

GARÇIN DE TASSY

Hindustani Language and Literature

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: Presented here is the translation of selected passages from the 1874 report (Garçin de Tassy 1875) in the series of annual reports published by the French Orientalist and Indologist Garçin de Tassy under the title *La Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanies*.

Garçin de Tassy, whose full name was Joseph Héliodore Sagesse Vertu Garçin de Tassy (Garçin being the surname of his father and Tassy that of his mother), was born in Marseille on 25 January 1794. He was exposed to the community of Egyptians living in Marseille because of his family's involvement in trade with the Middle East (Gaborieau 2000, 130). Having learned Arabic from some Egyptian Copts, he decided to pursue scholarly studies in Oriental Languages, rather than be a part of his family's business enterprises. So in 1817 he moved to Paris and studied Arabic, Persian, and Turkish for four years under the renowned Orientalist Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), earning a diploma from the Sorbonne in 1821. His first important work was the annotated translation of 'Izz ad-Dīn al-Muqaddasī's *Kashf al-Isrār fī Ḥukm-i aṭ-Ṭuyūr wa al-Azbār*, published in 1821 under the title *Les Oiseaux et les Fleurs, Allégories Morales d'Azz-eddin Elmocaddesi*. It was followed by French translations of a Turkish book on Islam, a Persian poem by Sa'dī, and the Arabic poem known as *Qaṣīdah al-Burdā*, published together in 1822.

In 1822, Garçin de Tassy was recruited to serve as Secretary in the office of his teacher Silvestre de Sacy at Collège de France. In the same year, the *Société Asiatique* of Paris was established, with the *Journal Asiatique* as its main periodical publication. Garçin de Tassy was a founding member of this Society and was appointed its Assistant Secretary and Librarian. He remained devoted to the *Société Asiatique* all his life, becoming its president in 1876. He also made contributions to the *Journal Asiatique* regularly throughout his life.

Silvestre De Sacy, whose own research interests were in Arabic and

Persian, had come to the conclusion that the languages of India were very important and worth being explored by French Orientalists. Accordingly he encouraged his promising disciple to learn Hindustani, which was another name for Urdu, especially in Europe. Garçin de Tassy took the advice, applied himself diligently to learning Urdu from the primers, grammars, and dictionaries written in English and soon mastered the language. He started translating Urdu works into French. One such work was the poem “Tañbīhu’l-Juhhāl” by Mīr Taqī Mīr; de Tassy published a translation under the title *Conseil aux Mauvais Poètes: Poème de Mir Taki* (Advice to Bad Poets) in 1826.

De Sacy, already convinced of the importance of this language, now had a worthy young scholar to energize its study in France. He petitioned the French government to establish a Chair for teaching Hindustani in France. But his idea was not without its detractors. The opposition is summed up in an article by a certain P. L. du Chaume, first published as a letter to the editor of a travel and geography magazine (Du Chaume 1828), and later circulated in the form of a pamphlet. Looking at it in some detail is instructive as it explains how Hindustani or Urdu was regarded by the few French scholars who had some familiarity with it and what obstacles stood in the path of our budding Indologist. Du Chaume objected even to the name Hindustani which, he accused, was being used in this case to designate ambiguously the language of India and the language of Hindustan. In his opinion, Hindustan and India were not to be confused as the former did not include the southern Indian territories (the Deccan). He further claimed that Hindustani was a misleading name that confounded three different languages: 1) the language variously called Hindustani, Hindi, Urdu-Zaban, and Rekhta, and generally written using Arabic characters; 2) Hindavi, in which many of the Arabic and Persian words occurring in the *first* Hindustani were replaced by words of Indian origin, and which was written using Nagari characters; and 3) Moor or Maur, which was the main language used by Europeans in Calcutta and Bombay to communicate with their servants, and in which gender distinctions were not observed and most word endings were “swallowed” or pronounced terribly. Du Chaume then described the disadvantages of each of these three languages and questioned the wisdom of spending French resources on them.

Du Chaume did not deem Moor worthy of teaching in a language school, just as the vernacular of the Levant was not taught anywhere even though it was a very useful lingua franca (he probably was referring to Colloquial Arabic). He dismissed Hindavi because it did not have any literature other than translations of Sanskrit works that were best read in

their original versions. The bulk of his criticism was for Hindustani: The use of this language was limited primarily to Indian Muslims. It was not used much outside of large cities and Muslim princedoms. Europeans often took up its study thinking that it was used all over India, but then discovered that it was hardly understood twenty miles or so away from urban areas. True, the British learned Hindustani and worked to spread its knowledge, but that was because most of their native administrative staff consisted of Muslims. However, for the French this language was of little use as it was certainly not understood in any of the French colonies of India. Also, it was futile to hope that the knowledge of this language would be of any help to French missionaries in converting the natives to Christianity because its speakers, namely, the Muslims, were, among all non-Christians, the most resistant to faith change. Apart from these practical reasons to discourage the study of Hindustani, du Chaume had a low opinion of the literature of Hindustani. Most of this literature, he said, consisted simply of translations of Arabic and Persian works. Some original poetry did exist, but while it pleased its authors it was full of wild hyperbole and would not be appreciated by Europeans.

While proposing the creation of the new Chair, Silvestre de Sacy had also nominated Garçin de Tassy to occupy it and suggested that the latter write a grammar of Hindustani in French to facilitate the Hindustani course. But to du Chaume, Hindustani was too simple a language to warrant the effort. For him, just specifying some easy rules about verbs and providing a table of conjugations would have sufficed. Moreover, since Hindustani grammar books written in English already existed, and Hindustani dictionaries in English would have to be consulted anyway, he argued that the aspiring Hindustani student would have to learn English anyway, with or without the promised French book.

Despite all opposition, Silvestre de Sacy's efforts to introduce the teaching of Hindustani in France did succeed. By a State Decree dated 29 May 1828 (Du Chaume 1828, 6), a Chair for Hindustani was created at the *École Royale et Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (later renamed the *Institut des Langues et Civilisations Orientales*) located in Paris, and Garçin de Tassy became the first occupant of this Chair. In 1829 he delivered the promised grammar of Hindustani written in French, a nearly two-hundred-page book entitled *Rudimens de la Langue Hindoustanie*. His course enjoyed a solid reputation. Some of his students came from outside France, including some from England who aspired to join the British civil service in India. In 1830, his position as professor of Hindustani became permanent.

The stable position allowed de Tassy to devote himself to scholarly

life; a brilliant, prolific, extremely productive career took off. His work consisted of annotated translations of books and manuscripts in Middle Eastern and Indian languages, as well as research on the history, linguistics, grammar, and literature of those languages, and the ethnography of their speakers. He also continued doing research on Islamic culture and philosophy, and on conventional as well as mystical traditions of Islam. Later he also became interested in Hindi and other Indian languages and instituted a new course for teaching Hindi. Of course, his first responsibility was to Hindustani or Urdu because of the Chair he occupied, but that language was also something he loved deeply and throughout his life he remained committed to it with unwavering fervor. His books and articles about Urdu, his translations of Urdu works, and his advocacy of Urdu were instrumental in introducing Urdu literature to Europe.

Within a decade, in rapid succession, he produced: *Doctrine et Devoirs de la Religion Musulmane* in 1826 (republished in 1840, then substantially revised, enlarged, and retitled *L'Islam d'Après le Coran*) in 1874; *Mémoire sur les Particularités de la Religion Musulmane dans l'Inde, d'Après les Ouvrages Hindoustani* (on Islamic practices in India, based on Urdu writings) in 1831; *Appendice aux Rudimens de la Langue Hindoustani, Contenant, Outre Quelques Additions la Grammaire, des Lettres Hindoustani Originales, Accompagnées d'Une Traduction et de Facsimile* (sequel to the grammar of 1829, expanded into a language reader) in 1833; *Les Aventures de Kamrup* (translation of an Urdu *mašnavī* by Taḥsīnu'd-Dīn) in 1834; *Les Oeuvres de Wali* (in two volumes, translation of the poetry of Valī Dakkāni) in 1834–1836; *Manuel de l'Auditeur du Cours d'Hindoustani, ou Thèmes Gradués, Accompagnés d'Un Vocabulaire Français-Hindoustani* (an Urdu reader for students) in 1836; and several journal articles and academic society addresses.

His most well-known works include the authoritative *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani*, first published in 1837 and eventually expanded into a three-volume book with various revisions (1839, 1867, 1871); a comprehensive biography of Urdu writers entitled *Les Auteurs Hindoustanis et Leurs Ouvrages, d'Après les Biographies Originales*, 1855; *La Rhétorique des Nations Musulmanes*, based on the Persian work *Ḥadā'iq al-Balāgha* by Shamsu'd-Dīn Faqīr of Delhi, 1844; *Rudimens de la Langue Hindouie* (a grammar of Hindi) in 1847; *Prosodie des Langues de l'Orient Musulman, Spécialement de l'Arabe, du Persan, du Turc et de l'Hindoustani* (about the poetical meters used in Middle Eastern languages and Urdu), 1848; *Rhétorique et Prosodie des Langues de l'Orient Musulman*, which combined and enhanced the material of the two previously mentioned rhetoric and prosody books, 1853; *Le Langage des Oiseaux, Poème*

de Philosophie Religieuse, par Farid-Uddin Attar (annotated translation of ‘Attār’s mystical Persian poem *Manṭiq at-Ṭair*), 1857; *Allégories, Récits Poétiques et Chants Populaires, Traduits de l’Arabe, du Persan, de l’Hindoustani et du Turc*, 1876. His last work related to Urdu is *Bag o Babar, le Jardin et le Printemps, Poème Hindoustani*, the translation of Mir Amman Dehlavī’s *Bāgh-o-Babār*, which was finished in 1878, a few months before his death.

Much of his important work is spread out in academic journals. For instance, his abridged translation of *Qiṣṣa-e Gul-e Bakāvalī* appears in *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* in 1858 as “La Doctrine de l’Amour, ou Taj-Ulmuluk et Bakawali, Roman de Philosophie Religieuse, par Nihal Chand de Dehli, Traduit de l’Hindoustani”; the French title reflects the Urdu title “Maḏhab-e ‘Ishq” that Nihāl Čand gave to the story. In addition to writing about literary topics, de Tassy also wrote articles discussing the music, songs, and customs of the Middle Eastern and Indian people.

In 1850, at the beginning of the academic year, he delivered an address in which he reported on the progress of Urdu language and literature during the previous year. Such addresses became annual events, and continued until 1877, the year before his death. The only exception, for obvious reasons, was 1857, the year of the Indian Uprising against the British.

His addresses are also referred to as annual reviews, reports, or lectures, each being mainly a survey of literary progress in Urdu during one year, but they also covered other topics. They essentially became reports on the literary development in India, detailing new original works and translations, the important content of magazines and newspapers, and the activities of academic societies. They also included death notices of notable literary personalities. Relevant political comments and controversies were also discussed. All of this was prepared in the format of a journal article, with full documentation, references and footnotes, some running well over a hundred pages. Together, the annual addresses of 1850 through 1877 provide a comprehensive literary history of Urdu during the second half of the nineteenth century. They also contain many insights regarding the religious, communal, and linguistic divisions in India and their impact on Indian politics. The extract from the 1874 report presented here illustrates the breadth of de Tassy’s annual reviews. Section I is quite instructive as it mainly dwells on the rivalry between Urdu and Hindi that was raging at that time.

De Tassy was well recognized during his life for his scholarly contributions. In 1837, he received the French *Légion d’Honneur* decoration, and in 1838 became a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-*

Lettres, replacing the diplomat Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord who had died that year (Vapereau 1870, 729). De Tassy received several other honors and awards, and was elected to a number of academic societies in England, Germany, Russia, Austria, Italy, Sweden, and Portugal.

A most astonishing fact about de Tassy is that he learned Urdu and other Indian languages without ever setting foot in India. He did travel to England three times in his life to visit linguistic scholars, but his knowledge of Indian languages was acquired mainly from reading, from correspondence, from interactions with any visitors to France who spoke those languages, and from any students who might already have acquired the rudiments of those languages. It is not clear how well he spoke the languages himself. Certainly he discusses the correct pronunciations of words, and his writings are too animated to suspect that his knowledge had any similarity to that of the scholars of dead languages.

Perhaps de Tassy's isolation from the mainland of Urdu-speakers explains a few serious mistakes some scholars have spotted in his work. He clearly made errors in understanding some poems and made some incorrect historical judgments, examples of which are given by Ḥusain (1984, 86). An almost comical error is the claim that Sa'dī Shīrāzī was the first poet of Urdu, having learned this language during his visit to the Temple of Somnat. This claim is presented with obvious excitement by the author as a revolutionary discovery in a paper which begins as follows:

My perusal of the voluminous Hindustani literature to trace its history often turns up hitherto totally unknown facts. Who would have suspected that the most famous Persian poet—the great moralist, whose tremendous reputation has resounded even in Europe, where his works are familiar not only to Orientalists but also to literati and men of the world—had written poetry in the language that was formed by the interaction of Muslims with Hindus to replace the language in the North that had already supplanted Sanskrit when that sacred tongue had fallen into disuse for the discourse of ordinary people? Yet, this is what we have learned from the original authors that have written biographies of Hindustani authors in Persian.

(1843, 5; my translation)

De Tassy's source was *Majma'a al-Intikbāb*, written in 1804–1805 by a certain Shāh Muḥammad Kamāl whose own source about the attribution of some Urdu verses to Sa'dī was the by then lost manuscript of *Tazkira* by Miyañ Muḥammad Qā'im. De Tassy's paper caused a sensation among some Orientalists. For example, there is a letter by Newbold (1843) in the same *Journal Asiatique* exuberantly congratulating de Tassy on the discovery and mentioning that he, Newbold, knew Kamāl personally and, in fact, had himself brought Kamāl's manuscript to Europe. People in India

remained skeptical about the claim. One of these skeptics was A. Sprenger who wrote a detailed article (1852, 513–19), citing several literary biographies of Urdu poets to argue that Qā'im and Kamāl (and hence de Tassy) had confused Sa'dī Shīrāzī with an early Urdu poet Sa'dī Dakkani. Another challenger was N. Bland who published a letter (1853) addressed to de Tassy in the *Journal Asiatique*, in which, while accepting de Tassy's claim that Sa'dī Shīrāzī was a poet of Urdu, he asserted that another poet, Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, had preceded Sa'dī in composing Urdu verses. As an editor of the *Journal Asiatique*, de Tassy appended a note of his own, entitled "Observation," to Bland's letter.

De Tassy's response to the criticisms is subject to misinterpretation. According to Ḥusain: "After the publication of this [i.e., Bland's] letter, De Tassy felt the need to revise his previous opinion, and published a reply to that letter in the *Journal Asiatique*, September-October 1853, pp. 56–71" (1984, 71). She quotes the first paragraph of the note, ostensibly as proof that de Tassy changed his opinion. I think that Ḥusain has drawn a wrong conclusion from de Tassy's note. Since this note seems to be a source of some confusion, its English translation in its entirety appears as an appendix to the present paper.

Ḥusain's interpretation is quite problematic. To begin with, de Tassy's claim under discussion consists of two parts or opinions, the first being that Sa'dī Shīrāzī composed verses in Urdu and the second being that he was the first person to compose verses in Urdu. Ḥusain does not explicitly state which part or parts of his claim de Tassy retracted. Moreover, a careful reading of de Tassy's note shows that it is a response not to Bland's letter but to Sprenger's article, and is thus mainly concerned with the issue of Sa'dī's having written verses in Urdu. De Tassy acknowledges and analyzes Sprenger's arguments, but seems unconvinced by them. He mentions that he was aware of the sources cited by Sprenger. He adds that, based on those sources, he had himself thought that the verses attributed to Sa'dī Shīrāzī were actually written by Sa'dī Dakkani, and, in fact, had stated precisely that opinion in the entry under the latter's name in the first volume of his *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustanie* (1870–71, Vol. I, 434). But after reading Kamāl's manuscript, which he had found quite persuasive, he had changed his opinion and had written the article (1843) declaring Sa'dī Shīrāzī to be the first Urdu poet.

While not insisting any further that Sa'dī was the first poet of Urdu, de Tassy's note, nevertheless, proposes as within the realm of possibility that Sa'dī might have composed verses in Urdu. Indeed, de Tassy never gave up on this possibility, and, years later, added an entry under the name of Sa'dī Shīrāzī in the third volume of his *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui*

et Hindoustanie (1870–71, Vol. 3, 2–4) in which entry he summarized material from his own article (1843) and that of Sprenger, leaving the judgment about the Sa‘dī controversy entirely up to the reader.

Another example, incidentally not mentioned by Ḥusain, is that de Tassy compared the traditional rites of mourning during Muharram, such as its ten-day duration and its *ta‘zia* parade, with the Hindu festival called *Durgā Pūjā* devoted to the Hindu goddess Durga. This comparison led him to make the wild speculation that the Muharram rituals were invented by Indian Muslims in imitation of Durga Puja (1831, 10–11).

De Tassy died on 3 September 1878 in Paris and was buried in his hometown of Marseille. The most comprehensive biography, with a detailed review of his contribution to Indian languages, especially Urdu, is in Śuraiyā Ḥusain’s doctoral dissertation written in French (1962). She herself translated it into Urdu (1984). An excellent, concise biography of Garçin de Tassy can be found at the entry under his name in the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Urdu Literature* (Samiuddin 2007, 167–68). Much of de Tassy’s work is now accessible electronically from the French national digital library (<http://gallica.bnf.fr>).

Section II

A terrible famine threatened to devastate India this year, but the well thought out, energetic steps undertaken by the Government have reduced the level of the calamity, and, fortunately, only a small number of people have fallen victim to it. We hope that the new year will be happier.

I continue to defend the Urdu dialect against the Hindi dialect, though be it far from me to deny the latter’s importance and usefulness.¹ Fortunately, in this debate I have the support of notable experts. In front of me is a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel J. Chambers, Professor of Hindustani, Oxford University, which reads:

I am delighted to learn that you and many scholars of Hindustani support the use of Urdu against that of modern Hindi. I am not fond of the latter, which is an unpleasant mixture of Persian, Arabic, English, and local phrases with a large number of Sanskrit compounds, none of which, to my

¹English officers are required to learn it in the districts where it is used. Furthermore, in Oudh officers-in-waiting have been ordered to undergo examinations in both Hindi and Urdu before taking up office. (*‘Aligarh Akhbār* 7 August 1874).

knowledge, are used in India; I stayed in India from 1834 until 1862, and have visited, I believe, all the districts of Bengal and several regions of Madras and Bombay. The Devanagari script is, needless to say, admirably suited to Sanskrit and the pure (*thainth*) Hindi; but it is quite deficient when used to express foreign words whose letters do not correspond to the ones in this script. In essence, I think that the Persian script is better for general use in India. It is utilized by Hindu soldiers, who by default use not Devanagari but *Kaithi-nagari*, just as the Bengalis use *Mahajani* and the Punjabis use *Gurmukhi*, whenever they are unable to use the Persian script (which they nevertheless prefer to use if possible).

This opinion is shared by Saiyid ‘Abdullāh whom I have frequently mentioned in my earlier reviews. This Indian Muslim scholar has decided, after spending a quarter century in London and having married an English Roman Catholic lady, to return to his country of birth. His friends are sorry at this decision because it will deprive England of an Asian who is well versed in both Oriental Muslim literature and English literature. The quality of his English is absolutely remarkable. As Professor of Hindustani at University College, he has trained hundreds of students. Of these, I will mention just one who has brought the most recognition to his teacher, namely the scholarly Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, Edward H. Palmer, who fluently speaks not only the language that he is officially charged to teach, but also Hindustani and Persian.

Saiyid ‘Abdullāh is prominent as a professor and as the writer of many important books in Urdu and Hindi that I have cited either in my *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie* or in my annual reviews. Now that he has become the Inspector of Schools in Bihar,² he will no doubt continue to publicly share the results of his research.

From an article in the *‘Aligarh Akhbār*,³ we have learned about a meeting held on Monday, 8 December 1873 at the Allahabad residence of Maulvī Farīdu’-d-Dīn, “Pleader of the High Court,”⁴ with Ja‘far ‘Alī as president and attended by a large number of prominent Muslims. The goal of the meeting was to start a movement to oppose the potential introduction of Devanagari script in offices and schools, for which a group of notable

²The *Panjābī* of 5 June contains a very complimentary article on Saiyid ‘Abdullāh. The article is followed by the translation of a detailed notice about his appointment, issued from England to be included in all newspapers of the Punjab; the article is written by a high official who also happens to be a distinguished medical scientist.

³12 December 1873.

⁴Advocates that intend to argue lawsuits in the High Court might be required to take a preliminary examination in Hindustani or English, whichever they prefer.

Hindus are petitioning the Government. The meeting resolved to establish a Central Committee for further action, with Saiyid Aḥmad Khān as Secretary.

Articulate support for Urdu continues to be offered in the indigenous press. An article entitled “Discussion on the Topic of Urdu and Nagari (Hindi)” in the *Akbbār-e Sarishta-e Ta’lim-e Avadh* of 1 July 1874 has this to say:

Oh God! Oh God! What dust the mobs have heaved up! They wish to obliterate Urdu out of existence and revive Nagari (Hindi)! They are even petitioning the Government for it. They have written big articles in newspapers and have formed committees. Powerful officials of the Northwestern Provinces have become partisans in this war for money.⁵ Yet, who has the might to undo the deed of God?

A language that has been the common language of India for two hundred years, a language that is part of the earth and water of all the inhabitants of North India, can this language vanish?

We are stunned that, in order to destroy Urdu, its would-be killers want to stop its use in governmental documents. But we ask, will they shut the mouths of Indians, or will they make laws to forbid everyone from speaking Urdu at home, with his family, with his friends, with his acquaintances? As these impossible events are not going to take place, is it plausible that banning the use of Urdu in some registers will cause this language to be discarded? God forbid! No one can destroy it, not until the Day of Resurrection! It is to Indians what yeast is to dough. Who can dream of removing that?

For too long our most prominent countrymen have chosen to remain silent on this issue. We would have done the same in accordance with the saying “Don’t wake sleeping demons.” Nevertheless, as we have no idea about the outcomes of the petitions that have been lodged with the Government, we have started our own action to bring the issue to the attention of our countrymen and to press for a resolution of the matter.

To anyone looking at the reasons offered by the proponents of Nagari (Hindi), it would be quite evident that the motive behind their desired change (which cannot happen!) is nothing but fanaticism. Of all their reasons, the strongest, in their own opinion, is that the people living in villages and small towns do not understand Urdu and have to undergo much trouble dealing with the official documents written in this language. To this argument we reply that Urdu has been in use in India for two centuries, it has served the needs of all the people uniformly, and until now no one had heard such objections. Neither in Oudh nor in the Northwestern Provinces

⁵Because this will lead to change in the work force, and this kind of change is profitable for business.

is there a single small town or village whose residents are too ignorant of Urdu to understand court papers. A hostile official might wishfully block the use of this language, but we believe that this language has a life no one has the power to extinguish. In the villages, naturally, a lot of people know Nagari (Hindi), but in large cities, such as Lucknow, Delhi, Agra, etc., perhaps just one person out of a thousand knows Nagari, and it is in these places where the courts are located. So, if Urdu would cease altogether from being employed for governmental documents, that would perhaps work well in villages, but the poor urbanites—who are at present better off than the villagers because of their larger numbers, education, more refined manners and culture, and various other distinctions—will be doomed to utter disadvantage. It is terrible to plot, using all kind of tricks, to destroy a language that is the mother tongue of a people. It is common knowledge that the decision to eliminate the use of Urdu in Bihar had to be reversed. We shall see what these contradictory measures will lead to! Sir George Campbell⁶ was a very intelligent man but had a mercurial temperament. Many of his orders resulted from the fantasy that took hold of his spirit. What is the point then in debating whether what he did was good or bad? As far as I am concerned, all his efforts in this matter, as well as all the petitions that the fools have signed and sent to the Government, and all the complaints that they have forced the journals to echo, are futile and worthless. It will take a major upheaval to depose Urdu in favor of Hindi—*There is no might or strength, save with God*. To effect such a change is an extremist idea, impossible to implement, nothing but foolishness!

Let us not forget that Urdu and Hindustani are one and the same; the latter name was given by the Europeans, in preference to the former name that the Indians commonly used. The January 1874 issue of the *Bengal Magazine* contains an article “Common Hindustani”—which I was astonished to see reproduced in the February 1874 issue of the excellent Hindi monthly *Harish Chandra's Magazine*—with absurd comments about Urdu that are equally applicable to whatever is called Urdu or Hindustani, or even Hindi. But the article's anonymous author, apparently hostile to Urdu, seems to apply the label Urdu to the classical language of poetry, typically referred to as Rekhta; this is not the language spoken ordinarily in India, just as the English of high poetry is not used in daily discourse. Whatever the motives of the anonymous journalist are, this Common Hindustani or Hindi that he erroneously differentiates from ordinary Urdu is used all over India, except for the language in a part of Bengal, a minor language of the Orissa territory, and the languages in the Tamil, Maratha, and Gujarat regions; in the last area Hindustani is also in general use. No other lan-

⁶See my *Review* of 1872, pp. 13ff.

guage is as much in use in the rest of India—north of the Satpura or Mahadeo mountains, the districts to the east of the central provinces, Bihar in its entirety, the Northwestern Provinces, the old Kingdom of Oudh, Sagar, Narbada or Narmada territories, Bandekhand, Malva, central India, and Rajputana. Thus in all these regions of vastly divergent climate and customs, the language spoken is the same, call it Hindi, Hindustani, or Urdu! But obviously, by Hindi the article's author means Hindustani written in the Devanagari script and shorn of all Persian and Arabic words. His purpose is to promote the ideas of Sir G. Campbell and the reactionary Hindus. Lacking good arguments, he excessively criticizes those that do not agree with him, even the missionaries. He even goes as far as attacking the style of Babu Shiva Prashad (who uses the *takballuṣ* "Vahbī")⁷ because the latter employs Persian and Arabic words, even though this distinguished, prolific author of Hindustani has published several of his writings in Devanagari, as if to sail with the wind. The anonymous journalist is particularly harsh to Prashad's *History of India*, the completion of which I announced in my *Review* of 1873. While this work is somewhat ultra-Indian, carries the rather imposing title *Itibas Timir Nasak* (History to Efface Ignorance), and uses Devanagari characters, it is as a matter of fact written in the very Hindustani-Urdu, the Common Hindustani, that the critic ridiculously wants to set apart from Urdu. This book illustrates how to change the alphabet without changing the language, as Babu Kasi Nath explicitly says;⁸ to placate the Hindus, the British Government seeks to introduce similar changes in the parts of India with a Hindu majority. However, the change is not always trouble-free, because several Arabic and Persian letters have no equivalents in Devanagari; the result is that some sentences containing non-Indic words become ambiguous or unintelligible, even though these words themselves are now an integral part of the language. Some Hindus would rather like to disallow such words; in fact, one such employee of the Punjab Department of Public Education has contributed an article in the *Panjābī*⁹ to claim that the Hindus often cannot understand the Arabic and Persian words used in Hindustani; he cites as proof a sentence from *Itibas Timir Nasak* that he himself heard incorrectly explained by a Hindu school teacher. And yet, apart from a proper noun, this extremely simple sentence contains only Indic words as is quite easy to ascertain. Well, here is that sentence: *Čaugān khēltē hū'ē*

⁷See the article under his name in my *Historie de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*.

⁸Page 123 of the same issue of *Harish Chandra's Magazine* that also contains the article I am challenging.

⁹1 January 1874.

Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibak ghōrē sē gir kar mar gayā (While playing polo, Qutbuddin Ibek fell from his horse and died). The word *čaugān* has two meanings: “field,” and the “game of polo” which is played by people riding horses in a field. The schoolteacher simply got confused—*Errare humanum est*—and, for great scandalization by reactionaries, translated the sentence as follows: “While making his horse run across the field, Ibek fell off it and died.”

This single example is sufficient to demonstrate the shallowness and crudity of the criticism that the anonymous author of the “Common Hindustani” article published in the *Bengal Magazine* has directed against the honorable and scholarly Shiva Prashad; fortunately, the latter is above being offended by such pettiness.

[...]

Here is the translation of an article entitled “Rejuvenation of Urdu”¹⁰ which will bring us up to date on the question:

[...] Urdu has now achieved an elegant structure and a brilliance that brightens the day more than the Sun. Thanks to the efforts by the Public Education Department, this language has spread from village to village. Wherever there is a school and wherever someone knows how to read and write, Urdu is the vogue. Major Holroyd and the officials of the Punjab Public Education Department favor this language much more than their predecessors did, which is understandable since several of them have spent parts of their lives in the home of Urdu, Delhi.

These people have written many worthwhile books in Urdu, have done excellent translations of important English and Arabic books, and have ordered revisions of technical books that were written less carefully. Major Holroyd, Director of Punjab Public Education, has even started the enterprise of improving and cultivating this language, essentially so it will acquire new life and become, we hope, perfect. With that goal in mind, he has urged the Anjuman of Lahore to launch a series of *mushāʿiras*, that is, poetry recital gatherings, in which well-written Urdu poems will address current and interesting topics rather than continue amorous or other traditional themes. The poets whose mental faculties are roused by the invitation to these *mushāʿiras* have to be treated well; a special committee will be formed to look at the merits of the contributions and reward the participants with honors and monetary prizes.

By themselves, *mushāʿiras* are nothing new. They are held in India all the time. The difference is that the traditional ones have a simple format and there are no payments involved, while the ones proposed here will have an official nature and will be held in order to pursue certain

¹⁰“Urdū kī Javānī yā Zindagī,” *Akbbār-e Anjuman-e Panjāb*, 5 June [1874].

definite goals.

Several articles about the intended reforms mentioned above have appeared in Indian newspapers.¹¹ In a speech delivered at a session of the Anjuman, Maulvī Muḥammad Ḥusain, Professor at Lahore College, known by his *takballuṣ* Āzād (“Free”), expressed support for the reforms championed by Major Holroyd. [...] Following are some passages from Ḥusain’s address:

[...] What our poetry has inherited from our ancestors has grown old, and Time has made it useless... Because Urdu developed from the interaction of people speaking Persian and those speaking Bhasha, a certain charm manifests itself in the poetry and rhetoric of Urdu owing to that interaction. The way Persian and Bhasha were positioned then, Urdu and English are now. It is now necessary that the light of English ideas shine on Urdu poetry. While our ancestors have passed to our language the power of expression, the warmth, the liveliness, the brilliance of narration, the richness of figurative diction, all to a point where it is inferior to none, they have also left it with a shortcoming—confinement within certain narrow borders. They dealt with topics of love; they wrote wonderfully about the union of lovers; they depicted the laments, regrets, and tears of the lover’s separation from the beloved; they sang of wine and the cupbearer;¹² they described the spring and autumn; they complained of Fate; they complimented the happy people. But all these topics are strictly imaginary, and sometimes their portrayal is so contorted and so couched in strange metaphors that they are totally incomprehensible. If we continue to limit ourselves to these topics, without striving to escape the small circle that bounds us, we will never take a step on the road of Progress.

My dear compatriots, my eyes fill with tears when I realize that soon we will not be left with a single poet. If our writers keep following their routine, no one will pay attention to them. One day our language will end up without any poetry; the light of poetry will be extinguished. I beg you, in the name of God, to save the old treasure of our country and its people. Take to heart the new phase of our language. Rescue our poets from the shackles that limit their moves, the chains that tie them to one place; otherwise the language your children inherit will one day have no trace of poetry. Being deprived of that glory will be a matter of great regret.

No doubt, it seems difficult at first to imagine that a reform is possible, for our most eloquent authors have been stagnating within narrow confines

¹¹Among others: *Akbbār-e Anjuman-e Panjāb*, 8 May 1874, and *Panjābī*, 9 May and 11 July 1874.

¹²Since Muslims are forbidden from drinking wine, the abundant mention of wine and the cupbearer by Persian and Hindustani poets is allegorical. Wine stands for God’s love; the cupbearer stands for the spiritual guide.

for one hundred and fifty years. The blood has dried up in their hearts and in the core of their brains... But we should not despair; our efforts will overcome the obstacles.

For a long time, I, like many of my countrymen, have been thinking about literary reform. If I am expressing my thoughts more strongly today, it is because our government is now filling our hearts with the love of education and the desire of progress. The moment has hence come for the star of our language to rise...

To illustrate the new style in which Hindustani poetry could be written, Āzād gives some sample pieces of verse at the end of his address. But, frankly, I do not notice anything special or salient in them. The *Panjābī* has criticized the same verses also. In fact, the whole address has come under attack there.¹³ Moreover, this is not the only newspaper that does not agree with those ideas for innovation.

[...]

Here is some information about the second poetical gathering held at the Anjuman of Punjab; the first one was reported in connection with Maulvī Ḥusain's address.

As decided earlier, a special poetical gathering was held, a month after the first one, on Saturday, 30 May.¹⁴ This gathering had much more impact than the first one. Many notable people, such as respectable magistrates, prominent noblemen, government officials and employees, teachers and students from colleges and schools, University of Punjab faculty, and the friends of literature, attended it.

After the people had assembled, Maulvī Alṭāf Ḥusain, with the *takhalluṣ* Ḥālī, of Lahore College, read his descriptive poem entitled *Barkh̄ārut* (Rainy Season).¹⁵ Subsequently, Maulvī Alṭāf ‘Alī, translator for Urdu for the Government Gazette of Punjab, read his poem on the same subject, entitled “Āb-e Karam” (Cloud of Mercy).¹⁶ While the two compositions addressed the very same subject of the rainy season, the authors dealt with quite diverse ideas. This is in accordance with the well-known hemistich “Each flower has a different color and a different scent.” Both poems had their own particular qualities of grace and beauty.

Five other authors read five more Urdu poems. This poetical gathering went so well that it is strongly hoped future gatherings will also be as en-

¹³30 May 1874, pp. 3 and 6.

¹⁴Reproduced here from *Akhh̄ār-e Anjuman-e Panjāb*, 5 June 1874.

¹⁵To get an idea of the opposite style in which modern Indian poets write about this season, all one has to do is read Jur’at’s poem in *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, Vol. II, p. 114.

¹⁶In this country, rain is considered a great blessing from the heavens.

joyable. Furthermore, it is hoped the wonderful initiative of Major Holroyd and the Punjab Government to hold these gatherings in order to rid Urdu poetry of depraved topics and obscene imagery, and direct it to down to earth, relevant themes, will be entirely successful...

The fourth session of the *mushā'ira* was held on 3 August 1874. More poets attended this one than the previous gatherings. They came from different cities. Some poets sent their compositions, but these could not be recited due to a shortage of time. Some recitations were stopped in the middle because they were written in the old style, using the same kind of phrasing that was supposed to be avoided, and the new breed of audience was unwilling to listen to them. The *Panjābī*¹⁷ provides a list of all the participating poets and their presentations and makes comments on them individually. Several of these pieces have been written using the new style that the Government wishes to encourage; these have generally received laudatory remarks from the editor, except for some criticisms wherever appropriate.

Of all the poems mentioned by the editor of the *Panjābī*, the one judged to be the best is a *maṣnavī* entitled *Nau-Bahār-e Ummīd* (New Spring of Hope), containing 292 couplets,¹⁸ by Mirzā Ashraf Bēg who comes from an established noble (*raʿīs*) family. "This composition," the editor says, "is so exquisite that I do not know how to praise it. Its style is of the highest purity, it is elegant and energetic, and yet it is so simple and clear that an uneducated person can understand it as well as a scholar, and both will agree as to its meaning. It explains things so convincingly that even the less cultured people can appreciate its good points, and students can absorb its thoughts. The poem contains sublime ideas, and does a superb job of applying similes and metaphors."

At the end of the session, the president announced that the topic of the poems for the forthcoming gathering would be "*ḥubbu'l-vaṭan*" (Love of Homeland).

This [subsequent] gathering or *mushā'ira* took place in Lahore on 3 September. Many poets attended this one also, or sent their compositions that were recited on their behalf. A columnist from the *Panjābī*¹⁹ criticizes two of the poems, but heartily lauds the poem entitled "*Ṭilism-e Ḥairat*" (Talisman of Wonder)²⁰ by Maulvī Muḥammad Sharīf, editor of an Urdu

¹⁷8 August 1874.

¹⁸This poem is published in its entirety in the same issue of the newspaper that was cited above.

¹⁹3 October 1874; *Akbbār-e Sarishta-e Taʿlīm-e Panjāb*, 9 October 1874.

²⁰See *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, Vol. III, p. 487.

newspaper from Madras. This poem has a pure and refined style, matching that of the best writers of Delhi and Lucknow. It is subtitled “Gulzār-e Sharīf” (The Noble Flower Garden), after the author’s name.

Three other poets were not applauded. However, the audience, though exhausted by the long session, listened to the last poet, Ḥālī (Alṭāf Ḥusain) with much attention and enthusiasm.²¹ Ḥālī stuck to the subject *ḥubbu'l-vaṭan* (Love of Homeland) that had been suggested to the participating poets.

Among the poets who themselves recited their work, the *Panjābī* lists Āzād (Maulvī Muḥammad Ḥusain), the person mentioned several times before. His delivery was considered excellent, but his style did not please the reform-minded people. Āzād continued referring to wine, inebriety, the nightingale, and the rose. The people who had pinned great hopes on his talent were thoroughly disappointed.

In essence, Āzād’s *maṣnavī*, which is apparently entitled *Ṣubḥ-e Ummīd* (Dawn of Hope), deserves serious criticism, judging from the analyses that have been made almost couplet-by-couplet. He is a disciple of the celebrated poet “Zauq” (Shaikh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm of Delhi), although he modestly calls himself the humblest disciple.²² The detailed reviews show that this disciple, popularly regarded as a master, is considerably below the reputation that the friends of Indian Anglicism attribute to him.

Inṣāf (Justice) was the theme of the next *mushā‘ira* of the Anjuman of Lahore, held on 14 November 1874. Major Holroyd and several Indians attended it. Specially mentioned among the latter is Mirzā Muḥammad Khān, a native of Sistan. His *takhalluṣ* is “Khāvar,” and he is referred to as “King of Poets.” The works of poetry read in this gathering seem to have been judged as mediocre. This is true, especially of the poem by Āzād (Muḥammad Ḥusain), which was considered inferior to even his previous poems. On the contrary, the poem by Ḥālī (Alṭāf Ḥusain) was considered to be in high taste. This poet was definitely the coryphaeus of the *mushā‘ira*.²³
[...]

European punctuations, appropriately modified for the Arabic script, should be both useful and easy to implement in Persian-Urdu documents. This would be especially true for typographically produced documents. On this topic, Saiyid Aḥmad Khān has published an article entitled *‘Alāmāt-e Qir’at* (Marks for Reading).²⁴ His proposed system is lucidly explained

²¹ *Panjābī*, 24 October 1874, has printed the entire poem consisting of 232 couplets.

²² *Panjābī*, 14 October 1874.

²³ *Panjābī*, 4 November 1874.

²⁴ It has appeared in the *Tahzībū'l-Akhlāq* and has also been reproduced in *‘Alīgarḥ Akhbār*, 16 October 1874.

and quite appealing.

Infatuated with English, the administrative employees often use that language in official correspondence. The problem is that some proper nouns become indecipherable when transliterated in Latin characters. The Government of Bengal has decided that the officers should spell out indigenous names not just in English letters but also in their native languages.²⁵

Hindustani is probably the richest language because it keeps augmenting its existing vocabulary by appropriating words from Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit almost ad libitum. As a result, it has more true synonyms than any other language. But, like other languages, it also has semi-synonyms to minutely distinguish nuances in meaning. Mr. James W. Farrell is interested in disseminating information about such synonyms; he is trying to do for Hindustani what [Gabriel] Girard and [Nicolas] Beauzée have done for French, or Archbishop [Richard] Whately has done for English. He has collected the most frequently used words that have one or more synonyms. He has compiled their differences in a small volume of sixty-six pages, which he has edited very carefully, with an index to facilitate searching. Unfortunately, he has not used the Persian-Urdu script that would have made the book more useful than its current version (published in Calcutta).

Two synonyms not covered by M. Farrell are pointed out in the *Akbbār-e Ālam* of Meerut.²⁶ I refer to the honorific title “Şāhib” added after a name, just like “Esquire” in English, and, its equivalent in Marvar, the word “*Jī*” (which literally means “life”).²⁷ The former word is Arabic and is preferred by Muslims; the latter is Hindi, and hence it is preferred by the peoples among whom Hindus are in the majority. Yet, as the author of the article seems to believe, employing the latter word in Urdu is not contrary to good language usage.

Section III

There is an increasing realization among the Indian people that the most important European works on science and arts need to be translated into Indian languages. Here is what the *Panjābī* says on the subject in its issue of 27 December 1873:

The credit for the earliest advances in arts and sciences is generally

²⁵ *Alīgarh Akbbār*, 6 March 1874.

²⁶ H.H. Wilson: *Glossary of Indian Terms*.

²⁷ 2 April 1874.

given to Greek philosophers. Yet, it cannot be denied that the second era of advances belonged to the Arab scientists and philosophers of the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd²⁸ and Ma'mūn al-Rashīd, and the third era to Europeans. The Arabs judiciously transferred the ancients' research and discoveries to their own language, correcting the errors that they found, and adding new things that the Greek philosophers had missed. Also during the Arab's era, the Greek School lost its brilliance. The English, in turn, have translated the Arabs' knowledge, corrected their errors as well those of the Greeks, and have made new discoveries. But they have not exhausted the sources of knowledge. On the surface, the European principles for sciences and arts seem to be the same as those of the Arabs and of the Greeks. But if we examine the matter carefully, the tremendous rate of progress these days can only be accounted for by the assumption that the principles and methods of the first two systems differ from the ones of the current system. Because of this difference, no one in England today is concerned much with the Arabs or the Greeks.

As the Arab advances did not last long, and came to an end rather precipitously, their science could not expand in the requisite practical directions. By contrast, from the beginning European researchers have popularized science: They have translated the works of Greek and Arab scholars in a manner that makes them easy for all to understand. Their own writings have the goal of spreading knowledge widely, to benefit both scholars and lay people. That is why the light of knowledge shines on all. If the English had not done such translations, they would not have had a large share in science, and arts would not have flourished under them so gloriously. And, by the same token, if the Indians had engaged in translation from the earliest days of Muslim rule, they would have matched the Europeans in achievements in arts and sciences and would have given these fields the brilliance and perfection from which they were deprived. One might ask why the study of Sanskrit, a treasure for science and arts, has been so neglected. We answer that this is because Sanskrit is not the language of any country.²⁹ None but the Pandits know it, and its books are carefully locked up in coffer. The Hindu authorities who controlled this language behaved as if none but Brahmins could do anything with it; their sole aim was to further elevate the worth and importance of their class and

²⁸It is alleged that the first organ ever seen in France was sent as present to Charlemagne by Hārūn and Ma'mūn al-Rashīd. But this is evidently incorrect because the organ is unknown in the Orient and is not utilized in the Greek Church. It is also known that the Church of Lyon did not employ this instrument until liturgical changes were implemented; this also proves the Asian origin and antiquity of this Church, thus deserving the title of the Primal Gaul Church.

²⁹It seems that Sanskrit was never in use in India as a vernacular language. Moreover, there were long periods in which it did not even serve as a language for literature, some minor exceptions aside.

ensure that the rest of the nation would remain subservient to them. Little by little, this attitude led to the situation where this same class that once one looked up to is in a pitiful condition itself. Had the Indians foreseen this and had they realized the result of such an exclusionary attitude, they would not have entrusted this jewel to a single class; for if everyone would have been allowed access to education and knowledge, then Sanskrit would never have been abandoned³⁰ and its texts on sciences and arts would have been translated into the indigenous languages. It should also have been the case that during the prosperous period of Muslim rule, the Arabic scientific works should have been translated into Hindi, circumventing the present state of decline in India.

Granted, the Indians do not treat knowledge in the same way as the Europeans. For example, the really important science of geography is worthless to the Indians; it really is not of any use to them anyway since they do not engage much in business and do not travel overseas. The discipline of history makes us aware of the rise and fall of the people of antiquity, and their examples help us decide what to pursue and what to avoid. For the Indians, history is often something to be promptly forgotten, or is treated as if it is a set of stories meant just for amusement.

For the desired advances to take place there should be special associations devoted to the task of translating the works of science and the arts; these associations need to be aided by enterprising leaders and the friends of India. We are sure that by such efforts the situation of India will improve in as little as five years. But the government must also provide the literary and scientific associations the encouragement they need, and offer the translators their due appreciation.

The Maharaja of Kashmir shares the above-mentioned opinions of the journalists: For the benefit of his subjects, he established an institution in Jammu and Kashmir two years ago for the translation of English books into Urdu and Hindi.

The Aligarh Scientific Society is actively continuing the effort of sequentially translating the two hundred thirty volumes on science and the arts selected by certain English scholars as representing the best works to be introduced to Indians. It was announced that the most recently published volume was the Urdu translation of Malcolm's *History of Persia*.

In Mr. Colin Browning's report on the progress in education within the Oudh province during 1872–1873, I found two noteworthy translations: a

³⁰Indeed, it is the Europeans who revived Sanskrit after its study came to be totally neglected in India. When the Indians noticed that the English took up the study of their sacred language and began digging up its manuscripts, they were themselves roused to do the same and produced the scholarly works that have contributed to spread the knowledge of this language among their co-religionists.

Hindi version of Pandit Shiv Narayan's *Geography of Oudh* and an Urdu translation of Firishta's *History of India*.

Munshī Muḥammad Zakāu'l-Lāh Khān, currently Professor at Muir College in Allahabad, has published another Urdu book on Indian history. It is entitled *Tārīkh-e Hindustān*; it also contains the land's geography based on the most respectable European works, such as the ones by [Mountstuart] Elphinstone, [John Stuart] Mill, [John Clark] Marshman, etc.³¹

One of the new Urdu works most praised by the indigenous media is *Fasāna-e Ḥāmid* ((Romantic) Story of Ḥāmid); its author, Saiyid Ghulām Ḥaidar Khān of Lakhampur, Oudh, is being called the "Pride of India." This work, with text supplemented by woodcut drawings, appears to be very poorly printed. Writing about it in *Aligarh Akhbār*, Rajab 'Alī wishes for a new edition of it, further hoping that the new edition will be sponsored by the Government, and its copies will be distributed not just in the Northwestern Provinces but also in Oudh and the Punjab. This editor deems the work to be perfect, suffering no shortcomings of any kind. Ḥāmid's adventures narrated herein take place in the year 400 AH (1009–1010 AD). In the book, the author mentions solely the events of that period. The narrative leaves nothing to imagination or conjecture. The style is eloquent and even rhythmic, and the text quotes poetry from the best Hindustani poets. The author extols the merit and bravery of certain Arabs and Persians, but he places India below other Eastern nations as regards courtesy. The author justly treats the outstanding qualities of Indian women, such as chastity, honesty, patience, and devotion—which go to the extreme of women burning themselves to death on the funeral pyre of their husbands, an unfortunate result of ignorance. He condemns the court decisions forbidding widows to remarry while allowing the same to widowers. He also opposes the practice of pledging children into marriage—another scourge of Indian society—as well as many prejudices that cause other ills.³²

That work brings to mind another that addresses the problems of Indian women. The work, entitled *Majālisu 'n-Nisā'* (The Gatherings of Women), makes use of dialogs among a governess, her pupil, and the latter's mother to discuss the education and training of women. The work is by Maulvī Alṭāf Ḥusain of Panipat, who is known by his *takballuṣ* "Ḥālī" and is a sincere Muslim celebrated for his scholarship and eloquence.³³

³¹ *Aligarh Akhbār*, 20 March 1874; *Akbār-e Anjuman-e Panjāb*, 17 April 1874.

³² *Aligarh Akhbār*, 27 November 1873.

³³ *Panjābī*, 16 May 1874.

His is some of the best poetry that has been recited in recent *mushā'iras*.³⁴ He has penned the refutation of a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, *Tārikh-e Muḥammad*, written by Imāmu'd-Dīn, a well-known Muslim who converted to Christianity; and also the refutation of *Taḥqīqu'l-Imān* (Certainty of Faith) by the same Imāmu'd-Dīn, under the title *Tiryāq-e Masmūm* (Antidote for the Poisoned).

Sir W. Muir³⁵ spent some time in Europe to regain his health, before starting his new position as a member of the General Council of the Government of India. While passing through Paris, he honored me with a visit. Sir William had reserved the amount of five thousand rupees (12,500 francs) as prize money for encouraging the indigenous authors of the best works published during the years 1873–1874. The prizes have been awarded. Sixteen of the prize-winning authors have written in Urdu³⁶ and two in Hindi. Among these works, I want to single out *Taubatu'n-Naṣīb*³⁷ (Repentance of a Sincere Man) by Maulvī Nazīr Aḥmad of Delhi. This work, the third of this kind written by the Maulvī, excels in purity of style and depth of thought. It presents an interesting drama of domestic life among Muslims and is particularly commendable for stressing the values of integrity and tolerance together. The book's moral is that true happiness is found only through religion.³⁸

I should also mention: *Mufīdu'd-Dabr* (What is Useful in the World), a treatise in verse on morals by Mannu Lal, Inspector of Schools, Muradabad—the same author who writes Urdu ghazals under the *takballuṣ* “Ṣafā” and is also known for several other works;³⁹ *Tazkira-e Balāghat*

³⁴The complete text of one of his poems can be found in *Akbbār-e Sarishta-e Ta'lim-e Avadh*, August 1874.

³⁵Regarding Sir W[illiam] Muir: The Indians regard him more as a brother than a Governor, and a village near Allahabad that is inhabited by indigenous Christians has been named *Muirabad* after him. I would like to repeat here the following salutary comment in the Hindu newspaper *Indian Mirror* about this capable administrator and scholar: “Whether we treat him,” the newspaper editor says, “as Governor, Christian, or gentleman, he is a veritable role model for our fellow citizens. Much industrious, conscientious, and restrained as he has been as Governor, he has been just as much pious and sincere as Christian, and amicable and gracious as a human being.”

³⁶One of the works, a grammar of Arabic written in Arabic, is listed erroneously; undoubtedly, the intended book is the Arabic grammar compiled in Urdu by Muḥammad 'Iṣmat and last published from Meerut.

³⁷The correct title is *Taubatu'n-Naṣūḥ*. —Tr.

³⁸*Indian Mail*, 17 February 1874.

³⁹Refer to the list in the article about this author in *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*.

(Reminder on Eloquence), a treatise on rhetoric by Maulvī Zulfīqār ‘Alī, Inspector of Schools, Saharanpur; *Tārīkh-e Kalpī* (History of Kalpi), an Indian city and region of historic importance, by Shaikh Ḥaidar Bakhsh of Kalpi; *Mir’atu’l-Mulk* (Mirror of the Land), a history of the English government by Raḥīm Bakhsh of Delhi; and *Natā’iju’l-Ma‘ānī* (Results of Meanings), moral stories by Mirzā Maḥmūd Bēg of Patyala.

Siyaru’l-Mutaqaddimīn (History of the People of Antiquity), advertised in indigenous newspapers, is simply a translation of *Landmarks of History*, which is a history of the world from the creation to the birth of Jesus Christ, by Muḥammad Sa‘īd of Aligarh College.

Rahnumā-e Dillī (A Guide to Delhi) is a history of this capital, published in movable type by the Anjuman of Punjab.

Ādābu’l-Tullāb (Good Manners for Pupils) is the translation of Naṣīru’d-Dīn Ṭūsī’s *Ādābu’l-Muta‘allimīn* (same title) by Maulvī Saiyid Aḥmad Ḥasan who, under the *takballuṣ* “Shākī” and also “Furqānī,” has published numerous pieces of verse in native newspapers.

The *Akbbār-e Sarishta-e Ta‘līm* of Oudh and, subsequently, the *Akbbār-e Anjuman-e Panjāb* (9 January 1874), have published a poem by Lala Hazari Lal on the Suraj Bansi and Chandar Bansi dynasties for use in Indian schools. This *masnavī* of 101 couplets summarizes nearly all that is known on the topic; it should be of interest not just to Indians but also to Europeans who know Hindustani.

Under the title *Ṭibb-e Raḥīm* (Raḥīm’s Medicine), Dr. Raḥīm Khān has published a 540-page Urdu treatise on medicine that has been adopted by the Lahore Medical College. Discussed therein are the diseases, their causes and symptoms, and their remedies as practiced in England. The names of diseases and remedies are listed not only in Urdu, but also in Greek, Arabic, and English. The descriptions are accompanied by illustrative diagrams whenever necessary. The book is divided into two parts: the first part is devoted to the scientific questions underlying medicine and the second part discusses diseases and their remedies. There is no discussion of anatomy or surgery, for which, according to a columnist of the *Panjābī*⁴⁰ other specialized books exist.

A Hindu gentleman, Ganga Prashad of Muradabad, has published a book entitled *Kitāb-e Nabātāt-e Hind* on Indian plants, with emphasis on the medicinal viewpoint; he relies on earlier works and his own experiences.⁴¹

Mr. S. W. Fallon has not given up on the publication of his monumental dictionary of Hindustani, a work that would be a veritable treasure

⁴⁰17 January 1874.

⁴¹*Aligarh Akbbār*; 16 October 1874.

for anyone desiring access to all the resources, spoken as well as written, of this beautiful language. The book will not only contain the words of those two types, but will also have phrases to aid in the understanding of various shades of meanings of words, word origins, word etymologies, and essentially all that a complete dictionary should carry. Furthermore, the dictionary will also contain poetical usage, specialized words and phrases such as those used by women, proverbs, popular songs, and even riddles. The author has just launched a new brochure together with a sample which will not disappoint the scholarly world. The book will be published in Patna and delivered from there by mail. The project is colossal, very demanding for the collaborators, and requiring a large number of subscriptions to defray the huge costs involved. My sincerest wishes for the success of the endeavor.

There is no shortage of Urdu grammars written by European Orientalists. Until recently, the Indians had not published these even in Urdu, but now they have started to also write them in English. Rama Krishna, Professor at Canning College, has just published a *Handbook of Urdu Grammar* from Lucknow, aimed specially at candidates for the University of Calcutta examinations. Written using a new system, this volume interestingly has as an epigraph a proverb common to Arabic and French: *Kull jadīd lazīz* (All that is novel is delightful); the same is the epigraph of the *Muir Gazette*.

In the *Akbbār-e Sarishṭa-e Ta'lim-e Avadh*,⁴² I have seen announcements of the Hindustani works that have appeared from Lucknow in the first quarter of this year. Notable among these are: religious books *Zakhīra-e Najāt* (Treasure of Salvation) by Lal Ji and *Rumūzu'l-Ārifīn* (Signs for the Sagacious); *Fasāna-e Gham-Āmōz* (Story of Mournful Love) by Ḥāfiẓ Amīru'd-Dīn; *Gulshan-e Faiẓ* (Garden of Bounty), a history of Raja Bhoj by Nand Kishori Lal; the *Dīvān* of "Vāsṭī" of Jabalpur, portions of which appeared in the *Avadh Akbbār*; the *Dīvān*⁴³ of 'Ashiq (Sada Sukh); *Āshma-e Faiẓ* (Spring of Abundance), a moral poem by 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār Khān; a new translation of *Anvār-e Subailī* by Bihari Lal; a geography of Jaunpur by Maulvī Zulfīqār Khān; *Mir'atu's-Salāṭīn* (Mirror of Kings), translation of *Siyaru'l-Muta'akbbhirīn*, by Gokul Prashad; *Riyāzu'sh-Shubadā* (Garden of Martyrs), a narrative of Imām Ḥusain's martyrdom, written, remarkably, by a Hindu, Munshī Kunvar Sen;⁴⁴ *Adāb-e Inshā*

⁴²This Urdu magazine is published from Lucknow on the first day of each month. It is in folio format and each issue has thirty-two pages set in three columns.

⁴³This title appears commonly in Urdu works; see *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie* passim.

⁴⁴This Hindu, who uses the *takballuṣ* "Jām" in his poetry, seems quite eclectic

(Manual of Courteous Correspondence) by Faṭḥ Muḥammad; *Jōgin-Nāma* (Story of a Jōgin) by “Bāḡin,” author of the biographic anthology *Gulshan-e Bē Khizān* (Garden Without Autumn); *Fasāna-e Jōsh* (Romance of Jōsh),⁴⁵ an erotic poem.

In Hindi: *Viṣṇupada* (Songs Honoring Vishnu) by Har Charandas; an anthology of hymns to Krishna by Makhan Lal;⁴⁶ *Gopi Chandar Bhartari*;⁴⁷ *Jugal Bilas* (Poem on the Love between Krishna and Radha); a translation in verse of *Mahabharata*; and several reprint editions.

Among newer editions of Urdu works, I am pleased to mention the new edition of the voluminous poetical works of Mīr Taqī, one of the greatest writers belonging to the period spanning the end of the last century and the beginning of this century. The printing of the new edition attests to the fact that the Indian people continue to appreciate beautiful classical Urdu poetry. Other new editions are: *Tuḥfatu l-‘Ajam* (Gift of the Persians), an Urdu translation of *Kanzu’d-Daqa’iq* (Treasure of Difficulties) which is a famous book of jurisprudence; *Futūḥu’sh-Shām* (Conquests of Syria) of Vāqidi;⁴⁸ *Asrār-e Karbalā* (Mysteries of Karbalā) by Ṣāḥīru’d-Dīn Khān,⁴⁹ extracted from *Shām-e Gharibān* (Night of the Unfortunate); an erotic poem by Taslīm;⁵⁰ several works of current, popular literature, such as: *Qiṣṣa-e Jamjama* (Story of Jamjama),⁵¹ *Qiṣṣa-e Shāh-e Rūm* (Story of the Emperor of Constantinople), *Qiṣṣa-e Shaikh Mansūr*, *Qiṣṣa-e Saudagār-bačča*, *Qiṣṣa-e Bahrāmgūr*,⁵² *Qiṣṣa-e Māhīgīr* (Fisherman’s Story), etc.

From Bangalore, Munshī Muḥammad Yāsīn has published a series of primers in Hindustani under the title *Silsila-e Ta’līm-e Yāsīnī* (Educational Series by Yāsīn) for schools in Mysore. The first volume to appear is entitled *Laṛkōn kē Sabaq kī Pahlī Kītāb* (First Book of Education for Boys) and has been quite successful.⁵³

As to the translations, I should not fail to mention *Tōtā Kabānī*, the Urdu version of Tales of a Parrot, by the learned, productive Indologist George Small, author of several well-recognized works.

as he has also jointly authored a Christian work. See *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, Vol. II, p. 79.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁴⁷ Or, *Qiṣṣa-e Gōpī Čandar*. See *ibid.*, p. 69, 219.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 419.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 227.

⁵¹ See *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 159.

⁵² For this work, see *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie* passim.

⁵³ *Aligarh Akhbār*, 9 October 1874.

Among the recently published books in Urdu on Christian topics, I should point out a three-hundred-page book entitled *Dajjāl-e Masīḥ* (The Antichrist), whose author Ram Chand is a convert from Hinduism and is currently the Minister of Public Education in Patyala. He means the portrayed personality to be Muḥammad. The book has attracted much attention because of its scholarly, detailed critique by the noted religious debater Maulvī Mirzā Faḥ Muḥammad Bēg.⁵⁴ The Maulvī starts by accusing the author of emulating Christian missionaries and displaying gross ignorance of theology, something that astounds the Maulvī since Ram Chand is well known for writing popular books and his basic treatises are well regarded. The Maulvī refutes the assertions of the new convert one by one. The author's first assertion is that even according to the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīṣ, the Christians are true believers just as much as the Muslims consider themselves to be. The Maulvī finds this against the Qur'ānic verse: "Those who have accepted Trinity are non-believers" (literally, "Those who have said that God is the Third of the Three ..."⁵⁵). The Muslim critic also refutes the convert's statement that according to not only the Bible, but also the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīṣ, Muḥammad would be the Antichrist. To him, the truth of the Qur'ān is maintained by qualifying Ram Chand's alleged agreement between Qur'ānic and Biblical doctrines with the clause that the Qur'ān only reconfirms the Islamic ideas. "Thus," the Maulvī says, "if the Bible is true, then the Qur'ān is true. If the Qur'ān is false, then the Bible is false." The Maulvī forcefully argues his assertions, and discusses the authenticity of the texts of the Old and New Testaments. He denies such authenticity, in accordance with the majority of Muslim theologians who think that those texts were altered by the Jews and Christians.

Another Muslim, Maulvī Muḥammad 'Alī, has also defended his religion against the attacks contained in the work *Ṣaulat-e Hind* (Force of India)⁵⁶ by Lala Indarman. The Maulvī's volume of more than six hundred pages is entitled *Zafar-e Mubīn* (Manifest Victory). According to the editor of the *Panjābī*,⁵⁷ this book discusses matters of disagreement among India's rival religions without any fanaticism and in such a brilliant manner that the reader is completely convinced.

In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Part I, No. 4, 1873), Mr. F. S. Growse has given a translation in verse of the initial stanzas of *Chand's Prithiraj Rasau*, together with a critical commentary. In the January 1874

⁵⁴ *Panjābī*, 1 January and 27 February 1874.

⁵⁵ Qur'ān IV:169; V:79; X:67.

⁵⁶ See *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, Vol. II, p. 32.

⁵⁷ 21 February 1874.

issue of the *Indian Antiquary*, Rev. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, the knowledgeable author of the essay on the comparative grammar of Gaurian languages,⁵⁸ has, in turn, published the translation of the twenty-seventh song or book of the same poem. Moreover, in the April issue, he has, jointly with Mr. John Beame, published an article⁵⁹ with very useful comments on the prosodic characteristics of that famous composition. Mr. Beame's administrative responsibilities do not permit him to continue this work alone, yet they have not hindered him from contributing to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* a scholarly study of the grammatical rules practiced by Chand,⁶⁰ and to the *Antiquary*⁶¹ interesting observations on the genitive postpositions of Hindi.

Among the poets that have enriched Hindustani journals with their poetry this year, I select "Ashraf" (Mirzā Ashraf Bēg Khān) of Delhi, "Jauhar" (Javāhir Siŋgh) of Balrampur,⁶² "Kifāyat" (Kifāyat 'Alī) of Buland Shahr, "Vahshī" (Muḥammad 'Umar 'Alī) of Basuda, "Sabz" (Lakhpāt Rae) of Machachatta, "Maḥmūd" (Muḥammad Ḥusain) of Ahulavalya, "Adīb" (Saifu'l-Ḥaḡ) of Delhi, "Ghulāmī" (Ghulām Muḥammad Khān) of Koh-Kakoli, a Muslim "Shaidā" (Ghulām Aṣghar) of Sialkot, a Hindu "Shaidā" (Kishan Gopal) of Wazirabad, and several others.

I cannot omit from the list of poets the ex-king of Oudh, Vājid 'Alī, who is known in the Indian literary world under the *takballuṣ* "Akhtar,"⁶³ and is perhaps the most well-known among contemporary Urdu poets. For the past twenty years, he has been living in his estate along the shores of the river Hugli about three miles from Calcutta. He receives an annual pension of £220,000 (FF 3,000,000). He continues to devote himself to poetry, music, and fine arts, just as he did when he was occupying his ancestors' throne. Many of the songs he has composed are quite popular, and are, in fact, sung daily by the courtesans in Calcutta, Benares, and other Indian cities. These songs are known as *Ḥaẓrat kī Ṭughbrī*⁶⁴ (Songs

⁵⁸"Essay in Aid of a Comparative Grammar of the Gaurian Languages," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1873, 1874.

⁵⁹The first installment of the second part has appeared and carries his name as an editor.

⁶⁰"Studies in the Grammar of Chand," *Asiatic Journal*, [i.e., *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*] Part 1, No. 2, 1874.

⁶¹January 1874.

⁶²See the article on this writer in *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*.

⁶³See the article on him in *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, Vol. 1, pp. 181ff., and my preface to the last edition, pp. 106ff.

⁶⁴The surname of Vājid 'Alī is *Zēb Ṭughbrā* (One to whom the royal blood of

of His Majesty). His spacious residence, quite royal in character, is like a small kingdom with him as the absolute master. Six thousand subjects pledge allegiance to him. He keeps a well-organized Court just like the one he had at his old capital. He never leaves the boundary of his little town and does not pay visits to the English Viceroy, although he does receive the latter's. In his capacious estate, there are three palaces: *Sulṭān Khāna* (Sultan's House), the main residence; *Āzād Manzil* (Residence of the Liberated); and *Zard Kōṭhī* (Yellow Mansion).⁶⁵ His harem consists of two queens; in addition, 131 other women live in the female quarters. A most remarkable feature of his estate is the menagerie: one of the best in the world, it comprises twenty thousand animals of all kinds, including some rare species. The pigeon collection has these birds in all shades of colors; the collection of snakes and other reptiles is most complete. The gardens are magnificent, taken care of by three hundred gardeners.⁶⁶

The *Avadh Akhbār* and, later, the *Akhhār-e Ālam* of Meerut⁶⁷ have published a work in praise of Munshī Miyān Dād Khān by "Jōsh" (Navāb Aḥmad Ḥasan Khān); entitled *Aḥṣṣe Sabib* (Fine Gentleman), it is a *maṣnavī* composed with the acrostic *taushīh*,⁶⁸ so that each hemistich begins and ends with a letter of the four words in the name and these are repeated four times.

Under the title *Urdū Kā Khūn* (Urdu Reader),⁶⁹ Babu Shiva Prasad, well known for numerous highly regarded publications, has edited a selection of various literary pieces for the University of Calcutta examinations. The main items are: *Shakuntalā Nāṭak* (Legend of Shakuntalā); extracts from *Ārā'ish-e Maḥfil* by "Afsōs"; and extracts from *Ganj-e Khūbī* (Treasure of Goodness), an Urdu translation of *Akhlāq-e Muḥsinī* by Ḥusain Vā'iz, the author of *Anwār-e Suhailī*. I should add that the contents of this volume have come under strong criticism by the editors of *Najmu'l-Akhhār* and *Aligarh Institute Gazette*,⁷⁰ especially in regards to *Shakuntalā* and *Ārā'ish*. The critics claim that the usage therein is obsolete and contains expressions that are no longer extant, and are, indeed, incorrect. The editors

ancestors serves as ornament); *Ṭughrā* refers to the emblem on the armor of Muslim rulers. *Ṭughrī* is the adjective derived therefrom.

⁶⁵The author has translated the color as green instead of yellow. —Tr.

⁶⁶*Times*, 27 and 30 October 1874.

⁶⁷2 April 1874.

⁶⁸The acrostic has been misspelled as *taushīsh*. —Tr.

⁶⁹The title and its translation obviously do not match. Perhaps the word "Khun" is mistakenly being used instead of "Khwan," which stands for "offering" (literally, "banquet spread" or "feast platter"). —Tr.

⁷⁰3 April 1874.

go into very minute detail, which might be of use from the linguistic point of view, but their findings do not lessen the merit of these works, which date back to the beginning of the century and which have, so far, been treated as classics ranking with *Bāgh-o-Babar*. This is precisely what Shiva Prasad has observed in a letter to the *‘Aligarh Akhbār*⁷¹ as rebuttal of the criticism I have just reported. He says that extracts of the kind that have come under criticism are the ones he has chosen deliberately to fill over forty to fifty volumes; his purpose is precisely to *not* expose the University of Calcutta students to modern texts full of neologisms and devoid of pure (*ṭhaiñṭh*) Urdu—the “Sterling” Hindustani.

The British Government is striving to spread the use of English in India. To contribute to this goal, Major W. R. M. Holroyd, Director of Punjab Public Education Department, whose mastery of Urdu, Persian, and Arabic is proverbial among the natives, has prepared a volume in Urdu in the Nasta‘liq script. Currently in press in Lahore, this work will offer an easy, novel method for learning to speak and write in English.⁷² □

Appendix

Garçin de Tassy

Observation

[TRANSLATOR’S NOTE: The following is the translation of a note de Tassy, as an editor of the *Journal Asiatique*, inserted in the *Journal* after a contributed correspondence item by N. Bland (1853). What de Tassy is calling the “matter under discussion” in the first sentence of the note is his claim of 1843 that the Persian poet Sa‘dī of Shiraz was also the author of the earliest Urdu poetry. The purpose of Bland’s letter was to assert that another poet, Mas‘ūd Sa‘d Salmān, preceded Sa‘dī in composing Urdu verses. But this note is mainly concerned with de Tassy’s original claim and its refutation by A. Sprenger (1852).]

⁷¹17 April 1874.

⁷²*Añgrēzī Zabān kō kis Ṭarāḥ Bōlnā aur Likhnā Čāhiyē* (How to Speak and Write English).

AFTER THIS INTERESTING PIECE of Indo-Persian biography [(Bland 1853)] had been redacted, Dr. Sprenger published an article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta* (1852, No. 4, 513ff) in which he puts in doubt the entire matter under discussion here. He has reinstated the opinion that I had expressed on p. 434 in the first volume of my history of Indian literature [*Histoire de la Littérature Hindoui et Hindoustanië*] before I knew about the biography by Kamāl; this work made me change my opinion and brought about the Special Notice that I published in 1843 in the *Journal Asiatique*. In the *Histoire*, I had followed Faḥ ‘Alī Ḥusainī Gurdēzī [Gardēzī] who attributed to another Sa‘dī the Hindustani verses that were credited to the celebrated poet from Shiraz according to a persistent tradition in India.

The knowledgeable Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta [Sprenger] argues as follows: Qā‘im, who compiled his *Tazkira* in 1754, is the first Indian biographer to claim, in accordance with a popular tradition of his time, that Sa‘dī composed verses in Hindustani. But Gurdēzī, who wrote a [literary] biography three years earlier, rejected that opinion, and identified the real author of the poetry attributed to Sa‘dī. It is possible that Qā‘im, whose testimony is being invoked here, would not have made his assertion, had he been aware of its refutation by Gurdēzī, except that the latter’s work had not reached him.

I do not find it difficult to accept that Qā‘im’s claim is based on a well-recognized Indian account; in effect what Gurdēzī disputed was not Qā‘im’s claim, which he [Gurdēzī] did not know, but an opinion that was prevalent among his compatriots. Perhaps Qā‘im would have changed his opinion, had he known about its repudiation by Gurdēzī. While this much is acceptable, [it is also worth considering that] Kamāl, who was knowledgeable about all biographies that preceded his own, in the north as well as the south and including Gurdēzī’s, and was, in my opinion, well-informed about the objections against the popular tradition, chose, nevertheless, to dismiss these objections, and reproduced and corroborated Qā‘im’s assertion. Moreover, he maintained that opinion until 1843, as must be concluded from the regrettable letter that was written to me in that year by Mr. Newbold from Karnol in the Presidency of Madras and was published around the same time in the *Journal Asiatique* [(1843, 361–69)]. Kamāl lived for another forty years or more in the Deccan, so he must also have learned about this [other] Sa‘dī with whom, according to Gurdēzī, people had confused the famous Shīrāzī poet.

So here are two very strong, opposite opinions supported by well-known authors of biographies of Indian poets. Qā‘im and Kamāl count Sa‘dī of Shiraz among Hindustani poets, and attest that he wrote Rekhta

verses during his stay in India. Contrarily, Gurdēzī, Mīr Taqī, and Shōrish think that the Sa‘dī who composed Hindustani poetry is a different person. I am omitting the other biographers who are silent on this matter. Hence Gurdēzī is the first to mention the Sa‘dī from the Deccan, of whom we know neither the given name nor any titles, for “Sa‘dī” is just an adjective derived from “*sa‘d*,” that is, good fortune. So could this Sa‘dī, whose other names are unknown and about whom there is no other information, not be the same as Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, and called Dakkani, or of the Deccan, because he wrote the verses in question while living in that part of India, and in the Dakkani dialect of Hindustani belonging to that region? As long as it is not ascertained who Sa‘dī Dakkani is, one may rightfully doubt his existence. And even if this person happens to be real, it does not entail that Sa‘dī Shīrāzī could not have composed poetry in Hindustani.

What the tradition conveys will always remain quite probable even if it cannot be considered certain. For, why is it that Sa‘dī, who traveled through India on several occasions and must have been obliged to speak its common language, could not have composed poetry in that language, just as he did in Arabic? But the tradition goes beyond saying that Sa‘dī wrote poetry in Hindustani. It further claims that Sa‘dī met Amīr Khusrau during his visit to Delhi, and the latter, who has, undoubtedly, written a large number of Hindustani verses, wrote them only to emulate the famous author [Sa‘dī] whom he admired so much.

—Translated from French by S. Kamal Abdali

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