

**A HISTORY
OF INDIAN LITERATURE**

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**CLASSICAL URDU LITERATURE
FROM THE BEGINNING TO IQBĀL**

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of Indology, its study has been neglected and only recently a stronger interest has begun to manifest itself in studies and translations².

Urdu as a written language began to grow in the 12th century during the period of Muslim conquests in northern India, but its exact history is still a matter of dispute. We may assume that a spoken language for general communication may have developed step by step in the areas around Delhi, in the Panjab and in the Indian plains where the Iranian and Turkic languages of the Muslims met western neo-Indian languages. Its basis was probably the standard language, *kharī bōli* (a word used first in 1803)³; some scholars stress the role of Panjabi as basis for Urdu⁴. Into this spoken language the Muslims began to introduce their current Arabic, Persian and Turkish expressions, thus creating the idiom of the 'military camp,' *ordū*, after which this language was later called. They also used their Arabic script to note down this vernacular of Indian origin. In later times the Persian variant of the Arabic alphabet, the elegant *nasta'liq* (the 'hanging' style developed around 1400) was usually applied to Urdu due to the overwhelming influence of Persian on the language.

The first Muslim conquerors of Northwestern India were of Turco-Mongolian and Afghan origin, but their common language of culture and administration was neo-Persian, only recently elaborated into an expressive vehicle for higher literature. Persian maintained its place as the language of higher education in Muslim India even under British colonial rule down to 1835. Many Urdu poets and prose writers came from Persian, Afghan or even Arab families who had emigrated to India in time of war and revolution to seek their fortune in military service at the courts of the Muslim rulers. Their descendants, mostly well-read in Persian and Arabic, kept alive the traditions of classical Persian poetry and transmitted them to their literary works in the Urdu language. Hence, during

into English, and the pleasant 'Antologia della Poesia Urdu' by VITO SALIERNO, Milan 1963, only one scholarly introduction into Urdu poetry is available: D. J. MATTHEWS and C. SHACKLE, *An Anthology of Classical Urdu Love Lyrics*, text and translations, London 1972.—For early Urdu poetry see T. G. BAILEY, *Gleanings from Early Urdu and Hindi Poets*, in BSOS 5 (1923–30), 507ff., 801ff., 6 (1930–32), 206ff., 941ff., 7 (1933–35) 111f. The hitherto best poetical rendering of classical Urdu verses into English, with interesting introductions, is AHMED ALI, *The Golden Tradition*, New York-London 1973.

Every general work about the history of the Muslims in the Subcontinent deals with the growth of Urdu literature, thus M. MUJEEB, *The Indian Muslims*, Montreal-London 1967; AZIZ AHMAD, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Oxford 1964; *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, Edinburgh 1969 (both books with extensive bibliography). See also M. MUJEEB, *The Urdu Language and Indian Muslim Culture*, in: IC 11, 1937.

Abbreviations:

IC = Islamic Culture, Hyderabad; ATU = Anḡuman-i taraqqī-yi Urdū (Board for the development of Urdu); EI = Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd edition.

² About the problem see DAUD RAHBAR, *Urdu—a neglected literature*, in: MW 54/1964.

³ BAILEY p. 5.

⁴ id. 7; cf. MAHMŪD ŠIRĀNĪ, *Panḡāb meṅ Urdū*, 1928.

CHAPTER III

THE THIRD PERIOD

From Ġālib to Iqbāl

1. *The end of classical poetry*

There are also other good poets on earth,
But Ġālib's standard is something different!

Thus Mirzā Asadullāh Ġālib (Ghalib) introduces himself in his Urdu *Diwān*¹. Only few Urdu-reading Muslims and Hindus in India and Pakistan would doubt the truth of this statement. In the Subcontinent, Ġālib has been popular for more than a century; in the West, the interest in his work has emerged only in

¹ The latest editions of Ġālib's *Diwān* are: by ĠULĀM RASŪL MEHR, Lahore 1967, MĀLIK RĀM, Delhi 1969, ḤAMĪD AḤMAD KHAN, Lahore 1969; *Diwān-i Ġālib*, nuṣṣa-i Širānī, Lahore 1969; *Diwān-i Ġālib*, nuṣṣa-i ḥamīdiyya, Lahore 1969.—Edition with Urdu and devanagari characters by SARDAR JAFFRI, Bombay 1958. The latest edition of the letters: ḤUṬŪṬ-i Ġālib, Lahore 1969.—Collections of contributions to the Ġālib centenary: *Urdū-yi mu'allā Ġālib* number, ed. K. A. FĀRŪQĪ, Delhi 1969;—Proceedings of the International Ghalib Seminar, ed. YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN, Delhi 1969; special numbers of the quarterly 'Urdū,' Karachi 1969; RALPH RUSSELL-KHURSHĪDUL ISLAM, *Ghalib, Life and Letters*, London 1969.—MALIK RĀM, *Mirza Ghalib*, Delhi 1968; A. BAUSANI E AḤMAD ALI, *Ġālib*, *Orientalia Romana* XXXIX 3, Rome 1969; AḤMED ALI, *The Problem of Style and Technique in Ghalib*, Karachi 1969; A. BAUSANI, *The position of Ġālib in the History of Urdu and Indo-Persian Poetry*, in: *Der Islam* XXXIV 1959; R. RUSSELL (ed.), *Ghalib, the Poet and His Age*, London 1972 (papers by the editor, P. Spear, P. Hardy, and A. Bausani).—GARCIN I, p. 475ff.

The literature about Ġālib is almost without limits; the best authorities in the Subcontinent who have devoted one or more studies to his life and thought are KHALĪFA 'ABDUL ḤAKĪM, S. M. IKRĀM, YŪSUF ḤUSAIN KHĀN, MĀLIK RĀM, AĠHĀ MUḤAMMAD BĀQIR, 'IBĀDET BRELWĪ, M. MUJEEB, ZOE ANSARI, SAYYID FATYĀZ MAḤMŪD, ĠULĀM RASŪL MEHR, SHAUKAT SABZAWARĪ. A. BAUSANI's article in EI II, 1000f. gives a good introduction and bibliographical suggestions.—See further: *Tanqīd-i Ġālib kē sau sāl*, Lahore 1969. Also MM Nr. 487 and: K. A. FARUQĪ, *A Descriptive Bibliography of Ghalib*, New Delhi 1970.

Translations into Western languages are rare; a number of experiments did not yield enjoyable results. The best English translation so far is AḤMED ALI, *Ghalib. Selected Poems translated with introduction*, Rome, ISMEO 1969 (see the review by A. SCHIMMEL, in: *OLZ* 68, 1973, p. 505ff.), further AḤMED ALI, *The Golden Tradition*, p. 221-260.—A. SCHIMMEL, *Woge der Rose, Woge des Weins*, Zürich 1971; MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 15; MILENA HŪBSCHMANNOVA, *Rukojmi Lásky*, Prague 1972.

the last few years. The main reason for the recent attempts to introduce Ġālib to Western readers was the celebration of the centenary of his death in 1969 together with the news of an endowment for translating his (and Mir's) works into a Western language. The attempts at poetical renderings into English were hitherto anything but successful; too complicated is Ġālib's style, too deeply is he steeped in the whole tradition of Persian and Urdu poetry and Islamic learning. Modern English diction cannot do justice to his intricate web of thought and his involved syntax.

Who was the man whose name stands as the last classical Persian poet in India and at the same time the first 'modern' Urdu writer? Mirzā Asadullāh, called Mirzā Nauša, was born on December 27, 1797 in Agra to a well-to-do feudal family of Turkish stock. His horoscope, as poetically drawn in his Persian *Qaṣīda IX*, shows the conflicting trends of his character: utter sensibility coupled with almost stubborn haughtiness, generosity to a fault, pride and elegance, humour (often bordering on black humour), and despair . . .

Ġālib lost his father at the age of five. His uncle who took care of him and his family died a few years later; the problem of the 'pension' which Ġālib was to receive from the estate of Loharu, which was in the hands of his distant relatives, was to become a major issue in his later years. At the age of thirteen the precocious boy was married to the eleven-year old Umrao Begum, the daughter of a Sufi-minded poet². The marriage was not happy; all seven of their children died in infancy. Yet, in spite of some rude remarks about the fetters and shackles of married life in Ġālib's works, the couple lived together for almost sixty years. Young Ġālib became acquainted with a Persian, 'Abduṣ Ṣamad, who introduced him, if we can believe his claim, to classical Persian as spoken in Iran; hence he felt superior to the Persian writing poets of India. He soon settled in Delhi, where a love affair which ended tragically apparently involved him for some time. In the early 1820's Ġālib began to pursue his pension case. A prolonged journey to and stay in Calcutta did not yield the expected legal results; instead, it provided the poet with new impressions which were noted down mainly in Persian verses. After Ġālib's return to Delhi in 1829 his usual life, gambling, drinking, and debts, continued; his situation did not improve after his distant relative Nawwāb Šamsuddīn of Loharu, whom he suspected of withholding his pension, was hanged in 1835³. In 1840 Ġālib was offered a professorship at Delhi College, which he refused for seemingly trivial reasons. In 1841 the first edition of his Urdu *Dīwān* was printed; it contained only ca. 1100 verses, as many of his earlier lines had been weeded out because of their involved style, which did not show the poet at his best. Shortly afterward, a collection of Persian poetry followed. In 1847, the year of the second edition of the Urdu *Dīwān*, Ġālib was imprisoned on gambling charges. During these difficult three

² About his father-in-law, Ma'rūf, see EI III, 1095.

³ About this case see P. SPEAR, *Twilight of the Mughuls*, ch. IX: William Fraser's Murder.

months his faithful friend Nawwāb 'Azīmuḍḍaula Muṣṭafā Khān 'Šēfta' (1806-1869) from the Bangash Afghan tribe looked after him. Šēfta, whose Persian and Urdu poems reveal a certain mystical bent of mind, is known as the benefactor of many poets in Delhi and the author of a famous biographical anthology of ca. 600 Urdu poets, *Gulšan-i bē-ḥār* 'Rose-garden without thorns' (1845); and has also described his pilgrimage to Mecca. The friendship between Ġalīb and Šēfta remained unstained until the end⁴.

Ġalīb desperately wanted admission to the Mughal court but for some time did not succeed, partly for political reasons, partly because Dāuq was the poetical preceptor of the ruler⁵. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm 'Dāuq' (1789-1854), 'the parrot of the sugarcane-field of eloquence' (Šēfta) came from a modest Shia background; he wrote flowing and memorable Urdu verses, sometimes tinged with pessimism, and excelled in high-sounding *qaṣ'ida* which earned him the title *Ḥāqānī-yi Hind*. Among his numerous pupils was Āzād (see p. 228). Dāuq's influence on the aged monarch Bahādur Shah Zafar (1775-1862) was great, so much so that some critics attribute many of Zafar's verses to Dāuq. Zafar⁶ himself (ruling from 1837) was an able calligrapher and a good poet as most of his ancestors had also been; he is credited with about 130 000 verses, some of them rather difficult. His strength lay in the expression of traditional ideas in single form. Even today many of his *gīt* and *thumrī*, which he wrote in addition to numerous *gāzals*, are stock-in-trade with the musicians.

I am not the light in anyone's eye,
I am not the rest of anyone's heart,
I am of no use for anyone's work—
I am nothing but a handful of dust.

When at last Ġalīb was called to the court he was granted some high-sounding titles, which were more important for him than the modest salary of 50 rupees a month. He was ordered to write a Persian history of the Mughal dynasty from Timur's time (*Māh-i nīmrūz*) which was, however, never finished. After Dāuq's

⁴ STOREY Nr. 1207; GARCIN III, p. 123; BAILEY Nr. 167;—MM Nr. 1692.—*Diwān-i Šēfta*, ed. ḤABIB AŠ'AR, Lahore 1965.—*Gulšan-i bēḥār* printed Lucknow 1874. One QUṬBUDDĪN 'BĀTĪN' wrote a *Gulistān-i bē-ḥazān* or *Nāgma-yi 'Andalīb* for the purpose of correcting several mistakes in the *Gulšan-i bēḥār*, Lucknow 1875.—MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 18.

⁵ GARCIN III, p. 339; BAILEY Nr. 161.—EI II 221 gives a good bibliography.—TANWĪR AḤMAD 'ALAWI, Dāuq, Lahore 1963.—*Diwān-i Dāuq*, Cawnpore 1872, ²1879; ed. MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAIN AZĀD, 1890;—ed. K. M. SARDĀR KHĀN, Lahore 1937.—*Gazaliyāt*, Allahabad 1926; *Qaṣ'ā'id*, Allahabad 1934; Dāuq ki ṣā'iri (in Devanagari), ed. S. Kaif, Delhi 1958; MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 14.—*Golden Tradition*, p. 217-220.—Ġalīb's claim that 'Delhi became Ganḡa and Shirwan thanks to me' is directed against Dāuq's soubriquet *Ḥāqānī-yi Hind*, Ḥāqānī (d. 1199) being a native of Shirwan.

⁶ GARCIN III, p. 317ff.; BAILEY Nr. 164.—*Kulliyāt-i Zafar*, Lucknow 1869-70, 1882. *Muntaḥab-i Kulliyāt-i Zafar*, Cawnpore 1880; *Intiḥāb-i kalām-i Zafar*, ed. ŠĀHĪD 'ALĪ KHĀN, Lahore s.d.—MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 16.—*Golden Tradition* p. 207-211.

death the poet instructed some members of the royal family, even the king, in poetry⁷.

At the same time, the nephew of Ġālib's wife, 'Ārif (born ca. 1818)⁸, a gifted poet, whom he had adopted, died prematurely; the Urdu elegy on his death is one of the finest pieces in Ġālib's *Dīwān*:

You should have waited for me on the road a few days more.

You went alone and will remain alone a few days more . . .

His professional situation seemed to improve; Wāḡid 'Alī, the king of Lucknow, granted him a stipend, but the frolicsome life at the Lucknow court ended in 1856 when the British exiled the king and his large family to Calcutta, where he continued writing elegant poetry. Shortly after Ġālib lost his maecenas in Lucknow, his foremost disciple, the Mughal heir apparent, died. One year later, in 1857, the Sipahi revolt (Mutiny) broke out. The aged Bahādur Shah was exiled to Rangoon. Ġālib, who underwent many hardships during the summer of 1857, has described the events in *Dastambū*, a diary-like booklet in highly archaic Persian. He hoped that the British would find in this book proof of his innocence although he had sided with the Mughal ruler. The following years proved even more difficult for him. Since no material help was available in Delhi, Ġālib had to look for a new patron. In 1859 he received his first stipend from the Nawwab of Rampur, Yūsuf 'Alī Khān 'Nāẓim^{9a}. Visiting the court in 1860 he found it a refuge for many Urdu poets from Lucknow and Delhi. A second journey to Rampur was undertaken in 1865 for the coronation of Kalb-i 'Alī Khān.

In the last decade of Ġālib's life many of his books in Persian and Urdu were published: the controversy about the Persian dictionary *Burhān-i qāṭi*^{9b} resulted in a considerable output of Persian prose; in 1863 his Persian poetical *Kulliyāt* were printed, five years later his Persian prose. His financial situation improved after the British restored his pension in 1860 and permitted him again to attend official functions in 1863, the year when the fifth enlarged edition of the Urdu *Dīwān* was printed in Agra. The poet continued to correct the verse of his friends; among his pupils the names of Maḡrūḥ (d. 1902)^{9c}, Tafta¹⁰, Āzurda¹¹ (1789-1868) and particularly Ḥālī are worth mentioning. Ġālib also saw many of his letters through the press; the '*Ūd-i Hindī*' (letters between 1851 and 1860)

⁷ Cf. MĀLIK RĀM, *Dīkr-i Ġālib*, Delhi, Maktaba-i Jamia 1964, p. 118.

⁸ GARCIN I, p. 221.

^{9a} 'Nāẓim's *Kulliyāt* were published Rampur 1869, miscellaneous poems earlier in the 1860's.

^{9b} BAILEY Nr. 177; a collection of poetry, *Maẓhar-i ma'āni*, was published in 1898.

¹⁰ Munshi Hār Gopal 'Tafta,' GARCIN III, p. 198.

¹¹ Šadrudīn 'Azurda,' the last Grand Mufti of the Moghul Empire, was a Kashmiri; he was a pupil of Shah Waliullāh's son 'Abdul Qādir, and teacher of Šiddīq Ḥasan Khan, the husband of the Begum of Bhopal and noted author of religious works. See EI I, 827.—GARCIN I, p. 272; BAILEY Nr. 168.

was published in Meeruth eight months before his death¹²; another collection, *Urdū-yi mu'allā*, appeared in print 19 days after his death. Ġālib had been ailing since his return from Rampur; he was almost completely confined to bed for the last three years and died on February 15th, 1869 in Delhi, where his tomb in Nizamuddin is a frequented place.

Ġālib himself considered his Persian poetry to be superior to his Urdu poetry, which he describes as 'colourless.' The number of his Persian works surpasses by far those in Urdu. The Urdu *Divān* plus the poems not therein included consists of less than 3000 lines; in addition, his two collections of letters are his main contribution to Urdu. Modern critics will agree that he decisively influenced the development of Urdu prose with his letters. Most of them were written in such a fluent, charming colloquial style that they set completely new models for prose-writing. In harmony with tradition Ġālib certainly composed his letters with a mind to later publication. He combines wit and a sharp eye with a charming talent for playing on the various levels of words and a skilful use of every shade of meaning, particularly in the different forms of address according to the station the addressee held in society or in the poet's heart. One should not always take his complaints or jokes too literally; as a good poet he enjoyed exaggerating a given situation, provided he could display his sparkling wit or indulge in poetical hyperbole. These letters are the most perfect expression of what Daud Rahbar has called the 'conversationalist' character of Mughal society.

Ġālib's Urdu poetry, however, seems much different from the easy eloquence of the letters. The very first line of his *Divān* has puzzled generations of interpreters—even to the point of declaring it meaningless:

The picture: of the impudence of whose writing does it complain?
From paper is the shirt of every written form!

According to medieval Persian usage the plaintiff at court wore a paper shirt. A letter cannot become visible unless it is written on paper, hence it puts on a 'paper-shirt'; and since in traditional Persian imagery everything created can be conceived of as a letter written by the master-calligrapher God every being in its 'paper-shirt' is of necessity a plaintiff against its creator. This imagery seems weird at first sight; the grammatical construction is tense; but the powerful verse, which may even contain deeper layers of symbolism, provides the keynote for the whole *Divān*¹³. Some of Ġālib's Urdu lines consist almost exclusively of complicated Persian compounds as inherited from the poets of the Indian Style, and critics would joke:

We have understood Saudā and Mir—but your lines, Ġālib,
nobody can understand but God and you!

¹² 'Ūd-i hindī, ed. SAYYID MURTAZĀ ḤUSAIN FĀZIL, Lahore 1968.

¹³ See A. SCHIMMEL, A Dance of Sparks. Studies in Ghalib's Imagery, Lahore (forth-coming), where the image of the paper-shirt is traced back to medieval Persian literature.

A special charm of Ġālib's poems lies in the combination of a very high-flown imagery and purely colloquial expressions (*rōzmarra*). Although modern critics tend to minimize Ġālib's interest in Islam one has to admit that his use of Sufi vocabulary is very skilful and shows that he had more than a superficial knowledge of the mystical tradition¹⁴, just as his veneration of the Prophet and the twelve Imams is reflected in his Persian *qaṣīdas* and *maṭnawīs*.

Ġālib's imagery is that of traditional Persian-Urdu poetry; but the dominant colour is red. There are few poets who have used the imagery of fire in its various connotations as intensely as he did, combining the dance of the red sparks with the red roses which remind him, in turn, of red blood, and of red wine: all of them are in constant wave-like movement. Not in vain did Iqbāl in his *Ġāwidnāma* place Ġālib together with the martyr-mystic Ḥallāğ and the Babi martyr Ṭāhira: all of them 'live with fire under their feet.' Another favourite, more static image is that of the mirror, central to the Sufi poetical tradition. Images taken from the field of writing, as evoked in the opening lines of the *Diwān*, are frequent. But his most charming verses cannot be classified according to traditional imagery.

I'm asking for a kiss, tell me
with lips: like this.
Show me not an unopened bud
and say: like this . . .

And when they say how Urdu can
surpass the tongue
of Persia? Read them a Ġālib then
and say: like this!¹⁵

Only Ġālib could tell his beloved to call him back whenever she wants, for:

I am not time past that I can not return!

Sensual pictures of fragile beauty can be found side by side with sighs of utter despair:

I am the parched tongue of those who have died from thirst.

Or, applying an idea common in 18th century poetry:

I am the voice of my own breaking.

He sees his work as meaningless, like that of a caged bird who gathers straw to build a nest; and yet he repeats the call for activity in life:

Enjoy and use even the melodies of grief, O heart,
for the instrument of life will be silent one day!
or:

¹⁴ BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 221 mentions the Mukāṣafat al-asrār, Sufi quatrains by Sayyid 'Alī Ḥaẓratgī Gamgīn, 'written for his friend Mirzā Asadullāh Ġālib' (whose place and year of death, though, are given incorrectly).

¹⁵ AHMED ALI, *The Bulbul and the Rose*, Karachi 1960, p. 88.

The bliss of every drop
Is the merging in the sea:
When pain exceeds all bounds
It becomes a remedy¹⁶.

Ġālib's poetry reflects the whole range of human experience; it has, as Bausani correctly remarks, no proper object but the poet's self-consciousness¹⁷. But exactly because it is very personal, dressing the individual feelings and thoughts in an elegant garb of admirably embroidered words, Ġālib was accepted by his countrymen as translating his every reader's own experiences into poetry: one of his lines would easily fit for every situation in life. Ġālib was not a poet who wrote easily; he rather worked hard 'to draw the blood out of the veins of words.' He saw 'the dance of the uncreated idols already in the stone' and hammered it out in laborious and patient work that resulted in some verses which look, at best, so exquisitely light that we may apply Ġālib's own judgment to them:

It is very difficult for every work to become easy . . .

Ġālib's poetry can perhaps be understood as an expression of this constant tension between two poles which are, of course, also determined by the poet's position at the end of the traditional order and the beginning of a new era in Indian history. One may apply to him the description he uses in a Persian *ghazal*: it is 'the dance of the reflection of the bridge over the surface of the torrent.'

Ġālib, properly brought to the attention of larger circles of the Urdu reading public thanks to Ḥālī's *Yādgar-i Ġālib* (1892), certainly constitutes a turning point in Urdu literature. One should, however, not forget some other poets of the same period. There is Mo'min Khān 'Mo'min' (1800-1851), Ġālib's close friend¹⁸; a versatile poet, physician, astrologer and nobleman, as he himself describes his position:

There was a young man in the city, famed
Among the lovers, for his deeds renowned.
His name was Momin, faith: idolatry,
Worship of idols was his sole concern . . .

Of kindred souls much fond, and fonder still
Of poetry, unrivalled in his art;
He always talked with sense, for wisdom great
And for his witty anecdotes unique,

¹⁶ id. p. 86.

¹⁷ In R. RUSSELL, *Ghalib, The Poet and His Age*.

¹⁸ *Kulliyāt-i Mo'min*, Meerut 1865; Cawnpore 1869, 1880; Lucknow 1914; ed. 'IBĀDAT BRELWĪ, Lahore 1955; ed. KALB-I 'ALĪ KHAN FĀ'IQ, Lahore 1964; *Dīwān-i Mo'min*, ed. ZĪĀ AHMAD 'ZĪĀ' BADĀ'UNĪ, Allahabad 1957.—Selections in Devanagari, ed. DRUPAD, Allahabad 1959.—BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 213, where he mentions that the *Dīwān-i bēnaẓir* was printed in Delhi 1846, in Meerut 1865.—'IBĀDAT BRELWĪ, *Mo'min aur muṭāla'a-i Mo'min*, Karachi 1961.—MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 17.—Golden Tradition, p. 261-268.—The Journal *Nigār* issued a *Mo'min*-number in January 1928.

A lover of human beings and company,
A friend of everyone in society . . .¹⁹.

Mo'min, 'The Believer,' was indeed famous for his love-poetry which seemed at times to contradict his *nom-de-plume*; on the other hand he was connected with the revivalist movement of Sayyid Ahmad of Bareilly and his *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya*, the so-called Indian Wahhabis. His marriage into Mir Dard's family may have contributed to this religious activity which he showed in some short heroic epics supporting the Holy War against the Sikh. But it was apparently the ambiguity of his stance, as expressed in the beginning of his poetical self-portrait, which caused literary critics to neglect him to a certain extent, although as a poet he doubtlessly belongs to the most gifted, though quite complicated, writers of Urdu in the first half of the 19th century. His *Dīwān*, with the chronogrammatic title *Dīwān-i bē-naẓīr*, 'Incomparable Dīwān' = 1243/1823-4 was lithographed during his lifetime, and often re-issued. Mo'min filled his poetry with allusions to the various arts and crafts he mastered, and used long, expressive *radīfs* very skilfully. At times, again, his poetry is sweet, simple, and straightforward, as in this line:

I want to write my heart's state to my friend—
But oh: my hand is always on my heart!

Happier than Mo'min was Ġālib's younger distant relative, Nawwāb Mirzā Khān 'Dāg'²⁰, the son of Šamsuddīn of Loharu, born in 1831. Some years after his father's execution, the Mughal crown-prince married his mother so that young Dāg received his education in the Lāl Qil'a in Delhi and was trained in all the skills a nobleman needed, from calligraphy to archery. In poetry his teacher was Daug. After the Mutiny he and his relatives took refuge at the Rampur court, where Nawwāb Yūsuf, and then Kalb-i 'Alī Khān, allotted the poets who flocked to the court some employment in the royal entourage. Dāg's 'friendly rival' in the field of poetics was the high-sounding Amīr Minā'ī (1828-1900)²¹ who continued the Lucknow tradition; his dictionary, *Amīr al-luġāt*, which reached only parts of the first letter of the alphabet shows his erudition which he also displayed in *qaṣīdas* in praise of the Prophet. (In this latter genre he was match-

¹⁹ AHMED ALI, *The Bulbul*, p. 100.

²⁰ EI II 83-84 gives an exhaustive bibliography.—Gulzār-i Dāg 1878, ed. TAMKIN KĀZIMĪ, Lahore 1958; Āftāb-i Dāg 1886, ed. QAYYŪM NAẒAR, Lahore 1963; Māhtāb-i Dāg 1893, ed. SAYYID SIBṬ-Ī ḤASAN, Lahore 1962 (he casts doubt upon Dāg's legitimate birth); Yādġār-i Dāg (?); Faryād-i Dāg 1884.—Dīwān-i Dāg, Lahore s.d.—Inšā'-i Dāg, ed. AḤSAN MARAHRĀWĪ, Delhi 1941; Zabān-i Dāg (private letters), ed. RAFĪQ IBN AḤSAN MARAHRĀWĪ, Lucknow 1956; TAMKIN KĀZIMĪ, Dāg, Lahore 1965.—About his style: WALĪ AḤMAD KHĀN, *Muḥāwarāt-i Dāg*, Delhi 1944; MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 19; the authors speak of his 'light intellectual manipulation of language' (p. 205).—Golden Tradition, p. 273-278.

²¹ His *Dīwān*: Mir'āt al-ġaib, his later love-lyrics: Šanamḥāna-i 'išq.—His *Intiḥāb-i Yādġār*, an anthology of 410 poets connected with Rampur, was published Rampur 1290 h/1873.—See BAILEY Nr. 178 and Nr. 214.

ed by Muhsin Kakōrawī, 1825–1905)²². Only later under Dāg's influence did his poetry become lighter. Dāg's verses were much sought after; he collected three *dīwāns* in Rampur, then travelled through India where his disciples in various cities arranged *mušā'iras* for him, and settled in Hyderabad (Deccan), the new resort of Urdu in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The two *dīwāns* composed there are inferior to his earlier poetry. But when 'the Nightingale of Hindustan,' 'The Eloquent of the Kingdom'—to mention only a few of his pompous official titles—died in 1905, he was given a state funeral.

Dāg is the last master of the light conversational style; he excels in *mu'āmalabandī* (allusions to flirtatious adventures), but wrote with equal ease religious poems and difficult chronograms. The epithet 'poet-laureate of dancing girls' does not do full justice to him, although his affair with a Calcutta courtesan was well known. The distinguishing features of his verses are elegant wording, a sprinkling of irony, and an almost silken surface of the language; his *Šahrāšūb*, a threnody in *musaddas*-form about the lost glory of Delhi, is certainly superior to all the other poems of this type²³. The fact that Iqbāl regarded himself to a certain degree as Dāg's disciple (and Dāg had about 1500 pupils!) speaks for his appeal.

2. The Reformists

Much more than the last troubadour from the Lāl Qil'ā a group of completely different writers have attracted the interest of critics. These are the modernists. This interest is certainly justified from the cultural and political viewpoint. The Mutiny in 1857 forced the enlightened Muslims in India to reconsider their situation. The old feudal structures were largely broken up; new problems in education and professional life posed themselves before the former rulers of the Subcontinent. The Indian Muslims were lucky to find in Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1817–1898), 'notre éminent contemporain,' as Garcin de Tassy calls him, a leader who, though attacked by the orthodox, tried to open a way towards participation in a Western oriented society without losing their Muslim identity²⁴. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's first work to attract the interest of

²² BAILEY Nr. 237.

²³ DR. SYED ABDULLAH, Dāg kā ašk-i ḡam, in: Wali sē Iqbāl tak, p. 266.—See: Fiḡān-i Dihlī, verses on the destruction caused in that city during the Mutiny of 1857, Delhi 1863.

²⁴ GARCIN III, p. 37.—G. F. J. GRAHAM, The Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan, Edinburgh-London 1885, ³1909; J. M. S. BALJON, The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Leiden 1949, Lahore ²1958; S. L. JURJEVIČ, Said Achmad Chan i zaroždenije musul'manskogo obščinnogo dviženija v Indii, Učenyje zapiski Tichookeanskogo instituta II, Moscou 1949; NŪR UR-RAḤMĀN, Ḥayat-i Sir Sayyid, Aligarh 1950; 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khan, Karachi 1959; ŠĀN MUḤAMMAD, Sir Sayyid tāriḫī aur siyāsī ā'inē meḥ, Aligarh 1968; M. HUSSAIN, Syed Ahmad Khan, pioneer of Muslim Resurgence, Lahore 1970. For an analysis of the religious and socio-political aspect of Sir Sayyid and his contem-

scholars was the *Ājār as-sanādīd*, 'Works of the Nobles,' (1847)²⁵, an account of the historical buildings and personalities in his home town Delhi. In the second edition (1854) the author changed its prose from a rather pompous style forced upon him by Imām-Baḥṣ 'Ṣahbā'ī, a professor of Delhi College²⁶, to a remarkably straightforward Urdu that ushers in a new functional, non-fictional style of prose. In the following years, Sayyid Aḥmad distinguished himself as a loyal follower of the British, although in his *Asbāb-i baḡāwat-i Hind*, 'The causes for the Indian Mutiny' (1859) he attributes the outbreak of the rebellion to the despotic character of British rule and to missionary activities²⁷. In those years Sayyid Aḥmad composed a number of scholarly treatises on various subjects in Urdu, ranging from mathematics and medicine²⁸ to an edition and Urdu translation of the *Āyin-i Akbarī* (1857 ff.). Painfully aware of the tensions between the Muslims and the British rulers he tried to create an atmosphere of better understanding. His commentary on the Bible (Ghazipur 1863-1864) was the first step. In practical matters he tried to prove that a Muslim could legitimately eat with Christians or Jews. An eighteen months' stay in England, provided by the British government, made him an even more ardent admirer of Western, particularly British, civilization. Some of his statements such as 'the English have reason for believing us in India to be imbecile brutes' justly aroused the wrath of the orthodox, for they opened the way for exaggerated imitation of the West.

Sir Sayyid felt that the Muslims in India had to participate in the British educational system; otherwise they would be excluded from progress, and restricted to low manual work. He first founded a Translation Society in Ghazipur; then, in 1866, the Anglo-Indian Association, through which he hoped to prepare the way for more political rights for the Indian Muslims by non-violent means (1862). His dream of an Anglo-Muslim College was realized in 1875 with the foundation of Aligarh, which began functioning in 1877, later developing into a university. The services of many of its members to the study

poraries, to Iqbal, see the controversial but still most important book by W. CANTWELL SMITH, *Modern Islam in India*, Lahore 1947.

²⁵ Ed. S. MOINUL HAQ, Karachi 1966. Translated by GARCIN DE TASSY, *Descriptions des monuments de la ville de Delhi*, in: JA 1860-61.—C. W. TROLL, A note on an early topographical work of Sayyid Aḥmad Khan, *Asār al-Sanādīd*, in: JRAS 1972, p. 135-146.

²⁶ GARCIN III, p. 22ff. devotes a long article to this scholar who also wrote a treatise on the rules of Urdu grammar, *Risāla-yi qawā'id-i Urdū*. His *Kulliyāt* in 3 vols. Cawnpore-Lucknow 1878, 1880.

²⁷ Last edition: *Asbāb-i baḡāwat-i Hind*, Delhi 1958. *The Causes of the Indian revolt*. Written by Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadur in Urdoo . . . and translated into English by his two European friends, Benares 1873.—See also his *Sarkaṣī-i zīl'-i Biḡnaur*, ed. S. MOINUL HAQ, Karachi 1962.—Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's *History of the Bijnor Rebellion*. Transl. by H. Malik and M. Dembo. Asian Studies Center, Michigan State Univ 1972.—About the 'Mutiny' and its literary echo cf. K. H. NIZAM, *Gadr-i Dihli kē aḡsānē*, Delhi 1920-22.

²⁸ *The Use of the Sextant*, Aligarh 1864; *About Cholera*, Allahabad 1868.

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its whole development the Urdu literature remained closely connected in both form and content with the Persian heritage. It adopted almost without change the elaborate system of refined symbolism and the metrical rules, although in rhyme and scanning some deviations from the Arabo-Persian metrical rules can be observed, particularly during the first period of Urdu poetry⁵.

Such an adaptation was possible because the environment of Persian and Urdu literatures did not differ greatly. Just as in Iran, poetry in Muslim India developed mainly at the courts of kings and princes. The poets imitated all literary genres that were in use in Iran⁶: they sang about the outstanding personalities of the court or about prophets and saints in panegyric odes with monorhyme (*qaṣīda*); they composed romantic *mafnawīs* (narrative poems in rhyming couplets) about heroic adventures or amorous legends, or produced succinct quatrains (*rubā'ī*) with lyrical or philosophical contents; later they turned to the touching *maṭīya* (elegy) remembering the tragedy of Kerbela in 680 when the Prophet's grandson Ḥusain, the arch-martyr of Shia Islam, was killed with his family and his companions. Or else the poets wrote singable *gazals* more or less for their own pleasure; in *qit'as* (*gazal* without the rhyme in the first hemistich) they told of rather trivial events, described works of art, or satirized their colleagues; in the course of time they learned to excel in chronograms (*ta'rīḥ*). Just as the Urdu writing poets in the beginning were sometimes influenced by Indian form and content after 1857 they readily took over models of English poetry and, more recently, skillfully elaborated free verse.

2. The beginnings of Urdu Literature in Northern India (12th to 14th centuries)

In the beginning of the 11th century, when the victorious soldiers of the Afghan ruler Mahmud of Ghazna, defender of Sunni Islam, invaded northern India, Prakrit (the middle Indian language which had naturally developed out of Sanskrit) had already lost its importance as a means of communication, and had been replaced by popular dialects, which in turn became the bases of most neo-Indian languages⁷. In north-western India the Sirhindi dialect (called after

⁵ See GILCHRIST, *Hindustani Grammar*, Calcutta 1796, p. 261-76; R. RUSSELL, *Some problems of the Treatment of Urdu Metre*, JRAS April 1960; some examples for Dakhni are given in SADIQ 46. The main rules are that short *a* in the rhyme can be inflated by *alif al-iṣbā'* into long *ā*, the anusvāra is represented by *n*, the *taṣdīd* for doubling a consonant can be eliminated, even the aspirated *h* can be eliminated (*parh—par*), Arabic 'ain is sometimes not counted, the Arabic sounds *hā* and *ḥā*, *ṣīn* and *ṣād* can rhyme, and Indian words are scanned according to their actual pronunciation rather than to their writing.

⁶ GARCIN, Vol. I, Introduction gives a useful list of literary forms used in Urdu. MAULĀNĀ 'ABDUS SALĀM NADWĪ, *Šī'r al-Hind*, 2 vols., Azamgarh 1939, discusses the current poetical forms of Urdu literature in Vol. II.

⁷ About this linguistic development see J. BLOCH, *L'Indo-Aryen du Vēda aux temps modernes*, Paris 1934.

of Urdu Literature are well known. Notwithstanding the violent reaction of the orthodox, who issued *fatwās* against him and accused him of all kinds of unbelief, Sir Sayyid went ahead and tried to influence the educated Muslims through journals, like the *Aḥbār Scientific Society*, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, and particularly 'The Mohamedan Social Reformer,' *Tahdīb ul-aḥlāq* 'Polishing of Morals' (1870-1882)²⁹, a monthly in which he tried to reconcile religion and science. It also contained articles pertinent to literary problems, which prefigure Ḥālī's ideas about good and useful literature as a reflection of real life.—The 'Mohammedan Educational Conference' became the centre of the so-called Aligarh movement, and propagated Sir Sayyid's ideas in the country. His mind was 'dominated by common sense' (M. Mujeeb), and his view of Islam emphasized practical morality. He was led to a certain demythologization of Qur'ānic concepts, like the djinn and the Prophet's ascension to heaven; yet, contrary to some other modernists, he was sober enough to maintain that the Prophet of Islam was not a teacher of science; what was required for the modern Muslim was to become acquainted with the tools of Western science³⁰.

As much as Sir Sayyid approved of the British parliamentary system for the West, he opposed Muslim participation in the Indian National Congress (founded 1885) because he saw clearly that they, being a minority, would always be outweighed, hence overruled, by the Hindus. His firm belief in Urdu as the literary language of India is summarized by Garcin de Tassy:

Il a soutenu avec distinction la cause de l'urdu contre les assertions retrogrades des Hindous qui voudraient qu'on adoptât dans les courts de justice et comme langue officielle l'hindi en caractères dévanagaris³¹.

Sir Sayyid's greatest contribution to the development of Urdu is,

that he applied Urdu to social goals and made it easy and smooth so that it could translate the common social life and explain scientific purposes³².

And Bailey certainly does not exaggerate in his judgment that he

exercised more influence upon Urdu than perhaps any other single man in the 19th century. He wrote good, flowing, and simple Urdu, discarding the florid style of his predecessors in journalism. Ultimately, so far as prose went, he won a complete victory and no one now thinks of writing in the style of Surūr

²⁹ The title of this journal seems to allude to a term of the Sufi tradition: Mir Dard explains in his 'Im ul-kitāb, Bhopal 1309 h., p. 443, that *kašj 'aqlī*, 'intellectual revelation,' can be reached by *tahdīb ul-aḥlāq*, polishing of the moral faculties, and can be experienced by philosophers or, as we would say, intellectuals. This is exactly the kind of 'illumination' Sir Sayyid wanted for his followers.

³⁰ *Maqālāt-i Sir Sayyid*, ed. MAULĀNĀ MUḤAMMAD ISMĀ'IL PĀNĪPĀTĪ, Lahore 1961, 15 vols.—For the whole development of the movement see Aligarh Magazine 1955-1956, Aligarh Number, and: NĀSĪM QURĀIŠĪ, (ed.), 'Aligarh taḥrīk, aḡāz tā imrōz, Aligarh 1960.

³¹ GARCIN III, p. 41.

³² DR. SYED ABDULLAH, *Sir Sayyid aur unkē nāmwar rufaḡā kī urdū naṭr kā fannī o fikrī ḡā'iza*, Lahore 1960, p. 4.

when he has before him as a model the forceful and straightforward writing of Sir Sayyid³³.

Some scholars have criticized his brash writing and certain solecisms; but even though he may not have been a stylist of first rank, 'he was the cause of great writing in others³⁴.' That holds also true for some of his cooperators who contributed to the *Tahdīb ul-aḥlāq* where he, however, had the main share of writing. They are Muṣṭāq Ḥusain Wiqār ul-Mulk (1839-1917)³⁵, Sayyid Maḥdi 'Alī Muḥsin ul-Mulk (1837-1907)³⁶ who was instrumental in introducing Urdu as state language in Hyderabad (Deccan), and the civil servant Maulwī Ālī 'Alī (1844-1895) who likewise settled in Hyderabad; his religio-polemic works have attracted the interest of Western orientalists, although Ālī 'Alī was certainly not an outstanding scholar.

All of these writers, following Sir Sayyid's example, contributed to the development of a new literary genre, i.e. the essay.

The greatest name in Sir Sayyid's environment is that of Alṭāf Ḥusain 'Hālī' (1837-1914), the 'founder of literary criticism in Urdu³⁷.' Trained in the strict Muslim tradition in the old colleges in Delhi, where he studied Arabic and Persian, he entered the service of Šēfta after 1857 and thus became acquainted with Ġālib who, despite their differing degrees of orthodoxy, encouraged the young man. Hālī found an employment in the Government Book Depot at Lahore to revise the Urdu style of books translated from English and thus became aware of some trends in Western literature. A British officer, Colonel Holroyd, was interested in literature and encouraged poetical meetings (*mušā'ira*) in Lahore from 1874 on, in which Hālī and Āzād participated. Hālī soon became famous for the poems read at these occasions although, or perhaps because, they were a far cry from the classical *ghazal*, and dealt with subjects like 'The Fatherland' (*ḥubb-i waṭan*), 'Justice,' etc. (Parallels with Turkish literature of the same period can easily be drawn). Hālī was invited to the Anglo-Arabic College in Delhi in 1875 and drew closer to Sir Sayyid, whose most perfect translator he was to become. In 1879 he published the poem which made him immortal and has been called a truly national work: *Madd o ḡazr-i Islām*, 'Ebb and Flood of Islam,' usually called *The Musaddas* after its form. Since the *musaddas*, six-lined stanzas, was the form in which *marṭiyas* were

³³ BAILEY, p. 85-86.

³⁴ SADIQ p. 262.

³⁵ MUḤAMMAD AMIN ZUBAIRI, *Taḍkira-yi Wiqār ul-Mulk*, Aligarh 1925.

³⁶ MUḤAMMAD AMIN ZUBAIRI, *Taḍkira-yi Muḥsin*, Delhi 1935.

³⁷ BAUSANI, p. 182; BAILEY Nr. 218, Nr. 231; EI III 94 with good bibliography. —ŠĀLIḤA 'ABID ḤUSAIN, *Yādgār-i Hālī*, Aligarh 1949; TAŠADDUQ ḤUSAIN, *Hālī, the Poet, the Critic, the Biographer*, Ph. D. thesis Univ. of London, 1935; MUḤAMMAD PANIPATI, *Ḥayāt-i Hālī*, s.l. 1953.—*Dīwān-i Hālī* 1890, Delhi 1950; ŠĀĠĀ'AT 'ALĪ SANDĒLAWĪ, *Hālī behaiṭiyat-i šā'ir*, Lucknow 1960; TĀHIR JAMIL, *Hālī's Poetry*, Bombay 1938; Quatrains of Hālī, ed. and transl. by G. E. WARD, London 1904. N. CH. CHATTERJEE, English translation of *Rubā'iyāt and Qiṭa'āt of Hālī*, Calcutta 1914. His poem *Ek biwa kī munāḡāt*, Delhi 1892, deals with the miserable condition of widows.

usually written in 19th century Urdu, the poet could dramatically describe the great national and religious tragedies in powerful imagery.

The race whose step was firm on every land,
Whose banner waved in all the winds of heaven,
People whose honour all horizons knew—
'The best of nations' was their title proud—
Nothing remains of that proud folk but this,
That we still give ourselves the Muslim name.

For otherwise within our veins and blood,
In our intentions and our search for truth
Our hearts and minds and thoughts and tongues and speech,
Our nature, habits, dispositions too,
Remains there nought of old nobility—
Or if there be, it is by chance alone.

For now our every deed ignoble shows,
Our actions are the meanest of the low;
The fair name of our fathers is eclipsed;
Our very steps disgrace the place we dwell.
Dishonoured is the honour of the past,
Arabia's greatness sunk beyond recall . . .³⁸.

The theoretical foundation for Hālī's new poetry is offered in his book *Muqaddima-yi šī'r o šā'irī*, 'Prologomena to Poetry' (1893)³⁹, which is the first attempt to study Urdu literature critically with an account of its various rhetorical devices. Hālī's verdict against traditional poetry as expressed elsewhere in poetical form is extremely harsh; he once speaks of the

unclean book of poetry and *qaṣīdas*,
which is more stinking than a latrine . . .⁴⁰.

Literature has to instruct and be useful; Hālī thus prefigures Iqbal's criticism of poets like Hāfiẓ as expressed so vigorously in the first edition of Iqbal's *Asrār-i Hūdī*. The old stories about poets dying from unfulfilled love should be discarded, as should fairy tales and romanticism, not to mention the frivolous descriptions of female attire so typical of the Lucknow school. Eroticism and flirtation have no room in this new poetry, which should take its inspiration from nature and preach high ideals, aiming at social reforms, including the improvement of women's lot. The fossilized artificial forms of traditional poetry with its complicated metrical rules, rhymes, and double-rhymes should give room to expressions and forms taken from normal speech and daily life. These ideas inspired a whole group of writers of 'natural' poetry⁴¹.

³⁸ BAILEY p. 96.—The *Musaddas* was translated into almost all regional languages of Pakistan, its Pashto version: Peshawar 1961.

³⁹ *Maqālāt*, ed. M. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Karachi '1957; *Muqaddama* ed. WAHEED QURAIŠHĪ, Lahore 1953, with an excellent introduction.—About the new trend in general see ABDUL QADIR, *The New School of Urdu Literature*, Lahore 1898.

⁴⁰ SADIQ p. 14 gives the text.

⁴¹ A. BAUSANI, A. H. Hālī's Ideas on Ghazal, in: *Charisteria Orientalia*, Prag 1956.—About literary criticism in general see SAYYID ŠĀH 'ALĪ, *Adab aur tanqīd*, Karachi 1962.

Ḥālī's third contribution to Urdu literature are his biographies, first of all that of Sir Sayyid (*Ḥayāt-i ṣāwīd*, 1901)⁴², of the Persian poet Sa'dī (1884), and most important, that of Gālib (*Yādgar-i Gālib*, 1892)⁴³, which introduces the great poet to the public in a detailed study and tries to explain some of the difficulties in his verse.

The second truly outstanding contemporary of Sir Sayyid, though not a member of his circle, was Muḥammad Ḥusain 'Āzād' (1829–1910), a Shia writer from Delhi⁴⁴. It is he to whom we owe the collection of his preceptor Dāuq's poetry, great parts of which he saved during the Mutiny, a time of horrors which became deeply engraved in his mind. Āzād went first to Lucknow, then to Lahore, where he worked in the *Anḡuman-i Panḡāb*. A journey to Central Asia in 1865 and another, twenty years later, to Iran yielded rich literary fruit in his *Suḡundān-i Fārs*, a book which shows his interest in the historical, geographical, and social background of Persian literature. He also edited some Persian Readers for schools. Āzād, scholar and poet, has been praised as the greatest stylist, the 'hero of Urdu' (Šibli). His main contribution to literature is his *Āb-i ḥayāt*, 'Water of Life' (1880)⁴⁵, a comprehensive collection of biographies of Urdu poets which, for the first time, gives up the traditional way of *taḏkira*-writers who used to enumerate names and pseudonyms of the poets in alphabetical order. Āzād shows his heroes in their historical and social setting, surrounds them with anecdotes, and thus comes closer to the modern ideals of literary history, even though his information is sometimes not too reliable. The book is 'a real gem of Urdu literature' (Bansani), reflecting its author's passionate love for the past, the last glamour of which he had witnessed before 1857. Being a pupil of Dāuq, Āzād first excluded Gālib from his study, but had to insert him eventually; Mo'min, too, was excluded for some reasons from the first edition. *Āb-i ḥayāt* is not a critical evaluation in the modern sense; it is filled with lively anecdotes which reflect the impression a poet made upon his contemporaries rather than sheer facts; it is 'a living page torn out of the past, which was, perhaps, never present, but which, as presented to us, throbs with life, and is, therefore, real'⁴⁶.

Another important contribution of Āzād to the development of Urdu prose is the *Qīṣa-i Hind*, which retell Indian stories in a lucid style. His Urdu Reading Books are likewise written 'in the simplest Urdu in the most charming way' (Bailey). He himself writes:

I had to play the child, grey-haired as I was, and to think as a child—working, sleeping, walking—, and spent not months but years before these playthings for

⁴² Latest edition Lahore 1965.

⁴³ Latest edition Lahore 1963.

⁴⁴ M. SADIQ, M. H. Azad, his Life and Works, Lahore 1965, is an excellent introduction. BM p. 227–228 classifies him as two separate authors: Muhammad Husain, Āzād, and: M. H. Maulwi.

⁴⁵ The latest editions of *Āb-i ḥayāt*: Lucknow ca. 1962, Lahore 1963, Calcutta 1967.

⁴⁶ SADIQ, Azad, p. 52.

children were completed. Well, I did not serve you, my countrymen, I served your children⁴⁷.

He wrote also essays on allegorical subjects, adapted from the English, particularly from Dr. S. Johnson (*Nayrang-i hayāl*)⁴⁸, and published a small volume of verses in which he strove to be natural. But contrary to Ḥālī, he did not meet the immediate requirements of the day and was certainly not a reformer. The last twenty years of his life were spent in mental derangement.

One of the most important representatives of the new scholarly Urdu prose is Maulānā Šibli Nu'mānī (1857–1914), who met Sir Sayyid in 1882 and was professor of Persian at Aligarh⁴⁹. In 1900 he went to Hyderabad. Šibli was the historian par excellence of this generation and can be called, for all practical purposes, the founder of historical writing in Urdu. His biographies of the heroes of Islam range from the caliph 'Umar (al-Fārūq, 1898)⁵⁰ and the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn (1887) to the founder of the Hanafi law school (*Sīrat an-Nu'mān*, 1892) to the medieval theologian al-Gazzālī (1902) and the mystical poet Maulānā Ḡalāluddīn Rūmī (1903). His history of Persian literature, *Ši'r ul-'aḡam* (5 vols, 1908–1918) is a mine of information offered with a fine critical spirit and introduces the Western reader into the standards of appreciation as applied to poetry by cultured Muslims. Šibli also described his journey to Egypt, Turkey, and Syria in a *Safarnāma* (1892) and entered the field of literary criticism with his *Muwāzana-yi Anīs o Dabīr* (1907), comparing the two masters of the Urdu *maṭīya*. His speeches and articles show a deep insight into the problems of the Indian Muslims: he saw the need for social reforms, for India's economic independence from Britain. Though well aware of the necessity of cultural cooperation, he warned his compatriots not to lose themselves and the treasures of their country to the foreigners.—Now and then, like every cultured person in the Middle East, Šibli wrote poetry. Some of his verse dealt with national topics (*Maṭnawī Šubh-i umīd*, 'Morning of Hope' 1892), some was inspired by 'Aṭīya Begum Fyzee, the remarkable pioneer of feminism and friend of Iqbal⁵¹.

During Šibli's lifetime everything was done to encourage the cause of Urdu in Hyderabad State; the Hindu Prime Minister Maharaja Sir Kishan Prasad was able to attract Urdu scholars and poets from all over India. Here, the *Anḡuman-i taraqqī-yi Urdū* was founded, an institution to which the indefatigable Maulwī 'Abdul Ḥaqq (1875–1963), tenderly called *Bābā-yi Urdū*, 'Father of

⁴⁷ id., p. 75.

⁴⁸ id., p. 42ff.—*Nayrang-i hayāl*, Lahore 1964.

⁴⁹ *Maqālāt-i Šibli*, ed. M. 'Alī Nadwī, A'zamgarh 1932–1938, 8 vols.—*Ši'r ul-'Aḡam*, A'zamgarh 1912f., Lahore 1924, and other editions.—'ABDUL LAṬĪF 'AZĪMĪ, *Maulānā Šibli kā martaba Urdū adab meñ*, Delhi 1945; AḤMAD NADWĪ, *Ḥayāt-i Šibli*, A'zamgarh 1943.—MUḤAMMAD AMĪN ZUBAIRĪ, *Dīkr-i Šibli*, Lahore 1953; RUSTAMĪ P. BHAJIRVALA, *Maulānā Šibli and Umar Khayyam*, Surat 1932.

⁵⁰ Al-Fārūq, Cawnpore 1899, English: Al-Farooq, Life of Omar the Great, Lahore 1939, 1947, transl. ZAFAR ALI KHAN.

⁵¹ W. QURAIŠĪ, *Šibli ki ḥayāt-i mu'āšīqa*, Lahore 1950.

Urdu,' devoted his life^{51a}. The *Anjuman* (Board) was subsequently located in Aurangabad (Deccan); in 1938 its Head Office was shifted to Delhi and had its main branch set up in Karachi after partition; the Indian Centre, first located in Aligarh, has now been transferred to Delhi. The quarterly *Urdū* served, and still serves, the development of literature; from 1928 onward the Board published a journal, *Science*, and another, *Ma'āshiyat*, which dealt with social and economic problems. Early works of Urdu literature were edited by members of this institution. In addition, the Translation Bureau was set up at the Osmania University in Hyderabad, which adopted Urdu in 1918 as medium of instruction⁵². The Bureau translated both European and classical Islamic works into Urdu. Šibli was for a time director of the famous *Nadwat al-'ulamā* in Lucknow; he is also the founder of the *Dār al-muṣannifin* (Šibli Academy) in A'zamgarh (1913); the main figure among the writers connected with this institution is Maulānā Sulaimān Nadwī (1884–1953), who completed Šibli's 'Life of the Prophet' (*Sīrat an-nabī*) and contributed numerous studies in Urdu on the history of the Muslims in the Subcontinent and their relations with the Arabs; he also edited the useful and informative quarterly *Ma'ārif*.

The Aligarh movement inspired writers all over the country to work for the reform of education. They were well aware that literature had to serve the progress of the people, a progress which, as they realized, would come only slowly. But their works in literary criticism, poetry, and history laid the foundation on which the writers of the early 20th century could develop their ideas concerning progress, freedom, and national consciousness.

The Aligarh movement also caused theological writing in Urdu, partly in defence of, partly against Sir Sayyid's ideas. Thus a strong theological idiom developed at the beginning of our century. We may mention the influence exerted by Mirzā Ġulām Aḥmad, the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement, the tenets of which have been discussed, positively and negatively, in Urdu and Panjabi writings time and again. More important for the general development of Urdu prose, however, is the work of Abū'l-Kalām Āzād (1888–1958), whose journals *Hilāl* (founded 1912) and later *al-Balāġ* deeply influenced Muslim thought. Āzād never aligned with the 'separatist' movement of the Muslim League and remained faithful to the ideology of the Indian Congress whose first president after partition he became. His main fame rests upon his *Tarġumān al-Qur'ān*, a translation and commentary of the Qur'ān, published from 1931 onwards. Most scholars acknowledge the beauty of the language of this translation, which inspired a number of commentaries in the regional languages as well⁵³.

^{51a} For this movement see: Ḥuṭubāt-i 'Abdul Ḥaqq, Karachi ATU s.d. (ca. 1960); SAYYID HĀŠMĪ FARĪDĀBĀDĪ, *Tārīḥ-i panġāh sāla*, Karachi ATU, 1953.

⁵² R. G. SHAHANI, Osmania University and the growth of Urdu Literature, in: *Indian Art and Letters*, NS 15, 1941, p. 12–24.

⁵³ ABŪ'L-KALĀM ĀZĀD, *India wins Freedom*, An autobiographical narrative (after 1935), Oriental Longmans, Bombay 1959. — *The Tarġuman al-Qur'ān*, ed. and

3. The beginnings of the Urdu novel and drama

During the same decades in which non-fictional Urdu prose was being developed, another branch of prose emerged which was in the long run even more pertinent to daily life, Urdu fiction. Traditional Islamic literatures have never known anything like the novel, noveletta, or short-story; their narratives tended to romantic fairy tales, endless sequences of stories like the Arabian Nights, or artificially interwoven episodes like Ḥariri's *Maqāmāt* in Arabic (which formed part of the curriculum in Indian *madrasas* and therefore constituted an exemplar of elegant rhymed prose). Only under the influence of European models Urdu, like the other Islamic languages, also like Hindi and Bengali, introduced the genre of novel and short-story in the late 19th century⁵⁴.

The first representative of the 'modern' novel in Muslim India was Naḍīr Aḥmad (1836–1912), about whose works M. Sadiq remarks that the 'Urdu novel made its entrance through the backdoor of didacticism.' Naḍīr Aḥmad was trained at Delhi College and worked as a teacher; he lived in Hyderabad from 1877 to 1893, when he settled in Delhi. The University of Edinburgh conferred upon him an honorary LL. D. in recognition of his services to modern Urdu prose. Naḍīr Aḥmad was basically a translator who rendered English legal texts into Urdu, such as the Penal Code, the Income Tax Act, and the Indian Evidence Act. He wrote on Islamic law and published a good translation of the Qur'ān without supplying the Arabic original. His activity in the rather uninspiring field of legal translation gave him the background for his novels which centre around educational problems. As in Ḥālī's poems, there are no fairies or genii, no lovely rhyming sentences; not even do the dervishes, who so often act as *dei ex machina* in classical Urdu tales, appear, because the author was as aloof from the mystical interpretation of Islam as he was from the 'naturism' of the Aligarh school. He saw the need for reform but could not follow Sir Sayyid's ideas on reason and nature to the end. His novel *Ibnū'l-waqt*, 'The Son of the Moment', deals with the problems of a Muslim who follows the tide of 'modern' thought too willingly and enters, after 1857, the

rendered into English by Syed Abdul Latif, New York 1963f.; —Humayun Kabir, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. A memorial volume. New York 1959. — L. P. GORDON-POLONSKAYA, Musul'manskiye tečeniya v obščestvennoj mysli Indii i Pakistana, Moscow 1963, p. 171–180.

⁵⁴ SADIQ, p. 318. Chapter XVI is devoted to the Novelists.—For the development of Urdu novel see: MUḤAMMAD AḤSAN FĀRŪQĪ o NŪRUL ḤASAN ḤAŠIMĪ, Novel kiā hai?, Lucknow 1948; SHAISTA AKHTAR BANU SUHRAWARDY, A Critical Survey of the development of the Urdu novel and short story, London 1945 (Naḍīr Aḥmad: p. 41–65); ADIB N. AḤMAD, Urdū kā pahlā nawal-nigār, Allahabad 1935.—MUḤAMMAD ŠĀDIQ, Naḍīr Aḥmad—ēk ḡā'iza, in: Māh-i nau 4/2, Karachi 1951; A. S. SUCHOŪEV, Mesto tvorčestva Nazira Achmada v istorii literatury urdu, Avtoreferat dissertacii, Moscow 1962; Nacal nyje typ formirovanija realističeskogo romana na urdu, in: Kratkije soobščeniya Instituta naradov Azii AN SSSR, 80, 1965, p. 53–61; Od dastana k romanu, Moscow 1971, p. 100–144.

British service where he the longer the more loses his traditional sense of values without realizing that the British use him only for their own purposes⁵⁵. *Ibnu'l-waqt* was the greatest success among his novels; the characters are more lively than elsewhere, although the names of the heroes point too clearly to the qualities of the figures (but this was common in contemporary European novels as well).

Naḍir Aḥmad's goal was to lead people to a happier, more 'civilized' domestic life. There he sets standards according to which young people should be educated, and creates straight-laced characters who sermonize in long dialogues while background descriptions and *Stimmung* are almost completely lacking. Thus the most famous of his novels, *Mir'āt al-'arūs*, 'The Bride's Mirror' (1869), juxtaposes an indolent, useless, and disgraceful female, Akbarī, with her sister Aṣḡarī, a good, industrious and intelligent girl who makes her family happy⁵⁶. Aṣḡarī even founds a school for the girls of her quarter, where they learn to read and write, and are inspired by J. J. Rousseau's ideas about people's rights, etcetera. Schools for girls became, then, a must in every educational novel in Urdu and Sindhi. Naḍir Aḥmad's *Banāt an-na'īs* 'Ursa Maior' (or, literally, 'The Daughters of the Bier')⁵⁷ (1869) again shows a girl in school; other novels deal with the evils of polygamy (*Fasāna-yi mubtalā*)⁵⁸, the tenets of Islam, or the remarriage of widows, which had become unpopular even among the Muslims in India⁵⁹. The plots of his novels are rather thin, and a critic has called their heroes 'monstrosities of virtues'; but this is a trend which Naḍir Aḥmad shares with many educational writers in East and West⁶⁰—not in vain was Dr. Johnson's *Rasselas* one of the favourite books of Indo-Muslim reform-writers⁶¹. Naḍir Aḥmad's novels were tremendously successful; praised by the Muslims, they were substantially rewarded by the British authorities,

⁵⁵ Delhi 1839 and later, ed. BAŠIRUDDĪN AḤMAD, Delhi 1950.—The term *Ibnu'l-waqt* 'Son of the Moment' belongs to the Sufi terminology and intends the saint who does not think of past or future but lives in the *nunc eternum*. The application of this term to a shifting character who acts on the spur of the moment is as interesting as the title of another novel by Naḍir Aḥmad, e.g. *Taubat an-Naṣūḥ* (Cawnpore 1879), an expression based on Qur'an Sūra 66/8, where a 'solid repentance,' *tauba naṣūḥ*, is ordered; Maulānā Ḡalāluddīn Rūmī, *Maṭnawī* V 2228ff. takes *naṣūḥ* as a proper name and applies it to his hero; he was followed by many writers in the Middle East, thus Naḍir Aḥmad.—The twentieth edition of *Taubat an-Naṣūḥ* appeared in Delhi ca. 1960. The first five chapters were translated by S. M. E. KEMPSON, *The Repentance of Nussooh*, London 1884; ed. by the same, 1886.

⁵⁶ Ed. BAŠIRUDDĪN AḤMAD, Delhi 1951; ed. ŠA'ISTA SUHRWARDĪ IKRĀMULLAH, Lahore 1961.—English transl.: *The Bride's Mirror*, by G. E. WARD, London 1899, 1903.

⁵⁷ *Banāt an-na'īs*, Delhi 1895, 1951, and often.

⁵⁸ *Fasāna-yi Mubtalā*, 1885 and often, English transl.: *Mubtalā or a Tale of two Wives*, by KHAJA KHAN, Madras 1934.

⁵⁹ *Ayyāmā*, Delhi 1891; *Ru'yā ṣādiqa*, Delhi 1901.

⁶⁰ Naḍir Aḥmad's remarks and lectures on problems of education were collected in two vols: Naḍir Aḥmad *kē lekṣarōṅ kā maḡmū'a*, Delhi 1890, 1892; Agra 1918.

⁶¹ *Rasselas* first published in Urdu: Agra 1839, see GARCIN III, p. 447.

for nobody had ever depicted everyday scenes in plain colloquial language or offered educational material in a dialogue that might take place in any average middle class home. It was this 'bourgeois' feeling that the awakening Muslim middle-class needed at a moment when they were trying to adapt to new ways of life. To be sure, the realistic contents contrast with the naive artistic means, but this trend, too, is common to many of the educational writers of the following generations. For Naḍīr Aḥmad's work influenced novel writing in other languages of the Subcontinent, such as Sindhi. And his aim to educate the 'weaker sex' was continued particularly by Rašīd al-Ḥairī (1868-1936), who issued ladies' journals and wrote on topics suitable for women, like tearful scenes of polygamy, arranged marriages, etc.⁶²

Completely different from Naḍīr Aḥmad is a writer who was ten years his junior and a Hindu from a Kashmiri Brahmin family who had settled in Lucknow, Ratan Nath Saršār (1846-1903), a journalist and translator with a good sense of humour. He had studied in Muslim schools, and had witnessed during his childhood the last days of Wāḡid 'Alī Shāh's cheerful and glittering reign. In Lucknow College, which had been founded by the British, he became interested in English literature, be it Dickens, Thackeray, or Walter Scott. Among his translations we may single out *Ḥudā'ī javūjdār*, an adaptation of Don Quixote. Saršār had joined the *Oudh Akhbār* in 1873, and in 1878 became the editor of this paper, which was published by Munshi Nawal Kishore in Lucknow, the great benefactor of Persian and Urdu literatures. Between December 1878 and December 1879 Saršār published in this magazine his famous novel *Fasāna-yi Āzād*, which tells of the love of Āzād and Ḥusn Ārā and the innumerable obstacles they have to surmount until they are eventually married⁶³. The novel itself consists largely of lively conversations, and the rather poor plot is stuffed with many unexpected details (perhaps sometimes inserted in reply to the curious readers' inquiries). Saršār follows the example of the Indian cycles of tales, like the 'Antar romance or the highly popular Ḥamza-story, which becomes longer and more detailed every time it is retold. Thus, in a kind of naive realism, he indulges in lengthy and minute descriptions and populates the pages with a great number of persons who are not properly characterized, as if the reader were passing through the streets and houses of Lucknow, looking at the colourful life in the bazaar and the strange people gathering there, and listening to the gossip and small talk which goes on in the town. Āzād's servant, the funny Ḥūḡī, plays an important role in the novel. That the hero himself joins the Turks in their fight against Russia conforms to

⁶² About him see Suhrawardī, l.c., p. 105-122. His main novels are: *Manāzil-u-sā'ira*, ed. Rażī ul-Ḥairī, Karachi 1961; *Šām-i zindagi*, Karachi 1956; *Ḥudā'ī raḡ*, Delhi 1944; *Gudrī meñ la'l*, Lucknow ca. 1960.

⁶³ *Fasāna-yi Āzād* 1880, Lucknow 4 vols, ed. Kaisarī Dās Seth, Lucknow 1934-1935, 4 vols. big size, and others, some of them illustrated.—MUHAMMAD SADIQ, Ratan Nath Sarshar—a Study, in: *Iqbal* 9/3, Lahore 1961; S. LATIF ḤUSAIN ADIB, Saršār ki nawalnigārī, Karachi 1961; 'AZĪMUŠŠĀN ŠIDDĪQĪ, *Fasāna-i Āzād ki kahānī*, in: *Nuqūš* 55-56, Lahore 1956.

the ideals of the Indian Muslims in that period. Though untranslatable, the 'Story of Āzād' offers rich material to the folklorist and anthropologist. Other novels by Saršār, too, deal with the various strata of life in his beloved hometown Lucknow; he mainly describes Muslim circles, only *Kāminī* (1883) tells the fate of a Hindu girl⁶⁴.

The third name usually associated with the development of the modern Urdu novel is that of 'Abdul Ḥalīm Šarar (1860–1926) who, like Saršār, came from Lucknow and worked with him from 1880 in the *Oudh Akhbār*⁶⁵. In 1887 he started publishing the monthly *Dilgudāz* which lasted until his death; he also was engaged in other journalistic ventures. Šarar studied history carefully and even published a 'History of Sind' (1906–1908). In novel-writing, Sir Walter Scott was his hero; later, after visiting Europe and learning some French, he liked also A. Dumas. Šarar tried to apply some of Walter Scott's peculiarities to Urdu historical novels the material for which he gathered from every corner of the Muslim world: *Ḥasan o Anḡelinā* (1892) plays in the Caucasus and Crimea, *Manšūr o Mōhāna* (1893) in Ghazni during Maḥmūd's time; *Zawāl-i Bajdād* (1912) tells the end of the Abbasid caliphate in 1258, whereas *Firdaus-i barrīn* (1899) depicts the 'Highest Paradise' promised to the faithful Assassins of Mount Alamut. The struggle between Muslims and Christians during the Crusades, as in *Malik 'Aziz o Virḡiniā* (1888), prefigures the struggle of Indian Muslims against British colonial rule. And typical of the outlook of many Muslim writers in India, up to Iqbal, is the author's love and admiration for Muslim Spain (*Fath-i Andalus*)⁶⁶. Šarar's aim was to preach through his novels, and he wrote about the advantages of female education as well (*Quvvat-i intizāmiyya*, 1889); his nostalgia for the past glory of Islam is reflected in his books, which are meant to serve the Muslim community. The somewhat stereotyped figures lack psychological truth; but Šarar's 'Lucknow Reminiscences' (*Guzāšta Lucknow*) would be enough to immortalize his name. He paved the way for the development of a whole literary genre, the historical novel, which is still flourishing, particularly in Pakistan, in its sub-species, the 'Islamic novel' (M. M. Aslam, Rais Jaffri).

Almost contemporary with Šarar is Mirzā Ḥasan Muḥammad 'Ruswā' (1858–1931)⁶⁷, again from Lucknow, who started as a railway engineer in

⁶⁴ Among his novels are worth mentioning: *Kāminī* (1883), Lucknow 1958, Hindi version by Šamšār Bahādur Sinhā, Benares 1951; *Sair-i kohsār*, Lucknow 1894, 1934; *Čam-i Saršār* (1887), Lucknow 1914.

⁶⁵ See CH. QIZILBĀŠ, 'Abdul Ḥalīm Šarar, in: Nuqūš, Šaḥsiyāt number, Lahore 1955.—Besides the novels mentioned in the text, we may enumerate his *Ḥasan bin Šabbāh*, 1903, Lucknow 1960; *Nekī kā phal*, Lucknow ca. 1967; *Maftūḥ Fātīḥ*, Lucknow ca. 1968; Šarar's fine study about Lucknow was edited by ŠAMIM AMRŪHAWĪ, *Guzāšta Lakhnau*, Lucknow 1965.—Sharar, Lucknow, the Last Phase of an Oriental Culture, transl. and ed. by E. S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain, 1975.

⁶⁶ Cf. AZIZ AHMAD, *Islam d'Espagne et Inde musulmane*, in: *Études d'Orientalisme Lévi-Provençal*, II, 1962, p. 461ff.

⁶⁷ SUCHOČEV, *Od dastana k romanu*, p. 196–220; ADAM ŠAIḤ, *Mirzā Ruswā*

the city of Sirhind, from Persian *sar-i Hind*, 'beginning of India') was widely spread; and in the plains, south and southeast of Delhi, Brāj and Awadhī were spoken. A simplified form of these dialects was called *khaṛī bōlī*, 'standard language.' The Muslims, who knew nothing or very little about the various indigenous idioms, called them simply *hindawī*, 'Indian.'⁸ It goes without saying that the contact of Turks, Afghans, Persians and other peoples of western and central Asia with the local inhabitants greatly influenced the development of the spoken languages of northern India, into which they introduced their own vocabulary and even whole idioms. The language which thus came into existence was able to reflect the traditions of western Asia and the Islamic *weltanschauung*.

The expansion of this newly emerging language was largely due to the activities of wandering preachers, both Muslim Sufis and representatives of Hindu *bhakti* mysticism⁹. The first great leaders of Sufi orders, like Mu'īnuddīn Čīstī and Bahā'uddīn Zakariyā, reached the subcontinent around 1200. They taught the love of God and man and stressed the equality of all human beings before God, and they advocated religious tolerance: hence their appeal to the members of a caste-ridden society. Since the Sufi leaders addressed themselves to the largest strata of the population, they had to express their teachings in such a way that even those who were unacquainted with the theological language of Islam, Arabic, or the tongue of higher culture, Persian, could understand them. They therefore preferred to utilize the spoken language for their sermons, tracts, and little verses, as they did in other parts of the Muslim world as well.

But the Sufis were not alone. Even renowned poets were tempted to use the popular language in their works in order to prove that their literary talent could display itself through any linguistic medium. Unfortunately, the first examples of popular language as used in belles-lettres are lost. According to the authors of later *taḍkiras* (anthologies and biographies of poets)¹⁰ the first writer to express his thoughts in '*hindawī*' was the noted Persian poet Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān (1059-1121)¹¹ who held prominent positions at the court of Lahore, the capital of the Indo-Ghaznawīd empire, but was imprisoned on

⁸ Cf. G. A. GRIERSON, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Calcutta 1916, Vol. IX.

⁹ The best introduction is MAULWĪ 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, *Urdū kī naṣw o numā meṅ Šūfiyā-yi kirām kā ḥiṣṣa*, Karachi 1954; cf. also YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN, *L'Inde Mystique aux Moyens-Âges*, Paris 1929; MUHAMMAD NOOR NABI, *Development of Muslim Religious Thought in India from 1200 to 1450 A.D.*, Aligarh 1962. The general histories of Indian Islam (AZIZ AHMAD, M. MUJEEB, I. H. QURESHI) give a survey of various mystical trends in India. See also A. SCHIMMEL, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill 1975, esp. Ch. VIII.—For the parallel movement in Hinduism, see CH. VAUDEVILLE, *Kabir*, Oxford 1974.

¹⁰ A list of the *Taḍkiras* which are most important for Urdu literature in GARCIN I, p. 43ff.

¹¹ GARCIN II, p. 290ff.; J. RYPKA, *History of Iranian Literature*, 's-Gravenhage 1968, p. 196f.; A. SCHIMMEL, *Islamic Literatures of India*, p. 11-12.

Balochistan. He then studied Persian and science in his native town, and later joined the Translation Bureau in Hyderabad. Contrary to the historical, or pseudo-historical outlook of Šarar, Ruswā can be regarded as the founder of the realistic novel. Of his numerous novels (the royalties of which he used to improve his chemical laboratory), one gained wide fame (besides the story of *Aḥṭari Begum*): it is *Umrāo Gān Adā* (1899), the life story of a Lucknow courtesan as told by herself⁶⁸. The book gives a good picture of the plight of an educated courtesan and the society around her and shows the development of the heroine from a naive child, kidnapped from home, to an accomplished singer who attracts men not only by her beauty but even more by her refined culture, her love of literature, and her sensitive mind. That Ruswā should have chosen as his heroine a courtesan—lowest in the social order of traditional Muslim society—is not surprising if one thinks that, notwithstanding Bailey's negative judgment on female representation in Urdu literature, quite a number of ladies wrote verse, some of them 'beauties of the bazaar,' others honourable ladies living in purdah⁶⁹.

It should be mentioned here that the man who elaborated the realistic style and was to become the greatest novelist of Hindi, and chronicler of rural life, Premchānd (1880–1930) wrote his stories in Urdu up to 1914.

Among the slightly younger novelists we must single out Saḡḡād Ḥaidar 'Yildarim' (1880–1943). Educated at Aligarh, he later joined the Indian diplomatic service. He composed a number of successful novels, and his *Ḥayālistān* (1908) contains the first examples of veritable short stories in Urdu, partly translated, partly original. This new genre was, then, to become a favourite of Urdu writers. Yildarim also translated Turkish dramas and wrote drama himself, among which *Galāluddīn Ḥwārezmshāh* (1924) deserves mention because of its unusual topic.

The art of drama, or rather theatre play, had its roots in Hindu tradition⁷⁰. The Parsee community became interested, and as early as 1861 one finds

—ḥayāt aur navalnigārī, Lucknow 1968; MAIMŪNA ANŠĀRI MAHARAWI, Mirzā Muḥammad Hādī Mirzā Ruswā, ṣawāniḥ-i ḥayāt aur adabī kārnāma, Lahore 1963.

⁶⁸ Latest edition Lucknow 1958, Allahabad 1963.—Umrao Jan Ada, Courtesan of Lucknow, transl. K. SINGH and M. A. HUSAINI, Calcutta 1961; Die Kurtisane von Lucknow, deutsch von U. ROTHER-DUBS, Zürich 1971.—Tancovsčka, transl. G. A. ZOGRAF, Moscow 1960.—Ruswā's Šarifzāda: Allahabad 1928, 1936 and often.

⁶⁹ GARCIN II, p. 563f. enumerates 71 female authors from: MUḤAMMAD FAŠI-ḤUDDĪN RANŌ, Taḍkirat bahāristān-i nāz, Meerut 1864, *1869.—MAULĀNĀ 'ABDUL BĀRĪ 'ĀSĪ, Taḍkiratu'l-ḥawātin, Lucknow Nawal Kishor s.d. (ca. 1937); see also ABŪ'L-QĀSIM MUḤTAŠAM, the grandson of Yamānī Šīrwānī, a court poet of Gaziud-dīn Ḥaidar: Aḥṭar-i tābān yā taḍkiratu'l-nisā, Bhopal 1299/1881 about 82 poetesses, and MŪLČAND 'AḤQAR, Nišāṭafzā, Delhi 1892, about Hindustani poetesses.—The rubric '*Adab-i niswān*,' 'Women's literature' in the library of the ATU Karachi comprises 102 items in the catalogue.

⁷⁰ Bausani, p. 211f.; SADIQ Chapter XVIII (without details); Dr. 'ABDUL 'ALĪM NĀMĪ, Bibliografia Urdu Drama, Bombay 1966; Urdu Theater, 3 vols. Karachi,

nineteen theatrical companies in Bombay. Their number even increased after 1879. The main aim of the early plays in Urdu was, following the example of Amānat's *Indar Sabhā*, to entertain and amuse the spectators; music and dance were essential ingredients for a successful play. One of the first theatre writers was the Parsee Nuṣarwāngī Mihrwāngī Ārām, whose *Bēnazīr o Badr-i Munīr* develops the well-known subject of Mir Ḥasan's *Maḥnawī*. In the following decades, motifs from Nizāmi's epics and the indigenous romantic tradition were elaborated; the Parsees often had recourse to themes from the *Šāhnāma*, the Hindus reworked classical Sanskrit dramas so that almost innumerable versions of *Sakuntala* are available; subjects from Islamic history were also used, and 'crying orphans' and 'complaining nightingales' are frequent catch-words in the titles⁷¹. With the adaptation of Shakespeare, a new era set in; and it is typical that the first real drama-writer of Muslim India, Aḡā Ḥaṣar Kašmirī (1879–1931), was not only called the *Shakespeare-i Hind* but also founded the Shakespeare Theatrical Company. In his first period Ḥaṣar wrote traditional rhyming dramas, then went over to prose, though still with inserted songs (like 'The Jew's daughter,' or 'The Beautiful Affliction'), whereas in the third phase he turned to social and national problems ('The Call of *tauḥīd*,' 'Hindustān' etc.). He thus largely influenced the development of Urdu theatre. The first detective play (about the murder of a prostitute) was written in 1901; it is Narayan Prasād 'Bētāb's' (d. 1925) *Qal-i Naṣīr*⁷². The new art attracted many writers, and among the 926 names given by Nāmi's Bibliography of Urdu Drama one finds almost every famous educationalist and politician, from Dr.

ATU, s.d.—The best short survey is DR. SYED ABDULLAH, *Urdū Adab*, Lahore 1967, p. 150ff.

⁷¹ Among the authors we may mention Ḥusainī Miān 'Zarīf,' who worked in Bombay for the 'Original Theatrical Company' who elaborated mythological and historical topics, like Tamāšā-yi 'Alā'uddīn, 1889, about sultan 'Alā'uddīn; Mahdī 'Aḥsan' Lakhnawī, who wrote in the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, belonged to the Alfred Theatrical Company and wrote, besides very emotional and bombastic plays, also some plays adapted from Shakespeare, like the Comedy of Errors (*bhulbhulāiyān*).—Vinayak Prasad 'Tālib' Banārasī (d. 1914) was connected with the Balliwala Theatrical Company, founded in Delhi 1877 and wrote mainly about topics from Hindu tradition, like Hariścandra, and Vikram Vilās; he also reworked Lytton's Day and Morning as Lail o nahār.—On the other hand, Muḥammad Miān 'Raunaq' Banārasī wrote on various topics, be they Persian or English; his best known play is Inṣāf-i Maḥmūd Šāh, 1882, about Maḥmūd Gaznawī's justice. (About his works, printed in Gujrati characters, see BM p. 191–92). He, as well as a certain Faqīr Muḥammad Tēg, wrote a two-act drama Sitam-i Hāmān 'on the evils of drunkenness.'

⁷² Bētāb belonged to the Alfred Theatrical Company, and after the success of his detective play he later turned in the course of Hindu reformism to the dramatization of old Indian subjects, taken from the Mahabharata and Ramayana. His dialogues are written in rhyming prose. The first detective story in Urdu is, to my knowledge, 'Alimuddīn's Kamand-i Gēsū, 'Lasso of the locks', Cawnpore 1894, dealing with the French Secret Police.

'Ābid Ḥusain (*Parda-yi ghaflat*) and M. Mujeeb, to Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureishi. However, only few of these dramas were fitting for the stage; the best one, Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Tāg's (1908-1970) *Anarkalī*⁷³ was actually written only in 1942. Tāg has also written radio plays, and his wife, Ḥiḡāb, was a noted novelist.

4. Writers of the transitional period

At the turn of the century there appears quite a number of names in Urdu literature that are generally outshone by the great names of Ḥālī and Āzād⁷⁴. The generation of writers born shortly before or after the Mutiny can be taken more or less as a single group. They still enjoyed to an extent the traditional education, with its emphasis on Islamic studies, Persian, and Arabic, until the whole structure of Indian Islam was shattered by the introduction of new educational methods. Some of them turned to modern methods of education, and more and more the biographies will now tell that they went to Aligarh or a British college for a B. A. Many of them held office with the government, although the results were not always satisfying. Even on those who came from a traditional environment the impact of the new style as advocated by Ḥālī can be felt, and many writers of this generation were animated by the growing feeling of independence, of struggle for freedom and against British imperialism. After World War I this struggle resulted for quite a few of them in a shifting towards communism. Translations from English classical and early romantic poetry opened their eyes to hitherto unknown possibilities of the poetic diction, although the output of most poets of this period is difficult to appreciate for a modern Western reader who has outgrown Victorian poetry and can enjoy it even less when wrapped in an Urdu garb—as little as he can enjoy its very name, the new Urdu word *nēcārī* = 'natural.'

Among the poets of this generation, Muḥammad Ismā'īl Meeruthī (1844-1917) deserves mention in the first place⁷⁵. As a teacher and head-*marulwī* he devoted himself to simple instructive poetry for young people from about 1867 onward. His Urdu Readers have endeared him to many Indian school-children. Ismā'īl excelled in descriptive poems, and his elegy on the fortress

⁷³ 'Anarkali' tells the love story of a dancing girl and Prince Salim, the later Mughal king Ġihāngir; Tāg also translated Shakespeare and Racine, and adapted a play by Karel Čapek for the Lahore stage. He also translated novels, and is the first Urdu writer to work with broadcast, radio plays then becoming very popular in Indo-Pakistan.

⁷⁴ See DR. 'IBADAT BRELWĪ, *Ġadīd šā'iri*, Lahore s.d.—A useful anthology of post-Sir Sayyid poetry is DR. A. WAHEED, *Ġadīd šu'arā-yi Urdu*, Lahore 1957. It contains short biographies and selections from more than a hundred poets. For the whole development see S. A. LATIF, *The Influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature*, London 1924.

⁷⁵ BAILEY Nr. 233; Waheed p. 45ff.—The famous poem was published Lahore 1890 (*Āṭār-i salaf*, 24 p.).

of Agra (*Qal'ā-yi Akbarābād*) was considered by a critic like Maulānā Šiblī to be the best Urdu poem after Ḥālī's *Musaddas*. It belongs to the all too few poems inspired by an actual sight of a ruined monument in India.—A poet of the same generation, though very different in style, was 'Alī Ḥaidar 'Naẓm' Ṭabāṭabā'ī⁷⁶, born in 1852 in Lucknow. He was a companion of the exiled monarch of Oudh in Calcutta; when Wāḡid 'Alī Shāh died in 1905, Naẓm proceeded to Hyderabad, where he died in 1933. Like many writers of his age-group, he devoted himself first to *gāzal*-writing and then shifted to freer forms. His best known contribution to Urdu literature is the translation of Gray's 'Elegy on a Country Graveyard,' which he cleverly connects with the inherited image of the *gūr-i ǧarībān*, 'tomb of the strangers' and *šām-i ǧarībān*, 'evening of the strangers,' i.e. the eve of the tenth of Muharram.—A similar development from *gāzal* to modern sentimental poetry and educational verse is visible in Munshī Aḥmad 'Alī 'Šauq' Qidwā'ī (1853–1928)⁷⁷, who continued the Lucknow style in *gāzal* but gained more fame by his *Tarāna-yi šauq* (1887), a group of narrative *maṭnawīs*. His most famous little *maṭnawī* is '*Ālam-i ḥayāl*, 'The world of Imagination,' which describes the longing of an Indian woman for her husband.

The outstanding and incomparable member of this generation is Ḥusain Rizwī 'Akbar' Ilāhābādī (1846–1921)⁷⁸. Beginning as a clerk in the railway office, he spent his life in government service and finally became High Court Judge. As a poet he started as a perpetuator of the elegant Lucknow style (he was a disciple of Aṭīš), and his ingenious word-plays and incredible ease in handling rhymes and introducing foreign words into his satirical verses soon made him famous. Akbar's coöperation with the *Oudh Punch* gave him enough opportunity to sharpen his pen against the slavish mentality of the Indian Muslims who indulged in aping the West, for the *Oudh Punch*, founded in 1877 by Munshī Saḡḡād Ḥusain (1856–1915) was outspokenly anti-Sir Sayyid. Akbar had a passion for the past, and his formerly somewhat licentious poems were more and more directed towards a strictly Islamic attitude. Muslims were for him performing monkeys whose British trainers were to be congratulated and his poetry has been called 'a running commentary on the social foibles of his contemporaries'⁷⁹. In one of his poems he applies to Sir Sayyid the verse known from Ibn Ḥallikān's account of Ḥallāḡ:

⁷⁶ WAHEED, p. 108ff., mentions his *Kulliyāt-i Naẓm*.

⁷⁷ BAILEY Nr. 238; WAHEED, p. 123ff. mentions *Dīwān-i Šauq, Tarāna-yi Šauq*.

⁷⁸ *Kulliyāt*, 2 vols., Delhi 1909, 1948; M. MUJEEB, *The Indian Muslims*, p. 475ff.; SADIQ, Chapter XV, and id., *Understanding Akbar Allahabadi*, in: *Iqbal* 16, 3, 1968, p. 27–48.—BAILEY Nr. 243; WAHEED, p. 56ff.—M. SADIQ, *Twentieth Century Urdu Literature*, Bombay 1947.—'ABDUL MAḠĪD DARYĀBĀDĪ, *Akbarnāma*, Lucknow 1954; SAYYID 'ĪSRAT ḤUSAIN, *Ḥayāt-i Akbar Allāhābādī*, Karachi 1951.—Gandhināma, ed. NA'ĪM UR-RAḤMĀN, Allahabad 1948.—MARGARET H. CASE, *The Social and Political Satire of Akbar Allahabadi*, in: *Mahfil* 1, 4, 1964.

⁷⁹ EI I, 317.

You cast him into the water, his hands tied,
and say 'Beware lest your garment get wet!'

and thus shows the dilemma in which the modernists were caught. Or, again taking up the motif of Ḥallāḡ, who exclaimed *anā'l-ḥaqq*, 'I am the creative Truth,' or: 'I am God,' he blames modern evolutionism:

Manṣūr said 'I am God!' Darwin said 'I am a monkey'—
Everybody's thought accords with his ambition.

(The second hemistich is an often quoted proverb).

It is difficult to judge whether Akbar was, as M. Sadiq thinks, 'blind to the images of beauty,' or, as M. Mujeeb holds, 'never failed to see the lighter side of human problems,' or was a representative of 'intelligent cynicism'⁸⁰. Whatever the right answer be, the quatrains and *qit'as* of this Tongue of his Time (*lisān al-'aṣr*) are still being recited in the Subcontinent. His verses how Maḡnūn's mother promises him Lailā provided he passes a B. A. are as relevant today as his sentence that:

Not everyone who wears a *hat* and a *coat*
possesses the style of the West and the rites of being a *Mister* . . .

Akbar's witty and poignant criticism of contemporary Muslim life added a new dimension to Urdu literature, although biting satires had been by no means rare over the past two centuries.

Akbar was an advocate of Muslim education. But one should not overlook the role Hindu writers played in the development of modern Urdu at the beginning of the 20th century. As Maulānā Muḥammad 'Alī wrote in July 1912 in his brilliant article 'Urdu; The Lingua franca of India' in the *Comrade*:

Even today many Hindu writers are enriching Urdu literature by their poetic Urdu writings which are published in Urdu literary magazines, the best of which are mostly edited and published by Hindus⁸¹.

In former times, Hindus had been the leading compilers of biographies in order to make themselves acquainted with the culture of the rulers⁸². Now some of them developed their poetry under Ḥālī's influence, like Pandit Brijmohan Datatruh 'Kaifī' (1866–1954) who attempted a poetical synthesis of Vedānta and Sufi mysticism and was a close friend of all the leading Urdu writers of his time⁸³.—An extremely gifted poet was Munshi Durgāsahae 'Surūr' (1873–1910)⁸⁴ whose life has been described as 'annihilation in poetry' since he continued to write in spite of an utterly disorganized life, even selling his poems out of poverty. Surūr dwells on Indian subjects and describes nature and country with a vivid imagination and truly poetical spirit. The educational poems of

⁸⁰ EI III, 358.

⁸¹ Select Writings and Speeches of Maulana Mohamed Ali, ed. AFZAL IQBAL, Lahore 1963, p. 29–51.

⁸² See 'ABDUS SALĀM ḤURŚID, *Urdū kē Hindū ṣu'arā*, Lahore 1946.

⁸³ Kaifiya, ed. Delhi, ATU, 1942; Manṣūrāt, ed. G. C. NARANG, Delhi 1968.—WAHEED, p. 319ff.

⁸⁴ BAILEY Nr. 235; WAHEED, p. 147ff.: Ḥumhāna-i Surūr, Ġam-i Surūr.

the younger Tilok Čand 'Maħrūm' (b. 1887) from Mianwali, a teacher by profession, exhibit Ĥālī's influence⁸⁵. At the same time we notice certain attempts by some Muslim poets, headed by 'Aẓmat Ullāh Khān (1887-1927) to use more of Hindi meters and Hindi vocabulary to infuse colour into Urdu poetry⁸⁶.

The most important Hindu poet in Urdu during this period is no doubt Pandit Braġ Narāin Čakbast (1880-1926) from Oudh, who can be called the first purely national Indian poet in Urdu⁸⁷. 'He went from the narrow space of *ġazal* poetry and proceeded into the vast field of natural poetry.' It is typical from the aesthetic viewpoint that Čakbast chose for his national poems the form of *musaddas* which was, from the time of Ĥālī to Iqbāl, the ideal vehicle for proclaiming political, social, and religious reformist ideas. Čakbast tried to adapt Urdu to Hindu themes and used it for his ideas on religious reforms in Hinduism just as his contemporaries did for their Muslim ideals. He devoted many touching threnodies to the great figures of the Indian freedom movement and is considered to be the outstanding representative of this art. His premature death was deplored by all lovers of Urdu poetry. Other Hindu poets continued in his tradition; the best living Urdu poet among them is Firāq Gōrahpūri (b. 1896).

Čakbast's poetry was written at a time when the Muslim community in the Subcontinent had become more aware of its new plight. The 'Ali brothers had assumed political leadership among the Muslims of the Subcontinent⁸⁸. Maulānā Muħammad 'Ali 'Gauhar' was born in 1878 in Rampur at a time when Dāġ was the poet-in-residence; he graduated from Aligarh and studied law at Oxford as did Iqbāl, his senior by one year, in Cambridge. After his return to India and various jobs he started the English weekly 'Comrade' in Calcutta (January 11, 1911), and the Urdu *Hamdard*; both papers, with their outspokenly anti-British bias, won him an enthusiastic following, but resulted also in his being imprisoned several times. After 1919 he and his elder brother Šaukat 'Ali were the protagonists of the *khilāfat*-movement and supported Gandhi's non-cooperation movement. Thanks to Maulānā Muħammad 'Ali's efforts the Jamia Millia in Delhi was founded as an independent Muslim educational institution; it is well known that many of the leaders of the Indian freedom movement were graduates of this school. The Maulānā was an ardent member of the Congress Party, and its president in 1923; however, he despaired of the possibility of Hindu-Muslim unity after the Nehru Report was published in 1928. He died in London during the Round Table Conference in 1931, having influenced numerous young writers and politicians by his indefatigable struggle for freedom. Muħammad's 'Ali Urdu style is straightforward and vigorous,

⁸⁵ WAHEED, p. 169 ff.

⁸⁶ BAILEY Nr. 240; WAHEED, p. 409 ff.

⁸⁷ Subh-i Vatan 1931.—SADIQ, p. 389; WAHEED, p. 186 ff.

⁸⁸ MAULANA MOHAMED ALI, My Life—a Fragment, Lahore 1942.

and he has even used the *gazzal* form to express his political ideas with skill and elegance.

Another politically active representative of the Muslim middle class was Maulānā Zafar 'Alī Khān (1870-1950)⁸⁹, who in 1909 took over the redaction of the weekly *Zamīndār*, which he transplanted from Wazirabad to Lahore and transformed into a daily paper. His political activities were kindled by the Balkan War, in which the Indian Muslims spiritually participated so intensely on the side of their Turkish co-religionists; Iqbāl's *Šikvā*, 'Complaint' is also a result of this war. Maulānā Zafar 'Alī Khān, a master of extemporaneous improvisation, has many poems to his credit, among them *ḥabsiyyāt*, 'prison-poems' which were centred on religion and politics; but he also satirized everyone he disliked (he has in fact been called an 'outstanding representative of topical satire')⁹⁰. He did neither spare the 'Alī brothers nor his former colleagues in the *Zamīndār*, Maulānā Ġulām Rasūl 'Meh'r'⁹¹ and 'Abdul Maġīd 'Sālik' (1895-1959)⁹², both noted journalists, friends of Iqbāl, and historians of Indian Islam.

Here, it is fair to state that the role of journalism for the development of Urdu prose cannot be overrated⁹³; the first daily papers were published in 1858, and their number increased year by year, particularly after 1875. The *Oudh Akhbār* and *Oudh Punch* have already been mentioned as important vehicles of literature. With growing Muslim self-consciousness the art of editorial writing in Urdu was refined, and the various journals reflect very well the literary and political issues of the day⁹⁴. Among these journals, *Maḥzan* played a leading role. This paper was founded in 1901 by Shaikh, later Sir, 'Abdul Qādir in Lahore and soon became a centre for politically active writers who were interested in the reform movement. Ġulām Bhik 'Nairang' (1876-1952)⁹⁵ was one of the first to publish national poems in *Maḥzan*; like Iqbāl, he too wrote for the meetings of the *Anġuman-i Ḥimāyat-i Islām*, and was a member of the All India Educational Conference as well as of the *Nadwat al-'ulamā'* in Lucknow.—

⁸⁹ WAHEED, p. 356ff. He published *Ḥabsiyyāt*, *Nigāristān*, *Bahāristān*, *Čamanistān*.

⁹⁰ EI III, p. 358 (*hiġā*).

⁹¹ The historical writings of G. R. Meh'r span from a History of Sind, later period, to studies on Ġālib, including many translations of English scholarly works.

⁹² Like Maulānā Meh'r a faithful friend of Iqbāl, Sālik founded in 1914 the literary journal *Fānūs-i ḥayāl*, and worked with Tahdīb, Phūl, *Zamīndār*, and *Inqilāb*.

⁹³ K. A. SAJAN LAL, *A Short History of Urdu Newspapers*, Hyderabad 1964; S. NATRAJAN, *A History of the Press in India*, Asia Publishing House 1962; ABDUS-SALAM KHURSHID, *History of Newsletters in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, Diss. Amsterdam 1956. GARCIN III, p. 475 gives a Liste alphabétique des journaux Urdu et Hindis, the first paper was the *Čām-i ġihān-numā*, Calcutta, in the 1830 ies; 1858 one finds the *Urdu Guide*, 1885 the daily *Aḥbār-i 'ām*, 1887 the *Paisā Aḥbār*.— See also SADIQ, Ch. XIX.

⁹⁴ MISKĪN ḤIĠĀZĪ, *Idāranawisi*, Lahore 1970.

⁹⁵ WAHEED, p. 376ff., published *Kalām-i nairang*, *Ġubār-i ufuq*.

Another member of the Panjabi group of followers of Sir Sayyid was Hūṣī Muḥammad Nazīr (1872–1924), a civil servant in Kashmir and prolific writer of natural poems, among which his poem *Jōgī* is famous⁹⁶.—Foremost member of the Lahore group around *Mahzan* was Šāh Dīn Humāyūn (1868–1918), the Chief Justice of Lahore, whose influence is, however, more visible in the field of education than in that of belles-lettres. Iqbāl composed a chronogram on his death⁹⁷.

Before entering into a discussion of Iqbāl's role in the modernisation of Urdu poetry, we have to enumerate a few more names of poets who were almost contemporary with him but excelled rather in the traditional style. Sayyid Amḡad Ḥusain 'Amḡad' (1886–1961)⁹⁸ from the Deccan had an innate disposition toward mysticism, which was enhanced by many family misfortunes; although a government official, he retired into the world of poetry to become 'the *pādīshāh* of the kingdom of quatrains.' In fact, Amḡad's quatrains belong to the finest products of this difficult and pithy genre.—Sayyid 'Alī Muḥammad 'Šād' 'Aẓīmābādī (1846–1927)⁹⁹ wrote more in the traditional style and was as prolific as he was careless. He is mainly noted for *marfīyas*, and had a number of well-known pupils. 'Ya's' Yegāna (1883–1953)¹⁰⁰ belongs to his tradition.—The 'last candle of the feast of Lucknow,' but also a decent natural poet, was Sayyid 'Alī Naqī Zaidī 'Šāfi' (1862–1950)¹⁰¹; his disciple Mirzā Muḥammad Hādī 'Azīz' Lakhnawī (1882–1935) wrote mainly *qaṣīdas*, while Sayyid Nawwāb Anwar Ḥusain 'Ārzū' Lakhnawī (1882–1951)¹⁰² turned from *gāzal* writing to theatrical plays and eventually joined the film industry in Bombay: film scripts and radio plays are a field Urdu writers discovered only recently. Ārzū experimented also with new metrical forms to infuse new life into the traditional style. Other writers who continued the *gāzal* tradition are Šaukat 'Alī Khān 'Fānī' Badāyūnī (1879–1941)¹⁰³, styled as 'the *imām* of *ya'siyāt*,' i.e. despairing and heart-rending poems, and Aṣḡar Ḥusain Gonḡawī (1884–1936)¹⁰⁴ whose *gāzals* bear a certain Sufi flavour. The most enraptured *gāzal* poet of this period was certainly 'Alī Sikandar 'Ġigar' Murādābādī (1890–1960)¹⁰⁵, who poured out his feelings in 'melting' poetry filled with love and ecstasy; these poems are delicate and yet reflect a modern approach to life.

⁹⁶ WAHEED, p. 389ff., where *Jōgī* is published.

⁹⁷ MIAN BASHIR AHMAD, Justice Shah Din, His Life and Writings, Lahore 1962; ĠADABĀT-I HUMĀYŪN (Urdu poems), Lahore 1924. Justice Mian Bashir Ahmad published his own Urdu essays in 1933: *Tilism-i zindagi*.

⁹⁸ WAHEED, p. 207ff.; *Rubā'iyāt-i Amḡad*, Karachi 1960.

⁹⁹ BAILEY Nr. 239; *Naḡma-i ilhām* (selection) 1938.

¹⁰⁰ WAHEED, p. 257ff., no collection.

¹⁰¹ WAHEED, p. 419ff., mentions Gulkada and Anḡumkada (*gāzals*), and Šaḡhifa-i walā (*qaṣīdas*).

¹⁰² WAHEED, p. 284ff. mentions Fiḡān-i Ārzū, Ġihān-i Ārzū, Sarēli Bānsrī.

¹⁰³ WAHEED, p. 444ff., *Bāqiyāt-i Fānī* 1926; *Kulliyāt-i Fānī*, Hyderabad s.d.

¹⁰⁴ WAHEED, p. 454ff., *Nišāṭ-i rūḡ*; *Surūd-i zindagi*.

¹⁰⁵ WAHEED, p. 560ff., *Dāḡ-i Ġigar* 1928; *Šu'la-i Tūr* 1934, 1952; *Atiṣ-i gul* 1954; *Kulliyāt*: Delhi 1963.—ANWĀR 'ARIF, *Ġigar aur uskī šā'iri*, Karachi 1966.

However, the undisputed master of *ghazal* in the 20th century was Sayyid Fazl al-Ḥasan 'Ḥasrat' Mōhānī (1875–1951)¹⁰⁶. Graduated from Aligarh at the same time as Šaukat 'Alī and Šaġġād Ḥaidar Yildarim he founded the journal *Urdū-yi mu'allā* and soon became involved in politics which led to his imprisonment in 1908. He is the *ra'īs al-mutaġazzilīn*, 'the leader of *ghazal*-writers,' and was the first to introduce modern, political and social subjects into the traditional form. His language is unconstrained. All critics agree in emphasizing his 'iṣḡ, dynamic love, and it speaks for his appeal to the young Urdu writers in the 1920's that an excellent literary critic like Dr. Syed 'Abdullāh confesses to have been almost a *ḥāfiẓ-i Ḥasrat*, 'one who knows him by heart' during his student days¹⁰⁷. Ḥasrat Mōhānī's political activities took many a turn. First a supporter of the Congress and of the *Svadeshi*-movement, he later joined the Muslim League (founded in Dacca in 1906) but was always on the side of the Freedom Movement. He turned towards socialism and even outright communism. Ḥasrat was an anti-imperialist and wrote against 'the crows and ravens of Europe who gather to plunder the dying East.' He regarded himself as a Sunni Muslim with Sufi leanings and progressive trends—a dervish, a revolutionary, and a Muslim socialist. His slightly mystical bent goes well with his interest in social equality, a combination not rarely found in traditional Sufi literature and history. He adopted Lenin's ideas and propagated them, without, however, pondering the theoretical foundations of Marxism, but rather dreamt, as many of his compatriots did, of Islamic socialism; for Islam, as interpreted by many modern Muslims, is socialism in and of itself. Ḥasrat was a prolific writer, and he enriched Urdu literature with his fine editions of classical collections of poetry; his own *Kulliyāt*, published in Delhi in 1959, contain thirteen *dīvāns*.

Of another writer of this group, 'Waḥṣat 'Riẓā 'Alī Kalkatawī (1881–1965)¹⁰⁸ it has been said that he 'produced flowers out of the *ghazals*, the dead roots of which Ḥasrat had quickened once more.' Waḥṣat's first *Dīvān*, published in Calcutta in 1910, was appreciated even by Ḥālī and Šiblī, and the later products of the learned professor at Islamic College (who went to Dacca after partition) were liked as well.—The last name among the more famous *ghazal* writers is 'Aṭar' Lakhnawī (1885–1967)¹⁰⁹; he is, however, renowned mainly for his verse translations from English, Sanskrit, Arabic, and Bengali.

5. Muḥammad Iqbal

The names of most of these poets are rarely known outside the Indo-Pakistani area; nearly nothing of their poetry has been translated, for they were oversha-

¹⁰⁶ WAHEED, p. 433ff., *Kulliyāt*, Delhi 1959; MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 22.

¹⁰⁷ DR. SYED ABDULLAH in: MASRŪR KAIFĪ, *Ḥasrat kī ghazal*, Lahore 1967, p. 21.

¹⁰⁸ WAHEED, p. 306ff.; *Dīvān-i Waḥṣat* 1910; *Tarāna-i Waḥṣat*, Lahore 1950.

¹⁰⁹ WAHEED, p. 479ff.: *Aṭaristān*, Bahārān, Rangbast, Lāla o gul.

dowed by one person who became the symbol of Indo-Muslim revival and later the spiritual father of Pakistan. This is Muhammad Iqbal, philosopher, poet, and politician¹¹⁰. However none of these epithets can be applied to Iqbal in a pure sense; they always have to be understood as containing in them a certain 'prophetic' element.

Muhammad Iqbal was born in Sialkot in 1877; he went to College in Lahore, where Sir Thomas Arnold was his teacher who encouraged him later to go to England. Iqbal participated in his early years in several *mušā'iras* for the *Anjuman-i Himāyat-i Islām*; he too belonged to those who turned toward natural poetry, although he sent some of his early verses for correction to Dāg. Indian feeling and the pride in the Indo-Muslim tradition permeate his early Urdu poems, of which the *Tarāna-yi Hindī* is still widely sung in India. Between 1905 and 1907 Iqbal studied law and neo-Hegelian philosophy at Cambridge; he received his Dr. phil. from Munich with a thesis on 'The Development of Metaphysics in Persia,' a study which contains germs that were later to develop into his own philosophy, though sometimes *ex contrario*. The sojourn in Europe had opened his eyes to the dangers with which the Muslim world was faced: his 'Stray Reflections,' English notes written in 1910, show how much the problem of the relation between power and religion concerned him. As for many other Indian Muslims, the Balkan War became almost decisive for his outlook: during that time his first great poem in a revolutionary style, *Šikvā*, 'Complaint,' was composed. It follows the example of Ḥālī's *Musaddas* in form and content, depicting the complaint of the Muslims who see glory and wealth everywhere but in their own countries. In the *Ġawāb-i šikvā*, the 'Answer to the Complaint,' written somewhat later, God is experienced as revealing to his Muslim worshippers all their sins and defects. At that time Maulānā Muhammad 'Alī singled out the 'brilliant young man' as an example for the strength of the Muslims, when he declared in his article 'The Future of Islam,' written to oppose the British orientalist D. G. Margoliouth's views, that

¹¹⁰ S. A. VAHID, *Iqbal. His Art and Thought*, London 1959; A. SCHIMMEL, *Gabriel's Wing. A Study into the Religious Thought of Sir Muhammad Iqbal*, Leiden 1963 (with extensive bibliography).—ABDUL GHANI-KHAWAJA NUR ILAHI, *Bibliography of Iqbal*, Karachi s.d.; QĀZĪ AḤMAD MIĀN AḤṬAR JUNAGRĀHĪ, *Iqbālīyāt kā tanqīdī ġā'iza*, Karachi 1955.—The main publications after 1963 are: YUSUF ḤUSAIN KHAN, *Rūḥ-i Iqbal*, Delhi 1966; Iqbal, *The Poet of Tomorrow*, ed. by KHAWAJA ABDUR RAHIM, Lahore s.d. (1968, collections of speeches); Iqbal, *payāmbār-i inqilāb*, Lahore 1968; J. MAREK, *Socialist Ideas in the Poetry of Muhammad Iqbal*, in: *Studies in Islam*, April-June 1968; B. A. DAR, *A Study in Iqbal's Philosophy*, Lahore 1971; HAFEEZ MALIK (ed.), *Iqbal, Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, New York 1971; N. J. PRIGARINA, *Poesia Muhammada Ikbala*, Moscow 1972. Besides complete translations of Iqbal's main works the following anthologies in Western languages have been published: A. BAUSANI, *Poesie di Muhammad Iqbal*, Parma 1956; V. G. KIERNAN, *Poems from Iqbal*, Bombay 1947, London 1955; L. A. V. M. METZEMAEKERS en BERT VOETEN, *De Roep van de Karavan*, Moehammad Iqbal, Dichter van Pakistan, 's-Gravenhage 1956; A. SCHIMMEL, *Persischer Psalter*, Köln 1968.

account of an untrue accusation. It was during his nineteen years of imprisonment that he composed most of his poetical works. According to tradition, he left three collections of verses, Persian, Arabic, and 'Hindawi,' yet only the Persian *diwān* has survived. This, however, is sufficient to show its author as an outstanding poet who was conversant enough with the realities of Indian life to apply Indian motifs to Persian verse (thus the *bāramāsā*).

Most of the Muslim saints of the early period composed their major works in Persian; the *taḍkiras* mention, however, that Ḥwāḡa Aṣraf Gihāngir Sumnānī had set down his teachings in a treatise in the *hindawī* language, called *Aḥlāq-i taṣawwuf*, 'The Ethics of Sufism'; but only small fragments have come to light¹². Sufi masters like Farid Gang-i Šakar of Pakpattan (d. 1265) and Ḥamīdud-dīn Nāgōrī (d. 1274) as well as Bū 'Alī Qalandar in the early 14th century, and Šarafuddīn Yahyā Manerī in the late 14th century are credited with short utterances, and perhaps a few verses, in the local languages¹³.

Among the Indo-Persian poets of that age, Amīr Ḥusrau Dihlawī (1253-1325) stands head and shoulders above the others¹⁴. Indian literary tradition ascribes to him also some 'Urdu' writings, a language which he himself called *Dihlawī*. Although Mīr Taqī Mīr in the 18th century accepted some of Ḥusrau's 'Urdu' verses as authentic, they cannot be regarded as representing correctly the speech of the 14th century, as they have been altered in the course of time. It is likewise questionable whether Ḥusrau is really the author of the famous *Paherliyān*, 'Riddles,' or whether this collection was put together by someone else at a later time¹⁵. Whatever the truth be, this anthology is a characteristic example of the poetical elaboration of the oral folk tradition. Amīr Ḥusrau introduced the popular language of northern India into Persian verse and thus produced a so-called 'coloured,' e.g. macaronic, *gāzal*, in which Persian and Urdu verses (*bait*) alternate regularly, a genre later called *rēhta*, 'mixed'; he also inserted into his Persian writings popular sayings or idioms as he had often heard them in the bazaars of Delhi. In his Persian epics Ḥusrau could not cast off the spell of the Indian environment, an environment by which he, the son of a Turkish officer and an Indian mother, had been surrounded from his very childhood¹⁶. Many themes of his epics are taken from Indian life and praise the beauty of his native country. Ḥusrau must also be regarded as the founder of north-Indian, e.g. hindustani, music, which combines western Asian and

¹² GLEBOV-SUCHOČEV, p. 13.

¹³ MUH. NOOR NABI, l.c., p. 38-45.

¹⁴ SCHIMMEL, *Islamic Literatures*, p. 16-18, with bibliographical notes 65-69. The journal *Indo-Iranica* 24, 3-4, 1971, is almost exclusively devoted to Amīr Ḥusrau. An uncritical study of Ḥusrau's Urdu poetry: INTIẒĀMULLĀH ŠĪHĀBĪ and DĀRD KĀKŌRAWĪ, *Ḥazrat Amīr Ḥusrau aur un kā urdū kalām*, Karachi 1961.

¹⁵ GARCIN II, p. 204ff., about the riddles and the *nisbatēn*, in which two questions must be answered by one sentence, id., p. 207. See V. P. VATUK, *Amir Khusro and Indian riddle tradition*, in: *J. American Folklore* 82/1969, p. 142-154.

¹⁶ Cf. NAQĪ MUḤAMMAD ḤĀN ḤURČĀWĪ, *Ḥayāt-i Ḥusrau*, Karachi 1956.

Dr. Muḥammad Iqbal declared in the strongest possible terms and in the compelling accents of sincerity his belief that Islam as a spiritual force would one day dominate the world, and with its simple nationalism purge it of the errors of superstition as well as of Godless materialism . . .¹¹¹.

Approximately at the same time the *Zamīndār* published Iqbal's poem 'Prayer.'

A new call for activity is the distinguishing feature of these poems as well as of those which followed during the next 25 years. Yet, at a critical stage in his life Iqbal turned to Persian to convey his message to the Muslims outside India as well: the *Asrār-i Ḥūdī*, 'Secrets of the Self' (1915)¹¹² were composed in Persian in the metre of Ḡalāluddīn Rūmī's *Maṭnawī*, as are all of Iqbal's later *maṭnawīs*. From that time onward Iqbal interpreted Rūmī as the messenger of a dynamic world view and contrasted him with those Sufis who lull people into the 'sleep of heedlessness' where they can easily fall prey to imperialists and capitalists and any kind of danger. The *Asrār* and the following Persian *Rumūz-i behūdī* 'Mysteries of Selflessness'¹¹³ shocked Muslim readers deeply and were viewed with great interest but also inquietude by some Western orientalisists due to their anti-mystical and aggressive attitude, in which the influence of Nietzsche had replaced that of Hegel. Strangely enough, the British conferred a knighthood upon Iqbal in 1922, at a time when most of the other reform poets and journalists were engaged in the struggle for non-coöperation and in the *Khilāfat*-movement.

Iqbal's first Urdu *Diwān* was published in 1924, one year after his Persian answer to Goethe's 'West-Östlicher Divan,' the *Payām-i Mašriq*¹¹⁴ (1923). The title of the Urdu collection, *Bāng-i Darā*, 'The Sound of the Caravan-bell'¹¹⁵ contains the poet's program: he wants to lead the erring caravan of the Muslims back to the sanctuary of the Ka'ba as though his voice were the bell of the leading camel. The poems in this collection span a period of more than twenty years; they range from simple natural poetry, like *Ēk šām* (One Evening, in Heidelberg) and songs expressing national or very personal feelings (like the touching elegy on his mother's death) to the great programmatic odes like *Ḥizr-i rāh*, 'The mystical Guide.'

More than a decade passed before Iqbal turned again to Urdu poetry; in the meantime his English 'Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam' were delivered in 1928; they kindled the interest of orientalisists as a new approach to explain Islam with all the paraphernalia of European philo-

¹¹¹ MAULANA MOHAMED ALI, *Select Writings*, 'The Future of Islam,' p. 57.

¹¹² *The Secrets of the Self*, transl. by R. A. NICHOLSON, London 1920, Lahore 1955; further Urdu, Sindhi, Balochi, Bengali, Arabic, and Turkish translations.

¹¹³ *The Mystery of Selflessness*, transl. by A. J. ARBERRY, London 1953; further Sindhi, Urdu, Balochi, Bengali, Arabic, Turkish.

¹¹⁴ *Botschaft des Ostens*, deutsch von A. SCHIMMEL, Wiesbaden 1963; *The Tulip of Sinai* (quatrains only), by A. J. ARBERRY, 1947; French (Meyerovitch); Arabic, Turkish, Urdu, Pashto, Czech.

¹¹⁵ A complete translation only in Pashto; *Šikwā and Ḡawāb-i Šikwā* English by ALTAḤ HUSAIN, Lahore 1945, 1948, A. J. ARBERRY, Lahore 1955; E. BANNERH: in *Anthropos* 37-40, 1942-54; further at least six Bengali versions of these two poems.

sophy, blended with Muslim traditional thought. The Persian *Zabūr-i 'aṣḡam*, 'Persian Psalms' (1927)¹¹⁶ contains some of Iqbal's finest poems, particularly prayers, and the *Ḥawāidnāma* (1932) is the poetical account of his pilgrimage with Rūmī through the spheres, where he discusses political and religious problems, displaying an unusual insight into psychology and phenomenology of religion¹¹⁷. Smaller Persian collections were the result of Iqbal's visit to Afghanistan.

In the 1920's the poet became active in the Muslim League and addressed this body in December 1930 at the Allahabad session in a long speech which culminated in the proposal for a separate homeland for the Muslims of North-west India. In 1931, Iqbal was invited to participate in the Round Table Conference in London; on his way back he attended the Islamic Conference in Jerusalem. One year later he returned to London for another Round Table Conference and visited also Paris, Spain, and Italy.

In 1936 and 1937 he published the fruits of years of work in two Urdu collections, *Bāl-i Ġibrīl* and *Zarb-i Kalīm*, both again with highly revealing titles. *Bāl-i Ġibrīl*, 'Gabriel's Wing,' relates to Suhrawardī Maqtūl's (d. 1191) idea that everything was brought into existence by the sound of the wing of the archangel Gabriel; *Zarb-i Kalīm*, 'The Stroke of Moses,' alludes to the miracles of the prophetic leader who was able to produce water from rock and divide the sea for his people. *Bāl-i Ġibrīl* contains Iqbal's most beautiful and impressive Urdu poems: there is, first of all, the long strophic poem about the Mosque of Cordova (*Masjīd-i Qurṭuba*), which begins with the topic of time, on which Iqbal dwelt so often in his philosophical poetry and prose:

Day succeeding to night—moulder of all time's works!
 Day succeeding to night—fountain of life and of death!
 Chain of the days and nights—two-coloured thread of silk,
 Woven by Him that is, into His being's robe!
 Chain of the days and nights—sigh of eternity's harp,
 Height and depth of all things possible, God-revealed.
 You are brought to their test; I am brought to their test.
 Day revolving with night, touchstone of all this world;
 Weighed in their scales you and I, weighed and found wanting, shall both
 Find in death our reward, find in extinction our wage;
 What other sense have your nights, what have your days, but one,
 Long blank current of time empty of sunset or dawn?
 All Art's wonders arise only to vanish once more;
 All things built on this earth sink as if built on sand!
 Inward and outward things, first things and last, must die;
 Things from of old or new-born find their last goal in death.

But he ends the second stanza of the long poem with the hopeful hymn to Love:

¹¹⁶ A. J. ARBERRY, *Persian Psalms I and II*, Lahore 1948; Pashto, Gujrati.

¹¹⁷ English: SHAHEK MAHMUD AHMAD, Lahore 1961, and A. J. ARBERRY, London 1966, German: A. SCHIMMEL, München 1957; Italian: A. BAUSANI, Rome 1952; French: E. MEYEROVITCH et M. MOKRI, Paris 1962; Turkish: A. SCHIMMEL, Ankara 1958 further Sindhi, Pashto.

Love is Gabriel's breath, Love is Mahomed's strong heart,
 Love is the envy of God, Love utterance of God.
 Even our mortal clay, touched by Love's ecstasy, glows;
 Love is a new-pressed wine, Love is the goblet of kings,
 Love the priest of the shrine, Love the commander of hosts,
 Love the son of the road, counting a thousand homes.
 Love's is the plectrum that draws music from life's taut strings—
 Love's is the warmth of life, Love's is the radiance of life¹¹⁸.

This poem once more recalls the past glory of the Muslims; it is well known that this very mosque in Cordova has inspired many a Muslim writer in Turkey and Indo-Pakistan to compose poetry and prose full of nostalgia for the glorious history of Islam in an area where now no trace of this religion is left. A highly revealing piece in *Bāl-i Ġibrīl* is the conversation between Satan and Gabriel in which Satan, who 'pricks God's heart like a thorn,' claims superiority over the obedient and somewhat immobile archangel who never protests against God. Iqbāl's satanology belongs to the most fascinating parts of his work, since he sees in Satan, following the model of Goethe's Mephistopheles and some Sufi ideas, the power which is necessary to create true life by its very resistance and negative activities, for the current of life can flow only where a positive and a negative pole exist¹¹⁹.—Another central poem in the same collection is 'Lenin in the Divine Presence': here, Iqbāl echoes that admiration for the communist leader that was so prominent in the poems of his contemporary Ḥasrat Mōhānī, to mention only the best known spokesman of this trend. Iqbāl had a certain sympathy for Islamic Socialism as is clear from the relevant passages particularly in the *Ġāwīdnāma*, but also in other poetical collections; however, he accused the Soviets of having reached only the first half of the profession of faith, i.e. 'There is no god,' without proceeding to the positive statement 'but God.' The idea of an Islamic socialism without a marxist philosophy behind it seemed logical to him (although even Marx has found a place in his poetry), and so we see Lenin in the great ode in *Bāl-i Ġibrīl* asking God about the strange behaviour of capitalists, in whose countries the banking institutes are much higher than the churches and where electricity is the highest goal of man.

The socialist and anti-imperialist strain is carried further in *Zarb-i Kalīm*, where Iqbāl pours out many of his political ideas and expresses his distrust in the political and social order, criticizing not only the British but also the Muslims of India who adopted their ideas uncritically. *Zarb-i Kalīm* is the predominantly political manifesto of Iqbāl towards the end of his life; but like *Bāl-i Ġibrīl* this collection, too, contains some exquisite short poems. It seems that Iqbāl's genius reveals itself best in short poems that begin with a description in the 'natural' tradition and lead to a religious or political interpretation.

¹¹⁸ KIERNAN, p. 37ff.; German in SCHIMMEL, *Persischer Psalter*, p. 158ff.

¹¹⁹ A. BAUSANI, *Satana nell'opera filosofico-poetica di Muhammad Iqbal*, in: *Riv. degli Studi Orientali* 30, 1957; A. SCHIMMEL, *Die Gestalt Satans in Muhammad Iqbals Werk*, in: *Kairos* 1963/2.

Thy world the fish's and the winged thing's bower;
 My world a crying of the sunrise hour;
 In Thy world I am helpless and a slave;
 In my world is Thy kingdom and Thy power¹²⁰.

Though I have little of rhetorician's art,
 Maybe these words will sink into your heart:
 A quenchless crying on God through the boundless sky—
 A dusty rosary, earth-bound litany—
 So worship men self-knowing, drunk with God;
 So worship priest, dead stone, and mindless clod¹²¹.

Revolution.

Death to man's soul is Europe, death is Asia
 To man's will: neither feels the vital current.
 In men's hearts stirs a revolution's torrent;
 Maybe our old world too is nearing death¹²².

The form of *ghazal*, although often used by him, is not exactly the ideal means of expression for him¹²³. A few scattered Urdu verses are also found in the *Armagān-i Hijāz*, 'The Gift of the Hijāz,' which was published after the poet's death on April 21, 1938; its main contents, however, are Persian quatrains and short poems.

Iqbāl's Urdu poetry developed on a line common in the early 20th century; he uses, of necessity, a fairly large amount of Persian words and compounds and has in both his Persian and Urdu poetry fixed sets of images which occur time and again and form the very keynotes of his poetry. An index of his imagery is overdue. For someone with Islamic training, his Urdu verses are most enjoyable since they are studded with concepts from classical Islamic tradition which are, in turn, blended with concepts from Western philosophy and history; but a reader without higher education will sometimes have difficulty in comprehending them in full. Nevertheless Iqbāl's Urdu verse spread through the country and became extremely popular particularly in the 1930's when the poet's political stance in the Indo-Muslim freedom movement had become clear. Iqbāl's tendency to repeat phrases as well as his very strong stress on rhythm made his poems ideal vehicles for publicizing political and religious ideas; many of his verses that are easy to memorize, thanks to their clear-cut structure, were set to music. To translate them into a Western language is comparatively easy

¹²⁰ KIERNAN, p. 37.

¹²¹ The same, p. 54.

¹²² The same, p. 70.

¹²³ A. J. ARBERRY thinks that 'Iqbal displayed here (e.g. in *Zabūr-i 'Aḡam*) an altogether extraordinary talent for that most delicate and delightful of all Persian styles, the *ghazal*' (Persian Psalms, Introduction), but Iqbal himself had described *ghazal*-writing in his thesis as a typical product of the 'butterfly imagination of the Persians (that) flies, half inebriated as it were, from flower to flower and seems to be incapable of reviewing the garden as a whole . . .' (Metaphysics, p. VIII). His own *ghazals* possess a certain note of unity thanks to the underlying concept of 'will to life.' Cf. Gabriel's *Wing*, p. 49, 69.

since they contain an outspoken message in powerful language (though couched in traditional imagery), contrary to the highly refined traditional *ghazal* and especially the fragile diction of Ġalib, from whose verses one can learn, as Iqbāl says, 'how high the bird of imagination can soar'¹²⁴. Iqbāl's 'bird of imagination' was more practically minded: not in vain did the poet choose the falcon, the noble hunting bird, as his favourite symbol rather than repeating the traditional complaint of the nightingale.

In reading Iqbāl and his predecessors and contemporaries one should not forget that the sensibility of an Urdu speaking audience for poetry is much greater than that of a comparable Western audience: even an illiterate can easily memorize hundreds of verses provided they appeal to him or her. That is why much of the post-Mutiny poetry, which sometimes seems to a Western reader insipid and rather unpoetical according to the inherited classical standards of sophisticated lyricism was so successful: it performed the duties well-written editorials of newspapers would have to perform in the modern West. We mentioned the contribution of newspapers and magazines to the development of the self-consciousness of the Urdu speaking inhabitants of Northwestern and Northern Central India, because it was through them that the struggle for independence was mainly carried out. But the real language of communication up to Iqbāl's death was poetry, as he himself admits in his Urdu letters:

The goal of poetry for me is not to gain fame and honour but merely to show religious convictions¹²⁵.

I do not imagine language as an idol which must be adored, but as a medium to express purposes¹²⁶.

Still in 1935 he writes:

I have no interest in the art of poetry, but I have some special intentions for the declaration of which I have chosen the way of poetry because of the state and traditions of this country¹²⁷.

And yet, the inspiration in him was strong enough to produce some of the most perfect and at the same time inspiring poems in the history of Urdu and Indo-Persian poetry.

Iqbāl had no direct disciples; a number of imitators followed him and tried to write poetry in his style, expressing what they thought was his message. Since it is easy to find contradictions in his works ('Only stones do not contradict themselves,' as he said) he was appropriated by representatives of the divergent trends in politics and religion after his death, and even more after the creation of Pakistan. Some poets chose forms different from his: we may mention here Ḥafīz Ġhallandarī (b. 1903)¹²⁸, the author of the *Pakistani*

¹²⁴ *Bāng-i Darā*, p. 9.

¹²⁵ *Iqbāl-nāma*, coll. SHAIKH MUḤAMMAD 'AṬĀ, 2 vols., Lahore s.d., II, p. 40 (1914).

¹²⁶ The same I, p. 56.

¹²⁷ The same I, p. 195.

¹²⁸ SADIQ, p. 390ff.

national anthem, who composed a long *Šahnāma-yi Hind* in Urdu, following the example of Firdōsī's *Šahnāma* in retelling the history of India. On the other hand, a lyrical poet such as Ḥafīz Hošyārpūri achieved lovely results in his elegant and expressive *ġazals*.

The most versatile and productive poet of that period, and whose poetry continued through the decades in various moods, is Šabbir Ḥasan Khān 'Ġōš' (Josh) Malihābādī (b. 1894) whose both grandfathers were poets and published a *diwān*. After working since 1924 in the Translation Bureau Ġōš went to Delhi in 1934 and worked as editor of several journals, among them *Āġkal*¹²⁹. One has attributed him with permanent *šabābiyat*, 'youthfulness,' and his poetry ranks from sensual love poems to highly dramatic songs for political freedom. Ġōš's first volume of poetry, *Rūh-i adab*, 'The spirit of literature' appeared in 1921; ever since has he produced new collections of poetry most of which bear titles of two linked concepts, like *Fikr o našāʾ*, 'Thought and Joy,' *Sunbul o salāsīl*, 'Hyacinths and chains,' etc. In these collections he uses almost every inherited and modern form with equal ease. Ġōš, still active in Pakistan, has been called 'the father figure of Urdu progressive poetry'; this is correct to a certain degree. His best known verses appeared in the mid-thirties; 1936, however, is the year which is generally regarded as marking the beginning of modern progressive writing in Urdu¹³⁰.

¹²⁹ His main collections are: *Rūh-i adab* 1921, *Fikr o nišāʾ* 1935, *Šu'la o šabnam* 1936, *Ḥarf o ḥikāyat* 1939, *Naqš o nigār* 1944, *Ḥarf-i aḥir* 1945, *Sunbul o salāsīl* 1947.

¹³⁰ I am well aware that a great number of scholars in both India and Pakistan could have been included for the service they rendered to the development of non-fictional Urdu. But we had to restrict ourselves to merely literary criteria for the post-Sir Sayyid period.

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Indian means of expression¹⁷. Many songs ascribed to him are still popular throughout the whole of northern and central India; they distinctly reflect manners and customs of the people and are an inexhaustible treasure of north Indian folklore. Since popular works of the Muslim middle ages are not yet sufficiently explored, one cannot define precisely the sources from which Amir Ḥusrau may have drawn his poetical inspiration; yet, one can admit that he often utilized Indian popular wisdom.

During this earliest period, Urdu literature developed mainly out of two basic currents, the rich heritage of Persian classical poetry and the Indian, particularly Sanskrit, tradition. Both are certainly very different, but it was the historical role of Urdu to bridge the gap between them and to develop a new, peculiar synthesis which reflects the complex situation of Indo-Muslim culture as it developed in the beginning of the 13th century and still forms an inseparable part of Indian civilization.

3. The Development of Urdu Literature in the Deccan from the 15th to the 17th century

It seems paradoxical that Urdu literature began to develop in southern India, the Deccan, although the language itself came into existence during the period of Muslim expansion in the area west of Delhi, and Urdu poetry and prose indeed reached their apogee in Delhi and Lucknow in the 18th and 19th centuries.

From the late 13th century onward the Muslim rulers of northern India undertook campaigns into the South and gradually subjugated the Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan¹⁸. The regular members of their armies were born Indians, mainly from the Panjab and the environment of the capital, Delhi. Along with them came and settled officials of the new government, artisans, merchants, and theologians. The first Muslim ruler to send a large military expedition to the Deccan was Sultan 'Alā'uddin Ḥalā'i (1296-1316) in the beginning of the 14th century¹⁹. But neither he nor his immediate successors succeeded in annexing the Deccan permanently to northern India. The major drain of north Indian settlers to the south began in 1327, when Sultan Muḥammad ibn Tuḡluq (1325-1351) transferred the capital from Delhi to Deogir i.e. Daulatabad and ordered all the inhabitants to move there too. Although he decided very soon to return to Delhi, this shift of population resulted in the development of conditions favourable to the growth of Urdu in southern India²⁰. When the political power of the Tuḡluqid sultans began to weaken in

¹⁷ S. H. AṢKARI, Amir Khusrāu and music, in: *J. Ind. Hist.* 47/1969, p. 313-328, and numerous other articles by this author. Cf. GLEBOV-SUCHOČEV, 14-15.

¹⁸ K. Z. AŞRAFJAN, *Delijskij Sultanat*, Moscow 1960.

¹⁹ K. S. LAL, *History of the Khaljis 1290-1320*, Allahabad 1950.

²⁰ MAḤDI HUSAIN, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tuḡlaq*, London 1938; *The Tuḡlaq Dynasty*, Calcutta 1963.

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the course of the 14th century, their governors in the Deccan one by one declared their independence, beginning with the Muslim princes from the house of Bahman, who in 1347 began to build a powerful provincial kingdom centered in Gulbarga, a small town close to the river Bhima, where they erected an impregnable fort; the city was then called Aḥsanābād. By the end of the 15th century the governors of Gujrat and Malwa too declared their independence, taking advantage of the over-all confusion after the invasion of India by the central Asian conqueror Tamerlane in 1398.

For various historical and religious reasons the setting for the development of a literature written in an indigenous language was more congenial in southern India than it was in the north. The south Indian states, notwithstanding their almost uninterrupted struggle for hegemony, enjoyed comparatively long periods of peace, for the destructive invasions of foreign conquerors who penetrated into the river plains of Indus and Ganges from the Northwest did not reach the interior of the subcontinent. Proud of their independent status, the rulers nourished a remarkable local patriotism and, to a considerable extent, relied upon the support of native Hindu families. They often married Hindu women, who, of course, preserved their whole style of life and their customs even at court. Hence the rulers became better acquainted with Indian culture, so much so that they developed a predilection for the native way of life. This attitude, the economic welfare, and also the distance from the central power in Delhi made the Deccan states, mainly the comparatively rich Muslim courts in Gulbarga, Golkonda, and Bijapur, a good setting for the development of a new literature which was both Muslim and Indian. Since most of the Persian or Afghan feudal lords in the Deccani sultanates came from northern India, they brought with them a practical knowledge of the colloquial *hindawī*, the 'Indian' idiom of that area, a language which by the end of the 14th century had become the language of administration and transactions in the Bahmani kingdom. The members of the Persian and Afghan nobility of course wanted to maintain contact with the traditions of their former country, but their ambition to consolidate their independence led them to adopt slowly the cultural heritage and the life-style of their subjects. That is why most of them generously supported literary works in the *hindawī* language.

Still, the influence of Persian culture was weaker in the south than in northern India; in fact, Arabic was more en vogue in the Deccan than Persian²¹. Thus the language of the first literary works which appeared in that region (influenced by Gujrati and Telugu) differs from the later persianized Urdu literature written in Delhi and Lucknow. It is usually called *Dakḥnī*, the 'language of the South.'²² Nevertheless, many of the literary traditions previously developed in Iran and northern India became important ingredients of the

²¹ Cf. SCHIMMEL, *Islamic Literatures*, p. 1-9; M. A. MUID KHAN, *The Arabian Poets of Golconda*, Bombay 1963.

²² NAṢIRUDDĪN HĀŠIMĪ, *Dakḥan meṅ Urdū*, Lahore 1952.

so-called Deccani school of Urdu literature²³, and the comparatively quick assimilation of foreign influence did not mean that the cultural and literary relations between northern and southern Muslim India were severed. The works of the first writers prove that already at the very beginning close relations existed between the various schools of Urdu literature²⁴.

These relations were particularly maintained and developed thanks to the untiring activity of mystical leaders, whether Sufis or preachers of *bhakti*, who wandered all over India, preaching Divine Love, and the necessity of the individual soul's annihilation in a personal God. For their sermons and verses they utilized the colloquial language intelligible to the masses. By doing so they contributed not only to the dissemination of the northern *hindawī* in the South, but also helped to develop various linguistic and stylistic principles of Urdu literature in general.

4. Gujrat and Gulbarga

In the first period, beginning about the end of the 14th century, Urdu writing flourished mainly at the court of the Muslim sultans of the Bahmani dynasty in Gulbarga²⁵. The first works to emerge there were created by Sufis, who used an indigenous Indian vocabulary to achieve better results in their preaching²⁶. The forerunner of the first Urdu prose writers was 'Ainuddīn Ganḡ al-'ilm (1306–1396), who spent most of his life in Gujrat and settled at the Bahmanid court only shortly before his death. About him we know only that he composed a *hindawī* treatise on Sufi themes, which was also known at the court of the sultans of Delhi²⁷.

The first author in Dakhni is usually said to have been Ḥwāḡa Bandanawāz Gīsūdarāz, 'with long curls' (1321–1422). Born in Delhi, then, like most people transplanted to the Deccan in 1327, he returned to his birthplace soon, and spent most of his life in northern India; he was a disciple of the famous mystic Nāṣiruddīn Čirāḡ-i Dihlawī, after whose death he became the leader of the Chishti order. When Tamerlane invaded and devastated Delhi in 1398, Gīsūdarāz, along with other scholars and artists of the Tuḡluq court, decided to leave the city and turned southward. He enjoyed the favour of the Muslim rulers of Gujrat, but proceeded later to Gulbarga at the invitation of Sultan

²³ Indian scholars speak also of *qadīm Urdū* ('Abdul Ḥaqq) or proto-Urdu (H. K. Sherwani).

²⁴ S. EḤTĪSĀM ḤUSAIN, *Istoriya literatury Urdu*, Moscow 1961, p. 30–47; GLEBOV-SUCHOČEV, p. 17–18; AZAD NASRETDINOVİČ ŠAMATOR, *Klassičeskij dakhini (južnyj chindustani XVII. v)*, Moscow, Nauka 1974, 260 p.; M. QĀDIRI ZÖR, *Dakhini adab ki tāriḡ*, Karachi 1960.

²⁵ H. K. SHERWANI, *The Bahmani Kingdom*, Delhi 1953.

²⁶ MUHAMMAD SAKHAWAT MİRZA, *Two Deccani Poets of the Bahmani Period*, in: *J. Pak. Hist. Soc.* 7, 4 (1959), p. 275–294.

²⁷ GLEBOV-SUCHOČEV, p. 19; BAILEY Nr. 1.

Tāğuddīn Fērōzshāh (1397–1422). He is buried in a marvellous mausoleum close to Gulbarga, still a place of pilgrimage for pious Muslims²⁸.

Three of Gīsūdarāz's mystical treatises have reached us; they are among the oldest works written in Urdu. According to K. A. Nizāmī, the great authority on Chishti-history, the attribution of these treatises to the saint of Gulbarga is not beyond doubt²⁹. The most important one is the short *Mi'rāğ al-'āsiqīn*, 'The Ascension of the Lovers,' written in 1398, in which the author condenses the principles of loving surrender to a personal God, as it had been taught by the Sufi masters of Islam from the ninth century onward²⁹; he describes the various stages on the way toward perfection, and love of the Prophet in sometimes unusual definitions. His *Hidāyatnāma*, 'Book of Right Guidance,' likewise explains different aspects of Sufi doctrine. A larger treatise, *Haft asrār*, 'Seven Mysteries' comments upon his teachings. The *Risāla-yi sehārā*, 'The Threefold Treatise' or *Šikārnāma*, 'Book of the Hunt,' is built upon the Persian cyclic Tale of the Four Brothers.

Gīsūdarāz, as a highly educated Muslim scholar, mastered Arabic and Persian and excelled as translator, commentator, and poet in both languages. In his treatises and sermons, however, which were meant to appeal to the masses, he preferred rather the local Deccanī dialect, into which he, coming from the North, blended Panjabi and Braj words. The theoretical parts of his writings are, of course, replete with Arabic and Persian terms. As an experienced preacher, Gīsūdarāz knew the shortest way to the hearts of his audience by aptly inserting lively images from popular traditions. He connected his treatises with many folktales, stories, myths, riddles and proverbs. The various tales, written in a fresh and pliable style, explain different aspects of Sufi teaching; each of them ends with a relevant teaching or counsel. Frequently he worked with traditional subjects of Persian literature, especially those which were already rather widespread in India.

Besides prose, Gīsūdarāz also utilized poetry for his preaching activities, but the authenticity of his verses has been questioned by some critics. The poems ascribed to him are written in North Indian *kharī bōlī* with a considerable addition of Panjabi and Braj elements; they constitute the first known examples where Persian poetical forms, like *ğazal*, *maṭnawī*, or *qiṭ'a*, are introduced into Indian poetry.

Among Gīsūdarāz's contemporaries who lived with him at the Bahmanid court, the poet Faḥr-i Dīn Nizāmī deserves special attention. He chose a worldly topic for his poetry. We know only his *maṭnawī Kidām Rāo Padam Rāo*, in

²⁸ NABI, *Muslim Religious Thought*, p. 86–104; GARCIN II, p. 183 speaks of Kez Daraz and ascribes to him, and not to his grandson 'Abdullāh Ḥusainī (BAILEY Nr. 3) the *Nišāṭ al-'išq*, as a commentary on a work by 'Abdul Qādir Gilānī.

²⁹ For K. A. NIZAMĪ's statement see EI II, 1114–1116.

³⁰ *Mi'rāğ al-'āsiqīn*, ed. Maulwī 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, 1922, ed. ḤALĪQ ANḠUM, Delhi 1956, ed. GÖRFİ ÇAND NĀRANG, Delhi 1967.

which indigenous motifs prevail³⁰. Thus the king Kidam Rao, who is in search of the truth, becomes interested in Yoga-practices, and the cunning Yogi makes his own soul enter the king's body, while the king's spirit is put into a parrot's body until the vizier Padam Rao finds a way to free his lord from the bird-prison. Padam Rao is, as mentioned several times in the text, a *nāg-rāṣā*, 'Snake-king': hence his miraculous powers. The poem is written in the simple 'heroic' metre *mutaqārib* (short long long, four times), and the language is very mixed, as the editor shows in his introduction.

The strong mystical tradition to which Gīsūdarāz belonged was continued in Gujrat in the following centuries. Quṭb-i 'Ālam and his son Šāh Aḥmad (d. 1446), from the family of the noted Suhrawardī saint Maḥdūm Ġahāniyān of Uch, came to Ahmadabad; Šāh Aḥmad gave shelter to the future Sultan Muḥammad Bēgrā, the protector of Sufis and Ismaili missionaries³¹. The *malḥūzāt* (sayings) of these two, as of other Sufi saints, contain many *hindawī* expressions, and a special genre of *hindawī* verses, *ḡikrī* (from Arabic *ḡikr* 'recollection of God') were popular in the country³². Somewhat later, Šāh 'Alī Muḥammad Ġiw-Ġān (d. 1515)³³, faithful to the Indian tradition, used the motif of the longing bride to symbolize the longing soul, and tried to explain the mysteries of *waḥdat al-wuḥūd*, 'Unity of Being,' the main theme of Ibn 'Arabī's (d. 1240) theosophy, in a difficult, old-fashioned language. Toward the end of the 16th century we find, again in Gujrat, Šaiḥ Muḥammad Ḥūb Čištī (1539-1614), whose ethico-mystical *maḥnavī Ḥūb tarang*, 'The waves of Ḥūb' in short Hindī metre (written in 1578) is as important from the linguistic viewpoint as it is difficult; he himself elucidated it some years later in a synonymous Persian commentary, *Amwāḡ-i ḥūbī*³⁴. The old Arabic tale of Lailā and Maḡnūn, poetically elaborated in Persian first by Niḡāmī, serves him as vehicle for his mystical teachings, for the complete identification of Maḡnūn, 'the demented one,' with his beloved Lailā was regarded by the mystics as model of man's loving annihilation in God (*fanā*)³⁵. Besides, Ḥūb wrote some works to introduce his compatriots into the poetical art and rhetorical figures of Persian poetry; it is probably the first theoretical approach to rhetorics and is written in a Hindawī strongly mixed with Gujrati³⁶.

³⁰ Ed. with introduction and vocabulary by Dr. ĠAMĪL ĠALIBĪ, ATU Karachi 1973.

³¹ See 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, *Šūfiyā-yi kirām*; further M. J. DAR, *Gujarat's Contribution to Gujarati and Urdu*, in: IO 27, 1935, p. 18ff.

³² DAR l.c., p. 19, 21.

³³ BAILEY Nr. 13 gives 1565 as the year of his death.

³⁴ S. MOHUDDIN QADRI ZOR, *Les contes du Ḥūb Tarang*, in: JA CCXXIII, 1933, p. 89-147; cf. BAUSANI, p. 109; BAILEY Nr. 14; GARCIN II, p. 200; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 1 and 2 mentions two MSS.

³⁵ H. RITTER, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, discusses the 'annihilation in Laila' according to 'Aṭṭār's mystical poetry, see Index s.c. *Macnun*.

³⁶ DAR, l.c., p. 29f.

In the meantime, the Bahmanid kingdom had gradually disappeared from the map. As a consequence of uninterrupted wars with the Hindu rulers in Vijayanagar and Waranagul (Orukkal) as well as with the Muslim sultans of Malwa, it had shrunk by the beginning of the 16th century to the tiny area around Bedar, where Aḥmad Šāh Bahmanī had shifted the capital in 1453. Shortly afterwards its dissolution set in³⁷. First the northern part, Bedar, broke apart; there, a convert from Hinduism, Faṭḥullāh, founded the 'Imādšāhī dynasty. In 1490, Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the Bahmanid governor of Bijapur southwest of Gulbarga, declared his independence and founded the Adilshahi dynasty. Malik Aḥmad ibn Niẓām mulk, the governor of Junnar in the Northwest, refused obedience in that very year, and only shortly later shifted his seat to a strategically highly important place which he called Aḥmadnagar; his dynasty became known as the Nizamshahis. In the first quarter of the 16th century the puppet rule of the Bahmanids in Bedar itself ended. The northeastern part of the kingdom, Golkonda, got separated last.

The consolidation of these smaller principalities proved instrumental in the actual growth of the Urdu literature in the Deccan. The main centres of Dakhni literature were two of the new independent sultanates, both of them of Shia persuasion; they are Bijapur in the west, and Golkonda, where the Qutbšāhī ruled, in the east. The rulers of both these states generously supported literature and art by inviting to their courts poets, scholars, and artists not only from all over India but from the whole Muslim world, and many of them were themselves connoisseurs and gifted writers of Dakhni poetry. At both courts Persian prevailed in the beginning as literary medium, and the official court poets contested in imitating and emulating Persia's poetical patterns. Their appreciative study of the top exemplars of Persian poetry enlarged the poetical horizon of Urdu-writing authors and hastened the development of the written language. Thanks to the bilinguality of many poets, Urdu easily adopted the Persian literary genres. Dakhni poets of that period loved to try their pens in *naẓīras*, i.e. they 'replied' to the verses of earlier poets or wrote free echoes of their works; thus Kalāmī in the 15th century reworked Niẓāmī's *Maḥzan al-asrār*. Such poems are important mainly from the philological viewpoint since they helped to shape the form and content of the nascent Urdu literature³⁸.

³⁷ During this period the Russian traveller Afanasij Nikitin visited India and left important notes about its cultural history, see: Choženiya za tri morja Afanasija Nikitina 1466-1472, Moscou 1948.

³⁸ R. C. MAJUMDAR et alii, An Advanced History of India, London 1946, p. 363-365.

A HISTORY
OF INDIAN LITERATURE

EDITED BY JAN GONDA

VOLUME VIII
Fasc. 3

1975

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ . WIESBADEN

5. Bijapur

In Bijapur³⁹, just as in Ahmadabad and Golkonda, the literary output of Sufi writers was of prime importance⁴⁰. Most popular was the poetry and prose written by three famous Bijapuri mystics, father, son and grandson, who were venerated and honoured by members of the Adilshah dynasty and the people alike. All the three are buried in the grand mausoleum in the suburb of Bijapur, Shahpura, which comprises a vast edifice known as Amīn Dargāh⁴¹.

The oldest of these Sufis was Šāh Mirānġī (d. 1496)⁴², known as Šāms ul-‘uššāq, ‘The Sun of the Lovers,’ because of his radiant divine love. A legend tells that the Prophet had ordered him in a dream to leave his native Mecca for India to learn the language and preach there. Mirānġī wrote some mystical treatises in prose for his followers, thus the short *Šarġ-i margūb al-qulūb*, in which he illuminates the Sufi view by analogies and poetical allegories based on Qur’ān and tradition. He also left verses of importance from the artistic viewpoint. Three of his small *maṭnawīs* have survived: the *Šahādātū’l-ḥaqīqa*, ‘Witness of Reality,’ of more than 1100 lines, is particularly important because Mirānġī tells in a famous passage why he chose Urdu as a means of expression: one should not look at the outward form of this lowly language but rather at the inner meaning. His *Hūšnāma* ‘Book of Contentment’ (350 lines) and the shorter *Hūšnaġz* ‘Lovely contentment’ have for their heroine a pious girl of seventeen, Hūš, who renounces the world⁴³.

Mirānġī’s son, Burhānuddīn Ġānam (d. 1582)⁴⁴, a famous Sufi saint as well, wrote impressive short mystical poems in the form of dialogues, mainly in Indian metres, partially interrupted by lyrical insertions and *ġazals*. Ten *risālas* are extant, among them the *Iršād-nāma*, ‘Book of Guidance,’ a *maṭnawī* of ca. 5000 lines⁴⁵, *Sukh Sahēla* ‘The happy Sahela,’ and *Ḥuġġat al-baqā* ‘Proof of Eternal Life’ (1610 lines). All of them sing of the love of God and unveil the mystery of gnosis, embellished by impressive poetical images⁴⁶.

Burhānuddīn’s grandson, Aminuddīn A’lā (d. 1675)⁴⁷, gained fame by his

³⁹ From *viġaya pūra*, ‘City of Victory,’ ‘Victorious City’; MIRZA IBRAHIM ZUBAIRI, *Tārīḫ-i Bijāpūr*, s.d.

⁴⁰ K. K. BASU, *The Court Poets of Bijapur and Their Philosophy*, in *IHRC Procs.* XVI, 1939, p. 158-163; GLEBOV-SUCHOŪEV, p. 22f.

⁴¹ The dates of their deaths: 1496—1582—1675, are so far apart that I tend to doubt the veracity of this genealogy, although it has been repeated by all scholars.

⁴² ‘ABDUL ḤAQQ, *Qadīm Urdū*, Karachi 1961, p. 6-24; BAILEY Nr. 5.

⁴³ Further: *Maġz-i margūb wa Čahār šahādāt*, ed. MUḤAMMAD HĀŠIM ‘ALĪ, Hyderabad 1966.

⁴⁴ ‘ABDUL ḤAQQ, l.c., p. 25-48; BAILEY Nr. 6.

⁴⁵ *Iršād-nāma*, crit. ed. MUḤAMMAD ARBARUDDĪN ŠIDDĪQĪ, Hyderabad 1971 in: *Qadīm Urdū*, Research Publication of the Dept. of Urdu, Osmania University, I, Intr. 1-126, text 127-284, vocabulary 285-304.

⁴⁶ The tract *Kalimātu’l-ḥaqā’iq* ed. RAFĪ’A SULTĀNA, Hyderabad 1961.

⁴⁷ ‘ABDUL ḤAQQ, l.c., p. 49-56; BAILEY Nr. 8; DAR, l.c., p. 28, mentions a Sufi Aminuddīn A’lā who died in 1534.

lyrical *qaṣīda Muḥabbatnāma*, 'The Book of Love,' in which the rhyme technique is extremely simple, for he uses only *kōn* as rhyme-constituting element (similar to the early Sindhi poets in their didactic verses). He left also other mystical works and used even the *dohrā* form. His contemporary, Mirānḡi Ḥudānumā (d. 1659), who was also connected with Golkonda, introduced into Urdu one of the basic works of Persian love-mysticism, 'Ainulquḍāt's (d. 1137) *Tamhīdāt*. His *Čakrīnāma*, 'Book of the Grindstone' is a difficult introduction to the mystical path⁴⁸.

The Dakhni writings of all these mystics are important for philological rather than for artistic reasons. These Sufis were not litterateurs in the true sense of the word; but, since they tried to approach large groups of the population, they had to conform to the taste and mental capacity of their little learned followers in both form and content. Just as they utilized idioms from local dialects they even introduced into their tales the names of some Hindu deities and of famous heroes of Indian mythology in order to achieve greater plasticity, and used parables about favourite themes of Indian popular works to illustrate their points more lucidly. By doing so they inspired religious tolerance, their strict adherence to the principles of Islam notwithstanding.

A hitherto neglected 'Sūfi poem' of the early 17th century, *Ratan Kāhan*, deserves our interest both for its topic and its miniatures⁴⁹.

Belles-lettres proper began to gain more momentum toward the end of the 16th century. It was at the court of the wealthy and powerful Adilshahs that the first artistic work of Urdu epic poetry was composed. Its author was Kamāl Khān Rustamī⁵⁰, son of the secretary of Sultan Muḥammad Adilshah (1626-1656). In 1649 he wrote his Dakhni epic *Ḥāwārnāma*, 'Book of the East,' imitating Ibn Ḥusām's Persian epic with the same name, composed in 1470; it was commissioned by Ḥadiġa, Muḥammad Adilshah's wife and 'Abdullāh Quṭbshah's sister⁵¹. With its 24000 lines it is one of the longest Dakhni *maṭnawīs*; like its Persian model, it has been illustrated⁵². In this poem Rustamī takes over some motifs from Firdōsi's *Šāhnāma*, like the stories of Ġamšīd and Bahman, Isfandiyār's son; yet, some themes are adapted from the heroic poetry of the Hindu poet Čanda Bardai. The work has also certain trends and

⁴⁸ BAILEY Nr. 7; cf. H. K. SHERWANI, Cultural Aspects of the Reign of Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shah, in: IC 41, 1, 1967, p. 45-75.

⁴⁹ British Museum Add. 16880, Dept. of Oriental MSS., 239 folio, twenty miniatures published by DOUGLAS BARRETT in: Paintings from Islamic Lands, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson, Oxford 1969.

⁵⁰ BAILEY Nr. 48; MM Nr. 1590; GARCIN II, p. 569 calls him 'Rasmi.'

⁵¹ *Ḥāwārnāma*, ed. Karachi 1968. NAŠIRUDDĪN ḤAŠIMĪ has analyzed the contents of this book in three articles in Ma'ārif 26, 5 and 27, 2 and 3. Cf. SADIQ p. 46f. According to Arab tradition, the Prophet sent Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqāṣ to China (Ph. HETTI, History of the Arabs, London 1943, p. 344), and a mosque in Canton is regarded in Chinese folklore as his burial-place.

⁵² BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 35 describes a fine illustrated 18th century copy in the India Office.

figures in common with the tradition of popular epics, especially with the widespread *Dāstān-i Amīr Ḥamza*, thus the person of the magician Šāhbal. Faithful to the spirit of these tales, the author describes the heroic battles in comparatively plain language, praising the bravery of the main figures and depicting the admirable strength of the religious heroes. The adventures have no historical basis, but are pure invention:

The young Arab warrior Abū'l-Mu'ḡam calls his rival Sa'd ibn Waqqāṣ for a duel; but then they decide to travel together through the world. The Prophet Muḥammad sends 'Alī to accompany them and to help them in their fight against the unbelievers, and all of them return home happily.

An older contemporary of Rustamī was Mirzā Muḥammad Muqīmī⁵³ (d. ca. 1665), who fought in Sultan Ibrāhīm II's army (1580–1626). Under Ibrāhīm's successor Muḥammad he was commissioned ambassador to the Nizamshahi and Qutbshahi courts and still occupied a distinguished position under 'Alī Adilshah. Muqīmī is the first Dakhni poet to elaborate in verse an almost contemporary tragic event. After a Persian model by Muḥammad Amīn 'Atīš he composed the *maṭnawī Qīṣṣa-yi Āandarbadan o Mahyār*⁵⁴, the subject of which is an incident that occurred under Ibrāhīm Adilshah in Kadrikot, about 130 km north of Madras, and had evoked everyone's interest and pity:

A Muslim merchant, Mahyār, fell in love with Āandarbadan, 'Moon-Body', the daughter of a Hindu raja. When she undertook a pilgrimage to Kadrikot he confessed his love to her. Being rejected, he spent a whole year as a hermit in the jungle. The following year, when Āandarbadan visited the temple again, he cast himself at her feet; but she turned away, amazed that he was still alive. Dismayed, he committed suicide. Ibrāhīm Adilshah ordered that Mahyār should be given an honourable burial. The procession with the bier stopped at the princess's mansion and could not move farther. Deeply moved by Mahyār's love which lasted even beyond the grave, Āandarbadan embraced Islam, clad herself in pure white garments, and placed herself beside him on the bier. When the procession reached the cemetery it was impossible to separate the dead lovers. They were buried together, and two tombstones were put on their resting place.

Muqīmī's *maṭnawī* is by no means an outstanding work of art, but it deserves mention for philological reasons.

In the time of Sultan Muḥammad Adilshah a certain Ḥasan Šauqī described in a heroic epic in Dakhni the battle of Tālikōtā, in which the united Muslim Deccani states annihilated Vijayanagar⁵⁵. At the same time, in 1644, a certain

⁵³ BAILEY Nr. 29.

⁵⁴ Āandarbadan o Mahyār, ed. MUḤ. AKBARUDDĪN ŠIDDĪQĪ, Hyderabad 1956. Šāh Taḡallī verifies this story in his chronicle Tuzak-i 'Ašāfiyya, according to the introduction in A. Siddiqī's edition, p. 33. The narrative, based on a folk tale, has been retold in different variants; even Mir's I'ḡāz-i 'išq goes back to this tale. BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 100 ascribes an elaboration of the story to 'Azīz, a friend of Gawwāšī; Biyānī wrote a new *maṭnawī*, 'Iṣnāma, about the same topic in 1694, MM Nr. 368.

⁵⁵ DR. SYED ABDULLAH, Urdū Maṭnawī kā dakhnī daur, in: Wālī se Iqbāl tak, Lahore 1958, p. 41. See H. K. SHERWANI, The site of the so-called Battle of Tālikōtā (23. 1. 1565), in: J. Pak. Hist. Soc. 5, 1957, p. 151–157.

Şan'atî produced a *mañnavî* of 32000 lines, called *Qişsa-yi bēnazîr*, 'The Incomparable Story'⁵⁶. Its topic was not taken from Persian models but belongs to a whole complex of stories centered around the Arab hero Tamîm al-Anşārî. Originating in the Arab world, these tales became favourites with the Indian Muslims, particularly in the South. Earlier, some Persian writing authors had elaborated the tale in poetry, among them a certain Ġulāmî of Khambat; but none of them was able to infuse such a dramatic and adventurous element into the given subject as was Şan'atî. The story, the single chapters of which are called *maqām*, 'Station' (perhaps under Sufi influence), is comparatively simple:

The wife of Tamîm comes to the caliph 'Umar and asks for permission to remarry because her husband has been away for four years without informing her of his whereabouts. After a longish deliberation the caliph agrees to a new marriage. When the newly-married couple return home, an emaciated man enters the courtyard: the former husband, Tamîm al-Anşārî. The next day he tells the caliph his adventures: evil djinns had carried him away among the demons, but an army of fairies had rescued him from their clutches, and their mistress had led him on an airy steed into her house. She gave him one of the subjugated demons to take him home. On the road an angel hit them with a lightning bolt, and Tamîm fell in the desert. A huge bird carried him away, brought him to a mountainous garden and fed him with fruit after which one feels no hunger for forty days. From there Tamîm turned to another desert, where ghouls molested him, but he conjured them by prayers and went to the ocean. He was shipwrecked, and he found himself again in the desert. In the valley of diamonds a dragon attacked him, but he sent him away by means of a magic formula which the fairy had taught him. Despaired, he even thought of suicide, but was saved by a young man who transformed himself presently into a bird to carry him to an island into a castle where every room was guarded by serpents and evil djinns. With the help of the archangel Gabriel Tamîm escaped; he found the beloved of the young man, converted her to Islam and put him at the demon's disposal. This demon brought him to a rock where their boat was shattered. On the way Tamîm also visited the castle of the martyrs of religion along with four angels. Eventually he met the prophet Ĥiẓr, who enabled him to return home on a Medina-bound cloud.

Under the reign of Sultan 'Alî Adilshah II (1656-1673) the poet Mirzâ lived in Bijapur, known by his *marṭiyas* and his panegyrics in honour of Muslim saints⁵⁷. Slightly later the blind Mirân Hâşim (d. 1697) wrote remarkable poetry in Dakhni. He composed *marṭiyas* about the heroic deeds of the Prophet's grandson Ĥusain in the battle of Kerbela, interrupting his stories with lively dialogues of the heroes so that the poems excel by virtue of their dramatic character⁵⁸. His *dīvān* is quite comprehensive. In 1687 Hâşim also elaborated in Dakhni the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, told in the Qur'ān (Sūra 12)

⁵⁶ *Qişsa-yi bēnazîr*, ed. 'ABDUL QĀDIR SARWARĪ, Hyderabad 1938. For the original stories centring around Tamîm see H. ETHÉ, *Neupersische Literatur*, in: W. GEIGER-E. KUHN, *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, Straßburg 1896-1904, II p. 322. The same interest in early Islamic folktales is also visible in the circles of stories about Ĥatîm aṭ-Ṭā'î and the famous Ĥamzanāma, see ETHÉ, l.c., II p. 319f.

⁵⁷ BAILEY Nr. 50.

⁵⁸ *Dīvān-i Hâşimî*, ed. ĤAFĪZ QATĪL, Hyderabad 1961 (only *ğazaliyât* and one *mustazād*); GARCIN I, p. 581; BAILEY Nr. 54.

as 'the most beautiful story.' It comprises about 6000 couplets, and the lines of poetical expressions which form the sayings of Zulaiḥā caused some critics to call the author 'founder of *reḥtī*,' i. e. the idiomatic language of women, since this idiom was used here for the first time as a means of poetical expression⁵⁹. Ten years later, a certain Mir 'Alī Amīn from Gujrat put Zulaiḥā 'in the dress of respectable Indian women'⁶⁰; but already half a century earlier another romance after Gāmi's *Yūsuf u Zulaiḥā* had been composed by Malik Ḥuṣnūd, the *poet laureate* and favourite of Muḥammad Adilshah⁶¹. Ḥuṣnūd, also serving his king in diplomatic missions, adapted Amīr Ḥusrau's Persian epic *Hašt Bihišt* in Dakḥnī (ca. 6500 verses); he called it by the name of its hero, *Bahrām*. Ḥuṣnūd's style in both *maṭnawīs* is rather stilted and complicated.

The best known court poet in the later years of the Bijapur sultanate is probably Mollā Muḥammad Nuṣratī from the Karnatik (d. 1684), the *poet laureate* of 'Alī Adilshah II and his two successors⁶². His main fame rests upon the *maṭnawī Gulšan-i 'išq*, 'The Rosegarden of Love,' written in 1657⁶³. On the basis of earlier Persian verses he elaborated the popular Indian story of Manohar and Madhumālātī. He states that

he and some friends were one day discussing the subject of the translation of Persian romances, of which the only one that had been written in Dakḥnī was the story of Badī' ul-Ġamāl composed by Ġawwāšī . . .⁶⁴

The adventurous love-romance in 8000 lines contains many supernatural elements. It excels by its fluent colloquial language; its animated descriptions of Indian nature during various seasons of the year (the garden in the month of Bḥadan, in the rainy season, the park at full moon, etc.) show only bare traces of Persian influence, and the poet fills them with fresh metaphors⁶⁵. The black Indian cuckoo replaces the Persian nightingale, the scent of Persian roses is complemented by the fragrance of Indian flowers, and mango and papaya are given preference over the pomegranate of Persian orchards. Nuṣratī's dependence upon Indian literary tradition manifests itself also in the fact that his heroine, the lovely Madhumālātī (Honey-blossom) utters her amorous

⁵⁹ BAILEY does not accept this language as *reḥtī*, since it is legitimately spoken by a woman, while he restricts the use of the term to women's idiom when used by male poets.

⁶⁰ See DAR, l. c., p. 30. He mentions an edition prepared by Dr. Faruqī. BAILEY Nr. 61; cf. GARCIN I, p. 197.

⁶¹ BAILEY Nr. 47; cf. MM Nr. 1258.

⁶² A critical study about him is: MAULWĪ 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Nuṣratī, New Delhi 1944, 2nd ed. Karachi 1961. GARCIN II, p. 485 gives some more versions of the Manohar story. See also BAILEY Nr. 49, and MM Nr. 1438.

⁶³ Gulšan-i 'išq, ed. M. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Karachi ATU 1952; see ZAIDI Nr. 30; ed. SAYYID MUḤAMMAD, Hyderabad 1954.

⁶⁴ Thus in BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 104, p. 56. For the topic cf. G. C. NARANG, Hindūstānī qīṣṣōñ se ma'ḥūd Urdū maṭniwiyāñ, New Delhi 1962; and for the topic in general ETHÉ, Grundriß II, p. 252, where Indo-Persian elaborations, like that by Mir 'Askarī and Naṣīr 'Alī Sirhindī, are mentioned.

⁶⁵ BAUSANI, p. 120.

sentiments and, after the model of Kalidasa's *Meghadūta*, bursts out in prolix complaints about the pain of separation. Such a daring attitude of women is alien to Islamic literatures, where usually only the man voices his pangs of love, his 'burning and melting.'

The romance, of the conventional type, is summed up by M. Sadiq:

The Raja of Kanak Nagar, who is without male issue, is blessed with a son through the guidance of a hermit. When fourteen years old the Prince (Manohar) is transported to the Raja of Maharas Nagar's palace by some fairies, where he falls in love with Madhumālātī, the Raja's daughter. Finding himself alone in the palace the next morning (the fairies having brought him back to his own palace), he sets out in search of the Princess. During his wanderings, he rescues a princess of the name of Čampavatī from the toils of her demon lover and restores her to her parents. Čampavatī's mother brings the lovers together, but they are surprised by Madhumālātī's mother, who in a fit of anger changes her daughter into a bird. Meanwhile, another prince, named Čandar Sen, who is out hunting, captures the bird, and learning her history repairs to her parents. The spell is removed and Manohar and Madhumālātī and Čampavatī and Čandar Sen are married amidst great rejoicing.⁶⁶

Nuṣratī was ordered by his maecenas to compose a long historical epic called '*Alināma*, 'The Book of 'Alī,' which describes the first ten years of 'Alī Adilshah's reign. This versified chronicle, interrupted by impressive odes, is valuable as the first Dakhni biographical poem. A shorter *maṭnavī*, *Ta'riḥ-i Sikandarī*, 'The History of Iskandar,' forms its continuation. It was written for 'Alī's son and successor, the later Sultan Iskandar⁶⁷. Both epics deal with the wars with the Great Mughals, the victories over the Mahratta leader Shivaji, and the struggle with the Qutbshahis for supremacy in the Deccan. They are written in the powerful style of early feudal epics in northern India, following the model of Hindu heroic songs (*virgātha*). But their realistic descriptions of important events in the campaigns, of fights and victories constitute an important source of information for the style of life in the mid-17th-century Deccan.

Nuṣratī's talent for combining organically the classical Persian style with local Indian elements is even more visible in his collection of poetry, *Guldasta-yi 'išq*, 'Bouquet of Love,' dedicated to the king, in which he collected his *ġazals*, *qaṣīdas*, and quatrains. The poet himself was well aware of his twofold interest and ability, and towards the end of his poems he charmingly summed up the virtues and beauties of both literatures he mastered⁶⁸.

Even more than in Nuṣratī's major poems, Dakhni themes and expressions are conspicuous in his first works, such as the *Mi'rāġnāma* 'The Book of Ascension.' In this *maṭnavī*, written under Muḥammad Adilshah, he continues the tradition of Sufi treatises as composed by the earlier saints of Bijapur.

⁶⁶ SADIQ, p. 47f.

⁶⁷ ed. 'ABDUL MAĠĪD ṢIDDĪQĪ, Hyderabad 1959 (based on two MSS.); for a good MS see BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 36.

⁶⁸ BAUSANI, p. 122 gives a translation of the relevant passage.

The development of Dakhni poetry might not have led to such remarkable results, had not some of the rulers of both Adilshahī and Qutbshahī dynasties been gifted poets themselves. 'Alī Adilshah II 'Šāhī' composed Dakhni verses⁶⁹, but by far the most outstanding artist in Bijapur was Ibrāhīm II, a Sunni like his namesake Ibrāhīm I. A wise and broadminded ruler, Ibrāhīm II was an excellent connoisseur of Indian art, particularly music. Inspired by Indian literary and musical traditions he composed the poetical work *Nauras* 'Nine Sentiments as expressed in various musical modes,' to which Ṣuhūrī wrote a famous Persian introduction⁷⁰. *Nauras* – a word of which the ruler was apparently very fond – is a collection of altogether 59 hymnic poems, written on various occasions, in which even Hindu deities are praised, and Hindu religious ceremonies described. The whole work proves that Sultan Ibrāhīm knew well the system of Indian music a book about which was composed for him and illustrated by Šaiḥ 'Abdul Karīm ibn Šaiḥ Farīd-i Anšārī, called *Ḡawāhir-i mūsīqāt-i muḥammadi*⁷¹. He also mastered the poetical rules, the metrics and the means of expression of classical Indian literature. In his songs he uses words taken from Sanskrit, Mahrathi, Braj and Rajasthanī dialects, thus connecting his work with the indigenous tradition. Typical is his description of a moonlit night:

The world is a milk-pot which is full of the milk of moonlight,
the moon is pure butter.⁷²

On the other hand, the praise of legendary Persian heroes as expressed in his verses induced him to use a large Persian vocabulary; the mystical themes of Sufism, again, led him to insert Arabic technical terms. He sometimes uses the same imagery as his poet colleagues, the Persian writing poets at the court of Delhi, where for instance the word 'hour-glass' became fashionable about 1580:

The body is a glass in which the function of the soul is exactly that of sand in an
hour-glass;
This is done to see the time of the beloved's arrival.⁷³

Ibrāhīm Adilshah's literary-musical work is exemplary because it most impressively manifests the blending of the cultural heritage of the Indian and West Asian peoples⁷⁴.

⁶⁹ Kulliyāt completed 1666; MM Nr. 1672. Ed.: 'Alī 'Adilšāh kā kāvyā sangraha, Agra 1958.

⁷⁰ GARCIN II, p. 5; BAILEY Nr. 43. NAZIR AHMAD, Kitāb-e Nauras, in: IC XXVIII 1954, p. 333–371; Kitāb-i Nauras, ed. NAZIR AHMAD on the basis of nine MSS, with an Urdu introduction, Lucknow 1955.—Cf. also MOTI CHANDRA, Portraits of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, in: Marg V 1, 1955.

⁷¹ British Museum 12857, with 48 miniatures, illustrating *svaras* (notes), *ragas* and *raginis*, and certain dance movements.

⁷² NAZIR AHMAD in IC 28, p. 353.

⁷³ id., p. 354.

⁷⁴ GLEBOV-SUCHOČEV, p. 25f.

6. Golkonda

Almost parallel with the development of Urdu literary activities in Bijapur is that of the second important Deccani sultanate, Golkonda, where the poets enjoyed the generous favours of the Shia dynasty of the Qutbshahis, who were of Turkman origin⁷⁵. At the same time that Ibrāhīm Adilshah excelled in literary activities, his neighbour, the fourth and most famous ruler of Golkonda, Muḥammad-Qulī Qutbshah (1580-1611)⁷⁶, wrote under the *nom-de-plume* Ma'ānī⁷⁷ and is regarded by many critics as the first literary writer of Dakhni Urdu. His successors, Muḥammad⁷⁸ and 'Abdullāh, were likewise noted poets in Dakhni and Persian. Muḥammad-Qulī, whose remains rest in a magnificent mausoleum not far from the citadel, was an enlightened and tolerant ruler who strengthened the ties between Hindus and Muslims in his kingdom which under his rule attained its greatest extent. Hindus enjoyed good positions at court and were again allowed to celebrate some of their religious festivals, such as Holi and Diwali, prohibited by the previous Muslim kings⁷⁹. Muḥammad-Qulī Ma'ānī wrote in three languages: Urdu, Persian, and Telugu⁸⁰. He mastered all the poetical techniques of Persian and succeeded in applying them to Dakhni. As the first author in Urdu literature he collected his verses in a *dīwān* in the Persian style, i. e. he arranged them according to the alphabetical order of the rhyme-letter. His *Kulliyāt*, an exquisite copy of which, dated 1616, formerly belonged to Tipu Sultan, consists of 1800 pages, more than half of them *gāzals*, a hundred pages of *qaṣīdas*, 336 pages of *maṭnawī*, and the rest *marṭiyas* and some quatrains. Ma'ānī was the first Urdu poet to compose *gāzals* the verses of which are connected by a single topic, the so-called *gāzal-i musalsal*, 'continuous *gāzal*.'⁸¹

Contrary to many of his royal poet-colleagues, Ma'ānī used a style which conforms to Indian rather than Persian taste. Interesting remarks about food, dress, elephants, music, etc. are preserved in his verse, and he sings about Indian nature and the habits of the people. Besides colourful descriptions of

⁷⁵ 'ABDUL MAĠĪD ŠIDDĪQĪ, *Tārīḥ-i Golkondā*, Hyderabad 1956.

⁷⁶ H. K. SHERWANI, *The Reign of Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Qutubshāh*, in: J. Pak. Hist. Soc. 10, 1962, pp. 137-160, 263-281; id., *Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh, Founder of Haiderabad*, London 1967; - id. *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, 1973. See also NAŠIRUDDĪN HĀŠIMĪ, *Dakhni (qadīm Urdu) kē čand taḥqīqī maṣāmin*, Delhi 1953; BAILEY Nr. 20, Garcin I, p. 398; MM Nr. 1229.

⁷⁷ Cf. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, *Qadīm Urdū*, p. 171-197.

⁷⁸ MM Nr. 1230 mentions the Persian and Urdu *Dīwān* of Muḥammad Qutbshah. See also: *Kalām al-mulūk*, Hyderabad 1938 (Persian poetry written by the Bahmani, 'Adilshahi, and Qutbshahi kings).

⁷⁹ GLEBOV-SUCHOČEV p. 27; BAUSANI, p. 109.

⁸⁰ K. K. BASU, *Qulī Qutb Shāh, a Poet King of Golkonda*, in B. C. Law 1, 1945, p. 232-236.—*Kulliyāt-i Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh*, ed. S. MOHĪUDDĪN QĀDIRĪ ZŪB, Hyderabad 1940.—*Ma'ānī-yi suḥān*, Hyderabad 1958.

⁸¹ Text and English translation of three *gāzals*: MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 1.

Hindu and Muslim festivities, we find also in his *Kulliyāt* fine lyrical verses about the seasons of the year, particularly the rainy season, in accordance with the indigenous tradition. Ma'ānī wrote in a plain, easy-flowing language; and, notwithstanding his exalted position, one is almost inclined to call him the first folk-poet of Urdu literature. In love-poetry, too, his verses represent a step forward. In his lyrics love of women no longer hides itself in the Sufi garb of mystical passion for the Divine Beloved but is expressed quite frankly and openly:

Mine eyes have seen a little girl's dark face
and have become forgetful of all else.
Thy cypress form comes out coquettishly
and lights appear to me like moon-rays fair.
Swift as the wind her hands surround her waist,
that golden waist then shines like sun and moon . . .⁸².

The ruler did not even hesitate to praise the wordly beauty of the ladies of his harem.

It seems that the first Dakhni version of the tale of *Lailā Maḡnūn* was poetically elaborated under Muḡammad-Qulī's reign by a certain Aḡmad, as shown by a lavishly illustrated manuscript⁸³. At the same time and under Muḡammad-Qulī's two successors, the poet Ġawwāṣī, 'The Diver,' lived in Golkonda⁸⁴. Though a talented poet, he could not get along too well with his contemporaries Ibn-i Niṣāṣī and Waḡhī, with whom he exchanged satirical verses. Sultan 'Abduḡlāh (1625–1672) assigned him to an official post at court, and sent him in 1636 together with the Bijapuri poet Malik Ḥuṣnūd as ambassador to Bijapur, where he was received with due honours.

Ġawwāṣī composed for Sultan 'Abduḡlāh a Dakhni *maḡnawī* of 14000 verses, called *Saiḡ ul-Mulūk wa Badi' ul-Ġamāl*⁸⁵. He allegedly finished it in one month. Based on a topic taken from the Arabian Nights, he tells the romantic love of Prince Saiḡ ul-Mulūk and the Princess Badi' ul-Ġamāl. The natural simplicity of the epic shows that its model was probably not a work of high literature by a previous author but rather a popular tale. In the whole book one senses the influence of Hindu love poets, particularly Qutban, Mangan, but likewise of

⁸² BAILEY, p. 21.

⁸³ See IC VIII, 1934, p. 398, based on an account by Prof. M. Sherani in Oriental College Magazine, Lahore 1925.—Slightly later, Mir Ġumla Muḡammad Amīn dedicated his Persian 'Lailā Maḡnūn' to Muḡammad Quṭbshāh, see ETHÉ, Grundriß II, p. 246. Cf. BAILEY Nr. 23.

⁸⁴ SAḡĀWAT MİRZĀ, Maliku's-šu'arā Ġawwāṣī aur uskā kalām, Karachi, in: Urdu 1954, 4, p. 94–152; BAILEY Nr. 25; MM Nr. 491.

⁸⁵ Saiḡ ul-mulūk wa Badi' ul-ġamāl, ed. MIR SA'ĀDAT 'ALĪ RIZWĪ, Hyderabad 1938. In Devanagari ed. RĀĠKĪṢOR PĀNḊĒY and AKBARUDDĪN ṢIDDĪQĪ, Hyderabad 1955. It was first printed Bombay 1873. See BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 99; for the Persian models see ETHÉ, Grundriß II, p. 321. H. K. SHERWANI, Cultural Aspects. . . in IC XLI 45–75 mentions an edition of the Kulliyāt-i Ġawwāṣī, by MUḡAMMAD BIN 'UMAR, Hyderabad 1959.

Malik Muḥammad Ġā'isī. Besides Hindi and Sanskrit words Ġawwāšī also utilized expressions taken from Mahrathi, Telugu, and Kannada, some in their original form, others modified. Although he masterly described Indian nature, cities, and finally the ocean, the contents of this tale (or fable) undeniably prove that the topic came from Western Asia.

Once upon a time there lived in Egypt a king by the name of 'Aṣim Nawāl, who had no male issue. The astrologers advised him to marry the daughter of the king of Java. He followed their counsel and sent out a splendid embassy with many presents to ask for the hand of the princess. The king of Java agreed, and a merry wedding was celebrated. Soon, the king's wife gave birth to a prince who was called Saif ul-Mulūk. The same day, a son, Sa'd, was born to the king's vizier. When the boys grew up they became friends and were educated together.

One day King 'Aṣim called his son to present him with a gold-brocade garment, a ring and a horse, which had been given to him by King Solomon. At night the prince saw the picture of a beautiful girl embroidered in the new robe and immediately fell in love with her. The king told him that this picture represented Badī' ul-Ġamāl, the daughter of the king of the paradisiacal garden Iram. When the prince felt that he could not live without her, he sent out his servants to find the garden Iram. After a year they returned fruitless, and the love-sick prince waned from day to day. Eventually he and the vizier's son wandered into the wide world to seek Iram themselves.

They sailed a long time before they reached China, where they were well received by the king, and obtained good advice. On their way to Constantinople, they boarded a boat which was shattered in a storm; the prince found himself on African soil amidst black people. The princess of the cannibals intended to roast him but, pitying his beauty, imprisoned him instead. The prince managed to escape; he strayed through various islands, found Kaisariyya, where only monkeys lived ruled by a single human being, and proceeded to the island of miraculous animals. After a dangerous adventure with the Phoenix, he reached another island where a lovely girl slept in an empty castle. The prince broke the spell and liberated her. She explained to him that she was the daughter of the king of Singal and had two sisters. Once a huge bird had taken her in his claws and carried her to this castle where it had transformed itself into the son of the Fairy King. He bewitched her to fall asleep and then to love him.

The Princess knew where Iram lay, and knew even Badī' ul-Ġamāl. With the help of Solomon's ring, Saif killed the djinn who had bewitched the princess, and went with her to Singal. Along with her uncle, Taḡ ul-Mulūk, and his people they went via Wasit to Singal; and Saif, after a while, met his friend Sa'd there. At the same time Badī' ul-Ġamāl had come to Singal and fallen in love with Saif, whom she had seen in a garden. With the help of her grandmother in the lovely city of Simipatam, Saif ul-Mulūk hoped to win her. The grandmother, surrounded by her army of demons, went to see her son Šahbāl, Badī' ul-Ġamāl's father. While Saif was sitting happily in a garden, the messengers of the King of Qulzum arrived, whose brother Saif had killed; they captured him and carried him away. The Princess forced her father to march against Qulzum; Saif was liberated, and finally the wedding could be celebrated. Sa'd too got married to the Singali princess, and all returned to Egypt.

Thanks to Ġawwāšī's simple and intelligible version, the story of Saif ul-Mulūk spread widely in southern India and became very popular; it was translated into several Indian languages, Sindhi, Panjabi, Pashto, Bengali, etc.

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL

CLASSICAL URDU LITERATURE
FROM THE BEGINNING TO IQBĀL

1975

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

In 1640, Ġawwāṣī wrote the *Tūṭīnāma*, 'The Book of the Parrot,' in Dakhni verses⁸⁶, apparently on the basis of Ziyā'uddīn Naḥṣabī's Persian adaptation of the well-known Sanskrit cyclical tale *Sukasaptati*. To him is also ascribed a poetical version of the story of the Mainā-bird and the cowherd's faithful wife, *Mainā Satwanti*⁸⁷. After completing the *Tūṭīnāma* Ġawwāṣī led an ascetic life far from the court, since, as he states in the end of the *Tūṭīnāma*, he 'had got all he wanted and now wished to spend the rest of his life in prayer and meditation.'⁸⁸ It has been suggested that he had not as much success as he had hoped. If so, then one reason for such a lack of success may have been his open expression of his religious zeal, an attitude which was certainly not too welcome at a court where religious tolerance reigned and where Hindus occupied important positions in the government service. But Ġawwāṣī, as an uncompromising Muslim, thoroughly disliked the fact that the 'idol-worshippers' and 'enemies of Islam' should be encompassed by the generosity of the rulers and in his *Dīwān* he protested against their privileged position as well as against the corruption at court⁸⁹.

Ġawwāṣī's contemporary in Golkonda was Mollā Waḡhī, who lived under four Qutbshahi rulers⁹⁰. He came to the court under Ibrāhīm Qulī (1550-1580); during the reign of his successor Muḥammad-Qulī he was created *poet-laureate*, and enjoyed further the favour of Muḥammad (1612-1625) and 'Abdullāh, under whom he wrote his most famous prose work. In 1609 at the order of Muḥammad-Qulī he retold the ruler's alleged love adventure in the *maṭnawī* *Quṭb Muṣṭarī*, 'Polar Star and Jupiter.'⁹¹ It contains 2000 verses in the heroic metre *mutaqārib*, interrupted now and then by *gazzals* and a few quatrains. All the heroes bear names of stars. The *maṭnawī* begins with the usual praise of God, the Prophet, and panegyrics of the ruler, filled with Arabic and Persian expressions. Then the author tells the adventures of his heroes in colourful scenes, praising his native Deccan and its beauty. He writes in a good colloquial Urdu; a considerable amount of words from Sanskrit and local dialects are easily introduced into the grammatical structure of the Urdu.

One day in his youth Prince Quṭb hosted a merry party and after a sumptuous dinner fell asleep.

⁸⁶ *Tūṭīnāma*, ed. MĪR SA'ĀDAT 'ALĪ RIZWĪ, Hyderabad 1939. GARCIN II, p. 494, mentions only the *Tūṭīnāma* among Ġawwāṣī's works, but speaks of other Hindustani versions of this book, thus by Mansūr 'Alī Sabzawāri in prose (see id. II, p. 278). See also BLUMHEARDT IO Nr. 99. For Naḥṣabī see ETHÉ, Grundriß II, p. 324, and SCHIMMEL, Islamic Literatures, p. 20.

⁸⁷ *Mainā Satwanti* of Ġawwāṣī, ed. GULĀM 'OMAR KHĀN, in: Qadīm Urdu I 1965, p. 1-222. For the topic cf. BLUMHEARDT IO Nr. 77 and 78.

⁸⁸ SHERWANI, l.c., p. 52.

⁸⁹ BAUSANI, p. 118 (foreword of Badī' ul-Ġamāl).

⁹⁰ H. K. SHERWANI, Cultural and Administrative Set-up under Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, in: IC 31, 2-3, 1957.

⁹¹ *Quṭb Muṣṭarī*, ed. MAULWĪ 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Karachi ATU 1953, Delhi ATU 1939.—A Devanagari edition by VIMALĀ VĀGHRĒ and NAṢĪRUDDĪN HĀSHIMĪ, Hyderabad 1954. BAILEY Nr. 24; MM Nr. 1851.

One night the Emperor an assembly made;
 The sons of ministers sat with him there,
 And every youth was handsome, fair to see,
 and winsome every one with youthful charm;
 In war as unafraid as great King Jam,
 In bravery not Rustam's self more brave.
 Courtiers and singers, elegant and wise,
 Sat in one place together with the King.
 Goblet and pitcher taking in their hand
 The courtiers one and all engaged in talk;
 And when the singers rhythmically sang,
 The earth was trembling with the jovial sound . . .⁹².

In his dream Quṭb saw a beautiful girl whom he longed to meet. His father Ibrahim, following the advice of the sages, called the painter 'Uṭārid, 'Mercury' who showed the prince a picture of the Bengali princess Muštari. Nothing could hold the prince back. Together with the painter he set out in quest for the princess. On the way he met Mirriḥ Khan, 'Mars,' who was engaged to Muštari's younger sister, the beautiful Zuhra, 'Venus', but had fallen into the clutches of evil demons. Quṭb killed them and proceeded along with Mirriḥ. The princess Māhtāb, 'Clair-de-lune' enticed Quṭb to come to her house. Meanwhile the painter had reached Bengal; when ordered to decorate Muštari's palace he painted in one place his prince's likeness. The princess fell in love with him, Quṭb hurried to Bengal and married her, while Mirriḥ married Zuhra and ruled with her in Bengal. Quṭb and Muštari returned happily to Golkonda.

The historical value of the poem is nil, for Muḥammad-Qulī never went to Bengal.

It has been claimed that the theme of his love for the Bengali princess is but an allusion to his inclination to the dancing girl Baghmāti whom he married after ascending the throne, but this idea has to be discarded as much as the related statement that Muḥammad-Qulī called his new capital Hyderabad in her honour; the city was named, as was natural for a Shia ruler, after 'Alī Ḥaidar, the fourth caliph of Islam. The name of Baghmāti does not even occur among those seventeen favourites mentioned by name or petname in the ruler's *Diwān*⁹³. Whatever the reason for composing *Quṭb Muštari* may have been, the king certainly felt flattered when reading about the heroic deeds which he, the paragon of beauty and courage, was supposed to have performed in the way of love.

A further, still unprinted, *maṭnawī* by Waḡhī, *Tāḡ ul-ḥaqā'iq*, 'Crown of Realities' is less interesting compared to his more famous works which have survived.

Waḡhī's most appreciated work is the allegorical story *Sab Ras*, 'All Senses,' written in rhythmical rhymed prose interrupted by verse⁹⁴. He took the theme

⁹² BAILEY, p. 54; see also his: Gleanings from Early Urdu Poets, in BSOS 5, 1928-30, p. 801-808.

⁹³ See SHEERWANI, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, Appendix I.

⁹⁴ *Sab ras*, ed. MAULWĪ 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Aurangabad 1932, 2nd ed. Karachi ATU 1952, 3rd. ed. ibidem 1964. Edition in Devanagari by Śrī RĀM ŚĀRMĀ, Hyderabad 1955; ed. ŠĀMĪM ANḤŌNAWĪ, Lucknow 1962 (the same five MSS on which the 'Abdul Ḥaqq edition is based).

of this allegory from the Persian poet Fattāhī Nīšāpūrī (d. 1448)⁹⁵, who had explained complicated mystical topics in his poem *Husn u Dil*, 'Beauty and Heart,' by personifying the various parts of the human body and mind. In this epic, Fattāhī had summed up his more comprehensive allegorical epic *Dastūr-i 'uṣṣāq*, 'The Law of the Lovers,' in 1427⁹⁶. His book was so often imitated in Muslim literature from Turkey to India that it became almost a literary type⁹⁷.

Sab Ras is the first really artistic prose work of Urdu literature. As mentioned above, prose hitherto consisted mainly of religious tracts whose authors to a certain extent utilized the artistic technique of belles-lettres but subjugated them to the preaching of mystical ideas. They were at the same time poets, philosophers, historians, physicians, and preachers; and a precise borderline between scholarly and artistic prose did not yet exist; thus, we find accounts of religious experiences and romantic miracle stories intertwined with facts from the exact and social sciences. Waḡhī transformed the given theme and creatively modified it according to his own taste and to his aesthetic ideals in harmony with the exigencies of his time. The core of the story is the war between 'Aql, 'Reason' and 'Iṣq, 'Love-passion'; parallel with this theme develop the mutual relations between their children Dil, 'Heart,' and Ḥusn, 'Beauty.' Reason rules in the West, Love in the East (an old mystical idea common to the Sufi thinkers, and pertinent even in contemporary Muslim thinking). The tale is extremely long-winded:

King 'Aql, ruler of Sistan, has a son Dil, destined to rule the country Tan, 'Body'. The prince reads about the Water of Life and orders his vizier Naẓar, 'Vision', to get it for him. The vizier questions the king of the city 'Āfiyat, 'Health,' about the Water of Life; he learns from him that it is rather a symbolical expression of human dignity. Later, a hermit on the mountain Zuhd, 'Asceticism' reveals to him that the Water of Life can be found only in Paradise, where it must be sought from the tears of those who love God. The vizier wanders until he reaches Castle Hidāyat, 'Right Guidance,' where king Himmat, 'High Ambition,' rules. He explains to him that the Water of Life springs from a fountain in the garden Ruḥsār, 'Face' (i.e. its source is the mouth), under the mythical Mount Qāf. He writes a letter of recommendation to his brother Qāmat, 'Stature', but warns the vizier that the road is dangerous because the demon Raqīb, 'Rival', lies in ambush. Raqīb indeed captures the vizier and sends him to the country of Saḡsar, 'Dog-headed Monster.' By a ruse Naẓar escapes, finds the garden 'Face' and by chance meets the girl Lāt, 'Curl', a servant of princess Ḥusn. The garden is guarded by Gamza, 'Coquettish Glance,' who imprisons Naẓar but, recognizing in him his brother, leads him to Ḥusn. She shows him a ruby with the portrait of Prince Dil. The vizier promises her to bring the prince to her, but asks for the way to the Water of Life. Ḥusn gives him a magic ring and sends with him her servant

⁹⁵ РЫКА, History of Iranian Literature p. 284f.; ETHÉ, Grundriß II, p. 334.

⁹⁶ Ḥusn ū dil, Schönheit und Herz, herausgegeben mit deutscher Übersetzung von RUDOLF DVOŘÁK, Wien 1889. English translations: A. BROWNE, Dublin 1801; W. PRICE 1828.—*Dastūr-i 'uṣṣāq*, ed. W. GREENSHIELDS, Berlin 1926.

⁹⁷ BAUSANI, p. 112-117, with detailed bibliographical notes. Besides the Indo-Persian Bēdil (d. 1721), who elaborated this topic about 1683, some Dakhni poets, too, composed new, partly poetical, versions, thus Muḡrimī (1675), Dauqī (1697), Waliullāh Qādirī (1766).

Ḥayāl, 'Imagination.' Both return to the country Body. But Wahm, 'Careful Thought,' the vizier of King Reason, imprisons Dil and his vizier. Naẓar, however, makes himself invisible by means of the magic ring, escapes, and finds the Water of Life. After falling once more in Rival's claws he is miraculously released. In the war with King Love, Reason, helped by his general Patience, gains victory after an initial defeat. Eventually the heroes meet Ḥizr, who explains to them the secrets of gnosis and advises them to get rid of destructive passions. Just as Reason and Love cooperate, Heart and Beauty marry, and have many beautiful and intelligent children, of which our poet claims to be one . . .

The continuous flow of the story is interrupted by many verbose didactic insertions and suffers by the exaggerated rhythmical structure of the ornate rhymed prose. One reason for the great popularity of this work is probably the elegant way in which Waḡhī solves important philosophical and ethical problems. In allegorical form he instructs the rulers to keep their feelings in rein and act the way reason orders them for the benefit of the people. Such praise of reason was quite progressive in a time when India was divided into hundreds of princely states which were constantly entangled in feuds. Waḡhī's style, the artistic form and his rich symbolism were long considered paragons of beauty. Many Urdu writers, who tried to imitate *Sab Ras* in poetry and prose, followed the model he had set⁹⁸.

Waḡhī himself called the language of his work *Hindī*; the term *Hindustānī* is used by him to denote the common language of conversation in Northern India.

During the time of 'Abdullāh Quṭbshāh, a good poet in his own right⁹⁹, Muḥammad Maẓharuddīn Ibn-i Nišāṭī was the outstanding poet. We have almost no information about his life. He first lived a modest life in comparative poverty, but his *maṭnawī Phūlban* 'Flower-garden' (called after the name of the heroine) made him famous¹⁰⁰. This love legend, written in 1655, is dedicated to the king; it is regarded as a pearl of Dakhni poetry. Its nearly 3500 verses are full of supernatural events, as was the tradition. *Phūlban* is a free adaptation of a lost Persian work, *Basātin*, 'Gardens,' which an otherwise unknown Aḥmad Zubairī wrote in the mid 14th century under Muḥammad Tuḡluq. Ibn-i Nišāṭī gives a lively and faithful picture of life in the Deccan in the late 17th century; thus his poem is important not only for literary reasons but also as a source of cultural history. At the end of the introduction with its usual eulogies the author laments the death of some of his poet-predecessors. In an epilogue, written many years later, he informs us that he had formerly written prose

⁹⁸ See 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, *Qadīm Urdū*, Karachi 1961, p. 217-250.

⁹⁹ *Diwān-i Sultān 'Abdullāh Quṭbshāh*, ed. SAYYID MUḤAMMAD, Hyderabad 1959, is, according to H. K. Sherwani, based on an incomplete MS. See H. K. SHERWANI, The reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh 1626-1675, in: *J. Ind. Hist.* 42, 1964, p. 443-470, 677-697.—GARCIN I, p. 399; BAILEY Nr. 34; MM Nr. 34.

¹⁰⁰ *Phūlban*, ed. 'ABDUL QĀDIR SARWARĪ, Hyderabad 1938; ed. ŠAIḤ ČĀND, Karachi ATU 1955.—BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 103 describes an illustrated MS. See further GARCIN I, p. 257; BAILEY Nr. 31; MM Nr. 678.

(none of which has survived), and that *Phūlban* was his first attempt at poetry. Due to its pleasant and fluent style, it became very popular.

Ibn-i Nisāfi's younger contemporary, the poet Ṭab'ī¹⁰¹, wrote in 1670 the romantic *maṭnawī Qiṣṣa-yi Bahrām o Gulandām*, following Nizami's Persian romance *Haft Paikar*. The same topic had been elaborated before him, about 1620, by the Bijapuri poet Amīn¹⁰² under the title *Bahrām o Banū Ḥusn*, a poem which was completed in 1639 by Daulat¹⁰³. Ṭab'ī's version, however, is much more original and perfect, although it is said that he finished it in forty days (forty being the number of trial and preparation in Islamic folklore). Ṭab'ī very much admired Waḡhī and even claims that the great poet appeared to him in a dream to praise his work, in which he describes in unsophisticated language the adventures of the Persian king Bahrām Gūr in the country of the djinns and his marriage to their princess.

Another famous romance was composed by Fā'iz, again from Golkonda, under the last Qutbshahi ruler, Abū'l-Ḥasan Thanā Šāh. In 1683 he wrote a *maṭnawī* of 1700 verses, *Rizwān Šāh o Rūḥafzā*¹⁰⁴, which relates the love story of the Chinese prince Rizwān and the princess of the djinns. After the fashion of the time, many eery and miraculous occurrences are described. The subject is taken from a Persian prose tale. The language of this Dakhni poem is somewhat plainer than that used by earlier poets; some chapters are written in prose; but in the use of many Arabic and Persian compounds, Fā'iz resembles Walī rather than his predecessors, which shows that a stronger persianizing tendency set in about 1680 in Dakhni Urdu.

Half a century later, in 1745, a certain Muḥammad Bāqir Aḡā from Bijapur reworked Fā'iz's subject once more, for romantic fairy tales, phantastic stories in verses and legends were as much in favour in later Dakhni literature as they were in Indo-Persian poetry during the same period¹⁰⁵. (S. M. Ikram speaks of the 'escapism' of these authors). The poets usually imitated Persian or Sanskrit models, but almost all of them gave their works a local colour. One of the most famous later writers in this field was Taḥsinuddīn, who lived in the Deccan in the 18th century. His *maṭnawī Qiṣṣa-yi Kāmṛūp* retells the adventures of Prince Kāmṛūp in his quest of Kālā, whom he had seen in a dream¹⁰⁶. As the name of the story shows, the theme (very similar to the tale of the Prince of

¹⁰¹ BAUSANI, p. 118; GARCIN III, p. 194; MM Nr. 1764.

¹⁰² BAILEY Nr. 45.

¹⁰³ BAILEY Nr. 46; cf. also ETHE, Grundriß II, p. 249.

¹⁰⁴ Rizwān šāh o Rūḥafzā, ed. SAYYID MUḤAMMAD, Hyderabad 1956. Other romantic tales of this kind are Amīn's *Qiṣṣa-yi Abū Šāma*, and Ṭalīb o Mōhinī, both later 17th century, BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 71 and 72.

¹⁰⁵ One may also think of the Dakhni poem *Qiṣṣa-i La'l o Gauhar* by 'Aḡiz (BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 110, illustrated), the Persian version of which was dedicated by its author, 'Izzat, to Tipu Sultan in 1778 (ETHE, Grundriß, II p. 252). ZAIDI 49 I mentions a similar story by Khan 'Aziz (d. 1764), printed Madras 1873.

¹⁰⁶ *Qiṣṣa-i Kāmṛūp o Kālā*, ed. GARCIN DE TASSY, Paris 1835, French translation: *Les aventures de Kamrup*, par GARCIN DE TASSY, Paris 1834, and also in: *Allégories, récits poétiques, et chants populaires*, trad. de l'Arabe, du Persan, de

Samarqand in the Arabian Nights) is derived from a Sanskrit original through the medium of a Persian version which, in turn, belongs to the first works of Indian literature to be translated into English; the beginning of the 'unschätzbare' poem, translated by the German orientalist Kosegarten into his mother tongue, was highly appreciated by Goethe.

Besides court poetry proper, a more popular type of poetry developed in Golkonda and probably elsewhere in the Deccan. Poets like Sa'id Bulakī, Mirān Ya'qūb¹⁰⁷, Fārūqī, and others recited their verses in the bazaars and public gatherings; folk raconteurs and roving bards learned them by heart and sang them all over India. Most of these poetical works, however, were never written down and therefore were lost in the course of time¹⁰⁸.

In the second half of the 17th century the political and military pressure of the Great Mughals upon the independent Deccani sultanates grew stronger. Unceasing wars, and the fear of future catastrophes caused in most of the later writers in Bijapur and Golkonda a more pessimistic outlook, which manifested itself in a preference for tragic topics and the deepening of religious feelings (very similar to the *Stimmung* of Indo-Persian poetry in the same period). It is only natural that under these conditions highflown panegyrics and charming love-songs should have given way to elegiac poetry.

Since the Deccani kingdoms were predominantly Shia, the commemoration of the tragic events of Kerbela in Muḥarram formed part and parcel of their religious institutions; in fact, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭbšāh is credited with the first *marṭiyas* in Dakhni. This art was now developed and used to tell in touching verses the suffering of the Prophet's descendants¹⁰⁹, including the infant Aṣḡar. — A beautiful example of expressiveness is the *marṭiya* by Hāšim 'Alī which begins with the words¹¹⁰:

Woe, your bloodstained shroud, Aṣḡar!
 Woe, your thirst-parched mouth, Aṣḡar!
 Red is your rose-body, Aṣḡar!
 Woe for your childhood, Aṣḡar!

Why are your curls dishevelled?
 Why does blood gush from your mouth?
 Why did you fall fast asleep?
 Woe for your childhood, Aṣḡar!

P'Hindoustani et du Turc par M. GARCIN DE TASSY, Paris 1876, p. 211-306.—A certain Muḥammad Murād had written, after a prose version of this story, a Persian *maṭnawī* Dastūr-i himmat in 1685 (MM Nr. 1216). GARCIN III, p. 201f. enters into details of the transmission of the topic, connecting, like most of his followers, the story in some way with SPENSER's Fairy Queen. See also BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 126, about the Persian version. William Franklin translated Muḥammad Kāzīm's text as 'The Loves of Cāmārūpa and Cāmālāta,' London 1793.

¹⁰⁷ BAILEY Nr. 32 mentions Mirān Ya'qūb only as a learned translator, d. 1668.

¹⁰⁸ GLEBOV-SUCHOČEV, p. 28.

¹⁰⁹ About Elegies see BAILEY, p. 34, and MASĪFUZZAMĀN, Urdū marṭiya kā irtiqā, Lucknow 1968.

¹¹⁰ Text in SADIQ p. 146f.

And the poem, like many of the early *maṭīyas*, ends with the cry of the bereaved mother:

Whose cradle shall I now rock?
 To whom shall I sing lullabies?
 And whom shall I press to my breast—oh!
 Woe for your childhood, Aṣḡar!

The independence of the Deccani sultanates was definitely finished by Aurangzēb (1658–1707). In 1686 he conquered Bijapur, one year later Golkonda, and annexed them to the Mughal Empire. But the literary tradition in Dakhni remained alive for another century. Thus Sayyid Aṣraf 'Aṣraf' continued in the art of *maṭīya*-writing, and completed in 1713 a *Ġangnāma-yi Ḥaidarī*, 'Book of War' in which he described the fights of the caliph 'Alī Ḥaidar¹¹¹. It is interesting that he, as well as a certain Muḥammad Faiẓī 'Āzād' in his *Ẓafar-nāma*, 'Book of Victory,' wrote about the adventures of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, 'Alī's younger son from a wife other than Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter; the same topic was also elaborated by other Deccani writers¹¹².

At the same time, 'Aṭṭār's (d. 1220) famous mystical epic *Manṭiq ut-tair*, 'The Birds's Conversation' was adapted to Dakhni by Waḡdī (1712) as *Banḡhī baḥḥa*¹¹³. The tradition of the romantic *maṭnawī* was carried on by Qāzī Maḥmūd Baḥrī from Gūgī (d. 1717), a Sufi of the Qādirī order who lived in Bedar and Bijapur during the last years of their independence. He wrote in a colloquial language and did not aim at artistic perfection; his *maṭnawī Man laḡan* 'Connection of Souls' is considered to be quite difficult¹¹⁴; it consists, to adopt Dr. Syed Abdullah's expression, of lyrical points which give the outlines of a love story in the mystical tradition¹¹⁵. Baḥrī wrote also smaller epic poems and some Persian verse¹¹⁶.

In later Dakhni literature one finds short narrative poems dealing with current themes (comparable to the Sindhi *Wāqī'ātī bait*): thus, a certain Didār produced a little *maṭnawī* called *Qiṣṣa-yi Māh-i munawwar wa Ṣamṣād Bānū* about the love affair of a Muslim merchant's son with a charming European girl in the commercial port of Surat¹¹⁷.

A genre which blossomed in Dakhni poetry is *Bārāha masānī* or *Dawāzdah manasā*, the poems about the twelve months, derived from indigenous Indian poetry, and common to the oral tradition of Indian villages. Poems of this type

¹¹¹ BAILEY Nr. 83; ed. 'ABDUL 'AZİZ SARWARĪ, Hyderabad 1937/8 (based on four MSS.).

¹¹² GARCIN I, p. 260f.; id. III, p. 142 a certain Séwak, who wrote in 1681 according to BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 108; id. Nr. 109 is a *Zafarnāma* by Laṭīf.

¹¹³ GARCIN III, p. 278; BAILEY Nr. 74; MM Nr. 1856. Printed Hyderabad 1959.

¹¹⁴ *Man laḡan*, ed. MUḤAMMAD SAḤĀWAT MIRZĀ, Karachi ATU 1955; BAILEY Nr. 62; MM Nr. 1312.

¹¹⁵ DR. SYED ABDULLAH, *Urdū maṭnawī* . . . , p. 46f.

¹¹⁶ *Kulliyāt-i Baḥrī*, ed. ḤAFĪẒ SAYYID, Lucknow, Nawal Kishor, no date.

¹¹⁷ *Qiṣṣa-i Māh-i munawwar wa Ṣamṣād Bānū*, ed. GARCIN DE TASSY, Paris 1847.

usually begin with the month of Asarh, when the monsoon starts (June—July) and nature is refreshed, the trees and meadows becoming green and lush¹¹⁸. The rainy season is the time of love, when the longing of the separated lovers waxes stronger. Usually a young girl is imagined to sing twelve verses, one for each month. Telling her feelings in harmony with the *Stimmung* awakened by the weather and the changing appearance of nature, she complains about the pangs of separation or bursts out in joyous song when union with her beloved is achieved.

7. Aurangabad

The centre of later Urdu literature shifted farther north to Aurangabad, a place which had belonged to the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar before it came under Mughal rule. The dialect spoken there was apparently closer to northern Urdu and lacked some of the distinctive features of earlier Dakhni. Here there lived in the second half of the 17th century the last great poet of the early Dakhni school of Urdu, 'the ruler of the kingdom of speech,' Šamsuddin Waliullāh 'Walī,' who is praised in the Subcontinent as *bābā-yi rēhta* or *ādam-i Urdū*, The Father, or First Man, of Urdu poetry¹¹⁹.

Disputes about Walī's birthplace and the date of his death are still going on. Born ca. 1668 from an Aurangabadi family background, according to some historians in Aurangabad itself, he certainly lived as a young man for many years in Ahmadabad, where he became the disciple of the Sufi saint Nūruddīn Suhrawardī¹²⁰. Here, and in other Sufi circles, he was introduced into the secrets of mystical teaching and learned to love poetry. When he visited Delhi about 1700, his main preceptor in poetry was Sa'dullāh Gulšān, the outstanding Naqšbandī mystic and Persian poet who inspired also Mir Dard's father, 'Andalīb'¹²¹. Gulšān allegedly put into his mind the idea to compose in Dakhni classical *ğazals* and *qašīdas*, such as were written in Delhi in Persian; or else, he taught him to discard regional expressions and write in a language closer to the one spoken in Delhi. Whatever the true version may be, Walī's *ğazals* show traces of Dakhni and Gujrati, and having lived for a long time in various cities, he could easily apply the spoken language of these places to his poetry. It is disputed whether he visited the capital Delhi once or twice; he certainly

¹¹⁸ BAUSANI p. 123. For the genre see D. H. H. INGALLS, *Sanskrit Poetry from Vidyākara's 'Treasury'*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, and CHARLOTTE VAUDEVILLE, *Bārahmāsā, les chansons des douze mois dans les littératures indo-aryennes*, Pondichéry, 1965.

¹¹⁹ Walī: *taḥqīqī wa tanqīdī muṭāla'a*, ed. MUḤAMMAD AŠRAF KHAN (collection of articles), Lahore 1965.—GARCIN III, p. 281 ff.; SADIQ, p. 53 ff.; Yādgar-i Walī, ed. SAYYID MUḤAMMAD, Hyderabad 1937.—MIR, *Nikāt aš-šuarā*, takes Aurangabad as his native place.

¹²⁰ Cf. S. ZAHIRUDDIN MADANI, *Walī Guḡarati*, Bombay 1950.

¹²¹ Mir's remarks about this role of Gulšān in: *Gul-i ra'nā*, p. 83.

spent most of his later life in Aurangabad. He died either in 1707 or, more likely, about 1741; the traditions are so contradictory as to make a clear decision impossible. As much as Wali used the spoken language in his verses, the main source of his inspiration was Persian poetry with its charming opalizing quality, constantly oscillating between worldly and heavenly love, as it had been refined by the Sufi poets of Iran and India¹²². It is true for him, that 'the goblet of love is brimful with the wine of longing'; and in an excellent composition he may call the beloved:

Gracefully walking, come into the garden, O Sun of Beauty,
so that the colour of the rose may disappear like dew!

The traditional use of religious symbols in a profane setting was well known to him:

The mole on your cheek looks to me like the black stone of the Ka'ba,
in the pit of your chin I see the trace of the well Zamzam.

Although Sufism had lost some of its pristine vigour in the course of time, its traditional influence upon poetry in the Iranian cultural scene remained alive and grew even stronger. The early Urdu poets in the North of India (Dard, Mir, Maẓhar) were strongly influenced by the Naqṣbandī order. In Wali's poetry we certainly do not find pure theological preaching or theoretical sermonizing over Sufi doctrines, as was the case with the early Dakhni writers; he rather restricted himself to the apt application of the symbolic imagery as current in Sufi poetry. Such inherited images were also practical to hide the true meaning of a poet's verse, since they allowed a mystical, an amorous, or even a political interpretation.

As much as the Dakhni verses of Wali's *Diwān* express feelings of love in a Sufi spirit, they are written in a much more fluent and attractive, a more 'human' style than most *gazals* of his imitators. They excel by fresh metaphor and the originality of their subjects. The author looked at the realities of everyday life, an attitude rarely found in classical Persian poetry. He often depicts the life of contemporary society, describes Indian flowers and fruits, like pineapple and mango, and plays with the names of Indian legendary heroes, or deities, like Rama, Lakshmi, or Arjuna. Wali certainly felt himself a child of his native Deccan, but his poetry shows the influence of Persian poetry in both content and form. He was well enough versed in classical Islamic learning to invent witty puns with its terminology:

¹²² Text and French translation: GARCIN DE TASSY, *Les Oeuvres de Wali publiées en hindoustani*, Paris 1834; *Traduction et notes* Paris 1836; all known verses collected in *Kulliyāt-i Wali*, Bombay 1872;—Lucknow, Nawal Kiṣor 1877;—ed. SAYĀNI, Poona 1922;—ed. 'ALĪ AḤṢAN MĀRAḤRAWĪ, Aurangabad 1927; ed. S. NŪRUL ḤASAN ḤĀSĪMĪ, Delhi 1945, Karachi 1954 (best, 616 items as to 506 of Garcin de Tassy). MM Nr. 1861 wrongly attributes to him, as was formerly often done, the Urdu version of Ḥusain Wā'iz's *Rauẓat aṣ-ṣuhadā'*.—Translation of a *mustazād gazal* in GARCIN DE TASSY, *Rhétorique et Prosodie des Langues de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris 1873, p. 297; Text and English translation of five *gazals*: MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 2.—AHMAD ALI, *The Golden Tradition*, p. 111–115.

Every night, your long tresses are treated with the *muḥawwal*;
When one sees your mouth one makes the word short (*muḥtaṣar*).

Muḥawwal, the long one, and *Muḥtaṣar*, the short one, are two commentaries by the medieval scholastic philosopher Taftazāni for Sakkāki's *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm*; the tresses are very long, and black as night, the mouth, seen at day time, is exceedingly small.

Walī consciously used the rich Persian tradition and exerted himself to develop both a lofty and a melodious poetical style in Urdu. He expanded the thematic horizon of Urdu lyrics and enlarged its expressivity by new artistic devices. To the extant poetical basis he added polish and elegance of diction, clarity and lucidity of the poetical form, and plasticity of the imagery. As he himself says:

O Alexander, do not seek the Water of Life whose guardian Ḥizr is—
This water is nothing but 'Eloquence'!

His verses created some excitement in India, although they were nothing absolutely new in court poetry. During his visit in the capital where Walī made himself known by his works to the North Indian, Persian-writing poets, he 'revealed to the poets of Delhi the possibilities of their mother-tongue as a medium for poetry.'¹²³ After his death his poetical style, with its stress upon the acoustic symmetry of verses and its subtle and rich variations of poetical forms, became a model many later Urdu poets strove to emulate, and not in vain has Garcin de Tassy compared him in style and contents to Ḥāfiẓ of Shiraz.

Walī's greatest Deccani follower was Sirāḡuddīn of Aurangabad (1714–1763)¹²⁴. Toward the end of his life he too settled in Delhi. Besides an anthology of Persian poems (1755), which contains examples from some 680 poets, and a comprehensive *Diwān* of about 10,000 lines he gained fame by his romantic *maṭnawī* called *Būstān-i ḥayāl*, 'The Garden of Phantasy,' which, similar to Bahri's *Man Lagan*, teaches the ascent from worldly to Divine Love on the basis of the poet's personal (or pseudo-personal) experience. It is written in an idiom quite similar to modern Urdu and combines lofty thought and fresh diction.

With the work of Walī and his followers the first period of the Deccani school of Urdu literature comes to a close. The extension of linguistic and cultural contacts between northern and southern India and the new political situation gave Urdu poetry a new direction, and it continued developing in the plains of Hindustan, in Delhi, and later in Lucknow.

¹²³ SADIQ p. 61.—A fine account of his style is DR. SYED ABDULLAH, *Ġamāldōst uslubparast Walī*, in: *Walī sē Iqbal tak*, p. 9–35.

¹²⁴ *Kulliyāt-i Sirāḡ*, ed. 'ABDUL QĀDIR SARWARĪ, Hyderabad 1938; *Sirāḡ-i suḥān*, Hyderabad 1936; *Būstān-i ḥayāl*, ed. 'ABDUL QĀDIR SARWARĪ, Hyderabad 1969; *Intihāb*, Maktaba Jamia Delhi 1969.—For the tradition of the topic see ETHÉ, *Grundriß II*, p. 320.—For the anthology see STOREY, *Persian Literature Nr. 1155*.—Translations: MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 3; AHMAD ALI, *Golden Tradition*, p. 116–119.

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A history of Indian literature / ed. by Jan Gonda.

NE: Gonda, Jan [Hrsg.]

Vol. 8. Modern Indo-Aryan literatures : P. 1. Fasc. 3. → Schimmel, Anne-
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Classical Urdu literature from the beginning to Iqbāl.

(A history of Indian literature; Vol. 8, Modern Indo-Aryan literatures;
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ISBN 3-447-01671-X

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Gesamtherstellung: Allgäuer Zeitungsverlag GmbH, Kempten
Printed in Germany

CHAPTER II

URDU LITERATURE FROM 1700 TO 1850

1. The Beginnings

The arrival of Wali's *Divān* in Delhi is usually considered to be the beginning of Urdu poetry proper, although sentences or verses in 'Hindawi' are scattered in many earlier works written in the northern parts of the Subcontinent. But the question arises as to what extent earlier works in the indigenous languages, particularly Eastern Hindi or Awadhi, should be regarded as something like proto-Urdu when they are composed by Muslims and written in Arabo-Persian characters. Should one include the works of Malik Muhammad Gā'isi, the noted author of the poem *Padmāvat*, who lived in Akbar's time? Gā'isi certainly deserves a place of honour among the Muslim writers who used their native tongue for beautiful and touching epical poetry, and blended Islamic and Hindu lore in their works. The 'magnifique' copy of Gā'isi's epical poem *Kunhawāt*, once in Dr. Sprenger's possession and now in Berlin, seems to justify his inclusion among the earliest 'Urdu' poets in the north¹, although I would be reluctant to adopt this classification².

Amīr Ḥusrau was apparently not the only Indo-Muslim poet who wrote poems with alternating Persian and 'Hindawi' lines. Such poetry was usually called *rēhta* 'the mixed' or 'broken' one. The term *rēhta* was then applied to music which contained meaningful texts in both languages, and was later extended to designate Urdu poetry in general. In fact, throughout the 18th century, Urdu poetry is always called *rēhta*³. Thus says Walī, when boasting of his poetry, which is allegedly better than that of the 12th century Persian panegyrist Anwarī:

Recite this *rēhta* of Walī to him:
His ideas are as bright as those of Anwarī.

¹ GARCIN II, p. 66f.—The poem was retold several times by later Urdu poets, thus by Mir Gulām 'Alī 'Iśrat (1858), who completed a version by a certain 'Ibrat, see GARCIN II, p. 48. A transcription 'in the Persian character' with a commentary by 'Alī Ḥasan ibn Niyāz Aḥmad, 1865.—MM Nr. 1017.—ZAIDI Nr. 29 is the former Sprenger MS. of *Kunhawāt*.—*Padmāvati*, transl. by A. G. SHREFF, Calcutta 1944.—S. KALB-I MUŞṬAFĀ, Malik Muḥammad Jā'isi, Delhi ATU 1941.

² A similar case is that of the *matnawī* Lōrik u Čandā, see ZAIDI Nr. 52; and CH. VAUDEVILLE, Kabir, Oxford 1974, p. 90 note 4.

³ MAULWĪ 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, 'Urdu,' in EI, I. ed., IV, p. 1108.—Cf. the short survey and examples in F. M. ASIRI, *Studies in Urdu Literature*, Santiniketa 1954.

Hundred fifty years later Ġalib used the term *Urdu* in a similar context (s. p. 220). Half a century after Wali, Mir gave a clear definition of *rēhta* in both his autobiographical notes and in the *taḡkira Nikāt aš-šū'arā'* (finished in 1752); he speaks of the

art of *rēhta* which is poetry in the style of Persian in the language of the High Camp (*urdū-yi mu'allā*) of Shāh-jahānābād (= Delhi).⁴

This is the normal use of the word up to circa 1800. After this date the term *Urdu* itself was used now and then for the language of poetry as in the 1811 edition of Mir's poetry in 'Oordoo, or polished language of Hindoostan.' It became current in the writings of some later Lucknow poets, particularly Nāsiḥ. But it is revealing that Shāh 'Abdul Qādir, in his Urdu translation of the Qur'ān shortly before 1800, still used *rēhta* in the sense of the 'elevated language of the poets,' while he styles his own work as 'being written in current Hindustani,' i.e., devoid of artificiality.⁵

One of the earliest representatives of *rēhta* in the North, though in a very peculiar style, is Mir Ġā'far Zaṭalli (1659–1713).⁶ As his surname, given by Princess Zēbunnisā, indicates, he was a jester or at least someone whose verses were not to be taken too seriously. Bailey thinks that Zaṭalli derived his first poetical inspiration from a journey in the Deccan where he went in the entourage of one of Aurangzeb's sons. Some of his joking verses and prose writings, crude satires and ridiculing descriptions, are extant, mostly in Persian and some in difficult, even obscene Urdu. It seems that his loose tongue induced Sultan Farruḡsiyar to have him executed. Zaṭalli's most serious piece is a poem about the turmoil after Aurangzeb's death in 1707, when the princes A'zam and Mu'azzam were warring for succession:

Where shall we find so excellent a king,
Complete, consummate, perfect, knowing hearts?
The world is weeping tears of blood
And gentle sleep to no one comes
Because of cannon's noise and guns.
Men carrying goods and guns upon their head⁶
And fleeing here and there on every side;
Beds on their heads, and children in their arms.
Cutting, smiting on all sides,
On all sides death and violence.
Turmoil, axes, daggers, poniards!
That side A'zam, this Mu'azzam,
Fighting, struggling, both I find,

⁴ Dīkr-i Mir, ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Aurangabad ATU, 1927, p. 67.

⁵ GARCIN I, p. 77.

⁶ GARCIN III, p. 337f.; see also id. I p. 252; BAILEY Nr. 94; MM Nr. 758, Nr. 1923; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 133–136 (with biography).—ZADĪ Nr. 64 III.—The *Kulliyāt-i Zaṭalli* were published Bombay 1853, 1867, Delhi 1867, and often; ed. 'UMAR FARḤAT ALLĀH, Bijnaur 1925.—A 'Hindustan Speculator' compiled the *Zar-i ġa'fari ya'ni sawāniḥ-i 'umri Mir Ġā'far Zaṭalli*, Lahore 1890. (*Zar-i ġa'fari*, 'Ġ.'s gold' was a particularly fine kind of gold).

But let me see whom God approves as king,
For whom the faithful offer Friday prayers⁷.

Aurangzeb had reigned for almost half a century. Under him, the Mughal Empire reached its greatest extension; this, however, implied that its borders were difficult to defend⁸. Rebellious forces from various racial and religious backgrounds began to destroy the kingdom from inside. After the Mughals had annexed the Deccan kingdoms, they had to face the Mahrattas who had formerly threatened Bijapur and Golkonda: the name of Shiwaji (d. 1680), the legendary Mahratta hero, looms large in later Mughal history. The Sikh, oppressed by Aurangzeb, gained strength by aligning themselves mainly with the Panjabi peasantry; and their community, which was originally based on a mystical approachment between Islam and Hinduism, turned into a rigidly organized military group. They were able to extend their pressure in the Panjab and elsewhere and eventually occupied large parts of northwestern India. And while internal feuds were raging to weaken the central government in Delhi, European powers began to establish themselves in the Subcontinent. The Portuguese had invaded the country in the 16th century and settled in some coastal areas; the French gained some important positions in southern India. The influence of the British East India Company (founded in 1600) waxed stronger until their first great military success was achieved in the battle of Plassey, 1757. This victory opened the way for their expansion over the greater part of the Subcontinent, which was formally annexed to the British Crown exactly one century later, in 1857.

When Aurangzeb died in 1707 after a long and eventful life the kingdom was in a state of confusion, all the more because his strict Muslim policy had estranged many of his Hindu subjects from Mughal rule. Now the high time of the Mughal Empire, with only four rulers in one and a half century, was over. One weak puppet ruler followed the other, none of them able to stop the internecine wars or the social disintegration. Aurangzeb's eldest surviving son Mu'azzam, aged already 64, eventually overcame his brothers and ascended the throne as Bahādur Shāh. During his short reign the assassination of the tenth Sikh Guru, Govind Singh, caused new complications, for the next Sikh leader, Banda, and his followers committed 'cruelties exceeding all belief' in the Panjab. When Bahādur Shāh died in February 1712, he was succeeded by Gahāndār Shāh, a profligate who was executed after eleven months by his nephew Farruḡsiyar, who had fought against him, aided by the Sayyid brothers. These two brothers, Ḥasan 'Alī Khān and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān of Barahra, were the de facto rulers during the next years; when they felt that the emperor was

⁷ BAILEY, p. 43.

⁸ For the political situation see: WILLIAM IRVINE, *Later Mughals*, ed. Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta 1922, 2 vols.; H. R. GUPTA, *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Panjab*, Lahore 1944; J. SARKAR, *Fall of the Muslim Empire*, Calcutta 1934, ²1950, 4 vols.; PERCIVAL SPEAR, *Twilight of the Mughuls*, Cambridge, 1951, ²1969; SATISH CHANDRA, *Parties and politics at the Mughal Court 1707-1740*, Aligarh 1959.

trying to dispose of them, they captured and eventually killed him in early 1719. But the Turanian faction at the court suspiciously watched their growing power and began to oppose them. In September 1719 they managed to enthrone the young Muḥammad Shāh, after a few phantom rulers. Muḥammad Shāh ruled till 1748, probably due more to his laxity and desinterest in politics than to his intelligence and statecraft; contemporary miniatures show him as a fat, merry man surrounded by females and indulging in pleasures. He certainly was a lover of poetry and enjoyed the new trends which developed during his reign in Delhi; but that was not enough for a ruler in a most complicated and disheartening political situation.

Soon the disintegration of the empire set in and resulted in the growth of virtually independent dynasties: the Panjab in 1707, Bengal in 1717; the Deccan and Oudh were soon to follow. Muḥammad Shāh's prime minister was the capable Niẓām-ul-mulk Āṣaf Ġāh. He first restored order in Malwa and established his own power in the Deccan, but returned to Delhi, and had Sayyid Ḥasan 'Alī Khān assassinated. The intelligent politician, however, well aware that he could barely hope to disentangle the situation in the capital, retired to his fief in the Deccan in 1724 to found there the line of the Nizams of Hyderabad, where a new centre of culture developed which was to play a decisive rôle in the later history of Urdu literature. Similar was the situation in Oudh. The governor of the state, the Persian-born Sa'adat Khān, became virtually independent in 1723. Later, Ṣafdar Ġang, his successor as Nawwab of Oudh, was appointed vizier to the Mughal Empire; and the rivalry between his and the Nizam family proved fatal for the Emperor.

The Bangaṣ Nawwabs of Farrukhabad, of Afghan origin, likewise began to constitute a political faction which had to be taken into consideration in the struggle for power; and in the hill area of Rohilkand, north of Rampur, the Rohilla Afghans built up their power. Born soldiers and politicians, they were soon able to enter the great political game in Delhi.

The Mahrattas, whose power was paramount in the Deccan about 1720, with growing self-confidence marched against Delhi in 1737 but did not besiege the capital. Yet their power steadily increased until 1761, and even in the last decades of the 18th century they were able to play a decisive role in Delhi politics⁹.

In 1738-39 an unforeseen catastrophe struck the country and suddenly revealed the deep rifts in the government: Nādir Shāh's invasion. Nādir Shāh took Qandahar, long a bone of contention between Iran and India, in 1738, two years after ascending the throne. He marched into northwestern India via Lahore, where he left his representative. In March 1739 he completely crushed the badly organized Mughal army in the battle of Karnal; and, due to the lack of cooperation between the responsible nobles, Delhi's fate was sealed.

⁹ About the Mahrattas see: G. S. SARDESAI, *New History of the Marathas*, Bombay 1946, 3 vols.

Nizām-ul-mulk had been called back to Delhi, but the factions led by the Imperial Paymaster Şamsāmuddaula and Sa'adat Khān of Oudh made a real defence impossible. Şamsāmuddaula was mortally wounded, and Sa'adat Khān is mainly held responsible for the incredible indemnity which Nādir Shāh, on his advice, requested from the Mughals; unable to pay the share he had promised, Sa'adat Khān committed suicide. Delhi was sacked as a revenge for an uprising against the Persian soldiers; in nine hours 30.000 inhabitants were massacred. All gold and jewelry available, including the diamond Kūh-i nūr and the legendary Peacock Throne, were carried away, and the city was left in ruins. As Mir, like other great Urdu poets an eye-witness of the events, says:

This age is not like that which was before,
no more that time, no more that sky, that earth . . .

Muhammad Shāh somehow survived even this catastrophe and died in 1748 at the age of 45. But from the once powerful Mughal Empire little more than Delhi itself was left; yet, "every aspirant for power sought the control of Delhi and of the emperor's person." Under the next ruler, Ahmad Shāh, the situation worsened. Nādir Shāh's successor, the Afghan Ahmad Shāh Abdālī Durrānī¹⁹, invaded the country almost regularly, first in 1748, then in 1749, and 1751. The Panjab was his main goal, and he annexed it for some time. However, instead of resisting their powerful neighbour, the two main factions at the Delhi court indulged in constant fighting: the ambitious Gāziuddin, Nizām-ul-mulk's grandson, catapulted himself into a leading position as 'Imād-ul-mulk at the age of 17, and his rivalry with Nawwab Şafdar Gang of Oudh, the vizier, continued until the latter's death in 1754. Meanwhile the Jats, upon whom Şafdar Gang mainly relied, had plundered Old Delhi in 1754 in a model of *jatgardī* 'Jat affliction.' One year later the Mughal emperor Ahmad Shāh was blinded and deposed, and 'Imād-ul-mulk invented ever new means of extracting money from the population, beginning with the royal family. He then captured Lahore and thus caused another invasion of Abdālī in 1757, an invasion which brought again looting and torment upon the unlucky inhabitants of Delhi: Abdālī needed 2800 transport animals for his own plundered goods alone! This event caused the exodus of many learned men and poets towards the east, where Şuġā'uddaula of Oudh consolidated his principality. Abdālī returned to north-west India in 1759, the year in which the Mughal ruler 'Ālamgīr II was murdered; and a difficult situation arose in the struggle for succession. Displeased with 'Imād-ul-mulk, Abdālī now began to rely mainly upon the Rohilla chieftain Naḡībuddaula, who assumed the rôle of a protector of the throne. He enjoyed the spiritual support of the religious leader Shāh Waliullāh, and it was hoped that he would save the country from anarchy. Shāh Waliullāh and his friends were also responsible for calling Ahmad Shāh Abdālī once more to India; in the third Battle of Panipat, January 14, 1761, the warrior-king defeated the

¹⁹ About him see EI I, 295ff. Ahmad Shāh was a good poet in Pashto.

Mahratta but did not consolidate his or the Mughal's power in India. Delhi was plundered once more by the soldiers of her 'helper.'

Both Mir and Saudā have described the situation in Delhi in those years in touching words:

The Afghans and Rohillas started their work of slaughter and plunder, breaking down the doors, tying up those they found inside, and in many cases burning them alive or cutting off their heads. Everywhere was bloodshed and destruction, and for three days and nights this savagery continued. . . . Men who had been pillars of the state were brought to nothing, men of noble rank left destitute, family men bereft of all their loved ones. Most of them roved the streets amid insult and humiliation. Men's wives and children were made captive, and the killing and looting went on unchecked.

That is how Mir saw the events of 1761¹¹, and Saudā writes:

How can I describe the desolation of Delhi? There is no house from where the jackal's cry cannot be heard. The mosques at evening are unlit and deserted, and only in one house in a hundred will you see a light burning. Its citizens do not possess even the essential cooking pots, and vermin crawl in the places where in former days men used to welcome the coming of spring with music and rejoicing. The lovely buildings which once made the famished men forget his hunger are in ruins now . . . The villages are deserted, the trees themselves are gone, and the wells are full of corpses . . .¹²

Some factions at court had elected 'Ālamgir II's son 'Alī Gauhar 'Ālam II as legitimate ruler in 1759; but he preferred to live in exile, first in Lucknow, then in Allahabad. Trying to secure parts of Bengal for himself, he was defeated by the British in 1763. But he at least avoided the main problems that faced Delhi, the "city where now tears flow instead of rivers," as Mir Dard sighs. Abdālī once more interfered in India; in 1764 he fought against the Sikhs, who had now taken over rule in the Panjab where they remained until their regime was overthrown by the British in 1849.

Naḡībuddaula died in 1770. Shāh 'Ālam II was brave enough to choose return to the imperial seat from among various possibilities of more or less outspoken dependency. In January 1772 he entered Delhi after thirteen years of exile. The affairs of the government were mainly conducted by Naḡaf Khān, a Persian by birth and on good terms with the British, whose influence made itself felt more and more. After Naḡaf's death in 1782, the Mahratta chief Sindhia manoeuvred to seize control of the court, supported by Warren Hastings. Then, the Rohillas proved a new source of unrest. Naḡībuddaula's son Zābīta Khān continued to fight against the Mahrattas, but the increasing ambitions of the British as well as of the Nawwabs of Oudh resulted in the fall of the Rohillas and the death of their gifted leader Ḥāfiẓ Raḡmat Khān in 1774¹³. Yet, Naḡībuddaula's grandson Ḡulām Qādir succeeded in becoming for a short while *amīr al-umarā* in 1787, and Delhi was captured by his forces one year later.

¹¹ Dīkr-i Mir, p. 25ff., quoted in RUSSELL-ISLAM, Three Mughal Poets, p. 32.

¹² Translated id., p. 67.

¹³ For him cf. EI III, p. 59-62.

Shāh 'Ālam II was blinded by Ġulām Qādir, who, in turn, was cruelly put to death by Sindhia's troops. Shāh 'Ālam, who has bemoaned his sad lot in touching verse, continued ruling as a figure-head till 1806. His protector Sindhia was defeated near Delhi by the British in 1803, and after Shāh 'Ālam's death, Lord Lake took the Mughals under British custody. The suzerainty of the last two Mughal rulers was a mere fiction; although they tried to improve their status and their financial situation, they did not wield any real power.

As long as the *grandees* of Delhi had any money left, they enjoyed patronizing the poets and encouraged their activities. Poetry was, on the one hand, an aristocratic art which almost every educated person cultivated as a noble pastime. The Mughal rulers themselves had an innate talent for writing; there is barely one of them who did not write poetry or prose from the days of Bābur (d. 1530) onward¹⁴. The unfortunate Shāh 'Ālam II, who wrote under the pen-name 'Āftāb, 'Sun,' sometimes attended the musical and poetical soirées at Mir Dard's house in Delhi. His best known work is a *matnawī* of some 11,000 verses, the chronogrammatic title of which—*Manẓūm-i aqdas*, 'The Most Holy Poem,'—gives the date of its completion as 1201/1786, i. e. two years before his being blinded. Āftāb's *Dīwān* contains all kinds of verses in Persian and Indian genres¹⁵.

Shāh 'Ālam's son who followed him on the throne as Akbar II (1806–1837) modestly adopted the name Šu'ā', 'Ray', when writing verses. The other two sons of Shāh 'Ālam, who left Delhi for Oudh, are noted for their generosity toward poets and their artistic skill: Ġawānbaht Ġahāndār Shāh (d. 1788 after four years' stay in Lucknow)¹⁶ composed lyrics and *matnawīs* and had a remarkable group of refugee poets as friends; after his death his brother Sulaimān Ši-kōh played an important role as *maecenas* in Lucknow; he died 1838 in Agra at the age of 82¹⁷. Bahādur Shāh 'Zafar,' the last Mughal king, was probably the most talented writer in the family (see p. 217).

Not only the emperors and their large families were actively involved in poetry. The cunning 'Imādulmulk (d. 1800)¹⁸, writing under the pen-name 'Nizām,' was not less a poet than the puppet kings whom he practically ruled for about a decade; he left verses in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Turki and even a hagiographical work; his wife, Gannā Begum, was a noted Urdu poet as well¹⁹.

¹⁴ Cf. A. SCHIMMEL, Babur Padishah the Poet, with an account of the poetical talent in his family, in: IC 1960.

¹⁵ GARCIN I, p. 137; BAILEY Nr. 127; MM Nr. 1663.—A collection of his Urdu and Persian verses, completed in the year 1212 h./1797 (when the most touching portrait of his, preserved in a private collection in Cambridge, Mass., was painted): Nādirāt-i Šāhī, ed. IMTYĀZ 'ALĪ KHĀN 'ARŠI, Rampur 1944. Some of his poems are translated in GARCIN, Allégories . . . , p. 561–562, 577.

¹⁶ GARCIN II, p. 64; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 167.

¹⁷ GARCIN III, p. 170ff.

¹⁸ GARCIN II, p. 476; Storey Nr. 1372; EI III, p. 1158–59.—His Persian *dīwān* was published 1883, his *Manāqib-i faḥriyya*, a hagiographical work, Delhi 1897.

¹⁹ GARCIN I, p. 488.

A study of the family background of many Urdu poets of this period shows that they often belonged to the military aristocracy, usually of Turkish or Afghan stock; not too many of them gained their livelihood exclusively from poetry. They continued in military service, were skilful physicians, or lived as Sufis. Only a few outstanding poets completely relied upon the patronage of kings and nobles, and hence experienced the vicissitudes of fate after the sack of Delhi or in the heated struggle for patronage at the Lucknow court.

In a political atmosphere which would seem to be detrimental to any creative work, high poetry developed in the regional languages—Sindhi, Muslim Panjabi, and Urdu—with amazing speed. Urdu blossomed first in Delhi and then, when the city was ruined and no patrons left, in Faizabad and Lucknow, until the tide returned once more to Delhi in the 1830's, after the first models of 'modern' Urdu prose had been established in Calcutta shortly after the turn of the century. It seems that the breakdown of the Mughal Empire, which was so closely connected with the cultivation of Persian culture in all its aspects, opened the way for new experiments with a language that had previously barely been considered a medium fitting the expression of lofty ideas²⁰. The poets of Delhi soon discovered that the spoken language of the educated classes of the capital, the *urdū-yi mu'allā*, offered immense possibilities for any writer who mastered it.

Still, it is surprising that Mīr speaks in 1752 of more than one hundred-and-seventy poets who cultivated *rēhta*; although he includes Amīr Ḥusrau and a few occasional writers like Mirzā Bēdil (d. 1721) and Shāh Waliullāh and gives room to poets from the Deccan and Gujrat, this number is very high and shows that there must have been a need for this new medium of expression.

One of the earliest poets of Urdu in the North is Ṣadrudīn Muḥammad Fā'iz of Delhi, whose *Dīwān* was completed in 1714, very close to Walī's time²¹. The poet, scion of a noble Persian family, never wrote panegyrics or attached himself to the court of the courtiers, and was therefore usually overlooked by the authors of biographical dictionaries. Many of his works are 'thematic poems' (*naẓm*) in rhyming couplets, like short *matnawīs*, a genre that was later often used by Naẓīr Akbarābādī and then by modern Urdu poets. It seems that Fā'iz introduced this genre and was also the first to use five-lined stanzas (*muḥammās*) in Urdu. Contrary to many later poets Fā'iz believed that the poet should write about things he saw and knew, and should remain close to life. His aim to depict things more or less realistically led him to avoid artificial constructions and clichés, and to strive for a natural style. He knew that the beauty of a poem depends largely upon the right form and the number and arrangement of its verses. The trend to realism is visible in the choice of his topics: he praises his native

²⁰ Cf. HERMANN GOETZ, *The Crisis of Indian Civilization in the 18th and early 19th Centuries*, Calcutta 1938.—FRITZ LEHMANN, *Urdu Literature and Mughal Decline*, in: *Mahfil* 6, 2-3, 1970.

²¹ His works were edited by MAS'UD ḤASAN RIẒWĪ, *Fā'iz-i Dihlawī aur Dīwān-i Fā'iz*, ATU Aligarh 1946, 1965.—See also GLEBOV-SUCHOČEV, p. 42-45.

town Delhi as well as Indian nature. The impact of the indigenous tradition is as strong in his poetry as it was in some earlier Dakhni verses: Hindu festivals are described, and the comparisons are taken rather from the Indian than from the Persian tradition; a beautiful girl is not a *parī* but an *apsaras*, her eyes are lotuses, not narcissi, and her gait is not like that of a gazelle but like the peacock's strutting or—if she is plump—like the majestic walk of the elephant. And the heroes of Indian tales occur in harmonious unity with those of Persian stories and legends.

Fā'iz's poetry thus forms a bridge between the earlier Dakhni style and the Urdu poetry of Delhi and is in some respects more similar to a writer like Naẓīr Akbarābādī than to the great masters of Delhi and even more of Lucknow.

2. The four 'Pillars of Urdu' and their disciples

It is generally accepted that the movement towards Urdu writing was inspired by Sa'dullāh Gulšān, Walī's spiritual preceptor, and directed into orderly ways by Sirāguddīn 'Alī Khān-Ārzū', a scholar of Persian. Ārzū was born in Agra, spent some time in Gwalior, where his ancestor, the famous saint Muḥammad Ġauṭ Gwalīōrī (d. 1562) is buried, and reached Delhi about 1720. After having enjoyed the favour of some leading politicians in the capital, Ārzū went to Oudh when the situation in Delhi became unbearable and was soon granted a monthly stipend of 300 rupees by Nawwab Šuġā'uddaula. He died in Lucknow in 1756 but was buried in Delhi²².

Ārzū was mainly a scholar, interested in the purity of the language. Thus he left books on rhetorics, eloquence, commentaries on classical Persian poetry, and a *taḍkira Maġma' an-naġā'is*, completed in 1750, where he mentions that Ḥuṣḡū, the Hindu author of the useful *taḍkira Safīna-yi Ḥuṣḡū*, had been his friend for 25 years²³. Ārzū also completed the Urdu glossary with Persian, Arabic, and Turkish equivalents, *Ġarā'ib al-luġāt*, by 'Abdul Wāsi' Hānswī, and thus contributed to the Urdu vocabulary; his disciple Tek Čānd 'Bahār' likewise gained fame by his Persian lexicographic work, but also occasionally wrote Urdu verses. As a literary critic, Ārzū attacked the Persian-born 'Alī Ḥazīn, who, in turn, complained of the unintelligible style of Indo-Persian literature as represented by Mīrzā Bēdil and Nāšīr 'Alī Sirhīndī (d. 1697).

Although Ārzū himself did not write any poetry in Urdu his thorough knowledge of Persian prosody and grammatical finesse enabled him to set up rules

²² STOREY Nr. 1139; ZAIDI Nr. 17; MM Nr. 269; Nr. 85 mentions his improved edition of 'Abdul Wāsi's dictionary.—His *Nawādir al-alfāz* ed. by DR. SYED ABDULLAH, Karachi, ATU, 1951.—M. S. ANWAR, *Khān-i Ārzū and his works*, in: *Indo-Iranica* 13/4, 1960, p. 23 ff.—About his role in the development of Urdu see DR. SYED ABDULLAH, *Urdū kī ta'mīr meṅ Ḥān-i Ārzū kā ḥiṣṣa*, in: *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore 11, 1943.

²³ STOREY Nr. 1139.—*Safīna-yi Ḥuṣḡū*, ed. 'Aṭā'UR RAḤMĀN 'Aṭā, Patna 1959.

for the poets who turned to the new literary medium. That is why Āzād praises him with high-flown words in his *Āb-i ḥayāt* (1881):

Khān-i Ārzū has done for Urdu what Aristotle did for logic. As long as all logicians are called the descendants of Aristotle, all Urdu scholars will also be called the descendants of Khān-i Ārzū. As his great Persian work left him no time for the composition of a *diwān* in Urdu, it is enough to say that it was Khān-i Ārzū who educated those promising pupils who came to be called the reformers of Urdu²⁴.

The greatest of his part-time disciples was certainly Mir Taqī 'Mir', but many more poets are counted among his pupils. All of them tried to refine the Urdu language, to weed out what seemed to them vulgar and archaic Hindi expressions, and to replace them by elegant Persian constructions. The process of persianization of Urdu which set in towards the end of the Dakhni period, continued and waxed stronger. The rules of metre and rhyme were defined more rigidly; impure rhymes, as were sometimes used in Dakhni and also in early Delhi Urdu poetry, were subject to stern criticism. This process was carried on for about one century, when it reached its apex in the sophisticated and polished idiom of the later Lucknow poets.

Among Ārzū's pupils one usually singles out Ābrū, one of his relatives. Šāh Mubārak Nağmuddīn 'Ābrū' (ca. 1692-1747)²⁵ who 'belonged to the real pioneers of Urdu poetry in Delhi', author of the romance *Mau'iza-i arāyīš-i ma'sūq*, 'Sermon about the Embellishment of the Beloved' has been called 'the leader of the *ihāmists*²⁶, ' which means, in Bailey's more sober expression, that he 'indulged a good deal in punning²⁷.' The use of *ihām*, double entendre, seems to be the main feature of early Urdu poetry. Since most of the *diwāns* compiled during this period—including Ābrū's—were destroyed or lost during the political catastrophes between 1739 and 1857, particularly during the Mutiny, one has to rely upon the statements of early critics, who usually lump together these poets as *ihāmists*. *Ihām* means the art of using words with a double meaning in such a way that not the plain but the secondary meaning is intended. Its origin has been ascribed by Ḥālī and following him by most of the modern historians of Urdu to the influence of Hindi *dohra*; and, indeed, Indian popular riddles thrive on amphibology. Nevertheless it seems more likely that *ihām* developed under the influence of Arabic and Persian rhetorics, where this kind of punning is commonplace: the Arabic *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, a textbook in Indian madrasas, abound in such word-plays; in the Indo-Muslim tradition we need only turn to Amīr Ḥusrau's *Diwān* to find outstanding *ihām*-verses. The contemporaries of our early Urdu poets who wrote in Arabic and Persian, like Āzād Bilgrāmī and Mir 'Alī Šīr Qānī', used this artistic device plentifully²⁸.

²⁴ Quoted by SADIQ, p. 70.

²⁵ Gul-i ra'nā, p. 102.

²⁶ SADIQ, p. 78.

²⁷ BAILEY Nr. 96.

²⁸ For such word-plays see F. RÜCKERT-W. PERTSCH, Grammatik, Poetik und



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The few examples offered by Sadiq show, in any case, a completely Islamic Sufi imagery without a trace of Hindu influence. It is certainly not fair to criticize poets who followed the taste of their time for appropriating a highly complicated rhetorical form; one should rather admire their skill which enabled them to introduce such puns into a language which was just developing into a literary medium.

Besides Ābrū, the sources mention Maẓmūn (1689–1745) among the ‘artificial’ poets²⁹. Like some other poets he renounced a military career to retire as a dervish in the Zinat al-masāʿid mosque in Delhi³⁰. To the same group belongs Muṣṭafā Qulī Khān ‘Yakrang,’ who ‘showed his poems to Maẓhar,’ but is also known as a pupil of Ārẓū or Ābrū; further Ašraf ‘Alī’ Fiḡān’ (d. 1772)³¹ and Mīr Ḥasan ‘Alī Šauq,’ a Pathan³². Mīr Muḥammad Šakir ‘Nāḡi,’³³ brother of the more famous Qāʿim, was noted for some facetious verses but wrote also a touching *muḥammās* about Nādir Shah’s sack of Delhi. He died young in 1754.

The most outstanding figure in this period is probably Ẓuhūruddīn ‘Ḥātim’³⁴. Born in 1699, he lived almost a century (d. either 1781 or 1793), so that he witnessed the change in style that took place in the 1740’s. Ḥātim wrote first, like most of the Delhi poets, under Walī’s influence; and his voluminous *Diwān* was regarded as a work of the *iḥāmīst* school, ‘in old style,’ as Mīr Ḥasan states. Five years after Mīr had blamed Ḥātim, ‘this ignorant person,’ in harsh words, the poet made a selection from his previous work, which he called *Diwānzāda*, ‘Diwān’s Son.’ Alluding to the general trend in Urdu literature, Ḥātim wrote in the preface of this book in 1757 the illuminating words:

I only employ those Persian and Arabic words which are easy, elegant, and fluent and used in common parlance among the polished. I have given up the use of Hindī words and vernacularized forms of Arabic and Persian words. I also insist on a mastery in the construction of verses, and I attempt at polished eloquence³⁵.

By this process of rigid conventionalization the language lost much of its pristine simplicity but gained in pliability. Ḥātim’s words against the vernacularized forms of loanwords were reverted some decades later by Inšā who did not

Rhetorik der Perser, Berlin 1872; further S. A. BONEBAKKER, Some early Definitions of the Tawriya, Den Haag–Paris 1966;—Art. *tawriya* in EI 1st ed., IV 766–67; GARCIN DE TASSY, Rhétorique et prosodie des langues d’Orient musulman, Paris 1873, p. 90.

²⁹ BAILEY Nr. 98; Gul-i ra’nā, p. 105.

³⁰ A picture of the Zinat al-masāʿid, built by one of Aurangzeb’s daughters, is found in SANGIN BEG, Sair ul-manāzil, Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Ms. or. Sprenger 234.

³¹ BAILEY Nr. 103a.—*Diwān-i Fiḡān*, ed. ŠAHĀBUDDĪN ‘ABDUR RAḤMĀN, Karachi 1950.

³² GARCIN III, p. 118.

³³ GARCIN II, p. 429f.; BAILEY Nr. 97.

³⁴ GARCIN I, p. 588. BAILEY Nr. 100. QĀDIRI GULĀM MUḤAMMAD ŠĀH, Sarguzašt-i Ḥātim, ed. S. MOḤIYUDDĪN QĀDIRI ZŌB, Hyderabad 1944.—Autograph of *Diwānzāda* in the India Office, see BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 160. Selection: ḤASRAT MŌHĀNĪ, *Intiḡāb-i diwān-i Šāh Ḥātim*, Cawnpore 1925.

³⁵ SAKSENA, p. 48f.

hesitate to regard as correct the forms of imported words in the pronunciation of native speakers of Urdu. Ḥātīm, however, discarded all those spellings which reflected the actual pronunciation and thus paved the way for the smooth and refined Lucknow style. Ḥātīm had a great number of disciples, among them Saudā, one of the 'Four Pillars' on which classical Urdu poetry rests.

These four Pillars are, according to Āzād's classification, Maḥzar Ġāṅḡānān, Mīr Dard, Mīr Taqī Mīr, and Mīrzā Saudā. Modern critics would rather exclude Maḥzar and include the name of Mīr Ḥasan, the master of the romantic *maḥ-nawī*, for then the four different approaches to Indian life in the 18th century would be properly represented.

Maḥzar Ġāṅḡānān is much more interesting as a religious figure than as a poet. In fact, he is one of the three outstanding mystics of 18th century Delhi. Along with Shāh Waliullāh and Mīr Dard, he represents one of the aspects of Naqṣbandī teaching. The Naqṣbandī Order originated in Central Asia in the 14th century, and its foremost Indian representative was Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624). The order gained influence at the Mughal court as a counterweight to syncretistic tendencies as developed under Akbar. Its sober practices appealed particularly to the intellectuals, one may perhaps even say: to the Turanians, who constituted a large faction of the aristocracy³⁶.

Shāh Waliullāh³⁷, though not exclusively relying upon Naqṣbandī teachings, occupies a place of honour among those mystical leaders who tried to explain Islam in a language intelligible to the people: his excellent translation of the Qur'ān into Persian paved the way for the two Urdu translations of the Holy Writ which his sons produced by the end of the century. Waliullāh was critical of the 'saints of this period who are given to a number of irregularities³⁸', and in true Naqṣbandī fashion turned to practical politics. This political engagement, as expressed in his letters to Naḡībuddaula, Nizāmulumk, and others, resulted in his invitation to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī to fight the Mahrattas in 1760-61³⁹. His descendants and followers continued the struggle against the infidels, the foremost fighters being his grandson Ismā'il Šahīd and his son's disciple Sayyid Aḥmad of Bareilly. Still, even a leader like Waliullāh, like every good intellectual in the Subcontinent, sometimes wrote Urdu, Persian, and Arabic poetry, using the pen-name 'Istīyāq'; but Mīr's statement about Maḥzar:

Although poetry-writing is beneath his lofty rank, he at times turned to this useless art⁴⁰,

seems to apply even better to Shāh Waliullāh.

³⁶ Y. FRIEDMAN, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Montreal 1971. See also A. SCHIMMEL, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill 1975, Ch. VIII, 2.

³⁷ About him as a poet: GARCIN II, p. 50.

³⁸ *History of the Freedom Movement*, Karachi 1957, I, p. 497.

³⁹ Šāh Waliullāh kā siyāsī maktūbāt, ed. and translated into Urdu by K. A. NIZAMI, Delhi 1950.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Gul-i ra'nā, p. 127.

As to Maẓhar Ġāngānān, he was born in Agra in 1699 as a son of Mirzā Ġān, one of Aurangzeb's courtiers⁴¹. At the age of thirty he 'began to practice the sweeping of the dervish lodges,' as he writes⁴². For a while he was attached to a young beautiful poet, Tābān⁴³, in whom he recognized the reflection of divine beauty in the traditional Sufi way. Maẓhar became a fine scholar and influential mystical leader, whose fame mainly rests upon his letters in which his teachings and counsels are laid down in a not always very classical Persian⁴⁴. He introduced a considerable amount of Persian into his Urdu poetry, which constitutes, however, only a small fragment of his literary output. Nevertheless, by the end of the century, Muṣḥafī could refer to him as the 'first sculptor of *rēhta*'; and another critic, writing in 1188/1774, voiced the opinion that

this cream of the gnostics and angel-qualified person was the first to give up *ihām* and to use the *Urdu-yi mu'allā* as spoken in Delhi⁴⁵.

But the Shiite Saudā could not help satirizing Maẓhar's 'mongrel' style:

Those who are well versed in Persian call it *rēhta*,
But those who are acquainted with the form and shape of Urdu
exclaim on hearing it: This is not *rēhta*!

And he closes with the sentence:

It's a washerman's dog which belongs neither to the house nor to the *ghāt*.

Saudā's satire, similarly to his attack on Shāh Waliullāh, may have been induced by religious prejudice as much as by philological considerations; for, being a strict Naqṣbandī, Maẓhar was outspokenly anti-Shia and even became a martyr of his conviction: at the age of 82 he ridiculed a Muḥarram procession and was shot at midnight by a fanatic Shiite. He died after two days as a *shahīd*, 'martyr,' without disclosing his murderers's identity (1781).

None of his disciples in poetry ranks among the major Urdu poets; we may mention his close friend In'āmullāh Khān 'Yaqīn,' a great-grandson of Aḥmad Sirhindī, who was put to death by his father at the age of 25; he left some elegant verses (although Mir disliked him)⁴⁶. There are further Ḥwāḡa Aḥsanullāh 'Bayān' (d. 1213/1798 in Hyderabad)⁴⁷, and Mir Muḥammad Bāqir 'Ḥazīn,' who

⁴¹ STOREY Nr. 1375; BAILEY Nr. 102.—STOREY mentions: Na'imuddīn Bahrā'ī'ī, Baṣārāt-i maẓhariyya dar faḏā'il-i ṭarīqa-yi muḡaddidiyya, and id. Nr. 1373, Gulām 'Alī, Maqāmāt-i Maẓhari.

⁴² In the forword of his Persian Dīwān, Cawnpore 1271/1851, p. 3.

⁴³ GARCIN III, p. 192.—Dīwān-i Tābān, ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Aurangabad ATU 1935.

⁴⁴ A. R. QURAIṢI, Mirzā Maẓhar Ġāngānān aur unkā kalām, Bombay 1961. Makātīb-i Mirzā Maẓhar, ed. 'ABDUE RĀZIQ QURAIṢI, Bombay 1966 (contains 144 letters).—A MS. of ḤALĪQ ANŪM, Mirzā Maẓhar Ġāngānān is in the University Library, Delhi.

⁴⁵ Gul-i ra'nā, p. 120.

⁴⁶ GARCIN III, p. 306-311 gives the whole tragic story.—BAILEY Nr. 119 (read 1750 inst. of 1850); BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 125.—Dīwān-i Yaqīn, ed. FARḤĀT ALLĀH BEG, Aligarh 1930.

⁴⁷ BAILEY Nr. 110.—Gul-i ra'nā, p. 191.

later settled in Azimabad/Patna. Mazhar's religious disciples were much more active.

The deplorable situation in India caused a renewed interest in Sufism, which resulted in a remarkable output of mystical poetry in the regional languages (Sindhi, Panjabi) and Urdu. Even in the provinces religious Urdu poetry was composed: Aḥmad 'Alī Shivrāḡpūri's *Ġumġumanāma* retells a miracle-story attributed to the Persian mystic Fariduddin 'Aṭṭār (d. 1220), and the same writer's *maṭnawī Qiṣṣa-yi Maṣṣūr* sings of the martyr-mystic 'Maṣṣūr' Ḥallāġ (executed 922), again based on information given by 'Aṭṭār, and seems to have been much liked and imitated⁴⁸.

About 1750 Muḥammad Ḥusain 'Kalīm,' a friend of Mir Dard, translated Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, 'Bezels of wisdom' into *rēḥta*, 'a very difficult and subtle book which ordinary maulwis cannot understand.' Kalīm also wrote a treatise on prosody and composed Urdu poetry 'in the style of Bēdil; therefore, people were incapable of understanding his verses,' as his brother-in-law Mir states somewhat pithily⁴⁹.

Besides Mazhar Ġanġānān and Shāh Walīullāh, whose rôle in the development of Urdu poetry is more or less ephemeral, the most interesting figure among the Naqṣbandī masters was Ḥwāġa Mir 'Dard' (1721-1785), to whom Urdu owes the first and to a certain extent the only truly mystical poetry⁵⁰. His ancestors, who had migrated from Central Asia in the early days of Aurangzeb, claimed descent from Bahā'uddīn Naqṣband, the mystical leader of Bukhara (d. 1389). Dard's father, Nāṣir Muḥammad, an officer in the imperial army, retired early and gave himself completely to mystical life. In poetry and Sufism he was a disciple of Sa'dullāh Gulṣan who, in turn, was a disciple of Aḥmad Sirhindī's grandson 'Abdul Aḥad Miān Gul 'Waḥdat' (d. 1126/1714). Gulṣan died in Dard's paternal home in 1728. For many years he had every Saturday convened groups of poetically minded friends in the Zinat al-masāġid mosque, among whom were Nāṣir 'Alī Sirhindī, one of the most notoriously difficult writers of Persian poetry, and Mirzā Bēdil; Kalīm, too, belonged to this group. Nāṣir Muḥammad chose the pen-name 'Andalīb, 'Nightingale' in honour of Gulṣan, 'Rosegarden,' and his talented second son Ḥwāġa Mir became soon

⁴⁸ GARCIN I, p. 159. Both poems printed in 1869 and several times, see BM p. 21. —ZAIID Nr. 56 the *Ġumġuma-nāma* (cf. for the Persian original MS. University Istanbul F 214, fol. 652b-653a; for the topic see J. P. ASMUSSEN, 'Aṭṭār of Nišāpūr in the Judaeo-Persian Literary Tradition, in: Studies in Judaeo-Persian Literature, Leiden 1973). —BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 80 *Qiṣṣa-yi Ḥallāġ*.

⁴⁹ GARCIN II, p. 143; BAILEY Nr. 105 and 183a. —Gul-i ra'nā, p. 111-112.

⁵⁰ BAILEY Nr. 107. —NĀSIR NAḌIR FIRĀQ, *Maiḥāna-yi Dard*, Delhi s.d. 1344 h/1925). —A. SCHIMMEL, *Khawāja Mir Dard*, in: German Scholars on India, Delhi 1973; A Sincere Muhammadan's Way to Salvation, in: Man and his Salvation, S. F. G. Brandon Memorial, Manchester 1973, p. 221-243; *Mir Dard's Gedanken über das Verhältnis von Mystik und Wort*, in: Festgabe deutscher Iranisten zur 2500-Jahrfeier Irans, hrsg. W. EILERS, Stuttgart 1971. —YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, London 1959, p. 66f.

known as 'Dard,' 'Pain.' Around 1734 'Andalib was induced by a vision to found the *Ṭariqa Muḥammadiyya*, a fundamentalist branch of the Naqṣbandiyya, which was to inspire later the Muslim fighters against the Sikhs. Muḥammad Nāṣir's second mystical guide was Pir Muḥammad Zubair, Aḥmad Sirhindi's great-grandson and fourth and last *qayyūm* of the Sirhindi house. After Aurangzeb's death Zubair had sided with Prince Mu'azzam, and then guided him and Shāh 'Ālam I. His death occurred in February 1740. 'Andalib consoled his friends with a 'hindi' tale, out of which his voluminous Persian work *Nāla-yi 'Andalib*, 'The Lamentation of the Nightingale' grew, a long-winded and often strange allegory⁵¹. Young Dard wrote down the book after his father's dictation and it became almost his only source of mystical inspiration. Dard says about himself that he

had made the mount of heedlessness run in the arena of lust and passion and drew, when still in his youth, the hand away from the world of vanity and instability to put on the garb of a dervish at the age of 29.

The 'mount of heedlessness' cannot have been very strong, for the precocious boy composed his first mystical tract at the age of 15. When 'Andalib died in 1758 Dard followed him as the *imām al-muḥammadiyyīn* until he died in January 1785 at the age of 66 lunar years like his father, with whom he had identified himself completely. Dard's literary output is great: his '*Ilm ul-kitāb*' in Persian is a whole encyclopedia of mystical thought, conceived first as a commentary of the 111 *vāridāt*, short poems that 'descended' upon him. Best known, and most readable, are his 'Four Treatises,' each containing 341 sentences and aphorisms according to the numerical value of his father's name *Nāṣir*. But Dard's main fame rests upon the very small collection of Urdu verses in which he expressed his thoughts, dreams, and hopes in delicate lines⁵².

Dard is the only major poet who did not leave his native Delhi during the time of affliction. One of his biographers writes that:

If Farid Ganḡ-i Šakar would have seen that mountain of patience he would have bitten his fingers as though they were sugarcane from the amazement which this true spiritual poverty would have caused in him. The paper on which he wrote his productions became similar to rose-petals, and the sound of the tongue of his pen became alike to the sound of the beaks of nightingales.

Dard's Persian poems are rather conventional; his spiritual diaries reveal a world of inner experiences and of constant search for self-identification, enhanced by the identification with his father, who, in turn, became for him the

⁵¹ *Nāla-yi 'Andalib*, Bhopal 1310/1893.

⁵² *Ilm ul-Kitāb*, Bhopal 1309/1891-2; *Čahār risāla* (Bhopal 1310/1893) contains: *Nāla-yi Dard*, *Ah-i sard*, *Dard-i dil*, *Šam'-i maḥfil*.—Urdu *Diwān* first printed Delhi 1847; ed. with introduction by ḤABĪBUR RAḤMĀN ŠIRWĀNĪ, Delhi; ed. ḤWĀĠA MUḤAMMAD ŠAFĪ, Delhi ca. 1940, Lahore 1944; ed. ḤALĪLUR RAḤMĀN DĀ'ŪDĪ, Lahore 1962; Persian *Diwān*, Delhi 1309/1891-2.—Selection: *Intihāb-i kalām-i Dard*, ed. SAYYID MUḤAMMAD ŠADRUDDĪN, Patna s.d.—Translations: MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 7; *Golden Tradition*, p. 126-133.

legitimate representative of the Prophet Muḥammad. Most people who praised Dard's modesty, poverty, and austere but heart-winning behaviour were probably not aware that this poet regarded himself as the renovator of the unalloyed religion of Muḥammad.

Like Gulṣan and 'Andalib Mir Dard too used to arrange meetings of poets (*muṣā'ira*) at least once a month in his house, a spacious compound given to him and his father by one of Aurangzeb's daughters. During these *muṣā'iras* rules and problems of the nascent Urdu poetry were discussed, the style of the participants criticized and embellished. Dard boasted of never having written anything for reward, or even with intellectual effort, all his poems descending upon him intuitively; yet, he had a considerable number of pupils.

It seems that the institution of the *muṣā'ira* mentioned in connection with the early Delhi poets of Urdu was developed during Dard's lifetime: the poets were either given a line which had to be extended into a *gazzal*, or some thought on which they had to invent a poem. A candle was put before the reciter and then passed on; the common expression *šam-i mahfil*, 'the candle of the assembly,' for a brilliant person as well as Dard's favourite expressions 'candle of speech' or 'candle of the tongue' can be explained in connection with such practices. Usually, the best poet was asked to recite last. Contrary to the sober Naqšbandī tradition, Dard, like Gulṣan, loved music, and always had musicians coming to his house. His colleagues apparently minded that, and some of them seem to have misinterpreted his mystical verses (as it happens still today); but he defended himself even to the point of writing a booklet *Ḥurmat-i ġinā*, 'Reverence of music.' Small wonder that musical imagery of high order permeates his poetry. We may assume that the art of *tarannum*⁵³, the chanting of Urdu verses in specific melodies, was practised during the soirées in his house, although we have no stringent proof for this assumption.

Dard's Urdu poems, altogether not even a thousand lines, are extremely simple. The vocabulary of the great masters of Sufism is introduced with such ease that one almost forgets its lofty implications.

In the state of union are single beings only one:
All the petals of the rose are together only one.

*

The veil on our friend's face —that's we ourselves.
We opened our eyes, and no veil was left.

Like many Sufi writers Dard loved the saying attributed to the Prophet that life is sleep, and man's awakening is death:

Woe, ignorant man, at the time
of death this truth will be proved:
A dream was whatever we saw,
whatever we heard, was a tale.

⁵³ See REGULA QURESHI, *Tarannum*, The chanting of Urdu poetry, in: *Ethnomusicology* 13, 1969, p. 425-468.

This verse with its utter simplicity contains also a clever combination of 'tale' and 'sleep,' for Persian poets always mention tales as a means to put children to sleep. Indeed, Dard's poems contain the whole treasure of images as used in contemporary Indo-Persian poetry: the footprint in water, the shifting sand-dune, the firestruck paper, the dewdrop which melts in the sun, the withering rose. He sees a light of God everywhere and yet knows that He is invisible, hidden under ever new sanddunes in the desert of Not-Being, manifesting Himself in ever new waves in the boundless ocean.

When I could not see Thee and all Thy majesty,
I do not care if I saw the world or did not see . . .
Night and day, O Dard, I am looking for the One
Whom no one in the world has seen or hopes to see⁵⁴.

And eventually, after a life of renunciation, and love for his family and his friends he experienced that there is only unity:

Joy and grief have one shape in the world:
You may call the rose 'open-hearted' (e.g. joyful) or 'broken-hearted.'

The opening of the rose-bud is both its smiling and its death, as Dard's friend Mīr said about the same time.

Dard's talent is revealed best in short metres where 'he lays a sword's sharpness into a lancet,' as Āzād writes. His verses are like little crystals in which the tradition of hundreds of mystical poets is condensed and shines through a new linguistic medium. These verses could not be more unassuming and yet concentrate a thousand years' heritage:

How to remember the curls of the friend?
They are so long, and life is so short!

Among Dard's disciples, Qā'im and Firāq are the most famous. Qiyāmuddin 'Qā'im' Cāndpūri⁵⁵, who attended also Saudā's instruction, occupied a high military position in Delhi; after long wandering, he died in 1210/1795-6 in Rampur. His contemporaries regarded him as one of the best *ġazal*-writers, the little poem about a snowfall in Delhi translated by Garcin de Tassy, where he describes how

the richest people wrapped themselves in cotton, like pears and raisins which one wants to preserve,

shows his imaginative power quite well. Important is his *taḡkīra* of Urdu-writing poets, *Maḥzan an-nikāt*, 'Treasury of elegant words' (chronogram = 1168/1754). Although he prides himself of having produced a pioneer work, he was

⁵⁴ Golden Tradition, p. 129.

⁵⁵ GARCIN I, p. 360-371.—BAILEY Nr. 106 mentions an edition of his poetry 1927.—MM Nr. 1470.—STOREY Nr. 1154 for his *Maḥzan an-nikāt*, ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Aurangabad, ATU, 1929.—BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 143; Diwan; ed. KHURSHIDUL ISLAM, Delhi 1963 (the poem translated by Garcin is not found in this edition).

only the third after Mir and Faṭḥ 'Alī Ḥusainī Gardēzī, whose *Taḍkira-yi rēḥtagūyān* was composed about 1751⁵⁶.

Tanā'ullāh Khān 'Firāq,'⁵⁷ the nephew of the noted poet Hidāyat (d. ca. 1800)⁵⁸ who also enjoyed Dard's instruction, was a famous physician and instructed the fine Sufi poet Mir Muḥammad 'Bēdār' (d. 1794 in Agra)⁵⁹ in Persian, while Dard was his master in Urdu. Firāq's poetry, as far as available, seems to follow his master's style closely. His line:

Like the shifting dune I sit at home from pre-eternity:
There is neither a quest for home, nor the will to travel,

contains all the basic ingredients of Naqṣbandī poetry.

Besides we find the name of the Bukhari Sayyid Mir Muḥammad Ismā'il 'Tāpiš' (d. after 1814)⁶⁰, who left Delhi with Gāhāndār Shāh and was later attached to Sulaimān Šikōh; he is noted for his *maṭnawī Bahār-i dāniš*, 'Spring of Knowledge,' a verse translation of Persian tales by 'Ināyatullāh. 'Baqa' Akbarābādī (d. 1206/1790) is mainly mentioned for some satires; he was either Dard's or, more probably, Ḥātim's disciple and was a close friend of Makin, mercilessly attacked by Saudā for his ignorance of Persian⁶¹.

Some Hindus, too, joined Dard's circle (Bēḥūd, Jhumman, Ḥuzūr, Bhikarē Lālā 'Azīz')⁶²; his son, Mir Alam, who stayed for a long time in Bengal (d. after 1807), followed his father's model in writing⁶³. More important than all those second- and third-class poets, however, is Dard's brother, Muḥammad Mir 'Aṭar,' who must have been about twenty year his junior and was for all practical purposes his *alter ego* in religious affairs. Besides being a good mathematician and musician and composing clever chronograms for his brother's books, Aṭar was a fine poet in his own right. He left a *Diwān* and a highly interesting Urdu *maṭnawī* called *Ḥ'āb o ḥayāl*, 'Dream and Phantasy'⁶⁴. Sadiq regards this most intriguing love story, in which the poet pours out his heart to his fickle mistress and remembers union with her and her ways of behaviour, as the sublimation of a deep experience, the vanity of which he realized later thanks to his brother (as the prologue and epilogue explain).

⁵⁶ GARCIN I, p. 523; MM Nr. 204.—His Taḍkira ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Aurangabad, ATU, 1933.

⁵⁷ GARCIN I, p. 467; BAILEY Nr. 109.—Gul-i ra'nā p. 269f.

⁵⁸ GARCIN I, p. 598; BAILEY Nr. 121.

⁵⁹ GARCIN I, p. 312, says that he died in Delhi 1797.—BAILEY Nr. 110; BLUM-HARDT IO Nr. 156.—Gul-i ra'nā, p. 200.—Ed. by MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAIN MAḤWĪ, Madras 1935; by QIDWĀ'ī, 1937.

⁶⁰ GARCIN III, p. 219f.—His Bahār-i Dāniš 1802, ed. by AFSŌS, printed Calcutta 1255/1839 with an introduction about Urdu poets.

⁶¹ GARCIN I, p. 275ff.; BAILEY Nr. 112; ZAIDI Nr. 39.—Diwān-i Baqa, ed. K. A. FARŪQI, Delhi s.d. (ca. 1967).

⁶² GARCIN I, p. 209.

⁶³ GARCIN I, p. 185-189.

⁶⁴ GARCIN I, p. 105f.—BAILEY Nr. 120.—Analysis by SADIQ, p. 105-107.—DR. SYED ABDULLAH, Ḥ'āb u ḥayāl, ek 'aḡib maṭnawī, in: Wali sē Iqbāl tak, p. 107ff.

During the 18th century the master-disciple relationship seems to have become more and more established among the Urdu writing poets⁶⁵. Formerly a poet would instruct others, but the relation between master and disciple was rather loose. Now, discipleship consisted not merely in the transmission of a master's ideals, but the master was supposed to correct the pupil's verses and to glean from them unelegant idioms; in many cases he would give him his pen-name (*taḥalluṣ*) which often points to their spiritual relationship (as in the case Gul-Gulšan-ʿAndalib -Dard -Aṭar, etc.). From the 18th century onward, no poet in Urdu *taḍkiras* is mentioned without his spiritual pedigree, thus connecting him with a specific line of thought or technique. The pen-names were thoughtfully chosen: the names of brothers might be derived from the same Arabic root (Uns- Anis- Mu'nis), or point to the profession (a physician's son adopted the name *Ṣiḥḥat*, 'Health')⁶⁶. In many cases, however, the same *taḥalluṣ* is shared by a number of poets at various times and places, or else a poet might even change his pen-name for some reason, which makes it sometimes difficult to follow the traces of minor poets.

Dard retired into the fathomless world of his soul to survive the tragedies that overcame Delhi during his lifetime. His elder contemporary Saudā reacted differently: he attacked the society in satirical verse, and has become known as the undisputed master of colourful satire in Urdu—although his merits in other fields of poetry are certainly great. Bernard Lewis' poignant remarks about the function of the 'medieval' poet can be applied almost without change to Saudā:

Lacking the mass media which serve the present-day holder or seeker of power, the medieval had recourse to his poet who, in return for a consideration, produced a version of events, a statement of opinions, or an image of a person which was vivid, memorable, and conducive to his patron's requirements. Eulogy served to present the patron in public in the most favourable light, satire to tarnish the images of his rivals and opponents. Politics, opinion, and news were not the only concerns of this kind of poetic journalism. The poet could also provide a social column, by celebrating or commemorating in verse the births, marriages and deaths of the great; he could promote special interest of various kind; he could even, in a prefiguration of the singing commercial, advertise goods for sale—and, anticipating another type of modern journalism, he could extort money by the threat of scurrilous abuse⁶⁷.

Mirzā Rafī'uddīn 'Saudā' was born in Delhi 1713 in a Pathan merchant family from Kabul⁶⁸. The brilliant young man studied poetry for a while with Khān-i

⁶⁵ About the problem of discipleship see RUSSELL-ISLAM, *Three Mughal Poets*, p. 4f.—Maulānā 'Abdus Salām Nadwī, *Ši'r ul-Hind I*, p. 107ff. gives lists of disciples of all important Urdu poets.

⁶⁶ GARCIN III, p. 143.

⁶⁷ BERNARD LEWIS, *An Ode against the Jews*, in: *Islam in History*, London 1973, p. 162.

⁶⁸ BAILEY Nr. 103; MM Nr. 1653.—RALPH RUSSELL-KHURSHIDUL ISLAM, *The Satires of Sauda*, in: *Three Mughal Poets*, p. 37-68; Šaiḥ CĀND, *Saudā*, Aurangabad, ATU, 1936, ʿKarachi 1963; ḤALIḤ ANḠUM, *Mirzā Rafī' Saudā*, Aligarh, ATU,

Ārzū and Ḥātim and attached himself for some time to 'Imādulmulk. In 1757 he left the devastated capital for Farrukhabad and proceeded to Faizabad in 1771 after his patron had died. As a Shiite, Saudā enjoyed the life at the Shia court of the Nawwabs of Oudh, whom he celebrated in a considerable number of panegyrics. In 1775 the poet followed Āsafuddaula to the new capital Lucknow where he was created poet laureate. He died in 1781. Muṣḥafī invented the chronogram:

Saudā ku ḡā ū ān suḥan-i dīljarīb-i ū!

Where is Saudā and his heart-enchancing word? = 1195/1781.

Saudā was a man of exuberant spirits. His style is praised by most critics as unsurpassable; even Mir, otherwise not too gently dealing with his contemporaries, acknowledged Saudā as the only true poet besides himself, Dard being a 'half-poet':

Each of his charming verses which were introduced into the garden of eloquence is a bouquet of flowers of thought, and each of his well-measured hemistiches is like a free cypress.

We would hesitate to call his verses 'charming' but would rather stress their vigour and the poet's talent to find the right word in the right place, a gift which led Bailey to speak of his 'manipulation of language'.⁶⁹ Saudā's '*Ibrat al-ḡāfilīn*, directed against the would-be poet Makīn, proves his thorough knowledge of Persian literature. His *qaṣīdas* have often been compared to those of the masters of *qaṣīda*-writing in Iran; but we would hesitate to place him, as Muṣḥafī did, in one category with Ḥāqānī⁷⁰. His approach is different, and in certain ways more matter-of-fact than that of the medieval panegyrists and satirists, not to mention the Indo-Persian poets, whose *qaṣīdas* are often no more than insipid essays in versification. Saudā's style however is definitely closer to that of the earlier Persian poetry than to the involved approach of the *sabk-i hindī*. The author of *Gulshan-i suḥan* calls him 'the marvel of the time and the

1966.—BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 146ff. mentions various editions.—First lith. Calcutta 1803. A selection from his verses was made by ĠAWĀN, Calcutta 1810, and: Intikabi Cooliyat Souda. Published under the patronage of the government by MOULOOWE GOLAM HYDER, Calcutta 1847.—Kulliyāt, ed. MIR 'ABDUR RAḤMĀN AHĪ, Delhi 1272 h/1856; ed. 'ABDUL BĀRĪ ĀSĪ, Lucknow 1932, 2 vols; ed. MUḤAMMAD ḤASAN, Delhi 1966.—Kalām-i Saudā, ed. KHURSHIDUL ISLAM, Aligarh, ATU, 1965. Critical ed. prepared by ŠAMSUDDĪN ŠIDDĪQĪ, unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1967.—Selections from the Kulliyāt, literally translated by Major HENRY COURT, Simla 1872 (textbook for high proficiency examinations in Urdu) Muntaḥab-i maḡnawiyāt-i Saudā, rev. ed. by Capt. H. S. JARRETT, Calcutta 1875.—AHMED ALI, Translations in: Eastern Horizon IV, 3, March 1965, and: Golden Tradition p. 118-125.—MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 6.—Free-Trade a Bunya's Owl (by F. C.); to which is added a literal version of the original Hindee satire of Meerza Rufe-oos-Souda, London 1849.—A. H. HARLEY, Saudā, the Satirist of Hindostan, in: Calcutta Review, August 1922, p. 214-224. G. C. NĀRANG, The Princeton Manuscript of Kulliyāt-e-Saudā, JAOS, 93.4. 1973.

⁶⁹ BAILEY, p. 47.

⁷⁰ Cf. ĠALĀLUDDĪN ĠĀ'FARĪ, Tārīḫ-i qaṣā'id-i Urdū, Allahabad s.d.

To
DR. SYED ABDULLAH,
septuagenarian

leader of the troops of Urdu-speaking poets,' due to the terseness of his verses, so highly praised by Saksena⁷¹. He indeed excels by his delightful hyperboles; and though they seem at times far-fetched they are never put together without taste. Saudā himself pleaded for straightforwardness and was against ambiguity in poetry; and we would certainly agree with his self-portrait:

My tongue is a tailor in the kingdom of speech:
Thanks to me the bride 'Meaning' gets a shirt that fits.

Indeed, his tongue was razor-sharp when he satirized his contemporaries! Garcin, fond of classical comparisons, called him 'the Juvenal of India'⁷². His satires offer a lively picture of the social life in northern India during a period of distress⁷³. The poem *Taẓhīk-i rūzgār*, 'The Laughing-stock of the Age,' is perhaps best known; it is the story of an impoverished nobleman's decrepit horse, a story filled with sidelights on the political and social decline of his age. To be sure, we should not take everything in the poem at face value; for the miserable, or restive, horse is a topos, used by Persian writing authors from at least the 12th century, and figures even in Dard's mystical doctrines; it has inspired many a miniature-painter in Iran, Turkey, and India⁷⁴. Still, *Taẓhīk-i rūzgār*, with its fantastic exaggeration, is a most enjoyable poem:

For instance, one among my friends I have whose name
Once mentioned at dawn is sure to bring to him
Who utters it misfortune and bad luck.
Although his pay is a hundred rupees a month
He owns a horse most mean and contemptible,
For whom, like a child who owns a horse of clay,
He keeps no food nor grass nor vet nor groom.
In leanness and lack of strength unparalleled,
Untold the days it has in hunger spent.
No more than hoof's imprint is it, for once
It squats it will not rise before it dies.
With lack of food its state is such that if
Its rider goes out riding in the street,
The butcher comes and says: Remember me!
The cobbler that he, too, is a candidate;
And when it sees the stable or nose bag
It starts to paw the ground and digs in truth
A well. With hunger no strength to neigh is left;
And if it sees a mare with fright it frets
And farts; so weak that it would surely fall
With a gust of wind if the bamboos of its stall
Were not so strong; nor flesh, nor bone, nor food
Within its belly; and it breathes as blows
The bellows of an iron-smith indeed.

⁷¹ SAKSENA, p. 65.

⁷² GARCIN III, p. 66ff.

⁷³ Cf. RAŠĪD AḤMAD ŠIDDĪQĪ, *Ṭanzīyāt o muẓhīkāt-i Urdū*, Allahabad s.d.—Art. *Hidjā*, EI III 338f.

⁷⁴ A. SCHIMMEL, *Nur ein störrisches Pferd . . .*, in: *Ex Orbe Religionum, Festschrift Geo Widengren*, Leiden 1972.

With scabies so discoloured that no one
 Can say if it is dappled, chestnut, bay.
 On every wound flies swarm, and that is why
 To all and sundry it is known as gray . . .⁷⁵

More pertinent to the actual state of affairs is Saudā's satire of the quack Dr. Ġauṭ 'Help,' who, pretending medical knowledge, is as successful in killing thousands of people as the Mongol leader Hulagu and does not care whether he sends Muslims or Hindus to the other world⁷⁶. Even though satire of physicians and pharmacists is traditional in Islamic literatures up to our day, the poem is excellent. Saudā was certainly right in complaining about the state of things: while formerly police officers were not interested in bribes and there were no thieves:

Look now: there is corruption, thieves, loafers, and cut-purses!

although this exaggeration may be born out of a nostalgic longing for an idealized past in which the rules of proper behaviour for the individual and the society were set⁷⁷. The poet sighs:

How can a man close his eyes in sleep,
 since tribulation is awake out of fear of thieves!

—as if the thieves were the cause, and not the result, of 'tribulation's remaining awake.' Such verses seem to point to the situation in Delhi in 1757, when 'Imādūlmulk's misgovernment resulted in constant plundering in which soldiers and policemen were all involved. What could man hope for under such circumstances? There was no profession left to which a decent person could aspire. Saudā's *Šahrāšūb* describes dramatically the deplorable situation in the various crafts⁷⁸. (Incidentally, the genre of *šahrāšūb* 'what brings the city into uproar' was invented in classical Persian to sing of the charm of imaginary sweethearts from various professions in order to enable the poet to introduce the technical terms connected with each craft. In later times, and particularly in India, it developed into a threnody on the miserable situation of the artisans and the ruin of society). Just as Anwari in the 12th century had complained of the burden of the paid poet who depends completely upon the patronage of the wealthy, Saudā grimly writes:

No sooner has the Khan's sperm fallen into the Begum's womb,
 than he racks his brain to produce a chronogram for the birth,
 and should a miscarriage happen to her, he'll sing an elegy—
 Dont ask, Sir, where the poor man stands!

In some of his satires Saudā, like his colleagues, transgressed the bounds of good taste; thus in his attack on Mir Zāhik, the ancestor of a whole line of suc-

⁷⁵ Golden Tradition, p. 122ff.

⁷⁶ Full account of Dr. Ġauṭ in: GARCIN III 82f., where also other satires are translated; see also RUSSELL-ISLAM p. 49ff.

⁷⁷ Cf. SADIQ, p. 83f.

⁷⁸ Retold in prose: RUSSELL-ISLAM, p. 62ff.

cesful poets, whose gluttony he described in amusing images: does he not even suspect his wife's breasts to be loaves of round bread or pieces of cheese? A fanatic, most probably Shāh Waliullāh, was not spared either, since this mystic's strict Sunni-Naqšbandī views disagreed with Saudā's religious convictions. As a Shia, Saudā composed many a flamboyant ode in honour of the twelve imāms; nearly a hundred *marṭiyas* are extant:

Not the crescent has risen in the sky in the month of Muḥarram:
Risen has on the sphere the sword of affliction and grief.

It was he who introduced the form of the six-lined strophe, *musaddas*, into Urdu as a medium for *marṭiyas* and thus set the example for the next 150 years.

Saudā's reputation as a powerful author of highflown *qaṣīdas* and master of a sword-like pen has led to underrating his lyrics. His orchestration of words was probably too strong for *gẓals*, a genre which may rather be compared to chamber music. His *gẓals* lack the fragrance and frailty which is usually connected with this lyrical form and are more masculine than convention tolerated. Modern Urdu critics, though, think highly of his *gẓals* and regret that their study has been neglected. This, however, can be ascribed mainly to the fact that Saudā was a contemporary and friend of the undisputed master of lyrics, Mir Taqī 'Mir'.

There is barely any later poet, from Muṣḥafi and Ġalīb through Akbar and Ḥālī to Ḥasrat Mōhānī who has not expressed his admiration for the *imām al-mutaḡazzilīn*, the 'leader of lyrists.' Mir Taqī Mir was born in 1724 in Agra to a pious family⁷⁹; the first part of his autobiography is filled with details about the mystical atmosphere in which he grew up. He lost his father at the age of eleven and went to Delhi to seek employment. The Imperial Paymaster Ṣam-ṣāmuddaula granted him a stipend of one rupee a day, and the young poet sometimes attended the poetical meetings in the Zīnat al-masāḡid mosque with Muḥammad Nāṣir 'Andalīb, who predicted his future greatness⁸¹. After Ṣam-ṣāmuddaula's death in the battle of Karnal in 1739, Mir returned home to Agra,

⁷⁹ GARCIN II, p. 305-321; BAILEY Nr. 102; RUSSELL-ISLAM, Three Mughal Poets, Ch. 4-6.—SADIQ, p. 94ff. is extremely critical; K. A. FARUQI, Mir Taqī Mir, ḡayāt aur ṣā'iri, Aligarh, ATU, 1954; DR. SYED ABDULLAH, Naqd-i Mir, Lahore 1958; Delhi College Magazine, Special Mir Number, 1962-63; A. H. HARLEY, Mir, the lyric writer of Hindostan, in: Calcutta Review, Oct. 1922; AHMAD ALI, The Anguished Heart: Mir and the Romantic Imagination, in: Eastern Horizon VI 10-11, Oct./Nov. 1967.—Kulliyāt first printed Calcutta 1811 Kooliyat Meer Tuḡee. The poems of Meer Mohumud Tuḡee, comprising the whole of his numerous and celebrated compositions in the Oordoo or polished language of Hindoostan. Ed. by learned Moonshes, Calcutta 1811, 1085 pp.; Lucknow 1867, 1874, ed. 'ABDUL BĀRĪ ĀSĪ, Lucknow 1951; ed. 'IBĀDĀT BRELWĪ, Karachi 1958; ed. ZILL 'ABBĀS 'ABBĀSĪ, Delhi 1968f. in several vols.—Intiḡāb-i kalām, ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Aurangabad, ATU, 1926; Aligarh s.d.—Translations: GARCIN DE TASSY in: JA 7/1825; J. Vinson, Revue de Linguistique 24/1891; MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 8; Golden Tradition, p. 134-176.

⁸⁰ SADIQ says: 1722 in Allahabad.

⁸¹ See RUSSELL-ISLAM, p. 244.

where he was apparently involved in a tragic love affair; his *maṭnawī Mu'āmalāt-i 'iṣq* seems to contain autobiographical traits. Back in Delhi, Mir lived for a while with his elder brother's maternal uncle, Khān-i Ārzū, but did not get along well with him. A mental eclipse followed; but soon he was relieved and continued his search for patronage in Delhi. He attached himself to the eunuch Ġawīd Khān (murdered in 1752), then to a nobleman of Ṣafdār Ġang's entourage, and his reminiscences speak of experiences in warfare and politics. After 1757, Mir stayed for a long time with Raḡa Nagar Mal, deputy vizier of the Empire, in the Jat territory east of Delhi; then he fell out with his patron for political reasons. After another stay in Delhi (1772) Mir was invited by Āṣafuddaula to come to Oudh, and joined the Nawwab's circle in 1782. This was quite courageous for a poet in his sixties, all the more since the style which developed in the east was different from that of the Delhi poets.

Why do you mock at me and ask yourselves:
Where in the world I come from, easterners?
There was a city, famed throughout the world,
Where dwelt the chosen spirits of the age:
Delhi its name, fairest among the fair.
Fate looted it and laid it desolate,
And to that ravaged city I belong⁸².

Occasionally Mir wrote poems for his benefactors, such as one rather uninspired description of a hunting party, but quarreled even with the Nawwabs. Like most of the poets of his generation, he poured out his longing for the ruined capital in melancholy verse:

How could I tell my tale in this strange land?
I speak a tongue they do not understand⁸³.

Mir died in 1810, almost ninety years old. One year later his *Kulliyāt* were printed in Calcutta. The main part consists of six lyrical *diwāns*, besides a few not very successful *qaṣīdas*, and some pathos-filled *maṭnawīs*. His fine satire on his ruined house was first translated by Garcin de Tassy⁸⁴. Mir's poems on animals, like the charming little *maṭnawī* on his cat Mohni Billi, complement the usual picture of the proud and stand-offish poet. He composed also a Persian *Diwān*. His *taḡkīra Nikāt aṣ-ṣu'arā* 'The fine pointes of the poets,' completed in June 1752, deserves special attention because it deals with the *rēhta* poets including those from the Deccan and Gujrat up to his time, and is written in a rather involved Persian⁸⁵. That Mir did not think very highly of his fellow-poets is even more obvious from his late *maṭnawī Ajgarnāma* 'Book of the Dragon,' in which he depicts himself as a dragon who easily swallows

⁸² id., p. 260.

⁸³ id., p. 255.

⁸⁴ GARCIN II, p. 316ff.

⁸⁵ ZAIDI Nr. 12; ed. ḤABĪBUR RAḤMAN ŠIRWĀNĪ, Aurangabad ATU, 1920; ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, id. 1935.—See STOREY Nr. 1152.

the vermin and tiny insects who imagine themselves poets^{55a}. He certainly did not endear himself by such verses to his colleagues.

Mir's Persian autobiography, *Dikr-i Mir*, ends at 1788 and in its somewhat subdued style gives a good picture of the difficulties he encountered in life⁵⁶. There were enough difficulties, indeed, besides the disastrous situation with which everyone had to cope. Mir's critics accuse him of being self-centred, short-tempered, and ill-natured. But if such a deeply melancholy character and supersensitive mind could produce some of the most superb Urdu poetry ever written, one should not blame a poet who, unlike Saudā, buried his grief in his heart, only to sing it now and then in heart-rending verse. Sardar Jaffri says very aptly:

His poetry is a deep ocean of grief in which there are some billows of sighs and some storms of argumentation . . . it is not a personal grief, it is the grief of the cosmos⁵⁷.

Mir himself, wrapped in his grief so completely that he did not care for and even disliked many of his fellow-beings, was aware that this very melancholia was the main source of his inspiration:

I am lost because of love, my grief is overwhelming—
Whosoever thinks that I am a poet, is a non-poet.

That he said in Persian, and he expresses the same view in Urdu:

Don't call me a poet—for I have collected
Much grief and much sorrow to make it a *diwān*!

But he was sure of his greatness:

This *rēhta* does not grow green in Hindustan alone,
In all the Deccan does it well resound⁵⁸.

Mir was aware of the transient beauty of everything created. Like Dard, he realized the rose to be the perfect paradox:

'How long is the life of a rose?'
The bud heard my question and smiled.

The smiling, i.e. opening, of the bud is the beginning of its withering when its petals drop like blood . . . The traditional idea of the bird whose nest is burnt by lightning, so common since Ḥāfiz, and particularly among the Indo-Persian poets, is reflected in Mir's meditation on roses and flames which prefigures some of Ḡālib's saddest lines:

^{55a} *Conseils aux mauvais poètes*, poème de Mir Taki, traduit de l'hindostani, par M. GARCIN DE TASSY, Paris 1826; *Consigli ai Cattivi Poeti. Poema Indostanica tradotto d. M. PUGLISI PICO*, Palermo 1891.

⁵⁶ Ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Aurangabad, ATU, 1928.

⁵⁷ SARDAR JAFFRI (ed.), *Diwān-i Mir* (in Urdu and Hindi), 2 vols., Bombay 1960; Introduction.

⁵⁸ RUSSELL-ISLAM, p. 215.

The red of the flaming rose
set the garden ablaze, O breeze.
I heard in prison the news
of home and burned with memory⁸⁹.

Sometimes there are lighter notes in his verses, and he plays with the traditional combination of wine-cup and drunken eye:

Last night within my dream
I saw her drunken eye!
When I awoke in the morning,
A wine-cup was before me⁹⁰.

Saudā had used the same comparison, in a lamentation on the political disaster:

Now it was the time of the goblet, again that of the eye filled with water!
See, Saudā, what different things come from the revolving of the skies!

Mir's thought revolves around love in its various manifestations. He knows: it must have been a terrible character (*kāfir*, 'infidel') who first chose love; for unbridled love is not allowed within the bounds of the traditional Muslim society—neither as free human love nor as overbearing mystical love. Ralph Russell and Khurshidul Islam have dwelt in detail upon the various facets of Mir's love-poetry, in which hope and despair, magic attraction and withering feeling are reflected in ever new verses. When Saudā sarcastically describes the pitiable state of the ruined capital, Mir experiences even this as a reflection of his own state. Just as Delhi was once so lovely that its streets looked like the perfect pictures of a miniature-painter, so he was happy, but:

The kingdom of the heart, where you had ruled supreme
An age, now lies, alas, deserted and in ruins⁹¹.

*

Tears flow like rivers from my weeping eyes.
My heart, like Delhi, lies in ruins now⁹².

Mir complains, again prefiguring Ġālib, that "It is very difficult to be a human being," and regards the heart as a poor drop of blood which has to bear the afflictions of a whole world. He smells the blood of martyrs in spring when the tulips (long connected in poetry with bloodstained shrouds) appear in the meadows, and indulges day and night in *ġamparastī*, 'worship of grief.'

Mir cannot deny that he came from a Sufi house⁹³; indeed, it would be difficult to find any 18th century Urdu poet who had not imbibed the ideas of Sufism with which the whole atmosphere was impregnated—even Saudā wrote a little poem on a verse of Maulānā Rūmī. In traditional Sufi style, Mir sees the rose as a symbol:

⁸⁹ Golden Tradition, p. 143.

⁹⁰ id., p. 156.

⁹¹ id., p. 142.

⁹² RUSSELL-ISLAM, p. 221.

⁹³ Cf. DR. SYED ABDULLAH, *Kalām-i Mir meñ fikr o naẓar kā 'unṣur*, in: *Walli sē Iqbāl tak*, p. 50-106.

The rose is a memory of some
 fair face, O heedless one,
 The bulbul remembrance
 of one who sang with melody²⁴.

Ġalib's famous *gāzal Āb kahān* . . . takes its inspiration from the same source. But Mir is less sophisticated and praises the manifestations of the One Beauty in the same style as Dard:

Whether I looked at roses, sun, or moon,
 Or in the mirror—ev'rywhere Thy face.

In this world, death is only one step on the way towards union:

When the body's dusty veil is lifted,
 We are He, and everything is we.

Out of this knowledge the poet dares even pity the immortal prophets, Ĥizr and Jesus, and if to die means to become dust; yet:

The dust, then, will rise, will be carried away:
 New stations are still on the road after death!

In such verses, Bēdil's dynamic world-view is echoed, though somewhat mellowed: Mir's preceptor Khān-i Ārzū was strongly influenced by Bēdil, and so was the group around 'Andalīb.

The modern reader is delighted to see Mir's use of the language. It has been rightly said that he speaks rather than writes. That is, he, like Dard, avoids any rhetorical artificiality and tries to achieve a limpidity of expression in a sweet flow of the verse. He loves to speak to the simple people, and uses devices from folk poetry. Thus he often repeats words, as done in folksongs:

Leaf by leaf and plant by plant has known our state;
 Whether they know, whether they don't, even though the rose may not know—
 yet the whole garden knows it . . .

where the words *patā patā būḡā būḡa* almost recall the rustling of leaves. This style often implies an accumulation of long syllables, difficult to reconcile with the traditional rules of Persian metrics as applied to Urdu, and is closer to Hindi metres.

Cosmos cosmos love and madness,
 world by world suspicion, woe!
 Ocean ocean do I weep, and
 desert desert loneliness.

Mir loved music, and some of his poems in long metres resemble singable Hindi *gīts*:

Neither pride there and no leisure,
 neither patience there nor rest:
 Just one Mir, with broken feet, was
 in your garden . . . just one thorn.

²⁴ Golden Tradition, p. 157.

The same trend to melancholia on the one hand and to the repetition of favourite phrases or key words on the other is visible in Mir's *maṭnawīs*⁵⁵. All of these lyrical scenes are rather short, between 234 and 297 verses. The *Mu'āmalāt-i 'išq* is, as we have mentioned, probably a kind of autobiography of an unhappy love affair. The tragic ends of the stories recall the folktales of the Panjab and Sind, which always end with the lovers' deaths: during Mir's lifetime some Panjabi tales were retold in Urdu poetry, such as the legend of Sassui-Punhun by Mahabbat Khān (see p. 195). His *maṭnawīs* often begin with long chains of repetitions: *Šu'la-yi 'išq*, 'The Flame of Love', partly translated by Garcin de Tassy, repeats in the beginning the word *maḥabbat*, 'love' in each hemistich for seventeen verses:

Love is the originator, love is the cause,
From love come strange things.
Love is a strange bloodshedding dream,
Love is a heart-enchancing affliction,
From love comes the order of the world,
From love comes the sky into revolution . . .

verses, which remind the reader of similar anaphora in honour of Love in Rūmī's *Maṭnawī* and in Sufi poetry in general. In *Daryā-yi 'išq*, 'The River of Love,' the word 'išq is used similarly.

Mir lived to an old age, and yet he sighs:

A rose's scent, a night-bird's song—
How quickly passed, alas, my life!

His character has been harshly criticized by Āzād. Critics in the 19th century hold that 'his heights are very high, his lows (we may say: platitudes) very low.' But every reader will find verses which express his own feeling. Bared of rhetorical artificiality, Mir's verses are 'the voice of the grief-stricken human heart,' neither burdened with philosophy or theology nor rationalizing. They rather express the general *Stimmung* of a lonely wanderer seeking his way in the twilight of the Mughals. But he remains a poet even in the moments of deepest despair:

I was all fire when this love began.
I turned to ashes now—that is the end.

The comparison of Mir and Saudā was a favourite topic for literary critics. A foreign reader can merely judge according to his own taste. It is certainly

⁵⁵ I'ğāz-i 'išq 297 verses; Mu'āmalāt-i 'išq 239 verses; Šu'la-yi 'išq 234 verses: Shoulu e ishq. The flame of love. A Hindoostanee poem; by Meer Mohummud Tuqee. Ed. . . . by W. C. SMYTH, London 1820; partly translated by Garcin; Daryā-yi 'išq 266 verses, translated by Saudā into rather clumsy Urdu prose, see BAILEY Nr. 184.—See Dr. ĠA'FAR RAZĀ, Mir ki čand maṭnawiyān, Allahabad 1968.—Maṭnawiyāt-i Mir, ed. SAYYID MUḤAMMAD, Hyderabad 1945; ed. RAM BABU SAKSENA, Delhi 1956.—Intihāb-i maṭnawiyāt ma' tamhīd o muqaddima, ed. MUḤAMMAD SULAIMĀN, Badaun 1957.—Marāṭī-yi Mir, ed. MASH'UZZAMĀN, Lucknow 1951.

easier to translate Saudā's satires than Mir's *gazals*; for Saudā is, despite his brilliant, even shocking and fantastic exaggeration, more down to earth and has a message to convey. Mir is all soul, an introvert in the best tradition of *gajal* poetry, whose verses live from sheer sound and reflect a forlorn person's soul in hundreds of small poetical mirrors. "Strong river and vast ocean," "a mine of diamonds and a mine of colourful gems"—that is how Urdu critics would characterise Mir and Saudā. It remains a practical truth that Western students of Urdu understand Saudā much more easily than Mir and are usually most enthralled by Dard's poetry.

These three poets represented three modes of facing the vicissitudes of time: receding into the depths of Divine Love, criticizing society, and sighing in lonely despair. The fourth truly great master of 18th century Urdu poetry, their younger contemporary Mir Ḥasan, turned to the world of imagination and wrote romantic *maṭnawīs*⁹⁶, among which *Siḥr ul-bayān* has been regarded by a critical authority like Sprenger as 'the best poem in Hindustani⁹⁷.' This little poem of 4442 lines is usually known as 'Mir Ḥasan's *Maṭnawī*' just as Rūmī's great didactic poem is *The Maṭnawī* par excellence. In a charming scene in *Siḥr ul-bayān* Mir Ḥasan describes,

how in preparation for Bēnaẓir's coming, the maid-servants placed 'at the head of the bed . . . a richly bound volume of . . . the great Urdu poets, Saudā, Mir, and Mir Ḥasan . . .'

The poet was the son of Mir Żāḥik, who had been the target of Saudā's famous or infamous satire. During his youth in Delhi he frequented Mir Dard, and knew Mir, who mentions him in his *Nikāt aš-šu'arā*, from which Russell-Islam infer that he must have been born about 1727, not, as formerly accepted, in 1736; this earlier date would also fit with his remark that he parted from Delhi heavy-heartedly because of a love affair. Together with his father, Ḥasan went to Faizabad, then followed Āṣafuddaula in 1775 to Lucknow, where he died in 1786. Neither his numerous *gazals*, nor the ten other *maṭnawīs* of his, and not even his useful Persian *taḍkira* of Urdu poets (1775)⁹⁸ have impressed and enchanted his compatriots as much as *Siḥr ul-bayān*. The plot of this poem, written, like many amorous *maṭnawīs* and even lyrics in Urdu, in the metre *mutaqārib*, follows the traditional fairy tale with all its ingredients:

A king is blessed, after long waiting, with a son, Bēnaẓir, 'Incomparable,' whom he educates in all the arts. One night before the prince reaches the critical twelfth

⁹⁶ For the whole problem see: Dr. S. M. 'AQL, *Urdū maṭnawī kā irtiqā*, Allahabad 1965; GLĀN ČAND JAIN, *Urdū maṭnawī šimālī Hind meṅ*, Aligarh, ATU, 1969; SAYYID ĠALĀLUDDĪN AḤMAD ĠA'FRĪ, *Tārīḫ-i maṭnawiyāt-i Urdū*, Lucknow s.d.

⁹⁷ SPRENGER, *Catalogue Oudh*, p. 609.—ZAIID Nr. 47.—BAILEY Nr. 113.—RUSSELL-ISLAM, p. 70-94.—WAḤĪD QURAIŠĪ, *Mir Ḥasan aur unkā zamāna*, Lahore 1959.—MAḤMŪD FĀRŪQĪ, *Mir Ḥasan aur ḥāndān kē dūsrē šu'arā*, Lahore 1953.—*Golden Tradition*, p. 191-198.

⁹⁸ *Taḍkira-yi šu'arā-yi Urdū*, ed. M. ḤABĪBUR RAḤMĀN KHĀN ŠĪRWĀNĪ, Delhi, ATU, 1940.

year of his life, he sleeps on the palace-roof and is carried away by a fairy who has fallen in love with him. He stays in her castle but is allowed to roam about on a magic steed. During one of his excursions he detects the lovely princess Badr-i Munir 'Radiant Full Moon'; they fall in love. Consequently the jealous fairy casts him in a well in the Caucasus. The faithful girl friend of the princess dresses as a yogi and enchants the son of the fairy-king with her songs; eventually, the fairy king opens the well, Bēnazīr is liberated, and all lovers are reunited⁹⁹.

The poem is written in a fluent and easy style; it is 'crystallized eloquence'; but for the modern reader its main interest lies in the exact and charming descriptions of gardens, attire, and all the minute details of courtly life. Here, Mir Ḥasan is perfectly realistic; his descriptive verses correspond to Indian miniatures from the late 18th century and offer an excellent picture of the life in more peaceful parts of Muslim India. The dialogues are lively, reflecting the predilections of the respective characters: the Brahmin's Urdu is heavily hindicized, the courtier uses high-flown Persian constructions, etc. It is therefore small wonder that the lovely tale was among the first Urdu books ever printed (Calcutta 1805), and has been re-edited time and again. Mir Ḥasan's gift of accurate observation is also visible in his colourful description of the bazaar of Faizabad (which includes a covert criticism of the new capital Lucknow). In this scene, contained in his *maḥnawī Gulzār-i Iram*, the reader almost senses the smells, colours, and sounds in an Indian market-place teeming with life, where 'gold and silver money is lying on trays like narcissus bouquets.'

3. A Popular Poet of the late 18th Century

However much the four poets just mentioned differ one from another, they still form a closed group, and so do the poets in the following phase of Urdu literature, during the first and second period of Lucknow. One of the 18th century poets however does not fit at all into the general picture; he is, as the Indian critics and following them Bailey, think, 'comparable only to himself'¹⁰⁰. This is Wali Muḥammad 'Nazīr' Akbarābādī¹⁰¹, born in Delhi one year after

⁹⁹ *Sih-r-ool-buyan* or *Musuwwer of Meer Husun*, being a history of the Prince Benuzeer, in Hindoostani verse, Calcutta 1805.—Ed. lately by SALIM 'ABDALLAH, Karachi 1955; SAYYID RAFIḤ ḤUSAIN, Allahabad 1960 (with commentary); 'ABDUL BĀRĪ ĀSĪ, Lucknow 1961; RĀSĪD ḤASAN KHĀN, Delhi 1966.—*Maḥnawiyāt-i Mir Ḥasan* ed. WAḤĪD QURĀĪSHĪ, Lahore 1966.

¹⁰⁰ BAILEY Nr. 125.

¹⁰¹ GARCIN II, p. 418ff.; editions 1893, 1897.—BAUSANI, p. 149-160 (with some translations). ABŪ LAṬĪF ŠIDDĪQĪ, Nazīr Akbarābādī, unkā 'ahd aur šā'irī, Karachi 1957; MUḤAMMAD 'ABDUL ḠAFFĀR ŠĀHBĀZ, *Zindagānī-yī bēnazīr* (Nazīr Akbarābādī), Lucknow 1900; N. V. GLEBOV, *Narodnyj poet Indii Nazir Akbarabadi*; *Nacional'nyje i demokratičeskoje motivy v klassičeskoj poezii Urdu*, in: *Poezija narodov Indii*, Moscow 1962.—Kulliyāt Lucknow 1870, Delhi 1872; ed. MUḤAMMAD 'ABDUL ḠAFFĀR ŠĀHBĀZ, Lucknow 1900; 'ABDUL BĀRĪ ĀSĪ and ĀSRAF 'ALĪ LAKHNĀWĪ, Lucknow 1951; Muḥtār-i aš'ār, ed. SAYYID ḤUSAIN BILGRĀMĪ, Agra 1896; Rūḥ-i Nazīr, ed. S. MUḤAMMAD MAḤMŪD RIḤWĪ, Agra 1922; Intihāb, ed. ḠALĀLUDDIN

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Nādir Shāh's invasion, in 1740. Still a mere boy he went with his mother to Agra; there he died in 1830. He lived mainly in a quarter where stone-cutters and other workers stayed, and his *Šahrāšūb* describes the economic stagnation, the decline of artisanship, and the growing unemployment in the once wealthy city. Āsafuddaula invited Naẓir to join the court in Lucknow, but he refused and preferred to spend his life modestly as a tutor and teacher. Living outside the traditional circles and writing a not very high-flown idiom, Naẓir was but little appreciated during his lifetime or by 19th-century critics, although the common people loved to recite his verses. His rediscovery has led modern writers to an enthusiastic appraisal, if not overestimation of his art. Particularly A. Bausani has devoted a highly interesting chapter to him, and Russian scholars such as Glebov have intensely studied the 'popular poet of India.'

We may not be mistaken in accepting the general view that Naẓir spent his youth in the pleasures of life. Later he turned to a more religious and ethical outlook so that Saksena, a good moralist, sighs: "If the debased portion of his poems is discarded he can rank with the greatest moralists of the world." Sadiq, on the other hand, holds that 'it is the youthful poetry of his that matters'¹⁰². Naẓir, who 'gave Urdu literature a new hero—the common people' and enlarged the thematic horizon of poetry considerably, knew every stratum of human society. He was acquainted with the prostitutes and saw how often they spent their lives in poverty; in his descriptive verses (*naẓm*) he could well tell the festivities of Hindus and Muslims alike, for having lived long among Hindus he knew their religious and cultural traditions fairly well. *Šab-i barāt*, the Muslim feast on the 15th of Ša'ban, and Hindu Holi, saints' fairs or processions to a shrine—all figure in his work. And so does the rainy season, long a favourite topic of Indian poets: but for him, it is the time when the lot and the behaviour of the rich and the poor distinctly differ. Kite-flying and nightingale-fighting are depicted as vividly as are street-scenes and financial problems. Titles like 'The Story of the grain merchant' (*Banṣarā-nāma*) or 'Pickled Rats' (*Ačār ṣūḥōn kā*) speak for themselves. Naẓir was aware of the hunger under which hundreds of thousands of his compatriots suffered, and devoted one of his poems to 'Bread'; but he knew also that misery can induce man to the use of drugs, and describes people's addiction to *bhang* (hemp). Realistic and 'poet of common things,' as Bailey calls him, Naẓir was sure that all men are equal before God and in death, but that man is also capable of doing everything, good or bad, as he sings in his longish *Ādmīnāma*, 'Poem on Man':

Man is mosque he himself made,
 Man is preacher, religious head,
 Men those who scriptures read and pray,
 Men too who steal their shoes away,
 Who catches them is also man. . . .

AḤMAD, Allahabad ca. 1950.—In Devanagari: Naẓir kī bānī, ed. RAGHUPATI SAHAG FRĀQ, Allahabad 1953.—SAYYID AMĪR ḤASAN 'ĀBIDĪ, Naẓir Allahābādī aur sabk-i Hindī, Lahore s.d.—Golden Tradition, p. 177–190.

¹⁰² SADIQ p. 116.

Men beat the drum and tambourine,
Cymbals, and those who sing are men,
Men they who make their bullocks shake,
Men too who prance and merry make,
Who sees this fun is also man. . . .

Man makes shrouds for men who die,
Men take them to the cemetery,
Read holy verses, weep, and cry,
Do the business of men who die,
And he who dies is also man. . . .

. . . Good are men too, O Nazir,
The worst of them is also man¹⁰³.

Nazir's verses sometimes show humour, but they can also be bitter or sarcastic, for his inspiration is taken directly from life, a life which meant for most people around him poverty, hard labour, and starvation. Some of his poems are written for the little boys he tutored; these tell of squirrels and crows and the various ways the birds praise God. He would have barely been acceptable to the sophisticated masters of Urdu lyrics, for contrary to the trend in Delhi and the tendencies of the Lucknow school, he freely used Hindi words of common usage and introduced popular idioms into his verse to add to their liveliness. Rama and Sita, and Hir and Ranghā appear side by side with the heroes of classical Persian poetry. Word-plays abound in his poems, and here, as well as in his use of alliterations and repetitive expressions, Nazir is close to the tradition of Indian folk poetry disagreeing with the ideals of polished high Urdu. Although he wrote some five hundred *gazals*, the poet usually preferred to express his thoughts in strophic forms, which permit a greater pliability thanks to the possible variations of the strophe.

It is certainly grossly out of proportion to compare Nazir, as Saksena does, to Shakespeare; again, Sadiq's judgment that 'he wrote as the man of the street would write' is somewhat too harsh. Whether one can call him a truly 'social' poet is a different question¹⁰⁴. He is doubtlessly the first Urdu poet to turn to the underdogs and to see and describe every aspect of common life. His awareness of social injustice can be sensed in some of his satires, which, however, are descriptive rather than overtly critical, and may be seen as conforming to the mystical tradition which emphasizes the equality of men and has therefore been called by some modern writers (especially in Turkey and India) 'humanistic.' But there is neither a theoretical criticism of the miserable situation nor the call to revolution in his verses.

Nazir was a full-blooded poet, 'his imagination is rich and fertile like nature in India,' as Maulwi 'Abdul Haqq says¹⁰⁵, and he could not help poetically describing whatever he saw and experienced, without investing much intellectual

¹⁰³ Full translation: Golden Tradition, p. 184f.; Italian transl. in: Antologia della poesia urdu, ed. VITO SALERNO, Milan 1963, p. 44-61.

¹⁰⁴ GLEBOV-SUCHOČEV, p. 69-80.

¹⁰⁵ Art. 'Urdu' in EI 1st ed. IV, p. 1088.

effort into his verses. But those poems in which he combines this talent of accurate and lively description with the inherited mystical wisdom and his practical experiences of the world's transiency sometimes achieve true greatness. Perhaps his most famous poem is the one from which the following verses are taken:

Do not be greedy, wander not from land to land,
The thief of death robs day and night with both his hands.
Of no avail are bulls and camel-loads entire
Of wheat and rice and pulses, peas or smoking fire;
For when the gipsy moves his tent
Pride and glory and the rest
Will not avail nor all your best.

If you're a merchant with influence and wealth too,
Forget not there's a merchant far more rich than you.
Of what use sugar, coconut and salt and sweet,
Raisins, ginger, chillies, saffron, cloves and meat?
For when the gipsy moves his tent
Pride and glory and the rest
Will not avail nor all your best. . . .

Why with these heavy loads then burden you your heart?
For when death comes no one will help, no trade nor art,
Nor finery, gold, nor lace, nor silks and ornaments,
Nor gilded horses nor your well-decked elephants;
And when the gipsy moves his tent
Pride and glory and the rest
Will not avail nor all your best . . .

When death will drive your body's bull with whip a-crack,
Some then will take your goods, some sew your bag and sack.
Then you will rot in the grave to dust, all alone,
And not a soul, Naẓīr, will think of you, not one;
And when the gipsy moves his tent
Pride and glory and the rest
Will not avail nor all your best¹⁰⁶.

4. *The Poets of Lucknow*

Delhi's pivotal role in the development of Urdu lasted not more than half a century; except for Sufi poets like Maẓhar and Dard, the intelligentsia left the capital for safer places. The easiest to reach was the province of Oudh, semi-independent from 1723 and rapidly developing into a new cultural centre. Nawab Śuġā'uddaula (1753-1775) was able to consolidate his power and to attract to his capital Faizabad many poets who had lost home and protectors in Delhi. His successor Āṣafuddaula (1775-1798) shifted the capital to Lucknow¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁶ Full translation: Golden Tradition, p. 187f.

¹⁰⁷ A. L. SRIVASTAVA, *The first two Nawabs of Oudh, Lucknow 1933, Agra 1954.—id., Shuja-ud-Daulah, Calcutta 1939-45, 2 vols.*

Both nawwabs were interested in the arts and poetry. Āṣafuddaula himself composed *gazals*, quatrains and other lyrical poems and enjoyed in the last year of his life Sōz's instruction¹⁰⁸. It was he who established the Twelver Shia as state religion in Oudh. Strange manifestations of piety became popular; not only was the martyrdom of Ḥusain in Kerbela dramatically represented as it was in Iran, but even the birth of the imāms, etc. were made subjects of dramatic performances. The magnificent library which Āṣafuddaula collected contained, according to a contemporary Persian visitor, some 300,000 manuscripts; but under his careless successors it was reduced to that dreadful state which Sprenger describes with such sarcastic words¹⁰⁹.

Āṣafuddaula's successor, Sa'adat 'Ali Khān (1797-1814), had to cede half of his kingdom to the British to enjoy their protection; although he tried to make up for the generosity and profligacy of his predecessors, his frugality was soon forgotten when Ġāziuddīn 'Ali Ḥaidar took over¹¹⁰. He was created king by the British, who were now for all practical purposes the rulers of Oudh and gave him and his successors enough leisure to enjoy their lives in hitherto unknown extravagance. Ġāziuddīn was progressive enough to set up the first letter-press in Lucknow, a press which produced some beautifully printed books in Arabic and Persian, among them the *Haft Qulzum*, an introduction to Persian grammar and poetical art which sheds light on the artistic ideals of his time. The ruler also indulged in poetry; his Urdu verses in honour of the twelve imāms are, as Sprenger writes, 'so bad as to bear internal evidence that they are genuine productions of a king¹¹¹.' Both Ġāziuddīn and his son Naṣīruddīn Ḥaidar (1827-1837) combined love of pleasure with strong Shia inclinations; the Muḥarram celebrations were so lavish that even the king's elephant was trained to mourn the martyred imām with prolonged trumpeting of *Waaah Husaināāh . . .*¹¹²

After two more religiously minded kings, the last ruler of Oudh, Wāḡid 'Ali Shāh (1847-56), represented the most sensual and pleasure-oriented aspects of Lucknow life¹¹³. The festivities at his court were described by critics with amazed horror, and certainly surpassed the limits of decency. Wāḡid 'Ali Shāh was, of course, a poet, using the pen-name 'Aḥtar,' 'Star'; his lyrics are collected in six *divāns*; besides, he left some eighty *maṭīyas*, *qaṣīdas* in Urdu and Persian, and a *taḍkira* of Persian and Urdu poets. In his *maṭnawī Ḥuzn-i*

¹⁰⁸ *Diwān-i Āṣaf*, BLUMHEARDT IO Nr. 123; see GARCIN I, p. 103.

¹⁰⁹ M. IKRAM CHUGTAY, *Sāhān-i Awadh kē kutubhānē*, in: Urdu 47/2, 1971, p. 5; now enlarged as a separate book, Karachi, ATU, 1973.

¹¹⁰ About the whole atmosphere and the life of the nobility cf. MICHAEL EDWARDS, *The Orchid House*, London 1960; JANET DUNBAR, *Golden Interlude*, London 1955.

¹¹¹ GARCIN I, p. 191: qaṣā'id-i 'Ali Ḥaidar.

¹¹² MRS. MEER HASAN ALI, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, London 1832, I, p. 88; ŚIRWĀNĪ YAMĀNĪ, *al-Manāqib al-ḥaidariyya*, Lucknow 1820; see SCHIMMEL, *Islamic Literatures*, p. 52.

¹¹³ G. D. BHATNAGAR, *Awadh under Wajid Ali Shah*, Benares 1968.

Ahtar 'Ahtar's tristesse,' he describes his deportation to Calcutta where he continued to compose verses, in a detailed description of all the ladies in his *harim* which was known as 'Fairy-abode.' To complete the picture, Wāgīd 'labist' has also written a collection of prayers, *ṣaḥīfa-yi Aḥmadī*. Not in vain have 19th century Urdu poets chosen Lucknow as the setting for their lively novels in which they tried to recall the joyous and sensual atmosphere of the turn of the century¹¹⁵. It was, then, the glamour of courtesans. Glittering charm and outward perfection became the chief aim of people, be it in their dress or in their manner of speech. The language was polished and refined until it 'moves tripping on the tongue,' as Sadiq says so aptly¹¹⁶. The poets wrote high-flown panegyrics (which strike us as rather epigrammatic) in which they gave detailed descriptions of female attire, of jewelry and of the general appearance. 'From head to feet' they were not unknown in eulogistic poetry) were used to describe the charms of a woman, more or less decent words¹¹⁷. The subject of fact love and adventures with the 'beauties of the bazaar,' elegant but uncommitted plays with the human heart, expressed in increasingly formal style, replaced the more melancholy mood of previous Urdu poetry: there was no or little room for mystical love or the dreams about an unattainable beloved, the tragic aspects of unfulfilled longing, which had inspired earlier poets in their verse.

The atmosphere of comparative peace were whole-heartedly enjoyed: 'Every house in Lucknow is a place in which a wedding is celebrated every street is a carnival,' and it is this atmosphere which has made Lucknow poetry usually decried. It has become customary to decry this culture as decadent and unhealthy and its flirtatiousness, not rarely transgressing the bounds of obscenity, as a typical product of the late feudal state, meant to deprive the depraved spirits of aristocratic society. One can also compare the best products to late Rococo art; a parallel is found in the literature of the lived Tulip Period in early 18th-century Istanbul, which resulted in a though generally superficial poetry and art.

Besides Mir, Saudā, and Mir Ḥasan, who, though settling in Lucknow, still belonged to the Delhi tradition, a great number of writers flocked to the new capital. One of these was Sayyid Muḥammad Mir 'Sōz'¹¹⁸ from the family of

¹¹⁵ GARCIA, *Society of Akhtar*; BAILEY Nr. 145 for his letters.—His romance *Ḥikāyat-e Ḥusnā* (Lucknow 1855; maṅnawī Mihrparwar o Maḥparwin Lucknow? 1860); *Ḥikāyat-e Aḥtar* Calcutta 1859.

¹¹⁶ For the whole development see A. L. SIDDIQI, *Urdu Shikshā* (Lahore 1955.—The harshest criticism of this poetry is from Ḥusain Ḥālī in his *Muqaddima-i 'Ir' o ṣā'iri*, 1893.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 123.

¹¹⁸ Specimens of Lucknow poetry in English translation in: SHAHABUDDIN RAHMAN, *Art in Urdu Poetry*, Karachi (1954), pp. 27–33. Interestingly enough, earlier poets used the term *ṣarāpā* for descriptions of the Prophet's beauty.

¹¹⁹ BAILEY Nr. 108; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 144; ZAIDI Nr. 36.—Collections of his verses: Calcutta 1810, Aligarh 1905; Selection: Calcutta 1831.

the Gujrati saint Quṭb-i 'Ālam (see p. 134), a man of considerable skills which ranged from archery and wrestling to elegant calligraphy. After youthful adventures, Sōz turned to the religious life, a trend he shares, like his sportive achievements, with a number of his fellow-poets. He left Delhi in 1777 as a poor wandering dervish and instructed Āsafuddaula before he died, aged either 70 or 80, in 1798. Sōz's small *Dīwān* contains verse in a fluid style, but he was probably a better reciter of poetry than a poet, if we believe the *taḍkīras*.

More important is Ġulām Hamaḍāni 'Muṣḥafī' (1750-1824), originally from Amrōha, who gained rapid fame¹¹⁹. He first stayed with Mīr Muḥammad Yār Khān 'Amīr,' an art-loving Rohilla chieftain who tried to gather artists around himself¹²⁰. About 1776 he went to Delhi to cultivate *rēḥta*, then left the capital to seek his luck in the East. He reached Lucknow in 1787, and was apparently friendly with most of the poets he met there. Muṣḥafī's facile writing induced him even to sell his poems to others who might boast with them; still he collected enough verses to leave eight volumes of poetry (among them three Persian *dīwāns*). Fluent to a fault, his verses show little personal flavour; he rather excelled in imitating other poets: thus his *Baḥr-i maḥabbat* 'Sea of Love' is an imitation of Mīr's *Daryā-yi 'iṣq*¹²¹. Like many of his contemporaries, he too discussed the merits of Urdu poets in several *taḍkīras*. His Persian *Taḍkīra-yi Hindigōyān* (completed 1794) contains information about some 350 Urdu poets and preserves many verses of otherwise forgotten writers¹²².

Although a rather superficial poet, Muṣḥafī had many pupils. Among them was Ātiṣ (see p. 198); Zāmīr and Ḥālīq, noted *marṭiyā*-writers, belonged to his circle, for Muṣḥafī had been a friend of Mīr Ḥasan, Ḥālīq's father. Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān 'Asīr' (d. 1881)¹²³, who was to become the instructor of Wāḡid 'Alī Shāh and after the Mutiny of Yūsuf 'Alī Khān of Rampur, was also one of his disciples.

Unfortunately Muṣḥafī's fame in Urdu literary history rests not so much on the elegant diction of his poems or the achievements of his disciples as on a literary feud between him and Inṣā. The lampoons and satires which these two

¹¹⁹ EI 1st ed., III 450 calls him Maṣḥafī, thus also some other authors, like GARCIN II, 283ff.—BAILEY Nr. 114; MM Nr. 1336; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 226; STOREY Nr. 1175.—A. L. ŠIDDĪQĪ, *Muṣḥafī aur unkā kalām*, Lahore s.d.; DR. SYED ABDULLAH, *Muṣḥafī kā kārnamā-yi ḥāṣṣ* Urdu ṣā'iri meṅ, in: *Walī se Iqbāl tak*, p. 175ff.—Kulliyāt ed. NŪR NAQWĪ, Delhi 1967; ed. NITĀR AḤMAD FĀRŪQĪ, Delhi 1968; Selections from four *dīwāns*, compiled and ed. by MUḤAMMAD AḤMAD QAMAR, Lucknow 1879.—Intihāb-i dīwān, ed. ḤASRAT MŌHĀNĪ, Cawnpore s.d.—MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 10.

¹²⁰ GARCIN I, p. 200; he died shortly after 1774.

¹²¹ *Baḥr-i-maḥabbat*, ed. 'ABDUL MAĠĪD (DARYĀBĀDĪ), Azamgarh 1341 h./1922-3.

¹²² *Taḍkīra-yi Hindigōyān*, ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Aurangabad ATU 1923; 'Iqd-i turayyā (Persian poets), ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Aurangabad ATU 1934; ed. 'AṬĀ'UR RAḤMĀN 'AṬĀ KĀKAWĪ, Patna 1968.—*Riyāz al-fuṣṣāḥ*, ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Delhi, ATU, 1934.

¹²³ GARCIN I, p. 112f.; BAILEY Nr. 146.

poets hurled at each other, incited by their respective friends and patrons, have been branded by Saksena as 'a slur on Urdu literature.' They show very well the dark side of literary patronage, for it was a question of survival for the poet to gain or retain the protection of someone who could afford to pay him, and he would struggle with all means against possible rivals or intruders. That was exactly what happened between Muṣḥafī and Inṣā. Inṣā' Allāh Khān 'Inṣā'¹²⁴, born in 1766 as the son of the court physician Māṣā' Allāh Khān 'Maṣdar' in Murshidabad, was notorious for his unbridled wit which spared no one. Young, versatile and frivolous, he reached Lucknow after serving for a while at Shāh 'Ālam II's court. His humour and remarkable skill in versifying soon endeared him to Sulaimān Śikōh, so much so that he replaced Muṣḥafī as the Prince's instructor—hence their enmity. Muṣḥafī's *qaṣīda* in which he complains of his lost source of income is quite touching, and Inṣā's behaviour in publicly satirizing his victim with the help of buffoons and jesters was indeed most undignified. Inṣā became closely attached to Sa'ādāt 'Alī Khān, despite this ruler's more serious bent of mind. But the frivolous poet could not hold his tongue, and hurt his patron's feelings by an indecent remark about his ancestry. He had to leave the court in 1810, and his formerly splendid life was reduced to poverty, although the description given by Rangin is probably poetically exaggerated, for the poet received a small pension from the court until he died in 1818.

Whatever may be said against Inṣā (who was also a good physician), one has to admit that he possessed a breath-taking versatility. He wrote about 9000 verses in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and mainly Urdu and knew the northern Indian idioms. To compose *diwāns* in Persian and Urdu was normal for a poet of his time, but his Turkish poetry would be worth examining. There are Hindi verses, riddles in Turki and Panjabi, and even a versified grammar of Pashto. Inṣā was able to write on every subject. In his *maṭnawī Śīr Biring* (Milk-Rice) he imitates the traditional Persian *munāzara*, a poem in which two items claim superiority over each other. There is no lack of humorous or burlesque accounts of events, for instance when he celebrated the marriage of the Nawwab's favourite elephants. He composed poems from exclusively dotted or undotted letters, imitating Arabic models¹²⁵, and the most difficult metres and the longest *radīfs* were easy for him; the repeated variations of a single rhyme or *radīf* in a dozen or more *gazaḷs* are mere verbal gymnastics, technically as

¹²⁴ A fine and unbiased study by A. BAZMEE ANSARI in EI III, 1244-45.—BAILEY Nr. 150; ZAIDI Nr. 44 II; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 176.—'ABDUL 'ALĪ BARLAS, *Hayāt-i Inṣā*, Lahore 1902; ASLAM PARVEZ, *Inṣā' Allah Hān Inṣā*, 'ahd aur fann, Delhi 1961.—Kulliyāt Delhi 1855, Lucknow 1876; ed. AMĪNA ḤĀTŪN, Lahore 1969.—*Kalām-i Inṣā*, ed. MIRZĀ MUḤAMMAD 'ASKARĪ and MUḤAMMAD RAFĪ, Allahabad 1952.—*Ḥālāt ō intihāb*, Lahore 1966.—MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 11.—Golden Tradition, p. 199-203.

¹²⁵ *Silk-i gauhar* (a love story in Urdu prose without dotted letters), ed. IMTIYĀZ 'ALĪ KHĀN 'ARŚĪ, Rampur 1948. It is modelled on Faiẓī's *Sawāṭī* 'al-ilhām.

admirable as they are boring to modern taste. Inṣā's *qaṣīda* in honour of King George III, though difficult to appreciate for us, has become famous; it is probably the first Urdu poem to contain some English words, like:

The flower will prepare its *glass*,
When the rose-bud opens the mouth of the *bottle*.

There are other aspects in his writings, too: in *Rānī Kētākī, kahānī thēh Hindī meñ*, Inṣā tells the romantic tale of Queen Kētākī 'in pure Hindi'¹²⁶. The usual story of separated lovers, transformations of humans into animals, old wizards, and a happy end would not be interesting for the modern reader; it is rather the philological aspect that makes the book worth mentioning, for not a single Arabic, Persian, or Sanskrit word is used, and yet, the style is so fluent that one barely misses those ingredients which are usually considered essential for elegant Urdu.

Even more interesting is the grammatico-rhetorical treatise in Persian, *Daryā-yi laṭāfat* (1807)¹²⁷, 'Sea of Fineness,' written by Inṣā in collaboration with Qatīl, the Bengali scholar of Persian with whose disciples Ġalīb was to quarrel two decades later. Inṣā composed the part on grammar, Qatīl that on rhetoric. It is the first grammatical analysis of Urdu by a native speaker of the language. Although not scholarly in the modern sense it deserves our admiration, for Inṣā discusses the sounds of Urdu, dialectical changes, peculiarities of pronunciation, and claims, contrary to the former purists, that foreign words should be used the way they are pronounced in India. Being an artist, he wittily explained dry grammatical rules to the extent of inventing new catchwords for the Arabo-Persian metres: the foot 'short long long long' is not, as in traditional grammar, spelled out *majā'ulun* but *Parī Hānūm*, 'Dame Fairy,' etc.

Inṣā's superior talent has never been denied, but the critics agree that he was too eccentric and had lost all sense of proportion, carried away by his overwhelming fancy and the wish to display his brilliance at whatever cost. His verses, studded with word-plays or built on complicated poetical tricks, defy translation, or else would call for long scholarly explanations to make them intelligible to the non-Urdu speaking public. Inṣā's name is usually connected with a form of Urdu poetry which is highly despised in our day, e.g. with *rēḥtī*. This artificial word, a feminine of *rēḥta*, means the dialect spoken by women in the female quarters of the house, and also by females of doubtful reputation. Due to the strict segregation of sexes, women's language has developed some peculiarities in almost every Muslim country. The vocabulary is, at its worst, anything but chaste, expressing sexual topics quite frankly. But that is the case of men's language as well (as a glance on Persian and Urdu satires proves); the problem of *rēḥtī* lies in the perverse use of *women's* obscene

¹²⁶ Ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Delhi 1937, Karachi 1955.—Transl. Rev. S. SLATER, in: JASBengal 21, 1852, 24, 1855.

¹²⁷ Printed Murshidabad 1266 h./1848; ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Aurangabad ATU 1935; Urdu translation by B. D. KAIFĪ, Delhi 1935.

expressions by *male* poets. For Inšā *rēh̄tī* was probably just one of the numerous idioms in which he showed his skill.

The same may be true for the man who is regarded as the real inventor of *rēh̄tī*, Nawwāb Sa'ādāt Yār Khān 'Rangīn'¹²⁸. Born to a Turkish military family in Sirhind in 1756, he had very early connections with Ḥātim. Rangīn served in his hereditary military profession in many provinces. In Lucknow he attached himself to Sulaimān Šikōh; later, he left the city, lived for a while in Gwalior and Calcutta and eventually settled in Banda, where he died in 1835. Saksena's judgment that 'he early graduated in licentiousness and had run through every phase of sensuality and debauchery' has been readily accepted by literary critics. One of his *dīwāns*, in which he describes the technique of love-making with 139 courtesans is certainly a piece of uninhibited pornography but is, according to Bausani, rather unexciting and should probably be taken as an exercise in this style, as it was expected from poets of this age. The poet made this particular *dīwān* more scholarly by adding a special glossary of *rēh̄tī* expressions.

Rangīn was a most prolific writer in every genre. His *Kulliyāt*, called *Nauratan*, 'Nine Jewels,' are preserved in an autograph copy in the India Office Library¹²⁹; they consist of six *dīwāns*, to which numerous *maṭnawīs* and prose works must be added. Particularly amusing is the *Imtiḥān-i Rangīn*, 'Rangīn's examination' which, continuing earlier collections of anecdotes, tries to prove by autobiographical stories that Rangīn is the greatest of all Urdu writers: who else has written in 27 styles, produced 46 *maṭnawīs* in eleven different metres, and verses in seventeen languages? A Turkish vocabulary belongs to Rangīn's output, as well as an imitation of Rūmī's *Maṭnawī* and an Urdu translation of the famous Arabic *qaṣīda Bānat Su'ūd* in praise of the Prophet; but his only more widely-known book besides his pornographic verse is his *Farasnāma*, a poem on hippology and veterinary surgery¹³⁰. The many-sided military officer, who rightly choose the name Rangīn, 'Colourful,' wrote also about the use of weapons and compared the outmoded Indian way of warfare with more successful European tactics which to watch he had plenty of opportunity. Yet,

¹²⁸ GARCIN III, p. 560; BAILEY Nr. 118; MM Nr. 1557; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 178-211.—The most readable account is BAUSANI, p. 148ff.—ŠĀBIR 'ALĪ ḤĀN, Sa'ādāt Yār Ḥān Rangīn, Karachi, ATU, 1956.

¹²⁹ The *Nauratan*, 'Nine Jewels,' consist of the Čār 'unşur, 'Four elements,' e.g. *Dīwān-i rēhta*, *Dīwān-i bēhta*, *Dīwān-i amēhta*, and *Dīwān-i angēhta* (or *rehti*), which were enlarged into a Ḥamsa by adding the Ḥadiqa-yi Rangīn (1815), and in order to produce *Hašt Bihišt*, 'Eight Paradises' the *Maḡmū'a-yi Rangīn* and the *Maḡālis o Aḥbār-i Rangīn* were added. The closing work in this series is the *Imtiḥān-i Rangīn*, 1238 h/1822-3. Besides there are six *maṭnawīs* combined as *Šiḥ gahat*, five as *Panḡa*, five more as *Ḥamsa*, and seven more as *Sab' sayyāra* 'Seven Planets.'—*Maḡālis-i Rangīn*, ed. SAYYID MAS'ŪD ḤASAN RIẒWĪ 'ADIB,' Lucknow 1929.—*Aḥbār-i Rangīn*, ed. S. MOINUL HAQQ, Karachi 1962.—*Iḡād-i Rangīn*, Cawnpore 1896; *Rangīn-inšā*, ed. NIẒĀMĪ BADĀ'ŪNĪ, Badaun ca. 1930.

¹³⁰ Ed. Cawnpore 1276 h/1859 and 1325 h/1907.—Transl. by Lieut. Col. D. C. PHILLOTT, London 1911, see BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 209.

his name is remembered for his *reḥtī* verses and is superseded in infamy only by that of Mir 'Alī Yār Khān Gān Ṣāhib (ca. 1818–1897), whom Garcin kindly regards as 'une femme de lettres'¹³¹. Gān Ṣāhib would indeed dress as a woman and recite obscene verses to amuse the Lucknow courtiers; after the annexation of Lucknow he lived for forty more years in straitened circumstances, for nothing could have been more alien to the taste of the new literary leaders of Muslim India than this decadent genre of frivolous poetry.

A contemporary of Muṣḥafī and Inṣā and disciple of Mirzā Ġa'far 'Alī 'Ḥasrat' of Lucknow (d. 1791)¹³², Mirzā Yaḥyā Man Qalandar Baḥš Ġur'at (d. 1810) of Delhi grew up in Faizabad¹³³. In 1800 he came to Lucknow and enjoyed first the patronage of Maḥabbat Khān, the son of the Rohilla chief Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān. Himself a disciple of Ḥasrat, Maḥabbat wrote decent Persian and Urdu poetry, a sample of which is a version of the famous Panjabi-Sindhi folktale of Sassui Punhun (*Asrūr-i maḥabbat*)¹³⁴. Ġur'at then attached himself to Sulaimān Šikōh. The poet, who was well versed in astrology and music, had lost his eyesight rather early in life and expressed the experience of only touching the body of the beloved in some of his smooth, sensual verse. The aged Mir may have exaggerated in his verdict, generally repeated by later authorities:

You do not write poetry, you only describe your kissing and hugging.

Another critic thinks that 'Ġur'at lived up to his pen-name, which means 'Courage,' by his very courageous descriptions of dancing girls.' But there are deeper layers in his poetry as well. Time and again the motif of the caged bird recurs, doubtless inspired by his sad fate; and he complains that he, with clipped wings, is no longer able to join those who live in freedom in the garden:

On my cage, O fellow-bird, talk a moment, please, to me—
Once there was a time when I used to dwell in gardens too¹³⁵.

¹³¹ GARCIN II, p. 82.—Kulliyāt-i Ġānṣāhib 1279 h/1862-3; Dīwān Hyderabad 1309 h/1881-2.—SAYYID MUḤAMMAD MUBĪN, Taḍkira-yi reḥtī ma' dīwān-i Ġānṣāhib, Allahabad s.d.

¹³² BAILEY Nr. 116; ZAIDI Nr. 37.—Kulliyāt-i Ḥasrat, ed. NURUL ḤASAN ḤAŠMĪ, Lucknow 1966.

¹³³ BAILEY Nr. 117; ZAIDI Nr. 38, 39; A. L. ŠIDDĪQĪ, Ġur'at, unkā 'ahd aur 'išqiyya šā'iri, Karachi 1952.—Kulliyāt, ed. IQTIDĀR ḤUSAIN, Naples 1971 (beautifully produced); Muḥtār-i aš'ar, by SAYYID ḤUSAIN BELGRĀMĪ, Agra 1897; by ḤABĪB ḤĀN, Aligarh 1964; Intihāb-i suḥan, ed. ḤASRAT MŪHĀNĪ, Cawnpore 1928 1928 (contains also poems of Ġur'at's teacher Ḥasrat).—MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 9.

¹³⁴ GARCIN II, p. 349.—BLUMHEARDT IO Nr. 161.—ZAIDI Nr. 50 IV.—His *Asrūr-i maḥabbat* (Secrets of Maḥabbat, or: Secrets of Love) printed Lucknow 1845. He wrote also on Pashto grammar (1806) and composed dīwāns in Persian and Pashto. A selection of his poetry: Maḡmū'a, ed. ḤASRAT MŪHĀNĪ, Aligarh 1911.

¹³⁵ For more examples see SADIQ, p. 131f.

Editor's Preface

The preparation of this fascicle which deals with the history of Urdu literature up to the middle of the XIXth century was attended with serious difficulties caused by such unforeseen circumstances as a bad state of health or pressure of official duties and other work on the part of those scholars who had accepted to write these chapters. Publishers and editor owe it only to the greatly appreciated readiness of Professor Annemarie Schimmel to undertake the task that after the withdrawal of the original authors the fascicle has now been completed. In writing it Professor Schimmel was indebted to some colleagues, who wish to remain anonymous, not only for many helpful suggestions but also for a wealth of notes and unpublished material, mainly concerning the chapter on Dakhni Literature, the sections on Fā'iz and Naẓir and most sections on prose literature in the second and third chapters.

For many poets of second and third rank Lucknow was only a station on their way to other, less splendid courts. Among the *qaṣīda*-writers we may mention Gulām 'Alī 'Rāsiḥ' (d. 1262/1845 in his native Patna), who is credited, besides his panegyrics, with fourteen *maṭnawīs*¹³⁶. There is also the Delhi-born Mir Nizāmuddin 'Mamnūn,' who earned the high-sounding title *Faḥr aṣ-ṣu'arā* 'Pride of the poets,' when he was Shāh 'Ālam II's poetical instructor¹³⁷. Best known among this group are Shāh Naṣīruddin 'Naṣīr'¹³⁸, who for a while instructed poets like Mir Ḥusain 'Taskīn' (d. 1268/1851-2 in Rampur)¹³⁹ and Karāmat 'Alī 'Šahīdī,' a more religious minded poet who died in 1256/1840 after performing the pilgrimage to Mecca so that his wish, expressed in a well-known ode to the Prophet, was fulfilled¹⁴⁰. Naṣīr himself, author of a voluminous *Diwān*, died in Hyderabad in the early 1840's.

All of these writers, and many more smaller luminaries the sheer number of whom would be confusing for a modern reader, contributed in one way or another to the development of the Urdu language. But the last step in perfecting Urdu was made during the second Lucknow period by Imām-Baḥṣ 'Nāsiḥ' (d. 1838). A tentmaker's son from Faizabad, Nāsiḥ had no proper master but is considered to a certain extent to be a follower of Saudā. His pen-name, Nāsiḥ, 'who abolishes,' points to his intention of surpassing everything written before his time¹⁴¹ and of giving Urdu the final polish, so that he was rightly called 'the lion in the forest of eloquence'¹⁴² and *imām-i lakhnawiyāt*, 'Leader of the Lucknow style.' His career was rather chequered; the swarthy, heavy-set man, fond of wrestling and endowed with an enormous appetite, if we can believe the *taḍkiras*, never stayed long at the Nawwab's court but left Lucknow several times. He excelled in *rubā'īs* and clever chronograms; his *ḡazals* and *maṭnawīs* rarely evoke deeper feelings, notwithstanding, or perhaps due to, their technical brilliance. The poet had an excessive interest in artificial forms, and what he lacked in inspiration proper he made up by complicated conceits, pushing artificial perfection almost to absurdity. Obsolete and scurrilous words were weeded out, and the few Hindi words that were still used by poets were replaced by elegant Persian constructions. Where the gender of Urdu words was not yet fixed, Nāsiḥ established the rules; and here, the later Lucknow idiom may differ occasionally from the Delhi style. The first of Nāsiḥ's three *diwāns* is considered to be the best one; in the second, *Daftar-i pariśān*, 'Scattered Book,'

¹³⁶ GARCIN II, p. 515f.; BAILEY Nr. 124.—Gul-i ra'nā p. 230.

¹³⁷ GARCIN II, p. 272; BAILEY Nr. 128; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 177.—Gul-i ra'nā p. 278.

¹³⁸ GARCIN II, p. 418f; BAILEY Nr. 126 mentions that he was the teacher of Dauq.—Gul-i ra'nā, p. 272.—Intihāb-i Kulliyāt-i Šāh Naṣīr, Meerūt 1877.

¹³⁹ GARCIN III, p. 225; BAILEY Nr. 166.—Gul-i ra'nā, p. 322.

¹⁴⁰ GARCIN III, p. 97f. mentions a particularly beautiful ode in honour of the Prophet in Qaṣā'id-i Šahīdī, Bareilly s.d. His *Diwān* was published, according to Garcin, Bareilly 1849.—Gul-i ra'nā, p. 332.

¹⁴¹ DR. SYED ABDULLAH, Nāsiḥ ki mansūh šā'iri, in: Walī sē Iqbāl tak p. 204ff.

¹⁴² GARCIN II, p. 412.

are found poems reflecting his homelessness. He composed also some romances and *maulūd*, religious poems on the Prophet's birth¹⁴³.

With Nāsiḥ the sensual Lucknow style becomes formalized and loses its liveliness, although the poet, admirer of pomegranate-like breasts, may wish for pomegranate trees to be planted on his tomb, or may prefer the white leg and henna-dyed feet of his beloved who passes by his grave to the white candle and red roses which otherwise serve to decorate tombs. Difficulties did not exist for him:

How difficult the stony ground may be:

When the pen is used as adze, Nāsiḥ is not less than Kōhkan.

Zamīn-i sanglah, 'stony ground' is a technical term for difficult metres; *Kōhkan* is Farhād, the unlucky lover of princess Šīrīn who dug up the rocks with his adze to lead a river of milk into her garden. Nāsiḥ's pen can produce similar miracles: even the uncommonest and hardest metre can yield tasty and sweet verses. It was with Nāsiḥ that the word *Urdu*, though used first by Muṣḥafī for *rēḥta* poetry, became the generally accepted term for the poetical language¹⁴⁴.

Nāsiḥ had many disciples, some of whom continued his style. 'Alī Ausaḥ 'Rašk' (1799-1867 in Kerbelā)¹⁴⁵, the author of the Urdu lexicon *Naḥs al-luḡāt* (1256/1840-1), is regarded as an authority for correct idioms and master of chronograms; two of his three poetical collections, *Naẓm-i muḥārab* (1837) and *Naẓm-i girāmī* (1846) are extant. Muḥammad Wazīr 'Wazīr' (d. 1854), an independent and Sufi-minded man, has been called 'the greatest of the minor poets of his time'¹⁴⁶; Muḥammad Rizā 'Barq' (d. 1857), noted for a voluminous *Diwān* with far-fetched metaphors, followed Wāḡid 'Alī Shāh to Calcutta¹⁴⁷. But Lucknow remained attractive even after its fall, and its charm, reflected in later novels, proved enticing enough to cause a poet like Imdād 'Alī 'Baḥr' (1810-1882) to return to his native place despite his poverty and a better life at the court of Rampur¹⁴⁸.

Urdu literary history often shows two poets working simultaneously and representing two approaches to poetry, one more natural, the other more sophisticated. Schiller's discussion of naive and sentimental poetry can well be applied to Urdu literary history. In the long list of these syzygies of poets we find Mīr and Saudā, Muṣḥafī and Inšā, Ḍauq and Ġalīb, Dāḡ and Amīr, and, in the field of *marḥūya*-writing, Anīs and Dabīr. In Nāsiḥ's time his poetical counterpart was Ātiš.

¹⁴³ *Diwān-i Nāsiḥ*, Lucknow 1923.—*Kulliyāt-i Nāsiḥ* first Lucknow 1261 h/1845, 1860. A most sumptuous, richly illuminated MS copy of Nāsiḥ's *Diwān* is on display in the Pakistan National Museum, Karachi, NM 1966. 154.

¹⁴⁴ BAILEY Nr. 134.

¹⁴⁵ BAILEY Nr. 138.

¹⁴⁶ Garcin III, p. 292 mentions a Wazīr, but probably a different person; BAILEY Nr. 136 a.—*Gul-i ra'nā* p. 369.

¹⁴⁷ BAILEY Nr. 139.

¹⁴⁸ BAILEY Nr. 141.

Haidar 'Alī 'Ātiš' (d. 1847)¹⁴⁹, like Nāsiḥ from Faizabad, was certainly more human than his compatriot who was largely inspired by enthusiasm for the language itself. Ātiš, a pupil of Muṣḥafī, was not a scholarly poet, but was rather inclined to mystical ideas. He gained much fame among the *gajal*-writers thanks to his fluent and charming style and his comparatively unassuming language. His best verses are tender and memorable:

O God, give long life to the dark blue sky!
It is the tent above the poor man's tomb.

*

Once you put your foot into the garden of the world,
Sit beside the thorn, O Ātiš, smiling like a rose!

Ātiš wrote some *gajal-i musalsal* about a single theme, among which his graceful description of a moonlit night with the beloved comes closest to the Western concept of *Erlebnistlyrik*:

'Twas night of love with	the full moon's charm;
And God, He was kind:	she was in my arm,
More blessed this night	than the Night of Might:
A conjunction of moon	and of Jupiter white!
More radiant a night	than daytime bright,
Betwixt heaven and earth	a stream of light.
Two moons faced each other	on yonder sky,
Not night, but a morning	in Paradise high!
A nuptial night—and	so sweet was the kiss,
The mind full of joy,	the heart filled with bliss.
Our wordly love seemed	now true Love Divine,
The hidden unveiled,	and real the sign.
It sounds like a dream	what I have just sung . . .
It tells of a time	when Ātiš was young.

As one of the best lyrical writers in Urdu, Ātiš gathered around him a considerable number of disciples. The learned Wazīr 'Alī 'Šabā' (1795–1845)¹⁵⁰, more artificial than his master, left a huge *Dīwān* called *Ġunḡa-i ārzū*, 'Bud of Wish.' Sayyid Muḥammad Khān 'Rind' (1797–1857)¹⁵¹, who had studied poetry in his hometown Faizabad under Ḥaliq, turned to a religious outlook, and died on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Nawwāb Mirzā Taṣadduq Ḥusain 'Šauq' (d. 1871)¹⁵² is renowned for his four romantic *maṭnawīs* which are 'valueless as stories' but enjoyable for their idiomatic language. His *Bahār-i 'išq*, 'Spring of Love' shows Aṭar's influence, while Mir Ḥasan's *Maṭnawī* influenced his

¹⁴⁹ GARCIN I, p. 252; BAILEY Nr. 133; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 212.—ḤALĪLUR RAḤMĀN 'AZAMĪ, Muqaddima-yi kalām-i Ātiš, Aligarh 1959.—First *Dīwān* Lucknow 1845; second *Dīwān* ibidem 1847.—Kulliyāt 1852 and several times, latest edition Karachi 1963.—Intihāb-i kalām, ed. I'ġĀZ ḤUSAIN, Allahabad 1955.—Atāš ki šā'iri, ed. DRUPAD (in Devanagari), Allahabad 1958.—MATTHEWS-SHACKLE Nr. 13.—Golden Tradition, p. 212–216.

¹⁵⁰ BAILEY Nr. 136.

¹⁵¹ id. Nr. 137.—Guldasta-i 'išq Cawnpore 1851, 1867, Lucknow 1881.

¹⁵² id. Nr. 155.—Zahr-i 'išq Cawnpore 1862; the four *maṭnawīs* Lucknow 1869.



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Laddat-i 'išq, 'Taste of Love.'—We may further mention in this group a certain Ağā Hāğğū 'Šaraf,'¹⁵³ who tried to avoid words which might offend a Muslim's ear and hence wrote poetry without the traditional imagery of wine-worship, a process by which his verses probably did not become more palatable.

The most important member of Ātiš's group is the Hindu Dayā Śankar Kaul 'Nasim' (1811–1843)¹⁵⁴, (not to be confused with Muḥammad Aṣğar 'Alī 'Nasim,' who had translated the Arabian Nights into Urdu). He wrote his famous *maṭnawī Gulzār-i Nasīm* 'Zephir's Rose-garden' in 1837, based on Nihāl Čānd's prose version of the *Madhab-i 'išq*, in the hope to become as successful as Mir Ḥasan. Garcin de Tassy's translation made this book as 'Rose of Bakawali' known in Europe. Its contents, 'shorn of its many episodes and digressions,' are, in Sadiq's words:

the adventures of Prince Tāğ ul-Mulūk in the fairyland in search of Gul-i Bakāwali, a flower the magical touch of which will restore his father's eyesight. During his adventures, he falls in love with Bakāwali, and having surreptitiously exchanged rings with her, as she lay asleep, returns home with the flower. Disguised as a man, the fairy discovers Tāğ ul-Mulūk. They are surprised by Bakāwali's mother and separated, but after numerous adventures in the magic forest their paths converge, and they are happily married. Further complications follow. Bakāwali, summoned to the court of Rağa Indar . . . betrays her love for Tāğ ul-Mulūk, and is cast into a temple, the lower part of her body turned to stone. Meanwhile, a princess named Čaturwati falls in love with Tāğ ul-Mulūk, and being apprised of his love for Bakāwali, has the temple pulled down. As ordained by Rağa Indar, Bakāwali is reborn, now in humble surroundings, and after seventeen years of waiting, the prince is united to his wife again. A pendant to the main theme is provided by the marriage of Bahrām, the vizier's son, with Ḥusn Arā, a fairy rescued by Tāğ ul-Mulūk from demons in the magical forest¹⁵⁵.

Nasim's style is much more artificial than Mir Ḥasan's; he introduces more erotic motifs and long extended scenes which are irrelevant to the story itself, and lacks the romantic realism which makes Mir Ḥasan's *Maṭnawī* so lovable. Still, some of the details—like the description of the elderly courtesan with her well-trained cat and mouse, and some particularly charming demons—make the story quite attractive.

Besides producing a considerable amount of elegant, licentious, and not exactly pious poetry, Lucknow is also the place where the *maṭīya* came into full bloom. This is but natural in a Shia environment. *Maṭīya*-writing in Indo-Pakistan goes back to the Quṭbshāhī kings (see p. 155); in the North we can

¹⁵³ id. Nr. 135. His rather insipid *Maṭnawī* in praise of the British (1867) Śikōh-i Firang, ed. Dr. E. Brelwi, Oriental College Magazine March–June 1973, Lahore.

¹⁵⁴ BAILEY Nr. 132.—Ed. SAYYID MUḤAMMAD MANZŪR 'ALĪ RIẒWĪ, Allahabad 1927; ed. SAYYID RAFĪQ ḤUSAIN, Allahabad 1960; ed. RAŠĪD ḤASAN KHĀN, Delhi 1965.—French *compte-rendu*: in GARCIN DE TASSY, *Allégories, récits poétiques et chants populaires traduits de l'arabe, du persan, de l'hindoustani et du turc*, Paris, 1876.

¹⁵⁵ SADIQ, p. 139f.

expect Persian *marṭiyas* to become popular after Humāyūn's return from Iran (1554), when a steady stream of poets from the Shiite Safavid kingdom came to the Mughal courts¹⁵⁶. Hymns in honour of the imāms and threnodies about the sad fate of Ḥusain exist in almost all *Diwāns* of the Indo-Persian poets, particularly powerful in 'Urfi's poetry; but the development of the popular forms has not yet been fully traced. *Marṭiya*-like poetry appears in Sindhi shortly after 1700, and at approximately the same time Faḏli is credited with the first known Urdu work of this kind in the North, a book which consists, however, mainly of prose with inserted verses. It is the highly persianized *Karbal Kathā*, or *Deh Maḡlis*, 'Ten Sessions,' written in 1731 based on Ḥusain Wā'iz-i Kāshifi's *Rauzat aš-ṣhahādā* and is meant to be read during the first ten days of the month of Muḥarram¹⁵⁷.

Dakhni *marṭiyas* were either strophic or written in monorhymed *qaṣida*-like form; in Delhi, then, Saudā wrote his numerous impressive *marṭiyas* in six-lined stanzas (rhyme schema aaaabb), the so-called *musaddas*, which was to remain the vehicle for this genre throughout the next two centuries. Then, the Urdu *marṭiya* developed on two parallel lines. One group of poets came from the family of Mīr Zāhik, Mīr Ḥasan's father. Mīr Ḥasan's three sons were poets, the middle one, Ḥalīq (1774-1804) being the most outstanding *marṭiya*-writer¹⁵⁸. Since he lost his father as a little boy, his poetical instruction was mainly carried out by Muṣṣafī. Ḥalīq's son Bābar 'Alī 'Anīs' (1802-1874) completed his father's work.

Ḥalīq and his contemporary Muḥaffar Ḥusain 'Zamīr' (d. 1848)¹⁵⁹ developed the detailed description of various scenes in the *marṭiya*, which was now extended up to a thousand lines. The poets concentrated on depicting single scenes, faithful to the descriptions in classical poetry, and rarely built up a logically connected story. Nature and its cruelty was described in ever new variations, and the scenes on the battlefield of Kerbela gained if not in true realism then in expressiveness by the use of a pseudo-scientific description of all kinds of weapons, war tactics, etc. That the authors 'confused anachronistically the emotional and social, and to a large extent geographical, milieu of the 1st/7th century Iraq with 19th century Awadh'^{159a} seems, to me, not more blameworthy than European painters' representation of biblical scenes in Flemish or Italian environment. The school of Ḥalīq is credited with a more pathetic and touching style, while Zamīr showed his erudition by infusing learned allusions into his descriptions.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. BAUSANI, p. 160, 169.

¹⁵⁷ GARCIN I, p. 457; ZAIDI Nr. 9.—ed. Dr. MUHTĀRUDDĪN AḤMAD and MĀLĪK RĀM, Patna 1965.

¹⁵⁸ GARCIN II, p. 189, his brother Ḥulq (id. p. 200) was also a *marṭiya*-writer.—BAILEY Nr. 129.

¹⁵⁹ GARCIN III, p. 333 mentions also a Mī'rāgnāma, written in 1812.—BAILEY Nr. 130.

^{159a} EI III, 19 (Aziz Ahmad).

This contrast continued in the following generation. When Anis, coming from Faizabad, reached Lucknow, the learned Salāmat 'Alī 'Dabīr' (1803-1875)¹⁶⁰ had already established a good position at court. He was the unsurpassable master of high-flown description, excelling in the minute depiction of arms and horsemanship and describing events with fantastic hyperbole. His *marṭiyas*, which reach seventy to hundred stanzas, show a superior imagination. Thus he sings of the intolerable heat which enhanced the suffering of the Prophet's descendants before the final battle:

The birds, like fabled phoenix, have become rare,
the beasts dejected sit by the burning river,
though not a wing flaps in the desolate air.
that prince among the faithful alone stands there.
No shadow, hot the sun, what cruel heat!
No drop of water, and the thirst is great . . .¹⁶¹

Anis followed his father Ḥalīq's style, and the elegance of his wording and pliability of his sentences distinctly show that he belonged to a family whose profession for several generations was poetry-writing. His *marṭiyas* altogether comprise well over 100,000 lines and are highly praised for the fine descriptions of nature, and a simpler, less grandiose, imagery¹⁶².

The comparison between Dabīr, the erudite, and Anis, the more human poet, was a favourite topic of literary criticism in Urdu; each of them had thousands of followers. At the beginning of the century, Maulānā Šibli in his *Muwāzana-yi Anīs ō Dabīr* gave preference to Anis, a judgment to which most recent critics would probably subscribe. Both poets survived the fall of Lucknow and wandered through India, acclaimed by their admirers wherever they recited their poems. Anis later settled in Hyderabad, and numerous members of his family continued the tradition of *marṭiya*-writing to the 20th century¹⁶³.

¹⁶⁰ BAILEY Nr. 153.—EI II, 73 with good bibliography.—ṬĀBIT RAẒĀWĪ, *Ḥayāt-i Dabīr*, Lahore I 1913, II 1915.

¹⁶¹ Golden Tradition, p. 270.

¹⁶² BAILEY Nr. 152.—See EI I, p. 508.—MIRZĀ ĠĀFAR 'ALĪ KHĀN AṬAR LAḤNĀWĪ, *Anīs kī marṭiya nigāri*, Lucknow 1951.—MAḤMŪR AKBARĀBĀDĪ, *Maḥāsīn-i kalām-i Anīs*, in: *Urdu Quarterly*, 49/1973, 3-4, p. 5-148, Anis Number, Karachi ATU.—Rūḥ-i Anīs, ed. MAS'ŪD ḤASAN RĪZWĪ, Allahabad 1931, Lucknow 1956 (selection).—Wāqī'āt-i Karbalā, arranged by MANZŪR 'ALĪ KARĪRĀWĪ, Lucknow 1342 h/1923.—*Rubā'iyāt-i Mir Anīs*, ed. SAYYID MUḤAMMAD 'ABBĀS, Lucknow 1948.—Golden Tradition, p. 269-272.—The fault-finding 'ABDUL ĠĀFUR KHĀN 'NASSĀH' published in 1879 two *Intiḥāb-i nuqs* for both Anīs and Dabīr, criticising their poetical mistakes. (NASSĀH also produced a complete list of Hindustani poets, arranged alphabetically by their *taḥalluṣ*, Suḥan-i šu'arā, Lucknow 1874).

¹⁶³ Anīs' brother Mīr Muḥammad Nawwāb Mūnis (d. 1875) (BAILEY Nr. 154) was likewise a noted *marṭiyagō* and used to recite his elegies with great force; they consist of two volumes, while Anīs's collection comprises five volumes in print.—Anīs's son Ḥūršīd 'Alī Nafīs (d. 1901) (BAILEY Nr. 158) followed the family tradition, and Nafīs's grandson 'Alī Muḥammad 'Arīf (1861-1916) (BAILEY Nr. 160) who was brought up in his house, resembles him in the style of his elegies to which

Modern critics from Saksena to Sadiq have dwelt rather extensively upon the development of the *marṭiya*. They sometimes tend to blame the lacrimous scenes and the fact that Ḥusain is shown as tearful and pitiable rather than as an actual hero. But from the very beginning of Shia literature in tenth century Arabic countries weeping for Ḥusain was regarded as the safest way to Paradise; and Shia prose works in Arabic and later in Persian reflect this very attitude which was then poetically overstressed by the Urdu poets. The tremendous success of *marṭiyas* during the 19th century is, however, probably not only due to the heated Shiite enthusiasm of the Lucknow rulers and their subjects. It may well be that the remembrance of the great deeds and the sufferings of the early Islamic heroes strengthened in their self-consciousness the inhabitants of a country in which the traditional national and social order was breaking down and helped them to survive under the increasing pressure when the 'infidels' intruded upon the land of the Muslims. The *marṭiya* thus voiced the feelings of the suffering faithful, just as in present-day Iran it fulfills a highly political function. The curses flung at Yazīd and his tyrannic helpers are meant for the oppressors who shed innocent Muslim blood.

Modern critics agree that the descriptive *marṭiya* which, though offering series of rather unconnected sombre pictures and heart-rending scenes, comes close to epical poetry, and is therefore more likely to appeal to the modern, and even to a Western, mind than fragile or frivolous lyrics with complicated word-webs or romantic, fanciful *maṭnawīs*. The *marṭiya*, which strikes us as a series of ballads around one central theme, is meant, according to the modernists, to infuse enthusiasm to awake sympathy with the suffering children of the Prophet and hence with suffering mankind in general; the early *marṭiyas* where the bereaved mother's grief is expressed in such touching and simple words are good examples for this point. The *marṭiya* offered the poet an opportunity to display his religious, or more generally, his ethical ideals by combining pathos and simplicity. The use of the six-line stanza paved the way for modern strophic poetry. The Urdu-speaking public became used to connecting this form with religious fervour and spiritual elevation. That is why Ḥālī, and following him Iqbāl and Čakbast, poured their messages into the form of *musaddas*: the inherited mode of expression exactly fitted the contents of their national-religious teachings.

he turned after first composing lyrics.—Anis's nephews, Mirzā Ta'aššūq (d. 1891) (GARCIN III, p. 192; BAILEY Nr. 156) and Ḥusain Mirzā 'Išq (GARCIN II, p. 46; BAILEY Nr. 157), the sons of Uns, continued the family tradition of mainly elegiac poetry, and their nephew, Anis's son-in-law Muštafā Mirzā Rašīd (1845–1917) (BAILEY Nr. 159) followed the same line.

5. *The Beginnings of Prose Literature*¹⁶⁴

The *taḍkira*-writers usually leave the reader with the impression that Urdu in its high time consisted exclusively of poetry. Poetry, no doubt, has remained the major vehicle of expression even to our own day; its function in a society where large parts of the population are illiterate cannot be overrated: it is easily memorized and permits greater variety of expression than normal prose. A well-said verse, containing an apt description or incisive criticism, could spread in a few days through the whole country and incite feelings of loyalty, love, or hatred. Poetry being more memorable than prose most Indo-Muslim languages found their first outlet in poetry. When prose was used, it tended to be clumsy, and the first writings of the Deccani saints can hardly be called works of art. Even a highly praised work like *Sab Ras* is heavily indebted to the high-flown Persian style that prevailed all over the Muslim East and the Ottoman Empire.

Popular prose was, of course, always there; romantic fairy-tales or heroic legends were never lacking, although even those were more often than not converted into poetry. The specific genre of folk-stories and tales in Muslim India is called *dāstān*. It used to be told by the *dāstān-gō* or *qīṣṣa-ḥ'ān* (the *Qīṣṣah'ānī bazaars* in Peshawar and other cities are reminiscences of this custom), and the profession of *dāstān-gō* remained alive until the 1930's. The *dāstān*, or popular novel, can be romantic, amorous, or heroic, and is sometimes tinged with Sufi thought; it usually develops in framework tales and on repetitive patterns. The compositional connections between the single parts of the *dāstān* are usually weak, hence many variants can be infused into the story¹⁶⁵. Its general theme is the struggle of good and noble heroes against the powers of evil, whether this is reflected in the Muslim's fight against the infidels, or in the adventures of a knight who rescues a lady from the clutches of her demon lover. There is little characterization in the figures. They are rather stereotyped: good and bad, friendly and inimical. Out of the basic story numerous secondary stories can grow, and the details become more and more important: by indulging in the description of every piece of weapon, or jewelry, or elaborating the garbs of each demon to the smallest detail the narrator tries to create the il-

¹⁶⁴ General surveys: HIKĀYA (Urdu), EI III, 375ff. (AZIZ AHMAD); RAFI'A SULṬĀNA, Urdū naṭr kā aḡāz aur irtiqā, 19. ṣadī kē awā'il tak, Hyderabad s.d. (after 1960); A. S. SUCHOČEV, Od dastana k romanu; Iz istorii chudozestvennoj prozy urdu XIX veka, Moscow, Nauka 1971; RALPH RUSSELL, The Development of the Modern Novel in Urdu, in: The Novel in India, its Birth and Development, ed. T. W. CLARK, London 1970; DR. SYED ABDULLAH, Mir Amman sē 'Abdul Haqq tak (essais), Lahore 1965; DR. GIAN ČAND ĠAIN, Urdū kī naṭrī dāstāneḥ, Karachi, ATU, 1954; KALIMUDDIN AHMAD, Urdū zabān aur fanī dāstāngōī, Lucknow 1965; WIQĀR 'AZĪM, Hamārī dāstāneḥ, Rampur 1968; DR. FARMĀN FATĤPŪRĪ, Urdū kī manẓūm dāstāneḥ, Karachi ATU s.d. (after 1954).

¹⁶⁵ See GLEBOV-SUCHOČEV, p. 48-50.

lusion of reality. Often, the heroes are helped by supernatural powers, but not to such an extent that we forget their innate greatness and heroic attitude.

The most famous among the *dāstāns* is that of Amīr Ḥamza¹⁶⁶, the Prophet's uncle, a story which begins with his childhood and thus gives the narrator ample opportunity to tell fabulous stories about the mighty Persian king Nūšīrwān. The story must have been popular in the Subcontinent from the days of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, as it is known also in other parts of the Islamic world; it was elaborated in writing in Persian prose during Akbar's reign, when it was also lavishly illustrated. The story, enlarged in the course of time, delighted generations of Indian Muslims, who saw here the true expression of Islamic heroism. A 'Hindustani' version of the *Dāstān-i Ḥamza* was composed in 1801 by Muḥammad Ḥalīl 'Alī Khān 'Ašk¹⁶⁷, and its most famous Urdu version was printed in Lucknow in 1887. The most elaborate Urdu tale based on this topic, comprising some forty volumes, appeared again in Lucknow in 1917—to read it aloud would take years.

The tradition of *dāstān* remained alive when the Urdu writers began to write something comparable to novels. A typical example of a *dāstān* on higher level is the last great traditional prose work in Urdu, *Fasāna-yi 'aḡā'ib* 'Wondrous Tale,' by Raḡab 'Alī Beg 'Surūr' (ca. 1781–1867)¹⁶⁸, written in 1824, when the author, exiled from the Lucknow court, tried to amuse himself in Cawnpore. The *Fasāna-yi 'aḡā'ib* is a typical tale of traditional style, written in highly flowery Urdu; it tells the story of the noble prince Ḡān-i 'Ālam who, moved by his parrot's praise, falls in love with princess Anḡuman Ārā and has to undergo many adventures. Its main interest lies in the sophisticated and brilliant descriptions of life and society in Lucknow, descriptions in which the author veiled his longing for home, and offered his readers an elegant environment which was well known to them and which they could relish. Against this realistic background one sees most unrealistic adventures developing.—Surūr also wrote other books, including one on epistolography (*inšā'*), in 'now obsolete style,' further a translation of the Arabian Nights (*Šabistān-i Surūr*, 'Night-Chamber of Joy'), and he retold Firdosī's *Šāhnāma* in mixed poetry and prose (*Surūr-i sultānī*). In the *Fasāna-yi 'aḡā'ib* he could not help scoffing at the simplicity of

¹⁶⁶ Last ed. Lucknow 1960, Graz.

¹⁶⁷ GARCIN I, p. 236, where also other translations and abbreviations are mentioned.

¹⁶⁸ GARCIN III, p. 188f. mentions various editions up to 1870, among them an illustrated one, printed 1866. It was even versified twice.—Crit. ed. W. NASSAU LEES, Calcutta 1868; ed. MUḤAMMAD MAḤMŪD RIẒWĪ MAḤMŪR, Allahabad 1928.—SAYYID ZAMĪR ḤASAN DIBLAWĪ, *Fasāna-i 'aḡā'ib kā tanqīdī muṭāla'a*, Delhi 1963.—Surūr's *Fasāna-i 'ibrat* was edited by S. MAS'ŪD ḤASAN RIẒWĪ, Lucknow 1957.—His *Inšā-i Surūr* ed. MĪR AḤMAD 'ALĪ MĪRZĀ'Ī, Lucknow 1879.—*Šabistān-i Surūr* Lucknow 1887 in 4 vols.—Surūr-i sultānī, translated from Tawakkul Beg's Persian abridgment of the *Šāhnāma*, Lucknow 1852. Slightly earlier, another version of the *Šāhnāma* in Urdu verse, called *Ḥusruwān-i 'aḡam*, based on the same abridgment, was completed by MŪLĀND and ed. by GŪLĀM ḤAIDAR, Calcutta 1846 and often.

Annemarie Schimmel

CLASSICAL URDU LITERATURE FROM THE BEGINNING TO IQBĀL

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST PERIOD (1200 TO 1700)

1. Introduction

Although Urdu literature is one of the youngest Indian literatures it is one of the richest in content and subject matter¹. Yet, compared with other fields

¹ Main sources: M. GARCIN DE TASSY, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustani*, 3 vols. Paris 1870-71, rep. New York 1965, still a very useful work which contains much information not found elsewhere; R. B. SAKSENA, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Allahabad 1927, Urdu translation by MIRZĀ MUHAMMAD 'ASKARĪ, Lucknow n. d., the most widely used introduction; the Urdu translation is particularly valuable; T. G. BAILEY, *A History of Urdu Literature*, Calcutta 1932, short but informative; A. BAUSANI, *Storia delle letterature del Pakistan*, Milano 1958; S. EHTIŠĀM ḤUSAIN, *Istoriya literatury Urdu*, Moscow 1961; M. SADIQ, *A History of Urdu Literature*, London 1964, thoughtprovoking, with many new viewpoints, though without pronounced sympathy for classical poetry; see the review by J. MAREK in *Arch. Or.* 38/1970; N. GLEBOV—A. SUCHOČEV, *Literatura Urdu*, Moscow 1967. A useful Urdu survey is: ḤAKĪM SAYYID 'ABDUL ḤAYY, *Gul-i ra'nā*, A'zamgarh 1364h/1945. The most comprehensive work in Urdu: W. QURAIŠI, S. F. MAḤMŪD, I. BRELWĪ and S. W. 'AZĪM, *Urdu Adab*, 5 vols., Lahore 1971-72.—The special issues of the magazine 'Nuqūsh,' devoted to personalities (šahšiyāt number), lyrics (gazzal number), or stories (afsāna number) contain important material.

The catalogues of European and Indo-Pakistani libraries provide rich information, see now: *Urdu Handschriften. Beschrieben von S. MUJAHID HUSAIN ZAIDI*, *Verz. der Oriental. Hss. in Deutschland XXV*, Wiesbaden 1973 with a detailed bibliography (= ZAIDI). Further J. F. BLUMHARDT, *Catalogue of the Hindustani MSS. in the India Office*, Oxford 1926 (= BLUMHARDT IO).—J. F. BLUMHARDT, *Catalogue of Hindustani Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum*, London 1889 (= BM) is mainly helpful for early proseworks. Additional material in D. N. MARSHALL, *Mughals in India*, Bombay 1967 (= MM).

Besides a number of unsatisfactory small anthologies of translations from Urdu

the style of his elder contemporary Mir Amman, who had retold the folktale of the Four Dervishes and was one of the authors who tried to introduce a new, lively, and realistic prose style in Urdu. But it took quite a while before this style, first practised in Calcutta, was accepted in Delhi and finally even in Lucknow.

When discussing the beginnings of Urdu prose in the North once more one has to give credit to the mystics and theologians. The religious leaders of 18th century Delhi used Urdu not only for poetical purposes but sometimes also in prose. Shāh Waliullāh still felt that Persian was the language in which the Qur'ān should be made intelligible for his compatriots; but two of his four sons, Rafi'uddīn (1759–1818) and 'Abdul Qādir (1753–1813) undertook the venture of translating the Holy Book into Urdu¹⁶⁹. 'Abdul Qādir's *Mūdiḥ al-qur'ān*, 'Explainer of the Qur'ān' (chronogram 1207 = 1790) is a beautiful paraphrase of the sacred text in the current language, called by the author 'Hindustani,' quite different from the flowery style of the poets, which he still called '*rēḥta*'¹⁷⁰. This translation immediately attracted the interest of European scholars and missionaries. One wonders whether the two Delhi theologians were inspired to produce their translations not only by their father's example but also by the fact that in the 18th century the first Hindustani translations of the Bible were undertaken on behalf of Protestant missionaries: as early as 1741 the Saxonian Benjamin Schultze had made translations of the Old and New Testaments, to which he attached a Hindustani grammar¹⁷¹. Almost contemporary with the first printings of the Urdu translations of the Qur'ān is Henry Martyn's Hindustani translation of the New Testament, produced with the help of native informants, which was first issued in 1814, and saw many editions¹⁷².

Closely connected with the reform movement of Shāh Waliullāh, but likewise with the *ṭarīqa muḥammadiyya* of Mir Dard's family, was the movement of the *Muḥāhidīn*, 'who lead the Holy War,' initiated by Sayyid Aḥmad of Bareilly¹⁷³ and Shāh Waliullāh's grandson Ismā'il Šahīd, who became the theological advisor to the movement. Both lost their lives in 1831 against the Sikh in the Northwestern Frontier. Ismā'il Šahīd has written down the teachings of his master in Persian and Urdu; his *Taqwīyat al-īmān* 'Strengthening of the Faith' is

¹⁶⁹ 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, *Purānī Urdū meṅ Qur'ān-i šarīf kē tarḡumē aur tafsīrēn*, in: Urdu, January 1937. See also: K. A. FĀRŪQĪ, *Urdu meṅ Wahhabī Adab*, New Delhi, 1969.

¹⁷⁰ GARCIN I, p. 76; see BAILEY Nr. 200.—Printed Houghly 1829, Lucknow 1847, Bombay 1853 and often. For translations of the Qur'ān see BM p. 174–178, and id. p. 11.

¹⁷¹ ZAIDI Nr. 2, 3: *Novum Jesu Christi Testamentum in Linguam Indostanicam Translatum*, ed. D. Jo. Haur. Callenberg, Halle 1748; *Psalterium Davidis* . . . , Halle 1747.—SCHULTZE also composed a tract in refutation of the Koran in the Dakhni dialect, Halle 1744.

¹⁷² See GARCIN I, p. 470; about him see: CONSTANCE E. PADWICK, Henry Martyn, Confessor of the Faith, London 1923.

¹⁷³ GARCIN III, p. 32–37.—G. R. MEHR, Sayyid Aḥmad Šahīd, Lahore 1954, 2 vols.

one of the textbooks of those who were later wrongly called the Indian Wahhabis¹⁷⁴. The two reformers taught the importance of man's practical activities so that '*amal-i šālīb*', 'useful action' becomes both a religious and a civic duty. Besides his main works, Ismā'il Šahīd composed smaller tracts and some mystical poetry in Urdu¹⁷⁵.

His numerous disciples continued his reformist movements in India, and were responsible for the production of a vast religious literature. In order to reach the masses, they adopted the Urdu language as their medium and were incidentally instrumental in promoting the growth of a simple, direct, and vigorous style¹⁷⁶.

Ahmad Brēlwi's disciples, most prominently Sayyid 'Abdullāh of Calcutta¹⁷⁷, helped in re-editing and printing 'Abdul Qādir's translation of the Qur'ān along with his brother 'Abdul 'Aziz's commentary and popularized that type of print in which the Arabic text of the Holy Book is accompanied by an interlinear Urdu version. It should further be remembered that one of the leading poets of the 19th century, Mo'min (s. p. 221), was related to the group around Sayyid Ahmad by various ties; this author of charming love-lyrics composed also some heroic *maṭnawīs* in Urdu in support of the cause of the *muḡāhidīn*.

Among the religious leaders of the following decades whose work helped to extend the use of Urdu prose we may mention Karāmat 'Alī (d. 1873)¹⁷⁸, who was active mainly in Bihar and Bengal and tended toward a more Sufi-minded interpretation of Islam than the 'Wahhabis' did; Ḥaḡḡi Imdādullāh, who settled in Mecca after 1857, wrote in Urdu about Sufi themes and the importance of the Holy War¹⁷⁹.

But the growing impact of the British in every aspect of life induced at least some of the Indian Muslims to co-operate with their new masters and to help them to understand the affairs of the country by describing the 'realities of Hindustan,' *Ḥaḡiqathā-yi Hindūstān*, as Šafiq Aurangābādī called his book, written in Persian in 1789¹⁸⁰. The British found that they needed much help in linguistic matters. For practical purposes Urdu had to develop a prose-style which was intelligible for those who lacked the traditional Islamic education.

The first centre of this new Urdu prose was Fort William, Calcutta, founded in 1800 by the East India Company. The attempts of the Fort William translators and the extent of their influence on the growth of Urdu prose have lately been somewhat belittled, because the Urdu they produced was meant for young Britishers who had to acquire a general practical knowledge for administrative

¹⁷⁴ GARCIN II, p. 52ff; BAILEY Nr. 199.—English translation of the first part of *Taqwiyat ul-Imān* by Šahāmāt 'Alī in JRAS XIII, 1843, p. 316ff.

¹⁷⁵ For further details see M. MUJEEB, *The Indian Muslims*, Montreal-London 1968, p. 445ff. His *maṭnawī* *Silk-i nūr* printed 1873.

¹⁷⁶ EI II, p. 282.

¹⁷⁷ GARCIN I, p. 81-87.

¹⁷⁸ EI II, p. 805ff.

¹⁷⁹ EI III, p. 1174.

¹⁸⁰ STOREY Nr. 1165. His useful anthology, *Čamanistān-i šu'arā*, ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Aurangabad, ATU, 1928.

purposes, and not for native speakers of the language, who loved a high-flown and poetical style studded with allusions to classical themes¹⁸¹. Still, their achievements certainly deserve a place of honour in the history of modern Urdu. Dr. John B. Gilchrist of Edinburgh (d. 1841), whose 'Hindustani Dictionary' appeared in 1787-1790 and whose 'Grammar of the Hindoostani Language' (1796) belongs to the first attempts to teach Urdu to foreigners was the moving spirit during the first years of Fort William College¹⁸². He gathered around him writers from all over India who were able to produce a comparatively simple Urdu style, pragmatic, and easy to grasp, intelligible to British officers and merchants who had no use for poetry or for the involved sentences of elegant persianizing prose. In order to produce the necessary textbooks, a printing-office was attached to the college¹⁸³.

The head-*munshī* among the writers of Fort William was the Delhi-born Mir Šēr 'Alī 'Afsōs' (1736-1809)¹⁸⁴. Via Patna he came to Lucknow, where he enjoyed the favour of Mirzā Ġawānbaht; after various journeys through India he joined the East India Company in 1800. Besides being a poet of sorts, Afsōs translated the favourite book of all Persian-reading people, e.g. Sa'di's *Gulistan*, into Urdu (*Bāġ-i Urdū*, chronogram 1214 = 1800, printed 1802). More important for the British and in fact commissioned by them was his *Ārāyīš-i mahfil*, 'Decoration of the Assembly', an account of the history and sociology of early India, completed in 1805 and printed three years later. Though based on Šuġan Raē's *Hulāṣat at-tawārīḫ* (1695), it contains also original material and is an interesting source for early Indian history.

¹⁸¹ Thus SADIQ, p. 210ff.

¹⁸² J. B. GILCHRIST, A Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language, or Part Third of Volume First of a System of Hindoostanee Philology. Calcutta 1796; id. The Oriental Linguist, an easy and familiar introduction to the popular Language of Hindoostan . . . Calcutta 1798, ²1802; id. Stranger's infallable East-India Guide, or Hindoostanee Multum in Parvo, as a grammatical Compendium of the grand popular and military Language of all India (long, but improperly called the Moors or Moorish Jargon) (Roman characters). London 1820.—Even earlier was J. FERGUSON, A Dictionary of the Hindostani, I English-Hindostani, II Hindostani-English. To which is prefixed a Grammar of the Hindostan Language, London 1773 (Roman characters).

¹⁸³ MUHAMMAD 'ATIĠ ŠIDDĪQĪ, Gilchrist aur uskā 'ahd, Aligarh, ATU, 1962; Origins of Modern Hindustani Literature, Source Material: The Gilchrist Letters, Aligarh 1963; S. R. KIDWAI, Gilchrist and the 'language of Hindustan,' New Delhi 1972.—Cf. also the titles of his publications in BM p. 99-100.—See also: SAYYID MUHAMMAD, Arbāb-i naṣr-i Urdū, Hyderabad 1937.

¹⁸⁴ GARCIN I, p. 120-136; BAILEY Nr. 190; MM Nr. 134; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 39.—The Rose Garden of Hindoostan; translated from Shykh Sadee's original Nursery or Persian Goolistan of Sheeraz, by MEER SHEER ULEE UFSOS . . . Calcutta 1802, 2 vols.—Ārāyīš-i mahfil, being a history in the Hindoostanee language of the Hindoo princes of Dihlee from Joodishtur to Pithoura. Compiled from the Khoola-sut-oal-Hind and other authorities . . . Calcutta 1808; Reedit. by W. NASSAU LEES, Calcutta 1863.—The Araish-i-mahfil, or the Ornament of the Assembly, literally transl. from the Oordoo by M. H. COURT, Allahabad 1871, Calcutta ¹1882.

In his quality as head-*munshī* Afsōs had to edit translations and tales written by his colleagues, among them *Madhab-i 'išq*, 'Religious way of Love,' told by Munshi Nihāl Čānd, which contains the story of *Gul-i Bakāvālī*, later poetically elaborated by Nasīm (see p. 199)¹⁸⁵. The Persian original of Nihāl Čānd's version was written in 1712 by one 'Izzatullāh Bangālī, based on an Indian tale.—Afsōs also polished Ṭāpīš's *Bahār-i dāniš* and Bahādūr 'Alī Ḥusainī's abridged prose version of Mir Ḥasan's *Maṭnawī* (1803), which was published under the title *Naṣr-i bēnazīr*, 'Incomparable Prose,' thus alluding to the hero's name, *Bēnazīr*¹⁸⁶.

Mazhar 'Alī Khān 'Wilā¹⁸⁷, a disciple of Muṣḥafi and Ṭāpīš, translated many Persian texts, among them the historical work *Tārīḫ-i Šēr Šāhī* (1805). The Lucknow-born Kāẓim 'Alī 'Ġawān¹⁸⁸ produced an Urdu version of *Sakuntala* (1802); a free translation of the *Hitopadeśa* under the name of *Aḥlāq-i hindī* 'Indian ethics' on the basis of the Persian *Muḥarriḫ al-quṭūb*, 'Tranquillizer of Hearts,' by Mir Bahādūr 'Alī Ḥusainī, appeared at the same time¹⁸⁹, and Ikrām 'Alī rendered the complicated Arabic 'Epistles of the Iḥwān-i Ṣafā' into Urdu (1810)¹⁹⁰.

An Urdu Grammar in verse, as produced by Maulwī Amānatullāh 'Šaidā¹⁹¹, strikes us as of doubtful value, although Arabic grammar had been taught in India always on the basis of long grammatical poems. But Šaidā translated also Dawwānī's florid *Aḥlāq-i Čalālī* and produced a simple translation of the Qur'ān (1804). His *Barāmasan*, 'Twelve Months,' gives an account of Indian customs.

Looking at the list of translations which were produced and often freely rendered by the writers of Fort William, one is not surprised to see that one of

¹⁸⁵ Goolī Bukawulee, a tale translated from the Persian by Moonsee NIHAL CHUND, Calcutta 1804, Calcutta 1814 rev. by T. Roebuck.—GARCIN II, p. 468 gives various editions of the story.—BAILEY Nr. 192.—Last edition Allahabad 1927.—Transl. by R. P. ANDERSON Delhi 1851; by BAWĀ ČHAĞĠŪ SINGH, Lahore 1895;—Another typical work is NEMČĀND, *Qiṣṣa-yi Gul o šanaubar*, Bombay 1864; Rose et cyprès, conte traduite de l'hindoustani by Garcin de Tassy, 1861.

¹⁸⁶ BAILEY Nr. 189; ZAIDI Nr. 25.—Nusri Benuzeer, or a prose version by MEER BUHADDOOR ULEE, of the *Sihri ool buyan*, an enchanting fairy tale in Hindoostanee verse, by Meer Husun, composed for the use of the Hindoostanee students in the college of Fort William, under the superintendence of John Gilchrist, Calcutta 1803.—The *Naṣr-i-bēnazīr*, or the Incomparable prose of Mir Ḥasan, literally translated into English by M. H. COURT, Calcutta 1839; The *Naṣr i Benazir*. An Eastern fairy tale transl. . . . by C. W. BOWDLER BELL, Calcutta 1871.

¹⁸⁷ GARCIN II, p. 297; BAILEY Nr. 195; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 41.—Wilā's Urdu work on *Šēr Šāh* was translated into Persian by 'ABBĀS KHĀN SARWĀNĪ, 1865.

¹⁸⁸ GARCIN II, p. 92; BAILEY Nr. 194.—Suckoontula, or the Fatal Ring, 1830.—Ġawān was also the main editor of the selections from the writings of Saudā, 1810, and of the *Kulliyāt-i Mir*, 1811.

¹⁸⁹ *Ukḥlaq i Hindee*, or Indian ethics, transl. of a Persian version of the . . . *Hitoopudes*, or *Salutary Counsel*, by MEER BUHADDOOR ULEE, Calcutta 1803; other editions followed.

¹⁹⁰ GARCIN II, p. 8 ff; BAILEY Nr. 196.—For more translations see BM 127–28.

¹⁹¹ GARCIN II, p. 101f; cf. his analysis of his *Šarf-i Urdū* in JA 1837. BAILEY Nr. 197.

the favourites of Oriental lore, several times retold in Dakhni, appears again in a new garb. It is the '*Ayār-i dāniš*, 'Touchstone of Knowledge,' Abū'l-Fazl's Persian elaboration of Ḥusain Wā'iz-i Kāshifī's Persian *Anwār-i Suhailī*, 'Lights of Canopus,' which in fact goes back to Indian sources. Its new Urdu version was published by Ḥafīẓuddīn Aḥmad, later head-*munshī* in Delhi, as *Ḥīrad-afrōz* 'What illuminates the Intellect' (1803), and issued in a revised edition of two volumes by T. Roebuck (Calcutta 1815)¹⁹². But even after this translation quite a number of new versions of the old tales were produced in Indo-Pakistan. Another book of a similar moralist character, and also of Sanskrit origin, is the *Ṭāḥīnāma*, 'The Parrot's Book'¹⁹³, first brought into Persian by Naḥṣabī in the 14th century, and elaborated in Dakhni by Ġawwāṣī (see p. 146). Its most successful Urdu adaptation is Mīr Muḥammad-Baḥṣ Ḥaidarī's (d. 1823) *Tōṭā Kahānī* (1801)¹⁹⁴, based on a 17th century version by Muḥammad Qādīrī; it was often printed and later translated into Sindhi. Ḥaidarī translated also Ḥusain Wā'iz-i Kāshifī's *Rauẓat aš-ṣuḥadā* as *Gul-i maḡfirat* 'Rose of Forgiveness' (1812)¹⁹⁵. This textbook of pious Shia lore connected with the tragedy of Kerbela had been translated into Dakhni in the late 17th century by a certain Walī (not the famous poet, as was assumed formerly); it formed also the basis of Faẓlī's *Karbal Kathā*. Ḥaidarī was one of the most fertile translators of Fort William; his widely read *Ārāyīš-i maḡḡil* deals with the tales about the Arab model of generosity, Ḥātim aṭ-Ṭā'ī, so popular in India¹⁹⁶; and besides other historical and ethical works he collected a 'Bouquet of Stories,' the *Guldasta-yi Ḥaidarī*¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹² Translated into the Hindoostanee language, by Moulvee HUFEEZ OOD-DEEN UHMUD from the *Ḥyār Danish* . . ., ed. T. ROEBUCK, Calcutta 1815.—*Ḥīrad-afrōz*, new ed. of the Hindustani text by E. B. EASTWICK, Hertford 1857.—Other translations appeared in 1822 and 1838.—GARCIN I, p. 149f.; BAILEY Nr. 191; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 86.—A certain Sa'duddīn had earlier produced a translation of *Anwār-i suhailī*, see ZAIDI Nr. 21.—For an edition of the *Būstān-i ḥikmat*, Lucknow 1254 h/1838 see BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 87.

¹⁹³ Ed. and transl. by F. GLADWIN, London 1801.

¹⁹⁴ GARCIN I, p. 550; BAILEY Nr. 187; ZAIDI Nr. 26.—*Tota Kuhanee*. A translation into the Hindoostanee tongue of the popular Persian tale, entitled *Tootee Namee*, by SUEYUD HUEDUR BUKHSHI HUEDUREE, Calcutta 1804.—Ed. DUNCAN FORBES, London 1852, 1862, etc.; ed. Lahore 1963.—Transl. GEORGE SMALL, London 1875.—Russian translation by M. P. KLAGINA-KONDRAT'JEVA, Moscow 1933.

¹⁹⁵ *Gooli Mughfirat*, or the Flower of forgiveness . . ., 1812; French translation: *Les Séances de Haidari, récits historiques et élégiaques sur la vie et le mort des principaux martyrs musulmans, ouvrage trad. de l'hindoustani, par M. l'abbé BERTRAND* . . . suivie de l'élégie de Miskin, traduite de la même langue, par M. GARCIN DE TASSY, Paris 1845.—For more translations of works of Ḥusain Wā'iz see BM, p. 123-124.

¹⁹⁶ *Araesay mehfeel* . . . by SUEED HYDURBUX HYDREE, Calcutta?, Bombay 1845; ed. ḤAMADĀNĪ DRHLAWĪ, Calcutta 1809; James ATKINSON, Calcutta 1818; 'ABDUS SALĀM, Calcutta 1855; Lucknow 1855, 1879; translation DUNCAN FORBES, London 1830.

¹⁹⁷ *Muḡtaṣar kahānīyān*, ed. 'IBĀDAT BRELWĪ, Karachi 1964.

Besides the *Tūfīnāma*, the story of the Four Dervishes is one of the favourites of the Indian public. The tale itself was for many centuries wrongly attributed to Amīr Ḥusrau. Its first Urdu version was prepared by Tahsīn¹⁹⁸, who produced at Faizabad about 1780 a highly ornate prose work called *Nau farz-i muraṣṣa'*, the title indicating its very precious (*muraṣṣa'* 'studied with jewels') style. The "book, rendered objectionable by his retaining too much of the phraseology and idioms of the Persian and Arabic"¹⁹⁹ was a good example of the style which the Urdu writers of Fort William strove to discard. It was therefore reworked in an infinitely more successful version by Mīr Amman in his *Bāḡ ō bahār* (chronogram 1217 = 1803), 'Garden and Spring,' a book which proved a bestseller in British India, and was used as textbook for the Urdu examinations of British administrators. It was also retold in Urdu verse²⁰⁰.

Little is known about Mīr Amman's background. His family had lost their lands to the Jats in the early 18th century; he must have been in Delhi about 1750, then settled in Azimabad/Patna, and later proceeded to Calcutta. Here he worked first as a private tutor, and then joined the translation bureau of Fort William in 1801. His Tale of the Four Dervishes is written in a fluent and idiomatic style, not hampered by an exaggerated use of Persian construction. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān praised his style by saying that 'he wrote prose with the same perfection as Mīr wrote poetry²⁰¹.' The charm of the book consists in "the faithful and realistic description of the manners and customs of the Muslim aristocracy." It "depicts the daily lives of its members, their food and dress, their dwellings in royal palaces, their behaviour, their pleasure and pastimes. The author enjoys extended descriptions of details, which may even become tiresome, as when he enumerates some 45 household items which the second dervish carries with him, or 42 delicious specialities of the Indian kitchen. Contrary to other romances with fairy-tale characters, as they appeared in Calcutta, Mīr Amman's work does not dwell too much upon the supernatural

¹⁹⁸ GARCIN III, p. 199; BAILEY Nr. 185; ZAIDI Nr. 22.—Lith. Bombay 1846.—Latest ed. NŪRUL ḤASAN HĀSİMĪ, Allahabad 1958.

¹⁹⁹ BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 129 (quoted from Roebuck).

²⁰⁰ GARCIN I, p. 207 ff.; BAILEY Nr. 188; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 98; ZAIDI Nr. 23.—The 'classical' edition is DUNCAN FORBES, *Bāḡ ō Bahār*, consisting of entertaining tales in the Hindustani language by Mīr Amman of Dihli, London 1860.—Further ed. RANKING, Calcutta 1901; D. C. PHILLOTT, Calcutta 1905; 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Delhi ATU 1944. MUMTĀZ ḤUSAIN, Karachi 1958; RAŠID ḤASAN KHĀN, Delhi 1960; SAYYID ABŪ'L-ḤĀIR KAŠFĪ, Karachi 1965. Translations: L. F. SMITH, *The Tale of Four Dervishes*, Calcutta 1813; E. B. EASTWICK, *Hartford* 1852; D. FORBES, 1862, 1891; ADALAT KHAN, Calcutta 1877; BAWĪ ḤAḤḤ SINGH, Lahore 1897; Q. QUENTIN, Calcutta 1902. The French translation by GARCIN DE TASSY, Paris 1878, is based on the metrical version by Šamlah, Lucknow 1856. Another metrical version by Ḡulām Muḥammad Ḥān Ḥabīb, 1875.—Russian transl. by G. A. ZOGRAF, Moscow 1957, 1962; Czech translation by JAN MAREK, *Přiběhy čtyř dervišů*, Prague 1963. Numerous editions and translations in BM p. 168–170, s.v. Khusrau, and id. p. 33–34, s.v. Amman.

²⁰¹ Quoted by GARCIN I, p. 207.

aspects of the tale. He describes rather people of this world. His figures are alive, interesting, and mostly sympathetic. Since *Bāj o bahār* is a faithful picture of the time in which it appeared, there are no active female characters in the picture, and the activities of all persons is directed by Islamic fatalism²⁰². The beautiful language and the lively details make the book still a favourite in Indo-Pakistan.

Mir Amman also translated Ḥusain Wā'iz-i Kāšifī's *Ahlāq-i Muḥsinī*, an ethical treatise which was quite popular in India; but this work, called *Ganḡ-i ḥūbī*, 'Treasure of Goodness'²⁰³, never gained the popularity of the Four Derivatives, since it is conceived much more as a literal translation than as a free adaptation—and it is just this free way of dealing with the subject that makes the former cyclic tale so enchanting. Nothing is known about Mir Amman's fate after 1806²⁰⁴.

In a comparatively short time after the foundation of Fort William some fifty Urdu prose works had been published. That a few authors besides those working for the British made similar attempts to write readable prose goes without saying. The interest in the literary tradition of the country manifested itself in the comparatively great number of *taḍkīras* which were composed after 1800²⁰⁵. It should, however, be remembered that the authors of these *taḍkīras* did not aim at giving a historical picture of the literary development; they rather enumerate the poets, mostly in alphabetic order, and generally without giving any historical details or fixed dates. Still, the accumulated material helps to determine certain facts, and many of the verses collected by the diligent authors would otherwise be lost. — For the writers of the 19th century, the classical *taḍkīras* of Mir, Gardēzi, and Qā'im, written between 1750 and 1755, served as models, further the *Gul-i ra'nā*, 'Lovely Rose' (1768) and Šāfiq Aurangābādī's *Čamanistān-i šu'arā*, 'Meadows of Poets' of 1761. Muḥafī and Mir Ḥasan likewise provided excellent models of biographical dictionaries. The text of these *taḍkīras* was usually still in Persian, but the quotations are, of course, in Urdu. The judgment of the authors about the quality of a verse make these books valuable sources for our understanding of the growth of Urdu poetry, and the way it was judged by the speakers of the language.

Nawwāb 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān's *Gulzār-i Ibrāhīm*, 'Ibrahim's Rose-garden'²⁰⁶, written in 1784, contained notices about 320 Urdu poets and was partly trans-

²⁰² J. MAREK, Forword of his translation.

²⁰³ Ed. Calcutta 1846.—See K. A. FARŪQI, *Ganḡ-i ḥūbī*, in: *Dauq o ḡustuḡū*, Delhi 1968.

²⁰⁴ One may add that 'Aṭṭār's *Pandnāma*, another favourite mystico-ethical treatise, was reproduced in Urdu verse in 1803 as *Čašma-yi faiz*, 'Source of Inspiration,' or 'Source of Faiz,' alluding to the translator's name Mir Muḥyīuddīn Faiz, see GARCIN I, p. 434f.

²⁰⁵ DR. SYED ABDULLAH, *Šu'arā-yi Urdū kē taḍkīrē aur taḍkīranigāri kā fann*, Lahore 1952.

²⁰⁶ *Gulzār-i Ibrāhīm*, ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ and Dr. M. U. QĀDRĪ ZŌR, ATU Auran-gabad 1906; Aligarh 1934.—See ZAIDI Nr. 13.

lated into Urdu by Mirzā 'Alī 'Luṭf'²⁰⁷ in 1801. Written at the request of Dr. Gilchrist, this *Gulshan-i Hind* 'India's Rose-garden,' should show the development of poetry "in a manner that even the British officers at Fort William College could understand and appreciate it." Mardān 'Alī Khān 'Mubtalā' Lakhnawī composed a *Gulshan-i suḥan*²⁰⁸, 'Rose-garden of the Word' in 1194/1780, and another *taḍkira* worth mentioning was Mīr Qudratullāh Qādirī's *Maḡmū'a-i naḡz*, 'Elegant Collection' (chronogram 1221 = 1806)²⁰⁹, which comprises some 800 Urdu writing poets; the author himself, a physician who had studied some poetry under Hidāyat, composed both lyrics and *maḡnawīs*. Ġulām Muḥyiddīn 'Mubtalā,' later 'Iṣq' (he has a double pen-name)²¹⁰ wrote his *Ṭabaqāt-i suḥan*, 'Classes of the Word' about Persian and *rēhta* poets one year later, in 1807. The Fort William authorities encouraged also the Hindu writer Benī Narayān to compose an anthology of Hindustani poets, called *Dīvān-i ḡahān*, which was edited by T. Roebuck in 1814, and constitutes one of Garcin's major sources²¹¹. It may be argued that many of the writers connected with Fort William were not *hommes-de-lettres* in the strict sense of the word. But each of them contributed in his own modest way to the development of his mother tongue.

In 1832 Urdu became the language of the law courts, and legal translators were needed. When the Macauley scheme abolished Persian as a medium of instruction in 1835-37, the need for textbooks in Urdu for primary and secondary schools was great. Here was a field where unassuming simple Urdu could be introduced. Teachers and scholars concentrated on the standardization of the language by compiling grammars and dictionaries—suffice it to mention Maulwī Aḥḥaduddīn Bilgrāmī's *Nafā'is al-luḡāt*, a comprehensive dictionary published in Lucknow 1841. And a man like Maulwī Karīmuddīn²¹², though not a litterateur, while devoting himself indefatigably to translating Arabic and English books into Urdu, from Abū'l-Fidā's 'History' to 'Galvanic Electricity' (*Kahrubā bi'd-dalk*, 1854), contributed also to the development of non-fictional Urdu; as a devoted educator he showed a keen interest in female education. Delhi College, where Karīmuddīn was professor, had been founded in 1792²¹³. Felix Boutros and especially the Austrian orientalist Aloys Sprenger belonged to the teaching staff, and the excitement of the students who were here introduced to a new world of scholarship has been vividly described. After 1857 the college lost its

²⁰⁷ GARCIN II, p. 236; BAILEY Nr. 186; BLUMHARDT IO Nr. 60; ZAIDI Nr. 14 (quote Gilchrist).—Ed. 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Lahore 1906. See TAMINA ŠAUKAT, Ḥayāt-i Luṭf, Hyderabad 1962; Maḡnawī-yi Luṭf, Hyderabad 1962.

²⁰⁸ Taḍkira-yi šu'arā-yi Urdū gulshan-i suḥan, ed. SAYYID MAS'UD ḤASAN RIẒWĪ ADĪB, Aligarh 1965.

²⁰⁹ STOREY Nr. 1185; BLUMHARDT Nr. 59; ZAIDI Nr. 15.—Ed. ḤĀFIẒ MAḤMŪD ŠIRĀNĪ, Lahore 1933.

²¹⁰ STOREY Nr. 1187.

²¹¹ GARCIN I, p. 319ff.—BAILEY Nr. 198.

²¹² GARCIN II, p. 166-177; his Urdu translation of Abū'l-Fidā in three vols., Delhi 1846-57.—See BM p. 159-162.

²¹³ 'ABDUL ḤAQQ, Maḡhūm Delhi College, Delhi 1945; Karachi s. d.

leading role; at that time, Government College Lahore under Dr. W. G. Leitner was another foremost institution in sponsoring the cause of Urdu literature²¹⁴. Neither should the rôle of the Translation Society, founded in Delhi in the mid-19th century, be overlooked; here, about 120 translations from English into Urdu were issued.

Another medium for the development of a matter-of-fact Urdu prose were the newly emerging newspapers, the first specimen of which is the *Ġām-i ġihān-numā*, 'The World-showing Goblet,' published from late March 1822 in Calcutta. Although mainly written in Persian it had also an Urdu page. After 1830 other newspapers were founded in India, the litho-press facilitating production. Letter-press was not used due to its excessive cost, and still today most Urdu dailies, and even weeklies, are lithographed. The spread of journalism (see p. 241) proved very important for the growth of a succinct prose style, and it is not astonishing that many noted authors founded their own papers and magazines which, even though short-lived, were helpful for the formation of ideas and styles²¹⁵.

6. A first Essay in Theatrical Art

The trend toward a more natural prose, combined with a new, more practical outlook on the changing conditions of life, began at a time when most poets at the courts of Delhi and Lucknow still seemed to live in a dream-world and expressed their hope for substantial rewards, their feelings of mystical or very worldly love, their longing and distress in forms inherited from long ago, glamorous but usually epigonic. The last flower of poetry that grew at the cheerful Lucknow court, shortly before the final blow destroyed this colourful glass house, was Amānat's *Indar Sabhā*, 'Indra's Court,' a musical in two acts. The author, Agā Ḥasan Mūsawī 'Amānat' (1816-1859)²¹⁶, belonged to a pious Shia family and was, according to the *taḍkiras*, miraculously healed in Kerbela from a stroke that had caused him loss of speech. Amānat gained his main fame not by religious poems but rather by his *Wāsōḥt*: a genre of long-winded and highly artificial complaint about lost love, directed to the poet's beloved, which allowed for extensive description of personal experiences and had become popular in early 19th century Urdu poetry. The second of Amānat's *wāsōḥt* with its 307 stanzas (printed 1846) was especially successful.

²¹⁴ See: Report of the Anjuman-i Panjab or the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge, for the year 1865 (prepared by W. Leitner), with papers connected with the proposal for the establishment of an Oriental University.

²¹⁵ K. SAJUN LAL, The Delhi Urdu Akhbar and its importance, in: IC 24, 1950.

²¹⁶ BAILEY Nr. 150 calls him 'a second-rate poet,' and most critics agree with this judgment. Cf. also BAUSANI, p. 168-172, and SADIQ, p. 393ff.—Guldasta-yi Amānat, Lucknow 1853.—*Dīwān-i ḥazā'in al-faṣāḥa*, Lucknow 1285 h/1868;—*Indar Sabha* printed with commentary 1854, last edition by WIQĀR 'AẒĪM, Karachi 1956.—MADĀRĪ LĀL's *Indrasabha* printed Agra 1860 and often.—One German thesis was devoted to Amānat: Hubert JANSEN, (I) Bemerkungen zur Verskunst des Urdu als Teil der Einleitung zum (II) Transkriptionstext der *Wāsōḥt* des Amānat, Inaug. Diss., Friedrichshagen bei Berlin 1893.

Indar Sabhā was written in 1853 to entertain Wāḡid 'Alī Shāh and his ladies and courtiers. It is the first Urdu play. For Islam in classical times never developed anything like drama or tragedy, and even the Persian passion plays, interesting as they are, cannot be called 'drama' in the true sense of the word. One may, however, surmise that the 'dramatical' performances during Muḥarram in Lucknow may have prepared the public for a real theatrical play. *Indar Sabhā* meant a step forward in a new direction and was imitated in the latter half of the 19th century by many writers, beginning with the Hindu poet Madārīlāl. The plot of the play is thin and does not differ substantially from the numerous romantic fairy tales which form the subjects of Dakhni and Urdu *maṭnawīs*:

Indra, transformed by the Muslim author into a king of djinns and represented as a kind of super-Wāḡid 'Alī Shāh, sits on his marvellous throne, surrounded by singing and dancing fairies. The heroine is Sabz Pari, 'Green Fairy,' who has fallen in love with Prince Gulfām, 'Rose-coloured,' from Aḥṭarnagar, 'Star-Town.' She orders Kālā Dēō, 'Black Spirit,' to bring her beloved into her garden, but he does not pay much attention to her amorous advances. He only wants to see Indra's court. But as a mortal he is not allowed to trespass its borders, and being detected, is cast into a well in the Caucasus. Sabz Pari's wings are clipped, and she is excluded from the court. Dressed as a yoginī, she enralls men and beasts with her lovely songs, and when Indra listens to the sweet voice of the unknown yoginī he is so delighted that he forgives her and sets her beloved free. The two are eventually reunited.

Many trends in this plot are known for Mir Ḥasan's *Maṭnawī*, from *Gulzār-i Nasīm* and other romantic tales. In fact, the introduction of numerous well-known ingredients from the Urdu literature seemed to have guaranteed the success of the piece. Since Amānat skilfully combined Hindu and Muslim elements in a colourful setting, he enchanted all those who loved music, dance, and singable poetry as a light entertainment. The success of *Indar Sabhā* was so great that the India Office possesses more than forty editions in Devanagari, Gujrati, Gurmukhi and other characters. *Indar Sabhā* was the standard piece on the repertoire of wandering theatrical companies. It is also one of the few pieces of Urdu literature available in a German translation: in 1892 Friedrich Rosen published 'Die Indarsabhā des Amānat' in text, translation and annotation in Leipzig; this translation supplied the libretto for Paul Lincke's oft-played operetta 'Im Reiche des Indra.'

Thus, a piece of literature which is generally treated rather condescendingly by literary critics in Indo-Pakistan was much more successful in the West than all the high, artistic, and touching poetry by Mir, Saudā, and the likes of them, not to mention the verses of Amānat's greatest contemporary in India, Mirzā Ḡālīb. Its success can be explained from the fact that it does not presuppose an intimate knowledge of the historical setting or the intricate poetical and religious tradition, out of which the truly great poets lived, but appeals to everyman's craving for a romantic love story in exotic environment.