

MUNTAKHAB ASH'ĀR-I ASĀTIDHAH: AN INTRODUCTION TO A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PERSIAN BAYĀD FROM THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD

“Muntaxab-i Ash'or-i Asotiza” –
Oksford universitetining Bodlean kutubxonasidagi
XVII asrga oid forsiy bayoz

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Annotatsiya: Ushbu maqolada Oksford universiteti qoshidagi Bodlean kutubxonasida saqlanayotgan, taxminan 150 nafar shoirning tanlangan she'rlarini o'z ichiga olgan XVII asrga oid forsiy bayoz (she'riy to'plam) – “Muntaxab ash'or-i asotiza” (Elliott 292-qo'lyozma) haqida qisqacha ma'lumot beradi. Qo'lyozmaning kelib chiqish tarixi, ichki dalillar va keyinchalik kiritilgan qo'shimchalar – xususan, Shayx Inoyatulloh qalamiga mansub yozuvlar – tahliliga asoslanib, tadqiqot ushbu qo'lyozma hijriy 1081-yil (milodiy 1670-yil) dan oldin tuzilganligini asoslaydi. Maqolada qo'lyozmaning kodikologik xususiyatlari, mazmuni va o'ziga xos matn variantlari, jumladan, Shayx Inoyatulloh tomonidan ko'chirilgan to'rtta g'azal ko'rib chiqiladi. Shuningdek, unda ushbu “bayoz” noyob variantlar va boshqa manbalarda saqlanmagan she'rlarni (jumladan, Murshid-i Burujirdiyning tanlangan she'rlarini) o'zida jamlagani ko'rsatib o'tiladi; bu esa qo'lyozmaning Boburiylar davridagi she'riyat uzatilishi jarayonini o'rganish va forsiy matn an'alarini qayta tiklashdagi muhim ahamiyatini namoyon etadi.

Kalit so'zlar: Bayoz, aralash tarkibli qo'lyozma, she'riy to'plam, Bodlean kutubxonasi, Shayx Inoyatulloh, Boburiylar davri, qo'lyozmashunoslik, Murshid-i Burujirdiy.

Abstract. This article offers a concise introduction to Muntakhab Ash'ār-i Asātidhah (Ms. Elliott 292), a seventeenth-century Persian bayād (poetic miscellany) preserved in the Bodleian Library (University of Oxford) and comprising selected verses by approximately one hundred and fifty poets. Drawing on provenance, internal evidence, and later additions, most notably entries in the hand of Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh, the study argues that the manuscript was compiled before 1081 AH / 1670 CE. The article examines the manuscript's codicological features, contents, and distinctive textual readings, including four ghazals in the hand of Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh. It further demonstrates that the bayād preserves rare variants and otherwise lost verses (including select verses of Murshid-i Burūjirdī), thereby underscoring its significance as a witness to Mughal-period poetic transmission and to the reconstruction of Persian textual traditions.

Keywords: Bayād, Composite manuscript, Poetic miscellany, Bodleian Library, Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh, Mughal period, manuscript studies, Murshid-i Burūjirdī.

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Introduction

During a Bodleian Visiting Fellowship (2025–26), I had the opportunity to consult the Persian manuscript collections of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Among the manuscripts examined was an important Persian *bayāḍ* (poetic miscellany) comprising selected verses from approximately one hundred and fifty poets. The present article offers a concise introduction to this significant manuscript.

The *bayāḍ* begins on folio 3b with a table of contents, which is apparently a later addition. The first two folios are blank. However, on the verso of the first folio, a *rubāʿī* is recorded:

روزی که شود اذا السماء انفطرت
وندر پی آن اذا النجوم انكدرت
گویم: صنما بای ذنب قتلت
من دامن تو بگیرم اندر عرصات

[Translation:

On the day when ‘the sky is rent asunder’ / and thereafter ‘the stars are scattered’ / in the plain of Resurrection I shall seize your hem / and say: O idol, for what sin were you slain?]

Physical Description of the Manuscript

Title: منتخب اشعار اساتذه (*Muntakhab Ash ‘ār-i Asātidhah*) / Shelfmark: Ms. Elliott ۲۹۲; Script: Naṣṭa‘īq; Headings: in red; Lines: ۱۶–۲۸ (including margins); Layout: three columns; Folios: ۳۰۴ (۶۰۸ pages); Dimensions: ۲۷,۷ × ۱۶,۴ cm/written area: ۲۱,۱ × ۱۱,۲ cm; Scribe: not indicated; Date of copying: not indicated; Condition: defective at the end; Binding: greyish light-brown cotton cloth.

Beginning (f. 6b): Shaikh Sa‘dī Shīrāzī
اول دفتر بنام ایزد دانا

آن که قدیم است و منعم است و توانا¹

[Translation: The opening of the book is in the name of the All-knowing God / He who is eternal, beneficent, and omnipotent.]

End (f. 304a):

دلی که داشت عنایت به خشم او نسپرد
کباب سوخته در کام می پرستان کرد

[Translation: The heart that *Ināyat* possessed did not surrender to her wrath / He made it a charred kebab for the wine-drinkers.]

The Table of Contents

The table of contents (ff. 3b–5b) is written in *shikastah* hand and arranged in tabular form across thirty-two ruled compartments. Sa‘dī appears as the first poet listed and Ṭālib-i Āmulī as the last. In total, 150 poets are recorded in the index. However, at the end of the anthology, four ghazals by a poet named Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh are included, though his name does not appear in the table of contents. The total number of poets represented in the manuscript thus rises to 151. Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh will be discussed in detail below.

Seal and Inspection Note

A seal is impressed on folio 6a, reading:

عبادالله ۸۸۱۱

[‘Ibād-Allāh ۱۱۸۸ (۱۷۷۴ CE)]

On the same folio appears an inspection note, reading:

عرض دیده شد بتاریخ چهارم محرم الحرام ۸۴

1. In the manuscript, this hemistich is transmitted incorrectly. The correct reading is: صانع پروردگار حی توانا (*Ṣāni ‘-i Parvardigār-i Ḥayy-i Tawānā*), ‘The Maker, the Sustainer, the Living, the Omnipotent’.

[Translation: Inspected on the fourth of Muḥarram al-ḥarām, 48.]

Two possible interpretations may be suggested for ‘48’: 1148 AH (1735 CE) and 1248 AH (1832 CE).

Provenance and Ownership

Following this inspection note is a brief introductory notice written in an elegant *thuluth* hand. The final two lines have been deliberately erased. The legible portion reads:

نسخه منتخب اشعار اساتذه که به تعداد یک صد و پنجاه شاعر باشد، در بلدۀ لکهنو معرفت مخدومی مفتی مولوی محمد...

[Translation: A copy of *Muntakhab Ash ‘ār-i Asātidhah* (Selected Verses of the Master Poets), comprising one hundred and fifty poets, in the town of Lucknow, under the auspices of Makhdūmī Muftī Maulawī Muḥammad...]

The introductory notice explicitly establishes the title of the anthology as منتخب اشعار اساتذه (*Muntakhab Ash ‘ār-i Asātidhah*). It is noteworthy, however, that the name following ‘Muftī Maulawī Muḥammad’ has been deliberately erased.

In light of the inspection note recorded immediately before this introduction, if the date ‘Muḥarram al-ḥarām ٤٨’ is interpreted as ١٢٤٨ AH (١٨٣٢ CE), it becomes plausible that the ‘Muftī Maulawī Muḥammad’ mentioned here may be identified with the well-known Shī‘ī scholar of Lucknow, Muftī Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Abbās Shūshtarī (d. ١٣٠٦ AH / ١٨٨٩ CE), who was widely known as ‘Muftī Muḥammad ‘Abbās’ or ‘Muftī Maulawī Muḥammad ‘Abbās’. The explicit reference to ‘*balda-i Lakhnau*’ (the town of Lucknow) in the introduction further supports this conjecture.

On this basis, it may tentatively be suggested that the anthology was, at some stage, connected to Muftī Maulawī Muḥammad ‘Abbās.

Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh and the Dating of the Manuscript

Another name occurring in the anthology, namely *Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh*, is of considerable importance, for it may assist in determining the approximate date of compilation. Throughout the manuscript, scattered notes and verses have been entered at various points, sometimes executed in a bolder hand and sometimes in a finer one, yet consistently in a shikastah-influenced hand.

Alongside these entries, the name ‘Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh’ appears repeatedly, and in one place the phrase ‘*li-rāqimahu al-faqīr ‘Ināyat-Allāh*’ (written by the humble ‘Ināyat-Allāh) is recorded. For example, on folio 117b, under the name Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh, there appears a note titled:

کلماتی که در عدد برابر اند

[Translation: Words whose numerical values are equal]

Under this heading, several words of identical *abjad* values are listed together with their corresponding numerical totals.

On folio 128a, in the same hand, the following verse is written. It is unmistakably a *taḍmīn* composed in the metre of the celebrated *ghazal* of Mīrzā Muḥammad ‘Alī Ṣā’ib Tabrīzī (d. 1676 CE) beginning ‘*Mī-dahad ‘ishq ba-shamshīr ṣilā bismillāh*’. However, the second hemistich of the verse, ‘*Har ki dārad sar-i hamrāhī-i mā bismillāh*’, does not occur in Ṣā’ib’s original *ghazal*, although it has become widely known in later usage. The verse reads:

من و دل را سفر کعبۀ دل پیش آمد

هر که دارد سر همراهی ما بسم الله

[Translation: For me and my heart there arose a journey to the Ka‘ba of the heart / whoever has the resolve to accompany us, in God’s name, come!]

It may also be noted that in post-revolutionary Iran, as well as in elegiac and devotional poetry, verses composed in the *zamīn* of ‘*har ki dārad ...*’ are frequently encountered. Indeed, some *nawḥa-khwāns* repeat this hemistich with marked emphasis and rhetorical force. Such

usage may be understood as an attempt to stir public participation in revolutionary causes and to evoke heightened spiritual emotion. This observation, however, is offered here only parenthetically.

On the same folio (f. 128a), immediately following the verse cited above, there appears a chronogram (*qīṭa* 'i *tārīkh*) under the heading:

تاریخ خان عالیشان جعفر خان از شیخ عنایت الله

[Translation: Chronogram on the exalted Khān Ja'far Khān, by Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh] The chronogram:

از جهان رفت چون به خلد شکید	عالم عدل و داد، جعفر خان
جای جعفر بهشت باد، رسید	بهر تاریخ او، ندا از غیب

[Translation:

Ja'far Khān, a world of justice and equity / departed from this world as he hastened toward Paradise / For the date of his passing, a call came from the unseen / 'May Ja'far's abode be Paradise' thus it was proclaimed.]

The chronogrammatic phrase '*Jāy-i Ja'far bihisht bād*' yields the date 1081 AH (1670 CE).

The presence of this chronogram in the anthology indicates that the manuscript was in the possession of Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh by 1081 AH (1670 CE). If, as the palaeographical evidence suggests, the chronogram was entered in his own hand, the compilation of the anthology must have preceded or coincided with that date. It appears that Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh entered, at various points throughout the volume, miscellaneous notes as well as verses, both his own and those of other poets, in his own hand.

It is noteworthy that wherever the name of Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh occurs in the anthology, the entries are written in a more or less uniform shikastah-influenced script. Moreover, on folio 117b the explicit statement '*li-rāqimahu al-faqīr 'Ināyat-Allāh*' (written by the humble 'Ināyat-Allāh) renders the attribution unmistakable. There remains little room for doubt that these scattered entries are autograph additions by Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh himself.

The Historical Context of Ja'far Khān

The '*Khān-i 'Ālī-shāh Ja'far Khān*' mentioned in the chronogram, whose death occurred in 1081 AH / 1670 CE, may plausibly be identified with '*Umdat al-Mulk Ja'far Khān*, who served as grand vizier under Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. Ja'far Khān belonged to the distinguished family of Umīdī Rāzī Tihirānī² (d. 929 AH / 1523 CE), and his lineage remained one of considerable prominence and prestige throughout the Mughal–Safavid period. Before proceeding further with the discussion of the present anthology, it will be appropriate to offer a brief account of Ja'far Khān himself, since such background will assist in determining the historical significance of the manuscript.

(a) Hijrī Rāzī Tihirānī

The great-grandfather of 'Umdat al-Mulk Ja'far Khān, Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf Hijrī Rāzī Tihirānī (d. 984 AH / 1576 CE), was a man of notable intelligence, wit, and administrative distinction. At the outset of his career, he served as vizier to Tātār Sultān b. Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn Ughlī, the amir of Khurāsān, who, recognizing his competence, entrusted him with broad authority over financial and territorial affairs.

After the death of Muḥammad Khān, he continued for some time as vizier to the latter's eldest son, Qazāq Khān, where he likewise distinguished himself through capable administration. Following Qazāq Khān's death, he entered the service of the Safavid ruler Shāh Ṭahmāsp (r. 930–

2. Khwāja Arjāsp Umīdī Rāzī Tihirānī, son of Khwāja Shaikh 'Alī Tihirānī. For his biography, see *Tadhkira-i Maikhāna*, pp. 141–150, 535–544.

984 AH / 1524-1576 CE), who appointed him vizier over Yazd, Abarqūh, and Biyābānak, where he discharged his duties with justice and integrity. He was subsequently granted the vizierate of Iṣfahān (celebrated as *Niṣf-i Jahān*).³ He died in 984 AH (1576 CE).⁴

It is related that during his tenure as vizier, two brothers bearing the poetic pen-names ‘Salāmī’ and ‘Kalāmī’ would appear daily at his court, seeking patronage and offering their insipid verses. Irritated by their persistence, Hijrī Rāzī is said to have composed the following satirical couplet:⁵

دو چیز است بدتر ز تیغ حرامی / سلام ‘کلامی’، کلام ‘سلامی’

[Translation:

Two things are worse than a brigand’s blade: / the greeting of ‘Kalāmī’, and the poetry of ‘Salāmī’.]

Hijrī Rāzī was the author of a *Dīwān*. Manuscript copies of this work are preserved in the Khudā Bakhsh Library (Patna), the Sālār Jung Museum Library (Hyderabad)⁶ and British Library (Or. 791). A few verses may be cited here as illustrative specimens of his poetic style:

فتاده‌ای چو من از رهگذار برخیزد نه در ره از پی رخش غبار برخیزد
کسی ز پیش تو امیدوار برخیزد در امید نبستی چنان که در همه عمر

[Translation:

It is not dust that rises along the road in pursuit of his steed / it is the fallen, like me, who rise from the roadside / you did not shut the door of hope so that, for a lifetime / no one might rise from before you without hope.]

*

همچو من سوخته‌ای سوز دل من داند آتش خرمن من، سوخته‌خرمن داند

[Translation:

The fire of my harvest, only one whose harvest has burned knows / the burning of my heart, only one burned like me knows.]

*

گر از تو فراموش کنم، از که کنم یاد ای یاد تو پیوسته انیس دلِ ناشاد
هر مرغ به رنگی ز تو در ناله و فریاد یاد هر گل به لباسی ز تو با پیرهن چاک

[Translation:

O memories of you, a constant companion of my sorrowing heart / if I forget you, whom shall I remember? / Every flower wears some garment from you, its robe rent open / every bird, in some colour drawn from you, is in lament and cry.]

*

دیده را دولت دیدار میسر شده بود دوش کاشانه‌ما از تو منور شده بود
هجری، آن عده‌وصلی که مقرر شده بود لله الحمد که امشب به وفا انجامید

Translation:

Last night our dwelling was illumined by you / the eye had been granted the fortune of beholding you / Praise be to God that tonight it was brought to completion / Hijrī, the promise of

³. *Kārwan-i Hind*, vol. 2, p. 1522.

⁴. *Ḍamīrī Iṣfahānī* derived the date of death from the chronogram ‘گردید یکی کم ز ملاذ وزرا’ [One became fewer among the refuge of the viziers]. See *‘Arafāt al-‘Ashiqīn*, vol. ۷, p. ۴۶۶. Likewise, a poet with the takhalluṣ *Rāmī* extracted the date from the phrase ‘اه هجری برفته از دنیا’ [Alas, Hijrī departed from this world]. See *Nashtar-i ‘Ishq*, vol. ۲, part ۱, p. ۱۸۴۰.

⁵. *Nashtar-i ‘Ishq*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 1839.

⁶. For a description of the Khudā Bakhsh manuscript, see Sayyid Amīr Ḥasan ‘Ābidī, *‘Dīwān-i Hijrī’*, Idrāk Gopālpūr, book 11, pp. 63–67 (July–December 2017). For the Sālār Jang manuscript, see *Fihrist-i Sālār Jang*, vol. 5, p. 51.

the union which had been decreed.]

(b) I‘timād al-Dawla Kh^wāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn

Kh^wāja Muḥammad Sharīf Hijrī Rāzī had two sons: Kh^wāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waṣlī Rāzī Tihirānī and Kh^wāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Rāzī Tihirānī.

After his father died in 984 AH / 1576 CE, Kh^wāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn, owing to adverse circumstances in Iran, set out for India with his family. Along the way, his belongings were plundered, and only two mules remained, upon which they travelled in turn. At Qandahar, a daughter was born to him, Mihr al-Nisā’ (later renowned as *Nūr Jahān Begum*).

Upon reaching Fatehpur, through the mediation of the merchant Malik Mas‘ūd, he gained access to the court of Akbar and entered imperial service. Owing to his distinguished and meritorious service, he rose rapidly and was granted a *mansab* of three hundred. In 1004 AH / 1595–96 CE he was appointed *dīwān* of Kabul, and in due course, he received the rank of one thousand along with the office of *Dīwān-i Buyūtāt*.

In 1014 AH / 1605 CE, upon the accession of Jahāngīr, he was elevated to the rank of seven thousand and granted the title *I‘timād al-Dawla*; he was also entrusted, together with Mīrzā Jān Beg, with the responsibilities of the vizierate.⁷ In 1020 AH / 1611 CE, following the marriage of his daughter Nūr Jahān Begum⁸ to Jahāngīr, he was appointed to the eminent office of *wakīl-i kul* (chief regent).

Among his sons, Ibrāhīm Khān Faṭḥ-Jung Tihirānī⁹ (d. 1033 AH / 1623 CE) held the rank of five thousand and served as governor of Bengal and Orissa; I‘tiqād Khān Mīrzā Shāpūr¹⁰ (d. 1060 AH / 1650 CE) was likewise a noble of five-thousand rank and governor of Kashmir; and Yamīn al-Dawla Āṣaf Khān Āṣafjāhī¹¹ (d. 1051 AH / 1641 CE) held the rank of six thousand and occupied the office of *Wakīl al-Salṭanat*.¹²

Regarding this family, Jahāngīr writes in the *Tūzuk*:¹³

...و اعتماد تمام به او دارم، و دولت و پادشاهی من حالا در دست این سلسله است، پدر دیوان گُل، پسر وکیل مطلق،

⁷. *Ma‘āthir al-Umarā’*, vol. 1, pp. 127–130.

⁸. It should be noted that before her marriage to Jahāngīr, Nūr Jahān Begum had been the wife of ‘Alī Qulī Beg Istājlu, known as Shīr Afgan Khān (d. 1016 AH / 1607 CE). The circumstances of Shīr Afgan’s death and Nūr Jahān’s subsequent marriage to Jahāngīr are described in the *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī* as follows: During the period when Emperor Akbar was residing in Lahore, ‘Alī Qulī Beg Istājlu, who had been nurtured at the court of Shāh Ismā‘īl (Ṣafavid), came from Iraq and entered Akbar’s service. Mīrzā Ghiyāth Beg (I‘timād al-Dawla) married his daughter, who had been born in Qandahar, to ‘Alī Qulī Beg. After some time, ‘Alī Qulī Beg gained such favour with Emperor Jahāngīr that he was granted the title ‘Shīr Afgan’ and elevated in rank. When Jahāngīr ascended the throne, he assigned him a jāgīr in Bengal. After Shīr Afgan was killed, the officials of Bengal, acting on Jahāngīr’s orders, sent the daughter of I‘timād al-Dawla Mīrzā Ghiyāth Beg to the imperial court. Jahāngīr entrusted her to his stepmother Ruqayya Sulṭān Begum. She remained in her service for some time until fortune turned in her favour: during the festival of Nawrūz, Jahāngīr beheld her, and she won his heart. She was admitted to the royal harem, first receiving the title ‘Nūr Maḥall’ and later ‘Nūr Jahān.’ Her relatives were granted high offices and ranks. Nūr Jahān acquired such influence that, apart from the Friday sermon (khuṭba), virtually all affairs of state were conducted by her authority; coins were struck in her name and imperial edicts bore the inscription ‘By order of Her Exalted Majesty Nūr Jahān Begum, Queen’. Nūr Jahān Begum died in Lahore in 1055 AH / 1645 CE. See *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī* (Urdu trans.), pp. 32–34; *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, ed. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, p. 54; and *Kārwan-i Hind*, vol. 2, pp. 1461–66.

⁹. For biographical details, see *Ma‘āthir al-Umarā’*, vol. 1, pp. 135–139.

¹⁰. For biographical details, see *Ma‘āthir al-Umarā’*, vol. 1, pp. 180–182.

¹¹. For biographical details, see *Ma‘āthir al-Umarā’*, vol. 1, pp. 151–160; and *Kārwan-i Hind*, vol. 1, pp. 4–5.

¹². During the reign of Shāh Jahān, Āṣaf Khān attained the rank of nine thousand and was appointed to the office of commander-in-chief.

¹³. *Kārwan-i Hind*, vol. 2, p. 1463 [citing *Rūznāma-i Jahāngīr* (*Jahāngīrnāma*, *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*), Āstān Quds manuscript, no. 51, copied in 1046 AH].

دختر همراز و مصاحب.

[Translation: ... I repose complete trust in him, and my dominion and sovereignty now rest in the hands of this family: the father is *Dīwān-i Kul*, the son *Wakīl-i Muṭlaq*, and the daughter my confidante and companion.]

It should also be noted that Kh^wāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn had another son, Mīrzā Muḥammad Sharīf Tihrānī, who was counted among the close associates of Prince Khusraw, son of Jahāngīr. Following Khusraw's rebellion, Jahāngīr ordered Mīrzā Sharīf to be executed in 1016 AH / 1607 CE, together with the prince's other intimates.¹⁴

It would, however, be mistaken to regard I'timād al-Dawla Kh^wāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn as merely a politically powerful noble. He was equally distinguished for his learning and intellectual accomplishments. Jahāngīr, praising him, writes:¹⁵

در علم حساب بی‌بدل روزگار است، و در انشا و املا یگانه عصر خود، و در شعر فهمی و تتبع قدما در هیچ بلاد ثانی ندارد، کم دیوانی است که به نظر او نرسیده باشد و آنچه خلاصه آن است بیرون ننوشته باشد، و در صحبت داشتن بهتر از هزار مفرح یاقوت است، همیشه خندان و شگفته است و در تاریخ دانی هیچ حکایتی نیست که در ذکر او نیامده باشد.

[Translation: In the science of arithmetic, he is without equal in his age; in composition and epistolography, unique in his time; in the appreciation of poetry and in the study of the ancients, he has no peer in any land. There is scarcely a dīwān that has not passed under his scrutiny, nor one whose essential substance he has not extracted in writing. The pearl of his companionship is worth more than a thousand exhilarating rubies. Ever cheerful and radiant, he possesses such mastery of history that scarcely an anecdote exists whose mention does not arise in his discourse.]

Similarly, in the *Tadhkira-i 'Arafāt al- 'Āshiqīn*, Taqī Awhadī, referring to Kh^wāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn as the patron of Ṭālib-i Āmulī, writes:¹⁶

خواجہ غیاث‌الدین محمد الرّازی... سیزده هزار کتاب را به دست خود تنقیح نموده و بر آن گشته حاضر دارد و مجلسی نیست که اقلّ دو سه هزار بیت از قدما و جددا را ایشان به زبان خود نخوانند و از تواریخ و رسائل تصوف و غیره سمند بیان نرانند. آن چنان طبعی را که چنین مربّی می‌باشد، سخن را به هر پایه که رساند گنجایش دارد.

[Translation: Kh^wāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī personally examined and refined thirteen thousand books, keeping them ready at hand. There was no gathering in which he did not recite, from memory, at least two or three thousand verses of the ancients and the moderns, and set the steed of eloquence galloping through histories, Sufi treatises, and the like. A talent nurtured by such a mentor possesses the capacity to rise to whatever height it may attain.]

Kh^wāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad died in 1031 AH / 1621 CE.¹⁷ A considerable number of his relatives were settled in India. Jahāngīr notes in the *Tūzūk* the presence of forty-one

¹⁴. *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, vol. 1, p. 129:

در سنه ۱۰۱۶ هجری، محمد شریف، پسرش (غیاث‌الدین)، از تبامخردی با جمعی متفق شده خواست سلطان خسرو را از قید برآورد که زود گرد شگافته شد، و راز مخفی بر ملا افتاد، جنت‌مکانی (جهانگیر) او را با دیگران بیاسا رسانید، میرزا (غیاث‌الدین) در خانه دیانت‌خان محبوس گشته به جریمه دولک روپیہ رهایی یافت.

(Translation: In the year 1016 AH, Muḥammad Sharīf, his son (Ghiyāth al-Dīn), through reckless conduct conspired with a group to release Sulṭān Khusraw from captivity. The matter was soon uncovered and the hidden secret laid bare. His Majesty (Jahāngīr), now dwelling in paradise, ordered him executed along with the others. Mīrzā (Ghiyāth al-Dīn) was imprisoned in the house of Diyānat Khān and was released upon payment of a fine of two lakhs of rupees). See also *Kārwān-i Hind*, vol. 1, pp. 624–25.

¹⁵. *Kārwān-i Hind*, vol. 2, p. 1463 (citing *Rūznāma-i Jahāngīr* [*Jahāngīrnāma*, *Tūzūk-i Jahāngīr*], Āstān Quds Raḥawī MS 51, copied in 1046 AH).

¹⁶. *'Arafāt al- 'Āshiqīn*, vol. 4, p. 2464 (biographical notice of Ṭālib Āmulī).

¹⁷. *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, vol. 1, pp. 130–131; *Kārwān-i Hind*, vol. 2, pp. 1462–1465 (biographical notice of Nūr Jahān Begum).

members of the family at court.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī (son of Kh^wāja Mīrzā Aḥmad), the author of *Haft Iqlīm*, and Āqā Shāpūr Tihirānī (son of Kh^wāja Kh^wājagī) were his cousins.¹⁹

(c) **Waṣlī Rāzī Tihirānī and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq**

Kh^wāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waṣlī Rāzī Tihirānī, the second son of Kh^wāja Muḥammad Sharīf Hijrī Rāzī and elder brother of I‘timād al-Dawla Kh^wāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn, also migrated to India. The biographical sources do not make clear whether he arrived together with his brother or at a later date. From *Tadhkira-i ‘Arafāt al-‘Āshiqīn*, it appears that he held the office of *dīwān* in Lahore alongside his son, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq. The author of *‘Arafāt al-‘Āshiqīn* reports having seen him again in 1024 AH / 1615 CE in Agra, at which time he was approximately seventy-five years of age.²⁰

Kh^wāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir was not only a man of learning but also a poet who compiled a *Dīwān*. In relation to his father’s pen-name, he adopted the takhalluṣ ‘Waṣlī’. A manuscript of his *Dīwān* (no. 1825) is preserved in the Sālār Jang Library, Hyderabad. It opens with the following *maṭla* ‘:

خوش وقت و خندان بگذران، خوش وقت و خندان صبح را
شاید که تا صبح دگر، دریافت نتوان صبح را

[Translation:

Pass the morning in joy and laughter, pass it in joy and laughter / For perhaps by another dawn, you may not attain the morning again.]

Also, a copy of his *Dīwān* is preserved at the British Library (Or. 791, ff. 61-149).

The author of *‘Arafāt al-‘Āshiqīn* also mentions one of his works entitled *Hazār Dāstān-i Chahār Chaman*, an anthology consisting of one thousand selected *qaṣīdas* drawn from one hundred poets. It was completed in 1019 AH / 1610–11 CE, and the chronogram for its completion is given as ‘*Durr-i Thamīn-i Ṭāhir*’.

A few verses from Kh^wāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waṣlī Rāzī are presented below as specimens of his poetry:

شمع یکجا خانه افروز است و یکجا آتش است یار شمع بزم غیر و در دل ما آتش است
سنگ آتش گر به دریا درفتد با آتش است آب زد بر آتش دل، دیده، و سودی نداشت

[Translation:

The beloved is the candle of another’s assembly, and in my heart, a fire / In one place, that candle illumines a house, in another, it is sheer blaze.

The eye poured water upon the heart’s fire, yet it was of no avail / Even if a fire-stone falls into the sea, it remains fire.]

¹⁸. *Jahāngīrnāma* (Tehran ed.), pp. 386–387:

...روز دیگر، به پرسش فرزندان و خویشان او رفته چهل و یک تن از فرزندان و اقوام و دوازده نفر از منشیان او را سر و پا عنایت نموده از لباس ماتم بر آوردم

[Translation: ...On another day, I visited to inquire after his sons and relatives; I bestowed head-to-foot robes of honor upon forty-one of his children and kinsmen and upon twelve of his secretaries, and I removed them from the garments of mourning.]

¹⁹. *Ma ‘āthir al-Umarā’*, vol. 1, p. 128::

برادرانش (خواجه محمد شریف هجری)، خواجه میرزا احمد و خواجگی خواجه اند. اولین، پدر میرزا امین مؤلف هفت اقلیم است... دومین نیز صاحب سخن است، پسرش خواجه شاپور که در شاعری مسلّم و مشهور است.

[Translation: ... His brothers (Kh^wāja Muḥammad Sharīf Hijrī) were Kh^wāja Mīrzā Aḥmad and Kh^wājagī Kh^wāja. The former was the father of Mīrzā Amīn, the author of *Haft Iqlīm*... The latter was also a man of letters; his son Kh^wāja Shāpūr was acknowledged and renowned in poetry.]

²⁰. *‘Arafāt al-‘Āshiqīn*, vol. 7, p. 4605.

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آخر کجۀ حسن به دوران تو گل کرد بر صفحۀ عارض، خطِ ریحانِ تو گل کرد

[Translation:

Upon the page of your cheek, your basil-line bloomed / At last, beauty's curving script flowered in your season.]

*

صد قافله جان بر لبِ احباب رسیده تا آن لبِ میگون به می ناب رسیده
نادیده گداییست به اسباب رسیده دیده به رخت هیچ نداند به چه بیند

[Translation:

When that wine-hued lip met the pure wine / A hundred caravans of souls surged to the lovers' brink.
The eye, gazing on your face, knows not what it sees / It is a blind beggar who has come upon riches.]

*

عقدۀ ای کز دل گشودم، بخت در کارم فکند شکوۀ بیهوده باز از چشم دلدارم فکند
صاع خود دزدیده و دزدانه در بارم فکند²¹ یوسف من تا به قیدِ بندگی دارد مرا

[Translation:

Again, my beloved's eye flung a futile complaint / The knot I had untied from my heart, fortune cast back into my affairs.
While my Joseph holds me in the bonds of servitude / He steals his own measure and secretly casts it into my sack.]

*

راهِ گریزِ حسنِ خود آن مه به خار بست نه خر به گردِ عارضِ یارم نگار بست

[Translation:

The sun did not trace an aureole about my beloved's cheek / That moon has hedged the path of her beauty's flight with thorns.]

*

Kh^wāja Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waṣlī Rāzī's son, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq,²² held the office of *Mīr Bakhshī* during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. He possessed the rank of four thousand and died in 1043 AH / 1633–34 CE. It was this very Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq who was the father of 'Umdat al-Mulk Ja'far Khān, whose chronogram is recorded in the anthology under discussion.

In addition to Ja'far Khān, three other sons are mentioned: Raushan Ṣamīr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and Bahrām, each of whom also held an official rank.

(d) Ja'far Khān

'Umdat al-Mulk Ja'far Khān married Farzāna Begum, known as Bībī Jīū, sister of Mumtāz Maḥall and maternal aunt of Aurangzeb. After serving as governor of Punjab, he held office in Shāhjahānābād, Thatta, Mālwa, and Kashmir, eventually rising to the position of prime minister under both Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. He died in 1081 AH / 1670 CE in Shāhjahānābād, holding the rank of six thousand.

Two of his sons are known by name: Nāmdār Khān²³ and Kāmgār Khān.²⁴ It is noteworthy

²¹. In the *tadhkira*, this hemistich is recorded as follows, which is incorrect: 'مراب رد من اذد دوخ و مدی دزد دوخ عاص' (vol. 7, p. 4606).

²². For biographical details, see *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, vol. 2, pp. 729–731.

²³. For biographical details, see *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, vol. 3, pp. 830–833.

²⁴. For biographical details, see *Mā'āthir al-Umarā'*, vol. 3, pp. ۱۵۹–۱۶۰. It is noteworthy that on the occasion of

that Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Urdūbādī²⁵ served as tutor to Ja‘far Khān’s sons. A detailed account of Ja‘far Khān’s life is given in *Ma‘āthir al-Umarā’* (vol. 1, pp. 531–535).

Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh: Biography and Literary Identity

We may now turn to Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh. In *Tadhkira-i Kārwan-i Hind* (vol. 2, p. 715), citing *Subh-i Ṣādiq*, it is stated in the biographical notice of Ṣubhī Hamadānī that:

عنایت الله، پسر خواجه ولی که منشی حضرت صاحبقران بود...

[Translation: ‘Ināyat-Allāh, son of Khwāja Walī, who was the secretary of Ḥaẓrat Ṣāhib-Qirān ...]

This statement is of particular importance for identifying Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh. Shāh Jahān remained on the throne until 1068 AH / 1658 CE, after which the reign of Aurangzeb commenced. ‘Umdat al-Mulk Ja‘far Khān served as prime minister under Shāh Jahān, and according to *Subh-i Ṣādiq*, Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh held the office of *munshī* in Shāh Jahān’s service. ‘Umdat al-Mulk continued to occupy various high offices under Aurangzeb and once again rose to the position of prime minister before he died in 1081 AH / 1670 CE.

Although none of the biographical dictionaries or historical sources consulted thus far clarifies Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh’s position during Aurangzeb’s reign, it is nevertheless certain that he was alive at least until the death of ‘Umdat al-Mulk Ja‘far Khān in 1081 AH / 1670 CE, and that the anthology under discussion had been compiled prior to that date. Upon receiving news of ‘Umdat al-Mulk’s death, Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh immediately composed the chronogram and entered it into the present anthology.

The Autograph Ghazals of Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh

By fortunate circumstance, Shaikh ‘Ināyat-Allāh also inscribed four of his own ghazals at the end of the manuscript, which may well constitute the only surviving specimens of his poetry. These four ghazals are therefore reproduced below:

از سر کویشتم، شامه بوی گل گرفت	سر نهادم بر درش، عمامه بوی گل گرفت
دم زدم از چین گیسویش، سر نافه گشاد	لب گشودم از رخس، هنگامه بوی گل گرفت
در گریبان سر فرو بردم به یاد او شبی	ریخت گل چاک گریبان، جامه بوی گل گرفت
از زبان خامه ذکر آن دهن روزی گذشت	غنچه سرزد از زبانش، خامه بوی گل گرفت
چون عنایت شمه‌ای ز اوصاف رخسارش نوشت	شاخ گل شد کلک کاتب، نامه بوی گل گرفت

[Translation:

As I passed through her lane, my senses caught the scent of roses / I laid my head upon her threshold, my turban took on the fragrance of roses.

When I breathed of the curl of her tresses, the musk-pod burst open / When I spoke of her face, the whole tumult filled with the scent of roses.

One night, I buried my head in my collar, remembering her / Blossoms poured from its torn seam, my garment took the scent of roses.

One day, the mention of that mouth passed across the tongue of the pen / A bud sprang from its speech, the pen itself grew fragrant with roses.

When ‘Ināyat wrote a hint of the qualities of her face / The scribe’s reed became a rose-branch,

Kāmgār Khān’s marriage in ۱۰۷۷ AH / ۱۶۶۶–۶۷ CE, Nī‘mat Khān ‘Ālī Shīrāzī (d. ۱۱۲۱ AH / ۱۷۰۹ CE) composed a satirical *qit‘a* consisting of twenty-five verses (opening: بار دیگر کدخدا شد خان عالی منزلت/ با کمال عز و تمکین، با وقار زیب). The poem contains pointed satire directed at Kāmgār Khān’s alleged sexual incapacity and is noteworthy for its rhetorical construction and literary boldness. Mīr Ghulām ‘Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī (d. ۱۲۰۰ AH / ۱۷۸۶ CE) wrote a commentary on this satirical piece, included in his *Tadhkira-i Khazāna-i ‘Āmira* (pp. ۳۳۶–۳۴۶). The poem was also published under the title *Sharḥ-i Qit‘a-i Nī‘mat Khān ‘Ālī* at Maṭba‘ Sharaf al-Maṭābī, Delhi, in ۱۲۶۰ AH / ۱۸۴۴ CE.

²⁵. For biographical details, see *Kārwan-i Hind*, vol. 1, pp. 8–9.

and the page took the scent of roses.]

نگاه کرد خطِ دلکشِ تو چون یاقوت
چو زلف و ابرو و چشمت به صفحه خورشید
که بست نقشِ خطت را به لب، چه شیرین است
ز شرم، خون دلِ کوهکن که ریخت به کوه
به گریه کرد از او التماسِ حرفی چند
به نسیه خونِ دلم آفتاب اگر نبرد
دلم به خون جگر گرچه سالها اندوخت
بسی سر اشکِ عنایت، ز سنگِ سنگدلان

[Translation:

When Yāqūt beheld the ravishing line of your script / He broke his pen, ashamed, stood abashed and cast down.

Upon the sun's bright page: like your tress, brow, and eye / Where has Yāqūt ever inscribed such *lām*, *ṣād*, and *nūn*?

Who traced the imprint of your script upon the lip? How sweet it is / Outside, a well-watered emerald; within, a ruby.

From shame, the mountain-carver poured his heart's blood upon the mountain / Even now, that stone-hearted mass remains steeped in ruby blood.

Weeping, he begged her for a few words / She laughed and said: 'Rubies are not made to fall by spells'.

If the sun does not carry off my heart's blood on credit / How would the tulip-tinted stone's hard heart ever become ruby?

Though for years my heart hoarded the blood of my liver / At a single glance of you, my eye cast it forth as rubies.

Many were *Ināyat*'s tears, from the stone of the stone-hearted / Pearls and rubies poured forth; yet rubies fell in greater number.]

در آب از دیده گریان خویشم
به یاد آتشین رخساره یار
سراشکم می برد هر دم به جایی
غبار کوی آن مه سر به سر رفت
به شب های سیه ز آه شرر ریز
ز زلفش رفتم از جایی به جایی
سگانش بهترین قوم از رقیب اند
به صد زنجیر، پا نهم به گلشن
نه بر هر گل چو بلبل می سرایم
به خون دل، ز دامن تا گریبان
خرد داند ز نیشان معانی
چه جولان می زنم در عرصه تنگ
عنایت برکشد سر از مه و مهر

[Translation:

*
قلم شکست و خجل ماند و سرنگون یاقوت
کجا نوشت چنین لام و صاد و نون یاقوت
بُرون ز مَرَدِ سیراب و اندرون یاقوت
هنوز با دلِ سنگی ست غرقِ خون یاقوت
بخند و گفت نریزند از فسون یاقوت
کجا کند به دلِ سنگ لاله گون یاقوت
فگند دیده به یک دیدنت بُرون یاقوت
بریخت لولو و لالا، ولی فزون یاقوت

*

در آتش، از دلِ سوزان خویشم
سراپا آتشم، در جانِ خویشم
حبابِ موجه طوفانِ خویشم
غلامِ همتِ مژگانِ خویشم
چراغِ کلبه ویرانِ خویشم
چو گو، در گردش از چوگانِ خویشم
نگو واقفتر از یارانِ خویشم
مقیم گوشه احزانِ خویشم
خرابِ نوگلِ بستانِ خویشم
چو رنگین معنی دیوانِ خویشم
چه رخشانِ گوهرِ عمانِ خویشم
سوارِ چابکِ یکرانِ خویشم
کند آن مه اگر مهمانِ خویشم

I am water, from my own weeping eye / I am fire, from my own burning heart.
In memory of the beloved's flame-bright face / I am wholly fire, within my very being.
My streaming tears bear me away at every moment / I am a bubble on the wave of my own storm.

The dust of that moon's lane was wholly swept away / I am slave to the high resolve of my own eyelashes.

On black nights, from my spark-scattering sigh / I am the lamp of my own ruined hut.

From her tress I am driven from place to place / Like a polo-ball, in the swing of my own mallet.

Her dogs are better folk than rivals / Say not that I am better informed of my own companions.

Bound by a hundred chains, I set no foot in the garden / I dwell in the corner of my own sorrows.

I do not sing like the nightingale on every rose / I am ruined by the new-blown rose of my own garden.

With heart's blood, from hem to collar / I am like the vivid meaning of my own *dīwān*.

Intellect knows, from the April-rain of meanings / How radiant a pearl of Oman I am to myself.

How I career within this narrow field / I am the nimble rider of my own lone steed.

'Ināyat would lift his head above moon and sun / If that moon makes me her guest.]

*

درک ناتسلگ ار بآ فنی آی، سک ع ز	درک ناتسلگ ار بآ فنی آی، سک ع ز
درک ناتسلم فیکو و درک درخ و دهر عاتم	درک ناتسلم فیکو و درک درخ و دهر عاتم
درک ناتسبش ار عمش، دوخ خیر و تریپ ز	درک ناتسبش ار عمش، دوخ خیر و تریپ ز
درک ناتسبد رد وچ یبوخ فؤلج و طخ	درک ناتسبد رد وچ یبوخ فؤلج و طخ
درک ناتسرپیئم راک رد هتخوس بیابک	درک ناتسرپیئم راک رد هتخوس بیابک

[Translation:

She passed along the riverbank, setting out to stroll the garden / With her reflection, she turned the water's mirror into a rose-garden.

I am ruined by those drunken narcissus-eyes which, with a coy glance / Carried off the wares of piety and reason and dedicated them to the revelers.

Last night she passed, radiant, through the circle of libertines / From the glow of her face, she turned the candle into a whole night-chamber.

The teacher fell to the ground and smashed his tablet upon his head / When your script displayed its beauty in the school.

The heart that *'Ināyat* possessed did not surrender to her wrath / He made it a charred kebab for the wine-drinkers.]

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Contents of the Anthology

The contents of the *bayāḍ* are as follows: 1. Shaikh Sa'dī (f. 6b–37a), 2. Shaikh Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār Nīshāpūrī (37a–49b), 3. Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (50b–64a), 4. Shaikh Nizāmī Ganjavī (64b–67b), 5. Shaikh Awhadī Marāghā'ī (68b–83b), 6. Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī (84a–91b), 7. Shaikh Kamāl Khujandī (92a–96a), 8. Shaikh Āzarī Ṭūsī (96a–98a), 9. Shaikh Sa'īd Abū al-Khair (98b–100a), 10. Shaikh Zain al-Dīn (margin of f. 100a), 11. Shaikh Aḥmad Rifā'ī (ibid.), 12. Shaikh Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥamawī (ibid.), 13. Shaikh Abū al-Qāsim Ṣūfī (ibid.), 14. Shaikh As'ad Shihāb (ibid.), 15. Shaikh Abū Bakr Zāzī (ibid.), 16. Shaikh 'Abd al-Salām Kāzarūnī (ibid.), 17. Shaikh Awhad al-Dīn Kirmānī (100b–102b), 18. Shaikh Aḥmad Badīlī (100b), 19. Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn

Maqtūl (ibid.), 20. Shaikh ‘Abd al-Sa‘īd Barghash Shīrāzī (ibid.), 21. Shaikh Majd al-Dīn Zārik (ibid.), 22. Shaikh Majd al-Dīn Dāya (ibid.), 23. Shaikh Afḍal al-Dīn Kāshānī (102b–103a), 24. Shaikh Junayd Baghdādī (103a), 25. Shaikh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (ibid.), 26. Shaikh Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī (ibid.), 27. Shaikh Manṣūr Ḥallāj (ibid.), 28. Shaikh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ (ibid.), 29. Shaikh Kamāl al-Dīn Dāya (ibid.), 30. Shaikh Abū ‘Alī Sīnā (103b), 31. Shaikh Uways Qaranī (ibid.), 32. Shaikh Rubā‘ī Mashhadī (104a), 33. Shaikh Abū al-Ḥasan Kharaqānī (ibid.), 34. Shaikh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (104b–105a), 35. Shaikh Rūzbihān (105a), 36. Aḥmad Jāmī (105b–106a), 37. Shaikh Bāyazīd Bastāmī (106a–106b), 38. Shaikh Aḥmad Ghazālī (106b), 39. Shāh Ni‘mat Allāh Walī Qahistānī (106b–107a), 40. Mīr Ḥusainī Sādāt (107a), ff. 107b–108a blank, 41. ‘Imād Faqīh Kirmānī (108b–110a), 42. Mullā Kātibī Nīshāpūrī (110a–113b), 43. Khaṭīb Ganjavī (114b), 44. Dih-khudā-i I‘jāzī (ibid.), 45. Šāhib Ibn-i ‘Abbād (ibid.), 46. Manjīk (ibid.), 47. ‘Alī Shaṭranjī (ibid.), 48. Sayyid Ḥasan Mutakallim (ibid.), 49. Rūḥī Shāristānī (114b–115a), 50. Zain al-Dīn Sijzī (115a), 51. Ustādh Abū Ḥanīfa Iskāfī Ghaznawī (ibid.), 52. Abū Naṣr Farāhī, author of *Niṣāb* (ibid.), 53. Abī Ṭayyib Sarakhsī (ibid.), 54. Abū al-Barakāt Khurāsānī (115a–115b), 55. Ibn-i Muqlah (115b), 56. Azharī Marwazī (ibid.), 57. Khwāja ‘Abd al-Rāfi‘ (ibid.), 58. Dībāchī Samarqandī (ibid.), 59. Qudsī Qadīm (ibid.), 60. Fakhr al-Dīn Hindū-sāz (115b–116a), 61. Mīr Khwānd (116a), 62. As‘ad Ghaznawī (ibid.), 63. Ḥasan Beg Aghzīwār (ibid.), 64. Qādī ‘Aṭṭārī (ibid.), 65. Fathī Nīshāpūrī (ibid.), 66. Šāhib Dīwān (ibid.), 67. ‘Abdī Mufrad-nawīs (ibid.), 68. Sharaf al-Dīn Manṣūr (ibid.), 69. Naẓarī (116b), 70. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr Navā‘ī (ibid.), 71. Aḥmad Badhī (ibid.), 72. Bahrāmī (ibid.), 73. Tāj al-Dīn Rīzah (116b–117a), 74. Ashraf Waṣṣāf Shīrāzī (117a), 75. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Sijzī (ibid.), 76. Nāṣir Bukhārī (ibid.), 77. Sulṭān Sanjar Saljūqī (ibid.), 78. Amīr Muḥammad Wazīr (ibid., in margin), 79. Nishānī Shīrāzī (118b–120a), 80. Banā‘ī Khurāsānī (120b–123a), 81. Khwāja ‘Ismat Bukhārī (123b–124a), 82. Sharīf Tabrīzī (124a–124b), 83. Amīr Shāhī Sabzawārī (125b–127a), 84. Ḥaidar Kulūch Khurāsānī (127b), Chronogram on Khān ‘Ālī-shān Ja‘far Khān by Shaikh ‘Ināyat Allāh (128a), 85. Mīr Sanjar Kāshī (128b–133a), Two rubā‘īs and miscellaneous verses (later additions) (133b–134a), 86. Ḥakīm Masīḥ al-Zamān (134b–135a), 87. ‘Ālam Beg Sarwar (ibid.), 88. Ḥamīd Muḥammad Khaṣālī (135a), 89. Sharbatī Hindī (ibid.), 90. Ahlī Khurāsānī (135b–136b), 91. Ahlī Shīrāzī (137b–138b), 92. Mazharī Kashmīrī (139b–141b), 93. Mīr Humāyūn Isfarāyīnī (142b–143b), 94. Khwāja Āṣafī (143b–145b), 95. Shahīdī Qummī (145b–147b), 96. Ḥairatī Kāshī (147b–148a), ff. 148b–149a blank, 97. Mīrzā Qulī Maylī Shīrāzī (149b–151a), 98. Faghānī (152b–160b), Miscellaneous verses (later addition) (162a), 99. Bābā Naṣībī Gīlānī (162b–163b), 100. Bābā Zamīrī Iṣfahānī (164b–166a), miscellaneous verses in a different hand (166b), 101. Shaikh ‘Alī Naqī Qumrahī (167b–171b). On folio 172a, a verse by Shaikh ‘Ināyat Allāh appears in his own hand:

نه شهلا می کند از سرمه آن مه، چشم فتان را

ز بهر کشتنم بر سنگ مالد تیغ مژگان را

[Translation:

That moon does not darken with kohl her slaying eye / To kill me, she whets upon stone the blade of her lashes.]

102. Faiḍī (172b–207a), 103. Khwāja ‘Abd-Allāh Marvārīd (207a), 104. ‘Imād Lur (ibid.), 105. Ustādh ‘Aṭṭārī (ibid.), 106. Sayyid Ḥasan Mutakallim (ibid.), 107. Burhān al-Dīn Dastānī (ibid.), 108. In praise of Athīr Akhsikātī (ibid.), 109. Sa‘d Bahā (ibid.), 110. Jalālī (ibid.), 111. Mīr Qāsim Gūnābādī (207b–208a; verses from *Lailī u Majnūn*, *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, and *Kārnāma*), 112. Mullā ‘Abd-Allāh Hātifi (208a; verses from *Lailī u Majnūn* and *Khusraw u Shīrīn*), 113. Farīd Kātib (208b–209a), 114. Sayyid ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alawī (209a–209b), 115. Rafī‘ al-Dīn Abharī (margin of f. 209a), 116. Ḥakīm Khusrawānī (ibid.), 117. Ḥakīm Partawī Shīrāzī (ibid.), 118. Ḥakīm Tāj al-

Dīn Nīmarānshāh (ibid.), 119. Kāwuk Khurāsānī (ibid.), 120. Ṭughān Shāh (ibid.), 121. Darwīsh Ashraf (ibid.), 122. Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Atīqī Tabrīzī (209b–210b), 123. Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Fāris (210b–211a), 124. Ustādh Qawāmī (211a), 125. Kāmī (ibid.), 126. Farīd Aḥwal (211b), 127. Shihāb al-Dīn Multānī (212a–212b), 128. Amīr Shaikham Suhailī (213a–213b), 129. Imām Muḥammad Ghazālī (margin of f. 213a), 130. Mullā ‘Abd-Allāh Shushtarī (ibid.), 131. Mullā Jalāl Dawānī (ibid.), 132. Rukn al-Dīn Da‘wīdār (ibid.), 133. Jamāl al-Dīn Faṭnī (ibid.), 134. Ibn-i Naṣūḥ (ibid.), 135. Tāj al-Dīn Ṭarḥī (ibid.), 136. Darwīsh Dahkī (213b), 137. Zakī Marāghā’ī (margin of f. 213b), 138. Sa‘d Warrāq (ibid.), 139. Maḥmūd Barbārūlī (ibid.), 140. ‘Ain al-Quḍḍāt-i Hamadānī (ibid.), 141. Nīzām al-Mulk ibn Abī ‘Alī (ibid.), two miscellaneous verses (later additions) (214a), 142. Āqā Shāpūr Farībī Tihrānī (214b–230a), Miscellaneous verses in shikastah script (230b–231a), 143. Khwāja Ḥusain Thanā’ī (231b–245a), miscellaneous rubā’īs and one single verse in shikastah script (later additions) (245b), 144. Mullā Murshid-i Burūjirdī (246b–250a), debate (munāzara) between Shaida and Muḥammad Jān Qudsī (250b–253a), 145. Muḥammad Jān Qudsī (253b–257a), final portion of the debate between Shaida and Qudsī (margin of f. 253b), 146. Ghaḍanfar Guljārī (257a–257b), 147. Muḥtasham Kāshī (258a–264b), 148. Qāsim Beg Khānī (265b–270a), 149. Zuhūrī Turshīzī (270a–272b), 150. Abū Ṭālib Kalīm (273b–274b), 151. Ṭālib Āmulī (274b–293b). Sayyid Ḥasan Mutakallim appears twice in the anthology.

Later Additions and Supplementary Material

The anthology under examination is defective at the end (*nāqish al-ākhir*). On folio 293b a catchword (*rakābah/tark*) appears; however, the folios up to 298a are blank. On folios 298b–299b a *baḥr-i ṭawīl* is written in the shikastah hand of another scribe.

Beginning:

سحرگه چو مستان گذر کن به بستان به فضل بهاران شنو در گلستان که مرغان خوش الحان...

[Translation: At dawn, like the intoxicated, pass into the garden; by the grace of spring, listen in the rose-garden to the sweet-voiced birds...]

End:

الهی به نامت به انعام عامت به حق کلامت که مارا سلامت بدارا سلامت در آری ز محنت جمله مسلمانان را...

[Translation: O God, by Thy name, by Thy universal bounty, by the truth of Thy word, grant us safety; bring us into well-being and deliver all the Muslims from affliction...]

Following this appear two devotional distichs:

یا علی، حبّ توست ایمانم	رهبر [ی] غیر تو نمی‌دانم
یا علی، دستِ ما و دامنِ تو	خوشه‌چینم به گردِ خرمنِ تو

[Translation:

O ‘Alī, love for you is my faith / I know no guide but you.

O ‘Alī, my hand clings to your hem / I glean ears of grain around your harvest.]

On folios 300a–300b a qaṣīda is recorded under the heading ‘Madḥ’ (praise), the poet unnamed.

It opens:

صاحباً، آسمان نگار تو باد
بخت و دولت همیشه یار تو باد

[Translation:

O lord, may the heavens bear your inscription / May fortune and prosperity ever be your companion.] and concludes:

تو نگهدار هر شکسته‌دلی
حق‌تعالی نگاهدار تو باد

[Translation:

You are the protector of every broken heart / May God Most High be your protector.]

Thereafter follow two verses by Mīrzā Ṣā'ib and one rubā'ī by Mīrzā Adham. After three further blank folios, on folios 303b–304a four ghazals appear under the heading 'Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh'. It is also noteworthy that although folio 301b is blank, its catchword nonetheless reads 'Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh'.

The Anthology and Persian Poetic Transmission

Taken as a whole, the present *bayāḍ* constitutes an important anthology of selected verses by classical and later poets, as well as by Ṣūfīs and mystics. The preservation within it of poems by the court secretary Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh, alongside the works of other poets, represents – though modest in scale – a meaningful step toward enriching and refining our understanding of literary history. We may now affirm that during the Shāhjahānī period, while distinguished secretaries such as Chandar Bhān Brahman were active, there was also at the Mughal court a secretary-poet named Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh, whose surviving verses reflect the literary standards of his age.

Historical evidence indicates that the anthology was compiled prior to the death of 'Umdat al-Mulk Ja'far Khān in 1081 AH / 1670 CE. On this basis, the inclusion of poems by figures closely associated with the Akbarī, Jahāngīrī, and Shāhjahānī periods – such as Kāmī Shīrāzī, Murshid Burūjirdī, Qāsim Beg Khānī, Ṭālib Āmulī, Khwāja Ḥusayn Thanā'ī, Āqā Shāpūr Tihirānī, Shayda Fathpūrī, Qudsī Mashhadī, Abū Ṭālib Kalīm, and Zuhūrī Turshīzī – is of considerable significance. The selection appears to have been drawn from manuscripts that were either contemporary copies or produced not long thereafter.

If it is accepted that Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh himself was the compiler of the anthology – and the available evidence does not contradict this possibility – it becomes plausible that the selection was made from manuscripts that may have included authorial copies as well as volumes preserved in the imperial library. Moreover, given that Shaikh 'Ināyat-Allāh held the office of secretary at court, his direct association with poets and his access to the royal library were not merely possible but highly probable. Nevertheless, caution remains necessary before definitively identifying him as the compiler of the *bayāḍ*.

Textual Significance: Murshid-i Burūjirdī and Rare Verses

Another noteworthy feature of this *bayāḍ* is its preservation of selected verses by a number of poets whose collected *dīwāns* are today rarely encountered. Among such figures may be mentioned Murshid-i Burūjirdī. A manuscript of his *Dīwān* is preserved in the Punjab University Library, Lahore; selections from it were published by the late Pīr Ḥusām al-Dīn Rāshidī in *Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān aur us kī Bazm-i Adab* (pp. 473–560), and by Aḥmad Gulchīn-i Ma'ānī in *Kārwān-i Hind* (vol. 2, pp. 1277–1287).

A comparison between the selections made by Rāshidī and Gulchīn-i Ma'ānī and the verses included in the present anthology reveals that a considerable number of verses preserved in this *bayāḍ* are absent from the Punjab University manuscript of Murshid-i Burūjirdī's *Dīwān*. This suggests that the compiler had access either to a different recension of the *Dīwān* or to independent manuscript witnesses now lost or unidentified. A few verses are reproduced below by way of illustration:

دل به جرم عشق می‌سوزند در دیوان ما
بس که زخم خویش را از شوق ناخن می‌زنم
تا به کست‌خانی نگرند در گلستان رخس
رسته عشق است این‌جا، دل به زرن توان خرید
مرشد این ابیات باطل را اگر برهم زنم

خون به آب تیغ می‌شویند در میدان ما
سر بُرون آورد چاکِ سینه از دامن ما
رشته بر پای نگه بندند از مژگان ما
دل به دل گر می‌خری، اینک رَوَد دگان ما
ناله برخیزد بجای گرد از دیوان ما

[Translation:

Hearts, condemned for the crime of love, burn in our *dīwān* / in our battleground, blood is washed clean by the water of the blade.

So often, out of longing, I rake my own wound with my nails / That the rent in my breast thrusts its head forth from my hem.

Lest the glance grow insolent in the rose-garden of her face / They bind a cord upon its foot, twisted from our eyelashes.

Here stands a heart sprung from love, a heart cannot be bought with gold / If you would purchase heart with heart, behold – our shop is open.

Murshid, should I shatter these vain verses / A lament would rise from our *dīwān* in place of dust.]

*

آن مرغ اشکریزم، این باغ و بوستان را	کز گریه سبز کردم خاشاک آشیان را
عاشق ز کوی معشوق بیرون نمیتوان کرد	بلبل ز شاخ روید، این تازه گلستان را
دستی برآر و از دل، چیزی بخواه کامشب	آهم شکست درهم درهای آسمان را

[Translation:

I am that tear-shedding bird of this garden and meadow / who, with its weeping, has made the straw of the nest turn green.

The lover cannot be driven from the beloved's lane / The nightingale springs from the boughs of this fresh rose-garden.

Raise your hand and ask something of your heart tonight / My sigh has shattered the gates of heaven.]

*

بسیار ز حد می‌گذرد گرمی مجلس	دل سوخته‌ای در پس دیوار نباشد
بازار شکر گرم ز جوش مگسان است	یوسف به چه ارزد چو خریدار نباشد
از تنگی‌ای جا در دل مرشد نتوان یافت	آهی که ز سر تا قدم افکار نباشد

[Translation:

The warmth of the assembly exceeds all bounds / If there be not some heart-burned soul behind the wall.

The sugar market thrives on the buzzing of flies / What worth has Joseph, if there be no buyer? *Murshid's* heart is so constricted that no space remains / For a sigh not wounded from head to foot.]

*

چرخ را آهم آنچنان افروخت	کز هوا شمع می‌توان افروخت
هر سر موی من هلال دگر	بس که عشقم زمان زمان افروخت

[Translation:

My sigh set the heavens so aflame / That from the very air a candle might be kindled.

Each strand of my hair is another crescent / So much has my love flared up, time and again.]

*

ای موی تو عنبر بنه گردن شب	وی عکس رخ تو آتش خرمن شب
شب بس که ز عکس عارضت روشن بود	چون گرد نشست صبح، در دامن شب

[Translation:

O your hair, amber laid upon the neck of night / And the reflection of your face, the fire in night's harvest-field.

So radiant was the night with the glow of your cheek / That morning settled like dust in the

hem of night.]

*	
گلزار وفا طراوتی دیگر داشت	امشب که نقابِ شرم از رخ برداشت
آن هم، ز فتیله، لاله‌ای بر سر داشت	گلچین بودند عضو عضو جز داغ

[Translation:

Tonight, when she lifted the veil of modesty from her face / The rose-garden of fidelity took on a new freshness.

Each limb of mine became a flower-gatherer, save for the brand / That too bore upon its head a tulip of wick.]

*	
باغ سخنم سیرگه جنّات است	بادِ نَفَسَم زنده‌کن اموات است
شَقِّ الْقَمَرَم فاصله ابیات است	پیغمبر دانشم، سخن معجزه‌ام

[Translation:

The wind of my breath revives the dead / The garden of my speech is a promenade of Paradise.
I am the prophet of knowledge – my speech, a miracle / The splitting of the moon is but the space between my verses.]

*	
کوثر، عرق جبین پیمانه ماست	فردوس، فضای دل دیوانه ماست
غوای قیامت همه در خانه ماست	محشر، اثر جلوه مستانه ماست

[Translation:

Paradise is but the expanse of our mad heart / Kawthar is the sweat upon the brow of our wine-cup.

The Resurrection is the aftereffect of our drunken radiance / All the tumult of Judgment Day resounds within our house.]

*

The selection of Murshid-i Burūjirdī's poetry preserved in this *bayāḍ* is of exceptional significance and, by its very nature, warrants an independent and comprehensive study. Moreover, the anthology transmits verses by eminent poets such as Ṭālib Āmulī, Khwāja Ḥusain Thanā'ī, Shāpūr Tihirānī, Qudsī Mashhadī, Abū Ṭālib Kalīm, and Ṣuhūrī Turshīzī that are absent from their printed and commonly circulating dīwāns. This circumstance not only enhances the intrinsic literary value of the present *bayāḍ*, but also opens new avenues for manuscript studies, textual criticism, and the reconstruction of early modern Persian poetic transmission. As such, the manuscript stands as an important witness to the fluidity of the dīwān tradition and to the role of anthologies in preserving otherwise lost or variant material.

Conclusion

In light of current scholarly trends, it must be emphasized that manuscript studies, particularly the systematic examination of anthologies and poetic miscellanies, remain comparatively underexplored. Thousands of Urdu, Persian, and Arabic manuscripts continue to rest in libraries, insufficiently catalogued and rarely subjected to sustained philological analysis. Their careful study has the potential not only to refine and reassess established literary histories, but also to recover neglected texts, variant readings, and alternative textual traditions. It is therefore imperative that greater institutional and scholarly attention be directed toward this field, and that the rigorous study of *bayāḍ* works and related manuscript forms be actively encouraged within the broader framework of Islamic manuscript scholarship.

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