम कनडा नौरस

در مقام کنڈا نورس

नीकें रिझाय चातुर काय लाल रसाल सग पीरत
सचूक सुख पाय
वैन

نیکیں رحبانے چاترگائے لال رسال سنگ بیروت
سنچوک سکھ بانے
ہیں

एक मन लुजलजान सो मन चूमन करत वाली अलवेली
अलगन करत घाय घाय

ایک من لھلھان سو من چومن کرت والی الیلی
الکن کرت دھانے دھانے

चचल चपल नयन भिन भिन अगन से आछे
तु तरात नयन चितवत⁷ टेर टेर⁸ मुसकाये
इवराहीम सात विगसी⁹ विगसी सुवास पती डर काय¹⁰

चंचल चपल नैन नैन अन सैन आछे तदरात
ہیں چنوت⁷ تیر تیر⁸ مسکائے
ابراہیم سات . نگسی⁹ نگسی سوواس پتے درگائے¹⁰

Song No. 55

दर मुकाम केदारा नौरस

در مقام کیدارا نورس

केदारी वाली विरहिनी अति सुन्दर कपोल कर घर
अन्तरा

کیداری والی برھنی آب سندر کپول کردھر
اندر

कृशागी¹² कुटिल केस पाडु गाल¹³ चमर सेत¹³ वस्तर

کروشانگی¹² کتل کیس پاندوگال¹³ چمر سمت¹³ وسنر

¹ Apparently अवनज but अम्बुज seems to be appropriate, वनज may also be used in the same sense

* Apparently करा कर but कर seems to be more appropriate

² Probably it is मुचे meaning yellow colour

³ Ornaments

⁴ बनीजन but बसन्, पैजन is correct word

⁵ It is worm-eaten, hence could not be deciphered

⁶ This song is found in c only The title

of the songs Nos 53 and 54 appears without *Nauras*

⁷ or चितवन

⁸ It is doubtful

⁹ It is doubtful

¹⁰ It is doubtful The last two lines are very defective

¹¹ g missing a and c without *Nauras*

¹² e (Urdu) and f कृशागी, but the correct form is कृशागी

¹³ e (Urdu) कडा गड्डा, f कडा कडा

¹³ f: the words are missing

चदन रस पुर सिचमाना¹ निविष्टा² कुमद
पतर गौरी³ हिमवर⁴
इब्राहीम उबखत लिखती नख समेत
चितर⁵ महि तदुपर

خلدن رس پور سلختمانا¹ بوستا کند
نذر گوری² همکر⁴
ابراہیم اکیب لکھلتی بکھ سمیت
حدر⁵ مہی ددور

Dohra No 16

⁶कल्यानी रमनी पीवर कुचा तनुदरी मगनयनी बाहा⁷ तनवी⁸
स्याम बेस वदन हिमवर
काता कम बसती वाली लाजा डर दगा⁹ पश्यती रोमावली
नीली कचुकी चितर वस्तर

⁸कल्यानी रमनी पीवर कुचा तनुदरी मगनयनी बाहा⁷ तनवी⁸
स्याम बेस वदन हिमवर
काता कम बसती वाली लाजा डर दगा⁹ पश्यती रोमावली
नीली कचुकी चितर वस्तर

Song No 56

¹⁰दर मुकाम केदारा नौरस

एक कर दडी वादन डूजे पाणी पुस्तक पेखत
नवरस गावत उत्पति
अतरा

बेसर¹¹ वस्तर¹² दसन स्याम नख ल्लाई
मैहदी गुनी परिते¹³
अभोग

कठ डाल¹⁴ फटिक¹⁵ जप माल निगर विद्या पूरी
बाहन हती
इबराहीम को गोत¹⁶ पिता देव गुरु गनपती माता
पवित्र सरसुती¹⁷

¹⁰दरमुकाम केदारा नौरस

انک کر ددی وانن دوچه داری دستک ندکھ
نورس گوت اُسنی
انرا

کیسر¹¹ وستر¹² دسن سہام بکھ لالی
مہدی گلی دسی¹³
ابہوگ

کدھہ دھال¹⁴ بھک¹⁵ حب مال نگر بدنا دوری
ناخن ہنی
ابراہیم کو گوت¹⁶ پیتا دےو گر گنسی مانا
نور سرستی¹⁷

¹ a सलखमाना
² f निविष्टा
³ f कौरी
⁴ a हिमकरह
⁵ a चतुर
⁶ a b and c Dohra missing
⁷ e बाहू f नाहन (without dots)
⁸ f तव
⁹ in all MSS दुगा in e (Nagari) as in the

text
¹⁰ g song missing a and c without Nauras
¹¹ a and c केसरी
¹² a वस्त्र
¹³ b पडिता
¹⁴ c डाल
¹⁵ c and f फटिक
¹⁶ a and c कोत
¹⁷ e सरस्ती

Song No 57

¹दर मुकाम केदारा नौरस

पुनिम निस विरही² लागत सोम आवत* मो मनावन
 मो विरही अगिन जल देखत आवत मो हेम करन
 वैन
 अब गरमी भेदी इन्द्रू कया³ रूप लच्छन
 रवि हो प्रगट दिसे सारिया करे लोचन
 अभोग
 इब्राहीम सो उस लगन⁴ भूल⁵ परे बहु प्रान
 सूर पूज सेवा कीजे⁶ आवत जगा जोत पति भान

¹در مقام کیدارا نورس

بدم نس برهنی² لاگت سوم آوت* مومنان
 موبرهنی آگن حل دیکهت آوت موعیم کرن
 میں
 آب گرمی بھیدی ابدو کیا³ روپ لچھن
 رزی ہو برکت دیے ساریاں کدرے لوچن
 ابھوگ
 ابراہیم سو اُس لگن⁴ بھول⁵ برے بہو بران
 سور بوج سیوا کیجھی⁶ آوت حکا حوت پنی بہان

Song No 58

⁷دर मुकाम केदारा नौरस

दुई दरद उसे दारु है दूर
 अमृत सोहे मुज प्यारे देखे घूर
 वैन
 इश्क तेरा केता काविज मुज
 का तै फिरे मरग दरज नहि तुज
 अभोग
 ध्यान तेरा सब तन ज्यो मुज जाले हनवत लका रे
 इब्राहीम राम विछुरिया⁸ ज्यो सीता रे

⁷در مقام کیدارا نورس

دونوی درد اُسے دارو ہے دور
 آمروت سوھے منج بیدارے دیکھے گهور
 میں
 عشق تیرا کیما قائص منج
 کل تیں پھرے مرگ درج نہیں تیج
 ابھوگ
 دعیمان تیرا سب تن حیوں منج حالے هلویت لنگارے
 ابراہیم رام میچھریا⁸ حیوں سینارے

Song No 59

⁹दर मुकाम नौरोज नौरस

सय्यद मुहम्मद पती पीरा¹⁰ ज्यो रतन में उत्तिम हीरा

⁹در مقام نوروز نورس

سید محمد پنی پیرا¹⁰ حیون رتن میں اُم هدر

¹ a, c and e *Nauras* missing, f song missing

² d and e मोविरही मोविरही

* a 'آوت مومنان موبرهنی آگن حل دیکهت' आवत मोमनावन मोविरही अगिन जल देखत missing

³ e गुया गया

⁴ c लगन लगन

⁵ a फूल भूल

⁶ a and c कھی

⁷ the song is found only in d, e and f

⁸ d and f मिचھریا

⁹ f · the introductory portion of the song missing, g the title appears with *Nauras*

¹⁰ a پیرا

वन¹
 महल महल सदर सवारे
 इस नमूने भिन्न उतारे²
 अनद होता ह सदा³ पहारे
 अरती ल्याय अम्बर नर तारे
 वन⁴
 कदम वस्तुरी चवा चदन ल्याये
 बादल वासे हर रम दिस⁵ वरसाय
 गामे अम्बर पटिया⁶ फिराये
 गरवत घोर अमत विगये
 अभोग
 बादल दमामे बिजलिया वजाये
 बाज साजू गताई न पाये
 सोहता नवरत्न बलियान यथाये
 द्वाभिम गृह गुनी गाये

वन¹
 मکتے² مکتل صدر سلوارے
 اس سوئے ہمس اُبارے³
 اُتلد ہوتا ہے سدا⁴ دہارے
 اُردی لےاے اُمر ہر مارے
 وں⁵
 کدم کستوری حوا جلدن لے
 مانل کاسے ہر رنگ دس⁶ ہوسائے
 سامے عتدو ننگان⁷ دہارے
 سرہب کھول اُمرن ملے
 اہہوگ
 بانل دسامی مکتلان بھارے
 ہاچے حابوسٹانی لے مارے
 سہا ہوس کلان بدہارے
 اہراہیم گُرگنی گارے

Dohra No 17

*घरस्वती स्वच्छ सु रो महा उत्तिम वात निमत्त
 एक हस्त पुस्तक दूज पाणी सुमिरा ताज शायह दाव
 चौथे वर बमल

*مستقی سوچہ سلداری مہا اُم حاب برمل
 ایک ہمس بستک دوچے ہای سمرن بھچے سیہ سکے
 چوبیسے کر کمل

¹ g اُتارا

² a مکتل مکتل

³ a اُبارے

⁴ a سہدا سہدا

⁵ g missing

⁶ a دس

⁷ c and g ننگان پتیا

⁸ a Dohra missing

NOTES ON THE TEXT

The difficult language of the book has prompted me to make an attempt to paraphrase and annotate all the songs and *Dohras* embodied in the *Kitab-i-Nauras*, so as to facilitate the task of the readers. I may, however, acknowledge my inability in interpreting quite a large number of lines. Further, my interpretations should not usually be taken as final, but merely as an aid to the study of the book.

Dohra No 1

‘O mother goddess, Saraswati, it is through your blessings on Ibrahim (the author) that the melodies and songs contained in *Nauras* (the book) will ever be cherished (by posterity) and will ever go on enlightening the wise (and skilled) musicians.’

Song No 1

‘Hazrat Muhammad¹ is the preceptor of the three worlds (Jagattar Guru) and the master of all. His *dargah*² is a magnet and my heart is (attracted to it like) iron. He is the lord of the saints,³ the protector of the weak, and a true divine apostle⁴, the people of the three worlds⁵ by repeating his name, get the desires of their hearts fulfilled.

‘Some long for horses and elephants, while the others crave for jewels (necklaces), some for food and clothes, some for lofty palaces. Ibrahim prays for the highest knowledge’ and ‘philanthropy’ through the blessings of Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz.

Dohra No. 2

‘Each one repeats ‘Jiva’, ‘Jiva’, no one utters the word ‘Piva’. A lover is he who regards the beloved as the soul of his soul and sacrifices himself.’

¹ In this song the author makes a mention of both the Prophet of Islam, as well as the important saint, Sayyid Husaini Gesu Daraz whose shrine is at Gulburga.

² It has been interpreted by one of my friends thus: ‘The dome of the *Dargah* is the central bead of the rosary.’

³ Maha Pir may be used for Divine Prophet.

⁴ *Awatar* (incarnation) is a borrowed idea.

⁵ According to Hindu belief there are three worlds, *Tryag*, *Jagattar* and *Trilok* etc. are the terms to express this idea. *Jagattar* has also been called as *Tryagat*. *Trilok* stands for earth, heaven and hell (Alberuni’s *India*, Vol 1, p 178).

⁶ In MS ‘f’ the word ‘music’ is added here.

Song No 2

O ye scholars poets wise men listen to me for I am producing good verses

It is strange that a single moon is seen double one should however be taken as the picture and the other its reflection in the mirror¹

O beloved you are often called a moon (*Sudhanshu* the rays of the nectar) so every one would reasonably expect the efficacy of nectar from you My eyes which resemble a partridge² are aware of their old associations with you Your beauty and grace has caused Ibrahim to grow unconscious but it is fortunate that you have revived him by the sweet water issuing forth from your lips (or it may be only a request or desire to infuse life in him)

Dohra No 3

The body is a glass in which the function of the soul is exactly that of sands in an hour glass⁴ This is done to see the time of the arrival of the beloved

Song No 3

Ramkrī is a heroic lady who has converted her bed into a battlefield her heart is filled with enthusiasm and her playing gaits and walks resemble lightning Having cunningly deceived her husband this charming lady is engaged in merriment along with her companions She has adorned herself with jewels and rubies and is robed in (crimson) red O Ibrahim *Ramkrī Ragmī* s black and musk producing tresses are fastened into locks

Dohra No 4

The lion went ahunting but always came back (without a game) Its prey is a ferocious elephant Why should it prey on cats and jackals?

Song No 4

The dear moon³ with a sun like face and an attractive pupil of the eye came for purposes of begging with bowl of its eye the moon hastened from here and on this account received delicious food

The indication of the false love is that from hour to hour the moon goes from house to house in the sky Ibrahim has the house of contentment to his

¹ When the beloved comes personally it is the bright half of the month (*Shukl Pātsā*) and when his face is reflected in the mirror it is the dark half of the month (*Kāsh Pākh*)

² The moon is called *Salīlākhā* for the globe of her body is very reflecting the figure of the earth as a mirror reflects On the earth there are mountains and trees of different shapes which are reflected in the moon as a hare's figure (*Alberuni's India* Vol II p 102)

³ Of the various names assigned to moon is *Satāvah* having a cold ray (*Ibid* Vol I p 216)

⁴ Partridge is traditionally believed to be in love with the moon

O my breath with body like sand in the sand clock

⁵ The moon is called *Sambhauśhe* lucky and very fortunate lucky is called *Scmagraha* whilst all that is unlucky is called *Pāgraha* (*Alberuni's India* Vol I p 26)

credit He has taken a particular path (with unperplexed mind) like the fixed stars in a constellation (or the Greater Bear in the starry world)

Doha No 5

'Thy name, O Sun, is the 'Lord of Light'. Thou art incomparable Even if all the stars be as radiant as the moon, they do not possess the radiance of thy single ray'

Song No 5

¹ *Bhairava*¹ has a camphor-like fair complexion with (young) moon on the forehead and three eyes and with the crown of the matted locks over which the Ganges² sparkles In the one hand he has a human skull and in the other, a trident His vehicle is a bull and his body is white (besmeared with ashes) He has the skin of an elephant and of a lion on his back and carries ornaments provided by snakes and sits under the shade of the heavenly *Kalpavriksha*³ A white beautiful woman is playing upon a drum (*Mridang*) at a place beyond Kailash mountains These, says Ibrahim, are the features (*Lachchans*) of the most charming and excellent *Raga Bhairava*'

Doha No 6

'The orb of moon with its dim⁴ and glittering portions resembles the eyes of a charming lady, the cloud (covering the moon) is like the border of the veil (on the face of the beloved) which, when wafted by the breeze, unveils the face which when the breeze abates, is concealed again'

Song No 6

'The world is a milk-pot which is filled with the milk of moonlight, the crystal moon is its pure butter floating on top The moon⁵ is a duck, the moonlight a heap of pearls, or the moon is Indra who is riding on his white elephant (*Anawat*) of moonlight Or you may call the moon a *Brahman*, bathing in the Ganges of moonlight.

¹ It is a description of the *Bhairava Rag* which has been represented as God Shiva He is believed as the Eternal One who is exempt from being procreated and from procreating and free from all qualities and attributes which may be applied to created things

² It is so related that it was a heavenly stream Mahadeva had consented to grant king Bhagirath a part of the Ganges But it was very haughty and no body had ever been able to withstand it Now Mahadeva took the Ganges and put it on his forehead and held it very firmly (Alberuni, Vol II, p 144, and *vide* Song No 18, Footnotes)

³ A heavenly tree which yields everything that is desired (*Kalpa* means desire, *vriksha* means tree)

⁴ C F The moon is also called *Mrigalancana*, i.e. the figure of a gazelle, for certain people compare the black part on the moon's face to the figure of a gazelle (Alberuni, Vol II, p 102)

⁵ The moon is also called *Chandra*, which means the left eye of Narayana, as the sun is his right eye (Ibid, Vol 1, p 216)

Or the moon is God Shiva and moonlight is the mark of ashes on his forehead, or it should be regarded as the reflections of the body in the mirror of the moonlight. These verses (*Kabits*) are composed by Ibrahim the teacher of the world

Dohra No 7

The wonderous and beautiful picture of the beloved reflected in the eyes resembles the most beautiful Joseph who was thrown into the dark pit

Song No 7

O ye singers sing variety of songs in praise of the chief elephant (in the stable) Atash Khan and let us pray for his long life

The elephant itself is a shrewd and cunning hunter. It has driven people crazy by the sound of its bell. And regarding the light¹ well it bears the name Atash Khan

The earth is fortunate enough to be resounded with the uproar² of the elephant who in a joyful mood, is striking his tusk against the earth and producing shrill sound which should be taken as the sound of the drums beaten on the occasion of gaining success and triumph over his enemy³

The elephant raises his trunk and by blowing the trumpet (uproars) he pleases the hearts of all. O Ibrahim the celestial beings wish to have union (with the inhabitants of the lower region) for their own greatness⁴. How does the title of⁵ this elephant benefit you O Israfil?

It seems the angel deputed to blow on the Day of Judgement took the name of the elephant for himself but the author thinks his venture to be inappropriate

Dohra No 8

The eye is a pond (river) full of white water the eye lashes are the shore the pupil of the eye is the lotus and the line of the collyrium is the stalk of the lotus⁶ flower

The p a c t e i s t h a t n t h h u n t i g g o u n d f i r i l i g h t e d a n d t h e n t h e b e l l s o u n d e d H e a r g t h e s o u n d o f t h e b e l l t h e a n i m a l w o u l d c o m e t o w a r d t h e f i r e a n d c o n s e q u e n t l y b e e n t e r e d

In that it c o n s t a n t l y h o l d s t h e d u m m i n i t s h a n d (i. e. t h e u p r o a r o f t h e e l p h a n t)

Atit and *Anghata* a r e t w o *Grahal* of t h e T 1. W h e n t h e S i f l l w s t h e Z a b o f t h e i n g e r t 1 *Atit* and w h e n i t c o m e s a f t e r t h e Z a b i t s *Anglat* (d e M a r f u n N a g l i a t p 400)

In case we p r e f e r t h e t e x t *Pa a* t o *Ba a* t h e p h a s f t h i g e a t n e s s w o u l d b e r e m e d

The u p r o a r o f t h e e l p h a n t i s p h p t h e s o u n d o f t h e t r u m p e t

Cf. W e c o m p a r e t h e b l a c k l o t u s t a n d i n g b e t w e e n t h e w h i t e l o t u s a n d t h e d a r k n e s s o f t h e b e a t a g a i n s t i t f o m d e i e o f t h e f g a n c y o f i t s m e l l w i t h t h e b l a c k o f h e p p l i s t h n t h e w h i t e o f t h e t h e r i n g m o v i g c o q u i t h l y a n d m o o u l y b i n g u r o u n d e d b y t h e h r o f o f t h e e y e b r o s (Alberuni's *Inda* Vol 11 p 94)

Song No 8

'The fair-complexioned face is a crystal, the reflection of the lip in the mirror is the sacred mark which should, in its turn, be taken as the fire flashing forth from the third eye of Shiva

'The red spot in the middle of the white circle of *Chandan* should be regarded as the Meru mountain in the midst of the ocean¹ Or the spot of *Akshata* (rice) should be taken as the spot in the moon and white circle of the *Chandan* as the bright portion of the moon

'Let us produce another simile The forehead of the Brahman is the touchstone (its wrinkles representing the line of the touches one) on which the genuineness of the gold of sacred mark (*tilak*) is tested Ibrahim also attempted to test the gold with the help of the pupil of the eye which should be taken as wax'

The point is, just as the pieces of gold are collected with the wax, so the poet collected the gold (*tilak* appearing on the forehead of the beloved) into his eyes with the aid of the pupil of the eyes resembling the wax This is in reality a unique type of theft and the poet is proud of it

Dohra No 9

'O, dead of heart and devoid of wisdom, listen to me How strange it is to pass one's life without scholarship and learning Ibrahim² is conveying your message in accompaniment with (his musical instrument) Moti Khan'

Song No 9

'Having separated from Atash Khan³ (chief elephant) I am feeling the anguish of burning fire My sad plight is such that the exemplary heat on the Day of Resurrection with its acute intensity is nothing in comparison with it I do not know to whose misfortune it should be attributed

'Taking water as fire's enemy it hastened and plunged into the water (tank) out of arrogance and ferocity The world is just like a bubble, I fail to understand how it would survive⁴

¹ 'Manifold are the opinions of people relating to Mount Meru, particularly among those who study the Puranas and the religious literature Some describe this mountain rising above the surface of the earth to an excessive height It is situated under the (north) pole, and the stars (including sun) revolve round its foot, so that rising and setting depend upon Meru It is called Meru because of its having the faculty of doing this, and because it depends alone upon the influence of its head that sun and moon become visible The day and night of the angels who inhabit Meru last six months (Ibid, Vol 1, p 243)

² 'Ko Khejuna' is not clear

³ We are informed that the chief elephant, Chanchal, was presented to Akbar in 1604 (vide 'Asad Beg's Mission to Bijapur', *Fotdar Commemoration Volume*, p 192) But it cannot be said that the two were identical and the author referred to the transferring of the elephant which he was forced to do

⁴ The description of the transitoriness of the world may suggest that the elephant was perhaps drowned somewhere and the Sultan felt its separation very much

The brave the skilful and the warriors all are praising Atash Khan, the painter left his profession of painting the bard of praising Ibrahim having seen all is in a state of perplexity in their midst

Dohra No 10

The white portion of the eye of the charming lady is as a (piece of) paper, the line of the collyrium as the letters of the writing (letter) the pupil of the eye as a seal in the middle and the eyelashes as the flap of the envelope being stitched with lac

Song No 10

O dear moon listen! We both¹ are unhappy during the day Now that the desired night has set in let us enjoy it fully

Let me put out the lamp lest the day should dawn for the former acting as the latter's spy would convey all (the news of) our secrets to him (the lover is having union and the sun is envious of it) The day is about to dawn so you should make haste otherwise the spy would hurriedly convey the news

O Ibrahim sleep no more for you would not be blessed with the union of such a beloved beautify yourself early² that she may be enamoured of you The night is drawing to its close the intensity of love has not abated the beloved would soon depart

Dohra No 11

The sun is a burning fire or flame of worship (*Arati*) in which all the stars are as easily burnt as the black seed in fire The milky³ way is the axis over which the sky moves like a fan

Song No 11

O Bari Sahib⁴ may you live as long as are the sun and the moon the earth and the heavens and may you cast your shadow (of protection) over the head of your son

With fortune ever towards increase always with happiness and pleasure may you enjoy the festivals of music and dance and may your rule extend over the whole world and may it continue to eternity

¹ In Song No 58 the words *du me n sep rat on*

The word *Sandhan* used here means aly morning when the Bahman is required to take a bath

In Hindu mythology the Milky Way is the bed of the Gangas (Alibrun Vol II p 144)

⁴ The mother of the Sultan (id est Bahmanu Salatin pp 165 171 284 etc) His son (i.e. Muhammad Adil) wife who was the daughter of Muhammad Quli Qutb of Golconda also bore the same title (Ibid pp 363 438) But this song has nothing to do with the latter

'The heart (mind) is an ocean, the generosity is its pearl, the world is the duck (which eat pearls) O Sayyid Muhammad, my guide, favour me by showing your glowing cheeks O Ibrahim, I got a perfect lady of noble ideals'

Song No 12

The glittering moon rose at night, it is a hunter which has taken the snare of its own rays

'By a unique stratagem it came out of the snare, and in an attempt¹ to escape from the eyes, it bends low, ultimately it filled its bags with as many stars as possible

'Moonlight is the clear water of life (nectar), the moon has spread a snare interwoven from its own rays, Ibrahim is a fish and his eyes, full-blossomed lotus flowers'

Doha No 12

'Verify, the sky resembles a chessboard and all the stars are chessmen The moon played opposite and the sun lost the game'

Song No 13

'The lovely beloveds are sitting together Their discourse may well be compared with the smell coming out of the flowers

'How long² should I see this face (of the beloved)? These eyes are totally mistaken (*i.e.* unable) to appreciate her prettiness The rival is inflicting a brand of grief on my heart I am passing my days (in separation) as a fish out of water or a partridge separated from the moon One hour is as long as the whole day'

Song No 14

'*Asawari*³ is a charming lady of white *champak* complexion, wearing a red *Sari*, blue bodice (*Choli*) and all ornaments

'The more she smiles, the greater is her fascination She is tightening her dress and is about to hold the hand of the man near her She is looking many a time at her lover with her playful eyes The poet and composer, Ibrahim, thus describes the features (*Lachhans*) of *Asawari*'

Song No 15

'Moti Khan (the royal guitar), with its⁴ low and high pitched notes, may well be compared to an ocean in full tide

¹ To Mr Devare Phere Newara is *Phernewala* Hence the line would mean "Rarely has one seen such a wanderer" But in case *Newara* is taken to mean 'bent', it would be a good example of Pathetic Fallacy

² In all the MSS the word is *Kitna*

³ It is a description of *Asawari Regini*

⁴ *Lahu* or *Laghu* and *Guru* are short spaces in music

The instrument is an ocean full of pearls (of music) and hence preferable to the (worldly) ocean which is an expanse of water. Again the former with its sweet water (of music) is superior to the latter with its saltish water. It is again preferable to the ocean in this respect that the latter is full of frogs and fishes while the former produces musical notes. Lastly, since Motu Khan is associated with learning and the ocean with animals the former's superiority is as evident as anything.

O God bless the tambourine player, Ibrahim with the learning of music

Song No 16

The beautiful lady standing before me (with her face at times visible and then concealed) may be taken as the moonlight of the full moon issuing forth from behind the clouds or the lightning flashing in the rainy season.

She is playing a variety of games but I do not understand whether she is a Brahman lady or a Muslim. She is an incarnation of divinity that is to say with ever changing forms she resembles God who takes ten forms (*viz* ten *Avatars* or incarnations).

A successful painter like Manu¹ would fail to draw her picture. How is it possible to paint the picture of flowing water? She is chatting very attractively Ibrahim would readily place his head (forehead) on her feet.

Song No 17

The poet sings in praise of the tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz and says Sayyid Muhammad is a pearl in the grave that is like mother of pearl the entire sea is the cover for his grave and the sky is a dome over it with the celestial stars as the shining pinnacles. The heavens afford a gate for the tomb and the angels serve as attendants. The smoke of incense travels beyond this world. So your abode is Muqam i Ibrahim².

¹ The third distich of the *Dain* may refer to her ambiguous gender.

Manu or Manes was born at the end of the Parthian period in the 4th year of King Arda an (A D 215 16). He founded the Manichaean religion which notwithstanding the fierce persecutions to which it was exposed both in the East and the West continued for centuries to command numerous adherents and to exercise an immense influence on religious thought both in Asia and Europe.

Manu was the author of seven books of which six were in Syriac and one *Shalb ganin* in a peculiar script invented by the author himself. To this script and that of the Manichaeans devoted much attention. From this the idea of Manu as a skilful painter which is prominent in Persian literature generally believed that he produced a picture book called the *Alger Ari g* to which he appended a proof of his supernatural power and divinity (Browne *Literary History of Persia* Vol I pp 154 164 65).

² Muqam i Ibrahim a position with divine sanctity at Ibrahimgah much sanctity associated with it. Mr Gyn has translated it into a Great Place which is not appropriate. The rest is taken from him (*Islamic Culture* Vol XIX p 146).

Song No 18

'The line of collyrium (antimony) is like a canal, the eyes are the ocean¹ and the eyelashes, the sea-shore Your ringlets are the fishing hooks and the iron goad and the pupil of my eye is the fish and the elephant Ibrahim says that the light flashing from the jewels indicates that the king is coming ahunting'

Song No 19

'All² the lady companions sitting together are in a playful mood They are seizing and pulling each other's braids and are playing the game of love. They are throwing colour on each other and are drenched in it. He who sees the precious gem of the body of the damsels loses his heart They possess all sorts of incense and under the influence of wine and other intoxicating herbs they are swaying, waiving and rollicking Some are singing *Nauras* lines and playing on guitar, violin, *jantai*, *kamacha*, and harp; others are beating drums, *duff*, *huugtal* and *mundang*, while even some are blowing *sanai*, *pawa*, *khalu* and *upang*

'O Ibrahim, the sea and the Ganges are enjoying *Basant* festival (*i e* are playing *Holi*) and the sun is making entreaties to the *Arjun* (twilights) to grant him yellow and rosy colour'

Song No 20

'The body is a crystal goblet and the blood is the wine (of the grapes) which fills it, the passionate lover (god of love) in the enjoyment of his (spiritual) love, drinks the wine and feasts on the roastment of the heart

'The soul is a candle, the body, a shade of glass, the soot or antimony is nothing but the smoke of the candle, the wine is the oil and the veins are supplying wicks for it and the heart is the pot (in which the candle is fixed) Ibrahim keeps the lamp burning with his breath for ever'

Song No 21

'The Creator took the best light from the moon causing a spot in its face (which is nothing but a pit which should reasonably be dark and dreary) Thereafter he painted a form which put all the *Hoods* and fairies to shame so as to cause them to hide themselves in heavens and in infernal³ regions (respectively) Ibrahim has seen all the beautiful ones, but none would compare with Chand Sultan, known as *Malika-i-Jahan*⁴ (his Queen)'

¹ Bhagirathi is another name of the Ganges It is said that Mahadeva was so pleased with king Bhagiratha that he took a part of the heavenly Ganges and granted it to the king Since that day the river was called Bhagirathi (cf Song No 5, Footnotes)

² In this song the author gives a description of the *Holi* festival

³ The word *Patal* used here refers to the seventh and the last region under the Earth

⁴ The reading of the word is *Mulki Jahan* which is applicable both to *Malika-i-Jahan* (the queen of the world) as well as the *Malik-i-Jahan* (the king of the world)

Song No 22

Chand Sultan¹ alias Malika i Jahan deserves much admiration and congratulation No one has ever come across a lovely lady like her She is very clever, intelligent and skilful Her abilities have confounded all She speaks so enchantingly as if the nectar is issuing forth from her mouth She is an incarnation of wisdom and perception and is a woman of clear thinking and of much forbearance Ibrahim, having been enamoured of her, is prepared to tread the path with his eyes

Song No 23

May I tell you the origin² of the musical instrument Moti Khan? It has been made from the wood of the heavenly tree *Kalpabriksha* whose bark resembles that of cinnamon the root of Bala (a kind of medical herb) the leaves of betels the fruits of mango the flowers of jasmine and which is planted in a soil as fragrant as musk and camphor, reared³ with saffron watered by rose water and whose keeper is love itself O Ibrahim the master of the world the heart is an abode of musical notes like *Tant Ghor* and *Jil Suar*⁴

Song No 24

The *Megh of Hast Nakshatra*¹ resembles Ganapati (Ganesh the elephant faced god of learning and intellect) in all respects the lightning is the tusk and the thunder is the bell and the rainbow the forehead of Saraswati (*Bani*)

'Again the goddess of Knowledge viz Saraswati resembles the pure rain drops² of *Swati* (when the moon is in the 15th Mansion) which produces pearls which is a sure indication of the above truth

Song No 25

The sun in the rainy season is as pleasure giving as the *Megh Raga* with *Asawari Ragini* It seems the appearance of Sarsawati (or Durga) has put the sun to shame and in a state of hesitation and bewilderment it is trembling Indra the god of visible heavens having filled the golden tray with pearls (of raindrops)

¹ She is a lady other than Malika i Chand Queen of Ahmed Nagar the aunt of Ibrahim Adil Shah firstly because the book was perhaps compiled after Chand's death secondly because he did not bear the title of *Malika i Jahan* thirdly no nephew would like to praise the beauty of his elderly aunt in this way fourthly because the Sultan's wife bore the same name and title Hence he might be correctly regarded as his wife

² *Bh* d means delicacy hence it may be interpreted in this way

May I tell you the indications (reasons)

of the delicacy and nobility of Moti Khan?

The word *Pal* has been used for this

⁴ It is one of the concluding *Nakshatras* of rainy season which fall in the month of *Kumava* It is a season for a year

In Persian the *Nasandras* produce pearls in shells

has sent it to be bestowed on Saraswati (*Bani*)¹ Ibrahim says, how charming is the appearance (colour) of the world now in saffron *sari* sprayed with silver marks'

Song No 26

'A lovely lady resembles the rainy season in all respects Her teeth should be taken as the lightning, the varieties of clothes are the clouds of various shades and colours, the sweat is the raining cloud, the hair all over the body is the luxuriant shrub (of the rainy season); the youth is the fruit and her song in the *Malai Ragini* is the thundering of clouds Ibrahim says that the peacock having been enamoured of her prettiness is dancing and singing'

Song No 27

'When Moti Khan is being played upon, it produces varieties of musical notes The most desirable things in the world are a guitar and a beautiful lady O Ibrahim, when you have got these two, you would not consent to go to heaven or to be blessed with the water of life (immortal nectar)'

Song No. 28

'I have got the name of Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz engraved on my heart as is the Prophet's name on the Divine Throne (*A'ish*)

'The dome over his tomb appears like a (mirror) *Madina*, the covering of the grave is filled with such precious jewels as big diamonds in a lamp. When the Zi-Qada² (the eleventh month of the Hijri era) comes, musk, saffron and ambergris are scattered in the courtyard

'The son (offspring) of the Prophet (of Islam) was very noble soul on account of whose footsteps the earth was transformed into gold Just as the moon receives light from the sun, so I wish to be profited by him, that is to say, my heart might be purified and thereby my sins might be forgiven'

Song No 29

'She is a Brahman lady whose eyes are very charming, the line of the antimony represents the Brahmanical thread, her shedding tears should be taken as her taking bath and her look be considered as her offering prayers to the goddess, Parvati³

¹ The author gives a description of the sun shining forth occasionally from behind the raining clouds The rainbow has been suggested as Saraswati, the golden tray is the whole atmosphere and occasional rain drops are the pearls which fill the tray, the appearance of the sun and thereafter its disappearance gives the idea of a chintz with a white background and the shining atmosphere is the saffron dress

² Gesu Daraz died on the 16th Zi-Qada, 825 A H In this song there is a reference to the annual gathering (Urs) that is held on his grave on the above date

³ She is the wife of Mahadeva or Shiva Her original name is Uma, but being the daughter of Himalaya Parbat, she goes by this title But it is believed that Mahadeva is exempt from being procreated and procreating (Vide, Song No 5, footnote)

Her eyes are like beautiful books the line of the collirium (antimony) like the letter, the white portion of the eye like the paper the eyelashes like the binding and the pupil of the eye like the beautiful picture of the god'

Song No 30

The painter was expert so his painting was *par excellence* The sky is paper and the stars¹ supply the silver *muhra* The sun is keeping ready the golden ink for the pen of the painter The stars are glittering The author deserves admiration for such similes

God adorned Himself with lovely ocean and Ibrahim says that by a single movement of His hand, all the ladies have acquired prettiness'

Song No 31

The world is passing its days in pleasure while I am suffering from the afflictions of separation Despite this, it is a strange joy that I feel as if amidst roval pleasures

O wind, do not intend going to those who are burning in the fire of separation This is not because I fear lest I should be burnt but because the fire burning in their heart would spread and consume the whole world to ashes

A large number of persons suffering from the pangs of separation are more reputed than the sun and the moon and Ibrahim says that in relation to them he is more insignificant than the particles

Song No 32

My mind is searching the lover in the eyes but I fail to find him out because has hidden himself behind the (thin) curtain of the eyelashes My failure is due to my sins and faults³

But still just as Khizr⁴ hid himself in the dark⁵ and Alexander went out in search of him my mind is out to play the role of Alexander now and Sayyid Muhammad would show to Ibrahim the path of success

¹ The word *d ta e* may ther be r ad s *de tare* or as *d ta re*

The word *Mulk* : J h n st nds for Mal k : J han r ferrs g to the roy l auth r

Mr G yanı interprets it in this w y Al l for what n of m ne h ve you quitted me? But I am unable to acc pt it Anyhow the ng has a myst lt ge ferrs gt th ver in Q ran I m n rert youth n i th lf e n or br in v n or Who ve recognı d h s lf recogn ed h s C tor

⁴ Kh zr a P phet who kn w th path I ad g t Nect r It is t ad tio lly b li ved that he guided Alex nda to th str m but th l tt r d d not d k from t

⁵ *Z imat* s a plu al f rm of *Z imat* (da kne) Th wat r of life is b lieved to be n dark But it should not be confus d v th B h i Zulamat which s Atlant c Ocean

Song No 33

'O my darling, all the time I am feeling the breeze of your love and only that would keep the candle of soul burning which would otherwise be extinguished

'Your intoxicated and playful eyes are so invaluable that I am prepared to purchase them even at the cost of my life.

'You possess unusual abilities. From whom have you learnt all this? A person of your qualities cannot be pointed out'

Song No 34

'Day and night I recollect to my memories the sweet notes of Moti Khan, as if my ear is a balance in which I am weighing sugar.'

'My mind would not be illuminated by a candle of a very brief duration O merciful God, kindly send to me a radiant sun Now I have severed my relation with all and have solely relied on yourself.

'O clement God, I wish the days of separation from Moti Khan may soon come to an end for, under such state of affairs, I can neither relish the diet nor enjoy other necessities of life'

Song No 35

'I waited anxiously for my lover¹ and went in search for him I wished to live with him for my patience has exhausted; but alas! I do not find myself in a position to disclose my secrets to any one

'However, if I may happen to see Sayyid Muhammad, ² e my spiritual guide, I would be relieved of all worries and afflictions He would forgive sinful Ibrahim'

Song No 36

'*Karnati*², a lady of surpassing beauty, with white complexion resembling *Kewra* (Pandanus Odoratissimus) flower, is dressed in a blue *Sari* and a yellow bodice Her hands resemble white esculent lotus (*Kumud*) in tenderness and the eyes are similar to (ordinary) lotus (*Kamal*) in attraction. It is the spring season and the Indian cuckoo, sitting on the heavenly tree, is vociferating The lady who is suffering from the pangs of separation is advised not to be grieved for her lover would soon arrive'

Song No 37

'The goddess Saraswati in prettiness resembles an ivory statue (elephant tusk) prepared by a skilful sculptor³ It is why Ganesh has visualised himself as

¹ or beloved

² It is a description of the *Ragini*

³ His name was probably Kokas

an elephant Again Durga (Saraswati) is a full bloomed white jasmine flower Ibrahim having put on a garland¹, bows down before her and offers his prayers²

Dohra No 13

The refreshing breeze of the fine early morning may well be taken as the *arohi* and *avarohi*² breaths of Nauras

Dohra No 14

Ganpati showed his liking which was thereafter confirmed by other virtuous gods Saraswati too was mighty pleased with the author Ibrahim and his attractive voice is solely due to her pleasure

Song No 38

The whole song is a beautiful description of Ganesh A portion of his radiant face resembles the clear sun of the spring season The beautiful sight is such that the young deer who is confronted with it is dazzled the spot in the moon is due to jealousy having been roused after hearing his praises Ibrahim's songs meant for the praises of Ganesh would be sung by various types of musicians of his court

Song No 39

The path of knowledge was undiscoverable It was why the god of learning (Ganesh) became the sun³ and the goddess of scholarship (Saraswati) the moon⁴ The tongue Ganesh (*Winayal*) and the veena of Saraswati (*Wak*) have relieved all their worries and now they are in a position to have pleasure and happiness

O Saraswati and Ganesh both of you are my mother and father You resemble two crystals hidden in sands⁵ Now you have come out of them and have blessed me for which I congratulate my own fortune⁶

Song No 40

Give a patient hearing and listen to the description of *Nauras* which I am just giving to you Its *Tal*⁶ (rhythm beat) is *Chatak Sam*⁷ its *Swarah* (note) is

¹ Ibrahim fondo ss may be judged fr m the song

² A c ndi g and descend g notes

The un is c lled Ra b cause h dr es v et substanc The juic in the pl nt i call d *Rasa* and he whot ke it out of th m s called *Ravi* (Alberun Vol 1 p 216)

The word *Sa* u d for moon is o g ally *Sasi* al o call d *Sh* i (Ib d p 178)

O you resemble tv c ystal nd Ibr him v ho vas qu t unknown (*gupta ghet*) h s been bl sed fr r which he co gratulat h s f tune

In lid n tim s the e er 360 prevalent *Tals* th e ft r only 92 *Tls* v re in c mmon use but th s numb r a r d c d t 12 only n mode n tim s (ide the *Sar Ish t* pp 120 121)

Sam is on of the 92 *Tals* us d in tm d val tim s tl no *Clatak tal* instead the e is one *Chan k* (Ibid)

*Madhyam*¹. It is very creative Ibrahim sings and plays and attracts and forgets to have attachment to wealth and riches We are the true devotees of Shiva and our devotion and attachment to him are daily towards increase’.

Song No 41

‘The seven-storeyed² building (Sapt Khan) would require a staircase of seven days to reach its top floor; the constellation of the stars (Sapt Urgan) would serve as its candle and the whole collection of stairs would] perform the *Arati* ceremony The goddess Saraswati would produce immortal musical notes of seven varieties, which would attract the *Abcharas*³ (*Apsaras*) of the musical assembly of Indra, who have gone beside themselves ’

Song No 42

‘The love entered the eyes and first of all came across two pots (pupil of the eye) full of water , so it wished to leave it with sighs ; but in the meanwhile sneezing⁴ on the way, prevailed upon it to stay on, because, being itself a sea of knowledge, it could know good omens⁵ from the bad ones Ibrahim is praying for its long life and prosperity ’

Song No 43

‘The lovers suffering from the pangs of separation resemble the *Japa Kusum* So it is not desirable on the part of the tree to allow its leaves to act as fans to get the intensity of their affliction abated , for verily the air produced by the fans would increase the intensity of the heat (fire) of love in which the lovers are burning

‘*Chandan* or *Sandal*, which a lover is besmeared with from top to bottom, is nothing but ashes on the embers (sparks), which at some places have turned into coals, while the latter in their own turn be taken as beetles.

‘Ibrahim is composing these Nauras songs in Nauraspur which is known as the city of merit (music) ’

Song No 44

‘The minor lover and beloved resemble two flowers blossomed in the same twins A music party is held in the valley and in the midst she is standing singing songs (producing nine *rasas*) She would fill the cup with wine and

¹It is one of the seven *Swaras* (Ibid , p 14)

² A set of apartments collectively known as Haft Khan or Sat Khan stands near the Gagan Mahal and was built in A H 991. (vide ‘Introduction’)

³ *Apsaras* (*Apcharas* or *Abcharas*) are wives of Gandharvas They sing and dance in Indra’s court Some of them reside on the Meru mountains, while others on Kailash They are not regarded as women of character (vide Alberuni’s *India*, Vol I, p 320, Vol II, p 261)

⁴ Alberuni says ‘They (the Indians) consider the *crepitus ventris* as a good omen, sneezing as a bad omen’, (*India*, Vol I, p 182)

⁵ these words may also mean ‘merits and demerits’.

circulate it among the drunkards. She would walk in a playful and graceful manner indicating her own state of intoxication. She had her tresses very beautifully combed in locks. She would kiss and embrace and would be immensely pleased to have seen Ibrahim.

Song No 45

The intoxicated eyes of the beloved would resemble an elephant, when they happen to stand face to face they are in a position to withstand him (elephant)

The elephant having his forehead besmeared with the red powder, is resplendent like the sun. It is superior to the white elephant Airawat which was in possession of Indra. His two sides are just like lance while his tusk resembles a sharp spear.

The pupil of the eye may be taken as the covering of his bell, the line of collyrium as his tail or fetters, the eyelashes as his ropes or spear (iron hook which the keeper has). Sweat is trickling down his cheeks and the swiftness of his speed may well be compared with that of the eye sight.

May God take the elephant under his protection. So long as tongue has the power of articulation and ear the power of hearing may he be blessed with an immortal life whose beginning be equal to the duration of the sun and the moon.

The elephant has not been created out of four elements. He is made from quite a different thing. So he deserves an admiration worthy of him.

May he keep his light for ever. The sun cannot compare with him (for the former's light is not constant). Ibrahim is highly enamoured of him (elephant).

Song No 46

Ata Dadlu and *Gumjan*¹ the three classes of musicians should be regarded as the master of the three worlds, the three eyed god² Trilochan. Though their languages may be different, yet the object of both Muslims and non Muslims is the same.

The most fortunate is one with whom the goddess of learning Saraswati is pleased. Ibrahim says if the people of the world are in quest of learning (music) then they should be the true devotees of the above goddess.

¹ The words *Bauh* and *I I quo* are not quite clear to me. According to Albuni the Indians like the juice which flows over the cheeks of a rutting elephant which in reality had the most horrid smell (*I da V I* pp 182-83).

² The musicians were subsequently classified into these grades: *Hari Darbari* and *Shahri*. God Shiva who burnt I amadeva a (Sivides res) by the fire flashing forth from the third eye.

Song No 47

'My beloved, having behaved arrogantly with me, left me and attached himself to others with the result that my heart was broken to pieces. I, however, picked them up and by stringing them together I prepared a rosary to repeat the name of the beloved. Now, though I would wish to die rather than suffer the pangs of separation, it is difficult to die, for the very thought of the beloved serves the purpose of nectar which will keep me alive in all circumstances

'It is strange that I cannot discontinue repeating his name even at the cost of my life. There is none to solve this problem. If I may see Ibrahim, it is just possible he may relieve me of this burden.'

Dohra No 15

'His abilities (*Rasa*) are gold, his body is moonlight and his face (cheeks) is moon. My eyes are partridges captivated by his love.'

Song No 48

'O beloved, let us meet together. You are my darling and only you can relieve me of my misery and poverty. The betel juice in between the teeth may be called ruby, diamond and treasure.

'Your lips are the shell, so pearls of sweet speech are expected of you. Your cheeks are as graceful as Venus and Jupiter and your face resembles moon. Both the cheeks and the breasts have attained youth. The whole body is as fragrant as sandal wood and aloes.

'Your eyes are the cup of wine, the line representing collyrium is its wine and the ear, a cup of gold.

'The Indian cuckoo, having the miraculous sound of David, is singing in the forest, the locks of the beloved's hair resemble the coiled hood of snake. The beloved is similar to Joseph and Padmini in respect of face and body. Ibrahim is a beetle and he has placed his head on the graceful foot of the beloved.'

Song No 49

'In the morning¹ we should make ablution with the (holy) water of Ganges and wash our nails, head, hands and other eight parts of the body. Then we

¹ The *Pratham Sandhi* is used here for morning dawn. The original *Sandhi* (*Samdhi*) is the interval between day and night, i.e. morning dawn, called *Sandhi Udaya* i.e., the *Sandhi* of the rising, and evening dawn, called *Sandhi Astamana*, i.e. *Sandhi* of the setting. The Hindus require them for a religious reason, for the Brahmans wash themselves during them, and also at noon in between them for dinner, whence an initiated person might infer that there is still a third *Sandhi*. However, none who knows the subject properly will count more than two *Sandhis*. The important story of King Hiranyakasipu is very closely associated with the *Sandhi* of the setting. (vide Alberuni, *India*, Vol I, p 364)

should put on clean dress and select a neat and clean spot and lastly, repeat the name of God on the beads of rosary

If we repeat the auspicious name of Saraswati, only then can we acquire the real virtues and excellences. O Ibrahim the real pleasure can only be obtained by offering our sincere prayers to the goddess. That is to say we should hold our ears and bow down before her.

Song No 50

The *Nauras* is a creation of the goddess Saraswati. It is why the Gandharvas (the singers and attendants of gods) and the people of the three worlds are attracted by it. Both the birds and the animals were so moved by the musical notes that the former grew mad while the latter hastened to the place (where the musical instrument was being played upon).

Ibrahim is singing and playing upon his instrument and so he is given the appropriate title of *Jagat Guru* (world preceptor) and *Nad Murat* (embodiment of sound).¹

Song No 51

Chand Sultan the light of the three worlds with all the excellences at her disposal arrived.²

May you live long happily and respectably. The *Nauras Mahal* is now like one of the Zodiacal signs.³

The sky (*Gagan*) has spots, so the *Gagan Mahal* (bearing a resemblance in name) has lost its honour. Ibrahim is wonderstruck at the view of the simpletons that the moons are twenty or thirty. This is a mistaken idea.⁴

Song No 52

Even if I possess hundred tongues I shall fail to give a description of your qualities.

The stars hold the moon in high esteem but with the appearance of the sun all of them vanish away, exactly in the same way Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz himself is superior to all.

Your prettiness is of such excellence that the sun revolves to look at it and the moon finding itself inferior is growing weak and feeble.

Ibrahim hopes that he would have real pleasure only when he would smell the fragrance of Sayyid Muhammad.

¹ More common reading is *Lah* but the correct word is *Gahat*.

The last *li* is not clear.

The Sultan is probably giving a description of his life as usual in the *Nauras Mahal*.

It was a beautiful palace in the newly constructed city of *Nauraspur*.

² That is the heavenly moon passed into one of the Zodiacal signs.

³ It was built by *Ali Adilshah* in A.H. 968.

This is the moon is only one and it is now but *Chand Sultan* the wife of the author.

Song No 53

In this song the author has given a description of the goddess Saraswati Her beauty, her fair complexion, her white dress, her four¹ hands, her body, her vehicle, her throne, her place of abode and many other things come in by the way

Song No 54

The text of this song could not be correctly deciphered

Song No 55

'*Kedari*² is a young maiden of incomparable beauty who is holding her cheek (face) by her hand She is slim and has curly locks, and although having a white complexion, she is dressed in white She is sitting and sprinkling powdered *chandan* on her body. She is tender like lotus petals and is as bright as moon She is drawing pictures on the ground with her nails'

Dohra No 16

'*Kalyani*³ is a beautiful lady with large breasts and thin waist, she has the eyes of a deer, with light arms, black hair and white (and cool) face. The young maiden is sitting in the lap of her husband, her eyes are full of bashfulness and modesty She is looking at the thin hair growing over the belly and has put on blue bodice and clothes of various colours.'

Song No 56

'In one hand he has a musical instrument⁴, in the other, a book which he reads and sings songs related to Nauras He is robed in saffron-coloured dress, his teeth are black, the nails are painted in red and he loves all Ibrahim, whose father⁵ is god Ganesh and the mother, pious Saraswati, has a rosary⁶

¹ In this song Saraswati is stated to have a parrot in her third hand But traditionally Saraswati has nothing to do with parrot She is stated to possess a *veena* in her hand But neither of the two words are related to this instrument

² It is a description of the *Kedara Ragini*

³ Mr Gayatri claims it to be a description of the *Kalyan Raga*, but it is strange why the Sultan preferred to describe a *Raga* under a *Dohra* when the book affords four examples of songs sung in the *Kalyan* melody

⁴ At least in two of the available portraits of the Sultan he holds a pair of *Kartals* in his hand, (*Marg*, Vol V, No 1, p 23, and *Artibus Asiae*, NCM XXVII, No 1, p 11, Fig 5)

⁵ *Gota* (kinship) has been used here

⁶ In some of the portraits of the Sultan, a four-stranded rosary is found round his neck (vide *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, Plate No VIII)

of crystal round his neck, a city like Vidyapur¹ and an elephant² as his vehicle

Song No 57

'The lover was burning under the fire of separation during the night hours The moon³, taking pity on him came to lessen the intensity of the heat of the burning fire thereby to relieve the lover of his afflictions but with no avail The moon itself was so adversely affected by the burning fire that it was completely transformed and in the morning it appeared in the shape of a sun The result was that many persons were deceived of which sun worship is an indication

Song No 58

I am suffering from the pangs of separation (खिन्नि) but the medicines are not available, the water of life (nectar) is a sure remedy but it is staring at me (i.e., it is not easily within my reach)

Your love has so dominated me The lover is on the point of death but you would not take pity on him

Your memory burns my whole body as Lanka was burnt under the fire spread by Hanuman Ibrahim is suffering as Rama suffered from the pangs of separation from Sita

Song No 59

The whole song appears to be a description of the annual fair on the tomb of Sayyid Husain Gesu Daraz

Sayyid Muhammad is the chief of the saints He should be taken as the biggest diamond among the gems

The whole building is so richly decorated that it resembles heaven All the time people are engaged in merriments Even the heavens are bringing Arati of stars All varieties of incense, e.g. Kadam musk chava and sandal wood have been collected, the cloud is producing forth the crystal bowls of various shades and colours The betels are distributed which are as fragrant as the ambergris, the syrup (Sherbet) of nectar is given to all

The lightning (as flashing from the clouds) is beating the drums musical instruments of all varieties like Khalu Shehnaï flute and Pava are being played

¹By pur was changed into Vidyapu (a city of intellect) in A H 1012

²In the portrait drawn by Farrukh Husain the Sultan riding an elephant and this indicates his devotion to this name

³Moon is traditionally believed to be very cold One of its names Sitar is having cold rays because the moon's globe is watery which is absorbing to the earth When the solar rays meet the moon the rays become a pool on the moon herself then being reflected it illuminates the darkness making the night cool and extinguishes any hurtful combustion wrought by the sun (Albuni Inda V I I p 216)

VOCABULARY

I The words and their meanings (in Dakhni language and Urdu script only) appear in the beginning of the manuscript *e* under the heading, لغات بریان ہندی Here these words have been arranged in their alphabetical order. The words have further been written in Hindi and their meanings have been given in English as well.

[*N B—A stands for Arabic, P for Persian and S for Sanskrit. Words marked* are also used in Kitab-i-Nauras*]

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
ابلا ابلا ابلا	دور Strong , protector of the weak	آرتی آارتی	ملا دور A ceremony performed in adora- tion of god by moving round the head of the image - a burning lamp with several wicks
ابهرم ابهرم ¹	آسان Sky, heaven	S آرن ارن	سعی Twilight
S ابان ابان	تشبیہ Simile	S آستری آستری ⁵	عورت Woman
S اب اب	حد ² Limit , much	S آستوت آستوت	تعریف Praise , admiration
اب سندر اب سندر	بہت خوب صورت Very be- autiful	S آسرواک آسرواک ⁶	دعا Blessing
اب سندر اب سندر	بہت خوب صورت Very be- autiful	S آسومنتی آسومنتی	زمین Earth
اب سندر اب سندر	بہت خوب صورت Very be- autiful	S آکشا آکشا	چاول Mark on کہ the Brah- man's fore- head
اب سندر اب سندر	بہت خوب صورت Very be- autiful	آکھت آکھت	مہی گوید Says
اب سندر اب سندر	بہت خوب صورت Very be- autiful	S اکھر اکھر ⁷	حرف Letters , words
اب سندر اب سندر	بہت خوب صورت Very be- autiful	آگس آگس ⁸	آسمان Sky

¹ अभम् "ہ" represent "ح"
² حد , probably ³ उत्तम

⁴ आश्चर्य ⁷ अक्षर
⁵ स्त्री ⁸ आकाश
⁶ आशीर्वाद

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
S अग्नि	अग Fire	बाह्या तनवी	Delicate arms
S उलास ¹	حوسى Happiness	S वाहन	Vehicle carrier
अलोल	مريح Playfulness	बजर (यज)	Diamond
S अमृत	انصباح Nectar	S विचित्र	Wonderful
S अमृग	حوسى Pleasure	S बचन (वचन)	Word
अम्वर	اسمان Sky	S बदन (वदन)	Face
अम्वर	كحل Antimony	बधावी	Happiness
S अम्वर	نام مانسا ² Name of the king of gods	बुधवत	Wise
S अम्वर	حاند Moon	S विद्या	Skill learning
S अम्वर	انگ Limb part	बरवट	Forcibly
S अम्वर	دوب Pleasure	विरदन	Sun
S अम्वर	بهرن Many	बदग ³	Musical instrument (Drum)
S अवतार	اروا Saints incarnation	बरी	Enemy
P आहंग	راگ Melody	बखान	Praise description
S आरावत	فعل سفيد White elephant (of Indra)	S विलास	Pleasure
S ईश्वर	خد ⁴ God	S बलीवद	Bull
S एचत	کھاکتا ⁵ Draws drags	S बन	Forest
S बालक	بھلا Child (Male)	S बिनती	Request
S बानी	بھلی ⁶ Child (Female)	भावा ⁷	Speech
S बानी	سaraswati ⁸ the goddess of learning	S भाग ⁸	Fortune
		S भागीरती ⁹	River (Ganges)
		S भाल	Forehead
		S भाव	Sun

¹उल्लास

²The word ² is not used for devil

³Here the word is used for God

⁴Dakhini pronunciation of ⁴

⁵Dakhini pronunciation of ⁵

⁶मदग

⁷भावा

⁸भाग्य

⁹भागीरती

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
S भू	Earth	S परवत	Mountain
S भोजन	Diet, food	S परपल	Quickly
S भुजग	Big	S प्रथम	First
S बहुरूप	Various forms	S परिचित	Tried, known
S भूषण	Ornaments, jewels, decoration	S परम	Alchemy
S भूषिता	Wears, adorns	S परमन	Pleased
S भेद	Delicacy, nicety	S परशु	Back
S भैरव	Name of a melody	S प्रकार	Variety
S बीव	Two	S परगट	Visible, apparent
S बारद	Game, Hunting	S पुस्तक	Book
S परिधी	Hunter	S पशन्ति	Sees, looks at
S पारस	Halls of the moon	S पग	Foot
S पाखा	Stone	S पगला	Bark
S पाडु	White	S पथ	Path
S पावक	Fire	S पंडित	Learned
S पिता	Father	S पूत	Son
S पताल	Earth, Hades	S पवित्र	Pious
S पत्र	Leaf	S पवन	Air, wind
S पति	King, master	S पुष्प	Flower
S परान	Living, soul, life	S फटिक	Crystal
S पुरान	Wish	S पीतरम	Husband, lover
		S पीवर	Developed large
		S पिये	Water
		S तारिका	Pupil of the eye
		S ताड	Equal

‡In Sanskrit it means 'serpent' but here it is used in a different sense. However, भुजग is a doubtful equivalent

¹ भूषण
² पारध
³ पारधी
⁴ पापान

⁵ पाताल
⁶ प्राण
⁷ पर्वत
⁸ प्रसन्न

⁹ स्फटिक
¹⁰ प्रीतम

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
तिपुर ¹	Three worlds	जम जम ⁵	Ages
तज	Cinnamon	जन	Man
तदुपर	Thereupon	जोवन	1 Youth 2 Breast
S तूखल	Trident	जोति	Light
तुक	Muslim	जून	Moonlight
S तदरग	Humour mood merriment	शक	Fish
त्रि	Three	चितारी	Pain er
तुहार	Horse	चितर ⁶	Painting
S तिलक	Coloured mark on the forehead	चरम ⁷	Skin
S तम्बू ³	Betel	चरन ⁸	Foot
तनोदरी	Thun loin	S चरजीव	May you live long
S तिम्ल	Standing	चक	Eye
तोता	A pot in which the candle is fixed	चकरंग	Swan
S जप	Repetition of God's name	S चकोर	Partridge
जपाकुमुम	A flower	चमर	Skin
जटा मुकुट	Locks of hair	चमक	Magnet flint
S जग	World	S चिता	Sorrow anxiety
जग जग ⁴	Centuries	S चन्द्र	Moon
जग जोति	Light of the worlds	चदत	Sandal- wood
जगत	Three worlds	S चदनरस पूर	Pasted sandal
जगल	Two	चोपर	Frown
S जल	Water	छार (शार)	Ashes
		छाई	Reflection shadow
		दादुर	Frog
		दार	Door
		दरवक	God of Love

¹ त्रिपुर
² त्रिपूत्र

³ ताम्बूत्र
⁴ युग युग

⁵ याम
⁶ चित्र

⁷ चम
⁸ चरण

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
S درین दर्پن	* آرسی Mirror	S رس رتن ⁶	حواهر Jewels
S درس درس	دیدار Sight , union	S رحت رجت	روبا Silver
S درگ دگ	انکھی Eye	رسال رسال	آم Mangoes
S درگا دگیا	نام سرستی The name of a goddess	S رسنا رسنا	جبب Tongue
S دسن دسن	دانت Tooth	رگت رگت	لهو Blood
S دندوب دندوبت	سلام Homage , salutation	رگنامبر رگنامبر	لال کپڑا Red Cloth
S دینکر دینکر	* احیت Sun	رمسی رمسی	رن خوبصورت Beautiful woman
S دھام دھام	گھر House	رڈ رڈ	سر Head
S دھایا دھایا	دوڑا Ran , made haste	S روپ روپ	صورت Shape , form
S دھپاری دھپاری ¹	عودسور Burning of aloes	S روکھ روکھ	حیات Tree
S دھرا دھرا	دھرا Earth, kept	S روم روم	انگ کے مال Hair of body
S دھری دھری	دھری Earth	S روماولی روماولی	حط موکھ Arrow of درمیانہ تنکم Hair (on می ناسد the belly)
S دھرم دھرم	حیر Kindness , virtue	S روی روی	* احیت Sun
S دھملا دھملا ²	حورزا Locks	رنگ رنگ	نالو Sand
S دھولار دھولار	بڑا High , big	S سادست سادست ⁶	ظاہر 1 Tasteful 2 Evident
S دھونی دھونی	ندی River	S سار سار	* لہوا Iron
S دھپک دھپک	دبوا Lamp	S ساردا ساردا ⁷	نام سرستی Name of Saraswati
S دھپت دھپت ³	بظر Sight	S ساگر ساگر	دریا Ocean (river)
S دین دین (دین)	1 دیس Gave 2 Day	S ساوک ساوک ⁸	ھرن کا بچہ Young deer
S داج داج	بادشاہ King	سبب سبب ⁹	نال Word
S داس داس	اہار Heap	سدا سدا	دازلہ Always
S داس داس	طالع Fortune , Zodiacal sign	S سدا سدا ¹⁰	چاند Moon
S دت دت ⁴	ھنگام Season	سودھ سودھ	خبر News
		S سر سر	برابر Equal
		S سرب سرب	سانپ Snake

¹ دھپکارتی

² دھملا

³ دھپت

⁴ ڄڻو

⁵ رتن

⁶ سواڊيٽ

*Dakhini pronunciation
of the word لوهہ لوهہ

⁷ شاردہ

⁸ ساوک

⁹ سبب

¹⁰ سواش

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
S مرسى سحٹ	معدا کردہ Creation world	S سوسار سسار	عالم World
مرس سرس	‡ Excellent	S سوسب سوت ³	أحلا White
S سرورن شرن	گل Ear	(سب)	
سک سق ¹	دو Pleasure happiness	S سسام سسام ⁴	کلا Black
S سکل سکل	سالم All	S سسبل سیتل ⁵	سرد Cool
سکش سقش	حرفاں Beautiful hair	سسس سوس	سر Head
S سمورن سمپورن	بهرنا Full whole entire	S سدوا सेवा	خدمت Service
S سمدر سمدر	دروا Ocean	S سامی سامامی	حسندر Pills of ambergris
سمری سمیرلی	سسبح Rosary	S سر رور	ن Body
S سمس سمس	بھول Flower	سکھ سق ⁶	راواں Conch
سمب سمب	سنگھیا With, in company of	سہ ساقھ	ہاہ Hand
سنان سنان	انگ دھریا Bath or to take bath	س کا کاٹ	لکڑی Wood
سبحمانا سبھمانا	چورکلا To sprinkle	س کس کاس	A kind of grass for making ropes
S سندر سندر	حرفمصورب Beautiful	S کملی کامینی	عورت Woman
سند سا سدهسا	مصا Message	کانتاکم کانتاکم	راوجہ مرد Thigh or lap of the husband
سنگار سنگار	رودنا Adornment	کالی کالی	س Body
S سلمکھ سامکھ	رو رو Face to face	S کپالی کپالی	حورگی Yogi
S سونان سونان	سدرفی Stair case	S کپول کپول	رحسار Cheek
S سوکھ سوکھ	ناک Pure clear	ککھا ککھا	قصہ Story
S سوادامنی سوادامنی	نکلی Lightning	کمل کس کمل کس	گھونگر والے مال Curly locks
سوسب سوسب	حرفمطر Good sight	کٹین کٹین	سکھ Hard difficult
S سور سور	برج Sign of Zodiac	کدم کدم	کلا A kind of perfume
سور سور	احب Sun	S کر کر	ہاہ Hand
سور سور ²	دلبر Brave	S کرور کرور	کسور Camphor
سورج سورج	احب Sun	کرت کرت	حرا Skin
S سوم سوم	حاند Moon		
سوما سوما	حاند Moon		

¹ blank

² سق

³ سق

⁴ سق

⁵ سقام

⁶ سیتل

⁷ Prob..bly سق

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
S کرتار کر تار	حدا Creator , God	S کدک کنک	*سنا Gold
کڑا کڑا ¹	حوشی Pleasure, play	S کوپ کूप	کوا Well
کرن کران	کان Ear	کوت کویٹ	کروز Ten millions
کرناتی کرناٹی	نام کدرا راگ Name of <i>Kanada Ragini</i>	کوکس کویکس	نام سناری Name of a sculptor
S کروشانگی کوشاگی	دلی Slender woman	کویب کویت ⁴	شعر Verse
S کستوری کستوری	مشک Muskpod	S کوی کوی	شاعر Poet
کسوتی کسوتی	سنگے کنه Touch- stone	کپور خور	—
S کلپ درچہ کلپ درچہ	درخت طوبی A tree in India's garden	S کیبکی کیتکی	کیوزا A fragrant flower
کلپتارا ² کلپتارا	درخت طوبی Heavenly tree	کیداری کیداری	نام کیدارا راگ Name of <i>Kedara melody</i>
S کلک کلک	داع Spot, scar	S کیرن کیرن ⁵	سحاع Rays
S کلیان کلیان	مبارک Auspicious, happy	کیس کيس	مال Hair
S کمد کومد	کدول A white lotus (lily) that ex- pands its petals dur- ing the night and closes them during the day	S کیسری کيسری ⁶	دعمران Saffron
S کت کت ³	گلا Throat	کیلاس کئلاس	کوه مقرة A silvery mountain
S کجور کجور	*هسي Elephant	گاگر گاجر	گهزا Pot
S کچوکی کچوکی	چولی Bodice	گب گوبت	بہان Secret , concealed
S کنیشٹ کنیشٹ	کم Few, small	گج گج	*هتهی Elephant
		گور گور	بزا Big; res- pectable
		گوساई گوساई	صاحب Master
		گگن گگن	آسمان Sky
		گن گن	صمت Virtue
		گنپتی گنپتی	نام گنیش Name of Ganesh
		گڈا گڈا	*رخساری Cheeks
		گنگ گنگ	ندی River Ganges

¹ کڑا

² کلپتار

³ کٹ

⁴ کویت

⁵ کیرن

⁶ کیشر

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
گوت ¹	Lineage parentage	مردنگ S	مندل A musical instrument drum
گور	White	مروت ⁴	ما Wind
گورمندان	رنگ	موسکاوی	هلسا Smiling
گام	Sun	مک	مونه Face
گهن S	1 Treasure 2 Clouds 3 Dense	مکر حاندنی	ماه که درابر مکر حاندنی سکستہ گاہ ظاہر light coming from behind the clouds
گھنا	Bells	مکررد S	اسائل Rose water
گھسو	Sand	مگتا S	مونی Pearl
گھنا	Modesty shame	من S	محو* Soul life heart
گھن ²	Sign feature	مدیر S	مدر House
گھنتی	Writes	مددکلی	مڈاکینی Milky way
گھن	Time moment	مدل S	مدل Circle
گھد	Love affection	مدگل S	مدولی Auspicious pleasure
گھو S	Eye	مدوهر S	مدول صورت Attractive beautiful
گھو	Eye	مدت ⁶	صورت Picture
گھو	Elephant	مدوھ S	مدوھ Fool
گھو	Garland	مدوھ	مدوھ Tree
گھو	Cat	مدوھ	مدوھ Big
گھو	Man	مدوھ	مدوھ Earth
گھو S	Intoxi- cation	مدوھ	مدوھ Name of a mountain
گھو	Wine love	مدوھ S	مدوھ Cloud
گھو	Middle	مدوھ S	مدوھ Fish
گھو	Beetle	مدوھ S	مدوھ Sound
گھو	Wax	مدوھ S	مدوھ Woman
گھو	Senseless		

¹ گوت
² زکھن

³ ماجار
⁴ مروت

⁵ مروت
⁶ مروت

⁷ مروت
⁸ مروت

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
S نال نال	ساق کدول Stalk of lotus	واذن وادن	نکائے To play on
نیت نیت	دایم Always , daily	واسه واک	کپڑا Dress
نعتہتر نعتہتر	سارے Constellation of stars	S واک واک	نام سرستی A name of Saraswati
S نر نر	مرد Man	ودهواسس ویدھواس ⁵	طالب علم Scholar
S نرمل نرمل	پاک Clear	وسنر وستر	کپڑا Dress
S نیس نیس ¹	راہ Night	وسنتی وسانتی	رہتی Lives
نیسپتی نیسپتی	چاند Moon	S وایک وایک	نام گنیش A name of Ganesh
نکھ نکھ	نہون Nail	ونچر ونچر	حناور Animal
S نگر نگر	شہر City	S وناگرا وناگرا ⁴	باگہ Lion
S نلین نلین	کنول Lotus	ویہوتی ویہوتی	راکھ Ashes
نیشٹا نیشٹا	بیٹھی Sitting	ویدھا ویدھا	برہمن Brahman
نہجس نہجس ²	ساح Truly	S ودهو ودهو	چاند Moon
S نیتر نیتر ³	آنکھی Eye	ہرد ہرد	توہ —
نہٹااور نہٹااور	دلادور Offering , sacrifice	ہست ہست	ہتھی Elephant
نیلی نیلی	کالی Black	S ہست ہست	ہاتھ Hand
S نین نین	آنکھی Eye	S ہمکر ہمکر	چاند Moon
		[S ہیم ہیم	* سنا Gold
		S ہیم ہیم	سرد Cool , ice

¹ نیشی

² نیشچ

³ نیت

⁴ ویاہ

⁵ ویدھان

II Additional Words

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
S اشدرا ¹	अवधरा ¹	Attendant fairies of Indra	S آندکار ³ धधकार ³ Darkness
S ابرون	अभरण	Ornaments decorations	انکس आकुस ⁴ An iron goad or hook for driving elephants
S अङ्क	उपग	A kind of musical instrument	انوکوی अनुकहं Unrevealed
P आत्मी (عطی)	अताई	Musician	अहार उनहार Resemblance
S اعب	उत्पत्ति	Creation origin	أرد A (عود) ऊ Aloes
أحارے	उचावे	Would hold would raise	أسگن औसगुन Inauspicious
S احمل	अचपल	Fixed	باب बाट Path
احے	आछे	Is	بادواں वादवान A vessel to hold a lamp for protecting it from the wind
A احرب	आधिरत	Resurrection	بالا बाला A medical herb
ادھما	अधिवाना	To increase	باز बाव Wind
अधिकाय	अधिकाय	Excess	بجورے बिजरे Would issue
P اورाय	अरजानी	Possess have	براحنا बिराजना To enjoy
اورھی	अरोही	De cending from the higher notes to the lower	برن बरन Colour
P اسद	इस्वद	A seed that burns very quickly	S برھی बिरीही Separated from his beloved
A اسرافیل	इमराफील	The angel deputed to blow the trumpet on the Day of Judgement	ببرزا बुडवडा Bubble
S आसक	अष्टाग	The eight parts of the body	بلج बनज Lotus
A العان	इरुहान	Tunes melodies	S بنتا बनिता Woman
S أمر	अमर	Immortal	بوعن बोह A part of the body
اممن	आमान	Amen	بهارा भारा Out
ار	आण	To bring	بهاؤ भाव Thoughts
			S بهدिया बिश्या Begging
			پگک کرنا भगत करना To worship

¹ अक्षरा

² ..

posit
S rd
sidad
a n

³ अघकार

⁴ अकुस

दुःखों में जो वे (हंस) एक स्वर से
है वे (हंस) से कहे गये हैं

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
S بھلن	भजन	تدمورا	Tambourine
بھوگن	बहुगुन	تنت	Music
S بھوگ	भोग	تک	A little , some
		تھار	Shore
S بھومندل	भूमडल	بھیں	From ; with
		تھکلا	Deceit
بچھیں	पाछें	تھور	Place
		تیر	Call ; cry
بکھیں	पाखें	S حرمال	Rosary to repeat the name of God
پانگر	पागर		
S پانزی	पाणी ¹	P جس	जसन
S پندر	पितम्बर ²	(حشن)	Festivity
پتیاں	पटिया	حندر	A musical instrument
د تھایو	पठायो		
S پدمیدی	पद्मिनी	حوبسی	ज्योतिपति ⁵
		حوربا	Master of light
پرتی	परिती		
		حهمکنا	To emanate ; to issue forth
پرچنگ	परचग		
		حهورے	To shine
S پرکاس	परकास ³	حھوٹ	Would fear
		حیل	Locks , tresses
پونم	पुनिम	حیونا	A note in music
پولہ دھتیا	पोह फटना	چائے	To live ; life
		چپلا	Wish
پھارا	फारा	S چپ	Lightning
		چت ⁶	Heart
پھنے	फुन्ति ⁴	چنوب	Would see, seeing
پیکھنا	पेखना	S چندکار	Wonderful feats
پیننا	पैनना	S چمپک	Champa
پال	ताल	چنگ	Harp or Guitar
تر	तर	چوکھی	Fine
تراسوں	तरासो	چوپ	Enthusiasm
S تدرلوحن	त्रिलोचन	چھات	Leave
		حہب	Beauty ; grace
تدمزویں	तुम्बडवीन		

¹ पाणि

² पीताम्बर

³ प्रकाश

⁴ पुन

⁵ ज्योतिपति

⁶ चित्त

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
حسبلا	छबला	S حسبه	सुभ ⁵
S حسبوو	छ-छू ¹		Auspicious or morning
A حرر	हूर	سیر	सुपर
حالو	खातू	ستی هويا	सती होना
A حضر	खिबिर	سب	सट बिट
P حوے	खोप	سراو	सराव
داگه	दास (द्रास)	سرايت	सराइत
S داردر	दालिद्र ²	P سردار	सरकराज
A دا د	दाऊद	سرولى	श्वननी
درح	दरत		
دس روب	दस रूप	سس	ससि
دے	दिसे	A سکا	सिवा
دندی	दडी	سکندر	सिवा ⁷
دوار	दुवार	سکونلی	सकुचनि
دغالی	घाही	S سگن	सगन ⁶
دهرملدل	धुर महक	S سلدهن	मध्या ⁷
دهرن	धरन		
دهرنی	धरनी	S سلگرام	सग्राम
دنگ	डोग	سلوارما	सवारया
A درالقعدة	दु ³ नादा	سوکے	साग
S رس	रवि ³	سوکے رنگ	सागतुम्ब
P رنگ	रवाव		
دهی	रोही	سون	सा
		S سهاس	सिहासन ²
		A سرف	शरफ
		ظلمان	जल्मात
		عسین	इ ⁴ वो
		A لیب	गलेफ
		A ما ص	वाविज
S سانس	सास ⁴	کاد ما لاک	कागद या कागत
			Paper

¹ चूष

² दारिद्र्य

³ रवि

⁴ द्वास

⁵ सुभ

⁶ शकुन

⁷ सध्या

⁸ मिहासन

Word	Meaning	Word	Meaning
کان تیں	काते	Lover	
P کھکھول	कचकोल	A beggar's bowl	
کھھو	कछु	Some	
A کھھو	किसवत	Dress	
کھھو	कलावत	Musician	
P کھھو	कमाच	A musical instrument, kamancha	
کھھو	कथ	Story	
S کھھو	कचन	Gold	
کھھو	कोर	Corner	
کھھو	खाड	Pit	
کھھو	खीजुना	Perplexed	
S کھھو	कीरत ¹	Reputation	
کھھو	कैसे	How	
S کھھو	गर्व ²	Haughtiness	
کھھو	गरे लगाना	To embrace	
کھھو	गल	Fishinghook	
کھھو	गुनिजन	Musician	
S کھھو	गुरु	Low pitch	
کھھو	गहन	To hold	
کھھو	घडियाल	Watch	
P کھھو	गोसू दर्राज	Of long hair, title of a saint	
لال	लाल	Darling	
کھھو	लटपट	Besmearred	
کھھو	लग	Till, up to	
کھھو	लगार	Fetters	
کھھو	लिखनहार	Writer	
کھھو	लखोटी	Lac	
کھھو	लहु	Low pitch	
کھھو	माली	Gardener	
کھھو	मान	Respect	
مابح	माज	Middle	
S مدهم	मध्यम	A note in the octave	
مقام ابراهیم	मुकाम इब्राहीम	A place in sanctuary of Kaba	
ملکی دہاں	मुत्कीजहान	The King or Queen of the world	
مسا	मसा	Pertaining to heart	
موس	मोतिन	Pearls	
موتیا	मोतिया	Pearls	
مازے	नाडे	String, twisted thread	
ماک، گیدا	नायक नगीना	Royal pearl	
S مدهم	नछत्र ³	Star	
S مولا	निर्मला	Pure, clear	
A بصرت	नुसरत	Triumph	
نکور	निकुर	To go away	
نکسنا	निकसना	To come out	
نواج	नवाज	Favour	
نوارا	नवारा	Bent down	
نوارش	नवाजिश	Kindness	
وار	वार	Sacrifice	
هزگ تال	हुडुग ताल	A musical instrument	
S هست	हस्त	Name of a Nakshatra	
P همنام	हमनाम	Namesake	
هموننت	हनवन्त	Hanuman	
يا - يو	या-यो	This	
A يوسف	यूसुफ	Joseph	

¹ कीर्ति

³ नक्षत्र

