

GARCIN DE TASSY

The Authors of Hindustani and Their Works*

[The Biographies]

SANSKRIT, the language of ancient Aryans, was never the popular language of India, the land of seven rivers, *sapta sindhu*, as called by the Vedas.¹ In plays, this language is placed in the mouths of high-class characters only, while women and the plebeians speak the variants of a dialect called *Prakrit* (ill-formed) as opposed to *Sanskrit* (well-formed).² As the Indians assure us,³ Prakrit, which was always commonly used in Delhi and was

* Garcin de Tassy's *Les Auteurs Hindoustanis et Leurs Ouvrages d'Après les Biographies Originales* (The Hindustani Authors and Their Works, as Described in the Primary Biographies), translated here, mentions a number of individuals by last name only, and several works by abridged titles, making the references unclear at times. The *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (Buckland 1906) has been very useful in identifying some of the individuals mentioned, especially the European scholars. Similarly, the *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani Manuscripts* (Sprenger 1854) and the *History of Hindi Literature* (Keay 1920) have been of service in identifying or disambiguating several persons and works cited by de Tassy. I've added a subtitle to the opening section as the original appears without one. —Tr.

(1) Regarding dates, where two years are separated by a slash (/), the first refers to the Islamic calendar and the second to the Common Era, for example: 1221/1806–07; where the year stands alone, it is followed by AH or CE, except that CE is not given for years after the thirteenth century CE. (2) De Tassy's method of transliteration of non-English words is deficient and quite uneven; however, here, to the extent possible, the majority of such words have been fully transliterated according to the conventions of the *AUS*. — Ed.

¹That is, the five rivers of the Punjab, and the Indus and the Sarasvati.

²Before any plays were composed, the Buddhist books and Ashoka's engravings were written in a form of Prakrit that was the popular dialect of the time.

³*Bāgh-o-Bahār* (original preface) and *Āsār'u-ṣ̄ Ṣanādīd*, to be cited later.

referred to as *Bhasha* or *Bhākhā*, that is, (the customary) language, eventually overtook Sanskrit, and came to be called Hindi (the language of India), a name that was never applied to Sanskrit.⁴

Muslims started invading India from the beginning of the eighth century; Mahmood Ghaznavi, in particular, achieved a spectacular victory around the year 1000 of our era; and subsequently, the Indian *Bhākhā* started changing in the cities. Four centuries later, Tamerlane of the Mongol race,⁵ entered India, seized Delhi, and laid the foundation of the powerful empire that was finally established in 1505 CE by Babur. As a result, the Indian language (Hindi) got inundated with words from Persian which was itself full of a huge number of Arabic words introduced by the Arab conquests and [the Arabs'] religion; this strange intermingling caused the modern Indian [language] to turn into a confluence of Japhetic and Semitic streams, a kind of philological synthesis which is utterly abnormal.⁶ In fact, the outcome was a double Indo-Muslim idiom, a language of *oil* and a language of *oc*:⁷ the northern Indian which was given the name Urdu because it was born in the *royal urdū*⁸ (camp), and the southern Indian of the Deccan which later came to be known as Dakhani. But Hindi did not disappear; written in Devanagari characters and free of Persian and Arabic words, its use was continued by Hindus, who associated little with Muslims, particularly in the countryside. Thus there were two Indian vernaculars, different and similar, twins and a single, at the same time.⁹

⁴It is not just the Arab authors who have confused the spoken and written languages. As I have noted elsewhere, the same holds for Latin which was never called the Roman language, this appellation being reserved for Old French which arose in the Middle Ages due to the simplification of the Latin language and its enhancement with the remnants of the ancient language of the Gauls.

⁵This is why the great Muslim empire of Delhi is called the Mughal Empire by the Indians, and we call its monarch the Great Mogul. Moreover, in India the label *mughal* is applied to all the Muslims who came from the north, whether they were of Persian or Tartar origin.

⁶My remark is specific to Arabic, for the properly Persian words reinforce the Indic side of the family.

⁷Here de Tassy is drawing an analogy between the Indian situation and an old linguistic classification of Romance languages and dialects spoken in France. The languages spoken in the northern and southern parts of France were called, respectively, the *oil* and *oc* languages, these words being the equivalents of "yes" in those languages. —*Tr.*

⁸For *Zabān-e Urdū* (the camp's language), as will be discussed later.

⁹Mr. J. [John] Beames, author of *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, informs me that, according to a recent census, there are more than seventy million Indians whose mother tongue is Hindustani, and, moreover, this language is spoken all

This division of the Indian language, termed Hindustani to be specific, that is, the language of Hindustan, into the Hindi and Urdu dialects, is blessed by religion, because, generally speaking, Hindi is the language of Hindus and Urdu that of Muslims. Indeed, the Hindus who write in Urdu not only imitate the Muslim style but have also been influenced by Muslim ideas, and it is difficult to decipher from their writings that they are Hindus.

In general, the Hindi poetry shows more vigor and energy than Urdu and Dakhani poetries. [But they] all resemble the ancient Arabic poetry which stands out for the same qualities, and to all of them aptly applies what [the Scottish poet James] Thompson says about beauty:

Needs not the foreign aid of ornament,
But is when unadorn'd adorn'd the most.¹⁰

For a long time, Hindus continued to write their literary compositions in Sanskrit and Muslims in Persian, and they resorted to the vernaculars only for writing popular songs; but gradually the Indian vernaculars advanced due to some impressive works, to the point that today they possess, as the eminent Indologist [Horace Hayman] Wilson so justly says, a literature that is properly their own and is of much interest.¹¹

Here is what the contemporary writer Saiyid Aḥmad says about Urdu, under the heading “Comments on the Urdu Language” in his *Āšāru’š-Šanādīd*:¹²

Hindi was the language that was spoken, read, and written throughout the Hindu Kingdom. When in 587 AH, [corresponding to] 1191 CE and 1248 Bikrājī, the Muslim Empire was established in Delhi, the royal administrative decrees started being written in Persian; yet the language of the common people remained (nearly) unchanged. Until 894 AH, 1488 CE, the

across India and even in the neighboring countries. The Honorable Sir [Thomas] Erskine Perry, President of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, has an interesting article in the January 1853 issue of the Journal of the Society on the geographical distribution of the main languages of India; the article includes a chart which portrays the distribution information visually.

¹⁰*The Seasons, Autumn*. A Hindustani couplet cited in *Bāgh-o-Bahār* expresses the same idea even more pleasingly: “The one bestowed by God with the ornament of beauty does not need any jewels. Look, how beautiful the moon is when it appears unclouded.” [The Urdu couplet actually says “uneclipsed,” not “unclouded.” Due to a play on words, the former expression also means “unadorned by jewels.” —Tr.]

¹¹I have borrowed these words for the epigraph of my *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoustani*.

¹²Chap. III, p. 104.

use of Persian was limited to official use, and was not adopted by the people at large. A little later, during the reign of Sikandar Lodhi, the Kayaths,¹³ who were in charge of the government business and maintained official records, were the first Hindus to take up writing in Persian. Then gradually other classes of people followed them, and thus the use of Persian spread among Hindus.

Until the time of Babur and Jahangir, Hindi (which had always been the spoken language) did not undergo any changes. Muslims expressed themselves in Persian and Hindus in Hindi. During the period of Khilji kings (in the thirteenth century CE), Amir Khusrau started mixing Persian and Indian words, and wrote *pabēlis*, *mukrīs*, and *nisbats*¹⁴ in this style, using a lot of Bhakha or Hindi words. This mixture eventually came into broader use, but it did not yet attain the status of an independent language.

The Emperor Shah Jahan's founding of the City of Shah Jahan (*Shah Jahanabad*, or now known as New Delhi) in 1056/1648 created a huge confluence of people coming from all of the provinces of India. This is where Persian and Hindi blended, and [the linguistic] alterations and transformations started. Indeed, the effect of all this mixing of different jargons was to give rise to a new language in the imperial army and the great camp (called *Urdū-e Mu'allā*)¹⁵ of Delhi, called, for that very reason *Zabān-e Urdū* (the language of the camp). Due to frequent use, this expression got abbreviated through the omission of the word *zabān*, and the language started being called *Urdū*. Gradually, this camp language became so polished and refined that by about 1100/1688, that is, during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir, great poetry started being written in it.

While it is generally believed that Valī was the first person to compose poetry in this language,¹⁶ it is clear even from his own writings that others before him had written such poetry. In fact, at that time already, people did write poetry, albeit carelessly and unskillfully. But Urdu poetry kept advancing day by day, until Mīr and Saudā brought it to perfection.

However, before the last mentioned epoch, [Muḥammad] Ḥātīm says this in the preface of his *Dīvān Zāda*,¹⁷ composed in 1750 CE: "For writing,

¹³In Hindustani they are called the kayasthas of Sanskrit books, that is, members of the lower caste of scribes; their cursive style of nagari writing is named *kaitbī-nāgarī* after their name.

¹⁴These words will be explained later.

¹⁵*Urdū-e Mu'allā* means the Grand Camp. But in the familiar parlance, these words are understood to mean the Main Market. The earlier authors maintain that it is mainly in this market where the interaction between the Muslim soldiers and Hindus took place, and caused the above-mentioned linguistic blending to start.

¹⁶This is what Mīr alludes to in his *Nikātu'sb-Shu'arā*, where he says: *Rēkhṭa az Dakan ast* (Rekhta has originated in the Deccan).

¹⁷Ḥātīm named this work *Dīvān Zāda*, (literally, *Child of Dīvān*), because it is

I have adopted the language common to all the provinces of India, that is, *Hindavi*,¹⁸ which is called *Bhakhā* because it is understood by the common people, yet at the same time it also delights the élite.” In truth, what Saiyid Aḥmad Khan says is not rigorously correct in entirety. [But we have to get accustomed to the fact that] rigor is somewhat rare among the Orientals, because they have too active an imagination to [nonchalantly] look at all aspects of a problem under investigation.

Saiyid Aḥmad claims at the very start that from the time of the Muslim conquests in 1191 CE until the year 1648, the Indian language underwent no change. But Mīr Amman¹⁹ says something different:

When Akbar ascended the throne (in 1556 CE), then people from all the provinces flocked to his court, attracted by his kindness, justice, and liberality. While they each had their own different language, they came into contact with each other and transacted business together and negotiated contracts mutually. It is this interaction from which the Urdu language was born.

There is more [to ponder]: Before the end of the eleventh century, perhaps in 1080 CE, Mas‘ud bin Salmān wrote a *divān* in Rekhta, the dialect whose name is intended to denote, as Saiyid Aḥmad himself explains, Hindi mingled with Persian words, in other words Urdu. Furthermore, several original authors of biographies [of poets] attribute to Sa‘di some Rekhta verses written in the Deccan between 1150 and 1180 CE.²⁰ In his *divān*, Kamāl even calls Sa‘di the inventor of the Rekhta language, *mujid zabān-e Rekhta*. But this suggests that the claim can be true only if confined to the Deccan (or the South), for Mas‘ud had already written in Rekhta a hundred years earlier. In any case, it was not until after him that Khusrau and Nurī wrote their poetry.

comprised of some selected poetry from his original *divān* (collection of poems). —*Tr.*

¹⁸Here the word is being utilized as a synonym for *Hindi*, in the sense of being the general language of [*Hind*, that is,] India. To be strict, *Hindavi* signifies the ancient Indian *Bhakhā* without the importation of Persian or Arabic words in it, and written in Devanagari characters; *Hindi* is a more recent Hindu dialect.

¹⁹*Bāgh-o-Bahār*, Preface. [See, Forbes 1857.]

²⁰According to the original biographies: Sa‘di lived for one hundred three years (having been born in 1193 and having died in 1296 CE); and he spent thirty years in studies, thirty in travel, and thirty in retirement. But his thirteen years of youth and thirty years of studies add up to forty-three years. So it must have been during the period 1150 to 1180 CE that he traveled and wrote the Rekhta verses attributed to him.

Subsequently, it seems that it is again in the South, and hence in the special dialect called Dakhani, where more Rekhta verse was written. This trend influenced the poets of the North, who had until then written mostly in Persian, to adapt themselves to the vernacular. We find, in effect, that in the sixteenth century, there were several notable Dakhani poets, such as the Golcondan kings Qulī Quṭb Shāh, ‘Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, and Abu’l-Ḥasan who took the *takballuṣ* [poetic pen name] Tānā, and Afzal, Valī, Avari, Ghauṣī, Rasmi, and several others, whereas no poet of comparable repute can be identified in the north until the eighteenth century. Ḥātim, who lived near the end of the seventeenth century, is perhaps the first poet from Delhi who wrote in genuine Urdu, and he admits that he decided to write in the vernacular only after Valī’s *divān* made its debut in Delhi; other poets then followed suit.

The mention of an original biography in the grammar book by the celebrated [John Borthwick] Gilchrist, the pioneer of the study of Hindustani among the English, attracted my attention in 1828 to the literary history of this language. By persevering in research, I was able to locate seven different original works of biography. Then in 1839, in spite of a lack of adequate material, I published the *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani*, a far from perfect work but still the first one of its kind. This book received the honor of being translated into Hindustani itself, and it seems to have rekindled the enthusiasm of the knowledgeable English Orientalists for this subject. Their research, together with the work I have done since then, has resulted in the identification of a large number of other original biographies; these I have been able to consult only partially, because there are quite a few which I have not been able to procure, or whose whereabouts I have not been able to determine, or about which I know only because of their citations by the original authors. Undoubtedly, there must be many more that I am unaware of.

One can easily see that now I have plenty of material to justify a new edition of the *Histoire*.²¹ But for now I will confine myself to briefly describing the biographical and bibliographical information that can be gathered from these original works.

The Persians and, in their imitation, the Indian Muslims love biographies, especially contemporary biographies, which, like those in our countries, have nothing missing but the dates of death! However, instead of

²¹The full title is *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani*. But in the sequel, the work is referred to variously as *Histoire*, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui*, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoustani*, even *Histoire de la Littérature Indienne*. Also the title words are often abbreviated, and sometimes the words *Hindoui* and *Hindoustani* have the letter “e” appended. —Tr.

amounting to business forecasts, these have become a serious branch of literature. They give the compiler [of the biography] the opportunity to demonstrate his mastery of hyperbole by praising, with much exaggeration, famous poets or friends, and to prove his good taste by citing nice verses. Effectively, these biographies, which are called *tazkira* (chronicle), are a type of anthology, in which the author's life is glorified with pompous praise, sometimes padded to many extravagant pages full of: "Words of gigantic bulk and uncouth sound."²²

[By contrast], some other biographies often contain just the writer's name [and not much else]. In the first case, ten, twenty, thirty pages of [poetry] selections follow the [writer's] profile, and in the second case, two or three verses, and sometimes a single one. This is also a way of introducing oneself to the readers, as the authors of such *tazkiras* always take great pains to interject their own names in the middle of the authors that they refer to. More often than not, they indulgently agree with those that they care about. However, these are real biographies of the type that, one wishes, would also be written for other authors, including a large selection of poetry representative of their [i.e., the biographees'] style. So while the biographies of persons of any degree of fame written in Europe are crammed with all kinds of details that would interest no one, the Indian *tazkiras* generally avoid such details [of the individual's life]. At the same time, the descriptions in these [Indian *tazkiras*] lack precision. They refer to the poets belonging to a time before their own as ancient poets, and to their contemporaries as modern poets. Dates are rarely given, especially the dates of birth, as the Easterners do not have registry offices and often do not know their [exact] age. One has to resort to guessing the century in which the writer lived from his cited work, and this is often impossible because of the alterations in the text due to copyists' errors.

However, the biography authors try to enlarge their work by including insignificant, sometimes unknown, poets, exactly like our own biography entrepreneurs who try to boost the number of their volumes by digging up the most obscure personalities. But, as [Thomas] Cooper tells of these illustrious unknowns:

Oh, fond attempt to give a deathless lot
To names ignoble, born to be forgot!
In vain, recorded in historic page,
They court the notice of a future age.

Thus such biographies are not representative of [literary] criticism.

²²[Richard] Gifford.

There is often confusion between the poets who, by chance, have the same names and surnames, and, thanks to the missing details, it is very difficult to determine whether this [genuinely] involves two people. Nonetheless, as one can see, this [i.e., *tazkira*] is a special genre of composition which is of interest and which has an attraction of its own, and, to no surprise, it has been developed by quite a few authors. As an aside, these *tazkiras* acquaint us with a lot of useful data about the literary history of India. For example, we learn that Indians hold special poetic or literary gatherings called *mushā'iras*, which are institutions established for the purpose of promoting Urdu poetry; here sharp-witted souls strive to compose poetry extemporaneously, or recite the verse they have prepared in advance [of the event]. These meetings, held in principal Indian cities, typically feature fifteen to twenty highly recognized literary personalities who usually belong to high-class families in the country. Maulvī Karīmū'd-Dīn, of whom I will speak again later, recently published from Delhi the proceedings and recitations of such meetings in a special journal entitled *Gul-e-Ra'nā* (The Vermilion Rose). There are also gatherings in which storytellers amuse the attendees with their narratives. A few years ago there was a prominent storyteller, Mirzā Ḥasan, in Delhi, who was persuaded to write down some of the national legends that he recited so well.²³

In listing the poets, the *tazkiras* generally follow the alphabetic order of the *takballuṣ*, that is, the poetic pen name, although occasionally some other arrangements have also been used.

Most often the *tazkiras* for Hindustani are written in Persian, since until quite recently this was the language of the erudite Muslims for writing didactic works; this is analogous to the language of Rome in our own case, as Jacque Dubois ([Jacobus] Sylvius) wrote his grammar of French in Latin, and Petrarch [Francesco Petrarca] added notes in Latin to his own admirable Italian poetry.

To illustrate what I have pointed out as the extreme nature of the good and bad qualities—and the latter exceed the former—of the biographical articles in Indian *tazkiras*, I now present the literal translation of two articles, a long one and a short one, taken from a *tazkira* entitled *Gulshan-e-Hind* (The Garden of India), written in Hindustani by Luṭf (Mirzā 'Alī Khān).

First let us look at the short article, which, in spite of its brevity, surveys Ḥātim, a famous poet whom I have already mentioned and who is described in more detail in other biographies.

²³"Report of the First Six Months of 1845," by Dr. [Aloys] Sprenger, Secretary, Society for the Promotion of Vernacular Education.

Ḥātim (by poetic alias) of Delhi was well known among the Rekhta writers of that city. He was a contemporary of Shah Najmu'd-Din Ābrū and Mirzā Rafī' Saudā. An eloquent poet, he authored two *divāns*: one of these employed many difficult to understand expressions,²⁴ and the other was written using a more modern diction. This poet thus unites in a single person the styles of the ancients and the moderns.

(This [description] is followed by a twenty-verse selection of Ḥātim's poetry, of which I have [also] given a sample elsewhere.)

Here is the second article whose subject is the poet king Abu'l-Ḥasan, King of Golconda; he ascended the throne in 1080/1672–73, and, upon the capture of Golconda by Aurangzeb in 1690, was put in prison and died there in 1704. Just like his predecessor 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, he was not content with pursuing Hindustani literature himself, under the pen name Tānā or Tānā Shāh (King Tānā), but also strongly championed it; among others, one of his officers by the name Mirzā (Abu'l-Qāsim) ranks among the most prominent Dakhani poets of his period.

Tānā Shāh is the well-known name and honorific title of this pleasure-loving king, Abu'l-Ḥasan Shāh. He was among the celebrated kings and grand potentates of the Deccan. Even though the reputation of the luxury and opulence of this bon vivant, and the renown of his pleasures and amusements, are acknowledged from the moon to the fish,²⁵ I still think it is necessary for me to describe some circumstances of the life of this ornament of the throne of the palace of gaiety and indulgent satisfaction.

During the days when Alamgir,²⁶ who lives in immortality, overthrew the 'Adil Shāhīs and the Nizām Shāhīs,²⁷ and captured the Deccan province after much upheaval, Abu'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shāh was taken prisoner. The capricious fortune thus turned against him, and presented to him all those other things that neither please nor delight. The nightly merrymaking was disturbed, and instead of the companionship of his joyful comrades what he had left was nothing but a circle of mourning. Tānā resigned himself to the hardships of the situation into which Alamgir had placed him. He, however, did send Alamgir this entreaty regarding the use of the [water]

²⁴*Ibbām* (obscurity). It refers to the old style, which is much studied, and is full of Arabic and Persian words. The work of Saiyid Ahmad cited earlier dwells on it.

²⁵Metaphorical expression signifying the boundaries of the world, from zenith to nadir. ["Moon and fish" is the translation of the nicely alliterated Urdu expression *māh-o-māhī* given in the original biography. — *Tr.*]

²⁶That is, "Conqueror of the World"; this title of the Mughal Sultan is better known than [the other title] Aurangzeb.

²⁷That is, the kings of these dynasties.

pipe [the hookah]: “I love it very much; permitting me to smoke the pipe would be the highest favor.”

As this king (Tānā) was a lover of luxury and used to be deliriously drunk with the wine of pleasure during all of the eight pahars,²⁸ the hookah (pipe) was never out of his mouth for an instant. His custom was that each time after having smoked the pipe he would have its bowl refreshed with a bottleful of rose water,²⁹ and his *ḥuqqa bardār* (the servant responsible for tending the pipe) first soaked the tobacco³⁰ in willow tree water.³¹ Devoted as he was to this life of gratification, he slept little during the night, and during the night and day he consumed hundreds of bottles of the highest quality rose water and water treated with willow tree essence. Alamgir knew all this thoroughly. The king (Tānā) sent a humble plea to be provided (each day) at least sixteen bottles of rose water and eight of willow water. In response to this excessive request, the following message arrived from the sublime government a few days later: “O God! The hookah never parts from thy mouth in the eight *pahars*, and, due to the jealousy that the vapor ascending from thy court causes, the smoke of envy tells the mischievous Heaven that somewhere in the playfield of men underneath the sky there is somebody who smokes eight hookahs worth of tobacco during the day and then as much again during the night, and, having ingested so much poisonous air, lives in miserable despondence.”

Meanwhile, a few days later, Alamgir declared: “It is exceedingly wasteful to use up sixteen bottles of rose water and willow water every day for the hookah. However, since the [religious] law permits smoking the pipe, and one need not endure unbearable hardship,³² we will send you eight bottles daily from my palace.”

As a result, Tānā learned to satisfy his heart with four hookahs, each refreshed after use with one bottle.

Having noticed what was going on [i.e., how Tānā was adjusting to his circumstances], Aurangzeb reduced the number of bottles to four, contrary to what he had promised earlier. Then Tānā started asking his *ḥuqqa bardār* for only two full hookahs. A few days later, when Tānā’s quota was reduced further to just two bottles, he asked for a single hookah during the day and

²⁸That is, “day and night,” the *pahar* being a division of [each] day and night into four parts.

²⁹Already, the Indian custom is to purify the hookah smoke by passing it through fresh water. It seems that this much Epicurean superfluity did not satisfy Tānā.

³⁰According to the original Urdu text in *Gulshan-e-Hind* (Luṭf 1906, 66.), what was soaked was not the tobacco but the *naiḥa* (the hookah tip that one takes in the mouth), and the water for soaking was treated with the essence of musk. — *Tr.*

³¹About this water, see my note in *Les Oiseaux et les Fleurs*, p. 144.

³²Strict Muslims abstain from all luxury in clothing and food. They refrain from coffee and tobacco, and especially from the kind of indulgent living that characterized Tānā Shāh.

another during the night. Finally, one day when even the two bottles did not arrive, he lost all interest in smoking. Three days later, his *ḥuqqa bardār* said: “Your devotee [the servant refers to himself with these words] has been able, by the grace of the Shelter of the World (Aurangzeb), to save enough with which to furnish Your Majesty ten full hookahs [daily] for many, many years to come. He [i.e., this servant] hopes that Your Majesty will permit him to prepare the smoking room, so that the seed of loyalty shall be planted in the soil of honor.”³³ Tānā replied: “Even though His Exalted Majesty (Aurangzeb) would [himself transgress to] dig under the mosque (of Mecca)³⁴ to get whatever treasure might be buried underneath it, he diligently enforces the edicts of the [religious] law [on his subjects]. If he found out [what thou hast said], he would make thee surrender to him as bail bond all thy savings that thou desirest to spend on my hookah.” At this, the *ḥuqqa bardār* struck his palm on his forehead, and burst into tears.

From that day onward, Tānā never smoked, and [without having ever smoked again] he remained under arrest, and then passed from this mortal station to the eternal abode. O God, if one would only look around with a truth-seeking eye, then one would be certain that this world is at the same time a place of frustration and a house of admonition.

Verse:

Where are the happy Khusro and Jamshīd? Where is Kaikobad? Where are Alexander and Darius? Where is Kaikaus? When one looks at these self-absorbed persons with a pair of observant eyes, one cannot but deplore them and lament their sorry fate.

As the sovereign arts of conquering and maintaining kingdoms are perfectly mastered only by the kings of illustrious ancestry, how can this humble person [i.e., the author of the *tazkirā*], confined to his [insignificant] corner, make a judgment about these affairs? However, some wise people say that Aurangzeb, who treated the royal family of the Deccan province so brutally despite their submission, and who dug up the Mecca Mosque (to usurp its treasures), has chosen a heavy burden to take on his neck [upon his shoulders]. Only God knows the right retribution for that act. Indeed, one can add that even before conquering the Deccan, Aurangzeb was already receiving tax revenues and levies from this province, and he was being called the King of Kings (*Shāhīnshāh*). Yet, he exacted [more] money from Tānā, and caused Tānā humiliation, thinking that these steps would enhance his [Aurangzeb's] own status.

Verse:

The kings are well versed in the affairs of the empire. Thou, O poor beggar, confined to thy corner, needst not utter anything on the matter.

³³That is, this will let the servant prove his loyalty. — *Tr.*

³⁴The Mecca Mosque was the name of a mosque in Golconda. — *Tr.*

To conclude, the following *maḥla*³⁵ is attributed to the exalted king Abu'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shāh, on account of the Dakkani idiom and the vintage expression that one notices in it. The late 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān³⁶ remembered it, having once heard it recited [by Tānā Shāh]. Here is the verse:

To which door shall I go to complain (about my misery)? Where could I go? Let me just address my own heart, so that it will become my mihrab.³⁷

If my friends tell me just one thing, that will be like a new abode for me in the summer season.

Compared to the northern dialect of Hindustani, Urdu, the southern dialect, Dakhani, has a larger number of very elaborate poems that are mostly in the form of *ghazals*, *qaṣīdas*, and short *maṣnavīs*, and are often collected into *dīvāns*; yet the former [Urdu] enjoys a kind of superiority over the latter because it is talked about more frequently. Thus, all the *tazkiras* I discuss deal mainly with Urdu poets and touch upon the poets of the Deccan in a rather inadvertent manner. My assertion is lent support by the following quotation from the preface of [Mīr Taqī] Mīr's *Nikātu'sh-Shu'arā*:

Even though Rekhta originated in the Deccan,³⁸ the poets produced by this region have not been as distinguished,³⁹ and I need not begin by listing their names; however, I do not want to omit them altogether, so I will mention a few of those.

There exist special biographies of Hindi writers, known as *Kab Mālā* (The Garland of Poets), but I know very few of these.

I am familiar with a total of about seventy *tazkiras*⁴⁰ and other original bibliographies or anthologies of Hindustani authors. It is a vast but so far unrecognized field in the literary history of India.⁴¹ I am going to give some

³⁵Term used to indicate the first couplet of a poem [*ghazal*].

³⁶The author of the *tazkira Gulzār-e Ibrāhīm*.

³⁷The niche [in the mosque wall] that one faces when praying there.

³⁸Compare this with what has been said earlier on this topic.

³⁹Literally, "well organized," *marbūṭ*. (2) II Ēp. II. [Unclear citation from *Nikātu'sh-Shu'arā*. —Tr.]

⁴⁰This word literally means "memorial." It is used for biographies, including anthologies, of poets in the Muslim Orient.

⁴¹There are also quite a large number of biographies or *tazkiras* of Persian poets, whether from Persia or India. The late Nath [Nathaniel] Bland has referred to forty-six of these in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London* (Vol. 9, p. 111ff.), starting with the *tazkira* by [Muḥammad] 'Aufī, which is the oldest and the principal subject of his memoir, to the contemporary *tazkira* by Aḥmad 'Alī; not included in this count are the more than sixty works which are unknown to him,

details about each of these works.

The special biographies of exclusively Hindi poets should naturally be mentioned first in the listing order that we have chosen, because these apprise us of the poets of relatively the earliest periods.

1. *Bhākta Māl* (The Garland of Devotees) is, strictly speaking, a biography of those Hindu saints who belonged to the Vaishnava sect and who also authored religious hymns. In effect, Hindi is the language of Hindu reformists. The members of the old Siva sect adhered to Sanskrit, and rarely employed Hindi.

There are several redactions of *Bhākta Māl*. But at the core of all these redactions there are the poems called *čhappa'ī*, so called because they consist of six verses, or often, of six eight-syllable hemistiches—hence termed *ashṭpa'ī*—the last syllable of which is repeated throughout the poem. These poems are basically hymns or popular religious songs about Vaishnavite saints, in Hindavi, that is, old Hindi; the most celebrated of such songs were written in 1574 CE by Nābhājī,⁴² who was himself a saint and was blind from birth. These poems, revised by Narāyan Dās during the reign of Shah Jahan (1628–1658), were augmented with commentaries that were written in the Hindi dialect using Devanagari characters, first by Krishnā Dās in 1713, then later by Priyā Dās. Rāg Sāgar, a present-day writer and the author of *Rāg Kalpadruma*, whom I will soon talk about, has also announced his intention of producing another edition of *Bhākta Māl*; I do not know if this edition has appeared [already]. Lastly, there is also an Urdu version of *Bhākta Māl* about which I do not know anything. Additionally, the term *Bhākta Māl* is, as I have mentioned earlier, applied to the expository texts together with the original poems. Each such biography [that can be called *Bhākta Māl*] begins with a *čhappa'ī*, a term I have explained earlier, and such a poem is called *mūl* (text) while the appended notes are called *ṭikā* (commentary).

Since the publication of my *Histoire de la Littérature Indienne*, I have been able to consult only the redaction [of *Bhākta Māl*] by Krishnā Dās. Today I was also able to look at [the redaction by] Priyā Dās; I believe that I am in possession of the only manuscript of it in Europe. Priyā Dās, whose name means “slave of the Beloved,” (that is, “[slave] of Krishnā”), was a native of Bengal; in this province, Hindus write in Hindi or their main dialect Bengali, and Muslims write in Urdu, exactly as is the case in the northwest. Priyā Dās belonged to a special sect of Vaishnavas that was founded by Nityānand. The commentary, or really the exposition, written by

as well as the works containing bibliographical information.

⁴²See *Histoire de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol.1, p. 378.

him⁴³ is a poem composed in the *kaḥī* meter, and its exact title is *Bhaktiras Bōdḥinī*, which can be literally translated as “the appreciation of the taste of devotion.” The notes by Priyā Dās are called *drisbtānt* (development) and *Bhakta Māl Pračānī* (Discourse on *Bhakta Māl*). Actually, this writer is known more for authoring a *Bhāgvat* than for redacting the biography under discussion here.⁴⁴

2. *Bhakta Čaritr* (Story of the Devoted), a work similar to the preceding, is by Ughava Čiddḥan who was a fourteenth-century Hindi poet and author of several other works.

3. *Rāg Kalpadruma* (The Happy Tree of Ragas, or Musical Styles). This is a huge collection of popular songs in a quarto size book of nearly 1,800 pages. The compiler’s name is Shri Krishnānand Byās Dēv; the Sultan of Delhi has conferred upon him the title Rāg Sāgar (The Ocean of Ragas) in recognition of that monumental work, and this title has popularly become his *takballuṣ*, that is, the poetical alias. Rāg Sāgar happens to be a Brahmin of the Gaur class and lives in Deva Garb Kot, that is, Udaipur, in the Mewar province. The verses he has compiled count to 1,225,000. The collection was published over the period 1842–1845. As reported in the preface, the author traveled for twenty-two years in order to collect the songs. While presenting the work of famous authors, he has [also] brought to light many hitherto unknown poets.

Rāg Kalpadruma is divided into several parts. Of these, seven parts can be considered major. The first part, comprised of the poems about different ragas, has 164 pages. The second part, on *Sur Sāgar*, that is, the Ocean (or, Collection) of Surdas [musical notes],⁴⁵ is exhaustive and contains over six hundred pages. The third part, consisting of a variety of Hindu and Muslim songs, has 344 pages. The fourth part, consisting of songs about spring and Holi (a Hindu festival), has 176 pages. The fifth part is a collection of *dhurpads* and *khiyāls* [vocal musical compositions], and is in two sections of 208 and 156 pages, respectively. The sixth part, consisting of ghazals, rekhtas, etc., has seventy-six pages. Finally, the seventh part, comprised of twenty-eight pages, presents the poems by Rajas [kings] Bhartari and Gōpī Čand.

While this book is obviously just a simple anthology, it can also be

⁴³H.H. [Horace Hayman] Wilson, *As. Res.*, Vol. 16, p. 56. M. [Montgomery] Martin, *Eastern-Ind. [The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India ...]*, Vol. 1, p. 200.

⁴⁴See my *Hist. de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 405.

⁴⁵The appropriate word that should have been used in the translation of the title is “Surs,” not “Sūr Dās.” The former word means “musical notes” while the latter refers to the book’s author, namely, the poet and musician Sant Kavī Sūr Dās. —Tr.

regarded as a biographical work because it provides a wealth of information about the poets credited with many popular songs.

4. Unfortunately, I am not knowledgeable about *Sūjān Āaritra* (History of Wonderful People), a biography of over two hundred poets, written by Sūdan Kavī (the poet Sūdan) in 1748.

5. *Kavī Āaritr* (History of Poets). This work, written in Marathi by Janārdhan, contains many biographical notes on Hindi poets.

Now I will turn to what are strictly *tazkiras*, that is, the works devoted to the Muslims' Hindustani, particularly the Urdu dialect; the authors treated in these have been selected not because they are Muslims but because they have written in the Muslim dialect.

These *tazkiras* are mostly quite recent; the oldest ones that I am familiar with belong to the middle of the last century. Eight of these *tazkiras* are from the last century and nineteen are from the present one, and only six among all these have been written in Hindustani.

They are described below in the order of their dates [of authorship]:

6. The first and the oldest known to us is *Nikātu'sb-Shu'arā* (Exquisite Compositions by Poets)⁴⁶ by Mīr (Muḥammad Taqī), himself a most accomplished and famous poet. Written in Persian, this *tazkira* contains succinct descriptions of over one hundred poets, with critical comments on their poetry.

To what I have said about Mīr in my *Histoire de la Littérature [Hindouie et] Hindoustanie*, I need to add that Mīr is the poet's *takballuṣ*,⁴⁷ not his title of honor. His biographer Shōrish has mentioned that Mīr was a Shaikh, not a Saiyid. A nephew of the poet Ārzū, he was a native of Agra; but after the death of his father, he moved to Delhi to live with his uncle, who corrected his verse. In 1196/1781–82), he moved to Lucknow where Āṣafu'd-Daula gave him a monthly pension of 200–300 rupees (600–900 francs). Mīr died, nearly a centenarian, in the same city.

[Shāh Mūḥammad] Kamāl, who wrote *Majmu'a-e Intikhab* in 1804, states that Mīr lived for over eighty years. A chronogram by [Imām Bakhsh] Nāsikh furnishes us Mīr's date of death, putting the year back to 1225/1810–11, the year of publication of his *Kulliyāt*. However, we find in [most] biographies that he died in Lucknow between 1215/1800–01 and 1221/1806–07.

⁴⁶A more faithful translation of the title would be "Pithy Sayings of the Poets."
—Tr.

⁴⁷About *takballuṣ*, see my *Mémoire sur les Noms et Titres Musulmans*. When I published this paper in 1854, I did not know that the revered Hammer-Purgstall, the patriarch of Oriental literature [studies], had discussed it [*takballuṣ*] in his paper on Arabs' names, *Über die Namen des Araber*—a paper that leaves out nothing of importance on the subject.

[Saiyid Abu'l-Qāsim] Qāsim faults Mīr for the [inadequate] research in his *tazkīra* and for excessively harsh comments on his contemporaries, but *Āṣāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd* has this to say about him:

The language of Mīr is so pure, and the expressions he uses are so befitting and natural, that the entire world praises them even to this day. Whereas Saudā also has an excellent style, and has an edge over Mīr in the sharpness of his allusions, he is inferior to Mīr when it comes to language.

Mīr wrote his biography about a year after the death of [Ānand Rām] Mukhlīṣ, which took place in 1164/1750–51.⁴⁸ We learn from none other than [Mīr] himself that he is the first person to write a special *tazkīra* of the poets who wrote verse in Urdu. Here is what he says in the preface to his *Nikātu'sb-Sbu'arā*:

It should not be kept secret that no one has until now written a book on the poetics of Rekhta (*dar fann-e rēkhta*), a term which means writing verse in the style of Persian poets in the language of the *Urdū-e Mu'allā*⁴⁹ of Shah Jahanabad, that is, Delhi, so as to preserve for the pages of history whatever significantly pertains to the authors who have nourished this kind of poetry.

However, while this assertion might have been made with sincerity, it is undoubtedly incorrect. It appears that during the time of Mīr, other *tazkīras* of Hindustani poets already existed. There is a *tazkīra* by Faṭḥ 'Alī Ḥusainī, written in 1165/1750–51 according to the author himself; this date is the same as that of Mīr's *tazkīra*. In the preface to his *tazkīra*, Ḥusainī explicitly declares that he decided to write this work “because those who wrote the *tazkīras* of Rekhta poets before me were driven by envy to criticize those poets, something that I wish to avoid by treating them impartially.” Whereas this criticism might be intended for Mīr's *tazkīra*, Faṭḥ 'Alī is using a plural in making his assertion, so we can reasonably conclude that there were several *tazkīras* of Hindustani poets in existence in 1751. Besides, we will very soon encounter Qā'im who, in his *tazkīra* written in 1168/1754–55, thus several years after the two *tazkīras* mentioned above, also boasts of having written the first *tazkīra* of Hindustani poets, [perhaps] as a precaution to ward off any accusation of plagiarism. We will also learn from Kamāl, who wrote his *tazkīra* in 1804 at the invitation of the poet Akbar⁵⁰—who died in

⁴⁸[A. Sprenger,] *A Catalogue*, Vol. 1, p. 176.

⁴⁹This term has been explained earlier. I believe that Dr. Sprenger has incorrectly translated it as “the elevated playground of Delhi,” as that was never referred to as “Urdu.”

⁵⁰According to the article about Akbar (Akbar 'Alī Khān) in Kamāl's *tazkīra*.

1803 in the prime of his life—that this latter person had, many years before,⁵¹ gathered as many as forty *tazkiras* of Hindustani poets! Thus, it has to be assumed that among the numerous *tazkiras* then extant—and now we hardly know about a quarter of those—several preceded Mīr’s.

Mīr wrote a large amount of Hindustani poetry, much of which appears in the edition of his *Kulliyāt* published in Calcutta in 1810. Only a small portion of his poetry, which was in Persian, was left out of that edition. However, some of his erotic⁵² poems were not included in the *Kulliyāt*, and were published in Kanpur in 1851 owing to the efforts of Muṣṭafā Khān, in a volume entitled *Majmū‘a-e Maṣnavī* (A Collection of Maṣnavīs); this volume also included the poetry of Ṣādiq Khān. Mīr’s compatriots generally rank him second among the modern Hindustani poets, but some consider him on a par with Saudā, and others definitely prefer his poetry to that of Saudā.

7. Qā’im⁵³ wrote a *tazkira* which is also entitled *Nikātu’sh-Shu‘arā*. It has an additional title *Ṭabaqātu’sh-Shu‘arā* because it is divided into three parts that are so named [*ṭabaqāt*]. Qā’im is himself a well-known poet. He is one of the biographers who list Sa’dī of Shiraz among the poets of Urdu.

8. The *tazkira* by Faḥ ‘Alī Ḥusainī Gurdēzī—a Hindustani author who was a Shaikh by birth, and a sufi, that is, a practitioner of philosophical Islam—was compiled in Delhi in Persian in the style of Mīr, and contains about one hundred biographical entries arranged alphabetically. We can infer the date of this *tazkira*, which we have already mentioned, from Ḥusainī’s own statements: he mentions in the article on Anjām⁵⁴ that this poet died in 1159/1746–47, six years before the compilation of this work, which must therefore have been written in 1165/1750–51, this being also the date of Mīr’s work. Ḥusainī must have known about [Mīr’s] *Nikātu’sh-Shu‘arā* in view of what has previously been mentioned; that fact is also evident from his introduction in which he borrowed some of Mīr’s observations regarding the composition of Rekhta verses. It seems that Ḥusainī was still alive in 1806, because Qāsim, who wrote his *tazkira* in that same year, mentions Ḥusainī as an author living at that time.

⁵¹One learns from the above-mentioned article that Akbar had been collecting that material [*tazkiras*] since he was nineteen years old.

⁵²These are simple romantic stories in verse, without anything erotic about them. In general, de Tassy uses the word “erotic” to mean what we would call “romantic.” —Tr.

⁵³His full name is not available, but he should not be confused with the Qā’im of Entry 9 below. —Tr.

⁵⁴*Hist. de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 67.

9. *Makhzan-e Nikāt* (Repository of Beautiful Compositions)⁵⁵ appears next. It was compiled in Persian by Shaikh Muḥammad Qiyamū'd-Dīn Qā'im of Chandpur in 1168/1754–55. There is much interesting information in this *tazkira*. It describes 110 poets, dividing them into three *ṭabaqāt* or classes, namely, the poets of the remote past, those of a more recent period, and contemporary poets. What I find peculiar in this *tazkira* is, as I have indicated earlier, the author's pretense of being the first to write a *tazkira* of Hindustani poets; he implies that not only was he unaware of any of the *tazkiras* that we would justifiably believe to have existed from before the time of Mīr's *tazkira*, but also that he had not seen the *tazkiras* by Mīr and Faṭḥ 'Alī. We can rightfully doubt his candor here, although, in truth, that does not at all cancel the intrinsic merit of the work.

Among the facts which we learn from this *tazkira*, and which are not found in earlier ones, I must list the very likely, though not absolutely certain, circumstance that the celebrated Sa'dī of Shiraz wrote verses in the Dakhani dialect during his visit to the Deccan province, and hence he must be counted among the poets of Hindustani.⁵⁶ This possibility has been, effectively, ruled out preemptively by Mīr and Faṭḥ 'Alī, because they have attributed those verses to a different Sa'dī of the Deccan. As we shall soon see, Kamāl has adopted Qā'im's opinion and has in large part relied on the latter's work. The contrary opinion [of Mīr and Faṭḥ 'Alī] has been followed by Shōrish who wrote his *tazkira* about ten years after Qā'im. As for the remaining biographers, they talk of neither the genuine nor the fake Sa'dī. This is where the issue stands; I have discussed it more explicitly elsewhere.⁵⁷

As a poet of Hindustani, Qā'im possesses a distinguished position among the writers of his century. He is excelled, according to Kamāl, only by Saudā, the poet admired most by the Muslims of India. In support of his opinion, this biographer [Kamāl] cites a large number of extracts from the *Divān* of Qā'im, including several narrative poems, satires, and other interesting verses of ethnological relevance.

[Navāb Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Khān] Shēfta says that Qā'im's best poetry

⁵⁵The name *Makhzan-e Nikāt* constitutes a chronogram giving the date of this work. The poet Akram has composed a poem around this chronogram. A document in my personal collection includes an abridged version of Qā'im's *tazkira* together with Mīr's *tazkira*; this [must have] served as the basis for Qā'im's work, even though, as I have noted before, he feigns ignorance of any *tazkiras* in existence at the time he wrote his.

⁵⁶See a special article on this subject in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1843.

⁵⁷*Journal Asiatique*, 1853, following the article on Mas'ūd, a poet of Persian and Hindustani.

is in his *qit'as* and *rubā'īs*. He does not share Kamāl's enthusiasm for the rest of Qā'im's poetry, and regards as insane any attempt to equate this poet with Saudā.

At an early age Qā'im moved to Delhi where the Sultan gave him a job. He died during the period 1207–1210/1793–1795.

10. The *tazkira* by Abu'l-Ḥasan is entitled *Masarrat Afzā* (Enhancer of Joy) and was written in Persian during the year 1193/1779. In the preface of volume 1 of my *Histoire de la Littérature Indienne*,⁵⁸ I had expressed regret for not having been able to profit from this *tazkira* whose existence I was aware of from the catalog of manuscripts owned by Sir W. [William] Ouseley; he possessed a copy [of it]. Now the manuscript collection of the late Sir William is in the Library of Oxford. My friend Nath [Nathaniel] Bland has read the book for me, and has sent me its analysis and extracts, thus according me a much better perspective. Dr. [Aloys] Sprenger does not mention it [Abu'l-Ḥasan's *tazkira*] among the *tazkiras* he has found in the vast collections to which he has had access.

The author of this *tazkira*, Abu'l-Ḥasan Amīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, also known as Amru'l-Lāh of Allahabad, left his city of birth to live in 'Azīmābād [Patna], and then moved to Calcutta. His admiration of Hindustani poetry compelled him, while in the midst of his travels during 1193/1779, to compose his *tazkira* of Hindustani poets. He later made additions to it when he went to Lucknow.

11. The *tazkira* by Shōrish, written in Persian in 1193/1779–80, does not have any special title. The author's name is Mīr Ghulām Ḥusain, and he is commonly called Mīr Bḥainā. My source for this *tazkira* is the work of Dr. Sprenger who included large extracts of this *tazkira* in his index of Urdu *tazkiras*;⁵⁹ these extracts are taken from a manuscript of this *tazkira*, which belongs to J.-B. Elliot of Patna, and is a volume of five hundred quarto-size pages with 314 short biographical entries.

12. The *tazkira* by Navāb 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān is entitled *Gulzār-e Ibrāhīm* (The Garden of Ibrahim). The title alludes both to the biographer's name and to the bonfire into which, according to the Qur'ān, Abraham was thrown by Nimrod's order, but which miraculously turned into a flowerbed. This *tazkira*, in Persian, was completed in 1196/1781–82. I have utilized it extensively for my *Histoire de la Littérature Indienne*. It contains biogra-

⁵⁸[See] p. 12. As to the *Tazkira-e Shu'arā-e Jahaṅgīr Shābī*, a copy of which exists in the same library [at Oxford], and which, regretfully again, I have not seen: it [is not pertinent because it] is only about the poets who wrote in Persian during the reign of Jahangir.

⁵⁹*A Cat. [A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Hindustany Manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh]*, Vol. 1, p. 195ff.

phies of about three hundred Urdu poets, with specimens of their poetry.

To what I have already said about Ibrahim in my *Histoire*, I will add that his name in full is Navāb ‘Alī Ibrāhīm Amīnu’-d-Daula Nāṣir Jañg, and that he was a native of Patna. He had two *takballuṣes*, Khalīl and Ḥāl. He is mentioned under the first *takballuṣ* in [the *tazkiras* by] Yūsuf ‘Alī and Shōrish, and under the second in [the *tazkira* by] ‘Ishqī.

13. The last of the eighteenth century *tazkiras* is by Maṣḥafī, written in Persian in 1209/1794–95. To what I have said about this *tazkira* and its author in my *Histoire de la Littérature Indienne*, I must first add, following the opinion expressed by the late [Joseph von] Hammer in an article on my work, that the name of this *tazkira*’s author should be pronounced not as “Muṣḥafī” but as “Maṣḥafī,” that is, learned in the Qur’ān.⁶⁰

We learn from Shēfta that this biographer [Muṣḥafī] was born in Delhi where he was regarded in his era as a master of Hindustani and Persian composition. Shēfta knew Muṣḥafī in Lucknow, and was close to him. Muṣḥafī says, and Karīmu’-d-Dīn backs him, that he is the author of six *divāns* of Rekhta. Yet, the manuscript of the *divāns* of Muṣḥafī (*Divānba-e Muṣḥafī*) by Farah Bakhsh of Lucknow has only four, all in Hindustani, constituting four [separate] volumes. Muṣḥafī is also the author of several *divāns* in Persian, a *tazkira* of Persian poets, and an unfinished *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings), which is a history in verse of the times up to the reign of Shāh ‘Ālam.

As to the *tazkira* of Urdu poets, Muṣḥafī wrote it at the urging of Mīr Mustahsan Khālīṣ, and included in it about one hundred fifty Hindustani poets who lived from the time of Muḥammad Shāh to his own time. The biographies of his contemporaries are especially detailed.

Muṣḥafī lived a long life, having died only about a dozen years before the compilation of *Gulshan-e Bēkhār*, around 1822. But Karīmu’-d-Dīn gives the date as 1814. Muṣḥafī started gaining recognition towards the end of the era of Saudā, Jur’at, and Insha. He was even a contemporary of Ḥātīm who mentions this fact in the preface of his *Divān Zāda*.

Qā’im, who had attended several of Muṣḥafī’s literary gatherings [the *mushbā’iras* in which Muṣḥafī recited his poetry], quotes a large number of verses from him; Sarvar fills forty-seven pages from his poetry.

14. The *tazkira* by Luṭf (Mirzā ‘Alī Khān), written entirely at the beginning of this century in 1215/1800–01, is a milestone in the development

⁶⁰It was, of course, a mistake on de Tassy’s part to change the spelling to “Maṣḥafī” from “Muṣḥafī,” which he used earlier in his *Histoire*. From this point forward, I have used the pronunciation “Muṣḥafī” common among Urdu scholars.—Tr.

of a nationalist spirit; to my knowledge, this is the first such work written in Urdu, the Muslim's dialect of Hindustani, rather than in Persian in which the earlier ones were written. This *tazkira*, entitled *Gulshan-e Hind* (The Garden of India), consists of only sixty-six biographical entries, but nearly all of them contain numerous extracts from the poetry of the authors being described, with some poems given in entirety and running over several pages. For example, the author's biography is followed by a *divān* of his ghazals, which, in my copy, takes up thirty-one pages of seventeen lines each, then some *qaṣīdas* taking seventeen pages, and an erotic⁶¹ *maṣnavī* taking twenty-five pages, seventy-three pages in all.

I have given the biography of Luṭf in my *Histoire de la Littérature Indienne*, so here it suffices to add that he was born in Delhi, and resided in Patna, Lucknow, and, finally, in Hyderabad. He arrived in the last city a year after Kamāl, whom he knew already from Lucknow, and with whom he reunited again in the Deccan. In poetry, Luṭf was a disciple of his father, Kāẓim Bēg Khān Ḥijrī, who also cherished Hindustani poetry, and, as reported by Shēfta, the poetry of Mīr Taqī Mīr.

15. The *tazkira* by 'Ishqī bears the same date as the previous entry, but is written in Persian, consistent with the old custom. I have not actually seen it, but have indirectly made use of it⁶² and know that it contains 439 short biographies in alphabetical order. Miān Raḥmatu'l-Lāh 'Ishqī of Patna was the son of a highly regarded Hindustani poet, Mujrim. 'Ishqī is himself considered a poet of Hindustani although he mostly wrote in Persian. He should not be confused with the 'Ishqī of Murādabād mentioned in my *Histoire*,⁶³ nor with yet another 'Ishqī of the Deccan; both of these are poets of Hindustani. Our 'Ishqī was mentored by his father and by Shāh Muḥammad Vafā.

16. *Majmū'au'l-Intikhāb* (The Compendium of Excellence, or An Anthology of Anthologies) is by Kamāl (Faḳīr Shāh Muḥammad⁶⁴ or Shāh Kamālu'd-Dīn Ḥusain); it is one of the *tazkiras* that I learned about after the publication of my *Histoire*, thanks to the kindness of the dignitaries of the Royal Asiatic Society of London and, particularly, of one official whom I consulted on my own. This work, written in Persian, has afforded me

⁶¹The verses which de Tassy calls *erotic* are simply *romantic*, and not at all erotic. — *Tr.*

⁶²Based on *A Catalogue* [...] by Sprenger, who had access to the copy possessed by Mr. J.-B. Elliot, a resident of Patna and owner of a beautiful collection of Hindustani manuscripts. The catalogue has about four hundred folio-size pages, seventeen lines per page.

⁶³Vol. 1, p. 248.

⁶⁴This is the name he himself adopted.

forty-eight new articles, some of them quite significant. The manuscript that I was able to use is written in a beautiful *nasta'liq* script, but unfortunately it has been edited extremely carelessly; the amanuensis has frequently inserted extraneous material, obviously with little regard for what he was supposed to copy. The inexactness thus introduced is particularly annoying in the quoted verses.

17. *Majmū'a-e Naghz* (The Wondrous Collection) by Qāsim (Saiyid Abu'l-Qāsim)⁶⁵ of Delhi, also known as Qudratu'l-Lāh Qādirī, is a *tazkira* that I learned about only after the publication of my *Histoire*.

Qāsim composed this work in 1221/1806–07 and gave it the above title that also serves as a chronogram. Written in Persian, its prose is very ornate and full of rhymes and alliterations. It begins with a long and rather pompous preface on the art of poetry. What distinguishes this biography from other original *tazkiras* is that Qāsim does not just list the poets randomly; he is very careful about people with similar names, and enumerates and orders them carefully. The biographical entries of this *tazkira* number only in the hundreds, far less than those found in the *tazkiras* by Sarvar and Zūkā,⁶⁶ but are much more substantial, and contain a lot of well-chosen anecdotes and quotations not found elsewhere.

Moreover, Qāsim is himself a very distinguished poet of Hindustani. From his childhood, he had a good aptitude for poetry and was initiated into this art by Hidāyat. By the time he started compiling this *tazkira*, he had already completed a *dīvān* filled with nearly 8,000 couplets. In addition, he had written a *mašnavī* of nearly 3,500 couplets, entitled *Qiṣṣa-e Mi'rāj* (Story of the Prophet's Ascension); another *mašnavī*, the subject of which we do not know, in the meter of [Sa'dī's] *Bōstān*; and nearly 5,200 couplets on the *karāmāt* (miracles) of 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī, the celebrated sufi and founder of the religious order to which Qāsim belonged, as attested by his surname Qādirī.

Qāsim also practiced medicine, but it is not known whether he was a professional physician.

The biographers Kamāl, Sarvar, Shēfta, and Karīm praise him highly for his poetical achievements as well as his piety. Qāsim died in 1820, at the age of 109 years, if we are to believe Karīm.

18. *Umda-e Muntakhaba* (Colossal Selection [more correctly, Superior

⁶⁵Qāsim apprises us that he took the surname Abu'l-Qāsim because of his devotion to [the Prophet] Muḥammad who had the same surname [of relationship]. See my *Mém. sur les Noms et Titres Musulmans* [Memoir on Muslim Names and Titles].

⁶⁶The biographer's name should be spelled *Zakā*, as noted in the discussion of his *tazkira* (see entry no. 21). —Tr.

Selection]) by Sarvar seems⁶⁷ to have been compiled in 1212/1806–07). I did not know about this *tazkira* during the publication of my *Histoire de la Littérature Indienne*, but since then I was able to acquire a manuscript copy of it and have been able to peruse it at leisure.

Mir Muḥammad Khān Sarvar, the author of this biography, held the honorary title of *A'ẓamu'd-Daula* (The Greatest in the Empire). He was the son of Navāb Abu'l-Qāsim Muẓaffar Khān Bahādūr and was a disciple of Sāqī (also known as Sāmī), Mauzūn, and Tajammul. He authored a massive *divān* in Rekhta, apart from the *tazkira* being discussed here. The present work contains the biographies of a thousand to twelve hundred poets, arranged alphabetically, with short extracts of their works of various kinds. In the *tazkira*, Sarvar mentions himself with much humility and seeks to be forgiven for including several pages of his own verses among those of famous poets by saying that *thorns are to be found among roses*. This *tazkira*, appearing later than that of Qāsim, although bearing a similar date, precedes that of Shēfta, who benefited from it, just as Qāsim's *tazkira* was of use to Sarvar.

Karīm says that *Umda-e Muntakhaba* is very well known in Delhi, has been written very punctiliously, and has been utilized by Shēfta and others in preparing their own works.

Sarvar died in 1250/1834–35. His son Maḥmūd Khan followed in his father's footsteps, and is mentioned by Shēfta as one of his contemporary poets.

19. *Ṭabaqāt-e Sukhan* (Ranks of Eloquence, that is, Eloquent People) is not available to me per se.⁶⁸ This *tazkira*'s author, also a poet of Hindustani, is Shaikh Ghulām Muḥīu'd-Dīn Quraishī, alias 'Ishq. He was born in Meerut. His father, Ne'matu'l-Lāh Ni'mī,⁶⁹ himself a poet, is the author of a reputable Persian *divān*. As to 'Ishq, he wrote not only in Persian but also in Arabic. To his credit are, among other works, two Persian *divāns*, in the first of which he used the *takhalluṣ* Muḥtalā (Lover⁷⁰), and in the second, 'Ishq (Love), under which he is known.

⁶⁷I phrase it so because nowhere is there a peremptory mention of the date of this work. Within the *tazkira* there are chronograms for 1215 and 1216, [perhaps] referring to the writing of the work, and for 1242, perhaps indicating the year of completion or year of the copy. But Dr. Sprenger has observed that the *tazkira* does not describe any work of a date later than 1219/1804–05, so the *tazkira* itself could have been finished in that very year or in the next.

⁶⁸Again, I owe whatever I know about this work to Dr. Sprenger's *A Catalogue*.

⁶⁹Following the reading of Dr. Sprenger, but the alias could also be read *Naghmī* (melodious).

⁷⁰More properly, "Afflicted."

The title of this *tazkira*, written in Persian, fixes [as a chronogram] the date of its compilation, in particular, to 1222/1807–08. This biography does not follow the style of others. It is divided into two parts which are called *ṭabaqāt*, or, euphonically, *ṭabqāt* (ranks) by the author, the first part containing short biographical entries about one hundred Rekhta poets, and the second part covering about the same number of Persian poets.

20. The *tazkira* by Jahān is among the six *tazkiras* which were very valuable to me while working on my *Histoire*, and is one of the six that, to my knowledge, have been written in Hindustani. The work is entitled *Dīvān-e Jahān* which can be translated as “The Anthology of Jahān,” alluding to the author’s poetical alias,⁷¹ or “The Indian Anthology” or even “World Anthology,” since the word *jahān* (world) is sometimes taken metaphorically to mean the “the Indian world.” I will not repeat what I have already said⁷² about this work, which bears the date 1227/1812, or about the author, who, in spite of being a Hindu, as attested by his name Bēnī Narāyan, has written in the Muslim dialect. What I have newly learned is that the author is a Kshatriya, and a native of Delhi, according to some, and of Lahore, according to others.⁷³ His father was Rā’e Sudṛiṣṭ Narāyan, and grandfather was Lakshmī Narāyan.

Dīvān-e Jahān is as much a biography as it is an anthology. It covers about one hundred fifty writers, whose biographical entries are quite concise but whose work selections are very generous.

Apart from this *tazkira*, Jahān wrote several other works in Hindustani: *Čār Gulshan* (Four Gardens), which is based on the legend “the king and the mendicant” exploited mainly by the Persian poet Hilālī in *Shāh-o-Gadā* (or *Darvish*); *Qiṣṣajāt* (Little Stories), a collection of anecdotes; verses, a selection of which are given in the *tazkira*; and finally, a translation of *Tanbihu’l-Ghāfilīn* (Admonishment to the Negligent), a religious work originally composed in Persian on the appeal of Saiyid Aḥmad, the celebrated Indian Muslim reformer and founder of a new sect of Wahhabis. There are also several other Hindustani translations of this work [*Tanbihu’l-Ghāfilīn*]. It appears that Jahān belonged to the sect of Saiyid Aḥmad, or at least converted to Islam, because he talks very much like a Muslim in the preface of this last-mentioned work.

21. *‘Ayāru’sh-Shu‘arā* (The Touchstone of Poets) is another *tazkira* by a Hindu, Khūb Čand Zūkā⁷⁴ of Delhi. The *tazkira*, in Persian, was written

⁷¹According to the catalogue of Hindustani books of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta.

⁷²*Hist. de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 115.

⁷³Sprenger. *A Catalogue* [...], p. 188.

⁷⁴*Zūkā* is an Arabic word that means “the sun.” [The closest Arabic word with

in 1247/1831–32, or most probably, in the period from 1208/1793–94 to 1247/1831–32, since the author mentions that he worked on the book for thirteen years. It was written on the urging of his mentor Mīr Naṣīru’-d-Dīn Naṣīr, commonly called Mīr Kallū. Zūkā died in 1846; Dr. Sprenger learned this directly from Zūkā’s grandson.

Zūkā’s *tazkīra* is among the ones with which I have only a passing familiarity. It is written in Persian and contains the biographies of about 1500 poets, with some extracts of their work. The manuscript in Dr. Sprenger’s possession has about a thousand octavo-size pages, with fifteen lines per page. According to this accomplished Orientalist, the *tazkīra* is written in an undiscerning manner and is seething with inexactness and repetitions. Undoubtedly there is still much to glean from it, so it is disappointing that there is not a single copy of it in Europe.

22. *Gulshan-e Bēkbār* (The Thornless Garden), completed in 1250/1834–35, was printed lithographically at Delhi in 1845, and has been published in multiple editions [since then]. But I have acquired a handwritten copy of it, courtesy of the late [Felix] Boutros, the then Principal of the Delhi College for Natives. This *tazkīra*, written in Persian, is the most well known of all the biographies written by contemporary authors. It contains biographical entries of about six hundred different poets, together with extracts of their work. It is more authentic than most of the works of this genre [*tazkīra*], including Qāsim’s *tazkīra* from which it seems to have derived much information.

The author of this *tazkīra*, Navāb Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Khān Bahādur, with the poetical alias Shēfta, is a native of Delhi and a person of considerable nobility, being the son of Navāb Murtaẓā Khān Bahādur. He is a very distinguished poet of Hindustani. In poetry, he is a disciple of the famous poet Mōmin of Delhi. It seems that at first his *takballuṣ* was Ḥasratī (Sighing [with despair]); he later switched to Shēfta (Enamored), which is how he is known today.

In his *tazkīra*, he is quite self-effacing when talking of himself, and laments letting the precious time of life pass by idly. His own biography ends with about a dozen pages of his poetry.

His books include a *dīvān* of Urdu poetry and the Hindustani translation, published in Lucknow, of Ibn al-Jauzī’s *Maulad-e Muḥaddas*, an Arabic

that meaning is Zuka’ā, which is not a word commonly used in Urdu, and would be quite a problematic poetic alias for satisfying poetry meters. The intended *takballuṣ* is most likely *Zakā*, meaning “sharpness of intelligence.” However, in his catalog, Sprenger also gives the transliteration *Dzokā* (his way of writing *Zukā*) together with the Urdu spelling *Zkā* (Sprenger 1854, 184). Another, somewhat similar poetic alias, *Zūqā*, appears in Shēfta (1874, 83), but it belongs to a different poet. —Tr.]

work dealing, as its title indicates, with the genealogy, birth event, and education of Muḥammad, based on the *ḥadīṣ* traditions.

Shēfta used to hold literary meetings in Delhi until 1847 when he left this town. He is still alive, and recently he has been greatly praised by Dharm Narāyan in a journal published from Delhi with the title *Qiranu's-Sa'dain* (Conjunction of the Two Propitious Planets: Venus and Jupiter).

23. *Gulshan-e Bēkbazañ* (The Garden Without Autumn) is just an Urdu translation of the previous *tazkira*, by Bāṭin (Ḥakīm Saiyid Ghulām Quṭbu'd-Dīn). He was born at Agra and practiced medicine there, taking over the practice of his grandfather who died there in 1259/1843–44. Bāṭin's family was from Arab Sarai, a place five miles south of Delhi.

24. *Guldasta-e Nāznīnāñ* (Bouquet of the Belles), by Karīmu'd-Dīn, who was an alumnus of the Delhi College for Natives and later became Professor at Agra College. There he collaborated with his colleague Mr. [S. W.] Fallon on another work which I will describe next.

Guldasta-e Nāznīnāñ is a collection of selected verses of the most famous Hindustani writers. It was published in Delhi in 1261/1845 and was very popular in India. It consists of three hundred fifty small-format pages with twenty lines per page, and is in three parts: an introduction devoted to three living poets belonging to the royal family in Delhi; an essay on poetry; and finally, biographical items written in Urdu about thirty-nine different poets, with lengthy extracts of their verse.

25. The *tazkira* by Nāṣir of Lucknow, cited by Muḥsin.

26, 27, 28. There are three original biographies with the common title *Gulistān-e Sukhan* (Garden of Eloquence), written, respectively, by Ṣābir, Jōsh, and Mubtalā. For information about these authors, please refer to my *Hist. de la Littér. Hind.*

29. *Intikhāb-e Davāvīn-e⁷⁵ Shu'arā-e Mashhūr Zabān Urdū Kē* (A Collection of *Divāns* of Famous Urdu Poets) by Ṣahbā'ī (Imām Bakhsh) who is Professor at Delhi College and is widely reputed for his mastery of Persian. Although this work is more properly an anthology, the included extracts of poetry are preceded by short biographical notes in Urdu, so it can be considered a kind of *tazkira*.

This work consists of selections from the *divāns* of Valī, Dard, Saudā, Mīr, Jur'at, Ḥasan, Naṣīr, Mammūn, Nāsikh, Mūl Čand, Zauq, and Mōmin. It was composed in 1260/1844 and printed lithographically at Delhi in 1842

⁷⁵*Davāvīn* is the Arabic plural, in the form *favā'il*, of the word *divān*. [Conforming to the Urdu pronunciation, the letter "w" of several words of Arabic origin has been replaced with "v" in the present translation. Thus, we use the spelling "*divān*," not "*diwān*." —Tr.]

[sic] as a book of 273 small quarto-size pages, twenty lines per page. Şahbā'ī devotes a preface of twenty-three pages to discussing the poetic meters utilized in the most well-known Hindustani poems. All statements are illustrated with well-chosen examples. The work entitled *Khulāṣa Dīwānā* (A Selection of *Dīwāns*) [more accurately, A Conspectus of *Dīwāns*], also printed in Delhi, is most likely the same as the *Intikhab*.

Şahbā'ī is about sixty years old.⁷⁶ He has written a relatively small amount of verse, but, in addition to the work mentioned above, he is also the author of an Urdu translation of the Persian book of rhetoric *Ḥadā'iqu'l-Balāgha*,⁷⁷ or, more probably, an imitation of this book to adapt it to the Hindustani poetry; a grammar of Hindustani, written in Hindustani; three treatises on *mu'ammās* (enigmas), *alfāz-e mushkila* (the most complex expressions to understand),⁷⁸ and other topics.

30. *Şubuf-e Ibrāhīm* (The Pages of Ibrahim), entitled from the first name of the author Khalil, who also wrote a *tazkira* in Persian.

31. *Sarāpā'e Sukhan* (The Entirety of Eloquence) by Muḥsin of Lucknow who has also authored a large number of Hindustani verses. This *tazkira*, completed in 1852, was printed in 1861 in four hundred folio-size pages whose margins are also full of text. It contains extracts from more than seven hundred Hindustani poets, as well as short biographical notes about them. The extracts are arranged in the same order of contents that *Gulshan-e Nishāt* observes.

32. Lastly, *Ṭabaqātu'sh-Shu'arā* (The Classes of Poets) or *Tazkira-e Shu'arā'e Hind* (A Recollection of Indian Poets) is a *tazkira* of Hindustani poets, written in Urdu and printed lithographically at Delhi in 1848. It comprises 504 folio-size pages, and added to its Hindustani title is the following English subtitle: "A History of Urdu Poets, Chiefly Translated from G. de Tassy's *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani*, by F. Fallon, Esq., and Munshī Karīmu'd-Dīn." It is thus a reproduction of the first volume of my *Histoire*, but with deletions as well as additions, making it almost an original work worth perusal. Most of the new articles are either about the contemporary princes of Delhi who were devoted to Urdu poetry and sought diversion in it, or about the professors of Delhi College. The latter articles, in particular, have much of substance to offer about the life and work of these scholars.

⁷⁶Because, according to Karīm, he was about forty years old in 1847. But Dr. Sprenger, who knows him [Şahbā'ī] personally, said in 1854 that he was sixty years old then.

⁷⁷My *Rhétorique des Nations Musulmanes* is based on that work.

⁷⁸This is primarily an exposition of the work of Tĕk Čand that bears the same title. Şahbā'ī's book was published in 1847.

It would take too long to discuss the numerous remaining Hindustani *tazkiras* authored by Karīm and others. Among these are original works as well as translations and compilations.

To complete the survey of the biographies of the authors who have written in Hindustani, I must also go through what are in actuality anthologies, because indirectly they also present to us a lot of fascinating information about the history of Indian verse and specimens of poetry not found anywhere else. So below are some details of the ones I know about, in the order of their publication dates.

33, 34, and 35. The first two are due to English scholars⁷⁹ and valuable because of that [different] perspective. The first is *Selections from the Popular Poetry of the Hindoos* by the late Colonel Broughton;⁸⁰ containing fifty-nine popular Indian songs, it, secondarily, introduces several poets of past eras. The second, on which Tārīnī Čaran Mitra, a distinguished Hindustani writer and author of several works,⁸¹ has collaborated, is the most important among all the anthologies that I have mentioned. Among other things, it contains: fragments of *Baitāl Pačīsī* and *Bhaktā Māl*; Rekhtas of Kabīr; a song from the *Rāmāyana* of Tulsī Dās; a chapter from *Bāgh-o-Babār*; extracts of *Gul-e Bakāulī* from *Arā'ish-e Mahfil*; an Urdu version of *Hitō-padēsha*; the legend of *Shakuntala* by Javān; and, finally, 348 small poems, a good number of which have become popular songs.

36. *Guldasta-e Nishāt* (Bouquet of Pleasure), upon which I have relied greatly for my *Histoire*, was written in 1252/1836–37 and was published in the same year in Calcutta. It is a book of practical rhetoric based on examples taken from the Indian poets who have written in Persian. It also contains an extensive collection of Hindustani poems and couplets. The author, a *taḥṣīldār* (that is, a tax inspector, or “collector” as called in English), resides in Delhi.

37. *Majmu‘a-e Vāsōkbt* (Collection of *Vāsōkbt*s) is an anthology of twenty-one poems of a special genre,⁸² composed by various poets. The book is in sixty-eight small folio-size pages with margins that are also full of text. It has been printed lithographically at Lucknow in 1261/1849 [1261

⁷⁹The heading enumerates three anthologies, but only two are described. Also, the second is supposed to be authored by an Englishman, but his name is not given and only an Indian collaborator on the work is mentioned. — *Tr*:

⁸⁰Thomas Duer Broughton, an agreeable gentleman. I had the pleasure of knowing him personally. He died in London on 16 November 1835.

⁸¹Among them is *Purush Parīchā* (Man’s Test), which I mention in my *Histoire*, Vol. 1. Tārīnī was still alive in 1834 and was Secretary of the Calcutta School Book Society.

⁸²This particular genre of poetry will be discussed further below.

AH actually corresponds to 1845 CE].

So far I have dealt with the biographies of Hindustani poets which [biographies] I have come to know about directly or indirectly. To complete the list, I take up next the biographies which are cited either in the *tazkiras* that I have seen or elsewhere. I begin with:

38. *Kavī Prakāśh* (Manifestations of Poets). As the title indicates, this must be a *tazkira* in Hindi.

39. *Vārṭa* or *Bārṭa*, collection of ingenious anecdotes about Vallabhā, the founder of a spiritual sect of Hinduism, and his eighty-four most prominent disciples.⁸³ It must be noted that Vallabhā himself and, undoubtedly, many of his disciples are authors of religious songs in Hindi.⁸⁴

40. A huge number⁸⁵ of verses by Dulhā Rām on famous persons, primarily of the Rām Sanēhī sect, and secondarily on Hindus in general, and even Muslims.

41. The *tazkira* by Ḥasan (Mīr Ghulām Ḥasan), cited by the biographer Sarvar and others as an eloquently composed biography of Rekhta poets.⁸⁶ As is well known, Ḥasan is himself one of the most distinguished poets of Hindustani. He authored the famous *mašnavī Sebru'l-Bayān* on the legend of Bēnazīr and Badr Munīr, [the *mašnavī*] *Gulzār-e Irām*, and a highly regarded *divān*. Despite the refined sentiments depicted in his mystical poetry, especially in a prayer which I have quoted verbatim⁸⁷ and translated,⁸⁸ Ḥasan has also written some very obscene poetry which indicates that he indulged in a kind of libertinism that rarely defiles Christian lands.⁸⁹

42. The *tazkira* by Saudā. This author, the most famous Urdu poet, has written a *tazkira* which is cited by Qāsim in one of his articles about Sa‘dī; I have no direct knowledge of this article.

43. *Gulzār-e Mazāmīn* (The Garden of Meanings). This work, which appeared in 1199/1784–85, is basically a collection of short poems of the famous poet Tapish. But at the same time it can be considered a *tazkira* because in its preface the author discusses Urdu poetry and the writers who should be credited with its development.

⁸³Vallabhā gave lectures at eighty-four places, which have become pilgrimage sites. This is the generally accepted connection of the number 84 with Vallabhā. —*Tr.*

⁸⁴See the discussion of this topic in my *Histoire*, Vol. 1, p. 518.

⁸⁵Some say ten thousand [verses]. See my *Histoire*, Vol. 1, p. 161.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁸⁷Following the text of *Aventures de Kām rūp*.

⁸⁸In a note in the translation *Oeuvres de Wali* [Works of Wali].

⁸⁹As noted earlier, de Tassy regards simple romantic topics as *erotic*. It is not clear which works of Ḥasan offended his puritan spirit so much that he did not even name them. —*Tr.*

44. *Guldasta-e Ḥaidarī* (The Ḥaidarī Bouquet) by Ḥaidar Bakhsh Ḥaidarī, a most prolific writer of the early nineteenth century, contains anecdotal pieces, a *divān*, and a *tazkīra* of Hindustani poets.

45. The *tazkīra* by Mīr Muḥammad ‘Alī Tirmizī, a Hindustani writer credited with a synopsis in prose of Firdausī’s *Shāhnamā*,⁹⁰ is cited in *Gulzār-e Ibrāhīm*. This is all the information I can provide about this work.

46. *Rauzatū’sh-Shu‘arā* (The Garden of Poets) is another original biography about which I have no further information.

47. The *tazkīra* by Akhtar. This writer, with the poetic alias *Akhtar* (Star), is none other than the deposed King of Oudh, Vājid ‘Alī Shāh, who charmed his subjects with high literary culture at his palace in Lucknow. He is, indeed, the author of numerous published Hindustani works, some of which I have in my personal library. As to the *tazkīra* mentioned, it is said to be a massive work with biographies of five thousand Persian and Hindustani poets. But I have no direct knowledge of this *tazkīra*.

48. The little *tazkīra* of Urdu poets by Āzurda (Ṣadru’-d-Dīn). The author is a contemporary poet of Hindustani and has also composed Arabic poetry for amusement. Shēfta mentions this *tazkīra* in his own biography, in the article on Saudā. However, Dr. Sprenger, who knew Āzurda personally, never heard him mention this book. Āzurda is about seventy years old at present;⁹¹ he is a *maulvī* and a *muftī*, and has the title of *khān*.

49. The *tazkīra* by ‘Ashiq (Mahdī ‘Alī), who is a very prolific Hindustani poet, being the author of three Hindustani *divāns*, a romantic story in verse on the legend of Khāvar Shāh,⁹² and several other long poems. He used to host literary meetings at his Delhi residence; the *tazkīra* includes information about the poets who attended these meetings as well as the poetry that they recited there.

50. *Sarv-e Āzād* (The Independent Cypress, or The Cypress of Āzād) is a *tazkīra* cited by Abu’l-Ḥasan in his *Masarrat Afzā*. This would imply that this *tazkīra* is about Urdu poets, but N. [Nathaniel] Bland counts it among the *tazkīras* of Persian poets.⁹³ Both situations are possible [simultaneously]: the *tazkīra* might cover the poets of Persian as well as of Hindustani as Āzād was a very distinguished Hindustani poet himself. That leads me to believe the following explanation of this situation [of apparently conflicting opinions]: Āzād wrote a different *tazkīra* about Persian poets. This well-known and highly regarded *tazkīra* is entitled *Khazāna-e ‘Āmīra*

⁹⁰See *Hist. de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 359.

⁹¹Because Shēfta mentions that Āzurda was about fifty years old in 1847. Yet, according to Sprenger, he was seventy in 1853.

⁹²Erroneously attributed to Māh Liqā in Vol. 1 [of *Histoire?*].

⁹³*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 4, p. 170.

(The Abundant Treasure). This biography is truly replete with information, and its preface mentions twenty-four biographies that served as the author's sources.⁹⁴ Āzād also wrote a book entitled *Risāla-e Ghazalān-e Hind* (Treatise on Indian Ghazals)⁹⁵ discussing this particular genre of poetry composed in India. This work might have been a biography and an anthology at the same time, and was likely the same as *Sarv-e Āzād* under a different title.

Sarv-e Āzād, written in Persian, was translated into Hindustani in 1847 by Mōtī Lāl Kayath of Haipur⁹⁶ who was a distinguished graduate of Delhi College, and was only nineteen years old [when he did the translation]. In the following year, Mōtī Lāl translated *Gulistān* into Urdu. He also edited the Hindustani journal *Qirānu's-Sa'dain*, published from Delhi.

Afsos has this to say in his *Āra'ish-e Mahfil* about Āzād:

Mir Ghulām 'Alī Āzād had no equal among his contemporaries when it came to poetry, eloquence, knowledge, and virtue; he also excelled all the other Indian authors in Arabic verse, and wrote more of these than anyone else. His *qasīdas* prove my claim. The most eloquent of the Arabs will be at a loss for words when trying to praise him. He was born in 1114/1702–03 and died in 1202/1787–88.

51. *Tazkiratu'l-Kāmilīn* (Biography of the Excellent, that is, of the eminent persons) is a work written in Urdu by Rām Čand, a contemporary Hindustani writer and author of many publications. This *tazkira*, printed lithographically in 1849 in Delhi, is not devoted to poets only, but it does discuss several of them and hence we include it here.

52. *Tazkira-e Hindī* (Indian Biography, or Biography of Hindustani Poets) by Shauq (Maulvī Qudratu'l-Lāh) also has an alternative title *Ṭabaqāt-u'sb-Sbu'arā* [Tiers of Poets]. It is cited by Muṣḥafī, Sarvar, and Karīm, but I have not seen it. The author is a prolific Hindustani poet, with [about] one hundred thousand couplets to his credit. He used to hold literary gatherings at this residence. A disciple of Qā'im of Chandpur, he was still alive in 1807 when Qāsim wrote his *tazkira*.

53. The *tazkira* by Khāksār (Mīr Muḥammad Yār). The author, a pious mystic as well as a distinguished poet, was commonly known as Kallau, Kallū, or Galū,⁹⁷ and died around 1805. This *tazkira* is cited by Shōrish. How-

⁹⁴See the article by N. Bland on this work, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 9, p. 150.

⁹⁵See *Histoire de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 89.

⁹⁶Perhaps a misprint of "Harīpūr." — *Tr.*

⁹⁷The appellation must be Kallū as it was a common nickname in India. The other two are most likely its misreadings in a poorly written manuscript. — *Tr.*

ever, it is not mentioned by Sarvar who personally knew Khāksār quite well, because, possibly, it is about Persian poets; but I have no means to ascertain this.

54. The *tazkira* by Maḥmūd (Saiyid Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khān). It discusses Persian as well as Hindustani poets. The author, a contemporary person of Afghan origin, knows the Qurʾān by heart as his title *ḥāfiẓ* signifies. He also wrote poetry in Hindustani, and Sarvar quotes seven pages worth of this poetry in his *tazkira*.

55. The *tazkira* by Maẓmūn (Imāmuʿd-Dīn Khān). The author, called Maẓlūm by ʿIshqī,⁹⁸ held an important position in Muḥammad Shāh’s government, and, also according to ʿIshqī, had composed a *tazkira* of Rekhta poets.

56. The *tazkira* by Zauq (Shaikh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm) of Delhi. He was the mentor [in poetry] of the last King of Delhi, and received the titles *ʿUmdat Ustādīn [sic]*⁹⁹ (The Pillar among Tutors) and Malikuʾsh-Shuʿarā (King of Poets). The late [Felix] Boutros had in his possession, in Delhi, a copy of this *tazkira*. The work must have been composed to a high standard, since the original biographers of Zauq mention him as “the most famous of the contemporary Indian poets.” They give him the title “Parrot of the Sugarcane Fields of Eloquence”;¹⁰⁰ they claim that “his rich imagination enhances the luster of the rose and the tulip,” and say further that “the flame of his thought sets fire to hearts, and burns them to ashes, like a butterfly.”¹⁰¹

57. The *tazkira* by Jahāndār (Mirzā Javān Bakht Jahāndār Shāh), son of Shāh ʿĀlam II. This prince did everything in his power to nurture Urdu poetry and wrote some highly regarded poetry in this language himself.¹⁰² According to the biography by Muṣṣafī, Jahāndār composed a biography, with anthology, of Hindustani poetry, but unfortunately it was in the draft stage at the time of his death in 1201/1786–87. For some unknown reason, the manuscript came into the possession of Imām Bakhsh of Kashmir,¹⁰³ who

⁹⁸See Sprenger, *A Catalogue*, Vol. 1, p. 257.

⁹⁹This title is not associated commonly with Zauq. For example, it is not found in Zauq’s biography in Āzād’s *Āb-e Hayāt*. Also, the correct plural should be either *Ustādān* (Persian) or *Asātīza* (Arabic). —Tr.

¹⁰⁰A parrot’s “speech” or utterance is perceived as sweet.—Tr.

¹⁰¹De Tassy has perhaps mistranslated “moth” as “butterfly.” A common theme in Urdu poetry is the moth’s burning to ashes in the flame of the lamp (which is the moth’s Beloved). —Tr.

¹⁰²See the article on him in my *Histoire*, Vol. 1, p. 258ff.

¹⁰³Not to be confused with Imām Bakhsh Ṣaḥbāʿī, author of *Intikhab-e Davāvin*.

is supposed to have made unscrupulous use of it in his own *tazkira*.¹⁰⁴

58. The *tazkira* of Imām Bakhsh of Kashmir. I have seen it mentioned only by Muṣḥafī, who comments neither on the quality of the work nor on the author, except to complain that Imām Bakhsh plagiarized not only Jahānḍār but also himself [i.e., Muṣḥafī]. Muṣḥafī seems to believe the following account by Ḥaqīqat [who was the poet Jur'at's disciple and copier]: At the request of Imām Bakhsh, Jur'at had lent Ḥaqīqat to him [Imām Bakhsh] to assist him in the preparation of his *tazkira*. Ḥaqīqat recognized the work that he was given to transcribe as Muṣḥafī's, since he [Ḥaqīqat] had copied a part of it previously. The latter [Muṣḥafī] treats this incident in a *qit'ā* of which I have given a translation in my *Histoire de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 217.

59. *Tazkiratu'n-Nisā* (A Biography of Female Poets) by Karīmu'd-Dīn, author of *Ṭabaqāt*. The book is supposed to cover poets of Asia and Africa also. This work was under preparation in Delhi a few years ago; I do not know whether it was ever completed or published.

60. *Mukhtaṣar Aḥvāl Muṣannifān* [sic] *Hindī kē Tazkirōn kā* (Short Profiles of Hindi Biographers), also entitled *Risala dar Bāb-e Tazkirōn kā* [sic] (Communication on Biographies), by Zakāu'l-Lāh of Delhi. This pamphlet is but a translation of the announcement of the first edition of the present work.

61, 62, and 63. For the sake of the record, I mention: *Tazkiratu'l-Hukamā* (Biography of Wise People); *Tazkiratu'l-Mufaṣṣirīn* (Biography of Commentators) by Maulānā Subḥān Bakhsh, contemporary scholar and author of Hindustani works on mysticism; and *Tazkiratu'l-Mashāḥir* (Biography of Famous Persons).¹⁰⁵

To the *tazkiras*, I must add what are strictly anthologies and have been mentioned in original biographies. Following my adopted scheme [i.e., chronological order], I should first cite:

64. *Sabhā Vilās* (The Joy of Assembly), an anthology of Hindi verse, is by Panḍit Dharm Narāyan who uses the *takballuṣ* Zamīr. This contemporary writer was at most twenty-two or twenty-three years old in 1849, when, despite his youth, he was Director of the Indore Press. From it he published a Hindi and Urdu newspaper called *Mālwa Akhbār* (Malwa News). He has also published numerous Hindustani works, mostly translations from English.

65. *Nau Ratan* (Nine Jewels). The title alludes to (1) a similarly named bracelet, (2) the nine divisions (*nau khaṇḍ*) of the earth, and (3) the nine

¹⁰⁴*Histoire de la Littérature Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 259.

¹⁰⁵In three parts. See *Agra Government Gazette*, June 1855.

principal poets in the court of Bikr̥mājīt. This work is a Hindustani anthology compiled by Muḥammad Bakhsh and has had two editions, published in 1845 and 1849, both from Benares.

66. *Kāvya Saṅgraha* (Synopsis of Braj Bḥakḥa Poetry) is by Hīrā Čand, author of several important works, and has been published in Bombay.

67. *Kabī Bačān Sudhā* (The Elixir of the Discourse of Poets), a Hindi anthology serial, published monthly from Calcutta.¹⁰⁶

68. The anthology by Mushtāq (Ḥāfiḻ Taju'd-Dīn) of Patna was written in 1222/1806–07. I have not seen this work, but I understand from Sarvar, Shēfta, ʿIshq, and Karīm that Mushtāq was born in Meerut, was a poet in the Court of Hyderabad, Deccan, was of Jewish origin, and was well regarded for his Urdu poetry. He was a disciple of ʿIshq.

69. The original biographies mention another Mushtāq (Muḥammad Qulī) who died in 1214/1801–02. He had collected the Rekhta *dīvāns* of all the poets from India and Bengal, and was working on an anthology at the time when (according to Sprenger)¹⁰⁷ Shōrish was writing his *tazkīra*. Perhaps there is some confusion between the two Mushtāqs.

70. *Čaman Bēnazīr* (The Matchless Garden)¹⁰⁸ or *Majmuʿatu'l-Asbʿār* (A Collection of Verses). These two titles refer to two editions of the same work, published in Bombay in 1265/1848–49 and 1266/1849–50. The first edition is due to Muḥammad Ḥusain and the second to Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, who, I think, is the same person whose Dakhani translation of *Anvār-e Subailī* was printed in Madras in 1824. This work [*Čaman* and *Majmuʿa*, taken together] is in two parts: the first consists of only seventy-two pages and contains Persian poetry; the second consists of 249 pages and contains extracts from 187 different Hindustani poets.

71. *Majmuʿa-e Davāvīn* (A Collection of *Dīvāns*), not to be confused with *Intikhāb-e Davāvīn* mentioned earlier, is a manuscript in the Library of the Nizam [of Hyderabad].¹⁰⁹

72. *Majālis Raṅgīn* (Colorful Assemblies, or Gatherings at Raṅgīn's Residence) is a critical review of contemporary verses and their authors. Raṅgīn (Saʿādat Yār Khān) is a distinguished contemporary poet and author of numerous poems published from Agra and Lucknow.

73. *Gulistān-e Masarrat* (The Garden of Happiness) is a poetical anthology by Muḥafā Khān of Delhi. He is Director of *Maṭbaʿe Muḥafāʿī*, a printing press associated with him, which has published a large number

¹⁰⁶See my [Annual] Report of 1867, p. 26.

¹⁰⁷*A Catalogue*, Vol. 1, p. 265.

¹⁰⁸The title is a chronogram, giving of the date of this work as 1265/1848–49.

¹⁰⁹*Hist. de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 586.

of books in Hindustani.

74. *Guldasta-e Hind* (An Indian Bouquet) is a collection of aphorisms, anecdotes, etc., organized into eight divisions, each called *gulshan* (garden or parterre). The eighth *gulshan* contains selected verses, suitable for being committed to memory.

75. *Ma'āru'sh-Shu'arā* (Enthusiasm for Poets).¹¹⁰ This periodical, for printing selections from old and new poetry, is published semi-monthly from Agra by Qamar (Munshī Qamaru'd-Dīn Gulāb Khān).

76. Lastly, for the record, I will cite the collection put together by Maqbūl (Miyān Maqbūl Nabī) of sixty thousand verses by about three hundred past and modern Hindustani poets; unfortunately it was destroyed in a fire.¹¹¹

I do not itemize what are, strictly speaking, catalogs [or indices]. It is clear, nevertheless, that these are very useful documents, especially for preparing bibliographies. For my *Histoire de la Littérature Indienne*, I have [myself] relied greatly on a handwritten catalog,¹¹² prepared in 1211/1796–97, of an invaluable collection of Persian and Hindustani manuscripts owned by a gentleman, Āl-e Aḥmad¹¹³ of Lucknow.¹¹⁴

Also worthy of citation are the catalogs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, one in Persian characters and the other in Devanagari characters. The valuable information furnished by these catalogs cannot be found anywhere else.

The Writers Mentioned in the Original Biographies

The number of writers mentioned, either directly or indirectly, in the *taz-kiras* and other works that I have been able to access is about three thou-

¹¹⁰De Tassy transliterated the first word in the title as “maar” and gave its French translation as “excitation.” But in the 1871 edition of his *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie* he corrected the title to *Mi'yār-ush Shu'arā* (The Paragon of Poetry). See, Vol. 3, p. 580. —*Tr.*

¹¹¹*Gulshan-e Bēkhār* (cited by Sprenger), etc.

¹¹²Professor D. [Duncan] Forbes kindly let me borrow a copy of this catalog. He owned this copy and later donated it to the Royal Asiatic Society. Another copy was in the manuscript collection of Sir Gore Ouseley; my friend Mr. N. [Nathaniel] Bland had appraised me that this copy was made as a backup in 1211/1796–97 by an inhabitant of Berar.

¹¹³This rarely used expression is a synonym for Aḥmaidī [Aḥmadī?, descendant of Aḥmad].

¹¹⁴At least, Mr. D. [Duncan] Forbes thinks so.

sand. Of these I have mentioned no more than about seven hundred in my *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani*. But it is not certain that all these writers are actually poets. We categorize them as such anyway, because all Indian authors, even the ones that have written on exact sciences, law, and religion, have always composed some poetry also, and hence could be considered poets; besides, this term [poet] is rather vague and can mean author, as the term is sometimes used in the same sense by the laity in Europe.

Thus, *poet* is intended to mean *author* generally, because the original *tazkiras*, which are mainly anthologies of verse, occasionally also discuss authors who would be hard to classify as poets, and mention their works of prose of various genres.

Indeed, poetry dominates in all Oriental literature, especially that of India. This is not a comment about versification that refers only to combining words in certain patterns, but also to the harmonious expression of thoughts, which is the essence of civilization and which conveys these thoughts to us perhaps even better than history. Admittedly, among those poets there are quite a few who deserve the following depiction by [Quintus Horatius Faccus] Horace:

*Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina; verūm
Gaudent scribentes, et se venerantur, et ultro,
Si taceas, laudent quidquid scripsere beati.*¹¹⁵

[People laugh at those who scribble bad verses; they, however, delight in their productions, and think much of themselves; and, if the hearer is silent, in their fool's paradise, they fall to praising of their own accord whatever they have written. (1905, 45)]

Besides, the Hindustani works in prose can partially qualify as poetry. Here, just as in other languages of the Muslim Orient, prose¹¹⁶ falls into three categories, only one of which can strictly be considered prose in our intended sense of this word. The first category, termed *murajjaz*, has rhythm but is without rhyme; the second, termed *musajjaʿ*, is rhymed but is without meter; and the third, termed *ʿārī* (nude) has neither rhyme nor meter.¹¹⁷

Quite a large number of Hindustani poets have also written poetry in

¹¹⁵*Epistles*, Book II, Epistle 2, No. 106.

¹¹⁶In the languages of the Muslim Orient, prose is called *naṣr*, literally “effusion” or “dispersion.” By contrast, poetry is called *naẓm*, literally, “constriction” or “arrangement.”

¹¹⁷For further details on this matter, see my *Rhet. Des Nat. Musul. [La Rhétorique des Nations Musulmanes]*, Section 10.

Persian, just as in the past people in our own country wrote poetry in Latin as well as in French, and people in Rome wrote in Greek as well as Latin, so that the authors writing in the two classical languages were referred to as *utriusque linguae scriptores* [bilingual writers]. The Indian practice mentioned above has given rise to another [peculiar] class, that of the poets who excelled in composing verses in two languages and used two different poetical aliases, *takballuṣes*, one for their Persian creations and another for Hindustani. Thus, Vajīhu'd-Dīn calls himself Vajīh and Barīñ, and Muḥammad Khān calls himself Vāleh and Šāqib, depending on whether they are writing in Hindustani or Persian.

Let us try to put this huge number of writers into categories. The first and simplest categorization seems to be according to their being Hindu or Muslim. It is to be noted that perhaps not a single Muslim author has written in the Hindavi or Hindi dialect, while, in the past, several Hindu authors have written in Urdu, even in Dakhani, and moreover, in the more distant past, even in Persian; this is according to Saiyid Aḥmad in the extract that I have quoted earlier from his *Āšāru'ṣ-Ṣanādīd*. But, while among the nearly three thousand Indian writers that I have talked about, over twenty-two hundred are Muslim, I cannot account for eight hundred Hindu writers, and among this remaining group only about two hundred fifty have written in Hindi. Indeed, we are far from being certain about the members of this category [Hindu writers] because we lack the *tazkiras* specializing in writers of Hindi, and thus a great many of such writers remain unknown to us; this is not the case with the writers of Urdu, since the authors of original biographies have taken pains to at least cite the names, if not give more detailed descriptions, of those writers. Those who have written in Hindi are mainly the Hindus dwelling in Kashmir, the Punjab, Rajputānā, and the areas in the northwestern provinces (this designation being relative to Calcutta, the seat of British government), [such as] Delhi, Agra, Braj, and Benares.

There are but two hundred poets positively designated as Dakhani poets. So the majority of the poets that I discuss are poets of the true Urdu dialect, which is considered the Hindustani of the purest form. If we take into account the names of cities to which these poets belong, we get a good idea of not only where the two Muslim dialects are used but also where they have been developed most. The list for Dakhani is: Surat, Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Seringapatam, [and] Golconda. The list for Urdu is: Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Meerut, Lucknow, Benares, Kanpur, Mirzapur, Faizabad, Allahabad, and Calcutta; in the last-mentioned location, Urdu is used in addition to the provincial dialect.

[Mīr] Amman [of Delhi], who is considered the first writer of prose in

Hindustani, wrote while living in Calcutta and has this to say on the subject in the preface of *Bāgh-o-Babār*: “I also spoke the Urdu language, and transformed Bengal into Hindustan.”¹¹⁸

It is easy to tell Hindu and Muslim writers apart from just their names. In fact, the names of these poets would be the subject of an intriguing study. I have discussed elsewhere¹¹⁹ some matters pertaining to the names and titles of Muslims. I will content myself with recalling that the names of Muslim poets can sometimes have up to six parts, consisting of proper names, surnames, and different titles—occasionally two or three of them—such as *‘alam* or name of a Muslim saint; *laqab* or honorific, such as Ghulām Akbar (Slave of God), Imdād ‘Alī (Assist from ‘Alī); *kunniyat* or surname expressing the relation of paternity or of being a descendant, such as Abū Ṭālib (Father of Ṭālib), Ibn Hishām (Son of Hishām); *nisbat* or surname based on the place of origin, such as Lāhōrī (of Lahore), Qanōjī (of Qanoj); *kbiṭāb* or titles based on rank or nationality, such as Khān, Mīrṣā, etc.; and lastly, the *takballuṣ* or the poetical alias which is usually a substantive word or a non-Indian, Arabic or Persian adjective.

While the names of Muslim writers contain the names of Muslim saints, Hindus take the names of their gods or demigods. For example, Muslims take names such as Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Ibrāhīm, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, etc., while Hindus take Har, Narāyan, Rām, Lakshman, Gōpīnāth, Gōkūlnāth, Kāshīnāth,¹²⁰ etc.

Examples of the Muslim honorific surnames are: ‘Abdu’l-‘Ālī (Slave of the Very High), Ghulām Muḥammad (Servant of Muḥammad), ‘Alī Mardān¹²¹ (Servant of ‘Alī), etc. Similar surnames of Hindus are: Shīvā Dās (Slave of Shīvā), Krishnā Dās, Mādḥō Dās and Keshava Dās (Slave of Krishnā), Nand Dās (Slave of Nand), Haldḥar Dās (Slave of the Ploughshare Holder, that is, Slave of Bal), Sūr Dās (Slave of the Sun).

¹¹⁸This extract from Mīr Amman’s preface (actually the petition that precedes the preface) to his *Bāgh-o-Babār* is from a verse in which he quotes from Firdausī’s *Shāhnāma* to compare his own work to Firdausī’s. The full verse in Duncan Forbes’s translation, which is more accurate than de Tassy’s, is: “Many sorrows I have borne for these thirty years; / But I have revived Persia by this Persian [History]. / I, having in like manner polished the *Urdu* tongue, / Have metamorphosed *Bengal* into Hindūstān.” (Forbes 1857, 2). —*Tr.*

¹¹⁹*Mémoire sur les Noms et Titres Musulmans.*

¹²⁰The last three names are the names of Krishnā.

¹²¹This name, which is in fact that of a certain person in India, actually means “the people of ‘Alī” as *mardān* is the plural of *mard* (man); it is not unusual in India to use the plural for a singular, as I have described in my *Mémoire sur les Noms et Titres Musulmans.*

Moreover, Hindus are the slaves not only of their gods but also of their rivers, plants, and sacred cities. Thus, we have the names Gaṅgā Dās (Slave of the Ganges), Tulsī Dās (Slave of Ocimum Sanctum [the plant commonly known as Holy Basil]), Agradās (Slave of Agra), Kāshī Dās (Slave of Benares), Mathurā Dās (Slave of the city Mathura), Dvarikā Dās (Slave of the city founded, miraculously, by Krishnā).

To the [Muslim] titles Maḥbūb ‘Alī (Favorite of ‘Alī) and Maḥbūb Ḥusain (Favorite of Ḥusain), etc., correspond the [Hindu] titles Shri Lāl (Favorite of Shri, or the goddess Lakshmi), Harbans Lāl (Favorite of the race of Siva). To the Muslim titles ‘Aṭāu’-Lāh (Gift from God) and ‘Alī Bakhsh (Alms from ‘Alī), correspond the Hindu titles Bhagvāndat (Donation from God), Rām Prashād (Gift from Rāma), Shiv Prashād (Gift from Siva), Kālī Prashād (Gift from the goddess Durga), etc. Hindus sometimes use even composite Hindi-Persian expressions of this kind, such as Gaṅgā Bakhsh (Charity from the Ganges).

The Muslim titles *Asad* and *Sher* (lion) have their Hindu equivalent *Siṅgh*, representing the same idea.

To the [Muslim] title called *khiṭāb*, there correspond different titles specific to different Hindu castes. Thus, the titles given to the Brahmins are *Čaubay*, *Tiwāri*, *Dobay*, and *Pāṇḍay*; to the Kshatriyas, Rajputs, and Sikhs, *Ṭhākur*, *Rā’ē*, and *Sinhā*; to the Vaishyas, merchants, and bankers, *Shāb* and *Sēṭh*; to men of letters, *Pandit* and *Sēn*; to physicians, *Mishrā*.¹²² The Hindu ascetics are called *Gurū*, *Bhagat*, *Gōsā’iṅ*, or *Sa’iṅ*; the Sikh ones, *Bhā’i* (brother).¹²³

Mirroring the [caste system of the] Hindus, there is a division of Muslims into four classes: Saiyids, Shaikhs, Mughals, and Paṭhāns. The first class consists of the descendants of Muḥammad; the second, those of Arab origin, though this [definition] does not preclude this title from being used for new converts to Islam. The appellation Mughal is used for the people of Persian origin, and Paṭhān for the Afghans. The Saiyids are given the title Mir (for Amīr). There is no special title for Shaikhs. The Mughals like to use the title Mirzā¹²⁴ before, or Bēg after, their names. They are also called Āghā or Khvāja. Finally, the Paṭhāns are called Khān.

The Muslim ascetics are addressed with the titles Shāh, Ṣūfi, or Pīr. Their religious clerics are called Maulā or Mullā. The Muslim ladies are addressed as Khānam, Bēgam, Khātūn, Ṣāhibā, or Ṣāhib, and Bī or Bibī.

¹²²The Muslim physicians are called *hakim* (doctor).

¹²³Among Indian poets, we have a Bhā’i Gurdās and a Bhā’i Nand Lāl.

¹²⁴In Persian, the title Mirzā, which literally means “child of Amīr,” designates a prince when used after the name; if used before the name, it is a commonplace word among [several] others used to refer to men of letters.

The Hindu honorific titles include *Shrī* and *Dēvā*, the meaning of the first being “saint” and of the second being “god.” *Shrī* comes before the names and *Dēvā* afterward. These titles are also attached to the names of towns, mountains, rivers, etc.¹²⁵ In the past, the Gauls also used the title *divus* or *diva* for towns, forests, and mountains. This naming tradition is Indian, which, together with the original Celtic language and the Druid religion, got transported from the banks of the Ganges River over to the banks of the Meuse, the Marne, and the Seine. Even nowadays, the Russians call their country Holy Russia.

The Indian sovereigns honor, even to this day, the most distinguished or popular poets of their states with such Muslim titles as *Saiyidu'sb-Shu'arā* (Lord of Poets) or *Maliku'sb-Shu'arā* (King of Poets), and such Hindu titles as *Kabīshar* (Lord of Poets) or *Bar Kavī* (Excellent Poet).

The Hindus who have written in Urdu have adopted the Muslim conventions in their *takhalluṣes*. As these fancy expressions are generally borrowed from Persian, the language of the highly cultured Muslims of India, the poets of either religion choose the same sort of *takhalluṣes* for themselves; consequently, if only a poet's *takhalluṣ* is known, then it is impossible to tell whether he is a Muslim or a Hindu.

It turns out that a few Hindu writers have converted to Islam, but not a single Muslim writer seems to have converted to Hinduism;¹²⁶ the exception is the conversion of Muslims to some radically reformed sect, such as the Sikh sect, in which converts from Islam are known as *Mazhabī* (religious). In essence, the switch from Islam to Hinduism would be [from the Muslim viewpoint] tantamount to retrogression, since Islam, based on the ideas of a single Deity and the future life [i.e., life after death], would be considered to be an evolved state for Hindus. Besides, rationalism has not penetrated the Muslims of India. They are quite zealous about their religion, to the extent that they consider [the adoption of any ideas from] Hinduism to be a blemish on their faith. Furthermore, they are always engaged in proselytization.

We find that some Hindu poets have embraced the Islamic faith, have abandoned the worldly life, and extol the unity of God in their poetry. Such poets include Muḏḏar (Lāla Kuṅvar Sēn)—who has composed beautiful Hindustani poetry on what Muslims call “the martyrdom of Ḥusain”—and about a dozen other poets mentioned by the original biographers.

We also find that some Hindu writers have converted to Christianity,

¹²⁵The comparable Muslim practice is to use the word *Ḥaḏrat*. For example, they say: *Ḥaḏrat Dillī* and *Ḥaḏrat Āgra*.

¹²⁶However, *Bḥakta Māl* does mention the conversion of a Muslim to Hinduism; see *Hist. de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 2, p. 58.

and, although very rare and nearly unheard of, that even some Muslims have also converted to Christianity. Here is how the biographer Shēfta talks about a poet with the *takballuṣ* Shaukat who converted from Islam to Christianity:

It has been reported that Shaukat developed a close friendship with a European in Benares, and, because of the latter's influence, abandoned Islam and embraced Christianity. May God protect us from such a calamity! Consequently, he changed his name from *Munif* 'Alī (Ennobled by 'Alī) to *Munif Masīḥ* (Ennobled by Christ).

In the case of religious conversion, a name change is almost always required. Another Hindustani poet, whose name was Faiẓ Muḥammad (Muḥammad's Grace), took the *laqab* Faiẓ Masīḥ (Christ's Grace) upon conversion to Christianity. By contrast, it appears that, much like the case of the first Christians, the Hindu converts keep their names, despite any pagan connotations that these names might carry. Thus, among the contemporary Hindustani writers we find a Bābū Shrī Dās (Slave of Shrī or Lakshmī), who has converted to Islam, and has written a work *Ṣifāt Rab-bu'l-'Ālamīn* (Attributes of the Nurturer of the Worlds).

The original *tazkiras* mention a few Hindustani poets who were Jewish originally but became Muslim. For example, we have: Jamāl ('Alī) of Meerut, already cited, who lived in Hyderabad about sixty years ago; Javān (Muḥib-bu'l-Lāh) of Delhi, a physician by profession and a disciple of 'Ishq in poetry; and Mushtāq, the author of an anthology.

Although the Parsee authors generally write in Gujarati and occasionally in Persian, a few of them have also written in Hindustani; thus, Bomanjī Dōsabjī has published an edition of *Shakuntalā Nāṭak*.

The same biographers also refer to some European Christians, at least by origin, among the Indian poets. For example, [they mention] the person with the *takballuṣ* Ṣāḥib and main title Z̄afaryāb (Victorious) who was the son of the *Faraṅgī* (European) Sombre and the celebrated Bēgam Samrū, Queen of Sardhana, surnamed *Zīnatu'n-Nisā* (The Ornament of Women). He became a disciple of Dilsōz and gained much popularity for his Urdu poetry. At his residence in Delhi, he hosted literary meetings that were attended by noted poets of that capital. The participants included, among others, Sarvar whom we have discussed in detail. Ṣāḥib was also skilled in calligraphy, an art form greatly valued in the Orient, and in painting and music. He died in 1827 in the prime of youth.

He had a friend, with the baptismal name Balthazar and the *takballuṣ* *Asīr* (Slave [actually, Prisoner]), who also composed poetry in Hindustani. As Sarvar puts it, he was *Faraṅgī* (European) and *Naṣrānī* (Christian); Sarvar

also gives samples of Şāhib's verse, and comments that it shows ingenuity.

At that time, the little Court of Sardhana embraced a third European poet of Hindustani, one who was, to boot, a Frenchman. His took the name *Farāsū* or *Farānsū*, that is, French. He was the son of an Auguste or Augustin, and was a government official in the employ of Sardhana's Queen. His poetry has much grace, and like Şāhib, he was a disciple of the distinguished poet Dilsöz of Delhi.

Cited also is a contemporary Hindustani poet who is English and a Christian. An original biography¹²⁷ discussing him calls him Jārij Bans Shōr, which most likely stands for George Burns Shōr [George Puech "Shōr" (1823–1894)?]; the last name is being considered by the biographer to be the poet's *takballuṣ*, meaning "noise."

Lastly, we need to mention two more Hindustani poets who are English and residents of Delhi: One is Isfān, that is, undoubtedly, Stephen or Stevens; he was still living in 1800. The other is a contemporary poet by the name of Jān Tūmas, that is, John Tōmās, also known as Khān Şāhib (Mr. Khān). These poets are probably of mixed blood (*half cast [sic]*).

I personally knew a Hindustani poet of the same category, the late Dyce Sombre, adopted son of the Queen of Sardhana, whom I have mentioned; his name was frequently in the English newspapers because of his exile, which he never ceased to appeal. Dyce Sombre had a remarkable command over Hindustani poetry and recited it in a most admirable style.

Another Hindustani poet cited is a Negro and has the name Sīdī¹²⁸ Ḥamīd Bismil. This is a name worth adding to the list of distinguished black people compiled by Bishop Grégoire in his *Littérature des Nègres*. Our black poet was a native of Patna, and, it appears, was a slave. He was still alive at the start of the present century.¹²⁹

Perhaps all the authors who wrote in Hindi belonged to the reform sects of Hinduism, that is, they were Jains, Kabir Panthis, Sikhs, and Vaishnavas of various nuances. In fact, all the leaders of these sects, the most famous as well as the less recognized ones, composed Hindi poetry; for example, Rāmānand, Vallabhā, Daryā Dās, Jayadēvā (the author of the celebrated Sanskrit poem *Gītā Gōvinda*), Dādū, Bīr Bhān, Bābā Lāl, Rām Čaran, and Shīvā Narāyan.

Very few Shaivas have written in Hindi. Their majority remained as loyal to their ancient language [Sanskrit] as to their ancient creed.

¹²⁷Karīm.

¹²⁸This title, which is the African pronunciation of the Arabic Saiyidī, is given to Indian Muslims of Negro origin only.

¹²⁹Sprenger, after 'Ishqī (*Catalogue*, Vol. 1, p. 215).

As to Muslims, their Indian population is divided, from the religious viewpoint, into Sunnīs (traditionalists) and Shīʿites (separatists). People often equate¹³⁰ Sunnīs to Catholics and Shīʿites to Protestants, because the latter reject the *sunna*, that is, the traditions based on the actions of Muḥammad (accepting, nevertheless, the *ḥadīṣ*, that is, utterances attributable to Muḥammad). However, [Pierre Teilhard de] Chardin, himself in reality a Protestant, takes the opposite view, perhaps in consideration of the rites and ceremonies of the Shīʿite sect.

There are also the nonconformists, called Saiyid Aḥmadīs, after the name of the founder of their sect. These are the Wahhabis of India, and are often labeled that way. Many Hindustani writers belong to this sect; including Ḥājī ʿAbduʾl-Lāh, Ḥājī Ismāʿīl, and several others that I will talk about in the sequel.

Among the Hindustani writers we also find a vast number of Muslim mystics or sufis, some of whom are reputed to be saints, and wandering poets who are not just mendicants or fakirs but are veritable itinerant merchants who sell the verses of their own composition on loose sheets. Such persons include: Mukārim (Mirzā) of Delhi and Kamtarīn (Miyān), surnamed Pīr Khān;¹³¹ both of them used to sell their ghazals written on loose sheets at the *Urdū-e Muʿallā*,¹³² for two paisas (about ten centimes) per piece.

Apart from such wandering poets, we also have professional poets, in other words, men of letters engaged exclusively in poetry. There are also amateur poets from all classes of people, including the lower classes. Finally, there are a large number of poets from the royal class, about whom it is said: “The discourses of kings are the kings of discourses.”¹³³ Such poets include, not counting the three Golconda kings already mentioned: Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh, King of Bejapur; the ill-fated Ṭīpū, King of Mysore; the great Mughals Shāh ʿĀlam II, Akbar II, and Bahādur Shāh; the *navāb* and kings of Oudh Āṣifuʾd-Daula, Ghāziud-Dīn Ḥaidar, and Vājīd ʿAlī.

Finally, from the bulk of Hindustani poets, we can distinguish the female poets; I have discussed several of these in a special article.¹³⁴ Among

¹³⁰I am among those who have made the comparison in that fashion in my “*Mémoire sur un Chapitre Inconnu du Coran*” (Memoir on an Unknown Chapter of the Qurʾān), *Journal Asiatique*, 1842.

¹³¹He died in 1168/1754–55. As to the ostentatious title Khān, it is given to all Paṭhāns and Afghans in India; our poet must have been a Paṭhān.

¹³²As pointed out earlier, this expression refers to the Grand Bazaar of Delhi.

¹³³See the opening remarks in *Cours d'Hindoustani*, 1851. [*Discours de M. Garcin de Tassy, Prononcés à l'Ouverture du Cours d'Hindoustani à l'École Spéciale des Langues Vivantes*, 4 December 1851].

¹³⁴“Les Femmes Poètes de l'Inde,” *Revue de l'Orient*, May 1854.

those whom I have not mentioned already, let me point out Princess Khāla¹³⁵ (The Maternal Aunt). She took this *takballuṣ* as it was, indeed, how people referred to her informally in the harem of her nephew Navāb ‘Imādu’l-Mulk of Farrukhabad; her *kbiṭāb* or honorific title was Badru’n-Nisā (The Full Moon of Women, that is, The Most Resplendent Woman).¹³⁶

I will also mention Amatu’l-Fāṭima Bēgam, known under her *takballuṣ* Ṣāḥib, and addressed informally as Jī Ṣāḥib or Ṣāḥib Jī (Madam the Lady), who was a renowned Urdu poetess, especially because of her ghazals. She was a disciple of the very distinguished poet Mun‘im, who had as disciples several other writers, including Shēfta, one of the biographers I have relied most upon. She kept changing residence between Delhi and Lucknow; she is the subject of a *maṣnavī* entitled *Qaul-e Ghamīn* (Tender Discourse), written by Muzīu’l-Lāh¹³⁷ Khān.

Another poetess, probably a Muslim despite having a Hindu name, is Čampā; this name is the same as that of the beautiful flower champak (*michelia champaca*). Čampā was part of the harem of Navāb Ḥusāmu’d-Daula, and Qāsim lists her among the Urdu poetesses.

We also find a bayadere or dancing girl named Faraḥ (Joy) or perhaps Faraḥ Bakhsh (Bestower of Happiness), who wrote poetry in Hindustani. Shēfta mentions another bayadere, named Ziyā (Light); and ‘Ishqī mentions yet another, called Ghunčīn.

A fourth bayadere, whose fame as a Hindustani poet vastly exceeds that of the preceding ones, is Jān (Mīr Yār ‘Alī Jān Ṣāḥib);¹³⁸ originally a native of Farrukhabad, she lived mostly in Lucknow where she achieved her literary successes. She pursued music and literature from her early

¹³⁵This Arabic word means “sister of mother”; it is the feminine of *kbāl*, “brother of mother,” or maternal uncle.

¹³⁶‘Ishqī, cited by Sprenger.

¹³⁷I cannot figure out the Urdu or Arabic equivalent of this name from its French transliteration. The nearest Arabic words “Muṣī‘” and “Mūzi” mean, respectively, “waster” and “tormentor,” so Muzīu’l-Lāh would be a bizarre name with either interpretation. Perhaps an extraneous dot due to a typographical error caused the letter “ṭō’ē” to be read as “zō’ē” and the correct word is actually Muṭī‘u’l-Lāh (Obeyer of God). —*Tr*:

¹³⁸De Tassy commits a serious blunder by calling Jān Ṣāḥib a woman. Mīr Yār ‘Alī Jān Ṣāḥib, alive when de Tassy was writing about him, was a well-known male poet, famous for his Rekhtī compositions. For example, Sprenger’s *Catalogue*, which de Tassy cites many times in the present document, lists Jān Ṣāḥib as entry no. 640, and describes him thus: “... He resides at Lucnow, and is a very favourite poet. His Dywān is in the language of the ladies of the Mahalls of Dilly and Lucnow, which is considered the most idiomatic Hindūstāny” (1854, 616). —*Tr*:

childhood, and also learned Persian. She dedicated herself above all to the Hindustani poetry. The biographer Karīm considers her the mentor who corrected his poetry. She published a *divān* from Lucknow in 1262/1846 when she must have been about twenty-six years old. Written in a very special *zanāna* [or *rēkhtī*] style [with amorous subjects and expressions unique to women], the *divān* gained much renown.

I must mention yet another poetess, a Hindu woman named Rām Jī of Narnaul, with the *takballuṣ* Nazākat (Delicacy). The original biographers employ lavish expressions to describe her prodigious talent and rare beauty; she was still living in 1848. Finally, there are also the poetesses: Taṣvīr, whose name means “painting”, that is, “beautiful like a painting” and Śuraiyā (The Pleiades [but used in Urdu as a star or star cluster name, in singular]), both mentioned by Bāṭīn and Karīm; Yās (Despair) of Hyderabad, with the name Miyān Bānō, that is, “Madam the Lady,” who was a disciple of Faiẓ of Delhi, the author of a translation of [Faridu’-Dīn] ‘Aṭṭār’s *Pandnāma*.

Another classification, very important but sometimes difficult to carry out, especially for poets of the older era because of their insufficient biographical information, is based on the chronological order of writers. Pursuing this [classification], we have first the Hindu poets;¹³⁹ then, in the eleventh century,¹⁴⁰ the poet Mas‘ūd-e Sa‘d, discussed by Nath [i.e., Nathaniel] Bland in 1853 in an interesting paper in the *Journal Asiatique*; then, in the twelfth century, Čhand [Bardā’ī], termed the Homer of the Rajputs, and Pīpā whose poetry constitutes partially the Sikh *Ādī Granth*. In the thirteenth century,¹⁴¹ [we have] Sa‘dī, who, as we have seen above, did not disdain writing verse in the Urdu dialect; and Baijū Bāvarā, poet and renowned musician. In the fourteenth century, [we have] Khusrau of Delhi and Nūrī of Hyderabad.

Undoubtedly, there are many other Hindustani writers who lived during the same centuries and earlier. The libraries of central India definitely hold many ancient Hindi works that remain largely unknown; in any case, for the first time, many popular songs are helping bring to the surface the details of the development of the Indian language.

In the fifteenth century, there appeared the earliest founders of the modern [Hindu] sects that used Hindi as their liturgical language; these founders wrote religious hymns and moral poems in this dialect. Prominent among these leaders are: Kabīr, who rose to actively challenge the use of

¹³⁹The exact years when the Hindi poets of the earliest period lived has not been determined at all. However, I can state that Shaṅkara Āčārya, the Sanskrit poet known for *Amara Shataka*, lived during the ninth century, and, to all appearances, wrote verses in Hindi. See my *Histoire de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 2, p. 43ff.

¹⁴⁰Around 1080.

¹⁴¹Around 1250.

Sanskrit; his disciples Surat Gōpāl Dās, the compiler of *Sukḥ Nidhān*,¹⁴² and Dharm Dās, the author of *Amar Māl* [generally known as *Amar Mūl*];¹⁴³ Nānak and Bḥagō Dās, who are very well-known and what I have written elsewhere about them need not be repeated;¹⁴⁴ Lālač, who rewrote a *Bhagavat* in a western dialect of Hindustani; etc.

In the sixteenth century, among the Hindu writers, we have: Sukḥ Dēo, the subject of a special article by the biographer Priyā Dās; Nābhājī, the author of the biographical songs constituting the basic text of *Bḥakta Māl*; Vallabhā and Dādū, sect leaders and distinguished poets; Bihārī, the celebrated author of *Sat Sai*;¹⁴⁵ Gaṅgā Dās, master rhetorician; and many others.

Among the Muslim writers of northern India, we have, among others, Abu'l-Faẓl, Minister in [the Mughal King] Akbar's court, and Bāyazīd Anṣārī, the leader of the sect of Rōshānī (Enlightened) or Jalālīs.

Among the writers of the Deccan, we have: Afzal (Muḥammad), of whom the biographer Kamāl writes, "his style is not polished because, during the period that he wrote, the Rekhta poetry was not much appreciated, so he was forced to write in Dakhani"; Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, King of Golconda, who ruled from 1582 to 1611, and whose successor 'Abdu'l-Lāh Quṭb Shāh greatly patronized and promoted Hindustani literature.

The seventeenth century is when the culture of Urdu poetry took off for real, with exact formal rules, especially in the Deccan. As for the Hindi poets, I confine myself to citing Sūr Dās, Tulsī Dās, and Kēshava Dās; these are the most celebrated poets of modern Indian poetry and it has been said of them: "Sur Das is the sun, Tulsi is the moon, and Keshava Das is the stars; all the other poets are brilliant rhymes that shine here and there."¹⁴⁶

Among Urdu poets, we have: Ḥātim, whom I have mentioned earlier; Āzād (Faḳīru'l-Lāh), who while originally from Hyderabad, settled in Delhi and made a name for himself with his poetry; Jivan (Muḥammad), author of several religious works; etc.

Among the Dhakani poets, we have: Valī, who has been designated Bābā-e Rēkhta (The Father of Rekhta Poetry); Shāh Gulshan, Valī's mentor; Aḥmad of Gujarat; Tānā Shāh whom I have already discussed; Shāhī of Baghnagar and Mirzā Abu'l-Qāsim, officials in Tānā Shāh's administration;

¹⁴²On this topic, see my article on Kabīr in my *Histoire de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. I.

¹⁴³See the preface of my *Rudiments de la Langue Hindoui*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁴In my *Histoire* and in the preface of *Rudiments de la Langue Hindoui*. [Also cited in the sequel is the companion book *Rudiments de la Langue Hindoustani*. Note the slightly different spellings of the first words in their titles. — Tr.]

¹⁴⁵For these persons, see the same works [i.e., the ones in the previous footnote].

¹⁴⁶For the text of this quote, see my *Rudiments de la Langue Hindoui*, p. 8.

Avari or Ibn Nishātī,¹⁴⁷ author of *Phūlban* [Forest of Flowers]; Ghauṣ or Ghauṣī, the author of a poem on the legend of the parrot; Muḥaqqiq, one of the earliest poets from the Deccan whose compositions in Rekhta are very close to those in Hindustani; Rasmī, the author of *Khāvarnāma* which I have analyzed elsewhere;¹⁴⁸ ʿĀjiz (Muḥammad); and a number of others.

It would take too much space to cite the most distinguished Hindustani poets of the eighteenth century. Suffice it to mention just a few. Among the Hindi writers we have: Gaṅgāpatī, author of a treatise on the different philosophical doctrines of Hindus; Bīr Bhān, founder of the well-known sect of Sādhs (The Pures) and composer of noteworthy religious poems;¹⁴⁹ Rām Čaran, founder of the sect that carries his name, and composer of sacred hymns; Shīv Nārāyan, founder of another sect, and author of eleven books of Hindi verse,¹⁵⁰ who begins his prayers with the words *Santa Sharan* (Protector of the Saints) instead of the more customary invocation *Shrī Ganēshāya Namah* (Praise be to Ganesha).

Among the Urdu writers, I will limit myself to mentioning the following: Saudā,¹⁵¹ Mīr, and Ḥasan, the three most famous poets of the last century; Jurʿat, Ārzū, Dard, Yaqīn, Fighān [Fughān, to be correct], and Amjad of Delhi; Amīnuʿd-Dīn of Benares; and ʿAshiq of Ghazipur. Among the Dakhani poets, we have Ḥaidar Shāh, called Maršiyagō (Reciter of Elegies), because he composed elegiac poems and chanted them. His contributions also include a special verse form, which is also found in the *divān* of Valī. In such poems, called *mukhammas*, each *bait*, that is, couplet or hemistich pair, is followed by three more hemistiches, thus constituting a different strophe. Another Dakhani poet deserving mention is Abjadī. He authored a little encyclopedia¹⁵² in verse, comprised of a number of chapters, each of which is in a different meter that the author indicates at the start of the chapter. Some other poets that should also be mentioned here are: Sirāj of Aurangabad, who died around 1754; and ʿUzlat of Surat, one of the most prominent poets of the Deccan, who died in 1165/1751–52.

Finally, [we come to] the most distinguished Indian writers of the nineteenth century, that is, the contemporary personalities. For Hindi: Bakhtāvar, the author of an exposition in verse of the doctrines of Jainism;

¹⁴⁷These two names seem to belong to the same person.

¹⁴⁸In my *Histoire*, Vol. 2.

¹⁴⁹*Histoire de la Littér. Hind.*, and the preface of *Rudiments*.

¹⁵⁰See my *Histoire de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 475, and my *Rudiments de la Langue Hindoui*, p. 5.

¹⁵¹Saudā has even been called the “King of the Poets of Hindustani” (Malikuʿsh-Shuʿarā-e Rēkhta).

¹⁵²*Tuḥfa liʿ-Ṣibiyān* (Gift for Children).

the biographers Dulhā Rām and Čatra Dās, the latter being the former's successor as the head of the Rām Sanēhīs.¹⁵³

For Urdu, Sabhayi [misprint for Saḥbā'i] and Karīm cite the following: Mōmin of Delhi, d. 1852, prolific and eloquent poet, whose *divān* they deem "incomparable;" Naṣir, who died in 1842 or 1843 and Aṭash, d. 1847, each of whom is the author of a very popular *divān*; Mūl Čand, translator of an abridged version of the *Shāhnāmā*; Mamūm,¹⁵⁴ one of the most acclaimed contemporary writers; and several others that I have mentioned in my articles.¹⁵⁵

For Dakhani, I will mention only Kamāl of Hyderabad and 'Abdu'l- Ḥaq of Madras.

By paying attention to how the original biographers describe various poets, we can easily discern three ranks of poets. First, there are descriptions that amount to a "simple mention." Next, there are descriptions that I would call "laudatory." Finally, there are descriptions that I would call "very laudatory." The poets in the first group have been described without any detailed information about them. Sometimes only their name and their city of birth have been listed, and a few of their verses cited. These poets have not composed a large enough number of ghazals to merit compilation into a *divān*, or their work is spread out into individual poems but is not known together under any special titles. The poets in the second group have to their credit the poetry compiled into the [generic] collections called *divān* or *kulliyāt*, terms that will be explained later. The writers in the third group have also authored works of prose or poetry with non-generic titles, which are almost always in Sanskrit for Hindi works and in Persian or even in Arabic for Urdu and Rekhta works.

The Works Mentioned in the Original Biographies

In Hindustani, different genres of literary composition are distinguished exclusively by form: the letter overpowers the spirit [form dominates content]! Thus, the ghazal is a short poem of six to a dozen couplets with the same rhyme, which is repeated in the first two hemistiches, but the topics of different couplets are totally unrelated, so much so that one couplet can be serious while the other can be humorous; often the topic

¹⁵³*Histoire de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 161.

¹⁵⁴This seems to be a typographical error. The intended poet might be Mannūn or Maghmūm. —*Tr.*

¹⁵⁵Ghālib is a glaring omission in this list. —*Tr.*

is simultaneously erotic¹⁵⁶ and mystical.¹⁵⁷ It is [similar to] the sonnet in the particular style of Petrarch and of Shakespeare, whose sonnets modeled on those of that great Italian poet are at least as beautiful, but are cited less, because his plays have caused his sonnets to be, so to speak, dismissed from the mind. The *qaṣīda* is a poem of the same form, except that it is much longer, and can sometimes be a composition in elegy, *madḥ* or *manqabat*, and sometimes a satire, *haju*, or something else.

The *maṣnavī*¹⁵⁸ consists of pairs of mutually rhyming hemistiches, and its subject can be anything. It can be very short or very long, thus ranging anywhere from two to three pages to an epic poem of over one thousand pages. It can present a tale, a romance, a didactic discourse, a religious exposition, etc., as the Hindustani writers have used this form to indulge in all kind of subjects, severe or lax, serious or lighthearted.

The compositions having stanzas of three, four, five, six, [seven,] eight, and ten hemistiches are called, respectively, *muṣallas*, *murabbaʿ*, *mukhammas*, *musaddas*, *musabbaʿ*, *muṣamman*, and *muʿashshar*; and their subjects can be *marṣiyas* (lamentations) or *mubārakbāds* (chants of rejoicing), or all kinds of other things.

There are poems whose titles seem to indicate some particular subject, yet the actual subject matter can be quite arbitrary. A case in point is the *sāqināma* (poem, literally, book, addressed to the cupbearer). One would expect it to be a drinking song, but it is usually devoted to other subjects. For example, Ḥaidar (Ḥaidar Bakhsh) has written one such poem in praise of ʿAlī.

The situation is much the same in Hindi poetry. The special names of poems have no relation to their contents. So we find *pads* about all kind of topics, and *tappas* can serve as songs celebrating Holi as well as weddings; both are often special names for *badḥāvā*.

In the poetry of Muslims, short poems tend to have a mystical flavor that is easy to discern. In the Hindustani poetry, as in the Persian poetry, it is common to talk about the traits of an adolescent male while alluding to the beauty of the female beloved. In the Hindi dialect, on the contrary, the poetry seems to come out of the mouth of a woman who expresses her love for a male youth. This style is sometimes practiced in Urdu also. This special form of poetry is called *rēkhtī*, the Hindustani feminine of the Persian word *rēkhta* (colorful), which is itself the name given to the Hin-

¹⁵⁶As noted earlier, de Tassy uses the word “erotic” for what should usually be termed “romantic.” —*Tr.*

¹⁵⁷The situation is similar in our sonnets and quatrains.

¹⁵⁸The *maṣnavī* is a kind of Leonine verse.

dustani poetry [in general]. Inshāu'l-Lāh Khān made this genre of poetry quite fashionable at the beginning of this century.

Urdu shares the meters and genres of poetry with Persian, except that there are two genres specific to the Indian languages, namely, the *mukri* and the *pahēli*, which I will describe a bit later.

In Arabic, the word *divān* stands for a simple collection of poetry; thus we talk about the *divān* of al-Mutānābbī, the *divān* of Ibn Fāriḡ, or the *divān* of Imrū'l-Qais, when referring to the poetry collection of these famous writers. But in Arabic as well as in the other languages of the Muslim Orient, such as Hindustani, Persian, Pashto, or Turkish, this expression is more correctly intended to mean a collection of ghazals, arranged, ignoring their subject matter, in the alphabetic order of the last letter of their rhyme word; the collection is often supplemented with other poems of various genres. A collection of several *divāns* or a *divān* and a large number of other poems by the same author is referred to as a *kulliyāt* (collected works). These terms do not apply to the Hindi poetry. Thus, the collections of *dōhḡas*, *kaḡits*, and *shlōks*, usually written in Devanagari characters, do not carry such titles.

Divāns and *kulliyāts* are seldom given any special titles. However, certain exceptions do exist. For instance, the *divān* of Akhtar (Vājid 'Alī), King of Oudh, is entitled *Faiḡ Bunyān* (Basis of Bounty);¹⁵⁹ the *divān* of Jōsh (Aḡmad Ḥasan Khān) is entitled *Guldasta-e Sukhan* (Bouquet of Eloquence); the two *divāns* of Rashk are entitled *Naḡm Mubāarak* (Blessed Poetry) and *Naḡm Girāmī* (August Poetry); and the *kulliyāt* of Tapish carries the title *Gulzār-e Maḡāmīn* (Garden of Meanings).

The short poems [ghazals], which, as I have mentioned, are collected into those works [*divāns*], are almost always mystical and romantic at the same time. This is because the majority of the writers of these poems are Muslims, who perceive a unity between the immortal [divine] beauty and the created [human] beauty, an idea that might rightly appear to us sacrilegious. They imagine God underneath the beauty of a woman or of an adolescent youth, to the extent that sometimes sensuous, even obscene utterances¹⁶⁰ are seen next to purely spiritual declamations. [Yet,] it is possible to appreciate this particular genre of poetry within the boundaries of

¹⁵⁹This *divān*, published in Lucknow in 1259/1842–43, has the special feature that for each ghazal in it, the name of the meter is specified at the head of the ghazal. Because of this feature, the book has become very valuable for those studying prosody.

¹⁶⁰Here I am not referring to the poetry that is lewd and is recognized as such. This is the case, for example, with the poetry of Chirkīn; his poetic alias itself means *filthy*, and warns the reader what to expect.

European and Christian norms; I have shown this in my translations of a part of Valī's *divān* and of a number of other ghazals in my *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoustani* and *Chants Populaires de l'Inde*¹⁶¹ [Popular Songs of India]. Several of these ghazals are very graceful, and, in my opinion, they compare well sometimes with the most famous odes of Pindar, of Anacréon, and the Persian ghazals of Ḥāfiẓ, and they certainly surpass the Turkish ghazals of Bāqi.

The worst shortcoming of these verse collections is their monotony. They seem to repeat the same ideas ad nauseam in various ways, sometimes even with identical or very similar expressions. They include many, many filler verses. This verse of [Samuel] Butler¹⁶² applies especially to the poets of the Orient:

... Those that write in rhyme, still make
The one verse for the other's sake.

Also, most *divāns* are unbearable to read, with the exception of a few notable ones that have gained much fame.

Another problem with ghazals, which together constitute a *divān*, is their obscurity. The Orientals actually consider that [obscurity] a merit; they are not convinced of the moral of the fable of the monkey and the puppeteer by [Tomás] de Iriarte: "*Sin claridad no hay obra buena*" [Without light/clarity there is no good work].¹⁶³

Valī's *divān* is the most famous of all of the Hindustani *divāns*. It seems that this *divān* is not read much in the northwestern provinces, not only because it is written in the southern dialect but also because its style is a bit old-fashioned. This is not the case with the *divāns* of Saudā, Mīr, Dard, Jur'at, and Yaqīn, which are more recent and whose styles are very much in vogue. Among the *divāns* of contemporary poets, the most notable are the ones by Ātash, Zauq, Navīd and Nazīr.

The poems found at the beginning or end of *divāns* have certain forms that I have already discussed in a special note¹⁶⁴ and in my *Histoire de la*

¹⁶¹*Revue Contemporaine*, Vol. 15, p. 562.

¹⁶²*Hudibras*, Canto IV. [Actually, Part II, Canto I.]

¹⁶³The fable, translated into English by George Devereux, appears in Iriarte (1855, 12–14). One day, during the absence of its master, the monkey puts on a show, and performs all kinds of tricks, but forgets to first light the lantern in the theater. Iriarte ends the story by saying: "Pardon my hint, ye deep and subtle writers, / Who boast to be beyond our comprehensions; / Your brains are dark as the unlighted lanthorn." —*Tr.*

¹⁶⁴*Journal Asiatique*, 1832.

Littérature Hindoustani.¹⁶⁵ To avoid repetition, I will mention a few that I have not talked about before:

First of all, the *fard* (unique). As its name implies, it is an isolated *bait* [couplet] comprised of two hemistiches. The *divāns* often end in a series of *fards*, given under the general title of *fardiyāt*.

The *maršiyas*, or religious laments. These are chanted solo by a person who is called *bāzū* (arm); but the refrain that ends the strophes is usually sung in chorus, and is called *javābī* (response).

The *īdī* (festal) is the general term used to refer to the chants composed and sung during the time of Muslim and Hindu festivals.¹⁶⁶

A *mu‘amma* is a little poem consisting of a riddle, and a *lagbz* corresponds to a charade [or, word game].¹⁶⁷

The *muqatta‘āt* (remnants) are little poems composed of very short verses.

The term *na‘t* (praise) refers to poems to exalt God or express praise for Muḥammad and sometimes for the first Caliphs or the Imāms; the Muslim writers usually begin their books with these.¹⁶⁸

A *sālgīrah* (Knot of the Year), that is, “anniversary of birth,” is a congratulatory composition for that occasion.

The term *vāsōkht* or *sōz* (ardor) refers to a poem, which is quite similar to a ghazal in essence, but has a different structure. It consists of twenty to thirty stanzas of three verses each, the first two of which share a rhyme, and the two hemistiches of the third one rhyme together [using a separate rhyme word].¹⁶⁹

Zaṭaliyāt refers to the poetry written in Mīr Ja‘far Zaṭali’s special style of mixing Persian and Hindustani words almost in equal proportions.

Lastly, I want to point out a genre unique to Hindustani. It is called *nisbatēn* (relationships).¹⁷⁰ It makes use of phrases [queries] that seem totally unrelated to each other. To relate them one needs to engage an interloc-

¹⁶⁵Preface of Vol. 2.

¹⁶⁶A Hindi example is given in the *Report of Indigenous Education* by H.S. Reid, Agra, 1852, p. 37.

¹⁶⁷This is how the latter word [*lagbz*] has been translated by the Baron [Joseph von] Hammer-Purgstall.

¹⁶⁸To be strict, the term *na‘t* in Urdu always refers to the poetry praising the Prophet. A poem exalting God is called *ḥamd*, and a poem praising an Imam or a member of the Prophet’s family is called *munqabat*. —Tr.

¹⁶⁹The above definitions are not correct. A *vāsōkht* is a poem in which the lover expresses his irritation with the beloved and vows to break up with her. A *sōz* is a poem of religious lament, similar to a *maršiya*. —Tr.

¹⁷⁰This genre is usually called *dō-sukhana* (dual utterance). —Tr.

utor, whose response simultaneously answers all of the questions. Here is one example taken from Saiyid Aḥmad:

QUESTION: Why was the pomegranate not eaten? Why did the vizier not speak?

ANSWER: There was no grain.¹⁷¹

Now I come to the main varieties of Hindi poetry. I will only add a few things to what I have already covered elsewhere.¹⁷²

The term *čauṇṇā*, as indicated by its name, seems to refer to a quatrain, or, more properly, a poem composed of four hemistiches. But really the number of its verses is not fixed, because we can find such poems with five¹⁷³ or nine¹⁷⁴ verses.

The *dōbā* is in fact the same as what Muslims call *bait*, but each hemistich of a *dōbā* is subdivided into two parts, called *čaran* or *pada*.

The word *gān* (chant) is a generic name for poems that are sung. But poems that are sung according to musical principles are called *kīrtan*.

The term *mukrī* (trickery [or, crafty denial]) refers to a composition in which, according to Saiyid Aḥmad,¹⁷⁵ a woman has a phrase with double meaning and she and her interlocutor apply it to different things. Here is an example:¹⁷⁶

I held it all night against my breast; I had my pleasure of it till the
break of dawn.

What is it then that you talk about? Your husband?

No, a garland of roses!¹⁷⁷

A *pabēli* (enigma) consists, according to the same Saiyid Aḥmad, of dwelling on the qualities, particularities, and nature of a certain entity whose name is itself recorded in the *pabēli*; the puzzle solver is asked to name the unknown entity, and while the answer being sought is already

¹⁷¹The traditionally quoted version is the following. Question: Why was the pomegranate not tasted? Why was the vizier [candidate for the post of vizier] not recruited? The answer is a phrase that simultaneously means “it did not have even a single kernel” and “he was not wise.” —*Tr.*

¹⁷²*Histoire de la Littér. Hind.*, loc. cit.

¹⁷³In *Ūsbā Čaritr*.

¹⁷⁴In the *Rāmāyana* by Tulsī Dās.

¹⁷⁵*Āsār-us-Sanādīd*.

¹⁷⁶See the text [of this *mukrī*] in my *Rudimens de la Langue Hindoustani*, p. 23–24.

¹⁷⁷A more correct translation would be: “All night I held him against my breast; / and had my fill of his looks and scent; / I let go of him at the break of dawn. / Was it, Friend, your lover? No, Friend, a garland [of roses]!” —*Tr.*

available within the given description, it is embedded so cleverly that the solver has difficulty guessing it. Maliku'd-Dīn, Bismil, and Amīr Khusrau excelled in this genre. Here is one by the last-mentioned author:

QUESTION: What is made of oil from the grocer, a vase from the potter, the trunk of an elephant, and the mark of a nabob?

ANSWER: A lamp.

A *pakhana*¹⁷⁸ (stone) is a sort of litany of questions and answers to describe a particular woman, with all the key words of the answer phrases starting with the same letter of the alphabet. In the following example, the words begin with the letter *alif*.¹⁷⁹

My beloved has arrived.

QUESTION: From where did she come?

ANSWER: From Akbarabad.

QUESTION: Where is she going?

ANSWER: To Aurangabad.

QUESTION: What is her name?

ANSWER: Auder Kuar [Kaur] (Miss Auder).¹⁸⁰

QUESTION: What is her caste?

ANSWER: *Abīrnī* (shepherdess).

QUESTION: How does she travel?

ANSWER: *Aṣṭ* (on a horse).

QUESTION: What is her food?

ANSWER: *Anār* (pomegranate).

QUESTION: What [gift] does she bring?

ANSWER: *Aṅgūr* (grapes).

QUESTION: What dress does she wear?

ANSWER: *Atlas* (satin).

QUESTION: What is her ornament?

ANSWER: *Angushtarī* (a ring).

QUESTION: What musical instrument does she play?

ANSWER: *Arghanūn* (the organ).

QUESTION: In which mode of music?

ANSWER: *Asāvārī* (an Indian ragni).

I have no idea how to categorize the works that are called *Kōk Shastar* (The Book of Kok).¹⁸¹ These consist of rather crude and gross erotic poems

¹⁷⁸Perhaps the intended Hindi word is *pāsbān* which means stone. —Tr.

¹⁷⁹It is attributed to Maliku'd-Dīn, author of *Bashāshatu'l-Kalām* (The Delights of Conversation). See Ouseley (1846, 244). —Tr.

¹⁸⁰The name "Auder" is given as "Ander" in Ouseley (*ibid.*, 245). —Tr.

¹⁸¹This is the name of the first author of the books of this kind.

that, so to say, analyze and dissect sexual acts. They classify women according to their moral and physical qualities, charm, and sensuousness. They also classify men using similar criteria that are no less detailed. ‘Ali Ḥasan Dakhanī, Shihābu’-d-Dīn, and Mati Rām are the main writers in India who have treated this scabrous topic.

The long *mašnavīs* are dedicated to some special subject, such as a historic event, an entire history, a romance that could be either partly historical or entirely fictional, the adaptation of a known legend according to the poet’s taste, or the further continuation of a legend. There is a large volume of this genre of poetry and a few such poems deserve being noticed. Some authors have written more than one poem of this type; indeed, several Hindustani, Persian, and Turkish poets have written even five or seven *mašnavīs*. This is what has led to the names *khamsa* (group of five) and *hafta* (group of seven), which are similar to *dīvāns* but consist of long *mašnavīs*. The most well known of such collections are the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī¹⁸² and of Amīr Khusrau and the *Hafta* of Jāmī; the last mentioned collection is also known, with the help of a metaphor, as *Haft Auraṅg* (the seven stars of the constellation Ursa Major).¹⁸³

A number of popular legends dominate this genre of literature, and are usually found in *mašnavī* collections. These are [the legends of] well-known love stories of the Orient, such as: Yūsuf and Zulaikha, Farhād and Shīrin, Majnūn and Lailā, Vāmiq and ‘Azrā. Then there are the famous heroes, such as: Iskandar (Alexander), Rustam,¹⁸⁴ Ḥamza, Ḥātim Ṭā’ī, Bahrām (Greeks’ Varanes), surnamed Gōr (Wild Ass) for his passion to hunt this animal.

The Muslim legends have been exploited in Hindustani quite successfully, with local colors added to provide pleasant variations. Many stories have been presented by their authors as translations from Persian; but really this is just their [circuitous] way of explaining that their subjects are derived from the legends of Persian origin that have become famous throughout the Orient. We have already seen that the Muslims of India, and, in their imitation, even the Hindus, wrote in Persian for a long time before getting accustomed to writing in Hindustani; indeed, they appear to be greatly

¹⁸²One of this collection’s poems, *Makbzanu’l-Asrār*, has been published by the late N. Bland, under the auspices of the Oriental Text Fund.

¹⁸³Two of this collection’s poems, *Tubfatu’l-Abrār* and *Salāmān-o-Absāl*, have been published by the late, unassuming scholar F. [Forbes] Falconer, also under the auspices of the above institution.

¹⁸⁴The hero of [Firdausī’s] *Shāhnāma*, and also of a Turkish epic story in verse entitled *Haft Khūn* (Seven Battles) by Nau‘ī Zada ‘Aṭā’ī. [The title of this poem is actually *Haft Khvān* (Seven-Course Banquet). See, Gibb (1904, 234). —Tr.]

embarrassed when starting to write in Hindustani, offering apologies for writing in the language of everyday use. Thus, they often linked their new compositions to Persian works. But if we take the trouble to examine these so-called translations, we easily find out that most of the time these are not even adaptations [of any Persian works], but absolutely original creations; they might, admittedly, be on the topics dealt with in Persian, yet they are quite independent works in form as well as content.

The situation is similar in the case of serious literature. For instance, *Āra'ish-e Mahfil*, which is perceived as a translation of Sujān Rā'e's¹⁸⁵ Persian work entitled *Khulāṣatu't-Tavārikh*, is a book on the history and geography of India, far from a simple reproduction of whatever is in the Persian book.

I am familiar with six works [on the legend of] *Yūsuf and Zulaikha*: by [Muḥammad] Amīn [of the Deccan], written in 1600;¹⁸⁶ by Tapish, written while the author was in prison;¹⁸⁷ by Fidvī of Lahore, criticized by a rival poet;¹⁸⁸ of Muḥib, a contemporary poet; of 'Āshiq (Mahdī 'Alī), the story being part of a *khamsa*; and finally, one entitled *'Isbqānāma* (The Book of Love), published in Bombay in 1847.

I am familiar with five Hindustani works [on the legend of] *Lailā and Majnūn*: by Tajallī;¹⁸⁹ by 'Aẓīm of Delhi, who was known as Shāh Jhūlan, the work being in the melodious meter of *Shabnāma*; by Havas, father of Āṣifu'd-Daula, the Navāb of Oudh, and also known under the three names Razī, Riẓā, and Rasā; by [Maẓhar 'Alī Khān] Vilā, the work being an imitation in Urdu of the well-known poem on the same subject by Amīr Khusrau; and finally, a composition considered the oldest by Dr. Sprenger.¹⁹⁰

I am familiar with three Hindustani works [on the legend of] Bahrām Gōr: by Ḥaidarī, carrying the original title of *Haft Paikar* (Seven Beauties)

¹⁸⁵This is the real name of this writer, as I have stated in my article (*Journal Asiatique*, 1854) on the catalog of the manuscripts in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society [compiled] by Mr. [William Hook] Morley.

¹⁸⁶I have published a chapter from this work at the end of my *Rudimens de la Langue Hindoustani*, and have translated several of its fragments in my *Histoire*, Vol. 1.

¹⁸⁷This is reported by Qāsim. For more on the poet, see my *Histoire*, Vol. 1, p. 502.

¹⁸⁸Mir Fath 'Alī, who ridiculed Fidvī's poem by writing *Qiṣṣa-e Būm-o-Baqqāl* (Story of the Owl and the Grocer); the allusion is to the profession of Fidvī's father. See my *Histoire*, Vol. 1, p. 175.

¹⁸⁹See the article under his name in my *Histoire*, Vol. 1.

¹⁹⁰See the entry under "Dīvān-e Havas" in his *Catalogue*, Vol. 1, p. 612.

as in the poem by Niẓāmī;¹⁹¹ by Ṭabʿī of Golconda, written in 1081/1670–71; and by Ḥaḳīqat of Bareilly, written in 1225/1810–11. The last one is entitled *Hasbt Gulzār* (Eight Gardens), apparently alluding to “eight heavens,” instead of *Haft Gulzār* (Seven Gardens) which would be more in accord with the well-known title *Haft Paikar*, or with *Haft Manẓar*; the title given by Hātifi to his poem on the same subject, namely, the Persian king Bahrām Gōr; Bahrām Gōr was a son of Yazdegard [I] and had seven wives each living in her individual pavilion amidst seven gardens.

I am familiar with two Hindustani works about Alexander: one by Aʿzam of Agra, a contemporary poet, and the other by Nakhat of Delhi; both have the goal of replicating Niẓāmī’s *Sikandarnāma*.

The tales of Ḥātīm Ṭāʿī are also quite common in Hindustani as well as in Persian. I know those by Ḥaidarī, Sirāj, and Gobindnāth.

The legend of the king and the beggar (*Shāh-o-Darvish*) has been rendered in Hindustani as nicely as in Persian and Turkish. The version by Jahān (Bēnī Narāyan) is the most widely known.

There are also marvelous adventure stories of Amīr Ḥamza, Muḥammad’s uncle. I know a version, by Ashk, whose details I have described elsewhere,¹⁹² and another, by Ghālib of Lucknow, which is supposed to be the translation of a Persian work and has been published in Calcutta.

There are also the tales concerning Ḥanīf or Ibn Ḥanīfa,¹⁹³ son of ʿAlī. Different versions of these stories are of varying quality and have, accordingly, different degrees of appeal. I know three different versions under different titles; these are by Azād,¹⁹⁴ Sēvak,¹⁹⁵ and Vāḥidī.¹⁹⁶

In addition to the stories related to the famous Oriental personalities mentioned above, I need to point out one more: *Story of Hurmuz, Son of Shāpūr*. Hormuz, a king of Persia, is also known as Hormizdas, son of Sapor. This is the same king [Shapur or Sapor] who patronized Mani and encouraged the propagation of his errors [aberrant doctrines?]. Mani, according to the Orientals, was a great painter and illusionist.

Beside these legends common to the whole Muslim Orient, there are also Indian legends cherished by the natives; the Hindustani poets have availed themselves of these quite unreservedly. For example, there is a touching story of Shakuntala, not just in the dramatic version, but also in

¹⁹¹See *Hist. de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 299.

¹⁹²My *Histoire*, Vol. 1, p. 75ff.

¹⁹³For this character, see the McG. [William MacGuckin] de Slane translation of *Ibn Khallikān [Ibn Khallikān’s Biographical Dictionary]*, Vol. 2, p. 574.

¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 471.

¹⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 511.

its original narration in the *Mahābhārata*; I have translated the Hindi version of the episode given in the latter book.¹⁹⁷ I am familiar with four different Hindustani versions of this story: The first is by Navāz, who received the title of Kabishvar (King of Poets)¹⁹⁸ from the sultan Farrukh Siyar. The second is by Javān (Kāẓim ‘Alī); it was entitled *Shakuntala Naṭak* (The Drama of Shakuntala), and was printed in Calcutta in 1801 in Latin characters, following the *Romanized system* scheme of Dr. Gilchrist. The third is by Ghulām Aḥmad; entitled *Farāmōsh Yād* (Forgotten Remembrance), and published in Calcutta in 1849, it was reviewed in the *Journal Asiatique*.¹⁹⁹ Finally, the fourth one is by a Parsee writer.²⁰⁰

A similar legend is that of Padmāvati, celebrated Indian queen of the Middle Ages. A daughter of the king of Ceylon, she was married to the king of Chittor, Ratan, who was defeated by ‘Alā’u’-d-Dīn [Khiljī] in 1303. According to the writer [Malik Muḥammad] Jā’isī, who has composed her story in verse, she took her own life by burning herself to death, along with several thousand other women, so as not to fall into the hands of the victor. On the other hand, according to Jaṭamal, another writer who wrote on the same subject in Hindi, Padmāvati never perished in any flames. Instead, she tricked the commanders of the Muslim army and entered their camp, followed by nine palanquins in which, in Trojan Horse fashion, were hiding Rajput warriors; these warriors completely overpowered the surprised, defenseless Muslims. Two other Hindustani poets, ‘Ishrat and ‘Ibrat, also pay tribute in their special poems to this daring Rajput heroine.

The wonderful story of Krishna, which is the subject of *Bhagavat*, is narrated in quite a few Hindustani versions. One of the best versions, authored by Lālač, has been translated into French.²⁰¹ The treatments of the legend by Bḥupatī and Krishnā Dās are also superb. Another particularly nice version is by Lāl, under the title *Prēm Sāgar* (The Ocean of Love); it is one of the most remarkable works in Hindi. Its text [in today’s Hindi] is interspersed with pieces from an archaic-style verse version of the story, which creates a pleasant contrast with modern prose.

Finally, the story of Rama has been chronicled not only in Sanskrit by Valmiki but also in Hindi by many other poets. The composition by Tulsī Dās, written before 1580, enjoys a degree of popularity even today that the Valmiki version was probably never accorded. Another Ramayan, composed by Kēsava Dās, is *Rāmā Čandrika*; Jḥigan Lāl wrote a commentary

¹⁹⁷[See] *Revue Orientale*, 1852.

¹⁹⁸See my *Histoire*, Vol. 1, p. 209.

¹⁹⁹By the Canon Mr. Bertrand, in 1850.

²⁰⁰Bomanjī Dōsabjī, whom I have mentioned earlier.

²⁰¹*Krishna et Sa Doctrine*, by Th. [Théodore] Pavie.

on it. Finally, Sūraj Čand and several other Hindi authors have also spent their ample poetic talent on this heroic character, and their compositions have been introduced to Europe by [Gaspare] Gorresio's wonderful works and [Hippolyte] Fauche's translation.

After these legends, based to a point on historical figures and embellished further by imagination, come the stories that have sprung from nothing but imagination. I think we can put in this category the *Adventures of Kāmṛūp*, an engaging story with many interpretations in prose as well as in poetry. The verse versions include the ones by Taḥṣīnu'd-Dīn,²⁰² Zaigham, Ārzū, Ḥasan, and Sirāj. A prose version, by Kundan Lāl, is entitled *Dastūr-e Himmat* which means "Model of Noble Ambition," but perhaps Himmat refers to the name of a Persian author who has been taken for a model. It has been speculated that this is the legend which gave birth to the character Sindbad the Sailor, introduced in the *Thousand and One Nights*, and also to the character Saint Brandain recounted by Marie de France [in her *Le Voyage de Saint Brandain*].

The *Nal Damayantī* legends are among the most important fantasy legends of India. Of all their episodes described in countless Hindustani poems, the one most known in Europe is the episode of Nalus of Mahabharata. [In India] the most famous depiction of these legends is by the great Hindi poet Sur Das. Next come the works of Mīr 'Alī Baṅgālī (of Bengal), entitled *Bahār-e 'Ishq* (The Spring of Love), and of Aḥmad 'Alī, recently published in Lucknow.

The *Rose of Bakāvalī* is a charming legend in which we see the doctrines indigenous to India interwoven with those expressed in the Qur'ān; this is a very special and original feature of modern Indian literature. I have made this legend widely known based on its version by Nihāl Čand,²⁰³ which is in prose but contains interspersed verses. The legend also has several interpretations in verse: under the title *Gulzār-e Nasīm* by [Panḍit Dayā Shankar] Nasīm, who was Professor at the Agra College; by another poet under the title *Tuḥfa-e Majlis-e Salāṭīn*, which is a chronogram giving 1151/1738–39 as the date of the poem; and by Raiḥān, under the title *Khiyā-bān-e Raiḥān* (The Bed of Basils, or of Rihan). The last work is much more massive, consisting of forty chapters or poems, which the author calls *Gulgushnī* (Breeding Roses). Dr. Sprenger has discovered yet another adaptation of the same legend²⁰⁴ in Lucknow's Tōp Khāna: a manuscript in the

²⁰²I have published its text and translation.

²⁰³*Journal Asiatique*, 1836, and [separately] under the title *Doctrine de l'Amour*, 1858.

²⁰⁴[See his] *Catalogue* [...], Vol. 1, p. 633.

Dakhani dialect, written in 1035/1625–26.

The legend of *Hir*²⁰⁵ and *Rāñjhā* is from the Punjab. I have translated²⁰⁶ one version of it, which is in prose with interspersed Hindustani and Persian verses; it is by Maqbūl, a contemporary poet who should not be confused with his older namesakes.

The romance of *Sassī and Pannūñ*, like the one of *Hir* and *Rāñjhā*, has been celebrated [in several works]: in prose by the same Maqbūl; in verse, by Muḥabbat; and even in Persian, by certain Hindus.²⁰⁷

The legend of *Phūlban* and her lover *Tilā Shāh* has been treated by a number of poets from the Deccan. The version by *Avari* has achieved much fame, according to the report by *Muḥammad Ibrāhīm*, the translator of *Anvār-e Subailī* in Dakhani.

Gul-o-Šanūbar (The Rose and the Cypress). I am familiar with six adaptations of this legend: the first one is by *Aḥmad ‘Alī*, part of a *khamsa*; the second is by *Nēm Čand*, of the Kshatriya tribe;²⁰⁸ the title of the third is the same as that of another work mentioned in *Gulshan-e Hind*; the fourth is in the Dakhani dialect and a copy of it is held in the Nizam Library;²⁰⁹ the fifth was published in Lucknow in 1845; and the sixth, published in Calcutta in 1847, is, according to its announcement, a Persian translation.²¹⁰

The legend of *Four Dervishes*. Its narration by *Mir Amman* under the title *Bāgh-o-Bahār* (The Garden and the Spring), a chronogram of its date, has been chosen as the required text in the examination of civil service and military candidates of the [East] India Company. This legend has influenced many other Indian authors to exercise the pen [compose more works on it]; among them is *Taḥsīn* (‘Aḥṣā Ḥusain) who has given his rendering of the legend the title *Nau Tarz-e Murassa* (New, Bejeweled Style), that is, augmented with verse quotations.

The *Adventures of Guru Paramartham* is a well-known story, especially in its Tamil version, but its Hindustani version also exists and was published in Madras in 1848.

Baitāl Pačīsī (Twenty-Five Tales of the Vampire) and *Singhāsan Baitīsī* (Thirty-Two Tales of the Statuette of the Throne of Bikram) are also too well known to omit. *Dharm Narāyan*, *Lallū*, *Surat*, and several other Hindi authors have narrated them.

²⁰⁵This name is reminiscent of “Héro,” the mistress of Léander.

²⁰⁶*Revue de l’Orient et de l’Algérie*, Sept. 1857.

²⁰⁷Anderjit Munshī, Jont Prakāsh, etc.

²⁰⁸In 1860, I published a translation of *Nēm Čand*’s version in the *Revue Orientale et Americaine*.

²⁰⁹See my *Histoire de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 43.

²¹⁰Quite possibly this last version is the same as the one by *Nēm Čand*.

I can cite only from memory the legend known as the *Tales of a Parrot*, which is of Sanskrit origin and has eight different narrations in Hindi, Urdu and Dakhani.²¹¹ I only recall the following titles: *Khāvar Shāb*;²¹² *La‘l-o-Gauhar*; *Jazb-e ‘Ishq*, of which I have done an abridged translation;²¹³ *Mehr-o-Māb*;²¹⁴ and *Māb-e Munavvar*, whose text I have published.²¹⁵

Aside from the poems dealing with popular legends, the Hindustani poetry abounds with adventure stories in which the heroes are of unknown origin. Here I limit myself to mentioning the following: the tales of *Buland Akhtar*, narrated by Mīr Khān; those of *Rizvān Shāb*, of which I am aware of two depictions; those of *Čandar Badan* and of *Māhyār*, several versions of which are known to me;²¹⁶ those of *Dil Ārām* and *Dil Rubā*, recounted by Mati Rām, among others; those of *Parī Rukh* and *Māb Sīmā*, which Vajīh has described in a *mašnavī*; [and] the legend of *Fasāna-e ‘Ajā‘ib* (The Story of Marvels) by [Rajab ‘Alī Bēg] Surūr of Kanpur, which enjoys perhaps as much popularity as the legend of the *Four Dervishes*.

It would be tiresome to cite any more of these works. The course of progress of this kind of adventure stories can be determined from my own several translations and analyses.²¹⁷ There the reader will generally find at first a detailed description of the physical and moral characteristics of the heroes and heroines, followed by the plots of their adventures which happen to be fascinating and complicated to various degrees; nearly always, various events take place to thwart the union of the hero and the heroine, but ultimately their mutual fidelity is rewarded. Sometimes, but very rarely, the plot takes a tragic turn, for example, in Mīr’s *mašnavī* [*Shu‘la-e ‘Ishq*] “The Flame of Love” or, even more notably, in [his *Daryā-e ‘Ishq*] “The River of Love;”²¹⁸ further examples are *‘Ijāz-e ‘Ishq* (The Miracle of Love) of Majrūh and *Mehr-o-Māb* [(The Sun and the Moon)] by Akhī.

²¹¹See my *Histoire de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 85.

²¹²Besides the version with this title by ‘Ishq, which I have analyzed in my *Histoire*, Vol. 2, p. 550, there is another one by Rasmi, with the same title; the East India House Library has a magnificent copy of the latter, written in beautiful naskh characters and decorated with many wonderful drawings in color.

²¹³See my *Histoire*, Vol. 2, p. 573ff.

²¹⁴Besides the version by Akhī, which is included in my *Chrestomathie Hindoustanie (Urdu et Dakhni)*, there is another one by Sāleḥ, written much earlier in 1133/1720–21.

²¹⁵In the same *Chrestomathie*.

²¹⁶Namely: the one by Muqīm, of which there is a copy in Lucknow’s Tōp Khāna; and the one that I mention in my *Histoire*, Vol. 1, p. 205.

²¹⁷The translations of *Kāmṛūp*, *The Rose of Bakāvālī*, etc.

²¹⁸See their translations in my *Histoire*, Vol. 2, p. 532ff.

A special genre of composition frequently employed in India consists of describing the natural phenomena of various seasons of the year, even giving the account month by month. Thus there are a number of poems with the title *The Twelve Months*, some of which contain a simple presentation of the phenomena but some others add dramatic action around the manifestations of nature. Consider, for example, a woman whose husband stays away from her for an entire year. Then, interlacing the mention of the abandoned woman's sighs are found the descriptions of the changing natural scenes as the seasons turn. We are touched by the beautiful dramatic monologue in which it appears that what the heroine sends as a message each month to the husband whom she misses so much are the songs of the particular bird which sings that month.²¹⁹ Other poets go further with this idea by elaborating not only on the phenomena of nature but also [for example] on periodic religious and civil festivals pertaining to Hindus as well as Muslims. Of this genre, there are quite a few works which I have had the opportunity to discuss.²²⁰

There are other, even more specialized poems. I can thus cite a poem describing the rivers of India, entitled *Phūl Āritr* (Story of Flowers).

Within the literature of Muslims, there is a special genre of composition which does not correspond to our fable, yet comprises a sequence of tales held together in a very unique fashion in order to serve a moral, or sometimes a philosophical or religious, objective. Examples of such works are: *Kashfu'l-Asrār*,²²¹ *Mantiqū'l-Ṭair*,²²² *Ikhvānu'ṣ-Ṣafā*,²²³ and several others that have acquired much fame. *Ikhvānu'ṣ-Ṣafā* has been popularized in India by its elegant translation done by Ikrām 'Alī. In it, one by one, the animals are introduced and their qualities unraveled, to the extent that their characters appear superior to those of humans. Admittedly, God often shows us in animals the models to follow; this is how the fabulist [John] Gay puts it:

... The daily labours of the bee

²¹⁹See "Analyse d'un Monologue Dramatique Indien," *Journal Asiatique*, 1850.

²²⁰Among others, *Bārah Māsā* by Javān. See my *Histoire*, Vol. 2, p. 473ff.

²²¹By Muqaddisi, published under the title *Les Oiseaux et Les Fleurs* [The Birds and the Flowers].

²²²*Le Langage des Oiseaux* [The Discourse of Birds] by Farīdu 'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār; I have published its text and translation.

²²³I am not concerned here with the allegorical aspect of this work, for which the reader can consult *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, Vol. 9, p. 397; *Journal des Savants*, 1817, p. 685; and *Journal de la Société Asiatique de Calcutta* [*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal?*], June and August 1848.

Awake my soul to industry,
 Who can observe the careful ant,
 And not provide for future want?

My dog, the trustiest of his kind,
 With gratitude inflames my mind. ...
 In constancy and nuptial love,
 I learn my duty from the dove. ...
 And ev'ry fowl that flies at large,
 Instructs me in a parent's charge.²²⁴

This genre of composition does not rule out the genuine fable. The most famous work on fables, *Panĉa Tantra* (Five Chapters), of Sanskrit origin, has been reproduced in Hindustani. Many fables from it have penetrated Europe in all kinds of forms and into all languages. Our own immortal [Jean de] La Fontaine has popularized most of its stories among us [the French].

The Indians have held on to their ancestors' taste in drama; however, the theatrical compositions are performed only in very special settings. Recently, for example, a play based on the legend of Yūsuf and Zulaikha was staged at the palace of a rich Muslim.²²⁵ More commonly, these could be the passion plays related to the commemoration of [the martyrdom of] Ḥusain, which are called *ta'zia* (mourning), and are held during the first ten days of the month of Muḥarram. The most important of these plays are related to the death of Muḥammad, Ḥasan, and, especially, Ḥusain, and the numerous events related to these [deaths] are performed in a number of distinct acts. Hindus stage their theatrical renditions during their Holi festival. The pieces performed on that occasion are called *svaṅgs* (mimicry acts). They are often delivered *ex tempore*, somewhat like the drama interludes in our theaters. The language used in these performances is of a low standard, often gross and vulgar. Yet, their subjects are sometimes the same as in the classical Sanskrit drama. Rāg Sāgar cites the play *Hanūmān Nāṭak* as an example of this genre; it is derived from the Sanskrit play translated by [Horace Hayman] Wilson.

Above, with ample justification, I have treated the *tazkira* as a genre of composition distinctive of the Muslims of the Orient. Another genre that should not be omitted is *insbā*. This term, literally meaning "essay," is intended to denote an epistolary composition or a collection of model letters written by the same author to create an epistolary extension of rhetoric.

²²⁴*The Shepherd and the Philosopher*; I have translated this poem under the title *Les Animaux*.

²²⁵Personal letter from Mr. A. [Arthur] Grote, President of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

The most well-known Hindustani *inshās* are: by Faiz, author of a translation of Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Attār's *Pandnāma*;²²⁶ by Khalīq (Karāmatu'l-Lāh); by Niẓāmu'd-Dīn (of Puna), contemporary writer and author of a translation of Aesop's fables; by Čirōnjī Lāl, another contemporary writer whose *inshā* has been published from Agra;²²⁷ by Yūsuf Dakhnī, a writer from the Deccan as his surname indicates. Lastly, *Inshā-e Har Karan* (Herkern), the greatly reputed Persian work, has been translated into Hindustani.

The Hindustani language is a treasure house of linguistic knowledge and resources to serve the needs of people interested in learning the scholarly languages of Asia. To illustrate the works of this genre, I will confine myself to pointing out: a Sanskrit grammar written in Urdu under the title *Miftāḥu'l-Lughat* (Key to the (Sanskrit) Language); the translation of a Sanskrit grammar whose original title is *Laghu Kaumudī*, published in Benares in 1849; *Maṣḍaru'l-Afāzīl* (The Source for the Erudite), a dictionary of Arabic and Persian into Urdu, of which a copy existed in the magnificent library of the Duke of Sussex and passed to the library of N. [Nathaniell] Bland; *Lughat-e Urdū*, another dictionary of Arabic and Persian words into Urdu; *Maṣḍar Faiyāz* (The Abundant Source), a grammar of Persian in Hindustani by Naẓīru'd-Dīn; *Mizān-e Fārsī* (Persian Prosody) in Urdu; *Maẓābir-e Naḥv* (Grammatical Demonstrations), a grammar of Arabic in Urdu; a dictionary of Urdu words with expository citations from poetry; *Lughatu's-Sa'īd*, a dictionary of Urdu; another dictionary of Urdu in Urdu, published in Agra in 1851; several Urdu grammar books, one being by Ṣahbā'ī, author of other works on philology; *Bhāshā Pingal*, a treatise on Hindi prosody which has seen several versions.

Subsequently, I will mention the grammars of English written in Hindustani, by Ram Krishna and other authors.

History, which always had a fictional aspect in Sanskrit, materialized in India only with the advent of modern literature. It is still sidelined into a little corner, so we really have to rely on Hindi verse when seeking the accounts of significant historical events.

On previous occasions I have mentioned historical poems, such as: the poems by Čand, who is at the same time the Homer and Thucydides of Rajputānā; *Čatra Prakāsh*, that is the history Čhatrasāl, King of Bundelkhand, by Lāl Kavī; *Gōpa Čaka Kathā* (History of Gwalior); and four others. I am now in a position to cite additionally: *Rāj Vilās* (Royal Recreations), by Man Kabishar, the poet of Mewar's King Rāmā Rāj Sīngh who was

²²⁶ *Inshā-e Faiz*, published in Kanpur in 1850.

²²⁷ Under the title *Inshā-e Urdū*.

Aurangzeb's adversary;²²⁸ *Hammīr Rāsā* (Life of Hammir, King of Chittoor); *Harī Čandrā Lilā* (The History of Raja Hari Chandra); *Sūryā Prakāśh* (History of the Solar [or, Suryavanshi] Dynasty), by Karan, warrior-poet. The last mentioned chronicle really amounts to a history, in verse, of Abḥai Siṅgh, King of Marwar, who ruled from 1724 to 1728, but, by way of introduction, the description of his period is preceded by a survey of the history of the Rathores who claimed to belong to the Solar Dynasty. [Also] *Garb Čintāmanī* (The Haughty Mind), a Bhasha poem about the famous Karan, King of Gujarat, who was defeated by the Paṭḥān sultan 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Sikandar Šānī, that is, the second Alexander, near the end of the sixteenth century of our era. [Other similar works include:] *Rāj Battānā* (History of Mewar) by Rančḥōr Bḥaṭ;²²⁹ *Rishabhā Čaritra* (The Life of Rishabhā), [about] one of the most renowned Jain saints;²³⁰ *Vansa-kuli* (The Book of Genealogy), by Bākuta;²³¹ *Kalpa Druma* (The Kalpa Tree);²³² somewhat of a historical diary by Jai Siṅgh;²³³ etc.

So, effectively, whatever scant amount of writings about history we have in Hindustani, the credit for it is due squarely to Hindi writers. They have written even on subjects related to Muslims: for example, there is a history of Muḥammad Shāh, *Pōṭḥī Muḥammad Shāh*, by Harīnāṭh.²³⁴

In the Urdu dialect, we do not find much beyond translations and compilations. Yet, it is possible to point out a few worthwhile items. In addition to the works which I have already discussed on previous occasions, I will mention here: the interesting monographs about Delhi²³⁵ and Agra;²³⁶ *Kalkatta Nāma*, a similar work about Calcutta, although this one is again in verse; *'Alī Nāma* (History of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh) by Nuṣratī; the Gurkha Annals, about the [Gurkha] province of Nepal whose sovereigns have extended their domain to include the whole of Nepal; a poem about the destruction of the Somnāṭh Paṭṭan;²³⁷ a history, by Nūr Muḥammad, of the takeover of Bengal by the British; a history, by Dharam Narāyan, of the Scindia [the Marhatta Sindhīa] dynasty; etc.

In Hindustani, there are also interesting diaries. Apart from the diaries

²²⁸According to [James] Tod in *Annals of Rajasthan*.

²²⁹Mentioned in *Annals of Rajasthan* by [James] Tod.

²³⁰*Ibid.*

²³¹*Ibid.*

²³²*Ibid.*

²³³*Ibid.*

²³⁴See my *Hist. de la Littér. Hind.*, Vol. 1, p. 218.

²³⁵*Āšāru'ṣ-ṣanādīd*, cited several times.

²³⁶*History of Agra*.

²³⁷*Travels* by [James] Tod.

of Timur, Babur, Akbar, and Jahangir, which have all been translated or adapted from Persian, there are those by Pītambar Siṅgh, Mōhan Lāl ‘Alī Ḥazīn and many others which I have had the opportunity to bring attention to in my annual reports.

It needs to be added that the Orientals are not in the habit of treating history with the same kind of consideration that we accord it. For example, an Indian historian of this day and age has chosen as an epigraph for his book of history a [Persian] couplet by Ḥāfiẓ which can be translated as follows:

Stick to the tales of minstrel and wine; ask sparingly about the
secrets of history;
No one has, and no one ever will, solve this enigma with his
acumen.

As for travelogues, I will cite two: one by Yūsuf Khān of Lucknow, [covering his travels through] England and France in 1838, published in Delhi; and the other by Karīm Khān of Delhi, [covering his visit to] London in 1840, whose translation I published in the *Revue de l'Orient*. The first author is Paṭhān by birth, a dervish or perhaps a sufi, and is known by the surname Kamal Pōsh, that is, one who is clad in a *kamal* or the blanket of dervishes.

The religious philosophy of Hindus as well as of Muslims, with which I should normally begin my survey, also offers us follow-up material that is as voluminous as it is interesting. The writings of Kabir Panthis, Sikhs, Jains, and various sects of Vaishnavas are the main works of the Hindu category. By way of exception, we also have some works by Sivas: for example, *Mahādēvā Čaritra* (Biography of Siva); *Shiv Lilāmritam* (The Elixir of Siva's Recreations); *Gaura Maṅgal* (The Marriage of Siva and Gaura Pārvaṭī), etc.

The religious philosophy of Muslims, that is, their theology, is represented in Hindustani by their religious and ascetical writings, poetical presentation of their beliefs, and poems on Muḥammad, Fāṭima, the Imāms Ḥasan and Ḥusain, and even on Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, whom the Muslims, who deny the trinity, are careful to mention together and even on the same line.

Although a large number of Shī‘ites live in India, I notice that most Muslim theological works in Hindustani have been written by Sunnīs. There do exist some works authored by Shī‘ites. The most intriguing tracts come from the people belonging to the Muslim sects particular to India, such as Saiyid Aḥmadīs (Indian Wahhabis) and the Rōshānīs (The Enlightened), and the works written to refute these sects.

For Hindus as well as Muslims, jurisprudence is a part of religion. So,

in their view religious law and civil law are bound up together. The Hindustani literature has some works of this genre which are worth perusal, but generally they are just translations.

When it comes to sciences and arts, there really is nothing deserving special mention. Nearly all the works of this genre are quite recent and are adaptations of English writings. Nevertheless, these edited or compiled works are of great benefit to the natives who are their intended audience, and are very appropriate to familiarize the Indians with our knowledge and latest discoveries.

Some of the original works include treatises on: architecture; sculpture; “herbal medicine,” that is, the [indigenous] healing system using ordinary substances, such as the medicaments made from *čōb činī* (Chinese smilax [literally, Chinese wood]); the art of raising and training falcons for hunting, a treatise on which art has become widely known due to the late de Hammer’s work; veterinary practices; weighing and evaluating pearls;²³⁸ the game of chess; the interpretation of dreams; [and] even the culinary arts.

One of the most important branches of Indian literature is the translation of works in Oriental languages. This has been of immense benefit to [those involved in] the efforts to understand the very old and difficult texts of Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic; the translations faithfully represent the great thoughts expressed therein, the original natural scenes, customs, and rites. I have discussed such works many times in the past and will not cite them again.

I am not aware of any Hindustani translation of the Vedas, although there are announcements that one will be made in India as part of a complete collection of the translations of all the sacred books of the Hindus. As for the Qurʾān, there exist many translations; these are notable for their extreme fidelity and exactitude. In his *Āšāru š-Šanādīd*, Saiyid Aḥmad singles out the translations by ‘Abdu’l-Qādir and Rafi‘u’d-Dīn. Most translations include margin notes and commentaries. One was published from Delhi in a grand spirit of tolerance, with the Sunnī and Shīʿite exegeses included at the same time. Ashraf has composed an exegesis of the Qurʾān in verse. Let me observe in passing that, in contrast to the Muslims of Persia, the Muslims of India, like those of Turkey, do not condemn the translation of their holy book into the vernacular, and that the Muslim ladies recite the Qurʾān on Fridays just as the English ladies recite the Bible on Sundays. Furthermore, the Indian Muslim ladies are generally more well-educated than Turkish ladies, who are more renowned for their beauty.

There exist translations of the following Sanskrit works: the *Mahābhā-*

²³⁸ *Risāla-e Mōṭī*, lithographically printed in Hyderabad, 1251 AH (1835–36).

rata; the *Hitōpadēsha*; the *Tarka Saṅgraha*, a work on Indian philosophy written by Annam Bhaṭṭā.²³⁹

The principal Indian works of drama have been translated by [Horace Hayman] Wilson and appear in his *Sanskrit Nāṭak* published in Delhi in 1845.

The [*Shiv*] *Mahimnab Stōtra*, translated from Sanskrit by Samara Siṅgh, even though it is a Saivite work.

Under preparation in Delhi in 1845 were translations of: the *Ragḥū Vaṅśha*, a poem attributed to Kalidas on the race of Ragḥū; the *Ramayana of Adhyātma*; and several other Sanskrit works. But I do not know whether those projects were successfully executed. I have mentioned several other translations in my opening lecture.²⁴⁰

I also need to mention the translations from Indian languages other than Sanskrit, namely the modern Indian languages including Tamil, Bengali, and Marathi. A work, among others, belonging to the last mentioned language is *Satya Nirūpan* (An Essay on Truth) that has garnered a certain degree of fame.

The most important translations of Arabic works include those of: Abu'l-Fidā's *History*, by Karīm and Isrī; *Ibn Kballikān* by Subḥān Bakhsh; *Ikbvānu 'ṣ-Ṣafā*, which I have discussed earlier; *Mishkāt Sharīf* (The Wonderful Lamp), a famous work of jurisprudence;²⁴¹ *Adabu 'l-Qāzī* (Duties of the Magistrate), another equally famous book of jurisprudence, by Qudūrī, in abridged translation (*mukhtaṣar*).

A project had started in Delhi to produce a literal translation of *Maqā-māt al-Ḥarīrī* (Ḥarīrī's Sessions), but the translators decided to abandon the enterprise; the reason is exactly the same one that had forced me to discontinue my own French translation of the work, namely, the impossibility of reproducing the play on words and the alliterations which constitute the chief merit of the book.

The *Thousand and One Nights*, one of the masterpieces of Arabic literature, has been translated into Hindustani by both Muslim and Hindu writers. Among Muslim translators, I will mention: Maulvī Ḥasan 'Alī Khān

²³⁹This work has been published in Benares in 1852, thanks to the hard work of the scholarly Indologist [James Robert] Ballantyne, nephew of my friend Captain J. Michael. This volume contains the Sanskrit text, as well as a Hindi version and an English translation.

²⁴⁰At the beginning of each academic year at his university de Tassy gave a lecture in which he described the literary progress in India during the preceding year. The lectures were published and were called *Annual Reports*. Here he refers to one of those lectures, but does not specify the year. —Tr.

²⁴¹*Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* is actually not a book of jurisprudence, but rather a collection of *aḥādīṣ* (the Prophet's sayings). —Tr.

of Kashmir, a contemporary writer who has been a professor at the Delhi College and has authored a number of other translations; and Shamsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, who has published, from Madras, the translation of the first two hundred nights, based on the first Calcutta edition of the Arabic text, which varies substantially from the text compiled by [Christian Maximilian] Habicht and [Heinrich Leberecht] Fleischer. Among Hindu translators, I will mention Nasīm Dayā Shankar²⁴² whose translation, in three octavo volumes, has been published lithographically in Lucknow in 1244/1828–29. Another translation, from Arabic to Urdu, has been recently published from Delhi and contains fifty nights together with some additional selected stories. The story “Ghānim, The Merchant’s Son” has also been published separately.²⁴³

The Vernacular Translation Society, an organization whose goal is to disseminate practicable knowledge among the indigenous people through translations into common Indian languages, has published a translation of Abu'l-Fidā's *Geography*. The organization had also announced translations in progress of the *History of the Mughals* by Rashīdu'd-Dīn, the *History of the Ancients* and the *History of the Berbers* by Ibn Khaldūn, and several other celebrated works, but I believe that these translations never saw the light of day.

The translations from Persian are far more numerous. In this category, I can mention many versions of the most well-known works of Persian: several translations of *Gulistān* have been printed, in multiple editions; the translation of Sa'dī's *Bōstān* by Mughal, which elucidates well the obscure passages in the text; an abridged translation in verse by Munshī of the celebrated poem *Shābnāma*;²⁴⁴ another in prose by Muḥammad 'Alī Tirmizī; yet another translation by Surur, under the title *Surūr-e Sulṭānī* (Royal Pleasure), alluding to the translator's pen name; the special translation by Kāẓim of the story of Sohrāb in the *Shābnāma*; various versions of translations of Jalalu'd-Dīn Rūmī's famous poem *Mašnavī Sharīf* (The Noble Mašnavī);²⁴⁵ the translation of 'Attār's *Pandnāma*; of Sa'dī's *Pandnāma*; of *Manṭiqu'ī-Ṭāir*; of *Ḥusn-o-Ishq*; of *Izbār Dānish*, translated by Dōst; of *Bahār Dānish*; the translation by Sharāfat of the *History of Kashmir* by Muḥammad A'ẓam, published in several editions; the translation by Ja'far Shāh of the *History* by Ṭabarī; and many other works.

²⁴²The same writer has to his credit a poem on the legend of *Bakāvali*.

²⁴³See its translation in [Edward William] Lane, *Alf Laila*, Vol. 1, p. 487ff.

²⁴⁴Under the title *Khusravan-e 'Ajam* (Kings of Persia).

²⁴⁵There is a complete translation by Nishāt, which is mentioned by Karīm, and an abridged translation by Shah Mustafān published in Calcutta in 1845. Both translations are in verse.

In their turn, some Indian works have had the honor of being translated into other languages. Thus: Bihārī's *Sat Sai* has been translated into Sanskrit; *Bāgh-o-Bahār*, into Armenian; and *Rāg Darshan* (The Mirror of Ragas)²⁴⁶ into Persian. Several contemporary Urdu works have also been translated into Persian, which is the Latin of modern India. Included, among others, are: *Dharam Siṅgh kā Qiṣṣa*²⁴⁷ and *Sūrajpur kī Kabānī*; and the moral tales entitled *Qiṣṣa Ṣādiq Khān* and *Qiṣṣa Shamsābād*.

To the Hindustani translations of works of Oriental languages, we now need to add countless translations of English works, a form of literary tribute paid to the new masters of India. There are also translations of French works, for example: the translation by some Catholic missionaries of Fleury's *Catéchisme Historique*; the translation of our eminent Orientalist [Silvestre] de Sacy's *La Grammaire Arabe*, prepared a few years ago for the Delhi Press; of an abridged version of Rollin's *L'Histoire Ancienne*; etc. But for the most part, French works have found their way into Hindustani through their English translations. So several of our scholars, such as Élie de Beaumont,²⁴⁸ for one, have no idea that their works are being read from Delhi to Agra by exotically attired readers!

As another, out of the ordinary, matter, Saiyid Aḥmad has undertaken to translate the Hebrew Bible in his intriguing *Muslim Commentary on the Bible*.

We cannot dispute the usefulness of these translations, meant to expose the Indian population to our sciences and arts, our ancient and modern history, the histories of Greece and Rome, and even some of the most celebrated writings, such as [*The History of*] *Rasselas* [by Samuel Johnson], *The Qizilbāsh* [*The Kuzzilbash* by James Baillie Fraser], *The Vicar of Wakefield* [by Oliver Goldsmith], *Robinson Crusoe* [by Daniel Defoe], *The Voyages* [*Pilgrim's Progress*] by [John] Bunyan, *The Economy of Human Life* [by Robert Dodsley], and others. But what is even more important is to disseminate the Christian faith—that life-giving tree, which, rooted in Judah, has spread to cover the entire world under its shadow. Of all the translations relevant to the Christian religion, some simply present our doctrines and replicate our sacred books in all of their versions; some others take up the polemic specially directed towards Muslims, as these people have extremely pronounced prejudices against Christianity.

²⁴⁶This work, which was commissioned by Mān Siṅgh, King of Gwalior, and which is undoubtedly a poetic description of the ragas rather than a professorial treatise on Indian music, was translated into Persian by Faqīru'l-Lāh. See W. Ouseley, *Oriental Collect.*, Vol. 3, p. 75.

²⁴⁷This work is due to Sri Lal, living writer, author of several other books.

²⁴⁸*Treatise on Geology*, etc.

One of the most interesting publications of this kind is an edition of the Qurʾān published in Allahabad in 1844 by some American Presbyterian missionaries. Its preface refutes the errors of Mohammedans and responds to all of their objections against the Christian religion. It continues with a commentary facing the Qurʾānic text, in a fashion adopted earlier by [Ludovico] Marracci. Actually, this style was first pioneered in India by the Protestant missionary Benjamin Schultz, whose book *Compendiosa Alcorani Refutatio, Indicè* was published in Halle in 1744.

We should count among religious translations the Hindustani translations of the Anglican liturgy. The purpose of these efforts was not only to introduce this material to the Indians, but also to make it possible for churches to conduct religious services in Hindustani. The chapels which have been built in Calcutta, and, undoubtedly, in other Indian cities also, for the already converted or to be converted, provide liturgical services in Hindustani; these services are based on the Anglican tradition, the same as the one available in London, and analogous to what is offered in Jerusalem in Hebrew for the Jews who are in a similar situation. In fact, even the hymns composed in Hindustani follow English meters; so these hymns are sung in pretty much the same tunes as the ones heard in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral, somewhat reminiscent of how the Lutherans living in Paris have set French wordings to German airs.

Until recently, Indian publications were generally written by hand, because the efforts to mechanize printing had attained very little success. The printed characters were clumsy and lacked elegance; in particular, they could only very poorly represent the Persian (*nastaʿliq*) writings, commonly used in laboriously prepared manuscripts, and could not at all be used for cursive (*shikasta*) writings; so their utility was limited to printing headings and decorative additions to calligraphically produced texts. Fortunately, the process of lithography has eased the situation and has been promptly adopted by the natives. The first lithographic press was established only in 1837, but by 1852 there were already thirty-four such presses in the northwestern provinces. Nearly every city in the north and nearly all the major towns in India have such presses now. For example, the presses just in Lucknow and Kanpur [together] number twenty-three and have produced several hundred lithographically printed works last year.²⁴⁹ Some

²⁴⁹My reason for combining the counts of presses and publications in these cities is the following: In 1849, the presses of Lucknow were forbidden from printing anything because one of their publications had displeased the King of Oudh, so the owners of these presses moved their operation to Kanpur. Since then, the printing activities of these two cities have sort of coalesced into a single typographical community. See Sprenger, *A Catalogue*, p. 4.

of these works have been reprinted in up to ten editions. A single list given in the June 1855 issue of the Agra Government Gazette enumerates about two hundred Hindustani items, excluding the lithographically produced maps and drawings. Intended for the natives, most of these items are elementary works of literature, science, and arts, and are of little consequence to us. Yet, among these a good number of works do stand out, and the scholarly Europeans would do well to show interest in them, for example: the abridged versions of *Anwār-e Subailī* and *Gulistan* by Karīmu'd-Dīn; *Safarnāma*, a travelogue through the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind, a part of the Deccan, Khān-desh, Malwa, and Rajputānā by Amīn Čand; *Čando Dīpikā* (Treatise on Hindi Prosody), unknown in Europe before now; etc.

There is an Association that deserves approbation for contributing much to the expansion of literary education among the natives as well as to the wider use of lithography. This is the Vernacular Translation Society, whose Secretary at the time of its founding was our own compatriot Mr. [Felix] Boutros, then Principal of the Delhi College for Natives. The Society has rendered a great service to the Indians by giving them access, via excellent translations into the common languages, to the literary masterpieces of Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic, and to the English works of undeniable utility.

The issue of printing leads me naturally to talk about another kind of literature, which was unknown in the Orient for a long time, but is undergoing a remarkable development in India. I refer to the [journalistic] press; its reach is growing wider and wider, and it is starting to attract the attention of even the [normally] carefree Indian. I already know about more than one hundred fifty Hindustani journals. In Calcutta, a few years ago, the natives were publishing sixteen newspapers, five of these newspapers being in Persian or Hindustani, nine in Bengali, and two in English.²⁵⁰ For a while, Maulvī Nasīru'd-Dīn published the five-column *Mārtanḍa* in five languages: Hindi, Hindustani, Bengali, Persian, and English.²⁵¹ It has recently been announced that a new journal will be published in the vernacular languages, and will be addressed specially to women. In Bombay, there are three or four Hindustani journals²⁵² for the broad Indian population, and two meant especially for Muslims; in addition, there are four Gujarati journals for Parsees and two Marathi journals for Hindus, the speakers of this language. In Madras, there are again several Hindustani newspapers.²⁵³ The

²⁵⁰Wilson, *Athen.*, issue of 23 December 1848.

²⁵¹In 1846.

²⁵²*Mumba'ī kā Harkārā* (Bombay Courier), *Akbbār Daftar Jazīra-e Bamba'ī* (Newspaper of Bombay Island), *Tāza Bahār* (Fresh Spring), etc.

²⁵³*Mir'atu'l-Akbbār* (The Mirror of News), *Qā'id-e Madras* (Madras Courier), etc.

number of such newspapers is even larger in Delhi, Meerut, Agra, Lahore, Benares, and Lucknow.²⁵⁴ Then there are others, published from Serampur, Khidirpur, Mirzapur, Bharatpur, Multan, Bareilly, Indore, etc.²⁵⁵ Were these journals to be available easily in Europe, we would find much information of interest in them, worthy of being reproduced in our own journals, and the following words of Horace would be applicable to them:

[...]; *alterius sic
altera poscit opem res et coniurat amicè.*

[[...]; so much does the one require the other's aid, and so friendly is their conspiracy (1905, 60).] □

—Translated from French by S. Kamal Abdali

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²⁵⁴“Report of the Society for the Promotion of Vernacular Education,” 1845, by Dr. A. Sprenger.

²⁵⁵See the “Table of Statistics” listing these newspapers in *Friend of India*, issue of March 1853.

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