

**THE FIRST BOOK OF THE  
HADIQATU'L-HAQIQAT OR THE  
ENCLOSED GARDEN OF THE TRUTH  
OF THE HAKIM ABU'L-MAJD  
MAJDUD SANA'I OF GHAZNA**

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The first book of the Hadiqatu'l-Haqiqat or the enclosed garden of the truth of the Hakim Abu'l-Majd Majdud Sana'i of Ghazna by J. Stephenson

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**J. STEPHENSON**

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EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY  
MAJOR J. STEPHENSON,  
*Indian Medical Service; Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of the  
Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

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## PREFACE.

Several years ago, on looking up the literature pertaining to the earlier Sufi poets of Persia, I found that there was no European edition or translation, nor even any extended account of the contents of any of the works of Sanā'ī. Considering the reputation of this author, and the importance of his writings for the history of Sufism, the omission was remarkable; and I was encouraged by Dr. E. D. Ross, Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah, to do something towards filling up the blank. The present volume is an attempt at a presentation of a part of Sanā'ī's most famous work, which, it is hoped, may serve to give an idea of his manner of thought not only to Oriental scholars, but also to non-Orientalists who may be interested in the mysticism of Persia.

MSS. of Sanā'ī's *Ḥadīqa* are not rare in European libraries; and a selection of those contained in the British Museum and India Office libraries furnished me with as many as I was able to collate during the time I could devote to this work on the occasion of a recent furlough. My selection of MSS. for collation was, I must confess, somewhat arbitrary; *C* I took because it was the oldest of those to which I had access; *H* because it also was of respectable age, and fairly well written; *M* mainly on account of its being easily legible, this being a consideration, since my time in London was limited, and the British Museum does not allow MSS. to leave the building; *I* I took because it was written in Iṣfahān and so might embody a Persian, as distinct from an Indian, tradition of the text; and *A* was selected because it was stated to be 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf's autograph of his revision of the text. I must here acknowledge my gratitude to the management of the India Office Library for the permission accorded me to take away these two valuable MSS. for collation in the country; the materials upon which the present text is based would otherwise have been much poorer, and the result even more inconclusive than it is.

Though thus in some degree arbitrary, and restricted to only two collections, I do not think a limited choice of MSS. could have

turned out much more fortunately. It has at least, I think, brought a considerable amount of light to bear on the history of the author's text, especially with regard to the labours of its editor 'Abdu'l-Laṭif in the seventeenth century; though, as explained in the Introduction, I am very far from imagining that we have arrived at any close approximation to the author's original. I do not say that a reconstruction of Sanā'i's original text is impossible; though judging merely from the MSS. I have examined, I am inclined to doubt the possibility. The text fell into confusion at a very early date, and it will perhaps only be by prolonged search or by a lucky chance that a future editor will obtain a copy which approximates in any close degree to the original; though a closer and more prolonged study of the copies we possess would, I have no doubt, give indications as to the place of many lines and passages which in the present edition are almost certainly wrongly placed or have been set apart as homeless. But at the present stage of Oriental studies it is unprofitable to devote to the preparation of a text the same prolonged research which we are accustomed to see in editions of the classical authors of Greece and Rome; and the labour of scholars in the province of Oriental letters is better expended on a first rough survey of the ground, so much of which remains as yet absolutely unknown; when a general knowledge of the whole has been obtained, it will be time to return for a thorough cultivation of each individual plot.

In the list of the variant readings I have found it quite impossible to indicate the different order of the lines and sections in the several MSS., nor have I as a rule given the variations in the titles of the sections. Otherwise the list is complete.

The translation is as literal as I have been able to make it. The notes are largely taken from the commentaries of 'Abdu'l-Laṭif, published along with the text in the Lucknow lithograph (L), and of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, similarly given in the lithograph (B) which I obtained from Bombay. I have utilized all such portions of these commentaries as appeared to me to be helpful in arriving at an understanding of the text; matter taken from the commentary in the Lucknow lithograph I have distinguished by the letter L, also used in the list of variants to denote the readings of this lithograph; similarly the matter of 'Alāu'd-Dīn's commentary is distinguished in the notes by the letter B. Where the note presents a literal translation of the

commentaries, I have indicated this by the use of inverted commas ; where my note gives only the general sense of the commentary I have omitted the quotation marks, the source of the note being sufficiently indicated by the appropriate letter.

In the fuller explanation of the technicalities of Sufi philosophy I have drawn largely on the first volume of the late E. J. W. Gibb's "History of Ottoman Poetry," and especially on the second chapter of that work ; where allusions to proper names, etc., are not explained by the commentators, I have often quoted from Hughes's "Dictionary of Islam." Quotations from the Qur'ân I have usually given in Palmer's translation. Finally, I am myself responsible for the notes in cases where no source is given ; these are usually either in places where the meaning of the text is not easy to grasp, and where nevertheless the commentators, as not infrequently happens, pass over the line without explanation ; or on the other hand such notes refer to matters of common knowledge to Persian scholars, which however may not be familiar to others ; I have added a certain number of such in order, as stated already, to render the work of some use to non-Persianists who take an interest in the philosophies of the East.

Had I been able to devote myself continuously to the work, the number of references from one part of the text to another might have been considerably increased, and the author's meaning probably in many places thus rendered clearer ; I think also, as I have already said, lines and passages that are here doubtless misplaced might have found, if not their original, still a more suitable home. But it has often happened that months, in one case as many as eleven, have elapsed between putting down the work and taking it up again ; and thus all but the most general remembrance of the contents of the earlier parts of the text has in the meanwhile escaped me. I can only say that it seemed better to let the work go out as it is, than to keep it longer in the hope of obtaining a continuous period of leisure which may never come, for a more thorough revision and recasting of the whole.

GOVERNMENT COLLEGE,

LAHORE :

June 1908.



## ABBREVIATIONS.

L (in the notes) refers to the commentary of 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf.

B (in the notes) refers to the commentary of 'Alāu'd-Dīn.

Gibb = A History of Ottoman Poetry, Vol. I, by E. J. W. Gibb, London, Luzac & Co., 1900.

Sale = Sale's Translation of the Qur'ān, with notes (several editions; a cheap one is published by Warne & Co.).

Stein. = Steingass's Persian-English Dictionary.

B.Q. = The *Burhān-i Qāṭi* (a Persian Dictionary, in Persian).

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The scheme of transliteration adopted is that at present sanctioned by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The references in the notes to other passages of the work are given according to the page and line of the Persian text (indicated also in the margin of the translation).

Quotations from the Arabic are indicated by printing in italics.

## INTRODUCTION.

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### I.—LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

Abū'l-Majd Majdūd b. Ādam Sanā'ī<sup>1</sup> was born at Ghazna, and lived in the reign of Bahrāmshāh (A.H. 512-548, A.D. 1118-1152). Ouseley says of him that he "while yet young became one of the most learned, devout, and excellent men of the age which he adorned. His praise was on every tongue; for, in addition to his accomplishments in the Sūfi philosophy, he possessed a kind and benevolent heart, delightful manners, and a fine taste for poetry . . . . Sanāī in early life retired from the world and its enjoyments, and the reason for his doing so is supposed to have arisen from the following circumstance.

"He had frequented the courts of kings and princes, and celebrated their virtue and generous actions. When Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazni determined upon attacking the infidel idolaters of India, Hakim Sanāī composed a poem in his praise, and was hurrying to the court to present it before that monarch's departure. There was at that time in Ghazni a madman known as Lāi Khūr (the ox-eater), who often in his incoherent wanderings uttered sentiments and observations worthy of a sounder head-piece; he was addicted to drinking wine, and frequented the bath. It so happened that Sanāī, in passing a garden, heard the notes of a song, and stopped to listen. After some time the singer, who was Lāi Khūr, addressing the cup-bearer,

<sup>1</sup> For the facts contained in the following sketch I am indebted to Sir Gore Ouseley's "Biographical Notices of the Persian Poets," Lond., Or. Trans. Fund, 1846; Rieu's and Ethé's Catalogues; and Prof. Browne's "A Literary History of Persia," Vol. II.

said, 'Saki, fill a bumper, that I may drink to the blindness of our Sultan, Ibrahim.' The Saki remonstrated and said it was wrong to wish that so just a king should become blind. The madman answered that he deserved blindness for his folly in leaving so fine a city as Ghazni, which required his presence and care, to go on a fool's errand in such a severe winter. Lāi Khūr then ordered the Saki to fill another cup, that he might drink to the blindness of Hakim Sanā'i. The cup-bearer still more strongly remonstrated against this, urging the universally esteemed character of the poet, whom everyone loved and respected. The madman contended that Sanā'i merited the malediction even more than the king, for with all his science and learning, he yet appeared ignorant of the purposes for which the Almighty had created him; and when he shortly came before his Maker, and was asked what he brought with him, he could only produce panegyrics on kings and princes,—mortals like himself. These words made so deep an impression on the sensitive mind of the pious philosopher, that he secluded himself from the world forthwith, and gave up all the luxuries and vanities of courts.

"Sirājuddin Ali, in his 'Memoirs of the Poets,' says, that in consequence of the sudden impression occasioned by Lāi Khūr's remarks, Sanā'i sought instruction from the celebrated Sheikh Yusef Hamdani, whose cell was called the 'Kaabah of Khorāsān.'

"It was about this time that Behrām Shāh offered him his sister in marriage, which honour, however, he gratefully declined, and almost immediately set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medinah. It is to the refusal of the royal bride that he alludes in his Hedtkeh, as an apology to the king, in the following lines:—'I am not a person desirous of gold or of a wife, or of exalted station; by my God, I neither seek them nor wish them. If through thy grace and favour thou wouldest even offer me thy crown, I swear by thy head I should not accept it.' " The account of Sanā'i's conversion contained in the foregoing extract is probably, as Browne says, of little historical value.

Sanā'i composed the present work after his return from the pilgrimage; according to most copies he completed it in A.H. 525 (A.D. 1131), though some MSS. have A.H. 534 or 535 (A.D. 1139-1141).

Sanā'i was attacked during his lifetime on account of his alleged unorthodoxy; but a fatwa was published by the Khalifa's court at