

HUSAIN (S.S.)

Ph.D.
(Indo-Aryan)

1933.

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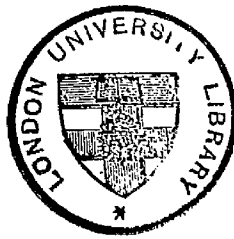
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Ph.D., 1933

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE

NAU TARZ I MURASSA'

and

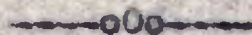
A HISTORY OF URDU PROSE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO 1775



A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE

HAU TARZ I MURASSA'



Abstract.

The existing material bearing on the first part of the subject was meagre and in certain important respects misleading and incorrect necessitating extensive research in manuscripts.

I. Concerning the author of the Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa' I have traced fresh particulars, examining 34 sources, the following being new:-

- (1) 'Ayārush Shu'arā.
- (2) Tagkira e Sarvar.
- (3) 'Imādus Sa'adat.
- (4) Tagkira of Hindustānī Poets.
- (5) Anonymous Tagkira e Shu'arā e Urdū.

II. Discovered:-

- (a) a work by Tahsīn, hitherto unknown, namely, the Ruqqa'āt i Nādirāt i Rozmarra Navīsī;
- (b) the original name of the Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa';
- (c) the fact that the composition of the Muraṣṣa' was begun in 1768 and not after as hitherto supposed by all authorities;

- (d) more manuscripts of the *Muraṣṣa'*, here and in Germany, of one of which I secured photostats, collating its 9 copies, tracing out important omissions, rehandlings and interpolations and preparing its complete text for publication;
- (e) Poetry by *Tahsīn* of which critical estimate is given.

- III. (a) Cleared up the confusion about the sources of the *Muraṣṣa'* and the real author of the stories by comparing it with 8 manuscripts of the Persian *Cahār Darvesh* and by determining *Anjab*, the Spaniard, as the probable author of the Persian.
- (b) Shown that the *Muraṣṣa'* was probably translated into Persian.

- IV. Discovered one more *Urdū* version, the *Cār Gulshan*, of the *Cahār Darvesh* and compared the *Muraṣṣa'* with seven *Urdū* renderings in all, providing much new information.

The scope of the second part of the thesis is widened by manuscript-study.

I. Traced out and discussed

(a) Six new prose writers:-

- (1) Shekh Mahmūd;
- (2) Ketelaer, (a Dane);
- (3) Schultz, (a German);
- (4) 'Uzlat;
- (5) Shākir;
- (6) Asrārullāh.

(b) Two unknown prose works:-

- (1) The Dakhnī incomplete translation of
Abul Faḡl's abridged Tuḡī Nāma.
- (2) The Bengālī - Hindustānī rendering of
the Anvār i Suhailī.

(c) Two known but hitherto untraceable pieces of
prose:-

- (1) Saudā's Preface;
- (2) Faḡlī's Preface.

II. Furnished further information regarding:-

- (1) Gesū Darāz;
- (2) Shāh Mīrājī;

(3) Mīrājī of Hyderabad.

Many errors of catalogues and writers on the subject have been detected and rectified, and the present writer has set forth original views on numerous points at issue.

CHAPTER I

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

CONTENTS.

(1) External Evidence.

(1) Various Sources Examined.

(2) Account by Zakā.

(3) Do. Sarvar.

(4) Do. Gilchrist.

(5) Do. Muhiyuddin.

(6) Do. Gulām 'Alī Khā.

(7) Do. in Anonymous Tagkira of the Hindustānī Poets.

(8) Do. in Anonymous Tagkira e Shu'arā e Urdū.

(9) Do. by Sheftā.

(10) Do. Garcin de Tassy

and

Karīmuddin

(11) Do. Bātin and Nassākḥ.

(12) Summary of External Evidence.

(2) Internal Evidence.

Autobiographical Prefaces.

CHAPTER I.

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

External Evidence

The name of the illustrious author of the *Nau Tarz i Murassa'* is Mir Muhammad Husain 'Atā Khā, who was poetically surnamed Tahsīn. For the last century and a quarter, i.e., since the epoch-making literary activities of Dr. Gilchrist, his name together with that of his book has been widely known but till quite recently no account of his life was available. One possible reason may be that although the masters of Urdu language in India cultivated and produced much poetry and wrote extensive tazkiras of poets with some sort of literary criticism, their apathy towards Urdu prose and its writers was conspicuous till the advent of a new era whose apostle was Sir Sayyad, and it was only Muhammad Husain, Azād, who in his monumental work, the *Ab i Hayāt*, published in 1883, first mentioned the name of Tahsīn amongst the few early writers of prose and gave 1798 as the date of the compilation of his work, the *Murassa'*. But as Azād himself knew practically nothing about the author or the book his account is hopelessly meagre, embracing only a couple of lines. However, for year

together other Indian biographers of Taḥsīn who followed Azād could not from any new source add anything to the particulars given by him. Of the many Muḥammad Yaḥyā, Tanhā, merits reference. He wrote, forty years after the publication of Ab i Ḥayāt, the first biography of purely prose writers, called the Siyarul Muṣannifīn, in which in his notice of Taḥsīn he simply rewrites in his own phraseology Azād's few lines, and at the conclusion of it records his confession as to the non-existence of material on the subject.

Under the circumstances the only course open to me was to make a search for possible information in all the sources in the great libraries of the British Museum, the India Office and the Royal Asiatic Society, etc., and in pursuance of this I have examined the documentary evidence detailed below, the greater part of which is not available in India in one place, and some portion not obtainable in any known public or private library there:-

No.	Author.	Work.	Date.	Remark
(1)	Mīr Muḥammad Taqī, Mīr	Nikātush Shu'arā	1752	
(2)	Fataḥ 'Alī Ḥusainī Gurdesī	Tazkira	1752	British Museum MS. Or. 2188
(3)	Khvāja Khā Ḥamīd	Gulshan i Guftār	1752	
(4)	Qiyāmuddīn, Qāim	Makhzan i Nikāt	1754	India Office MS. P. 3522
(5)	Lachmī Narāyan, shafīq	Camanistān i Shu'arā	1765	
(6)	Mīr Ḥasan	Tazkira e Shu'arā e Urdū	1776	
(7)	Nawāb 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khā, Khalīl	Gulzār i Ibrāhīm	1784	B.M.MS 27319
(8)	Gulām Hamadānī, Muṣṣafī	Tazkira e Hindī	1794	B.M.MS Or.28
(9)	Khūb Cand, Zakā	'Ayārush Shu'arā	1788	I.O.MS P.313
(10)	Mīrsā 'Alī, Luṭf	Gulshan i Hind	1800	I.O.MS P.312
(11)	Mīr Muḥammad Khā, A'ḡamuddaula, Sarvar	Tazkira e Sarvar	1801	I.O.MS P.316
(12)	J. B. Gilchrist	Preface to the First Complete Edition of the Bāg o Bahār	1803	

No.	Author.	Work	Date.	Remark.
(13)	Qudratullāh Khā, Qāsim	Majmū'a e Nagz	1806	I.O.MS. P.3123
(14)	Gulām Muḥiyuddīn 'Ishq	Tabaqāt i Sukhan	1807	
(15)	Gulām 'Alī, Khā	'Imādus Sa'ādat	1808	
(16)	Bainī Narāyan, Jahā	Dīvān i Jahā	1812	B.M.MS. Add. 24043
(17)	Anonymous	Tagkira of Hindus- tānī Poets	1815	I.O.MS. U.35 C
(18)	Anonymous	Tagkira e Shu'arā e Urdū	1826	I.O.MS. U.34
(19)	Muṣṭafā Khā, shefta	Gulshan i Bekhār	1832- 34	B.M.MS. 2164
(20)	Garcin de Tassy	Histoire de la Lit- térature Hindouie et Hindoustanie	1839	
(21)	F. Fallon and Karīmuddīn	A History of Urdū Poets, or Tabaqātush Shu'arā	1847	
(22)	Qutbuddīn, Bāṭin	Gulistān i Bekhizā	1849	
(23)	'Abdul Ḡafūr Khā, Nassākh	Sukhanush Shu'arā	1873	
(24)	Prof. Blumhardt	Catalogue of the Hindustānī MSS. in the B.M.	1898	

No.	Author	Work	Date.	Remark.
(25)	Srī Rām	<u>Khunikhāna</u> e Jāvid	1908	
(26)	Sir C. J. Lyall	Encyclopædia Britan- nica, XI Edition, Vol. XIII.	1910- 11	
(27)	'Abdul Haī	Gul i Ra'nā		
(28)	Prof. Blumhardt	India Office Catalogue	1926	
(29)	Rām Bābū Saksaina	A History of Urdū Literature	1927	
(30)	'Abdussalām, Nadvī	She'ru'l Hind		
(31)	Sayyad Muḥammad	Arbāb i Naṣr i Urdū	1927	
(32)	Maḥmūd Sherānī	Panjāb mē Urdū	1927	
(33)	Aḥsan-i-Māriḥravī	Tārīkh i Naṣr i Urdū	1930	
(34)	Mīr Muḥammad Husain 'Atā Khā, Tahsīn	Preface of the Nau Tarz i Murāṣṣa'		In its printed edition and eight MSs.

Of these authorities Mīr, Gurdezī, Ḥamīd, Qāim, Shafīq, Ḥasan, Khalīl, Muṣṭafī, Luṭf, Qāsim, Jahā, Srī Rām, 'Abdus-salām and Aḥsan-i-Māriḥvarī do not mention Taḥsīn. 'Abdul Ḥafīz like Tanḥā has chiefly drawn from Azād and is extremely so on Panjāb and Urdū and the Encyclopædia Britannica contain passing references to Taḥsīn and add nothing to our knowledge. Saksainā and Sayyad Muḥammad give accounts of our author but they are almost entirely derived from Blumhardt's note in the Catalogue of the British Museum and not from that in his Catalogue of the India Office which is much better. Hence we dismiss all these writers from consideration. Shefta, Bāṭin and Nassākh, as will be seen later on, discuss Taḥsīn's grandson Sayyad Qāsim 'Alī Khā, Qāsim.

Of the rest all more or less deal with the facts of Taḥsīn's life. Khūb Cand, Zakā, writing probably in 1788,⁽¹⁾ seems to be the first biographer of Taḥsīn whom he notices on p. 944 of his tazkira, and calls him "a poet of the older group, a prolific writer, a man of dignity and modesty", and he quotes some of his verses, but he does not mention his

(1) Sprenger (Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindu'sta MSS. of the Libraries of the King of Oudh, p. 185) gives 1793, 1798 and 1831 as the date of the compilation of his memoirs. Etche (Cat. of the Persian MSS., India Office) accepts these dates. But Zakā on p. 2 of the MS. mentions 1788 in a chronogram.

book, the *Muraṣṣa'*, and he gives a wrong name to his father, which, according to him, was Murād Khā, Shauq.

In 1801⁽¹⁾ Sarvar speaks of two Tahsīns without parentage one on fol. 122b whom he names Munshī Husain 'Atā Khā and describes as resident of Etawah and one of the gentry of the district, who lived his life in peace and comfort and had a "fondness for Rekhta poetry fixed in his heart", and the other on fol. 123a who is mentioned as Mīr Muḥammad Husain Khā, *Muraṣṣa'* Raqam, resident of Lucknow, a servant in the department of Calligraphy in the Government of Vazīr al Mumālīk and well versed in the art of prose composition. In both the notices verses are cited as specimens but no reference is made to the *Muraṣṣa'*.

The two Tahsīns, however, are identical. Sarvar has split up his full name into two names with the repetition of the word Husain in each case and made two persons out of one. Likewise his account has erroneously been divided into two portions. In one case the native place is stated to be Etawah and in the other Lucknow. But we know that Tahsīn was a native of Etawah and also lived in Lucknow. His verses meet with the same fate. The two given under the first Tahsīn are

(1) Ethé calls his work *Tagkira e Sarvar* and places it in 1800 basing his view on a colophon on fol. 378a, while Sprenger (*Oudh Cat.* p.185) styles it *Umda e Muntakhaba*, chronological for 1801 (fol. 376b) and assigns this year which is supported by another chronogram, *Safina e A'zam* (fol. 376b), yielding 1801, and also by a statement on fol. 333 in Mīr Qudratullāh, Qāsim's *tagkira*, *Majmū'a e Nagz*, written in 1806. Sprenger's view seems to be more tenable

to be found on p. 99 of the printed edition of the *Muraṣṣa'* with the wrong heading of quatrain as they are independent in meaning, and the one ascribed to the alleged second *Tahsīn* forms the last two half-verses of the opening stanza of the *Mukhammas* on p. 66.

Amongst Western scholars, that immortal patron of the *Urdū* language Dr. Gilchrist was the first to mention the name of *Tahsīn* and his work which he did in the preface subjoined to his edition of *Mīr Amman's Bāg o Bahār*. But consistent with his aim there his allusion constitutes merely a criticism of *Tahsīn's* style in the *Muraṣṣa'* and gives no biographical information.

Muḥiyuddīn gives *Tahsīn's* full name together with that of his father *Muḥammad Bāqir Khān*, *Shauq*, and says⁽¹⁾ "he lived in the Court of *Abū Maṣṣūr 'Alīy Khān Ḥafdar Jang*. He is the

(1) Sprenger, in presenting a brief biography of *Rekhta* poets (*Oudh Cat.* pp. 195-306) as based on abridged accounts of them recorded in various *tagkiras* he examined in the royal libraries of Lucknow, includes in the material he availed himself of *Muḥiyuddīn's tagkira* (*Oudh Cat.* pp. 187-88) which was written in 1807.

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author of the *فروا بلا اگری* and of *تواریخ تاجکی* in Persian
 and of the *نوروز مرع* which is an Urdū version of the Four
 Darvyahes." The most salient facts brought out here by him
 as well as the dates of some of his own works, like the
 Persian tagkira, Majmū'a e 'Ishq or Bāg i Gulshan i Husn and
 Cahār Daftar i Shauq, written in 1774 and 1786 respectively,
 point to the inference that he was Tāhsīn's contemporary and
 hence his notice of him has the advantage of being original.
 Besides, he is the first writer who mentions the Murassa'.

A passing allusion proving that he was a loyal and trust-
 worthy servant of the British Government is made to Tāhsīn in
 a History of the Kings of Oudh, called the 'Imāduss'ādat,
 composed in Persian by Gulām 'Alī Khā in 1808. Tāhsīn was
 then probably in the employ of one Captain Harper, referred to
 on p. 115 of the above history as Resident at the Court of
 Lucknow, and the incident in which he figures as participant
 is the interception by the Captain of a reply from Shujā'ud-
 daula to Shekh Haidar Nāyāk, (1702-1782), expressing friend-
 ship with the British. The Captain handed it over to Tāhsīn in
 confidence, asking him to make its purport clear, which he did.
 The date of this episode is not given in the text but it can
 positively be inferred from other statements preceding and
 following it, both of which are dated A.H. 1185, A.D. 1770-71.

The reference in the MS. "Tagkira of the Hindustāni

Poets, of 1808 or 1815,⁽¹⁾ is very sparing of details and consists of Taḥsīn's correct name, the title of the *Murassa'*, which is also called *Qissa e Cahār Darvesh*, and all the seven stanzas of his *Mukhammas*, occurring on pp. 66-67 of the printed edition.

The voluminous anonymous "*Tagkira e Shu'arā i Urdū*"⁽²⁾ contains a much fuller account of Taḥsīn than any of the preceding biographical works. Here he is described as belonging to the *Ruṣvī Sādāt*, a native of Etawah and a poet whose "verses are worthy of praise and whose talk is united to the neck of eloquence", a pupil of the great calligraphist 'Ejāz Raqam Khā, himself a master of calligraphy, addressed as *Murassa'* Raqam, a man of eminent position in prose and

(1) Blumhardt allots no definite date to it. I venture to suggest that it was compiled or at least copied near 1808 or 1815 by one 'Atā ullaḥ of Gangoh as it bears the impression of his seal, dated A.H. 1225, A.D. 1808, and is bound together with another MS., the *Divān* of Dard, U. 35a, which as he himself observes in the colophon, he copied in 1815. The scribbled handwriting of the *Divān* closely resembles that of the *tagkira* on p. 19.

(2) It was apparently begun immediately after the death of Shā 'Alam in 1806 whose memory is fresh in the author's mind, and not completed before 1826 (See fol. 124b). The writer seems to be a Hindu as numerous Hindu poets of whom he speaks were his very intimate friends. The *tagkira* is full of useful and trustworthy information.

poetry who wrote in addition to Zavābit i Angrezī and Tārikh i Qāsimī in Persian, the Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa', whose purity of idiom and entertaining phraseology were admired by lovers of literature. He is also mentioned as a writer of much Persian poetry and his grandfather Navāzish 'Alī Khā as Tehsildār of Sikandrābād under the English Government, who also wrote good Nasta'īlī and Shikasta scripts. Tahsīn's verses both Persian and Urdū are quoted, of which the latter are to be found on p. 63 of the printed Muraṣṣa'.

Mustafa Khā, Sheftā, writing his great tazkira between 1832 and 1834, does not devote any article to Tahsīn but refer to him in the account of his grandson, Qāsim 'Alī Khā, Qāsim, whom he states to be a master of the art of Music, residing in Lucknow and to have held the post of Tehsildār. Specimens of his poetical production are also reproduced.

Garcin de Tassy says that the reading of Saudā's couplets filled Tahsīn with a desire to interest himself in Hindustānī poetry, he lived at Calcutta, Patna and Faizābād in turns, got access to the Court of Shujā'uddaula and his son Āṣafuddaula, wrote the Muraṣṣa' by the command of the former and the book was liked by the latter; then he reiterates Gilchrist's critic note; he also knew the names of Tahsīn's works, Zavābit i Angrezī and Tārikh i Qāsimī, mentions seven manuscripts of the Muraṣṣa', two of which were among the MSS. of Fort William College

one in his own possession, one in that of Sprenger (the Berlin MS.) and another belonged to the Nizām's Vazīr. The remaining two are the B.M., MS., No. Add 8921 and the Royal Asiatic Society MS., No. 12. In the beginning he misunderstands certain words for instance, he takes mukhāṭab (= addressed) to mean "orator" and muraja'raḡam (= a sobriquet) for Ṭahsīn's takhalluṡ, etc.

Karīmuddīn, whose tazkira, A History of Urdū Poets or *Ṭabaqāt i Shu'arā* is, as is well-known, chiefly based on Garcin de Tassy, follows the original and states that he had "perused the *Man Ṭars i Muraja'* himself a number of times."

Mīr Quṭbuddīn, Bēṭīn, was personally known to Ṭahsīn's grandson, Qāsim, but he says nothing of the grandfather. According to him, Qāsim enjoyed high official position in the British Government, and was a pupil of the poet Nāsikh. 'Abdul Gafūr Khā, Nassākh, from whom alone we derive our knowledge of the name of Ṭahsīn's son which is given as Sayyad Ḥaidar 'Alī Khā, poetically surnamed Ḥaidar, corroborates Shefta's account of Qāsim in toto. All the three authorities cite his verses.

So far the evidence is external and though it does not comprise adequate facts of Ṭahsīn's early days and education, his environment and his various activities and vicissitudes of life, even the date of his birth and death having been left out, yet, briefly, it is sufficient to show that he was a man of high birth and of great respectability. His family was distinguished for the cultivation of art and poetry and for general intellectual attainments. He, as well as his grandfather

Navāsih 'Alī Khā, his grandson and probably his son Haidar all in turn served under English officers, and, as is quite evident from the anecdote recounted in the 'Imāduss'ādat, his devotion and loyalty to the early British administrators was unquestionable. He also enjoyed, probably through the influence and recommendation of Captain Harper, the patronage of Shujā'uddaula and his son and successor, Āsafuddaula.

As a poet he is described as writing both in Persian and Urdū and he not only transcended the rank of a versifier but he is acknowledged as a poet of distinction and originality at a time when poetical standard was very high; he composed elegies also; he was gifted with great oratorical powers and was "Bisayār go wa pur go" enormously productive though the outcome of his poetical talent is now in a large measure lost to us. He was not less notable as a calligraphist than as a poet. He is reckoned also as an accomplished writer of prose. As can be seen from the foregoing notices, he found favour with the biographers who in their treatment of contemporaries are apt to be swayed by personal political and religious prejudices and predilections.

**Internal
Evidence**

We now turn from these fragments of biography to the consideration of internal evidence. Fortunately for us Tahsīn has left a preface prefixed to the *Murassa'* which affords the most authoritative source of certain particulars, specially concerning the causes which prompted him to undertake, postpone

for some time and then complete the writing of this book. The preface is written in a highly ornate style generally cultivated and admired by the School of Lucknow, with lengthy sentences, and opens with few but beautiful verses, immediately after which Tahsīn speaks in spirited terms of his father, whom he represents as well known throughout the length and breadth of Hindustān, in the circle of the accomplished and the learned for his religious and mundane achievement. He then refers in passing to his teacher E'jāz Raḡam Khān who, besides being a poet and a writer of note, was a very good calligraphist. From him he received his education and training, and he says that after the demise of his father he entirely devoted himself to the study and production of interesting and sweet stories. He tells us that once he had to travel in a boat to Calcutta in the company of General Smith, commander of the English forces. But the journey being long and wearisome, a companion of his used to amuse him by telling curious and entertaining tales. One day he related the story which is the subject of the present book; then he (Tahsīn) thought that though he had already composed Inshā e Tahsīn, Zavābit i Angrezi and Tarikh i Fārsi in Persian, yet he should write that story in flowery Hindī, for no one among the old masters had ever attempted this "Ijād i tāza", the new invention. Accordingly he reduced to writing a few chapters of the commencement of the tale. Afterwards, as General Smith at the

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time of his departure to England invested him with responsible duties and powers of attorney at Patna, he was unable, in the midst of anxieties about his new work, to continue his literary pursuits, keeping, however, always in view the completion of what he had begun in order to perpetuate his memory. He therefore put off the compilation of the tale for some time. He now saw better days through the patronage of English officers, but certain people in power in the Province threw him out of office and he was rendered helpless. Then he recollected some consoling "verses of Saudā who carries the palm of poetry in these days" and received a sort of revelation that as he had for the greater part of his life lived happily and comfortably, he should not mind passing a few days in adversity; but as destiny always goes hand in hand with counsel, he should seek light from the merit-recognising sun, that is, Nawāb Shujā'uddaula Abul Manṣūr Khāṁ Ṣafdar Jang. In pursuance of this inspiration he came to the city of Faizābād and soon after was favoured with the audience of the King and taken on to his special staff.

One day he read a few sentences of the story above mentioned to the King who was so much pleased with it that he ordered it to be completed. Consequently he "clothed it with the garb of language" and was about to present it to the King when he (the King) suddenly died.

He then "remained quiet and contented with his fate".

In the mean-time the deceased king's eldest son Nawāb Āsafud-daula Yahyā Khā Hishbar Jang kindly sprinkled on his disappointed soul the water of life. It then occurred to him that the tale which had been decorated with the name of 'Insha e Nau Tarz i Murassa' could not acquire fame unless it was pre-faced with the praises of the King approved of by him. So "I write a panegyric constituting the glories of the 'Janāb i 'Alī and present it to him. Thank God that my hopes are fulfilled and with a gladdened heart I submit this Guldasta e Dāstān in the following diction and style."

The prefaces of the eight MSS. of the Nau Tarz i Murassa' preserved in the libraries of the India Office, the British Museum, and the Royal Asiatic Society and the Library of Berlin furnish corroboration of all the important details given above. As was to be expected, some of them, no doubt, differ in certain matters not only from the printed edition but from one another also in direct consequence of the fact that they are copies of copies written at various times and sometimes by very careless or incompetent copyists. But the differences to be met with in them are, from the standpoint of our line of enquiry at the present moment, such that we can safely ignore them.

Blumhardt in preparing his two notes in the Catalogues of the British Museum and the India Office on Tahsīn has utilised

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in the main these prefaces. But one detail given in both of them, viz., that it was after the death of his father that Tahsīn settled at Faizābād, is not substantiated by the autobiographical narrative, in the beginning of which Tahsīn himself puts the death of his father long before his going to Calcutta and much longer before his return to Patna and proceeding to Faizābād. Another observation in the India Office Catalogue also needs amendment. Blumhardt specifies Tahsīn's journey with General Smith as "from Lucknow to Calcutta", whereas, according to Tahsīn, it was a "journey on the Ganges to Calcutta". Obviously it began from Allahabad which, and not Lucknow, is situated on the Ganges.

CHAPTER II

TAHSIN'S WORKS

CONTENTS.

Tahsin's Works:-

(1) **Buḡqa'āt i Nādirāt i Roz Marra Navisi.**

(2) **Tavārīḡh i Fārsī.**

(3) **Ḥavābit i Aḡrezi.**

(4) **Ḥau Fars i Muragga'.**

(i) Its name.

(ii) Date of compilation: Other authorities
criticised.

(iii) Probable date of composition of the First
Instalment.

CHAPTER II.

TAHSIN'S WORKS.

Tahsīn himself enumerates in his published autobiography three other works which he wrote in Persian, to wit, *Tavārīkh i Fārsī*, *Zavābiṭ i Āngrezi* and *Inshā e Tahsīn*, long before the *Murassa'* came into existence. This list occurs in almost all the MS. prefaces with the word *vagaira*, meaning etc., which points to the inference that he had compiled other books also, most likely of minor importance. Accordingly, in I.Q.MSU.53 there appears to be at least one book more, namely, *Huqqa'at i Nādirātī Roz Marra Navīsī*, and this, though it falls under the category of epistolary composition, is mentioned separately from *Inshā e Tahsīn* which is here called *Inshā Tarāzī*.

All these books are buried in oblivion for the present and we know nothing except their names. My learned friend, *Altāf Husain*, Headmaster of the well - known

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Islāmiā High School, Etawah, Taḥsīn's native place, to whom some time ago I addressed a letter, requesting him to institute local enquiries regarding Taḥsīn and his works, communicated to me the fact that there survives up to the present time a gentleman, named Maulvī Sayyad Ḥasan of the family of Taḥsīn, who claims to be in possession of three manuscripts written by Taḥsīn himself. It is hoped that some literary institution in India or authorities here like those of the British Museum will see their way to taking up the question of the securing of these manuscripts, and that the immediate future will throw abundant light on them.

The
Tavārīkh
i Fārsī

A few words, however, may not be out of place in this connection. The book Tavārīkh i Fārsī mentioned in the printed edition is stated, particularly in MBS. U. 52, P. 1036 of the India Office and 316 of Berlin to be Tavārīkh i Qāsimī. Blumhardt accepts both the names, the former in his catalogue of the India Office and the latter in that of the British Museum, while the Tagkira e Shu'arā e Urdū (p. 11 above) and Garcin de Tassy both give the name of Tavārīkh i Qāsimī. Scantiness of information on the point renders it impossible to declare definitely which of the two is the correct name.

I may, however, venture the remark that the title Tavārīkh i Fārsī conveys little or no sense and its rival Tavārīkh i Qāsimī has decided superiority over it and that the book may be some sort of history connected with the name of Nawāb Qāsim 'Alī Khā who was raised to the Masnad of the Government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa in 1760 and deposed in 1763 and who was Tahsīn's contemporary and perhaps patron at some time when our author visited Bengal.

The Zavā-
bit i
Angrezī

The book Zavābit i Angrezī, as its title implies, seems to be a work on English Grammar, and serves to show that Tahsīn, besides being an eminent scholar of the Persian language and most probably of Arabic also, as in those days the two languages were cultivated side by side, attained such proficiency in the English language that about two centuries back he produced in Persian a treatise on its rules. So far as our knowledge of the history of English education in India goes, he belonged to the first batch of the English-knowing Indians, and not very unlikely was the first Muhammadan

known to history who apparently knew English perfectly well. The book, as has already been remarked, is known by its name only and therefore we are precluded from pronouncing judgment on its merits.

The Nau Tarz i Murassa'

Its name

The name of this book as given in the printed edition of 1846, on page 11, is not Nau Tarz i Murassa' but Inshā e Nau Tarz i Murassa'. The four MSS. in the India Office all furnish the same title with the word Inshā on folios 7a, 7b, 7a and 8b respectively. But in the prefaces of the two MSS. of the British Museum this preliminary word is omitted and the name appears only as the Nau Tarz i Murassa' which is also to be found in 'Ishq's Tabaqāt i Sukhan written in 1807 as well as in manuscript anthology of 1815 described on pages 8 and 9 and the Tagkira e Shu'arā e Urdū, p.10.

It is obvious that one set of authorities is opposed to the other and we have no reason to accept the one or discard the other, their dates also being of no service as they are not definite in all cases. But when we think that in olden times the names of Urdū books, in imitation of the Persian fashion, besides being charged with a predominant Arabic element and tinged with a poetical sense, used to be, in particular, heavy and lengthy, the word 'Inshā' seems to be wanting in the present name of Nau Tarz i Murassa'. Moreover 'Inshā' means writing and writing in a new ornate style, not inventing, the story of the Four Darveshes, which already existed, was the chief thing accomplished by Tahsīn in the production of the book. It was therefore, natural for him to employ a term connoting the precise nature of his share of the labour. Indeed, the residual expression 'Nau Tarz i Murassa'', the new gold-embroidered style, refers exclusively to the language of the book and demands 'Inshā', the writing of, to complete its sense.

Dr Gilchrist was the first Urdū scholar to publish Nau Tarz i Murassa' as the name of the book. This he did in his preface to the Bāg o Bahār. In 1832-34

Mustafā Khā, Shefta, also refers to it in referring to its author as Ṣahib i Nau Tarz i Murassa' in his Taḡkira and the book when printed was also entitled Nau Tarz i Murassa'. This name is now so firmly established that it defies all possibility of changing it into any other form, even that proposed by the author himself.

It may also be noted that Garcin de Tassy, in the opening paragraph of his article on Taḡsīn, calls the work Guldasta e Dāstān as well which is but an oversight. This expression is metaphorically used for the story by Taḡsīn at the end of his preface like many others, viz., Dāstān i Bahāristān and Guldasta e Bahārī on p. 5 and not as the name of the book. Approximately a hundred years afterwards Muḥammad 'Evaḡ Zarri, of whom we shall speak in the following pages, entitled his version of the tale Nau Tarz i Murassa' without any acknowledgment of or reference to its prototype.

The date
of compila-
tion of
the
Murassa'

Glaring blunders have been committed by various biographers of Taḡsīn as regards the date of the compilation of the Nau Tarz i Murassa'. Of the numerous authorities we have examined Muḥammad Ḥusain, Azād, is the writer

who first mentioned its date as 1798, basing it on the belief, derived from the existence of the qasīda in the preface of the *Muraṣṣa'* in praise of Āṣafud-daula, that the book was written under this king's patronage and finished near the time of his death in A.H. 1213, A.D. 1798. This date was accepted unreservedly by Blumhardt in 1898 in his note on the MS. of the *Muraṣṣa'*, No. Add. 8921, in the British Museum.

Other authors of note like those of *Siyarul Muṣannifīn*, *Gul i Ra'nā* and *A History of Urdū Literature*, etc., unhesitatingly followed Āzād and Blumhardt in this respect. But about 24 years later, obviously on a more careful perusal of the preface of the *Muraṣṣa'*, Blumhardt rightly rejected this date in his *Catalogue of the India Office*, page 68, where he says:-

"According to Āzād (*Āb i ḥayāt* p. 24) the work was completed in A.H. 1213 (A.D. 1798); but this must be a mistake, for it appears from the author's preface to have been almost finished when Shujā' al Daulah died (A.D. 1775), and

was completed before the death of Āṣaf al Daulah (A.D. 1797). The date of composition would therefore be probably about 1780."

This is much nearer the truth than Āzād's statement. But still Blumhardt's inference is not free from flaw. In fact, the actual work, to the exclusion of the qaṣīda in glorification of Āṣafuddaula and the autobiographical preface, as set forth in the most indisputable terms in Taḥsīn's preface itself on page 10, was completed some time before Shujā'uddaula's death in 1775. And, as will be seen, (p. 14 supra) he began the tale and wrote a portion of it much earlier, postponing it for some time, perhaps a year or two, during his stay at Patna; and since the death of Shujā'uddaula had deprived him of the fruits of his labour he composed a qaṣīda hymning his son Āṣafuddaula's praises and amalgamated it in the preface in 1775 when the latter king was elevated to the throne and obtained his reward from him, as he avers, in the closing lines of the preface.

Before I take up the further question of the actual

time when the earliest portion of the tale was undertaken I wish to place on record my strong suspicion that the qaṣīda which is mentioned by Tahsīn himself as having been written in praise of Āṣafuddaula, which consequently contains laudatory references to him in the two following lines on pages 13 and 15, respectively, of the preface:-

and which misled Āzād and others as to the date of the composition of the Murāṣṣa' was originally composed for and addressed to Shujā'uddaula and completed together with the book before it was dedicated to Āṣafuddaula. For, we know, in the first place, from the preface that Tahsīn resumed the compilation of the Murāṣṣa' at the command of the former, finished it

when he was alive and was about to place it before him for approval and benediction when he died.

Hence it seems most probable that according to the time-honoured usage in the Orient and in anticipation of reward from him Tahsīn wrote a qaṣīda celebrating the glories of Shujā'uddaula. It is to me inconceivable that he could have submitted a book to the Nawāb without glorifying him. In the second place, we find in the preface, on page 9, a poem, in which Tahsīn eulogises Faiṣābād and calls it Shujā' Garh after the title of Shujā'uddaula and not Āṣaf Garh as in the following verse:-

"If anyone asks me the description of
Shujā' Garh (I shall say) the heaven
is resting on earth in the shape of
this fort."

which serves to show that the poem was solely composed

with a view to gratifying Shujā'uddaula, who, (vide Farah Bakhsh, B.M. Or. 1015, fol. 152a) took the greatest pains in the improvement and beautification of Faizābād, riding out some mornings with a band of spademen and masons to make and supervise personally alterations in the main streets. Now the metre and rhyme and general trend of this poem are exactly the same as those of the qaṣīda and at the merest glance one is convinced that both the poems originally constituted one continuous whole in which the 'shehr' and the 'shehryār' were praised one after the other and it was only subsequently, on the death of Shujā'uddaula, that Tahsīn made necessary amendments in that part of it which treated of the 'shehryār' to suit his successor, and, as it would appear, Tahsīn bestowed very little thought on the changes he hurriedly introduced. In one of the only two lines which underwent such retouching he puts one of Āṣafuddaula's titles Hizbar jang and in the other his particular title 'Āṣafuddaula', by which he was commonly known. But both these titles

can quite easily be replaced by similar titles of his father, namely, 'Safdarjang' and 'Shujā'uddaula' without ⁽¹⁾injuring the sense of the qaṣīda and the lines would then read:-

The rest of the subject matter of the qaṣīda is too general to be applied to any particular person, not to speak of the father or the son mentioned therein, and, if it does apply, it is more applicable to Shujā'uddaula than to Āṣafuddaula as the former had a glorious career standing to his credit while the latter had only started his at the time of its composition.

(1) On the contrary, the first verse, when referred to Shujā'uddaula, gives birth to a pun through the word 'Shujā'.

The same argument holds good of at least the greater part of the preface itself. It was also written before Shujā'uddaula's demise. Only the concluding paragraph, between the poem on Faizābād and the qaṣīda, in which Tahsīn stated the reason for his having recourse to Āṣafuddaula, was rewritten or added after the enthronement of this king in 1775.

Date of
composition
of the first
instal-
ment of
the My-
raṣṣa

We must now pass on, in pursuance of our intention, to the determination of the approximate, if not the exact, year in which Tāḥsīn first wrote a portion of the *Murāṣṣa*'. This date, as can be seen from the information vouchsafed to us by him, (p.14 *supra*), must lie somewhere between the time of General Smith's journey on the Ganges and that of his departure from Calcutta to England, and it would have been a matter of comparative convenience to find out the two dates had there been a full account of the life of our author's General available. Unfortunately no book has ever been written on the life of this officer. Spark, Foster, Laurie, Kay and Beal do not mention any Smiths in their works, called respectively, *East Indian Worthies*, *Heroes of the Indian Empire*, *Sketches of the Distinguished Anglo Indians*, *Lives of Indian Officers* and *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*. Sidney Lee enumerates in his voluminous *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. III., scores of them, but here the majority are heroes of affairs on the European horizon, and the rest are in no way connected with the military history

of the English in India. The Dictionary of Indian Biography by Buckland mentions on p. 394 one General Joseph Smith who was apparently Tahsīn's contemporary and lived between about 1733 and 1790; "Served under Clive in the Carnatic in 1752, taken prisoner by the French in 1753; commanded the Trichnopoly garrison, 1757-58; was present at the taking of Karikal and the siege of Pondicherry, 1760-61, created Colonel 1766, in command of the forces which defeated Haider and the Nizām at Trinomalai, Sept. 21, 1768; made treaty with the Nizām 1768; Major General; took Tanjore, 1773; retired; died Sept. 1, 1790."

According to this sketch he seems to have retired after 1773 about a year or two before Shujā'uddaula's death, probably when Tahsīn came from Calcutta to Patna. This is to a very great extent supported by widely scattered and isolated pieces of information to be found in the Indian Record Series, Vestiges of old Madras by Henry Davison Love, Volumes II and III, where in addition to numerous minor details and anecdotes of his early career from 1746 when he was a boy and an ensign in the Madras garrison to the time when he rose to the rank of Brigadier

General during the years 1767-1770, he is stated to have resigned (Vol. III. pp. 73 and 547) first in 1772 and (Vol. II. p.597) after being superseded by Col. Wood to have been reinstated shortly after by the Madras Council and finally to have resigned a second time, (Vol. III. pp. 73-74 and 81) retired in October 1775 and sailed for England. His connection with India then comes completely to an end when Stanhope, writing in February 1776, remarks in his Memoirs "the memory of General Smith will ever be revered in India."

The name and the title of this officer and some of the later dates of his career lead one to the belief that Joseph Smith may have been the Tahsin's Smith, but there are two outstanding grounds which totally negative the idea. Firstly, he appears nowhere to be associated with the parallel events occurring in Northern India and hence had no chance or need to undertake a boat journey on the Ganges; he came, lived and served in the South. Secondly,

although he was in favour with the rulers of the Vāḷajāh dynasty in the Northern Sarcars and once, (Vol. II., p. 620) on the 25th of May 1770, received 1500 pagodas as reward from the king there he was never the recipient of any native titles like Mubārisul Mulk, Iftikhāruddaula, Şaulat Jang Bahādur, by which Tahsīn characterises his Smith.

There is, however, another contemporary General Smith whose Christian name is Richard and whose life sketch is as usual ignored in all the above authorities, excepting the last, Prestiges of old Madras, Vols. II. and III.; even this contains very minor and unimportant details of his arrival in India and his earliest appointment as gate-keeper, etc., but he has been referred to in the Index (p. 662) of the India Office Records, styled Home Miscellaneous Series, as Brigadier General Smith, Madras and Bengal Army. Further investigations into other commonly unknown records and European manuscripts preserved in the India Office disclose, however, that this was the Smith who spent most of his life in the North of India and was invested with native titles

also, thus supplying the two chief links missing in the hypothesis relative to Joseph Smith.

Accordingly there exists in Volume 37 of European Manuscripts, called the Orme Collection, on p. 81, a letter No. 4, dated, Head Quarters at Allahabad, 4, July, 1767, from Colonel Smith to the Governor and Council, Fort William, enclosing letters from Shāh 'Ālam to the Governor and to the Council, regarding a present of two lākhs of rūpees which the king wishes to make him; another original letter, No. 17, in the same volume, pp. 131-138, dated, Head Quarters near Allahabad, 31, August, 1767, from Richard Smith to R. Browne, asking him to use every effort to induce the Court of Directors to sanction the King's present to him, and adding in the concluding paragraph, "the King after two years attendance and soon after my coming to the chief command of the army was desirous of bestowing a mark of his royal munificence on me - the same he had given to my predecessor - two lākhs of rupees did he offer me." And yet another letter on pp. 195-206, dated, Head Quarters near Allahabad, 13,

Sept. 1767, from Richard Smith to the Court of Directors, concerning the Shahzāda's present of 2 lākhs, in which he says "Notwithstanding I have the honour to command an army consisting of no less than 34 battalions of Infantry, yet all my emoluments in your service do not exceed seven hundred pounds per annum . . ."

There are other letters amongst the European manuscripts, cited above, under the headings Shujā'uddaula and Shāh 'Ālam as well as under his own name written by himself to his friends or signed by him which all go to place the fact beyond the possibility of doubt that for years and years his field of activity unlike that of Joseph Smith was the north of India, particularly the area lying to the east between Delhi and Calcutta, and in these records there can also be traced two royal letters which embody Shāh 'Ālam's orders with regard to the present of 2 lākhs of rupees alluded to in R. Smith's letters, of which the first is "addressed to the Prime Minister of Britain (Lord Chatham is named) in Smith's own handwriting, eulogistic of him" and in which he has been at two places called 'Col. Smith Bahādur' , and the

second which is like the first undated, "to the Governor of Fort William, translated from the original by one Mr. Maddison, the Company's translator of Persian letters, again in Smith's hand, regarding the present." It would not be going too far should we give here this second letter as it contains the native titles, of course in English translation, conferred on General Smith probably by the Court of Delhi.

"From The King Shāh 'Ālam

To The Governor of Fort William

"After the Form

"It is now two years during which the Dignity of Nobility and Honour, the Seat of Ave and Terror, our loyal Servant, Worthy of Remuneration, the Aggrandizer of Fortune, the Mirror of the Empire Col. Smith Bahawder, Tremendous in War, has, from the integrity of his most labored (?) in tendering obedience good wishes and services in the resplendent presence, has rendered our sacred and propitious Personage well pleased and satisfied by the excellency of his services, his attachment and

fealty. In return therefore for all these good services and out of our regard to our servants' welfare two lakhs of rupees have been granted by the sublime Sircar as a donation to that gentleman. You therefore the Dignity of Nobility will on the receipt of this Royal Shuckah pay the aforesaid sum agreeable to the Draught to the Warrior of the Empire Bahawder and agreeable to that Draught it shall be brought to the account in the Sublime Sircar. Seeing that the above-mentioned Bahawder will not accept this without the order of your Worthy of all Bounty we therefore direct that you the Dignity of Nobility should write to the Colonel upon the subject of accepting the aforesaid donation so that he may receive the above mentioned sum agreeable to the Draught. For the rest know that our sacred and auspicious Personage have you from our heart ever in remembrance."

The titles occurring in this document are (1) Dignity of Nobility and Honour, (2) the Seat of Ave and Terror, (3) the Aggrandizer of Fortune, (4) the Mirror of

the Empire, (5) Tremendous in War, (6) Warrior of the Empire, Bahawder, the last of which is a correct rendering of Mubārisul Mulk, and the last but one may be taken to stand for Şaulat Jang which literally means Terror or Fury of War. Tahsīn's third title Ifīkhār-uddaula equivalent to the Pride of the Empire is not there nor are the rest of the titles of the translation to be found in Tahsīn's preface. This disagreement, which is immaterial, is probably due to the difficulties of translation in those days and partly to inclusion of forms of address in the list of titles on the part of the translator.

These data regarding his connection with Northern India and possession of native titles are, in my view, sufficient to show that this Richard Smith is the man whom Tahsīn accompanied in his journey to Calcutta. Now it is time to recur to our main issue, that is, the determination of the time of the journey and that of Smith's departure from India between which Tahsīn wrote a portion of the tales of the Muragga'. It may be remembered that

Tahsīn in his preface describes Smith as General and seemingly the date of the journey should be subsequent to his elevation to that rank which took place (according to a very significant document I discovered in the heaps of India Office Records, Home Series, Miscellaneous, 24, Contents p. XXII, Text p. 148) on the 2nd of November, 1768. But such is not the case. Before that date he was placed in the position of a Commander, as he himself, writing on the 31st August and 13th September, 1767, respectively, makes clear (pp. 35-36 supra) "the King after 2 years' attendance and soon after my coming to the chief command of the army," and "notwithstanding I have the honour to command an army consisting of no less than 34 battalions of Infantry", or in accordance with the Indian interpretation of the word 'commander' he was a General about a year earlier than when the Commission was issued. Moreover, even granting that Smith commanded enormous English forces when he was not yet created a General I contend that because Tahsīn wrote his preface some years after the grant of the commission, he could, ^{not,} it is quite obvious, then have called him other than a General.

Therefore, the date of the Commission, November 1768, does not stand in the way of our seeking the date of the journey before it. Curiously enough, I have observed amongst Richard Smith's letters, bound in Volume 38 of the European Manuscripts, quoted above, a series of movements of his a year earlier, indicated by succeeding dates of his letters and by the names of the various camping places which are situated between Allahabad and Calcutta:-

One letter is dated	near Allahabad	1, Jan. 1768
The following	Myr Absels (a garden near Patna)	10, Feb. 1768
Another	near Patna	17, March, 1768
Other Letters Missing		
And the last dated	Calcutta	19, Sept. 1768

In none of the letters, however, is any reference to journey by river or land made for reasons unknown to us. But the fact that he was at this time moving from place to place is unquestionable and I strongly feel inclined to think that these movements constitute Smith's journey lasting for about 9 months from January to September 1768, of

which, as he complains in the preface, Tahsin was tired and to pass the time he listened to interesting stories narrated by one of his companions.

In regard to the second important date, of Richard Smith's departure from India there exists, so far as I have been able to explore, no official published information. However, in the same European MSS. pp. 45-47, and 49-65, there are two very serviceable letters from which we can with great certainty infer the date desired.

One letter, dated St. Helena, 17th February, 1770, is from R. Smith to his friend Robert Orme in England, asking him to break the news of his arrival to his wife; the other, dated Calcutta, 28, August, 1770, is from Charles Floyer to Richard Smith, describing the course of affairs in Bengal since Smith's departure and the quarrel between the Council and the Select Committee, sends him a copy of the debates; says that no news has been received of the Aurora which left the Cape with Commissioners Forde, Scrafton and Vansittart nine months previously, refers briefly to the relations of the Government with Shujā'uddaula, the Marāthās, Haider 'Alī, etc.

In view of the importance of Smith's letter we quote it below:-

"St. Helena,

17th February, 1770.

"My Dear Orme,

"Thus far, my dear friend, am I advanced in my passage to England in good health and good spirits. At this place I have heard of the Commissioners who are gone abroad. It is true I wrote the Company of my intentions to quit their service whenever the situation of their affairs would permit but I never (? expected) to see a military man sent abroad with superior power, however disguised until they know of my resignation. However I shall suspend all judgment of these matters until we meet and as I shall sail within seven days after the vessel which carries this letter and as the Hampshire is remarkable for good passages it is most improbable but I may be in England ere this shall reach you.

"I have thought it more eligible for you to inform Mrs. Smith than for me to write her of

my near approach. The tidings should be broken to her by degrees rather than for her to feel so sudden a participation of such welcome intelligence and desire Mr. Brown to convey the same advices to my friends at Reading. At Bengal we enjoy the profoundest external tranquillity. The Commissioners will not have much to do beyond the Department of Financing. The Brigade recalled into the Provinces and perfect harmony with Shujā'uddaula. Indeed I have finished my career at a time and in a manner the most agreeable to my fondest wishes.

In the pleasing hope of a speedy and happy meeting I beg you will remember me amongst the sincerest of your friends, for I am, dear Orme," etc.

Considering the slowness of the means of communication in those days it calls for no comment that in order to be able to write from St. Helena in the month of February 1770, Smith should have left India at latest towards the close of the year 1769 when Tahsin returned from Calcutta to Patna to practise probably as a pleader on his

recommendation. This date is corroborated by the episode related by the author of the 'Imāduss'ādat who speaks of Tahsīn as being in Lucknow in 1770-71 and reading Shujā'uddaula's Kharīta for Capt. Harper (p. 9 supra) after spending in all probability a year or so at Patna.

Thus it is clear that the earliest portion of the Murassa' was, broadly speaking, penned between the early part of 1768 when the journey on the Ganges was undertaken and the close of 1769 when our Smith bade adieu to India; and, judging by the trend of Tahsīn's statement in the preface, I am tempted to the conclusion that the first instalment of his prose was begun and completed during the Gangetic voyage the last date of the termination of which is 19th September 1768.

This is about 30 years earlier than 1798, the date assigned by Asād, and about 12 years before 1780, the date suggested by Blumhardt in his Catalogue of the Hindustānī Manuscripts in the India Office.

CHAPTER III

COMPARISON OF THE EIGHT MANUSCRIPTS

OF THE

NAU TARZ I MURASSA'

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- (3) Do. U. 53.
- (4) Do. P. 1036.
- (5) Do. U. 54.
- (6) B.M. MS. Add 8921.
- (7) Do. Or 4708.
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CHAPTER III.

COMPARISON OF THE EIGHT MANUSCRIPTS
OF THE
NAU TARZ I MURASSA'.

Now I undertake the comparison of the eight manuscripts of the Nau Tarz i Murassa' with the printed edition, describing first separately the characteristics of each of them and then bringing out the differences of text with a view to preparing a complete and correct copy for publication.

The first four MSS. belong to the India Office Library and have been wrongly classified under Poetry on pp. 67-70 of the Hindustani Catalogue, the following two to the British Museum, the seventh to the Royal Asiatic Society and the last to the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

The
Printed
Murassa'

It may also be noted that the printed Murassa' which forms the basis for comparison is one of the rarest Urdu books, there being one copy of it in the India Office, another in the British Museum and one in my possession which I got hold of at Hyderabad, Deccan, after years of strenuous search.

As stated on the first title page, the book was

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printed in 1846 in Bombay, and in my copy as well as in that of the India Office there is a sort of certifying note in English, pasted to each of them, written by Vans Kennedy, Oriental Translator to the Government of Bombay, which is wanting in the B.M. copy. This note is remarkable in that it embodies an expression of appreciation of Tahsīn's style in the *Murassa'* on the part of an European as against the condemnation of it by almost all the other Western scholars of Urdu probably following the lead of Dr. Gilchrist.

The print was apparently made from some good MS. but it does not contain the tale of *Farkhunda Siyar*, or *Adventures of the Dog-worshipping Merchant*, and is not free from mistakes.

This MS. is much worm-eaten but it is legible throughout. It has, besides the six lacunae pointed out by Blunhardt, two more gaps, occurring as follows:-

(1) A gap of one page from the middle of p. 24 to the middle of p. 25 of the printed book after fol. 10.

(2) A gap of six lines of p. 74 of the book on fol. 42b.

The date of the MS. is the 20th of Ramzān, A.H. 1241, A.D. 1826, as given in the colophon at the end.

India
Office
MS.,
U. 52

It agrees very largely with the printed edition but it is fuller, containing the tale of Farkhunda Siyar or Adventures of the Dog-Worshipping Merchant.

I.O.MS.,
U. 53

This is an incomplete copy, consisting only of the author's preface, the introductory account of King Farkhunda Siyar and the story of the First Darvesh. The MS. is undated; Blumhardt assigns it to the 19th century which is but a conjectural date. It belonged to the Royal Library of the King of Delhi and was secured by Lord Canning in 1858. It is written in a careless, illegible hand and so marred by errors that it is almost valueless.

I.O.MS.,
P. 1036

Another incomplete copy, containing the author's preface, which Blumhardt has omitted to mention in his Catalogue, the introductory story and the tale of the First Darvesh. It, like the preceding one, bears no date. Blumhardt fixes 19th century. It was, however, prepared, as appears from one of the three notes on the first page, for the library of Mr. Richardson, banker to Warren Hastings, in the city of Lucknow. Though it is written in a very shikasta nasta'liq the handwriting is extremely beautiful and perfectly legible.

It is free from mistakes and with the aid of it I have been able to correct my own copy.

I.O.MS.,
U. 54

This MS., dated the 29th Muharram, A.H. 1248, A.D. 1832, comprises Tahsīn's preface, the introductory account of Farkhunda Siyar and three other stories, namely, the stories of the First and the Third Darveshes, and of the Dog-Worshipping Merchant, of which the last two have been given the collective title of Marwārīd and entirely composed by one Muḥammad Hādī, known as Mirzā Mugal, poetically named, Gāfil. Thus the MS. consists of a part of the Murassa' and the Marwārīd and cannot justifiably be called an entire copy of the former.

B.M.MS.,
Add 8921

This MS. was copied for one Captain Corner, whom the scribe eulogises in a prose colophon on fol. 146b and in a short qaṣīda, beginning,

on fol. 147a. The date of copying is not given. This is a complete copy of the Nau Tarz i Murassa', including

the story of Khvāja Sag parast. Its text, however, differs entirely from the printed edition and the other seven MSS. as well.

B.M.MS.
Or. 4708

This is the earliest copy of the lot. The samvat year 1880, A.D. 1823, is mentioned on the last page. It tallies with the printed edition in every respect, but the Adventures of the Dog-Worshipping Merchant are wanting. Notwithstanding the fact that the name Nau Tarz i Murassa' is written in the preface of the MS. the scribe chooses to call it in his red-ink colophon, fol. 92b, Qissa e cahār Darvesh, which he copied, as he says, at Kol (modern Aligarh) from the copy of one Mahājan Lāla Mān Singh for another Hindū Lāla Khushhāl Rāe. son of Lāla Bhagvān Dās, agent for the Mahārāja of Bharatpur.

The MS. is in a very good condition and written very neatly.

Royal
Asiatic
Society
MS., No.
12

The seventh MS. of the Murassa' belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society is also mentioned in the Oriental Catalogue of the Society as Cahār Darvesh. It was never perused before as its pages were not cut and numbered. It is, however, complete and the best of all the copies discussed above. It is very carefully written

and free from mistakes of writing. The first page is missing, involving the loss of the introductory verses. It is dated A.H. 1241, A.D. 1825-26.

Berlin
MS. 316

During the course of my researches I came across, in the Libraries of the India Office and the British Museum, a book, called the Bibliotheca Orientalis Sprengeriana, published at Giessen in 1857. It is a catalogue of Sprenger's private collection, consisting of MSS. and printed books which he despatched from India, as appears from its preface, "round the Cape of Good Hope to Hamburg" a year before. In it each MS. or book is described in a short note and on p. 95. No. 1746, is the

" A story by Atā Husyn Khān
m: 4^o, 500pp. Fine."

Judging the MS. from the number of its pages, I thought it must be the fullest copy and contain more material than any of the London MSS. Accordingly I went to the University of Bonn, in Germany, to approach Professor Paul Kahle, Head of the Orientalisches Seminar and Secretary of the German Oriental Society, with the request to take steps in the direction of discovering

a clue to the MS. spoken of in Sprenger's Bibliotheca. He very kindly promised compliance with it and in about two weeks' time the MS. arrived from Berlin in Bonn and was placed at my disposal. The first page of it had a printed slip attached to it with the remark that the copy contained 500 pages but this information as well as that in the Bibliotheca was utterly inaccurate and misleading as the MS. actually covered not more than 152 folios or 304 pages. However, it was complete from start to finish and dated A.H. 1250, A.D. 1834-35, and was in very good condition and beautiful shikasta hand. Through the kindness of Professor Kahle I had photographs of sixty pages taken, embracing the story of the Dog-Worshipping Merchant, to be incorporated in my complete and correct copy of the Nau Tarz i Murassa'.

Out
lines
of the
complete
Murassa'

Passing on to the discussion of the texts of these various MSS. it seems desirable at the outset to point out that though our work is generally called the Qissa e Cahār Darvesh or the Tales of the Four Darveshes yet every complete version of it, the Persian, the Murassa', the Bāg o Bahār and various others contain independent accounts and tales more in number than suggested by this

title, the constituent parts invariably being:-

- (1) The Introductory Account of King Farkhunda Siyar;
- (2) The story of the First Darvesh;
- (3) Do. Second Do.
- (4) Do. Third Do.
- (5) Do. Dog-Worshipping Merchant;
- (6) Do. Fourth Darvesh;
- (7) And the Concluding Account of Farkhunda Siyar.

And so far as the Murassa' is concerned all its eight MSS. and the printed edition contain

- (8) An autobiographical preface spoken of above.

Different Texts
of the
Murassa'.

Persons
in the
Murassa'

The chief persons of the various tales and anecdotes are in most cases the same in all the MSS. as they are in the printed book save that in the B.M.MS. Add 8921, fol. 10a, the King Farkhunda Siyar is called by the name of Azād Bakht. However, at the end of the story of the First Darvesh, fol. 50a and 50b, he is at 3 different places mentioned as Farkhunda Siyar instead of Azād Bakht. In the Berlin MS. both these names are amalgamated into one and the King is named "Azād Bakht Farkhunda Siyar" on fols. 10a, 10b, and 11b. But farther on on fols. 63b, 110a and 138a the name is restored to its simpler form Farkhunda Siyar.

Likewise, in the former MS., the name of Farkhunda Siyar's vazir is given as 'Aqalmand in place of Khirad-mand which latter is found uniformly in all the remaining seven MSS. and the printed book. Besides, in the story of the Third Darvesh the Prince of 'Ajam and the Princess of Farang are towards the conclusion respectively called, Prince Bakhtiyār and Malaka e Mehr Nigār. They are mentioned under the same names also in MS. Or. 4708 of the

B.M. and the Berlin MS. 316.

In the last MS. the Fourth Darvesh calls himself the Prince of (Khotan) while in all other MSS. the name appears as the Prince of (China). This difference is of no consequence as both the words have exactly similar forms when written in Urdu script and the disagreement lies only in the situation of dots which are so often omitted or misplaced in shikasta writings, especially by careless scribes.

Differ-
ences of
words

So far as individual words, single or compound, are concerned, most of the texts utterly lack uniformity. The reason seems to be that a scribe being unable to decipher certain words in a manuscript, from which he was called upon to make a fresh copy, thought out for himself with the aid of his imagination wholly new words which never came into the mind of the author, thus eventually changing the text in many places.

Here are some specimens of such innovations in the printed edition which from consideration of space we compare with only three manuscripts. In almost each case the context shows at once which is the correct reading.

Printed Murassa'

Incorrect

MS. U. 52

Correct

P. 101

,, 131

,, U. 53

,, 24

,, 53

,, 59

,, Add. 8921

• ,, 19

,, 20

,, 23

Omissions
in the
Text

Besides these variants I have detected and noted for my use instances of lines ranging from one to several having been omitted in most of the MSS. and the printed Murassa' and if some of the omissions are not restored the text is meaningless.

Omissions in the MSS.

I.O. U.52

Fol. 84a = p. 139 of the p. Mura

128a = 204

,, U. 54

70a = 101-02

B.M. Add. 8921

15a = 27

61b = 124

64a = 128

B.M. Add. 8921	Fol. 68a = p. 136 of the p. Murassa
	87b = 172
	135a = 194
B.M. Or. 4706	48a = 117
Berlin 316	75a = 123
	141a = 190
	148b = 203

Omissions in the printed Murassa'

p. 4	= Preface of U. 53
8	= ,, P. 1036
197	= 145a, 316
197	= 135b and 136a, Add. 8921
197	= 124b, U. 52

Rehand-
ling of
the ori-
ginal
text

In MS. Add. 8921 a successful attempt has been made to simplify the language of Tahsin. The highly ornate expressions have been modified and at places whole sentences which were full of far-fetched metaphors and intricate conceits have been dropped. Indeed, in this copy the Murassa' has been overhauled. Still, the rest is from the pen of Tahsin and tallies with all the copies. In order that some idea may be formed of the modifications

I give below a specimen of 12 lines, selected at random
from fol. 10b corresponding to pages 16-17 of the printed
Muraṣṣa'

This attempt at simplification of the diction appears to be identical with the brilliant attempt of Mīr Amman at the suggestion of Dr. Gilchrist which produced the famous *Bāg o Bahār*. This MS., as observed above, was prepared for Capt. Corner and it is not unlikely that in this case the suggestion emanated from him. Regarding the author of the changes no information is forthcoming in the MS. I, however, think that they were made by the scribe of the MS. who gives his name as *Qulām Ḥaidar* on fol. 147a and the fairly long *Urdū* oolophon embodying also a critical estimate of the *Muraṣṣa'* is written by him in a manner and in a language that show that he was a very well educated person.

Similar disagreement between MS. No. 12 and other copies is also quite conspicuous. In it alterations have been carried out on such a scale that while the original lines have been followed the work as a whole has been partially rewritten. It, no doubt, conduces to an easier comprehension of the subject but occasionally it loses the classical dignity of expression. The following few lines from the MS. fol. 102a and the printed *Muraṣṣa'* pp 178-79 will serve as illustration:-

Original quotation

is given in the

first two of is

(by permission)

- Do -

Inter-
polation
in the
text

As explained above Mirzā Mughal is a partial author of MS. U. 54, and, as he himself states in his own short preface, which he has added to the work, he has changed Tahsīn's preface, the introductory story and the tale of the First Darvesh in so far as he has discarded most of the verses used in them by Tahsīn together with the qaṣīda alleged to be in praise of Āṣafuddaula and substituted in their place entirely new verses from the poetry of standard masters, Saudā, Mīr, Dard and Mīr Ḥasan.

Differ-
ence in
Verses

Further examination has revealed the existence of disagreement in the Persian and Urdū verses embedded in various texts throughout. There are a number of couplets in the MSS which are not to be found in the printed Murassa'; and there are others found in it but wanting in the MSS. We reproduce here all such extra verses from the MSS. and our object in so doing is to help future students who may be engaged in determining and collecting Tahsīn's poetical productions. Concerning those couplets in the printed Murassa' which are wanting in the MSS. we will content ourselves with quoting the pages of the former along with the corresponding folios of the latter.

We have omitted certain verses in the MSS. which through a series of mistakes of transcription have been reduced to doggerel, and corrected others common to various MSS. with the aid of one another.

Extra
Verses
in the
MSS.
MS.U.52

MS. U. 52, fol. 68a, 316⁽¹⁾ fol. 63a

(Printed Murassa', p. 100)

U. 52, fol. 67a, Or. 4708,
fol. 44b, 12, fol. 66b, and
316, fol. 68b.

(Printed Murassa', p. 110)

U. 52, 67a, 12, 66b, and 316, 68b

(P.M., 110)

U. 52, 87a, 12, 90b (P.M., 154)

Do. 120b (Do. 190)

Do. 123a, (Do. 194)

(1) If a verse is found in more than one MS. the numbers and folios of such MSS. are also given. I have also indicated corresponding pages of the printed Murassa' where a verse is wanting.

MS. U.53

This MS. contains 29 introductory verses in lieu of 9 in the printed Murassa'. But all of them are confused and meaningless, excepting the following two:-

U. 53, 35b, 12, 36a, 316, 36a
P. 1036, 27a and b. (P.M. 60)

MS.
P. 1036

This couplet occurs in P. 1036,
27a and b only.

65-
MS. Add. 8921, 72b, Or. 4708, 60a
Add. 8921 (P.M., 145)

Add. 8921, 80a (P.M., 159)

In the p. Muraṣṣa' the first and the last hemistiches
have been wrongly united into one distich.

Add. 8921, 84b, Or. 4708, 69b,

316, 98b, (P.M. 167)

Add. 8921, 85b, 12, 97b,
(P.M., 168)

66
MS. Or. 4708, 28a, (P.M., 70)
Or. 4708

Or. 4708, 35a, (P.M., 89)

Do. 79b, 12, 139a, (P.M., 187)

Do. 83a, (P.M., 194)

65

MS. 12 12, 69a, (P.M., 115)

Do., 70b, (Do. 118)

Do., 74b, (Do. 125)

Do. 77b (Do. 130)

68
12, 79b, 316, 80b, (P.M., 133)

Do. 81b, Do. 82b, (Do. 137)

Do. 147 a and b, (Do. 199)

Do. 152b, (Do. 207)

69
MS. 316 316, 88a, (P.M., 147)

Do. 88b, (Do. 148)

Do. 98b, (Do. 167)

Do. 107a (Do. 182)

Do. 138a (Do. 184)

Do. 139a (Do. 186)

316, 142b, (P.M., 192)

Do. 143b (Do. 194)

Do. 144a (Do. 195)

Do. 144b (Do. 197)

Do. 147b (Do. 202)

Do. 148a (Do. 203)

Do. 149a (Do. 205)

Extra Verses in the P. Murassa'	Page of the P. Murassa'	MS. U. 52	
		Folio of the MS.	No. of Verses
	2	Preface	2
	6	"	1
	12	"	61
	45	35b	Kabit
	68	39b	"
	97	58b	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	100-101	60a	4
	108	65b	2
	123	74b	1
	124	75b	3
	125	76a	1
	139	84a	1
	184	117b	3
	184	118b	2
	188	119b	2
	190	120b	2
	192	121b	1
	194	123a	3
	196	123b	3
	197	124a	1
	199	125a	1
	203	127b	1
	204	128a	3
	205-209	128a-130a	10

U. 53

Page of the P. Murassa'	Folio of the MS.	No. of Verses
2	Preface	1
12 and 13	"	2
57	35a	2
60	36a	3

P. 1036

54	24b	1
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U. 54

Almost all the original verses have been interpolated

Add. 8921

14	Preface	2
19	12a	3
26	13a	2
27	15a	2
34	19a	3
116	58a	1
123	61b	1
134	66b	1
144	73b	1
167	84b	1
173	88a	1

Or. 4708

Page of the P. Murassa'	Folio of the MS.	No. of Verse
2	Preface	1
115	47a	1
117	48a	Kabit
139	58a	1 (Verse)
167	69b	1

MS12

2 and 3	Preface	9
12-16	"	1
63	38a	1
114	68b	1
115	69a	2
116	69b and 70a	3
117	70a	1 and a Kal
118	70b	1
123	73a	4
124	74a	2
125	74b	1
131	78a	1
132	78b	1
133	79b	1
134	80a	1
137	81b	2

14
MS.12 (continued)

Page of the P. Murassa'	Folio of the MS.	No. of Verses
138	82a	1
139	82b	1
141	83b	1
142	"	1
143	84a	3
144	84b	1
146	85b	2
147	86a	1
148	86b	4
150	87a	2
153	89a	2
154	90a	1
159	93a	1
160	93b	2
162	95a	2
166	96b	3
167	96b	1
168	97b	2
171	99a	1
172	99b	2
173	"	6
174	100b	4
175	"	1

75
MS. 12 (continued)

Page of the P. Murassa'	Folio of the MS.	No. of Verses
177	101a	2
178	102a	4
180	103a	1

MS. 316

50	30a	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
51	30b	1
60	36b	3
61	37a	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
114	70b	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
115	71a	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
122	75a	1
123	"	2
124	75b	2
125	76a	1
131	79a	1
137	82b	1
147	87b	2
143	96a	2
144	98a	1
148	99b	2
173	101b	4
175	103a	1

76
MS.316 (continued)

Page of the P. Murassa'	Folio of the MS.	No. of Verses
183	107b	$\frac{1}{2}$
184	138a	4
188	139a	2
"	140a	3
190	141a	1
192	142b	3
194	143b	1
195	144a	2
196	144b	3
197	"	2
198	145b	3
199	146a	1
202	147b	2 half vers
203	148a	1
204	148b	3
206-208	149a-150b	8

Tahsīn's
poetry
in the
Murassa.

Tahsīn, as already considered above, was 50 years ago introduced to the modern Urdū literary world first by Āzād as only the author of a prose work with the result that all the subsequent biographers, Muḥammad Yahyā, Tanhā 'Abdul Ḥāfi and Saksaina, etc., treated him purely as a prose writer and authorities on poets like Sī Rām and 'Abdus Salām, Nadvī, omitted all reference to him in their works, Khumkhāna e Jāvid and Shi'ru'l Hind respectively. But Tahsīn was really a votary at the shrine of the Muses. He wrote both in Persian and Urdū. His own opinion about his skill in the art is reflected in his verse in MS. U. 52. of the India Office, fol. 68a,

in which he calls himself Tūtī e Hindostā, the parrot or the most eloquent poet of India. His poetical work, however, has unfortunately, through the ravages of time, not been handed down to us. But in the printed Murassa alone out of over 450 Persian and Urdū verses intermingled

18

with the text throughout to afford a relief from the monotony of prose description, Tahir's Urdu couplets, so far as I have been able to determine, amount to 123, all being Urdu, and I deem it desirable to append here a list of the various pages of the Murassa' on which they occur and subsequently take up a few of them for discussion in order to form a critical estimate of his poetry. As some of these verses are also cited as specimens of his poetical talent in the tagkiras examined above I shall also refer to them where necessary:-

<u>Page of the printed</u> <u>Murassa'</u>	<u>No. of Couplets</u>	
2-3	9(1)	
9	12	First two quoted in 'Ayārush Shu'arā
12-16	61	
30	3	
62	5	First two quoted in 'Ayārush Shu'arā

(1) In the India Office MS. U.53 their number is 29.

Page of the printed

No. of Couplets

Murassa'

63 .

5 First two quoted in Tagkira
e Shu'arā i Urdū,

66

14 Two recur on p. 51 of the
p. Murassa', ten quoted
in 'Ayārush Shu'arā, and
all in Tagkira of the
Hindustānī Poets.

99

2 Both quoted in Tagkira e
Sarvar, pp. 10-13

101

11

105

1

Three more Urdū couplets, contained in the I.O. MSS.
U.52, fol. 68a, and U.53, preface, and one Persian verse
given in Tagkira e Shu'arā e Urdū, pp. 18-21, may be added.
All these verses really belong to Tāḥsīn. Most of them
embody his takhallus; those in which this is wanting are
spoken of by him in the text as his composition and in
cases where both these proofs fail they are cited as his
in one of the above tazkiras. It is quite possible that
among the remaining verses which embroider the Murassa'

there are more composed by him but as no evidence is forthcoming as to their identity I cannot but leave them.

Estimate
of His
Poetry

In Tahsīn's time the Urdū language was in the course of evolution and employed chiefly as the vehicle of poetical thought. In the North of India there were two centres at the time, Delhi and Lucknow, and the importance of the latter consisted mainly in the fact that owing to the decay and disintegration of the Mughal power at Delhi and to the diminution of patronage and bounty, great masters of the art of poetry like Saudā and Mīr and whole families of men of learning had migrated from that sanctuary to this new nucleus of security and opulence where the rulers were ardent lovers of true merit and genius. Those stars in the galaxy of Urdū poets Atish and Nāsikh had not yet raised the standard of the literary independence of Lucknow. Delhi was, therefore, the only place where Urdū was cultivated. Anyone who happened to be born there was able to acquire a thorough command of the language and attain to the rank of a first rate poet.

Tahsīn, on the contrary, was a native of Etawah, and

although his style is powerful and fresh it lacks Dehlvi-ism and all that it implies. He often wrote after the approved tendencies of Lucknow and indulged in Persianised construction. On p. 9 of the p. Murassa' he says in praise of Faizābād

and on pp. 12, 13 and 14 in praise of Asafuddaula

All these verses are characterised by subtleties of

thought and high flights of fancy but they exhibit extreme Persianisation and are, therefore, very stiff; they are clever but mechanical; they bear the imprint of dexterous workmanship and, like all poetry of Lucknow, they appeal to the brain only. They are paraded to show scholarship and erudition, and as they all form part of poems written in praise of the city and its ruler they are a sort of rhetoric in verse rather than true poetry. Tahsīn wanted money and he wrote them for money.

His gasals, however, have a note of genuine feeling; they are passionate and echo the heart throbs of the lover in agony and their tone is elevated. He says on p. 99:-

In this verse he extols the deep devotion and loyalty of the lover. He is described as still sitting on the spot where his disloyal sweetheart left him last and no consideration whatever could remove him from the place. He is there like a foot-print which excludes the possibility of movement and transference.

His verses are also replete with Ṣūfī elements,

tinged with personal emotion and breathe an atmosphere of real vision of the working of the human mind. Another verse of the same gasal runs thus:-

"I sometimes am a dweller in the sacred enclosure of Mecca and sometimes in the temple of idols; my heart has made me unscrupulous by shifting me from place to place."

Here he honestly discloses the inner behaviour of a crude soul which is at one time inclined to (عشق حقیقی) love spiritual and at another to (عشق مجازی) worldly love and he disapproves this state of the mind which, as he asserts, is debased and needs to be refined.

Another verse which he wrote in an inspired and eloquent moment dealing with a theme of mysticism is as follows:-

"A heart devoid of Thee is like a bottle without wine;
Of what use is that rose which has no fragrance?"

In this verse his observation points to the fact that however complete an embodiment of sobriety, culture and refinement a man may be he can not be serviceable to his fellow beings unless and until he is linked together with God, the fountain head of all culture of the human soul, and derive light from him.

Last, not least, is Tahsīn's Mukhhammas which has been cited in most of the tagkiras mentioned above. It consists of seven stanzas, beginning with

It is marked by beauty and grace, elegance of diction and spontaneity; it flows with evenness and absence of break and is singularly effective and melodious. It has an erotic element, emotion being given more play.

In regard to Tahsīn's Persian poetry only one thoughtful and spontaneous verse is vouchsafed to us, namely,

"I came to know only after my martyrdom that life

(which is a worthless thing) can also be of some service."

which is quoted in the 'Tagkira e Shu'arā e Urdū' (p. 10 above) and Tahsīn simply claims to be a scholar in that language in one of his introductory verses in the Mu-rassa', viz.:-

"I am similarly well-versed in Persian but it is very difficult to understand it."

CHAPTER IV.

**THE SOURCE OF THE
MURASSA'**

CONTENTS.

The Source of the Muṣṣa^ḥ. I.

The Persian Cahār Darvesh.

- (1) B.M. MS. Add 8917.
- (2) Do. Add 7677.
- (3) Do. Add 5632.
- (4) Bodleian MS. No. 443.
- (5) I.O. MS. No. 739.
- (6) Do. 740.
- (7) Do. 741.
- (8) Do. 742.

Author of the Persian Cahār Darvesh.

(1) Amīr Khusrāu.

- (i) Biographies of Khusrāu.
- (ii) Khusrāu Committee's View.
- (iii) Khusrāu's own account of his works.
- (iv) Khusrāu's Prose Style.
- (v) Anecdotes connected with Nizāmuddīn,
Auliya.

- (2) Ouseley's Ma'qūm.
- (3) Zarī, the Pseudo-author.
- (4) Anjab, the probable author.

The Source of the Murassa'. II.

- (1) Tapsin's own Assertion.
- (2) Tapsin translated B.M. MS. Add 5632.
- (3) His MS. slightly different.
- (4) Tapsin's share in the Murassa'.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE SOURCE OF THE MURASSA'.

The information existing on the source of the Murassa' is rather conflicting. Gilchrist says that the Murassa' is a translation from the Persian original composed by Amīr Khusrau, while Tahsīn asserts in his autobiographical preface that he heard the stories of his book from a friend of his. This naturally leads to an examination of the Persian original and also to the determination of its author and subsequently to a comparison of the Persian text with the text of the Murassa'.

I. The Persian Cahar Darvesh

The Persian original commonly believed to be from the pen of Amīr Khusrau of Delhi is a rare book. Fortunately there are extant in the wonderfully equipped and precious library of the British Museum three manuscripts of it, two complete and one defective. There is also one manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which formerly belonged to Sir William Ouseley. In the

(1)
 libraries of the India Office, the Royal Asiatic Society, Cambridge University, and Berlin there are catalogued certain works of Amīr Khusrau, but in none of these has the existence of the Cahār Darvesh come to light. The same is true of most of the libraries in India. For instance, the Asiatic Society, Bengal, Bankipūr Library, the private but famous collection of Ḥabīb ganj, belonging to Ḥawāb Ṣadr Yār Jang, include numerous books both MS. and printed of the authorship of Amīr Khusrau, but our Qisṣa is not traceable there. However there exists a MS. of it in the state Library of Rāmpūr from which a copy was obtained by the authorities of the Muslim University, Aligarh. Thus in India, the home of the book, there are available only two copies. To these a reference is made in the Prolegomena to the collected works of Amīr Khusrau, published at Aligarh in 1917, and, as it would appear, the original Rāmpūr MS. has no special features and does not add to our knowledge anything more than what is contained in the MSS. preserved in England, to the description of which we now pass.

(1) See Appendix on p. 95 below.

MS. Add.
8917

The first of the B.M. MSS., described in Rieu's Catalogue of Persian MSS. is No. Add. 8917. It fills 440 pages and contains 18 paintings; it has no preface, nor colophon. Hence the author or the scribe of it and the date when it was written are untraceable. Rieu places it in about the end of the seventeenth century. But I have not been able to discover any testimony to its correctness. The MS. is marred by omissions and errors of every description. It is interspersed with but few verses.

MS. Add.
7677

The second MS. of the B.M. is numbered Add. 7677, comprising 214 pages in all, the story of the Fourth Darvesh being incomplete and the concluding account of Āzād Bakht wanting. The defective story covers only six pages, dealing with the death of the king-father of the Fourth darvesh, with the usurpation of the throne by the brother of the deceased, and his endeavours to destroy by stratagem the rightful heir, the fourth darvesh, with his being befriended in his adversity by one of his negro-slaves who takes him to his father's bosom friend Šādiq, the King of Jinnāt for help which is promised on condition

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that the prince should procure the original of a painting of a very charming girl. Then the story breaks off abruptly on fol. 107a.

Rieu remarks that the text of this MS. slightly differs from that of the preceding one. It is true but the real fact is that the first MS. appears at some places to be an abridged rendering of the second one, and the abridgement extends both over prose and verse as in the corresponding passages of the two on folios 2b and 3b. He puts the second MS. in the early eighteenth century, that is to say, from about a quarter to half a century after the first MS., but as this latter is derived and abbreviated from the second it cannot be an earlier copy. The date of the first must therefore lie somewhere after the eighteenth century.

The second MS. is a very correct copy and has numerous verses. And all such passages or episodes as are wanting in it and yet contained in the third B.M. MS. and in the *Murassa'* are also omitted from the first, for example, the story of the Incalculable Wealth of the Princess of Basra. Moreover the last adventure of the dog-worshipping merchant

is ascribed in both of them to Saudāgar Bacca e Āgar-baejān.

We shall see that Mīr Amman follows, in his version, the Bāg o Bahār, this second MS. and through it the first one.

MS. Add.
5632

The third B.M. MS., No. Add. 5632, comprises 212 pages, is a complete correct and very good copy. Its hand-writing is extremely shikasta and can be deciphered only with difficulty. Nevertheless it is beautiful. It lacks all information as to the author or the date. Rieu puts it like the foregoing MS. in early 18th century. The diction and style of the book indicate that it has been written by some Persian and not by an Indian. It is highly ornate, there being scarcely an expression which is not tinged with metaphor, but it is graceful, dignified and unrivalled, and there is an easy simplicity that seems inseparable from the diction and the narration of coherent facts.

The difference between the phraseology of this MS. and that of the preceding one is so marked that either

the one or the other was completely revised and re-written by a different man. However, notwithstanding the fact that MS. No. Add. 8917 follows very closely the outlines of MS. No. Add. 7677 in every possible respect it has at least one detail common with this MS.:- When all the darveshes gather together in one place and in the beginning sit in silence with their heads bowed, one of them sneezes by chance and the other three darveshes are awakened by the noise. This is to be found in the first MS. on fol. 6b, line 1, as also in this third MS. fol. 4a, line 5, but is wanting in the second MS. in which it should have been on fol. 4b, line 1.

Bodleian
MS.
No. 443

This copy of the Persian Cahār Darvesh came into Sir William Ouseley's possession in 1795. Its Ouseley No. is given as 221 in Sachu and Ethé's Cat., Bodleian Library, whereas it is 417 in the owner's original Catalogue Manuscrits Orientaux, preserved in the B.M. On the fly-leaf of the MS. Ouseley signs his name both in Persian character and English and further adds that the author of the book was one Ḥakīm Muḥammad 'Alī Ma'sūm.

The MS. has a colophon of which the words 'navishta shud' are taken down as 'du se sada' in the note of the

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Bodleian Catalogue with a doubtful mark. It is dated "2. P.M., Sunday, 27th sha'bān 1131 'Alī" (1131 wrongly given in the Catalogue as 1141). There was never in vogue an era connected with the name of 'Alī. Hence 'Alī' is a slip for 'Faṣlī'. As regards the date itself I have received the following information:-

"a) There are several faṣlī eras in India, but this MS., written in Orissa, probably follows the Bengal one, which began on 2nd Rabi' us ṣānī 963 = Feb. 14, 1556. (Cunningham: Book of Indian Eras; Calcutta, 1883, p. 82) Add to this 168 solar years, and we get 1131 faṣlī = 1724 A.D. = 1136 A.H.

"b) Between 1131 A.H. and 1141 A.H. the only year in which Sha'bān falls on Sunday is the very year just mentioned, viz. 1136 A.H. = 1131 faṣlī. We may therefore date the MS. with exceptional precision as completed at 2.0 p.m. May 21 1724 which is the equivalent of Sha'bān 27 1131 faṣlī."

The name of King Āzād Bakht is written Āzād Bakḥsh in the MS. on p. 1 and reproduced as such in the Catalogue, but in the book it reappears as Āzād Bakht on fols. 66b,

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67a, 67b and 155a, etc. In the story of the Second Darvesh, Nu'mān, the traveller, is called Nu'māj and in that of the Third Darvesh the Queen of Bagra is mentioned as the daughter of the Āl e Baramēka or the celebrated House of Bernicides, whose story of incalculable wealth is omitted. It is, however, the same story of the four darveshes, covering 322 pages; the folios of the various stories are not specified in the Bodleian Catalogue which are as follows:-

(1)	Introductory Account of Āzād Bakht,	1- 6b
(2)	Story of the First Darvesh,	6b - 39a
(3)	" " Second "	39a - 67b
(4)	" " Dog-worshipping Merchant,	67b - 120 b
(5)	" " Third Darvesh,	120b - 142a
(6)	" " Fourth "	142b - 155a
(7)	Concluding Account of Āzād Bakht	155a - 161a

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I have compared certain extracts from all the three B.M. MSS. with this copy and found it in complete harmony with MS. No. Add. 7677 of which, to cite one instance, fol. 54b agrees word for word with its fol. 80a. As in the B.M. Ms., 'Isā the surgeon is represented in it as being very rude to the first darvesh (fol. 13a); the slave-girl of Yūsuf is described as very beautiful (fol. 21a); the story of the Dog-worshipping Merchant is placed after the Second Darvesh (fol. 67b); and his last adventure is ascribed not to him, but to Saudāgar Hacca e Āgharbaejān, (111a).

APPENDIX.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE PERSIAN CAHĀR DARVESH
IN THE INDIA OFFICE.

After I had completed the first part of my dissertation I found that there are four copies of the Persian Cahār Darvesh in the India Office also. The matter calls for a word of explanation. In Ethé's Pers: Catalogue the MSS. containing fables are, like all other MSS., allotted numbers, and mentioned by names in the contents under the heading 'Romances and Tales' but the numbers as well as the names of the copies under review are altogether left out. It was by chance that I discovered them in the body of the Catalogue where they are properly described under the Nos. 739 to 742 in columns, 505-506.

Fortunately all the four MSS. tally with the B.M. MSS. Add 7677 and hence what I have said of it in the course of my scrutiny and comparison of the Persian source with the Urdū versions, may be considered as true

of these MSS. also.

I have, however, the following remarks to offer as regards the individual characteristics of each:-

I.O. MS. 739. This copy is dated, A.H. 1188, A.D. 1774-75. It has a detailed colophon in which the transcriber a Hindu, gives a short historical account of the circumstances under which he made his copy; he mentions certain places in Delhi and also the fact that his original copy was obliterated at certain places and marred by mistakes which he corrected. His text, however, is not reliable.

I.O. MS. 740. This is a good copy and was probably brought over here not from India but from Persia as can be gleaned from its two notes, one in English and the other in Persian. The former is 'This tale is one of the most popular in Persia', and the latter, addressed to some nobleman, is written by a book-binder who states that as his tools have been carried off by the robbers of Hamadan he is obliged to return the book unbound and is very regretful on that account. The MS. is undated.

I.O. MS. 741. A former owner of this MS. was G. Swinton. It, too, has no date. Ethé, in his enumeration of the stories, has omitted the story of Sag Parast which

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may be found in the MS. between folios 73a and 138a. Besides, Ethé's note that there seems to be a lacuna on fol. 159 is not correct. I have collated the text which is continuous and complete.

I.O. MS. 742. This copy formerly belonged to Richard Johnson (probably 1772-1785). Its folios of various tales are not given in the Catalogue which are as follows:-

(1) Introductory Account	1b
(2) First Story	4b
(3) Second "	26a
(4) Story of Sag Parast	42b
(5) Third Story	73b
(6) Fourth "	88a
(7) Concluding Account	101a

Author
of the
Pers.
Cahār
Darvesh

Popular belief awards the authorship of the Persian Cahār Darvesh to Amīr Khusrau and investigations show that the responsibility for having originated or at least given currency to the idea rests with Mīr Amman who, writing his preface to the Bāg o Bahār in 1803, says:-

" . . . this tale of the Four Darveshes was originally composed by Amīr Khusrau of Delhi on the following occasion:- the saint Nizāmuddīn who was his spiritual preceptor . . . fell ill and to amuse him Khusrau used to repeat this tale to him and to attend him during his sickness. God, in the course of time, removed his illness, then he pronounced the benediction on the day he performed the ablution of cure 'that whosoever shall hear this tale will with the blessing of God remain in health.'"

Generations have passed and the information given here gained rather than lost ground by time. Gilchrist published it in English. India believed in Amman and Europe in his patron. But, curiously enough, during the course of our comparative study of the different versions of the stories we have come across writers, to be considered shortly, who either themselves lay claims or have claims

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advanced in their favour by others to the authorship of the Cahār Darvesh. Under such circumstances it is absolutely necessary to test the validity of the claims of each^{and} to try to determine the probable author.

We first take up Amman's statement which naturally involves an examination of

- (1) Biographies of Khusrāu,
- (2) Khusrāu's own account of his works,
- and (3) His Prose style.

Biogra-
phies of
Amir
Khusrāu

As regards his biographies we have abundant material. He has been discussed from the earliest time after his death down to to-day by Persian and Indian biographers alike and during the last century and a half distinguished European orientalist have also studied him with more than ordinary interest. Below we describe the chief biographers and chronicles we have consulted on the point.

Jāmi, who lived comparatively near to Khusrāu's time notices him in his Nafahātul Uns, B.M., Add. 16718, fol. 282b, and after mentioning a few particulars of his life simply says that the number of his works was 99. Daulat Shāh, Samarqandī, B.M., Add. 18410, fol. 120a,

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details at some length Khusrāu's four divāns and Khamse and cites specimens of his poetry. Aminuddīn, Rāzī, B.M., Add. 16734, fol. 150b, consecrates a fuller article, recounting most of his works and puts his poetry between 4 and 5 hundred thousand couplets. Shāh 'Abdul Haq of Delhi gives in Akhbārul Akhyār, B.M., Or. 221, fol. 86a, only some biographical particulars of the poet without referring to his intellectual product and in Khezāna e 'Amira, B.M., Or. 232, Qulām 'Alī, Āzād ignores him entirely while the author of the Riāzush Shu'arā, B.M., Add. 16729, fol. 157a, furnishes even the smallest details of his life, works and his relation with his spiritual master, Nizāmuddīn, Auliya who is stated to have once said, "if God asks me, what have ^{you} brought? I shall say, a passion for Khusrāu", and he concludes by observing that "Khusrāu wrought miracles in poetry and prose", Khulāṣatul Afkār, B.M., Add. 18542, fol. 90a, Siyarul 'Arifīn, B.M., Or. 215, fol. 129a and Ātashkada e Āzar, B.M., Or. 1268, fol. 191a, all deal with him but do not provide any fresh information.

Sir Gore Ouseley in his Biographical Notices of Persian Poets, B.M., No. 14003, e. 3. (pp. 148-153),

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treats at length, in a modern critical way, of Khusrau's life and works and discusses under a separate heading his prose output, admitting his extraordinary productivity and the profundity of his thought. Similarly Sprenger quotes in his Catalogue of the Royal Libraries of Oudh an extract from an important biography, not known to have appeared in print, called, the Tagkira e Khusrau Go, setting forth the longest list of Khusrau's work with informative notes on his divāns and Magnaviyāt. A. O. Koreishi in his book, Amir Khusrau e Dehlvi, B.M., 757, F. 4., affords a fine critical study of the author with a discussion of all his chief books. The editors of the famous Catalogue of Bankeipore Library, Vol. I. pp. 179-180, mention some biographical fragments and only 3 of his divāns. Shibli Nu'mānī has brought out a book entitled, Bayān i Khusrau, School of Oriental Studies, Pam. XII.- 1. Urdū, pp. 31-35, and although it is the best of the lot and deals with 20 works of Khusrau with a fine grasp both of large issues and of detail yet he also does not mark a step forward.

There exists among these chroniclers much divergence in their accounts of Khusrau's literary works but one

thing is perfectly certain and unanimous. They do not make a mention of the story of Four Darveshes and the theory put forward by Amman is in no way substantiated by any of them. Quite recent writers of modern enlightenment like Shibli who must have known that Amman attributed the book to Khusrau, do not even consider it worth their while to touch the question.

Khusrau
Committee's
View

The findings of this Society which was formed at Aligarh under the Honorary Secretary, M.A.O. College, in 1914, for bringing together the scattered works of Amir Khusrau, also do not make any fresh addition to our knowledge. The efforts of the Society, as can be seen from its lengthy English and Urdu reports issued in 1917, were unique. A group of talented scholars was selected and engaged for the uphill task, appeals to provide trustworthy information on the subject were circulated through the press, rewards were offered for giving clues to the whereabouts of any untraced work of Khusrau, long journeys were undertaken to follow the search, every public and private library throughout the country was examined, letters of enquiry were addressed to all

students of Khusrau, and, in short, vast expenditure was incurred on these activities and though the band of workers succeeded in collecting 25 works of the fortunate Khusrau and in establishing the authenticity of their texts through elaborate processes of scrutiny, yet the conclusion to which they arrived regarding the authorship of the Chahār Darvesh is hopelessly barren. To quote the English report, p. 27,

"Besides these 25 works, we have . . . the Qissa Chahar Darwish Farisi of which an Urdu translation from the original Persian goes under the name of Bagh o Bahar and which is also commonly ascribed to Amir Khusrau."

Khusrau's
own ac-
count of
his works

Khusrau himself speaks of his own life and writings, especially in the prefaces of his two dīvāns, the Tuh-fatūṣ Ṣiḡr and the Gurratūl Kamāl, (vide Kullīyāt i Amīr Khusrau, B.M., Add. 21104, folios 176a-190b), but the details given by him there relate mostly to the various periods of his poetical productions, his literary taste, superiority of Persian poetry over Arabic, several kinds of figures of speech, etc., and to his being an

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object of favour and patronage of different Emperors of Delhi, they do not reveal any reference to the book Cahār Darvesh.

Khusrau's
Prose
style

One further means of ascertaining the truth of Amman's statement is to study and compare Khusrau's prose with the language employed in the manuscripts of the Persian Cahār Darvesh noticed above.

Khusrau, as admitted by all authorities, has left behind three Persian prose books:-

- (1) The Afzalul Favāid, a collection of sayings of St. Nizāmuddīn, B.M., 14779, d.11.;
- (2) The Khazāinul Futūh, containing an account of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, Khiljī's victories, B.M., MS., Add. 16838;
- and (3) The E'jāz i Khusravī, called also Rasāilul E'jāz, a treatise on elegant prose writing, B.M., MS., Add. 16841.

We dismiss the first book from consideration on the ground that it being a book of the saint's sayings it obviously includes a large element of language actually uttered by him and not emanating from the pen

of the author.

The second book Khazāin is a small treatise and we went through it from cover to cover and as we write this there lie before us copies of some of its folios, beginning with 9a. It is written in a highly artificial style. In each paragraph a particular set of similes and metaphors is used and the ideas are so clad in allegories that the only value of the language is that it affords us a specimen of the singular taste of the age in which it was written. From our particular standpoint it exhibits complete unfitness to be employed in the narration of simple and entertaining facts of stories and bears no relation to the intelligible prose of the texts of our stories.

In the third book, the E'jāz i Khusrāvi, the author describes at length nine different styles of Persian prose to which he adds a tenth, his own, as superior to all. It undoubtedly possesses artistic merits of a high order, a fertility of unbounded scope and affords a sterling testimony to the profundity of Khusrāu's genius, but in it also the author strives after effect; it is

laboured, ponderous and verbose, and so thickly inlaid with Arabic words and phrases throughout that it resembles more Abul Fazl's bombastic prose than the pleasant and remarkably elegant phraseology of any of the Persian texts of the Darveshes.

Anecdotes connected with Nizāmuddīn Auliya

It may be remembered that Amman in ascribing the stories to Khusrau also specifies the occasion which induced him to write them and, as he says, it was to entertain his spiritual guide Nizāmuddīn, Auliya, while he was laid up with sickness, and so forth.

In order to trace this story we directed our attention to an examination of anecdotes connected with the saint, collected and preserved in his life-time in two valuable Persian books, one of which, Afzalul Favāid, written by Khusrau himself is already mentioned above, and the other, Favāidul Fuād, B.M., 14718, f. 10, by another of his great disciples, Amīr Ḥasan, 'Alā Sanjarī. Both these volumes contain a variety of particulars of the saint's life, his numerous sayings and teachings and in the former there is to be found on p. 110 an anecdote embracing the circumstances in which that book was composed, shown by Khusrau to, and corrected and blessed by,

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his spiritual preceptor. But we have failed to find in these two books any clue to the anecdote handed down to us by Amman about the Cahār Darvesh.

This exhaustive examination of data sufficiently indicates that Amman's source of information was certainly unreliable and he erroneously ascribed the book to Amīr Khusrau. It may seem too wide a departure from and an abandonment of a time-honoured and hoary opinion but we have consulted both primary and secondary sources and our choice now lies between reposing faith in a belief and looking to evidence which is at once fundamental, definite and conclusive. To us Amman's view is as utterly unfeasible as his anecdote regarding the occasion of the composition of the Cahār Darvesh is absurd and unwarranted.

Ouse-
ley's
Ma'sūm
as
author

We now turn to other alleged authors and claimants to the authorship of the stories among whom the first is Muḥammad 'Alī Ma'sūm. Sir William Ouseley in his catalogue, "Manuscrits Orientaux", 1831, preserved in the B.M., refers to him under

"No. 417

a beautiful story celebrated
by Sir William Jones (Dis. on the Musical Modes).

The author was Muḥammad 'Alī, Ma'sūm."

This MS. of his, as shown elsewhere, is exactly

the same as B.M., MS. Add. 7677, and now deposited in the Bodleian Library, and he mentions him on its fly-leaf also as author in 1795, 8 years before Amson's announcement about Khusravi. But in the MS. itself there are no indications whatever supporting Cusleoy's statement. His reference to Sir William Jones raised hopes of further light regarding Ma'qām, but Jones, on the contrary confuses even the main issue. He says in his Discourse on the Musical Modes of the Hindus, written in 1784 and reproduced from Asiatic Research, Vol. III., in the book entitled, The Story of Indian Music and Its Instruments, by E. Rosenthal, p. 170:-

"In the beautiful tale, known by the title of the Four Dervises, originally written in Persia, with great purity and elegance, we find the description of a concert where four singers, with as many different instruments, are represented, modulating in twelve mukams or purdahs, twenty-four shobas and forty-eight Goshahs and beginning a mirthful song of Hafiz or Vernal delight in the purdah, named, rast or direct . . .," and so on.

He nowhere mentions the name of the author; he calls the

book a beautiful tale and yet finds in it a description of a concert, too highly technical to be included in the text of a tale and which, natural and obvious as it is, does not exist in any of the Persian MSS. of the *Gahār Darvesh*, nor in its eight different *Urdu* versions. I am of the opinion that Jones has quoted here the name of our *Qissa* instead of that of the book which treated of some theory of the Persian music which was originally written, as he remarks, in Persia.

However, Ouseley's information is not entirely baseless. Sprenger mentions his *Ma'sūm* in the *Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. C.C.C. XXXIV., Third Quarterly Report of the Researches into the Mohammedan Libraries, p. 25*, under the heading "Translation of Sanskrit or Hindi works into Persian", India Office, and also quotes^a very short but highly valuable extract from the preface of his Persian *Gahār Darvesh* in which *Ma'sūm*, after briefly referring to his royal patron, (without giving his name), states that when he informed his majesty of the existence of the stories of darveshes in the *Hindī* language he

ordered him to translate it into the 'Pārsī' language. He writes his full name as Hakīm Muḥammad 'Alī, otherwise known as Ma'sūm 'Alī. Then unfortunately the passage ends.

From this it is seemingly evident that Ma'sūm is the author of the Persian Caḥār Dāvesh. But there are two difficulties. Firstly, this preface of his cited by Sprenger is not to be found in any of the British manuscripts we have examined nor in the Rāmper MS. examined by the Illustration Committee. How are we to account for this important absence of the document? The Harraṣṣa is a parallel instance in so far as it also has a preface, but, as we have seen above, it is not missing in any of its eight MSS.

Secondly, as he himself lays down in unmistakable terms, Ma'sūm did not originate the stories, he obtained them from Hindī. And we have to decide what he meant by the word Hindī which denotes either the Hindī (the Eastern Hindī or Tulsī Dās or Western Hindī of Śūr Dās) or the Hindūs or that (that is, Persianised) of the Muḥammadans. If it is the former, the stories

must, of necessity, have been Hindī in character. But they are not so. They are made up, from every viewpoint, social, moral, religious or ritual, of matter purely Muhammedan. Obviously the word signifies the Persianised Hindī or Urdū. Now the further question arises which Urdū version of the stories was it which Ma'sūm rendered into Persian. There are, as we shall see below, in all eight Urdū versions, prose and verse, which we have been able to discover and subject to analysis, and in point of time, the Murassa', undertaken in 1768, is the first rendering, the second earliest being the Sarshor's Gār Gulshan composed in 1801. But, as we know, Ma'sūm's name first appears in 1795 on the flyleaf of the Bodleian MS. jotted down by Orsley. Hence if Ma'sūm's book was a translation, as unquestionably it was, from Hindī it might have been based on the Murassa', the language of which, though impregnated with Persian words, is stated by Mohsin himself to be Hindī on p. 5 of the preface, and which is itself a translation of the D.M. Persian MS. Add.5632.

I am, therefore, irresistably led to the probable conclusion that Ma'sūm is not the author of Guseley's Persian MS., copied in 1795. But at the same time I admit that he assuredly is the translator from Urdu into Persian of another Caḥār Darvesh which for some reason or other failed to acquire popularity and may some day come to light.

As regards Guseley's idea it seems that he heard the name of Ma'sūm as the translator of a Persian Caḥār Darvesh from some of his literary colleagues or friends and when he came into possession of the Bodleian copy he put down his name on it and afterwards mentioned it in his catalogue without suspecting that his MS. was different from that written by Ma'sūm. It may also be pointed out that because Ma'sūm's work was seen by Sprenger in one of the libraries of Lucknow there is every likelihood that the author belonged to that town where one or more manuscripts of the Murassa were already in existence of which he availed himself.

Zarīf,
the
Pseudo-
author

The next claimants to the authorship of the book are Anjāb and Muḥammed 'Izzat, Zarīf. Going by date we

should consider the former first but for practical reasons we reverse the process. Zarriⁿ whose Urdu version of the stories is fully discussed on pp. himself claims in his preface to be the author of the Persian original. He lived about 1869 and the Ouseley MS. was already transcribed about a century and a half before his time. His claim is, therefore, false, and was, in all probability, intended to raise his literary importance in the eyes of his half-educated and ill-informed patron, the Rājā.

Anjab,
the Pro-
bable
Author

His full name was Badī'ul'asr, commonly known as Hājī Rabi' Magribī, and poetically called, Anjab. He is very briefly noticed by Kishan Cand in his tagkira of Persian poets, the Hamesha Bahār, I.O., MS., 3163, fol. 23b, compiled in 1723, and described as living at the time. But Muḥḥafī consecrates a fuller article in his biography, the 'Iqd i Suriyyā, B.M. MS. Add. 16727, fol. 4a, composed in 1785, and says, among other things, that Anjab was born in Andulus and came in his childhood to Aḡfahān where he spent 30 years. After long travels he settled in Delhi and died upwards of a hundred years

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old. He was a most prolific writer and in the words of the biography "his writings were a camel load", out of which there exists only one Maṣnavī, the Falak i A'zam, B.M., MS., Egerton 1036, written in 1744, dealing with the story of Kām rūp and Kāmlatā but providing no further information about the author.

Muṣḥafī, who stayed in Delhi between 1776 and 1787, was personally known to Anjab and had the opportunity, as he notes, of examining some of his works, in enumerating which he makes the important statement that he "saw with his own eyes the Qissa e Cahār Darvesh in Persian prose composed by him." This testimony vouchsafed to us by Muṣḥafī is far more credible than the statements of Amman and Ouseley. Amman flourished about five hundred years after his alleged Author Khusrāu, while Ouseley's view is not even borne up by Ma'sūm who simply asserts that he is a translator and not the author of the book. But in the case of Anjab the information is unambiguous, direct and first-hand as the informant Muṣḥafī was personally acquainted with the book and its maker. The evidence is strengthened by the fact that the date of the Bodleian MS. is contemporaneous with the time of

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Anjab who was already an author of repute by 1723 when *Hamshe Bahār* was completed.

Another ground of internal character which is afforded by the stories themselves is most convincing. In the story of Bag perast we read the name of Elchī e Farang or ambassador of the Franks who is described as checking, on critical occasions, the despotic and frivolous conduct of King Farhūnda Siyar and guiding him to enlightened and modern methods of dealing with particular situations in the administration of justice. Likewise the tale of the third darvech chiefly consists of the love affairs of a European heroine, the Princess of Farang, and certain features of life portrayed there tend to show that the writer is writing from experience and first-hand knowledge. In Khusrāu's time there was complete lack of contact between the East and the West and things European never formed themes in the Indian literature. But Anjab was born in Spain, and as one would expect, had a knowledge of European ways. It was

thus into his mind alone that a subject associated with occidental life could have entered. Moreover, in the *Hamesha Bahār* where the life-sketch of Anjab is hopelessly meagre and specimens of his poetry are few in number, amounting only to half a dozen lines, we come across a couplet in which western beauty has been spoken of as standard. In addressing himself to his sweetheart, he says, fol. 23b:-

Sherket i husn i Farang i tu ba āin i caman,
Dada en nāz digar khil 'at i gulrang ba gul,

which in plain language means that the grandeur of the European beauty has through amorous playfulness bestowed on the rose a lovely garment.

These significant instances combined with the clear clue furnished by Musharfi are, I believe, adequate enough to prove that among the various names the most probable entitled to the authorship of the famous tales is that of Anjab, the Spaniard.

THE SOURCE OF THE MURASSA' (contd.)

II.
Tahsin's
own As-
sertion

Tahsin in setting forth the circumstances which led him to undertake the compilation of the Murassa' does not make the slightest mention that his book is a translation of the Persian Cahāz Darvesh or that in writing it he availed himself of the latter in any way, or even that his stories originally existed in Persian. He only says that he heard the stories from a fellow-traveller in the boat which carried General Smith to Calcutta. But his assertion is divorced from anything approaching the truth, and his book is but a translation from the Persian and at the time he had before him some MS. of the type of B.M. Add. 5632.

Here are some of the reasons which support us:-

Tahsin
translated
MS. Add.
5632

(1) The serial arrangement of the stories is identical in both, the tale of the Sag parast occurring after the story of the Third Darvesh as against all other Pers. MS. in which it comes after the second;

(2) the last adventure of the Sag parast

is not ascribed to another Sandagar Baccā, as mentioned in other MSS.;

(3) in the story of the Fourth Darvesh the Cahār sū bāzār of the Murassa' (p. 46) is mentioned in this MS. alone, fol. 9a;

(4) the florid but masterly style of the Murassa' is inspired by the lucid but metaphorical diction of this MS.;

(5) in this MS., therefore, one meets with numerous passages from which Tahsīn has drawn in profusion words, phrases, idioms, similes and metaphors. As illustrations we give below some very short extracts from different corresponding parts of the printed Murassa' and this MS.:-

(1) page 16,

fol. 2a,

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(ii) p. 21,

fol. 38,

(iii) p. 31 = fol. 5a,

(iv) p. 32 = fol. 5a,

(v) p. 36 = fol. 7a,

(vi) p. 37 = fol. 7b,

Such agreements are to be found only after 2 to 4 pages and do not exceed 3 or 4 lines and then the narration as it proceeds becomes independent and dissimilar. This is a natural process of translation. Elements of language and thought common to the original and the translation are usually ^{retained} in the latter by a competent translator. Tahsîn was true to his type.

His
Persian
Text
slightly
different

However, I have reason to believe that the Persian original of which Tahsîn made use for his translation was not an exact copy of the MS. under comparison. The following divergences are instances in point:-

(1) In his introductory account Farkhunda Siyar is taken to the four darveshes who had recently gathered together at a cemetery by means of the contrivance that during the time of his disappointment and grief at not being favoured with a son he saw it written in a book that if any one is oppressed with sorrow and anxiety not to be relieved by human agencies he ought to resign himself to Providence, visit the tombs of the dead and pray for the blessings of God on their souls, fol. 3b.

This episode is not given in the *Muraṣṣa'* on p. 27 and F. Siyar is described as getting into the habit of visiting tombs at night on the advice of his vazir.

(2) When the Princess of Shām is incensed with the First Darvesh, turns him out of her presence for 40 days, after which he is brought back to her considerably pulled down through shocks and suffering, her royal physicians (p. 17, the *Muraṣṣa'*) prescribe a lengthy recipe which is wanting in the MS. on fol. 15a and in which only such imaginary medicines are specified by *Tahsīn* which serve as similes of certain parts of the

figure of a most beautiful sweetheart, for example,

badām i cashm, the almond of the eye;

gul i surkh i rukhsāra, the rose of the cheek;

mushk i siyāh i kākul, the black musk of the locks,

and so forth.

(3) The same princess, when her wounds were healed and she was completely recovered but still living in the house hired by the First Darvesh (vide the *Muraṣṣa'* pp. 44-45), obtained by means of a letter considerable sums of money from her treasurer wherewith she purchased through her darvesh valuable necessaries of life. Now in the MS. fol. 9b there have been enumerated two letters instead of one and by means of the second she got hold of the requisites also. This has destroyed in the Persian text the link which imperceptibly introduces the reader to the main story of the handsome Yūsuf, the slave-merchant.

(4) When, at the end of his story, the First Darvesh intends to kill himself by a fall from the mountain there appears, in accordance with the MS. fol. 22a, a zāhid, a hermit who prevents him from taking the suicidal step. In the *Muraṣṣa'*, p. 101, this man is mentioned as 'Alī, the Fourth Islāmic Khalifa, which fact shows Tahsīn's

shī'a proclivities.

(5) In the story of the last darvesh, near the end, the prince and his faithful slave Mubārīk bring with them the extremely beautiful daughter of the blind man to be presented to Šādiq, king of the Jinna, and when the prince feels, owing to his deep attachment to the girl which he has developed during the journey, very reluctant to hand her over to Šādiq, the slave applies certain stinking ointment all over the body of the girl to disgust the king with her. So far the Murassa' and the MS. agree, but in the latter an anecdote is added which throws light on how Mubārīk learnt the preparation of the ointment from the father of the prince in one of his interesting visits to Šādiq.

Tahsīn's
share
in the
Murassa'

In bringing out his book Tahsīn has endeavoured with success to effect certain changes and improvements in the stories.

In the introductory story and elsewhere he has replaced the name, Āzād Bakht, by Farikhunda Siyar which by virtue of its meaning fits much better into the

account given of the king's good nature and happy disposition. His vazir's name, Roshan Rāe, in all the Persian MSS., is un-Indian and therefore Tahsīn dropped it in favour of its more welcome synonym Khīradmand which even Amman liked and retained in his book. The suitable names, 'Isā of the skilful surgeon, Tirpolia of a place, Yūsuf of the beautiful slave are the outcome of Tahsīn's imagination and do not exist in the Persian originals. Similarly in the story of the Third Darvesh there is one name, Bedār Bakht of a generous host in the city of Baṣra which exclusively belongs to the Murāṣṣa'.

Tahsīn has also introduced with taste into his text several purely Hindi kabits and also used Urdū verses in place of Persian found in the original, putting them in contexts of his own choosing.

CHAPTER V.

OTHER URDU VERSIONS

OF THE

CAHĀR DARVESH

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Other Urdū Versions of the Cahār Darveah.

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|---------------|----------|
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CHAPTER V.

OTHER URDŪ VERSIONS OF THE CAHĀR DARVESH.

There are other Urdū versions of the Qissa e Cahār Darvesh the examination of which in a scheme of a comparative study of the Murassa' I could not afford to neglect, especially when the question of the original text and author of the stories and the influence of the Murassa' on them was involved. I therefore discovered and studied seven of them and the results of my investigation are laid out in this chapter.

(1) Sarshār's Version.

The Cār
Gulshan

Next to the Murassa' in point of time and one year prior to Amman's Bāg o Bahār is a metrical Dakhnī version of the stories of the Cahār Darvesh, called, the Cār Gulshan, composed by Sarshār, which hitherto has been unknown in India and Europe. A manuscript copy of it was probably recently acquired by the authorities of the British Museum where in its unpublished catalogue it is

numbered Or. 6658. It occupies 442 pages and written in old Dakhnī naskh in a neat beautiful hand. It is an extremely correct copy, transcribed in A.H. 1252, A.D. 1836, by one Sayyad Yāqūb for the study of a Nawābzāda at Qādar Nagar or Tanjore. It is named Cahār Darvesh in the colophon as also in the introduction of the text and is a complete rendering of that story, the various stages of which being

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------|
| (1) | Introductory Account of <u>Āzād Bakht</u> , | fol. 10b; |
| (2) | Story of the First Darvesh, | " 14b; |
| (3) | " " " Second " | " 49a; |
| (4) | " " " Sag parast, | " 82a; |
| (5) | " " " Third Darvesh, | " 147b; |
| (6) | " " " Fourth " | " 176a; |
| (7) | Concluding Account of <u>Āzād Bakht</u> , | " 198a-221. |

Before the commencement of the tale the author devotes about 20 pages to the praise of God, the prophet and 'Alī and also eulogises his contemporary Nawāb 'Umdatul Umārā, ruler of Arcot, and another nobleman Sālār Jang, to whose son Najībuddīn Khā, poetically named E'jāz, he was attached and owed the idea of versifying the stories. He

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also states that when the poem was completed and presented to his patron he was so immensely pleased with it that in his enthusiasm he ordered his servants to throw on him (the poet) gold and silver to be distributed as largess.

The author gives no account of himself, not even his full name. I suspect that because the ending of this lengthy poem is very weak, some concluding verses, which the scribe of this MS. has omitted, probably contained particulars of the poet's life. However, he mentions his takhalluṣ as Sarshār on fols. 6b and 10b in the prologue and not 'Sharshār' as taken down in the B.M. He finished the composition of the work in one year as can be seen from the second verse on fol. 10b, and entitled it Cār Gulshan which expresses a chronogram for A.H. 1216, A.D. 1801, fol. 10b.

He does not refer to the source from which he derived his material of the stories. But internal evidence makes it abundantly clear that he used a Persian text like that of the B.M. MS. Add. 7677. He has, nevertheless, altered some of the original names: he

calls the second darvesh Fīrozmand, fol. 49a, the saudāqar Baoca in the third story Dāūd Mirzā, fol. 133a, and the Princess of Baqra the daughter of the merchant of Baqra, fol. 147b.

No traces of the influence of its northern prose predecessor, the *Muraṣṣa'*, are to be discovered in the *Cār Gulshan*. Apparently that did not reach Sarshār in the far-off south and he was even unaware of its existence.

His rendering though very faithful to the original in substance is entirely free and independent in form. The development of details and issues is so organic and natural that a reader not conversant with the sources is likely to be impressed with the belief that the poet is also the creator of the stories. His style in verse is the same as Amman's in prose. It is powerful and charming and of most engaging simplicity.

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(2) Amman's Version.

The Bāg o
Bahār

This book is of international fame and deserves the distinguished fate. It has frequently been printed by European and native presses in India and also in London, translated into English a number of times, rendered into French by Garcin de Tassy, and into Gujrātī (Bombay, 1877), transcribed in Roman character (1859) and Deonāgrī (1847), published with annotations both in English and Urdū, appeared in selections, and has been regarded up till now as a classical work.

In order to satisfy myself about its text I examined all its available editions and I have only to say a few words about them. Its first complete edition saw the light in 1803 and a copy of this date is in the B.M., No. 14112, e.2, with a critical preface by Gilchrist. However a portion of it was published a year before in Gilchrist's Hindī Manual, a separate print of which is preserved in the B.M. under No. 14112, b.2., filling in all 112 pages and not 106 as recorded in the Catalogue of the B.M. where 12 pages have been numbered as leaves

1-6 instead of pages 1-12. It begins with the preface of the author and ends with the story of the Princess of Shām, but has no title page or date. Blumhardt rightly assigns to it the year 1802. It slightly though immaterially differs from its fuller and later edition of 1803. Some words like (fol. 1b and 2a) and (fol. 3a) are written in Roman character and others like in Nāgri in the midst of Urdū script.

The edition of 1803 was followed by another one in 1813 (B.M. No. 14112, e.4.) and demands some notice. It is alleged to have been edited or, as on the title page of it the editor observes "Qulām Akbar kī ṣaht se", corrected by Qulām Akbar, who was Sarishtedār of the Hindustānī Department in the College of Fort William. But this remark is not true. The text is rather tampered with by the introduction of superfluous brackets round adjectival or adverbial clauses, such as,

Similarly the preface prefixed to this edition under the heading 'Advertisement' by Thomas Roebuck, Executive

Assistant Secretary to the College, consists, excluding the concluding lines, of Gilchrist's entire masterly preface to the edition of 1803 with a new arrangement of paragraphs. This is also an unfortunate fact as the criticism of the style of the *Murassa'* made in it by Gilchrist is, as a rule, attributed to Roebuck in India as well as here. Blumhardt, to give only one example, has done so in both of his catalogues of the B.M. and the India Office.

I have also gone through a very carefully written MS. of the *Bāg o Bahār* without date in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society (Cat. of Oriental MSS. No. 11) at the end of the preface of which occur the words '*Mir Amman Luṭf*', as though it were the very copy of the work which the author himself wrote. Forbes, as he says in his second edition of the *Bāg o Bahār*, 1849, (B.M. 14112. c.2) had collated his text throughout with this MS. So far as I have been able to compare, the text of the MS. and that of Forbes both agree with the edition of 1803 issued from Calcutta. In the India Office, however, there is an

earlier MS. No. U.47 which was in the possession of its Librarian, James Ballantyne, in 1834 and resembles the first instalment of 1802 more than any other copy of the Bāg o Bahār.

The stories of the Bāg o Bahār are arranged in the following order:-

- (1) Introductory account of King Āzād Bakht;
- (2) Story of the First Darvesh;
- (3) " " " Second "
- (4) " " " Dog-worshipping Merchant;
- (5) " " " Third Darvesh;
- (6) " " " Fourth "
- (7) The Concluding Account of King Āzād Bakht.

This arrangement does not tally with the Muraṣṣa' in that the story of the Dog-worshipping Merchant comes here after the Second Darvesh while in the Muraṣṣa' it is placed after the Third Darvesh. Blumhardt's statement in the I.O. Cat. p. 68, col. 2, that in the Persian original the order is similar to that of the Bāg o Bahār is true in the case of the first two B.M. MSS. No. Add.

8917 and Add. 7677 (and also of the Bodleian MS.) but not in that of the third B.M. MS. Add. 5632, in which the story, like that in the *Muraṣṣa'*, follows the Third Darvesh, (folios 60b to 90b), and not the Second.

The first and most important problem which invites our attention is concerned with the sources of the *Bāg o Bahār*. From Gilchrist's preface to its first edition which, in view of its significance, is partly quoted below, we learn that it is a version of the *Muraṣṣa'*:-

"This work has long been admired in the original Persian under the name of *Kissai Chahar Darvishes* or tale of the Four Darvishes. It was composed in that beautiful tongue by *Amīr Khusrāu*. . . . 'Atā Husen *Khān* originally translated it under the name of *Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa* . . . but as a specimen of this language it was rendered objectionable by his retaining too much of the phraseology and idiom of the Persian and Arabic."

"To obviate this, the present version, from the translation now mentioned, has been executed

by Mir Asman of Delhi."

Other writers both in India and England followed suit. For example, Sir James Lyall states in the Encyclopedia Britannica, "Asman's work is not itself directly modelled on the Persian original but is a rehandling of an almost contemporary⁽¹⁾ rendering by Tapsin of Etawah, called the Nau Tara i Murassa'." But Mir Asman in his own preface to the Bāg o Bahār says in the clearest terms that his work is a translation from the Persian original.

After relating the circumstances which led Amīr Khusrau to the composition of the Persian Bahār Darvesh he tells us "Now the excellent and liberal gentleman . . . John Gilchrist with kindness said to me, 'Translate this tale into the pure Hindustānī tongue which the Urdū people both Hindūs and Musalmāns, high and low, men, women and children speak one to another'. In accordance with his honour's desire I commenced translating it into the same dialect." He does not

(1)

He had in view 1798 as the date of the composition of the Murassa'.

mention Tahsīn or the Murassa' above or anywhere in his whole preface. My comparative study of his book, however, reveals the fact that it is an adaptation in which he has made use of the Persian text as well as Tahsīn's Murassa' and in certain places exercised his own imagination in the coining of new names of persons and places and adding new matter to the narrative.

I will now consider these three phases of his book one by one.

Amman follows the Persian original

The first piece of evidence is afforded by the name of the king-hero of the stories which appears as Āzād Bakht in the Bāg o Bahār in imitation of the Persian source, whereas in the Murassa' it is given as Farkhunda Siyar in its six MSS. and the printed edition invariably and also in the remaining two MSS. occasionally.

Similarly the expression, Ae falāne, a form of address, profusely used in the Persian as Ae falā is retained by Amman as a sort of accidental survival on p.18 of my edition of the Bāg o Bahār.

He translated MSS. Add. 7677

Although Amman takes the greatest liberty of form and spirit in his translation and escapes all detection as to which Persian MS. he actually utilised yet he is

betrayed by B.M. MS. Add. 7677 and I have the following reasons to believe that it was some copy of this MS. which he had before him while writing his own book:-

(1) The order of the story of the Dog-worshipping Merchant in the Bāg o Bahār agrees with that fixed in this MS.

(2) When all the four Darveshes meet together on one spot, one of them proposes that in order to while away the night each should relate the events of his life without admitting a particle of untruth. To this the other Darveshes agree and say (Add. 7677, 4b. 1.6):-

Bāg o Bahār, p.10.,

The clause

comes one line before in a

different context.

(3) Another passage which is rather lengthy but serves as a very good example of how Amman sometimes closely followed his original and how he was inspired by its simplicity of expression and natural phraseology, is as below:-

B.M. MS. Add 7677, fol. 54b:-

"Ba'd azā Khwāja gul i murādsh shuguft va guft shehryār ī marde ke dar jānib i rāst i man nashashta ast brādar i buzurgtar i mā ast va ī yak azo kocaktar ast va man az har do kocaktarū va az vilāyati Fārsīam. Pīdre mā tājire būd ta bist hazār tūmān māya e tijārat mī namūd hamī ke san i man ba cahār dāh rasīd. Pīdr rā muddat i ḥayāt munqazī gardīd va cū az ta'siyat i pīdar fārig shudem va dih roz bar ā biguzasht shabī barādarā hamī guftand falane Khūb ast har kirā ki az kheshā amīne dāni bitālabi

Bāg o Bahār, p. 70:-

"Khwāja ne kahā Ae bādshāh ye mard jo dāhni taraf he gulām kā barā bhāi he aur jo bāi taraf ke

kharā he mahjhlā bhāī he. Mē in donō se
 ohotā hū. Morā bāp mulk i Fāris kā
 saudāgar thā. Jab mē candā baras
 kā huā tu qibla gāhī ne rahlat kī.
 Jab tajhīs o takfīn se farāgat huī
 to ek roz in donāū bhāīyū ne
 kahā ke bāp kā māl jo kuch he
 taqsīm kar lō, jiskā dil jo cāhe
 so kām kare . . . "

(4) When the dog-worshipping merchant declines at first to recount the real facts of his story before King Azād Bakht he observes that by imprisoning his two brothers in a cage and keeping his faithful dog in an exalted state he is called a dog worshipper, condemned by every one and has to pay double taxes as penalty and that he submits to all this humiliation but does not divulge the secret of his heart.

This episode is to be met with in the Bāg o Bahār as also in MS. Add. 7677, fol. 50b with complete agreement but it is wanting in the Murassa', photostats of Berlin MS. fol. 115b, and Pers. MS. Add. 5632, fol. 64a.

(5) I give one more instance of this similarity which conclusively proves that there is a great deal of truth in Amman's assertion that he has translated his book from the Persian original.

The story of the Dog-worshipping Merchant is made up of a number of episodes which are separate from and independent of one another. At the end the merchant details the last of his adventures which is described in the Murassa', photostats, fol. 131b and MS. Add.

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5632, to be brief, thus:-

When the brothers of the merchant throw him in a river from which he comes out not without trouble he meets later on a Persian officer on a hillock containing mines of precious stones and with the aid of this man he digs out loads of jewels for himself, then through the good offices of the brother of the said officer gets the daughter of the vazir of that kingdom in marriage; some time afterwards his wife dies and he is, according to the custom of that land, locked up in a dungeon together with the coffin of his dead wife and some provisions to live on; here he passes a few months in misery. Meanwhile other dead bodies are brought in with their living partners and the Merchant kills some of them, taking possession of their victuals to drag on his wretched existence. At last, there comes a young lady with her dead husband whom he marries and then escapes from the dreadful place with his load of jewels, accompanied by his bride and a child which she had in the meantime brought forth.

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Now in the Bāg o Bahār as well as in Pers. MS. Add. 7677, fol. 78b, this story is ascribed to another merchant who is given a wholly new name of Saudāgar Bacca e Āgarbaejān and who is mentioned as narrating all these adventures to our Dog-worshipping Merchant when he was Governor of Port, and it was from him that he obtained the valuable jewels which he put in the collar of his faithful dog.

Amman
also
follows
the
Murassa'

Although Amman fully imitated this MS. even in some minute details of scheme, there are testimonies to the effect that he also followed in the footsteps of the Murassa':-

(1) He has determined the order of the stories of the four darveshes not according to any of the Persian MSS. but clearly according to the Murassa', the second story of which is the third story of all the Persian originals, while its third story is their second story. Amman has precisely the same arrangement as that of the Murassa'. There is one more interesting point to be considered in this connection. Amman in placing the story of the Dog-worshipping Merchant after the story of the Second Darvesh has obviously followed the serial

order of the Pers. MS. Add. 7677 but his second story is the second story not of this MS. but of the *Muraṣṣa'* which is, as stated above, the third of the Persian MS.

(2) *Tahsīn* includes, amongst others, the following names of persons and places in the story of the First Darvesh:-

- (i) *Khīradmand*, the Vazīr,
- (ii) 'Īsā, the Jarrāḥ or Surgeon.
- (iii) Tirpoliā, name of a place,
- (iv) Cārsū bāzār, " "
- (v) Yūsuf, the Slave-merchant.

In none of the Persian MSS. do 'Īsā, Tirpoliā or Yūsuf appear; in place of the vazīr *Khīradmand* all of them give vazīr Roshan Rāe; Cārsū bāzār is to be found only in B.M. MS. 5632, which Amman never made use of, but he has all these five names in his first story which he apparently borrowed from *Tahsīn*.

Likewise in the story of the Third Darvesh of the *Muraṣṣa'* there is mentioned one Bedār Bakht, a host in Baṣra. This name is not traceable in any of the Persian texts but Amman has it on p. 41.

(3) The episode of 'Īsā, the surgeon, in the First Darvesh, bears closest similarity in the Muraṣṣa' and the Bāg o Bahār. It is different in all the Persian MS. and in MS. Add. 7677 which, as may be remembered, Amman had before him for translation, one more detail, unsuitable to the occasion, is given on fol. 12b, namely, when 'Īsā, after examining the beautiful Princess of Shām, listens to the pathetic story of how she was wounded from the appealing lips of her paramour, the First Darvesh, he, instead of being moved to pity, slaps him on the face with the greatest force. In the Muraṣṣa' no such brutal treatment has any place. On the contrary the surgeon is described as very humane and devout, taking pity on the misfortune of the Princess and consoling the Darvesh by holding out to him hopes of her speedy recovery. Amman prefers the latter circumstance and reproduces it.

(4) The sweetheart of the abominable Yūsuf is depicted as a very charming girl in the Persian narrative, which robs the episode of its absorbing interest and naturalness, whereas Tāḥsīn presents her as frightfully ugly and a she-demon. Amman adopts Tāḥsīn's conception.

(5) The beautiful moral story of the Queen of Baṣra, interwoven in the tale of the Second Darvesh, is non-existent in the Persian MS., Add. 7677, used by Amman, but it is included in the *Muraṣṣa'*. Amman also gives this story.

(6) Taḥsīn quotes along with other verses two purely Hindī Kabits, (pp. 45 and 117, printed edition), the occurrence of which in the Persian texts was an impossibility. Amman reproduces them on pp. 43 and 48 of his book.

(7) With the exception of those verses which introduce the story of each darvesh, composed by Amman himself, there are comparatively very few verses intermixed with the prose of the *Bāḡ o Bahār*; they are a little over one dozen, not a single one being Persian, as against 450 in the *Muraṣṣa'*. Out of these verses, of the former at least 4 or 5 are taken from the latter and linked to corresponding contexts, such as,

Muraṣṣa', p. 50, *Bāḡ o Bahār*, p.31.

Muraṣṣa', p.154, Bāg o Bahār, p.58

Do. 176 Do. 104

Amman's
own im-
prove-
ments

As shown above Amman follows the Persian text and also the Muraṣṣa' but his creative talent does not content itself with this. Besides putting his stories in an absolutely free and idiomatic language and an original perspective he has himself coined certain names and given touches and flourishes to certain episodes:-

(1) In the story of the Dog-worshipping Merchant there are two of the episodes, one of which is headed, story of the Dukhtar i Rāe Ā'zam and the other that of Shahsādī i Farang, in the Persian versions. Tahsīn repeats almost the same headings, but Amman has entirely changed them, entitling the first, Zerbād Kī Rāni and the second, Sar andīp Kī Rāni.

(2) In the story of the Second Darvesh there is an episode in which the Prince of Persia, who, out of a

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desire to surpass Hātam in generosity, used to bestow on the necessitous daily pieces of silver and gold through the forty gates of his charity-palace, built for the purpose, was one day indignant at the avaricious and impudent conduct of a Faqīr, who, after having received alms through all the forty gates, re-entered from the first and again begged for 40 pieces of gold. An altercation ensued. The prince explained to the Faqīr by way of admonition the meaning of the three letters which compose the word 'faqīr', saying signifies fāqā, (starvation), qanā'at, (contentment), and riyāqat, (devotion), and the Faqīr, after having thrown down on the ground all the money he had got from the prince, retorted that it was very difficult to be truly generous and elucidated in his turn the meaning of the three letters of which the word 'sakhī' is made up, saying that is derived from samāī, (endurance), comes from khawf i Ilāhī (fear of God) and from proceeds yād (remembrance of one's birth and death and so forth).

The duel does not exist in the Persian, and judging

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it from the Hindī word 'samāi' used by the faqīr it could not have formed a part of the original text. Nor does it appear in the *Muraṣṣa'*. The story is generally ascribed even by grave historians to the mother and the younger brother of Hātam himself who is said to have built an actual charity-house. After his death his brother endeavoured to act the generous, but was dissuaded by the mother who in order to prove what she meant assumed the garb of a faqīr and acted as above. Presumably Amman knew the story and added it in his rendering in order to heighten the effect of the point at issue between the Prince of Persia and the Faqīr.

(3) The Anonymous Version.

B.M. MS.,
Add.18897

It is a very large sized MS., covering 432 pages without a preface and of unknown authorship. It has, however, a colophon, giving the date of transcription as 2nd of October, 1830. Obviously it was compiled some time before this date and hence it is the fourth Urdu version of the famous stories of the darveshes. Its writing is neat and in no way shikasta, but the greater bulk of it is marred by the defect that most of the words are undotted which renders it difficult to read and whole lines are illegible. There are other numerous mistakes of copying, and words and sometimes lines are omitted, particularly in the concluding part with the result that the narration has become distorted and unintelligible. The book is not worth publishing in its present form.

In the Catalogue of the B.M. the folios of the various stories are not fixed, which are as follows:-

(1) Introductory Account of King Jamahid	1a - 3a;
(2) The First Darvesh	3b - 28b;
(3) " Second "	29a - 48b;
(4) " Third "	48b - 72b;
(5) " Sag parast	72b - 129a;

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|
| (6) The Fourth Darvesh | 129a - 152b; |
| (7) Concluding Account, etc. | 152b - 216b. |

From this it can be seen that the order of the stories is the same as in the original. But an analysis of the text has brought to light the fact that the general course of the narrative itself is not the same as Blumhardt thinks, but partly different. Its first story is entirely new and does not exist in the original or any of the known versions; to the tale of the Second Darvesh is added the lengthy episode of an enchantress, and the last part of the MS., which fills 80 large pages as against 9 printed pages of the *Murassa'*, includes several small stories and also, curiously enough, the story of the First Darvesh is interwoven here into a wholly new context. Thus this version of the *Cahār Darvesh* has at least one long independent story more than the stories hitherto popular. There can be observed other divergences of minor importance, additions, alterations or omissions.

The names of persons are almost completely altered. Only two, *Behzād Khā* and *Cārsū bāzār* in its story of the

Fourth Darvesh have escaped alteration. In the second story one name has suffered partial change; Mubārik, which is given in all the other texts of the Fourth Darvesh as the name of a slave who served his master through thick and thin, is displaced by Mubārik Shāh which appears as the name of a king whose functions in the story are however the same as those of the slave.

There are no well-marked indications as to which of the previous Persian or Urdū versions was imitated in the present rendering. But there are two bits of testimony, namely, the fixture of the adventures of the Sag-parast after the third story and absence of the name of Saudāgar Basca e Āzarbaejān show that it was either the Persian MS., No. Add. 5632 or most probably the Murassa' which supplied to the unknown author the material for his work.

Blumhardt remarks that the plot of the story is laid in India. It is not so. It is in fact laid in the Magrib, which name signifies Spain or sometimes N. W. Africa in Mohamedan literature. The First Darvesh, however

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is called the King of Bengal and the Princess of the Franks the Queen of Daryā i Shor, or the Bay of Bengal, in the story of the Third Darvesh. Such disagreement about countries or peoples is not uncommon in other versions. For instance, Amman calls the Princess of the Franks, the Princess of Sarandīp or Ceylon and Shamlah changes the country of the Franks into England and includes Hindus amongst the subjects of Farkhunda Siyar, the king of Rūm.

The author has made an ambitious though unsuccessful attempt to destroy wholesale the outlines of his original, with, apparently, the special aim of striking a note of originality in his stories, yet he had not the audacity to assert like Zarrīn (p. 17/ below) that he was the originator of them. On the contrary he acknowledges in the very beginning of his book that others have also "written and related the tales".

The style of the book is plain and beautiful; its language is not inundated with Persian vocabulary, it is idiomatic and in places undoubtedly classical; it includes pieces both of Persian and Urdū verses, but none is borrowed from the Murassa' or the Persian. The author

employs at times archaic expressions, viz., *sati* in lieu of *so*, fol. 4a, *baithiā* for *baithī*, fol. 22b, and *laṛkāpan* for *laṛakpan*, fol. 161b. The book is not influenced in the least by any previous efforts of its kind and so far as the diction and language are concerned it is a highly valuable work.

We must now proceed to treat of the various tales and to bring out their chief features and as the First Story is entirely a new one, we will give a brief summary of it.

(1) The introductory story. The hero is called Jamshīd Zarrīn Kulāh, King of the Magrib, and his vazir Hoshmand. The King is introduced with the same misfortune and grief of childlessness, and he also seeks blessings from the Darveshes for an heir-apparent, but the rest of the account has been abridged and put in a new form, having nothing in common with the accounts given in other renderings.

Summary
of the
First
Story

(2) The First Darvesh is described as the King of Bengal instead of as the son of a wealthy merchant in the original, the *Murassa'* and other works. This king secretly

abdicates in favour of his vazir and goes out into the jungle to pass the rest of his life in retirement and seclusion. There he chances to see an old man being flogged by his slave and uttering at every stroke the expression: "Ae nafs i kâfir khûe inşâf", "O ungrateful soul, be always just". This shocked the king and he asked the old man to unfold the mystery of that dreadful self-infliction. This the man promised to do on condition that the king should be prepared to die after the secret was disclosed, to which he agreed.

Old man's
story

The old man said that, while young, he was the friend of a prince who, when placed on the throne, made him his vazir and reposed in him the utmost confidence. Some time afterwards the prince fell ill and despite the best medical aid his ailment did not subside, till at last a certain darvesh advised the vazir to proceed to the native place of a merchant named Muzaffar who was well-known to be in possession of magical remedies for incurable diseases. The vazir started on the journey, arrived at the place, put up with Muzaffar and was kindly treated by him during the day time, but towards the end of night

he was rudely asked to leave the house. But the vazir managed to stay in and while he was lying in bed pretending to be asleep Muzaffar unlocked a room, took out a she-ass and a bitch and beat them mercilessly. Then he went into another chamber, kneeled down before the corpse of a fairy and wept bitterly. The following morning the vazir inquired of the man the cause of his strange behaviour, and he said:-

Muzaf-
far's
story

After his father's death he was brought up by his fabulously rich uncle and when he was of age he inherited the enormous business of his father. One day there called at his shops two women who after approving of an expensive ornament requested him to accompany them and fetch the price. He followed them and as they were of dazzling beauty he fell in love with them. The women turned out to be sorceresses and in order to test the sincerity of his passion transformed Muzaffar into a donkey; but he was restored to his human form by his uncle by means of some magical preparation. However he was driven to the women three times more by the pangs of his love, and was on each occasion changed, first into a deer, then into a

cat and finally into a parrot. Each time his uncle helped him out of the misfortune but at the last his stock of preparation was exhausted and Mugaffar had to live in the form of a parrot until the arrival of a fairy friend of his uncle.

Meanwhile he asked his uncle how he became acquainted with the fairy and how he got his immense fortune, and was told that in one of his commercial journeys, his ship having been wrecked, his uncle was driven by waves to an island where he found the fairy captive in the hands of a demon whom he killed through the supernatural assistance of her religious master and freed her. Since then she used to pay visits to his uncle and befriended him in various ways. The fairy then arrived after two months, but that time she brought with her another fairy, a cousin of hers. Mugaffar was released by her from his parrot-form, and as he was young and handsome there sprang up at first sight attachment between him and the cousin of the fairy. At night when they both were sleeping in the same chamber the two sorceresses mentioned above suddenly put in an appearance and, out of jealousy, enchanted the

fairy into a constant sleep. In the morning his uncle came to know about it, was furious with rage and changed the two wicked women into a she-ass and a bitch by means of some conjuring shell.

Later on, his uncle died and from that time he was feeding and punishing them and mourning for the fairy in the hope that ^{she} might return to consciousness. The vazir pondered over the situation and through Muzaffar's uncle's shell brought the enchantresses to their original form and asked them to cure the fairy, which they did. But Muzaffar, anxious to get rid of them, killed them.

The fairy then learnt the object of the vazir's visit and the ailment of his king, and gave him two grains of barley, saying that if one was eaten it would free the body from all sources of disease and bestow one hundred years' life, and that if both were taken they would double the lifetime. The vazir was now happy and returned to his country. But on his way he thought it inadvisable to administer to his king a medicine which was never tried. So he himself took one of the grains, the effect of which was magical. He was at once rejuvenated and felt the

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vigour and vitality of a youth. He then continued his journey. It, however, again occurred to him that when he had left the king his condition was precarious and that there was every likelihood that he would have expired by that time. Thus he was tempted away from all consideration for his king, and swallowed the second grain also. But when he reached his destination he found to his embarrassment that the king was still alive. He immediately concocted an excuse and said to the king that his journey was fruitless as Muzaffar was already dead before he arrived at the place. The king in despair breathed his last. The vazir ascended the throne. But afterwards he felt such strong stings of remorse for his treacherous conduct and fear for the Last Day that he decided to embark upon a campaign of self-torture.

On hearing this explanation the King of Bengal offered his head to be cut off according to the agreement. But the old man, having regard for his royal position, pardoned him and brought him to his palace and gave him his daughter in marriage. The King passed some time with his new father-in-law, then feeling homesick he departed from the place with his exceedingly beautiful wife.

During his journey, however, the queen disappeared; he was bewildered, travelled far and wide in search of her and eventually being despondent determined to put an end to his life but was prevented from so doing by some mysterious voice and ordered to proceed to the land of Jamshīd for help.

(3) The Second Darvesh of this book is the fourth of the Murassa'. But the incidents are considerably altered, particularly in the beginning and new episodes introduced at the end. Here the father of the darvesh is named and called Fīroz Shāh 'Adil and the beautiful girl, of whom the king of Jinnāt was enamoured, is described as the daughter of an old blind mendicant in other versions, but here she is the daughter of a vazīr. Towards the conclusion when the darvesh incurred the displeasure of the shāh i jinnāt by falling in love with his girl and was thrown by him high up in the sky an entirely new story springs up, the gist of which is that the darvesh before falling back to earth was rescued by a witch who, in her turn, furiously angered at being disappointed in her mad love for him, transformed him into a parrot and put him into an iron cage.

The witch was the disciple of a powerful jogī

residing in another town whom she used to visit from time to time by climbing on a huge tree which by virtue of some magic would move and carry her. Once the parrot also managed to follow her to the magician and remained there while she returned, won his favour by flattering and pleasant speeches and poisoned his ear against the hag and caused her to be burnt to ashes. The jogi then restored the darvesh to his human figure.

The rest of the story is somewhat similar to the particulars given in other renderings.

(4) The third story of the MS. is the second of the *Murassa'*. Although in broad outlines there is no appreciable difference from the original in the main tale, the body is so handled that almost every incident is given a new colour. However, the introductory instructive account of the education of the first darvesh when he was a prince, the episode of Hatan's ideal charity and manliness of character, King Naufal's military attack on his territory and the pleasing anecdote of the wood-cutter and allied matters have been dropped. The queen of Bagra is replaced by that of Khurāsān whose

wonderful story of incalculable riches has also suffered omission and whose deeds of generosity are recounted not by a faqir but by a Greek ambassador. When the darvesh reaches her kingdom in disguise he finds waiting three other suitors to her hand like himself. She, after consultation with her ministers, deposes him, seemingly as a condition for marriage, to discover a clue to the mystery of the mourning town of the Prince Gāo Savār, while really she intends him to be killed by its inhabitants in the attempt and never to return. The story then develops at great length with occasional divergences, and, at last, the darvesh is instructed, while in the act of suicide, to have patience and seek the help of King Jamshīd by some mysterious voice.

(5) The story of the Sag parast is placed, as in the *Murassa'*, after the third darvesh and coincides, in a high degree, with its account up to the point where the daughter of the vasīr brings the merchant before Jamshīd (or Azād Bakht). Further on, too, the agreement is conspicuous save that the merchant is thrown, instead of into one, into two wells on two different

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occasions and, that, once, his two brothers invite rich persons to a feast and, getting them dead drunk, kill them and rob them of their valuables, as also a few other minor details.

(6) The last darvesh is the third of the *Muraṣṣa'* who is presented in all the chief versions as Prince of 'Ajam but in this MS as that of *Khaṭā* o *Khutan*, and a new name, *Jān i A'zam*, is coined for him, which was probably suggested by a contemporary name, *Jān i 'Ālem* of the *Fasāna* o 'Ajāib. This story is the least altered of all the stories in consequence obviously of the fact that the writer's imagination was exhausted, at this stage, with creating new things and affairs in an effort to make his work appear original.

He introduces the story with the same hunting expedition of the Prince, the wounding of the deer, interview with *Su'mān*, the traveller, who is called here *Sanam parast* and whole details of his mercantile travels and love-adventures have been set out. But he is represented as being in love with the Princess, not of the

Franks as in other versions, but of Daryā i Shor. Towards the end, however, he loses sight of this innovation of his and mentions the father of the princess as the King of the Franks. The tale then progresses without change, and, finally, Jān i Ā'zam meets Bahzād Khā, his later lieutenant, at a rendezvous called Cahār Su bāzār, which, as is noteworthy, occurs, not in the fourth tale as here, but in the first darvesh of the Murassa'.

(7) All the foregoing stories end on fol. 152b but the MS. still covers about 128 large pages more. In the Murassa' and other versions the concluding account of Farkhunda Siyar occupies but a few pages in which a son is born to him through the blessings of the darveshes and the prince, when he attains to maturity, is married to the daughter of one Shāhpāl, King of Jinnāt, who, after a swift and sweeping search in the four corners of the earth, procures the lost sweethearts of the darveshes, bringing the tales to a happy and logical end. But in the MS. these brief events have been described with new episodes and lengthy details, and, as stated above, the story of the first darvesh of the original

is also thrown in here. (Folios 189a - 200b). In truth
the last narrative of the MS. is rather confused and
tiresome.

(4) Qāfil's Version.

This partial version, I.O. MS., U. 54, consisting of only two stories of the Cahār Darvesh, was, as referred to above, composed in 1832 by Muḥammad Hādī, Qāfil, and called the Marvārīd. The author states in his preface to the work on fol. 22b, among other things, that he read the first story of the Qiṣṣa e Cahār Darvesh, written by 'Murassa' raqam, ṣāhib', and was much pleased with it and that then it occurred to him that it would be nice if the remaining stories were rendered into 'Hindī'. Accordingly he obtained with some effort two more stories in Persian which he translated into simple 'Urdū' and gave it the title of Marvārīd. He incorrectly calls his stories those of the Second and the Third Darveshes; they are the tales of the Third Darvesh and the Dog-worshipping Merchant, respectively.

Qāfil follows the original in the Third Darvesh in every respect. But there is one particular, viz., Nu'mān, the traveller, tells the Prince of 'Ajam, the

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third darvesh, that he has a good-natured jin-companion who comforts him in his miserable solitary condition in the jungle, fol. 93a, which has been inserted by him in the story from outside. He also puts the last adventures of the Sag parast under the name of Saudāgar Bacoa e Āzarbaejān, fol. 163b, which shows that his stories were taken from B.M. MS. Add. 7677.

Qāfil seems to belong to the school of Lucknow but his style and diction are much simpler than those of the highly Persianised contemporary fable the Fasāna e 'Ajāib of Rajab 'Alī Beg, Serūr, of the same school. He has perfect command of expression and the ease and facility with which he narrates the tale and maintains coherence of thought arouse admiration.

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(5) Shamla's Version.

There is a book in the B.M. No. 14119. e.3.(4), of 83 pages with the incorrect title Bāg Bahār Maṣūm, published at Lucknow and translated into French by Garcin de Tassy but unknown in India at the present time. The name appears on the title page in all probability as a later substitute after the death of the author who originally entitled it Fasāna e Seḥr which occurs on p. 7 in the couplet

Blumhardt fixes its date A.H. 1283, A.D. 1866, which is not correct as can be seen from the following chronogram on p. 83

expressing 1273, 1856-57. In the beginning of the poem the author versifies some particulars of his life but he nowhere mentions his name. We know only his

nom de guerre which was Shamla. He was a native of Anūp Shehr (p.4) and employed in the Settlement Dept., being first posted in the district of Cānderī, against which he pours out abuses, and subsequently transferred to Hoshangabad where he had proceeded with his officer, one Mr. Thornton, whom he profusely and sincerely praises in the prefatory lines. Meanwhile probably the Indian sepoy mutiny breaks out, the land is involved in chaos and disorder and he is thrown out of his job. During this time he had leisure, and happened to peruse the 'Qissa e Cahār Darvesh' and decided to reduce it to verse form.

Shamla does not specify whether by Cahār Darvesh he means the Persian original, the *Murassa'* or the *Bāg e Bahār*. However he gives *Āzād Bakht* as the name of the king of Rūm

which occurs in the Persian text as well as in Amman's

work. The headings of the stories are in prose and exactly the same as those to be found in Amman, viz., 'Ser Pehle Darvesh Ki', and so on. The story of the Sag parast is narrated after the Second Darvesh. There are other indications which all go to show that Shamlā has versified Amman's Bāg o Bahār and has nothing in common with the Murassa'.

The stories are complete. Some of the minor facts are, however, abbreviated or in certain places omitted, for instance, the long interesting dialogue between Azād Bakht and his vazir Khiradmand or the campaign of Hufal against Hatan is dropped; a few episodes have been altered. As against all other versions Azād Bakht who ruled in Rūm, (Turkey or Asia Minor), includes among his subjects Hindūs also and says

Similarly in the tale of the Third Darvesh the Princess of Farang is described as the Princess of England

The poem is a masnavi, having the same metre as that of Mir Hasan's Sahrul Dayān, namely

The style is also an imitation of Mir Hasan who has been frequently referred to as an acknowledged master of poetry. His verses are also introduced in some places, for example, when King Azād Bakht suddenly sights the four darveshes and mentally discusses the impropriety of his intrusion on them or the hopeful prospects of meeting them he thanks God thus (p.7).

or again, p. 44,

or p. 50,

(Sahrul Bayān, B.M., No. 14119. e.22. (5)

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Shamla sometimes brings in one or two Persian verses but on p. 59 he has put in seven of them consecutively. The language of the poem is simple, lucid and forcible and flows without break. Towards the end, however, it loses its freshness and force.

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(6) Zarrī's Version.

Another version of the same romance is the *Nau Tarz i Murassa'*, written by Muhammad 'Evaṣ, poetically called Zarrī. It was published at Lucknow in 1869; one copy of the work is preserved in the B.M. and two in the India Office, but it is out of print and has never been mentioned in India, except in the recent publication, the *Arbāb i Naṣr i Urdū*, and even this contains only a cursory reference entirely based on the informative note by Blumhardt in the Catalogue of the B.M.

Appended to Zarrī's book is a short preface; it does not give any particulars of its author save that he was probably at or in the district of Lucknow in the private service of one Rājā Rām Dīn. But in it Zarrī claims that he is the original writer of the *Qissa e Cahār Darvesh* in Persian which his patron the Rājā used to read and enjoy and that one day the Rājā asked him to rewrite it in Hindī and he carried out the wish. He mentions this detail both in Urdū prose and verse and

pretends to fix the date of composition of the book in the following line

The concluding words 'Bāg o Bahār' in it also form a chronogram for Amman's Bāg o Bahār which yields A.H. 1217 or 1802 and not 1869 when Zarriṅ produced his version which, curiously enough, he entitles Nau Tarz i Murassa'. This shows that he was acquainted with the classical works of both Tahsīn and Amman, and only exploited their titles for his own end.

Apparently he had also read the stories in Persian as he makes use, for example on pp. 6, 7, and 11, of the distinctively Persian vocative expression, *Ac falān*, frequently occurring in all the Persian texts. Moreover, he depicts the slave girl of Yūsuf as very charming according to Pers. MS. Add. 7677. However, in other matters he follows Mīr Amman. In the story of the First Darvesh he calls the two slaves of the Princess of Shām Yūsuf and Shidī Bahār respectively, which names were

taken over by Amman from Tahsīn and which do not appear in any of the Pers. MSS. at all.

He has suppressed certain small episodes. In Amman the tidings of the return of the vazīr zādī and the arrival of Sag parast are carried to Āsād Bakht through his head chasseur who had by chance visited the Sag parast at his place of encampment, while in Zarri this news spreads of itself and gradually reaches the king. Zarri leaves out certain names as that of 'Isā, the surgeon, whose account, however, is given in full. He altered certain details as well, for instance in Amman, as also in Tahsīn, the Princess of Shām is married to the first darvesh with due matrimonial rites whereas according to him they both enter upon conjugal life without undergoing them. Similarly he mentions, as against all Persian and Urdū versions, the Princess of Zerbād as parda nashī. He has considerably abbreviated other very interesting events, reducing the stories to the insignificant volume of 52 pages which his book is.

All the main stories are, however, complete in

general broad outlines. Verses are used in profusion but they are all Urdū and none borrowed from Tahsīn or Amman. Probably they are his own composition but they do not conform to refined taste and discernment. His prose also exhibits the artificiality and bombast of Lucknow; it has no design and elegance of diction. At best his book is a summary of the Bāg e Bahār in an unpolished and much inferior garb.

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(7) Sarūr's Version.

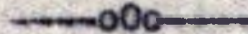
This last version is included in a book, entitled, the Kharīṭa e Sarūr, (B.M. No. 14119. e.22 (4)), which is chronogrammatic for A.H. 1290, A.D. 1875. The Kharīṭa is a collection of qasīdas composed and recited by several Hindustānī poets on the occasion of the marriage of Muḥammad Bahādur Khā, the heir apparent of Jūnāgarh state in Gujrāt, followed on pp. 89-145 by an adaptation in verse of the story of the Four Darveshes by Gulām Muḥammad Khā, Khabīr. This rendering is briefer than the preceding prose one but imitates Amman more closely. No traces of the Murassa' exist in it. Although the chief stories are given in their well-defined forms yet some important names and episodes have been omitted in it, e.g.,

- (1) Bahrvar - Second story;
- (2) Eloī e Farang - Sag parast's story;
- (3) Mu'mān - Third story;
- (4) Kai Khusrāu - Do.
- (5) Šādiq - Fourth story;
- (6) the episode of the Sag parast having been placed on the stake and rescued at a critical moment;
- (7) the whole story of the Rānī of Zerbād.

The poem, as usual, is a magnavi suitable for the narration of long stories. But all its characteristics are of a very common order and in no way commendable. It does not provide entertaining reading; its description is involved and too poor to attract attention. The style is crude and immature. Compared with the vital magnavi of Shamla the poem appears to sink into insignificance.

A HISTORY OF URDŪ PROSE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO 1775



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- (27) Anonymous Translations of Anvār i Suhailī, (1766).
- (28) Jahāgīr Nāma.
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- (30) Gulistā.
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INTRODUCTORY.

Investigations into the origins and the rise and growth of Urdū literature have only recently been inaugurated particularly since the establishment of the Osmania University in Hyderabad, Deccan, and a band of workers has taken the matter in hand with a seriousness of purpose demanded by the nature of the subject; a fairly considerable amount of literature has been brought to light and presented in some form or other to interested circles.

It goes without saying that the earliest foundations of Urdū literature were laid in the South of India instead of the North where the Urdū language was first launched on the stage of existence. Various reasons have been assigned by scholars to this astonishing phenomenon but in order to arrive at satisfactory results much remains to be explored. The obviously chief reason was the greater and deeper hold of the Persian language on the North than on the South. But even in the South there existed a strong objection to the employment of Urdū as the vehicle of thought of which evidence is available in

the utterances of Shāh Burhānuddīn, Jānam (d. 1582) who protests in his poem *Irahād Nāma* against the general spirit of his times which condemned the use of Urdū in preference to Persian. Moreover, those who for some reason or other started to write in Urdū wrote far more in Persian, e.g., 'Ainuddīn, Ganjul 'Ilm, Gesū Darāz and others.

In the following pages I have dealt with twenty-three prose-writers and their works and eight anonymous compositions. They embrace in all a period of five hundred years. During the first four centuries, that is, from Shekh 'Ainuddīn, Ganjul 'Ilm (1306-1393) to Shekh Mahmūd (1680-1704) there flourished 13 authors but they all wrote on the one theme of religion and mysticism. Of course, Vajhī introduced in his book, the *Sab Ras*, new topics which may be termed ethical, but they too have been treated from a mystic viewpoint.

The next century and a quarter, from 1650 to 1775, produced 16 writers of prose, (including Tahsīn), of whom 5 wrote on religion, one on a technical subject and 10 on literature.

The first purely literary Dakhnī works are the two translations of the Persian Tūtī Nāma, one by Muḥammad Qādirī in 1729 and the other anonymous in the B.M. of about the same time. Other non-religious writers in this period are:-

- (1) Zafallī, (1658-1713).
- (2) Muḥammad Ḥusain, Kalīm, (ab. 1750).
- (3) 'Uklat, (1759).
- (4) Muḥammad Shākir, (1762).
- (5) Anonymous Translator
of Anvār i Suhailī and other books, (1766).
- (6) Saudā, (1766).
- (7) Tahsīn, (1768).
- (8) Asrārullāh (1773).

Most of the works, especially the earlier ones are translations from Persian. The following are definitely known to be original:-

- (1) Mi'rājul 'Ashiqīn, by Gosū Darāz;
- (2) Kalimatul Ḥaqāiq, by Shāh Burhānuddīn, Jānam;
- (3) Ganj i Makhlīfī, by Amīnuddīn, I'lā;

- (4) Shekh Mahmūd's Tracts;
- (5) Zafallī's disconnected fragments;
- (6) 'Uzlat's Preface;
- (7) Inshā o Shākīr;
- (8) Saudā's Preface.

It is rather instructive to find that none of the Dakhnī writers call their language Dakhnī. They either name it Hindī or less often Gūjri.

It may also be noted that

the first extant Dakhnī prose is	Mi'rājul 'Ashiqīn,	(after 1400)
"	Northern	Zafallī's Fragments, (ab. 169)
"	Delhi	Faṣlī's Preface, (1732);
"	Lucknow	Tahsīn's Murassa' (1768).

As regards Ketelaer's and Schultz's prose it is open to doubt whether it is really their own composition.

It should be borne in mind that the illustrations of words and phrases cited in various notices may be found in other dialects of India but here they are mentioned as forming part of the Dakhnī vocabulary.

Language: There are certain obstacles in the way of study and determination of the lines on which the new

language of Urdũ was evolved. Most of the material hitherto discovered has not been published in its entirety and we have to depend largely on fragmentary quotations from manuscripts which are not long enough to give a correct idea of its progressive stages. However, it is possible to mention a few peculiarities.

The early writers had no prejudice against the use of Hindi words for holy ideas. To them a Hindi religious term was as valuable, sacred and expressive as a Persian or Arabic one.

They formed verbs directly from Persian and Arabic roots but their number is very small. They generally joined Arabic and Persian nouns and adjectives to Hindi auxiliary verbs and brought into being wholesale new Urdũ compound verbs.

They never tried to restore any corrupt words from Arabic or Persian to their original forms, holding that such words were now Urdũ, not Arabic or Persian.

Style. For more than two centuries the style seems to be governed by one law. The writers thought mainly of what they were going to say and not of the way in which

they were to say it. They cared so much for the matter that they did not give heed to the manner. The style, in consequence, was natural, easy and sober, never turgid or laboured, and if the import and force of the expressions are thoroughly realised, pleasant and enjoyable. With the great Gesū Darāz it was precise, compact and vital, avoiding all that was affected and ornamental. But from about the beginning of the seventeenth century the process was reversed. Ingenuity began to be displayed in striking out new paths to expression. In this Vajhī (1609-1635) gave the lead but he was greatly influenced by the high-flown rhyming and jingling methods of Persian.

Down to the middle of the next century the diction hesitated between the early simplicity and the later artificiality. In the North Faḡlī combined both phases but his own power of expression prompted him to be rather simple, independent and original. Saundā, however, does not rise above the level of semi-poetical prose, for he is anxious to appeal to the artificial taste of his age. Tahsīn was probably the creator in prose of the semi-Persian school of Lucknow, where learned rhetoric and flowery style are admired more than anything else.

SHEKH 'AINUDDIN

(1306-1393)

He is mentioned as *gūfi* but a perusal of the account of his life shows that he was more of a scholar than a mystic. As a recognition of his literary attainments he was commonly called, *Ganjul 'Ilm*, the repository of knowledge. He was born in Delhi in 1306 but he is not known there; he was famous in the Deccan where he is described in *gūfi* tagkiras and important historical works, such as, the *Tārīkh i Fīrashta*.⁽¹⁾

He left his native place at an early age and arrived in Gujrat where he prosecuted his studies for some years. He then went to the famous city of Daulatabad which was the capital of Muhammad Tuglaq (1325-51) at the time and also the centre of scholars, writers and holy men. Here he received mystic and religious education from various renowned personalities. In 1336 he proceeded to 'Ainābād Sāgar where he spent 35 years and finally settled down in Bijāpur, dying there in 1393 at the age of 87.

(1) Vide, *Urdū e Qadīm*, pp.39-41, by Shamsullāh, Qādirī of Hyderabad, Deccan.

He is acknowledged as a prolific writer. Some say he produced about 132 books of various descriptions. He wrote chiefly in Persian. But Shamsullāh, Qādirī, the author of the *Urdū e Qadīm*, (pp. 40-41) ascribes to him some tracts in Dakhnī prose of which three, he says, were preserved in the library of Fort St. George, together comprising 80 pages and treating of the elementary rules and precepts of religion.

There is a very valuable old catalogue in three volumes of Fort St. George in the India Office, entitled, *A Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the (Late) College Fort St. George*, published in 1857, which comprises three different collections, known as the "Mackenzie", the "East India House" and "Brown's". In its first volume, p. III, where the numbers of MSS. in each language are tabulated, there appear the number of 8 Hindustānī books which have been described with some details in another I.O. catalogue of the first of the above three collections, called, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental MSS. collected by Colin Mackenzie*, by Professor H.H. Wilson, Vol. II. pp. 145-146, but this list does not include any of the treatises referred to by

Shamsullāh, Qādirī. Nor are they to be found on its pp. CLXXVI-VIII., where under the heading 'Unbound Translations, etc., Class I. Persian', certain other important works have been mentioned. It may further be added that these MSS. of Fort St. George College have been incorporated in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, of which a voluminous Alphabetical Index is available in the India Office, No. 2. I. 19. Here also on the last three pages some other Hindustānī books are enumerated but none belongs to Ganjūl 'Ilm.

In view of these data the statement of Shamsullāh, Qādirī, seems to be doubtful, if not entirely incorrect. Possibly the tracts spoken of are preserved in some library other than that of Fort St. George.

SAYYAD MUHAMMAD.

(1321 - 1422)

He is better known under his surname, Gesū Darāz or the long-locked, and is one of the most popular saints of the Deccan. He was born in Delhi in A.H. 721, A.D. 1321. At the age of 4 or 5 he came with his parents to the south but on the death of his father had to go back to Delhi when 15 years old. As a result of the chaos and disorder that followed Amīr Timūr's invasion of Delhi in 1398 he again left that city; this time he went to Gujrāt and after staying there for some time finally fixed his abode in Gulbarga where he was treated with every mark of regard by Fīroz Shāh Bahmanī and ^{his} successor Ahmad Shāh. He died shortly after the latter's accession in 1422 at the age of about 105 lunar years, leaving numerous descendants in the enjoyment of great wealth and honours.

His tomb is held in the highest veneration in Gulbarga. Even Aurangzeb frequently prayed there while engaged in the conquest of that country, and it is customary for the Nizām of Hyderabad to take part in certain ceremonies connected with his anniversary.

He was highly educated and was a great scholar of Persian and Arabic. His writings number about 30 of which a few not

very important have been described by Shamsullāh, Qādirī. In the India Office Library the following of his Persian works on mystic topics exist, none of which, excepting (No.2), has ever been spoken of by writers in India.

- (1) Vajūdul 'Ashiqīn, (3 copies, and in MS. No. 1858 there are to be found some Hindustānī poetry and several prose pieces which will be discussed separately).
- (2) Asmārul Asrār.
- (3) Istiqāmatush Sharī'at, (2 copies, composed in 1390).
- (4) Tarjuma e Adābul Murīdīn, translated in 1410.
- (5) Hadāiqul Uns, compiled in 1422.
- (6) 'Ishq Nāma, contained in a collection of Sūfī works No. 1869, is wrongly ascribed to him in the I.O. Catalogue. We will refer to it below.
- (7) A life of the saint, entitled the Tārīkh i Husainī written in Persian by one 'Abdul 'Azīz and dedicated to Ahmad Shāh, Bahmanī, the first, and a collection of his letters, called, the Maktūbāt i Husainī va Khātima e Gesū Darāz, are mentioned in Stewart's Catalogue, pp. 30 and 37. Of the last-named elaborate work on the whole doctrine of Sūfism there are five copies in the India Office

Another work, the Khavāriqāt, containing an account of the life and deeds of the shekh, his descendants and spiritual successors, compiled in 1573 - 1574, is also preserved in the India Office.

The Javāmi'ul Kilm, discourses and spiritual teachings of Gesū Darās, taken down from his lips by one of his disciples, is catalogued in the British Museum.

Gesū Darās's main subject is mysticism and religion, the problems of which he sometimes explained to his disciples in the Urdū language of that time and at the request of some of them he compiled for the benefit of those who did not know Arabic or Persian several tracts in Dakhnī. The Secretary of Anjuman Taraqqī e Urdū, Aurangābād, Deccan, claims to be in possession of a number of them, but he describes only one, the Mi'rājul 'Ashiqīn. Shamsullāh, Qādirī, mentions another, the Hidāyat Nāma, by name only. Another book, called, the Nishātul 'Ishq, the Pleasure of Divine Love, a commentary in the Dakhnī language on one of the Ṣūfī treatises of the celebrated Gogul 'Azam, 'Abdul Qādir, Jīlānī, is ascribed by Shamsullāh, Qādirī to his grandson, Sayyad Muḥammad 'Abdullāh, Husainī. But Stewart

includes it among the works of Gesū Darāz himself in his catalogue on p. 182. I think Shamsullāh is mistaken, for, as it would appear from his statement, he never saw the book while Stewart examined it in the manuscripts of Tipū Sultān.

Recently Dr. Muhiyuddīn, Zor, has brought to light another of his prose treatises, called, the Risāla e Se Bāra, preserved in the private library of Nawāb 'Ināyat Jang of Hyderabad, Deccan, and mentions it, though very briefly, in his book, the Urdū Shāh Pāre, page 320, quoting from it about six lines on the topic of faith.

The Mi'rājul 'Āshiqīn has been published under the supervision of the Anjuman Taraqqī e Urdū, with an introduction by its Secretary in which, it may be noted, he has raised a doubt as to the authenticity of the authorship of the book. The question deserves more than a passing reference. The situation discussed by him at length may be summed up thus: He has got two MSS. of the Mi'rāj, one is undated; the other is dated A.H. 1176, A.D. 1762, and in the colophon contains the information that it was copied from another MS. which bore the date, A.H. 906, A.D. 1500.

All the three are described as by Gesū Darāz in the manuscript themselves. And, as the Secretary says further on, the Mi'rāj has been spoken of as his in an important voluminous Ṣūfī work, the 'Ishq Nāma, written between 1425 and 1458 by one of his disciples 'Abdullāh, who gives numerous details of his teachings and sayings. In the face of this evidence the Secretary indulges in a doubt and bases it on the ground that sometimes people write books and ascribe them to heroes and saints. Aḥsan i Mārihravī also re-echoes it, p. 40. In my opinion it is without sufficient justification. If we allow ourselves to be swayed by such misapprehensions all research will be suspended. The Mi'rāj, on the basis of the data furnished by the Secretary, should be accepted as a genuine work of Gesū Darāz which was compiled roughly between 1400 when he came back to the Deccan and 1422 when he died.

It is a brochure, comprising 19 pages and not 29 as stated by Aḥsan i Mārihravī, p.40, and dealing with the mysteries of Ṣūfism. Every theme begins with short quotations from the Qur'ān or sayings and precepts of the prophet in Arabic, followed by Dakhnī translation which is often so free or rather arbitrary that it can hardly be called a

translation, e.g. on p. 18 he translates Atuzzakāt by apnī hastī sab lutāna which means, give away all your selves. But zakāt is never selves, it is alms. Most of the interpretations are allegorical and throughout an effort has been made to educe some hidden meaning from a simple Arabic text, or put one into it. Nor is there any evolution of any mystic scheme based upon psychological or common religious experiences. The whole trend of his exposition of abstruse mystical matters is ascetic.

The treatise is published with some of the mistakes existing in the MS.

- (1) The language is in certain places not perspicuous and intelligible.
- (2) It is colloquial rather than literary and Arabic words are spelt as they were pronounced by the illiterate, such as, manā for mana', and ma'rīfat for ma'rifat.
- (3) It does not suffice for the expression of abstract ideas preached therein.
- (4) However, it affords interesting glimpses of the language of that period.
- (5) It abounds in Persian Ṣūfī technicalities. Nāsūt, (humanity), Malakūt, (the angelic world), Jabrūt, (the highest or empyreal heaven) and Lāhūt, (the

Divine Being realm), etc., are used unaccompanied by explanation.

- (6) Sanskrit words like nirgun (without human passions no longer used in standard Urdū are to be found in it.
- (7) In certain Persian words a redundant ye is added as in badbul for badbū, darmiyānī for darmiyān, bukhī for bukhī. Mahmūd Sherānī says, (Panjāb mē Urdū, pp. 80-81), that such annexation of ye is the tendency of Panjābī. In Delhi gamī for gam and qadīmī for qadīm are used to-day.
- (8) Persian and Arabic words appear firmly absorbed showing that the indigenous and the foreign elements were blended together long before the fifteenth century. Not only the compound infinitive formed from Arabic words, such as, ma'lūm Karnā, tamām honā, salām phernā are profusely employed but from the Persian farmūdan, farmanā, from guzashtan, guzarā, and from the Arabic Kharj, Kharaenā occur at that early period.
- (9) Distinction of gender was in a state of flux; bāt, ruh, dastār and poshāk are treated as masculine.
- (10) Sometimes Persian construction is followed too

closely, as, muqām uskā shaitānī nafs uskā amāra.

The following peculiarities of Gesū Darāz's language are still in vogue in the Dakhnī dialect:-

Haur for sur

naku " mat

po " par

ko " kar

aṇpaṇā for pahunchā

jhar " darakht.

He of the agent is not employed;

plural is formed by ā;

bolnā is very frequently used;

āvāz is masculine.

And the following words and forms are now obsolete in the Deccan:-

dasna (to see);

Kiyā (plural of Kī);

firashtā and bandā (plurals of firashta and banda respectively);

jāgā (for jagih, place);

te (for se);

lak (for tak);

E (for ye, this);

saknā (to be able), as an independent verb;

namāz Karnā (for namāz pāḥnā. It may be noted that

Ḥālī and Iqbāl, poets of the north, have used
namāz Karnā in recent times).

The style of Gesū Darāz is straightforward, lucid, and spontaneous. There is no redundancy or trace of effort. Though it is not marked by literary flavour yet in its simplicity it occasionally rises to eloquence. The sentences are terse and compact and move with vigour and force and not infrequently with grace. The author never excludes elegant Hindī words but weaves them into the texture of his composition with adroitness. He breathed a new spirit of freedom from the shackles of Persian and fostered the rise of Urdū prose.

The style of the Risāla e Se Bāra, spoken of above, so far as is possible to judge from a quotation of six lines, has the same vigour and spontaneity.

SHAH MĪRĀJĪ.

(d. 1496)

He was a native and one of the distinguished saints of Bijāpur and the first of a family which produced a series of writers and holy men of distinction. He was successor to another saint of note Khawāja Kamāluddīn, Bayābānī, who was second Khalīfa of Gesū Darās. Mīrzā Faṣṭhuddīn, Khāksār, believed to be the Amīr Khusrāu of the Deccan, was one of his disciples.

Mīrājī completed his education according to the standard of the time. His date of birth together with other necessary particulars of life lie in obscurity. However, he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and lived for twelve years at Medina, whence he visited Mecca each year as a pilgrim. From Medina he came to Bijāpur and dwelt outside the town. He died in A.H. 902, A.D. 1496, as expressed by his chronogrammatic ṣūfī title, Shamsul 'Ushshāq, the Sun of Divine lovers.

He used to teach and explain to his followers ṣūfī and religious problems in the old Dakhnī dialect and has left behind the following works in it:-

(1) Khush Nāma.

(2) Khush Nagz.

- (3) Shahādatul Haqīqat.
- (4) Ganj i 'Irfān.
- (5) Sharah i Margūbul Qulūb.
- (6) Jal Tarang.
- (7) Gul Bās.

All of these expound intricate topics of mysticism in parable and stories. The first four are ṣūfī poems. In the third the author makes the important statement that people in general do not understand Persian and Arabic so he chooses to write in "Hindī". The last two are mentioned by Shamsullāh, Qādirī, who says that he has perused them but he gives no account of them.

The Sharah i Margūbul Qulūb is a prose work. The Secretary, Anjuman Taraqqī e Urdū, has two MSS. of it which he described in the journal, the "Urdū" of April 1927, (pp.18-190). Both bear the author's name and are genuine. It is briefly mentioned by Aḥsan i Mārihravī, p. 42, who gives a short extract as specimen of the language. The date of composition of the book is not known for certain. Mārihravī puts it a year before his death.

The Secretary of the Anjuman Taraqqī e Urdū and others have thrown no light on the problem whether the Sharah i Margūbul Qulūb is an original work or a translation. I

have, however, found out a similar Persian text of which three manuscripts are in the India Office, one in the British Museum, and others, as stated by Ethé, in Vienna, etc. I examined the I.O. MSS. of which No. 1765, a Persian *magnavi* is entitled, *Targibul Qulub*, No. 1840, also a *magnavi*, *Margubul Qulub*, identical with the *Targib*, and, No. 1841, also *Margubul Qulub* (this name is mentioned in the MS. in different places, e.g. on fol. 20b, in a verse and on fol. 21a, in the colophon), but Ethé prefers to entitle it *Sharah i Margubul Qulub* on the strength of the name's having been written in English on the fly-leaf. This last copy is different from the other two preceding MSS. It is provided with (a) a prose preface, and (b) quotations from the *Hadis* and the *Qur'an*, accompanied by a kind of translation and short explanation in Persian, both prose and verse, the verses, which are few and far between, being the same as are to be found in the other two I.O. MSS. However, its last section entirely consists of verses in *magnavi*-form, and agrees with individual sections of the other two MSS. At any rate this MS. is much fuller but it is in no way a

Sharah as supposed by Ethé. Because if we detach the Persian text from the book the remaining Arabic fragments cannot constitute a continuous text by themselves and be called a book. The fact is that the real name of the treatise is Margūbul Qulūb as in the B.M. and Vienna copies also. The title Targībul Qulūb may be treated as an error on the part of the copyist of that MS.

The date of composition A.H. 757, A.D. 1356 is found in most of the copies. It is ascribed in the MSS. themselves to Shamsuddīn, Tabrizī, the spiritual guide of Jalāluddīn, Rūmī, but as Tabrizī died in A.H. 645, A.D. 1247-48, i.e., 112 lunar years before its composition, the statement, as rightly observed by Ethé, is absurd. But Ethé's remark, embodied in his note on MS. 1840, that "the author's name Shams which Rieu found in the last verse of his copy is missing" in MS. 1841 is equally erroneous. This name actually occurs in one of its concluding verses on fol. 76b.

The Dakhnī version by Mīrājī is the real Sharah and follows the outlines of MS. 1841. It opens with a short introduction with praises of God and the prophet and with translation and explanation of certain verses of the Qur'ān and then, and the traditions, in accordance with all the Persian MSS., it is divided into ten chapters, viz.,

Chapter I. on Penitence.

- " II. " the Path of Ṣūfism.
- " III." Ablution.
- " IV. " Abandonment of the World and its Vanities
- " V. " Celibacy and Retirement.
- " VI. " Knowledge of Self.
- " VII." The Divine Love.
- " VIII. " " Beloved.
- " " IX. " Death and Life After Death.
- " X. " The Last Journey.

Every chapter, like its Persian original, is prefaced with some text of the Qur'ān or the traditions, mostly the latter, and then follows the commentary with a thread of Ṣūfistic sentiments, running through it.

The Secretary, Anjuman Taraqqī, has quoted about three large pages of the Dakhnī text which is coherent, clear and perfectly intelligible. Mīrājī's style is simple, flowing and emotional. Some of the constructions are, however, loose and the phraseology is dialectic. Persian and Arabic words corrupted by the illiterate are not restored to their proper forms. Madat is used for madad and vaṣā for vaṣ'. Sarānā from the Persian sarāidan, (to praise), and navāznā from navāzhtan, (to bestow), are of frequent occurrence. Baisnā (to sit), of Gujrātī derivation, is

also there. Andhlā is used for andhā, (blind), and aṇṇā for pahumēnā, (to come to hand).

SHAH BURHĀNUDDĪN.

(d. 1582)

He was the son and mystic successor of Shāh Mirājī and poetically called Jānam. He is reported to be a great scholar, a Ṣūfī and a man gifted with qualities of both heart and head. He obtained complete literary training from his father and was fond of music, the modes of which he supplied in his dohrās. Nothing is known about the date of his birth but he died in 1582.

He⁽¹⁾ wrote more verse than prose to instruct his followers in religious and mystic ideas of which the followi

(1) Vide, The 'Urdū', July, 1927, pp. 519-544.

9 poems, mostly short, are extant:- (1) Vaṣīyatul Hādī; (2) Sukh Suhailā; (3) Manfa'atul Imān; (4) Mukta e Vāhid; (5) Nasīmūl Kalām; (6) Rumūzūl Vāṣilīn; (7) Bashāratuz Zikr; (8) Hujjatul Baqā; (9) Irshād Nāma; and (10) Bayān i Khulāṣa. The last is rather doubtful, but in the last but one which is fairly long he tells us that his contemporary men of letters who gleefully indulged in Persian considered it below their dignity and taste to employ old Urdū as the vehicle of expression and that he, realising the absurdity of the idea, made it a point to address the people in the language understood by them.

So far as is known he compiled only one prose book, the Kalimatul Haqāiq⁽¹⁾ which is of considerable length, dealing, as usual, with mystic themes in dialogue-form. In some places, which are few, the questions and answers are both in Persian. The author calls his language sometimes "Gujri" and sometimes "Hindī". It is full of Hindī expressions and only tinged with Gujrātī, e.g., he uses baishnā for beṭhnā. Persian and Arabic terms and phrases do not

(1) Vide, The "Urdū", July, 1927, p. 539.

preponderate but the sum-total is Urdū in its earliest manifestations. He wrote the Arabic 'alaḥda as alāhdā and retained the linguistic peculiarities of his predecessors. However his style is simpler than his father's.

'ABDULLĀH

(ab. 1622).

There exists no information regarding this author save that he was a contemporary of Muḥammad Qutab Shāh of Golconda (1611-1625). He wrote in 1622 a prose work under the name of Aḥkāmuṣ Ṣalāt, which was first discovered and described by Naṣīruddīn, Hāshamī, the author of the 'Dakan mē Urdū', p. 31. It contains, as its name implies, rules for prayer and a compendium of tenets of the Ḥanafī sect. It seems to be a Dakhnī translation of some Persian book.

Aḥkāmuṣ Ṣalāt embodies all peculiarities of the old Dakhnī, Kainā is used for Kahna, Kīyā in plural form for Kī and so forth. The language is not loaded with high sounding Persian words; even the popular word vaḥdānīyah

is avoided in favour of *ekpanā*. The diction, however, is not characterised by literary polish, ten successive sentences terminating with one and the same predicate '*jātā hai*'. Certain clauses are constructed after the Persian original. But the language as a whole is plain and direct. Nothing is involved or unintelligible. It seems to be a great improvement on the preceding prose attempts. This may be due rather to the fact that the instructions conveyed in the book are not mystic in their nature. The book is of immense value for linguistic study.

A similar metrical work with interlineal prose has been discussed below, (p. 235).

THE MIPTĀHUL KHAIRĀT
(1630)

It is an anonymous prose work most probably of the same period of early seventeenth century described in the '*Dakan mē Urdū*'. It is an exposition of primary beliefs and religious duties the knowledge of which is incumbent upon a good Muslim. The tract, whose author seems to be a sort of Puritan Maulvī, is couched in lucid and intelligible

language, but it pretends to be rather learned. Its style, however, contains modern tendencies. There are indications of the book's being a translation from some Persian original. It is not less valuable than the preceding work. MSS. of both are preserved in the State Library, Hyderabad, Deccan.

VAJHĪ

(ab. 1609-1635)

This eminent poet and prose writer is mentioned by Indian biographers as a contemporary of King 'Abdullāh Qutab Shāh (1035-1083 = A.D. 1625-1672), but obviously he lived long before that time; he enjoyed the position of poet laureate of Qulī Qutab Shāh (1580-1611) whose imaginary love-adventures he has related in his remarkable poem, Qutab Mushtarī, composed in 1609, I.O. MS. p. 1332, fol. 58. From the prologue of this masnavī we can gather that Vajhī was brought up in an environment in which old Urdu literature had already gained ground. He was a native of

Golconda and by religion was an orthodox Shī'a. He made satiric attacks on most of his literary compatriots, especially against the famous but conceited Ḥavvāshī. He was also attached to the court of 'Abdullāh Qutab Shāh, with whom his relations were close and friendly for a long time and at whose command he translated in 1635 the celebrated Sab Ras into Dakhnī prose from the Persian prose romantic fairy story, the ⁽¹⁾ Husn-i-Dil by Yahyā, Fattāhī of Neshapur who died in A.H. 825, A.D. 1422. The original book is not bigger than a tract but Vajhī has added considerable matter relating to mysticism, intellectual and moral qualities, such as bravery, reason, love and the like, enlarging the size of the book considerably. His version, of which two MSS, are extant in the State Library of Hyderabad, Deccan, was versified by Zauqī in 1697 and Muḥṣinī in 1702 under the titles of Viṣalul 'Ashiqīn and Gulshan i Jashn i Dil respectively.

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The Sab Ras, which has recently been published by the Anjuman Taraqqī, with a valuable introduction, has a preface in which the author states, on p.8, that one day his royal

(1) For further particulars regarding the origin of the story see Preface to the printed Sab Ras, pp. 7-12.

(2) Another of Vajhī's prose works on mysticism, called, Tāj Haqāiq, is mentioned by name on p.5 of the above preface.

patron, whom he mentions simply as 'Sultān 'Abdullāh', "was seated on the throne and on some mysterious intuition impulse he called him and showing extraordinary kindness asked him to write a book on Divine Love which might perpetuate his memory. He (Vajhī) obeyed the order and produced the present book which he named Sab Ras, that is, having all tastes as it was the Queen of Books, dealing with subtle and deep topics and clothed it in the most eloquent 'Hindī' language which even the writers of Hindustān, (Northern India), never attempted."

The outstanding features of the book is ^{that} it contains one long continuous story on a mixed subject of religion, mysticism and ethics. The mystic tone, however, dominates and with the aid of allegories metaphors and allusions the Muhammedan Sūfī system is unveiled and gradually developed. The working and struggle of the human emotions are discussed with charm and beauty and all the characters have allegoric names, such as, Heart, Love and Faithfulness.

The language of the book is literary in the true sense of the word. Vajhī had a difficult task to perform and he acquitted himself with credit. His treatment is quite simple and the narrative is clear and flowing. The prose is both rhythmical and rhymed and believed by some critics to

be modelled as regards its style on the prose of Zahūrī. I do not think it is. Zahūrī's Se Naṣr is the greatest masterpiece of prose having refinement, spontaneity and majesty unequalled. It is almost the last word in the florid Persian style cultivated in India; while Vajhī's style was only the beginning of that ornate Urdū prose which found its culmination in the last school of Lucknow and of which Ḡalīb was sometimes fond. It has glaring signs of labour, artificiality and immaturity, and occasionally grammar is sacrificed for the sake of rhyme and high-sounding words. This fact, however, does not detract from Vajhī's fame. All have paid tribute to his genius and attainments as he laid down the true foundations of literary Urdū prose.

He calls his language not Dakhnī but Hindī; adorns his descriptions with Persian and Urdū verses and Hindī kabits; freely intermingles Arabic, Persian and Hindī proverbs and sayings and well-known texts from the Traditions and the Qur'ān. He uses khābar, sharāb, ḡurat and ḡunyā as masculine, sī for gā as the sign of future, gamseā and bhāiyā as plural of gamsa and bhāl. He adds

for the sake of emphasis, a oo at the end of his words which is common in the Deccan up till now. With him qālnā is dālnā, qānt is dānt, and tūtā, tuṭeā. Instead of ghar ghar and rag rag he says ghare ghar, rage rag. Like his predecessors he changes the 'ain of the Arabic words into alif, such as, nafā, (nafa'), manā, (mana'), vaṣa, (vaṣa'), ṭamā, (ṭama'), vāqā, (vāqi'a), māmlā (mu'āmala), and employs them as rhymes which to-day the laws of poetry do not allow. Andeshā (pondered over) as past tense from the Persian andeshīdan occurs in one place, and farmūdī instead of farmūda is formed from farmūdan.

MĪRĀJĪ OF HYDERABAD

(d. 1659)

His full name was Shāh Mīrājī Ḥasan. He was sayyad by caste and employed in one of the important state departments of 'Abdullāh Qutab Shāh, (1625-1672), which was called "Ālam i Rozgār". Once the king sent Ḥasan on a political mission to the ruler of Bījāpur and when he was about to return he happened to meet the saint Amīnuddīn, 4'lā, the subject of the notice after the next, and was so impressed with ^{his} Sūfī attainments and culture that he placed himself under ^{his} spiritual direction and later on, on his death, he

became his Khalifa. He was looked upon as a very virtuous and holy man. He died in the year 1659 and was buried outside the city of Hyderabad.

He was commonly known by the title of Khuda Numa (God-displaying). It is said that Aurangzeb in his interview with him put the question to him, "Are you Khuda Numa?" to which he replied, "If I am not Khuda Numa I must be Khud Numa", that is self-displaying.

Khuda Numa is reported to have composed a number of Dakhni tracts on Sūfism. But one of his books noticed by Professor 'Abdul Haq in the "Urdū" of April 1928, is of great importance. It is entitled Sharah i Tamhīd i Hamadānī or Sharah i Sharah i Hamadānī. Haq has secured two very valuable MSS. of it, probably copied in the author's life-time. One MS. contains the remark, "the original book of 'Aimul Quṣṣāt is in Arabic, Hazrat Banda Navāz Gesū Darāz has written a commentary on it in Persian and that Sayyad Mīrājī Haidrābādī has compiled his commentary in the Dakhni language." But this statement seems to have been added by the copyist, and, as Haq rightly observes, is baseless. The original book was composed not in Arabic but

in Persian, and, as it would appear from Ḥaq's long notice, there is no MS. of the Persian original extant in Hyderabad and consequently he was unable to compare the Dakhnī version with it and to form definite opinion about it. But fortunately there is available in the library of the India Office a very distinct Persian MS. No. 1793, splendidly adorned with gold and sprinkled with silver throughout which formerly belonged to Tipū Sultān. It is called the *Tamhīdāt i 'Ainul Quṣṣāt* and is a work on the ṣūfī doctrine. It has nothing to do with Gesū Darāz. It was compiled by Abul Faṣāil 'Abdullah Almiyāji with the honorary epithet, 'Ainul Quṣṣāt i Hamadānī, who was a pupil of Shekh Ahmad Gasālī, (the brother of the celebrated Algasālī) and put to death in A.D. 1138. The book is divided into ten Aḥs or chapters, the last being the longest.

The word *Sharah* in the name of the Dakhnī rendering of the *Tamhīdāt* suggests that it is an annotation of the original but Ḥaq (and following him Shamsullāh, Qādirī, also) takes it to be a translation. Ḥaq has a copy of Ethé's Persian Catalogue in which the opening passage of the Persian original in praise of God is quoted and was

in a position to compare it with the corresponding sentences of the Dakhnī Sharah. So far as these sentences are concerned the latter appear to a slight extent as translation. But my comparison of the fairly long concluding passage of the Dakhnī, cited by him in the "Urdū," with the I.O. Persian MS., fol. 170a, reveals the fact that Khuda Numa's book is certainly not a translation. Nor is it a commentary in the strict sense of the term. It is more of the nature of adaptation in which the original teachings have been not explained but expressed in a new perspective and in a language which has absolutely nothing in common with the original.

The style, though crude and colloquial, is natural, simple and flowing, but it does not seem fitted for the expression of abstract sufistic thought. It contains all the elements of the old Dakhnī:-

Tumī	for	Tum ne, (nom. you).
je	"	jo, (which, who).
munje	"	mujhe, (to me).
nako	"	na, (not).
mangnā	"	māngnā, (to ask for).
gālnā	"	galānā, (to melt).
oākhnā	"	oakhnā, (to taste)
jālnā	"	jalānā (to burn).

tasallī honā for tasallī pānā, (to be satisfied).

khōṛ " khoṭ (defect).

are to be found in abundance. Similarly navāzanhārā and denhārā (bestower) also occur. He also uses the following words which probably fell into disuse very early in the history of the language:-

Bāj = without

nihnavād = child

hīrā = flesh.

MIRĀ YA'QŪB

(ab. 1668)

He belonged to the Golconda group of writers and flourished roughly in the middle of the seventeenth century. He was himself no saint but he had a mystic frame of mind and believed in saints. He was also a poet.

Ya'qūb translated into Dakhnī the Persian Shama'ilul Anqiya (and not Atqiya as usually hitherto written) va Dalā'ilul Atqiya, under the same title. It is an extensive

dogmatic work on the principles and traditions of Sūfism compiled on the basis of some hundred Arabic and Persian treatises by Ruknuddīn, 'Imād who was a pupil of Shāh Burhānuddīn, Garīb (died A.D. 1331). 'Imād wrote it at the request of his shekh. A good MS. of it exists in the India Office Library, No. 1836. It is divided into four subjects and ninety-one bayāns. The subjects treat of (1) the mystics; (2) the prophets; (3) the Essence of God and finally, (4) the Creation of Adam and the nature of Vice and Virtue, etc.

A manuscript of the Dakhnī translation is preserved in the Āṣafīa Library, Hyderabad, Deccan, No. 663. Specimen passages of the language are given in both the Urdū e Qadīm and the Dakan mē Urdū. The translator prefaces his work with a description of the circumstances in which it was undertaken, the chief of which are that his spiritual instructor asked him to render the shamāil into "Hindī zabān" so that every one could get access to it but the translation could not be started until his death which occurred in 1667. He was succeeded by his nephew Shāh Mīrā son of Sayyad Husain and then the translation was executed. Evidently it was completed a year later in 1668.

The language of Ya'qūb is very old Dakhnī; *kiyā* plural of *kī* and *bahūt* for *bahaut* still linger on. *Bakhānnā* (to praise) and *kudhan* in the sense of supernatural deeds also occur. The style of the book, however, is clear, simple and attractive. The sentences and the general flow of the construction is in no way subordinated to the Persian original. He uses *Urdu* verses most probably his own.

AMINUDDĪN Ā'LĀ.

(d. 1675)

His nom de plume was *Amīn*. He was the son of *Shāh Burhānuddīn* and a contemporary of 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, King of *Bījāpur* (1656-1672). He was born after the death of his father evidently in 1582. The date of his own demise is supplied by the phrase "*Khatm Valī*", A.H. 1086, A.D. 1675⁽¹⁾

(1) The death of his grandfather took place in 1496 and that of his father in 1582. These dates are too far apart. Unless one or two generations are presumed missing they do not seem possible.

He was generally believed to be a mādar zād vallī, a born saint. He held a very high rank as Ṣūfī and had a large number of disciples of whom the most brilliant was Shāh Mirājī of Hyderabad. Many supernatural deeds are ascribed to him by his credulous biographers. His habits were not conformable to the religious ^{laws}, nor did he observe the daily prayers, and Sikandar Shāh, the second, ruler of Bijāpur, ordered, by way of punishment, that the people should boycott him entirely. Accordingly he remained segregated for a time, till at last, it is said, he performed his prayers in a miraculous way on the surface of a lake without being drowned. The biographers record that he passed most of his time in trance and his poetical utterances during this state of mind were taken down by his disciples and collected in a book, called, the Javāharul Asrār. The author of the Urdū e Qadīm, as he tells us on p. 77, saw the book, at Vellore, which covered 500 pages. The library of the Editor of the Tāj referred to above includes two of his treatises in verse, entitled the Qurbīya and Vajūdiyā. He also wrote a panegyric in praise of his father and two other poems, Muḥib or Muḥabbat Nāma and Rumūsus Sālikin.

Professor Haq has discovered two of his brochures in

Dakḥnī prose, the Guftār i Haṣrat Shāh Amīn, treating of the doctrine of the mystic and explaining its technical terms, and the Ganj i Maḥfī, forming a theme of Shāhid o Maṣḥūd (the Seer and the Seen). But he cites specimen extracts from the Ganj alone of which Aḥsan i Mārīhravī, p. 45, reproduces a few lines.

His language drops out most of the characteristics of his father's and grandfather's prose. Neither Hindī Yogi words nor Arabic and Persian words occur frequently. The style is no longer crude and immature. Still there is evidence that the language is not standardised and the writer despite great command of expression and simplicity seems conscious of the poverty of the language he had to handle.

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The following two authors were first described by Shamsullāh, Qādirī and have subsequently been referred to by most biographers. Unfortunately no further information is available concerning them in this country and I have no alternative but to rely absolutely on the authority of Shamsullāh and to content myself with the reproduction of the meagre details supplied by him.

SHĀH MUHAMMAD, QĀDIRĪ

(ab. 1675)

Aminuddīn Ā'lā was succeeded in his line of mystic teachings by another great personality, Sayyad Shāh Muhammad, Qādirī, who was the founder of a distinguished family, the Nūr i Daryā of Fīroz Nāgar, now called, Raichur, and which is included in the Dominions of the Nizam. Originally Qādirī belonged to Bijāpur.

He is reported as having composed in Dakhnī several prose treatises, dealing with the same Indo-Islamic problems of mysticism. Shamsullāh has himself read two of them in MS.; they throw light on the subtle questions of the Unity of God and the Fate of Man.

SAYYAD SHĀH MĪR

(ab. 1680)

He is said to belong to the same period as Shāh Muhammad Qādirī, and has been mentioned with practically no particulars either of his life or of his prose work, known by the

title, the *Asrārut Tauhīd*, excepting that he was a native of the village *Rācautī*, that his book formed the subject of the doctrine of the Unity of God and that a MS. of it is preserved in the private collection of *Shamsullāh*'s friend, the Editor of the now defunct journal, the "*Tāj*".

SELEKH MAHMŪD
 or QĀZĪ MAHMŪD BAḤRĪ
 (ab. 1680-1704?)

There is a Persian manuscript No. 1858 in the India Office Library, containing two books of the saint *Gesū Darāz*, the *Khāfina* and the *Vajūdul 'Ashiqīn*. Its folios 145-160 are filled by another hand with some *Hindustānī* poetry in *masnavī*-form and several small prose treatises, partly in *Hindustānī* too, partly in Persian, dealing mostly with the same topics of *Muḥammadan* creed from a *Sūfī* standpoint. The author's name or the date of composition of the prose-pieces which are purely *Dakhnī* in character is not given. However, in one of the *masnavī* verses which precede the prose there occurs, on fol. 151b, the name

'Shekh Mahmūd' as nom de plume, who is evidently also the author of the prose.

Among the early Dakhnī writers two Mahmūds are known. One is Sayyad Mahmūd mentioned by Vajhī in his prologue to the poem Qutab-Mushtarī, I.O. MS. P. 1332, spoken of above, and the other more celebrated Qāzī Mahmūd Bahrī. Apparently ours is not Sayyad Mahmūd as he styles himself Shekh. The other Mahmūd is characterised by all biographers as only Qāzī. He certainly was not Sayyad as this epithet, denoting high birth-distinction, is covetously retained in their names by descendants of 'Alī, especially so in olden times when an unduly great importance, verging on superstition, was attached to this feature. The absence of it simply implies that Qāzī Mahmūd was Shekh and therefore probably the author of the Dakhnī pieces contained in the MS.

He was a prolific writer of mystic views and flourished towards the end of the seventeenth century and after. He belonged to a village, called, Gogī in the kingdom of Bijāp

He held an appointment in the court of Sikandar 'Adil Shāh in 1684 and went to Hyderabad two years later. On his way he was attacked by robbers who carried away all his possessions including his writings. In 1700 he composed a mystical poem, the Man Lagan, which has been printed. It was shortly after annotated and called the Arat Man Lagan. He also wrote love poems and elegies, etc.

His prose in the I.O.MS. is divided into five parts, each separate from the other. The first consists of a commentary on the significance of (بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم), the second sets forth the five duties incumbent upon a good Muslim, the third certain points about prayer and cleanliness; the fourth explains the expediency of prayer and the fifth those conditions which nullify an ablution.

The prose style of Shakh Mahmūd is marked by simplicity and harmony. Not a single sentence merges into obscurity. The language is made up of all the Dakhnī vocabulary. The for se, madat for madad, mane for mē, hallū for hole se, and ba'd az for ba'd azā are to be found.

MĪR JA'FAR, ZATALLĪ

(1658-1713)

He was a native⁽¹⁾ of Narnaul in the modern native state of Patiala and born shortly after the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707). His father was one Sayyad 'Abbās, a shop-keeper by profession, whom he lost at an early age and was then brought up by his uncle. On leaving school he obtained service as horseman under Kām Bakhsh, the youngest son of Aurangzeb, and went with him to the Deccan. It is said that Zebun Nisā, the daughter of Aurangzeb, gave Ja'far the sobriquet of Zatallī, "the Jester".

Īzād for the first time introduced his name as writer of Urdū prose (Ab 1 Hayāt, p. 23), but his observations about him are so ambiguous that they practically mean nothing. I have studied five MSS. of his Kulliyāt preserved in the India Office and the British Museum, viz.

(1) I.O. U.55

(2) " P.2746

(1) See Panjāb mē Urdū, pp. 195-204, and India Office Catalogue of the Hindust. MSS. pp. 70-71.

- (3) I.O. U. 56
- (4) " U. 57a
- (5) B.M. Or. 387.

He wrote chiefly in Persian and seems to be a good scholar and master of that language but he is the most remarkable figure as satirist unsurpassed by any known writer. From Prince to plebeian none could escape his boisterous and savage attacks. His language is always bitter, abusive, sometimes leaning towards pleasant humour and sparkle but often it is so obscene and filthy that it can not be published without deletion. However, he has unique brilliance and power to turn an ordinary point to animated ridicule.

His Kulliyāt is a curious mixture of Urdū and Persian. Though it is short yet it contains numerous glimpses of the Urdū tongue of his time. The Persian prose in two of the above I.O. Copies, P. 2746 and U. 56, and in the one B.M. MS., is interspersed profusely, in addition to words, phrases and expressions, with Urdū proverbs and sayings of which some examples can be noticed in the B.M. copy on folios 29a, 29b, 30a, 32a, 33a, 36a, 39b, 43b, 46b, 48b and 56b. On 21b and 22a there are whole Urdū sentences smoothly linked together with the Persian text, and from

fol. 23a to 26a there is a continuous piece of Urdu prose of more than two and a half pages, comprising a recipe with imaginary names of medicines, instructions as to its use and the benefit likely to be derived from it, and is characterised by the same satirical wit of Ja'far. All these various bits are together sufficient in amount to fill about six or seven pages.

So far as is known Zattali's is the first Northern attempt at prose as distinguished from Dakhni. His style is natural, spontaneous and flows without break. His language looks colloquial but it is well balanced and apparently written with conscious effort. He was fond of rhyme and rhythm but with him this artificiality enhances the beauty, force and elegance of his utterances. He joins Hindi and Arabic words together in such a way that their bonds seem to burst but in reality they create a perfectly harmonious and delightful effect, as in *Cū ghar gharāhaṭur ra'd filganām*; sometimes he humorously forms his Hindi tenses by means of Persian conjugational terminations, for example, *na hallad na ṭallad na jumbad sa ja*. The proverbs that he has quoted are current in Urdu in the same forms up to the present time, as, *tujhe parāi kiyā paī tu apnī naber, bāsi rahe na kuttā khāe*.

JOHN JOSHUA KETELAER

(d. 1716)

Ahsan Mārihravī, ⁽¹⁾ mentions him and his Hindustānī Grammar from which he quotes a piece of Urdū translation. He obtained his material which is extremely sparing of details from the journal, the Urdū of January, 1924, not available in this country.

We are, however, not without further^{light.} Benjamin Schults or Schultse, whose work on Grammar, I.O. MS., P. 2531, originally written in Latin in 1741, will be discussed in the following pages, makes an important reference to him in his preface and most of the facts supplied by him are corroborated by Grierson in his notice of him in the Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX. Part I., p. 6. We extract the following particulars from them both.

Ketelaer was born at Elbingen in Prussia. His date of birth is not known. He was, however, accredited to Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh (1708-1712) and Jahādār Shāh (1712) as Dutch Ambassador, and in 1711 he was appointed the Dutch East India Company's Director of Trade at Surat, which post he held for 3 years. In 1716 he was sent to Persia as

(1) See Mārihravī, p. 58.

Dutch envoy. While he was returning from Isfahān he died of fever at Gambroon on the Persian Gulf "after having been two days under arrest because he would not order a Dutch ship to act under the Persian Governor's orders against some Arab invaders". According to Mārihravī he died the same year 1716.

Schultz states that he resided at Agra but Grierson says, "he passed through Agra both going and coming from Lahore", between December 1711 and October 1712, "but there does not seem to be any evidence available that he ever lived there though the Dutch Company had a factory in that city subordinate to Surat. Schultz speaks of him in glowing terms. "He has", says he, "certainly the merit of making it ('Hindustan language') known and recommending it to the attention of the adepts in the Oriental tongues, and, by his illustration of laying open a path to a new extensive tract of erudition which we have now enlarged."

Ketelaer wrote a grammar and a vocabulary of the "Lingua hindostanica" which was published long after his death in 1743 by David Millins ('Mill', according to Grierson), Professor of Sacred Antiquities of Asiatic

Languages at Utrecht in his *Miscellanea Orientalia*, described briefly by Grierson on p. 7 of the *Linguistic Survey*. The date of composition of the book is assumed both by Grierson and Mārihravī as 1715.

Grierson discusses it largely as a work on Grammar but to me its principal interest consists in the fact that it includes the version of the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, of which a specimen of the last is quoted both by Grierson and Mārihravī. Its singular value is that it is the earliest known translation from any European language into Hindustānī. The style of the passage is artistic, fluent and simple. Another interesting feature is that it follows the foreign construction very closely, the translator keeping in view probably the revealed nature of his subject.

SHĀH MUHAMMAD VALĪULLĀH, QĀDIRĪ.

(d. 1731)

He has been noticed by Nagīruddīn, Hāshimī, in the *Dakṇ Mē Urdū*, pp. 116-118, and should be distinguished from his namesake Valī, the celebrated poet of the Deccan. His father was Shāh Ḥabībullah, qādirī, who advised him, (as he states in the preface) to translate into the Dakṇī dialect the Persian work, *Ma'rifatus Sulūk*. His date of death A.H. 1144, A.D. 1731, is mentioned in another MS., called the *Mishkāt i Bahūvvat*.

The translation was made in 1697, of which two MSS. can be consulted in the State Library, Hyderabad, Deccan, one is dated 1780. Nagīruddīn, Hāshimī has quoted a specimen of two pages from the Dakṇī *Ma'rifatus Sulūk*.

The original work deals with or rather repeats the same sufistic ideas and theories common to the Muhammedan world in those days. The problems of Existence, God, Oneness of God, Mind and its various selves, avarice, envy and animosity and other kindred matters are all discussed in the light of the Quranic teachings supported by Ahādīṣ (Traditions) and stories connected with apostles

and prophets.

The translation follows the original faithfully as can be seen from the construction of some of its sentences. It is strewn with all the Dakhnī elements, such as, haur (and), and yo (this), etc. Kitāb Karnā, (to write a book), which probably was never popular, is to be found in one place. But its diction is not obscure, stilted or difficult to understand. It is easy, sober and impressive and shows scholarship and mastery over the subject. In Valīullāh's hand the language also does not seem to be poor in expressions and expressiveness. It inclines to be literary and majestic rather than colloquial and commonplace.

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MUHAMMAD QĀDIRĪ

(ab. 1729)

In 1729⁽¹⁾ he translated into Dakhnī prose *Ẓiā o Nakḥshabī's* Persian *Tūtī Nāma*, (the Tales of a Parrot), itself based upon a Sanskrit original. He has retained the same name for his book and added a preface in which he gives his name as above. But he should be differentiated from another Muhammad Qādirī who made a Persian abridgement of the original and from whose book *Ḥaidar Bakhsh*, *Ḥaidarī*, of Fort William fame, translated his *Toṭā Kahānī*.

The Dakhnī Qādirī has explained that as the Persian work lacked terseness of expression and was difficult of understanding he felt it desirable to put the stories in easy and polished tongue so that all may be able to enjoy them. But his diction is full of archaisms, ungainly idioms and cumbersome constructions on account of which it was never popular.

(1) See *Mārīhravī*, p. 62.

ANONYMOUS TRANSLATION OF TŪTĪ NĀMA.

(18th Century)

There is another Dakhnī prose translation from the great Abul Fazl's abridged Persian version of the same tales preserved in the B.M. MS. Add. 10589. It comprises two hundred pages. The author is not known, nor the date when the rendering was undertaken. Blumhardt places the date of transcription in the eighteenth century. The language, however, seems to be much older, at least of the early time of Valī (1667-1741). The translation is interlineal and runs parallel with the Persian text, but it abruptly ends at the 35th tale and is not elegant. It follows the original too closely, losing vitality and naturalness of construction. In some places where the idea is not sufficiently expressed once, the sentences are repeated with some improvement. Its language shows throughout a severe struggle between its own mode of structure and that of the Persian to which it is subordinated. However this very long piece of old prose is highly valuable in so far as it provides interesting and instructive specimens of the early stages of the language.

FAZL I 'ALĪ

(1711-1756)

He is the author of the celebrated *Dih Majlis* which was described by Āzād as the first book of Urdu prose, written in A.H. 1145, A.D. 1732. Āzād did not give his full name, mentioning him only by his nom de plume, Faḡlī. He placed him in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719-1748) and quoted a short extract from the preface of his book. Since Āzād all biographers have been repeating the same meagre details and basing on this quotation their criticism of the language which is not justified.

Karīmuddin, (*A History of Urdu Poets*, p.57), gives his full name and a much larger part of his preface. From the remainder of the preface which he has omitted, and which in all probability contained a good account of the author's life, he furnishes the information that at the time when Faḡlī wrote the *Dih Majlis*, his age was 22. At the end of the preface Faḡlī himself supplies two other dates, one of which, A.H. 1145, A.D. 1732, is yielded by the word *mazhar* occurring in a *qata'* and the other A.H.1170

A.D. 1756, is obtained from a whole couplet. The first, as he says, is the date of the completion of the book for the first time and the second that of its revision. From these figures it may be computed that he was born in 1711 and lived at least till 1756.

He gives his father's name as Nawāb Sharf i 'Alī who was apparently a man of means and consideration. The native place of Fazlī is shrouded in darkness but from Karīmuddīn's statement, as well as that of Āzād, that he was a contemporary of Muḥammad Shāh, it is evident that he belonged to Northern India. Besides, Fazlī in relating with enthusiasm and minuteness of detail the story of an inspiring dream which he had, makes mention of a building which in its characteristics he likens to "Qadam Sharīf". This well-known building, supposed to contain some marks or relics of the foot of the prophet, still survives and is situated in the west of the town of Delhi, and affords the clue that he was a native of Delhi - a surmise which is considerably strengthened by the peculiarities of his idiom and style, to be considered presently. He was apparently Shī'a by sect. He was also a poet. Karīmuddīn states that he wrote many invocatory poems and margīas of which he cites specimens, but they are not of great poetic merit.

As indicated by the preface Faḡlī originally styled his book, 'Karbāl Kathā'. Karīmuddīn changed it into Dih Majlis, notwithstanding the fact that the book comprises twelve majlises. It is said to be the translation of the Persian Rozatush Shuhadā, recording an account of the martyrdoms of 'Alī and his family, and written by Ḥusain Vā'iz, Kāshifī. But according to Faḡlī it is not the translation of the complete book but of its Persian Khulāṣa or summary. Karīmuddīn possessed a copy of it and perused it from beginning to end. No MS. of it, however, is known to exist.

It was, as Faḡlī tells us, first written in simple, easy language which even "women and the uneducated" could understand. Later on it was revised and made ornate by the introduction of artificial and conventional elements. In any case the main text was couched in language much simpler than the language of the preface of which the most florid piece is the one quoted by Azād which but shows how up till the age of Azād balanced structure and highly embellished prose was indulged in and admired. The rest of the preface which is itself mutilated covers five pages and suffices to give an idea of the potentialities of the prose which was possible in Faḡlī's time. Its language is majestic, compact, powerful and flowing. If we leave out a few sentences

which are consciously arranged to evoke harmony and rhyming sounds the style is wonderfully natural and simple. Even to-day a writer of the old school can not produce better prose. Fazlī's subject is religious, but his style is literary through and through. He has expressed himself with great ability and erudition and his expressions bear indisputable evidence of being "Dehlvi"; as in the following illustration:-

I have, indeed, no hesitation in calling it the oldest known Delhi prose. It seems that he was of the type of a Maulvī. He employs learned words of Persian and Arabic extraction, but they are almost all such as are common among the educated Urdu-speaking class of any period. He

really knows the value of words and avoids cumbersome phrases. He uses few archaic words:- lākin for lekin, lag for tak, and farmāe for farmāyā.

THE ANONYMOUS PROSE VERSION

OF THE SHARĪ'AT NĀMA

(1736)

A work, entitled, the Sharī'at Nāma, India Office MS. P. 1236, was composed by Shāh Malik (not Mulk, as Blumhardt writes in the I.O. Catalogue) of Bijāpur in 1666 of which a much earlier MS., dated 1699, is preserved in the library of the Editor of the journal, the Tāj. This latter was perused by Shamsullāh, Qādirī, who in his article on Shāh Malik, (vide Urdū e Qadīm, p. 88), calls it Ahkāmuṣ Ṣalāt after the name of a similar prose book by 'Abdullāh noticed above on p. 202.

The I.O. metrical Sharī'at Nāma is identical in subject matter with 'Abdullāh's Ahkāmuṣ Ṣalāt, but ^{it} contains

interlinear paraphrase and occasional explanation in prose from folios 8b to 48a. The name of the author of the prose is not traceable but on fol. 47b he provides in a note between the lines of the original poem, the date of his writing as 1736. His language is pure Dekhni; though it is dialectic yet the writer has taken pains to avoid looseness and redundancy.

Firashtē, plur. of firashta, (angel)	occurs on fol. 12b;
achnā, (to be or to remain)	" " 14b;
lokha for loga, (people)	" " 15b;
and Hallū for haule se, (slowly)	" " 38b.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN, KALIN

(fl. 1750)

He has been mentioned by several biographers. He belonged to Delhi, and, as Mirzā 'Alī Lutf (Gulshan i Hind, B.M. No. 14114.a.a.22 (3)), says, ranked among the best poets of that city. He was a near relation of Mīr Taqī, Mīr; and was already dead when Mīr Hasan wrote

his tagkira of Urdū poets in 1776.

He translated into Urdū the famous Arabic work on mysticism, called, the *Faṣūḥul Hikam* by Muḥiyuddīn Ibnul 'Arabī, and also wrote an original prose treatise on Prosody. Mīr Ḥasan and Mirzā 'Alī Luṭf both concur in saying that he composed another book in 'Hindī' prose and Mīr Ḥasan gives an illustrative quotation from it which is, however, too artificial in its style to be of any value. In it Kalī refers to the tragic event of the Emperor Ahmad Shāh's having been blinded by his Prime Minister, 'Imādul Muḥk Qāmīuddīn Khā, which suggests that the book was written after 1754. However all the three prose works, alluded to above, together with other necessary facts of the author's life, are buried in oblivion.

BENJAMIN SCHULTZ

(d. 1764)

He was a German by nationality. He studied and, as he claims, probably knew Hindustānī very well and translated a considerable portion of the Old and the New Testaments.

Some useful particulars of his life are to be found in the English rendering of his Hindustānī Grammar, (originally in Latin), I.O. MS. P. 2531, jotted down in occasional notes by the translator whose name does not appear anywhere and

who derived his information from a journal, called, the *Gent: Mag:*, vol. 15, June, 1745, and also in a note, based on an Annual Register for 1764, and embodied in another MS. P. 3423, styled, the Persian, Hindustānī, Arabic and Sanskrit Miscellanies, which also contains a part of Schultz original Latin Grammar. In his preface to the Grammar Schultz himself furnishes some facts of his literary activities. From these various sources I am able to piece together as below some sort of sketch of his life and work:-

Schultz was a Protestant missionary from the Court of Denmark at "Tranquebar in the East Indies". He lived for 24 years in the town of Nagapatnam. He was the oldest and most active minister of the Bible and applied himself with uncommon ardour to the duties of his calling. In 1725 he finished the translation of the Bible into the Malabarian speech which was originally commenced by one Ziegenbalg. In 1726 he went to Madras to re-establish a charity school: three years later he wrote some short rudiments of the Telegu language. Finally in 1764 he is reported as "dead lately".

He was well acquainted with Tamil, through which and Telegu, as he says, he learned the Hindustānī language; he

mentions the difficulties he had to encounter in these early days in the acquisition of his linguistic knowledge. He translated into Hindustānī the Psalms of David, Daniel's Prophecies, the Song of the Three Children, the History of Susanna and the two Elders, of Bel and the Dragon, together with the first four chapters of Genesis, none of which is extant to-day.

At Madras he completed on the 30th of June, 1741, his Latin "Grammar of Hindostan Language", I.O. MS., under review, which was printed at Halle in 1745. On the title page of the MS. occurs the remark: "With which are blended further observations on the language collected in Bengal in 1761". It comprises an instructive preface dealing with the origin of the Hindustānī language, which is described as "common through all the dominions of the Great Mogal", and explaining the sub-divisions of the Grammar, of which the last section on Syntax embraces Hindustānī translations of

(1) The Apostles' Creed;

(2) The Lord's Prayer;

(3) The Decalogue;

(4) The Baptism;

and (5) The Lord's Supper.

The language of these prose fragments is rather of the

Madrasī-Dakhnī type which is often heard spoken in the streets and among the families of Hyderabad. It is vulgar and colloquial, used by the illiterate and the menial class of people. In the Apostles' Creed 'he shall come to judge' is translated by 'Kutvāl (Commissioner of Police) ho ko āvegā.' An attempt of this description can be called prose only by courtesy. Arabic and Persian words, though not assimilated with taste and adroitness, are sprinkled through. The sum total is old Urdu in some form or other; the translation is compact and follows the original faithfully and serves splendidly the purpose for which it was made.

'UZLAT.

(ab. 1759).

His name was 'Abdul Valī. He was a noble and a native of Surat and passed the last part of his life in Hyderabad. According to one authority he took up his abode in the vicinity of Lucknow and attended the court of Aurangzeb at Delhi who ruled from 1658 to 1707. He was alive in 1759 when a copy of his famous Rāg Mālā, I.O. MS. P. 2380c

and also of his selected Kulliyāt, I.O. MS. P. 2380d, and
 not Divān of Gasals, as stated by Blumhardt, ⁽¹⁾ was made by
 his desire, the latter to be presented to one Nawāb Mumīr-
 uddaula.

The Kulliyāt contains an autograph note on the fly-
 leaf and is introduced with a short preface of 2 pages in
 prose with which we are concerned here. 'Uslat begins it
 with the praise of God and the Prophet, gives the name of
 his father as Sayyad Sa'dullāh and then sets forth the
 reason which prompted the selection which he had executed.
 He asserts, though in a very humble tone, that his Kulliyāt
 has poetical gems scattered throughout and that his poetry
 is stamped with loftiness of thought, delicacy of emotions,
 melody and rhythm.

His prose is clear and beautiful with an admixture
 of Hindī words and phrases. There occurs only one Dakhnī
 word, karanhār, and no Gujrātī. It seems that through his
 long association with the artists of the North of India he
 came to discard the archaic expressions of the Deccan. His
 piece can very well compare with the contemporary prose of
 Saudā. However it is here and there marred by the artificial

(1) Vide Blumhardt, I.O. Cat. p.55.

arrangement of jingling and rhyming words not conforming to canons of grammar and by similes and metaphors too rich and too many for the very limited scope of his preface

POTHĪ SALOTRĪ KĪ

(ab. 1761)

This is a MS. unearthed in the Punjab by the author of the Panjāb Mē Urdū, who places it after the middle of the eighteenth century in about 1761. It is written in nasta'liq and comprises 26 pages, the last folio missing. The name of the author is not traceable. He was, however, as shown by certain definite proofs in the manuscript, a Hindu.

From the introductory paragraph, giving the story of a Brahman, named, Aspat, and his son Salotar (the word means a horse-doctor) it appears that the book was originally composed in some other language, probably in Sanskrit, by Salotar who entitled it after his own name. The present treatise may thus possibly be a translation.

The subject dealt with in the book is implied in its

title; it is a sort of hand-manual for horse-doctors, and is divided into the following ten sections:-

- (1) The Breeding of Horses.
- (2) The Training of Horses.
- (3) The Feeding of Horses.
- (4) Evil Omens connected with Horses.
- (5) Ages of Horses.
- (6) Purchase of Horses.
- (7) The Breeds of Horses.
- (8) Qualities of Horses.
- (9) Diseases of Horses.
- and (10) Their Treatment.

Sherānī has given a very short quotation of the original text. It suffices, however, to show that the Arabic and Persian element strewn throughout is in right proportion. But pure Panjābī words are also freely used. Te comes for se as in the old Dakhnī, and ar for aur. The writer does not seem to possess perfect command of the language and his style is rather loose, unpractised and in no way literary.

MUHAMMAD SHAKIR

(ab. 1762)

He is the author of an I.O. MS. P.2675, of about a hundred pages, described in the catalogue with considerable details, under the heading miscellaneous. But as a matter of fact it is a book on the art of writing in general and mostly official and legal composition in the Hindustānī language and should have been classified accordingly. The name of the book, not noticed by Elumhardt, is written thus in English on a leather piece attached to the fly-leaf:-

"Inshah Shahkry

In Indostan language"

The definite date of its composition is not to be found. Some of the specimens of the documents, however, are dated and the dates range from 1733 to 1762. Moreover, on the first page of the preface appears the signature of one William Bolts for whom the present copy, as stated in the colophon, was made by one Sirājuddīn, Hāṣūrī. Bolts is mentioned in Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography. He was born, perhaps, in 1740; was a merchant of Dutch extraction: being in Calcutta in 1759 he joined the East

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India Company's service: was Second in Council at Benares, 1764: being censured by the Court of Directors for his private trading he resigned in 1766: quarrelled with the Bengal Authorities, was arrested in 1768 and deported to England.

The latest date, 1762, in the MS., and this one, 1768, give us a clue to the period to which the MS. apparently belongs, and I much prefer the earlier of the two years as Bolt's date is that of the I.O. MS. and not that of the actual compilation of the work.

The name of the author is given in the preface as Munshi Muhammad Shākir whom Blunhardt believes to have been in the employ of the East India Company as Secretary to Bolts. In the fairly long preface of the book there is nothing to warrant this view. However, since in some groups of the correspondence are included, as in group No. II., replies to letters issued by the E.I.C., and in No. IV., letters from Clive, Macdowan, Drake and others, and in No. VII., a farman from Emperor Shāh 'Ālam, notifying that the village authorities in the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had been ordered to give every assistance to the E.I.C. in the establishment of factories it is evident that Muhammad Shākir had some connection with the early British officers and traders. The writer

of the preface is one Šabrullāh, probably a relation of the author who states that the original drafts were collected and arranged by him. Nothing further is revealed about Shākir. He was probably a Bengālī as in his compositions besides the hijrī era he makes use of the Bengālī and the Vilāyatī eras, both of which are discussed by Cunningham in his Book of Indian Eras on p. 82 in connection with the Bengal Faqlī san.

The book consists of a collection of official and other letters, farmāns, orders grants, petitions and other documents. The correspondence is compiled and designed, as observed by Blunhardt, for use as specimens. It is, so far as is known, the first book of its kind on the subject in Hindustānī. Its most striking feature is that many of the persons to whom letters are ascribed and round whose personalities hang numerous entertaining and sometimes serious particulars are, against all expectation and custom, not unreal and imaginary but are all living and historical figures, and some actually contemporaries of the author, such as, Shāh 'Alam, Nādir Shāh of Persia and Muḥammad Khān, Baṅgash, Nawāb of Farrukhābād and innumerable rajas and native governors. And they are treated in ^{such} a way that a sense of reality seems to pervade the letters. On fol. 44a a letter is addressed to Shāh 'Alam, setting out in detail

"the round of duties which was practised by his father and should serve as a guide for his conduct in the administration of the kingdom." Such facts incline me to the opinion that some of the documents may be translations from Persian originals.

At the end two historical anecdotes are also annexed: one is concerned with a Turkish emperor and "his exhortation to his ministers on the duty of abstinence and the evils of profligacy", and the other with Alexander the Great, "who, when about to die, commanded that his hands should be placed outside the bier, thus signifying his going empty-handed to another world, without taking with him the vast wealth and possessions he had acquired."

Blunhardt says that the documents "are written in an ornate style of Dakhnī". His view is not completely justifiable. None of the old or modern Dakhnī vocabulary we have cited in the notice on Gesū Darāz or other writers of the south has a place in the text. Similarly Dakhnī grammar is not in operation. He of the agent is used; the plural sign ā in vogue in the Deccan even at the present day is in most cases replaced by ū. Satī for se is employed not infrequently as in the Dakhnī dialect, but, as we know, it was common vi

the northern writers long after the date of this manuscript. In Dakhnī of all times the word *bolnā* is used in season and out of season but this prose avoids it more frequently than even the standard prose of the north. *Mē* is so often *mane* in the Deccan but here it is always *mū*. One tendency is very conspicuous. Most substantives are treated as masculine: *tāqat*, fol. 21a, *ḥayāt*, fol. 28b, *khābar* and even 'aurat, fol. 29a, are included in this category. The famous instance of the Bengālī-Urdū dialect, *hatnī āyā* is indicative of the same attitude towards the gender of nouns. In fact, *Inshā e Shākir* is not a Dakhnī production but a Bengālī manuscript and is attended by all the evidence of Bengālī-Hindustānī. Besides, most of the persons and events narrated in the correspondence belong to the north and to the east. In none of the letters the Dakhnī Faṣlī era introduced by Shāhjahān and current up till now in the Deccan is used. The MS. is written with vowel signs and even the Persian and Arabic words are not excluded from this innovation. Probably this feature is also Bengālī and is not met with in the MSS. copied in the Deccan.

As regards the style of the book it is ornate in the preface which was, as pointed out above, written by one Ṣabrullāh, and also in the beginning few letters

but further on to the end it is simple, clear and intelligible. There is nothing obscure, laboured or turgid. The same standard of clarity and expressiveness is maintained in all the compositions from the legal petitions to the historical anecdotes. It is characterised slightly by excessive use of Persian and Arabic words which are, however, well chosen. Archaism and evolutionary features of the language make it less effective. But as a whole the prose is of the right sort and has much value.

AN ANONYMOUS TRANSLATION, IN HINDUSTĀNĪ,
OF THE ANVĀR I SUHAILĪ
(ab. 1766)

There are six manuscripts of this name preserved in the India Office, (vide Hindust: Cat: pp. 44-46), and one is contained in the B.M.MS. Add. 19811. An investigation into the language shows that they are various copies of the same translation. The translator's name does not appear, but I have reason to believe that it was, together with other facts of the translator's life,

given at least in the B.M. MS. on its missing fol. 8, as the opening lines on fol. 9a (with which the MS. begins), which are continued from the previous page, afford the information "in the service of a French land-holder he translated the following works into Hindūī:-

- (1) Anvār i Suhailī.
- (2) Jahāgīr Nāma.
- (3) Abul Faẓl 'Allāmī.
- (4) Inshā e Yūsufī.
- (5) Tūtī Nāma.
- (6) Gulistā.

and (7) Bostā."

On the fly-leaf of the I.O. MS. U.42 is the name of a former owner, Randolph Marriott, with the date 1766. Of the remaining I.O. MSS. four belonged to Richard Johnson, who lived in India during the time of Warren Hastings (1772-1785). The language and script of the translation are old: to all appearance it was executed before 1766 and hence it falls within the range of our enquiry.

Of the Persian original there are several MSS. in the India Office. No 3137 is probably the best and I have made use of it for purposes of comparison. It is, as is well-

known, itself the modernised translation of *Kalaila* and *Damna* by Husain son of 'Alī Vā'iz, Kā shifī, (died 1505), based on a version by Naṣrullāh, a century older.

The Hindustānī renderings are all either incomplete or defective. The first I.O. MS. U.42, however, is the best of the collection. It includes the translation of Husain Vā'iz's preface, a list of the contents of the books, of the story of Hāe Dābshalīm and Baidpāl Brahman with 14 precepts and of Four books out of Fourteen of the original Persian. It is not improbable that the Hindustānī translation was originally complete and is now only partially extant. However, the present volume covers 872 pages and is indeed a great work of Urdū prose. Further examination has disclosed adequate grounds for believing that MS. U. 42 is the oldest of all copies and probably the original copy of the translation. There are certain peculiarities of script in this MS. in common with *Inshā e Shākir* of the preceding notice:-

- (1) Most of the Hindī words are marked by vowel signs, such as *fataḥ*, *kaara*, etc., while the Persian and Arabic words are not;

(2) the majhūl ye is expressed by kasra, the letter
tue by te, sīn by se and gāf by kāf, and so on.

These peculiarities are less apparent in the other MSS.
than in the I.O. MSS. U.43 and P. 1899, which signifies
that their script is better and that they are of later
dates.

Blumhardt's very short notes on these MSS. are cor-
rect. But the opinion expressed in the note of I.O. MS.
U. 42, and also in the B.M. MS. Add 19811, that the lan-
guage of the translation is the Dakhnī dialect is in-
correct. On the latter MS.'s fly-leaf there is a note
in English:-

"The Kūlīlah Dumna or Pilpay's Fables 'in Moors
Language spoke in Bengal' but wrote in the
Persic characters."

Evidently it is also a Bengal manuscript in Bengālī-Urdū
and is of importance on this account. It contains most
of the linguistic characteristics discussed to a certain
extent in the article on Inshā e Shākir. Its language
is sprinkled with archaic element. Mū or bīc occurs
invariably for mī and andhyārā for andherā. It is at

times colloquial: māfiq, fol. 13b, jad and tad, fol. 15a, take the place of muāfiq, jab and tab, respectively. Infinitives like guzarnā and baḡhshnā derived from the Persian imperatives are also to be found and the ordinary Hindī verbs mostly have the forms pāonā, pīonā, gāonā and uṭhāonā for pānā, pīnā, gānā and uṭhānā. Even the Perso-Hindī farānā has undergone the same change and comes as farmāonā. Ab o havā and ḡikāyat occur as masculine.

Much thought and labour seem to have been devoted to the translation which is very faithful and correct. Nothing has been avoided or omitted: even verses of great Persian poets with which the original text is strewn and which are of frequent occurrence in all Urdū prose, have been translated into prose. The language furnishes very good examples of the rise and evolution of Urdū and the extensive and penetrating influence of Persian on it. Most of the words extracted from the original and re-instated in the rendering are such as suit the nature of Urdū. Unwelcome instances, however, are not altogether wanting. The Persian āre (yes or verily), the compound madadgārī (for madad, assistance) and the Arabic vajah

(for tarah, way) are used, which had never gained currency in Urdu.

The translation is flowing, clever and perfectly intelligible. But as it follows the original strictly it could not develop a style of its own: it sometimes verges on looseness. The Persian text is enveloped in a mist of flowery rhetoric and superfluity of language, cumbersome allusions and endless metaphors; so is the translation. But the work as a whole is a meritorious and accurate performance.

It may be noted in conclusion that there are other prose versions, partial, abridged as well as full, of the fables of Anvār Suhailī, written by Mirsā Mahdī probably in 1796-97 (B.M.MS. Add. 25873), by Ḥafīzuddīn Ahmad and revised by T. Roebuck in 1805, by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm in Dakhnī in 1822, by Faqīr Muḥammad Khā, Goyā, in 1838, by Nawāb 'Umar 'Alī Khā, Vapnī, in 1862-63. The only known metrical translation was made by Jānī Bihārī Lāl in 1879.

Of the remaining translations made by the writer of the Anvār i Suhailī, only the following portions exist.

They are to be found among the leaves of the B.M. MS. of the *Anvār i Suhailī*, No. Add. 19811.

(1) Jahāgīr Nāma. (fol. 86b-101a). This translation, as indicated in the red-ink heading, pretends to give an account of the first six years of Jahāgīr's reign, (fol. 87a). It starts with a long letter from the King of Persia addressed to Jahāgīr and then sets down certain events, particularly connected with Kabul, of the fifth year of the Emperor's reign, (88a), followed by a story of Mūr Jahā, the favourite wife of Jahāgīr which is intermingled with numerous details of performances by jugglers. On fol. 91b some particulars are supplied of the seventh year after Jahāgīr's accession to the throne. Finally the chapter closes with the story of a pugilist surrounded with other tales.

It is worthy of mention that in the Persian original there have been circulated two distinct works of the memoirs of Jahāgīr, called the *Jahāgīr Nāma* or *Tuzuk i Jahāgīrī*. One of them, the B.M. MS. Add. 6554, is universally rejected as spurious for it is confused in its arrangement, and makes up for what it lacks in historical

facts and precision, by digressions and irrelevant subjects and silly stories. Our translation is stamped by the same defects.

(2) A translation of a tale from Sa'dī's Gulistā, containing the dispute of Sa'dī with a pretended Darvesh as to the qualities of the rich and poor.

(3) Abul Faḡl 'Allānī. (Fol 105a-112b). By this title the translator evidently means the Mukātabāt i 'Allānī which name is to be found in the preface on fol. 105a. Mukātabāt are Persian letters written by Abul Faḡl, also called 'Allānī, the Secretary and Minister of Akbar, partly in the Emperor's name, partly in his own, which were collected and edited in 1606 by 'Abdus Ṣamad, the son of Abul Faḡl's sister. A MS. of the Persian work is in the B.M., No. Add. 6548.

The present Hindustānī translation consists of two letters from Akbar, the first to the king of Persia (fol. 106a-110a) and the second to 'Abdullāh Khā, ūzbek, (fol. 110a-112b).

The peculiarities of the script, the language and the style of the three foregoing translations, the Jahāgīr

Nāma, Sa'ad's tale, and the Mukātabāt are exactly the same as those of the Anvār-i-Suhailī.

SAUDĀ

(1713-80)

Mirzā Muḥammad Rafī', Saudā, son of a merchant was born in Delhi in 1713. He received liberal education from Shāh Ḥātam who spoke of him with feeling and pride. He flourished at a time when Delhi was an object of repeated shocks and onsets of invaders and consequently life, property and honour were not safe. He chiefly relied on his patrons who treated him with munificence and respect. He captured the attention of Shāh 'Alam, King of Delhi, Shujā'uddaula and his son Asafuddaula. But Saudā's temper was fiery and easily aroused at the merest trifle and his tongue was quick at making a sharp or satirical retort. This caused serious ruptures and quarrels with his royal patrons as well as with his literary contemporaries. He was once reduced to a state of extreme poverty. He went to Farrukhābād where he stayed for a short time and finally settled down at

Lucknow in 1771-72, where he was created by Āḡafuddaula poet laureate with a grant of an annual stipend of Rs. 6,000/- and where he died in peace and comfort. ⁽¹⁾

He was universally considered to be the greatest Urdu poet and he has written copiously. ⁽²⁾ His immense services to the language are unique. He raised its prestige, enriched its vocabulary, widened its range, created original idioms and constructions and fused and blended Hindi and Persian words, and in short, he made the language flexible, nervous and capable of being wielded for any purpose. Though Saudā's chief domain was poetry yet he has left two pieces of prose.

(1) A prose translation of the Maḡnavī Shu'la e 'Ishq (flame of love) of Mīr Taqī is mentioned by Āzād: perhaps it is no longer extant. In this connection I have examined sixteen Kulliyāts of Saudā preserved in the B.M. and the India Office, vide, Blunhardt's Catalogues, pp. 28-32, and 76-80 respectively, some of which are excellent copies. One I.O. MS. P. 353, written perhaps under the author's supervision, was presented to Mr. Richard Johnson, Banker

(1) See Ab i Ḥayāt for a full account of his life and work.

to Warren Hastings, who wrote with his own pen on the recto, "the gift of ye author Mirza Sauda". Another I.O. MS. P. 2119 is the most complete collection of Saudā's works, a copy of which was made for Mr. J.W. Taylor, Professor of Hindustānī at the College of Fort William, covering 1146 very large-sized pages. All MSS. contain one or other of Saudā's compositions but his translation of Mir's *Magnavī* is non-existent. It must, however, be borne in mind that Āzād speaks of it as if he actually possessed a copy of it which was not with him at the time of writing about it.

The other prose is a preface said by Āzād to be prefixed to Saudā's *Dīvān* of elegies of which he quoted a little more than a paragraph. This piece also was unprocureable during the last 50 years. *Aḥsan i Mārīhravī*, (p. 72), has only recently given it in its entirety. It is to be found in three of the B.M. MSS. of Saudā's collective works, Egerton 1039, Add. 16879 and Add 8922, and in two of the I.O. MSS., U. 63 and P. 2119. The one existing in the I.O. MS. P.2119 is free from mistakes and a comparison of it with *Mārīhravī*'s quotation has revealed certain

grave errors in the latter.

However, it is not a preface, as hitherto described by all writers, but a letter addressed to one ordinary poet, Mir Muhammad Taqī Mir, alias Mir Ghāsi, as written in one of the MSS., viz., Add. 8922, fol. 220b. In it Saadā appears pouring out ridicule upon Mir Ghāsi and speaking glowingly of his own genius, outstanding qualities and achievements. However he pays his homage to Muhtashim, the famous early writer of Persian marsīyas. He further says he has been practising the art of poetry for forty years. Born in 1713 he should have written the letter-preface between the ages of 55 and 60, that is to say, between 1768 and 1773.

The language of the preface is semi-poetical, teems with Persian phrases and contains Arabic aphorisms. It is difficult and occasionally involved. Grammar is sacrificed for the sake of measure which has produced an incongruous effect: all sentences are high-flown and metaphorical and adorned with Persian verses: balanced structures and carefully prepared antitheses reign supreme.

Saudā in his prose is tied down to his age and has hopelessly yielded to its singular taste and custom. It should, however, be remembered that if he had adopted simpler methods of treatment he would have been put down as vulgar and uncultivated. Nevertheless, there is something about the diction which makes it look vigorous and majestic and shows the writer's mastery over the language he is employing.

Saudā uses the word *ṭhor* meaning place by itself. To-day it always comes in the phrase *ṭhor ṭhikānā*. *Gosh i dil denā* (to listen very attentively), which did not acquire citizenship in the language, also occurs.

ASBĀRULLĀH'S MADĀRUL AFĀZIL

(ab. 1773-1774)

Under the title of *Madārul Afāzīl* there is in the library of the India Office a Persian-Hindustānī lexicon of 3 large-sized volumes, covering about one thousand pages in which the Persian or Arabic words are defined in Urdū sentences. Names of diseases and medical terms, literary expressions and phrases, nomenclatures of Philosoph

Logic and Astronomy are not only attended by long explanations but in certain cases elucidated by interesting anecdotes and thus a definition develops in a whole paragraph sometimes extending to two pages. The notes on sakta (apoplexy), on tasdīs (an old Astrological term, literally meaning to divide into one sixth part) and on galāsa e gassāla (the three glasses of a special wine used in the morning to alleviate sickness arising from intoxication) are all instances in point. And if the explanatory passages on historical persons be detached from the lexicon and pieced together they will, no doubt, form a short treatise on biographies. I therefore have no hesitation in including it in my sphere of discussion.

Blumhardt has described the three volumes of the Madār under I.O. Nos. P. 767, 1650 and 1503. It is a translation from a Persian original, bearing the same title, by Alāhdād Faiṣī of Sarhind, who according to a chronogram, 'Faiṣ 1 'Ām', completed it in 1593. There are 3 copies of this Persian original in the India Office of which I have used for comparison the one catalogued under No. 2472 which was transcribed for some Hindu scholar. It is complete from alif to ye but the Hindustānī rendering

breaks off after the letter kāf. In the beginning of the first volume there are up to several pages side by side with Hindustānī definitions of the Persian and Arabic words Sanskrit synonyms written in Deonāgrī character which fact denotes that in its original scheme the book was trilingual but the Sanskrit equivalents could not be all filled up. The one thousand pages of the existing volumes were written in two years' time from 1773 to 1774 as indicated in the colophons.

The lexicon is unaccompanied by the translator's preface. But from the colophons of the second and the third volumes it is clear that it was translated by one Asrār-ullāh who was a close friend of one Mr. Chandler of mystic views for whom either the translation or these copies were made. The place is mentioned as Maqūdābād, probably an alternative name for Murshadābād. Hence this also is a Bengal composition like the Inshā e Shākir and the Hindustānī Anvār i Suhailī, some peculiarities of the script of which are to be found in it.

Its language is tinged by unfamiliar modes of expression and absence of quaintness. It is also archaic to

a slight extent. But there is not the least Dakhnī ingredient in it. Sometimes it is too subordinate to the Persian texture. But simplicity of diction is its key-note; it is mostly spontaneous and has no sign of labour. Occasionally it is eloquent and never overlaid with ornaments and figures of speech. It has a natural impressive and admirable style of its own.

The translator uses invariably the colloquial word daryāo for daryā and renders the Persian nīz by the incorrect expression aur bhī; the plural of ādmī appears as admiō and khush āyā occurs for pasand āyā, and so on.

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