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Ph.D.
(Indo-Aryan)
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Husain (S.S.)
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Loan Copy.
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
NAU TARZ I MURAṢṢA

and

A HISTORY OF URDU PROSE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO 1775
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
Hau tarz i Murassa
Abstract.

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

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

(1) 'Ayārush Shuʿarā.
(2) Taḵkira e Sarvar.
(3) 'Imādus Saʿādat.
(4) Taḵkira of Hindustānī Poets.
(5) Anonymous Taḵkira e Shuʿarā e Urdū.

II. Discovered:-

(a) a work by Taḥsīn, hitherto unknown, namely, the Ruqqāʿāt i Nādirāt i Rozmarra Navīsī;
(b) the original name of the Nau Ṭarz i Muraṣṣa‘;
(c) the fact that the composition of the Muraṣṣa‘ was begun in 1768 and not after as hitherto supposed by all authorities;
(d) more manuscripts of the Murassa', here and in Germany, of one of which I secured photostats, collating its 9 copies, tracing out important omissions, rehandlings and interpolations and preparing its complete text for publication;

(e) Poetry by Taḥṣīn of which critical estimate is given.

III. (a) Cleared up the confusion about the sources of the Murassa' and the real author of the stories by comparing it with 3 manuscripts of the Persian Cahār Darvešh and by determining Anjab, the Spaniard, as the probable author of the Persian.

(b) Shown that the Murassa' was probably translated into Persian.

IV. Discovered one more Urdu version, the Čār Gulshan, of the Cahār Darvešh and compared the Murassa' with seven Urdu renderings in all, providing much new information.
The scope of the second part of the thesis is widened by manuscript-study.

I. Traced out and discussed

(a) Six new prose writers:–
   (1) Shekh Maḥmūd;
   (2) Ketelaer; (a Dane);
   (3) Schultz; (a German);
   (4) 'Uzlat;
   (5) Shākir;
   (6) Aṣrārullāh.

(b) Two unknown prose works:–
   (1) The Dakhnī incomplete translation of Abul Faẓl’s abridged Ṭūṭī Nāma.
   (2) The Bengālī - Hindustānī rendering of the Anvār i Suḥailī.

(c) Two known but hitherto untraceable pieces of prose:–
   (1) Saudā’s Preface;
   (2) Faẓlī’s Preface.

II. Furnished further information regarding:–

(1) Gesū Darāz;
(2) Shāh Mfrājī;
(3) Mirāji of Hyderabad.

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

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR
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CHAPTER I.

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

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

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

Under the circumstances the only course open to me was to make a search for possible information in all the sources in the great libraries of the British Museum, the India Office and the Royal Asiatic Society, etc., and in pursuance of this I have examined the documentary evidence detailed below, the greater part of which is not available in India in one place, and some portion not obtainable in any known public or private library there:-
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Of these authorities Mir, GurdezI, Ḥamīd, Qāim, Shafīq, Ḥasan, Khalīl, Muṣḥafī, Luṭf, Qāsim, Jāhā, Sīr Rām, 'Abdussalām and Aḥsān-Mārīhvarī do not mention Taḥṣīn. ‘Abdūl Ḥafīl like Tahnā has chiefly drawn from ʿAṣād and is extremely scanty. Panjābī mā Urdu and the Encyclopaedia Britannica contain passing references to Taḥṣīn and add nothing to our knowledge. Saksainā and Sayyad Muḥammad give accounts of our author but they are almost entirely derived from Blumhardt’s note in his Catalogue of the British Museum and not from that in his Catalogue of the India Office which is much better. Hence we dismiss all these writers from consideration. Shefta, Bāṭin and Nassākh, as will be seen later on, discuss Taḥṣīn’s grandson Sayyad Qāsim ‘Alī Khāzī, Qāsim.

Of the rest all more or less deal with the facts of Taḥṣīn’s life. Khūb Cand, Zākā, writing probably in 1783(1) seems to be the first biographer of Taḥṣīn whom he notices on p. 944 of his taṣkīra, and calls him "a poet of the older group, a prolific writer, a man of dignity and modesty", and he quotes some of his verses, but he does not mention his

(1) Strenger (Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindu’sta’ Mss. of the Libraries of the King of Oudh, p. 185) gives 1793, 1798 and 1831 as the date of the compilation of his memoirs. Beche (Cat. of the Persian Mss., India Office) accepts these dates. But Zākā on p. 2 of the Mss. mentions 1788 in a chronogram.
book, the Muraṣṣa‘, and he gives a wrong name to his father, which, according to him, was Murād Khā, Shauq.

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

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

(1) Ethē calls his work Taṣkira e Sarvar and places it in 1800 basing his view on a colophon on fol. 378a, while Sprenger (Oudh Cat. p.185) styles it ‘Unda e Muntakhaba, chronogrammatic for 1801 (fol. 376b) and assigns this year which is supported by another chronogram, Safina e Aʿzam (fol. 376b), yielding 1801, and also by a statement on fol. 333 in Mīr Qadrūṭullah, Qāsim’s taṣkira, Majmū‘a e Nagz, written in 1806. Sprenger’s view seems to be more tenable.
to be found on p. 99 of the printed edition of the Muraṣṣa' with the wrong heading of quatrain as they are independent in meaning, and the one ascribed to the alleged second Taḥṣīn forms the last two half-verses of the opening stanza of the Mukhāmmad on p. 66.

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

Muḥyuddin gives Taḥṣīn's full name together with that of his father Muḥammad Bāqir Khān, Shauq, and says (1) "he lived in the Court of Abū Manṣūr 'Alīy Khān Qafdar Jang. He is the

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(1) Sprenger, in presenting a brief biography of Rekītha poets (Oudh Cat. pp. 195-306) as based on abridged accounts of them recorded in various taṣkīrās he examined in the royal libraries of Lucknow, includes in the material he availed himself of Muḥyuddin's taṣkīra (Oudh Cat. pp. 187-88) which was written in 1807.
author of the *Tagkira of the Hindustani* and of the *Tagkira of the Hindustani* which is an Urdu version of the Four Darwâshes." The most salient facts brought out here by him as well as the dates of some of his own works, like the Persian *Tagkira*, Majmû‘a o ‘Ishq or Bâg-i Gulshan i Rûsan and Cahâr Daftar i Shauq, written in 1774 and 1786 respectively, point to the inference that he was Taḥṣîn’s contemporary and hence his notice of him has the advantage of being original. Besides, he is the first writer who mentions the *Muraṣsah*.

A passing allusion proving that he was a loyal and trustworthy servant of the British Government is made to Taḥṣîn in a History of the Kings of Oudh, called the ‘Imâdu’sādât, composed in Persian by Gûlâm Alí Khâ in 1806. Taḥṣîn was then probably in the employ of one Captain Harper, referred to on p. 115 of the above history as Resident at the Court of Lucknow, and the incident in which he figures as participant is the interception by the Captain of a reply from Shuja‘ud-daula to Shâh Ḥaidar Mîyāk, (1702-1782), expressing friendship with the British. The Captain handed it over to Taḥṣîn in confidence, asking him to make its purport clear, which he did. The date of this episode is not given in the text but it can positively be inferred from other statements preceding and following it, both of which are dated A.H. 1185, A.D. 1770-7.

The reference in the MS. "Tagkira of the Hindustâni"
Poet's of 1808 or 1815 (1) is very sparing of details and consists of Taḥṣīn's correct name, the title of the Murāṣṣa', which is also called Qiṣṣa e Cahār Darvesh, and all the seven stanzas of his Mukhammas, occurring on pp. 66-67 of the printed edition.

The voluminous anonymous "Taṣkira e Shuʿarāʾ i Urḍū" (2) contains a much fuller account of Taḥṣīn than any of the preceding biographical works. Here he is described as belonging to the Ruṣūlī Sādāt, a native of Etawah and a poet whose "verses are worthy of praise and whose talk is united to the neck of eloquence", a pupil of the great calligraphist 'Ejāz Raqām Khān, himself a master of calligraphy, addressed as Murāṣṣa' Raqām, a man of eminent position in prose and

(1) Blumhardt allots no definite date to it. I venture to suggest that it was compiled or at least copied near 1808 or 1815 by one 'Ata'ullah of Gangoh as it bears the impression of his seal, dated A.H. 1223, A.D. 1808, and is bound together with another MS., the Divān of Dard, U. 35a, which as he himself observes in the colophon, he copied in 1815. The scribbled handwriting of the Divān closely resembles that of the taṣkira on p. 19.

(2) It was apparently begun immediately after the death of Shāh 'Alam in 1806 whose memory is fresh in the author's mind, and not completed before 1826 (See fol. 124b). The writer seems to be a Hindu as numerous Hindu poets of whom he speaks were his very intimate friends. The taṣkira is full of useful and trustworthy information.
poetry who wrote in addition to Ẓavābīṭ ḵān ʿAṅgrezī and Tārīḵh ʾi Qāsimī in Persian, the Nāʾūr Tārīḵh-i Murāṣṣaʾ, whose purity of idiom and entertaining phraseology were admired by lovers of literature. He is also mentioned as a writer of much Persian poetry and his grandfather Navāzīsh ʿAlī Khān as Tehsīlīdar of Sikandīrābād under the English Government, who also wrote good Mastaʿīlīq and Shikasta scripts. Tāḥsīn’s verses both Persian and Urdu are quoted, of which the latter are to be found on p. 63 of the printed Murāṣṣaʾ.

Muṣṭafā Khān, Sheftā, writing his great tāṣkīrā between 1832 and 1834, does not devote any article to Tāḥsīn but refer to him in the account of his grandson, Qāsim ʿAlī Khān, Qāsim, whom he states to be a master of the art of Music, residing in Lucknow and to have held the post of Tehsīlīdar. Specimens of his poetical production are also reproduced.

Garvin de Tassy says that the reading of Saudāʾ’s couplets filled Tāḥsīn with a desire to interest himself in Hindūstānī poetry, he lived at Calcutta, Patna and Faizābād in turns, got access to the Court of Shujāʾuddaula and his son ʿAṣafuddaula, wrote the Murāṣṣaʾ by the command of the former and the book was liked by the latter; then he reiterates Gilchrist’s critical note; he also knew the names of Tāḥsīn’s works, Ẓavābīṭ ḵān ʿAṅgrezī and Tārīḵh ʾi Qāsimī, mentions seven manuscripts of the Murāṣṣaʾ, two of which were among the MSS. of Fort William.
one in his own possession, one in that of Sprenger (the Berlin MS.) and another belonged to the Miṣām's Vāzīr. The remaining two are the B.M., MS., No. Add 8921 and the Royal Asiatic Society MS., No. 12. In the beginning he misunderstands certain words, for instance, he takes mukhātāb (= addressed) to mean "orator" and muqarrasā'ra'qam (= a sobriquet) for Tāḥṣīn's takhalluṣ, etc.

Karīmuddīn, whose tasākira, A History of Urdu Poets or Ṭabāqāt i Sun'ārā is, as is well-known, chiefly based on Garcia de Tassy, follows the original and states that he had "perused the Mau 'Ṭars i Murāṣṣa' himself a number of times."

Mīr Qūtbuddīn, Bātin, was personally known to Tāḥṣīn's grandson, Qāsim, but he says nothing of the grandfather. According to him, Qāsim enjoyed high official position in the British Government, and was a pupil of the poet Nāṣīkh. `Abdul Ḥafīẓ Khāz, Ḥasākh, from whom alone we derive our knowledge of the name of Tāḥṣīn's son which is given as Sayyad ʿA ḫid ʿAlī Khāz, poetically surnamed ʿA ḫid, corroborates Shefta's account of Qāsim in toto. All the three authorities cite his verses.

So far the evidence is external and though it does not comprise adequate facts of Tāḥṣīn's early days and education, his environment and his various activities and vicissitudes of life, even the date of his birth and death having been left out, yet, briefly, it is sufficient to show that he was a man of high birth and of great respectability. His family was distinguished for the cultivation of art and poetry and for general intellectual attainments. He, as well as his grandfather
Navāsiah *Ali Khāy, his grandson and probably his son Yādār all in turn served under English officers, and, as is quite evident from the anecdote recounted in the *Imādus sādāt, his devotion and loyalty to the early British administrators was unquestionable. He also enjoyed, probably through the influence and recommendation of Captain Harper, the patronage of Smījāuddaula and his son and successor, Āṣafuddaula.

As a poet he is described as writing both in Persian and Urdu and he not only transcended the rank of a versifier but he is acknowledged as a poet of distinction and originality at a time when poetical standard was very high; he composed elegies also; he was gifted with great oratorical powers and was "Bisāyār gō va pur gō" enormously productive though the outcome of his poetical talent is now in a large measure lost to us. He was not less notable as a calligraphist than as a poet. He is reckoned also as an accomplished writer of prose.

As can be seen from the foregoing notices, he found favour with the biographers who in their treatment of contemporaries are apt to be swayed by personal political and religious prejudices and predilections.

We now turn from these fragments of biography to the consideration of internal evidence. Fortunately for us Tafsīrīnī has left a preface prefixed to the Muraṣṣa‘ which affords the most authoritative source of certain particulars, specially concerning the causes which prompted him to undertake, postpon...
for some time and then complete the writing of this book. The preface is written in a highly ornate style generally cultivated and admired by the School of Lucknow, with lengthy sentences, and opens with few but beautiful verses, immediately after which Taṣṣīn speaks in spirited terms of his father, whom he represents as well known throughout the length and breadth of Hindustān, in the circle of the accomplished and the learned for his religious and mundane achievement. He then refers in passing to his teacher E'jāz Raqam Khā who, besides being a poet and a writer of note, was a very good calligraphist. From him he received his education and training, and he says that after the demise of his father he entirely devoted himself to the study and production of interesting and sweet stories. He tells us that once he had to travel in a boat to Calcutta in the company of General Smith, commander of the English forces. But the journey being long and wearisome, a companion of his used to amuse him by telling curious and entertaining tales. One day he related the story which is the subject of the present book; then he (Taṣṣīn) thought that though he had already composed Inshā e Taṣṣīn, Ḥavaštā i Angrezī and Tarikh i Fārsī in Persian, yet he should write that story in flowery Hindi, for no one among the old masters had ever attempted this "Ijād i tāza", the new invention. Accordingly he reduced to writing a few chapters of the commencement of the tale. Afterwards, as General Smith at the
time of his departure to England invested him with responsibl
duties and powers of attorney at Patna, he was unable, in the
midst of anxieties about his new work, to continue his liter
pursuits, keeping, however, always in view the completion of
what he had begun in order to perpetuate his memory. He
therefore put off the compilation of the tale for some time.
He now saw better days through the patronage of English of-
cicers, but certain people in power in the Province threw
him out of office and he was rendered helpless. Then he
recollected some consoling "verses of Saudā who carries the
palm of poetry in these days" and received a sort of revela-
tion that as he had for the greater part of his life lived
happily and comfortably, he should not mind passing a few
days in adversity; but as destiny always goes hand in hand
with counsel, he should seek light from the merit-recogning
sun, that is, Navāb Shujā'uddaula Abul Manṣūr Khā Ṣafdar Jan.
In pursuance of this inspiration he came to the city of
Faizābād and soon after was favoured with the audience of th
King and taken on to his special staff.

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

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

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

Blumhardt in preparing his two notes in the Catalogues of the British Museum and the India Office on Taḥṣīn has utilised
in the main these prefaces. But one detail given in both of
them, viz., that it was after the death of his father that
Tahsin settled at Faizabad, is not substantiated by the auto-
biographical narrative, in the beginning of which Tahsin him-
self puts the death of his father long before his going to
Calcutta and much longer before his return to Patna and pro-
ceeding to Faizabad. Another observation in the India Office
Catalogue also needs amendment. Blumhardt specifies Tahsin’s
journey with General Smith as "from Lucknow to Calcutta",
whereas, according to Tahsin, it was a "journey on the Ganges
to Calcutta". Obviously it began from Allahabad which, and
not Lucknow, is situated on the Ganges.
CHAPTER II

TAHSIN'S WORKS
CONTENTS.

Tahsin's Works:-

(1) Buqa'ät i Nādirāt i Bos Marra Navisi.
(2) Tavārīkh i Fārsi.
(3) Šavābišt i Aŋrezī.
(4) Mau Šarz i Murāṣṣa'.

(i) Its name.
(ii) Date of compilation: Other authorities criticised.
(iii) Probable date of composition of the First Instalment.
CHAPTER II.

TAHŚĪN’S WORKS.

Tahsin himself enumerates in his published autobiography three other works which he wrote in Persian, to wit, Tavārikh-i Fārsī, Zavābiṭ-i Aṅgrosī and Inshā-ā Tahsin, long before the Murāṣṭa came into existence. This list occurs in almost all the Ms. prefaces with the word vagaira, meaning etc., which points to the inference that he had compiled other books also, most likely of minor importance. Accordingly, in I.O. MSU. 53 there appears to be at least one book more, namely, Rūqqa’āt-i Nādirātī Roz Māra Nāvīsī, and this, though it falls under the category of epistolary composition, is mentioned separately from Inshā-ā Tahsin which is here called Inshā-ā Taharāsī.

All these books are buried in oblivion for the present and we know nothing except their names. My learned friend, Aṭāf Ḥusain, Headmaster of the well-known
Islamia High School, Etawah, Taṣẖīn's native place, to whom some time ago I addressed a letter requesting him to institute local enquiries regarding Taṣẖīn and his works, communicated to me the fact that there survives up to the present time a gentleman, named Maulvi Sayyad Ḥasan of the family of Taṣẖīn, who claims to be in possession of three manuscripts written by Taṣẖīn himself. It is hoped that some literary institution in India or authorities here like those of the British Museum will see their way to taking up the question of the securing of these manuscripts, and that the immediate future will throw abundant light on them.

A few words, however, may not be out of place in this connection. The book Tavārīḵh-i Fārsī mentioned in the printed edition is stated, particularly in M85. U. 52, P. 1036 of the India Office and 316 of Berlin to be Tavārīḵh-i Qāsimī. Blumhardt accepts both the names, the former in his catalogue of the India Office and the latter in that of the British Museum, while the Taḏkira e Shuʿarā-e Urdu (p. 11 above) and Garcin de Tassy both give the name of Tavārīḵh-i Qāsimī. Scantiness of information on the point renders it impossible to declare definitely which of the two is the correct name.
I may, however, venture the remark that the title Tavārīḵh i Fārsī conveys little or no sense and its rival Tavārīḵh i Qāsimī has decided superiority over it and that the book may be some sort of history connected with the name of Nawāb Qāsim ʿAlī Khā who was raised to the Masnad of the Government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa in 1760 and deposed in 1763 and who was Tahsīn's contemporary and perhaps patron at some time when our author visited Bengal.

The book Ẓavābīt i Angrezi, as its title implies, seems to be a work on English Grammar, and serves to show that Tahsīn, besides being an eminent scholar of the Persian language and most probably of Arabic also, as in those days the two languages were cultivated side by side, attained such proficiency in the English language that about two centuries back he produced in Persian a treatise on its rules. So far as our knowledge of the history of English education in India goes, he belonged to the first batch of the English-knowing Indians, and not very unlikely was the first Muhammadan
known to history who apparently knew English perfectly well. The book, as has already been remarked, is known by its name only and therefore we are precluded from pronouncing judgment on its merits.

The Nau तर्ज i Muraṣṣa

Its name The name of this book as given in the printed edition of 1846, on page 11, is not Nau तर्ज i Muraṣṣa but इमहा i Nau तर्ज i Muraṣṣa. The four MSS. in the India Office all furnish the same title with the word इमहा on folios 7a, 7b, 7a and 8b respectively. But in the prefaces of the two MSS. of the British Museum this preliminary word is omitted and the name appears only as the Nau तर्ज i Muraṣṣa which is also to be found in ‘Ishq’s Tabaqāt i Sukhān written in 1807 as well as in manuscript anthology of 1815 described on pages 8 and 9 and the Taṣkira e Shu’arā e Urdū, p.10.
It is obvious that one set of authorities is opposed to the other and we have no reason to accept the one or discard the other, their dates also being of no service as they are not definite in all cases. But when we think that in olden times the names of Urdu books, in imitation of the Persian fashion, besides being charged with a predominant Arabic element and tinged with a poetical sense, used to be, in particular, heavy and lengthy, the word 'Inshā' seems to be wanting in the present name of Nau Ţarz-i Muraṣṣa'. Moreover 'Inshā' means writing and writing in a new ornate style, not inventing, the story of the Four Darveshes, which already existed, was the chief thing accomplished by Taḥṣīn in the production of the book. It was therefore, natural for him to employ a term connoting the precise nature of his share of the labour. Indeed, the residual expression 'Nau Ţarz-i Muraṣṣa', the new gold-embroidered style, refers exclusively to the language of the book and demands 'Inshā', the writing of, to complete its sense.

Dr Gilchrist was the first Urdu scholar to publish Nau Ţarz-i Muraṣṣa' as the name of the book. This he did in his preface to the Bāg o Bahār. In 1832-34
Mustafà Khā, Shefta, also refers to it in referring to its author as Şahib i Nau ʿTarz i Muraṣṣaʿ in his Taṣkira and the book when printed was also entitled Nau ʿTarz i Muraṣṣaʿ. This name is now so firmly established that it defies all possibility of changing it into any other form, even that proposed by the author himself.

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

The date of compilation of the Muraṣṣaʿ. Glaring blunders have been committed by various biographers of Taḫṣīn as regards the date of the compilation of the Nau ʿTarz i Muraṣṣaʿ. Of the numerous authorities we have examined Muḥammad Ḥusain, Āzād, is the writer
who first mentioned its date as 1798, basing it on the belief, derived from the existence of the qaṣīda, in the preface of the Muraṣṣa‘ in praise of Aṣafud-daula, that the book was written under this king's patronage and finished near the time of his death in A.H. 1213, A.D. 1798. This date was accepted unreservedly by Blumhardt in 1898 in his note on the MS. of the Muraṣṣa‘, No. Add. 8921, in the British Museum.

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

"According to Āzād (Ab i ḫayāt p. 24) the work was completed in A.H. 1213 (A.D. 1798); but this must be a mistake, for it appears from the author's preface to have been almost finished when Shujā‘ al Daulah died (A.D. 1775), and
was completed before the death of Aṣaf al
Daulah (A.D. 1797). The date of composition
would therefore be probably about 1780."

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

Before I take up the further question of the actual
time when the earliest portion of the tale was undertaken I wish to place on record my strong suspicion that the qaṣīda which is mentioned by Taḥṣīn himself as having been written in praise of Aṣafuddaula, which consequently contains laudatory references to him in the two following lines on pages 13 and 15, respectively, of the preface:—

and which misled Āsād and others as to the date of the composition of the Muraṣṣa' was originally composed for and addressed to Shujā'uddaula and completed together with the book before it was dedicated to Aṣafuddaula. For, we know, in the first place, from the preface that Taḥṣīn resumed the compilation of the Muraṣṣa' at the command of the former, finished it
when he was alive and was about to place it before him for approval and benediction when he died.
Hence it seems most probable that according to the time-honoured usage in the Orient and in anticipation of reward from him Taḥṣīn wrote a qaṣīda celebrating the glories of Shujāʿuddaula. It is to me inconceivable that he could have submitted a book to the Nawāb without glorifying him. In the second place, we find in the preface, on page 9, a poem, in which Taḥṣīn eulogises Faizābād and calls it Shujāʿ Gāṛh after the title of Shujāʿuddaula and not Aṣaf Gāṛh as in the following verse:—

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

which serves to show that the poem was solely composed
with a view to gratifying Shuja'uddaula, who, (vide Farah Bakhsh, B.M. Or. 1015, fol. 152a) took the greatest pains in the improvement and beautification of Faizabad, riding out some mornings with a band of spadesmen and masons to make and supervise personally alterations in the main streets. Now the metre and rhyme and general trend of this poem are exactly the same as those of the qasida and at the merest glance one is convinced that both the poems originally constituted one continuous whole in which the 'shehr' and the 'shehryar' were praised one after the other and it was only subsequently, on the death of Shuja'uddaula, that TafsIn made necessary amendments in that part of it which treated of the 'shehryar' to suit his successor, and, as it would appear, TafsIn bestowed very little thought on the changes he hurriedly introduced. In one of the only two lines which underwent such retouching he puts one of Aqafuddaula's titles Hishbar jang and in the other his particular title 'Aqafuddaula', by which he was commonly known. But both these titles
can quite easily be replaced by similar titles of his father, namely, 'Ṣafdarjāng' and 'Ṣhujaʿuddaula' without injuring the sense of the qaṣīda and the lines would then read:

\[ vv.v-J v 1**t \%

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

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

The same argument holds good of at least the greater part of the preface itself. It was also written before Shuja'uddaula's demise. Only the concluding paragraph, between the poem on Faizabad and the qaṣīda, in which Taḥsin stated the reason for his having recourse to Aṣafuddaula, was rewritten or added after the enthronement of this king in 1775.
Date of composition of the first instalment of the Muraṣṣa

We must now pass on, in pursuance of our intention, to the determination of the approximate, if not the exact, year in which Taḥṣīn first wrote a portion of the Muraṣṣa. This date, as can be seen from the information vouchsafed to us by him, (p. 14 supra), must lie somewhere between the time of General Smith's journey on the Ganges and that of his departure from Calcutta to England, and it would have been a matter of comparative convenience to find out the two dates had there been a full account of the life of our author's General available. Unfortunately no book has ever been written on the life of this officer. Spark, Foster, Laurie, Kay and Beal do not mention any Smiths in their works, called respectively, East Indian Worthies, Heroes of the Indian Empire, Sketches of the Distinguished Anglo Indians, Lives of Indian Officers and Oriental Biographical Dictionary. Sidney Lee enumerates in his voluminous Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. III., scores of them, but here the majority are heroes of affairs on the European horizon, and the rest are in no way connected with the military history
of the English in India. The Dictionary of Indian Biography by Buckland mentions on p. 394 one General Joseph Smith who was apparently Taḥsīn's contemporary and lived between about 1733 and 1790; "Served under Clive in the Carnatic in 1752, taken prisoner by the French in 1753; commanded the Trichnopoly garrison, 1757-58; was present at the taking of Karikal and the siege of Pondicherry, 1760-61, created Colonel 1766, in command of the forces which defeated Ḥaidar and the Niẓām at Trinomolai, Sept. 21, 1768; made treaty with the Niẓām 1768; Major General; took Tanjore, 1773; retired; died Sept. 1, 1790."

According to this sketch he seems to have retired after 1773 about a year or two before Shujaʿuddaula's death, probably when Taḥsīn came from Calcutta to Patna. This is to a very great extent supported by widely scattered and isolated pieces of information to be found in the Indian Record Series, Vestiges of old Madras by Henry Davison Love, Volumes II and III, where in addition to numerous minor details and anecdotes of his early career from 1746 when he was a boy and an ensign in the Madras garrison to the time when he rose to the rank of Brigadier
General during the years 1767-1770, he is stated to have resigned (Vol. III. pp. 73 and 547) first in 1772 and (Vol. II. p. 597) after being superseded by Col. Wood to have been reinstated shortly after by the Madras Council and finally to have resigned a second time, (Vol. III. pp. 73-74 and 81) retired in October 1775 and sailed for England. His connection with India then comes completely to an end when Stanhope, writing in February 1776, remarks in his Memoirs "the memory of General Smith will ever be revered in India."

The name and the title of this officer and some of the later dates of his career lead one to the belief that Joseph Smith may have been the Tagṣīn's Smith, but there are two outstanding grounds which totally negative the idea. Firstly, he appears nowhere to be associated with the parallel events occurring in Northern India and hence had no chance or need to undertake a boat journey on the Ganges; he came, lived and served in the South. Secondly,
although he was in favour with the rulers of the Valajah dynasty in the Northern Sarcars and once, (Vol. II., p. 620) on the 25th of May 1770, received 1500 pagodas as reward from the king there he was never the recipient of any native titles like Mubarisul Mulk, Iftikhāruddaula, Šaulat Jang Bahādur, by which Taḥṣīn characterises his Smith.

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

Accordingly there exists in Volume 37 of European
Manuscripts, called the Orme Collection, on p. 81, a letter
No. 4, dated, Head Quarters at Allahabad, 4, July, 1767,
from Colonel Smith to the Governor and Council, Fort
William, enclosing letters from Shāh 'Alam to the Gover­
nor and to the Council, regarding a present of two lākhs of rūpees which the king wishes to make him; another
original letter, No. 17, in the same volume, pp. 131-138,
dated, Head Quarters near Allahabad, 31, August, 1767,
from Richard Smith to R. Browne, asking him to use every
effort to induce the Court of Directors to sanction the
King's present to him, and adding in the concluding para­
graph, "the King after two years attendance and soon af­
ter my coming to the chief command of the army was de­
sirous of bestowing a mark of his royal munificence on
me - the same he had given to my predecessor - two lākhs
of rupees did he offer me." And yet another letter on
pp. 195-206, dated, Head Quarters near Allahabad, 13,
Sept. 1767, from Richard Smith to the Court of Directors, concerning the Shahzada's present of 2 lakhs, in which he says "Notwithstanding I have the honour to command an army consisting of no less than 34 battalions of Infantry, yet all my emoluments in your service do not exceed seven hundred pounds per annum . . . ."

There are other letters amongst the European manuscripts, cited above, under the headings Shujâ'uddaula and Shâh 'Alam as well as under his own name written by himself to his friends or signed by him which all go to place the fact beyond the possibility of doubt that for years and years his field of activity unlike that of Joseph Smith was the north of India, particularly the area lying to the east between Delhi and Calcutta, and in these records there can also be traced two royal letters which embody Shâh 'Alam's orders with regard to the present of 2 lakhs of rupees alluded to in R. Smith's letters, of which the first is "addressed to the Prime Minister of Britain (Lord Chatham is named) in Smith's own handwriting, eulogistic of him" and in which he has been at two places called 'Col. Smith Bahâdur', and the
second which is like the first undated, "to the Governor of Fort William, translated from the original by one Mr. Maddison, the Company's translator of Persian letters, again in Smith's hand, regarding the present." It would not be going too far should we give here this second letter as it contains the native titles, of course in English translation, conferred on General Smith probably by the Court of Delhi.

"From The King Shah 'Alam
To The Governor of Fort William
"After the Form

"It is now two years during which the Dignity of Nobility and Honour, the Seat of Awe and Terror, our loyal Servant, Worthy of Remuneration, the Aggrandizer of Fortune, the Mirror of the Empire Col. Smith Bahawder, Tremendous in War, has, from the integrity of his most labored (?) in tendering obedience good wishes and services in the resplendent presence, has rendered our sacred and propitious Personage well pleased and satisfied by the excellency of his services, his attachment and
fealty. In return therefore for all these good services and out of our regard to our servants' welfare two lakhs of rupees have been granted by the sublime Sircar as a donation to that gentleman. You therefore the Dignity of Nobility will on the receipt of this Royal Shuckah pay the aforesaid sum agreable to the Draught to the Warrior of the Empire Bahawder and agreable to that Draught it shall be brought to the account in the Sublime Sircar. Seeing that the above-mentioned Bahawder will not accept this without the order of your Worthy of all Bounty we therefore direct that you the Dignity of Nobility should write to the Colonel upon the subject of accepting the aforesaid donation so that he may receive the above mentioned sum agreeable to the Draught. For the rest know that our sacred and auspicious Personage have you from our heart ever in remembrance."

The titles occurring in this document are (1) Dignity of Nobility and Honour, (2) the Seat of Awe and Terror, (3) the Aggrandizer of Fortune, (4) the Mirror of
the Empire, (5) Tremendous in War, (6) Warrior of the Empire, Bahawder, the last of which is a correct rendering of Mubārisul Mulk, and the last but one may be taken to stand for Šaulat Jang which literally means Terror or Fury of War. Taḫsīn's third title Ifthikhaṛuddaula equivalent to the Pride of the Empire is not there nor are the rest of the titles of the translation to be found in Taḫsīn's preface. This disagreement, which is immaterial, is probably due to the difficulties of translation in those days and partly to inclusion of forms of address in the list of titles on the part of the translator.

These data regarding his connection with Northern India and possession of native titles are, in my view, sufficient to show that this Richard Smith is the man whom Taḫsīn accompanied in his journey to Calcutta. Now it is time to recur to our main issue, that is, the determination of the time of the journey and that of Smith's departure from India between which Taḫsīn wrote a portion of the tales of the Murqāṣa'. It may be remembered that
Tajaul in his preface describes Smith as General and seemingly the date of the journey should be subsequent to his elevation to that rank which took place (according to a very significant document I discovered in the heaps of India Office Records, Home Series, Miscellaneous, 24, Contents p. XXII, Text p. 148) on the 2nd of November, 1768. But such is not the case. Before that date he was placed in the position of a Commander, as he himself, writing on the 31st August and 13th September, 1767, respectively, makes clear (pp. 35-36 supra) "the King after 2 years' attendance and soon after my coming to the chief command of the army," and "notwithstanding I have the honour to command an army consisting of no less than 34 battalions of Infantry", or in accordance with the Indian interpretation of the word 'commander' he was a General about a year earlier than when the Commission was issued. Moreover, even granting that Smith commanded enormous English forces when he was not yet created a General I contend that because Tajaul wrote his preface some years not after the grant of the commission, he could, it is quite obvious, then have called him other than a General.
Therefore, the date of the Commission, November 1768, does not stand in the way of our seeking the date of the journey before it. Curiously enough, I have observed amongst Richard Smith's letters, bound in Volume 58 of the European Manuscripts, quoted above, a series of movements of his a year earlier, indicated by succeeding dates of his letters and by the names of the various camping places which are situated between Allahabad and Calcutta:

One letter is dated near Allahabad 1, Jan. 1768

The following ,, Myr Absels (a garden near Patna) 10, Feb. 1768

Another ,, near Patna 17, March, 1768

Other Letters Missing

And the last dated Calcutta 19, Sept. 1768

In none of the letters, however, is any reference to journey by river or land made for reasons unknown to us. But the fact that he was at this time moving from place to place is unquestionable and I strongly feel inclined to think that these movements constitute Smith's journey lasting for about 9 months from January to September 1768, of
which, as he complains in the preface, Tāhsīn was tired and to pass the time he listened to interesting stories narrated by one of his companions.

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

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

"St. Helena,
17th February, 1770.

"My Dear Ome,

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

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

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

Considering the slowness of the means of communication in those days it calls for no comment that in order to be able to write from St. Helena in the month of February 1770, Smith should have left India at latest towards the close of the year 1769 when Tāhsīn returned from Calcutta to Patna to practise probably as a pleader on his
recommendation. This date is corroborated by the episode related by the author of the 'Imāduss'ādat who speaks of Taḥṣīn as being in Lucknow in 1770-71 and reading Shujā‘uddaula's Kharīta for Capt. Harper (p. 9 supra) after spending in all probability a year or so at Patna.

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

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

COMPARISON OF THE EIGHT MANUSCRIPTS

OF THE

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CHAPTER III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The date of the MS. is the 20th of Ramžān, A.H. 1241, A.D. 1826, as given in the colophon at the end.
It agrees very largely with the printed edition but it is fuller, containing the tale of Farkhunda Siyar or Adventures of the Dog-Worshipping Merchant.

This is an incomplete copy, consisting only of the author's preface, the introductory account of King Farkhunda Siyar and the story of the First Darvesh. The MS. is undated; Blumhardt assigns it to the 19th century which is but a conjectural date. It belonged to the Royal Library of the King of Delhi and was secured by Lord Canning in 1853. It is written in a careless, illegible hand and so marred by errors that it is almost valueless.

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

This MS., dated the 29th Muḥarram, A.H. 1248, A.D. 1832, comprises Taḥṣīn's preface, the introductory account of Farkhunda Siyar and three other stories, namely, the stories of the First and the Third Darveshes, and of the Dog-Worshipping Merchant, of which the last two have been given the Collective title of Marwārid and entirely composed by one Muḥammad Ḥādī, known as Mīrzā Mugal, poetically named, Gāfīl. Thus the MS. consists of a part of the Muraṣṣa' and the Marwārid and cannot justifiably be called an entire copy of the former.

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

on fol. 147a. The date of copying is not given. This is a complete copy of the Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa', including
the story of Khwāja Sag parast. Its text, however, differs entirely from the printed edition and the other seven MSS. as well.

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

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

The seventh MS. of the Murāṣa' belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society is also mentioned in the Oriental Catalogue of the Society as Cahār Darvesh. It was never perused before as its pages were not cut and numbered. It is, however, complete and the best of all the copies discussed above. It is very carefully written
and free from mistakes of writing. The first page is missing, involving the loss of the introductory verses. It is dated A.H. 1241, A.D. 1825-26.

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

"A story by Ata Husya Khan
m: 4°, 500pp. Fine."

Judging the MS. from the number of its pages, I thought it must be the fullest copy and contain more material than any of the London MSS. Accordingly I went to the University of Bonn, in Germany, to approach Professor Paul Kahle, Head of the Orientalisches Seminar and Secretary of the German Oriental Society, with the request to take steps in the direction of discovering
a clue to the MS. spoken of in Sprenger's Bibliotheca. He very kindly promised compliance with it and in about two weeks' time the MS. arrived from Berlin in Bonn and was placed at my disposal. The first page of it had a printed slip attached to it with the remark that the copy contained 500 pages but this information as well as that in the Bibliotheca was utterly inaccurate and misleading as the MS. actually covered not more than 152 folios or 304 pages. However, it was complete from start to finish and dated A.H. 1250, A.D. 1354-55, and was in very good condition and beautiful shikasta hand. Through the kindness of Professor Kahle I had photographs of sixty pages taken, embracing the story of the Dog-Worshipping Merchant, to be incorporated in my complete and correct copy of the Nau 'Tarz i Murassa'.

Passing on to the discussion of the texts of these various MSS. it seems desirable at the outset to point out that though our work is generally called the Qisas e Cahar Darvesh or the Tales of the Four Darvishes yet every complete version of it, the Persian, the Murassa', the Bag e Bahar and various others contain independent accounts and tales more in number than suggested by this
title, the constituent parts invariably being:-

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

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

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

Likewise, in the former MS., the name of Farkhunda Siyar's vazir is given as 'Aqalmand in place of Khiradmand which latter is found uniformly in all the remaining seven MSS. and the printed book. Besides, in the story of the Third Darvesh the Prince of 'Ajam and the Princess of Farang are towards the conclusion respectively called, Prince Bakhtiyar and Malaka e Mehr Nigar. They are mentioned under the same names also in MS. Or. 4708 of the
B.M. and the Berlin MS. 316.

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

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

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

I.O. U. 52          Fol. 84a = p. 139 of the p. Mura
  128a = 204

,, U. 54            70a = 101-02

B.M. Add. 8921      15a = 27
  61b = 124
  64a = 128

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

In MS. Add. 8921 a successful attempt has been made to simplify the language of Taḥṣīn. The highly ornate expressions have been modified and at places whole sentences which were full of far-fetched metaphors and intricate conceits have been dropped. Indeed, in this copy the Murāṣṣa' has been overhauled. Still, the rest is from the pen of Taḥṣīn and tallies with all the copies. In order that some idea may be formed of the modifications
I give below a specimen of 12 lines, selected at random from fol. 10b corresponding to pages 16-17 of the printed Muragga.
This attempt at simplification of the diction appears to be identical with the brilliant attempt of Mir Amman at the suggestion of Dr. Gilchrist which produced the famous Bag o Bahar. This MS., as observed above, was prepared for Capt. Corner and it is not unlikely that in this case the suggestion emanated from him. Regarding the author of the changes no information is forthcoming in the MS. I, however, think that they were made by the scribe of the MS. who gives his name as Gulam Haider on fol. 147a and the fairly long Urdu oolophon embodying also a critical estimate of the Muraqqa' is written by him in a manner and in a language that show that he was a very well educated person.

Similar disagreement between MS. No. 12 and other copies is also quite conspicuous. In it alterations have been carried out on such a scale that while the original lines have been followed the work as a whole has been partially rewritten. It, no doubt, conduces to an easier comprehension of the subject but occasionally it loses the classical dignity of expression. The following few lines from the MS. fol. 102a and the printed Muraqqa', pp 178-79 will serve as illustration:-
Original quotation is given in the first line of the text.
- Do -
As explained above Mirzâ Mugal is a partial author of MS. U. 54, and, as he himself states in his own short preface, which he has added to the work, he has changed Taḥṣīn's preface, the introductory story and the tale of the First Darvēsh in so far as he has discarded most of the verses used in them by Taḥṣīn together with the qaṣīda alleged to be in praise of Aṣafuddaula and substituted in their place entirely new verses from the poetry of standard masters, Saudâ, Mir, Dard and Mir Ḫasan.

Further examination has revealed the existence of disagreement in the Persian and Urdu verses embedded in various texts throughout. There are a number of couplets in the MS which are not to be found in the printed Muraṣṣa'; and there are others found in it but wanting in the MSS. We reproduce here all such extra verses from the MSS. and our object in so doing is to help future students who may be engaged in determining and collecting Taḥṣīn's poetical productions. Concerning those couplets in the printed Muraṣṣa' which are wanting in the MSS. we will content ourselves with quoting the pages of the former along with the corresponding folios of the latter.
We have omitted certain verses in the MSS. which through a series of mistakes of transcription have been reduced to doggerel, and corrected others common to various MSS. with the aid of one another.

MS. U. 52, fol. 68a, 316,(1) fol. 63a

(Printed Murassa', p. 100)

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

(Printed Murassa', p. 110)

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

(P.M., 110)

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

Do. 120b (Do. 190)

Do. 123a. (Do. 194)

(1) If a verse is found in more than one MS. the numbers and folios of such MSS. are also given. I have also indicated corresponding pages of the printed Murassa' where a verse is wanting.
This MS. contains 29 introductory verses in lieu of 9 in the printed Muragga'. But all of them are confused and meaningless, excepting the following two:-

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

This couplet occurs in P. 1036.
27a and b only.
In the p. Murassa' the first and the last hemistiches have been wrongly united into one distich.

Add. 8921, 85b, Or. 4708, 69b,

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

Add. 8921, 85b, 12, 97b,

(P.M., 168)
Or. 4708, 28a, (P.M., 70)

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

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

Do. 83a, (P.M., 194)
MS. 12  12, 69a, (P.M., 115)

Do., 70b, (Do. 118)

Do., 74b, (Do. 125)

Do. 77b (Do. 130)
12, 79b, 316, 80b, (P.M., 133)

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

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

Do. 152b, (Do. 207)
MS. 316  316, 88a, (P.M., 147)

Do. 88b, (Do. 148)

Do. 98b, (Do. 167)

Do. 107a (Do. 182)

Do. 138a (Do. 184)

Do. 139a (Do. 186)
316. 142b, (P.M., 192)

Do. 143b (Do. 194)

Do. 144a (Do. 195)

Do. 144b (Do. 197)

Do. 147b (Do. 202)

Do. 148a (Do. 203)

Do. 149a (Do. 205)
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Almost all the original verses have been interpolated

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**MS. 316**

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<td>3</td>
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<td>206-208</td>
<td>149a-150b</td>
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</table>
Tahsin's poetry in the Murassa

Tahsin, as already considered above, was 50 years ago introduced to the modern Urdu literary world first by Azad as only the author of a prose work with the result that all the subsequent biographers, Muhammad Yahya, Tanha 'Abdul Jalil and Saksaina, etc., treated him purely as a prose writer and authorities on poets like Sri Rama and 'Abdus Salam, Nadvi, omitted all reference to him in their works, Khumkhana e Javid and Shi'rul Hind respectively. But Tahsin was really a votary at the shrine of the Muses. He wrote both in Persian and Urdu. His own opinion about his skill in the art is reflected in his verse in MS. U. 52. of the India Office, fol. 68a, in which he calls himself Tuti e Hindost, the parrot or the most eloquent poet of India. His poetical work, however, has unfortunately, through the ravages of time, not been handed down to us. But in the printed Murassa alone out of over 450 Persian and Urdu verses intermingled
with the text throughout to afford a relief from the monotony of prose description, Taṣḥīḥ's Urdu couplets, so far as I have been able to determine, amount to 123, all being Urdu, and I deem it desirable to append here a list of the various pages of the Muraṣṣa' on which they occur and subsequently take up a few of them for discussion in order to form a critical estimate of his poetry. As some of these verses are also cited as specimens of his poetical talent in the taḵkiras examined above I shall also refer to them where necessary:

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muraṣṣa'</td>
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<td>2-3</td>
<td>9(1)</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>12 First two quoted in 'Ayārūsh Shuʿarā</td>
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<td>12-16</td>
<td>61</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>5 First two quoted in 'Ayārūsh Shuʿarā</td>
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(1) In the India Office MS. U.53 their number is 29.
<table>
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<tr>
<td>Murassa'</td>
<td>5 First two quoted in Tagkira e Shu'arā i Urdu, 66 Two recur on p. 51 of the p. Murassa', ten quoted in 'Ayārush Shu'arā, and all in Tagkira of the Hindustānī Poets. 99 Both quoted in Tagkira e Sarvar, pp. 10-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>105</td>
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</table>

Three more Urdu couplets, contained in the I.O. MSS. U.52, fol. 68a, and U.53, preface, and one Persian verse given in Tagkira e Shu'arā e Urdu, pp. 18–21, may be added. All these verses really belong to Taḥṣīn. Most of them embody his takhallus; those in which this is wanting are spoken of by him in the text as his composition and in cases where both these proofs fail they are cited as his in one of the above tagkiras. It is quite possible that among the remaining verses which embroider the Murassa'
there are more composed by him but as no evidence is forthcoming as to their identity I cannot but leave them.

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

Taḥṣīn, on the contrary, was a native of Etawah, and
although his style is powerful and fresh it lacks Dehlvi-ism and all that it implies. He often wrote after the approved tendencies of Lucknow and indulged in Persianised construction. On p. 9 of the p. Muraṣṣa, he says in praise of Faṅgābād

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

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

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

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

His verses are also replete with Ṣūfī elements,
tinged with personal emotion and breathe an atmosphere of real vision of the working of the human mind. Another verse of the same gosal runs thus:

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

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

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

"A heart devoid of Thee is like a bottle without wine; Of what use is that rose which has no fragrance?"
In this verse his observation points to the fact that however complete an embodiment of sobriety, culture and refinement a man may be he can not be serviceable to his fellow beings unless and until he is linked together with God, the fountain head of all culture of the human soul, and derive light from him.

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

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

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

"I came to know only after my martyrdom that life
(which is a worthless thing) can also be of some service."

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

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

THE SOURCE OF THE MURĀSSA."
The Source of the Murassa, I.

The Persian Cahār Darvešh.

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

Author of the Persian Cahār Darvešh.

(1) Amir Khusrav.
   (i) Biographies of Khusrav.
   (ii) Khusrav Committee's View.
   (iii) Khusrav's own account of his works.
   (iv) Khusrav's Prose Style.
   (v) Anecdotes connected with Nişāmüdīn, Auliya.

(2) Ouseley's Ma'gūm.
(3) Zarri, the Pseudo-author.
(4) Anjab, the probable author.
The Source of the Muragga'. II.

(1) Tapsin's own Assertion.

(2) Tapsin translated B.H. MS. Add 5632.

(3) His MS. slightly different.

(4) Tapsin's share in the Muragga'.
CHAPTER IV.

THE SOURCE OF THE MURASHSA'.

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

The Persian original commonly believed to be from the pen of Amir Khusrau of Delhi is a rare book. Fortunately there are extant in the wonderfully equipped and precious library of the British Museum three manuscripts of it, two complete and one defective. There is also one manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which formerly belonged to Sir William Ouseley. In the
libraries of the India Office, the Royal Asiatic Society, Cambridge University, and Berlin there are catalogued certain works of Amir Khusrau, but in none of these has the existence of the Cahār Darvēsh come to light. The same is true of most of the libraries in India. For instance, the Asiatic Society, Bengal, Bankipūr Library, the private but famous collection of Ḥabīb ganj, belonging to Nawāb Ṣadr Yār Jāng, include numerous books both MS. and printed of the authorship of Amir Khusrau, but our Qīṣṣa is not traceable there. However there exists a MS. of it in the state Library of Rāmpūr from which a copy was obtained by the authorities of the Muslim University, Aligarh. Thus in India, the home of the book, there are available only two copies. To these a reference is made in the Prolegomena to the collected works of Amir Khusrau, published at Aligarh in 1917, and, as it would appear, the original Rāmpūr MS. has no special features and does not add to our knowledge anything more than what is contained in the MSs. preserved in England, to the description of which we now pass.

(1) See Appendix on p. 95 below.
The first of the B.M. MSS., described in Rieu's Catalogue of Persian MSS. is No. Add. 8917. It fills 440 pages and contains 18 paintings; it has no preface, nor colophon. Hence the author or the scribe of it and the date when it was written are untraceable. Rieu places it in about the end of the seventeenth century. But I have not been able to discover any testimony to its correctness. The MS. is marred by omissions and errors of every description. It is interspersed with but few verses.

The second MS. of the B.M. is numbered Add. 7677, comprising 214 pages in all, the story of the Fourth Darvesh being incomplete and the concluding account of Azād Bakht wanting. The defective story covers only six pages, dealing with the death of the king-father of the Fourth darvesh, with the usurpation of the throne by the brother of the deceased, and his endeavours to destroy by stratagem the rightful heir, the fourth darvesh, with his being befriended in his adversity by one of his negro-slaves who takes him to his father's bosom friend Šādiq, the King of Jinnāt for help which is promised on condition
that the prince should procure the original of a painting of a very charming girl. Then the story breaks off abruptly on fol. 107a.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The MS. has a colophon of which the words 'navishtashud' are taken down as 'du se sada' in the note of the
Bodleian Catalogue with a doubtful mark. It is dated "2. P.M., Sunday, 27th Sha'bān 1131 'Alī" (1131 wrongly given in the Catalogue as 1141). There was never in vogue an era connected with the name of 'Alī. Hence 'Alī' is a slip for 'Faṣlī'. As regards the date itself I have received the following information:

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

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

The name of King Azād Bakht is written Azād Bakhsh in the MS. on p. 1 and reproduced as such in the Catalogue, but in the book it reappears as Azād Bakht on folios 66b,
67a, 67b and 155a, etc. In the story of the Second Darvesh, Nu’mān, the traveller, is called Nu’māj and in that of the Third Darvesh the Queen of Baṣra is mentioned as the daughter of the Āl e Barameka or the celebrated House of Barmaicidae, whose story of incalculable wealth is omitted. It is, however, the same story of the four darveshes, covering 322 pages; the folios of the various stories are not specified in the Bodleian Catalogue which are as follows:

(1) Introductory Account of Azād Bakht, 1-6b
(2) Story of the First Darvesh, 6b-39a
(3) " Second " 39a-67b
(4) " Dog-worshipping Merchant, 67b-120b
(5) " Third Darvesh, 120b-142a
(6) " Fourth " 142b-155a
(7) Concluding Account of Azād Bakht 155a-161a
I have compared certain extracts from all the three H.M. MSS. with this copy and found it in complete harmony with MS. No. Add. 7677 of which, to cite one instance, fol. 54b agrees word for word with its fol. 80a. As in the H.M. Ms., 'Isâ the surgeon is represented in it as being very rude to the first darvosh (fol. 35a); the slave-girl of Yûsuf is described as very beautiful (fol. 21a); the story of the Dog-worshipping Merchant is placed after the second darvosh (fol. 67b); and his last adventure is ascribed not to him, but to Sandâgar Râza-e Târabânjân (111a).
APPENDIX.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE PERSIAN CAHĀR DARVESH
IN THE INDIA OFFICE.

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

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

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

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

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

I.O. MS. 741. A former owner of this MS. was G. Swinton. It, too, has no date. Ethé, in his enumeration of the stories, has omitted the story of Sag Parast which
may be found in the MS. between folios 73a and 138a. Besides, Ethé's note that there seems to be a lacuna on fol. 159 is not correct. I have collated the text which is continuous and complete.

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

(1) Introductory Account 1b
(2) First Story 4b
(3) Second 26a
(4) Story of Sag Parast 42b
(5) Third Story 73b
(6) Fourth 88a
(7) Concluding Account 101a
Popular belief awards the authorship of the Persian 
Cahār Darwesh to Amir Khusrau and investigations show 
that the responsibility for having originated or at 
least given currency to the idea rests with Mir Amman 
who, writing his preface to the Bāg o Bahār in 1803, says:

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

Generations have passed and the information given 
here gained rather than lost ground by time. Gilchrist 
published it in English. India believed in Amman and 
Europe in his patron. But, curiously enough, during the 
course of our comparative study of the different versions 
of the stories we have come across writers to be considered 
shortly, who either themselves lay claims or have claims
advanced in their favour by others to the authorship of the Cabīr Darvesh. Under such circumstances it is absolutely necessary to test the validity of the claims of each to try to determine the probable author.

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

(1) Biographies of Khusrau,
(2) Khusrau’s own account of his works, and
(3) His Prose style.

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

Jāmī, who lived comparatively near to Khusrau’s time notices him in his Nafahāṭul Uns, B.M., Add. 16718, fol. 282b, and after mentioning a few particulars of his life simply says that the number of his works was 99. Daulat Shāh, Samarqandī, B.M., Add. 18410, fol. 120a,
details at some length Khusrav's four divāns and Khamsa and cites specimens of his poetry. Aminuddin, Rāmi, B.M., Add. 16734, fol. 150b, consecrates a fuller article, recounting most of his works and puts his poetry between 4 and 5 hundred thousand couplets. Shāh 'Abdul Ḥaq of Delhi gives in Akhbārul Akhyār, B.M., Or. 221, fol. 86a, only some biographical particulars of the poet without referring to his intellectual product and in Khazāna e 'Amira, B.M., Or. 232, Gulām 'Ali, Asād ignores him entirely while the author of the Riāqush Shu'arā, B.M., Add. 16729, fol. 157a, furnishes even the smallest details of his life, works and his relation with his spiritual master, Nişāmuddin, Auliya who is stated to have once said, "if God asks me, what have you brought? I shall say, a passion for Khusrav", and he concludes by observing that "Khusrav wrought miracles in poetry and prose", Khulāsatul Afkār, B.M., Add. 18542, fol. 90a, Siyarul 'Arifin, B.M., Or. 215, fol. 129a and Atashkada e Īgar, B.M., Or. 1268, fol. 191a, all deal with him but do not provide any fresh information.

Sir Gore Ouseley in his Biographical Notices of Persian Poets, B.M., No. 14003, e. 3. (pp. 148-153).
treats at length, in a modern critical way, of Khusrau's life and works and discusses under a separate heading his prose output, admitting his extraordinary productivity and the profundity of his thought. Similarly Sprenger quotes in his Catalogue of the Royal Libraries of Oudh an extract from an important biography, not known to have appeared in print, called, the Taşkira e Khush Go, setting forth the longest list of Khusrau's work with informative notes on his dīvāns and Maqānāviyāt. A. O. Koreishi in his book, Amīr Khusrau e Dehlvi, B.M., 757, F. 4., affords a fine critical study of the author with a discussion of all his chief books. The editors of the famous Catalogue of Bankipore Library, Vol. I, pp. 179-180, mention some biographical fragments and only 3 of his dīvāns. Shibli Nu'mānī has brought out a book entitled, Bayān i Khusrau, School of Oriental Studies, Pam. XII.–1. Urdu, pp. 31-35, and although it is the best of the lot and deals with 20 works of Khusrau with a fine grasp both of large issues and of detail yet he also does not mark a step forward.

There exists among these chroniclers much divergence in their accounts of Khusrau's literary works but one
thing is perfectly certain and unanimous. They do not make a mention of the story of Four Darveshes and the theory put forward by Amman is in no way substantiated by any of them. Quite recent writers of modern enlightenment like Shibli who must have known that Amman attributed the book to Khusrau, do not even consider it worth their while to touch the question.

The findings of this Society which was formed at Aligarh under the Honorary Secretary, M.A.O. College, in 1914, for bringing together the scattered works of Amir Khusrau, also do not make any fresh addition to our knowledge. The efforts of the Society, as can be seen from its lengthy English and Urdu reports issued in 1917, were unique. A group of talented scholars was selected and engaged for the uphill task, appeals to provide trustworthy information on the subject were circulated through the press, rewards were offered for giving clues to the whereabouts of any untraced work of Khusrau, long journeys were undertaken to follow the search, every public and private library throughout the country was examined, letters of enquiry were addressed to all
students of Khusrau, and, in short, vast expenditure was incurred on these activities and though the band of workers succeeded in collecting 25 works of the fortunate Khusrau and in establishing the authenticity of their texts through elaborate processes of scrutiny, yet the conclusion to which they arrived regarding the authorship of the Cahār Darvēsh is hopelessly barren. To quote the English report, p. 27,

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

Khusrau himself speaks of his own life and writings, especially in the prefaces of his two divāns, the Tuḥfatuṣ Şīr and the Gurratul Kamāl, (vide Kulliyāt i Amir Khusrau, B.M., Add. 21104, folios 176a-190b), but the details given by him there relate mostly to the various periods of his poetical productions, his literary taste, superiority of Persian poetry over Arabic, several kinds of figures of speech, etc., and to his being an
object of favour and patronage of different Emperors of Delhi, they do not reveal any reference to the book Cāhār Darvešah.

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

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

(1) The Aftālul Fawāid, a collection of sayings of St. Niẓāmuddīn, B.M., 14779, d.11.;
(2) The Khasāīnul Futūḥ, containing an account of Sultān 'Alauddīn, Khilji's victories, B.M., MS., Add. 16838;
and (3) The Fa'jāz i Khusravi, called also Basāilul Fa'jāz, a treatise on elegant prose writing, B.M., MS., Add. 16841.

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

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

In the third book, the Ejjas i Khusravī, the author describes at length nine different styles of Persian prose to which he adds a tenth, his own, as superior to all. It undoubtedly possesses artistic merits of a high order, a fertility of unbounded scope and affords a sterling testimony to the profundity of Khusrau's genius, but in it also the author strives after effect; it is
laboured, ponderous and verbose, and so thickly inlaid with Arabic words and phrases throughout that it resembles more Abul Fažl’s bombastic prose than the pleasant and remarkably elegant phraseology of any of the Persian texts of the Darveshes.

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

In order to trace this story we directed our attention to an examination of anecdotes connected with the saint, collected and preserved in his lifetime in two valuable Persian books, one of which, Afaqul Favāid, written by Khusrau himself is already mentioned above, and the other, Favāidul Fuad, B.M., 14718, f. 10, by another of his great disciples, Amir Ḥasan, Alā Sanjarī. Both these volumes contain a variety of particulars of the saint’s life, his numerous sayings and teachings and in the former there is to be found on p. 110 an anecdote embracing the circumstances in which that book was composed, shown by Khusrau to, and corrected and blessed by,
his spiritual preceptor. But we have failed to find in these two books any clue to the anecdote handed down to us by Amman about the Cahar Darvesh.

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

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

"No. 417 a beautiful story celebrated by Sir William Jones (Dis. on the Musical Modes). The author was Muḥammad Ḥān Maṣūm." This MS. of his, as shown elsewhere, is exactly
the same as B.M., MS. Add. 7677, and now deposited in
the Bodleian Library, and he mentions him on its fly-
leaf also as author in 1795, 8 years before Ammon's an-
nouncement about Khurzn. But in the MS. itself there
are no indications whatever supporting Ouseley's state-
ment. His reference to Sir William Jones raised hopes
of further light regarding Ma'qin, but Jones, on the
contrary, confuses even the main issue. He says in his
Discourse on the Musical Modes of the Hindus, written
in 1784 and reproduced from Asiatic Research, Vol. III.,
in the book entitled, The Story of Indian Music and Its
Instruments, by E. Rosenthal, p. 170:-

"In the beautiful tale, known by the title of
the Four Servises, originally written in Persia,
with great purity and elegance, we find the de-
scription of a concert where your singers, with as
many different instruments, are represented, modu-
larging in twelve anumas or purdahs, twenty-four
shobas and forty-eight goshoas and beginning a
mirthful song of Hassis or Vernal delight in the
purdah, named, rest or direct . . . " and so on.
He nowhere mentions the name of the author; he calls the
book a beautiful tale and yet finds in it a description of a concert, too highly technical to be included in the text of a tale and which, natural and obvious as it is, does not exist in any of the Persian MSS. of the Cahār Darvēsh, nor in its eight different Urdu versions. I am of the opinion that Jones has quoted here the name of our Qiṣṣa instead of that of the book which treated of some theory of the Persian music which was originally written, as he remarks, in Persia.

However, Ouseley's information is not entirely baseless. Sprenger mentions his Maʿṣūma in the Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. C.C.C. XXXIV., Third Quarterly Report of the Researches into the Mohammedan Libraries, p. 25, under the heading "Translation of Sanskrit or Hindi works into Persian", India Office, and also quotes a very short but highly valuable extract from the preface of his Persian Cahār Darvēsh in which Maʿṣūma, after briefly referring to his royal patron, (without giving his name), states that when he informed his majesty of the existence of the stories of darvēshes in the Hindi language he
ordered him to translate it into the 'Persi' language.
He writes his full name as Hā'īm Muhāmmad 'Ali, otherwise known as Hā'īm 'Ali. Then unfortunately the passage ends.

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

Secondly, as he himself lays down in unmistakable terms, Hā'īm did not originate the stories, he obtained them from Hindi. And we have to decide what he meant by the word Hindi which denotes either the Hindi (the Western Hindi of Tulsī Dās or Western Hindi of Śrī Dās) of the Hindus or that (that is, Persianised) of the Sahīrmedan. If it is the former, the stories
must, or necessity, have been Hindi in character.

But they are not so. They are made up, from every
viewpoint, social, moral, religious or ritual, of
matter purely Muhammadan. Obviously the word sig-
nifies the Persianised Hindi or Urdu. Now the fur-
ther question arises which Urdu version of the sto-
ries was it which Ma’SUM rendered into Persian.

There are, as we shall see below, in all eight Urdu
versions, prose and verse, which we have been able
to discover and subject to analysis, and in point
of time, the Kurassah, undertaken in 1768, is the
first rendering, the second earliest being the Sar-
shar’s Ghar Gulshan composed in 1801. But, as we know,
Ma’SUM’s name first appears in 1795 on the flyleaf
of the Bodleian MS. jotted down by Orsaeley. Hence
if Ma’SUM’s book was a translation, as unquestionably
it was, from Hindi it might have been based on the
Kurassah, the language of which, though impregnated
with Persian words, is stated by Ma’hSUM himself to
be Hindi on p. 5 of the preface, and which is it-
self a translation of the B.M. Persian MS. Add.5632.
I am, therefore, irresistibly led to the probable conclusion that Ma‘ṣūma is not the author of Ouseley’s Persian MS., copied in 1795. But at the same time I admit that he assuredly is the translator from Urdu into Persian of another Cāhīr Dervesh which for some reason or other failed to acquire popularity and may some day come to light.

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

The next claimants to the authorship of the book are Anjih and Mahomed ‘Awād, Zarri. Going by date we

Zarri, the Pseudo-author
should consider the former first but for practical reasons we reverse the process. Zarīn, whose Urdu version of the stories is fully discussed on pp. himself claims in his preface to be the author of the Persian original. He lived about 1369 and the Ouseley MS. was already transcribed about a century and a half before his time. His claim is, therefore, false, and was, in all probability, intended to raise his literary importance in the eyes of his half-educated and ill-informed patron, the Rāja.

His full name was Bādī’ul’āsr, commonly known as Hāji Rabi’ Magribī, and poetically called, Anjab. He is very briefly noticed by Khushan Cand in his tāskīra of Persian poets, the Hamesha Bahār, I.O., MS., 3163, fol. 23b, compiled in 1723, and described as living at the time. But Muḥṣafī consecrates a fuller article in his biography, the ‘Iqd i Ṣuriyyā, B.M. MS. Add. 16727, fol. 4a, composed in 1785, and says, among other things, that Anjab was born in Andulus and came in his childhood to Aṣfahān where he spent 30 years. After long travels he settled in Delhi and died upwards of a hundred years
old. He was a most prolific writer and in the words of the biography "his writings were a camel load", out of which there exists only one Ma'navī, the Falak i I'zam, B.H., MS., Egerton 1036, written in 1744, dealing with the story of Kāmrūp and Kāmlatā but providing no further information about the author.

Muṣṭafā, who stayed in Delhi between 1776 and 1787, was personally known to Anjab and had the opportunity, as he notes, of examining some of his works, in enumerating which he makes the important statement that he "saw with his own eyes the Qiṣṣa e Cahār Darvēsh in Persian prose composed by him." This testimony vouchsafed to us by Muṣṭafā is far more credible than the statements of Amman and Guseley. Amman flourished about five hundred years after his alleged Author Khusrav, while Guseley's view is not even borne up by Ma'ṣūm who simply asserts that he is a translator and not the author of the book. But in the case of Anjab the information is unambiguous, direct and first-hand as the informant Muṣṭafā was personally acquainted with the book and its maker. The evidence is strengthened by the fact that the date of the Bodleian MS. is contemporaneous with the time of
Anjeh who was already an author of repute by 1723 when Demsha Bahār was completed.

Another ground of internal character which is afforded by the stories themselves is most convincing. In the story of Sāg parast we read the name of Echī e Farang or ambassador of the Franks who is described as checking, on critical occasions, the despotic and frivolous conduct of King Farshnada Siyar and guiding him to enlightened and modern methods of dealing with particular situations in the administration of justice. Likewise, the tale of the third darvēch chiefly consists of the love affairs of a European heroine, the Princess of Farang, and certain features of life portrayed there tend to show that the writer is writing from experience and first-hand knowledge. In Khwāna's time there was complete lack of contact between the East and the West and things European never formed themes in the Indian literature. But Anjeh was born in Spain, and as one would expect, had a knowledge of European ways. It was
thus into his mind alone that a subject associated with occidental life could have entered. Moreover, in the
Hanesha Bahir where the life-sketch of Anjab is hopeless-
ly meagre and specimens of his poetry are few in number,
counting only to half a dozen lines, we come across a
couplet in which western beauty has been spoken of as
standard. In addressing himself to his sweetheart, he
says, col. 23b:-

Sheulkot i hosa i Fərang i tu be āxa ābāran,
Dada ēs nāz digar ḫil'ket i gufrang ba gūl,
which in plain language means that the grandeur of the
European beauty has through amorous playfulness bestowed
on the rose a lovely garment.

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

Tehsin's Own Assertion

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

Here are some of the reasons which support us:

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

2. The last adventure of the Sag parallel
is not ascribed to another Sandager Dasc, as mentioned in other MSS.;

(3) in the story of the Fourth Harvesh the Cahër su bāsār of the Murassa func. 46) is mentioned in this Ms. alone, fol. 9a;

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

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

(i) page 16.

fol. 2a,
(ii) p. 21

foll. 3a,

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

(iv) p. 32 = foll. 5b,

(v) p. 36 = foll. 7a,
Such agreements are to be found only after 2 to 4 pages and do not exceed 3 or 4 lines and then the narration as it proceeds becomes independent and dissimilar. This is a natural process of translation. Elements of language and thought common to the original and the translation are usually in the latter by a competent translator. Tahsin was true to his type.

However, I have reason to believe that the Persian original of which Tahsin made use for his translation was not an exact copy of the MS. under comparison. The following divergences are instances in point:
(1) In his introductory account Farkhunda Siyar is taken to the four darveshes who had recently gathered together at a cemetery by means of the contrivance that during the time of his disappointment and grief at not being favoured with a son he saw it written in a book that if any one is oppressed with sorrow and anxiety not to be relieved by human agencies he ought to resign himself to Providence, visit the tombs of the dead and pray for the blessings of God on their souls, fol. 3b.

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

(2) When the Princess of Shām is incensed with the First Darvesh, turns him out of her presence for 40 days, after which he is brought back to her considerably pulled down through shocks and suffering, her royal physicians (p. 17, the Murassa') prescribe a lengthy recipe which is wanting in the MS. on fol. 15a and in which only such imaginary medicines are specified by Taḥān which serve as similes of certain parts of the
figure of a most beautiful sweetheart, for example,
badām i cashm, the almond of the eye;
gul i surīh i rukhsāra, the rose of the cheek;
mushk i siyāh i kākul, the black musk of the locks,
and so forth.

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

(4) When, at the end of his story, the First Darvesh
intends to kill himself by a fall from the mountain there
appears, in accordance with the MS. fol. 22a, a zāhīd, a
hermit who prevents him from taking the suicidal step.
In the Murāṣṣa', p. 101, this man is mentioned as 'Alī,
the Fourth Islamic Khalifa, which fact shows Taḫṣīn's
(5) In the story of the last darvesh, near the end, the prince and his faithful slave Mubārik bring with them the extremely beautiful daughter of the blind man to be presented to Ṣādiq, king of the Jinna, and when the prince feels, owing to his deep attachment to the girl which he has developed during the journey, very reluctant to hand her over to Ṣādiq, the slave applies certain stinking ointment all over the body of the girl to disgust the king with her. So far the Murāṣṣa' and the MS. agree, but in the latter an anecdote is added which throws light on how Mubārik learnt the preparation of the ointment from the father of the prince in one of his interesting visits to Ṣādiq.

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

In the introductory story and elsewhere he has replaced the name, ʿAzād Bākht, by Farkhunda Siyar which by virtue of its meaning fits much better into the
account given of the king's good nature and happy disposition. His vazir's name, Boshan Rāc, in all the Persian MSS., is un-Indian and therefore Tahsin dropped it in favour of its more welcome synonym Khiradmand which even Amman liked and retained in his book. The suitable names, 'Isā of the skilful surgeon, Tirdpolia of a place, Yūsuf of the beautiful slave are the outcome of Tahsin's imagination and do not exist in the Persian originals. Similarly in the story of the Third Darvesh there is one name, Bedar Bakht of a generous host in the city of Baṣra which exclusively belongs to the Muraqqa'.

Tahsin has also introduced with taste into his text several purely Hindi habits and also used Urdu verses in place of Persian found in the original, putting them in contexts of his own choosing.
CHAPTER V.

OTHER URDU VERSIONS

OF THE

CAHR DARVESHE
Other Urdu Versions of the Cahar Darreah.

(1) Sarahsr’s Version.
(2) Mami*a BO.
(3) Ali’s BO.
(4) Gafil’s BO.
(5) Bnhala’s BO.
(6) Zarrf’s BO.
(7) Sarur’s BO.
CHAPTER V.

OTHER URDU VERSIONS OF THE CAHAR DARVEISH.

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

(1) *Sarahār’s Version.*

Next to the *Muraṣṣa* in point of time and one year prior to Amman’s *Bāg o Bahār* is a metrical Dakhnī version of the stories of the Cahār Darveš called, the *Cār Gulshan*, composed by *Sarahār*, which hitherto has been unknown in India and Europe. A manuscript copy of it was probably recently acquired by the authorities of the British Museum where in its unpublished catalogue it is
numbered Or. 6658. It occupies 442 pages and written in old Dakhni naskh in a neat beautiful hand. It is an extremely correct copy, transcribed in A.H. 1252, A.D. 1836, by one Sayyad Yaqūb for the study of a Nawāzbāda at Qādar Nagar or Tanjore. It is named Cāhār Darvesh in the colophon as also in the introduction of the text and is a complete rendering of that story, the various stages of which being

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

Before the commencement of the tale the author devotes about 20 pages to the praise of God, the prophet and ‘Alī and also eulogises his contemporary Nawāb ‘Umdatul Umarā, ruler of Arcot, and another nobleman Sālār Jang, to whose son Najībuddīn Khā, poetically named E‘jāz, he was attached and owed the idea of versifying the stories. He
also states that when the poem was completed and presented to his patron he was so immensely pleased with it that in his enthusiasm he ordered his servants to thow on him (the poet) gold and silver to be distributed as largess.

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

He does not refer to the source from which he derived his material of the stories. But internal evidence makes it abundantly clear that he used a Persian text like that of the B.M. MS. Add. 7677. He has, nevertheless, altered some of the original names: he
calls the second darvesh Fīrozmand, fol. 49a, the saudāqar Bacc in the third story Dāūd Mirzā, fol. 133a, and the Princess of Baṣra the daughter of the merchant of Baṣra, fol. 147b.

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

His rendering though very faithful to the original in substance is entirely free and independent in form. The development of details and issues is so organic and natural that a reader not conversant with the sources is likely to be impressed with the belief that the poet is also the creator of the stories. His style in verse is the same as Amman’s in prose. It is powerful and charming and of most engaging simplicity.
This book is of international fame and deserves the distinguished fate. It has frequently been printed by European and native presses in India and also in London, translated into English a number of times, rendered into French by Garcin de Tassy, and into Gujrāṭī (Bombay, 1877), transcribed in Roman character (1859) and Deonāgri (1847), published with annotations both in English and Urdu, appeared in selections, and has been regarded up till now as a classical work.

In order to satisfy myself about its text I examined all its available editions and I have only to say a few words about them. Its first complete edition saw the light in 1303 and a copy of this date is in the B.M., No. 14112, e.2, with a critical preface by Gilchrist. However a portion of it was published a year before in Gilchrist's Hindī Manual, a separate print of which is preserved in the B.M. under No. 14112, b.2., filling in all 112 pages and not 106 as recorded in the Catalogue of the B.M. where 12 pages have been numbered as leaves.
1-6 instead of pages 1-12. It begins with the preface of the author and ends with the story of the Princess of Shām, but has not title page or date. Blumhardt rightly assigns to it the year 1802. It slightly though immaterially differs from its fuller and later edition of 1803. Some words like (fol. 1b and 2a) and (fol. 3a) are written in Roman character and others like in Nāgri in the midst of Urdu script.

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

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

I have also gone through a very carefully written MS. of the Bāg o Bahār without date in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society (Cat. of Oriental MSS. No. 11) at the end of the preface of which occur the words 'Mir Amman Luṭf', as though it were the very copy of the work which the author himself wrote. Forbes, as he says in his second edition of the Bāg o Bahār, 1849, (B.M. 14112. o.2) had collated his text throughout with this MS. So far as I have been able to compare, the text of the MS. and that of Forbes both agree with the edition of 1803 issued from Calcutta. In the India Office, however, there is an
earlier MS. No. U.47 which was in the possession of
its Librarian, James Ballantyne, in 1834 and resembles
the first instalment of 1802 more than any other copy of
the Bāg o Bahār.

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

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

This arrangement does not tally with the Muraṣṣa' in
that the story of the Dog-worshipping Merchant comes
here after the Second Darvēsh while in the Muraṣṣa' it
is placed after the Third Darvēsh. Blumhardt's state­
ment in the I.O. Cat. p. 62, col. 2, that in the Persian
original the order is similar to that of the Bāg o Bahār
is true in the case of the first two B.M. MSS. No. Add.
8917 and Add. 7677 (and also of the Bodleian MS.) but not in that of the third B.M. MS. Add. 5632, in which the story, like that in the Murasqa', follows the Third Darvesh, (folios 60b to 90b), and not the Second.

The first and most important problem which invites our attention is concerned with the sources of the Bag e Bahar. From Gilchrist’s preface to its first edition which, in view of its significance, is partly quoted below, we learn that it is a version of the Murasqa':—

“...This work has long been admired in the original Persian under the name of Kissai Chahar Darvises or tale of the Four Darvises. It was composed in that beautiful tongue by Amīr Khusrau. . . . ‘Atā Husen Khān originally translated it under the name of Nau Ṭara i Murassa . . . but as a specimen of this language it was rendered objectionable by his retaining too much of the phraseology and idiom of the Persian and Arabic.

“...To obviate this, the present version, from the translation now mentioned, has been executed
by Mir Amman of Delhi."

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

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

(1) He had in view 1798 as the date of the composition of the Murasa."
mention Tahsin or the Muraṣṣa' above or anywhere in his whole preface. My comparative study of his book, however, reveals the fact that it is an adaptation in which he has made use of the Persian text as well as Tahsin's Muraṣṣa’ and in certain places exercised his own imagination in the coining of new names of persons and places and adding new matter to the narrative.

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

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

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

Although Amman takes the greatest liberty of form and spirit in his translation and escapes all detection as to which Persian MS. he actually utilised yet he is
betrayed by B.M. MS. Add. 7677 and I have the following reasons to believe that it was some copy of this MS. which he had before him while writing his own book:—

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

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

Bāĝ o Bahār, p.10.,
The clause comes one line before in a different context.

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

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

"Ba'd anā Ḫwāja gul i murādash ahuguft va guft shehryār ī marde ke dar jānib ī rāst i man nashashta ast brādar i busurgtar i má ast va ī yak aso kocaktar ast va man as har do kocaktaram va as vilāyati Fārsīan. Pidre mā tājire būd ta bist hasār tūmān māya e tijārat mī namūd hamī ke san i man ba cahār dīn rasīd. Pidr rā muḍdāt i ḫayāt munquażī gardid va ī as ta'siyyat i pīdar fārīg shudem va dīn roz bar ā bīghasāht shabi barādārī hamī guftand falāne Ḫūb ast har kirā ki az khesāhā amīne dānī biṭalābī ....

Bāg o Bahār, p. 70:-

"Ḫwāja ne kahā Az bādahān ye mard jo dāhī ṭaraf he gūlām kā bāzā bāzā he aur jo bāz ṭaraf kr
क्षापा हे माज्हला भावे ली. मो इन दोनों से चोट घ्या हुं. मरा बाप मुल्क तथा फरीस का सूदागर था. जब मो ओसला बानस का बुंदु तु गिब्वा गाही नेँ राॅलत किल. जब ताज्हीस के तक्फिन ने फरागत हुई तो एक रोस इन दोनू भात्यु नें काहा के बाप का माल जो कुख हे तास्म कर लो, जिझ दिल जो साहे से कौं करा...
(4) When the dog-worshipping merchant declines at first to recount the real facts of his story before King Azād Bakht he observes that by imprisoning his two brothers in a cage and keeping his faithful dog in an exalted state he is called a dog worshipper, condemned by every one and has to pay double taxes as penalty and that he submits to all this humiliation but does not divulge the secret of his heart.

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

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

The story of the Dog-worshipping Merchant is made up of a number of episodes which are separate from and independent of one another. At the end the merchant details the last of his adventures which is described in the Murāṣṣa', photostats, fol. 131b and MS. Add.
5632, to be brief, thus:–

When the brothers of the merchant throw him in a river from which he comes out not without trouble he meets later on a Persian officer on a hillock containing mines of precious stones and with the aid of this man he digs out loads of jewels for himself, then through the good offices of the brother of the said officer gets the daughter of the vazir of that kingdom in marriage; some time afterwards his wife dies and he is, according to the custom of that land, locked up in a dungeon together with the coffin of his dead wife and some provisions to live on; here he passes a few months in misery. Meanwhile other dead bodies are brought in with their living partners and the Merchant kills some of them, taking possession of their victuals to drag on his wretched existence. At last, there comes a young lady with her dead husband whom he marries and then escapes from the dreadful place with his load of jewels, accompanied by his bride and a child which she had in the meantime brought forth.
Now in the Bāg o Bahār as well as in Pers. MS. Add. 7677, fol. 78b, this story is ascribed to another merchant who is given a wholly new name of Saudāgar Baqa-e Arba'ejān and who is mentioned as narrating all these adventures to our Dog-worshipping Merchant when he was Governor of Port, and it was from him that he obtained the valuable jewels which he put in the collar of his faithful dog.

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

(1) He has determined the order of the stories of the four darveshes not according to any of the Persian MSS. but clearly according to the Muraṣṣa'ī, the second story of which is the third story of all the Persian originals, while its third story is their second story. Amman has precisely the same arrangement as that of the Muraṣṣa'ī. There is one more interesting point to be considered in this connection. Amman in placing the story of the Dog-worshipping Merchant after the story of the Second Darvesh has obviously followed the serial
order of the Pers. MS. Add. 7677 but his second story is the second story not of this MS. but of the Murāṣṣa' which is, as stated above, the third of the Persian MS.

(2) Taḥṣīn includes, amongst others, the following names of persons and places in the story of the First Darvēsh:-

(i) Khiradmand, the Vāzīr,
(ii) 'Īsā, the Jarrāḥ or Surgeon,
(iii) Tirpoliē, name of a place,
(iv) Cārsū bāzār,
(v) Yusūf, the Slave-merchant.

In none of the Persian MSS. do 'Īsā, Tirpoliē or Yusūf appear; in place of the vāzīr Khiradmand all of them give vāzīr Rōshān Rās; Cārsū bāzār is to be found only in B.M. MS. 5632, which Amman never made use of, but he has all these five names in his first story which he apparently borrowed from Taḥṣīn.

Likewise in the story of the Third Darvēsh of the Murāṣṣa' there is mentioned one Bedār Bakht, a host in Baṣra. This name is not traceable in any of the Persian texts but Amman has it on p. 41.
(3) The episode of 'Īsā, the surgeon, in the First Darvesh, bears closest similarity in the Murāṣṣa' and the Bāg o Bahār. It is different in all the Persian MS. and in MS. Add. 7677 which, as may be remembered, Amman had before him for translation, one more detail, unsuitable to the occasion, is given on fol. 12b, namely, when 'Īsā, after examining the beautiful Princess of Shām, listens to the pathetic story of how she was wounded from the appealing lips of her paramour, the First Darvesh, he, instead of being moved to pity, slaps him on the face with the greatest force. In the Murāṣṣa' no such brutal treatment has any place. On the contrary the surgeon is described as very humane and devout, taking pity on the misfortune of the Princess and consoling the Darvesh by holding out to him hopes of her speedy recovery. Amman prefers the latter circumstance and reproduces it.

(4) The sweetheart of the abominable Yūsuf is depicted as a very charming girl in the Persian narrative, which robs the episode of its absorbing interest and naturalness, whereas Taḥṣīn presents her as frightfully ugly and a she-demon. Amman adopts Taḥṣīn's conception.
The beautiful moral story of the Queen of Baqra, interwoven in the tale of the Second Darvesh, is non-existent in the Persian MS., Add. 7677, used by Amman, but it is included in the Murāṣaṭ. Amman also gives this story.

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

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

Murāṣaṭ, p. 50, Bāg o Bahār, p. 31.
Amman's own improvements

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Introductory Account of King Jamshid 1a - 3a;
2. The First Darvesh 3b - 28b;
3. Second 29a - 48b;
4. Third 48b - 72b;
5. Sag parast 72b - 129a;
From this it can be seen that the order of the stories is the same as in the original. But an analysis of the text has brought to light the fact that the general course of the narrative itself is not the same as Blumhardt thinks, but partly different. Its first story is entirely new and does not exist in the original or any of the known versions; to the tale of the Second Darvesh is added the lengthy episode of an enchantress, and the last part of the MS., which fills 80 large pages as against 9 printed pages of the Muraṣṣa', includes several small stories and also, curiously enough, the story of the First Darvesh is interwoven here into a wholly new context. Thus this version of the Cāhār Darvesh has at least one long independent story more than the stories hitherto popular. There can be observed other divergences of minor importance, additions, alterations or omissions.

The names of persons are almost completely altered. Only two, Bahzād Khā and Čārsū bāsār in its story of the
Fourth Darvesh have escaped alteration. In the second story one name has suffered partial change; Mubārik, which is given in all the other texts of the Fourth Darvesh as the name of a slave who served his master through thick and thin, is displaced by Mubārik Shāh which appears as the name of a king whose functions in the story are however the same as those of the slave.

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

Blumhardt remarks that the plot of the story is laid in India. It is not so. It is in fact laid in the Magrib, which name signifies Spain or sometimes N. W. Africa in Mohamedan literature. The First Darvesh, however
is called the King of Bengal and the Princess of the
Franks the Queen of Daryā i Shor, or the Bay of Bengal,
in the story of the Third Darvesh. Such disagreement
about countries or peoples is not uncommon in other
versions. For instance, Amman calls the Princess of
the Franks, the Princess of Sarandip or Ceylon and
Shamlah changes the country of the Franks into England
and includes Hindus amongst the subjects of Farkhunda
Siyar, the king of Rūm.

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

The style of the book is plain and beautiful; its
language is not inundated with Persian vocabulary, it is
idiomatic and in places undoubtedly classical; it includes
pieces both of Persian and Urdu verses, but none is bor­
rowed from the Murāṣṭā' or the Persian. The author
employs at times archaic expressions, viz., satī in lieu of so, fol. 4a, ṭaiṭhiā for ṭaiṭhi, fol. 22b, and laṛkāpan for laṛakpan, fol. 16lb. The book is not influenced in the least by any previous efforts of its kind and so far as the diction and language are concerned it is a highly valuable work.

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

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

(2) The First Darvesh is described as the King of Bengal instead of as the son of a wealthy merchant in the original, the Murāsqu, and other works. This king secretly
abdicates in favour of his vazîr and goes out into the jungle to pass the rest of his life in retirement and seclusion. There he chances to see an old man being flogged by his slave and uttering at every stroke the expression: "As nafs i kâfir khûe insâf", "O ungrateful soul, be always just". This shocked the king and he asked the old man to unfold the mystery of that dreadful self-infliction. This the man promised to do on condition that the king should be prepared to die after the secret was disclosed, to which he agreed.

The old man said that, while young, he was the friend of a prince who, when placed on the throne, made him his vazîr and reposed in him the utmost confidence. Some time afterwards the prince fell ill and despite the best medical aid his ailment did not subside, till at last a certain darvesh advised the vazîr to proceed to the native place of a merchant named Muşaffar who was well-known to be in possession of magical remedies for incurable diseases. The vazîr started on the journey, arrived at the place, put up with Muşaffar and was kindly treated by him during the day time, but towards the end of night
he was rudely asked to leave the house. But the vazir managed to stay in and while he was lying in bed pretending to be asleep Musaffar unlocked a room, took out a she-ass and a bitch and beat them mercilessly. Then he went into another chamber, kneeled down before the corpse of a fairy and wept bitterly. The following morning the vazir inquired of the man the cause of his strange behaviour, and he said:

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

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

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

The fairy then learnt the object of the vazīr's visit and the ailment of his king, and gave him two grains of barley, saying that if one was eaten it would free the body from all sources of disease and bestow one hundred years' life, and that if both were taken they would double the lifetime. The vazīr was now happy and returned to his country. But on his way he thought it inadvisable to administer to his king a medicine which was never tried so he himself took one of the grains, the effect of which was magical. He was at once rejuvenated and felt the
vigour and vitality of a youth. He then continued his journey. It, however, again occurred to him that when he had left the king his condition was precarious and that there was every likelihood that he would have expired by that time. Thus he was tempted away from all consideration for his king, and swallowed the second grain also. But when he reached his destination he found to his embarrassment that the king was still alive. He immediately concocted an excuse and said to the king that his journey was fruitless as Muzaffar was already dead before he arrived at the place. The king in despair breathed his last. The vazir ascended the throne. But afterwards he felt such strong stings of remorse for his treacherous conduct and fear for the Last Day that he decided to embark upon a campaign of self-torture.

On hearing this explanation the King of Bengal offered his head to be cut off according to the agreement. But the old man, having regard for his royal position, pardoned him and brought him to his palace and gave him his daughter in marriage. The King passed some time with his new father-in-law, then feeling homesick he departed from the place with his exceedingly beautiful wife.
During his journey, however, the queen disappeared; he was bewildered, travelled far and wide in search of her and eventually being despondent determined to put an end to his life but was prevented from so doing by some mysterious voice and ordered to proceed to the land of Jamshid for help.

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

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

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

(4) The third story of the MS. is the second of
the Muragga'. Although in broad outlines there is no
appreciable difference from the original in the main
tale, the body is so handled that almost every incident
is given a new colour. However, the introductory in-
structive account of the education of the first darvesh
when he was a prince, the episode of Hātan's ideal charity
and manliness of character, King Naufal's military at-
tack on his territory and the pleasing anecdote of the
wood-cutter and allied matters have been dropped. The
queen of Baṣra is replaced by that of Khurāsān whose
wonderful story of incalculable riches has also suffered omission and whose deeds of generosity are recounted not by a faqir but by a Greek ambassador. When the darvesh reaches her kingdom in disguise he finds waiting three other suitors to her hand like himself. She, after consultation with her ministers, deputes him, seemingly as a condition for marriage, to discover a clue to the mystery of the mourning town of the Prince Gāo Savār, while really she intends him to be killed by its inhabitants in the attempt and never to return. The story then develops at great length with occasional divergences, and, at last, the darvesh is instructed, while in the act of suicide, to have patience and seek the help of King Jamshīd by some mysterious voice.

(5) The story of the Sag parast is placed, as in the Muraşa‘, after the third darvesh and coincides, in a high degree, with its account up to the point where the daughter of the vāsir brings the merchant before Jamshīd (or Āzād Bakht). Further on, too, the agreement is conspicuous save that the merchant is thrown, instead of into one, into two wells on two different
occasions and, that, once, his two brothers invite rich persons to a feast and, getting them dead drunk, kill them and rob them of their valuables, as also a few other minor details.

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

He introduces the story with the same hunting expedition of the Prince, the wounding of the deer, interview with Su'mân, the traveller, who is called here Sanam parast and whole details of his mercantile travels and love-adventures have been set out. But he is represented as being in love with the Princess, not of the
Franks as in other versions, but of Daryā i Shor. Towards the end, however, he loses sight of this innovation of his and mentions the father of the princess as the King of the Franks. The tale then progresses without change, and, finally, Jān i Aʿgam meets Bahād Rāh, his later lieutenant, at a rendezvous called Cehār Su bāzār, which, as is noteworthy, occurs, not in the fourth tale as here, but in the first darvesh of the Nuraṣṣaʿ.

(7) All the foregoing stories end on fol. 152b but the MS. still covers about 128 large pages more. In the Nuraṣṣaʿ and other versions the concluding account of Farkhunda Siyar occupies but a few pages in which a son is born to him through the blessings of the darveshes and the prince, when he attains to maturity, is married to the daughter of one Shāhpal, King of Jinnāt, who, after a swift and sweeping search in the four corners of the earth, procures the lost sweethearts of the darveshes, bringing the tales to a happy and logical end. But in the MS. these brief events have been described with new episodes and lengthy details, and, as stated above, the story of the first darvesh of the original
is also thrown in here. (Fulica 1891 – 2000). In truth the last narrative of the NS, is rather confusing and tiresome.
(4) Gāfīl’s Version.

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

Gāfīl follows the original in the Third Darvēsh in every respect. But there is one particular, viz., Nu’mān, the traveller, tells the Prince of ‘Ajam, the...
third darvesh, that he has a good-natured jin-companion
who comforts him in his miserable solitary condition in
the jungle, fol. 93a, which has been inserted by him in
the story from outside. He also puts the last adventures
of the Sag parast under the name of Saudāgar Bacoa e
 Ağarbasjān, fol. 163b, which shows that his stories were
taken from B.M. MS. Add. 7677.

Gāfil seems to belong to the school of Lucknow but
his style and diction are much simpler than those of
the highly Persianised contemporary fable, the Fasāna e
‘Ağāib of Rajab ‘Alī Beg, Sarūn of the same school. He
has perfect command of expression and the ease and faci-
lity with which he narrates the tale and maintains co-
herence of thought arouse admiration.
There is a book in the B.M. No. 14119. e.3.(4), of 83 pages with the incorrect title Bāg Bahār Maẓūm, published at Lucknow and translated into French by Garcin de Tassy but unknown in India at the present time. The name appears on the title page in all probability as a later substitute after the death of the author who originally entitled it Fasāna e Sehr which occurs on p. 7 in the couplet

Blumbhardt fixes its date A.H. 1233, A.D. 1816, which is not correct as can be seen from the following chronogram on p. 83 expressing 1273, 1856-57. In the beginning of the poem the author versifies some particulars of his life but he nowhere mentions his name. We know only his
nom de guerre which was Shamla. He was a native of Anūp Shehr (p.4) and employed in the Settlement Dept., being first posted in the district of Canderī, against which he pours out abuses, and subsequently transferred to Hoshangabad where he had proceeded with his officer, one Mr. Thornton, whom he profusely and sincerely praises in the prefatory lines. Meanwhile probably the Indian sepoy mutiny breaks out, the land is involved in chaos and disorder and he is thrown out of his job. During this time he had leisure, and happened to peruse the 'Qiṣṣa e Cahār Darvesh' and decided to reduce it to verse-form.

Shamla does not specify whether by Cahār Darvesh he means the Persian original, the Murāṣša, or the Bāg e Bahār. However he gives Azād Bakt as the name of the king of Rūm, which occurs in the Persian text as well as in Amman's
work. The headings of the stories are in prose and exactly the same as those to be found in Amman, viz., 'Ser Pehle Darvesh Ki', and so on. The story of the Sag parast is narrated after the Second Darvesh. There are other indications which all go to show that Shamila has versified Amman's Bag o Bahar and has nothing in common with the Murassa.

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

Similarly in the tale of the Third Darvesh the Princess of Farang is described as the Princess of England
The poem is a masnavi, having the same metre as that of Mir Hasan's Sahrul Dayān, namely

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

or again, p. 44,

or p. 50,

(Sahrul Bayān, B.M., No. 14119. e.22. (5)
Shamla sometimes brings in one or two Persian verses but on p. 59 he has put in seven of them consecutively. The language of the poem is simple, lucid and forcible and flows without break. Towards the end, however, it loses its freshness and force.
Another version of the same romance is the 
Ta Ra i Muraṣṣa', written by Muḥammad 'Evaẓ, poetically 
called Zarrīn. It was published at Lucknow in 1869; one 
copy of the work is preserved in the B.M. and two in the 
India Office, but it is out of print and has never been 
mentioned in India, except in the recent publication, 
the Arbāb i Naẓr i Urdu, and even this contains only a 
cursory reference entirely based on the informative note 
by Blumhardt in the Catalogue of the B.M. 

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

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

Apparently he had also read the stories in Persian as he makes use, for example on pp. 6, 7, and 11, of the distinctively Persian vocative expression, Ās falān, frequently occurring in all the Persian texts. Moreover, he depicts the slave girl of Yūsuf as very charming according to Pers. MS. Add. 7677. However, in other matters he follows Mīr Amman. In the story of the First Darvesh he calls the two slaves of the Princess of Shām Yūsuf and Shīdī Bahār respectively, which names were
taken over by Amman from Taḥsīn and which do not appear in any of the Pers. MSS. at all.

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

All the main stories are, however, complete in
general broad outlines. Verses are used in profusion but they are all Urdu and none borrowed from Taqṣīn or Amman. Probably they are his own composition but they do not conform to refined taste and discernment. His prose also exhibits the artificiality and bombast of Lucknow; it has no design and elegance of diction. At best his book is a summary of the Bāg o Bahār in an unpolished and much inferior ḥarb.
(7) Sarur's Version.

This last version is included in a book, entitled, the Kharita e Sarur, (B.M. No. 14119. e.22 (4)), which is chronogrammatic for A.H. 1290, A.D. 1879. The Kharita is a collection of qasidas composed and recited by several Hindustani poets on the occasion of the marriage of Muhammad Bahadur Khā, the heir apparent of Junagadh state in Gujrat, followed on pp. 89-149 by an adaptation in verse of the story of the Four Darveshes by Gulam Muhammad Khā, Khabir. This rendering is briefer than the preceding prose one but imitates Amman more closely. No traces of the Murasa exist in it. Although the chief stories are given in their well-defined forms yet some important names and episodes have been omitted in it, e.g.,

(1) Behrvar - Second story;
(2) Eloi e Farang - Sag parast's story;
(3) Mu'mān - Third story;
(4) Kais Khusrau - Do.
(5) Šādiq - Fourth story;
(6) the episode of the Sag parast having been placed on the stake and rescued at a critical moment;
(7) the whole story of the Rānī of Zerbād.
The poem, as usual, is a masnavi suitable for the narration of long stories. But all its characteristics are of a very common order and in no way commendable. It does not provide entertaining reading; its description is involved and too poor to attract attention. The style is crude and immature. Compared with the vital masnavi of Shams, the poem appears to sink into insignificance.
A HISTORY OF URDU PROSE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO 1775
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INTRODUCTORY.

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

It goes without saying that the earliest foundations of Urdu literature were laid in the South of India instead of the North where the Urdu language was first launched on the stage of existence. Various reasons have been assigned by scholars to this astonishing phenomenon but in order to arrive at satisfactory results much remains to be explored. The obviously chief reason was the greater and deeper hold of the Persian language on the North than on the South. But even in the South there existed a strong objection to the employment of Urdu as the vehicle of thought of which evidence is available in
the utterances of Shāh Burhānuddīn, Jānān (d. 1582) who protests in his poem Irshād Nāma against the general spirit of his times which condemned the use of Ūrdū in preference to Persian. Moreover, those who for some reason or other started to write in Ūrdū wrote far more in Persian, e.g., ‘Ainuddīn, Ganjul ‘Ilm, Gesū Darāz and others.

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

The next century and a quarter, from 1650 to 1775, produced 16 writers of prose, (including Taḥṣīn), of whom 5 wrote on religion, one on a technical subject and 10 on literature.
The first purely literary Dakhni works are the two translations of the Persian Ṣafī Nāma, one by Muḥammad Qādirī in 1729 and the other anonymous in the B.M. of about the same time. Other non-religious writers in this period are:

(1) Zaḥāllī, (1658-1713).
(2) Muḥammad Ḫusain, Kalīm, (ab. 1750).
(3) 'Uzlāt, (1759).
(4) Muḥammad Shākir, (1762).
(5) Anonymous Translator of Anvār i Suhailī and other books, (1766).
(6) Saudā, (1766).
(7) Taḥsīn, (1769).
(8) Asrārullāh (1773).

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

(1) Miʿrājul Ḫaqqīn, by Gosū Darāz;
(2) Kalimatul Ḥaqqīq, by Shāh Burhānuddīn, Jānām;
(3) Ganj i Makhīfī, by Anṣūmuddīn, Aʿlā;
(4) Shokh Maḥmūd's Tracts;
(5) Zaṭallī's disconnected fragments;
(6) 'Uslat's Preface;
(7) Inshā e Shākir;
(8) Saudā's Preface.

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

It may also be noted that the first extant Dakhni prose is Mi'rājul 'Ashiqīn (after 1400)
" Northern " Zaṭallī's Fragments (ab. 169)
" Delhi " Faṣlī's Preface, (1732);
" Lucknow " Taḥṣīn's Muraṣṣa (1768).

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

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

Language: There are certain obstacles in the way of study and determination of the lines on which the new
language of Urdu was evolved. Most of the material hitherto discovered has not been published in its entirety and we have to depend largely on fragmentary quotations from manuscripts which are not long enough to give a correct idea of its progressive stages. However, it is possible to mention a few peculiarities.

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

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

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

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

Down to the middle of the next century the diction hesitated between the early simplicity and the later artificiality. In the North Faqīl combined both phases but his own power of expression prompted him to be rather simple, independent and original. Sádā, however, does not rise above the level of semi-poetical prose, for he is anxious to appeal to the artificial taste of his age. Tahsīn was probably the creator in prose of the semi-Persian school of Lucknow, where learned rhetoric and flowery style are admired more than anything else.
He is mentioned as ḡūrī but a perusal of the account of his life shows that he was more of a scholar than a mystic. As a recognition of his literary attainments he was commonly called, Ganjul 'Ilm, the repository of knowledge. He was born in Delhi in 1306 but he is not known there; he was famous in the Deccan where he is described in ḡūrī tadhkiras and important historical works, such as, the Tārīkh i Pirshah. (1)

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

(1) Vide, Urdu e Qadīn, pp.39-41, by Shamsullah, Qadiri of Hyderabad, Deccan.
He is acknowledged as a prolific writer. Some say he produced about 132 books of various descriptions. He wrote chiefly in Persian. But Shamsullah, Qādirī, the author of the Urdu o Qadim, (pp. 40-41) ascribes to him some tracts in Dakhnī prose of which three, he says, were preserved in the library of Fort St. George, together comprising 80 pages and treating of the elementary rules and precepts of religion.

There is a very valuable old catalogue in three volumes of Fort St. George in the India Office, entitled, A Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the (Late) College Fort St. George, published in 1857, which comprises three different collections, known as the "Mackenzie", the "East India House" and "Brown's". In its first volume, p. XIII, where the numbers of MSS. in each language are tabulated, there appear the number of 8 Hindustānī books which have been described with some details in another I.O. catalogue of the first of the above three collections, called, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental MSS. collected by Colin Mackenzie, by Professor H.H. Wilson, Vol. II. pp. 145-146, but this list does not include any of the treatises referred to by
Shamsullāh, Qādirī. Nor are they to be found on its pp. CLXXXVI-VIII., where under the heading 'Unbound Translations, etc., Class I. Persian', certain other important works have been mentioned. It may further be added that these MSS. of Fort St. George College have been incorporated in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, of which a voluminous Alphabetical Index is available in the India Office, No. 2. I. 19. Here also on the last three pages some other Hindustānī books are enumerated but none belongs to Ganjul 'Ilm.

In view of these data the statement of Shamsullāh, Qādirī, seems to be doubtful, if not entirely incorrect. Possibly the tracts spoken of are preserved in some library other than that of Fort St. George.
He is better known under his surname, Gosū Darās or the long-locked, and is one of the most popular saints of the Deccan. He was born in Delhi in A.H. 721, A.D. 1321. At the age of 4 or 5 he came with his parents to the south but on the death of his father had to go back to Delhi when 15 years old. As a result of the chaos and disorder that followed Amir Timūr's invasion of Delhi in 1398 he again left that city; this time he went to Gujrat and after staying there for some time finally fixed his abode in Gulbarga where he was treated with every mark of regard by Fīroz Shāh Bahmani and successor Ṭahmāsib Shāh. He died shortly after the latter's accession in 1422 at the age of about 105 lunar years, leaving numerous descendants in the enjoyment of great wealth and honours.

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

He was highly educated and was a great scholar of Persi and Arabic. His writings number about 30 of which a few not
very important have been described by Shamsullah, Qadiri. In the India Office Library the following of his Persian works on mystic topics exist, none of which, excepting (No.2), has ever been spoken of by writers in India.

(1) Vajjudul 'Ashiqin, (3 copies, and in MS. No. 1853 there are to be found some Hindustani poetry and several prose pieces which will be discussed separately).

(2) Aamural Asrar.

(3) Istiqamatush Shari'at, (2 copies, composed in 1390)

(4) Tarjuma e Adabul Muridin, translated in 1410.

(5) Hadaiqul Uns, compiled in 1422.

(6) 'Ishq Nama, contained in a collection of Sufi works No. 1869, is wrongly ascribed to him in the I.O. Catalogue. We will refer to it below.

(7) A life of the saint, entitled the Tarikh i Husaini written in Persian by one 'Abdul 'Aziz and dedicated to Ahmad Shahn, Bahmani, the first, and a collection of his letters, called, the Maktubat i Husaini va Khatima e Gesu Daraz, are mentioned in Stewart's Catalogue, pp. 30 and 37. Of the last-named elaborate work on the whole doctrine of Sufism there are five copies in the India Office.
Another work, the *Khavāriqāt*, containing an account of the life and deeds of the shah, his descendants and spiritual successors, compiled in 1573–1574, is also preserved in the India Office.

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

Gesū Darās’s main subject is mysticism and religion, the problems of which he sometimes explained to his disciples in the Urdu language of that time and at the request of some of them he compiled for the benefit of those who did not know Arabic or Persian several tracts in Dakhni. The Secretary of Anjuman Taraqqī e Urdu, Aurangābād, Deccan, claims to be in possession of a number of them, but he describes only one, the *Mi’rājul ‘Ashiqīn*. Shamsullāh, Qādirī, mentions another, the *Hidāyat Nāma*, by name only. Another book, called, the *Nishāṭul ‘Ishq*, the Pleasure of Divine Love, a commentary in the Dakhni language on one of the Sufi treatises of the celebrated Gūsul ‘Āzam, ‘Abdul Qādir, Jīlānī, is ascribed by Shamsullāh, Qādirī to his grandson, Sayyad Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh, Husainī. But Stewart
includes it among the works of Gesú Darāz himself in his catalogue on p. 182. I think Shamsullāh is mistaken, for, as it would appear from his statement, he never saw the book while Stewart examined it in the manuscripts of Tīpū Sultan.

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

The Mi‘rājul ʻAshiqīn has been published under the supervision of the Anjuman Taraqqī e Urdu, with an introduction by its Secretary in which, it may be noted, he has raised a doubt as to the authenticity of the authorship of the book. The question deserves more than a passing reference. The situation discussed by him at length may be summed up thus: He has got two MSS. of the Mi‘rāj, one is undated; the other is dated A.H. 1176, A.D. 1762, and in the colophon contains the information that it was copied from another MS. which bore the date, A.H. 906, A.D. 1500.
All the three are described as by Gesū Darāz in the manuscript themselves. And, as the Secretary says further on, the Mi'rāj has been spoken of as his in an important voluminous Ṣūfī work, the ‘Ishq Nāma, written between 1425 and 1458 by one of his disciples 'Abdullāh, who gives numerous details of his teachings and sayings. In the face of this evidence the Secretary indulges in a doubt and bases it on the ground that sometimes people write books and ascribe them to heroes and saints. Āhsan i Mārihravī also re-echoes it, p. 40. In my opinion it is without sufficient justification. If we allow ourselves to be swayed by such misapprehensions all research will be suspended. The Mi'rāj on the basis of the data furnished by the Secretary, should be accepted as a genuine work of Gesū Darāz which was compiled roughly between 1400 when he came back to the Deccan and 1422 when he died.

It is a brochure, comprising 19 pages and not 29 as stated by Āhsan i Mārihravī, p. 40, and dealing with the mysteries of Ṣūfism. Every theme begins with short quotations from the Qur'ān or sayings and precepts of the prophet in Arabic, followed by Dakhnī translation which is often so free or rather arbitrary that it can hardly be called a
translation, e.g. on p. 18 he translates Ātūzaḳāt by apnī hastī sab lutāna which means, give away all your selves. But Ātūzaḳāt is never selves, it is aims. Most of the interpretations are allegorical and throughout an effort has been made to deduce some Hidden meaning from a simple Arabic text, or put one into it. Nor is there any evolution of any mystic scheme based upon psychological or common religious experiences. The whole trend of his exposition of abstruse mystical matters is ascetic.

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

(1) The language is in certain places not perspicuous and intelligible.

(2) It is colloquial rather than literary and Arabic words are spelt as they were pronounced by the illiterate, such as, manā for manaʾ, and maʿrīfāt for maʿrīfat.

(3) It does not suffice for the expression of abstract ideas preached therein.

(4) However, it affords interesting glimpses of the language of that period.

(5) It abounds in Persian Ṣūfī technicalities. Nāsūt, (humanity), Malakūt, (the angelic world), Jabrūt, (the highest or empyreal heaven) and Lāhūt, (the
Divine Being realm), etc., are used unaccompanied by explanation.

(6) Sanskrit words like nirgun (without human passions) no longer used in standard Urdu are to be found in it.

(7) In certain Persian words a redundant ye is added as in badbul for badbū, darmiyānī for darmiyān, bukhālī for bukhālī. Mahmūd Sherānī says, (Panjāb mē Urdu, pp. 80-81), that such annexation of ye is the tendency of Panjābī. In Delhi gamī for gam and qadīmī for qadīm are used to-day.

(8) Persian and Arabic words appear firmly absorbed showing that the indigenous and the foreign elements were blended together long before the fifteenth century. Not only the compound infinitive formed from Arabic words, such as, ma‘lūm karnā, tamām honā, salām pherānā are profusely employed but from the Persian farzūdān, farmanā, from guzashtan, guzarānā, and from the Arabic Khārj, Kharaqānī occur at that early period.

(9) Distinction of gender was in a state of flux; bāt, rūḥ, dastār and poshāk are treated as masculine.

(10) Sometimes Persian construction is followed too
closely, as, muqām uskā shaitānī nafs uskā ammāra.

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

Haur for sur
naku " mat
po " par
ko " kar
aiparnā for pahumanā
jhār " darakht.

Ne of the agent is not employed;
plural is formed by ā;
bolnā is very frequently used;
āvāz is masculine.

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

dasna (to see);
Kiyā (plural of Kī);
firashta and bandedā (plurals of firashta and banda respectively);
jāgā (for jagih, place);
te (for se);
lak (for tak);
E (for ye, this);

saknā (to be able), as an independent verb;
namās Karna (for namās ḫaṣhnā. It may be noted that Ḥālī and Iqbal, poets of the north, have used namās Karna in recent times).

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

The style of the Risāla e Se Bāra, spoken of above, so far as is possible to judge from a quotation of six lines, has the same vigour and spontaneity.
SHĀH MĪRĀJĪ.
(d. 1496)

He was a native and one of the distinguished saints of Bijāpur and the first of a family which produced a series of writers and holy men of distinction. He was successor to another saint of note Khwāja Kamāluddīn, Bayābānī, who was second Khalīfa of Gīsrū Darās. Mīrājī Fasāluddīn, Khāksār, believed to be the Amir Ṣhusrau of the Deccan, was one of his disciples.

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

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

1. Khush Nāma.
2. Khush Nagz.
(3) Shahādatul Haqīqat.
(4) Ganj i 'Irfān.
(5) Sharaḥ i Margūbul Qulūb.
(6) Jal Tarang.
(7) Gul Bās.

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

The Sharaḥ i Margūbul Qulūb is a prose work. The Secretary, Anjuman Tāraqqī e Urdu, has two MSS. of it which he described in the journal, the Urdu of April 1927, (pp. 181-190). Both bear the author's name and are genuine. It is briefly mentioned by Aḥsān i Mārihravī, p. 42, who gives a short extract as specimen of the language. The date of composition of the book is not known for certain. Mārihravī puts it a year before his death.

The Secretary of the Anjuman Tāraqqī e Urdu and others have thrown no light on the problem whether the Sharaḥ i Margūbul Qulūb is an original work or a translation. I
have, however, found out a similar Persian text of which three manuscripts are in the India Office, one in the British Museum, and others, as stated by Ethé, in Vienna, etc. I examined the I.O. MSS. of which No. 1765, a Persian maṇavī is entitled, Targībul Qulūb, No. 1840, also a maṇavī, Margūbul Qulūb, identical with the Targīb, and, No. 1841, also Margūbul Qulūb (this name is mentioned in the MS. in different places, e.g. on fol. 20b, in a verse and on fol. 21a, in the colophon), but Ethé prefers to entitle it Šaraf i Margūbul Qulūb on the strength of the name's having been written in English on the fly-leaf. This last copy is different from the other two preceding MSS. It is provided with (a) a prose preface, and (b) quotations from the Ḥadīṣ and the Qur’ān, accompanied by a kind of translation and short explanation in Persian, both prose and verse, the verses, which are few and far between, being the same as are to be found in the other two I.O. MSS. However, its last section entirely consists of verses in maṇavī-form, and agrees with individual sections of the other two MSS. At any rate this MS. is much fuller but it is in no way a
Sharāḥ as supposed by Ethé. Because if we detach the Persian text from the book the remaining Arabic fragments cannot constitute a continuous text by themselves and be called a book. The fact is that the real name of the treatise is Margūbul Qulūb as in the B.M. and Vienna copies also. The title Tarḥībul Qulūb may be treated as an error on the part of the copyist of that MS.

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

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

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

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

The Secretary, Anjuman Taraqqi, has quoted about three large pages of the Dakhni text which is coherent, clear and perfectly intelligible. Mirājī’s style is simple, flowing and emotional. Some of the constructions are, however, loose and the phraseology is dialectic. Persian and Arabic words corrupted by the illiterate are not restored to their proper forms. Madat is used for madad and vaşā for vaşʿ. Sarānā from the Persian sarāidan, (to praise), and navāznā from navākhtan, (to bestow), are of frequent occurrence. Baisnā (to sit), of Gujarati derivation, is
also there. Andhā is used for andhā, (blind), and anapānā for pahumonā, (to come to hand).

SHĀH BURHĀMUDĪN.
(d. 1582)

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

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

9 poems, mostly short, are extant:—(1) Vaṣīyatul Hādī; (2) Sukh Suhailā; (3) Manfa’atul Imān; (4) Nukta e Vāṣīd; (5) Nasīmul Kalam; (6) Ruhūzul Vāṣīlīn; (7) Bashāratul Zakr; (8) Ḥujjatul Baqā; (9) Irshād Nāma; and (10) Bayān i Khulāśa. The last is rather doubtful, but in the last but one which is fairly long he tells us that his contemporary men of letters who gleefully indulged in Persian considered it below their dignity and taste to employ old Urdu as the vehicle of expression and that he, realising the absurdity of the idea, made it a point to address the people in the language understood by them.

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

preponderate but the sum-total is Urdu in its earliest manifestations. He wrote the Arabic ‘alāḥda as alāḥdā and retained the linguistic peculiarities of his predecessors. However his style is simpler than his father’s.

‘ABDULLAH
(ab. 1622).

There exists no information regarding this author save that he was a contemporary of Muhammad Qutab Shāh of Golconda (1611-1625). He wrote in 1622 a prose work under the name of Ḥākāmuṣ Salāt, which was first discovered and described by Naṣīruddīn, Ḥāshami, the author of the ‘Dakān ʾmā Urdu’, p. 31. It contains, as its name implies, rules for prayer and a compendium of tenets of the Ḥanafī sect. It seems to be a Dakhni translation of some Persian book.

Ḥākāmuṣ Ṣalāt embodies all peculiarities of the old Dakhni, Kainā is used for Kahna, Kīyā in plural form for Kī and so forth. The language is not loaded with high sounding Persian words; even the popular word ʾvaḥdāniyah
is avoided in favour of ekpanā. The diction, however, is not characterised by literary polish, ten successive sentences terminating with one and the same predicate 'jātā hai'. Certain clauses are constructed after the Persian original. But the language as a whole is plain and direct. Nothing is involved or unintelligible. It seems to be a great improvement on the preceding prose attempts. This may be due rather to the fact that the instructions conveyed in the book are not mystic in their nature. The book is of immense value for linguistic study.

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

THE MIFTĀḤUL KHAIRĀT
(1630)

It is an anonymous prose work most probably of the same period of early seventeenth century described in the 'Dākan mī Urdū'. It is an exposition of primary beliefs and religious duties the knowledge of which is incumbent upon a good Muslim. The tract, whose author seems to be a sort of Puritan Maulvī, is couched in lucid and intelligibl
language, but it pretends to be rather learned. Its style, however, contains modern tendencies. There are indications of the book's being a translation from some Persian original. It is not less valuable than the preceding work. MSS. of both are preserved in the State Library, Hyderabad, Deccan.

V AJH I
(ab. 1609-1635)

This eminent poet and prose writer is mentioned by Indian biographers as a contemporary of King 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh (1035-1083 = A.D. 1625-1672), but obviously he lived long before that time; he enjoyed the position of poet laureate of Quli Qutb Shāh (1580-1611) whose imaginary love-adventures he has related in his remarkable poem, Qutb Mushtari, composed in 1609, I.O. MS. p. 1332, fol. 58. From the prologue of this masnavi we can gather that Vajhī was brought up in an environment in which old Urdu literature had already gained ground. He was a native of
Golconda and by religion was an orthodox Shi'a. He made satiric attacks on most of his literary compatriots, especially against the famous but conceited Qavvāṣī. He was also attached to the court of 'Abdullāh Quṭāb Shāh, with whom his relations were close and friendly for a long time and at whose command he translated in 1635 the celebrated Sab Ras into Dakhni prose from the Persian prose romantic fairy story, the ŠuanoDīlī by Yāḥyā, Fattāḥī of Neshapur who died in A.H. 825, A.D. 1422. The original book is not bigger than a tract but Vajhī has added considerable matter relating to mysticism, intellectual and moral qualities, such as bravery, reason, love and the like, enlarging the size of the book considerably. His version, of which two MSS, are extant in the State Library of Hyderabad, Deccan, was versified by Ḥauqī in 1697 and Muṣrimī in 1702 under the titles of Viṣalul 'Āshiqīn and Gulshan i Jaḥn i Dīl respectively.

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

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

(2) Another of Vajhī's prose works on mysticism, called, Tāj Ḥaqāiq, is mentioned by name on p. 5 of the above preface.
patron, whom he mentions simply as 'Sultan 'Abdullah', "was seated on the throne and on some mysterious intuition; impulse he called him and showing extraordinary kindness asked him to write a book on Divine Love which might perpetuate his memory. He (Vajhi) obeyed the order and produced the present book which he named Sab Has, that is, having all tastes as it was the Queen of Books, dealing with subtle and deep topics and clothed it in the most eloquent 'Hindi' language which even the writers of Hindustan, (Northern India), never attempted."

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

The language of the book is literary in the true sense of the word. Vajhi had a difficult task to perform and he acquitted himself with credit. His treatment is quite simple and the narrative is clear and flowing. The prose is both rhythmical and rhymed and believed by some critics to
be modelled as regards its style on the prose of Zahurī. I do not think it is. Zahurī's Se Nazr is the greatest masterpiece of prose having refinement, spontaneity and majesty unequalled. It is almost the last word in the florid Persian style cultivated in India; while Vajhi's style was only the beginning of that ornate Urdu prose which found its culmination in the last school of Lucknow and of which Gālib was sometimes fond. It has glaring signs of labour, artificiality and immaturity, and occasionally grammar is sacrificed for the sake of rhyme and high-sounding words. This fact, however, does not detract from Vajhi's fame. All have paid tribute to his genius and attainments as he laid down the true foundations of literary Urdu prose.

He calls his language not Dakhnī but Hindi; adorns his descriptions with Persian and Urdu verses and Hindi kabits; freely intermingles Arabic, Persian and Hindi proverbs and sayings and well-known texts from the Traditions and the Qur'ān. He uses khabar, shrāb, ṣūrat and dūnyā as masculine, dī for gā as the sign of future, gamseā and bhālyā as plural of gamsa and bhāi. He adds
for the sake of emphasis, a ce at the end of his words which is common in the Deccan up till now. With him ġālnā is dālnā, ġānt is dānt, and ūṭā, tuṭēā. Instead of ghar ghar and rag rag he says ghare ghar, rage rag. Like his predecessors he changes the 'ain of the Arabic words into alif, such as, nafā, (nafa'), manā, (manā'), vaṣa, (vaṣa'), ūmā, (ūma'), vāqā, (vāqi'a), māmā (mu'amala), and employs them as rhymes which to­day the laws of poetry do not allow. An īdōhā (pondered over) as past tense from the Persian andādan occurs in one place, and farmūdī instead of farmūda is formed from farmūdan.

MĪRĀJĪ OF HYDERABAD
(d. 1659)

His full name was Shāh Mīrājī Ḥasan. He was sayyad by caste and employed in one of the important state departments of 'Abdullāh Quṭab Shāh, (1625–1672), which was called "Ālam i Rossār". Once the king sent Ḥasan on a political mission to the ruler of Bijāpur and when he was about to return he happened to meet the saint Āminuddīn, ʻAlī, the subject of the notice after the next, and was so impressed his with Sūfī attainments and culture that he placed himself under his spiritual direction and later on, on his death,
became his Khalifa. He was looked upon as a very virtuous and holy man. He died in the year 1659 and was buried outside the city of Hyderabad.

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

Khuda Numa is reported to have composed a number of Dakhnī tracts on ḥurūfism. But one of his books noticed by Professor 'Abdul Ḥaq in the "Urdu" of April 1928, is of great importance. It is entitled Sharaḥ i Tamhīd i Hamadānī or Sharaḥ i Sharaḥ i Hamadānī. Ḥaq has secured two very valuable MSS. of it, probably copied in the author's lifetime. One MS. contains the remark, "the original book of 'Ainul Quṣṭāt is in Arabic, Ḥaẓrat Banda Navās Gosū Darās has written a commentary on it in Persian and that Sayyad Mirājī Ḥaidrābādī has compiled his commentary in the Dakhnī language." But this statement seems to have been added by the copyist, and, as Ḥaq rightly observes, is baseless. The original book was composed not in Arabic but
in Persian, and, as it would appear from Ḫaq's long notice, there is no MS. of the Persian original extant in Hyderabad, and consequently he was unable to compare the Dakhnī version with it and to form definite opinion about it. But fortunately there is available in the library of the India Office a very distinct Persian MS. No. 1793, splendidly adorned with gold and sprinkled with silver throughout which formerly belonged to Tipū Sultān. It is called the Tamhidāt i 'Aimul Quṣūt and is a work on the Ṣūfī doctrine. It has nothing to do with Ėsū Darāz. It was compiled by Abul Faṣāil 'Abdullah Almiyāji with the honorary epithet, 'Aimul Quṣūt i Ḥamadānī, who was a pupil of Šahk Ṣ̄amad Ǧasālī, (the brother of the celebrated Algasālī) and put to death in A.D. 1138. The book is divided into ten Āqāls or chapters, the last being the longest.

The word Sharaq in the name of the Dakhnī rendering of the Tamhidāt suggests that it is an annotation of the original but Ḫaq (and following him Shamsullāh, Qādirī, also) takes it to be a translation. Ḫaq has a copy of Eṭḥā's Persian Catalogue in which the opening passage of the Persian original in praise of God is quoted and was
in a position to compare it with the corresponding sentences of the Dakhnī Sharaf. So far as these sentences are concerned the latter appear to a slight extent as translation. But my comparison of the fairly long concluding passage of the Dakhnī, cited by him in the "Urdū," with the I.O. Persian MS., fol. 170a, reveals the fact that Khuda Numa's book is certainly not a translation. Nor is it a commentary in the strict sense of the term. It is more of the nature of adaptation in which the original teachings have been not explained but expressed in a new perspective and in a language which has absolutely nothing in common with the original.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tumi</th>
<th>Tum ne, (nom. you)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>je</td>
<td>jo, (which, who)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munje</td>
<td>mujhe, (to me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nako</td>
<td>na, (not)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangnā</td>
<td>mangnā, (to ask for)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gālnā</td>
<td>galānā, (to melt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oākhnā</td>
<td>oakhnā, (to taste)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jālnā</td>
<td>jalānā (to burn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tasalli honā for tasalli pānā, (to be satisfied).
khoṣ = khoṭ (defect).
are to be found in abundance. Similarly navāzanhārā and
denhārā (bestower) also occur. He also uses the following
words which probably fell into disuse very early in the
history of the language:-

Bāj = without
nihnavād = child
hīrā = flesh.

HĪRĀ YA‘QŪB
(ab. 1668)

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

Ya‘qūb translated into Dakhnī the Persian Shamāīlul
Anqiya (and not Atqiya as usually hitherto written) va
Dalāīlul Atqiya, under the same title. It is an extensive
dogmatic work on the principles and traditions of Šūfism compiled on the basis of some hundred Arabic and Persian treatises by Ruknuddin, ʿImād who was a pupil of Shāh Burhānuddin, Ṣarīb (died A.D. 1331). ʿImād wrote it at the request of his sheikh. A good MS. of it exists in the India Office Library, No. 1836. It is divided into four subjects and ninety-one bayāns. The subjects treat of (1) the mystics; (2) the prophets; (3) the Essence of God and finally, (4) the Creation of Adam and the nature of Vice and Virtue, etc.

A manuscript of the Dakhni translation is preserved in the Áṣafīa Library, Hyderabad, Deccan, No. 663. Specimen passages of the language are given in both the Urdu e Qadīm and the Dakan mē Urdu. The translator prefaces his work with a description of the circumstances in which it was undertaken, the chief of which are that his spiritual instructor asked him to render the shamāil into "Hindi sabān" so that every one could get access to it but the translation could not be started until his death which occurred in 1667. He was succeeded by his nephew Shāh Mīrā son of Sayyad Ḥusain and then the translation was executed. Evidently it was completed a year later in 1668.
The language of Ya'qūb is very old Dakhni; kiyā plural of kī and bahūt for bahaut still linger on. Bakhānnā (to praise) and kudhan in the sense of supernatural deeds also occur. The style of the book, however, is clear, simple and attractive. The sentences and the general flow of the construction is in no way subordinated to the Persian original. He uses Urdu verses most probably his own.

AMINUDDīN Ā'LĀ
(d. 1675)

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

(1) The death of his grandfather took place in 1496 and that of his father in 1582. These dates are too far apart. Unless one or two generations are presumed missing they do not seem possible.
He was generally believed to be a mādar sād valī, a born saint. He held a very high rank as Ṣūfī and had a large number of disciples of whom the most brilliant was Shāh Mirāji of Hyderabad. Many supernatural deeds are ascribed to him by his credulous biographers. His habits were not conformable to the religious, nor did he observe the daily prayers, and Sikandar Shāh, the second, ruler of Bijāpur, ordered, by way of punishment, that the people should boycott him entirely. Accordingly he remained segregated for a time, till at last, it is said, he performed his prayers in a miraculous way on the surface of a lake without being drowned. The biographers record that he passed most of his time in trance and his poetical utterances during this state of mind were taken down by his disciples and collected in a book, called, the Jawāharul Asrār. The author of the Urdu e Qadim, as he tells us on p. 77, saw the book, at Vellore, which covered 500 pages. The library of the Editor of the Tāj referred to above includes two of his treatises in verse, entitled the Qurbiya and Vajūdiyā. He also wrote a panegyric in praise of his father and two other poems, Muḥib or Muḥabbat Nāma and Rumūsus Salikin.

Professor Ḥaq has discovered two of his brochures in
Dakhni prose, the Qurtar i Haqrat Shâh Amin, treating of the doctrine of the mystic and explaining its technical terms, and the Ganj i Maahirî, forming a theme of Shâhid o Mashhûd (the Seer and the Seen). But he cites specimen extracts from the Ganj alone of which Ahsan i Mârihrajî, p. 45, reproduces a few lines.

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

The following two authors were first described by Shamsullâh, Qâdirî and have subsequently been referred to by most biographers. Unfortunately no further information is available concerning them in this country and I have no alternative but to rely absolutely on the authority of Shamsullâh and to content myself with the reproduction of the meagre details supplied by him.
SHĀH MUHAMMAD, QĀDIRĪ
(ab. 1675)

Aḥmadīn Ālā was succeeded in his line of mystic
teachings by another great personality, Sayyad Shāh Muḥammad,
Qādirī, who was the founder of a distinguished family, the
Nūr-i Daryā of Fīroz Nāgar, now called, Raichūr, and which
is included in the Dominions of the Nizam. Originally
Qādirī belonged to Bījāpur.

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

SAYYAD SHĀH MİR
(ab. 1680)

He is said to belong to the same period as Shāh Muḥammad
Qādirī, and has been mentioned with practically no particu-
lars either of his life or of his prose work, known by the
title, the Asrarut Tauhid, excepting that he was a native of the village Rācautī, that his book formed the subject of the doctrine of the Unity of God and that a MS. of it is preserved in the private collection of Shamsullah's friend, the Editor of the now defunct journal, the "Tāj".

**Sheikh Mahmūd**

or Qāzi Mahmūd Bāhrī

(*ab. 1680-1704?*)

There is a Persian manuscript No. 1858 in the India Office Library, containing two books of the saint Gesū Darāz, the Khāfīmā and the Vajūdul 'Ashiqīn. Its folios 145-160 are filled by another hand with some Hindustānī poetry in maṣnawī-form and several small prose treatises, partly in Hindustānī too, partly in Persian, dealing mostly with the same topics of Muhammadan creed from a Ṣūfī standpoint. The author's name or the date of composition of the prose-pieces which are purely Dakhni in character is not given. However, in one of the maṣnawī verses which precede the prose there occurs, on fol. 151b, the name
'Sheikh Maḥmūd' as nom de plume, who is evidently also the author of the prose.

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

He was a prolific writer of mystic views and flourished towards the end of the seventeenth century and after. He belonged to a village, called, Gogī in the kingdom of Bijār.
He held an appointment in the court of Sikandar 'Adil Shah in 1684 and went to Hyderabad two years later. On his way he was attacked by robbers who carried away all his possessions including his writings. In 1700 he composed a mystical poem, the Man Lagan, which has been printed. It was shortly after annotated and called the Arat Man Lagan. He also wrote love poems and elegies, etc.

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

The prose style of Sheikh Mahmud is marked by simplicity and harmony. Not a single sentence merges into obscurity. The language is made up of all the Dakhni vocabulary. The for se, madat for madad, mane for mē, haliū for hole se, and ba‘d as for ba‘d asā are to be found.
MĪR JA'FAR, ZAṬALLĪ
(1658-1713)

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

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

(1) I.O. U.55
(2) = P.2746

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

His Kulliyāt is a curious mixture of Urdu and Persian. Though it is short yet it contains numerous glimpses of the Urdu tongue of his time. The Persian prose in two of the above I.O. Copies, P. 2746 and U. 56, and in the one B.M. MS., is interspersed profusely, in addition to words, phrases and expressions, with Urdu proverbs and sayings of which some examples can be noticed in the B.M. copy on folios 29a, 29b, 30a, 32a, 33a, 36a, 39b, 43b, 46b, 48b and 56b. On 21b and 22a there are whole Urdu sentences smoothly linked together with the Persian text, and from
fol. 23a to 26a there is a continuous piece of Urdu prose of more than two and a half pages, comprising a recipe with imaginary names of medicines, instructions as to its use and the benefit likely to be derived from it, and is characterised by the same satirical wit of Ja'far. All these various bits are together sufficient in amount to fill about six or seven pages.

So far as is known Zatalli's is the first Northern attempt at prose as distinguished from Dakhni. His style is natural, spontaneous and flows without break. His language looks colloquial but it is well balanced and apparently written with conscious effort. He was fond of rhyme and rhythm but with him this artificiality enhances the beauty, force and elegance of his utterances. He joins Hindi and Arabic words together in such a way that their bonds seem to burst but in reality they create a perfectly harmonious and delightful effect, as in Cū ghar gharāḥatur ra'd filgamām; sometimes he humorously forms his Hindi tenses by means of Persian conjugational terminations, for example, na hallad na ṭallad na jumbad sa ja. The proverbs that he has quoted are current in Urdu in the same forms up to the present time, as, tujhe parāl kiyā parā tu aynā nabār, bāsī rahe na kuttā khāe.
JOHN JOSHUA KETELAAR
(d. 1716)

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

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

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

(1) See Mārihravī, p. 58.
Dutch envoy. While he was returning from Isfahān he died of fever at Cambroon on the Persian Gulf "after having been two days under arrest because he would not order a Dutch ship to act under the Persian Governor's orders against some Arab invaders". According to Mārihravī he died the same year 1716.

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

Ketelaer wrote a grammar and a vocabulary of the "Lingua hindostanica" which was published long after his death in 1743 by David Millins ('Mill', according to Grierson), Professor of Sacred Antiquities of Asiatic
Languages at Utrecht in his Miscellania Orientalia, described briefly by Grierson on p. 7 of the Linguistic Survey. The date of composition of the book is assumed both by Grierson and Mārihravī as 1715.

Grierson discusses it largely as a work on Grammar but to me its principal interest consists in the fact that it includes the version of the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, of which a specimen of the last is quoted both by Grierson and Mārihravī. Its singular value is that it is the earliest known translation from any European language into Hindustānī. The style of the passage is artistic, fluent and simple. Another interesting feature is that it follows the foreign construction very closely, the translator keeping in view probably the revealed nature of his subject.
SHĀH MUḤAMMAD VALĪULLĀH, QĀDIRĪ.
(d. 1731)

He has been noticed by Naṣīruddīn, Ḥāshīāf, in the Deccan Māī Urdū, pp. 116-118, and should be distinguished from his namesake Valī, the celebrated poet of the Deccan. His father was Shāh Ḥabībullāh, Qādirī, who advised him, (as he states in the preface) to translate into the Dakhni dialect the Persian work, Ma‘rifatus Sulūk. His date of death A.H. 1144, A.D. 1731, is mentioned in another MS., called the Mīshkāt i Nabūvāt.

The translation was made in 1697, of which two MSS. can be consulted in the State Library, Hyderabad, Deccan, one is dated 1780. Naṣīruddīn, Ḥāshīāf has quoted a specimen of two pages from the Dakhni Ma‘rifatus Sulūk.

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

The translation follows the original faithfully as can be seen from the construction of some of its sentences. It is strewn with all the Dakhni elements, such as, ha ur (and), and yo (this), etc. Kitāb Karna, (to write a book), which probably was never popular, is to be found in one place. But its diction is not obscure, stilted or difficult to understand. It is easy, sober and impressive and shows scholarship and mastery over the subject. In Valīullāh's hand the language also does not seem to be poor in expressions and expressiveness. It inclines to be literary and majestic rather than colloquial and commonplace.
In 1729\(^{(1)}\) he translated into Dakhnī prose Ẓiā o Nakhshabī's Persian Tūṭī Nāma, (the Tales of a Parrot), itself based upon a Sanskrit original. He has retained the same name for his book and added a preface in which he gives his name as above. But he should be differentiated from another Muhammad Qādirī who made a Persian abridgement of the original and from whose book Ḥaider Bahsh, Ḥaidarī, of Fort William fame, translated his Ẓoṭā Kahānī.

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

\(^{(1)}\) See Mārihravī, p. 62.
There is another Dakhni prose translation from the great Abul Faţl’s abridged Persian version of the same tales preserved in the B.M. MS. Add. 10589. It comprises two hundred pages. The author is not known, nor the date when the rendering was undertaken. Blumhardt places the date of transcription in the eighteenth century. The language, however, seems to be much older, at least of the early time of Vâli (1667-1741). The translation is interlinear and runs parallel with the Persian text, but it abruptly ends at the 35th tale and is not elegant. It follows the original too closely, losing vitality and naturalness of construction. In some places where the idea is not sufficiently expressed once, the sentences are repeated with some improvement. Its language shows throughout a severe struggle between its own mode of structure and that of the Persian to which it is subordinated. However this very long piece of old prose is highly valuable in so far as it provides interesting and instructive specimens of the early stages of the language.
Fāzīl I 'Alī
(1711-1756)

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

Karīmuddīn, (A History of Urdu Poets, p. 57), gives his full name and a much larger part of his preface. From the remainder of the preface which he has omitted, and which in all probability contained a good account of the author's life, he furnishes the information that at the time when Fāzīlī wrote the Dīn Majlīs, his age was 22. At the end of the preface Fāzīlī himself supplies two other dates, one of which, A.H. 1145, A.D. 1732, is yielded by the word māṣḥar occurring in a qaṭa' and the other A.H. 1170
A.D. 1756, is obtained from a whole couplet. The first, as he says, is the date of the completion of the book for the first time and the second that of its revision. From these figures it may be computed that he was born in 1711 and lived at least till 1756.

He gives his father's name as Nawāb Sharf i 'All who was apparently a man of means and consideration. The native place of Fażlī is shrouded in darkness but from Karīmuddīn's statement, as well as that of Āzād, that he was a contemporary of Muḥammad Shāh, it is evident that he belonged to Northern India. Besides, Fażlī in relating with enthusiasm and minuteness of detail the story of an inspiring dream which he had, makes mention of a building which in its characteristics he likens to "Qadam Sharif". This well-known building, supposed to contain some marks or relics of the foot of the prophet, still survives and is situated in the west of the town of Delhi, and affords the clue that he was a native of Delhi — a surmise which is considerably strengthened by the peculiarities of his idiom and style, to be considered presently. He was apparently Shi'a by sect. He was also a poet. Karīmuddīn states that he wrote many invocatory poems and marṣālas of which he cites specimens, but they are not of great poetic merit.
As indicated by the preface Faṣlī originally styled his book, 'Karbal Kathā'. Karimuddin changed it into Dih Majlis, notwithstanding the fact that the book comprises twelve majlises. It is said to be the translation of the Persian Rožatuš Shuhadā, recording an account of the martyrdoms of 'Ali and his family, and written by Ḥusain Vā‘īj, Kāshifī. But according to Faṣlī it is not the translation of the complete book but of its Persian Khulāṣa or summary. Karimuddin possessed a copy of it and perused it from beginning to end. No MS. of it, however, is known to exist.

It was, as Faṣlī tells us, first written in simple, easy language which even "women and the uneducated" could understand. Later on it was revised and made ornate by the introduction of artificial and conventional elements. In any case the main text was couched in language much simpler than the language of the preface of which the most florid piece is the one quoted by Ḥāḏī which but shows how up till the age of Ḥāḏī balanced structure and highly embellished prose was indulged in and admired. The rest of the preface which is itself mutilated covers five pages and suffices to give an idea of the potentialities of the prose which was possible in Faṣlī's time. Its language is majestic, compact, powerful and flowing. If we leave out a few sentences
which are consciously arranged to evoke harmony and rhyming sounds the style is wonderfully natural and simple. Even to-day a writer of the old school can not produce better prose. Fażlī's subject is religious, but his style is literary through and through. He has expressed himself with great ability and erudition and his expressions bear indisputable evidence of being "Dehlvi," as in the following illustration:-

I have, indeed, no hesitation in calling it the oldest known Delhi prose. It seems that he was of the type of a Maulvi. He employs learned words of Persian and Arabic extraction, but they are almost all such as are common among the educated Urdu-speaking class of any period. He
really knows the value of words and avoids cumbersome phrases.
He uses few archaic words: - lākin for lekin, lag for tak,
and farmāe for farmāyā.

THE ANONYMOUS PROSE VERSION
OF THE SHARI'AT NAMA
(1736)

A work, entitled, the Shari'at Nama, India Office MS.
P. 1236, was composed by Shāh Malik (not Mulk, as Blumhardt
writes in the I.O. Catalogue) of Bijāpur in 1666 of which
a much earlier MS., dated 1699, is preserved in the library
of the Editor of the journal, the Tāj. This latter was
perused by Shamsullāh, Qādirī, who in his article on Shāh
Malik, (vide Urdu e Qadīm, p. 83), calls it Aḥkāmuṣ Ṣalāt
after the name of a similar prose book by 'Abdullāh noticed

The I.O. metrical Shari'at Nama is identical in subject
matter with 'Abdullāh's Aḥkāmuṣ Ṣalāt, but contains
interlinear paraphrase and occasional explanation in prose from folios 8b to 48a. The name of the author of the prose is not traceable but on fol. 47b he provides in a note between the lines of the original poem, the date of his writing as 1736. His language is pure Dakhni; though it is dialectic yet the writer has taken pains to avoid looseness and redundancy.

Firashteen, plnur. of firasht, (angel) occurs on fol. 12b; achna, (to be or to remain) " 14b; lokha for loga, (people) " 15b; and Hallu for haule se, (slowly) " 38b.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN, KALIN
(f1. 1750)

He has been mentioned by several biographers. He belonged to Delhi, and, as Mirza 'Ali Lu'Lt (Gulahan 1 Hind. B.M. No. 14114.a.a.22 (3)), says, ranked among the best poets of that city. He was a near relation of Mir Taqi, Mir; and was already dead when Mir Hasan wrote
his taskīra of Urdu poets in 1776.

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

BENJAMIN SCHULTZ
(d. 1764)

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

Some useful particulars of his life are to be found in the English rendering of his Hindustānī Grammar, (originally in Latin), I.O. MS. P. 2531, jotted down in occasional notes by the translator whose name does not appear anywhere and
who derived his information from a journal, called, the
Gent. Mag., vol. 15, June, 1745, and also in a note, based
on an Annual Register for 1764, and embodied in another
MS. P. 3423, styled, the Persian, Hindustani, Arabic and
Sanskrit Miscellanies, which also contains a part of Schultz's
original Latin Grammar. In his preface to the Grammar
Schultz himself furnishes some facts of his literary activi­
ties. From these various sources I am able to piece to­
gether as below some sort of sketch of his life and work:

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

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

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

(1) The Apostles' Creed;
(2) The Lord's Prayer;
(3) The Decalogue;
(4) The Baptism;
and (5) The Lord's Supper.

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

"UZLAT."

(ab. 1759).

His name was 'Abdul Valī. He was a noble and a native of Surat and passed the last part of his life in Hyderabad. According to one authority he took up his abode in the vicinity of Lucknow and attended the court of Aurangzeb at Delhi who ruled from 1658 to 1707. He was alive in 1759 when a copy of his famous Rāg Mālā, I.O. MS. P. 2380c
and also of his selected Kulliyāt, I.O. MS., P. 2380d, and not Divān of Ghazals, as stated by Blumhardt, was made by his desire, the latter to be presented to one Nawāb Muīr-uddaula.

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

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

(1) Vide Blumhardt, I.O. Cat. p. 55.
arrangement of jingling and rhyming words not conforming
to canons of grammar and by similes and metaphors too
rich and too many for the very limited scope of his preface

POTHĪ SALOTRĪ KĪ
(ab. 1761)

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

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

The subject dealt with in the book is implied in its
title; it is a sort of hand-manual for horse-doctors, and is divided into the following ten sections:—

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

Sherānī has given a very short quotation of the original text. It suffices, however, to show that the Arabic and Persian element strewn throughout is in right proportion. But pure Panjābī words are also freely used. Te comes for se as in the old Dakhnī, and ar for aur. The writer does not seem to possess perfect command of the language and his style is rather loose, unpractised and in no way literary.
He is the author of an I.O. Ms. P.2675, of about a hundred pages, described in the catalogue with considerable details, under the heading miscellaneous. But as a matter of fact it is a book on the art of writing in general and mostly official and legal composition in the Hindustani language and should have been classified accordingly. The name of the book, not noticed by Blumhardt, is written thus in English on a leather piece attached to the flyleaf:—

"Inshah Shahkry

In Indostan language"

The definite date of its composition is not to be found. Some of the specimens of the documents, however, are dated and the dates range from 1733 to 1762. Moreover, on the first page of the preface appears the signature of one William Bolts for whom the present copy, as stated in the colophon, was made by one Sirajuddin, Ḥāṣūrī. Bolts is mentioned in Buckland’s Dictionary of Indian Biography. He was born, perhaps, in 1740; was a merchant of Dutch extraction; being in Calcutta in 1759 he joined the East
India Company's service: was Second in Council at Benares, 1764; being censured by the Court of Directors for his private trading he resigned in 1766; quarrelled with the Bengal Authorities, was arrested in 1768 and deported to England.

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

The name of the author is given in the preface as Munshi Muḥammad Shākir whom Blumhardt believes to have been in the employ of the East India Company as Secretary to Bolts. In the fairly long preface of the book there is nothing to warrant this view. However, since in some groups of the correspondence are included, as in group No. II., replies to letters issued by the E.I.C., and in No. IV., letters from Clive, Macdowain, Drake and others, and in No. VII., a farnān from Emperor Shāh 'Alam, notifying that the village authorities in the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had been ordered to give every assistance to the E.I.C. in the establishment of factories it is evident that Muḥammad Shākir had some connection with the early British officers and traders. The writer
of the preface is one Ṣabrullāh, probably a relation of
the author who states that the original drafts were col-
lected and arranged by him. Nothing further is revealed
about Shākir. He was probably a Bengālī as in his composi-
tions besides the hijrī era he makes use of the Bengālī and
the Vilāyatī eras, both of which are discussed by Cunningham
in his Book of Indian Eras on p. 32 in connection with the
Bengal Faṣlī san.

The book consists of a collection of official and other
letters, farāns, orders grants, petitions and other docu-
ments. The correspondence is compiled and designed, as
observed by Blumhardt, for use as specimens. It is, so
far as is known, the first book of its kind on the subject
in Hindustāni. Its most striking feature is that many of
the persons to whom letters are ascribed and round whose
personalities hang numerous entertaining and sometimes
serious particulars are, against all expectation and custom,
not unreal and imaginary but are all living and historical
figures, and some actually contemporaries of the author,
such as, Shāh ʿAlam, Nādir Shāh of Persia and Muḥammad Khā,
Bāngaḥ, Nawāb of Farrukhābād and innumerable rajas and
such
native governors. And they are treated in a way that a
sense of reality seems to pervade the letters. On fol. 44a
a letter is addressed to Shāh ʿAlam, setting out in detail
"the round of duties which was practised by his father and should serve as a guide for his conduct in the administration of the kingdom." Such facts incline me to the opinion that some of the documents may be translations from Persian originals.

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

Blumhardt says that the documents "are written in an ornate style of Dakhni". His view is not completely justifiable. None of the old or modern Dakhni vocabulary we have cited in the notice on Gesū Darāz or other writers of the south has a place in the text. Similarly Dakhnī grammar is not in operation. He of the agent is used; the plural sign ā in vogue in the Deccan even at the present day is in most cases replaced by ā. Satī for sa is employed not infrequently as in the Dakhnī dialect, but, as we know, it was common vi
the northern writers long after the date of this manuscript. In Dakhnī of all times the word bolnā is used in season and out of season but this prose avoids it more frequently than even the standard prose of the north. Mē is so often mane in the Deccan but here it is always mū. One tendency is very conspicuous. Most substantives are treated as masculine: tāqat, fol. 21a, ḥayāt, fol. 23b, ḥebar and even 'aurat, fol. 29a, are included in this category. The famous instance of the Bengāli-Urdu dialect, hatnī āyā is indicative of the same attitude towards the gender of nouns. In fact, Inshā e Shākir is not a Dakhnī production but a Bengal manuscript and is attended by all the evidence of Bengāli-Hindustāni. Besides, most of the persons and events narrated in the correspondence belong to the north and to the east. In none of the letters the Dakhnī Faṣlī era introduced by Shahjahan and current up till now in the Deccan is used. The MS. is written with vowel signs and even the Persian and Arabic words are not excluded from this innovation. Probably this feature is also Bengāli and is not met with in the MSS. copied in the Deccan.

As regards the style of the book it is ornate in the preface which was, as pointed out above, written by one Ẓabrullāh, and also in the beginning few letters
but further on to the end it is simple, clear and in-
telligible. There is nothing obscure, laboured or turgid. The same standard of clarity and expressiveness is main-
tained in all the compositions from the legal petitions to the historical anecdotes. It is characterised slightly by excessive use of Persian and Arabic words which are, however, well chosen. Archaism and evolutionary features of the language make it less effective. But as a whole the prose is of the right sort and has much value.

AN ANONYMOUS TRANSLATION, IN HINDUSTANI,
OF THE ANVAR I SUHAILI
(ab. 1766)

There are six manuscripts of this name preserved in the India Office, (vide Hindust: Cat: pp. 44–46), and one is contained in the B.M. MS. Add. 19811. An investigation into the language shows that they are various copies of the same translation. The translator's name does not appear, but I have reason to believe that it was, together with other facts of the translator's life,
given at least in the B.H. MS. on its missing fol. 8, as the opening lines on fol. 9a (with which the MS. begins), which are continued from the previous page, afford the information "in the service of a French land-holder he translated the following works into Hindūî:—

(1) Anvār i Suhailī.
(2) Jahāgīr Nāma.
(3) Abūl Faṣl ʿAllāmī.
(4) Inshā ʿe Yūsufī.
(5) Ṭūṭī Nāma.
(6) Gulistā.
and (7) Bostā."

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

Of the Persian original there are several MSS. in the India Office. No 3137 is probably the best and I have made use of it for purposes of comparison. It is, as is well-
known, itself the modernised translation of Kalila and Demna by Ḥusain son of ʿAlī Vāʿīṣ, Ḵāshfī, (died 1505), based on a version by Maqrūlāh, a century older.

The Hindustâni renderings are all either incomplete or defective. The first I.O. MS. U.42, however, is the best of the collection. It includes the translation of Ḥusain Vāʿīṣ’s preface, a list of the contents of the books, of the story of Bān Dābe Ḥalim and Baidpāl Ermān with 14 precepts and of Four books out of Fourteen of the original Persian. It is not improbable that the Hindustâni translation was originally complete and is now only partially extant. However, the present volume covers 572 pages and is indeed a great work of Urdu prose. Further examination has disclosed adequate grounds for believing that MS. U. 42 is the oldest of all copies and probably the original copy of the translation. There are certain peculiarities of script in this MS. in common with Inshāʿe Shākir of the preceding notice:—

(1) Most of the Hindi words are marked by vowel signs, such as ṭawāt, kaara, etc., while the Persian and Arabic words are not;
(2) the majhūl ye is expressed by kasra, the letter tūe by te, sīn by șe and gāf by kāf, and so on. These peculiarities are less apparent in the other MSS. than in the I.O. MSS. U.43 and P. 1899, which signifies that their script is better and that they are of later dates.

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

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

Evidently it is also a Bengal manuscript in Bengālī–Urdu and is of importance on this account. It contains most of the linguistic characteristics discussed to a certain extent in the article on Inshā e Shākir. Its language is sprinkled with archaic element. Mū or bīb occurs invariably for mā and andhyārā for andherā. It is at
times colloquial: māfīq, fol. 13b, jah and tād, fol. 15a, take the place of muāfīq, jah and tab, respectively. Infinitives like guzarnā and bakhshāna derived from the Persian imperatives are also to be found and the ordinary Hindi verbs mostly have the forms pānā, pīnā, gānā and uṭhāonā for pānā, pīnā, gānā and uṭhānā. Even the Perso-Hindi farmānā has undergone the same change and comes as farmāonā. Ab o havā and ḥikayat occur as masculine.

Much thought and labour seem to have been devoted to the translation which is very faithful and correct. Nothing has been avoided or omitted: even verses of great Persian poets with which the original text is strewn and which are of frequent occurrence in all Urdu prose, have been translated into prose. The language furnishes very good examples of the rise and evolution of Urdu and the extensive and penetrating influence of Persian on it. Most of the words extracted from the original and reinstated in the rendering are such as suit the nature of Urdu. Unwelcome instances, however, are not altogether wanting. The Persian āre (yes or verily), the compound madadgārī (for madad, assistance) and the Arabic vajah
(for tarah, way) are used, which had never gained currency in Urdu.

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

It may be noted in conclusion that there are other prose versions, partial, abridged as well as full, of the fables of Anvar i Suhaill, written by Mirza Mahdi probably in 1796–97 (B.M. MS. Add. 25873), by Harisuddin Ahmad and revised by T. Roeback in 1805, by Muhammad Ibrahim in Dakhani in 1822, by Faqir Muhammad Khan, Goyā, in 1838, by Nawab ‘Umar ‘Ali Khan, Valmāl, in 1862–63. The only known metrical translation was made by Jānī Bihārī Lal in 1879.

Of the remaining translations made by the writer of the Anvar i Suhaill, only the following portions exist.
They are to be found among the leaves of the B.M. Ms. of the Anvār i Schāhīlī, No. Add. 19811.

(1) Jahāqīr Nāma. (fol. 86b-101a). This translation, as indicated in the red-ink heading, pretends to give an account of the first six years of Jahāqīr’s reign, (fol. 87a). It starts with a long letter from the King of Persia addressed to Jahāqīr and then sets down certain events, particularly connected with Kabul, of the fifth year of the Emperor’s reign, (83a), followed by a story of Būr Jahāq, the favourite wife of Jahāqīr which is intermingled with numerous details of performances by jugglers. On fol. 91b some particulars are supplied of the seventh year after Jahāqīr’s accession to the throne. Finally the chapter closes with the story of a pugilist surrounded with other tales.

It is worthy of mention that in the Persian original there have been circulated two distinct works of the memoirs of Jahāqīr, called the Jahāqīr Nāma or Tūsūk i Jahāqīrf. One of them, the B.M. Ms. Add. 6554, is universally rejected as spurious for it is confused in its arrangement, and makes up for what it lacks in historical
facts and precision, by digressions and irrelevant subjects and silly stories. Our translation is stamped by the same defects.

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

(3) Abūl Faql ‘Alāmi. (Fol 105a–112b). By this title the translator evidently means the Mukātabāt i ‘Alāmi which name is to be found in the preface on fol. 105a. Mukātabāt are Persian letters written by Abūl Faql, also called ‘Alāmi, the Secretary and Minister of Akbar, partly in the Emperor’s name, partly in his own, which were collected and edited in 1606 by ‘Abdūn Ṣamād, the son of Abūl Faql’s sister. A MS. of the Persian work is in the B.M., No. Add. 6549.

The present Hindustani translation consists of two letters from Akbar, the first to the king of Persia (fol. 106a–110a) and the second to ‘Abdūlāh Khārāb, Üzbek, (fol 110a–112b).

The peculiarities of the script, the language and the style of the three foregoing translations, the Jahāgīr
Nama, Sa‘di’s tale, and the Mukhtabat are exactly the same as those of the Anvari/Suhaili.

SAUDÄ
(1713-80)

Mirzā Muḥammad Ṭarf, Saudā, son of a merchant was born in Delhi in 1713. He received liberal education from Shāh Ḫātam who spoke of him with feeling and pride. He flourished at a time when Delhi was an object of repeated shocks and onsets of invaders and consequently life, property and honour were not safe. He chiefly relied on his patrons who treated him with munificence and respect. He captured the attention of Shāh ‘Alam, King of Delhi, Shuja‘uddaula and his son Ṭagafuddaula. But Sauda’s temper was fiery and easily aroused at the merest trifle and his tongue was quick at making a sharp or satirical retort. This caused serious ruptures and quarrels with his royal patrons as well as with his literary contemporaries. He was once reduced to a state of extreme poverty. He went to Farrukhābād where he stayed for a short time and finally settled down at
Lucknow in 1771-72, where he was created by Aqafuddaula poet laureate with a grant of an annual stipend of Rs. 6,000/- and where he died in peace and comfort.

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

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

(1) See Ab i Hayat for a full account of his life and work.
to Warren Hastings, who wrote with his own pen on the recto, "the gift of ye author Mirzá Saudá". Another I.O. MS. F. 2119 is the most complete collection of Saudá's works, a copy of which was made for Mr. J.W. Taylor, Professor of Hindustání at the College of Fort William, covering 1146 very large-sized pages. All MSS. contain one or other of Saudá's compositions but his translation of Mir's Magnává is non-existent. It must, however, be borne in mind that Æzád speaks of it as if he actually possessed a copy of it which was not with him at the time of writing about it.

The other prose is a preface said by Æzád to be prefixed to Saudá's Divân of elegies of which he quoted a little more than a paragraph. This piece also was un procurable during the last 50 years. Ahsan i Mārihraví, (p. 72), has only recently given it in its entirety. It is to be found in three of the B.M. MSS. of Saudá's collective works, Egerton 1039, Add. 16879 and Add 8922, and in two of the I.O. MSS., U. 63 and F. 2119. The one existi in the I.O. MS. P.2119 is free from mistakes and a comparision of it with Mārihraví's quotation has revealed certain
grave errors in the latter.

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

The language of the preface is semi-poetical, teems with Persian phrases and contains Arabic aphorisms. It is difficult and occasionally involved. Grammar is sacrificed for the sake of measure which has produced an incongruous effect; all sentences are high-flown and metaphorical and adorned with Persian verses; balanced structures and carefully prepared antitheses reign supreme.
Saudā in his prose is tied down to his age and has hopelessly yielded to its singular taste and custom. It should, however, be remembered that if he had adopted simpler methods of treatment he would have been put down as vulgar and uncultivated. Nevertheless, there is something about the diction which makes it look vigorous and majestic and shows the writer's mastery over the language he is employing.

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

**ASHĀRULLĀH'S MADĀRUL AFĀZIL**

*eb. 1773–1774*

Under the title of Madārul Afāzil there is in the library of the India Office a Persian-Hindustānī lexicon of 3 large-sized volumes, covering about one thousand pages in which the Persian or Arabic words are defined in Urdu sentences. Names of diseases and medical terms, literary expressions and phrases, nomenclatures of Philosoph
Logic and Astronomy are not only attended by long explanations but in certain cases elucidated by interesting anecdotes and thus a definition develops in a whole paragraph sometimes extending to two pages. The notes on sakta (apoplexy), on tasdis (an old Astrological term, literally meaning to divide into one sixth part) and on galaga e gassala (the three glasses of a special wine used in the morning to alleviate sickness arising from intoxication) are all instances in point. And if the explanatory passages on historical persons be detached from the lexicon and pieced together they will, no doubt, form a short treatise on biographies. I therefore have no hesitation in including it in my sphere of discussion.

Blumberdt has described the three volumes of the Madar under I.O. Nos. P. 767, 1650 and 1503. It is a translation from a Persian original, bearing the same title, by Alahdad Faizi of Sarhind, who according to a chronogram, 'Faizi 'Am', completed it in 1593. There are 3 copies of this Persian original in the India Office of which I have used for comparison the one catalogued under No. 2472 which was transcribed for some Hindu scholar. It is complete from alif to ye but the Hindustani rendering
breaks off after the letter kāf. In the beginning of the first volume there are up to several pages side by side with Hindustānī definitions of the Persian and Arabic words Sanskrit synonyms written in Deonāgrī character which fact denotes that in its original scheme the book was trilingual but the Sanskrit equivalents could not be all filled up. The one thousand pages of the existing volumes were written in two years' time from 1773 to 1774 as indicated in the colophons.

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

Its language is tinged by unfamiliar modes of expression and absence of quaintness. It is also archaic to
a slight extent. But there is not the least Dakhni ingredient in it. Sometimes it is too subordinate to the Persian texture. But simplicity of diction is its key-note; it is mostly spontaneous and has no sign of labour. Occasionally it is eloquent and never overlaid with ornaments and figures of speech. It has a natural impressive and admirable style of its own.

The translator uses invariably the colloquial word daryāo for daryā and renders the Persian nīs by the incorrect expression aur bhi; the plural of ādi appears as admā and kush āyā occurs for pasand āyā, and so on.
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(71) A Catalogue of Bankipore Library
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School of Oriental Stud
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Aqartīa Library, Hyderabad,
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(133) *Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX. Part I.*  
(134) *Ma'rīfatus Sulūk by Shāh Md. Valīullāh, Qādirī*  
(135) *Tūṭī Māna by Md. Qādirī*  
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