

## **The Intellectual and Religious Dimensions of the Islamic Persian Literary Culture in India During the Thirteenth Century**

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*Abstract: The foundation of an independent Muslim sultanate in north India in the beginning of the thirteenth century attracted, apart from soldiers, 'ulamā' and men of sciences and arts to India. Every town and city was studded with institutions of learning (Madrasas) for catering to the intellectual, religious and cultural needs of Muslims. Since the immigrants came mainly from Persian-speaking lands of Khurasān and Central Asia and, with the exception of 'ulamā', they could not benefit from Islamic literature in Arabic directly, the important works on Islam i.e., books on religion, ethics, philosophy and history were translated into Persian for the benefit of the Persian-speaking intelligentsia. The munificent patronage extended by the ruling elite to scholars also encouraged them to produce original works in various sciences. Efforts made by the rulers and scholars in this respect led to the efflorescence of learning and culture during the subsequent period. This study presents an analysis of the intellectual dimension of this early Indo-Persian literary culture in Islamic perspective and to show how much the Muslims were ahead of others in formulating ideas of political economy and social welfare.*

In reconstructing the history of the Persian Islamic literary culture in India, we have to search from various literary sources relevant evidence about its origin and progress in India after the foundation of an independent Sultanate in 1206 AD. Relevant evidence tends to suggest that cultural traditions, and institutions, maintained and patronised by Muslim rulers outside India for a long time, influenced the foundation of Muslim rule in India, and led to the rise of metropolitan cities of Uchh, Lahore and Delhi, and also Lakhnawti in Bengal, as centres of

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Islamic scientific and intellectual culture. Associating scholars, scientists, poets and men of talent with the royal court was one of the features of Sultanate polity, developed in Central Asia since the eleventh century AD. The architects of the Sultanate in India, being heirs to the Central Asian traditions tried to turn their royal courts into centres of an intellectual culture accordingly. Thus Sultanate polity was an important factor in the diffusion of learning and the promotion of intellectual culture in India since the thirteenth century. It also needs to be stressed that ‘*ulamā*’ also formed part of a ruling elite as they were entrusted by the state with the administration of justice (as judicial officers) and legislative functions (as *muftīs* or law remembrances). The aim of this article is to discuss religious and cultural significance of the literature produced by Muslim scholars in Persian under the patronage of the thirteenth century Sultans and their nobles.

Attracted by the munificent patronage extended by the state, a large number of Muslim scholars came from Central Asia, Iran and Middle Eastern countries and settled down in cities and towns in north India under the Turk Sultans. Along with the cultural institutions, scientific instruments, devices and ideas found their way into the newly founded Sultanate, called in history books the *Sultanate of Delhi*. The extant literary works produced by these emigrant scholars in Persian language for catering to the need of an emerging Persian-speaking intelligentsia provide us with insights into the intellectual life and religious thought of the Muslim elite in the Sultanate during its early phase.

The immigrants from Transoxiana and Khurasan produced standard works in Persian on different popular sciences, religious as well as secular. They were pioneering scholars in some branches of learning. Even the Persian translations of Arabic classics undertaken by some of them have both historical and intellectual significance.

### **Translations**

It is worth mentioning that the intellectuals among the immigrants studied the conditions on India and felt the need to produce literature for the guidance of Muslim ruling elite, hailing from across the borders of India, so that they could build up their authority with the support and cooperation from the powerful sections of Indian society. We may begin our discussion with the first major work, that is the translation in Persian of the Arabic work, *Fath-i-bilād-i Hind-wa-Sind*, better known as *Chach-nāmah*, related to the early history of Sind and its Arab conquest under the command of Muhammad bin Qāsim al-Thaqafi. The

translator was Muhammad Ali bin Hamid bin Abu Bakr al-Kūfī, a man of Arab origin and perhaps an old resident of Sind. He brought his translation to completion in 1216 AD.

There is a great deal of touching up of original Arabic text by al-Kūfī, reflecting the political traditions in various regions of Sind that had developed since the 8th century, regarding the nature of relationship between the Muslim rulers and Hindu landed aristocracy. Ali al-Kūfī's purpose in alluding to the Hindu land chiefs, called *Ra'īs*, *Thākurs* and *Rānagān* (plural of *Rānā*) was to apprise Sultan Nāṣiruddīn Qubāchā of the need to foster cordial relations with the local potentates, for they constituted an important element in Indian polity. He implies that a victorious Sultan should regard his victory over the landed chiefs as a prelude to a rapprochement and not to their annihilation.

Further, the translator was careful enough not to omit those details that bring into greater relief the need for the Sultan not to interfere with the social system of the Hindus. For example, he emphasises the fact that Muhammad bin Qāsim sanctioned the continuation of privileges of high castes, who were given full religious freedom and were appointed to important positions in the administration, thus allowing them to maintain their customary social status.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the book casts light on the personality of Muslim rulers like Ḥajjāj bin Yusuf and Muhammad bin Qāsim. The former guides the latter through letters as to how should he conduct the war, and which verses from the Qur'ān should he recite for invoking divine help. Muhammad bin Qāsim is portrayed as a true representative of Islam, who brought Islam to India in its pristine purity, and was able to win over converts to Islam through peaceful persuasion and the display of his own personal example.

Likewise, the Persian translation of al-Birūnī's *Kitāb-ul-Saidnā* by Abu Bakr bin Ali bin Usman al-Kashānī also deserves to be referred to. The translator came from Kashān, the centre of rationalist philosophers in Transoxiana. Since philosophy and philosophers were in disfavour owing to the domination of the Muslim orthodoxy during the early phase of the Sultanate, al-Kashānī took up al-Birūnī's *Kitāb-ul-Saidnā* on medicines for translation instead of writing on rationalist sciences. The introduction of the book casts interesting light on the emergence of Delhi as a metropolis and a centre of intellectual Islamic culture. Calling Delhi as *Hazzāt-i-Dehli* (a term used in Central Asia for a perfect city and the capital of the Sultanate), he states: "(in *Hazzāt-i-Dehli*) I decided

to study the conditions and found the metropolis rich in wealth and full of people of talent and learning; in fact, it has turned into a centre of culture. Every one of the scholars who has been attracted by the Sultan's generosity came and took abode in the city. The *ashraf* (social elite) from Khurasan and Transoxiana, who were driven away by the vicissitude of circumstances from their own countries got refuge under the patronage of the Sultan."<sup>2</sup>

The inclusion by the translator of Hindi medicinal terms along with their Persian and Arabic equivalents in the text suggests that the process of cultural fusion of the *Ayurvedic* (indigenous Indian) and *Ṭibb* (Arabic Islamic system of medicine) had started in the Sultanate since its very beginning. All this went a long way to enrich our intellectual heritage.

Brief mention may be made of the Persian translation from Arabic of Imam al-Ghazālī's celebrated work, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, by Abu'l Mu'ālī Mū'id bin Muhammad Jarjamī, also an immigrant scholar. He was encouraged by Nizām ul-Mulk Junaidī, the *wazīr* of Sultan Iltutmish to translate it into Persian. The *wazīr* being a scholarly person had collected a fairly large sprinkling of scholars in his service.<sup>3</sup>

The original work in Arabic was considered extremely important by the Muslim scholars because it had countered the influence of the teaching of philosophers like Ibn-i-Sīnā, and had revived the popularity of the traditional Islamic sciences. In view of its importance and the need of the emerging Persian knowing Muslim intelligentsia in India, Nizām ul-Mulk Junaidī asked Jarjamī to take up the work for translation for the diffusion of Islamic bearing in the Sultanate. The translation was completed after 1223 AD. Jarjamī tells us about his patron, the *wazīr* that he was fond of studying standard books in religious sciences and spent huge sums of money on purchasing them for his library. The *wazīr* is also said to have been fond of holding discussion on religious problems with the scholars and '*ulamā'*' in his service. As for the original contribution made by Jarjamī to Persian literature, it was the style invented by him to employ in his work. His style is free from metaphor, affection and poetical artifices. Amir Khusrau, discussing the problems connected with prose-styles in Persian prose, refers to Jarjamī along with others who invented new styles. Of the six writers, mentioned by Khusrau two of them had adopted India as their home country. They were Shaikh Ali Hujwirī, (popularly known as Data Ganj

Baksh) the author of *Kashf al-Mahjūb* and Jarjamī, our translator. According to Khusrau, Hujwirī invented the simple style of ṣūfīs, while Jarjamī's style gained popularity among the scholars and doctors of law because it is characterised by flow and gentleness in expression.<sup>4</sup> Khusrau's junior contemporary, Ḍiya Uddin Barnī includes Jarjamī's translation in the list of Arabic and Persian classics that were studied and discussed in the circles of scholars in the *khanqah* of Shaikh Nizam Uddin Auliya'. He says that it was in great demand like the classics written by Arab scholars in the past.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, the Persian translation of *ʿAwārif-al-maʿārif*, written by Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardī, is an important contribution to Persian literature produced in India. It is a work on Islamic spirituality as represented by an orthodox ṣūfī shaikh. It was translated from Arabic into Persian by Qasim Daud Khatīb, a *murīd* (disciple) of Shaikh Bahāʿuddin Zakariya in 1243-45. This was very popular among the Indian ṣūfīs. In fact, the India of early ṣūfīs was exclusively in the sphere of the *ʿAwārif*. In the introduction to his translation. Qasim Daud Khatīb states that the ruler of Multan, Sultan Tajuddin Abu Bakr told him that:

The *ʿAwārif* compiled by Shaikh al-Mashāikh Shihabuddin al-Suhrawardī that contains the traditions and saying of the prophet must be rendered from Arabic into Persian, the sweetest of the tongues, because it will serve many people, ignorant of Arabic. Because most of the educated people were not conversant with Arabic and, therefore, they could not benefit from the Arabic text.<sup>6</sup>

The translation was done under the guidance of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya, the *Pīr* (preceptor) of Qasim Daud Khatīb. According to the latter, Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya explained the spiritual subtleties and thus the work was brought to completion in a satisfactory manner, about ten or eleven years after Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardī passed away. All these translations done under the patronage of the ruling elite catered to the need of Persian speaking intelligentsia on the one hand, and helped the development of Persian language into an effective vehicle of expression for religious and metaphysical ideas on the other. They also provide us with insights into the literary and intellectual activities in the Sultanate during the thirteenth century.

### **Original Prose Work**

Besides, some outstanding emigrant scholars also produced important works in Persian prose that are marked by originality in thought and

freshness in approach of their authors. Most outstanding of these writers whose works reflect their width of reference and the strata of significance was Sadid Uddin Muhammad 'Awfī, a Bukhara born intellectual. For the paucity of space and time, I shall confine my discussion to his *magnum opus*, a work of encyclopaedic range, *Jawami'ul hikāyāt wa liwāmi'l-u riwāyāt*, compiled in Persian. The force of style and the intellectual architecture that the work exhibits made it the most popular reference work among the medieval scholars.

It consists of four large volumes, each containing a number of chapters of unequal length. The chapters, related to the Prophet of Islam, his companions and early ṣūfis of Islam had immense value for the religious elite, 'ulamā' and ṣūfis<sup>7</sup> alike while those that deal with secular sciences, such as history, geography of different countries and oceans, made the work popular among the scholarly members of the ruling class and scholars interested in non-religious sciences also. The traditions incorporated by 'Awfī about the early Muslim rulers in different fields, cultural, political and economic had great impact on the polity of the Delhi Sultanat. Ḍiya Uddin Barnī's reference to this work in the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* suggests that it was very popular among the scholars of history for it was considered one of the most important sources of information on the foundation of the Sultanate in India. Barnī states:

The (13th century) historians of the events of the Darul Mulk Delhi had been trustworthy writers and scholars of distinction. Khawaja Ṣadr Nizamī (i.e. Hasan Nizamī) the author of the *Taj-ul-Ma'āthir*, Maulana Sadid Uddin, the compiler of the *Jawami'ul-Hikāyāt*, Qazi Sadr-i-Jahan Minhāj-i Siraj Juzjani, the author of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* and Kabīr Uddin, son of Tajuddin Iraqī were (the leading historians). The latter wrote *Fathnama* of Sultan Alauddin (Khalji) and ... did wonders in prose writing. All of these (four) scholars have been held in respect for their credibility. It needs to be emphasized that they recorded nothing but facts and have been relied upon by people. The unknown and careless narrators who had no regard for facts have not attracted the attention of knowledgeable people. The works (of such writers) remained lying unsold in booksellers' shops. These works were (at last) made over to the paper-manufacturers, so that they could be washed clean.<sup>8</sup>

Strangely enough, the modern scholars of medieval Indian history and culture have not paid any attention to the *Jawami'ul hikāyāt*. Only W. Barthold took the trouble of going through the work and utilized it

in the preparation of his celebrated work *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*. He writes:

Muhammad 'Awfi's anthology, called *Collection of Anecdotes and Brilliant Tales*, was written in India. The author travelled much in his youth, and had visited Bukhara and Khorezmia. Of the anecdotes quoted, those of the greatest importance for us are the fairly numerous tales about the Qarakhanids, especially Tamghoch Khan Ibrahim b. Nasr. In addition to anecdotes, the book contains a chapter of history (Part I, Ch. 5), and another of geography (Part IV, Ch. 6); in the latter special interest attached to his accounts of the Eastern Asiatic and Turkish tribes: for instance, the author is the first Persian writer to mention the Uighurs.<sup>9</sup>

As a reference book for the elite of the Sultanate, it seems to have promoted intellectual culture and also made impact on the polity of the Sultanate in India. Its comparative study with the 14th century histories produced in Delhi reveals that the source of inspiration for certain state policies, followed by the Indian Sultans lay in the *Jawami'ul hikāyāt*. In fact, the traditions incorporated by 'Awfi in this work help us trace the origin of certain institutions of cultural and political importance in Medieval India. For instance, we find references to the *kārkhānās* (store-cum-workshops) maintained by the men of means. The royal *kārkhānās* served as catalysts of social change. Another important institution of public utility that found its way into India in the wake of the foundation of the Sultanate was the hospital, called *dārulshafā* or *bimāristān*. According to the author the source of inspiration for the introduction of price controls and rationing system by Sultan Ala Uddin Khalji lay in the *Jawami'ul hikāyāt*.<sup>10</sup>

Like the Persian prose-writers, the emigrant Persian prose-writers, also promoted intellectual culture in the Sultanate of Delhi. Their poems, particularly *qaṣīdas* (panegyrics) are marked by freshness of thought and style. The opening part of the *qaṣīda* called *tashbīb* is generally related to love or some philosophical theme, reflecting the literary or intellectual trends in society. Mention may be made of the *qaṣīdas* composed by Sirajī Khurasavī in praise of Sultan Iltutmish, the royal princes and the grandees, for they cast light on the intellectual atmosphere caused by state patronage to the men of talent. Through these *qaṣīdas* the poets popularised the concept of love and beauty and they went a long way in influencing the literary culture in Persian during the subsequent centuries.

The characteristic features of Sirajī's *qaṣīdas* are the originality of style and freshness of thought, use of novel and beautiful similes and metaphors, imagination and wit. His genius as a poet and his contribution to Persian poetry is certainly of a high order. Besides the literary value of his *dīwān*, his poems also shed light on his interest in secular sciences such as astronomy. He is the first writer who informs us about certain scientific instruments, devices and ideas that found their way into India with the immigrants. For instance, in the *qaṣīda* no. 101, composed in praise of Prince Nasir Uddin Mahmud (d. 1230 AD), we find reference to astrolabe, an astronomical instrument used by scientists in the Middle Eastern countries and Central Asia in observing the movements of stars, planets and also for measuring time.

‘Amīd Sunāmī's *dīwān* also helps us reconstruct the history of the diffusion of learning and the knowledge in different parts of India. According to him, Multan had also become a centre of learning like Delhi under the fostering care of the Muslim ruling elite. As the poet resided in Multan, the *qaṣīdas* composed by him in praise of the local rulers reflect the cultural life and intellectual activities in Multan. The elite in Multan also evinced keen interest in the popular science of astronomy like their counterparts in Delhi. The following couplets may be quoted in translation by way of illustration:

I, who have made my dwelling in a corner like the *Simurgh*. I have made any nest beyond the axis of earthly sphere.

Why do I bear the shame of every bird in this ill-omened land? I have gone like the *‘Unqā* and have made my resting place in the mountains. The course of the heavenly bodies in the columns of the almanac of the creation, I have proved one by one, by comparison with the astronomical tables of intellect.<sup>12</sup>

### Historiography

Some words are in order about the thirteenth century Indo-Persian historiography, a field in which the medieval Indian scholars had surpassed their counterparts in Iran and Central Asia. Indo-Persian-historiography is certainly rich both in quantity and quality. The approach of Indo-Persian historians is characterised by a great deal of maturity; in this respect also they had surpassed their counterparts outside India. Their approach is not at all theo-centric. They rather hold on to the doctrine of causality and natural law in history. Besides religion is regarded by them a weighty cultural phenomenon. They also



thought the role performed by a man of strong personality in society equally an important factor.

The first work, of history, produced in India is the prologue (now called *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-i Mudabbir*) written by Muhammad bin Mansūr, known as Fakhr-i-Mudabbir for his voluminous work, *Shajrah-i Ansāb* (the book of genealogies) in Lahore in 1204 AD. The author had settled down in Lahore under the last Ghaznavid rulers and was acquainted with Indian conditions. Therefore, in his lengthy prologue, describing the achievements of Sultan Qutb Uddin Aibek, he apprised the Sultan of the duties of king that he should establish justice so that people could prosper irrespective of creed and birth. He also furnishes interesting information about the Turks in their homeland (Turkestan or Steppe) as well as their migration to the lands of higher culture and the expansion of Turkish language in the regions of Bukhara, Khwarazm and parts of Iran (particular Azarbaijan). His account of the non-Muslim Turks is characterised by objectivity.

The Turkish lands are said to have been poor in resources, with the result that the Turks lived in tribes and clans and suffered from poverty. They earned their keep by exporting certain commodities through the merchants from different countries. The commodities were musk, silk fabric, fur such as that of beaver, fox, precious Bartasi (a land in Turkestan, famous for its fur), that of Sythian Weasel, the ermine, Sanjab, the fur of the Tibetan bull, bows of poplar root, the fox horn of rhinoceros, hawks, falcons, precious stone as *Yashm* (green stone), horses, camels, young, hairy and wild ones the like of which was not found in the world.<sup>13</sup>

As for the religion of the Turks, they are said to have followed different religious practices. The followers of Shamanism believed in Tingiri, the lord of Heaven and earth. They were monotheists. They had faith in hell and heaven and the day of judgement as well. The author says: "Tingiri is the name of Khuda."<sup>14</sup>

The *Tāj-ul M'āthir* compiled by Nizamuddin Hasan Nizami, an immigrant from Nishapur (Iran) during the reign of Sultan Qutbuddin Aibek is important as far as its style is concerned. Its author who was certainly a literary genius seems to have been overwhelmed by the greatness of Aibek. He invested an elegant style writing that could befit the greatness of the Sultan, famous for his invincibility. It will not be an exaggeration to say that this style does not combine the poetry and prose

but transcends the two. During medieval times it was imitated by those historians who compiled the history of great rulers both in Iran and India. In Iran *Ata Malik Juvaini*, the author of the History of the World Conqueror (*Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha*) and Wassaf who compiled the histories of Chinggis Khan and his successors respectively, and in India Amir Khursrau, Abul Fazl and Abdul Hamid Lahori followed his example in adopting florid styles. To write in this style was regarded by medieval scholarship an exercise into intellectualism, although modern scholars shun it.

The celebrated *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, compiled by Minhaj uddin Abu Umar Usman Juzjani in the *Ṭabaqāt* form of historiography, presents a brief history of Islam since the time of Adam up to the fall of the Abbasid dynasty, and then concentrates on the history of Central Asian dynasties and the Sultans of India. The wealth of details contained in it on Central Asian dynasties and on the eruption of the Mongols under Chenggiz Khan lend great importance to the work. Undoubtedly Juzjani is our earliest and best authority on the royal house of Ghaur, at least from the time of Ala Uddin Jahansuz. In fact, his *Ṭabaqāt* devoted to the house of Ghaur and the rise of Chenggiz Khan are invaluable as they supply information not available elsewhere. The last section on the non-Muslim Mongols is considered by the Orientalists invaluable for the light it casts on the life and personality of Chenggiz Khan and on the changes that led to the dissolution of the Mongol Empire after 1295 AD. Being non-partisan in his approach to the history of the non-Muslim Mongol conquerors, he not only describes the tyranny to which people were subjected to in the conquered Muslim territories, but also highlights Chenggiz Khan's qualities of leadership and the military discipline among his soldiers. The account furnished by him of the sack of Baghdad and the destruction of the Abbasid Caliph by Helagu in 1258 is not only corroborated by the 14th century Arab historians, but a comparative study suggests that the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* had become a source of information even in Arab lands.<sup>15</sup>

As regards the sections 20 and 21 relating to the history of the early Sultans of India and the nobles of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish, they cast interesting light on his sense of responsibility. As Sultan Iltutmish could not be criticised directly for his wrong deeds, due to political consideration, he builds up Sultans criticism either in his praise or in the account of his rivals, Sultan Nasiruddin Qubachā, the ruler of Sind and Multan and the Khalji Sultans of Bengal and Bihar. All of them are

painted as benevolent Sultans, seriously interested in the welfare of people under their rule. Similarly, he intimates through hints about Iltutmish's those deeds the mention of which in plain words was disparaging to his reputation. For instance, he informs about the execution of those senior nobles whom Iltutmish feared for their resourcefulness in the praise of a noble, Malik Saif Uddin Aibek that the latter was favoured by the Sultan for his excellent conduct and charged with the duty to supervise the execution of nobles and confiscate their assets. The noble being a God-fearing man, detested the job and got himself transferred from the court to Narnaul.<sup>16</sup>

Lastly, it may be pointed out that on account of the arrival of Muslim intellectuals from different parts of the Islamic world Delhi became the repository of all the best that had developed in the Islamic World before the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258. The standard of education and learning was raised very high. In the fields of science and political economy Muslim scholars seem to have left far behind their counterpart in Europe, for example, writing in 1289, Amir Khusrau says about the movement of earth around the sun: "The movement of the earth has been linked with the time, hence the day and night, the seasons of spring and autumn. These changes constitute the source of life and comfort for the living beings."<sup>17</sup> Again, Amir Khusrau expresses the same view in his *I'jāz-I Khusravi*, brought to completion at the close of the thirteenth century that the people moved around the court of the Sultan as the earth moves around the Sun and that the moon is dark but shines on account of the reflected light of the sun.<sup>18</sup> This shows that Islamic civilization acquired knowledge of natural and applied sciences from different countries but Muslims made advances on them through their researches.

Likewise in social sciences also Muslim scholars appear to have been far ahead of others. Talking about Alauddin Khalji's (reigned: 1296-1316 AD) economic reforms, Khusrau uses the term *'Ilm-i-Ma'īshat* which tends to suggest that economics formed part of political philosophy of the Muslim elite in India. According to Khusrau, Sultan Alauddin stood unequalled in history for his mastery over economic science as the success of his price control proved.<sup>19</sup>

To conclude, the overemphasis that emerges in the extent Indo-Persian works is the concern among their writers to leave their intellectual mark as pioneers in Persian literature. These works inspired the scholars during the subsequent period and led to the efflorescence

of learning and culture during the fourteenth century. It is a pity that no effort has been made by modern scholars to work on them and show the significance of Indo-Muslim scholars to the development of Persian literary culture in Islamic perspective.

### Notes

1. See Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqui, *Persio-Arabic Sources of Information on the Life in the Sultanate of Delhi* (New Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1992), 44-46 for details.
2. *Ibid.*, 46.
3. *Ibid.*, 48-49.
4. Amir Khusrau, *I'jāz-i Khusravi* (Lucknow: N.K. Press, 1876), 55-57.
5. Ḍiya Uddin Barnī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, Bibliotheca Indica, 1862), 346.
6. *Tarjuma-i 'Awārif-ul Ma'ārif*, Tr. Qasim Daud Khatīb, Ms. University Collection, M. Azad Library, Aligarh, no. 330f 4a-b.
7. Hasan Sijazi, *Fawā'id-ul Fu'ād* (Lucknow: N.K. Press, 1908), 38.
8. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 14.
9. W. Barthold, *Turkistan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, tr. Mrs. Minorsky and C.E. Bosworth (London: Luzac & Co., 1968), 36.
10. Siddiqui, *Persio-Arabic Sources*, 11-12.
11. *Diwan-i Sirāji Khurasani*, ed. Nazir Ahmad (Aligarh: Intisharat-I-Danishgah-I-Islami, 1972), couplets 19, 26, p. 304.
12. Siddiqui, *Persio-Arabic Sources*, 65-73.
13. *Tarīkh-i Fakhr-i Mudabbir*, ed. E. Denison Ross (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1927), 38,40.
14. *Tarīkh-i Fakhr-i Mudabbir*, p. 43.
15. Cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidayah wal-nehaya* vol. 13 (Cairo: Sa'āda Press, 1951-58), 200-204.
16. Minhāj-i-Sirāj al-Juzjani, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed., Abdul Hai Habibi (Kabul: Historical Society of Afghanistan, 1964), 22.
17. Amir Khusrau, *Qir'ān-us-Sa'dain*, (ed.) Ismail Meerathi (Aligarh: Aligarh College Institute, 1918), 5, lines 25-267; also editor's introduction in Urdu, p. 99.
18. Khusrau, *I'jāz-i-Khusravi*, vol. 2, p. 158.
19. *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 136.