

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

A critical estimate of Inshā as poet and grammarian.

The introduction treats briefly of the Urdu language which became a medium for the poets from the beginning of the 18th century. Āzād, in his Āb-i Hayāt, has grouped poetic activity from about 1720 to 1880 into five well-defined periods. Inshā belongs to the fourth of these. Special reference throughout this work is made to the Āb-i Hayāt, allowances being made for occasional inaccuracies.

Chapter I discusses the background of Inshā's period. Such an examination the better enables one to arrive at a more satisfactory critical evaluation of the poet's work. This background has been viewed from three standpoints; first, the historical, which briefly touches on the disintegration of the central government and the gradual encroachment of rival foreign powers; secondly, the social and ethical background, which reflected a continued deterioration; and thirdly, the literary trends, to describe which nothing better than the sentiments expressed by Hālī could be quoted. Mīr Taqī Mīr, Mīr Hasan and Saudā are introduced as typical example of the poets of this time.

Chapter II reviews the contemporaries of Inshā. A brief survey of the development of Urdu poetry through the three periods previous to Inshā, brings the discussion to the chief figures of the fourth period. Mīr Hasan is first dealt with; then follows Qatīl, Jur'at, Mushafī and Rangīn. Mushafī has been dealt with at some length, and full details of his relations with Inshā are examined; the controversial points are discussed and conclusions established. Rangīn's connection with Inshā is described and his opinion of Inshā's work is given.

Chapter III outlines the poet's life. The fact that the poet's father most probably supervised his education would account for the systematization which can be seen in the Sharh-i Mi'at Āmil and other works. The poet's long connection with the Nawwabs of Oudh and the degree of familiarity which the latter extended to him was broken by an incident which led to a widening of the breach. Āzād's account of the last part of the poet's life is called into question and discussed in view of ^{his} uncorroborated statement, and the contrary evidence of Mirza Auj.

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Chapter IV deals with the Urdu and Persian Dīwāns, which represent some sixty-per-cent of the poet's output. An introductory discussion on the ghazal precedes the first section, that on the Dīwān-i Rekhta, which is dealt with first from the point of view of diction. An historical approach follows, thirty-seven poems being classed in one of six periods. A discussion on the origin of Rekhtī opens up the section on the Dīwān-i Rekhtī, which closes with a comparison of Jān Šāhib's style with that of Inshā. An analysis of the Dīwān-i Be-Nuqat follows, and this chapter ends with an appraisal of the Dīwān-i Fārsī, which contains some of Inshā's best compositions.

Chapter V treats of Inshā's gasīda compositions; an introductory discussion on this poetic form is followed by a literary analysis of each composition, and an evaluation of Inshā's style in this field.

Inshā's eleven masnavī poems are reviewed in Chapter VI. Each masnavī is dealt with in detail, beginning with the Shīr-o Biranj, which is the most successful and outstanding in this type. Farce and comedy colour the majority of the other masnavīs, though satire has its place.

Chapter VII covers all those poetic compositions which have not already been dealt with, viz., Riddles, Fards, Rubā'īs, Qit'ās, Mustazāds, Mukhammas, Tilismāt, Letters, Lampoons, and Pashtī and Turkī pieces. The rubā'īs are dealt with at some length, and also are the qit'ās and mustazads.

Inshā's grammar and prose works are dealt with in Chapter VIII. Inshā's best-known work, the Daryā-i Laṭāfat, is first fully surveyed and his investigations in the field are assessed. He appears to have been original in his treatment of this subject. From a MS# of this work in the British Museum can be gathered information not to be found in the publication of this grammar. The section in this grammar on districts and colloquials of Delhi is enlightening and useful. Inshā's practical approach to linguistic studies is further illustrated from other sections. Inshā's other prose works, the Sharḥ-i Mi'at Āmil, Dāstān-i Rānī Ketkī (short story), and the Laṭā'ifu's-Sa'ādat, a prose collection of anecdotes, hitherto unmentioned in all the tazkiras, and extant only in MS# form, are then dealt with.

The concluding chapter surveys Inshā's technique in satire, wit and humour, figures of speech, be-nuqat verse, allusions and Nature. Inshā fitted uneasily into his age; his was a mind of great variety; he was an intellectual, and an opportunist. Intellect ruled in him, he ridiculed religious pretension and ineptitude. He was often pedantic in word display, but pedantic spontaneously. He cannot be called cynical. His humour is seldom malicious. He is not a poet of the foremost rank. Allusions, unusual words, and difficult metres cause him to stand alone. It is as a grammarian he will be longest remembered.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

A CRITICAL ESTIMATE

OF

INSHA ALLAH KHAN INSHA

AS POET AND GRAMMARIAN.

Thesis submitted for the Ph.D. degree of
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PREFACE.

From about the opening of the twentieth century Nationalism began to exercise a growing influence on the thoughts and aspirations of poets as well as others in India. New emotions and ideas entered, and new forms. In the surge of the new Nationalism at the beginning of 20th Century, the older men of Urdu who brought it to a position where it displaced Persian as the language of culture and officialdom, have fallen into the background. With the spread of research in the Universities their stauts and contribution will be revised, and it is fitting that the work of Inshā, the most prominent literary figure in his period of about half a century, should be the first to be examined to find out its worthiness for recognition and to ascertain to what extent it has contributed to modern developments.

His Urdu grammar, the first compiled by an Indian, raises him to no small eminence. Europeans had not long before started on the phonetics of the Indian languages; Inshā proceeded without any known dependence on them ^{and} in a manner peculiar to himself. His short story in pure Hindi is an achievement which only one other writer has attempted, yet without the same success. His system of acquiring languages was original in several

respects, and in his own case had good results for he could make practical use of seven at any rate.

It is right that Inshā should be the first of his period to be brought back into the light of day. In doing so I have taken the help of the available sources in printed books and MSS., and followed my own line where necessary or advisable. The authorities are vague in many particulars, and contradictory in two important issues. The appointment at Lucknow, and of what befell him in his last years. By piecing together the evidence and fitting it to other ascertained facts I have arrived in both cases at acceptable findings, and these results will help in determining the dates of a number of poems. I have been at some pains in examining the situation regarding Inshā's knowledge of pure Hindi, and his system of acquiring languages. So far no one has attempted to assign his poems to their respective periods in his life; I have attempted to do so in 72 cases, totalling 3166 lines.

The problem of Latā'ifu's Sa'ādat a work which he claimed to have composed but which is not ascribed to him by the authorities, I have dealt with on evidence supplied from Inshā's own writings.

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1

ABBREVIATIONS OF REFERENCES.

Azad.	Ābāi Ḥāyāt.
Brockelmann.	Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur.
ChSh.	Chamanistān-i Shu'arā.
DL.	Daryā-i Latāfat.
DRKetki.	Dāstān-i Rānī Ketkī.
DUR.	Dakan men Urdu.
GBekhar.	Gulshan-i Bekhār.
GR.	Gul-i Ra'nā.
GSukhan.	Gulshan-i Sukhan.
GTNass.	Gang-i Tawāriḥ.
Gul Hind.	Gulshan-i Hind.
HGarcin.	Histoire de la litterature hindouie et hindoustani.
His AP.	History of Arabic Poets.
Hist. Bailey.	History of Urdu Literature.
HPL.	History of Persian Literature.
Int.Mir.	Intikhāb-i Mīr.
JUSh.	Jadīd Urdu Shā'irī.
Kull.	Kulliyāt-i Inshā.
LDSh.	Laḥṣa Kā Dabistān-i Shā'irī.
Maj Naghz.	Majmu'a-i Naghz.
Maj Sukh.	Majmu'a-i Sukhan.
MKha.	Mahsharistān-i Khayāl.
MMHasan.	Maṣnavī Mīr Ḥasan.
MukTau.	Mukhtasar Tāriḥ-i Adab-i Urdu.

Muq	Muqaddama.
Muq Sher	Muqaddama She'ro-Shā'irī.
Muq TazH.	Muqaddama-i Tazkīra-i Hindī.
Naq Adab.	Naqdu'l- Adab.
NDiī.	Nuskha-i Dilkushā.
NurL.	Nuru'l-Lughat.
QM Nass.	Qaṭa'-i Muntakhab.
QP Nass.	Qand-i Pārsī.
QUr.	Qawā'id-i Urdu.
RFUS.	Riyāzu'l- Fuṣahā.
Saksena.	History of Urdu Literature.
ShH.	Shi'ru'l-Hind.
SK Sauda.	Selections from the Kulliyāt-i Saudā.
SMUS.	Siyaru'l-Muṣannifīn.
SS Nass.	Sukhan-i Shu'arā.
S Sukhan.	Sarāpā Sukhan.
Tar MUR.	Tā'rikh-i Masnaviyyāt-i Urdu.
Taz GI.	Tazkīra-i Gulzār-i Ibrāhīm.
Taz GSukhan.	Tazkīra-i Gulshan-i Sukhan.
TazH.	Tazkīra-i Hindī.
Taz JKhiz.	Tazkīra-i Jalwa-i Khizr.
Taz Ksh.	Tazkīra-i Khāzinu'sh-Shu'arā.
Taz Rg.	Tazkīra-i Rekhtagoyān.
Taz Sh.	Tazkiratu'sh-Shu'arā.
Taz ShUr.	Tazkīra-i Shu'arā-i Urdū.
Taz SUR.	Tazkiratu'sh- Shu'arā-i Urdū.

THThath Ṭheth Hindī Kā Thāt.
TRekh̄ti Tā'rīkh-i Rēkh̄tī.
US Albam. Urdū Shā'iron Kā Albam.

INDEX TO INSHĀ'S KULLIYYĀT.

Inshā's poetical works in Urdu and Persian have been collected into a Kulliyat, of which there are two lithographed editions:

1. Delhi ed., 1271/1855, Nawal Kishore Press.
2. Lucknow ed., 1293/1876, Nawal Kishore Press.

The Delhi edition is slightly fuller than the other; the page references in this thesis have been made to the Lucknow edition.

1. Urdu Dīwān-i Rekhta	pp. 1 - 184.
II. Dīwān-i Rekhtī.	pp. 185-218.
III. Qaṣīdas.	pp. 219-272.
IV. Dīwān-i Fārsī.	pp. 273-302.
V. Maṣnavīs.	pp. 303-385, 446-48.
VI. Miscellaneous.	pp. 385-416.
VII. Mukhammas.	pp. 417- 29.
VIII. Dīwān-i Be-nuqat.	pp. 430-440.
IX. Sharḥ-i Mi'at 'Āmil.	pp. 441-445.
X. Satire on <u>Mushafī</u> .	pp. 448.

INTRODUCTION.

Urdu, like English, is a composite language. It has borrowed mainly from Hindi and Persian; religion and ritual have required a number of words of Arabic origin. The grammar is mainly Hindi, which has also a large share in the vocabulary. English can claim to have had considerable influence on the development of the modern literature. Other languages and dialects with which Urdu came into contact have also enriched it with words and ideas. It has claimed to be the lingua franca of India, as it is widely understood in the North of the country, and to some extent to the South and East, in the Deccan and Bihar particularly. Its connection with Mahmud's invaders is preserved in its name "Urdu", a word denoting "camp" or "army" in Turki, the language of the Turcomans, many of whom learned Persian in its homeland. The Hindi line of descent of this language is very apparent in its prose. Its poetry in language, verse-form and feeling shows immediate trace of the Persian connection. The Arabic Qasida and Qita'; the Persian Masnavi and Ruba'i, and the Ghazal, originally mainly Arabic, but Persian in its development, are still the dominant verse-forms. During the 16th and 17th centuries there was much literary activity in Urdu in the Deccan. This language had been taken South, first of all by the soldiers of Muhammad b.

Tughlaq on his invasion, in the second quarter of the 14th century, when he intended to bring under his sway the whole of India. It had spread and become an official language and poets had used it in their compositions. In North India, on the other hand, Persian had been cultivated as the medium of poetic expression, and it was not until Walī Aurangbadi's Diwān ⁱⁿ er Urdū reached Delhi in the beginning of the 18th century that the poets of the North gave Urdu any consideration as being fit for such a purpose.

For a century, from about 1740, poetry in this language was designated Rekhta ^{1.}, a term denoting perhaps the "pouring" of the new into the mould of the old. In his anthology Āb-i Hayāt, Āzād had grouped this poetry into five well-defined periods, ^{2.} beginning from about 1720, till about 1880. Inshā belongs to the fourth of these. In the period after the Mutiny (1857), national aspirations began to stir, and the new century witnessed a transformation in literature as well as social and political conditions.

Early Arabic poetry had been the spontaneous exultation of tribal warriors or the laments of their women-folk.

1. Azad, p.21.

2. ibid., 86.

The poets sang of the heroism of their tribes and of their own endurance, and courage and amours. At the fairs they matched their skill in verse with rivals. The qasida or ode was spontaneous, and the poet close to the natural scenes and objects he mentioned. But later at the capitals of Damascus and Baghdad, there were gathered at the courts, ambitious persons and poets seeking recognition.

Court-poetry then became the fashion, and flattery too often won the rewards. Poets and poetry tended to deteriorate.

For example, it is said of Shifā'ī of Isfahan ^{1.} (d.c.1628)

a court physician of Shah 'Abbas the Great, and a poet,

that "poesy ruined his knowledge, and satire-writing his

poesy"; and of Inshā, a court poet in Lucknow in the later

part of the 18th century (d.1817), it was said that

"poesy destroyed his merit and talent and companionship

with Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān (Nawwab Wazir of Oudh) his poesy ^{2.} "

"a remark to which 'Abdu'l- Haiy objects and says, "Had it been stated that his (Inshā's) poesy was destroyed by his satire,

then it would have been acceptable. ^{3.} "

1. Muq. Shar., 15.

2. Azad, 287., quotes Miān Betāb's opinion.

3. GR., 260.

Among the tazkirās reference must specially be made to the Āb-i Hāyāt of Md. Ḥusain Āzād. A generation and more passed between Inshā's death and the beginning of the literary activity of Āzād (c. 1834-1910), but he had access not to written sources only. He was himself a poet and picked up current stories about predecessors, and through ability and the influence of birth he could make contacts with circles who knew everyone and everything worth knowing. Not only in regard to Inshā but many others this work of Āzād is a mine of information, much of it not otherwise available. Allowance must sometimes be made however for inaccuracy in a date and the fact that some of the information came through oral sources.

CHAPTER I .

BACKGROUND OF INSHĀ'S PERIOD.

To get to know an author from his writing it is helpful to learn about his environment. It is a much disputed matter whether a writer, in particular a poet, should be studied and judged in the light of his work only, or whether a biographical, or autobiographical, account of him should first be read. Whilst there is much to be said for the view that "the style is the man" and that his intellectual, moral and spiritual qualities are likely to be clearly perceptible in his compositions, at the same time some knowledge of his domestic and social condition does help to bring the reader into close relationship with him, and is likely to allow him to make a more critical evaluation of the poet's works. Individuals reflect more or less the conditions of the society in which they live, and therefore it is desirable to survey briefly the historical, social and ethical, and literary background of the time of Inshā, in order the better to ascertain and examine his merits and qualities, and make a critical assessment.

(a) Historical: -

The later 18th century and the first half of the 19th were a period of great political change and unrest. Shah 'Ālam II, Emperor of Delhi (1172/1759 -1221/1806),

was a ruler in name only, as the larger provinces were practically independent of the central Government. This weakness at the centre encouraged provincial chiefs, or marauding bands to disregard authority. Marhaṭṭas, Jāts, and sometimes invading Pathans, had left only anarchy behind them. In addition to these internal troubles two foreign powers were gaining ground in India, and their rivalry for mastery hastened the catastrophe. In the South the French had obtained a good footing, while the English were masters of Bengal, and both were in negotiation from time to time with the central Government and the neighbouring powers. The influence of the English was active in the State of Oudh, and Shah 'Ālam II was inclining towards them for protection.

In fact, the period from 1757 -1857 A.D. was one of political turmoil. The Timurids at Delhi had concentrated on the possession of territory and ruling by force of arms, and generally had devoted too little attention to social well-being and broad cultural interests. Their moral and mental fibre had now weakened, and they were no longer capable either of physical resistance or of mental mastery and control of a situation. Authority at the centre was leaning to its fall.

(b) Social and Ethical.

Akbar had given a great lead to reform in most directions during his long reign. He stood, and still stands, a colossal figure, and his successors at Delhi were mostly "petty kings" in comparison. Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb had great capacity, but the former did little to promote the interests of his Hindu subjects, and Aurangzeb did much to thwart any ambitions they had. After them spinelessness seemed to prevail among rulers and ruled alike. Weariness and hopelessness are conditions in which the evils of political unrest and disorder flourish, and the social standard of honesty and honour is lowered. The state of affairs grew worse among the later Timurids. Morality was flouted, and Nawwabs and Rajas were too often unashamed of open immorality, and pessimism spread amongst the common people. Many sought an escape in religion or in Ṣūfism (Mysticism), but not all their spiritual leaders were upright, and the poets, often of course not models of conduct themselves, have much to say in scorn of those who posed as counsellors. There was no encouragement of enterprise, and no moral grit to carry any through.

(c) Literary.

Prose and poetry correspond to the fashion of their time. Poets seek to please their patrons by writing poems which are in accord with their pleasures and not opposed to their vices. The poetry of Inshā's time has no fresh note; it is the conventional love-song of the resourceless lover, whimpering to the Beloved with complaint of separation and of his abasement in the dust. There was a greater tolerance, in some quarters at any rate, of vulgarity and even lewdness than before.

In Mir, an elder contemporary of Inshā, there is a strong vein of pessimism, as for example in these lines: -

اک ہوک سے دل میں اٹق ہے :: اک درد جگر میں ہوتا ہے
میں لاتوں کو روپا کرتا ہوں :: جب سارا عالم سوتا ہے

"There is an ache at my breast, a pain in my heart.
I weep at nights when all the world's asleep."

Hālī, in his "Introduction to Poetry", or Shi'r o Shā'irī^{1.}

writes; "It is a rule that in proportion as the ideas, opinions, customs, inclination, and taste of society change, so there comes a change in the state of poetry. This change is unconscious because a poet does not change his tone

1. Muq-Sher. 15.

intentionally on observing the condition of society, but automatically changes with it. It is said of Shifā'ī, of Isfahan, that "verse-making spoiled his knowledge, and satire-writing his poetry; this expresses that same social pressure. 'Ubaid Zākānī, who laid aside his learning and knowledge and took to satire, also acted under the influence of the time."¹

Hālī proceeds to say that, "As a perfect and honest judge is gradually demoralised by presents and undue praise, in the same way the plaudits of the court and the lust for rewards gradually so turn an independent and natural poet into a writer of buffoonery that he considers this to be the highest development of verse"². Hālī's judgement in this, that the fallen estate of a time is reflected in the standard of its poetry, is true of this period; a graceless taste is too often conspicuous. For instance, Mir, satirising his age, says of a certain boy, the son of a chemist:

میر کیا سادے ہیں بیمار ہوئے جسکے سبب : اسی عطار کے لڑکے سے دوا لیتے ہیں³

"What a simple man is Mir, that he is taking
medicine

From that chemist's son on whose account he fell ill!"

1. Muq+Sher, 15.

2. ibid., 15.

3. Azad, 222.

other such cynical lines about boys occur in his poems.

Mīr Taqī Mīr (d.1225/1810), the most famous of Urdu ghazal-writers, moved while a youth from his home in Akbarabad to Delhi. Suffering from financial stringency in Delhi, he like many others went to Lucknow in the time of Nawwab Āsafu'd-Daula. Details of his connection with Inshā are not available except on one occasion when, as Mīr was seated by the wayside, the retinue of Nawwab Sa'adat 'Alī Khān passed, but Mīr did not get up to show respect. The Nawwab enquired from Inshā who he was. On being informed¹ that, he sent a khil'at with re-appointment to the post he had held with the late Nawwab Āsafu'd-Daula and a gift of money. But Mīr's pride was touched and he refused both because they had been delivered by an orderly. Inshā was sent to induce him to accept.^{1.}

Saudā, a contemporary of Mīr, in his satires sometimes uses unpalatable words:

سُن بے الوہنج کے بنگالہ مادہ سگ آپ کو تو بنوالے^{2.}

"Hear, O owl ! when you arrive in Bengal, change yourself into a bitch!"

1. Azad., 219.

2. SK.Sauda., 20.

Again, Mīr Hasan in his masnavī Sihru'l-Bayān describes the scene of the meeting of the yet unwedded pair Benazīr and Badr-i Munīr in very sensuous and suggestive language, but it is only fair to say that there is little if anything outside these few lines to offend a delicate ear. Jur'at and Mushafī, contemporaries of Inshā, are not free from the unedifying influence of their society, and Azād^{1.} tells how Jur'at on one occasion, by pretending to be blind, obtained access into the harem of a Nawwab. The mutual satires of Inshā and Mushafī not only involve their writers in criticism for misusing their powers, but also the Nawwabs and nobles who encouraged their brawling and indecencies, for example, in the following line where the implication is even more unpalatable than the literal meaning;-

دریائے خوں میں کیوں کر ہم نیم قد نہ ڈوبیں : لنگی کے رنگ سے جب واں تا مکر ہر لالا²

"Why should I not sink in a river of blood
up to my middle
When as far as my waist it looks like a tulip
because of the colour of my lungī (loin cloth)".

Whilst one condemns their lack of taste and their grossness it has to be remembered that they were not

1. Azad, 238.

2. ibid., 314.

unique in composing passages or even poems which could well be expurgated. Every literature has its representatives of the same order. The salacious remark or jest shows itself at various periods in a nation's literature, but there is a standard by which certain things can be judged to offend against decency.

CHAPTER 11

CONTEMPORARIES OF INSHĀ.

Āzād (d.1910), in Ābi Hayāt, his classical anthology of Urdu poets down to about the close of the third quarter of the 19th century, has included Inshā in the fourth of his five periods (daur) of Urdu poetry from the time of Walī Aurang^ābādī, whose poetry became popular in Delhi in the beginning of the 18th century. In the first of these periods Urdu started struggling to its feet. It had taken over Persian verse-measures; the influence of Persian modes of expression was still strong; and it retained some of the dialectic end-forms and particles from its Hindi ancestry. Linguistic changes were taking place; there was a certain purge of outmoded forms and words, though some of these persisted until the fourth period, i.e. down to the close of that century.

Āzād deservedly praises the poets of the second period in these words : "There was no intricacy in metaphor, nor diversity in simile; they spoke in very clear language and simple idiom ; those who heard it were astonished; their poetry was not speech but feeling...."¹

To the third period , extending through and beyond the third quarter of the 18th century, belong great poets

1. Azad, 128.

like Mīr Soz, Saudā, Mīr Taqī, Mīr, Mīr Dard and Mazhar Jān Jānān. The first three of these were creative writers. They set the fashions that continued for nearly a century until, in the changing political and social conditions, new impulses began to make themselves felt in many directions. Mīr's slow, gentle, sombre emotions fashioned models of the ghazal; Saudā imprinted on all he touched his grand manner, on qasīda, masnavī, wāsokht, and ghazal; panegyric, lampoon and elegy are all witnesses to his versatility. Mirza Jan Janan Mazhar was a reformer^{1.} as well as a poet and sought for greater nicety in the details of form.^{2.}

The chief figures in the fourth period are Inshā,³ Jur'at, Mīr Hasan, Mushafī, and Rangīn. Of these Mīr Hasan (1736-86) may be singled out for separate mention. He wrote ghazals, as did all poets whether proved to be genuinely inspired (dīvāna, majnūn) or mere quill-drivers. But his fame rests on his masnavīs and particularly on the one called Sihru'l-Bayān. It is typical of the scores of romantic tales in Urdu, and displays many of their characteristic features, as may be gathered from this brief sketch:

1. TazH., 203,

2. Azad, 137.

3. Azad, 253-8.

” نقاشی دون زبان رحمتہ باعتبار فقیر میرزا است ” از تھمن

A powerful king lacks only an heir; he would turn faqir but is stayed by his wazir's advice to first consult astrologers and other persons possessing occult lore; the birth of a son is foretold by them, but there is foreboding of misfortune in his twelfth year; the supernatural element enters in the form of a pari, with a magic couch; then follow the prince's adventures along the uneven way of love to the happy finale. There are a few difficult passages with a detailed list of terms or modes, as of dress or equipment, but over all is the charm of a leisured and mellifluous style, of mastery of "chaste" (fasih) expression, and a gentle romance. He has no rival in grace. "He had a great flow of language and a remarkable command of the best idiom"¹.

In the humorous, almost mock-ghazal beginning;-

دے اور ایسے حق مجھے اغیار چار پانچ ۛ ۛ امرو ہوئے ہیں تیرے خریدار چار پانچ
the following line occurs; -
ہیں شاعروں میں جو نمودار چار پانچ ۛ ۛ سیر و قتیل و صحنی و جرات و مکین

Inshā mentions here five poets as prominent, Qatīl, Mushafī, Jur'at, Makīn, and Mīr (Taqī); of these the first three were or had been friends of his and the last two were elder contemporaries. Mīr has been noticed at

1. Hist, Bailey, 53.

2. Kull., 41.

1. some length above , and Saudā briefly. 2. Of Mirza Fākhir Makīn Kashmirī the story is told that he undertook to look through the Persian anthology compiled by Ashraf 'Alī Khān. He struck out so many selected passages as unworthy that the compiler referred the matter to Saudā for his opinion. Saudā reluctantly consented to give it and expressed himself in favour of Ashraf 'Alī and criticised some of Makīn's poems. Controversy became very heated and at last the whole story was related to Āṣafu'd-Daula by Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān his half-brother. There does not appear to have been any close association between Saudā and Inshā.

QATIL, Mirza Muhammad Hasan (but variously Ahsan, Husain, Muhsin) had been a Kshatria of the U.P. and his name had then been Dawalī Singh. He became a convert to Islam at the age of eighteen years. He had a strong literary bent, but was specially interested in rhetoric and poetics, among his compositions being شجرة الاماني and نهضة الفصاحة the second portion of Daryā-i Latāfat is from his pen. His letters have been preserved in a volume رفات قاتيل. From youthful years he had been interested in poetry; his ta-khalluṣ Qatīl was based on the form Shahīd, the poetic name of his initiator into the faith.

1. Supra., 10.

2. Supra., 10.

He was a Munshī in the service of Nawwab Sa'adat 'Alī Khān, and went several times to Calcutta on his behalf. There he had acquired considerable reputation among the literati of the city. Mushafī has written in praise of his knowledge of Rhetoric and Arabic, and of his love-verse,^{1.} but his memory is kept green by his posthumous connection with Ghālib. While still not quite in his forties the latter went down to interview the Secretariat in Calcutta regarding his pension. In a gathering he read a ghazal which provided some cause of criticism, and the authority of Qatīl was quoted against him in some particular, and this drew Ghālib's ire. His subsequent pacifically intended masnavī Bād-i Mukhālif^{2.} did nothing to allay any vexation.

JURAT,^{3.} Shaykh Qalandar Baksh (d.1225/1810) achieved considerable esteem in his day for ghazals. Their language is simple, and their manner graceful and pleasing. Some of his verses are still quoted occasionally for their charm of expression. According to Dr. Grahame Bailey^{4.} he was essentially a bonvivant, and threw himself heartily into the life of the court.

1. Iqd-i Suraiyā, 46.

2. Yādgar-i Ghālib, 18 ff.; Azad, 525.

3. Azad, 236-53.

4. Hist. Bailey, 55.

He wrote a large number of lyrics containing conventional descriptions of love, the kind of verse that one would expect from the life of conviviality which he lived.

MUSHAFĪ^{1.}, Ghulām Hamdānī (d.1243/1827-8) likewise gained a reputation in his lifetime for his poetical compositions, and had a large circle of pupils², among whom he includes Rangīn³, and Mīr Mustahsan Khalīq⁴. The main interest in Mushafī here is connected with his Persian Tazkira-i Hindī, and figuratively his passages at arms with Inshā. This Tazkira was completed in 1209/1794-5. It contains biographical sketches of about three hundred and fifty writers, men and women, of Urdū poetry. Mīr Hasan says that at the time of his writing the Tazkira-i Shu'ara (c.1190/1776) Mushafī was staying in Shāhjahānābād engaged in trade.^{5.}

His connection with Inshā started apparently from the time when the latter went to the princely court of Mirza Sulaimān Shukoh, son of the Sultan of Delhi, Shah 'Ālam II. Mirza Sulaimān Shukoh went to Lucknow by way of Rampur⁶,

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- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Azad, 309-38. | 2. GR., 221. |
| 3. TazH., 101. | 4. <u>ibid.</u> 90. |
| 5. Taz. ShUr., 190. | 6. GR., 264. |

shortly after Shah 'Ālam had been blinded (1202/1788), and probably arrived in Lucknow^{1.} in 1205/1790. He seems to have stayed in the latter city till about 1215/1800,² when he returned to Delhi, although according to Saksena his return took place in 1815.^{3.} It is not known whether his motive in going back there was of a political nature or not.

There is a controversy as to whether Mushafī or Inshā was the first to arrive in the court of Mirza Sulaiman Shukoh; details of it are given here.

There are three important incidents in Inshā's life during his stay in Lucknow in regard to which the opinions of Tazkira writers differ so widely that the reader is bewildered on studying opposing views. The controversial points are as follows:

1. One school of thought thinks Inshā first of the pair to become the Ustād of Sulaimān Shukoh,^{4.} while the other thinks of Mushafī as such.⁵

2. Regarding the quarrel between Inshā and Mushafī in the course of which the processions went out to engage

1. ^{GR,} ibid., 264. 2. Muq. Gul. Hind., 29.
3. Saksena, 96. 4. Muq. TazH., 8.
5. MukTAU., 92; GR., 221; Azad, 267.

in satire of each other, one section says the Nawwab Āsafu'd-Daula was pleased at this ^{1.}, while the other maintains that he was displeased and expelled Inshā from Lucknow. ^{2.}

3. The dispute about Inshā's last days is as to whether he was insane and died in poverty, ³ or was not insane and was getting his allowance as usual, but could attend at court only when summoned and could not go anywhere else. ^{4.}

Both parties seemed to have based their conclusions on insufficient facts and so were misled in their conclusions. There seems to be a third course, and it would provide a reasonably satisfactory solution of these difficulties. The facts might be co-ordinated in the following way:

Inshā arrived in Lucknow about 1205/1790 and entered the service of Sulaimān Shukoh about that time. ^{5.} Whether Mushāfi arrived in Lucknow before Inshā or after is not so important as the question as to which of them first became Ustād of the Prince during his stay in Lucknow (1205/1790-1215/1800), and which was the earlier

1. Azad, 285. 2. GR., 259.

3. Azad, 296 -299; Muq-Shar., 4. GR., 258.

5. GR., 264-5.

in his service.

Mushafī mentions in his tazkira^{1.} that he was introduced at the court of Sulaiman Shukoh through Inshā in 1207/1792-93. After the death of Muhibb, the Ustād of the Prince, Mushafī might well have been preferred in this capacity. He was the older man, had a very large circle of pupils, and was himself held in great regard as a poet.

Mushafī says that he was the Ustād^{2.} Inshā seems to have taken this to heart as it would be ^{understood} ~~taken~~ to imply his inferiority; but being a sensible, practical person he put the best face on the situation, and sought every opportunity of bringing Mushafī down. Certain of his capacity and cleverness he endeavoured to show his superiority over his rival. Mushafī was not a spiritless person; he defended his position as well as he could. Affairs reached their climax when a procession was arranged by his pupils and proceeded towards Inshā's abode reciting satires against him. Inshā cleverly made his house ready for these unwanted guests and invited his friends to receive the procession. When it arrived he did not make any unpleasant scene but welcomed its members in and served them with sweets and sharbat, and listened

1. TazH., 121.

2. Azad, 317.

patiently to their satire, praised it and showed outward pleasure. He behaved as a perfect host and bade them farewell courteously. But he took revenge by arranging a similar procession which went along reciting lampoons on Mushafī and his wife. One of the lines was;^{1.}

سوانگ نیالا یا ہے دیکھنا چرخ کہیں :۔ لڑتے ہوئے آئے ہیں مقصی و مصحفی

To add fuel to the fire the procession of Mushafī had been held up once or twice en route to the annoyance of the participants through an indirect order of Sulaimān Shukoh. This was regarded as an insult and Mushafī thinking himself helpless, appealed in a poem to the Nawwab Āsafu'd-Daula to redress his grievances. In it he says:^{2.}

مزاج شاہ ہریوں منحرف تو جھکو بھی :۔ یہ چاہئے کہ کروں شکوہ اسکا پیش وزیر

The result was that Inshā was turned out of Lucknow and left for Hyderabad. Perhaps this verse of Inshā recalls it:^{3.}

کسی سے اٹھ سکے کیا مجھ جلا وطن کا بوجھ :۔ کہ عشق ہے میرے کا ندھے پہ لاکھ من کا بوجھ

Saiyid Miran Jān, of Allahabad, the author of Tazkira-i Khāzinu' sh-Shu'ara^{4.} writes that, while on his way to Hyderabad, Inshā wrote a letter to his (the author's)

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1. Azad, 325. 2. ibid., 326.
3. Kull., 125. 4. GR., 259.

grandfather, Muḥammad Ajmal of Allahabad, in which occurred this bait:

یوں ہی ہے شغل ہمارا کوئی دل رہتا ہے : ایک قاتل اسے ہرآن کے مل رہتا ہے

Shah Muḥammad Ajmal sent to him in return certain documents regarding his family and encouraged him thus: خوش باش دلت چرا خراشد

When Inshā returned to Lucknow, he wrote a letter of thanks for his help, which the author could not find at the time of writing his tazkira. Āzād appears to overlook his expulsion as he states that the Nawwab on his return from a hunting expedition, during his absence on which the quarrel had taken place, sent for the satires, and rewarded both satirists.¹ It seems that Inshā returned to Lucknow soon after; perhaps he was pardoned by the Nawwab on Sulaiman's recommendation. It seems that either the Nawwab died soon after Inshā was turned out, or he pardoned him, because there is not found any trace of Inshā's having stayed in Hyderabad.

Mushafī incurred the displeasure of Sulaimān by appealing to Āṣafu'd-Daula and his pay was reduced from twenty-five to five rupees and finally Inshā became the Ustād of the prince. That is the implication in the

1. Azād, 255

1.
following lines of Mushafī:

ہم بھی تھے کئی روزوں میں پھیس کے لائق
ہوتا ہے جو درما ہے کہ سائیس کے لائق

لے وائے کہ پھیس سے پانچ ہیں اپنے
استاد کا کرتے ہیں امیر اب کے مقرر

In the manner suggested On these lines this controversy as to whether Mushafī was

Ustād of the prince or not, in which matter Azād and others support Mushafī while 'Abdul-Haqq^{2.} opposes on the ground that Mushafī was introduced later by Inshā and so never was Ustād, would be settled. Mushafī was next then suspended from the court of Sulaiman and spent the rest of his life in poverty and seclusion.^{3.}

After offering a reasonable solution of these two problems, viz. as to the holder of the position of Ustād and the expulsion of Inshā to Hyderabad, the third point must be considered. Āzād describes with great pathos a scene in Inshā's last days after his suspension and internment by Nawwab Sa'adat 'Alī Khān, and refers to Rangin as the narrator of the incidents under consideration.^{4.} It would appear from this that Inshā died insane and a pauper.

^{5.} But 'Abdul-Haiy differs and maintains that though Inshā was suspended and interned he was not insane and that he was receiving his allowance as usual. He bases his argument

1. Azad 317.

2. Muq. Tazh.

3. R.Fus., 208;
Gul, Hind., 227.

4. Azad 296.

5. G.R. 258.

for this on the authority of Mirza Auj, a grandson of Inshā. The authority in support of Abdu'l-Haiy seems to be more reliable as he was a relative of Inshā, whereas Azād's statement has no such support, for he merely states that Rangīn used to say ^{1.}, but as to the source of this story he is silent. Nor does Rangīn mention this in his works. The poem quoted by Āzād as read by Inshā in a certain Mushā'ara is said to belong to his Delhi period, ^{2.} and if that be so it thus throws doubt on the story. It is the ghazal ^{3.}

beginning:

مکر باندے ہوئے چلنے پہ پہاں سب یا رہے ہیں : بہت آگے گئے باقی جو ہیں تیار رہے ہیں

Mushafī was well read and was a good poet.

In his later years, on account of poverty, he was compelled to sell his verses and thus try to maintain himself. Probably in this way some of his good poetry was lost though there remains no less than eight Dīwāns ^{4.} and three Tazkiras. He had a great rival in Inshā, with whom he often crossed swords in satire. In their encounters, Mushafī was less able to stand up to his opponent. His was a busy pen, which earned for him

1. Azad., 296.

2. G.R., 257.

3. Azad., 298.

4. Azad 311-312.

a wide reputation among pupils, but he was no match for the quicker-witted Inshā. For instance, in a session at Sulaiman Shukoh's he read his poem beginning:

1. زہرہ کی جو آئی کف ہاروت میں انگلی : کی رشک نے جا دیدہ ماروت میں انگلی

Inshā on that occasion read the following, in the same metre:

2. دیکھ اُس کی پڑی خاتم یا قوت میں انگلی : ہاروت نے کی دیدہ ماروت میں انگلی

After Mushafī had gone away, Inshā, in company with others, turned some of his rival's verses about, and even introduced foul expressions into them. A verse of Mushafī's which was treated in this way is his maqta:

تھا مصحفی کا ناکارہ چھپانے کو پس از مرگ : تھی اُس کی دھری چشم پہ تابوت میں انگلی

When it left their transforming efforts it read:

3. تھا مصحفی کا ناکارہ چھپانے کو پس از مرگ : رکھے ہوئے تھا آنکھ پہ تابوت میں انگلی

On one occasion this wordy warfare went much further and led to the humorous incident already mention^{ed} whose old-time flavour does not hide the animosity produced by a

1. Azad 317.

2. Kull 155.

3. Azad 318.

sharp wit in a mind outwitted. On that occasion, Mushafī, stung to the quick by the taunts of his rival, had gathered his pupils in the poetic art, mounted them on elephants, and conducted them in procession to Inshā's abode with vengeful intent.¹

RANGĪN. Sa'ādat Yār Khān, (d. 1251/1835) who appears to have depended on trade as a less precarious means of livelihood than poetry, was a vigorous writer of Persian prose, and Urdu prose and verse. His Majālis-i Rangīn contains much information about his contemporaries. Inshā and Rangīn were good friends over a considerable time, as Inshā writes³:

عجب رنگینیاں ہوتی تھیں تب باتوں میں اے انشاؔ بہم جب لکھنؤ میں تھے سعادت یار خان اور ہم

"We had a good time when Sa'ādat Yār Khān and I were together in Lucknow".

In Inshā's Kulliyāt however the tense indicates the present time.⁴

In Majālis-i Rangīn and Akhbār-i Rangīn mention occurs of Inshā, but at two places Rangīn has spoken of him in a manner which reflects their poetic rivalry. The first, though in the form of a story, seems to contain a rather defamatory insinuation, even if it is merely a fanciful tale, while the second is actually an account of a quarrel between them. →

1. Supra, 2, 2. Azad, 110, 113 dn., 116; and GR. 265.

3. Majālis-i Rangīn, fol. 22. 4. Kull, 87.

The story referred to, which Rangin mentions in Akhbar-i-^{1.}
Rangin, is as follows:

"There was a certain Mirza Mūmin Beg in Lucknow who was an expert physiognomist. One day Rangin and Subhān Qulī Beg Rāghib went to him and told him they had come to test him; they then asked him concerning Inshā. Mumin Beg replied that his disposition resembled that of an ass. Subhān then said, "It is strange that you declare his asininity though he is a powerful poet and a learned and eloquent speaker, and has so much knowledge of every kind that no one can surpass him in any assembly." Mumin Beg replied, "It is characteristic of an ass that when it brays it is louder than all." Rangin further mentions that Inshā's several other qualities were placed before him but he disposed of them all in a similar manner. It was finally decided that Inshā should be asked which animal he liked most; Mumin Beg was of opinion that Inshā would name as his pet an ass. Rangin and Rāghib then went off to Inshā and enquired as arranged, and received the answer that whenever he saw the young one of an ass he was drawn towards it and had a desire to embrace it. Rangin adds that they soon after told Inshā the whole case, as they were quite friendly.

The second incident is the quarrel between Inshā and Rangin mentioned in the latter's Majālis-i Rangin:^{2.} "One day

1. Akhbar-i-Rangin, fol.22.

2. Majālis-i-Rangin,
fol.31(b)

Mirza Sulaimān Shukoh was sitting in the garden of Fath 'Alī Khān together with the latter's brother, Nawwab Sūfi Allāh Yār Beg Khān, Mīr Inshā, Allāh Khān, Mirza Na'īm Beg, Munshī Mīr Ḥasan and others. They were having a lively talk on poetry when Mirza Na'īm Beg enquired of Inshā the difference between him and Rangīn in the world of poetic art. Inshā replied, "As between heaven and earth," The reasons he gave were that Rangīn had no qualification in Arabic, and secondly, that he was not proficient in the qaṣīda, "which stands first in the art of poetry, and so he is inferior to me!" Rangīn writes that though they were quite friendly yet he felt this very much and replied: "What you (Inshā) have said is not correct, indeed the contrary is the fact. The reason is this, that if you are more competent in the ghazal, I know various languages, first Turkī, the tongue of my ancestors, next Pashtu, third Panjabī, and fourth Purbī. As to qaṣīdas, my fifty qaṣīdas are not so forceful as yours, but in masnavīs the difference between you and me is that between darkness and light; whatever masnavis you have in your Kulliyāt 1. they are not worthy of consideration, except "Shir-o Biranj"² which is in reply to "Nān-o-Halwa" and has been written with the help of Qatīl. But I have written forty-two masnavīs, whose distiches number twenty thousand.....and every masnavī is a hundred times better than yours in tone and manner.

1. Infra, 125.

2. Infra, 126

Qasīda-writing is all right for beggars because for every qasīda they get a reward, and that is why you are wearing a khil'at¹. I thought qasīda-writing objectionable and so gave it up and wrote masnavī, which represent the best in poetry. To write thousands of verses in one style is very difficult, whereas the qasīda is very easy because every distich is separate in meaning and subject-matter." Inshā then asked: "How do you find my masnavī Rāgh Mālā, in which there is a description of music?" I answered, "They are all nonsense." Becoming angry, Inshā recited a distich from it:

2 مطلع مثنوی الشاکہ سنا ہے کہ او تر میں تھا اک مہنت : سریدوں میں تھا جسکے راجہ بسنت

I criticised it saying, firstly in this matla' the word uttar (North) is a rustic expression and we do not use it. Secondly mahanth is a Hindu saint (پیر), and what has a Hindu saint to do with a disciple (سرید)? It would be better to bring the word چیلہ here. Thirdly, the word is سنت but you have rhymed it with بسنت and this is incorrect."

From Rangīn's criticism we gather at least this much, that Inshā was regarded as a competent writer of qasīdas and ghazals, and that his masnavī Shīr-o Biranj had met with appreciation. Perhaps the chief point of contact with Inshā was the devotion of these two to a particular department of poesy, one on which Āzād apparently looked with such disparagement that he has not devoted to Rangīn a section in his

1. An ornamental robe given as a reward by kings and nobles.

2. Infra, /50

anthology, but contented himself with mere mention of him. This department is known as Rekhtī. This word in form is the feminine of the Persian past-participle rekhta^{1.} (poured; moulded). The latter term was applied to Urdu poetry from its beginning, and was familiarly used for it as late as the time of Ghalib (d.1872). The term Rekhtī has sometimes been applied to a few verses indecent or sexual in tone or language, but this is so common a feature of other literatures that it is not sufficient to brand it as a class. The class-mark is found in the fact that the poet, impersonating a woman, addresses another woman in intimate language. The genders are feminine. As these women were generally courtesans in the bazaars, the tone is often depraved, and it is easy to understand why Āzād, who died as late as 1910,^{2.} by which time social taste had considerably changed, and who had made stand for a rational reform in literature, should turn with aversion from it.

The problem as to its originator will be dealt with later; meanwhile let it suffice to say here that some have regarded it to be Inshā, whereas Inshā himself gives the credit, or otherwise,^{3.} to Rangīn.

1. Infra. 78

2. Hist.Bailey, 87.

3. Infra. 78-85

CHAPTER 111.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF INSHĀ.

It seems certain that Inshā was born in Murshidabad, the capital of the Nawwabs of Bengal. His father Hakim Mīr Māshāh Allāh Khān, had as nisbat "Najafī", and there is good authority for believing that the family came from Najaf^{1.}, a city of Iraq, and a centre of Shī'a reverence as containing the tomb of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib. His son, Inshā, a dutiful Shī'a, makes repeated mention of Najaf, Māshāh Allāh had apparently followed the example of many Persians and Iraqis who came to the Deccan and Delhi courts to seek their fortunes. He arrived in Delhi, where he practised with a certain measure of success, for he owned two elephants^{2.} Murshidabad attracted him, like a number of others, because of the prosperity of its markets. For instance he had been preceded there by the Persian-born Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Walī 'Uzlat, who was patronised by 'Alī Wardī Khān (1153/1740-1170/1756), at whose court he remained till the latter died.^{3.} In Murshidabad at that time there was much wealth, so that Sirāju'd-Daula was in a position to pay and to reward anyone with whom he was pleased.

1. SSNass.; Latā'ifu's-Sa'adat, fol.4. 2. Azad, 259 f.n.

3. SSNass., 325.

When Clive in 1757 put Mīr Ja'far in the seat of authority in place of Sirāju'd-Daula, "he found the treasury at Murshidabad heaped with jewels, plate and specie, the plunder accumulated for years from all over the unhappy province of Bengal.^{1.}"

The change to Murshidabad was a fortunate one for the poet's father acquired possession of eighteen elephants.^{2.} In the troublous years of the rule of Mīr Ja'far (1757-60, 1763-65) and Mīr Qāsim (1760-63), the state of political affairs no doubt made the return to Delhi advisable. Probably in or about 1756, his son, Inshā, was born.

The date of Inshā's birth has apparently not been stated anywhere except in Urdū Shā'irōn kā albam.^{3.} In this the time of his birth is mentioned as being between 1756 and 1758 A.D. It is also stated in Garcin de Tassy's Histoire de la littérature Hindouie.... that it occurred during the time of Sirāju'd-Daula's rule (1756-57)^{4.} The other tazkiras so far examined do not give a date, though they almost all agree that he was born in Murshidabad.^{5.} Mardān 'Alī Khān Mubtalā, in his tazkira Gulshan-i Sukhan

1. The British Achievement in India, 20. 2. HGarcin.,

3. USAlbam, 8.

4. HGarcin., 245.

5. G. Sukhan., 31.

says that he saw Inshā and his father, Mīr Māshā Allāh Khān, during the times of Nawwab Mīr Ja'far^{administration} (1757-60 and 1763-65), and says Inshā was then a child (در سن صبا)

This statement seems to be confirmed by the author of Gulshan-i Hind (p.41), viz. Mirza 'Alī Lutf, who says;-

..... در سن صبا هنگام دولت میر محمد قاسم علی خان عالی جاہ دیکھا تھا

i.e. he saw Inshā while a child in the time of Mīr Qāsim, who was Nawwab of Murshidabad in 1760-63. These statements imply that his father was in Murshidabad from about 1171/1756 to about 1175/1761. The tazkiras generally state that his ancestors belonged to Najaf, but add that some say his forefathers were Kashmirī Saiyids, who had come from Samarqand. The statement that they came from Najaf seems to be authentic as almost all the tazkiras supported it and Inshā in his Lata'ifu's-Sa'adat gives himself the nisbats Najafī and al-Husainī.

Mīr Māshā Allāh Khān left Murshidabad probably because of the unsettled conditions and appears to have gone to Fyzabad, the then capital of Oudh, and joined the service of Nawwab Shuja'u'd-Daula¹. In the tazkira by Ashraf 'Alī Khān which was completed in 1178/1764, the author mentions Māshā Allāh as serving this Nawwab. Āzād writes of the arrival of Māshā Allāh at Delhi during the time of Zu'l -Faqāru'd-Daula Najaf Khān (1185/1771 - 1196/1781). If these dates are taken to be correct then Mīr

1. TazSh(1178/1764)

Māshā Allāh would appear to have stayed in Fyzabad for nearly 10 years from 1176/1762 to 1185/1771, and gone to Delhi about 1186/1772. Inshā would then be about fifteen years of age.

Mīr Māshā Allāh is credited with the following two verses; as he had adopted a pen-name, Masdar, it is likely that at one time other verses of his were in existence:

(a) کافر ہو سوا اترے کرے چاہ کسو کی
(b) خدا کرے کہ مرا مجھ سے مہرباں نہ بھرے
صورت نہ دکھائے مجھے اللہ کسو کی
پھرے جہاں تو پھرے پر وہ جان جان نہ بھرے

Āzād has mentioned in his tazkira only the second of the above distiches, but Nassakh in Sukhan-i Shu'ara and Qudratu'llāh Qāsim in his tazkira give both.

Inshā was given the normal educational discipline of a son of cultured parents. As no madrasa is mentioned he probably worked through the course of studies with one or more tutors. Khūb Chand Zakā writes of him as being well versed in medicine. "Ḥakīm" has been prefixed to his name, and he may quite well have been rightly so designated, for his father was a practising physician, and may have taught him some medicine, and it is probable that medical works were included in his Arabic course. It is unlikely that he ever practised, his interest lying in the poetic art.

1. Azad, 259 f.n.

2. SSNass., 52.

3. Maj Naghz, 188.

4. 'Iyaru's-Shu'arā, fol. 18.

His writings show him well-acquainted with the sciences, manqūla and mā'qūla, of the madrasa course, and with Persian classical poets. There are frequent Arabic verses in his works, some of them of his own composition, and there are many references to the Quran and the Traditions. That he had a retentive memory there can be no doubt; but he had also an enquiring and well-informed mind, which utilized linguistic and etymological material obtained partly through hearsay and partly from research. The ghazal¹ beginning as follows may well have been intended to be autobiographical; its air of reminiscence would place it in his Lucknow period;

کریم جلد کرم کر کہ ہو مزاج صحیح ؛ بزرگ نرگس بیمار ناتواں ہوں صریح

O generous one, quick, be kind, that my health may
be sound-

I am manifestly like the languid narcissus.

My life passed in play and sport; my nature inclined
at times to charming beauty, at times to a pretty face.
A thousand times I made as offering to idols (the Beloved)
Mantle, cloak, turban, patched robe and rosary.

When I had finished with these, I had in front of me
Mutauwal², Tauzih³, Sullam⁴, and Talwih.⁵

One time the astronomical table of Ulugh Beg was in my hand

At another I laid out the astrolabe for study.

The modes of healing which are at a sign from Thee,

Where is such exposition in Sadīdī⁶ or the Qānūn⁷?

-
1. Kull., 25. The following verses are selected from the poem as they have special references to his studies and are biographical: 1, 9, 10, 11, 12, 18 - 21.
 2. Brockelmann, vol. II, 216. 3. ibid., 214.
 4. ibid., 420. 5. ibid., 617.
 6. ibid., vol. I., 432. 7. Qānūn of Ibn Sina.

The leaves of the prescription of health are scattered-
May their correction be made by thee, physician absolute
and curing!

In my ache come a startled thought
That in my joints pus has gathered.
I am so thin from weakness that
A painter of veins could clear discern them.

The tazkiras do not give the names of any teachers. He apparently stayed with or near his father when the latter returned to Delhi about 1186/1772. It is quite possible that he received from his father much of his early education, or that the latter supervised his studies, and this may have tended to develop systematic method in him, for his parent was a practising physician as well as a man of culture. This systematisation is seen in his Sharh-i Mi'at 'Amil,^{1.} in Persian; Muqatta'at dar Ma'rifat-i Zabān-i Pashtū,^{2.} in Persian; an alphabetical poem, with lines in Urdu to help memorise the Arabic character.^{3.} Little is known of him till he had probably reached his teens. He himself relates that he went to seek an interview with Mazhar Jān Jānān;^{4.} this would be some time before 1195/1781, the year of the elder poet's death at over eighty years of age. Mazhar was one of the reformers of the Urdu language, and from this visit one can infer that Inshā was not merely eager to be seen and heard but to get into touch with a poet of renown and distinction.

Inshā is his takhallus or poetic name. The fashion of adopting or bestowing such names had been in vogue amongst

1. Kull., 441.

2. ibid., 401.

3. DL., 57; Urdu tr. 94.

4. DL., 17.

Persian writers since at any rate Sa'di's¹ time, and was followed by their imitators in India and by Urdu poets. He has designated himself in his maqtas generally as Inshā, but sometimes as Saiyid Inshā², Mir Inshā³, Inshā Allāh Khān⁴, Inshā Allāh⁵, Saiyid Inshā Sāhib⁶, and Janāb Saiyid Inshā⁷. This multiplicity of names can be taken to indicate a certain ostentation in his disposition.

It may be noted here that in the maqta' of a be-nuqat qasida⁸ he has taken as takhalluṣ لُوْأَرَادِ اللّٰه, to which he gives the same sense as انشاء اللّٰه; in this instance the latter being dotted was unsuitable for his purpose, but in his Diwān-i Be-nuqat⁹ he has freely used the dotted pen-name.

He started his apprenticeship to letters early, and the time came when he sought admission to the court-mushā'aras, success at whose tribunal was adjudged to be talent. He did not go apparently to anyone for corrections of his poetry except his father, and so he appears to have no Ustād.¹⁰

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1. HPL., II.38. 2. Kull, 105. 3. ibid., 48.
4. ibid., 112. 5. ibid., 139. 6. ibid., 142.
7. ibid., 292. 8. ibid., 225-28. 9. ibid., 430-40.

10. cf. DL, 50, a statement regarding Mir Dard. In DL., p. 50, Mir Ghafar Ghaini says that he had as teacher in the poetic art Mir Dard. If the words can be taken to be true of Inshā then probably no more is intended than that he took Mir Dard as a model, and played the "sedulous ape" to him as did R.L. Stevenson to his models.

Inshā stayed in Delhi till about 1205/1790; during the latter part of his residence there he was in the service of Shah 'Ālam II (r.1759-1806). The latter's long reign endured through divers misfortunes, due to some extent to his vacillation. The Timurids had concentrated attention on temporal sway, and not on expansion of the arts of peace. Shah 'Ālam had inherited an empty treasury and a disintegrating empire, and in his time of need had no powerful loyalties to turn to. Inshā had obtained recognition as a poet at his court, and the Emperor had become attached to him, but for an ambitious man it was progress along a blind alley. By this time, most of the great figures had passed from this scene of their tests and triumphs; their pupils, themselves now ageing, were among those who attended the poetic assemblies. The attitude of these elders to a young man with no credentials of inherited capacity or approved tutelage was forbidding and chilly. Inshā made straight for the most formidable, Mirza 'Azīm Beg 'Azīm, a proud pupil of Saudā. On one occasion 'Azīm read a ghazal in ramal-metre. Immediately after it Inshā recited a mukhammas¹, whose matla' ran:

If, O breeze, you go nowadays to the mushā'ara,
Tell 'Azīm to take heed unto himself,
And not proceed so far beyond his range
When he goes at night to read ghazal on ghazal,
But to start with rajaz and go on to ramal.

1. Azad, 262.

A wordy warfare was carried on for a time but the resentment of the elders was not assuaged. The fortunes of the Emperor of Delhi being now at a low ebb, Inshā decided, like Mīr, Saudā, Mīr Soz, Mushafī and others, to go to Lucknow, which had not suffered from the ravages of Nadir Shah and the Marhaṭṭas. It had now succeeded Fyzabad as the capital of Oudh. In 1724 Sultan Muḥammad Shah had sent Shujā'ud-Daula as Nawwab Wazir of Oudh, and under him, owing to the weak state of Delhi, the province became virtually independent. Members of his family continued in power after him. Āṣaf'ud-Daula ruled 1775-1797 with an amount of pomp and circumstance that glorified himself but impoverished the state. After an interval of about a year Sa'adat 'Alī Khān (r.1798-1814), succeeded, and earned a reputation for maintaining a strict hand on administration.

Inshā stayed in Delhi till about 1205/1790. As already stated, during the latter part of his stay there he was in the service of Shah 'Ālam II, whose long reign was one of growing dependence on the East India Company. He was blinded in 1185/1788 by a ruffian Ghulām Qādir, whom Mahājī Sindhia^{1.} caused to be put to death later. But for the protection of the Company, the Sultan's blindness would have been made sufficient ground for abdication. He was followed by his son

1. Sultānū't-Tawarikh, fol.203(b) MSBM.

Muhammad Akbar II (r.1806-37), brother of Sulaiman Shukoh.

Inshā went from Delhi to Lucknow, where he entered the service of Sulaimān Shukoh. He has composed in his name several qasīdas^{1.} in Urdu and Persian, and written of him as heir prospective to the throne, and even addressed him as king in spite of the fact that Shah 'Ālam was then alive. Sulaiman Shukoh settled for a number of years in Lucknow; he may even have been intrigu^{ing} for the throne. He was himself a poet and composed a dīwān and patronised poets much. According to Nassākh he was a pupil of Shah Hātim and Inshā.^{2.} He returned to Delhi in or about 1215/1800.

Inshā was introduced as a poet to the Nawwab of Oudh, Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān, by Tafazzul-Husain Khān^{3.}, who was adviser to the Nawwab and his trusted representatives with the East India Company; for his learning he was given the title Allāma. The Nawwab seems to have taken to the poet almost at once. Inshā's knowledge and capacity, quickness of wit, and readiness in repartee, and also his being of good family and his service in Delhi court and in Sulaiman Shukoh's "miniature Delhi" court, as described by 'Abdul-Haqq^{4.}, these were all a good recommendation for his acceptance at the Nawwab's court

1. Kull., 241-251. 2. Muq. TazH., 8. 3. Sakṣena. 209.
4. Muq. TazH., 8.

in Lucknow.

The Nawwab observed a somewhat stricter code than Sulaiman, and this misra' of Inshā admits a certain amount of incompatibility between his tastes and the Nawwab's:

1. میں ہوں نسوڑا اور تو ہے مقطع میرا تیرا میل نہیں

".... I am a jester and you are dignified. We have no meeting ground." In spite of these differences the astute Inshā soon became the inseparable companion, prompt at his call.

Āzād's description of Inshā leaves a definite impression of him as a very privileged person, and even of a somewhat spoiled favourite of fortune. When he entered a mushā'ara or the court he would behave with all due courtesy on the one hand and with buffoonery on the other.² His wit, quick repartee and self assurance conceivably allowed him to take liberties which would not have been overlooked in persons of less nimble wit or less acceptable to the company.

Āzād states that poets often requested him to read their ghazals for them in mushā'aras because of the impressiveness of his style. This too may well have been so.

1. Kull, 104.

2. Azād, 283.

His criticism was quick, and citation ready. A case in point is the vowel of هجر. The Nawwab favoured the zabar-vowel, the Resident the zer. Inshā was not aware that sides had been taken before his arrival and said that the correct pronunciation was hijr, but he soon realised the situation and at once added:
"Huzur, this is the reason why Jāmī^{1.} says:

۳. شب وصل است و طے شد نامہ ہجر : سلام ہی حق مطلع الفجر

The Nawwab beamed, and the court laughed aloud.

An indication of the familiarity he allowed himself is contained in the story of the visit to the Nawwab of the Resident, Mr. John Baillie,^{3.} accompanied by his Mir Munshī, Ālī Naqī Khān. Inshā was standing behind the Nawwab's chair, and early in the interview began making grimaces. The Resident was greatly surprised at this and felt forced to ask the Nawwab about his musāhib (associate). He ceased to mind when he learned it was Inshā, whose reputation had already reached him. Inshā picked off the innocent, but perhaps somewhat obsequious, Ālī Naqī Khān, in this tag which has a double signification:

۴.

میر منشی صاحب کا اللہ بی

1. d.898/1492.

2. Azad, 292.

3. Azad, 290

4. ibid., 291.

"May God protect the Mīr Munshī! ~~(or)~~ Mīr Munshī's deity is Bail^{be}!"

In 1810 he composed a gasīda commemorating the Jubilee of George III's accession, in which he prayed for the welfare of his immediate patron, the Nawwab, also. This is his masterpiece among the gasīdas, and it apparently possess an original feature in that he has praised in it two high personages without incurring the displeasure of either; there was certainly no action for lèse-majesté. A similar critical balance he has maintained in his Dary-i Latāfat^{1.}, where he was comparing the language as spoken in Delhi and in Lucknow; being partial in sympathy to the former, and yet in the employ of the Nawwab of the latter city he had to exercise the utmost discretion. Little else can be said of this period except that if the stories recounted in the Latā'ifu's-Sa'ādat are true, then the relations between the poet and ^{the} Nawwab were most cordial, and often, most free.

Not long after this it would seem the incident occurred which led to his undoing.^{2.} One day in the darbar there was some talk about~~x~~ the statu~~s~~^t of certain noble families. The Nawwab turned to Inshā with the remark: "Well, and I too am noble (najīb) on both sides?" Inshā rapped out the smart reply: "Nay, but anjab," using a term which literally means "more noble", but whose employment on this occasion

1. DL., 61-72. 2. Azad, 294-95.

turned out unfortunate for Inshā, for it had a secondary significance, as will be seen. Sa'adat 'Alī was of noble parentage on his father's side, but his mother had been a member of the harem. There was an embarrassed silence for a little before those present could recover composure. But the thought had penetrated and rankled in the Nawwab's breast like a thorn: "The son of a slave-girl (i.e. a chattel) is anjab".

The breach opened wider; Inshā's resourcefulness failed to lessen or remove the slight. The Nawwab sought occasion of retaliation. Āzād speaks of his being severe towards him, and relates how on one occasion, on hearing from him a lively jest, he reproached him with always telling of what none had ever seen or heard. Inshā, giving a twist to his moustache, answered: "With your Honour's blessing I shall tell until the Resurrection of such things as men have never seen or ever heard of". The Nawwab was only the more nettled and imposed on him the task of narrating to him two new stories every day. Inshā realised the seriousness of his position and begged for stories and jests from every source. One day the Nawwab sent for him but learned that he had gone to some noble's place. In anger he forbade his going to any except himself in future, and that only when summoned, and interned him in his house. The following poem of Inshā supports

this statement; an Irani gentleman arrived in Lucknow but Inshā could not go to see him and sent the poem instead; in it he expressed his inability to call on him and invited him to his place:

1. تو نے نسیم سحرگہ زجانب انشا : برو مجذمت حاجب علی شیرازی
بدوں حکم وزیر الممالک ای آغا : چساں کنم حرکت نوکری است یا بازی

In speaking of the conditions requisite for a poet, Hālī^{2.} mentions the mischievous effect of constraint and adduces in support the above experience of Inshā. So long as he felt no inhibitions he had been able to satisfy every need of entertainment of the Nawwab; self-expression had come easily to him, and mastery of a situation.

According to Āzād the loss of his son, Ta'āla Allāh Khān at this time, besides his other ills and hardships, deranged the poet to some extent, and one day on seeing the Nawwab's carriage passing by his house he railed at him in the open street. His salary from the court was stopped in retaliation.^{3.}

The story of the closing scenes of Inshā's life is narrated graphically and touchingly by Āzād. He claims he has based his story on oral statements attributed to

1. Kull., 405.

2. Muq-Sher., 99.

3. Azad, 295-7.

Rangin, but any written source he used he has not mentioned. Rangin tells of the change that had come over Inshā and his fortunes, and how he himself went one time on business to Lucknow. In the evening he attended a mushā'ara and saw Inshā enter obviously down at heels, but with much of the old hauteur for he became impatient of the delay in assembling, and whipped out after a time his ghazal beginning:¹

مکر باندے ہوئے چلنے کو یاں سنب یار بیٹھے ہیں : بہت آگے گئے باقی جو ہیں تیار بیٹھے ہیں

and recited it. He then threw it aside salaamed the audience and left. On another occasion, later, Rangin called at the stricken home of the once flourishing and proud Inshā.

The reliability of this narrative is open to question. As has been stated, Āzād has not quoted any written authority.² 'Abdu'l-Haqq. assumed this source to be Rangin's Majālis-i Rangin, and wonders how Āzād could have derived information from it as it was written not later than 1215/1800. The present writer has consulted the MS. of Majālis-i Rangin³ and several others of his prose-works;

1. Azad., 297-8. 2. Muq-TazGl., 29.

3. IOL, U 84, 185(b).

they appear to contain nothing in support of Āzād's having borrowed from a written source; actually the words he uses in Āb-i Hāyāt regarding this account are:—^{1.}

I. "..... رنگین کہا کرتے تھے"

'Abdu'l-Haiy also differs from Āzād and supports his arguments by quoting Mirza Auj, the author of Hayāt-i Dabir, who was a grandson of Inshā, to this effect: "Inshā had neither turned insane nor had his pay been stopped. This much is true that Nawwab Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān ordered him not to go anywhere except to court, and even there only when asked to do so"^{2.} Mirza Auj then quotes this verse:

بدون حکم وزیر الممالک اے آغا بہ چساں کنم حرکت نوکری است یا بازی

and says it concerns his internment".

^{3.} From the letters of Qatīl it seems that Inshā was interned in 1225/1810, and that Mirza Subhān Qulī Beg Khān Rāghib, who was an old acquaintance of Inshā, began to spread defamatory statements against him by writing lampoons and distributing them. Inshā in turn wrote satires on some gentlemen in the town and posted them to these persons, with a note that they had been written by Subhān Qulī Beg. They were much annoyed at this and sent for Rāghib and took him to task. But he defended himself stoutly, asserting he had no ground for conducting himself

1. Azad, 296.

3. Ruq'āt-i Qatīl, Nos. 135, 136.

2. GR., 258.

in such a manner, and swearing by the Qur'ān to attest his innocence. Inshā, he declared, had falsely issued these satires under the pen-name of Rāghib. Those who heard this defence accepted it as a correct statement and would have taken action against Inshā, but some members of his family, his son and son-in-law and other friends, interceded for him.

It looks on the face of it as if Inshā had been thoroughly upset by Nawwab Sa'adat 'Alī Khān's decree, and his tormented spirit made him act in this strange manner.

From the following rubā'ī it appears that at the time of its composition he was in favour with the Nawwab, perhaps had been restored to it:^{1.}

1. تال کی نہ سم کی نہ سسر کی : فارسی نہ عربی نہ ترکی
تاریخ کہی ہوئی یہ کسی ترکی : حویلی علی نقی خان بہادر کی

The incident connected with this rubā'ī as mentioned in Ab-i Hayāt is, that, when the Nawwab was passing in a boat a building on which was inscribed the tārikh: حویلی علی نقی خان بہادر کی^{2.} he turned to Inshā and asked him to complete it in a rubā'ī. Inshā was thus accompanying the Nawwab either during his internment or before it, for by "abjad" this inscription yields the date 1227/1811-12. If the statement of Qatīl be accepted that he was interned in

1. Kull, 448.

2. Azad, 206.

1225/1810 then this incident must have occurred a year or so later, i.e. during this interdiction. Mirza Auj's statement that Inshā was never insane and was in receipt of his salary during his internment draws support from this incident as after an internment of a year or so he is found in the company of the Nawwab and on familiar terms with him.

The following chronogram by a pupil, Basant Singh Nishāt, gives the date of Inshā's death as 1233/1817-8:^{1.}

خبر انتقال میر انشا : دل نمیدہ تا نشاط شنفت
سال تاریخ او ز جان اجل : عرفی وقت بود انشا گفت
۱۲۳۳

This date is also given by the majority of tazkirah-writers and other authorities^{2.} An alternative date is given by Rieu and Firozu'd-Dīn^{3.} as 1230, whilst a year later (1231) is mentioned by Karimu'd-Dīn.^{4.} None give their references. Shefta in his tazkira^{5.} puts Inshā's death in the year 1239/1824.^{6.}

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1. Azad., 269. 2. GR., 259., Hist. Bailey., 54., Śaksena., 88., and a Hist. of Urdu Poets., 205.
3. Cat. Pers. Mss. by C. Rieu., BM., 999a. 4. Taz. SUR., 20.
5. A Hist. of Arabic Poets., 387. 6. GBekhar., 47.

CHAPTER IV.

URDU AND PERSIAN DĪWĀNS.

The Urdu and Persian Dīwāns total just over five thousand lines, (4430 in Urdu and 585 in Persian and 1 in Turki); that is, some sixty per. cent of the total poetic output of Inshā. The following table shows the distribution of lines in these Dīwāns

<u>Urdu.</u>	<u>Lines of Verse.</u>
Dīwān-i Rekhta	3640 (inc. a line of Turki)
Dīwān-i Rekhtī	610
Dīwān-i Be-Nuqat ^{1.}	181 (and some prose)
<u>Persian.</u>	
Dīwān-i Fārsī.	585
	<hr/>
	5016
	<hr/>

A short introduction on the ghazal has been ~~given~~ here, since this poetic form is by far the most prevalent in the Kulliyāt.

1. One ghazal of eight lines is in Persian: Kull, 438.

The Ghazal.

This word is of Arabic etymology. The verb ghazila means "to have amorous talks", and its verbal noun ghazal denotes "amorous talks, erotic verses". The ghazal adopted the Arabic qasida verse-form in its general outline, but the additions to this base, and the convention as to its length, - according to which it is often less than ten verses and seldom more than twelve, and its appropriate metres and subjects, are all marks of modifications in the hands of Persians of its original, the qasida. No precise date can yet be given to these modifications which constitute it a separate class, but ghazals are found in the pre-Ghaznavid period of Persian poetry¹.

The ghazal is the nearest approach in Persian or in Urdu to the lyric. But there is one obvious difference between them; whereas the lyric is the outpouring of a rapturous moment, the ghazal may be a series of divers emotions. Its structure resembles one of brick laid upon brick. Each verse contains an idea, and in theory has no connection with its neighbour except in having a common end-rhyme. Again, in most verses the first hemistich represents a claim (da'wā) and the second brings

1. HPL., II, 18.

its proof (dalīl), which usually closes the argument abruptly. Both the lyric and the ghazal should spring from the writer's present mood, but the latter, with the greater or enforced disposition of its lines to be inconsequent, often falls away from the subjective and becomes objective. Any emotion may be expressed in it, and the hearer's mood answer to something in it composed under the same passion or feeling, freedom to freedom, sorrow to sorrow, or bitterness to her own kindred, cynicism and irony. When intoned or read it should awaken in the hearer some of the emotion felt by its composer. Emotional and reflective, it is not dramatic, and seldom has anyone declaimed it with such dramatic vigour as Mīr Soz, of whom Āzād¹ tells us that he had a fine flexible voice and made good use of it when reciting his poems in mushā'aras. On one occasion he read the

following: - ❖ او مار سیاہ زلف سچ کہے
❖ بتلا دے دل جہاں چھپا ہو
❖ کنڈنی تے دیکھو نہ ہوتے
❖ کاٹانہ ہفتی - ترا برا ہو

"Tell (me) the hiding place of my heart, O black serpent of the tress, tell (me) true! Let me see if it is below the coils. You have bitten (me), evil take you!

He accompanied the words with gestures; when he reached the second line he pretended to seize the snake with the result that the audience rose in dismay and fear.

1. Azad, 199.

Shibli Nu'mānī sought to find its basis in the opening short erotic portion (nasīb) of the qasīda. If one considers its theme and its verse-form there does not appear to be any inherent impossibility in the suggestion.

In its opening verse (bait), (shā'ir), known as its matla' the first hemistich has the same end-rhyme or qāfia as the second, and the second in all the verses. The writer almost invariably introduces his pen-name (takhallus) into the last verse, called the maqta', either by way of addressing himself or asserting something about himself. This has been the constant practice of poets since a period probably not earlier than the Mongol invasion of Baghdad (1258 A.D.). Browne¹ states that the poet based this name, especially in earlier times, on that of his patron, but often, particularly later, he chose an abstract term like "Mihr", or "Shauq".

All the verses should be individual units, each with its own independent sentiment or idea, though there are examples of a ghazal with one common theme through-out. Again, it sometimes happens that the completion of the writer's meaning overflows into a line or two more, this mutually affiliated group being known as a qitā'.

The most usual metres found in the ghazal, in their order of popularity, are Ramal, Hazaj, Muzāri', Mujtass, and
1. HPL., II., 27, 38.

Khafīf. Several others have been tried out by various poets at various times, but the nature of the ghazal and its popular appeal tend to restrict the metres to the first-mentioned as a test of the composer's skill.

The theme was and is mainly love, divine or human; it is mostly mystic or erotic. But ethical and religious matters too have attention. Probably the mystic writers have most of the credit for its establishment and currency, e.g. Sa'ādī, Rūmī, Khusrau, Hāfiz, and Jāmī. It satisfied some need with its melodiousness, or awoke by some appealing sentiment "the mind from the lethargy of custom to the infinite depth below the surface of common, everyday things". Hāfiz (d.c. 1389), strangely enough, popularized in his Sūfī poems the imagery of the wine and all associated with it, a figurative element now almost inseparable from it, though never entirely pleasing to orthodox thinkers.

Inshā gives as the subjects of the ghazal^{1.}, the Beloved, wine, the pain of separation, and the cruelties and blameworthy actions of the Beloved, and adds that

1. DL., 236.

besides these nothing else is proper.

A feature that thrusts itself on one's notice is that the Beloved (ma'shūq), in Persian and Urdu, and all pronouns and verbs connected with the Beloved, are in the masculine, - as for example in Zauq's hemistich:

۱. جھانکتے تھے وہ ہمیں جس روزن دیوار سے : ولے قسمت ہو اسی روزن میں گھرنے پورا کا

"The grating through which he (Beloved) peeped at me.."

This is a centuries -old custom, whose perpetuation has been encouraged by the seclusion of women from society and the prohibition of mention of them personally.

The custom probably arose with the incoming of the Turcomans, who came as mercenaries or were brought and employed as slaves. Mention of the youths who figure in so many poems with the line of down not yet appearing on their cheek (amrad), or only just showing, may be first explicable by their employment for immoral purposes.

Alṭāf Husain Hālī, the first and so far the most satisfactory of the literary critics of Urdu poetry, tackled the problem of the improvement of the ghazal.² Improvement there ought to be, he asserted, in something so important, as it was sung at weddings, on occasions of merry-making, and in places of entertainment, and was

intoned in Šūfī assemblies, and quoted as possessing linguistic authority, and besides was easily carried in the memory.

Hālī stated further that he considers the retention of the practice of using in reference to the Beloved the masculine gender (only in verb, pronoun, and adjective) as desirable, and that nothing should be predicated of the Beloved which would imply gender; for example a word like "bodice"^{1.} would at once indicate the sex, whereas "handkerchief" could not. That is why he advises that the Beloved should continue to be treated as an abstraction.

The ghazal has been used for other purposes than the expression of love-themes, and Hālī^{2.} desires its employment for a still wider range of topics. Up to the age of forty, he himself wrote poems in the traditional fashion, conventional in theme and style, and therefore artificial. It was a time of adherence to precedent. Hālī had acquired some acquaintance with English poetry and literary criticism, and having been influenced by it, urged acceptance of these principles in Urdu verse, - simplicity, passionateness *and reality*; the last of these, as in Tolstoy's attitude, meant sincerity

1. Muq-Sher., 105.

2. Muq-Sher., 114; 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh, like Hālī later wished the ghazal to be made to be able to take up any theme.

3. Muq. Sher, 48

on the part of the author, not necessarily true to fact. He himself turned away abruptly from the former fashion and no longer pursued an imaginary Beloved, or adopted the themes of the wine-cup and tavern, etc. He writes of this turning point in his career when he abandoned amorous verse:

1. بلبل کی چہن میں ہنزابانی چھوڑی بزم شہرا میں شعر خوانی چھوڑی
جب سے دل زندہ تونے ہیکو چھوڑا پہننے لہی تری رام کہانی چھوڑی

He was the first to introduce patriotic themes in place of love, and wine, Conservative to the extent of adhering to the best in the past, he yet realised that while style and systematisation are necessary to the history of art they are thralldom for the creative spirit in art.

An important point to which he draws attention is that, whereas the gasīda, masnavī, and wāsokht have a wide scope and so much at disposal, the ghazal must not employ an unfamiliar word or it will look odd or unpleasing.^{2.} Presumably its inclusion would indicate that the author is consciously attending to form, and the external, ^{the} objective, is uppermost in consciousness.

Lengthy descriptions of Nature and natural scenes are not numerous. By the conditions of the ghazal they could not be long, and again, they were not the fashion. The poets did

1. Dīwān-i Hālī, 110.

2. Muq. Shar, 126-7.

not dwell with Nature. The heritage of Urdu was court-poetry. Nature in their poetic setting had too much the appearance of lists of trees, birds etc., and man's relation to her was too often hidden in metaphors. One is reminded to some extent of "Peter Bell" in Wordsworth's lines:

" A primrose by the river's brim
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more."

But with the poet it was not ignorance or rusticity; it was convention that sealed the vision.

The following Persian ghazal by Kalīm of Hamadan has been chosen at random to illustrate the lack of continuity of thought even in a short poem dealing with the Spring, and conventionality that saw in a flower nothing or too much. Its author was born in Persia, and came to India, and stayed and died in Kashmir. He was the chief poet in the time of Shāh Jahān (r.1628-58;d.1666). Kashmir provided him an opportunity that the poets in the Court precincts in Delhi could not have, and unfortunately seldom sought.

امسال تو بهار قدم پیشتر گذاشت؛ گل نیز از بساط چمن یا بدرگذاشت 1.

1. Dīwān-i Kalīm., (from a MS.)

This year the spring has set in early,
Flowers show above the carpet of the parterre.
The iris' tongue is blue from praise of the garden,
From longing the narcissus lays its head in tulip's cup.
The blossom's leaf is a letter to the garden's Beloved,
Therefore the narcissus planted a kiss to its moist eyes.
Ask not why sweetness dwells in each bud's smile-
The rose's laugh dropped sugar in the fairness of the moon.
The flower had no pride in its handful of gold-
[Till] the Spring cloud placed a jewel on the gold.
The season of flowers made a fitting memorial
In each flower of earth the rain-cloud fertilised.
The yellow flower¹ bloomed so gaily - no gold
Could it leave in the garden-soil of Kashmir.
From the fresh water the cup gained blood-colour,
Every where the partridge set foot on mount or slope.
In this is a sign that sweethearts are united-
The drooping willow dips its head to its foot.
The hand of Kalim fell short of its purpose
Though each made known its wish to the other.

It is customary for poets, or others on their behalf to collect their ghazals into diwāns; there is no principle in their arrangement; they are grouped, irrespective of time or occasion of production, according to the final letter of the end-rhyme. The outstanding drawback to such an arrangement is that there cannot always be certainty in attributing poems to a particular period of development, and for the literary critic tracing a poet's development is a major function.

According to Āzād^{2.}, poets did not observe chronological sequence in the arrangement of their material,

2. Azad, 136.

1. i.e. marigold.

with the exception of Amīr Khusrau and Jāmī, who classified their Persian works under three main periods, youth, middle age, and the later years. In the case of Sir Muhammad Iqbāl and usually of living poets there is some amount of definition of their periods of activity. Walī of the Deccan is said to have been the first to adopt the Dīwān system for Urdu, which had been current in Persia since long beforehand.

The two main groups in which Inshā's verses should be classified are his Delhi period, till about 1790, and the Lucknow from about this time till his death. No continuous attempt has been made to separate the poems of these two periods. In a few ghazals the name of the ruler appears, but such precise internal features are not many.

The critic is, therefore, dependent on the criteria of taste (mazāq) and style (tāriq-i bayān). There is no doubt that the atmosphere in the two cities, Delhi and Lucknow, was different. Delhi had its traditions of taste. There was no academy of the arts, but the mushā'aras at the houses of the nobles and other men of position set a court-standard; the poems read there should be

regarded as court-poetry. In the qasīda flattery was conventionally fulsome, but the ghazal was distinctive of the mushā'ara, and ears were quick to detect a false quantity and unrecognised combinations of words in a phrase or a metaphor. Love was the theme which informed most of the poems, and occasionally an author was over-bold in his figures, but the poetry of Delhi is characterised by gravity and dignity.

The situation at Lucknow was very different. An old settlement, it yet had no such social and intellectual organisation as was found at Delhi. The capital of Oudh had been at Allahabad, then was moved to Fyzabad, and from there to Lucknow by Āsafu'd-Daula (r.1775-1797). On the decline of the Timurid power and fortune at Delhi most of "the best people" transferred to the now more-favoured centre. The poets followed in their train, Mīr, Saudā, and others Lucknow set up a school of poetry on the lines of Delhi, but only part of the tradition could be transplanted; there was a levity in manners and morals that the graver tone of the old city had held in check. This is only too apparent in Rekhtī, a lapse from grace that could hardly have occurred at Delhi, where even declining days had preserved the old ways, and these were not favourable to lewdness in expression or suggestiveness.

a) Diwān-i Rekhta.

The Diwān-i Rekhta contain some 438 ghazals totalling 3640 lines. They are mostly in Ramal, Hazaj, and Muzāri' metres, but specimens of Khafif, Rajaz, Kāmil, Mujtass, and Mutaqārib are also found. This Diwān, some 43% of the poet's Kulliyāt, is of a somewhat composite nature, and some of the poems look as if they had been rather hurriedly made up, extempore in company or on a special occasion. The collection is usually erotic in tone and on the whole, objective. The average length of the poems range from five to nine lines. The poet himself states that the ghazal should have at least ^{1.} five lines and at the most nine. Some pieces are of one line only, whilst one ghazal has twenty-nine lines.

There is evidence throughout in plenty of his wide reading and learning. His vocabulary must be one of the most extensive among the poets and his lines probably the richest in allusions to persons, places, flowers and trees.

Poets have very often made claims for their merits and achievements. For instance Hidāyat (d.1215/1800) was satisfied of his own worth when he composed the following:^{2.}

ہدایت کہا رختہ جب سے میں نے : رواج الہ گیا ہند سے فارسی کا

1. DL., 237.

2. Azad, 116 fn.

And Ghālib too when he penned this maqta' for one of his ghazals:

1. جو یہ کہے کہ رنجیتہ کیوں کر ہو رشک فارسی : گفتہ غالب ایک بار پڑھے کے اُسے سنا کیوں

Inshā was no whit behind in praising himself:

2. النشا صد آفریں ترے ذہن سلیم کو : مضمون زیادہ اس سے بھلا اور کیا بندھے
3. النشا جو یہ ہے رنجیتہ گوئی کی عمارت : تو ان میں لگا اور فصاحت کے مجھ سے
4. شیخ سعدی وقت ہے النشا : تو ابو بکر سعد زنگی ہے

Throughout the ghazal beginning:

5. کیا چیز بھلا قہر فریدوں مرے آگے : کانپے ہے پڑا گنبد گردوں مرے آگے

he speaks in praise of himself.

In connection with the ghazal beginning:

6. لگا کے برف میں ساقی سراجی مٹی لا : جگر کی آگ مجھے جلد جس سے وہ شے لا

Āzād tells of a mute tribute that was paid to Inshā. →

1. Dīwān (Cawnpore, 1914): No. 110.

2. Kull., 158.

3. ibid., 181.

4. Kull., 183.

5. ibid., 177.

6. Azad, 271.

Though it consists of only five distichs, when it was read in the mushā'ara, Jur'at, Mushafī and others, in recognition of its great merit, felt their effort would be fruitless and refused to read their poems.

Inshā was fond of difficult measures, and sometimes he has forced himself to repeat a qāfia through several poems; e.g. جڑا occurs in eighteen in succession;^{1.} and غش کیا in nine.^{2.}

In an analysis of the following chosen at random one can well see how a long end-rhyme affects a poem; it restricts not only the form, but the imagination, and thus the language. The poet in this verse imposed on himself not only a long qāfia, but a "wandering" one. He introduces the poem thus:^{3.}

یعنی اور ایسی غزل لکھ کہ بس ایک مطلع چھٹ : جس میں ہر پھر کے پہی آوے تبر لیتا ہے

It then begins:^{4.}

گھر شاخوں کو جو کل زخم تبر لیتا ہے : چین تب قاطع اقسام شجر لیتا ہے
دیکھ جب پھل کی جگہ رشتہ تبر لیتا ہے : تب تو سکھ نیند یہ نجا رہا پسر لیتا ہے

Verses 1,2,5,6,8,11,13 and 15 are insipid or platitudinous, or both; the thirteenth repeats with only one substitution the second misra of the third; verses 4,7,9 and 10 are unnatural or forced; nos.12 and 14

1. Kull, 21-27. 2. ibid.,3-7 3. ibid.,172.

4. ibid.,172.

contain some pensive sentiment; the isti'āra in the third would fall into line with classical metaphors. The qāfia does not appear in full in verses 1 and 2 except in the first misra' in each case.

An apparently autobiographical ghazal has been referred to above ^{1.} If it is true of himself and to himself he had evidently in his early years sown some wild oats, and had then turned to serious study in many subjects. As far as his studies are concerned this poem is undoubtedly true of himself; the extent and diversity of his knowledge are apparent in his verses. Further, in Daryā-i Latāfat ^{2.} he states that in the lifetime of his father he had already learned logic and practical science, but owing to his love of poetry and of social life and the need of earning a livelihood he had allowed them to slip from memory.

A Swing-Song. It is a wide-spread custom among the women-folk in the rainy season to put up a swing. Āzād records a typical swing-song sung at such a season:

3. جو پیا آؤن کہہ گئے۔ اچھوں نہ آئے سوامی ہو :: اے ہو جو پیا آؤن کہہ گئے۔ آؤن کہہ گئے

Though my lover said "I'll come back",
My lord is not yet come, alas !

1. Supra, 36.; Kull, 43. 2. DL., 46.

3. Azad, 72.

It is said to have been composed by Amīr Khusrau and set by him to the tune Barwā-rāg.

Inshā has composed a swing-song for the rains, but not so artless. The above Hindi lilt accompanies the motion of the swing, whereas Inshā's is a descriptive poem:

1. بے بندھا مینہ کے تار کا جھولا : کیوں نہ لے جھولنے یار کا جھولا

The descending rain looks like a swing-
Why should not the friend's swing be swung!
Minstrel, do sing! There is come with desire (to hear)
The swing of Megh and of Malar.
O breeze, in the garden keep moving
The swing of my rose-cheeked fair!

A ghazal of very mixed content beginning with an address to love (ishq) and passing to mention of the qalandars who do not bow in homage to God is found in this Diwān:

2. حضرت عشق ادھر کیجئے کرم یا معبود : بال گوپال ہیں یہاں آپکے ہم یا معبود

Its ninth bayt, contains a tajnīs-i tāmm, which is typical of the author's play on words:

آنکھ کو کہتے عرب عین ہیں سوعین اگر : دم پر آجائے تو ہو عین عدم یا معبود

In the following poem the awakening of the dawn is sketched but with a heavy hand:

1. اے پری تیرے مزے ایک لبشر لیتا ہے : اور خراٹے پڑا دیو سحر لیتا ہے
2. تکلیہ جو فضل خدا ساز پہ کر لیتا ہے : وہ سبک رو کوئی گرنیکہ کے پہ لیتا ہے
3. اڑو ہائے شب پیدا کو کرے ہے ٹکرے : اور اُن ٹکروں کو دھرزیر سپر لیتا ہے
4. اسکو خواہش نہیں ہوتی ہے انوپ انجن کی : بازہ کر سوت رہ تار نظر لیتا ہے

1. Kull., 15.

2. ibid., 46.

3. ibid., 173.

In vv. 1-4 there is a certain rugged grace, but its seventh line has no claim to rank as poetry; -

7. ضد سے ہر شاخ کی وہ بھٹنے کی صورت تجار : ہاتھ میں ایک کوئی نو من کا تبر لیتا ہے

The following ghazal occurs among his less serious productions; it begins as follows:

پگڑی تو نہیں ہے یہ فراہمیں کی ٹوپی : یہاں وقت سلام اترے ہے ابلیس کی ٹوپی 1.

It might have been composed in such circumstances as Ghālib's چکنی ڈولی; the first misra' was apparently suggested by his patron; the verses have the appearance of being impromptu and frivolous. The Shaikh's topī is ridiculed; the Ṣufī makes over his hat to his disciples with the comment that it once belonged to (St.) George; the hoopoe rejoiced to see the headgear of Bilqīs in Solomon's hands; the needle of Jesus is referred to, which he is said elsewhere to have taken with him on his ascent to heaven - these and other things are mentioned in rapid succession, each meaning something by itself, but together making rhyming nonsense.

The holy orders represented by the Shaikh, Wā'iz, Qārī, etc. do not escape his satire: e.g.

2. سوتائے شیخ ایسے میں تو اُسکے موچھ سے : جو ہا پکڑ کے ایک پے ریشخند بازندہ

The qāzīs held judicial offices and were members of the 'Ulamā, the most important of religious groups in Islam,

the others being the ascetics (zāhids) and pīrs or shaikhs. The 'Ulamā were state-theologians, and had been trained in the religious literature of Islam. As a class they had generally found it prudent to acquiesce in the will of autocratic rulers. It had long been customary to think and write hard things about the qāzis. Amīr Khusrau considered that they had neither learning nor merit, and that like the rest of the 'Ulamā they abetted the sultans in violating the religious injunctions; he declared that the only distinguishing feature of the theologians as a class was "their hypocrisy, vanity and conceit".

The ascetics withdrew from worldly pleasures; they felt intellectual or moral displeasure with the political or social conditions prevailing and found satisfaction in abstemiousness. For many of them it was an entry into the Sufi path, with pīrs or shaikhs as their guides along it. Pretenders obtained a modest livelihood easily among them, and it was ~~against~~ the latter poets and others railed. Not least among poets who made them a target of scorn were Inshā and Ghālib, both of whom however could be arraigned before a strict court of morals!

An instance of Inshā's addiction to the occasional introduction of a vulgar line¹ expectedly occurs in the

1. Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustān, by Kunwar Md. Ashraf, 185; Maṭla'u'l-Anwār (Luck., 1884), P.55-60.

seventh line of the poem beginning:-^{1.}

یہاں سینہ ہے مدینہ اور دل نبی کی مسجد : کیوں قبلہ ہے پہنچنے اسکو کسی کی مسجد

Its seventh line reads:-

از روئے شرع پیسے جھکو بتا بھلا یہ : بابا کا گھر ہے تیرے یا کنپنی کی مسجد

In this poem a courtesan is apparently the subject of his address:

2. لگ جا تو میرے سینے سے دروازہ کو کر بند : دے کھول قبا اپنی کی بے خوف و خطر بند

Likewise in the following:-

3. نہ لگی جھکو جب اس شوخ طرح دار کی گیند : اُسے محرم کو سنبھال اور ہی تیار کی گیند

Repetition of a word or words for emphasis of some kind was common enough among the earlier Urdu poets, ~~but~~ perhaps most of all in those of this fourth period. Inshā has made frequent use of it to produce a jingling effect. Here is one variety in which he has introduced several nouns in the first hemstich, and explained their use in the second.

4. چشم و ادا و غمزہ شوخی و ناز پانچوں : دشمن ہیں میرے جی کے بندہ نواز پانچوں

He has incorporated a similar feature in other poems such as the following:-

5. دس عقل دس مقولے دس مدرکات تیسوں : تیرے ہی ذکر میں ہیں اے پاک ذات تیسوں

6. گرہوں افلاک و مقول اور نظر بیسیوں ایک : مدرکات اور مقولات عشرت بیسیوں ایک

Whilst he was strict in the observance of rules of poetic form they were not a fetish with him. For instance

1. Kull., 48

2. Ibid., 46.

3. Ibid., 46

4. Kull., 97

5. Ibid., 98

6. Ibid., 76

notwithstanding his declaring ^{1.} لڑکاپن to be a form used by the residents in the Mughalpura quarter of Delhi, whom he did not recognise as at all speakers of standard Urdu, ^{2.} he actually introduced it into one of his ghazals. ^{3.} The reason probably was that the metre required it:—

ہے سمایا ہوا جو لڑکاپن : : آہکی وضع پیاری پیاری میں

Love is the theme of so much literature. There are lines in this chorus in the Antigone of Sophocles whose sentiments would find innumerable parallels in Urdu and Hindi poems:

Where is the equal of love?
Where is the battle he cannot win,
The power he cannot outmatch?
In the farthest corners of earth, in the midst
of the sea.
He is there; he is here,
In the bloom of a fair face lying in wait. ^{4.}

There is one very noticeable difference between the lover in Persian and in Inshā's poems. He should, according to the former, conceal his love; it brings on him shame if his passion is detected. Nazīrī Nishapūri has expressed this in the following bayt;

5. عشق عصیاں است اگر مستور نیست : : کشتہ جرم زباں مغفور نیست

This attitude of concealment from rivals or others is not a characteristic of Inshā.

Horace said his odes were poetry, but spoke of the muse of his satires and epistles as his "pedestrian muse". Literary criticism has not esteemed Inshā's ghazals, however,

1. D.L., 5.

2. Ibid 64.

3. Ibid., 92

4. Tr. by E.F. Watling (The Theban Plays 161.)

5. Yādgār-i Ghālib, 69.

as superior to his gasidas. His mind was retentive and acquisitive; it was a lexicon of words and phrases on which he could unfailingly draw, but the ghazal calls for sensitive-ness and feeling. It is calm, outwardly at least, "soulful", but neither his temperament nor the nature of his duties at the courts of royal masters, possessive and capricious, permitted of poetic poise. Like the lyric, which it to a certain extent resembles, it deals with the present and should be individual and subjective. In it are the author's desires, hopes, and fears, that is, his own feelings. Inshā and Rangin tended to ignore the darker aspects of the world, and so the gulf between the ideal and the real did not exist for them. There is little or no sublimity in them that can be felt to be really sincere.

Whilst Inshā was a man of many talents his poetry shows him lacking ⁱⁿ too, a sense of beauty; his aesthetic sense tended, as will be seen later, to develop in the direction of form.

In the following historical approach to Inshā's ghazals in the Dīwān-i-Rekhta, an attempt has been made to segregate some of them into certain periods. ^{no} such ~~earlier~~ attempts ^{has been} continuous in character.

In the case of thirty seven poems there are clues which enable one with some confidence to set a terminus a quo and a terminus ad quem, and even to make a finer determination of their age. Six periods have here been suggested:

1. Early Delhi period: to 1777
2. Delhi period: to 1790.
3. Late Delhi or Early Lucknow: 1786-1794.
4. Early Lucknow: 1790-1800.
5. Lucknow period: 1790-1814.
6. Late Lucknow: 1800-1814.

N.B. The number ^{below} in brackets on the left indicates the page of the Kulliyāt in which it occurs.

1. Early Delhi Period. (to 1777)

The Tazkira of Mir Hāsan was written by 1777. ^{1.} He quotes a line from one ghazal which is found in the Kulliyāt of Inshā, and a further six lines which cannot be traced elsewhere. ^{2.} The following line, and presumably the poem from which it was taken, would be composed in the poet's youth, before he was twenty-two:

(145) گالی سہی ادا سہی پی جین سہی :: یہ سب سہی پر ایک نبی کی نہیں سہی

1. Intro. by 'Abdu'l-Haqq to Taz. SHUR., 2.

2. ibid., 55.

The following six lines do not occur in either edition of the Kulliyāt of Inshā :

1. بندہ اُسے جب نظر پڑا ہے :: بولا ہے چل اٹھ کہ ہر پڑا ہے
2. نالہ ہی تجھے تو کھینچ لایا :: رونے کا اثر ابھی پڑا ہے
3. یوں سب سے نہ مل کہا تو بولا :: تیرا ہی تو مجھکو ڈر پڑا ہے
4. جی سے میں اپنی جان کے صدقے :: یعنی اُس نوجواں کے صدقے
5. کھا قسم جھوٹ بولے ہے کتنا :: چپ ہو چپ پس قرآن کے صدقے
6. ہوئے ہیں خاک سر راہ اُسکے ہم انشا :: بڑا غضب ہے جو یہ کئی فلک نہ دیکھ سکے

2. Delhi Period (to 1790)

The following four lines yield evidence that the poet composed them while in Delhi. The first three examples refer to the poet's youth, whilst the fourth example consisting of two lines refers to places in Delhi in such a way that it can be inferred that the poet was there at the time of their composition:

Mushafī has quoted the last pair of these lines (p.54)

1. in his Tazkira written between 1786 and 1794 :
1. سید انشا صاحب آتا ہے رحم مجھکو کہ ہائے :: کٹتی ہے کس درد و غم میں نوجوانی آپ کی (142)
2. کیا پوچھتے ہو عمر کئی کس طرح سے اپنی :: جز درد نہ دیکھا اس تپیں برس میں (92)
3. جیسے سننے یہ سرے استعار خوش ہو بولا :: نام خدا ہے تو کچھ اسے نوجواں تماشا (3)
4. مانگا جو مینے بوسہ اُنسے چمن کے اندر :: بولے کہ یہاں نہیں چل لگی بھون کے اندر (54)
5. ہے خال یوں مٹھارے چاہ ذوقن کے اندر :: جس روپ ہو کھنڈیا آب جمن کے اندر (54)

3. Late Delhi or Early Lucknow. 1786-1794.

The Tazkira of Mushafī was written between 1786 and 1794.¹ It quotes from seven ghazals all of which are in

1. Intro. by Abdu'l-Haq in TazH.,

the Kulliyāt of Inshā. These ghazals then, must have been

composed at the latest by 1794. The lines are as follows: -

- | | | | |
|--------|--|----|---|
| (12). | نوم بھی نہ بولینگے خدا کی قسم اچھا | ۱. | اچھا جو خفا ہم سے ہو تم اے صنم اچھا |
| (12). | تسپر یہ غضب ہو جھٹے ہو نام ہمارا | ۲. | ٹک آنکھ ملا تے ہی کیا کام ہمارا |
| (54). | بولے کہ یہاں نہیں چل نہیں لہون کے اندر | ۳. | مالگا جو اس سے بوسہ مینے چہن کے اندر |
| (96). | بہت آگے گئے باقی جو ہیں تیار بیٹھے ہیں | ۴. | مگر باندھے ہوئے چلنے پہ یہاں سب پار بیٹھے ہیں |
| (100). | وہیں اٹھ جاتے ہیں یہ اور ستم کرتے ہیں | ۵. | گاپے گاپے جواہر آپ کرم کرتے ہیں |
| (137). | سچ و سچ آسے کہتے ہیں بیساختہ بن لکھے | ۶. | ہے اور کوئی ایسا جس میں یہ پھین لکھے |
| (144). | بے اختیار اوس سے سری آنکھ لڑ گئی | ۷. | کل وہ نگر او چٹتی ہوئی یوں چو پڑ گئی |

resident here from

4. Early Lucknow Period (Prince Sulaimān Shukoh 1790-1800)

a) On Internal evidence:

- | | | | |
|------|--|----|---|
| (87) | بہم ہو بیٹھتے ہیں سعادت یار خان اور ہم | ۱. | عجب رنگینیاں باتوں میں کچھ ہوتی ہیں اے انشا |
| (40) | کیوں نہ ہوں اپنے بادشاہی خرچ | ۲. | ہیں سلیمان کے نوکر اے انشا |
| (57) | اب کھداتا ہوں یہی سنگ سلیمان پہ قبر | ۳. | سب انشا ہے سلیمان شاہ کشور کا غلام |
| (59) | لگاٹی ہے اب تاک شاید سپر پر | ۴. | سلیمانی تلوار تو لے چکا ہے |
| (72) | مثل نگین ہوانے بھی کچھ نام کو فروغ | ۵. | یارب سریر بخش سلیمان شکوہ کو |

Most of these lines refer directly to Sulaimān Shukoh. In the fourth the phrase "sword of Sulaimān" can be accepted as in place here; as for the fifth, the only time Rangin and Inshā were together was at the Court of this prince.

b) On External evidence:

- | | | | |
|-------|---|----|---|
| (102) | رکھ دوں گا وہاں کاٹ کے ایک گورگی گردن | ۱. | توڑوں گا خم بادۂ انگور کی گردن |
| (154) | مینے بھی پھول کئی جانب چلون مارے | ۲. | کیوں نہ وہ پردہ نشین پھر مجھے سمن مارے |
| (155) | ہاروت نے کی دیدۂ ہاروت میں انگلی | ۳. | دیکھو اُس کے پڑی خاتم یا قوت میں انگلی |
| (155) | بھوت ہورات لگے جن ہو اُسے دن مارے | ۴. | جس پہ اک لونگ وہ بڑھ کر بت کاہن مارے |
| (155) | چسپ پہ میں ایک ٹولی پھینکوں وہ سون مارے | ۵. | کیوں نہ پھر ایسے لگاؤٹ کی مجھے دھن مارے |
| (101) | توڑ ابرسیہ کی تو ذرا پہل کی گردن | ۶. | اے دود جگر بن کے سرافیل کی گردن |
| (102) | پریوں وہ نہیں جیسے ہواؤس کی گردن | ۷. | عقنا ہے اچی طائر افسوس کی گردن |

The first three examples above are quoted by Rangin in his Majālis-i-Rangin (composed 1215/1800) where he refers to the time of their recital. ^{1. The ghazals represented by} ~~The~~ fourth and fifth ^{lines above} being continuations of the second example, and ~~the~~ ^{the} sixth and seventh ~~to that~~ of the first, must fall within the period.

5. Lucknow Period (1790-1814).

This division contains both the fourth and ^{the} sixth period. Any clues merely show that they belong to this Lucknow period and do not yield any more accurate ~~date~~ dating:

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|---|--|----|
| (162) | یہی انشا کے گھر کی پونجی ہے | ∴ | جلد اچھا ہو یہ تھالی اللہ | 1. |
| | میرے یہ عمر گھر کی پونجی ہے | ∴ | تیری بخشی ہوئی خدا و نرا | |
| (16) | بس نکھرو سے سارے کابل کا منہ چڑایا | ∴ | دو باتیں فارسی کی سیکھ اسنے میر انشا | 2. |
| (41) | ہیں شاعروں میں جو نووار چار پانچ | ∴ | میر و قتیل و معصومی و جرات و مکین | 3. |
| (43) | کہیں بہ حسن صلح و کہیں برنگ صبح | ∴ | کٹی بہ ہو و لب غر طبع تھی مائل | 4. |
| (68) | حیف ہے جو رفلک سے بجز میں ایسا شخص | ∴ | یارب انشا کو سدا عیش و طرب میں خوش رکھ | 5. |

The first example speaks of the illness of the poet's son; the second mentions Lucknow with a present inference; the third speaks of contemporaries who were known to him in this period; the tone and feeling of the fourth and fifth examples are likely to have tinged his experience at this stage of his poet's life.

1. Majālis-i-Rangin, 28-29.

There are three mustazāds which, according to Āzād,¹ were recited together in a mushā'ara in Lucknow.

6. Late Lucknow Period (Nawwab Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān -1800-1814)

1. یہ سعادت اسکو علی نے دی جو وزیر اعظم ہند ہے : کہ بدولت اوسکے جہاں میں نہیں خوف بکری کو باگ سے (165)
2. یمن الدولہ کو رکھیو الہی تا ابد قائم : یہی ایک رہ گیا ہے شاہِ غرب و شرق کا جوڑا (23)
3. مانگتا ہے یہ دعا آٹھوں پہر انشا سدا : یا الہی بول بالا ہو میرے نواب کا (28)
4. مل گئے سینے سے سینے پھر یہ کیسا اضطراب : مرٹے پھر بھی گیا اپنے نہ دل کا اضطراب (28)
5. زلزلہ لایا ہے جسم مضمحل کا اضطراب : مرٹے پھر بھی گیا اپنے نہ دل کا اضطراب (29)
6. ہے حسن خلق ناظم ملک جہانیاں : بے شبہ جیسے فصل بہاراں بعینہ (126)
7. ہوا نہال زمانہ جناب عالی کا : برس پڑا وہ جدھر ابر درفشان نگاہ (127)
8. شتاب جا کے ملو تم وزیر اعظم سے : ہلالِ چرخ ہے جسکا غلام حلقہ بگوش (67)
9. کیا طبع جیسے پرمری نواب کے انشا : پھب جاتی ہے خورشید جہان شتاب کی پھبتی (175)

In all the above examples reference to Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān is either made or implied.

Conclusion.

On the reasonably safe ground ~~mainly~~ of personal or local reference, or citation by contemporary authors these 37 ghazals of 365 lines have been assigned to particular periods in the poet's career.

1. Azad, 271; Kullī, 33-36.

2. Kullī., 175.

b. Diwān-i-Rekhtī

This dīwān consists of some 610 lines in Urdu; there are 99 ghazals, 3 rubā'īs, 6 tilismāt, 12 mustazād some pahelīs and fards and 4 letters in verse.

Rekhtī is the feminine of Rekhta^{1.} (poured or moulded.) The first mention of Rekhta apparently occurs in the following distich of سعدی دکنی^{2.} (d.1002/1593):

As appears from the above, Rekhta came into use for Urdu poetry towards the end of the sixteenth century. Rekhtī is a term which has been reserved for a particular branch of Urdu poetry, one scowled upon by persons of refined taste. There has been much controversy about its origin and form. Some set it down to the time of the Deccani poets Hāshimī of Bijapur (d.1687) and Rahīm (close of 17th century); some would carry it no farther back than Rangīn and Inshā.

Urdu took over as its heritage not only the groundwork of its language, but the ideas and tastes found in the preceding literature as well. Books on sexual matters, like the Lazzatu'n-Nisā, based on the Sanskrit Kok-Shāstra were current; there were also salacious stories and poems, and insinuations none too delicate crept into pahelīs, mukarnīs etc. The pornographic became more in evidence when weak authority combined with careless living, as in the time of Muhammad Shāh (1719-48) and his successors .

1. For the meaning, see T.G.Bailey's Studies in North India Languages. 8.

2. Nikātu'sh-Shu'ara, 110. and Makhzan-i-Nikāt, 3.

The dictionary Nūru'l Lughāt defines the meaning of Rekhtā as a "poem written in the language of women". The system of purdah with its segregation of women, had driven them in on themselves and made them dependent to some extent on themselves for their diversion. Female society could not be an entity by itself, but had features which distinguished it from that of the males, their manner of conversation being one of them. Specimens of this language in its innocent form can be found in, for example, the domestic novel, "Taubatu'n-Nasūh" when two women of the household talk together. When current among members of the demi-monde, the courtesans of the city, it employed an additional terminology and idiom which could not be countenanced in higher circles, and in the Rekhtī of Rangin and Inshā much has been taken from this section of the society. Rangin compiled and prefixed to his Diwān-i-Rekhtī seventeen pages of a vocabulary. This, though helpful, did not solve all the difficulties; the proverb "Wool-sellers know wool-buyers" holds good of the interpretation of some of the passages.

Some of the terms used in addressing the women are:

باجی - انا - دوگانا - دوا - زناخی

This line attributed to Amīr Khusrau need not point to him as the originator of Rekhtī:

3. سکنی پیا کو جو میں نہ دیکھوں تو کیسے کاٹوں پیاری رتیاں

It is isolated by some three centuries from what has been mostly

1. D.B. p.98

2. Rangin Inshā, Nizamī Bādāyūnī

3. Sh.H., 23

considered as Rekhtī, and its utterance by one female to another is in keeping with Hindi poetry. In Persian and Urdu the masculine is used of both Lover and Beloved.

To Hāshimī (d.1697) of Bijapur, Deccan, these two distiches are attributed, on the basis of whose diction it is stated that he wrote poems in this genre:

1. رضاگر مجھ کو دیتی ہے کروں گی گھر میں جا دارو :: اگر مجھ پوئیکے فرصت صبح پھر آؤنگی چھوڑو
اگر کوئی آکے دیکھے گا تو دل میں کیا کہے گا :: مجھے بدنام کیا کرتے کہیں میں جاؤنگی چھوڑو

In this case also the style is on the Hindi Model inasmuch as a woman is addressing a male.

The author of Gul-i-Ranā, in support of the opinion that it originated before the time of Inshā and Rangin, gives the name of another poet, that of Saiyid Muhammad Qādirī Khākī, a contemporary (he thinks) of Walī of the Deccan, whose diwān published in 1182/1768, contains, he says, some Rekhtī lines. But these too are specimens of the Hindi style of poetry.

This author further states that Rahīm, a contemporary of Rahmān and Walī, also wrote Rekhtī, and quotes these two distiches of his in support:

2. ارے ناداں تیں اپنے سبھن کو کیوں رٹھایا ہے :: رٹھا کر پیو کو جگ میں کسی نے ذوق پایا ہے
بہت چٹھا نیگی میری نصیحت مان کہتی ہوں :: سکھن کو رات سوہی ہے پیارے کو جو بھایا ہے

According to A.S.Nadwi³ however, Amir Khusrau was the originator of Rekhtī.

It seems therefore that linesⁱⁿ which a woman is the

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1. G.R., 54, quotes these two distiches from the Tazkira of Asafī of Malkapur.
 2. Article in Chānd (March, 1931; p.272) by 'Abdu'l-Bārī Asī;
 3. Sh.H., 83.

speaker follow the fashion of writers in Hindi. The genre of Rekhtī was established later, in the time of Rangīn and Inshā.

In Daryā-i Latāfat Inshā attributēs its origination to Rangīn.^{1.} Mirza Qādir Bakhsh Sābir, in his tazkira,^{2.} and the author of Tazkira-i Mihr-i Jahāntāb^{3.} regard Inshā as its inventor, but in Daryā-i Latāfat Inshā says that he took the idioms and phrases current among the women from Rangīn and added some of his own. This would be in agreement with the statement of Rangīn in his Dīwān-i Angekhta, or Dīwān-i Rekhtī, when he writes:

4. "ریختی که ایجاد بنده است که در محاورات و اصطلاحات بیگمات نظم شده"

Rekhtī is a ghazal used for a debased purpose. After the austerity practised and promoted by Aurangzeb (d.1707) there was a period of relaxation. Muḥammad Shāh's reign (1719-48) is regarded as one in which there was liberty, lavishness, and licentiousness. The composer of Tazkira-i Qudrat^{5.} says of the gay and witty Amīr Khān 'Umdatul Mulk, a noble of Muḥammad Shāh's time:

"مقابل ریختی که لفظی است مذکور ریختی تصنیف نمود"

The Amīr has left no poetry however to substantiate this, and failing the discovery of some, one must turn to the two persons chiefly concerned, Rangīn and Inshā.

The distinctive features of this genre are, firstly, it

1. D.L., 98, 104.

2. Taz.G.Sukhan, 254, 445.

3. Sh.H. 83.

4. Ms. Dīwān-i-Rekhtī, fol.33.

5. Sh.H.82

uses the language of women, and secondly, the poet impersonating a woman employs this language. As regards the first feature, it will be readily apparent that the mere use of speech borrowed from women could not long amuse or interest. The statement of Dr. Grahame Bailey is appropriate here that "Rekhtī is not employed for the natural speech of women; its usual meaning is Urdu verse written by a man as a tour de force to women, including feminine genders; the man writes as if he were a woman, and in nearly every case does so with an evil motive." ^{1.} It could not be long therefore before wit, ridicule, buffoonery and even grossness would enter. Men of taste turned from it, but it had its appeal to a section and did not cease to entertain till after Jān Sāhib's death (1897) ^{2.} "The last mentioned exhibits it in its worst form, while the least objectionable Rekhtī is to be found in Inshā, indeed in his case it has a real literary value." ^{3.}

Inshā is said to have occasionally made use of Rekhtī to gain his object. One such occasion was when he recited this line, or perhaps the whole poem beginning with it:

4. میں تیرے صدقہ نہ رکھ لے میری پیاری روزہ : ہندی رکھ لیگی تیرے بدلے ہزاری روزہ

It was recited before Nawwab Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān when he was fasting and had ordered that no one should be admitted. When Inshā called to see him he was informed of the order by

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1. Hist. Bailey., 56. 2. He occasionally recited his Rekhtī compositions in female dress. (Rekhtī mā, Dīwān-i-Jān Sāhib, ~~42~~, 42.)
3. Hist. Bailey., 56.
4. Kull, 205. Tārīkh-i

the man on guard, but he disguised himself as a woman and went in and read the line or poem just referred to.

Āzād connects the ghazal beginning:

دولت بنی ہے اور سعادت علی بنا : یارب بنا بنی میں ہمیشہ بنی رہے

with the following occasion. There was a distinguished musician and elegy-reciter in Lucknow called Mīr 'Alī. The Nawwab heard of him and called him to perform at court, but he refused on the ground that though Sa'ādat 'Alī was the ruler, he himself had honour as a Saiyid, and it was his due that the ruler should come to him. Sa'ādat viewed his conduct as that of one of base degree. When news of this reached Mīr 'Alī he made preparations to leave at once for the Deccan. On Inshā's return home from court he observed luggage lying about and learned that his nephews were about to leave in company with their teacher, Mīr 'Alī. He sped off to court, and recited to the Nawwab the ghazal containing the above line urging that bride (wealth) and bridegroom (Nawwab) should not be parted. He succeeded in reconciling the Nawwab, and carried from him a present for the musician.

The following is typical of Inshā's style in this medium. His language in itself is mostly simple, but sometimes there is an implication not obvious on the surface, at others there is an evident indecency:

2. کوئی چاہت میں کسی شخص کے بدنام ہونوج : اے ددا جان وہ کبھی برا کام ہونوج

In comparison Rangin's language does not differ very much,

though his touch is not as light, but the implications are more intricate, and he makes frequent use of the terms current in the class from which this style of speech emanates. The following line begin a typical ghazal in Rekhtī by Rangin:

1. شب کو اُس حبشی بچہ نے پرغیب خالا کیا : چھپ کے مجھ سے منہ دو لگانا کامیری کالا کیا

2. Towards the close of this Diwān there are four letters in Rekhtī, and several rubā'īs, fards, pahelīs and tilismāt, and two specimens of the mukhammas, one of them five-fold, a skilful feat on the composer's part, but of no merit as poetry.

3. The recognised exponents of this class of verse "too bad to bless" yet not so as entirely to ban, are Rangin, Inshā, Asadullāh, Manhūr (c.1860) who took as his pen-name Dogānā in Rekhtī, Sāhib Qirān (a contemporary of Inshā), and Jān Sāhib (d.1897), Mirza Āli Beg Nāznīn, Abdu'llāh Khān Mahshar, Ābid Mirza Begum, and Saiyid Ahmad Āli Nisbat. The demise of this vogue coincided nearly exactly with the death of Jān Sāhib.

4. Jān Sāhib's style of expression is somewhat more simple and natural than Inshā's. For comparison two dēstiches of each poet, of which each pair present a close parallel, are offered here:

انشاہ
ہر میں چوٹی کی تری ڈر کے مارے کانپ کانپ : چونک چونک اٹھتی ہوں میں راتوں کو کہہ کر سانپ سانپ

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1. Rangin Inshā, Nizāmi Badāyūnī, 25. 2. Kull., 214-15. Saudā had versified letters earlier in Rekhta. See SK Sauda., 192-3-
3. Infra, chap.VII 4. Tārikh-i Rekhtī, ma' Diwān-i Jān Sāhib, 95-6
5. Kull., 190.

جان صاحب سے

1. دیکھیں جو اپنی چوٹی کی پر چھائیں رات کو :۔ رسی سمجھو کے بھاگی میں اک چنچ مار کے

انشاء

2. پانچ ڈھیلے قبائیں سب نے کیں اب ٹھیک ٹھاک :۔ ارگٹے وہ بے دامن اور اونچی چولیاں

جان صاحب سے

پانچ ڈھیلے ہوں انگیا چست ہو میانی کسی :۔ آجکل کی لڑکیوں کو بانگین مرغوب ہے

1. S.S.Nass, 101.

2. Kull, 201.

3. S.S.Nass, 101.

c. Dīwān-i Be-Nuqat.

The Arabic characters dotted and undotted, the latter being those without distinguishing diacritic marks, lend themselves to a rather idle exercise of a poet's wits. Faizī was reproached by the 'Ulama at the Delhi court for omitting all dotted letters in his commentary on the Qur'an. When this action of his was declared "an innovation" and against the traditions of Islam on the ground that no one from among the "devout" had ever attempted such a thing, he defended himself by saying that dotted characters do not occur in the Kalima.^{1.}

Various persons have experimented with the characters, but not many apparently have made large-scale experiments. Navidī for example has a "series of twenty ghazals written in a way so as to avoid the use of some particular letters."^{2.} This is another instance of the influence on Inshā exercised by Amīr Khusrau's I'jāz-i Khusrawī. Md. Sa'id-Khān Quraishī, who flourished about 1660, was an adept in this art.^{3.} Inshā too exercised his engenuity in this verbal manipulation; his chief effort in this direction is his Dīwān-i Be-Nuqat.

1. M.A.Ghanī. A Hist. of Pers.Lang. and Lit. at the Mughal Court, III, 66.

2. Cat. Curzon Coll. A.S.B. by Ivanov, No.320.

3. Curz.Coll, No.771.

This Dīwān comprises twenty-five ghazals, three rubā'īs, one mukhammas, and a short prose passage in all some eight lines. All are in Urdu, except one Persian ghazal, beginning:

1. دل دار آمد الحمد لله : روح و گل و گل آورد همراه

A curious feature of this dīwān is that the pen-name is given throughout as Inshā, which has dotted characters; in his undotted qasīda however he has substituted for it لوأراد الله ^{2.}

In a maqta' towards the close of this section he has made one slip by writing مصالحت, but whether through oversight or of set purpose it is not possible to say:

3. انشا دهر کو آؤ لو اور دلا سادل کو دو : صلح مصالحت کرو حمد و درود ادا کرو

The poems in this collection are mostly erotic with apparently mystic intention. The eroticism is sometimes thinly veiled, e.g. in:

4. امر دساده رو کو گھور انشا : اور کہ واہ حور کا عالم

There is no attempt at screening in the following:

5. لوگو انشا کو دوا المسک دو : دام کامل کا پوا گہرا سپہاگ

In other lines there are religious injunctions, as in:

6. لا کلام اللہ اور مطالعہ کر : کلک و لوح و سطور کا عالم

Of his three rubā'īs towards the close of the dīwān, the last, given below, contains a counsel of prayer. Inshā advises the reading of dārūd on all occasions and thereby poverty will be averted and sorrow reduced. Then he adds.

1. Kull, 438. 2. Ibid. 438. 3. Ibid. 438.
4. Ibid. 436. 5. Ibid. 436. 6. Ibid. 436

that one should always have hope and say "Inshā Allāh",
i.e. God willing ^{1.} :

کم ہو گا دلدار اور دکھ کا عالم : کہ رو درود کا مسلم ہر دم
رکھ آس سدا کہا کر انشا اللہ : الہم ارحم ارحم ارحم

Next after his rubā'īs comes a mukhammas of seven stanzas. This also is in Urdu and contains no serious thought; the substance of it is: Be happy! Let the dead past bury its dead, and come to meet me and embrace me! It closes with the wise counsel: ^{2.}

صلح معالحت کرو حمد و درود ادا کرو

Next follows a prose passage, also in undotted characters beginning: الحمد لله کہ آس مراد کا گل کھلا عطر سہاگ
It includes one distich of verse. As a specimen of the poet's thought the passage might be rendered literally in this way: "Praise to God that the flower of hope of purpose has blossomed! After applying the otto of suhāg (matrimony) that moonfaced, bridegroom-like, youthful and simple king in company with the jewel-adorned queen entered the palace of rest; the colloquial of the coils of tresses opened and the door of speech became ajar. On the one hand the heart was pleased, O Inshā! and there started the tuneful song and embracing and ardour. After ceremony of prayer to God and the Prophet, he rubbed intimately the soft cheek of the Beloved and tickled her and said;

1. Kull., 438.

2. ibid., 439.

O houri, the peacock is calling and swaying as it sings. Ha, ha, ha !"

Some of the lines reflect sadness on the part of Inshā, e.g.:

کراہا ملال دل کا دور : کہ رہا سا ہا کمال اداس

and leave an impression that they may belong to the period of his internment .

Inshā experimented on several occasions and in several ways. For instance, into his undotted qasida "Turūlī-kalām" in praise of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib he has introduced verses in Turki and Arabic, and in the maqta' has brought as takhallus:

لوارا والله

Amīr Khusrau had worked on the character-arrangement known as "San'at-i Manquta", i.e. one in which every character is dotted. He succeeded in producing whole pages of this sort, and according to his biographer, Shiblī Nu'manī, no one else has managed more than a line or two of the kind. Inshā has one example:

ز فیض شفقت ذی نینت نبی تقی : ہمہ مراد ولم داو واحد علام

The second misra' is of course be-nuqat.

In the same section as the last example Inshā has produced a distich of which the first misra' is an example of raqtā which requires that every other character should

1. Kull, 434.,

2. ibid., 228, infra, 108

3. ibid. 229.

be undotted, while the second is an example of khaifā, which requires every alternate word to be undotted:^{1.}

شہ بلند نسب اب مجھے سبھی دیوے : جبین لامح زینت حصول جشن مرام

Under the heading "Muhtamalu'l-Lughāt" Inshā states that Khusrau had taken a prose clause and set it in rhythmical form in five words of Persian which, by a manipulation of the dots, could be read as Arabic or Hindi, whereas he himself has arranged a metrical sentence on these lines:

(Persian)	بیا بیا حَبِّ من حالیا بہ پاکی باش
(Hindi)	بیا بیا حَبِّ من حالیا پیا کی باس
(Arabic)	بیا تا حَبِّ من حالنا پیا کی ناس

In several respects Amīr Khusrau seems to have been a stimulus to Inshā, though not a model, for the latter was too independent to be an imitator. Both writers composed some Arabic verses. Of Khusrau, Shiblī Nu'manī says: "It cannot be denied that Amīr Sāhib was thoroughly versed in a knowledge of Arabic literature, and rare works in this branch were stored in his memory. But he made no claim in this branch, In the Introduction to his Ghurratu'l-Kamāl he has several Arabic lines, from which it appears to be his aim to show, notwithstanding

1. Kull., 229.

2. Kull., 229.

his confession of incompetence, to what extent he had mastery over it." ^{1.} The position seems to be much the same with Inshā. He has composed a few occasional verses in Arabic, but nothing in them severally or collectively shows that he had attempted to retain for practical purposes much out of his reading of poets of classical Arabic.

In the same section as the last example, Inshā gives two specimens of the palindrome, Maqlūb-i Mustawī, the composition of which he holds to be the most difficult of all word-play: ^{2.}

مراد روح ورداد روح ورد ارم ؛ مال كل امور سرو مال كلام

Adhering to the employment of only undotted letters ^{he} imposed severe restrictions ~~which~~ resulted in some amount of stiltedness. Few poets even attempted it. It was like hobbling an animal.

1. Bayān-i Khusrau, 84. 2. Kull. 228.

d) Diwān-i Fārsī.

This diwān consists of eighty-four ghazals comprising 585 distiches. The majority of the ghazals are short consisting of from five to seven lines; there is one of seventeen lines. Their tones vary, ranging from grave to gay. On the whole however a sombre mood mostly obtains. The lack of any clue to a date in the majority of cases is regrettable, and without this aid the attempt to fix with any precision the time of composition is speculative.

Some of the poems are Sufistic in tone, and some lines in a poem not noticeably so otherwise; some are subjective, others are not definitely so; some are even topical.

Inshā was a Shī'a by sect, a believer in the twelve Imāms; and in a poem of sadness and reflection he appealed to the Imām Ḥusain b. 'Alī, to help him in his distressed state;

1. حسین ابن علی من شکستہ احوالم ؛ بکن شکستگیم این بو تراب درست

He is proud of being a Shī'a and defiant in his pride:

2. تعظیم ما اگر نہ کنی خاک بر سرت ؛ خود سیدیم و عالم مرتاض عالمیم

There is naturally no systematic theology in the ghazal, but from some of his verses an idea may be gained of the mutual relation between God and man, and of Inshā's working

1. Kull., 277.

2. ibid., 295.

interpretation of his experience;

1. ضرے اگر رسائی بخدا کہ سر نہ چھیم
2. بودم گمان کہ اینہم زرہ و داد باشد
3. بے دل مشوک چارہ احکام خود کند
4. آن کس کہ خلق مائدہ حرو بہر کرد
5. انشا بگو برائے چہ تشویش و یاس تست
6. آن کس کہ درد داد کند فکر چارہ ہم

The riddle of existence is posed as a question in the maqta' of the interesting poem beginning:

4. مشرب زندانی واریم وی جو شیم ما
5. با شیم تند می چون خم ہم آغوشیم ما
6. کیستیم و از کجا بشد اتفاق آمدن
7. مانعی دانیم انشا خود فراموشیم ما

Fate ordains from the beginning, but may be overruled by divine decree:

5. چیزے ہم ناشدنی بود شد آخر
6. صد شکر کہ قضا خذہ بہر احوال قدر زد

He appears despondent of the result of human effort;

6. سہی و تلاش اینہم ای خواجہ بہر چیست
7. آیا ہر آنچہ ہست مقدر نمی رسد

and to feel disappointed and forlorn in the ghazal beginning:

7. مایچ چیزم بغیر درد نماند
8. جز لب خشک وردی زرد نماند

Love is something other than the all-pervasive elements:

8. رمق ز عشق نہ بود اگر اندرون سینہ
9. ہمہ خاک و آب باشند ہمہ نار و باد باشند

The ghazal through its lack of continuity is liable to be a medium for proverbial sayings:

9. آزادی شود چو اسیر ملک شناس
10. بر نخل ہائے خانہ صیادی رود

1. Kull., 284.

2. ibid., 289.

3. ibid., 297.

4. ibid., 274.

5. ibid., 283.

6. ibid., 286.

7. ibid., 288.

8. ibid., 284.

9. ibid., 281.

and to express worldly wisdom as in:

1. تو بتار عنكبوتی دل خود بده برادر
ہمہ وام زور وارو ہمہ تار و پود وارو

and again in:

2. سخن ز راز پنہاں تو مگو مگر بشرط
کہ ترا باین امانت بمن اعتماد باشند

There is some autobiographical material in the poem beginning:

3. ما شکوہ ز حال پیامبر نکرده ام
خبر گشته ام از آلاء و نکات
حضرت مخصوص جناب سید انشا بوده است : این فصاحت این بلاغت این ہمہ جوش و خروش

Later in the same poem he claims contentment of soul:

4. بارنگ کبر بانی خود قانع ایم و بس
باکس سماجت پر کاہے نکرده ایم

There is no record of his having made any pilgrimage outside of India, in ^{regard to} which the ghazal beginning:

5. دیوانہ ام کہ عمری باد و ستان بسر برد
باہر کسی کہ در خورد خود ہچمنان بسر برد

is an entertaining flight of fancy. It need not be taken as a kind of "autobiography of a super-tramp" except figuratively. The names of Arafat and other places figuring in the pilgrimage are mentioned in the maqta'.

He is proud he is not one of the mass.

6. نیست از زمرہ عوام الناس
سید انشا کہ بندہ خاص است

Like most poets he had, and expressed, a good opinion of himself.

7. حضرت مخصوص جناب سید انشا بوده است : این فصاحت این بلاغت این ہمہ جوش و خروش

1. Kull., 283. 2. ibid., 284. 3. ibid., 292.
4. ibid., 293. 5. ibid., 285. 6. ibid., 279.
7. ibid., 292.

There are two references to the fortieth year of his age:

1. بیچ از تقوی نشد حاصل بجز افسردگی : کلفت چل ساله من پاک جام بادو رفت

and:

2. نشکند تو به چل ساله گر انشا چه کند : دخت رزها زهماں دامن تری گیرد

Like many other poets he is severe in his indictment of false professors of religion, especially in the ranks of the zāhids, nāsihs, and the shaykhs. The following line is very scornful:

3. ساغر حضور جمله ز یاد می زخم : از زمره دواب و بیایم حجاب چیست

Amongst the many figures of speech he employs that of the moth and the candle is presented in an unusual manner:

4. روانم ملتهب تا از فروغ شمع حسنت شد : بجائے گل به بالینم پر پروانه می ریزد

This figure of the threat of the rose is interesting:

5. اے آتش گل این ہمہ تہدید بہر چیست : ما آشتیاں نبریر گیا ہے نکرده ایم

The following examples have been chosen for their interesting features.

The sāqī poured out the first libation to the departed:

6. بیادان حریفانی کہ رفتند از جہاں ساقی : نخستین جرعه بر خاک بی باکانہ می ریزد

This distich is picturesque:

7. انشا فدای آنکہ ز خیر برق و ابر : بر لوح چرخ کار زرد لا جور د کرد

His fancy loved to play round characters single and compound; in this case he refers to the Arabic negative

1. Kull, 278 2. ibid., 289., infra. 3. ibid., 280.
4. ibid., 288. 5. ibid., 292. 6. ibid., 288., 7. ibid.
289.

particle:

1. از بهر قطع ساختن از ماسوای دوست : چون لای نهی صورت مقراض عالمیم

or
to counteract the monotony of end-rhyme is an old
contrivance in metre. It is found too in Hindi and Urdu.
In this fourth of Āzād's five periods of Urdu literature
it is a very common practice:e.g.

2. لذت لغزش مستانه ز جامی بروم : رغبت خانه غمار کنم یانه کنم

From one of the ghazals in this Dīwān it may be
gathered that it was probably composed in the poet's youth:

3. نو جوانی بلائی جان شده است : چه بگویم امر ناچارى است

Seven ghazals were composed in the early Lucknow
period,⁴ those two quoted above in which the poet mentions
that he is in his forties, and five containing the name
of Sulaiman Shukoh viz.

5. هر سحر که شاه خاور پیشکش می آورد : در حضرت ای سلیمان شکوه ظل الله جت
انشاء بجز جناب سلیمان شکوه خویش
6. در روزگار خدمت شاهی نه کرده ایم : این سلیمان جهان را با شکوه سلطنت
7. زودتر فرما مسلط به دفع کافران : نهجی که در زمانه تو قیر ایل دانش
8. دل محفل سلیمان دیدم ندیده بودم : چنان شد است سلیمان شکوه ظل الله
9. که دولتش بخلاص خرید می ماند

1. Kull., 295. 2. ibid., 294. supra.^{88.} 3. Kull, 289.
4. Supra; Kull, 278, 289. 5. Kull, 290. 6. Kull, 293.
7. Kull, 297. 8. Kull, 296. 9. Kull, 285.

To the late Lucknow period three ghazals can be assigned one definitely in which Nawwab Sa'adat 'Alī is mentioned as follows:^{1.} این سعادت علی عالی اعلیٰ و او است؛ ای خوشا وقت و خوشحال مبارک باشد:

The second and third are probably of this period.

The second ghazal commends a life spent with friends; ~~its~~ last line runs as follows:^{2.}

باید بسر نمودن اوقات زندگانی؛ ز انسان که میرانشا الله بسر برد

The third is An appeal to the Imām Ḥusain ibn 'Alī to relieve his distress ^{and} has already been referred to; this appeal, so pathetically expressed in this line of the ghazal suggests the date of its composition as being most probably after 1810, in his period of internment:^{3.}

حسین ابن علی من شکسته احوالم؛ بکن شکستگیم این بو تراب درست

These eleven ghazals, totalling one hundred and one lines are all that textually yield any clue to their date of composition.

Now and then a genuine note is struck in the more sombre poems, for example:

4. انشا پهرس حالت بیتابی دلم؛ اکفون عنان تو سن صبرم چنگ نیست

and: +

5. حال انشا چو کو کهن پر سید؛ سر لبسنگی ز دم که هیچ پهرس

and the poem containing the appeal for help to Ḥusain b. 'Alī already mentioned.

Theme and expression in this Dīwān are dignified; it is as if the use of Persian called for propriety. It is

1. Kull., 289, 286 2., Kull, 286. 3. Kull., 277 and supra. 92
4. Kull, 277. 5. Kull, 291.

hard to believe that its composer and the Rekhtā-writer are one and the same. It can be claimed for this Diwān that it contains the best of his verses, and that Persian was the happiest medium for his Muse.

CHAPTER V.

THE QASĪDA.

The Qasīda, usually translated as "ode", is of Arabic origin. The earliest poetry of the tribal Arab is in the form of single lines in Rajaz metre, often impromptu satirical lines hurled at the foe in the course of a raid. But at the mushā'aras held during the truce-months when tribal warfare was suspended, the poets recited their compositions at fair-centres. The earliest extant of these qasīdas already followed one pattern in form, number of verses (these did not usually exceed 120 lines), and rhyme; they had a choice of some sixteen metres. The matla' or opening line consisted of two rhyming hemistiches, and their end-rhyme was repeated throughout the poem in every second hemistich.

Some lines in the opening dealt with traces of an old encampment of the poet's tribe or of his Beloved, and then proceeded in the nasīb or tashbib to tell of the vehemence of his love; and next of the fatigue and hardship of his journey on camel and horse through the scenes he describes till he reaches his goal, a patron or some other, when he is able to set forth his object. Hence qasīda is now generally taken to mean a "purposive poem". But appeal to

a patron made such pieces readily liable to be used for panegyric, their usual burden, though they have ^{also} been turned to satire, or description of an important event, or other special purpose. For example, it is related of the famous Maimūn b. Qais, known also as A'sha because of his blindness, that he was once approached by an anxious mother to write something to help her many daughters to obtain husbands. He wrote a gasida to such good purpose that men rich and noble came with dowries and secured the lauded maidens for their brides. ^{1.}

Again the earliest masnavi-writing poets of the Persians, Rūdagī, was requested by the nobles of the court of the Samānid Amīr Naṣr (d.330/944) to compose a gasida which would induce the Amīr to leave Herat and return to his capital at Bukhara. Rūdagī composed, with satisfactory effect, the gasida which begins:

یاد یار مہرباں آید ہی : بوی جوی مویاں آید ہی

The Amīr is said to have there and then abandoned his pleasure and ease and ridden off to Bukhara, without pausing even for his books. ^{2.}

Among the earliest specimens extant of the Arabic gasida are the Muṣallaqāt, ^{3.} the oldest of them, one

1. Muq. Sher., 8. 2. ibid., 9.

3. It is a designation which has been long discussed. It connotes "suspended", and possibly implies that, just as articles were suspended on trees and high places for better safeguarding, these were too, but metaphorically.

by Imrū'1-Qais, is the closest to Nature, and is a series of vivid pictures of desert life, of men hardy, crafty, and amorous, and with sincere loyalties.

With the transfer of the Arab arts from the desert to the cultural centres of Damascus and Baghdad, new influences began to impinge. While poetry became Arabian it was no longer purely Arab. The more volatile disposition of the Persian sought expression in lighter and quicker verse forms, such as masnavī, ghazal and rubāī. The qasīda tends to be grand in style, and even grandiose, and is handicapped by its continuous end-rhyme, with the result that only poets of unusual capacity could save it from being monotonous, or worse, doggerel. It ceased to be the resource of the rhymster. The names of the renowned since the early days when the qasīda went to Persia are not many, - Khāqānī, Anwarī, Urfī, and, among their Urdu imitators, Saudā and Zauq.

Jalālu'd-Din Ahmad,^{1.} 'Abdul-Qādir Sarwarī^{2.} and 'Abdu's-Salām Nadwī^{3.} rank Inshā as second to Saudā in the qasīda.

Inshā's style in the qasīda is very different from that of Saudā, who makes his subject run on continuously from line to line, and is precise as well as expressive in his language, whereas Inshā's topic pours itself out in a cascade of words and ideas. His poem is like a background

1. Tārīkh-i-Qasāid-i Urdu. 2. Jadīd Urdu Shā'irī, 35-46
3. ShH., II., 97, 98, 101.

across which shafts of light frequently flash. Zauq is usually regarded as second, if not equal to Saudā in this poetic form; his manner is different from that of either of the two. In the use of the idiom he is unsurpassed, but his style is unimpassioned.

Inshā's gasidas number seventeen in all; some of them have a second or third matla'. They are introduced by a hamd-poem in Urdu; and idea of their content may be gained from the following:

- I - III.....I. Urdu-in praise of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib.
- II. Persian-also in praise of 'Alī
- III. Mixed Persian and Urdu distiches using undotted characters only; also praising 'Alī.
- IV- V..... IV. Urdu- in praise of the twelve Imams.
- V. Persian-in praise of 'Alī b. Mūsā(8th.Imam).
- VI -VII..... VI. Both Persian-in praise of Almās 'Alī Khān.
- VIII..... Urdu - in praise of Shāh 'Ālam II.
- IX- XII.....IX,X,XI. Persian- in praise of Mirza Sulaiman Shukoh.
- XII. Urdu-also in praise of Sulaiman.
- XIII-XV..... XIII. Persian-deal^{two} with Nawwab Sa'adat 'Alī Khān^{two}
- XIV...Urdu. } being in eulogy, and one in
- XV... Urdu. } congratulation on his accession to the throne.
- XVI.....Urdu - in praise of Dulhan Jān.
- XVII.....Urdu-congratulating George III on his birthday and praising the Govenor-General (Lord Minto)

Some particulars as to the dates of their composition can be gathered from the text.

The hamd of the introduction to these gasīdas was probably composed before 1790, since it is clear from the text that the poet's parents were still alive. It was probably his first ode, for he was then still young. Qasīdas nos. VI. and VII were composed in 1788/9. They are eulogies of Almās 'Alī Khān, whose age is given in one of them as forty years. A chronogram in the Kulliyāt^{1.} supplies the date of his death as 1223/1808 at the age of sixty, in which case these gasīdas were composed about 1203/1788-9 in Delhi, and were sent to him in Lucknow. No. VIII also was probably composed before 1790, while Inshā was in Delhi at the court of Shāh'Ālam, in whose praise it was written. Nos. IX-XII fall between 1791 and 1800 and are all eulogies of Sulaiman Shukoh, who came to Lucknow in 1790 or 1791 and returned to Delhi in 1800. The fifth gasīda may be placed somewhere between 1798-1814 since it makes mention of Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān. To this same period may be assigned gasīdas XIII-XV as all have textual references to the Nawwab.^{2.} The first of these definitely belongs to 1798, and probably No. XVI also belongs to this period. Qasīda XVII can be dated definitely in 1810. The third was probably composed

1. Kull., 404.

2. Qasīda. XIII:3rd Matla': 1st line-Kull., 252.

before 1808 as in his Daryā-i Latāfat^{1.} Inshā says he went with Almās 'Alī Khān to Sandela soon after penning this poem, and that it was recited to Maulvī Haidar 'Alī of Sandela at Lucknow. This leaves I, II and IV, which contain no textual evidence as to their date of composition; nor does there appear to be any external evidence which might assist. One can infer however that I and II were written at the same time for the last two lines of the former speak of the latter. A brief analysis of the gasidas follows.

EXORDIUM OF PRAISE.

^{2.}
In this hamd, after the sixth distich, he enters on an account of God's creation and endowment of man; the coming of the human race into existence; the four elements in Nature; man's origin from clotted blood; the senses, etc. The following line is a good example of his physiological approach; -

3. ہں سب اعصاب و شرائیں و رباط اس لئے تا: روح کی آمد شد کونہ رہے رنج و دق

Thews, arteries and ligaments are all such that
No trouble might be to the passage of the spirit.

1. DL., 47.

2. Kull., 219.

3. Kull., 219. 1.10.

Continuing, the magnitude of creation is shown; -

1. بھلہ رے قطعہ اقطار سموات علا : قاف پشتہ نہو جسکانہ سمندر خندق

Hail to the region of the heavens on high,
Whose prop is not Qaf, nor whose ditch the sea!

2. ہے موالید ثلاثہ کو علی قدر الحال : تیرے ہی فضل سے حصول ہوا سدر رقی

The three kingdoms of Nature, according to their state,
Obtain, always through Thy Grace, support for their
existence.

3. تو نم فیض نہ چہر کے تو میاہ الابجار : اڑ چلیں الجبرہ ارض سے مثل زہیق

If thou dost not sprinkle the dew of generosity,
the waters of the seas,
Will rise like vapours from the lands, as quick-silver.

Subsequently he expresses gratitude for being born a
Muslim and not an adherent of any other faith;-

4. کہ مجھے دین محمد میں کیا تو نے خلق : ورنہ تھے اور بھی انواع کے ادیان و فرق

Into some forty-four verses the poet has attempted to
introduce his learning, medical as well as linguistic,
logical terms, and religious references. It is a poem that
betrays the author's youth, in that he does not appear to
have lived his life to the full, there is an element of
anticipation. His parents and his family surround him
and he gives himself out to be a pious man.

1. Kull., 220. 1.7. 2. Kull., 220. l. 8. 3. Kull., 220. 1. 14.

4. ibid., 220., 1. 16.

QASĪDA. I.

In the first of the wasīdas^{1.} devoted to 'Alī he has set himself one of those difficult tasks which led Āzād to say that, though Inshā was bound to move within the narrow circle of Urdu and Persian poets, he did not bind himself to write erotic poems on the prescribed principles of the poets of his period.^{2.} One reason was that his ghazals and qasīdas were in rough-hewn cadence, and he chose awkward end-rhymes, so that erotic themes could appear in them with difficulty. Āzād adds that Inshā was the maker of his own style, and it ended with him.^{3.} The following lines will amply illustrate this;-

4. حیدری توہ اگر بند میں کھنچوں ہو مست : ہوگر زندہ سوئے وادی بچاق آتش
5. اپنے مولیٰ کی محبت میں ہوں میں مثل خلیل : کوئی ممکن ہے کہ دیوے مجھے شلتاق آتش

The next line, typical of many of its kind, is an illustration of the extravagance of his language, or, more properly, of the language of panegyric; -

6. یعنی وہ شیر خدا حیدر صفر جسکے : جملہ خدام سے پیش آئے باخلاق آتش

1. Kull., 221. 2. Azad, 273. 3. ibid. 283
4. Kull., 221., 1.14. 5. ibid., 222. 1.4.
6. ibid., 222, 1.9.

The metaphorical figure of the lover's eyes gazing expectantly from the path is used here in connection with the poet's affection for 'Ali and Najaf:

1. دیکھتے دیکھتے راہ آنکھیں بڑی جلتی ہیں : دوستوں کی ہوئی عینین کے احراق آتش
لو بلا کہیں ہمیں سوئے نجف بہر خدا : کہ جدائی کی تمہارے ہے بہت شاق آتش

unrestricted flow of words from several languages, and in one so esteemed for his quickness and facility of expression, it would not be a matter of wonder if some of his lines were hard to expound, and others, many indeed, mere bathos, so that the tag used of Mir Taqī Mir by Āzurda of Delhi² would be applicable to him:

پسنش بغایت پست و بلندش بسیار بلند
The end-rhyme of these fifty-two lines is difficult.

The tone of the poem is proud and lofty; it has a certain disdain and even arrogance. The poem ends, however, and in suppliant mood.

QASIDA .II.

The opening distich of this Persian poem could well be rejected because of the extravagance of its metaphor, and might well be classed, one can imagine, by Hali as "unnatural":

- دارم آپے کہ بود جلمه صفائش آتش : مادرش برق پسرش شعله و ذائش آتش . 3

1. Kull., 223, 1 I-2.

2. Muq. Sher., 71.

3. Kull., 223.

In most of the lines the imagery is bold, but sometimes is far-fetched, as here:

1. نظما ليش هم چون خال لب نكها است : گر ميش چون شره و هلم نكاتش آتش 1.

These 42 distiches in praise of 'Alī have like the first qasīda a double end-rhyme, but one much more difficult, for he himself says with reference to it in the closing line of the first:

2. قافيه اس سے بي صد چند ہوں مشکل جسكے : چھوڑ کر بھاگے جسے صغیہ آفاق آتش
Self-praise is very evident in this poem, also

becoming self-exaltation in parts. The qasīda incidentally contains as much praise of Inshā as of 'Alī, for the poet indirectly praises himself in praise of the latter.

QASIDA III.

This be-nuqat qasīda is in praise of Hazrat Amirul-Muminīn ('Alī), and is entitled Turu'l-Kalām. It was recited by Inshā before Haydar 'Alī of Sandela. At the ~~close~~ ^{base} of a few rather miscellaneous verses he brings a maqta', one hemistich of which is in Arabic, the other in Urdu; this distich being be-nuqat he has to make a change in his pen-name and adopts as its equivalent لوارا دللہ

The restriction to undotted letters has had the effect of forcing the poet to employ rather conventional

1. Kull., 224.

2. ibid., 223.

nouns and phrases, and though these are all in themselves fasih, the impression left is that the poet had nothing definite to express, and was satisfied with fine words. The qasida contains two Turki lines and a few in Arabic. In some misra's dotted characters appear. ^{1.}

At the conclusion of the poem there is mention with examples of several san'ats, such as مقلوب مستوی, which have been dealt with elsewhere. ^{2.}

QASIDA IV.

This qasida addressed to the Twelve Imams is a striking poem of two matla's both with the same long end-rhyme, which Inshā's fertility of ideas, and his imagination have saved from being a jingle. From it one learns that he belonged to the Isna-'Ashariyya, (twelvers) the sect of the Shi'a who believe in Muhammad b. al-Hasan as the last of the Imams.

The first three lines run thus:

نوع بشر سے تھی نہاں آتش و باد و آب و خاک : عشق نے کر دیا عیاں آتش و باد و آب و خاک
آہ و نفس اور اشک کا معدن نشوونما ہے جسد : دیکھو لے یہاں تو توں آتش و باد و آب و خاک

1. Kull, 228, 3rd, 8th and 9th lines.

2. Supra. 89-91

1. تن میں ہمارے جلوہ گر جب بھی تب ادھر ادھر : پھرتے تھے مثل سبکیاں آتش و باد و آب و خاک

Among human kind was hidden fire and wind, and water
and earth
Love made them visible fire and wind, and water
and earth
Of sighs and breath and tears the source was the body.
Look here at the twins, fire and wind, and water
and earth.
Ere in our body they were manifest, here and there
They roamed like sobs, fire and wind, and water
and earth.

This qasīda ends with the following distich where his acquaintance with the elements of the exact sciences is obvious:

دیکھو میرے قہرہ کا تو جبروت اسطقیس : ہے ارکان امتحان آتش و باد و آب و خاک 2

The end-rhyme of this qasida of 45 distiches is an eight-syllable phrase embodying the four elements. Artificiality detracts much from this qasīda which succeeds structurally rather than aesthetically.

QASĪDA V.

This poem is in praise of the eighth Imām 'Alī b. Musā (d.203/819). There are forty-nine distiches, of which sixteen belong to the second matla'; at the close are two in Turki. After ranging over a wide field and displaying much and diverse learning and mentioning such names as Docian, Ptolemy, Rustam, Philip (of Macedon), Pharaoh, Galen and some of the 'Abbasids, he bids himself be more serious and turns to praise of the Imām 'Alī b. Musā.

1. Kull., 229.

2. ibid., 231.

The end of the second matla' includes praise of Sa'adat 'Alī Khān. A defect in rhyme occurs in one line, where he has made خاموش rhyme with the form ناکوس¹.

QASĪDA VI.

This qasida of 48 distiches with three matla's, and qasida VII, of 28 distiches, are devoted to praise of Almās 'Alī Khān², at that time apparently forty years of age (1203 A.H.):

3. چهل سال است که اوقات شریفش اینست : کس ندیدم بعبادت که بدینسان باشد

These qasidas were apparently not recited to Almas by Inshā himself, as the following lines show:

4.4. مدح غایب تا کجا حاضر شدم تا در حضور : باوۀ نورانی وصلت بر نیزم یعنی جام

5.5. مدح غایب چه تسلی دهم به که دگر : رو برو عرض کنم هر چه که شایان باشد

QASĪDA VIII.

This contains three matla's, all written in Urdu and in praise of Shāh 'Ālam II, ruler of Delhi from 1759-1806.

1. Kull., 232- 1.19.

2. In Beale's Oriental Dictionary (p.5.) it is stated that Almās 'Alī Khān was a eunuch, in the household of N.Āsafu'd Daulā, and that he died in 1808. In the Qitā' -i Tārīkh (Kull:404) it is stated that he died at the age of sixty, in 1223 (according to the chronogram: (صیف لے آہ از الماس علی خان افسوس), i.e. c. 1808. In this case the qasida was composed in 1203/1788-9.

3. Kull., 237.

4. Kull, 235.

5. ibid. 237.

In the caption he is spoken of as "Bādshāh 'Alī Guhar"^{1.}
He had been known by this laqab while still a prince.

Panegyric is usually somewhat tiresome, but Inshā
succeeds in bringing his learning into efficient service:

2. منطق میں ترے حکم کے حیراں ہو رہ گئے : چاروں مقولے آئین و متقی کیف اور کم

It has often been said that the qasida ended
gloriously with the Arab poet Mutanabbī (d.965 A.D.)
His poetry has always been highly esteemed in the
East, and even been ranked by some critics as higher
than that of his predecessors. Selections from his
Diwān are a certain inclusion in a madrasa-course, and
Inshā must have read them though he does not mention
them anywhere apparently. But in quickness in turning
a word, a poem or a situation to advantage he closely

resembles him.^{3.} The following line, referring to a
sword, chosen at random shows just such quick adaptability.

4. مثل شرار نعل کے ہنگام تر کتاز : اُسکی تڑپ سے برق رہی بچھے سو قدم

His study of astronomy (ہست) in the madrasa^{-Course} would
explain the allusions in the following:
5.

ہے عدل تیرے عصر میں اتنا کہ ہر فلک : بارہ بروج نظم و نسق سے ہیں منتظم
ہے عدل تیرے عصر میں اتنا کہ ہر فلک : بارہ بروج نظم و نسق سے ہیں منتظمی بہم
ہیزان و قوس و سنبلہ و سرطان و ولو و حوت : عقرب اسد حمل سے لے ثور و جدی بہم بہم
— جوڑا سمیت رہ گئے ہیں تیرے خوف سے : ورنہ زیادتی کریں ایک ایک پر بہم

1. TazGI.3.

2. Kullī, 239.1.2.

3. Cf. Lit. Hist. of Arabs, R.A. Nicholson., 306.

4. Kull., 239.1.12.

5. Kull., 239-40.

QASĪDA IX -XI.

These three gasīdas are in Persian . They are eulogistic of Sulaiman Shukoh, son of Shāh 'Ālam II. He left Delhi (sometime after 1788) and settled, for a number of years at any rate, in Lucknow.

In No. IX Inshā states that he has heard good news, and from this it appears that he favours, or rather anticipates, Sulaiman's accession to the throne,

1. اورنگ و چتر و تاج سلیمان شکوہ را : اثناعشر ائیم ز الطاف میدہند

and hopes to serve him:

2. باشی تو شاہ کشور ستان بدہر : مرزا کی بخدمت انشاے ارجمند

In No. X called Naiyir-i A'zam, the second matla' starts with these lines in which a hint of his ascession is implicit:

3. بگفت نیز اعظم بابر و برق و شفق : کہ لے بہار خیاباں گنبد ازرق
کنون مدار مہام جہاں و گرشیفے است : بسان آئیر رحمت ہر لے جلد فوق

Eulogy continues through a third matla' with ill-wishes for the foes of the eulogised:

4. ہر آن ائیم کہ تخم عدوانت کارو : زیرق نعمت حق فرمنش شود محرق

In No. XI, before he proceeds to praise, he uses terminology

1. Kull., 241.1.9.

2. ibid., 242.1.21.

3. ibid., 243.

4. ibid., 244.1. 12.

regarding Sulaimān which indicates that the prince's accession is imminent, and as good as settled:

1. آں سلیمان شکوہ ظل اللہ :: صاحب بند و روم و شام و عراق

2. Qasīda XII, in Urdu, opens romantically with the lines:

صبح دم میںے جونی بستر گل پر کروٹ :: جنبش باد بہاری سے گئی آنکھ اوچٹ
دیکھتا کیا ہوں سر ہانے ہے کھڑی ایک پری :: جسکے جو بن سے شکستے ہے نری گدراہٹ

In the thirteenth verse he has borrowed a familiar scene from street-life:

شوخنی اس روپ سے اس تار نظر میں کھیلے :: آتا جاتا ہو رسن پر کوئی جس طرح سے نٹ

Later the fairy (parī) just referred to bids the poet prepare for celebration of Sulaiman Shukoh's birthday:

3. مجلس آراستہ ہے سالگرہ کی اوسکی :: جسکی ہر لحظہ دعا دینے میں ہے سبکدوش

The fairy declares this day to be an auspicious omen:

4. مجھ سے سننے کی ہو کہا دولت بیدار ہوں میں :: خواب غفلت سے بس اب چونک گئے ہیں لپٹ

A number of English guests, whose names are given, also attend on this occasion.

1. Kull: 245.1.20. 2. ibid., 246-7. 3. ibid. 249.1.14.

4. ibid., 249. Note: It seems that the fairy referred to above, disclosed her identity to Inshā as "Rising Fortune" (Daulat-i Bedar) She seems to symbolise the fortunes of Sulaiman Shukoh, an inference justified by a similar instance found in the qasīda of Nawwab Sa'ādat 'Alī, in which a man equipped with all the virtues of a knight, when questioned about his identity declares himself to be the نیرطالع فیروز of Sa'ādat 'Alī Khan (Kull, 254).

QASĪDA XIII.

The following lines, with apt images individually, inconsequential in which his f

بر آنکه نرد و غایا بخت ز شومی بخت : نمائند هیچ برایش ز جنس حال و مثال
سه حال بهر خود انداخت آن کدام کدام : ننگ عراقی و نقرین خلق و فرض محال مثال
1. بروئے تخت عالم که پُر ز نیرنگ است : دوش دو بار ترا آمد ای خجسته خصال محال
بروئے تخت عالم که پُر ز نیرنگ است : دوش دو بار ترا آمد ای خجسته خصال

In the opening distich of the third matla' he gives the date of the Nawwab's accession (1212/1798), and repeats "twelve" in the next line by mentioning the "twelvers"

(Isna 'asharia)^{2.}: جلوس کرده امسال و سال حال الحال : فزون دوازده است از دوازده صد سال
مدد اینده اثنا عشر نمود ندست : خوشا بسعادت طالع زهی همایون فال

This gasida was definitely therefore composed in 1212/1798.

QASĪDAXXIV.

That portion of the next gasida, No XXIV, in praise of the Nawwab which is headed اختلاف السنه is like a coloured patchwork quilt. The Shah of Persia, the Walī of Turkistān, poets of Arabia, inhabitants of Khurasan, Rājputs, Zamān Shāh (ruler of Afghanistan who made Ranjīt Singh governor of Kabul in 1779), the ruler of Kashmir, Gopīs of Braj, and the English, all expressed their good wishes in a line or two of their own language.

After praise of such things as the Nawwab's sword, ~~the~~ arsenal, etc., Inshā concludes with this distich:

1. راجہ اندر کے اکھاڑے میں ہوجوں پیروں کا ناچ ؛ در دولت پہ ہمیشہ رہے یوں ہی چم چم

QASĪDA XV.

This Urdu qasīda is also in praise of the Nawwab, Inshā's self assurance and the pot pourri of his words and

قانون بوعلی سے نہیں کم کسی طرح ؛ میرا کلام مرد شفا داں کے سامنے
قانون ہے وحشت آدمی کی جو سر جھاڑ موندہ بچاڑ ؛ چاہے تو ہوئے شاہ بنی جاں کے سامنے
ہے و کیوں کرنے یہ گھنڈ ہو بیٹھا ہوں آج میں ؛ کیسے وزیر اعظم ذی شاں کے سامنے
کیوں کرنے یہ گھنڈ ہو بیٹھا ہوں آج میں ؛ کیسے وزیر اعظم ذی شاں کے سامنے

In two contiguous distiches appear the names of Timur Khān, and Moses b. 'Imrān; his panegyric did not always recognise territorial limitations as can be seen in them.^{3.}

آکر حضور اقدس عالی میں ہوں کھڑے ؛ جو لوگ بیٹھ جائیں ترخان کے سامنے
یوں خلق تیرے حکم میں جوں خیل گو سفند ؛ ہوں گلہ گلہ موسیٰ کران کے سامنے

QASĪDA XVI.

This qasīda is also in Urdu and is a eulogy of Dulhan Jān, Ummatu'z-Zāhira who had been reared by Shāh 'Ālam II as his adopted daughter and whom he had married to Shujāu'd-Daula (Wazir of Oudh 1754-75^{4.}) She was therefore the step-mother of Nawwab Sa'adat 'Alī Khān. The ageing

1. Kull., 258. 2. ibid. 258. 1.9,10,11. 3. ibid., 259.

4. Azad., 294. fn.

1.
of flattery:

وہ کون یعنی ہر نیراد عرف و ولہن جان : بلائیں پیتے ہیں جسکے جہانیاں چٹ چٹ
گذر صبا نے کیا ہے جو اوسکے کوچہ سے : سہاگ لہر کے تاثیر کیجئے غور کہ جھٹ
گذر صبا نے کیا ہے جو اوسکے کوچہ سے : سہاگ لہر کے تاثیر کیجئے غور کہ جھٹ

The tunes and dances, cosmetics, etc. appropriate to a lady's taste are mentioned.

2. کہیں شہانے کی آواز اور کہیں کامود : کہیں تو رام کلی بھیرویں کہیں تہانت

QASIDA XVII.

This Urdu poem comprising 197 distiches is in honour of the Jubilee of King George III, and also contains praise of the Governor-General. The year therefore is 1810, and the Governor-General, Lord Minto (1807-13). From the beginning it is in exuberant mood:

3. بگیاں نور کی طیار کرای بوی سخن : کہ ہوا کھا نیکو نکلینگے جو اتان چن

Flowers, birds, etc., take part in the joyous procession. There is a fresh picture in each distich, with rapid kaleidoscopic effect. His historical and geographical references are often obscure and required to be explained at length.

In the first matla there begins the description (naksik) of a dancing girl Chelā Bai. In the second there

1. Azad., 261. 1. 2. 3.

2. ibid., 261. 1. 14.

3. Kullī 263.

is a reference to the benefit from the spread of education in the time of George III:

قدر ہر علم کی کمی اُس نے یہاں تک کہ بہم : سینکڑوں جمع ہوئے فضل و ہنر کے خرمین 1.

A reference also to Tipu Sultan and the Deccan occurs later as follows:²

پہلو سلطان کا وہ قصہ سنا ہوے گا : کر کے کیا کام پھرا وہاں جو گیا تھا جبیں
لاڑو احکام نے ایسی ہے کری ایک اور : دفعہ کانپ گیا جس کے سبب سب دکھن

At the close he invokes a blessing on all, including the East India Company:

کپنی نور کی جہتک کہ رہے یہ قائم : بادشاہی رہے اُسکی ہی بوجہ احسن 3

Conclusion:

At the time of Inshā the fortunes of the country were at a low ebb and the nobles could not afford to patronise the arts as the kings had done. A generation later Zauq was receiving a nominal four rupees monthly though he was Ustād of the king in the poetic art.

The gaṣīdas of Persian poets of an earlier date, e.g. before the Ṣafavī era, when laudatory poems were looked upon with disfavour, manifest some reality in the terms of praise, for rulers still had power, but at the time of Inshā, Shāh 'Ālam II's affairs had reached such a state that Mīr Taqī writes of him in the words of an ordinary

inn-keeper as a beggar king:

1. ہوگا جیسے شاہ عالم تم

Thus when Inshā describes such a king in the following line; +

2. جسکے رکاب میں ہیں سلاطین روزگار : گردن کشان دہریں جسکے کہ سب ختم

these terms are as good as meaningless and have no force. This unreality takes away all attraction from a qaṣīda which becomes only pompous jargon. Hamīdu'llāh Afsar rightly says that: "When Urdu did have power to fulfil the necessary conditions of the qaṣīda, the nobles and kings of our country had nothing left to support it and were themselves in trouble".

According to him Inshā deserves the second place among the qaṣīda-writers in Urdu. He acknowledges Inshā's command of the language, the grandeur of his words, his fine topics, and his use of rhetoric arts. The draw-back, according to him, was his jumping off into other languages. This defect, according to Afsar, rendered his qaṣīdas unpopular.

Jalālu'd-Din Ahmad⁴, and 'Abdu'l-Qādir Sarvarī⁵ and 'Abdu's - Salām Nadvī⁶, also rank Inshā as second to

1. Int.Mir.II,84.

2. Kull.,238.

3. Naq.Adab.183.

4. ibid.,183.

5. Jadīd Urdu Shā'irī.35-36.

6. ShH.97,98, 101.

Saudā in the qasidā. Inshā could no doubt have gained more popularity had he not tried to over-awe his hearers with his knowledge of languages and his learning. Rangīn,¹ in one of his works, also tried to show his skill in several languages. This poet, who had no small stock of self-appreciation and considered himself inferior to none, admitted the superiority of Inshā in qasīda, though he decried his masnavīs.²

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1. Imtihān-i Rangīn.
 2. Majālis-i Rangīn. fol.316.

CHAPTER VI

THE MASNAVĪ POEM

Next to the ghazal the masnavi has been the most popular verse-form in Persian and Urdu. It has been used for panegyric, marsiā (elegy) satire, epic, for the long romantic and the short narrative poem. Sūfī poets have often made use of it for their doctrines and counsels. The word is derived through mathna from the Arabic verb thana, "to fold or double". It is applied to poems, often long, consisting of distiches having the same metre, the two hemistiches of each distich having the same end-rhyme. Its freedom from the fetters (qaid) of a common end-rhyme throughout makes this verse-measure suitable for a narrative poem. Though the word is Arabic in etymology, this verse-form, like that of the ghazal, was of Persian origin. Arabs later adopted it, but called it Muzdawaj (i.e. couplet or pairs-form). It employs six types of metre, hazaj, khafīf, mutaqarib, sarī', ramal, and rajaz, the lighter measures.

3.

In the History of Persian Literature, it is stated that by Rudagi's time there had been or were seventy-six writers of Persian poetry. But it is with Rudagi (end of 9th and beginning of 10th century) that the history of

1. Haft Āsmān, 5.

2. Studies in North
Indian Languages, 255.

3. I.HPL. II, 274.

Persian poetry definitely touches ground. Rudagī, by order of the Samanid ruler, Nasr b. Ahmad, translated KALILA wa DIMNA from Arabic into Persian. It is a collection of moralising stories based on the Sanskrit Hitopadesa. His Persian version is not extant. Walih Daghistanī says that by his linguistic attainments Rudagī was the first to reduce Arab scorn of Persian ability.^{1.} He is stated to have been the first to compose a masnavī, and lay down its general outline.^{2.}

Firdausī employed it for the Shāhnāma, his epic, which he completed in c.400/1010. He has used the mutaqārib metre in this long, national heroic poem. In romantic poems also it is employed, but the still lighter hazaj-measure is more often found.

The earliest of the romantic masnavīs extant is Vīs ū Rāmīn. It is based on a Pahlavī (Mid. Pers.) tale,^{3.} which has been traced as far as Parthia. Fakhru'd-Din-Jurjānī wrote a version of it in Persian verse between 1040 and 1054. He undertook, at the instance of the governor of Isfahan, to make a version of this old and popular Pahlavī tale, which others before him had rendered, but indifferently, into Persian. It is in hazaj-metre. Ethé has pointed out that "its importance lies in the fact that with it begins the differentiation of the romantic

1. Haft Āsman.6. 2. Ibid., 7.

3. Vīs ū Rāmīn, A Parthian Romance, art. by Miłorski in Bulletin of S.O.A.S., XI, 4, 741, XII, I, 20.

from the heroic variety of masnavī, and the consecration of the hazaj-metre to the former as of the mutaqārib to latter." It opens with hamd and na'at, a convention in Muslim writings. The poet then proceeds to praise the governor of Isfahan, and to mention this work and his undertaking it.

Nizāmī of Ganja (d.598/1202-3) wrote a Khamsa or group of five Masnavīs which served as a frequent model for ambitious poets. The two romantic numbers among them, Khusrau and Shirin and Laylā and Majnūn, have been often imitated. Amīr Khusrau (d. c. 723/1322), who leads the row of Indo-Persian writers, followed the lines of Nizāmī's Khamsa, even to the extent of naming two of them, Shirin and Khusrau and Majnūn and Laylā. He had hoped at least to rival his model. Acknowledging his inability to compete he attributed Nizāmī's success to his confining himself "to a single branch of poetry; instead of frittering away his energy in all directions, he strove in the Masnavī alone.... He said "goodbye" to the world and its attractions and retreated to a quiet corner."

In 1273 there died Jalālu'd-Din Rūmī, the great Sūfī poet, whose spiritual guidance and influence extends beyond

1. J. HPL., II, 275.

2. Hazrat Amīr Khusrau of Delhi, 74-5

his native Persia. Of his mystical Masnavi Professor Browne writes that it "deserves to rank amongst the great poems of all time."^{1.} It is written throughout in the "apocopated hexameter Ramal-meter."^{2.} It opens without the conventional hamd of doxology.

The continuous stream of these romantic Masnavis well illustrates India's love of a story, and, one must add, of a good story-teller. It is a characteristic not only of Northern India, but also of the Deccan. When Delhi came to realise in the 18th century that the Urdu vernacular could provide a more than satisfactory substitute for Persian, poets and poetasters told stories in masnavi-form, but none has equalled in pith, or grace, or ease of language, or in old-world charm the mastery of Mir Hasan. He must have stood calmly aside from the pettiness and frustration of his age in which all the fair promise of the Timurid dynasty was reflected incomplete and unfulfilled, though that house remains as romantically immortal as the dynasty of the Stuarts in Britain.

Inshā has written altogether eleven masnavis. The longest of them, entitled Shir-o-Biranj, has seven hundred distiches. With the exception of this moralising Sūfi type

1. H.P.L. II, 515

2. Ibid, 520.

of poems; they are mostly farcical and trivial in nature. They appear to have been written to amuse the Nawwab of Oudh or other patron. The date of their composition was apparently between 1204/1791 and 1214/1799.^{1.} Inshā's early studies were probably confined to Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, but by the time he composed the masnavī Be-Nuqat (dated 1214/1799) he had apparently attained a certain competence in Braj-Bhasha, as there is a passage of twelve lines in it in that dialect.^{2.} He has also a short poem in Braj in his pure Hindi narrative in prose, Rānī Ketkī Kī Kahānī.^{3.} As this dialect is still often used in poetical compositions it is not astonishing that a mind so acquisitive set itself to learn it and use it.

I. MASNAVĪ SHĪR-O BIRANJ.

In this instance Inshā has written his poem on the lines of another. Persian and Urdu express this kind of composition as being in reply (jawāb) to another, but neither "reply" nor "imitation" quite conveys the sense. This was no innovation on the part of Inshā, poets have often thus openly acknowledged some measure of indebtedness to a predecessor. He adopted the general outline of Bahā'ī's Nān-o-Halva, but his disposition was not such as

1. Kull., 340, 346, 375, 376. 2. Ibid., 354-55

3. Rānī Ketkī Kī Kahānī., 41: infra. 220.

to allow him to follow on anyone's lines closely or for long. He has stated towards the close of his masnavī that he wrote it in "answer" to Bahā'ī's Nān-o-Halva, and adds at the end a chronogram of the date of its composition (1205/1791-2). At this time Inshā was at the court of Sulaiman Shukoh, in Lucknow.

Shaikh Muhammad b. Husain Bahā'^{1.}u'd-Dīn Āmilī (Bahā'ī) (d.c.1031/1622) was a theologian and a Sūfī. Aghā Ahmad 'Alī maintains that the nisbat should be 'Āmilī^{2.}. Bahā'ī wrote a well-known Sūfī didactic poem Nān-o-Halva in masnavī-verse, in which he reproves worldly attachment and hypocrisy, etc., and counsels seclusion from the world, true love, and reliance of God. He points his moral sometimes with a tale, such as that of the dog reproaching a hermit with want of divine reliance, and once he employed an allegory. He writes in grave earnest, in keeping with his profession of Sūfism.

Short Account of the themes.

a) Inshā, in this his longest masnavī, which contains some eight hundred and four distiches, follows Bahā'ī's outline in general. After opening conventionally with hamd, he proceeds to address the Sāqī, and then quotes verses from

1. H,P,L. IV, 28. The nisbat is there given as Āmilī.

2. Haft Āsmān, 139 f+ also in A.S.B. Cat. Iv.722.

1.
from the Sura Al-Najm and urges himself to make it a "daily portion" (wird) and to stone "Manāt", and Lāt and 'Uzza."

He then proceeds to reprove jurists and hypocrites, philosophers and logicians and Sūfīs for their vain practices.

b) First Tale.

This is followed by the story of a "profligate" (rind) who has been given false news of Shiblī's decease. Whilst he is in mourning, and for the moment forgetting God, Shiblī appears to him, and in the end of their conversation explains to him in the words of a well-known tradition that "acts are judged by intentions". This poem is described in the heading as a tamsīl (parable)

c) Second Tale.

After two short passages containing moral counsels and a warning against indifference as a cause of great remorse, he tells the story of a saintly anchorite in whose charge a special disciple (سید خاص), a merchant who had to go away on business, left his little daughter. The child grew up in years and grace. On one occasion, when the servants were abroad, the devil tempted him to

make advances to the girl. He recovered himself before going too far and fled. He had recourse to a rind for counsel. When he approached the house of the latter he saw him drinking wine and fondling a beardless youth (amrad). The rind invited him to sit down and drink. He did so, but to his astonishment he found that the wine was non-intoxicating, and that a draught of it cleared his mind of all trouble. The rind then told him that the amrad was his son, and that he adopted this mode of life as a blind, because people came to him and he saw through their falsehood; seeing him behaving in this fashion they avoided him, and none left anything in deposit with him. He then threw some water on the ground calling out "Hū!" and the anchorite at once perceived the vanity of the things of earth and returned unto his saintly ways.

d) Third and Fourth Tales.

The next two stories are also of a miraculous nature. In one a king and his subjects gathered to pray for rain. After fifteen days a rind, calling out "Yā Hū!", threw his glass of wine against a stone before them and vowed to drink no more until it rained, and thus left his honour in God's charge. Rain began to fall soon after.

In the other story an abdāl in the guise of a strolling player (سازگار), appeared at a royal court. One of the company pretended to be a lion; the prince pinched his ear and asked

how he could pretend to be so wild an animal. The abdāl then turned himself into a lion and bit and killed the prince. Later in the guise of Jesus, the abdāl restored the prince to life through his spiritual power and knowledge of God.

e) The Fifth Tale.

This story is based on the Quranic verse which introduces the theme:

"The heaven hath sustenance for you, and it containeth that which you are promised."^{1.}

The story deals with the grammar and exegesis of this text, and then proceeds to base an admonitory tale on it. One day a religious scholar was explaining the above verse; a poor illiterate man was greatly impressed by his words and went to a cave and worshipped there. He could not find anything there to eat, but that verse comforted him. He fell asleep exhausted with hunger. When he awoke he saw delicious food before him, and thereafter he used to receive viands daily on plates of gold and silver. A report of his spiritual power (karāmat) spread in the city, and one day that learned man went to him and privately asked him about the matter. He replied: "It is all due to you. Your expounding of the verse so possessed me that I wandered out into the wilderness. Whatever need I have now is fulfilled." But greed took such hold of the

1. Qur., 41, 22-3.

exegete that he slipped away and gathered the discarded plates of gold and silver. Inshā then exhorts one not to be like the man who seeks worldly things, otherwise what is the use of knowledge!

This story, like that of the 'ābid and the dog in Nān-o Halwā, inculcates the lesson of reliance on God for all one's needs.

f) The Sixth Tale.

Next follows a warning against associating with common people, and advice about avoiding the company of the mean. Inshā here says that association with the wise shows one to be wise, and with the indifferent, to be like them. The company of the bad will harm one just as it will make a lion behave like a sheep. He then narrates how a lion-cub, whose mother had been shot, lost all his qualities and even his identity through living among sheep. He ate grass and never killed any animal. One day when he was fully grown, the flock he belonged to was attacked by a lion. The sheep ran for their life and he with them. The attacker was greatly surprised to find one of his own species among the sheep and conducting himself like them. He caught hold of him and asked him why he was running away. The sheep-lion answered that it was because he was a sheep and so was at his mercy. The lion thereupon rebuked him and talked

to him of his power and strength. But the sheep-lion could not believe it, and was still afraid of the lion. Then the lion asked him to look into the water and find out the difference. After much encouragement and advice his fear disappeared and as soon as he tasted blood he realised his true nature.

In this parable Inshā advises men to be as brave as lions for their faith, and to live in love and be not afraid.

g) The Seventh Tale.

The following story is connected with Uwais, a Companion of the Prophet, and a famous Sūfī. It is told of the Prophet that he requested 'Umar and 'Alī to make over at his death his cloak to Uwais. The narrative here is not found in the usual sources of reference, It states that when on the Night of Ascent the Prophet saw a man asleep in Heaven, he enquired of Gabriel as to who he was. Gabriel answered that it was Uwais, who one night was much disturbed by mosquitoes, and complained that he could not sleep. God loved him so that he caused him to sleep on the Throne.

Inshā then concludes that the courage of lovers is a guide everywhere, and the throne ('arsh; kursī) is the abode of the servants of God, and expresses himself in these words:

ہمت عشاق ہر جا رہنما است ؛ عرش و کرسی جائے خاصان خدا است

h) The Eighth Tale.

Next comes the story of a king and queen who were disciples ^{each} of a different spiritual guide. One day they debated the merits of these two, and while they were at the dining table the queen proposed that they should pray and see whose hand would appear out of the unseen, as a test of superior power. Suddenly a hand showed itself and emptied the Rabāb dish. The king said that this was the hand of her saint, a wine-bibber, for his saint would have taken shir-o biranj and such like sweet-meats. The queen replied that this action showed that hers had a more powerful supernatural influence as only his hand had appeared. The king was convinced and became a devotee of her saint, Saiyid Murtazā.

j) Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Tales.

The first is a short account of an āzād (one free from social and orthodox conventions) who used to stand by the bank of a turbulent river and request to have brought him a ruby cup of good vintage wine. A hand would appear with it and he would drink it heartily.

Though it is not stated here, it seems implicit that the āzād requests draughts of divine love as fulfilment of the devotee's desire.

Then follows the story of an Arab in whom unsatisfied desire had been awakened for a girl of the neighbourhood.

Once she came to fill her brazier at his fire, and this excited his lust the more. The next part of the story indicates his depravity. The fire of lust so raged in him that he began to call out "Fire! Fire!", and the neighbours gathered thinking there was a real outbreak.

The moral drawn is that shīr-o biranj, as representing the pleasures of the world, is an unsuitable diet for the unmarried:

1. پخته زین آتش شو و شیر و برنج ؛ کاں ترا می افکند در قهر و رنج
خیزد از شیر و برنج آتش ترا ؛ میکند در حرص شیطان ویش ترا

The eleventh is the story of two friends, one of whom has been blind from birth and the other since maturity. It is a good example of explaining the "ignotum per ignotum". One day the latter expressed a desire to drink milk. The former enquired: "What is milk?". The queries continued until at last the two became impatient with one another.

Inshā, concludes with a warning to his audience not to be like such persons as he considers all worldly people blind like them, heedless of God's gifts and not learning from example.

k) The Twelfth Tale.

Next Inshā tells of someone who used to call out the name "Iblīs" every morning and evening. When forty

days had passed in this way Iblīs appeared as an old man with a white beard, wearing a cloak and carrying a walking stick. He asked the man what he wanted. When the latter complained of his poverty, Iblīs told him to sell him, and so saying he turned himself into an Iraqi horse. A merchant, referred to here as "khwāja", bought the horse, paying for it in full. But when he took it into his stable it turned into a mouse and ran into a hole. The khwāja tried to lay hands on him, but caught hold of only his tail which came off in his grasp, and the mouse vanished. The khwāja then placed the tail in his purse, and ordered his servants to fetch the man who had sold it. When the former owner came, he laughed and asked what connection there was between a horse and the tail of a mouse. When they could not come to any agreement, the khwāja took the case to court and explained the whole story. The Qāzī exclaimed, "It is incredible!" The khwāja thereupon opened his purse to show the tail to him but to the surprise of all found in it the penis of an ass. The scene excited the Qāzī to anger, and he rebuked the khwāja for his insulting behaviour and struck him over the head with his stick and ordered his men to remove them both; the khwāja was imprisoned, and the seller of the horse was put on an ass and proclaimed in the city as a thief. He thus became a target of laughter and humiliation for the children and women, and was finally

expelled from the city.

Inshā concludes that the followers of Iblīs meet this fate, and advises that the eating of shir-o biranj is not good for the saintly. It is merely asking aid from other than God, one should depend on, and cling faithfully to Him.

l) The Thirteenth Tale.

Inshā narrates here an indecent story of a religious mendicant with only a covering of ashes on him, but young and strong, whose attention is engaged by a woman on an upper floor. He is attracted and goes to her and falls a prey to her kisses and embraces. Meantime her husband appears and the mendicant hides. The husband suddenly makes up his mind to kill a sheep, and turns in the direction of the youth, who, in fear of his life steps forward and declares himself ^{to be} Azra'il (the angel of death), and states that he has come to take the soul of the sheep when killed. Each now is afraid of the other and the story ends in both leaving the intended victim. The mendicant then makes off, saying to himself that this shir-o biranj would have cost him his life, through his submission to the urgings of the lustful self.

m) The Fourteenth Tale.

Inshā now narrates a tale of a young prince, a

devotee and a houri. A merchant on his way to Isfahan saw under a tree, a young man sitting disappointed and dejected. When asked the reason for this state the youth told his story. He said he was a prince and one day had gone out hunting. He chased a deer till she tired but managed to disappear from sight. He met a dervish who gave him a delicious cupful of rice and milk. Meantime the deer arrived, and the old man was much upset at her condition. She fell unconscious, and he began to lament and rebuke the youth responsible for her state, saying, "You saw only her outward appearance and not her inner soul". The youth now realised that the deer was really a beautiful girl, and he became ashamed of his action. The houri died, and the devotee was consumed with grief. The young man saw a flame issuing from the heart of the devotee, who then disappeared with the deer. Some five years after this event the prince was still lamenting, but he had one consolation in that the houri was visible on dark nights, and from this he derived solace and encouragement.

Inshā then concludes that all this happened because the youth ate shīr-o biranj, and this led him to neglect his kingdom and seek worldly vanities.

n) The Fifteenth Tale.

The following story is connected with Hasan b,

'Alī b. Abī Tālib, and is based on a tradition. One day a slave girl of Ḥasan,, the elder son of 'Alī and a grandson of the Prophet, was bringing food to her master when it slipped from her hand to the ground. She was very frightened, but with great presence of mind recited these words from the Quran: الكاظمين الغيظ, meaning "Those who check their passion". She added : والعافين , i.e. "And those who forgive", and continued with these words والله يحب المحسنين , i.e. "God loves the welldoers."^{1.} Being a true devotee he not only forgave her, but also set her free in accordance with the Quranic assurance: "God loves the welldoers".

Inshā draws the moral that one should not ill treat one's subordinates and should forgive the faults of others.

o) Concluding Tale.

The concluding poem in ramal-metre is rather diffuse. As it was written by 1205/1791 the reference to the bell of the caravan in the third verse explains itself as an imitation of his predecessors in the poetic art:

2. میرسد بانگ درایے کاروان :۔ جان بقربان چنین ریگ روان

The poet holds before him the prospect of a visit to

1. Qur., III, 134.

2. Kull., 337.

Yasrib (Medina) and of walking round the tomb of the Prophet and praying earnestly for mercy on his own soul. From there he proposes to proceed to Najaf:

1. بعد یثرب روکنم سوئے نجف : گوهر مقصود خود آرام بکف

In one of a number of Arabic lines he deplores his being born to misfortune:

2. لیت ای لم تلدن فی المطاب : لیت لم تصنع فخری من تراب

until a reproof comes to him as a true worshipper and

he says: ".... گفت شاه پادشاه ای حق پرست : گفتش دیوانه را ہوئے بس است
تا بط می ساقیم کج می نهد : شیر و مرغ و جان آدم می دهد

"....A declaration of God's name sufficeth the frenzied, whilst the Sāqī inclines the wine jar.....".

Some of the above stories are as amusing or as graceless as their like in the Gesta Romanorum or in the stories of Boccaccio. One unfortunate feature in all these works is the occasional introduction of ascetics and religious personages into the stories, sometimes very much to the disadvantage of these people and their mode of life.

Inshā's poem stands in striking contrast to that of Bahā'ī's, Nān-o-Halwā is on a moral and mystic plane

1. Kull, 338.

2. ibid. 339.

3. ibid., 339.

beyond the world's baseness; Shir-o-Biranj rings the changes between purity and profanity, but will not judge of the degrees between. Inshā is not a cynic; congenital in him or developed in him was a ribald, rabelaisian strain which held him to the things of earth.

Mushafī praises the "purity of diction" in this masnavī,^{1.} and Rangīn excluded it from his condemnation of Inshā's masnavīs.^{2.} Inshā calls it admonition, and adds that he laboured with difficulty to produce it,^{3.} and that it is a treasury of secrets of the unseen.

1. Taz.H.,23.

2. Majālis-i Rangīn,fol.316.

3. Kull,339.

II MASNAVĪ BE-NUQAT.

Note was made earlier^{1.} in regard to the rare endeavour of a few poets to compose poetry with undotted characters only, and of the lack of success in such achievement. In the following be-nuqat masnavī of a hundred distiches in Persian,^{2.} which as is stated before and at its close, was composed in 1214/1799-1800, he has made use of undotted characters only.

The masnavī begins with hamd, as usual. It then proceeds to praise of the Prophet, 'Alī (Sawār-i duldul) and the two rulers of the period, Shāh 'Alam II and Nawwab Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān. Most of the remainder is a typical romantic narrative, in this case, of Salām and Salmā, two twelve year old youths. They meet in a cave, but are killed by lightning in a storm, and their ashes are mixed in death. In this poem also the restriction to certain ^{alphabetic} characters has resulted in stiltedness.

III. MASNAVĪ SHIKĀR-NĀMA.

This masnavī was written by order of Nawwab Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān on the occasion of a hunting expedition. It gives the day and date, and a list of the day's experiences of the party. It is in Persian, except for one distich in Turki. After opening with hamd and an account of the company it gives the date as 22nd. Zu'l-hijja and the year (1220/1805). Next follows praise of the "Lion of God", 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, then of the Nawwab.

1. Supra. 86 2. ibid., 341-46.

The poet visits the tents of the encampment at Dharhara and hears the drums and other musical instruments. In an interesting section of fourteen verses he represents in Persian phrases, all of them with meaning and rhythm, the various sounds of the instruments.^{1.}

The date 1220 A.H. is repeated in a Qitā'ah and is followed by a description of the Nawwab's horse:^{2.}

اسپ چہ اسپ اشہب باد صبا : اسپ مگو شد رخ گلگون قبا

No ashgray horse this, but morning zephyr!
Call it not a horse but a king with roseate mantle!

In the day's sport fifteen lions fall a victim to the Nawwab's skill: this number includes unborn cubs!

The description of the musical instruments is clever and entertaining. The poem is a panegyric, as well as a chronicle probably wholly imaginary. It provided the writer with an opportunity of exercising his ingenuity in drawing word-pictures,

IV. MASNAVĪ SATIRISING THE HORNET (ZAMBŪR)

Inshā has written this Urdu masnavī of ninety-four distiches as a rollicking extravaganza. Hornets (bhir) are of two types, one reddish in colour, the other yellow. Their sting, especially when they have been angered, causes pain and swelling; if the sting is in a delicate part of the body the consequences may be very serious.

1. cf. Browning's sound-picture in the Pied Piper of Hamelin.

2. Kull., 349.

and there are reports of death under these circumstances. Inshā here refers to the yellow species as he writes in the second hemistich:^{1.} "The whole town has become yellow. They swarm everywhere; it looks as if the yellow blossom of the champā, etc., were in motion; they enter every corner, and even break the nose-ornament of a courtesan". From the twenty-eighth line begins a passage of 12 distiches in Braj. It is referred to as a qit'a but actually is in masnavi-form; its metre is khafif, which frequently occurs in masnavis. The word qit'a is obviously intended here in its Arabic sense of a "portion or fragment".

The language is not clear at all places, but the following sufficiently renders the meaning:

QIT'A IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE PEOPLE OF BRAJ.

ایک جو بھونرا بھڑوں نے گھیر لیا : خوب سا اسکو ہیر پھیر لیا

A black beetle was seen by the people in Braj
who made it move this way and that;
Then the village-folk began to call it Krishna Nand
(and said:) O dear one, we are like the cooked rice
grains;

O master, we ever remember you,
You are the life of us separated ones.
Rādhā comes into the forest still,
And seems to hear the sweet notes of your flute.
Those forests, teeming in Karil bushes,
Have been darkly-thickened with them.
Now you have made your abode a well-decorated
Palace by going to Dwārikā
You have left the remembrance of the women of Braj-
You still are happy and not bored.
We still exalt you with our continued "Bravo"!-

- O you son of Devakī, we are your servants!
Why do you not come to us?
Without you this banasbat is in the wilderness;
Neither are there coverings, nor bedding, nor any stir.
O respected Gopal, this Bindrāban wishes to see you
again!

The poem ends with the hornets reaching to the
sky, and the abrupt words:^{1.}

آگے بس خیراب بکھیرا ہے : بھڑکے چھتے کو تو نے چھوڑا ہے

"Now you have brought a hornet's nest about your ears!"

There is little in this work apart from the satirising
of the hornet. It abounds in obscene words and fanciful
conceits. ^{the} Braj-passage is not essential to the development
of the theme, but provides the poet with a chance to show
his capacity in another language, and his acquaintance with
Krishna mythology.

V. MASNAVĪ SATIRISING THE BED-BUG.

This masnavī is of about the same length as that on the
hornet, containing some ninety-six distiches; it resembles
it in tone also. It is satirical in the sense that the
swarming of the bugs everywhere, even between a bride and
bridegroom, produces ridiculous situations. It provides
the poet with an opportunity for airing grievances about
these pests for the free use of figures of speech, and
for entire abandon to the sometimes questionable humour
of the situation. He starts off by saying that the ground
is all red with them. They swarm so closely that the trees
are branched like coral. The verdure is one red mass.

1. Kull, 357.

The following distich can probably be taken to confirm, from its mention of Lāl Digi, that the poem was composed in Delhi:^{1.}

ان کی رگ رگ کے بسکہ فوج ہوئی ؛ لال ڈگی تمام موج ہوئی

The following lines illustrate his extravagance of statement:

کر نظر اس بہار کا عالم ؛ آنسو لوہو کے روگنی شبنم
خوب دیکھو تو فرش سے تاعرش ؛ ہے سقرلات سرخ ہی کافرش
الغرض تھا جہاں جہاں ونگل ؛ بن گیا گھر خدیوں کا وہاں جنگل

The next example is of the same order, but introduces one of his flower similes, the "Flame of the Forest" (dhāk) better known in Bengal as the palāsī^{2.} He may have been recalling a childhood memory of this tree with its wonderful blaze of colour:

پاؤں سب وحشیوں کے بھول گئے ؛ دھاک سے جنگلوں میں بھول گئے

The encompassing red called forth this verse:

کافروں نے یہ تہر کام کیا ؛ چون قزل باش قتل عام کیا

This metaphor is forced, for these insects though blood suckers are not murderers! But it does illustrate how, in the exuberance of his efforts at all costs to be expansive, his humour sometimes exceeds the mark. In the following it is somewhat broad:

نہ فقط یہ چمن کے بیچے میں ہیں ؛ ہوتے دولہ دولہن کے بیچے میں ہیں

In the following distich the reference is not in good taste,

1. Kull., 358.

2. Whence "Plassey" is said to be derived.

while the meaning of the second part is not clear:

خون منہور سے ہو گئے سب ریت : جتنے صوفی تھے سارے آئے کھیت

When complaints of these vermin reach a certain pandit he tells a story, Rāvan, he says, had a son Jaimal; these bugs are his children; Rāvan resolved to exterminate them and treat them as Rakshās, but all to no effect:

جوں جوں مرتے ہیں بڑھتے جاتے ہیں : اور لوگوں کو توڑے کھاتے ہیں

One line may be quoted to show that as a true Shi'a

Inshā still entertained the centuries old bitterness towards the Umayyad ruler Yazid and his governor at Kufa, 'Ubaidu'llah b. Ziyad, whose administrative action led to Husain's death at Karbala:

یا تو یہ ہیں یزید کی اولاد : یا کہ بے شبہ نسل ابن زیاد

As an example of rollicking, and more or less spontaneous, wit and humour, this poem is without rival in Urdu, and probably there are few long ones of its kind in any language. Some of it might be described as pot-house humour.

VI. MASNAVĪ IN SATIRE OF THE MOSQUITTO.

This poem contains some fifty-nine distiches. In style and tone it resembles its two predecessors (the hornet and the bed-bug). It opens with the verse:

پھروں کو ہوا ہے ابکی یہ اوج ∴ دب گئی جنسے مرٹوں کی فوج

The allusion here is to the 17th and 18th centuries when the Marhaṭṭas under Shivājī and Bājī Rāo respectively had built up an extensive empire at the expense of the Timurid Sultans of Delhi. In 1737 their horsemen at length appeared before the gates of Delhi, and two years later Nadir Shāh shed much blood within it. The devastation caused by these invasions remained an unforgettable memory. The "Seven Cities" never recovered their former estate.

The mosquitoes come with a buzzing like the blowing of the horn of Israfil, the angel of the Resurrection. They come like black sandstorms, and the city's streets are filled with them. They linger about it till it is become an Ethiopian (habshī) world. They have licked the shrike's tail so clean that the poor thing is bewildered and dazed. Smoke is no protection against them. They enter the pupil of the eye, and into the corner of the heart.

Later, where he humorously remarks that even demons and ghosts or jinn would flee on hearing their buzzing, he uses a trilateral word-play in the first three words of the second hemistich : -

دیو ہو یا کہ بھوت یا جن ہو ∴ وال فی عین آنکی سن فن ہو

Inshā has used similar devices in other poems. The characters here دفع spell the Arabic verb "to ward off"; and the meaning is that no one, human or superhuman, is safe from their ravages.

In the following distich Namrud Ke Chacha must imply that:

واہ کچھ زور ہے بچہ ہیں یہ : یعنی نرود کے چچا ہیں یہ

must imply that mosquitoes are more cunning than Nimrod. It is said that Nimrod died because a mosquito entered his brain through his nose and the doctors advised tapping his head for relief, but as the pain grew more intense he asked his servants to strike harder and harder, He died of the consequences!

As elsewhere in Inshā, the Zāhid, is not spared; the mosquito is blamed for his being debauched:

ارے چھڑ ہیں وہی دشمن : ہوئے زہاد جنسے تر وامن

The delightful fooling continues throughout:

الفرض قوم یہ بہت بد ہے : نام دیکھو تو کیا مشدو ہے
کن نے رکھا ہے چھڑ انکا نام : انکو کہئے تو کہئے لشکر شام
لفظ انشانہ بول لا یعنی : چھڑ آکر اڑائے یعنی

VII. MASNAVĪ IN SATIRE OF FLIES.

This poem comprises sixty-eight distiches, of which the last fifteen contain an indecent story which has no connection with the subject. The fifty-three distiches do not differ in style from those in the three preceding

1. This reference is to yazīd's army at Karbala.

poems, but they lack their spontaneity. The following lines have been selected as specimens of the style:

The flies cast their shadow everywhere:

مکھیوں کا بلند پایہ ہوا : سایہ سب انکے زیر سایہ ہوا

This verse, for example, lacks any sparkle:

قلقل ہی کی اڑ گئی وہ ہوا : چائے سے آگے مل گیا قہوا

This one is coarse, both in diction and meaning: -

گرچہ چھبے تو جی کو روکتے ہیں : لیک پر نالے سارے اوکتے ہیں

As also this one:

طاق پر ہے دھرا جو شیشہ می : لکے ہے اوسکے نصیب میں بھی قے

In many the sentiment is bathos:

بنگئے لوگ بھوت کی صورت : کالے پتھر کی جیب ہو صورت
کیوں نہ ہر ایک شخص ہو بیکل : مکھیوں کا گھرا ہے دل بادل

His muse appears to have tired, to judge from the

frequent repetition of words; the twenty-first and

thirty-fifth lines show this; -

کھلکھلا کر اثار جو ہیں ہنسا : دام میں مکھیوں کے آن پھینسا
ہریاں ساری کھلکھلاتی ہیں : سب کو آواز یہ سناتی ہیں

The last fifteen lines contain a story having no

apparent connection with this satire. Its grossness is

another witness to that combination in one nature of

lewdness and a consciousness of a different state of

existence, which does not however stop to examine the moral

issues of life on the lower.

VIII. MASNAVĪ IN COMPLAINT OF THE UNPROFITIOUS AGE.

This contains one hundred and twenty one lines.

The poet here expresses himself with greater freedom

and fluency than in the last masnavī. His similes seem

less strained.

Time cannot endure the sight of prosperity, or of two loving hearts. It is always ready to show enmity especially towards lovers.

The poet proceeds to speak of parting with regret from one he loved, as he was himself obliged to move to a different quarter. He tells of his first meeting and of reunions, and goes on to describe all her physical features. He uses the word naksak^{1.} (نکسک), a Hindi technical term, for such descriptions.^{2.}

In the following line the term سقنقور (skink; kind of lizard) occurs:

گلاوٹ بازوؤں کی چشم بد دور : وہ دونوں چھلیاں جیسے سقنقور

Mushafī had already employed it in one of his ghazals;^{3.}

Inshā repeated it in a ghazal rather tauntingly and Mushafī retaliated, questioning Inshā's use of the word. Āzād has expressed his own view on this controversy in support of Inshā.^{4.}

This masnavī has succeeded in sustaining a certain dignity of tone throughout a theme which needed delicate

-
1. A Compound of نک (nail of finger etc) and سک (head); سک is used in Persian in a similar sense.
 2. In Sarāpā Sukhan, many lines have been selected from Inshā to describe human features.
 3. Āzād, 320.
 4. ibid., 324.

treatment. Through the description of her physical features and of their sex-relations runs a sincere exposition of their mutual feelings which saves it from the indictment of coarseness.

IX. MASNAVĪ ON THE ELEPHANT.

This Urdu masnavī, of some three hundred lines including seventeen in Persian, must be one of the most exuberant and hilarious ever penned.

It opens with a call to the Sāqī for wine of a vintage of the black grapes of Abyssinia, but with a taste as strong as black pepper, in a flagon of the form of a full moon, whereby the night may become a lailatu'l-qadr. The mention of "Lailā" suggests the next line:

ہو جسے شبہ نشہ سرفراز : لیلے سیاہ ظیمہ ناز

His reference to the "wall of China" (دیوار قہقہا) is clear here in the eleventh line:

ہو جس میں پیٹ اڑوہا کی : صورت دیوار قہقہا کی

and also twenty-four lines later:

گویا خرطوم اڑوہا تھی : صورت دیوار قہقہا تھی

He uses it to signify the "winding" of the wall, or its "compass" and girth". Compare with this the meaning of this phrase in Shāh Ābru's line ¹:

خندوں کے طور گویا دیوار قہقہا ہے : پھر کر پورے نہ لڑکا جو اس طرف کو جھانکا

where the sense requires the explanation that whoever looks down from the wall laughs involuntarily².

1. Azad, 98.

2. Nūru'l-Lughāt, s.v.

Early in the poem there begins a particularly amusing series of jingling lines:

جس سے سب دال فی ہو و حسنت : عینر کی بھری ہو جس میں نکہت

In the wide sweep of his frivolity the Zāhid is included:

جس سے کٹ جائے زاہد خشک : جس میں کہ گولا ہو نافع مشک

and also the monk:

جس میں ہوں معجزات عیسیٰ : غش جس سے ہو راب کیا

It should be remarked that while Inshā's net is far-flung over faiths and their adherents, he speaks humorously and nowhere with ill-will.

Before proceeding to his story he abates his demand for wine:

رک مت بچے سے ارے تورہ وا : گر ہوے نہ مٹی تو چھڑا ہوا

The story is as follows: A handsome elephant was caught in the district of Bairī, in December, 1792, as the author states spaciouly. A fine female elephant becomes enamoured of him. On 28th June 1793, they again mate, and the repetitions of this provide an opportunity for the rebelaisian element in Inshā to run wild. His humour was broad, boorish at times, but it does not ever appear vicious or illgrained.

Inshā has attributed this masnavī at two places to جان کارش . He states in the former that he himself put it into Urdu verse. In the latter reference he describes John Karsh (?) as an Englishman and adds that it was rendered into Persian by کلاک صاحب (Clarke?)

a companion of the Nawwab Wazir, by whose authority it was versified as it is now by Inshā. After Nawwab Āsafu'd-Daula , who died in 1797, Wazir 'Alī ruled for a year till he was deposed, and Sa'ādat 'Alī succeeded, in 1798. As Inshā was closely associated only with the last of these, it looks as if this masnavī did not see the light before 1800.^{1.}

The call for wine in the beginning need not be taken literally; it is more likely to be the conventional preliminary to a narrative. Whether this one has any relation to one told by an Englishman, let alone be its translation, is not known.^{2.} The style is picturesque, and animals, trees and birds are well sketched in the canvas; only a person familiar with the Indian landscape and life could have described such a scene.

X. MASNAVĪ IN SATIRE OF, OR LAMPOON ON, GYĀN CHAND SĀHUKĀR.

This is a short satirical poem on a moneylender. It is not known whether Inshā has here mentioned a real personality, a Baniā of his acquaintance, or has

1. According to 'Abdu'l-Haqq Inshā entered the service of Sa'ādat 'Alī in 1215/1800, and Mirza Sulaiman Shukoh returned to Delhi that same year (Muq. Tazh., p.8) In the Kulliyāt of Inshā there is a gasīda of the time of Sa'ādat 'Alī's accession (1212/1798) a date which would indicate that he had access to the Nawwab.

2. In the eighth line from the end of the poem.

satirised this class in an imaginary story. That Inshā sought for his pleasures the company of public women there is much reason to believe. Salacious passages in his poems, and notably his Dīwān-i Rekhtī did not proceed out of the mouth of one acquainted only with a lofty austerity and other-worldliness. But to condemn him would be to signal him out for attack where many were as bad or worse. If he be judged by his times he must have been looked upon for many years as most enviable, and quite a favourite of fortune. If he did have knowledge of how one half of the world lived, he yet succeeded in cultivating the other.

The poem is composed of thirty-nine distiches. The language used is natural in the sense that Gyān Chand speaks as a man of his class would speak. He uses some Persian words, giving to most of them a non-Persian pronunciation; e.g. Khair is written as Khair. Inshā in his Daryā-i Latāfat describes the dialect of Delhi as spoken by different types of people. This poem shows that he was well acquainted with the mixed colloquial current, and could use it in its appropriate setting. In it Inshā uses Urdu for descriptive lines, but Gyān Chand uses his bania's colloquial, whilst Khairātī's mode of expression is rustic. For instance Khairātī, a Muslim servant of the bania, employs occasionally a

word of Persian origin but mispronounces it; e.g. he uses kharchī for kharchī.

The story runs thus: a sākūkār (moneylender), Gyān Chand, became infatuated with a certain courtesan named Bhengī Amīr Bakhsh. Gyān Chand, asked Khairātī to arrange a meeting with her. Khairātī, astute in his own interest, arranged a meeting and mentions the price fixed. To this Gyān Chand agrees, stating it amounts to the monthly interest due to him on his loans.

When Bhengī Amīr Bakhsh visits him in due course she finds him lolling in anticipation. But a sudden fit of embarrassment then seizes him, till at last Khairātī urges him to make advances. As soon as he attempts to do so the girl gives him a slap. This upsets him so utterly that he quickly takes refuge in an adjoining room, and after a time begins to call for help. When Khairātī hears this noise he says to him, "Lālā you are a strange person! Why did you spend three hundred rupees and now are hiding? She is sitting here and will never go!" The Lālā was so much embarrassed that he asked Khairātī to pay another hundred rupees and persuade her to go. When she went away the Lālā went up to his terrace room, and to his own great satisfaction exclaimed, "Think how cleverly I have turned her out!"

Inshā had not the vehemence of scorn or invective of Saudā, who poured them out in no gentle stream on his

adversary, but he could drench one with ridicule. It is not known whether this moneylender is a particular individual who had offended Inshā^{by} refusing a loan to him or by dunning him for repayment, but this ridicule of him or his kind was popular long after.

In this masnavī Inshā has chosen a comedy-satire, and made the reader interested in the discomfiture of the elderly rake at the hands of persons as astute in their own way as he in making gain. Theme, manner and language all combine to make this a piece cut out of the real life of a class. William Hogarth depicted this crude side of conditions in a number of his drawings of sordid debauch or other debasement.

XI. THE MASNAVĪ MURGHNĀMA (THE COCK)

This masnavī contains thirty-nine distiches, of which seventeen and three are given to hamd and na't respectively. In the former, man is reproved for his negligence at morn in contrast to the birds which wake up and sing praise.

The poem proceeds to mention of Sulaimān Shukoh, whom it greets as heir to the crown. Elsewhere^{1.} he has been spoken of in similar terms. It seems as if, when Sulaiman Shukoh arrived in Lucknow(1205/1791), he was aspiring to succeed his blind father, Shāh 'Ālam II (blinded in 1788; died in 1806).

1. Kull., 447, 408, 419.

Next the Wazir is praised; the Āṣaf Jāh¹ mentioned in the book was the wazir of Mirza Sulaiman Shukoh. The Nawwab is a follower of the main or cock-fighting. Why should not a person of resoluteness like that sport? The cock has the qualities of prophets, it must rise early, be brave, enterprising, and have a sense of honour!

Inshā next speaks of himself as a "fan" of this sport, and of his going off with long strides to the main (pālī) with his bird under his arm; he possess undoubtedly a wonderful fighter!

پہلوانوں کی ہیں ان میں صفات : لات و عزا کو توڑے انکی لات

The exordium of hamd and na't take up about half of the poem; this is followed by a eulogy of Sulaiman Shukoh; the mention of cock-fighting appears almost as an ancillary subject. The cock figures in the hamd as an early riser and as the sun; the world is a chicken-house and the soul of man is ahcock. The reference to the Prince shows that this masnavī was composed in the early period between 1790 and 1800. The description of the poet's visit to the main and of his own cock is realistic enough to be autobiographical, and certainly all classes from king to peasant enjoyed this sport in his time.

It should be added here that Rangīn, in his Majālis-i-Rangīn, mentions a conversation between himself and

1. Int.Mir.,149.

Inshā. This has already been dealt with under the section on Contemporaries.^{1.} In this conversation mention is made of a masnavī by Inshā entitled Rāgh-mālā, and a matla' is given. No mention of this work is to be found in any of the tagkiras so far examined. It may be inferred that Inshā had ^asome favourable opinion of it, since on Rangīn's adverse criticism of his masnavīs Inshā singles out a matla' from this work and offers it for consideration.

1. Supra. 30

CHAPTER VII.

MISCELLANEOUS COMPOSITIONS.

This chapter comprises all those poetic compositions which have not already been dealt with, and are mainly to be found in the portion of the Kulliyāt entitled Ash'ār-i Mutafarriqa as well as those small pieces scattered throughout the work, such as Pahelis, Turki and Pashtu verses.

1. Riddles; 15 in Dīwān-i Rekhtī; 19 in Ash'ār-i Mutafarriqa.
2. Fards; 2 Persian, 12 Urdu, one Arabic.
3. Rubā'is; 59 Persian, 43 Urdu.
4. Qit'as; 28 Persian, 14 Urdu, 6 Pashtu, one Arabic.
5. Mustazāds; 16 in Dīwān-i Rekhtī, 3 in Dīwān-i Rekhta.
6. Mukhammas; 4 Persian, 11 Urdu, one mixed Arabic, Hindi, Turkī, and Braj.
7. Tilismāt.
8. Letters.
9. Lampoons (a) on Muṣḥafī (b) ^{on} Kashāmira.
10. Pashtu and Turkī.

1. Riddles.

These range in length from one to seven lines; fifteen are found in Dīwān-i Rekhtī. Like some other poets with orderly or penetrative minds he employed his active brain in devising new forms or exploring along unusual lines. Khusrau too is reputed to have found recreation in composing Chīstān (riddles); these are

in Persian and Hindi verse. "Many of them are very clever, and, without the author's suggestion, it would be difficult to find the correct answer."¹

Some of Inshā's pahelis (riddles) are easy to understand; like Khusrau he gives the solution of the riddles and thus makes them easy for the guesser.

The following are specimens of his devising:

2. جا بیگموں کے مونہ لگے ایک کالی سی جیشن
دونا کرے جو بن وہ کیا اری سو سن
- لوہے کی جنی ہونے سے سب کہیں تا نبیا
صورت میں پری سی وہ یعنی کہ مستی
3. تاروں کی بنائی ہوئی ایک ناگنی ایسی
سر جسکا سنہرا ایک رات میں ظالم
- پی جاوے جو تالاب بھی ایک ساری کا سارا
یعنی کہ جلائی ہے تو جو وہ بتی

The answers supplied are:

مستی - بتی

2. Fards.

In his Ash'ār-Mutafarriqa there are fifteen "Fards" or single verses, twelve in Urdu, two in Persian, and one in Arabic. In the first of these one hemistich employs only undotted characters, the other only dotted;

4. آہ کل دل کو ہوا درد کہ رکھا ہمکو
جنبش چین جین بت چین نے بے چین

1. Hazrat Amīr Khusrat ... by Md. Habīb, 45. 2. Kull, 217
3. ibid, 217 4. Kull., 386.

"Alas, yesterday my heart had such pain, in that there kept me restless the movement of the furrow on the brow of the idol of China."¹ There is little in them to merit attention. ^{the} Other Fards are found, ^{mainly} in his Persian Rekhta and Rekhti, Ghazals.

3. Rubā'is.

Of these there are fifty-nine in Persian, and forty-three in Urdu. Some of them are petitions for rain or other appeals; some are offered in the name of Zahra and members of her family, the martyrs of Karbala, etc.²

The rubā'ī is a verse-form of Persian origin. It consists of two verses, each of two hemistiches. The first, second and fourth have the same end-rhyme. That of the third is different, but the metre is the same. There are twenty-four rubā'ī-metres all of them derived from the Hazaj, which in its primal form consists of three or four feet in the measure mafā'īlun

Most poets have composed a few rubā'is. They are a convenient form for the expression of a single idea;

1. i.e. the Beloved.

2. Kull, 387-89.

"like the epigram it (the rubā'ī) is always complete in itself," and this indicates its limitation. A poem might of course consist of several rubā'ī stanzas, but as each stanza is complete in itself, the thought is not continuous.

In this rubā'ī his feeling can hardly be more than literary:

1. دل می سوزد مرا بر احوال تدر و
از قطع منازل و مراحل چه حصول
: که در شیراز هست و گلابی در مرو
: آيا شمشاد نيست آنجا يا سرو

My heart burns in me for the pheasant;
Now it is in Shiraz, and now in Marv.
What gain in its passage of these stages?
Is there no box-tree there, or cypress?

In the following there may be an allusion to his own unhappy lot towards the close of his life:-

2. کی خوش می آید اصفهانی را بلخ
در خانقہ اہل ریای انشا
: آن صورت غرہ وارد این سیرت سلخ
: باللہ کہ سخت زندگانی شد تلخ

How could an Isfahani like Balkh?
One is like the beginning of the month, the latter the end.
In the monastery of the hypocrites, O Inshā,
(I swear) by God that close internment grew bitter.

He was apparently still in royal favour at the time of this composition, in which there is a reference to

1. Kull., 389 2. ibid, 389

Nawwab Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān:

- مخلوق نه شد دگر ز صنع باری : هم صنعت اشبهی باین طراری
1. هم شاه سوار چون پین الدوله : وین تیغ خراسان و تفنگ لاری

Never was produced in divine creation
Glossy (armour) so active,
And cavalier like Yamīnu'd-Daula
And his Khurasānī sword and musket of Lār.

Nawwab Sa'ādat is reputed to have given his careful attention to certain administrative matters, and on one occasion he found a clerk had omitted the final "sīn" in Ajnās. By his order every such mistake was to be punished by a fine of one rupee. The clerk when questioned about the mistake supported his writing by the Qāmūs and other books.² Inshā took a hint from the Nawwab and thus seized an opportunity of showing his cleverness; he wrote seven rubā'īs, humorous or frivolous on tarkhīm or the rules of abbreviation of words.

As an illustration of "Tajāhul" (playing the simpleton) he wrote:³

قاضی که لفظ فارسی را عربی فهمیده : در غلط افتد و این ایجاد بنده است

1. Kull., 391. 2. ibid, 391-2; Azad.287. 3. ibid, 392.

In another rubā'ī he writes:¹

صد شکر خدا مرا صیانت کرده است : قاضی مطعونم از دیانت کرده است
انشاء اللہ خان خوانده است ازان : گنت است کہ این شخص خیانت کرده است
I am grateful Providence defended me.
The Qāzī doubted my honesty
Perhaps he read "Inshā Allāh "Khāna"
And said: "That one deceived".

in which there is a play on words - on his name "Khān"
and the Arabic verb "khāna" (he deceived).

And he wrote another on the same lines (jawāb)²
ہر چند کہ لفظ خان ماضی باشد : اکنون ز چه اعتراض قاضی باشد
الماضی لا یذکر مشہور این است : قاضی صوم باید اینکہ را ضعیف باشد
Seeing the word khāna is past tense,
What objection can the Qāzī have now?
The past does not remember, as is well-known;
It is proper the Qāzī should be content.

His occasional lines show quickness of adaptation,
but not any depth of thought:

جعات ہے بھوک پیاس سب کچھ سہنا : اور روزہ میں انتظار مغرب رہنا
3. آپس میں سحرگہ کی چہلیں اور پھر : بالصوم خدا نوبت اُنکا کہنا

Enduring hunger and thirst is pleasing to all,
And during the fast to be expectant of evening,
And the merry-making over the morning repast, and then
The saying: May you propose to fast till evening!

Though fixed in his adherence to 'Alī and his house
he entertains that tolerance which poets and Sūfis

1. Kull., 392. 2. ibid. 392. 3. ibid. 393

have sometimes freely expressed:¹

ہے اُنس مجھے تو سب سے پہلے کس سے بیر : کعبہ میں بیت رہا ہے اب قصد دیر
اے زاہد و برہمن نہیں ہے کچھ فرق : یہ بھی اک سیر ہیگی وہ بھی اک سیر

If I have friendship with all, towards whom there can
be hatred?

In the Ka'ba I lived long, now I intend (going to) the
temple.

O Zāhid and Brahman, there is no difference between you,
For both of you travel is involved.

Some of his munājāts are simple and appealing:²

یارب بتصدق جناب حیدر : وز بہر جمع عترت پیغمبر
از وادی اضطراب مارا برہاں : ای قابل قول من یحب المظفر

O Lord, in gracious offer unto Haidar
And for the sake of all the family of the Prophet,
Out of the valley of dismay rescue me,
Thou who are worthy of my petition, hear my distress!

In the next he states a grievance against the injustice
of things and situations:³

میزان میں قیاس کی ہنر سے عاری : جو شخص ہیں طالع نے انہیں دی یاری
اعلیٰ درجہ کو پہنچے وہ ہم رہ گئے : کیوں ہونہ گراں مایوں کا پلہ بھاری
In the scales of judgement those who are without
accomplishment

Fortune helps those persons;
They arrive at the highest stage - we are left
Why should not the scale of persons of weight be heavy!

1. Kull., 393.

2. ibid, 394

3. ibid, 395.

There is an amusing jingle in the rubā'ī beginning:¹

بھلے رے تمہاری شان بھلے ری دعاغ : بھلے ری تمہاری آن بھلے ری دعاغ
بھلے ری تمہاری جان بھلے ری دعاغ : بھلے ری تمہاری جان بھلے ری دعاغ

with apparently an intention to tease the taciturn

Beloved. The next also has a light and fanciful touch:²

شبِ نقش پہ پروانگی گریاں تھی شمع : اور آتشِ فرقت میں فروزاں تھی شمع
اتنے میں ٹپک کے سر سے تاجِ زریں : دیکھو تو سستی ہو گئی ہے جان تھی شمع

At night the candle was weeping over the bier of ^{the} moth;
The candle is consumed in the fire of separation;
Meantime its golden crown drops from its head,
Look! it became suttee - the candle is extinguished.

The peculiarity in this poem is that everywhere poets have described the moth as lover but seldom if ever described the candle as being sati for the lover. The golden crown (the wick) topples over and lo! the candle is consumed (suttee).

The پھر عشق ہوا ہے مرے جی کا جنجال : ہر وقت رہے ہے مجھ کو اوسکا ہی خیال
اب دھیان ہے کہیں اور ہتھوں کے کہیں : دل کا ہے ان دنوں عجائب احوال
اب دھیان ہے کہیں اور ہتھوں کے کہیں : دل کا ہے ان دنوں عجائب احوال

Love is come to tease my fancy,
All the time I think of it.
My mind is here, my glance is there,
These days my heart is in strange plight!

1. Kull., 395. 2. ibid, 395. 3. ibid, 396-97.

Comparable with the above in lightness and grace
are these lines of Nawwab Āsafu'd-Daula (d.1212/1797)
on a kindred theme:

گر چاہوں زبانی کہوں کچھ حال دل اس سے : کرتا ہوں اسے دیکھ کے تقریر فراموش
1 حیرت زدہ عشق ہوں ہر طور سے مشکل : لکھوں تو کروں سو جاگہ تحریر فراموش

If I would tell her of the state of my heart,
Seeing her, I forget my speech.
I am dismayed, my love, every way 'tis hard,
If I write I forget it everywhere.

The zāhid and nāṣih have often been reproached by
poets, not for their austerity, but for their insincerity
or pretentiousness. Inshā reproached them frequently,
and here contrasts them unfavourably with preachers of
other faiths:²

زاہد ز کلیسا جنگ آمدہ ام : مولوزن و ناقوس بچنگ آمدہ ام
جو خا و صلیب ہمو رہاں دارم : انجیل گرفتہ از فرنگ آمدہ ام

Zāhid, I'm come from Church for war,
With horn-playing and with gong in hand;
Wool-garb and cross, like monks, I bring,
I have snatched the gospel from the Franks and come.

The next succeeding rubā'ī has also reference to the
unworthy zāhid:³

قطع نظر از ما و منی خواہم کرد : لیکن نہ چو زاہد دنی خواہم کرد
زنار ز اشک در گلو خواہم بست : در بتکدہا برہمنے خواہم کرد

I will avert my eyes from possessions,
Unlike the zāhid, I will not behave meanly
A Brahman-cord of tears on my neck I will bind,
In the temple I'll behave as a Brahman.

There could be little more scathing of the false
Zāhid than these lines:¹

زاهد که بخوبیش این قدر مغرور است : از حوصله اش خدا پرستی دور است
خود می دانی که مایه تقوایش : امروزه انار و خوشه انگور است

The sentiment in the following is not new, but its
fresh statement here contains as much tenderness as
Inshā felt, or at any rate expressed, for it can hardly
be doubted that in the conditions in which he stayed
at court and flourished he was obliged to live much
on the surface and flirt with reality:²

رفتم ته خاک و درد یارم باقی است : وز باده عشق او خمارم باقی است
نرگس بدید بر مزارم چو گیاه : یعنی که هنوز انتظارم باقی است

I went down to the dust and grieve still for the Beloved,
From the wine of that love I am intoxicated still.
The Narcissus blossoms on my grave like grass,
And shows I still abide in expectation.

This rubā'ī refers to Āṣaf Jāh, who was probably
the wazīr of Sulaimān Shukoh:³

ای صغدر و منصور و شجاع آصف جاہ : بادا به تفرقت ز ما ہے تا ماہ
در دہر ہمیشہ چون سلیمان باشی : یاراں ہم گویند کہ انشا اللہ

O Leader, victorious, and brave, of Āṣaf-rank,
May thy rule continue from month to month!
On earth may you be like Solomon,
And friends all say: God will! (Inshā Allāh)!

1. Kull., 400. 2. ibid., 398. 3. ibid., 399.

4. Qit'a.

The qit'a is a truncated qasīda or ghazal. The end-rhyme of the qasīda was a fether (qaid) on a poet; like a shackle it made procedure difficult, with the result that a poet sometimes felt unable to produce more than a portion of his poem. In some cases it is the portion of a qasīda or a ghazal which has survived. There is no matla', i.e. the two hemistiches of the opening line do not have the same qāfia. Inshā has employed it sometimes as a short poem,¹ but mostly his qit'a's contain a chronogram,² There is no restriction as to its length except that it must not be of less than two distiches.

Nassākh in his Ganj-i Tawārīkh has collected many tags recording the decease of poets and others over several centuries. Its perusal is rather doleful reading, though the contents are historically useful. Chronograms may record the date of some pleasant incident in a person's career, but very often preserve the date of his decease. Under the first category there are here given the date of Sulaimān Shukoh's marriage,³ the

1. Kull., 401-403, 404, 405. 2. ibid, 403, 405, 406.
3. ibid, 409.

accession of Nawwab Sa'ādāt 'Alī Khān,¹ the celebration of his birthday,² his recovery from illness,³ and the birth of his son,⁴ and the accession of Akbar Shāh II⁵, and under these econd are recorded the date of the death of Nādir Shāh and the massacre by his troops in Delhi, the decease of Shāh 'Ālam II, and of Almās 'Alī Khān, There are a few more incidents mentioned, but not any of major importance.

In Qitā' form, Inshā has composed 28 Persian pieces, 14 Urdu, 6 Pashtu and one Arabic.

The following is an Arabic poem in two distiches, the meaning of which is not certain; there are at least two grammatical errors; The translation is only tentative. The language has a flavour of Arabic verse of the eighth or ninth century:¹

ظنى القوم من اوكى الغرية : انه فرية بلا مرية
اننى نشقى مع الخير : ماء ورد مبرو بالشج

I have in mind a people most sparing of their blood;
They hustle without any doubt.
I would like to drink happily
Rosewater cooled with ice.

1. Kull., 405. 2. ibid, 408. 3. ibid, 408, 409.
4. ibid, 410. 5. ibid, 412.

In the following qitā's some linguistic difficulties of an Arab and a Baghdādī are amusingly dealt with.

The former is showing an injury in the palm of his hands to Indian friends, and saying:¹

ہنا ملا عظم شرف ان ہذہ الجوت است

In the other, an Arab of Baghdad would have trouble with his cerebrals, e.g. he would pronounce پٹنہ (Patna) as پتنہ ².

5. Mustazād.

Mustazād, as its name implies, denotes "increment." It is a ghazal, rubā'ī or the like, complete in itself with a short metrical line added after each hemistich or distich. Professor E. G. Browne makes it follow each hemistich, and proceeds to say that this short line is "not required to complete the sense or metre of the poem to which it is appended, these 'increment verses' rhyming and making sense together like a separate poem."³ In "Persian Rhetoric and Prosody"⁴ it is stated that the short line may be added to a distich or a hemistich, and "it must be in harmony

1. Kull., 404; شرف is for کف according to marginal note.

2. ibid, 404. 3. HPL.v.II.43. 4. N.Ziāu'l-Haq; Cal.1927.

with the sense of the poem; but the poem in itself must not depend for its sense on it." The dictionary Nūr'l-Lughāt states that the short line may be added to either a hemistich or a distich, and its metre should be equal in length to the first and last feet (rukṅ) of the hemistich.

Inshā composed several mustazāds,¹ to some of which a reference will be made later. One of them has a triple "increment" to each hemistich,² another as many as a five-fold "increment".³

As will be seen from his ghazal beginning⁴

ہے نام خدا واچھڑے کچھ زور مآشا - یہ آپ کی رنگت

and another beginning:⁵

لینے جو بلائیں لگے ہم آپ کی چٹ چٹ - تو بول اٹھے جھٹ

Inshā brings the short line into harmony with its hemistich, and even completes its sense as in the third distich, but the short lines do not all combine to make an independent poem.⁶

1. Kull., 397-401. 2. ibid, 401. 3. ibid, 217.
4. ibid, 34. 5. ibid, 35. 6. ibid, 34.

1. O name of God! Bravo! what a scene - such beauty of yours!
 Such a body, and adornment and splendour - how wonderful!
2. When I said I am your lover infatuated - O mine of sweetness!
 She began to laugh and to say: - what a figure!
 How foolish!
3. The difference there was between atheism and Sufism, - naught (of it) remains!
 When love raised the curtain between - multiplicity became unity!

As an instance of simple mustazād this may be taken:¹

در سبک سخن ز لب گهر بائی می سفت - رندی منی نوش : مطلق ز حدیث شیخ و واعظان شنفقت - در جوش و خروش
 بگذشت ز حد جو قیل و قال ایشان - او هم بچواب : ز اسرار نفیخت فی من روحی گفت - گفتند خموش

On the cord of verse he threaded - a wine-bibbing
 He heard no uttered gems - amid profligate;
 word of saint or preacher - amid fervent din;
 When their argumentation passed - so he (spoke) in
 the limit reply;
 He spoke the secret of "I breathed - they said: "Be
 in him my spirit" silent!"

The following is an example of mustazād with triple increment. It could be clever if successful, but is hardly ever artistic:²

از ناخن طنز خاطر بادیه پرست : مخراش آشا - داری توفیق - خود هیچ مگو

1. Kull., 397.

2. ibid., 401.

میں بچاند کے کل رات جو دیوار نہ جاتی
کنڈی نہ ہلاتی . جا کر نہ جگاتی . نیند اسکو نہ آتی . جو بن کی وہ ماتی . تیوری نہ ہلاتی
اور چٹکیوں میں میرے تپیں صبح اوڑاتی
ہاتھوں پہ بچاتی . گاتی نہ بچاتی . کھانیکو نہ کھاتی . پھر تو نہ ہلاتی . سو سو ہی گاتی

Mustazād to ^{the} fifth power (خماسی)

If last night I had not leapt over the wall and come,

And had not shaken the door chain
And had not wakened her when coming,
Sleep would not have come to her,
Being so intoxicated with youth,
She would not have knitted the brows.

She would have turned to ridicule in the morning,

And not made me dance to her hand-claps,
Nor made me hear abuse,
Nor eaten food,
Nor summoned me again,
Nor sung a hundred nuptial songs.

6. Mukhammas.

Inshā has written some sixteen poems in mukhammas verse-form. The Lucknow edition contains only fourteen of them; the Delhi edition of 1855 contains two more, one with satire (hajw) of a general nature beginning:¹

ملعون دروغ بچ کند تا یمین رید ؛ شکل چنان ترش کہ جھوزات کین رید

and another of the Ghibatgo or Backbiter:-²

می نهد گوش کسی بر سخن غیبت گو ؛ بہت ابلیس نہان در بدن غیبت گو

The first mukhammas¹ in Urdu, is a na't in five stanzas in praise of the Prophet, and adds at the close that of the Hāshimites and the twelve Imāms.

The second mukhammas in eight stanzas is also in Urdu except for a number of Persian hemistiches. He requests pure wine from the inebriated Sāqī in a season of quiet

چھ بات نہیں آتی ہے بن مجھ سے لے انشا : جو شخص کہ ہو محو کرے کیا سخن انشا
کچھ خانہ وحدت میں ہے میرا وطن انشا : مذہبوش شدم برروش اینچین انشا
از آب نبود است فقط از مٹی ناب
از آب نبود است فقط از مٹی ناب

Nothing succeeds with me, O Inshā -
One who is absorbed, how can he compose?
Inshā! My homeland is in the tavern of unity,
And I am intoxicated on this garden-path,
Not with water but with pure wine.

Next follows a poem in the style of a tarjī'-band in Urdu in five stanzas.³ This minor verse-form differs from its mukhammas-companion in repeating exactly word for word a misra' as a kind of refrain at the close of each pair of distiches. This mukhammas contains congratulations to Prince Mirza Sulaimān on the occasion of the 'Td-i Ghadīr, a festival

1. Kull., 417. 2. ibid., 418. 3. ibid., 419.

celebrated by Shī'as on 18th Zu'l-ḥijja. With this place Ghadīr Khumm is connected the Hadith:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه / The Āṣaf referred to in the distich below was probably Āṣaf Jāh, the wazīr of Sulaimān Shukoh, as the name comes in conjunction with that of the latter. If so, the date of composition would be not later than 1215/1800. If, however, the Āṣaf refers to Nawwāb Āṣafu'd-Daula the date of composition would be before 1211/1797, as he died in that year. The poet here, as well as elsewhere, speaks of Sulaimān Shukoh as likely, or about, to succeed his father, Shāh 'Ālam II, who had been blinded in 1788:

عجب طرح کا زمانہ کو ہوئے عزیز و شرف : کہ شاہ جس میں سلیمان وزیر ہو آصف

The refrain seems to expect it as imminent:

کہ نذر جشن جلوس ایک سال دیوے وزیر

"That the wazīr should offer a present in the accession assembly this year."

In the four-stanza Persian mukhammas¹ beginning:

تا بکی سیرکناں عمر بدہ آغاز کنی : تا کجا اینہم لے خانہ بر انداز کنی

the poet speaks of the temporary nature of existence.

1. Kull., 419.

The following poem comprises five stanzas,¹ in each of which is one of these languages, Arabic, Turkī, Persian, Hindi or Panjabī. The fourth hemistich in all except the Persian stanza is in Turkī. The poet is here in a somewhat sorrowful mood, but possibly his real intention is to air his knowledge of these languages. This distich is reproduced from the Urdu stanza:

حیف یار و نوجوانی کا وہ سن : ایک دن رہتا تھا میں عیش بن

The Urdu mukhammas² in nine stanzas beginning:

میں اپنا دل مفصل بیچتا ہوں : حیا کس لئے ہو خجل بیچتا ہوں

has a simplicity and flow that make it pleasing to read or to hear. It is unusually free from Arabic and Persian and difficult words of any sort. The author says he is selling his heart as a marketable commodity, and calls for offers. He is prepared to barter it for another. He then offers his ghazal for sale to anyone who can appreciate it and also pay for it.

This is succeeded by an Urdu mukhammas³ in eight

1. Kull., 420. 2. ibid., 421. 3. ibid., 422

stanzas which is based on a ghazal of Mīr Sajjād "Ibhāngo" but it is not stated what relation there was between Inshā and Mīr Sajjād. It is quite possible that the latter had written something capable of a double interpretation.

According to Mushafī ¹, Mīr Sajjād wrote Rekhta with much use of īhām, and was a contemporary of Ābrū, Mazmūn and Nājī who figure in Āzād's "First Period." In this case Inshā must have written it early in life.

For the better appreciation of this poem a note on ibhām or īhām is advisable. Ibhām or īhām (ambiguity) was a rhetorical figure in Arabic, but is also characteristic of Hindi poetry; Āzād, among others, states that Urdu poets of the early 18th century adopted it freely from Hindi poetry. In one passage in the Padmāvati of Jāyasī (c.1540 A.D.) for instance every sentence is said to be capable of four renderings.² Tulsī Dās (d.1628) has employed it in places in his Rām-carit-mānas. Āzād rightly says in his first daur³

1. RFus., 129.

2. ed. Bibl. Indica, Eng. Tr., 56.

3. Azad, 97.

that Urdu was based on it, and that Ārzu¹, though a Persian and not an Urdu poet led it from such play on words and equivoques to a Persian style, and was later followed in effecting this transition by Mazhar Jān Jānān, and others.

By Inshā's time ibhām had disappeared. His only reference to it is in this mukhammas in "reply" to Mīr Sajjād.² The ambiguity here lies not in words but in ideas. He has not clearly satirised Mīr Sajjād but has maintained his style of expression. The last stanza will help to illustrate the successful attempt of Inshā. It begins:

کس پہ غصہ ہو کیجئے فریاد : کس کو جا دیکھئے مبارکباد
سید انشا یہ کہہ گئے استاد : مدح و ذم کس کی کیجئے سجاد
کرے اپنی نبی علی کی ثنا

It may be rendered in this way:

Inshā, with whom be angry and make complaint?
To whom should one go and congratulate?
Saiyid Inshā! the ustād thus has said -
Why should one praise or blame, O Sajjād?
Praise must go to the Prophet and 'Alī.

1. Azad, 97. 2. Kull., 422.

The eighth mukhammas is in Urdu. The subject of this piece¹ was alive when it was written. In a prefatory note in Persian prose the poet tells how he came to compose it. A scholarly maulvī Haidar Ālī of Sandela, came to Lucknow. Inshā hurried off at once to meet him. He declaimed his undotted qaṣīda Turu'l-Kalām and requested the maulvī to recite something as he was a reputed writer of poetry in Arabic, Persian and Hindi.² The latter offered to read a qaṣīda in Hindi. He then recited his Hindi qaṣīda in na't. Inshā regarded it of very high merit and subsequently based his mukhammas on it, the longest he wrote in this verse-form. It may be noted that the only two lines quoted by Inshā from this qaṣīda are in Urdu, and cannot be called Hindi except in the sense that the latter term was frequently used at that time for Urdu.³

These two lines are:

رسول حق کا محمد نبی خیر انام : ہے فخر کون و مکان تجھ اوپر درود و سلام
ہے امر ہم کو صلوا و سلوا تسلیم : ہے امتثال امر کا واجب اے مومنان مدام

The mukhammas which Inshā based on this qaṣīda

contains 31 stanzas in Urdu and commences with the line:⁴

جناب مولوی حیدر علی بلند مقام : کہ زمرہ علمائے ہین انہیں کا نام

1. Kull., 423-29. 2. ibid, 429. 3. DL., 47. 4. Kull, 424.

He has followed this up with a Persian mukhammas of seven stanzas of the same pattern. In it Inshā employs theological, philosophical, and logical terms, a reminiscence of his early studies appears in the first of these lines:¹

یہ نوشت ساخر و حدیث سے اسنے کی ہے مٹی : کہ شرط سے بلا شرط سے بشرط اللہی
کئے ہیں اسنے ہی بس مرتبہ یہ سارے طے : اسیکی حسن کا جلوہ یہاں وہاں بھی ہے

Towards the close he proceeds to write of numerals, the numerical values of "Ahmad", and the signs of jafr, etc. This he continues in the ninth mukhammas, which is in Persian.

The tenth² in this group is in Urdu, in three stanzas, and is based on a gita of Mirza Jān Tapish, who was born in Delhi, but later went to Lucknow and subsequently to Dacca, in Bengal, where he died before 1229/1814³

He was a pupil of Mir Dard. In it he invites Tapish to come into the garden, where the birds are singing.

The notes of some of them, e.g. the chipka (sparrow-hawk), are imitated. Inshā says he has rhymed it so that it

1. Kull., 425. 2. Kull., 429. In DL.(47) Inshā writes that sometime after reciting the qaṣīda Tūru'l-Kalām in Lucknow, he went to Sandela with Almās Alī Khan and read this mukhammas to Ḥaidar Alī, who copied it. This must have been shortly after 1788-9 when Tūru'l-Kalām was written, and probably just after Inshā's arrival in Lucknow, which would mean 1791 or 1792.

3. Col.of Ar.,Pers. and Hind.MSS., by A. Sprenger, 169.

could be sung. It is a satirical poem and was only meant to tease Mirza Jān Tapish. His introducing these notes rhythmically and his employment of some musical terms show that he had considerable knowledge of music.¹

The next mukhammas is in his Dīwān-i Be-nuqaṭ. It has been dealt with already.²

Then comes a mukhammas³ in the Dīwān-i Rekhta and is a kind of petition of help for Sulaimān Shukoh. He asks ~~the help of~~ 'Ali b. Abi Tālib to show kindness and unsheath his famous sword Zu'l-Faqār to help Sulaimān. In the end he prays that should it so happen that Sulaimān becomes king he himself might be his Mīr-Bakhshī (pay-master). This poem is in Urdu and has seven stanzas. This differs from the others in this form by repeating at the close of each stanza the line:

امیر المومنین اب ای میرے مولیٰ کرم کیجیے

In this respect, like the mukhammas on p.419 of the Kullīyyāt, it is in the style of a tarjī'-band.⁴

1. Azād, 260f, says that Inshā in his childhood used to learn grammar to the accompaniment of an instrument:

الطبعة لفظ "كلمة لفظ" وضع المعنى مفرداً "د و"

2. Supra. 88. Kull., 438. 3. Kull., 134. 4. Supra. 168

The thirteenth is in Persian and is bitterly satirical. The name of the person against whom the invective is hurled is not known. This mukhammas¹ is not found in the Lucknow edition of the Kulliyāt. It begins:

ملعون دروغ بلع کند تا یقین دید : شکل چنان ترش که هموزات کین کند

The fourteenth is in Persian and in satire of the slanderer (ghībat-go); there is no mincing of words.

منبع غیبت بود جمله تن غیبت گو : باید انداخت ذکر در دهن غیبت گو

There is such an outpouring of scorn and abuse that one cannot help feeling it must have been directed at a particular person or persons.

This section closes with a musaddas in Urdu satirising Qāsim 'Alī Khān. For scurrility some of its verses would be hard to beat in literature. Inshā combined in himself two natures or dispositions, a coarse one which sometimes found vent in scurrility and lewdness in language and conduct, and another which could take pleasure in the things of the mind. Though Āzād and persons similarly disposed drew aside from contact with the literature of the former, Inshā must have lived among members of society who encouraged him. Whilst it

1. Kull (Delhi ed.), 227.

is true that an entertainer makes his public, there is always a section of the public prepared to provide him with an opportunity.

Āzād has mentioned only one stanza of a mukhammas of Inshā which is not in either edition of the Kulliyāt. This mukhammas¹, he says, was in satire of Mirza ‘Azīm Beg, against whom Inshā was incensed in the poetical assemblies in Delhi:

گر تو مشاعرہ میں صبا آجکل چلے : کہیو عظیم سے کہ ذرا وہ سنبھل چلے
اتنا بل حد سے اپنی نہ باہر نکال چلے : پڑھنے کو شب جو یار نزل در نزل چلے
بھر رہ جنز میں ڈال کے بھر رہل چلے

7. Tilismāt.

This term is the arabicised form tilism of the Greek telesma. In Persian and in Urdu it has several meanings, which are mostly, like charms, connected with the idea of protection from harm. Inshā uses the word here with a sense of mystery which will amuse and entertain. For instance in the first tilism, beginning:²

دودھ میں خوب گھول نوسادر : اس سے لکھئے جو ایک کاغذ پر

the woman speaking tells her female friend how to write letters in invisible ink. She is to mix milk and

1. Azad, 262.

2. Kull. 401.

sal-ammoniac, and write a letter with the mixture. When it is dry she must rub it; the paper will appear blank, but when it is heated in front of the fire letters in black will show up. She adds in the maqta' that she had sent many letters of this sort to Inshā.

Another tilism advises writing with the juice of a lemon; when heated the paper will show up the letters in saffron colour.

Another type is for amusement. In one of these instructions are given to stick a piece of glass under a burning candle, and put within a tank or cistern. As the candle burns it will rise in the cistern.

The next example is to mix nosādar (sal-ammoniac) with milk and to write with it. When the paper is heated, the letters will appear in black.¹

Elsewhere he tells the Beloved the art of secret writing on a "waslī"² In the next tilism he tells her how to write with lime-water, and that it is readable when washed with water. A third method is to take half a glass of lemon juice and add to it powder of "kaf-i daryā."

1. Kull., 213.

2. ibid., 215

There is no reason to suppose that Inshā applied his "black art" such as it was to any nefarious end. One should probably look for no more in it than a schoolboyish precocity, and see in him the owner of a restless, inquisitive mind, who was ever reaching out to something, and who in a set of circumstances other than those of the dead end in which he was destined to live out his days could have achieved more than the much he yet did.

8. Letters in Verse.

There are four letters in verse which have perhaps been written in imitation of Saudā. The latter's compositions are in Rekhta,¹ whereas all four of Inshā's are found in his Dīwān-i Rekhtī.² These short communications are friendly, formal pieces all purporting to have been written by women.

9. (a) Lampoon on Muṣḥafī.

In form and manner this is one of the most peculiar satires ever penned. It is in four hemistichs, whose rhyme ends in اندر دهنٔ شامه عالم . The first of these hemistichs, each of which must be the longest written by any poet, is:

1. . . . SKSauda, 192/3.

2. Kull. 214-5

بخداوندی شریفی که رحیم است و کریم است و علیم است و حلیم است و حکیم است و عظیم است
و سلیم است و قدیم است و شریف است و لطیف است و خیر است و بهیر است و نهر است
و کبیر است و رؤف است و غفور است و شکور است و وود است و مراخلقی نمود است
و بود خالق آفاق قسم می خورم اکنون که مرا هیچ ز بهجو تو سروکار نبود است و نه
از طرفت گشت شروع اینهمه اقوال منزهت شنوای مردم نادان اندر دهنش نشاند عالم.

This lampoon, notwithstanding its *unusual* nature, is treated as containing four hemistichs, because there is a common end-rhyme. It is an amazing pasquinade. There are only two distichs; each hemistich has the end-rhyme اندر دهنش نشاند عالم. The first misra opens with an oath by God that not he (Inshā) but Mushafī commenced these satires. In the second, Inshā says he is ^{bo}grilling with anger or he would not have abused him. In the third hemistich, he rebukes Mushafī for having turned on so able a poet as himself and a Saiyid by descent. In the fourth, Mushafī is told his action has brought on his head the curses of all the world, and he is a shame to humanity.

9. (b) Lampoon on Kashāmira.

The Hajw-i Kashāmira in rhythmic prose at the close of the Delhi edition of the Kulliyat makes fun of a

Kashmirī's longing to be back among the hills and streams of his country. Nostalgia is an experience common to exiles; the Jews in Babylon pined for their homeland, and some of the Persian poets who came to India during the Safavid period in Persia wrote as if they longed to return. But Inshā here is not really concerned with any nostalgic ache; he is reproducing the Kashmirī's endeavour to adapt his language and pronunciation to the Rozmarra or colloquial of Delhi. The Kashmirī's Urdu makes him a subject of laughter. Some specimens of his speech may be given here for their interest:-

صروت نیست در ہندستان اخ فقو۔ یہ شدے ہیں یہ خندے ہیں یہ غنڈے ہیں تباہی میں
نبرے ہیں بھوت ہچو پری ہیں

10. Pashtū and Turkī.

Whilst Inshā could and did show some ability to use languages other than Persian, Urdu and Arabic, his knowledge of them was not necessarily profound. He set himself to learn Pashtū, but his effort was probably confined to the elementary scheme for the auxilliary verb, pronouns, numerals, etc., which he drew up.¹

This, like Sharh-i Mi'at Āmil is possibly indicative of

1. Kull., 213.

a system he adopted of acquiring a new language.

His Turkī studies he does not appear to have carried very far. In the period between Tīmūr who sacked Delhi in 1298, and Bābur (r.1526-30) Turkī literature in India made more progress than at any other time, but even so it never attained much recognition. Bābur wrote his memoir in that language, and its cultivation was encouraged in the royal household. Jahāngīr is reported to have said that the thing he would have most prized for Shāh Jahān would have been a knowledge of Turkī. It thus ceased to gain much notice in the royal household after Akbar's time; India never took to it. Inshā's few Turkī passages are to be found scattered throughout the Kulliyāt.¹

1. Kull., 79, 226, 234, 350, 415, 420.

CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR AND PROSE WORKS.

a) Daryā-i Latāfat.

Inshā is best known by this work. Probably the best way of approach to an estimate of it would be to quote the opinion of its editor, 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq, and to see how far his evaluation is borne out by facts brought to notice here. 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq says: "There is no doubt at all of this that Inshā Allāh Khān conferred a great favour on the Urdu language, and this book in particular he has composed in such a manner that, so long as the Urdu language lives, the necessity will remain of reading it, and learning from it and quoting its authority as authentic."¹

It was composed at the behest of Nawwāb Sa'ādāt 'Alī-Khān and completed in 1223/1807-08.² Inshā says that the Nawwāb had urged him to compile a grammar of Urdu as there was none so far in existence, though grammars of Arabic and Persian had been written.³

1. D. L., Intro.8.

2. ibid, 244.

3. B.M.Or.1911.F.1.

It was begun and finished therefore during the Nawwāb's period of government in Lucknow. That it was in process of compilation during Shāh 'Ālam II's time (d.1221/1806) is gathered from the final lines of durdāna-i dowum of this work.¹

It contains a grammar of Urdu, the first on the subject in that language. It should here be stated that Qatīl² composed what was attached to the work by Inshā as a second portion. This latter portion deals with logic, prosody and qāfias (end-rhymes), figures of speech and rhetoric. Of these only figures of speech and rhetoric have been retained in the 1916 edition by 'Abdu'l-Haqq³ as there is nothing in the remaining subjects which has not been treated more fully by other authorities.

Both Inshā and Qatīl suggested names for this work. The former would have liked to preserve in the title the connection with Nawwāb Sa'ādat 'Alī by calling it "Baḥr-i Sa'ādat" or "Irshād-i Nāzimī", but Qatīl's suggestion prevailed and it was entitled "Daryā-i Latāfat".⁴

1. B.M.O. 1911, 31.

2. Supra.

3. D L., Lucknow, 1916.

4. ibid., Intro. 10.

It was printed by Masīhu'd-Dīn Khān, in Murshidabad about 1266/c.1849.¹ Under the direction of 'Abdu'l-Haqq a revised edition was published in 1916, and an Urdu translation by Braj Mohan Kaifī was brought out in 1935.

For the better understanding of the author and his method it is advisable to give at this stage an idea of the chapters and their contents.

1. Muqaddama
2. Durdāna (a single pearl.)
3. Durdāna II
4. Durdāna III
5. Durdāna IV (Idioms and phrases of Delhi)
6. Durdāna V (Idioms and phrases of the women of Delhi.)
7. Jazīra I
 - a) Shahr I (Moods and Tenses)
 - b) Shahr II (Consonants and vowels)
 - c) Shahr III (Weak letters)
 - d) Shahr IV (Infinitives)
8. Jazīra II
 - a) Shahr I:-
 - (1) nouns (2) plural of nouns (3) feminines
 - (4) subject (5) object (6) genitive connection
 - (7) state (participles) (8) tamiz (specification)
 - (9) exception (10) vocative (11) byname, etc.
 - (12) substitution (13) conjunction (14) quantitative interrogatives (15) declension (16) indeclinability
 - (17) demonstratives (18) verbal nouns
 - (19) onomatopoeic words (20) adverbs
 - (21) honorific terms.
 - b) Shahr II (verb)
 - c) Shahr III (particles)
 - d) Shahr IV (important notes)

1. D L., Urdu Tr., Dibācha.

Some acquaintance with the vernaculars had been necessary to European traders, missionaries, etc., ever since their arrival in India, but it was not until the 18th century that the systematic amassing of material for any proper study started. The first real account of Hindustānī was published in 1743; the author of this grammar, J. J. Ketelaer, had been a Dutch envoy to Bahādur Shāh in the early part of that century, and had compiled it as early as 1715. This was followed in 1744 by Schultze's grammar, written in Latin. So far nothing had yet been written about the use of Agent-Ne, aspirated letters, and nasalisation. The stages in the separation of aspirated from unaspirated consonants, the distinction of the cerebral or retroflex consonants, and the use of nasalisation, and other advances have been traced in the Linguistic Survey of India.¹

Inshā was the first Indian to compile a grammar of Urdu; it was completed in 1223/1807-08. There is no trace of any influence on him from Europeans who were

1. op.cit. Vol.IX. Part 1-8.

conducting these investigations into the grammar of Urdu and its presentation in Persian script. But through his friendship with Qatīl he may have had indirect contact with such persons or knowledge of their researches. Qatīl was a munshī of Nawwāb Sa'ādāt 'Alī Khān, and went to Calcutta on several occasions on his behalf, and had many admirers there of his literary compositions. His work on Logic, Rhetoric and Prosody was attached as a second part of Daryā-i Latāfat.

But there is no apparent reason for assuming that Inshā had contact with workers in this field. He had an original turn of mind, and his mind was constructive, even inventive; further he had had a good training, as is obvious from his writings, in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and he had applied himself to the study of other languages, and in some cases he had acquired a knowledge of them from living sources, the speakers themselves. His conduct of his investigations and an examination of his work do not indicate any guidance on modern lines; his work stands as original.

Relations between Inshā and Qatīl had started early in life, presumably after the former's settlement in

Delhi, and endured through most, if not all, of the former's lifetime. In the beginning of Daryā-i Latāfat, as given in B.M.Or.1911, f.3(b)¹, and reproduced below, Inshā states that as he is busy amassing material for his Lata'ifu's-Sa'adat (a collection of witty sayings of the Nawwab) he has not time enough to complete this task and requests Qatīl to undertake the portion containing Logic, Prosody and Rhetoric; he himself would write the introductory portion, and notes on the language as spoken in Shāhjahānābād, its idioms and usages and its accidence and syntax.

و ازین سبب که در عالم استغراق بتحصیل لذات روحانی ابدی بگس رانی بار یافتگان محفل
عالی حضرت پیرو مرشد و یاد کردن لطایف حضور اقدس که هر روزی بک فصل دوسه چار
از زبان معجز بیان ترشح می نمود و می نماید و آن را خود بخود در صفیات لطایف السعادت
که تا قیام قیامت بتمامی مرساد می نوشتم و می نویسم و خواهم نوشت حسن خدمتی
بجای آوردم و می آرم اینهمه فرصت بدست نیامد که تنها رنگ بر چهره این نقش بدیع کشتم
مرزا حسن قتیل را نیز که رو کرده او بی تامل رو کرده من و پسندیده او پسندیده این کز مژگان³
بوده است و از صغرسن میان من و او در هر چیز همه برادرانه قرار پذیرفته شریک این دولت ابد
مدت ساختم و با هم چنین مقرر شد که خطبه کتاب و لفظ و محاوره اردو و هر چه صحت و سقم آن
باشند و مصطلحات شاهجهان آباد و علم صرف و نحو این زبان را راقم مذنب یعنی کتیرین بنده
در گاه آسمان جاه یعنی انشا بنویسم -

1. N.B. This beginning is not found in the edition of 'Abdu'l-Haqq, or its Urdu Trans.

2.) }
3.) } The word here is not clear.

From these lines in MS. Or, 1191, fol. 5(a), which are not found in the lithographed edition of 1916, one can get an idea of the thought and care with which he tackled the problem of the aspirated characters, and of his desire to impart interest, if not a certain hedonism, into the learning of the alphabet for the beginner. He proposes that each character should be called by some attribute of the Nawwab; e.g. "ba" should be referred to as "bakhshish". His mnemonic table for the Arabic alphabet is dealt with below, a few lines later.

A somewhat similar desire to adapt the lesson to the pupil was shown by Qatīl when he substituted for the fa'l forms of metrical feet expressions such as

مفعول مفاعیلین مفعول مفاعیلین for بی جان پری خانم بی جان پری خانم

In teaching the Arabic-Persian character to Urdu readers Inshā has a system like that used in juvenile reading books in Europe, in which, for instance, "A" is said to stand for "Animal", "B" for "Bag". He has an Urdu line to help memorise each character. It is not known whether there was any precedent of this kind which

Inshā could have followed, but two later attempts have been noticed, made some forty-six years later by Miān Wajhān Shāh and Miān Karīm. Here are specimens of the work of all three for comparison:

1. Wajhān الف ایک بورنگی سائیں :: ہرگھٹ میں واکی پر چھپائیں
- Karīm الف ایک ایسار ب پیارا :: جن پھیلا یا جگ سنارا
2. Inshā الف - اللہ کو تو واحد جان :: ب - بدی کو تو پہچان

Inshā has given a versified form of the alphabet in a humorous and interesting manner in a ghazal.³

Inshā's grammar was very comprehensive; it was unique in its time, and always will be for its style. The section on the districts or quarters and the colloquials of Delhi (Durdāna II) is an enlightening and entertaining survey. He moved about with eyes and ears open so that while he listened to the accents and idioms of craftsmen, poets and men of letters and women of different classes, he enjoyed recording their variety. Poetry was his passion, and linguistics his hobby, but his pioneer effort in this latter connection would suffice to preserve

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1. Alif Be Wajhān o Karīm, Delhi, 1269 (1853)
 2. D.L., 57
 3. Kull, 156.

his memory. He takes Shāhjahānābād, i.e. Shāh Jahān's Delhi, as the centre of his investigations; naturally people of all conditions gravitate to the metropolis, but Shāh Jahān's new city had given a fillip to much that was wilting and jejune in the state.

Durdāna I.

Urdu he describes as a composite language which derived its vocabulary and style of composition from other languages. Shāhjahānābād being such a cultural centre, Urdu has had an excellent opportunity of assimilating many practical and rich elements.

Inshā was neither pedant nor purist. Language was primarily a means of communication; many foreign words were heard, some commended themselves and were retained, others were dropped as less serviceable than terms already in use. Suitable new words paid their way and they enriched the vocabulary.

Their form however made a problem for the purist. One had either to hold out for their form in the original or accept them as they adapted themselves. Inshā's position is, "Every word which is well known in Urdu,

whether it be Arabic, Persian, Turkī, Syrian, Pānjābī, or Pūrībī, and whether correct or incorrect from the point of view of its origin, is Urdu. Whether it is used as it was originally or not, its correctness depends only on its use in Urdu, because what is against the usage of Urdu is incorrect though it be correct according to its original usage."¹ On this ground Inshā thinks the word غَزَر correct though the original form is غَزْر. In support of his own similarly realistic attitude Hālī argued and wrote with great persuasiveness,² and Ābdu'l-Haqq comments that if action is not taken on these lines then danger threatens the very existence of Urdu as a language, for almost all its words, if regarded from the point of view of their origin, would be incorrect.³

In Durdāna I he explains the connection between Shāhjahānabād and Urdu. This city as the metropolis had attracted all classes from the cultured of the various provinces down through all grades of society. Urdu was necessarily a composite language,⁴ but also

1. D. L., 241

2. Muq. Sher., 93 (ed. Lahore, 1926).

3. D. L., Intro., 5.

4. D. L. 3.

to a certain extent eclectic. He next observes the difference in language between those who have been born and brought up in the city, and the incomers who have settled and reared children there, and gives examples of characteristics by which the Purbis, persons belonging to districts east of Delhi, may be distinguished.

One such example occurs in the sentence:

1 کل ہم تمہارے کے یہاں گئے تھے

"Ke" would not be used in this position by a man of Shāhjahānābād.

Certain words, as for example کبریا and کبرنی , would not be familiar to the Urdu speakers of Shāhjahānābād, who would use for them کنجڑا and کنجڑان . And certain forms of words are distinctive; e.g. the Purbī would speak of childhood as لڑکھئی , but the Shāhjahānābādī have three expressions all different for it: the student would say لڑکانی ; the resident in Mughalpura, لڑکانین ; and the man of correct and elegant speech (fasīh) لڑکھین 2 .

1. D.L.2. 2. It should be noted that Inshā has himself used لڑکانین in his Kullī,² whereas he does not consider the Mughalpuris as speakers of standard Urdu.

The characters of the Urdu script concern him next. He was not content to group these as of Arabic, Persian or Hindi provenance, and give their value, but he also examined their sound in combinations. The total of sounds (noises) as represented by the characters separately and in combination is 85. Of these Arabic is responsible for 28; Persian 4; Hindi 3; 17 are nasalised; 17 aspirated, and 8 are nasalised and aspirated; and 11 are combined with ya'. As he considers two of the 11 and one of the 8 questionable, he makes the number 85, though the common people and persons not acquainted with methods of research have 95 values for them.¹

Durdāna II.

In the second Durdāna, Inshā deals with the different quarters of Delhi, and the differences in their colloquial. Like the professor in Mr. G. Bernard Shaw's "Pygmalion" he was able to localise an accent, and to submit speakers to the disconcerting experience of being set down as provincial.

1. Cf. D L., 13.

The Hindus in the city he divides into two groups, one of which lived in contact with Muslims; they spoke Urdu, but made frequent use of Hindi words. The other group did not associate closely with Muslims, and the linguistic divergence was much greater than in the previous case; e.g. bāzār they pronounced as bazār, or bajār.

In the latter group come the dallāls (brokers), who pronounce their own designation as dālāl, and their pagrī as pagg. He recounts the behaviour of a dallāl engaged in a quarrel, how he removed his pagrī and tucks it under his armpit, and shouts out like a person being illtreated, this with a view to overaweing the adversary. Inshā adds the remark that the colloquial of these dallāls stands to pure Hindi in the relation of pure Khurāsānī to Persian.

He proceeds to tell of a dallāl who had gone from Shāhjahānābād to Fyzabad. On the day after his arrival he went to see a certain jeweller called Khushhāl Rāi, who quickly summed him up, entertained him to halwā and lichis and at the time of his leaving gave him

4 paisa to go round the bāzār. Some days later when he had returned to Shāhjahānābād friends in his neighbourhood gathered around him and asked whether he had seen Khushhāl Rāi and how he was. He at once flung back his head and said;

(Original)
 کھسالی جوہری کی پھٹی باد میں ایسی بنی کہ ایسی کسی کی
 نہ بنی ہو۔ ڈوڈھی ڈوڈھی پر خیریل مریج خیریل
 دی سناری دی ہٹ ڈھری کے اندر بھی کواکھوے
 کے منہ اوپر وٹا لکڑا۔ ہور شیخی بھی ایسا کہ ایسا
 کوئی ہی نہ ہوگا مجھے دیکھتے ہی باگ باگ ہو گیا ہور
 وسی گھڑی چھ پیسے آدمی کو دئے کہ چھینیا مل کے واسطے
 پوریاں اور موہن بھوگ تو جا کے لاؤ ہور اُسکے آوتے آوتے
 تاکر دھیلے کی گا جراں ہور دھیلے کا چٹا گڑ لیکے دیا
 کہ جب تک وہ آتا ہے اُسکے آنے تک تھوڑا موہنہ تو
 جٹھا لو۔ اللہ بھلا کرے اسنے بھی تو گرم گرم لوجیاں
 اور کچوریاں اور موہن بھوگ ڈھیر سالہ کر میرے آگے
 رکھ دیا میں نے کھا کے کٹی کر کے کہا کہ میں اب جاتا ہوں
 سنکر بچارے نے چار پیسے کیسے میں سے کڑھ کے
 دئے کہ اسدا کچھ بچارے سے منہ وچ والے جانا۔

(Translation)
 خوشحال جوہری کی فیض آباد میں ایسی بنی کہ ایسی کسی کی
 نہ بنی ہو۔ ڈیوڑھی ڈیوڑھی پر کھپڑیل۔ بیج کھپڑیل
 کے سناری کی دوکان ڈھری کے اندر بھی کوان کو بن
 کے موہنہ پر بڑی لکڑی (شہتیر)۔ اور سنی بھی ایسا کہ ایسا
 کوئی بھی نہ ہوگا مجھے دیکھتے ہی باغ باغ ہو گیا اور
 اسی گھڑی (وقت) چھ پیسے آدمی کو دئے کہ چھینیا مل کے واسطے
 پوریاں اور موہن بھوگ تو جا کے لاؤ اور اسکے آتے آتے
 گرم گرم کے دھیلے کی گا جراں اور دھیلے کا چٹا گڑ لیکے دیا
 کہ جب تک وہ آتا ہے اُسکے آنے تک تھوڑا موہنہ تو
 جٹھا لو۔ اللہ بھلا کرے اسنے بھی تو گرم گرم لوجیاں
 اور کچوریاں اور موہن بھوگ ڈھیر سالہ کر میرے آگے
 رکھ دیا میں نے کھا کے کٹی کر کے کہا کہ میں اب جاتا ہوں
 سنکر بچارے نے چار پیسے کیسے میں سے نکال کے
 دئے کہ اسدا کچھ بازار سے موہنہ میں دواتے جانا۔

Inshā here makes a careful analysis of the words, and explains how some of the divergencies from the standard pronunciation have come about; through abbreviation (ترخیم); lack of knowledge (بے علمی); in Fayzabad, which the dallāl pronounced as "Phayjebād" the first ā of ābād has been made a yāe-majhūl, as in the rule of imāla; the substitution of a cerebral for a dental; an aspirate combination for a guttural; وچ for چ ; باگ for باغ , the latter with its uvular trill. A definite Panjābī influence is apparent here.

In this way, through examples, he illustrates the idiom and pronunciation of various classes and communities, such as Mughals, Kāshmirīs, Panjābīs, and Pūrbīs. In the case of the offspring of Kāshmirīs he observes that they use فلانے (m) and فلانی (fem), in oblique cases for فلاں ; and for the future of a verb they employ the infinitive with چاہنا e.g. چاہونگا کرنا for کرونگا ; the prohibitive negative مت takes the place of نہ as in
1. اس کام کو مت کرنا چاہئے

He also investigates the language complex of inter-marriage, as for instance when a Mughal marries a Delhi woman of any class and they have issue brought up in the community of the father. The child in this case will speak Delhi Urdu, with a slight admixture of Mughal words.¹

Delhi Urdu puts its stamp on all those brought up in the city. Not all of course speak it correctly or with the approved accent, but their idiom is better than that of outsiders, and even the common people of Delhi speak better Urdu than many persons from higher class families elsewhere. In spite of the divergencies in the colloquial of the dallāls it is not only better than that of Hindus elsewhere, but even of such Muslims also.

Inshā concludes² that though the term "standard Urdu" cannot be applied to the language of all the residents of Delhi, yet the common (bāzārī) people speak better Urdu than the better class in other provinces. He adds that the influence of Panjābī is very apparent in

1. D L., 14-15.

2. D L. 15.

Mughalpura; e.g. an expression like

عورتان بیٹھی تھیاں

at once brands the speaker as belonging to that quarter, into which penetrate the incomers from the North West.

He here notices the mispronunciation of ق (q) by Panjabīs.

In referring to the Saiyids of Bārha, whom he considers as "a pain in the neck to Urdu," he makes mention of the objective particle ko, which had been taken from a Hindi dialect in the form kū; in Shāhjahānābād the nūn-i ghunna had been dropped, and the vowel had become ma.jhūl. Mīr Soz, he says, has used the form kū in the qāfia of a ghazal.

After a short reference to the Afghānī quarter he passes on to the settlers in other quarters, whose language is worse than nondescript because their conversation is like an animal, with a face but the body of an ass, or it is half-deer half-dog. Another amusing thing about them is that when they seek their livelihood in other towns they give themselves out to be Shāhjahānābādīs i.e. they would like to give the impression that theirs is standard Urdu, and so they are capable of criticising the local language.

For Standard Urdu both language and accent have to pass muster. To accent (لہجہ) he attaches great importance, declaring that it forms with the other the basis (اصالت) of Urdu¹. Accent he describes as the voice of the speaker in the action of speaking combined with the movement of the tongue. One who has attained this standard of speech must not make use of Panjābī or Pūrbī words or his accent will suffer. A person from another town, even if throughout life he constantly corrects his Urdu, can never get away from the accent of his town of origin. He illustrates his point here with interesting examples showing how Panjabīs, Pūrbīs, and the residents of the Doab, i.e. the district between the Ganges and the Jumna, would render a sentence as spoken by a man of Delhi, and indicates the characteristics of each group.

These last examples he does not wish to be taken as evidence that people in other towns can never acquire standard Urdu. Some Indians have attained such a standard in Persian and Arabic, therefore there is no reason why a person should not acquire the Shāhjahānābād

1. D.L., 26.

accent. He lays down four conditions as requisite to this: 1) the parents must have belonged to the Capital; 2) there must be available the society of people with a mastery of Urdu; 3) the person must be fully engrossed in its acquisition; 4) he must be bright and intelligent. The first of these conditions is not essential in the case of all genuine students, but Inshā states he has hardly ever come across anyone for whom the first condition was not an essential. He adds that the people of Delhi by nature have a greater creative and imitative faculty than those of elsewhere. Their children, too, possess this faculty in great measure, as for example the games peculiar to them show.

One such invention is zargari¹ which is not the tongue of any city, but a style of writing which inserts the letter "ze" (ز) between any two letters in a word:

ازاج مزیرزا جزئی میزوں چہرہ ہزہزے کہ ہزی گزن نزا گزے گھڑ لجزا گزے لنگ وزل ہزہ
لزا وزوں -

This would read with the omission of ز as follows:

آج میراچی یوں چاہتا ہے کہ بی گنا کے گھر جا کے ٹک دل پہلاؤں

Another example is in word inversion, e.g.:

رستی بس تاہیں ٹھوڑھ کھیندی

1. See Platts' Dict. Under ز : "a secret or enigmatical mode of speech (similar to what is called in English the p language)".

This would read when restored:

تیری سب باتیں جھوٹو دیکھیں

Still another is an invention of Shāh 'Ālam II, who was alive at the time when Inshā was compiling this grammar; it is called baknī, because it brings بکن between two letters in a word.¹

Fasāhat is a quality which is not the lot of all in Delhi, but is confined to a number. The author states that after making an investigation he has come to realise that no quarter is without a fasīh; at some places there may be several, and perhaps none is without one. The majority of the fusahā are to be found in the royal palace, and in two of the quarters, whose areas he defines, but this quality does not depend on birth in Shāhjahānabād. Inshā explains the meaning of the term fasāhat,² to which great importance had been attached in Arab oratory. It is frequently translated into English as "eloquence" but this is often too descriptive and vague. "Chasteness in speech", implying the use of the right word in the

1. D. L. 31.

2. D. L. 23.

right place, comes close to its proper meaning. "Correctness and elegance of speech" has also been used to render it. Inshā starts off with a warning of what to avoid, rather than with a definition of what it is. It is treated by him in two divisions:

I. Correctness in the word (فصاحت کلمہ)

II. Correctness in the sentence (فصاحت کلام)

I. According to the first of these a word is fasīh

which is free from three defects: (a) تنافر حروف

i.e. incongruity in the letters, e.g. in the use of

کانٹرا for کانا ; (b) غرابت لفظ i.e. unfamiliarity

of the word, e.g. the use of a non-Urdu word, like

for کنکوا ; (c) مخالفت قیاس لغوی i.e. violation

of grammatical analogy, as e.g. when the Bangalis

say:

پانچ ہاتھی کھڑی ہیں

II. That sentence is فصیح which is free from these

two defects: (a) incongruity between the words, whereby

the speaker may make a slip or his sentence not be

quickly completed, and want of logical sequence in

in the words and of perspicuity in the ideas. If these

defects are present the language is not fasīh, whether

the speaker comes from Shāhjahānābād or not. The whole

may be summed up in these words: clarity of expression is the essence of composition.

Durdāna III.

The third durdāna opens with a discussion of the two opinions as to whether the acknowledged poets are mustanad in all matters, i.e. as to whether every usage of theirs is to be taken as thereby authenticated. Some say that the poets are the most correct and elegant in language, while others maintain that metre and end-rhyme are a check on fasahat. But neither opinion is quite right; for example Mir at some places used vowels that are not now current, and Saudā, words that are incorrect from the point of view of Urdu; the latter, for instance, by making thorī rhyme with gorī has carried poetic licence too far because there is no word thorī.¹ Inshā defends the poet by saying that if he sometimes uses a word against its usage he does so deliberately, and not because he is not fasīh; at the same time he warns people against imitating the poet in using such a word which is not authentic. In

1. D L.32.

this matter Inshā has chosen a via media and offended nobody.

He also points to minor defects in Dard, Mīr Asr, Ābrū, and others, but not directly by way of criticism. There is apparently an ulterior motive in his thus insinuating that all is not well with these poets whose position seemed so well established!

All the quarters of Lucknow are full of fusahā, whereas in Delhi there are few quarters containing such, for all have transferred to the former city. By pursuing this safe course he displeases neither place, but one can infer that his sympathies are with Delhi.¹

He sums up by saying that the rulers and nobles and those about them are the best authorities on Urdu because they gather to them persons of wit and learning, and thus are in a position to select and standardise.² Etiquette, and even fashions, emanate from their courts. He then cites Nawwab Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān as a pattern of all he has claimed in this connection and

1. D L.36.

2. ibid.37.

adds that he himself is about to collect the volume which subsequently appeared as Latā'ifu's-Sa'ādat.¹

He next proceeds to give examples of Urdu as spoken. The most interesting of them is a speech of Mīr Ghafar Ghainī, a native of Delhi.² He is engaged in conversation by Bī Nūran, a kasbī or courtesan of Delhi. He had a defect in his speech which caused him to use an "uvular trill in place of the three sounds r, r and l." In his long reply to her he talks of many things, including the condition of poetry in Lucknow at that time. His summary constitutes a shrewd comment on poets and poetry, and a portion of it can very suitably be given here:

"O Bī Nūran, since I left Delhi I have been depressed in spirit. And if you ask about poetry, there is no charm left in it. Now listen! Walī³ was an ustād in Rekhta; he had the blessing of Shāh Gulshan. After Walī came Ābrū, Nājī, Hātim, and later and best of all were Mirza Rafī' Saudā and Mīr Taqī, and then Mīr Dard, who was my ustād.⁴ These and those who appreciated them

1. infra. 226. 2. D L. 49-53. The views expressed apparently represent Inshā's own. 3, of Aurangabad - supra. 6/. 4. cf. Supra. 205.

have all passed away. Now the poets in Lucknow are just like street-singers, and even those of Delhi are no better. The seed is affected by its company. My goodness, look at this Miān Jur'at, a great poet! Ask him as to when his family ever wrote poetry! And where do we find the poetic effusions of Razā Bahādūr? To take another, Miān Mushafī! He has no poetic sense! If asked to explain the construction of فرب زید عمراً he will bring his pupils with him to the fray. As to Miān Hasrat - look you, he has left his juice of aniseed and syrup of pomegranates and taken to poetry! And what about Mīr Inshā Allāh Khān, poor fellow, the son of Mir Māshā Allāh Khān? He was once a charming boy; I too used to gaze at him; for some little time he has been a poet, and criticises the language of Mirza Mazhar Jān Jānān! Now here is something more wonderful than all, - Sa'ādat Yār, son of Tahmāsp, thinks himself the Anwarī of Rekhta! His poetic name is Rangīn. He has written a story and called its masnavī Dilpazīr, and has used throughout the speech of courtesans. He has tried to copy Mīr Hasan. This last too had no poetic sense. It was not

really a story of "Badr-i Munīr" he wrote, but rather it was oil of sānda (i.e. an aphrodisiac) he was selling. Come, can we call that poetry? All in Lucknow and Delhi, from courtesans to men, read this:

چلی وہاں سے دامن اٹھاتی ہوئی : کڑے کو کڑے سے بجاتی ہوئی

And this poor Rangīn has written a story on the same lines. Should someone say, "Your father was a cavalry-officer no doubt, but he poor fellow wielded the spear and the lance; how then could you ever become so educated?" And through the rakishness that is clearly apparent in him because of keeping company with profligates he has laid aside Rekhta and invented Rekhtī, so that the daughters of gentlemen could read it and be eager to meet him and incur disgrace.

What a verse is this!

یہاں سے ہے کئے پیسے ڈولی کہا رو

And such expressions as مٹوڑی انگیا and مٹوڑی انگیا - نچولی انگیا !

And though he is a man yet he speaks in the following manner:

کہیں ایسا نہ ہو کبھیخت میں ماری جاؤں

And he has written a book which is in the language of courtesans ...!

Towards the close he gives a pen-sketch of the "Bānkas", as in the next section he described the "Shuhdās". The bānkas formed a kind of smart set, and their distinctiveness extended even to their manner of speech. Inshā says that Mīran, son of the Nawwab Mīr Jafar, who had intended that he should succeed him at Murshidabad but Mīran was killed by a stroke of lightning, considered himself one of this class. "The bānkas gathered to him, and also those from Mughalpūra and Bādalpūra..... Bānkas are seen in every town, in Delhi, the districts of the Deccan, and Bengal, and the towns of the Panjab; they are all dressed the same, and their speech is alike, and their style of walk, and they pay much attention to their body; and they treat every feminine as a masculine." Inshā has here excepted the bānkas when considering spoken Urdu on the ground that they are really a group by themselves and artificial.¹

Durdāna IV.

In Durdāna IV he deals with idioms and expressions peculiar to or current in Delhi, and makes it a good

source for the antiquarian and lexicographer. Inshā includes in this some games played by children.

One of these is somewhat similar to the celebration of Guy Fawkes Day in England. Inshā calls this game "Lohri" and says it was current in his time from Delhi to Kabul. Children accompanied by their elders go from door to door in each locality and collect fuel or money, and one night they burn the heap of material and buy sweets with the money and share them with one another. He adds that this was a Hindu custom, but Muslim children joined freely in it.¹

In this Durdāna he has mentioned the names of some of the quarters and bazaars and other sites of Delhi, a matter of much topographical interest as time has brought changes.²

Towards the close he produces a pen-sketch of a shuhdā, as he had done earlier when referring to the class of the bānkas.³ According to him a shuhdā is one who goes barefoot and bareheaded, and carried

1. D L. 76; see also 13-15. 2. ibid, 89. 3. ibid, 95.

luggage on his head or shoulders, and feels no shame in being addressed as: او - بچا - او بے - ایسی تسیی - سالے وغیرہ

He works for anyone, and his chief concern is for his wages; he is honest and will not steal, though he may be alone in a wealthy house. His class is generally found near the Jāmi' Masjid of Delhi. Their names and their mode of pronunciation are peculiar to them.

Specimens of their names are:

کرگج - جما - بدھوا - روشن چراگ - مادا - دھموا - جھموا - راجی خان

He gives a specimen of their conversation:

”بے دیخ تو بچا آن نبی صاحب کی سوں کیسا سچوں گا تہاری سب باتیں میں ہیں جانتا ہوں۔ مجھکو بھی نواب صاحب جانتے ہیں کل بھی جما بھٹیاری کی دکان پر مجھے دیخ کر ہنس دیا۔ مینے کہا او دولا کی خیر۔ آپ بولے وا بے بچا تیرے دھوں پر لٹھ“

So much for the shuhdas of Delhi; those who come and join them from outside show certain differences; for instance, a panjabī who had joined them would render the above passage in this way:

”بے دیخ تان بچا آھان نبی صاحب کی کسم کیسا سمجھانگا تہاری سب باتاں میں ہیں۔ جما بھٹیاری کی دکان کے اوپر مجھکو بھی نواب صاحب جانتے ہیں کل بھی جما بھٹیاری کی دکان کے اوپر مجھکو دیخ کے ہنس دیا۔ مینے کہا او دولا کی خیر۔ آپ بولے کہ واہ بے بچا تیرے دھوں پر لٹھ“

The lined words show the differences; they have a Panjābī form.¹

Durdāna V.

Durdāna V describes the speech and idioms of the women of Delhi. He states that the Urdu of the women of Shāhjanānābād is superior to that of the women of any other part of India, but not to that of men in general. Its womenfolk have a language and style of their own, and any word used freely here is Urdu though originally it may have been Arabic, Persian, Syrian, Turkī, Panjābī, Purbī, Mārwarī, Dakhnī, Bundel, Khandi, or of any other region.

Then comes mention of Rangīn and Rekhtī, a topic that has been dealt with under its heading.² Inshā gives a list of the idioms current among women, but acknowledges his indebtedness to Rangīn for them. After copying idioms and phrases from the latter he adds some of his own, and supplies their meanings.³

This chapter serves the purpose of a vocabulary which Rangīn wrote for men not familiar with the difficult

1. D.L., 96-7.

2. Supra. 78

3. D.L., 104.

words and the usages occurring in his Dīwān-i Rekhtī; Inshā added some words to it. There are terms in it not confined to the demi-monde, but widely current among womenfolk generally. This chapter is therefore an important contribution, to the broader study of the language, and reflects the part played by a section of the community too often overlooked because screened from view. Apart from its darker aspects there is no doubt about its literary merits, and whatever may have been the intentions of this pair in bringing it to notice, they have done a service in showing that women were not a negligible factor in stabilizing the language. Some prose works such as Tilism-i Hoshrubā, Afsāna-Nādirjahān and Taubatu'n-Nasūh, contain specimens of the vigour and practical commonsense in women's thoughts and ideas. The standard of the women's ranks was proudly carried high by 'Ābid Mirza Begum, of Lucknow, when she wrote:¹

زبان کے ملک کا سکھ ہے عورت :۔ انوکھا ہے چلن سارے جہاں سے
زبان کا فیصلہ ہے عورتوں پر :۔ یہ باتیں مردوں کے لئے کہاں سے

1. Hist. of Rekhtī, . ۸2.

It may be stated at this point that Jān Sāhib has played an important role in this branch of writing, as he was an out and out Rekhtī-poet. His field is very wide, and contains more of the customs and usages of women in their household life. There are references to the father's attitude towards his children, to maternal and filial love, to complaints between its members, etc.

These two jazīras lack in general the freshness of treatment noticeable in the five Durdānas. The impression made here contrasts markedly with that obtained from his linguistic and phonetic investigations. The style as before is coloured by examples from the different dialects. The influence of his Persian and Arabic models in grammar is perceptible, but this is not to be wondered at, for modern method has only recently begun to work out a system for the Urdu language by itself and for the child-mind. In tracing the connection between a verbal root and its forms he diverges into such connections in the dialects,

Braj, Kāithī, Pūrbī and Panjābī.¹

1. D. L. 106.

The two jazīras cover much ground but lack in general the freshness of treatment noticeable in the five Durdānas.

The remaining portion of the work is concerned with the Accidence and Syntax of Urdu.

It seems strange that no one of his contemporaries remarked on the industry of this man taking notes among them and listening meticulously to pronunciation. Here, as when learning a language, he seems to have followed a system; in this case he would take down a passage as spoken, and examine each important word or phrase, note on its vowels, and the changes that occurred in them and their consonants in the mouths of foreign speakers. He did not have the vocabulary of technicalities of the phonetician, whose science was then in an elementary stage, but he had an ear for the discrimination of sounds. As he wrote his grammar for Indians whose mother tongue or language in use was Urdu, he did not then have to explain the placing of sounds. He laid what might have been made the foundations of further research by Indians. But the

vernaculars had been neglected and when thought was at last given to them towards the close of the eighteenth century, the first need of them was for literature for educational purposes, in schools, missions and the College of Fort William. Saksena has well said: "He made searching inquiries into the idiom and origin of words, the pronunciation of various words, the dialect of the Begums, which is regarded to be a well of pure Urdu and the idioms peculiar to this language of the Zenana. He has appraised with judicious care the influence of various communities on the common language, Urdu."¹

Inshā has maintained interest throughout his grammar in diverse ways. His examples are variously selected; types and classes, king, poet and peasant, are presented in an aspect faithful to their condition, humorously sometimes, but not in caricature. At one place he amuses the reader by making a kind of analysis of the sounds produced in laughter;² and again he tells of the games children play and invent. While language

1. Saksena, 87. 2. D L., 59.

was for him an earnest study he allowed free exercise of a humorous faculty, and admitted others to share in its pleasure with him.

b) Sharḥ-i Mi'at Āmil.

One appears to be justified in tracing in Inshā a system of memorising. His Sharḥ-i Mi'at Āmil is clearly intended to simplify or summarise for himself or other student the section of Arabic grammar compiled by 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jurjānī (d.471/1078) and called Al-'Awāmil al-Mi'at or Al-'Awāmil fī an-Nahw. It was for centuries a popular school-book on grammar, and was committed to memory by beginners in that language. Inshā has here arranged it for Persian students; possibly it was his own method of "cramming" when a student.

It deals with the "governing" particles or powers, a hundred in all, and mentions the nature of their governance of nouns or their construction in a sentence. There is little by way of explanation, and there are no model sentences. It is merely a memory aid.

It opens with praise of the prophet, of 'Alī and his family, and of Nawwāb Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān. It contains some 58 distiches in all, arranged under 23 headings.

There are two more versified schemes of study which illustrate his systematic method. One is referred to below and contains his memory-aid for Pashtū,¹ the other is intended to help the learner of the Arabic character.²

These aids to study, intended apparently for the help of beginners, remind one of Amīr Khusrau's efforts to assist learners. His Badī' u'l- 'Ajā'ib, a short Arabic-Persian dictionary and Khāliq Bārī, and short Hindi-Persian dictionary, both in verse, were intended for this purpose.

The inference regarding his usually or always working according to a system is supported by Āzād's remark as to how Inshā used to memorise when a boy the Kāfiyyah (fi'n-Nahw), composed by Ibnu'l-Hājib (d.646/1249), a popular school-book on Arabic syntax in Madrasas. He would repeat the words "الطبة لفظ كلمة لفظ" etc., accompanying himself as he did so on a zither.³

1. Kull, 401 , and supra./8/ 2. D.L.,57. 3.Azad,260f.n.

c) Dāstān-i Rānī Ketkī (Inshā as a short story writer).

ĀZĀD has aptly said, "The languages of Hindustan were the handmaid of his (Inshā's) house."¹ His linguistic ability and his versatility were well exemplified in a long-short story. The versatility of Inshā is further exemplified in a long-short story he wrote in theṭh Hindi. His enterprise is a remarkable achievement for one whose first studies must have been of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages, and who did not set himself till some years later to make this essay in Khari Boli. It redounds to his credit that he successfully accomplished this task, and gave it form in a prose romance, and that he shares with only three others the honour of minting Khari Boli for currency in the literary world.

The name of the story as given by its editor is Dāstān Rānī Ketkī aur Kunwar Udai Bhān Kī. In it he decided not to use any Arabic or Persian word, and he did so with complete success except for two slips, where he uses kih (کھ) and yak na yak (یک نہ یک). The language is Hindustani, i.e. it employs the words

1. Azad, 272.

and idioms in ordinary use, excluding Sanskrit words not current.

Maulvī 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq, in his introduction to the work, gives a short account of its history. The first portion of the text was published by L. Clint in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengall, Vol. XXI (1852) and the second by S. Slater in Vol. XXIV, 1855. English translations were given in both cases. Maulvī 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq published this Urdu text in the Urdu magazine of Anjuman Taraqqī-i Urdu, Vol. VI, 1926. Some time later Pandit Manohar Lāl Zatshī showed him a copy in Nāgarī character printed in Lucknow, and 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq compared this text with his Urdu one, and published a corrected Urdu edition in 1933, Deccan.

Inshā, after the customary exordium of praise of God relates that it occurred to him one day that for his own amusement he should compose a story in which, except for Hindavī, no foreign or rustic elements of the language should appear. He goes on to say that people learned and experienced "remonstrated with and frowned on him", telling him such could not be, and his efforts would turn out to be neither Hindi nor Bhakha.

The story is the typical romantic subject of the masnavī, but in prose. The hero is Udaibhān, son of Rāja Sūraj Bhān and his wife Lakshmī, and the heroine is Rānī Ketkī, daughter of Rāja Jagat Prakāsh. Udai reaches the age of 15-16 years, then one day he sets out for a ride on his horse, and seeing deer ahead gives chase, but in vain. He comes across a party of women singing sāwan-songs beside a swing. Rānī Ketkī is of their number, also her faithful attendant Madan Bān. Mutual love springs up between Udai and Ketkī. The former is sorely afflicted by love and his father sends a messenger to Rāja Jagat Prakāsh to arrange the betrothal. But the latter thinks too proudly of himself and scorns the proposal. Rāja Jagat Prakāsh sends a messenger to his Gurū Jogī Mahandra Gar in Kailās stating that he is in difficulty. The Jogī and his disciples take the magical gutkā and fly through the air to Rāja Jagat. They arrive to find the two Rājas and their troops fighting. The Jogī stops the battle by turning Udai and his father and mother into two deer and a hind respectively, and sending

them into the forest, and their troops were destroyed.

After some time had passed in grieving for her lover Ketkī managed to get some ashes given to her parents by the Jogī Mahendra Gar and applies them to her eyes. Having thus made herself invisible to human eyes she wanders out into the forest seeking Udai. Madan Bān, on learning of her absence, applies collyrium (anjan) to her eyes and goes out in search of her. She at length finds her and restores her to her people. The Jogī next goes in quest of Udai, and restores him to his family, and all ends well.

Towards the end is a Kabit or short poem in Braj dialect;

When Kan, leaving the bushes of the forest in Kurail
Went and stayed in Dwarka,
He made his home there and near his queens became a King.
Leaving his former shape he took other things unto him.
He has a different form, new loves, and forgets to graze
the cows.

Babu Ayodhyā Singh in his Theth Hindī kā Thāth (1899) states that so far as he knows only one book has been written in pure Hindi before, viz. Kahānī Theth Hindī, by Inshā Allāh Khān of Lucknow. Ayodhyā Singh in his

preface seeks for a clear definition of pure Hindi, and discusses Inshā's method of procedure in omitting rustic words and those of any other language with the exception of Apabrah̄ṣ-Sanskrit words. This he shows has not been fully carried out by Inshā because he had admitted a number of Sanskrit words. This however he does not consider to be on all occasions a fault as Sanskrit is sometimes a more popular form than the Apabrah̄ṣ-Sanskrit. He adds that Inshā has used the Persian Kih (ک), a slip which Ayodhyā Singh draws attention to in Bhāratendu Bābū Haris̄chandra's "Hindībhāṣā" and explains as having been used there inadvertently.

Theth Hindī kā Thath is a story by Ayodhyā Singh, written by him as an example of pure Hindi style. It is a short tale simply told without flourish of rhetoric and with no great amount of the craft of the professional story-teller; e.g. it turns on the unconvincing coincidence of the meeting of the deserted wife with the boy-friend of her youth. As so often happens in this literature, and in life, the wife shows a wisdom exceeding her husband's. Hemlata, mother of

the heroine, adopts a saner, less caste-bound attitude to the marriage of their daughter than her husband. One is reminded of the calmer, less hysterical bearing of Fahmīda in domestic matters in Nazīr Aḥmad's Taubatuh-Naṣūh, so much more practical than her husband's overbearing principles.

The story is quaint, and is likely chiefly to be remembered as a specimen of pure Hindi. Though Persian and Arabic words were to be excluded, four of the former actually occur: chārpāī; tap; bachcha; bābā. Their Sanskrit origin the author gives in an appendix, but offers Hindi alternatives in case of a disputed claim.

Inshā was not a short-story writer, and would probably never have become one. The period of the modern story had not yet dawned. Romantic tales long and short had been told in prose and verse for centuries; Rānī Ketkī kī Kahānī is only one of the many hundreds; its composition had been motivated by something other than just the telling of an old-fashioned tale for its own sake or gain. Story-telling still had in it an element of the supernatural or of mystery, though not of the "horripilatory" of the Gothic stories of Europe.

d) Lata'ifu's-Sa'adat.

Another prose work, Lata'ifu's-Sa'adat, has been attributed to Inshā, though it has not been mentioned by any of the tazkiras. A MS. copy is found in the British Museum.¹ The text contains some fifty-five anecdotes of a more or less humorous nature; in thirty-four of them Nawwāb Sa'adat 'Alī Khān and Inshā play a part.² The twenty-fifth anecdote gives a date, 1208/1793, as that on which a certain house was bought by the Nawwab. The twenty-ninth and thirty-seventh bear the date 1218/1803 as the year in which the Nawwab recovered from an illness. It can fairly be assumed then that these anecdotes were published after 1803, and also that Inshā knew the Nawwab well before the latter's accession. Further, in the beginning of Daryā-i Latāfat³ Inshā states that as he was busy collecting material for the Lata'ifu's-Sa'adat he had not enough time to complete the grammar alone. Since the grammar was published in 1807-8, the collection of anecdotes most probably began between 1803 and 1806.

1. B.M., MS. Or. 2021. 2. Rieu states that there are fifty-three anecdotes; but two anecdotes however had received no number, one after 7, the other after No. 37.

3. B.M., MS. Or. 1911, fol. 36.

There is no other evidence which assists in the dating of the work. It extends over at least ten years of the Nawwab's life, from 1208/1793-1218/1803.

After an introduction in which the author declares his intention of collecting the witticisms of Sa'adat 'Alī Khān, the stories follow one another without any apparent connecting link. One of the Prophet and a man who asked him for a camel makes the first latīfa or witticism. In it and in some subsequent stories the poet addresses the latter as "Hazrat Pīr-o Murshid", thereby implying that he is a murīd or disciple of the Nawwab. Sometimes Inshā is a principal with the Nawwab in the anecdote;¹ sometimes he does not obtrude² into the narrative though present, and elsewhere it is difficult to tell whether he is present or not during the incident.³ The stories depend mainly on verbal cleverness, though some depict an incident in which there may be little obvious wit;⁴ in some are puns⁵ or other word-play⁶, in others rhetorical niceties or repartee.⁷ One story deals with a phrase inadvertently

1. e.g. Latīfas 2,8 and 9. 2. e.g. Nos.1 and 3.

3. Nos.5,32,50.4. Nos.15 and 18. 5. No.7. 6.No.9

7. Nos.2 and 8.

used by Inshā, which was interpreted favourably by Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān, but wit is absent.¹

The whole of this work is in Persian except where the exact words used by the Nawwab are quoted, and these with few exceptions are in Urdu; from this it may be gathered that most of the conversation was in Urdu; the incident in story No. 4, in which the words "Imām-bāp" and "Imām-bāgh" occur, supports the view that Urdu was the language used.

1. No. 4.

CHAPTER IX.

SURVEY OF INSHĀ'S WORK AND APPRAISAL OF HIS

LITERARY STYLE: CONCLUSION.

Inshā's style can best be surveyed by first treating each aspect separately with reference to the part it plays in the poet's composition.

- a) Satire. b) Wit and humour. c) Figures of Speech.
d) Be-naqaṭ verse. e) Allusions. f) Nature.

a) Satire.

Satire is one of the earliest forms of literary expression. The tribal poet made use of it to encourage his followers or to insult the foe. It was then in simple Rajaz metre. Two of the great poets at the Umayyid court, Farazdaq and Jarīr, indulged in naqā'id or mutual satire in qaṣīda-form. Another renowned specimen of the kind is Firdausī's retaliatory satirical maṣnavī in Persian on Mahmūd of Ghaznī.

In Urdu, Saudā and Inshā are the most famous, or notorious lampoonists. When the former had a bitter difference with anyone he would call to Ghuncha, his servant, to bring his pen and ink and "the eyes of modesty closed; and opening the mouth of shamelessness,

he expressed himself so vigorously that even the devil fled."¹

Two terms هجو (hajw) and تنز (tanz) have been borrowed from the Arabs to express displeasure with or animosity towards another. The former comprises lampoon, satire and pasquinade, and the latter irony and sarcasm.

Both irony and sarcasm may contain a certain amount of humour, and both can be cutting and destructive. Both attacks may be delivered on the spur of the moment and are not continuous. Satire, on the other hand, is usually longish, not impromptu, and is intended to hold up its subject to ridicule.

There is a Hindi term phakkar which connotes something of the above and more, i.e. it contains coarse invective or indecent abuse. It is also used of a term addressed to a friend, as for instance, "Stupid!", in which case intimacy removes its sting, otherwise it would be taken as rude or insulting.

In the Kulliyāt there are some sixteen satires; of these one is in rhythmical prose. In his Rekhta

1. Azad, 154.

and Rekhtī many expressions occur which can be designated tanz. The above-mentioned fifteen poems have the following main themes:-

Maṣnavī (Urdu):

1. Gyān Chand Sāhūkār
2. Elephants.
3. Bed-bugs.
4. Mosquitoes.
5. Flies.
6. Hornets.

Mukhammas:

7. The back-biter (Persian)
8. An Unspecified Person (Urdu)
9. Mirza Jān Ṭapish (Urdu)

Musaddas:

10. Qāsim 'Alī Khān (Urdu)

Ghazal.

11. Mushafī (Persian)
12. A Mughal who prides himself on his Urdu (Urdu)
13. A Khoja (Urdu)

Qitā'

14. The Bāghdādī (Urdu)

15. The Arab (Persian)

Prose (Urdu)

16. The Kashmirī.

Of these Nos. 1 to 10 have already been dealt with.¹ Nos. 7, 8, 10 and 16 occur only in the Delhi edition of the Kulliyāt. The remainder, Nos. 11 to 16, will be dealt with here.

Inshā's satires are found in both Urdu and Persian, but for the greater part in the former language. In Persian there are two Mukhammas², one Ghazal³ and one qitā'⁴. Satire with him is both direct and indirect, but the former finds more favour with him, twelve pieces being in this style, including all the masnavīs, the mukhammas and one musaddas and two ghazals. Four satirical pieces are against persons specified, seven others are against persons unspecified. The remaining five pieces are concerned with the animal world. In these last his imagination runs riot, with the result that the edge of his satire is blunted.

1. See supra. 2. supra. 176 3. supra. 179 4. supra. 163.
167-177, 139b-148

Of his satires on persons, perhaps that on Gyān Chand Sāhūkār is the most successful. It is a humorous but realistic skit.

Another pleasing satire is that directed against Mirza Jān Tapish; it is not extravagant in its language, and is successful in its humorous style and clever presentation of musical symbols.

The broad humour and the vulgar strain which are in place in the satire on Gyān Chand Sāhūkār are inappropriate when directed against some other persons, especially Mushafī.¹ Inshā is perhaps more successful in abuse than in satire; his compositions here rely more on his command of words than on their actual satirical implications.

His indirect satires on the Mughal, the Arab and the Kashmiris, are more satisfying in their witty ridicule, partly because he shows up their faults through themselves, and partly because the characters drawn were probably real figures.

Diction, then, has made Inshā's satires what they

1. cf. Kull. 383

Here with Kull. 484

384.

are; their merit springs from their language.

b. Wit and Humour.

Inshā's wit and humour may be grouped as of three classes, (a) what might be called "a pretty wit", which would include repartee, and (b) the broad or vulgar.

The reply of the henpecked zāhid to his wife is a good example of (a)¹

داڑھی کے منڈانے کو اندر سے جو فرمایا : زاہد نے کہا اچھا جو کچھ پور ضابی کی

The following contains as much satire as humour:-²

جوگی جی صاحب آپ کی بھی واہ : دہرم مورت عجب کوڑھنکی ہے

The satire becomes still broader in Inshā's amusing retort to Fā'iq, who because of a grievance had written and read out something satirical of Inshā, Inshā praised it, gave him five rupees and straightaway penned this couplet:³

فائق بے حیا ہجوم گفت : دل من سوخت سوخت سوخت بہ
صلہ اش پنج روپیہ داوم : دہن سگ لقمہ دوختہ بہ

When Fā'iq shamelessly satirised me
My heart was burnt, quite burnt,
I rewarded him with five rupees,
A dog's mouth is closed with a morsel.

1. Kull., 128

2. ibid., 183.

3. Azad, 193.

His quick turn of wit was well illustrated when one day 'Alī Naqī Khān, Mīr Munshī at the Residency, called with the Resident, John Baillie, at the palace of Nawwab Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān. 'Alī Naqī Khān, overlooking at least one quick-witted member of the audience, quoted Sa'dī's hemistich:¹ شاید کہ پلنگ خفتہ باشد and said خفیبہ could be read for خفتہ . The Nawwab made a gesture to Inshā, who mockingly twisted the two lines in which the expression occurred in the original. Inshā used afterwards to say of 'Alī Naqī:² میر منشی صاحب کا اللہ بیلی where the expression اللہ بیلی is an equivoque.

(b) Inshā's humour is mixed with satire, and in the satirical element vulgarity tended to show itself.

His humour can be very broad indeed; when ridiculing a shaikh as a gourmand he wrote

گو برگیش تو ند ہے ایسی ہی شیخ کی ۳. نسبت نہ ہوے بھینس کو جسکے شکم کے ساتھ
اس مٹھو سے پن پہ میٹھے کس قدر میں شیخے جیو ۴. تو ند تم انکی نہ سمجھو ہے یہ مٹکار اب کا

His coarser wit is well-illustrated in the satire on Gyān Chand Sāhūkār and in one of the Shīr-o Birānj satires,⁵ and in the masnavī on the bed-bug.

1. Azad, 291. 2. ibid. 291 3. Kull., 120.
4. ibid 27, last line 5. Kull., 329.

A rough-cast humour also characterises the ghazal in which a Zāhid attempts to expel a drunkard from a mosque.¹

Taking into account the times, and the character of the humour most likely to please the society in which the poet moved, it would be unfair to condemn utterly this aspect of his writing. Tone must be measured in the scale of popular taste, and varies with the age, and its people. Inshā was following the fashion in composing in this strain; some of his immediate predecessors and almost all his contemporaries indulged in a broad type of humour.²

c) Figures of speech.

Hyperbole is abundant through Inshā's poetic work. The following is a good example of such exaggeration:

3. سب کھیتیاں ہری ہوں اگر تیرے فیل کا :۔ میں نام پیل ابر بہاراں کے سامنے

In contrast the metaphor in the following line is appropriate:

4. بہت ہے اسمیں ایسی کہ یہ چرخ کوزہ پشت :۔ خم ہے اسی کے رتبہ احساں کے سامنے

1. Kull., 48.

2. Chapter 1.

3. Kull., 260.

4. ibid, 259.

His successful handling of metaphor appears in the following line:

1. اے پری تیرے ہنرے ایک بشر لیتا ہے : اور خراٹے پڑا دیو سحر لیتا ہے

and also of the philosophic figure in this verse:

2. فکر کی چیز تو رکھتا ہی نہیں کچھ انشا : خضر ہمت کو فقط سامنے دھر لیتا ہے

His imagery often suffers through its obscurity:³

جس جگہ پھوٹ ہے زخم جگر کا انگور : سیکڑوں کو س تلک وہاں شجر تاک اگے
کیا تعجب کہ جہاں منتظر اسکے روویں : جائے نرگس جو وہاں دیدہ ادراک اگے
دامن زیں سے ترے صید جہاں چھوٹ بڑے : سبزہ اس بادیاہ کا صورت فتراک اگے
سایہ قامت ییہی نہ پڑے اور افسوس : تربت قیص کے تہ سے خس و خاشاک اگے
جی یہ چاہے ہے ابھی شیش صہبا کو آئینڈ : شمع سے دیکھے لگا چادر ہناب میں اگ

Punning and other forms of word-play do not figure to any marked extent. Examples are scattered throughout the Kulliyāt⁴.

d.) Be-nuqaṭ Verse.

Inshā's practical adroitness is well displayed in these verses. Not a great many Persian poets have attempted this form of writing, and very few with any success. Inshā has made use of a number of varieties, some in which no dotted character appears at all,

1. Kull., 173. 2. ibid, 173. 3. ibid, 132 lines 1-4; 78 line 9
4. ibid, 407, line 3-6; 406, line 13-19; 392, line 8, 12, 14;
391, line 3, 7-9, 11-15; 93 line 6: 47, line 7: 14, line 17.

others in which dotted letters alternate with undotted or dotted words with undotted; there is an example also of an undotted hemistich accompanied by a dotted one.¹

f) Nature.

In the realm of Nature, Inshā is more concerned with the narrative portrayal from the described image. His eye caught movement or action, rather than appraised an object. He appears more interested in the incident than the conditions connected with it.

Inshā was not a close observer of Nature. Flowers for instance, come into a metaphor but are rarely described. Mention of the narcissus in the following line is more for effect than for building up an image

2. آنکھیں زرگس نے موندیں جھٹ : چہرہ پہ کیا صبا نے گھونٹا گھٹ

Inshā's attitude to Nature throughout his work shows that he was no ardent lover of Nature. One feels that the inclusion or mention of natural objects in his poems is more ornamental than sincere. Inshā is never lyrical in natural description. He is not stirred to his depths by an impulse from Nature. None of his main themes touch the subject.

1. supra. 89

2. Kull., 380 line 19.

CONCLUSION.

Inshā's life-story has been told here at considerable length, and it is clear that he fitted somewhat uneasily into his age. His was a mind of great variety; he was intellectual and pedantic, witty and satirical; an opportunist but loyal to friendships; and he had poetic talent. He was an intellectual, but his lot was cast among poets of no pre-eminent ability, and at court where political power was being more and more circumscribed by pressure from outside, capacity to govern was waning, and enterprise was non-existent. Morality was spineless, making no stand against vices or escaping for refuge in the cloister of the khānqāh. Nawwab Sa'ādat has a certain amount of reputation as a strict administrator of what rights were left to him, but he found regular, even daily diversion for a dozen years or more in Inshā's witticisms and poems in Rekhtī.

Intellect ruled in him, but not as in some poets of this century, who throw brutal words at tradition and sentiment that have survived the centuries and animate multitudes still. It ruled rather as it did in the

poets and wits of 17th and 18th century England, in whose works are passages less acceptable to Victorian taste than that of their own time. He ridiculed Zāhid, Qāzī, Nāsiḥ and Shaikh for the pretentiousness of some and the religious ineptitude of others. He was pedantic in his display of words and learned references, and these have added obscurity to many of his lines. But his manner was not itself pedantic, and ostentatious; he tossed off so much so spontaneously that it is obvious expression came only too easily to his quick thoughts, and he did not sit down with the grave air of a pedant to air all he knew with all correctness. His book-learning was probably accumulated in his early years, and being thorough and informed by a good memory it stood him in good stead later when he came to compose, and to compile his comprehensive Urdu grammar. His practical, rudimentary statistical method applied in the acquisition of languages mark him as a man who fitted uneasily into his time. His wit has been plentifully substantiated, and his satirical vein brought into evidence. But there is probably no trace in his nature

of cynicism, which has been called the "hallmark of failure". A note of sadness or weariness occurs occasionally, but his nature was too resilient to allow him long to mope. If Rangīn's account of his appearance in the mushā'ara after his order of internment and his recitation of a ghazal there be true, he shows up as combative, with a will to live, and certainly not morbidly.

Opportunism made him seek while still a youth an interview with the celebrated poet Mirza Jān Jānān Mazhar, and kept him to the fore in the court of Shāh 'Ālam II, Sulaimān Shukoh and Nawwab Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān, and made him acquainted with men there of note.

Opportunism often produces the back-biter, but Inshā was too strong in himself for any calumniator to appear in the open, and evidently none did secretly who prevailed. His friendships lasted and apparently satisfied him.

As a poet he has not been placed by any judge in the foremost rank. His ghazals in Urdu departed too much from pattern; though he has written some songs well in the lighter metres he packed others too full

with allusions and unusual words, and chose difficult measures. None has followed him in this; he stands alone. He had a romantic vein as appears in his Rānī Ketkī kī Kahānī and some of his maṣnavīs, but from it there issued in the latter a levity that besmirches the others. His qaṣīdas entitled him to a high place but not above Saudā and probably Zauq.

Inshā's more serious verses probably soon dropped out of memory; many of them did not belong to the workaday material of experience and the Sūfistic were suspect in their bad neighbourhood. Mirza Rajab 'Alī Beg Surūr, in his flamboyant extollation of the greatness of the Lucknow of Nawwab Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān's successor, Haidar 'Alī (r.1814-37), in his Fasāna-i 'Ajā'ib (1833) has drawn only three quotations from his work. He has quoted Mīr Soz and Mīr Taqī fairly often, and Saudā some six times, but Mīr Hasan, Jur'at and Mushafī rarely. Inshā is represented by only two miṣra's and one distich, and all of them in light or facetious fashion.¹

1. Calc. ed., 1868, pp. 32, 24, 80.

Inshā is commonly associated with Sadāsukh, Lallū Jī and Sadal Misr in having made Khari Boli prevail over Braj as a literary medium. His Rānī Ketkī kī Kahānī entitles him to rank with them. It was the language of cultured Hindus in particular at the beginning of last century, when Dr. John Gilchrist encouraged its use for literary works for the College of Fort William. It has been further adapted in course of time till it is now used in prose and generally in poetry. Song-writers employ it, and in the modern Hindi epic Kāmāyanī of Prasād its ease and flexibility have aided the poet's symbolism in the creation of a new world after the destructive flooding of the old.

It is as a grammarian he will be longest remembered, and that both for his being the first to write an Urdu grammar, and for the unusual comprehensive, philological and humanistic method.

To what extent Inshā possessed a genuine tender sentiment it is difficult to estimate; the real man is so hidden behind the conventions of poetry, the artificial conditions of his life, and his display of knowledge. His ambition sought distinction and made

him live his life too much on the surface. But it is doubtful whether he was capable of deep tenderness or love of beauty. A strong religious attachment indicates some amount of emotional capacity, and his faith in the Prophet and the Imams evidently lasted out his life. But the bent of his mind was toward order, the formal; his attitude to beauty was artistic, or even pragmatic, in that he considered how far it could be turned to advantage in his rhetorical figures of speech.

He had a constructive turn of mind. It set him enquiring into the fundamentals of Urdu, and as a result he wrote its grammar. It took him among speakers of other languages, which he seems to have set about learning on a systematic method, as seen in his versified mnemonic for Pushtu. And not the least interesting part about his desire to acquire languages was his recording their sounds, his investigations into the build of their compound characters, as for instance in the case of aspirated letters. He had the instinct of a phonetician.

Āzād's information was not accurate at all points, but his judgements of men and their poetry have well stood the test of time, and one can subscribe to the latter portion of the following, and in considerable measure to the earlier: "there can be no doubt of this that whatever adaptation or new developments he made, whilst in some of them there was apparent tour de force, yet undoubtedly they had grace and taste.

Actually cleverness was too hasty in coming to the earth; had he been born a hundred years later he would have changed the fashion of our language beautifully."

Whether in collaboration with Dr. Gilchrist at the college of Fort William he could have achieved much of anything, none can tell, but there is no mention of his name in connection with any of the consultations in regard to such an appointment. In 1800 he was at the height of his powers and might have adapted himself capably to one of the posts there.

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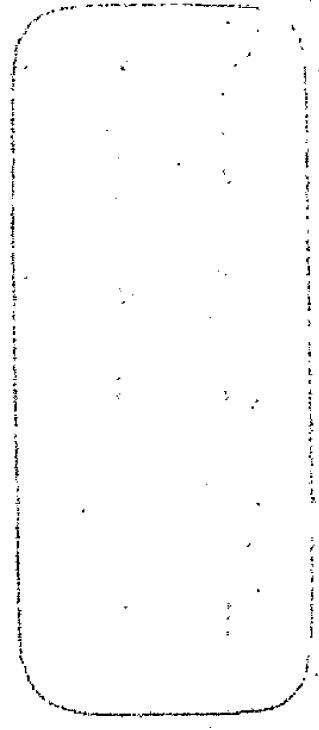
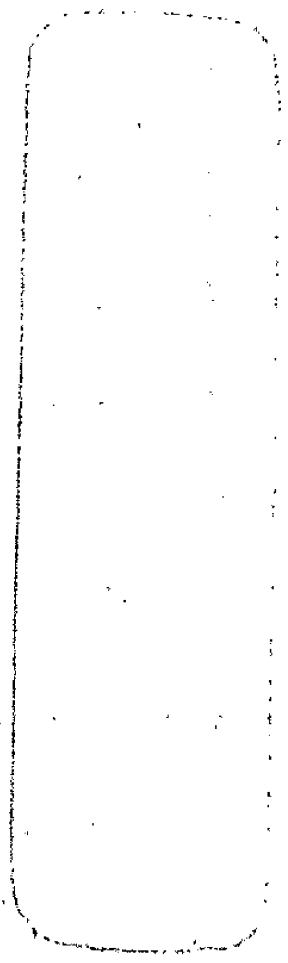
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