

NOTES ON THE TEXT

PAGE 3. (1.) *rubā-iyāt*. *Rubā-īs* are essentially *single* poems, each complete in itself, like the epigrams of classical literature. They are the *obiter dicta* of poets, and although, when collected for publication, they may be arranged according to the subjects treated of, it does not necessarily follow that those even under the same heading were written at the same time, or under the same circumstances, or that there is any such thread of connexion between them as there is between the stanzas of an English poem. They must be supposed to have been uttered (many of them doubtless *impromptu*) with relevance to some casual occurrence, objective or subjective, which stirred the poet's mind at the time; and being *condensed* utterances they naturally express the poet's views on any subject in its different aspects only by one aspect at a time.

(2.) *tauhīd*. The doctrine of 'tauhīd' is contained in the verse of the Qur-ān (S. 112), 'qul huwa l ilāhu -ahadun,' 'Say, "God is One (God)."' A Muslim writer in an American journal (the *Threshold Lamp* of Chicago) expresses himself as follows: 'The whole mansion of Islām is built upon the infallible doctrine of *Towheed* or the Blessed Oneness. What is required is the fullest conception, nay, the innermost feeling and the perfect realization of Oneness, which is Harmony. The following are the different stages of arriving at this happy end:

- (1) Believing in Oneness,
- (2) Seeking Oneness,
- (3) Knowing Oneness, and
- (4) Realizing Oneness.

The elementary teachings of Islām commence with the simple belief in Oneness. "Qul howallāhu ahad."

(3.) Q. 1. The word *jigar* means literally the *liver*, considered to be the seat of all physical, as 'dīl' (the heart) is of all mental affections. 'jigar men kāntā' is almost exactly equivalent to 'a thorn in the flesh.' *ḥalqa* here means the ring which is the badge of slavery; 'ḥalqa ba goṣh' (ring in ear) is a Persian epithet of a slave. *bhaṭkā* from 'bhaṭaknā' (to stray) is used of a cow or bullock that has forsaken the herd. The word *khaṭkā* has a duplicate, 'khaṭkā,' and both originally meant any startling sound, as in the proverb 'khaṭkā hu-ā, ḥor -ubhrā' (there was a creak, and the thief made off), but the form 'khaṭkā' is used metaphorically for anything which causes a sudden interruption or revulsion of feeling.

(4.) Q. 3. The phrase *ākkar khānā* means literally 'to eat circles.' A similar phrase is 'bal khānā' (to eat a twist), which is used of anything being twisted or bent. The phrase *sar ṭakrānā* means literally 'to dash the head' (against a wall or floor), and is applied to the action of men or animals in the agony produced by thirst, especially in cases of hydrophobia.

PAGE 5. (5.) Q. 4. *shash jihat* (the six aspects) means the opposite points of the three dimensions, i. e. the two opposites of extreme length, the two opposites of extreme breadth, and the two opposites of extreme height and depth.

(6.) Q. 5. *ḥā jānā* is the intensive form of 'ḥānā,' which means 'to cover in like a roof.' *japwānā* is the second causal of the verb 'japnā,' which is the technical Hindī expression for repeating sacred names in prayer or meditation. The words *sukh* and *dukh* are constantly opposed to each other in the sense of the English antitheses, pleasure and pain, weal and woe, for better for worse, &c. Thus a couplet of Bihārī Lāl runs:

'diragha sānsa na lehi dukha: sukha sā-in hī na bhūl;
'da-i, da-i,' kyūn kahata hai: da-i da-i, sō qabūl.'

'Heave not long-drawn sighs (in) affliction: (in) prosperity forget not (thy) Lord (or, as some explain it, 'forget not [the] Lord [who is thy true] happiness'); Why is (any one) saying, "da-i, da-i" (i. q. "Oh dear! Oh dear!")? (whatever) God has given, that (must be) accepted.'

(7.) Q. 7 and 8. It will be noticed that in the last line of Q. 7 the word *aur* (and), coming after a pause, has to be pronounced with a hamza, and that in effect the metre requires it to have the same quantity (-) as the word -*aur* (other) in the first line of Q. 8. But even so, it is obvious that the articulation of the latter word differs from that of the former, since, in order that its initial hamza may be pronounced, the final consonant of the preceding word is dropped, the particle *par* becoming *pa*. The same is the case with the 'par' before the word '-*asrār*' (the Arabic plural of *sirr*, a secret) in the second line of Q. 7. And in the fourth line of Q. 20 the word *ek* (in Persian *yak*) is reduced to *ik* in order that the hamza of '-*aur*' (other) may be retained without spoiling the metre.

PAGE 7. (8.) *na-t*. This word, meaning 'description' and then 'commendation,' is always used in connexion with Muhammad, the word *ḥamd* (praise) being restricted to praise offered to God. In all books written by Muslim authors praise comes first, and after it follows 'na-t'; as a Persian poet says:

'pas az ḥamd ē dādār na-t e nabi st.'

(next after praise of the Bestower of justice (i. e. God) is commendation of the prophet). The translations of the three following Quatrains are, I believe, fairly accurate verbally, but of course I do not know whether I have grasped their full meaning.

PAGE 9. (9.) Q. 12. *suḷḥ e kull* means literally 'reconciliation of the universe.' It is quite in accordance with convention that this subject should follow immediately after the exordium of praise and thanksgiving, but the very practical treatment which it receives in this Quatrain is anything but conventional. There are two idioms in the Quatrain which deserve notice. First, the occurrence between two clauses of a negative which is common to both. This is a purely Hindī idiom. It occurs in the *Padumāwati* of Malik Muhammad Jāyāsī, written in 1540 A. D., and now being edited by Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E.:

'pāyanba pahiri lehu saba pawanri;
kāṅṭa ḥubha-i, na ḡara-i -anḡarawari.'

'(On your) feet put, all (of you), sandals; that (no) thorn may prick (you) nor bit of flint pierce (you).' The technical name of a negative so used is 'de-ḡṭhī dipak,' i. e. 'a light on the threshold' (illuminating the space behind as well as

¹ The metre is 0--- | 0--- | 0--- | 0-||

the space in front of it). Other instances of the idiom will be found in Qs. 37, line 2; 59, 1; 60, 1 and 2; 74, 4; and 90, 4. Secondly, the *postulative* use of the tense which is generally called 'the aorist,' but really belongs to the imperative mood. The words *laren* (fight), *karen* (do), and *baḥen* (escape), which may be either in the first or the third person plural, occur in clauses which are explanatory of the words '-is bihiṣṭ' (this paradise) in the fourth line. The paradise exists in the author's imagination, and therefore he cannot use the indicative mood in describing it, but makes his description into a demand upon the intelligence of his hearers. It is impossible to render the idiom into English without some periphrasis, because we have no similar mood of the verb, and make no difference, e. g. between the expressions 'I do' and 'I am doing.' In Hindustani *karūn* means 'I do,' not in the sense of 'I am doing,' but of 'assume that I do.' The indicative is *main kartā hūn* (I am doing), and it must always be used to translate the English 'I do' when the latter is intended as an assertion of a fact. In one of Hāli's *ghazals* there is a couplet which may be compared with the last two lines of this quatrain:

'phirte -idhar -udhar ho kis kī talāsh men tum?
gum hai tumbhūn mēn, yāro! bāgh e -iram tumbhārā.¹

(Wandering hither and thither of what are you in search? Missed (by you) here is in yourselves, comrades! your garden of Eden.)

(10.) Q. 13. This quatrain is prefixed to an account of the author's 'conversion,' which forms the preface to his chief poem, 'The Flow and Ebb of Islām.' The word *rāmkaḥānī* means literally 'the story of Rāma,' but is now a synonym for diffuse iteration.

PAGE 11. (11.) Q. 15. A friend, to whom I showed this Quatrain, quoted from Newman the lines—

'For rivers twain are gushing still,
And pour a mingled flood;
Good in the very depths of ill,
Ill in the heart of good.'

(12.) Q. 16. In the last words of this quatrain is an idiom, common in Hindustani, but exactly opposed to the English idiom. The full sentence would be '-agar jī hai, to jahān hai,' 'if life is here' (hai means 'here is' rather than 'there is') 'then the world is here.' In English we drop the 'then' of the second clause, but retain the 'if' of the first. In Hindustani the 'if' of the first clause is dropped, but not the 'then' of the second; compare the third line of Q. 42 and the second of Q. 96. The same idiom occurs four times in the following verse by a quaint religious poet of the seventeenth century named Bājīdā, who seems to have been half Hindū and half Musalmān:

'kunjara mana men matta—marai, to māriyai.
kāmini kanaka kalesa—ṭarai, to ṭāriyai.
hari bhaktana son neha—palai, to pāliyai.
par, hān! bājīdā,
rāma bhajana men deha—galai, to gāliyai.'

¹ The metre is --o | -o-- | --o | -o-- |

'The big elephant lusting in your mind—*if* (it) can die, kill (it).

Fretting about lady love or gold—*if* (it) can be shunned, shun (it).

Friendship with the worshippers of God—*if* (it) can be fostered, foster (it).

Above all, yes! Bājīdā,

In chanting God's praises, *if* (your) body be melted (away like wax), let it melt.'

N.B. In these lines the following differences from modern speech may be noted:—(1) The final short 'a' in the words 'kunjara' (big elephant), 'mana' (mind), 'matta' (ruttish), 'kanaka' (gold), 'kalesa' (fretting), 'neha' (love), 'rāma' (Rām, i. e. God), and 'deha' (body). (2) The termination 'ai' for 'e.' (3) The termination 'ana' for 'on' in 'bhaktana.' (4) The use of 'son' for 'se.' (5) The uninflected form 'bhajana' for 'bhajne' from 'bhajna' (to sing praises). Each line (except the short interjectory clause) contains twenty-one *moments*, with a pause after the eleventh.

(13.) Q. 18. -ek ādh (one, half) is a common phrase for a very limited number. It is possible that both words are genuine numerals, the occurrence of the lower after the higher numeral in such expressions being not infrequent; e. g. 'do -ek' (two, one) for 'one or two,' and 'das pānó' (ten, five) for 'five or ten.' But the phrase was probably a corruption of the Sanskrit '-ekādi' meaning 'one or more,' the termination 'ādi,' meaning 'beginning with,' being employed like our 'etcetera.'

PAGE 13. (14.) Q. 20. In the second line of this quatrain and in the third line of Q. 62 the allusion is to a passage of the Qur-ān (Sūra XVII, Ayat 14-16), which describes in figurative language how the record of every one's actions—or responsibilities—is bound about the neck of that person, and will be produced at the resurrection like an open book, which the soul will have to read, and testify against itself. The word 'khūn' means literally 'blood,' as in Q. 100, but is also used in the sense of 'bloodshed' or 'murder.'

(15.) Q. 22. The literal meaning of dam, a Persian word, is 'breath,' whence comes, as one of many metaphorical meanings, that of 'inspiration.' The literal meaning of qadam, an Arabic word, is 'the foot' (conceived as something which advances). The two words are often used together to express a harmony of practice and profession, e. g. in the sentence '-inhīn ke dam qadam kī barakat se ghar cāltā hai,' said of the mistress of a household, 'The house is kept going solely by the charm of her influence and example.' They are also used in antithesis, as in the lines:

'be qadam dam hāin khānaqāhon men;
be -amal -ilm hāin madāris men.'¹

i. e. 'In the religious guilds there are fervours without results; in the schools there are (stores of) learning without conduct.' ḥusn e guftār is literally 'beauty of speech,' but means 'beautiful speech.'

PAGE 15. (16.) Q. 23. The original meaning of jauhar is 'a gem' or 'pearl,' but it has come to mean that special quality or virtue in anything which makes it what it is. Thus it is used of the grain or temper of a sword, and of the germinating

¹ The metre is -o-- | o-o- | -- ||

power in a bud or seed, and still more generally, as here, in the sense of worth or excellence.

(17.) Q. 24. The word *pīr* means 'aged'; thus '*pīr zāl*' or '*pīr zan*' means 'a decrepit old woman,' an epithet often applied by poets to Fate. But it has the special meaning of a spiritual guide or director, to whom a '*ṭalīb*,' i. e. a 'seeker' (of religious knowledge), makes a vow (*bai-at*) of allegiance. In Q. 26 '*pīr e mughān*' (the abbot of the Magi, or fireworshippers) is a cant term for the keeper of a tavern, since in Persia, although many Muslims indulged in wine, the making and selling of it was restricted to the non-Muslim population.

PAGE 19. (18.) Q. 32. This quatrain appears to have been modelled upon one written by a religious poet, Mir Hāmīd, who lived at Lucknow at the end of the eighteenth century:

'dunyā -ē dānī kō jo ki fānī samjhe,
wuh qisṣa -ē -umr ko kahānī samjhe.
daryā -ē haqiqat kō wuhī jāwe tair,
jo miṣl ē ḥabāb zindagānī samjhe.'

'One who acknowledges this poor world to be merely fleeting, will consider the story of his whole lifetime to be an idle tale. He alone may swim across the broad river of reality, who regards *life* as being like a bubble.' The contrast in the treatment of the subject is noticeable.

(19.) Q. 34. The word *-idbār* (retrogression or reverse) is the opposite of '*-iqbāl*' (success). The two words occur together in the lines—

'hai kahīn -iqbāl kī naubat, kahīn -idbār kī;
sab ko karnī hogī pūrī -apnī -apnī bāriyān.'¹

'The boom of success is somewhere, (and the boom) of reverse is somewhere;
All (nations) will have to complete their own allotted periods.'

PAGE 21. (20.) Q. 35. The word *-alāmat* in the heading has been rendered by 'diagnosis,' but it means strictly the paramount *symptom* upon which a diagnosis is based, and the technical term for diagnosis itself is '*tashkhis*' (specification). The word *nifāq* is here used in its Persian meaning of 'deceit' (properly, trying to get the better of a person in a bargain). In Hindustani it generally has the meaning of 'selfishness' or 'want of esprit de corps,' and is contrasted with '*-ittifāq*,' i. e. 'union' (for the common good).

(21.) Q. 37. *gurg* is the Persian, and *bheriyā* (sheepslayer) the Hindī term for 'wolf.' '*bher*' and '*bherī*' are respectively the terms for 'ram' and 'ewe,' but '*bher*' may include both.

PAGE 23. (22.) Q. 40. In the phrase *na-mā wa -ayādī* the first word, which is really an Arabic *singular* noun having the same meaning as '*ni-mat*' (a boon) appears to be used as if it were the plural of that word instead of '*ni-am*.' I have seen the curiously hybrid phrase '*na-mā -e ne'ār*' (i. q. bounties of nature) applied to the budding leaves and flowers of spring. '*-ayādī*' is the Arabic plural of '*-aidī*,' which is itself the plural of '*yad*,' literally 'a hand,' used metaphorically for that which helps. With reference to the sentiment in the last two lines it

¹ The metre is -o-- | -o-- | -o-- | -o-||

may be remarked that '*-ilm*' (knowledge) always implies, in the first place, a knowledge of the Qur-ān, which is regarded as the source of all other knowledge. Hindustani writers have been forced to borrow the term '*sāyans*' (science) from the English language. The following quotation out of Professor Browne's *Literary History of Persia* (p. 405) is as applicable to India as to Persia:

'The truth is, that there is a profound difference between the Persian idea of Religion and that which obtains in the West. Here it is the ideas of Faith and Righteousness (in different proportions, it is true) which are regarded as the essentials of Religion; there it is Knowledge and Mystery. Here Religion is regarded as a rule by which to live and a hope wherein to die; there as a key to unlock the Secrets of the Spiritual and Material Universe. Here it is associated with Work and Charity; there with Rest and Wisdom.'

But it must be added that the whole tendency of the new school of thought in India is directly in favour of associating religion closely with work and charity, and indeed with work of the most practical kind and charity involving great self-denial.

PAGE 25. (23.) Q. 45. The word *yhān* (here) in the second line may simply mean 'in this world.' But I believe it is here used in a peculiar and very idiomatic way. The poet apparently imagines two self-registering scales, one for reason, and one for affection. As the indicator on the one scale goes up or down, so will the indicator on the other move backwards or forwards. In such a case the *observations* would be described as being made first '*wahān*' (there), and afterwards '*yahān*' (here). These two words are frequently used in connexion with the two sides of an account, the receipts being '*yahān*' and the disbursements '*wahān*,' or vice versa, according to the order in which the one is checked by the other; what is looked at first is '*wahān*,' and what is looked at afterwards is '*yahān*.' The word '*ziddain*' is an Arabic *dual*. The sentiment is much the same as that expressed by Joubert in the words '*Qui n'est jamais dupe, n'est pas ami*.'

PAGE 27. (24.) Q. 47. It will be noticed that the Persian phrase *-aish o ṭarab* (lit. life and mirth), in which two nouns, both borrowed from Arabic, are coupled together, is treated in Hindustani as a single noun, and apostrophized with the pronoun '*tū*' (thou). There are many Persian phrases of this description which become single nouns in Hindustani, the most common instance being '*-āb o hawā*' (water and air), which means simply 'climate.' A similar instance is '*-aish o -ishrat*' (lit. life and society), which is the heading of Q. 46. The word *-aish* means mere *animal* life.

(25.) Q. 48. The word *hī* after '*burā-i*' (badness) in the third line is an emphatic particle. As employed in Q. 76 it merely throws a stress upon the words it follows, such as would be denoted in English type by the use of italics. But the emphasis laid upon a word often becomes a device for restricting the meaning of the rest of the sentence to that particular word, so that '*hī*' may often be translated, as in this Quatrain, by 'only' or 'alone.' It is so used in the third line of Q. 11 and in the first two lines of Q. 61.

(26.) Q. 49. The word *-ishq* here means pure but exaggerated devotion to a single object of affection. It does not exactly correspond to the English word

'love,' but there is no other single word in English by which it could be more accurately translated. It does not in the least imply sensuality, which is indeed contrasted with it, as in the lines :

'bu l hawas -ishq ki jazzat se khabardār nahīn ;
hain ma' -e nāb ke dallāl, qadaḥ khwār nahīn.'¹

'Sensual men (lit. fathers of lust) are not acquainted with the exquisite taste of Love. They are *brokers* ('dallāl' is a term of contempt) of pure wine, quaffers of the cup they are not.' But it does imply an absorption of a man's soul in some one object outside of him, which hinders him from the discharge of his obligations to society in general. Viewed in this light it is naturally something to be condemned by a practical reformer.

(27.) Q. 50. Of course the moral of this Quatrain is not that the influence of any lady is necessarily pernicious, nor that the theories of any highly educated man are necessarily unpractical, but that the abandonment of his own responsibilities by a ruler, whether from indolence, or in deference to popular clamour, must be prejudicial to the interests of his subjects.

PAGE 29. (28.) Q. 51. The writer already quoted in Note 2 divides the followers of Islām into three classes. First, the '-ahl e dunyā,' or 'people of the world.' These are the 'majority of men,' who make it their business 'to acquire and share with others worldly comforts, and to promote the happiness of the world by the increase of wealth, power, and all the requisites of an unselfish civilization.' Secondly, the '-ahl e -ilm' or 'people of learning,' whose 'exclusive study is the Qur-ān and Hadīs' (i.e. the sayings of Muhammad originally handed down by tradition), 'who are supported by the Government of the country or the general public, and are expected to devote their whole time to the study and teaching of religion.' Thirdly, the '-ahlu l lāh' or 'people of God,' whose sole concern is 'to exercise the mind and kindle the sacred fire within those who come in contact with them'; 'who live in the world,' and are 'at all times available for the real service and true education of men.' The two latter classes together represent what is spoken of in the Quatrain as 'dīn,' i.e. the spiritual life, as distinct from 'dunyā,' the life of the world. To quote the same writer once more: 'The realization of Oneness . . . reaches its highest limits only when a harmonized life is actually and universally led in the world. This has all along been the chief distinction in Islām, which has very boldly discouraged the life of a recluse.' ('lā rahbāniyata fil-islām,' *there is no monasticism in Islām*, is a proverb.) 'If you have acquired the blessings of existence, and realized the object of life, it is only fair that you should *live* them, and not that you should retire to a cave and rest in self-enjoyment; for the latter, however pure and godly, is after all a kind of selfishness, even though a spiritual selfishness.' The word -ihsān means properly a 'kindness' or 'favour' (as in Q. 93), but the phrase 'kiā (A) kā -ihsān kiā (B) par honā' is a common mode of expressing the obligation resting upon some one (B) for a favour conferred on him by some one (A).

¹ The metre is $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \\ \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \end{array}$

(29.) Q. 52. -āzādagān is the Persian plural of the word '-āzāda,' of which '-āzād' (Q. 8) is an abbreviation. The word means 'liberated,' and hence 'free,' and also 'generous.' It is the appellative of a certain class of devotees, who are bound to live a holy life, but are exempt from the purely ceremonial observances of religion. It often has the meaning of our word 'unconventional,' but always in a good sense. The epitaph which the poet Ghālib (whose life in some points resembled that of the German poet Heine) wrote for himself, runs:

'yih la-sh be kafan -asad' e khasta jān ki hai ;
ḥaq maghfirat kare! -ajab 'āzād mard thā.'

'This corpse without a shroud is Asad's of the shattered life;
God grant him grace! a marvellous untamed man he was.'

In this quatrain the epithet is plainly used with reference to Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khān bahādūr and his followers, who were accused of perverting the truths of religion, branded with the name of 'ne'ārī' (from the English word 'nature'), and generally regarded much as students of German literature and philosophy were regarded in England in the middle of the last century.

PAGE 31. (30.) Q. 56. In the dictionaries little, if any, distinction is made between the meanings of 'mushkil' and 'dushwār,' which are alike rendered by the word 'difficult.' But, as used by Hāli at all events, 'dushwār' implies a far greater degree of difficulty than 'mushkil.' This is evident from their use in the first line of the following stanzas, which I quote in full as an instance of Hāli's teaching, from a poem called 'nang e khidmat,' which means literally 'The nakedness of (Government) service.' After summing up the condition of Muhammadan families in India under the new régime, he says:

'jin kō mangūr hāi mushkil kō na dushwār karen',
cāhiye sa-y ō mushaqqat se na wuh -ār karen.
ho muyassar jinhēn, wuh khidmat ē sarkār karen ;
warna mazdūrī -ō miḥnat sar ē bāzār karen.
-abrū -is men hāi, shān is men hāi, -izzat -is men,
fakhr -is men hāi, shāraf -is men, shārafat -is men.
pesha sikhēn kō-y, fan sikhēn, sanā-at sikhēn !
kisht kārī karen, -ā-in ē falāhat sikhēn !
ghar se niklen, kāhīn -ādāb ē siyāhat sikhēn !
-al gharāz mard banen, jur-at ō himmat sikhēn !
kahīn taslīm karen jā kē na -ādāb karen ;
khud wasila banen, aur apnī madad -āp karen.'

'Those (young men of the present age) who approve of not making a difficult ("mushkil") situation desperate ("dushwār") it behoves not to shrink from any effort or toil. Those who can get employment under Government, let them take it. Otherwise let them in any case work even as day-labourers in the market-place.

¹ The poet's name was -asadu l lāh (the Lion of God); 'ghālib' was his *nom de plume*. The metre of these lines is $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \\ \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \end{array}$

¹ The metre is $\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \\ \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---} \quad | \end{array}$

'There is self-respect in this, there is dignity in it, there is honour in it; there is proper pride in it, and nobility, and a noble attitude.

'Let them learn some profession, some trade, some handicraft. Let them cultivate their fields, and discover the first principles of national prosperity. Let them come out of their homes and acquire the *savoir faire* derived from travelling. In a word let them become *men*, and learn self-confidence and courage.

'Let them no longer go about bowing and scraping (to patrons); let them make themselves their means of advancement, and each assist himself.'

PAGE 33. (31.) Q. 59. The Nawáb Ziyá-uddín Ahmad Khán bahádur was a younger son of Fakhrü d daula Nawáb Ahmad Bakhsh Khán, a military commander in the service of the Rajah of Alwar, who joined the force of Lord Lake in his campaign against the Mahrattas, and who was the ancestor of the present Nawáb of Lohárü in the Panjáb. The poet Ghálib was connected with this family hereditarily and by marriage. Ziyá-uddín was one of Ghálib's literary disciples (as also was Háli), and used the *nom de plume* ('*takhallus*') of Naiyar. He is said to have been a man of great learning and literary taste, but of weak physique, and to have led a very retired life. The word 'zár,' as applied to a nightingale, is correctly rendered by 'plaintive,' but it also means 'thin,' and is applied to people of delicate health. It is used in this latter sense by Naiyar of himself in the couplet:

'-ānkhon mēn dushmanon kē khaṭaktā hūn, miśl ē khār;
-ihsān hai yih mujh pa mēre jism ē zār kā.¹

'In the eyes of (my) enemies I rankle like a thorn: this is the favour upon me of my spare body' (i. e. I cannot help it. I have to thank my spare frame, resembling a thorn, for it). By the 'kabk e ṣannāz' (the ever-jesting chakor) there is little doubt that Ghálib himself is intended. The date of Ghálib's death is 1285 A. H., corresponding with 1869 A. D. Naiyar died seventeen years later in 1302 A. H.

(32.) Q. 60. Of the poets mentioned in this quatrain by far the most eminent is Ghálib. His proper name and titles (the latter conferred by the last king of Dehli) are in full 'Najmu d daula, dabíru l mulk, Asadu l lāh Khán bahádur, Nizām e jang' (Star of the commonwealth, annalist of the empire, Asadullāh Khán the brave, a director of warfare). He was born at Agra, in the house of his maternal grandfather, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, and was a boy of six or seven when Lord Lake broke up the Mahratta power in Northern India. His father and uncle, both soldiers of fortune of high Turkish lineage, died while he was quite young, leaving their estates, held on military tenure, to be commuted by the English Government for pensions on the treasury. He was therefore brought up in his maternal grandfather's home, amid luxurious surroundings quite out of keeping with his future prospects in a country where high and low were being reduced to the same level. When he came to years of discretion, he found himself with a secure income of only £70 a year, although already married into a family still enjoying great wealth and power, and having in himself an innate propensity to exercise all the prerogatives of rank and

¹ The metre is --o | -o-o | o--o | -o--||

fortune. At any other period of Indian history his extraordinary talents would have secured for him the means of gratifying his passion for munificent generosity without sacrificing his hereditary pride. As it was, his long life, crowned with a lingering illness, was nothing but a series of disappointments and mortifications, which would have soured the minds of most men, but in his case became a stimulus, not only to greater exertion, but to more exuberant mirth and good nature. Out of every grief of his own he could extract a jest for the amusement of his friends; and probably no man in India ever had a larger circle of friends of all races and religions, or was more beloved even by men who were least blind to his failings. To be near his wife's relations he settled, while still young, in Dehli, and after the death of the poet Zauq, in 1854 A. D., he became poet laureate to the last king of Dehli on a salary of £60 a year. He derived most of his income, however, from the presents made to him by other more wealthy admirers of his genius, and notably the Nawáb of Rámpúr, who was his constant benefactor, and supported him for more than two years after the capture of Dehli in 1857, during which time Ghálib was deprived by the English Government of his ancestral pension on suspicion of complicity with the mutineers. To clear himself of that imputation, which was subsequently admitted to have been unfounded, he wrote in pure Persian, without a single word of Arabic origin, a history of his experiences in Dehli during the siege, showing that he was in fact a captive in his own house. It is curious that while he rested his own claims to fame upon his Persian works and especially his Persian poems, he is already more widely known even in India by the collection of his private letters written in Hindustani, the publication of which was undertaken by his friends, somewhat against his will, and issued only in the year of his death. There is a charm in these letters which even foreigners cannot help appreciating. At the risk of making this note too long, I quote two passages from an elegiac ode written by Háli himself after the death of his 'master.' The first bears witness to the indefinable magic of Ghálib's manner in his writings and conversation. The stanza begins with the couplet:

'bulbul e hind margayā, haihāt!
jis kī thī bāt bāt men -ik bāt.¹

And proceeds, after some lines:

'lākh mazmūn—aur us kī -ek ṭhaṭhol;
sau takalluf—aur us kī sidhi bāt.
dil mēn chubtā thā, wuh -agar ba maṣal
din kō kahtā din, aur rāt kō rāt.
ho gayā naqsh dil pa, jo likkhā;
qalam us kā thā, aur -us kī dawāt.
thīn, tō dihlī mēn -us kī bāten thīn;
le calen -ab waṭan kō kyā soghāt?
-us kē marne sē mar ga-i dihlī;
khwāja noṣha thā, aur shahr barāt.'

¹ The metre is --o-- | o--o | o--o | --o--||

The first couplet contains an allusion to an old and well-known Hindī proverb, 'jaise kele ke pāt, pāt pāt men pāt: taise gyāni kī bāt, bāt bāt men bāt.' ('As the leaves of a banana, within leaf and leaf a leaf: so the talk of a wise man, within word and word a word.') The translation of the lines is:

'The nightingale of India has died, Alas! : in whose every word was a (something to produce another) word. . . . A lakh of essays (or speeches)—and *his* one jest: a hundred elaborations—and a word from *him* straight (to the point). It pricked (you) in the heart, if he for example: called the daytime "day," and the night "night." Whatever he wrote became imprinted on the heart: the pen was his, and his was the inkpot. If there was (anything to be procured) in Dehli, it was his sayings: what *presents* can people take back to the home now (from Dehli)? With his dying Dehli has died: the veteran was (still) a bridegroom, and the (whole) city bridegroom's friends.' The allusion here is to Ghālib's nickname of 'Mirzā Nosha' (Prince Bridegroom), which, given to him in his youth on account of his good looks, stuck to him through life. The word 'barāt' means the bridegroom's party, i. e. all his friends and acquaintances, who go with him to claim his bride and escort her to her new home. So the whole population of Dehli followed Ghālib to his grave. Another stanza, in which his moral character is portrayed, may be quoted in full:

'kyā hāī jis men wuh mard ē kār na thā?
-ik zamāna, ki sāzgār na thā.
shā-iri kā kiyā ḥaqq us nē -adā;
par kō-i -us kā ḥaqq guzār na thā.
be ṣila madh, o shi-r be taḥsin :-
sukhan us kā kisi pa bār na thā.
nazr ē sā-il thī jān tak; lekin
darkhwar e himmat 'iqūdar na thā.
milk o daulat sē bahrawar na hu-ā;
jān dene pa -ikhṭiyār na thā.
khāksāron sē khāksār thī;
sar balandū sē -inkisār na thā.
lab pa, -aḥbāb se bhī, thā na gilā;
dil mēn, -a-dā sē bhī, ghubār na thā.
beriyā-i thī zuhd ke badle,
zuhd -us kā -agar shi-ār na thā.
-aisē paidā kahān hāin mast o kharāb?
ham nē mānā ki hoshyār na thā.
mazhar e shān ē ḥusn ē fitrat thā;
ma-nī -e lafz ē -ādmīyat thā.'

'What is there' (in English we should say 'what was there') 'in which he was not a man (capable) of achievement? : it was only the *age* in which he lived, that was not in his favour. Of the poet's office he discharged the (utmost) due: but there was not any one to render (him) *his* due. His tributes of praise (were left) without guerdon, his poems without appreciation: his verse was never (made) a heavy load upon any one.' (The meaning here is that Ghālib never

condescended, like many poets, to employ satire or invective as a means of forcing himself on the notice of the great.) '(All he had) even to his life was at the service of an applicant; but: his power of giving was never equal to his generous spirit. (For) of land and wealth he acquired no portion: and for giving away his life he had no warrant. With the humble (his demeanour) was (that of) humility: with the haughty it was not (that of) self-abasement. On his lips, even with friends, there was no word of repining: in his heart, even for enemies, there was no dust (of rancour). Freedom from hypocrisy was (in him) a substitute for strictness of life: if strictness of life was not his practice. Where (indeed) are any fevered sinners to be found like him? We have granted the fact that he was not a man of discretion.

'He was an illustration of the sublime creative power (of the Almighty): he was (an object-lesson of) the meaning of the word "Humanity."

Although it would be ridiculous to speak of Ghālib as a reformer, the influence which he exercised over the minds of his fellow countrymen undoubtedly prepared them for the acceptance of new ideas. He loosened the bands of prejudice and religious formalism, and kindled a spirit of generous philanthropy. He numbered among his personal friends not only Musalmāns and Hindūs, of widely different tenets, but also many Englishmen, and he had a hearty appreciation of the practical side of the English character. When Sir Saiyid Ahmad produced in early life his valuable edition of the 'A-in e Akbarī,' Ghālib twitted him with wasting his time, on the ground that to popularize English institutions was far more necessary to the age than unearthing the 'Institutions of Akbar.' A life of Ghālib, with an excellent critique on his writings, both Persian and Hindustani, has been written by Hāli under the title 'Yādgar e Ghālib.'

Shefta was the *nom de plume* of the Nawāb Mustafā Khān of Jahangīrābād, a great friend of Ghālib's, who died A. H. 1286. He was the author of many poems and also of a work, containing biographical notices of 600 Hindustani poets, called the 'Gulshan e bekhār.' Sālik's proper name was Mirzā Qurbān Ali beg; he was the author of a *diwān* or collection of *ghazals*. The other names I have been unable to identify.

The word *dāgh* means literally the mark left by a hot iron, but is used metaphorically for the aching void left in the heart after the death of a friend. The following lines are by a poet named Aishī ('-aishī'):

'tanhā māin -is jahān ki maḥfil mēn rah gayā;
aur dāgh ē hamrahān ē safar dil mēn rah gayā.'

'I am left behind alone in the assembly-room of this world; and in my heart an aching void is (all that is) left of the companions of my journey.'

PAGE 35. (33.) Q. 66. With this quatrain the lines of Euripides may be compared:

αὐτός τι νῦν ἐρᾷ, χοῦται δαίμονας κάλει
τῷ γὰρ πονοῦντι χῶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει.

The word *-ibtidā* means 'the state of having made a start,' and *shart* e *-ibtidā* 'the condition (or stipulation) for having made a start.'

¹ The metre is ---| -o-o| o---o| -o-|

PAGE 37. (34.) Q. 67. The dignity of labour and the pleasure to be derived from strenuous effort and achievement are constantly insisted upon by Hāli. Compare Quatrains 32, 61, and 66, and the lines quoted in note 29. Even in his *ghazals*, a species of poetry essentially Asiatic, consisting of couplets strung together like beads on a necklace, with no thread of connexion but the rime, and intended to be sung at entertainments or social gatherings with the object of gratifying the senses rather than of stimulating the intellect, there occur such lines as the following:

'kamāl e kafshdozi -ilm ē -afāfūn sē bihtar hai;
yih wuh nukta hāi, samjhe jis kō mashshā-i na -ishrāqi.'¹

'Perfection in the cobbler's trade is better than the learning of Plato; this is a point which neither the Mashshā-i nor the Ishrāqi (sects, so named, of *illuminati*) have understood.' And again:

'kheton kō de lō pāni; -ab bah rahi hāi gangā.
kuč kar lō naujawāno! -uḥti jawāniyān hai.
fazl o hunar baron ke, gar tum mēn hon, tō jānen;
gar yih nahin, tō, bābā! wuh sab kahāniyān hai.'²

'Give water to your fields; now is the Ganges flowing. Do something, you young men! (while) the sap of youth is rising. The excellence and virtue of your ancestors, we shall acknowledge if they exist in you. If they are wanting here, old man! there they are all mere fables.' And again:

'rahege na, mallāh! yih din sadā;
kō-i din men gangā -utar jā-ēgi.'³

'O boatmen! these days will not last for ever; in a few days the Ganges will have ebbed itself away' (i. e. 'Ply your trade vigorously while there is time').

(35.) Q. 70. The word *wazifa* means 'daily allowance.' It is used here like our 'daily lesson' of a specified portion of the Qur-ān selected as a text for meditation. The literal translation of the last line is: 'As much water as your honor is in, (that depth) is known to me.'

PAGE 39. (36.) Q. 72. Although the idol-worshipper is here refuted by the materialist, in another of his poems Hāli reads a lesson to his own coreligionists from the conduct of idolaters. He says:

'-āti nahin hāi sharm tujhe, -ai khudā parast?
dil men kahin nishān nahin tere yaqin kā.
ji men tere hazāron guzarte hāin waswase,
hoti nahin qabul tēri -ek agar du-ā.
tujh se hazār martaba bihtar hāi but parast,
jis kā yaqin hāi terē yaqin se kahin siwā.
wuh māngtā buton sē murāden hāi -umr bhar,
go hājat us ki -un sē hu-i hai, na ho, rawā.

¹ The metre is 0--- | 0--- | 0--- | 0--- ||

² The metre is ---0 | ---0 | ---0 | ---0 ||

³ The metre is 0--- | 0--- | 0--- | 0--- ||

-ātā nahin yaqin mēn -us ke kabhi qušūr;
-ummīd -us ki roz fuzūn hāi atir 'iltijā.
tū banda -e gharāz hāi; wuh rāzi rizā pa hai;
wuh hai ki yih hāi bandagi? -ai banda -e khudā!

'Comes there not shame to you, O worshipper of God? (when) in thy heart there is not anywhere a trace of assurance. A thousand (unworthy) suggestions pass through thy soul, if a single prayer of thine is left unaccepted. The worshipper of idols is better than thou a thousand degrees, whose faith is to some extent in excess of thine. All his life long he begs his wishes from (stone) images; although his need has never been sped, nor can be sped, by them. (Yet) no falling off in his assurance ever occurs; his hope increases daily, and (so does) his supplication. Thou servest thy own end; he rests content on (God's) will. Is that or is this service? O servant of God!'

(37.) Q. 74. A sentiment similar to that expressed in this quatrain occurs in a couplet from the same *ghazal* which was quoted in note 19:

'zist be-qaqlon kō ho jā-e ba sar karni muhāl,
-itni bhī, -ai -āqlo! -acēhi nahin hushyāriyān.'

'Suppose that carrying on life should be rendered altogether impracticable for the stupid—such great clevernesses as *this*, O men of wisdom! are also not good.' In this couplet the construction is similar to that noticed in Note 9. The words '-itni hushyāriyān' (clevernesses to this extent) in the second line are a summing-up of the description in the first line, which is not asserted but merely postulated. In English we should transpose the whole sentence, and say: 'Even your clevernesses, O men of wisdom! are not good, if they are carried to such an extent as to make life for less wise people unendurable.'

(38.) Q. 78. *bandh lo* means literally 'tie on.' Food for a journey is constantly carried in a fold of the long and broad strip of cloth (called *kamarband*), which is gathered together and wrapped tightly round the loins like a belt.

PAGE 43. (39.) Q. 80. The words *waqt e zawāl*, if applied to the sun, would mean the hour of its declension (from the meridian); but that is clearly not the meaning here. The fact is that 'zawāl' from meaning 'declension' has come to mean loss of power or deterioration of any kind, as in Q. 90. It is thus applied to the waning of the moon, and is contrasted with 'kamāl,' which means the fullness of the moon or the acme of perfection. There is a Persian proverb, 'har kamāle rā zawāle,' meaning that everything which has reached its best begins to fall off.

(40.) Q. 81. The word *bigārnā* means 'to go bad' or 'be spoilt,' and is applied not only to material objects such as milk, fruit, &c., but also to the health, as in Q. 77, the tempers, and the dispositions of living animals. Hence, used of friends, it often means 'to quarrel,' as in Q. 19. The active form of the verb (meaning to spoil or cause a quarrel) is 'bigārnā.' The noun *bigār* is also used either of physical or of mental change for the worse.

(41.) Q. 82. In the words 'kaifiyat e shab -uḥā cūke' there is a double meaning, which cannot be preserved in English. Literally they mean '(we) have finished picking up, i. e. experiencing, the quality of the night.' The word

'kaifiyat' (quality) may be used of experiences either joyful or the reverse; and 'shab' may be used either in the sense of 'night,' dark and gloomy, or in the sense of 'an evening reception,' lit up with all that is attractive to the senses. Thus the sentence might either be paraphrased, 'We have had quite as much as we wanted of the dark night,' or—put into the mouths of guests taking leave of a host whose entertainment they had enjoyed, and who was pressing them to stay—it might be rendered, 'We have already spent a most delightful evening.' In reality the two meanings are combined. The poet looks back upon his past life not without pleasure, but hails the approach of old age as a prelude to something better. 'shubh e pīri' (the dawn of old age) is a familiar expression for the appearance of white hairs on the head or in the beard.

PAGE 45. (42.) Q. 83. The phrase hāth dhonā (lit. to wash the hands of) is a very common metaphor for expressing despair.

(43.) Q. 85. naṣīb e -a-dā! is an interjection meaning '(be it) the lot of enemies!' i. e. *not* of you or me.

PAGE 49. (44.) Q. 92. The author appends a note to this Quatrain, from which it appears that he had for some time given up writing poetry, when he received some appreciative verses from Maulavi Salīm uddīn (Taslīm) of Nārno, which encouraged him to further efforts.

PAGE 51. (45.) Q. 96. The income tax is known in India as 'the tax' *par excellence*. It was believed to have been originally imposed as a punishment for the mutiny of the Sepoys in 1857.

(46.) Q. 98. dam bharnā has the meaning both of 'drawing a breath,' and also of 'boasting.' The literal meaning is to fill air into (something). Thus 'dam bhar,' which is commonly used for 'one moment,' means the time it takes to make (or fill in) one inspiration.

PAGE 53. (47.) Q. 100. Asafjāh was the title of the celebrated Chīn Kilich Khān, a warrior of Turkish descent, who was Viceroy of the Dekhan in the reigns of Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shāh, but became practically independent, and founded the dynasty which now rules at Haidarābād. He died in 1748 A.D., *vide* Elphinstone's *History of India*. The young nobleman in whose honour the quatrain was written is apparently a relation of the present Nizām of Haidarābād.

(48.) The literal translation of this Quatrain is: 'His remembrance, here (i. e. with me), is my own constant task. That cup is my own which—may it never be empty! How should (His name) not be taken? since the name is His; how should (the duty) not be done? since it is my own business.' The phrase 'nām lenā' (to take the name of) implies a great deal more than the mere repetition of a formula. 'khudā kā nām lo' (pronounce the name of God) is often said to any one who is on the point of doing anything wrong, in order to restrain him, and many an evil deed has been thus averted.

Since this is probably the first introduction of any living Hindustani poet to the British public, it may not be out of place to conclude this volume with a quotation from one of Hāli's poems, in which the blessings conferred on India by British rule are cordially but not cringingly acknowledged. It was written

on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1887 to accompany an address forwarded to her late Majesty Queen Victoria from the Anjuman e Islāmīya of Lahore. The first two lines, which rule the rime of the succeeding couplets, are:

'hai -īd yih kis jāshn kī, yā rab! kī sarāsar
hai jūbīlī hī jūbīlī -ek ēk kī zabān par!'¹

but the following couplets at the conclusion are especially addressed to the Queen:

'-ai nāzīsh ē bartāniya! -ai fakhr ē baranzik!
-ai hind kē gallā kī shubān, hind kī qaiṣar!
sac yih hāi, kī fatīh kō-y tujh sā nahīn guzrā—
mahmūd, na tīmūr, na dārā, na sikandar.
taskhīr faqat -aglōn nē -ālam kō kiyā thā;
aur tū nē kiyā hai dīl ē -ālam kō musakhkhar.

band apnē farāyīz mēn musalmān hāin na hindū;
ma-mūr masājīd hāin, tō -ābād hāin mandar.
bajtā hāi faqat ēarkh mēn -itwār kō ghanā;
sankh aur -azān bajtē hāin go roz barābar.

go minnat ē qaiṣar sē hāi har qaum girānbār,
-ihsān maḡar 'islām pa hāin -us kē girāntar.
ma-lūm hāi jo maurōn pa -ispen mēn guzrī,
jis waqt 'izabillā hu-y whān ṣāhib ē -afsar.
hālat wuhī -is mulk mēn pahūncī thī hamārī,
garā na -agar -us kē nishān hind mēn -ā kar.

-ab hind mēn kashmīr sē tā rās kamārī
har qaum kē hāin pīr ē jawān muttāfiq is par:
-ummīd nahīn hind kē rahāt talabon ko
rahāt kī, kisī sāya mēn juz sāya -ē qaiṣar.

gar barkatēn -is -ahd kī sab kījīyē tahrīr,
kāfī hāi na waqt us kē liye, aur na daftar.
hai -ab yih du-ā haq sē, kī -āfāq mēn jab tak
-āzādī -ē -insāf hukūmat kē hāin jauhar,
qaiṣar kē gharāne pa rahe sāya -ē yazdān!
aur hind kī naslon pa rahe sāya -ē qaiṣar!

'Cherished boast of Great Britain! O pride (of the house) of Brunswick! Good shepherd of the flocks of India, (who art called) Kaisar e Hind! This is but truth, that any conqueror like thee has not arisen—not Mahmūd, nor Tamurlane, nor Darius, nor Alexander. Those former (monarchs) brought only the *world* under subjection, and thou hast made subject to thee the *heart* of all the world.

'Neither Musalmāns nor Hindūs are straitened in their religious duties. If the mosques are well filled the temples also are frequented. The Bell peals in

¹ The metre is --o | o--o | o--o | o-- |

the sky upon Sundays only, though the Conch and the Azán are heard every day alike.

'Though all races are fruit-laden with the favours of the Kaisar, her kindnesses weigh still more richly¹ on the people of Islám. It is known to us what happened to the Moors in Spain, at the time when Isabella became possessed of its crown. That same plight had arrived also to us in this country had not *her* flag reached us and been planted in India.

'Now all over India, from Cashmere to Cape Comorin, the old and young of every race are unanimous upon this: there is no hope of repose to those who wish repose for India under any other shade save the shade of the Kaisar.

'Should one essay to put in writing all the blessings of this age, the time would not suffice, nor any volume, for the purpose. This then is our prayer to God, that as long as, from pole to pole, the wellsprings of (her) authority are Liberty and Justice, so long may God's shadow rest upon the family of the Kaisar, and a Kaisar's shadow rest upon the generations of India!'

¹ The word 'girán,' of which 'girāntar' is the comparative, means both 'heavy' and 'highly prized.' 'girānbār' is the epithet of a bough bending under the weight of its fruit.

FINIS.

WHILE this book was in the Press, a very beautiful edition of Háli's Quatrains, lithographed in the Persian character from the transcripts of an eminent Caligraphist, and containing a portrait of the Author, has been published in India by the Proprietor of the 'Námí Press,' Cawnpore.

On June 27 of this year, the Government of India conferred upon Háli the title of 'Shamsul-ulamá.'