

Home (1918) Department.
Education

Ordinary SERIES.

G.O. No. 493

DATED 18. 4. 18

INDEXED

[Despatch Abstract.]

Books and publications.-

Sanctioning the purchase of 3 copies of the first volume of the publication of the complete works of the Indian poet Amir Khusrau and informing the Honorary Secretary, M.A.O. College, Aligarh, that Government regret their inability to give any donation for the publication of the work.

PAPERS PUT UP WITH CURRENT No. _____

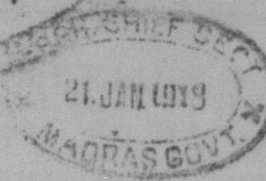
Papers of the department to which the current belongs.

Number.	Date.	Original (= O.) or spare copy (= S.O.)	Remarks. (In this column such of the papers as have been removed for copying, printing, etc., should be marked with a cross.)	Initials of Referencer with date in token of return to Reference department.

Papers of other departments.

Department.	Number	Date.	Original (= O.) or spare copy (= S.O.)	Initials with date of (1) Referencer acknowledging returns of the paper concerned or (2) Despatcher to denote the return of the papers to the department concerned.

*Howe's Dept
21-1-18*



*1 V Encl B
C No. 152
22-1-18*

M. A.-O. COLLEGE,
ALIGARH.

The Chief Secretary,
Madras Government,

No. 6257 Dated 11-1-1918 Madras.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of the English translation of a booklet, which I wrote in 1915, on the work undertaken by me in connection with the compilation and editing of the complete works of the great Indian poet, Amir Khusrau, who flourished in this country between 1255 & 1325 A. D. He is deservedly pronounced as the Greatest Persian poet of India and his numerous prose and poetical works place him amongst the most renowned poets and writers of that age when Persian literature was at the zenith of its glory. Several of his Masnavis are of considerable historical importance, throwing as they do, much light on the stirring events of the reigns of five Kings of the Tughlak and Khilji dynasties of Delhi.

Of his numerous works some appear to have been irretrievably lost and of those that remain to us, only a few have gone through the press in poor & incorrect editions, while others, including some of the most important, exist only in manuscripts, which are not easily accessible to the public. It is my endeavour to publish a complete edition of the works of this great poet under the personal supervision and guidance of competent Persian Scholars,

Vop

2 3

and I am happy to say that, with the munificent help of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, I have been able to carry out the scheme detailed in my booklet. This is the first enterprise of its kind on which the M.A.-O. College, Aligarh, has embarked, and it is fervently hoped that it will receive encouragement & support from the Government, the enlightened Rulers of Indian Feudatory States and the literary public of the Country. I may add here that I have upto this time collected all such works as were available in this country and have had various manuscript copies thereof compared and the text corrected by reliable scholars. The books are now ready for the Press. But the working and printing expenses, owing to difficulty in obtaining good paper, have proved excessive and I am, therefore, obliged to apply for financial aid to enable me to bring this great work to successful completion.

Government has always been pleased to extend its helping hand to schemes calculated to preserve the ancient classics of this country and to promote the study of oriental literature. I therefore take the liberty of submitting with this application, a copy of the first volume of the series which has been brought out, as a specimen, in the full hope that the Government of India and all Local Governments, will be pleased to extend their patronage to this undertaking and help it with donations. Volumes of this series will be submitted to the Government, as each comes out, if they are pleased to grant contributions for the carrying out of the work that still remains to be accomplished.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Nawab) *Nawab Ishtak Ali* (C.S.)

Honorary Secretary.

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Home (Edn) Dept

CNo 152 B.

Memo. 152 B + 230-1

The letter from Nawab Muhammad Ishak Khan, Hon. Secy of the H. A. O. College, Aligarh, is forwarded to the D. P. I., who is requested to report ^{on the requests therein} whether ~~it is necessary~~ to grant ~~any donation for the~~ ^{only} publication of the work ~~or~~ ^{or} any copies in advance and if so, how many copies.

CR
28.1.18
NCP
24.1.18
CR
25.1.18
my 30ms

note.
The Nawab does not state what the publication will cost.

NCP
24.1.18
GR.

Sp. (16) Contact

[cf. End on p 3 of fo. 914 Home Edn] (E) 28.8.16

To, The D. P. I. (with the current books to be returned with reply).
Recd 28.1.18 with 6 books 21.1.18



Home (Education)

152 B

Memo

The letter from Home
Education, dated 30th Jan, 1918,
containing the N. A. O. Order
is forwarded to
D. P. J. who is requested to
report whether it is necessary
to give any sanction for
publication of the work
and if so, how many copies.

Home (Education)

DEPARTMENT.

C.F.-29.

Received



Registered

1918

Subject.

Replies to the Government Memo. No. 152 B-1, dated 30th
January 1918, regarding the question of giving patronage to
two books.

ENCLOSURES.	
No.	
Spare copies	

Ref. on Cur.

No. 1054/18,

Station, Dated the 3rd April 1918.

From (Name) The Hon. Mr. J. H. Stone, M.A., F.R.S., C.I.E.

(Designation) Director of Public Instruction.

To The Secretary to the Government of Madras,

Home (Education) Department.

Sir,

With reference to Government Memo. No. 152 B/1, dated
30th January 1918, I have the honour to state that of the two
books in question the one entitled 'Prolegomena' is understood
to be merely an introduction to the edition proposed to be
published of the collected works of the Indian Poet Amir Khusru
and has therefore no literary value and that it is not usual
to give any contribution from provincial funds, particularly
in advance, towards the cost of publications of this kind.
The question of patronage may, I think, be considered when
sample copies of an edition of the works when published are
submitted for inspection. The other book named 'Hajnun'

p 3 of

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"Layla" which is the first book of the proposed series is well spoken of by the Junior Professor of Arabic in the Presidency College, Madras, and a copy of it may be purchased for the use of each of the following institutions in which Persian is taught.

1. Presidency College.
2. Arts College, Rajahmundry.
3. Madrasa-i-Azam

3. I return herewith the letter and the books received with the memo under reply.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G. W. Hussaini

for Director of Public Instruction.

P.V.S. 3/4

3.4.18

6 6

PROLEGOMENA
TO
AN EDITION OF THE COLLECTED WORKS

OF
AMIR KHUSRAU

BY

Nawab Haji Mohammad Ishak Khan, C.S.,

Honorary Secretary, M. A. O. College,

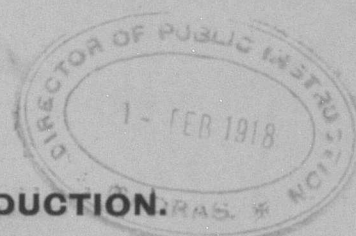
ALIGARH.



DELHI:

Printed by THAKUR DAS & SONS, at the DELHI PRINTING WORKS.

1917.



7

INTRODUCTION.

Two and a half years ago—in May, 1914—my esteemed friend Shams-ul-Ulama Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Maulvi Syed Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I., in the course of a correspondence regarding the affairs of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, drew my attention to the desirability of bringing together the scattered works of Amir Khusrau. In introducing the subject to me he observed :—

“ It can be said with confidence and without fear of contradiction that Islamic India has produced no author whose works have a better claim to preservation and publication than those of Amir Khusrau. Therefore, if by your efforts the complete works of this famous and incomparable author, both in prose and poetry, (which, embracing all varieties of composition, are said to exist in Persian, Urdu, and Hindi) were collected and published, you would then have rendered to the Muslim community an inestimable service, of which the advantages would be unlimited and which would also perpetuate the names of those who interested themselves in the undertaking. In Europe, especially, I have firm belief, there will be a great demand for the collected works of Amir Khusrau, and all the copies will be disposed of in an incredibly short time.”

I fully realised the magnitude and the difficulties of this important undertaking. But the nature of the proposal, its wide scope and its promise of far-reaching effects, the patronage of learning displayed by its originator, and my respect for his judgment, and, above all, the distinguished position which this illustrious author and poet occupies among the poets of the world, influenced me to such an extent that I entered into the project with enthusiasm.

Thus, in spite of my own insufficiency and the inadequacy of my scholarship, placing my trust in the Omnipotent, I accepted this grave responsibility and determined to initiate the work forthwith. I therefore informed the Nawab

Imad-ul-Mulk, that I was prepared, with great pleasure, to carry his wishes into effect, and that I should spare no efforts in attempting to collect and publish the works of Amir Khusrau.

With this brief introduction, I now desire to explain the nature of our work and to state the progress that has so far been made towards the accomplishment of our aim.

The details of the life of Amir Khusrau will be reviewed fully in a memoir which will appear shortly under the title "*Tazkira-i-Hayat-i-Khusrau*." Here it is unnecessary to say more than that historians have given the period during which Amir Khusrau lived as extending from the year 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.) to the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) He was only seven years old when he became an orphan and was brought up by his maternal grandfather, Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk, under whose paternal care and guardianship he received his education and training.

It is a notable coincidence that six hundred years ago a Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk brought up this talented youth, and that now in our own times, six hundred years afterwards, another Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk has happily interested himself in the collection and preservation of those gems by which Amir Khusrau has enhanced the wealth of Persian literature.

A large portion of this treasure has unfortunately been lost to us, through our own neglect, ignorance and lack of appreciation, and there is a danger that, if such conditions are permitted to continue, all that yet remains to us may likewise perish.

Not only had Nature gifted Amir Khusrau with an extraordinary command of language and a rare charm of expression, which gained for him the designations of the "Prince of Poets" and the "Nightingale of India," but he also had the good fortune in his life of 73 years to be the object of the favour and patronage of five different Emperors of

Delhi, namely, Moizzuddin Kaikubad (686—689 A.H.=1286—1289 A.D.), Jalaluddin Ferozshah (689—695 A.H.=1289—1295 A.D.), Muhammad Shah (695—715 A.H.=1295—1315 A.D.), Ghiyasuddin Tughlak (721—725 A.H.=1321—1325 A.D.) and Muhammad bin Tughlak (725 A.H.=1325 A.D.) As an inmate of their courts, he was placed in a favourable position for gaining experience of the most varied kind. He had opportunities of witnessing the dazzle and splendour of court life, the pomp and ceremonial connected with the accessions, coronations and deaths of the successive emperors, peace and war, victory and defeat, success and failure, conquest and administration, marches and halts, changes of government, tranquillity and tumult, luxury and pleasure, and the munificence and generosity of the Emperors towards the men of note who gathered round the Imperial Court. Such scenes and surroundings could not fail to exert a powerful influence on the mind of this "lord of language" and to act as a "whip to the steed of his genius."

The extraordinary productivity of Amir Khusrau, the sublimity of his ideas, the profundity of his thought, the boldness of his fancy, the variety and sweetness of his style have not only received the homage of great Persian men of letters, but have also won the admiration of distinguished European orientalists, who have declared Amir Khusrau to be the greatest Persian poet that India has produced (*vide* Catalogue of the Royal Libraries of the Kings of Oudh compiled by Dr. Sprenger, page 465, and the Catalogue of the Bankipur Library prepared under the supervision of Dr. Denison Ross, page 176). Some authorities have even ranked Amir Khusrau among the few writers of the foremost rank that the world has produced (*vide* History of India by Sir Henry Elliott, vol. III, appendix A).

In the biographical work *Majma-un-Nafâis* (written in the year 1164 A.H.) Sirajuddin Khan Arzu has drawn a comparison between an onomatopoeic couplet of Firdausi's

and a similar couplet by Amir Khusrau. Firdausi's couplet runs thus :—

ز نقاره آواز آمد بروں ¶ کہ دون است دون است گردون دون

Amir Khusrau's couplet, which he wrote as a parallel to the above, runs thus :—

دھل زن دھل زد بہ تحسین او ¶ کہ دیں دین او دین او دین او

Sirajuddin Khan Arzu points out that those who have a cultivated ear and a knowledge of music can well appreciate the high quality of Amir Khusrau's couplet, which not only expresses an appropriate sense in words reproducing the sound of a drum, but also pays full regard to the laws of musical harmony.

It is stated in the *Tazkira* of Dawlatshah that Amir Khusrau's dominion was not merely intellectual and spiritual, but that he was also a master of the theory of music. On one occasion an argument arose between Amir Khusrau and a musician on the respective merits of music and poetry. The musician contended that music was one of the practical sciences and as an art was superior to the art of writing verses. In reply to this contention Amir Khusrau composed the following poem :—

مطر بے می گفت با خسرو کہ اے گنج سخن
علم موسیقی ز علم شعر نیکو تر بود

زانکہ آن علم نیست کز دقت نیاید در قلم
لیکن این علم نیست کاندہ کاغذ و دفتر بود

پا سخنش دادم کہ من در ہر دو معنی کامل
ہر دو را سنجیدہ بروز نے کہ آن در خور بود

نظم را کردم سہ دفتر و رہ تحریر آمدی
علم موسیقی سہ دفتر بود ے ار باور بود

فرق گویم من میان ہر دو معقول و درست
گر دھد انصاف آن کز ہر دو دان شور بود

نظم را علمی تصور کن بہ نفس خود تمام
گو نہ محتاج اصول و صوت خنیا گر بود

گر کہ ے زیر و بم نظم فر و خواند رواست
نے بہ معنی ہیچ نقصان نے بہ نظم اندر بود

ور کند مطرب بسی ہاں ہاں و ہوں ہوں در سرود
چوں سخن نبود ہمہ ے معنی و ابتر بود

نائے زن را ہیں کہ صوٹے دارد و گفتار نے
لاجرم در قول محتاج کہے دیگر بود

پس درین معنی ضرورت صاحب صوت و سماع
از براے شعر محتاج سخن پرور بود

نظم را حاصل عروسے داں و نغمہ زیور ش
نیست عیبی گر عروس خوب ے زیور بود

من کسی را آدمی دانم کہ داند این قدر
ور نداند پرسد از من ور نہ پرسد خر بود

A favourite of the Kings of Delhi, Amir Khusrau was also a disciple of Mahbub-i-Ilahi Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, from whom he received much sufistic learning and inspiration. Consequently Amir Khusrau's works contain an element of sufistic ideas which adds much to their charm and has contributed in a great measure to their wide-spread popularity.

In the *Tazkira* of Dawlatshah it is recorded, on the authority of Maulana Shaikh Arif Aziri's book, *Jawahir-ul-Asrar*, that Shaikh Saadi, for whom Amir Khusrau entertained the highest admiration, came on a visit to India in his old age and that Amir Khusrau had the opportunity of making his acquaintance. This statement, however, is not corroborated by other writers.

It is said of Pope, the famous English poet, that—

“He lisped in numbers, for the numbers came.”

This is equally true of Amir Khusrau, of whom it can be said, without exaggeration, that from his childhood he possessed a mastery of the art of poetry. In the Preface to his *Diwan*, *Tuhfat-us-Sighar*, he himself states that from his childhood he had a passion for poetry. As an illustration

of this he relates an anecdote of his first meeting with Khwaja Aazzuddin who on this occasion gave him as a test four words *مویٰ — بیضہ — تیر — خرپزہ* which have no connexion with one another, and told him to compose a quatrain in which these four words should occur. Thereupon Amir Khusrau composed the following extemporary quatrain : —

هر مویٰ که در دو زلف آن صنم است ❦ صد بیضہ عنبرین بر آن مویٰ ضم است
چوں تیر مدان راست دلش را زیرک ❦ چوں خرپزہ دندانش درون شکم است

Khwaja Aazzuddin was so much amazed at the genius of the youthful poet that he accorded him the designation of "*Sultani*," which is found in Amir Khusrau's earlier works, (see page 178 of the Catalogue of the Bankipur Library prepared under the direction of Dr. Denison Ross).

The copiousness of Amir Khusrau's writings and the enormous difficulties involved in collecting them can best be estimated from the fact that, at a period when the fortunes of the Moghul Empire were in the ascendant, Mirza Sanjar, a powerful prince of the house of Timur, made an attempt to collect his scattered works, but in spite of his immense wealth and the persistent endeavours of contemporary men of letters he was unable to recover more than one hundred and twenty thousand couplets in this attempt. The prince subsequently succeeded in obtaining another two thousand couplets, after which he came to the conclusion that the collection of Amir Khusrau's complete works was a practical impossibility and, despairing of success, desisted from prosecuting his attempts further (see the Catalogue of the Bankipur Library, page 177).

This attempt of Prince Sanjar's belongs to a period when the Muhammadans as an enlightened and cultured people were the rulers of this country, and the Muhammadan Government was the patron and guardian of its learning and culture, and when, moreover, the days of Amir Khusrau were still comparatively recent. In view of its failure, we

can easily estimate how far success can attend our efforts to bring together his writings in the unfavourable conditions of our own times. However, I have not lost heart or courage and every possible effort is being made to bring together these scattered writings and secure them against further destruction.

چلا ہی جاتا ہوں میں گو چلا نہیں جانا ❦ غضب ہے شوق رسائی و دوری منزل

The work has now been begun, and it rests on the will of the Almighty to crown it with success.

تا نہال آرزو کے بر دھد ❦ حالیا رفتیم و تھے کا شتیم

FUNDS.

It is obvious that no movement, whether modest or ambitious, can achieve success or even be set on foot without funds. When the Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk made his suggestion regarding the collection of Amir Khusrau's works, he wrote that he was not a man of great wealth, but that he would do what he possibly could to assist with subscriptions and contributions from himself and his friends. Meanwhile he would send Rs. 1,000 with which to begin the work, and, if necessary, he would contribute another Rs. 1,000 towards it. The Nawab also stated that the premier Prince of the realm, His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, an enlightened and cultured prince with a special leaning towards literature, would be sure to be interested in this enterprise, and if I were to apply to him for funds he would most certainly accord us his patronage. An application was accordingly submitted to His Highness the Nizam, through His Excellency Nawab Salar Jang Bahadur, and it is with grateful pleasure that I am able to announce that His Highness was pleased to make a donation of Rs. 7,500 to the Khusrau Fund, on condition that, when Amir Khusrau's works were published, twenty copies of each volume should be presented to the Asafia Library. Nawab Salar Jang Bahadur also very generously subscribed Rs. 1,000 to the fund and another subscription of Rs. 250 (in Hyderabad currency) from Maulvi Anwar-ullah Khan Bahadur was received through the Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk.

The Fund thus up to now consists of the following contributions :—

	Rs.	A.	P.
September, 1914, Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Bahadur ...	1,005	0	0
September, 1914, Nawab Salar Jang Bahadur ...	1,000	0	0
November, 1914, Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk (second subscription) ...	1,000	0	0
November, 1914, Maulvi Anwar-ullah Khan ...	209	6	10
May, 1915, His Highness the Nizam's donation ...	7,462	6	6
TOTAL ...	10,676	13	4

From this amount a promisory note for Rs. 6,000 has been purchased on payment of Rs. 5,329-10-6, so that as much of the whole amount as is not required immediately may not be idle but that the fund may profit by its investment. The remaining sum of Rs. 5,347-2-10 has been kept in hand for the purpose of meeting the immediate requirements of the work. Of this amount a sum of about Rs. 2,000 has so far been spent in buying copies of Amir Khusrau's works, in search for his scattered writings, in payment for the copying of manuscripts borrowed from various libraries and for the comparing and correcting of these copies.

It is regrettable that the public has, so far, shown no appreciable interest in the undertaking nor made any response to the numerous appeals circulated to it through the press. It appears, unfortunately, that the public has not fully grasped the importance and value of this project, and is unconscious of the necessity of its exertions in this direction. To me personally it has been a great disappointment that in

spite of my repeated appeals I have not received from men of learning (apart from a small number of my personal friends) the help which I expected.

سرکنم شکوہ اگر تاب شنیدن داری سینہ بشگافم اگر طاقت دیدن داری

Fortunately the generous patronage of His Highness the Nizam has enabled us to proceed with the work, and it is hoped that in the near future the public will be presented with the result of our labours.

Maulvi Muhammad Riaz Hasan Sahib, when very kindly sending me from Patna a list of Amir Khusrau's works in the Bankipur Library, advised me to submit to the public a scheme of subscriptions, so that the work might not suffer for lack of funds. He suggested :—

- (1) that subscriptions and contributions to the Khusrau Fund might either be paid in a lump sum, or
- (2) that they might be paid in by monthly instalments, or
- (3) that those who wished might agree to buy a few copies of Amir Khusrau's works, paying half their price in advance now, or
- (4) that they should at least agree to buy a single volume and pay the full price in advance.

The scheme is excellent, and I am indebted to Maulvi Riaz Hasan Sahib for his valuable advice and practical suggestion ; but in view of the indifference of the public I have for the present preferred to continue the work on the strength of His Highness the Nizam's donation.

DEDICATION.

His Highness the Nizam has not only encouraged our efforts with a magnificent donation, but he has also been graciously pleased—in response to my representation that the undertaking, the first of its kind in the country, would gain in importance and dignity by being associated with his name—to permit the work to be dedicated to himself. His Highness's gracious consent to this dedication was communicated to me through a special "*Farman*" in August, 1915.

AMIR KHUSRAU'S WORKS.

The first thing to be done was to ascertain the number and names of Amir Khusrau's works. On this point historians and biographers are not agreed, and there exists much divergence in their accounts.

Jāmi, who lived comparatively near to Amir Khusrau's time, says in his "*Nafahāt-ul-Uns*" that the number of his works was ninety-two. The "*Tazkira-i-Khush-Go*" is a voluminous history of Persian poets. It is not known to have appeared in print at any time, though mention of it is made in the catalogues of several European Libraries. Dr. Sprenger, who in 1848 prepared for the Government of India a catalogue of the books in the three Royal Libraries of the Kings of Oudh, *viz.*, Top-khana, Moti Mahall and Farah-Bakhsh, quotes in this catalogue the following extract from the "*Tazkira-i-Khush-Go*" :—

”مشهور است که نود و نه کتاب تصنیف کرده - (۱) اما آنچه از مثنویات متداول است این تفصیل دارد - (۱) خمسه یعنی مطلع الانوار لیلی مجنون - خسرو شیرین آئینه سمندری - هشت بهشت - هزده هزار بیت (۲) مثنوی عشقیه چهار هزار بیت (۳) قران السعدین پنج هزار بیت (۴) مثنوی نه سپهر چهار هزار بیت (۵) تغلق نامه نا تمام سه هزار بیت - و تعداد دیوان و غزل و غیره مشخص نیست و در نثر اعجاز خسروی و تاریخ دهلی - خزائن الفتوح - مذاقب هند و چند رساله دیگر در علم اسبقاء (۶) و موسیقی و رساله خالق باهی راهم بدو منسوب دارند که اطفال هند و ستان آن را می خوانند - و آنچه در هندی زبان کارستها نهاده هیچ شاعری را دست نداده - چنانکه اشعار مطائیب در میان شادیهاب هند و ستان رائج است و اطائف ظرائف آن غازه قبول شهرت برود دارد“

According to the "*Tazkira-i-Khush-Go*," Amir Khusrau's works amount to ninety-nine.

There is another Biographical work, "*Tazkira-i-Haft-Iqlim*" by Aminuddin Razi, written in the year 1002 A. H., in which Amir Khusrau's works are stated to consist of one hundred and ninety-nine volumes instead of ninety-nine volumes only.

Daulat Shah Samarqandi in his *Tazkira* alleges that Amir Khusrau has himself stated somewhere in his own writings that his poetry consists of between four and five hundred thousand couplets. Firishta also records in his History that Amir Khusrau's poetry comprises five hundred thousand couplets.

The great difficulty that has been encountered in these investigations is that while chroniclers and biographers have given estimates of the number of his works, they have entirely omitted to furnish a more or less complete list of their names.

In the absence of any complete list of his works and in view of the deplorable fact that the Mussalmans of India have long continued to neglect their precious literature so completely that a large number of its treasures have gradually found their way into the European Libraries, the endeavour to ascertain with any degree of certainty the precise number of Amir Khusrau's writings must be admitted to have become a problem of exceptional difficulty.

Along with the disagreement that exists as to the number of his works there is also no agreement in the various lists as to the number of his Diwans. All the old lists contain the names of only four Diwans, *viz.*, '*Tuhfatus-Sighar*,' '*Wastul-Hayat*,' '*Ghurratul-Kamal*,' and '*Baqia Naqia*.' But a fifth Diwan, '*Nihayatul-Kamal*,' is entered in the catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum, London, prepared by Mr. Charles Rieu in 1883 A.D. The Bankipur Library also contains a copy of this Diwan, and it has been learnt further in the course of investigation that it was printed at Delhi sometime back.

Western orientalists appear to have studied Amir Khusrau with more than ordinary interest on account of the historical value of his works. In Sir Henry Elliot's History, Vol. III, there is an appendix which embodies historical facts from the "*Khazainul Futuh*" and the "*Kiranus*."

Sadain"; and the same author has also given extracts from the "*Mathnawi Ashiq*," the "*Nuh Sipih*" and the "*Ijaz-i-Khusrawi*."

In the course of these investigations, I have come to understand some of the reasons for the existence of so much disagreement among biographers as to the number of his works. A study of the catalogues of some of the famous Libraries of Europe has revealed the fact that there exist various manuscript copies which, though bearing a common name, differ largely from one another in their arrangement and contents. For instance, under the general heading "*Diwan Amir Khusrau*" various Libraries include numerous volumes which in reality are only volumes of selections from all the five Diwans. These volumes, varying severally in their arrangement and contents, having been edited by men of different tastes, create at first sight the impression that they are all separate works. Similarly there exist in most libraries various editions of Amir Khusrau's collected works, passing under the name "*Kulliyat Khusrau*," which either contain only selections from Amir Khusrau's various writings according to the predilections of those who edited them, or only as much of Amir Khusrau's poetry as one collector could procure. The same conditions may also very possibly apply to his Mathnawis and Qasaid.

Moreover, there are some of Amir Khusrau's works which are known under several different names. For instance, the "*Mathnawi Ashiq*" is known also as "*Ishqiya*" as well as the "*Qissa Dawal Rani-wa-Khizr Khan*" or simply "*Nuskha-i-Khizr Khan*." Then I have also learnt from the Superintendent of the Asafiya Library, Hyderabad, that the work known as "*Aghaz-i-Ishq*" has on examination been found to be no other than the "*Mathnawi Ashiq*," while quite recently this Mathnawi was being advertised for sale at Delhi under yet another name, viz., "*Manshur Shahi*." Thus this one book alone bears six different names.

Again I received from the Hyderabad Library a book entitled "*Mathnawi-dar Tarif-i-Dehli*," which, after it had been duly copied, was found on examination to be no other than "*Kiranus-Sadain*." The book "*Khazainul Futuh*" (which celebrates Jalaluddin Feroz Shah's Victories) was originally a portion of the Diwan "*Ghurratul Kamal*," being also known separately as "*Fath Nama*." A copy in the Rampur State Library bears this title.

I went recently to Rampur in search of Amir Khusrau's writings, and there an examination of his works in the State Library showed that some of those classified collectively as Qasaid and Mathnawis had been given distinctive names by Amir Khusrau himself. For instance, one Mathnawi goes under the name "*Baz Nama*"; another is called "*Asp Nama*" or "*Faras Nama*" (an account of this poem is given in the "*Tarikh-i-Firoz-Shahi*" of Ziya Barani printed in Calcutta). Again, one Qasida bears the name "*Bahrul-Ibar*," while another Qasida, which was intended to form a parallel to the great philosopher-poet Khaqani's masterpiece, goes under the name "*Miratus-Safa*." It is possible that other Mathnawis similarly bear several different names.

Besides this, certain other books by different authors are erroneously ascribed to Amir Khusrau. Thus I was greatly surprised to receive from the Library of the Asiatic Society as a work of Amir Khusrau a manuscript copy of a book called "*Sifatul-Ashiqin*," which has been found to be no book of Amir Khusrau's at all. In the first place it bears on the title page the name of the real author, 'Hilali', written in white ink on a gold surface, though this name has now become so effaced that it is not easily legible. Then again, Maulvi Rasheed Ahmad Sahib, "Salim," Professor of Persian in the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, who has most ably assisted me in the supervision of this work, has adduced from the book itself sufficient internal evidence to prove beyond doubt that the real author is Hilali and not Amir Khusrau. For

instance, at the end of this book, Hilali has given his own *nom de plume* in the following couplets :—

مرا آخر ہلال خویش انکار "ہلالی" را ہلال خویش انکار

Further on the poet has in two places given his own name :—

"ہلالی" را ہوائے آشنا ئیست بخورشید آشنائے روشنائیست
 "ہلالی" این چہ دریای معانیست کم موج آن ز بحر آسمانیست
 بوصف عاشقان دفتر کشادم صفات العاشقین نامش نهادم
 نوشتنم نامہ در نیک نامی کم خسرو آفرین کرد و نظامی

In the printed catalogue of the India Office Library too this book is included among the works of Badruddin Hilali Asterabadi. I have addressed a detailed note to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society regarding all that has come to light concerning this book.

Similarly another book called "*Ashk-o-ah*," supposed to be a work of Amir Khusrau, was received by me from the Hyderabad Library and this has also proved on examination to be the work of another author. I here quote the note of Maulvi Rasheed Ahmad Sahib, "Salim," Professor of Persian in the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, concerning his book. The Maulvi Sahib writes :—"I have gone through the Mathnawi "*Ashk-o-ah*" in accordance with the Nawab Sahib's instructions. This Mathnawi is supposed to be a work of Amir Khusrau, and I started reading it under the same impression. But I had barely gone through a few pages when my suspicions were aroused and went on gaining strength as I continued its perusal, because the book continually betrayed peculiarities of style which had only been developed by later authors like "Bedil" and "Ghanimat," but which are never to be found in any of the authors of the earlier period, even "Jalal Asir" who was the originator and fashioner of this new style is entirely free from such forms of expression as are commonly met with in this book. After reading a fair portion of the Mathnawi, I became convinced that the author

must be either "Ghanimat" or some contemporary of his with similar leanings, since the characteristic features of that school of poetry were detectable in profusion all through the poem. As instances I quote the following phrases :—

"نگاہ خون بدامن" "نالم محشر خروش" "چمن سازنگاہ شر در خرمن سیماب"
 "قماش چاک پیراہن" "دفتر نویس شعلہ" "قیامت در رکاب موج خون"
 "طلوع نشہ پیمائے غم" "نمی حل ساز جان ریش" "شریک کاروان دل بدوش"
 "قیامت حل کن و در ساغر مریز"

Such expressions and innumerable other phrases like these, which are found in profusion in this book, sufficiently indicate that Amir Khusrau cannot have been the author. These are specially conclusive to those who are well-versed in the various periods of Persian Poetry and know all the phases of its style and its changes in character. Proceeding further on, certain other facts are brought to light which totally dispel all doubts that may have yet remained on the subject. For instance, on page 42 of this book is written an elegy on the death of Mir Muhammad Zaman Rasikh who died in the year 1107 A. H., and again, on page 47, there is a poem in praise of the Emperor Mohiyuddin Aurangzeb. From these facts it becomes abundantly clear that this book cannot be a work of Amir Khusrau. The truth is that this Mathnawi is the work of Mir Ghazi Shaheed of Lahore, who died in the year 1130 A. H., and who was a pupil of Mir Mohammad Zaman Rasikh Sirhindi, as he himself states in one place in the course of the poem."

In this same manner, I learnt that a book, named "*Rag Darpan*," on the art of music, attributed to Amir Khusrau, had only this much connection with him that it had been written in his times. I received a Persian manuscript copy of this book from the Library of the Nadwatul-Ulama at Lucknow. Examination of this work has shown that it was originally written in Sanskrit by a person named Hanwant at the request of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior and that it was translated into Persian in the year 1073 A. H.,

by a certain Faqrullah and became known under the name of Rag Darpan. However, this is a very valuable book, and I intend, when the publication of the Kulliyat is completed, to get it also published. For this purpose I have caused the book to be copied.

Besides these books, I was given to understand that another book called, "*Khayalat-i-Khusrau*," was also ascribed to Amir Khusrau, but it has been ascertained, from examination of a copy in the Rampur Library, that it is the work of a much later period. It appears that, because the words "*Khayalat Khusrau*" incidentally occur at the beginning of the book, it has on this account come to be regarded as a work of Amir Khusrau.

A friend of mine sent me from Lucknow a manuscript copy of another book called "*Ruqaat-Amir Khusrau*," but this book too has proved to be the work of another author. Two other manuscript copies of the *Ruqaat Amir Khusrau* were received by me from Hyderabad. Regarding these books, my friend Maulvi Sheikh Basheeruddin Sahib, Rais of Meerut, (who possesses a taste for scholarship unusual among the Muhammadans of our time,) after he had carefully gone through them both, favoured me with the following note :—

"I have scrutinized both the volumes of the "*Ruqaat Amir Khusrau*" that are attributed to Amir Khusrau and came from the Hyderabad Library. In one volume the first page and several other pages in various places are missing. This may possibly have led to an impression that the two manuscripts are separate books, but in reality they are only transcripts of the same work. At the first glance it becomes obvious from the author's style of writing that it is not a work of Amir Khusrau and it is clear from the first words of the Preface that the author is some other person who has opened his book by inserting a Mathnawi of Amir Khusrau. The Preface reads as follows :—

"عنوان فامر خیالات از مثنوی صاحب کمالات صوری و معنوی امیر خسرو
د هلووی پیا راست"

"Moreover a perusal of the *Ruqaat* shows that the author has quoted verses from various other poets. This is quite contrary to the practice of Amir Khusrau who had an aversion to adorning his work with quotations from other authors. Again, some of the poets quoted, for instance, Hafiz Shirazi, Maulana Jami, and Urfi Shirazi lived at a later period than that of Amir Khusrau. Amir Khusrau died in the year 725 A. H., and the year of his death is contained in the following epitaph :—

خسرو د هلووی بحکم خدا	بشب جمعه شد ز دار فنا
عمر هفتاد و پنج سالش بود	کانزمان شد بدر گم معبود
بزرگ بود از مر سوال	که گزشت ازین جهان ملال
خسرو د هلووی بهشتی بود	سال نقاش بگو کم چشتی بود
	۷۲۵ هـ
سال نقاش خرد عیان و نهفت	باز شکر مقال طوطی گفت
	۷۲۵ هـ

"Maulana Jami died in the year 899 A. H., and the year of his death is contained in the following epitaph :—

افصح بے نظیر جامی بود	بکمالات علم نامی بود
هم تصنیف آن معلی شان	عدد جام شد رقم بر خوان
	۸۴۴ هـ
هاتقم گفت سال رحلت او	جاء جامی بهشت عدن بگو
	۸۹۹ هـ

"Urfi Shirazi died in the year 1000 A. H., and Khawaja Hafiz Shirazi in the year 791 A. H. All these facts point clearly to the conclusion that the *Ruqaat* are not the work of Amir Khusrau."

In fine, since many of Amir Khusrau's works bear several names and since the works of other authors have also, somehow or other, come to be erroneously ascribed to him, it is not astonishing that there should exist a disagreement as to the exact number of his writings. But I have from the first sought to guard against including in the collected works of Amir Khusrau any work which is erroneously ascribed to him.

Before being finally passed for publication, all books regarding which there exists the least doubt are first examined by a number of competent scholars who are well acquainted with Persian poetry in its various periods and phases and who, having a sound knowledge of the history of Persian literature, are in a position to judge of their genuineness.

Here it will not be out of place to give a list of those works of reference which are either mentioned in the writings of Persian biographers and chroniclers or have been quoted in various memoirs by European orientalists that I have had occasion to study in the course of investigation regarding Amir Khusrau's works. These authorities are :—

خزانة عامره - نفحات الانس - تذكرة خوشگو - شمع انجم - تذكرة نساخ -
تاریخ فرشته - تذكرة عرفات اوحدی - تذكرة شعراء دولت شاه سمرقندی -
مجمع الفوائد - تذكرة مخزن الغرائب - ریاض الشعراء - بهارستان سخن -
تذكرة والم داغستانی - متأثر الامراء - جواهر الاسرار - هفت اقلیم - بست خانه -
آتشکده - خلاصة الكلام - مجالس الفوائد - خلاصة الاسعار - همیشه بهار -
تذكرة ندرت - خلاصة الانکار - تاریخ بدایع - تذكرة طبقات الشعراء قدرت لہ قدرت -

Some of these books I have been able to procure, but the majority have not yet been obtained in this country, although every effort has been made to secure them. In all those memoirs and chronicles that I have been able to obtain up to now the number of Amir Khusrau's works mentioned by name does not exceed forty-five.

I was informed by a friend that there was a tradition that Amir Khusrau had also translated Sheikh Saadi's "Gulistan" into Arabic. But so far I have failed to find any confirmation of this assertion in any of the memoirs or chronicles that I have studied.

It is most distressing that no traces can be found of Amir Khusrau's Hindi works. In the hope that perhaps the Secretary of the Nagri Parcharni Sabha, Benares, might possibly be able to furnish some information regarding these Hindi works, I approached him with a request that, should he,

in the course of his research, have come across any Hindi works of Amir Khusrau, he would very kindly favour me with information on the subject. His reply, however, was disappointing.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad informed me from Delhi of the existence of a large collection of Amir Khusrau's Hindi works in the form of epigrams and riddles in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In my eagerness to obtain copies of this collection, I at once approached the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and carried on correspondence with him for some time. As a result of this, I had the honour of being elected a member of the Society through the kindness of the Honourable Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Dr. Al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy, who respectively proposed and seconded my election; but up to the present no trace of these Hindi works has been found in the Society's Library. Dr. Suhrawardy, who, by the way, is the first Indian Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society, very kindly instructed all the Research Maulvies of the Society, who tour the country for purposes of research and who, in this connection, have great opportunities for examining the various libraries in India, to inform me at once if they came across any of Amir Khusrau's works. He further instructed the officials of the Society to recall such of Amir Khusrau's works as had been borrowed from the Society's Library.

Although, through the kindness of Dr. Al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy, the chief research Maulvi of the Society, Hafiz Nazir Ahmad Sahib, has given me some very valuable information on the subject of Amir Khusrau's works, I regret that, up to now, no result has been achieved in our quest for his Hindi works.

I was informed by Maulvi Syed Ahmad Sahib, the author of the "Farhang Asafiya," that Sahibzada Mir Rustum Ali Khan Sahib had a large collection of Amir Khusrau's Hindi riddles which had now passed on to Sahibzada

Sharafuddin Sahib, a relative of his, who was at the moment residing at the shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia. I therefore requested Maulana Hasan Nizami Sahib of Delhi, kindly to assist me in obtaining these Hindi riddles and witticisms from Sahibzada Sharafuddin Sahib. Besides this, I twice went personally to Delhi in quest of them and presented myself on both occasions at the mausoleum of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia, but in neither instance was I successful. Then I requested Maulana Abdul Wahid Sahib, Wahidi, Editor of the "Nizamul Mashaikh" kindly to endeavour to obtain from the local qavvals (minstrels) all that they might possibly remember of Amir Khusrau's Hindi lyrics, etc. Appeals to the same effect were also circulated in the Muhammadan Press throughout the country, but unfortunately all these efforts have proved futile.

In his treatise "Ab-i-Hayat" the late Maulana Mohammed Husain Sahib Azad has given some samples of Amir Khusrau's Hindi poetry. But he has failed to mention therein the source from which they were taken. In reply to my enquiry on the subject, Maulvi Habib-ur-Rahman Khan Sahib Sherwani, Rais of Bhikampur (the profundity of whose knowledge is admitted, and whose assistance has most cordially and ungrudgingly been accorded me from the commencement of the work) informed me that the late Maulana Mohammed Husain Sahib Azad had written a history of Urdu poetry which contained specific references to Amir Khusrau's Hindi works. I tried to obtain this book, but unfortunately I was unable to procure a copy.

SEARCH FOR AMIR KHUSRAU'S WORKS.

One of the characteristics of a progressive and cultured people is that, with a view to the diffusion of knowledge and the moral and intellectual advancement of their nation, they not only encourage contemporary authors and men of letters, but also make every effort to ascertain the facts of the lives, to trace and publish the works, and to perpetuate the

well deserved fame, of the authors and poets of past ages, even those who have been dead for hundreds and thousands of years. Western peoples, whether English, French, or German, will never suffer the works of their illustrious authors to fall into oblivion.

Whatever the nature or character of the work, great or small, even if a mere fragment of a few words only is discovered, it is instantly printed and its preservation is thus secured.

Although Homer, the world-famous poet of ancient Greece, has now been dead nearly three thousand years, fresh commentaries upon his works are being continually written and read even down to this day. The sites and ruins of the cities mentioned in his poems are to this day the subject of research and discussion in learned circles.

If some famous English poet has sung of a marsh or lake, hillock or river, that particular spot has now come to be venerated for its associations and become a place of pilgrimage for all classes. Great energy is expended in endeavouring to locate by punctilious research the abodes of famous authors. If an autograph or portions of some original manuscript happen to be discovered, they are immediately secured by collectors at enormous prices and their photographs are published and circulated throughout the country.

Activity is not confined to collecting and bringing together the complete works of an eminent author or poet, but efforts are made to ascertain, if possible, the exact date of each composition. The words and arrangement of the text furnish the basis for voluminous treatises, light being also thrown on the various sides of their nature and character, habits and pursuits, so that posterity may lose nothing of their living personality.

A few manuscript pages of the "*Humayun-Nama*" by Gul Badan Begam, the sister of the Emperor Humayun, happened to be preserved in the British Museum at London. With a view to obtaining the full text of this history, Mr. Beveridge, an eminent orientalist, was sent to India. While on his tour through this country, he searched all the libraries for a complete manuscript. At the time of my permanent residence at Rampur as the Prime Minister of the State, he became my guest and spoke much about the book. Eventually a complete manuscript was found and he returned to England.

These are merely characteristic expressions of the absorption of an enlightened people in the diffusion of knowledge. The encouragement of literature which results from this spirit among enlightened peoples needs no comment.

In contrast to this it is sad to contemplate our indifference to our own literature and poetry in that we have up to now failed to collect and publish in a complete form the works of one of our greatest and most famous authors and have even neglected them to such an extent that the greater part of his works is now irretrievably lost. This is but one of the symptoms of our unfortunate condition.

The cultivation and preservation of the Urdu language can alone guarantee to the Muhammadan people in India the retention of their distinctive individuality. This being so, and since the progress and development of the Urdu language depend wholly on Arabic and Persian classics, it is an imperative necessity that the literatures of these two languages should be jealously guarded and secured against further loss and destruction.

It is, therefore, the first duty of those who advocate—quite rightly—the use of Urdu as the medium of instruction for Western sciences and arts to begin at once with all their

energy to take measures for the preservation of Persian literature.

It is most painful to have to admit that the search for Amir Khusrau's works has proved to be a most difficult task; that, in our search for the writings of the greatest of our Muhammadan poets, it has been necessary to knock first at the doors of European libraries; and that our first list of his works should have had to be compiled from the catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library.

ایک ہم ہیں کہ لیا اپنی بھی صورت کو بگاڑ ایک وہ ہیں جنہیں تصویر بنا آتی ہے

(There are people who know the art of appearing attractive: woe to ourselves who have disfigured even our own visage).

The catalogue of the India Office Library was prepared in 1903. According to this catalogue, the Library contains 38 manuscripts of works by Amir Khusrau:—

Diwans.—(1) *Tuhfatus-Sighar*; (2) *Wast-ul-Hayat*; (3) *Dibacha-i-Ghurrat-ul-Kamal*; (4) *Diwan Ghurrat-ul-Kamal* or *Kitab-ul-Kamal*; (5) *Baqia Naqia*.

Khamisa.—(6) *Matta-ul-Anwar*; (7) *Shirin Khusrau*; (8) *Majnun-Laila*; (9) *Hasht Bahisht*; (10) *Aina-i-Sikandari*.

Mathnawiyat.—(11) *Qiramus-Sadain*; (12) *Khizr-Khani* or *Ishqia*; (13) *Noh Sipahr*; (14) *Miftah-ul-Futuh* or *Fath-ul-Futuh* or *Fath-Nama*; (15) Collected *Mathnawiyat*.

Miscellaneous.—(16) Collected *Rubaiyat*; (17) Collected poems; (18) *Qasida-i-Amir Khusrau Mutazammuni Haqiqati Shah Nama-i-Firdausi*, (i.e., Amir Khusrau's Ode containing the story of Firdausi's Shah Nama).

Prose.—(19) *Ijaz Khusrawi*; (20) *Insha-i-Khusrau* (which contains Sufistic letters and may be considered an introduction to *Ijaz Khusrawi*); (21) *Ahwat-i-Amir Khusrau*.

The remaining seventeen manuscripts are duplicate copies of some of the above works, *viz.*, three copies of the *Kulliyat* which were written in 866, 933, and 1008 A. H. respectively; seven copies of *Qiranus-Sadain*; five copies of the *Khamasa*; and one copy each of *Matla-ul-Anwar* and *Hasht Bahisht*.

This is the largest collection of Amir Khusrau's works in any single Library.

Famous among the Libraries in India are the three Royal Libraries of the Kings of Oudh, but the catalogue of these Libraries, prepared by Dr. Sprenger in 1854, does not reveal the existence of any work that is not already included in the above list.

The Bankipur Library contains one Diwan: (22) *Nihayat-ul-Kamal*, which is given as the fifth Diwan in the catalogue compiled in 1908 by Dr. Denison Ross, and which is in excess of the books mentioned in the catalogue of the India Office Library. A manuscript copy of this Diwan is also included in the catalogue of the British Museum Library. The text was published in Delhi some time back.

Maulvi Hafiz Nazir Ahmad Sahib, the Chief Research Maulvi of the Asiatic Society, very kindly furnished me with a list of Amir Khusrau's works catalogued in the following Libraries:—

- (1) The Bodlein Library; (2) The Berlin Library;
- (3) The Khedivial Library at Cairo;
- (4) The Tippu Sultan Library; (5) The Asiatic Society's Library; (6) The Cambridge University Library; (7) The Library of Haji Habibullah Sahib of Nellore; and
- (8) The Library of Shamsul Ulama Qazi Abdullah Sahib of Madras.

In none of these Libraries has the existence of any fresh work come to light.

In Habibganj, in the Aligarh District, there is a private Library belonging to Maulvi Habib-ur-Rahman Khan Sahib Sherwani, Rais, of Bhikampur, which contains a number of rare manuscripts, but here too no light is thrown on the existence of any work that is not already known.

In the Rampur State Library, however, I discovered a copy of *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, which is not contained in the catalogues of the above-named Libraries.

Two further works of Amir Khusrau, *viz.*, (24) *Nisab-Badi-ul-Ajaib* and *Nisab-i-Muthallath* and (25) *Afzal-ul-Fawa'id*, have been received from the Asafia Library, Hyderabad.

Besides these twenty-five works, we have the well-known book (26) *Khaliq Bari*, which is said to have originally been a work of considerable size, the book in its present form, as now commonly taught to children in Indian Maktabas, being only a very small portion of the original text, and (27) *Qissa Chahar Darwish Farisi*, of which an Urdu translation from the original Persian goes under the name of *Bagh-o-Bahar* and which is also commonly ascribed to Amir Khusrau.

The following is a list of additional titles that have been traced either from a study of various treatises or as the result of direct investigation or through the kindness of those who responded to letters of enquiry addressed to scholars throughout the country:—(28) *Baz Nama*; (29) *Asp Nama* or *Faras Nama*; (30) *Bahrul-Ibar*; (31) *Miratus-Safa*; (32) *Shahrashub* or collected Rubaiyat; (33) *Tuglak Nama*; (34) *Tajul Futuh*; (35) *Tarikh Dehli*; (36) *Manaqib-i-Hind*; (37) *Halati Kanhiya-wa-Kishen*; (38) *Maktubat-i-Amir Khusrau*; (39) *Jawahir-ul-Bahr*; (40) *Maqala* (History of the Khalifs); (41) *Rahat-ul-Mohibbin*; (42) *Risala Abyat-i-Bahth* (Khusrau and Jami); (43) *Shigarf Bayan*; (44) *Taranā-i-Hindi*; (45) *Munajat-i-Khusrau*.

The *Baz-Nama*, *Asp Nama*, *Bahrut Ibar*, and *Miratus-Safa* included in the above list are names of particular Mathnawis and Qasidas, which form portions of Amir Khusrau's Diwans. Manuscripts of these works exist in the Rampur State Library.

A manuscript copy of *Shahrashub* was obtained from Lucknow through the kindness of Sheikh Basheeruddin Sahib, Rais, of Meerut. Regarding the *Tuglaq Nama* nothing has so far been learnt beyond the fact that Mir Mehdi Hasan Sahib, "Majruh," of Delhi, had a manuscript copy of this book. With regard to the remainder of the works included in the above list we have not hitherto been able to discover even a trace of their existence in this country.

If I have ever, in the course of conversation or correspondence with friends and acquaintances, received so much as a hint that some particular person might be able to provide information as to the writings of Amir Khusrau, I have immediately entered into correspondence with the person indicated. Besides this I also addressed numerous private letters to the leading Muhammadans in the various provinces, including Delhi, Lucknow, Meerut, Agra, Calcutta, Patna, Bankipur, Quetta, Peshawar, Cashmere, Bombay, Madras, and the States of Bhopal, Tonk, Loharu, and Pataudi. Further, an attempt was made to attract the attention of scholars by publishing a series of articles in the Muhammadan newspapers of this country. Finally, in the hope of interesting the public and the book-sellers, an advertisement was inserted in all the newspapers offering a reward to all persons who could give trustworthy information as to the name or whereabouts of any hitherto untraced work of Amir Khusrau. No information, however, was obtained as a result of this advertisement.

I must here gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to my friend, Hafiz Ahmad Ali Khan Sahib, "Shauq," Superintendent of His Highness's Household Department and

officer in charge of the Rampur State Library, for his courtesy in very kindly sending me a set of Amir Khusrau's riddles which he had taken the trouble to get copied from various books and collected from people who had memorised them. Besides these, he also sent me, copied from his late father's note-book, a poem bearing the name "*Gharyal Khusrau*" in which the author has explained the method of calculating time by means of the fingers. Regarding this poem, however, Hafiz Ahmad Ali Khan Sahib gave me to understand that he was not sure whether it was in fact a poem of Amir Khusrau or not. With a view to having this doubt removed and ascertaining the truth regarding the poem, I had it inserted and published in the newspapers in the hope that some one might be able to throw some light on the subject. Up to the present, however, no information has been received.

THE COLLECTION OF COPIES OF AMIR KHUSRAU'S WORKS.

First of all were purchased copies of those works of Amir Khusrau that had already been published. Of these the largest number has been published by the firm of Messrs. Newal Kishore and Sons. From those Publishers the following books were obtained :—

- (۱) مطلع الانوار - (۲) لیلی مجنون - (۳) هشت بهشت - (۴) قرآن السعدین
(۵) خالق باری - (۶) کلیات خسرو (مشتمل بر غزلیات منتخب از چهار دیوان)
(۷) اعجاز خسروی —

From the Nizamia Library, at the Mausoleum of Hazrat Mahbub Ilahi, Delhi, the following three books were purchased :—

- (۸) دیوان نهایت الکمال - (۹) دیباچه غرة الکمال - (۱۰) آئینه سکندر —

From a book-seller at Aligarh

- (۱۱) نصاب بدیع العجائب و نصاب مژگان —

was purchased.

From the Mausoleum of Hazrat Mahbub Ilahi the following were obtained :—

(۱۲) افضل الفوائد - (۱۳) مجموع غزلیات —

The following eight manuscripts have been lent by the Library of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh :—

(۱۴) خزائن الفتوح - (۱۵) اعجاز خسروی - (۱۶) مجموع قصائد خسروی
(۱۷) مثنوی نم سپهر - (۱۸) مثنوی عشیقر - (۱۹) مثنوی لیلی مجنون
(۲۰) مثنوی هشت بهشت - (۲۱) مثنوی مطلع الانوار —

Two manuscript copies of

(۲۲) خزائن الفتوح - (۲۳) سکندر نامہ خسروی —
have been lent by Syed Al-i-Aba Sahib of Marehra.

Besides these, the following books have been received either on loan or as gifts from various people :—

Presented by Nawab Imadul Mulk Bahadur to the Library of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh :—A manuscript copy of *Khamsa-i-Khusrawi* which contains (24) *Mathnawi Matlaul-Anwar*, (25) *Mathnawi Laila Majnun*, (26) *Mathnawi Aina-i-Sikandari*, and (27) *Mathnawi Hasht Bahisht*. *Mathnawi Shirin Khusrau* is not included in this volume. At the request of Nawab Imadul Mulk Bahadur this book is to be finally made over to the Library of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, as a present from the Nawab Sahib when it has served its purpose in connection with the publication of Amir Khusrau's works.

Another manuscript copy of the *Khamsa-i-Khusrawi* has been received from Diwan Mubarak Singh, Steward, Daulatpur Estate, in the District of Bulandshahr. This manuscript, which has been very kindly presented to me by Munshi Mubarak Singh Sahib, contains all the five Mathnawis of the *Khamsa-i-Khusrawi*, viz., (28) *Matlaul-Anwar*, (29) *Shirin Khusrau*, (30) *Laila Majnun*, (31) *Sikandar Nama*, (32) *Hasht Bahisht*.

The following books have been borrowed from various Libraries :—

(a) From the Library of Deoband :—

(33) A manuscript copy of *Nisab Badiul-Ajaib wa Nisab Muthallath* and (34) an old printed copy of *Qiranus-Sadain*.

(b) From the Library of the late Maulana Shibli Nomani, Azamgarh, known as the *Darul Musannifin* :—

(35) A manuscript copy of *Diwan Ghurrat-ul-Kamal*.

(c) From the Library of Maulvi Habib-ur-Rahman Khan Sahib Sherwani, Rais, of Bhikampur :—

(36) *Dibacha-i-Ghurrat-ul-Kamal* and (37) *Tuhfat-us-Sighar*.

(d) From the Asafia Library, Hyderabad :—

(38) *Khazain-ul-Futuh*; (39) *Mathnawi Ishqia*; (40) *Nisab Badi-ul-Ajaib wa Nisab Muthallath*; (41) *Mathnawi Qiran-us-Sadain* (or *Mathnawi dar Tarif-i-Dehli*); (42) and (43) *Afzal-ul-Fawa'id*, two copies, one printed and the other a manuscript; (44) *Diwan Amir Khusrau*, which contains selections from all the five Diwans and also includes at the end five hundred *Rubaiyat*.

(e) From the Library of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur :—

(45 to 49) *Khamsa-i-Khusrawi*, including all the five Mathnawies and (50) *Diwan Ghurrat-ul-Kamal*.

(f) From the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal :—

(51) A manuscript copy of the *Diwan Baqia-Naqia*.

Further, as had already been stated above, a manuscript copy of (52) *Shahrashub* has been received from Lucknow;

and (53) *Nazm-i-Gharyal-i-Khusrau* and (54) a set of riddles and enigmatic sayings of Amir Khusrau from Hafiz Ahmad Ali Khan Sahib, "Shauq," Officer in charge of the State Library, Rampur.

The following is the complete list of the books received at Aligarh :—

- (1) *Matla-ul-Anwar*, five copies ; (2) *Laila Majnun*, five copies ; (3) *Hasht Bahisht*, five copies ; (4) *Aina-i-Sikandari*, five copies ; (5) *Shirin Khusrau*, two copies ; (6) *Qiranus-Sadain*, three copies ; (7) *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, three copies ; (8) *Nisab Badi-ul-Ajaib wa Nisab Muthallath*, three copies ; (9) *Afzal-ul-Fawaid*, three copies ; (10) *Dibacha-i-Ghurrat-ul-Kamal*, two copies ; (11) *Diwan Ghurrat-ul-Kamal*, two copies ; (12) *Diwan Tuhfatul Sighar*, a single copy ; (13) *Diwan Nihayat-ul-Kamal*, a single copy ; (14) *Diwan Baqia Naqia*, a single copy ; (15) *Ijaz-Khusrawi*, two copies ; (16) *Noh Sipihir*, a single copy ; (17) *Mathnawi Ishqia*, two copies ; (18) *Khaliq Bari*, a single copy ; (19) *Shahrashub*, a single copy ; (20) *Nazm-i-Gharyal*, a single copy ; (21) A set of Khusrau's riddles and enigmatic sayings, a single copy ; (22) *Collected Qasaid*, a single copy ; (23) *Majmua-i-Dawain*, two copies.

Besides these books, certain works preserved in the Rampur State Library are, through the kind permission of His Highness, being copied at Rampur under the supervision of Hafiz Ahmad Ali Khan Sahib, "Shauq," Officer in charge of State Library, while certain books of which copies have been received from other sources are also being compared with other copies existing in the State Library. These books are as follows :—

- (۱) اعجاز خسروى - (۲) کلیات خسروى مسمی بہ مجموعہ دواوین (۳) قران السعدین - (۴) مثنوی عشیقہ - (۵) خمسہ خسرو مشتمل بر مطلع الانوار - لیلی مجنون - خسرو شیرین - سکندر نامہ - ہشت بہشت (۶) نصاب بدیع العجائب - (۷) خالق باری - (۸) بوجہ پہلی

- (۹) قصہ چہار درویش - (۱۰) مجموعہ قصائد مشتمل بر ششصد قصاید (۱۱) تحفۃ الصغر - (۱۲) وسط الحیوۃ - (۱۳) بقیہ نقیہ - (۱۴) غرۃ الکمال (۱۵) مجموعہ قصائد و غزلیات بربک ہزار صفحات - (۱۶) مجموعہ دیوان قلمی یعنی تحفۃ الصغر و وسط الحیوۃ (حاشیہ حامل شیرین خسرو و قران السعدین) (۱۷) خزائن الفتوح - (۱۸) رباعیات اہل حرفہ -

The list of Amir Khusrau's works in the India Office Library has already been given above. The British Museum, London, contains the following works of Amir Khusrau, according to the catalogue prepared by Mr. Charles Rieu and printed in 1883 :—

- (۱) کلیات خسرو - (۲) دیوان خسرو - (۳) خمسہ خسرو - (۴) تحفۃ الصغر (۵) وسط الحیوۃ - (۶) غرۃ الکمال - (۷) بقیہ نقیہ - (۸) نہایت الکمال (۹) قران السعدین - (۱۰) مفتاح الفتوح - (۱۱) خزائن الفتوح - (۱۲) مثنوی عشیقہ - (۱۳) نہ سپہر - (۱۴) رسائل اعجاز (۱۵) مجموعہ غزلیات —

The Cambridge University Library contains the following books :—

- (۱) لیلی مجنون - (۲) آئینہ سکندری - (۳) قران السعدین —

The Khedive of Egypt's Library contains the following books :—

- 2 Volumes of the collected *Diwan* and
1 Volume of the *Khamisa*.

The following is the list of books catalogued in the Bodleian Library :—

- (۱) وسط الحیوۃ - (۲) غرۃ الکمال - (۳) بقیہ نقیہ - (۴) خمسہ - (۵) قران السعدین (۶) نہ سپہر - (۷) خضر خانہ عشیقہ —

The Berlin Library contains the following :—

- (۱) خمسہ - (۲) دیوان خسرو - (۳) ہشت بہشت - (۴) قران السعدین (۵) آئینہ سکندری - (۶) مطلع الانوار - (۷) شیرین خسرو —

Among the Libraries of India the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains the following :—

- (۱) خالق باری - (۲) اعجاز خسروى - (۳) خمسہ خسروى - (۴) قران السعدین (۵) مطلع الانوار - (۶) بقیہ نقیہ - (۷) عشیقہ —

The Bankipur Library contains the following :—

- (۱) تحفة الصغر - (۲) غرة الكمال - (۳) نهاية الكمال - (۴) قران السعدین
(۵) عشيقه - (۶) مطلع الانوار - (۷) خمس خسروى - (۸) ديوان خسرو

The Library of Tippoo Sultan contains the following:—

- (۱) خمس خسرو - (۲) نه سپهر - (۳) قران السعدین - (۴) عشيقه
(۵) مطلع الانوار - (۶) ديوان خسرو

The Library of Nadwat-ul-Ulama contains the following book :—

A manuscript copy of *Ijaz-i-Khusrawi*, which came from the Library of the late Nawab Ziauddin Khan Nayyir-i-Rakhshan, Delhi.

The Habibganj Library, in the Aligarh District, contains the following books :—

- (۱) تحفة الصغر - (۲) ديوانچه غرة الكمال - (۳) ديوان نهاية الكمال
(۴) ديوان قصائد - (۵) مجموعه غزليات و دواوين - (۶) خمس خسروى
(۷) نه سپهر - (۸) عشيقه - (۹) قران السعدین

ARRANGEMENTS FOR COPYING.

One copy was made of each of the books mentioned above as having been received at Aligarh in order to facilitate the process of comparison with other copies, locally as well as in the various libraries in the country. For this purpose two expert copyists were engaged who were employed in making copies of these works under the supervision of the staff of my office. Their full-time services were secured at fixed salaries in addition to special allowances according to the amount of work done by each. The rate of expenditure under both these heads, however, did not fall below a minimum of one rupee nor rise above a maximum of Rs. 1-8 per sixteen pages of copying.

Arrangements for obtaining copies of the books preserved in the Rampur State Library had to be made in

Rampur itself. A copyist, who was also a Persian scholar, was sent from Meerut to Rampur and three other copyists were engaged locally for the purpose of copying these manuscripts. All these four copyists are now engaged in making copies of those books which could not be sent to Aligarh from the State Library. Further, as there is a large collection of Amir Khusrau's collected poems, Qasaid and Rubaiyat in the Rampur State Library, it has been decided to have copies of all these books made as well, so that their texts may serve as guides for the work of correction. When the work on which these copyists are at present engaged is finished, it is further intended to send them to the other libraries in the country in order to make copies of those books which have not already been copied or of which copies have not hitherto been obtained.

In September, 1915, I made a representation to the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, explaining that as it was our intention to publish as correct a text as possible of Amir Khusrau's works and that as there existed much disagreement amongst the various copies of the books obtainable in this country, it would be deemed a favour, if the Government were pleased to secure for us the loan of four manuscripts from the Library of the British Museum. The four books desired were :—

- (۱) ديوان امير خسرو - (۲) کلیات امير خسرو - (۳) غزليات امير خسرو
(۴) مفتاح الفتوح

I have also asked the Government kindly to procure, if possible, that catalogue in which Dr. Sprenger mentions Amir Khusrau's works as consisting of ninety-nine volumes.

If through the kindness of the Government these books and this catalogue can be obtained, then the process of comparison and correction will be rendered much easier and the search for Amir Khusrau's remaining works will be greatly facilitated. The catalogues of the European libraries have not hitherto revealed the existence of any work which

has not after careful search been traced subsequently in some Library or other in this country ; but if, in future, some fresh work is brought to light, and it is found that it cannot be obtained in this country, arrangements will then be made for obtaining a photographic reproduction of its text.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR COMPARISON AND CORRECTION.

The most important part of our work is the process of comparison and correction. The taste for Persian literature and poetry has gradually atrophied and nearly all our eminent Persian scholars have one by one been taken from our midst by death. As, under the existing conditions, a knowledge of Persian is not much in demand, the people of this country have gradually lost all interest in Persian literature and learning.

I had requested the late Khwaja Azizuddin Sahib, "Aziz," of Lucknow, who was the most competent Persian scholar of his time, kindly to accord us his assistance in the work of correction. He was, however, unfortunately prevented from any active participation in the work owing to his ill health and infirmity, though he very kindly promised to do what he possibly could in this connection, if the books were sent to him at Lucknow. I deeply regret, however, that he died before we could avail ourselves of his promised help.

I had also approached the late Shams-ul-Ulama Maulvi Altaf Husain Sahib, "Hāli," with a like request, but he too, after a prolonged illness was removed from our midst. Great expectations of help had been based on the anticipated co-operation of Maulvi Shibli Numani, but he too was not spared to us. Those that are still spared to us are well advanced in years and, owing to the infirmities of age, are powerless to assist in the work.

Thus Maulvi Abdul Ghani Sahib, "Ghani," who is an authority on Persian literature, is prevented, although he is at this moment residing at Aligarh itself, from any kind of mental exertion or strain owing to his advanced years and ill health.

However, in spite of this difficulty, I have, after much thought and careful search, fortunately succeeded in entrusting the work of comparison and correction to men who, to the best of my knowledge and belief, are eminently fitted for this task.

Foremost among these is Maulvi Habib-ur-Rahman Khan Sahib Sherwani, Rais, of Bhikampur, whose splendid library has already been mentioned. Besides being a distinguished theologian, he is an eminent authority on Arabic and Persian. His knowledge of History is exceptional and his reading in literature and poetry has been unusually wide. If the business of having to attend to the work of his estate had not interfered with his literary pursuits and if he had not sought to conceal his attainments under a veil of modesty, instead of being merely reckoned amongst the landowners of Aligarh, he would most certainly have been recognised as one of the foremost scholars in this country. He has most kindly undertaken at my request the work of correcting and editing some of Amir Khusrau's works.

Next is Maulvi Rashid Ahmad Sahib, "Salim," Maulvi Fazil and Professor of Persian at the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, who has a profound knowledge of Persian and is also a good Arabic scholar. He is well acquainted with the history of Persian literature in its various phases and with the characteristics of the different schools of Persian poetry. Those M. A. students of the Aligarh College who take up Persian gain much profit from the Maulvi Sahib's admirable teaching.

The third is Maulvi Muhammad Aslam Sahib of Jeerajpur, whose writings are already so well-known that

he requires no further introduction here. He is also one of the Professors at the M. A. O. College, Aligarh. He is a very competent Persian scholar and is widely read in Persian literature and poetry.

The fourth is Khan Sahib Maulvi Muhammad Ismail Sahib, Rais of Meerut and retired Head Maulvi, whose popular books are included in the curriculum of the Government Schools. Besides being an excellent Persian scholar, he also possesses uncommon abilities as a teacher. His prose and Urdu poetry have won great popularity and he is at this moment a living monument of the past generation.

The fifth is Maulvi Ahmad Hasan Sahib, "Shaukat," of Meerut, who also needs no introduction as he is already famous in India for his contributions to oriental learning and for his proficiency in Persian.

The sixth is Maulvi Abul Hasan Sahib, "Jauhar," a resident of Meerut, who is an efficient Persian scholar and who has for the greater part of his life been engaged in studying and teaching Persian literature in association with the Persian community in Bombay and was also entrusted with the arrangement of the Persian books in a well-known library in Bombay.

The seventh is Maulvi Said Ahmad Sahib who is a good scholar both in Arabic and Persian. Certain Persian books that are included in the course of studies in Persian at the Government Universities have been annotated by him and his editions are extremely popular with the undergraduates. In this connection he has had ample opportunities of familiarising himself with the various schools of Persian poetry and prose.

Besides these gentlemen, we have been fortunate in engaging the interest of Maulana Syed Sulaiman Ashraf Sahib, Professor of Theology in the M. A. O. College, Aligarh,

who is an excellent Arabic and Persian scholar, and who has, at my request, promised to devote some of his time to the work of correcting and editing some of Amir Khusrau's works. Then again, my friend, Maulvi Shaikh Basheer-uddin Sahib, Rais, of Meerut, who is a very competent Persian scholar, has not only lent from his own private Library various works of Amir Khusrau, but has also very kindly devoted much of his own valuable time to the work of comparison and correction. Some of Amir Khusrau's works that were sent to Maulvi Ahmad Hasan Sahib, "Shaukat," of Meerut, for purposes of comparison and correction, were sent to him through the Shaikh Sahib, and have always been looked over a second time, as a precautionary measure, by the Shaikh Sahib, after they had been duly passed by Maulvi Ahmad Hasan Sahib, "Shaukat." His useful advice and practical suggestions have earned my deep gratitude.

This group of talented scholars has been gathered by me after much patient search and careful reflection. I am sure that I could not have made a better selection, and I have the fullest confidence that those books that pass the examination of these scholars will be free from almost all errors.

The method adopted for ensuring correctness is that the original manuscript, a copy of this text, and all other copies of the work which may be available, are submitted consecutively to each of the above named nine gentlemen for scrutiny. Each book is first critically examined and the various manuscript and printed copies of it are carefully compared. Wherever the several texts give variant readings, these are shown on the margin.

The meanings of all strange words and unfamiliar phrases are also noted on the margin. Then each copy is once again searchingly examined, and finally an introduction comprising a brief summary and a critical estimate of the work is prepared and attached to the book.

PRINTING.

With a view to engaging the interest of the public it has been deemed advisable that the publication of Amir Khusrau's collected works should be introduced with a treatise giving a short account of Amir Khusrau's life, containing a brief review of his works, and bringing out into full prominence their peculiar charm and excellence in such a manner as to create a desire for a perusal of the published works themselves. Thus Khan Sahib Maulvi Muhammad Ismail, Rais, of Meerut, has very kindly promised to write a treatise on Amir Khusrau's collected works. For this purpose various English, Persian, and Urdu memoirs have been placed at his disposal, so that he may select from them whatever material he may require for his subject. It has further been arranged that each work, as it comes up for publication, will be provided with a short preface, which will contain a summary and a critical estimate of the whole text. Thus each of the nine gentlemen already named, will write a preface to the works assigned to him for this purpose. Khan Sahib Maulvi Muhammad Ismail has already written a comprehensive preface to *Qiranus-Sadain*. Maulvi Rashid Ahmad Sahib, "Salim," as the Chief Editor, will read all these prefaces, so as to ensure the maintenance of a uniform standard.

Another point that came up for discussion was whether the works of Amir Khusrau should be lithographed or printed in type. Europeans undoubtedly prefer type to lithograph, and there is no doubt that supervision would have been facilitated, and that a greater degree of accuracy would have been ensured, if these works had been printed in type. But it has been unanimously decided after careful consideration to have the first edition of Amir Khusrau's works printed in lithograph on thick glazed paper (20" x 26") in the most attractive style.

For this purpose special arrangements have been made at the Institute Press, Aligarh, which will have the immense advantage that the examination and correction of the proofs will be easy, and the work will progress with rapidity.

Another point that came up for settlement was to decide which of Amir Khusrau's works should be published first and which remain over for the time being. Some people suggested that it would be useless to republish those works of Amir Khusrau that had already been printed and could be obtained everywhere.

For instance, they said, it would be useless to republish a work like *Ijaz-i-Khusrawi* which only contained essays on the art of writing and rhetorical embellishments of style, and could never be of any interest to the public generally. Some of the Mathnawis and Qasaid had also already been printed and it was therefore unnecessary to have them republished. They consequently recommended the publication of only those works that had not previously been published. But the Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk expressed the opinion—with which I am in full accord—that such works of Amir Khusrau as had so far been published had been printed without sufficient regard for accuracy, and the printed copies were usually full of mistakes. For this reason he advised that all the works, whether published or unpublished, should be corrected and published in a collected form, after taking the necessary measures to ensure the accuracy of the text. This has been accepted as the final decision.

The book *نصاب مثلث و نصاب بدیع العجائب* after having passed through all the stages of comparison and correction and having been provided with a preface, has already been sent to the Press, and it is hoped that this work will shortly be presented to the public.

The Mathnawi *Shirin-Khusrau* has also been sent up to the Press, and is being printed. Its four companion mathnawis of the *Khamasa-i-Khusrawi*, are undergoing the

process of correction, and it will not be long before they too are sent to the Press. After this the series of the Diwans will be taken up.

I now propose to give a short account of those books that have so far been received at Aligarh, and are going through the process of comparison and correction.

(1) *Khamasa-i-Khusrawi*. This *Khamasa* is divided into five Mathnawis : (i) *Matla-ul-Anwar* ; (ii) *Shirin Khusrau* ; (iii) *Majnun-Laila* ; (iv) *Aina-i-Sikandari* ; (v) *Hasht Bahisht*. This *Khamasa* which is also known under the name "*Panj-Ganj*" was written as a parallel to Maulana Nizami's *Khamasa*. Amir Khusrau's above-named five Mathnawis correspond to Maulana Nizami's (i) *Makhzan-ul-Asrar* ; (ii) *Khusrau-Shirin* ; (iii) *Laila-Majnun* ; (iv) *Sikandar-Nama* ; (v) *Haft Paikar*.

The *Khamasa* was completed by Amir Khusrau in 3 years, as the author himself records in the following couplet :—

کر ازان نقد قیمتی بر سر سال کردم این پنج گنج مالا مال

Amir Khusrau has also himself given the order in which the *Khamasa* was composed in the following poem :—

دادی اول بر گنبد دوار روشنائی ز مطلع الانوار
کردی نگاه با نشاط تمام شه شیرین و خسرو اندر جام
باز در عالم خرد مندی شور مجنون و لیلی انگندی
پس زبان پر در دردی کردی شرح راز سکندری کردی
وین زمان کز جواهر انجم می نگاری صحیفه پنجم
گویم افسانهائی طبع فزایی از لب لعبت فسانه سراجی
هر یک را بهشت نام کنم حورو کوثر دران تمام کنم
بهشت باشد بهشت و کوثر هفت بهشتم آن کاندرو بود بر هفت
پس نویسم بکلک مشک سرشت نام این بهشت خانه بهشت

Comparing the number of couplets in the *Khamasa* Nizami with those of the *Khamasa Khusrawi*, Daulat Shah Samarqandi in his *Tazkira* remarks that Nizami's *Khamasa*

comprises 28,000 couplets whereas there are only 18,000 couplets in the *Khamasa Khusrawi*. Amir Khusrau has himself shown the number of couplets in each Mathnawi and the date of its composition. Regarding the *Matla-ul-Anwar* he writes :—

در همه بیت آوری اندر شمار سه صد و ده بر شمر و سه هزار
۳۳۱۰

از اثر اختر گردون خورام شد بد و هفت این همه کامل تمام
سال که از چرخ کهن گشت بود از پس ششصد نود و هشت بود
۵۹۹۸

About *Shirin Khusrau* he writes :—

ز آغاز رجب فرخ شد این فال ز هجرت ششصد و پنجم و نود سال
۵۹۹۵
اگر پرسی که بیتش را عدد چیست چهار الف و چهارست و صد و بیست
۴۱۲۴

From the above couplets it appears that the *Shirin Khusrau* was written in the year 695 A. H. But as Amir Khusrau has himself shown in the couplets

نخست از پرده این صبح نشورم نمود از مطلع الانوار نورم
پس از کلکم چکید این شربت نو که نامش کرده ام شیرین و خسرو

the Mathnawi *Shirin Khusrau* was written after *Matla-ul-Anwar*, and as the Mathnawi *Matla-ul-Anwar* was written in 698 A. H., the biographers are inclined to infer that *Shirin Khusrau* must also have been written some time in the year 698 A. H.

Regarding "*Majnun-Laila*" the author writes :—

بیتش به شمار راستی هست جمله د و هزار و ششصد و شصت
۲۶۶۰
تاریخ ز هجرت آنچه بگذشت سالش نود است و ششصد و هشت
۵۹۹۸

Regarding "*Aina-i-Sikandari*" he writes :—

گر آری همه بیتش اندر عدد چهار الف پنجم شد و چهار صد
دین دم که پایان این پیکر است ز تاریخ هفصد یکم کمتر است
۶۹۹

Regarding "*Hasht Bahisht*" he writes :—

هم بیتش بگاہ عرض و شمار
 سه صد و پنجر و دو سه هزار
 ۳۳۵۲

سال هجرت یکے و هفصد بود
 کین بنا برد سر : پرخ کبود
 ۷۰۱

Thus the total number of couplets in the *Khamisa Khusrawi* amounts to 17,896.

The name of the fifth Mathnawi of the *Khamisa Khusrawi* is "*Hasht Bahisht*." This name is identical with that of Idris ibn Husamuddin's Biographical History of the Sultans of Turkey up to the reign of Sultan Murad II, but otherwise the two books have nothing in common.

Some critics give the *Khamisa Khusrawi* preference over the *Khamisa Nizami*. Amir Khusrau himself regarded his *Khamisa* with loving pride and on its completion he exultantly wrote the following couplet :—

دبدبه خسرویم شد بلند
 زلزله در گور نظامی نکند

Amir Khusrau himself states that the *Khamisa Khusrawi* was looked over for purposes of correction by Qazi Shihabuddin Sahib who was an eminent scholar of his own period.

(2) *Mathnawi Qiran-us-Sadain*. This Mathnawi is a historical account by Amir Khusrau of the meeting of Sultan Moizzuddin Kaikubad, Emperor of Delhi, with his father, Nasiruddin Bogra Khan, Governor of Bengal, by the banks of the river Ghagra in Oudh in the year 688 A. H. (1289 A. D.) As this Mathnawi contains a panegyric on Delhi and some of its famous buildings, it has also come to be known as the *Mathnawi Dar Tarif-i-Dehli*. This Mathnawi opens with the following couplets :—

شکر گویم که بقوفیق خداوند جهان
 بر سر نامه ز توحید نوشتم عنوان
 نام این نامه والا است قرآن السعدین
 کز بلندیش بسعدین سپهر است قرآن

Amir Khusrau states that this Mathnawi was written by him in his 36th year and occupied three months in writing. It was finished in the month of Ramazan in the year 688 A. H. (1289 A. D.) and contains 3,944 couplets :—

ورز عمل باز کشائی شمار
 نه صد و چار و چهل و سه هزار

Dr. Sprenger says that three commentaries were written on this Mathnawi : the first was written in the year 1014 A. H. by Maulana Nur-ul-Haq ; the second is ascribed to Abdur Rasul Kasim Sahib ; and the name of the third commentator is not known.

(3) *Mathnawi Ashiqia or Ishqia*. The other names of this Mathnawi are Khizr Khani and Dewal Rani. This Mathnawi is a historical romance dealing with the amours of Prince Khizr Khan (son of Sultan Alauddin Muhammad Shah Khilji) and Dewal Rani, daughter of Raja Karan, Governor of Gujrat.

This Mathnawi was written in 4 months and completed in the month of Zul-Qadah in the year 715 A. H. (1315 A. D.) Originally this Mathnawi comprised only 4,200 couplets, but Amir Khusrau writes that after the death of Prince Khizr Khan he augmented it by another 319 couplets. Thus the Mathnawi now contains altogether 4,519 couplets.

It was dedicated to Sultan Alauddin Muhammad Shah Khilji, the father of Prince Khizr Khan.

Amir Khusrau gives the following reason for its composition :—

One day, he says, he went on a visit to Prince Khizr Khan, who, in the course of an interview, requested him to render into a poem the story of his own love with Dewal Rani, facts regarding which he had himself reduced to writing. Amir Khusrau says that when the Prince handed him his draft, he was so affected and moved on reading it

that he promised the Prince what he desired. As Hindi words had been freely used in the Prince's composition, Amir Khusrau says that he was much perplexed as to how he could "patch up good silk with coarse cotton," or, in other words, blend suitably the Hindi and Persian words together. But Amir Khusrau himself says that after deeper consideration he became convinced that Hindi was in no manner inferior to Persian. Of course, Hindi could never be compared with Arabic; but it is not the same with Persian to which Hindi is certainly by no means inferior. Arabic is a pure language with which foreign words and phrases cannot be mingled. It is, however, different with Persian because Persian would be quite inelegant if it had not to borrow Arabic words for its adornment. Whether with regard to grammar, syntax, and etymology, or with regard to eloquent and elegant expression, Hindi is in no way defective. Those who are acquainted with Arabic, Persian, and Hindi will admit the truth of this statement.

Following this up, Amir Khusrau says:—

"If I were to give a reasonable and just account of the merits of Hindi, my readers would at once be adversely critical. Even if I were to support my statement with an oath, I fear that no regard would be paid to it. There is no doubt that my knowledge of Hindi is like a mere drop in the mighty ocean, but the fact is that any one who has not seen India or the river Ganges may well regard with pride the majesty of the Nile and the Tigris; and he who has only seen the nightingale of China cannot be expected to know the real worth of the Indian parrot. A Khorasani who regarded every Indian as a fool must have also fancied the betel-leaves of this country to be mere grass. The truth of my statement will be accepted only by fair-minded people who have travelled in various countries and have attentively observed the peculiarities of each. But that person who is swayed with prejudice will, without doubt, give the preference to foreign figs over Indian mangoes. India is not only a vast country:

it is also an earthly paradise. If it were not intended to have any connection with Paradise, then Adam and the peacock would not have been the ornament of this land."

(4). *Mathnawi Miftah-ul-Futuh* or *Fath-ul-Futuh* or *Fathnama*. This Mathnawi is a historical sketch of the initial victories of Jalaluddin Ferozshah who ascended the Imperial throne at Delhi in the year 689 A. H. (1290 A.D.)

It forms a portion of the *Diwan Ghurrat-ul-Kamal* and is therefore included in the oldest editions of this Diwan. It opens with the following couplet:—

سخن بر نامه شاهی کردم آغاز که بر شاهان درد و لذت کند باز

(5). *Mathnawi Faras-ul-Furs*. This Mathnawi is also a portion of the *Diwan Ghurrat-ul-Kamal*. The first line of this Mathnawi runs thus—

فرس الفرس خطاب شد این اسپ نامه را

(6). *Baznama*. This is also a Mathnawi of the *Diwan Ghurrat-ul-Kamal*, and opens with the following line:—

"این قصه باز نامه من دان که بهر این"

(7). Another Mathnawi of the Diwan is in the same metre as Firdausi's *Shah Nama*. The opening verse of the rubaiyat of this Diwan is:—

ولایت ستانا و خصم افگنا به لشکر کشی همچو مه رو شنا

(8). *Mathnawi Nuh Sipahr*. This is an independent Mathnawi. It was written by Amir Khusrau towards the end of his life. It opens with the following couplet:—

اول نگر نگارش تو حید کرد گار کین نه سپهر گشت بفرمایش آشکار

This Mathnawi was written in the year 718 A.H., in Amir Khusrau's 65th year, as he himself says:—

ور کشاده کنم این نقش و نگار سال بر هفصد و هزده شمار

This Mathnawi comprises 4,509 couplets and deals with Sultan Kutbuddin Mubarak Shah Khilji's court and some of the events of his reign (717-721 A. H. = 1321 A.D.) The third *sipihr* of this series contains an account of Amir Khusrau's own Indian descent and also an interesting account of the different languages current in the various parts of India.

In this connection the author has remarked that virtually in every country the language of the conquerors is gradually adopted by the conquered people, whose language in time becomes a mixture of the two languages.

With reference to the languages current at his own period in the country, he writes that each province had a separate language of its own, which had no relation to the languages of the other provinces, and, as an instance of this, he mentions the following languages: Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Tilangi, Gujrati, Malabari, Gor, Bengali, Oudhi, and Dehlavi. From this list of languages it becomes apparent that the foundation of Urdu had already been laid and that, in its initial state at that early period, it was known as Dehlavi.

Amir Khusrau remarks in the same connection that, in addition to the current languages named above, there was another language used by the Brahmins and known as Sanskrit. But it was practically a dead language known only to the Brahmins and unintelligible to the people generally. Though the Brahmins were familiar with the language, their women folk could not understand a word of it.

In some ways, the author observes, Sanskrit has much resemblance to Arabic, for instance, in elegance, in grammar, in the conjugation of verbs and in the power of forming innumerable derivative words by means of various combinations of letters. He writes that the Vedas, the sacred books of the Hindus, are in Sanskrit, in which language the Brahmins read their mythology. The author further goes on to remark that

there are in Sanskrit established rules of rhetoric and elegant composition and that Sanskrit is not surpassed by any other language except Arabic. It has a distinct superiority over Persian. Persian is indeed an extremely musical and eloquent language, but even in this respect Sanskrit is in no way inferior to it. Amir Khusrau has explained in this *sipihr* the characteristics and peculiarities of Sanskrit in such detail that it is evident that he had carefully studied the language and its grammar.

In the 9th *sipihr* the author boasts of his own command of language, remarking that, his poetry is characterised by a combination of good qualities not to be found in the poetry of the world-famous Shaikh Saadi Shirazi and Hakim Humam Tabrizi.

(9). *Divans*. Of Amir Khusrau's five Diwans the earliest is *Tuhtatus Sighar*, which embodies his works from the age of 16 to 19 years. This Diwan was written in the reign of Sultan Balban. It includes Qasaid, Qita'at, Gazaliyat, Mathnawiyat, and Rubaiyat, the majority of which are laudatory odes addressed to Sultan Balban, to Shahzada Khan Shahid, and to contemporary ministers and nobles.

The *Tarji-bands* have been devoted by Amir Khusrau chiefly to the praise of his own spiritual guide and preceptor, Hazrat Mahbub-i-Ilahi Sultan Nizamuddin Auliya. Amir Khusrau has written a long preface to this Diwan in the course of which he states that his brother, Tajuddin Zahid, had collected and arranged with much patient labour the author's works composed between the age of 16 and 19, and had inserted in red ink, at the head of each poem, a couplet which came to be known as *bait surkh* (red couplet). Each of these red couplets is artfully constructed so as to give the gist of the poem to which it is prefixed, but the beauty of these headings is that, if all these couplets were collected in one place, they themselves would form an independent poem. Such headings are found in all the

Diwans except the *Diwan Nihayat-ul-Kamal*, but their metre and rhyme differ in each Diwan in order that the headings of one Diwan may not be confused with the headings of another.

The Qasaid of this Diwan open with the following rubai :—

لوحے کر بر مصحفہ گردون مصور ست توقیع آن بپام خداوند اکبر است
شد تحفۃ الصغر چو خطاب این سواد را از ذکر ذوالجلال سواد می منور است

(10) *Diwan Wast-ul-Hayat*. This is Amir Khusrau's second Diwan which includes his works between the age of 24 and 32. It is a collection of Qasaid, Tarkib-bands, Ghazaliyat and Qitaat, which were for the most part written by Amir Khusrau in eulogy of his preceptor, Hazrat Sultan Nizamuddin Auliya; of Prince Khan Shaheed (who was at this time Governor of the Panjab and Multan); of Sultan Moizzuddin Kaikubad; and of the nobles of the court.

In the course of his preface to this Diwan, Amir Khusrau says :—

”در دیباچہ تحفۃ الصغر ذکر کرده شده است کہ بر سر ہر شعرے در صفت آن یک بیت ثبت افتاد است۔ ازان جملہ ابیات شعرے تمام می خیزد۔ و این خاص وضع منست کہ در آن کتاب مکتوب است و بعد ازین در جملہ ابیات سلسلہ ہم ازان باب خواهد بود۔ مقصود این ست کہ چنانکہ در تحفۃ الصغر وضع صفت نورفہ است درین دیوان نیز طریقہ غریب و خوش آیند آمدہ است کہ پیش ازین پنج مبصرے را در نظر نیامدہ مگر افضل الدین خاقانی کہ در ترجیعات نگاہ داشت یک قافیہ در ہر خانہ وضعی است اما استاد خاقانی نامہ شعر را در شارح ابیات راہ ندادہ است و ہم در سر شعر آن نام را عنوان گردایند۔ ولیکن بندہ این قدر تصرف زیادہ دارد کہ نامہ شعر را در آخر ہماں شعر در بیتہ درج کردہ است تا آن شعر را بدان نام خوانند“۔

(11) *Diwan Gurrat-ul-Kamal*. This is Amir Khusrau's third Diwan, which includes his works from the age of thirty-four to forty-two. In the course of a lengthy preface to this Diwan, Amir Khusrau has thrown much light on the

events of his own life and has also alluded to some of those rhetorical figures and devices of which he was the inventor.

All the works embodied in this Diwan were collected in this volume by Amir Khusrau at the request of his brother, Alauddin Ali Shah. Like the other Diwans mentioned above, this Diwan contains Qasaid, Qitaat, Tarji-bands, Mathnawiyat, Ghazaliyat, and Rubaiyat. The Qasaid are, as usual, devoted to the praise of Sultan Nizamuddin Auliya, the nobles of the court and the reigning Sultan. Those Qasaid which contain praise of God, of the Prophet, and of saintly persons or which are philosophic or didactic are impressive and dignified in their language; while those devoted to the praise of kings and courtiers are not marked by any specially elevated diction. Amir Khusrau's most splendid Qasaid are those which have been written by him as parallels to the masterpieces of some of the most renowned ancient masters. In these cases Amir Khusrau has demonstrated to the full the power of his intellect. An interesting illustration of this is found in his Qasida written as a parallel to Hakim Afzaluddin Khaqani Sherwani's famous Qasida, at the end of which Amir Khusrau, while recognising Khaqani as a great master, expresses his belief in his own superiority. Thus he writes :—

مرا سبق کمال است آنکہ گفت استاد خاقانی
دل من پیر تعلیم است و من طفل زباندانش
نہ من گفتار دانا را جوابے ساختم لیکن
جوے آوردم و آہے کہ ریزم پیش یکرانش
گراو بود است حسان عجم من جادوے ہندم
کہ در یکدم رسانم باز با پیشینہ حسانش
سخن زانکہ گفتہ استم بلند امروز در دہلی
کہ از خواب گراں بیدار کرد ستم بہ شروانش
بشرق و غرب بشنیدند گفتار بلند من
علاجی سمع را۔ گر نشوند اصحاب و اقرانش
چنین شعرے کہ سبعیات ازو سبعی است میشاید
کہ خواند نائب سبع المثنائی روح سبحانش

Another figure is called "Sanat-i-Iham-i-Zulwujuh" (صنعت ایہام ذوالوجوہ) in which the words in the couplet are susceptible of several meanings, e.g. :—

باز سر باز تو با سیمرغ سر بازی کند گرتو اسے شیر گران سر بازی در شکار

Amir Khusrau has pointed out that the last verse of this couplet is susceptible of four different interpretations :—

(1) یعنی باز را در شکار داری

If thou hast thy falcon in the chase.

(2) یعنی اگرچہ اورا باز داری از شکار

If thou restrain thy falcon.

(3) یعنی گشادہ داری باز را

If thou let loose thy falcon.

(4) یعنی اگر سر باز در شکار داری

If thou thinkest of thy falcon in the chase.

Further, if the words "sar-i-baz" (سر باز) are read together, they are susceptible of two further meanings, ("thou hast a bold falcon,") while (سر باز زندہ داری باز را) means "keep the head of thy falcon uncovered" (a falcon which is fully trained has his head kept uncovered, while the head of an untrained falcon is kept covered with a cap).

Another figure is "Sanat-i-Iham" (صنعت ایہام) in which a couplet can be read both in Persian and Hindi alike, since the words used in it belong equally to both the languages, e.g. :—

آئی آئی ہمان بیاری آئی ماری ماری براہ موری نائی

(12) *Baqiah Naqiah*. This is Amir Khusrau's fourth Diwan, which includes his works from the age of 50 to 64: The preface to this Diwan opens with the following couplet:—

بقیہ ایست نقیہ ز فیض طبع من این کہ چون طبایع افلاک محکم است و متین

ز بیم دزد پنہاں کردہ ام گنجے بہر بیتے
خداوندان نگہداری ز نقب دست ایشان

گراے حاسد ترا مرگی ست زین آبکیات من
خضر داند کہ با عمر ابد بست است پیمانش

گرفتم شعر خود سحر است - چہ بود سحر؟ گمراہی
بہ یزداں کے رسد آن کو بگمراہی ست اد مانش

چہ بر چینم ازین خاکے کہ می ییزم باکسوش
چہ بر بندم ازین بادے کہ می سلجم باوزانش

It will not be without interest here to give a few specimens of those rhetorical figures and devices to which Amir Khusrau has alluded in the preface to this Diwan. One figure, invented and named by him, is called "Hamil wa Mauquf" (حامل و موقوف). This figure consists in making one hemistich dependent for the completion of its meaning on the hemistich which follows, e.g. :—

در حسن کسے تو را نمادالا خور شید کہ صبح بروں آید تا
خدمت کد و پای تو بوسد اما بینی تو بسوی او چو پا بوسد پا

Another figure is called "Sanat-i-Ishtiqaq-i-Manawi" (صنعت اشتقاق معنوی) in which the same words are repeatedly used in the course of a couplet in different senses :—

اے کہ چون خنگ تو جولاں در گرفت گرد گردا گرد گردوں گرد کرد
بسکہ خلق از تو بسر ما برد برد برد برد برد برد برد برد
چون دو درد درد خصمت خورد گفت درد و درد و درد دردا درد درد

Another figure is called "Sanat-i-Bekam-o-Zaban" (i.e., without palate and tongue) in which the couplets are exclusively composed of the letters pronounced without the help of the palate and the tongue, e.g. :—

مے سرما بیوی ما بویا بہ بے او مویم مے ویم ماوا بہ
مائیم و مے و آن مہ ما با ما ما بہ مہ ما و ماہ ما با ما بہ

The *ghazals* of this Diwan are arranged alphabetically and open with the following couplets :—

اے زخیال مابروں در تو خیال کے رسد باصفت تو عقل را لاف کمال کے رسد

(13) *Nihayat-ul-Kamal*. This is Amir Khusrau's fifth Diwan which includes the works of the author's last years. This Diwan is provided with a short preface of which the subject is the praise of God and the Prophet and eulogy of Hazrat Mahbub Ilahi Sultan Nizamuddin Auliya. This Diwan, like the others, is composed of Mathnawiyat, Qasaid, Ghazaliyat, Qitaat, Tarji-bands, and Rubaiyat.

(14) A manuscript belonging to my own private library bears the title *Diwan Amir Khusrau*. This manuscript includes many Ghazals which are not to be found in any of the above-named five Diwans. It is, therefore, intended to have these Ghazals included in the collection of Amir Khusrau's miscellaneous poems.

(15) Among the *Qasaid* of Amir Khusrau is one long Qasida which is given in the list of Amir Khusrau's works as an independent poem. It is called "*Qasida-i-Amir Khusrau Mutazammin Haqiqat Shah-Nama Firdausi*" and contains a summary of the subject-matter of Firdausi's *Shah-Nama*. The heading of this Qasida is :—

”بنام ایزد بخشاينده بخشائش گر مہرباں داد گر“

It opens with the following couplet :—

آمد دگار من بسر از ناز افترا با قامتے چو از چمن خلد عرعر

(16) *Nisab Badi-ul-Ajaib wa Nisab Musallas*. In reality these are two separate works of which the one bearing the name "*Nisab Badi-ul-Ajaib*" is a work of Amir Khusrau's, while the other known as *Nisab Mussallas* is in reality the work of Maulana Muhammad Badi, Badi'i. But the two works are invariably found together in all the old manuscripts, and it is, no doubt, on this account that

they have both come to be ascribed to Amir Khusrau. All the Qitaat in the *Nisab Badi-ul-Ajaib* are written in different metres and each exemplifies a different figure of rhetoric. The first Qita is written in *Sanat-i-Tajnis* :—

مصرشہر و شہر ماہ و ماہ آب خوف سہم سہم تیر و اجنہ چہ بال باشد بال جان

In *Nisab Musallas* words of three letters with the three different vowel points are used in a couplet and their different meanings explained in the course of it. For instance, the words *Rabb*, meaning "God," *Ribb*, meaning "a large gathering," and *Rubb*, meaning "essence" have been used together in a couplet and their meanings explained in the following manner :—

رب داں پروردگار و رب بود جمع ز خلق رب آب خالص از انگور و سیب و نار دان

(17) *Shahrashub*. This is a volume of rubaiyat in which are collected the technical terms connected with various handicrafts. For instance :—

نچار پسر کم تیشم رانی میگرد آری برما ستم نہانی میگرد
(تیشم - آری - برما - نہانی)

Amir Khusrau's prose works include :—

(18) *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, called also *Surur-Ruh*, *Tarikh-i-Alai* and *Fath Nama*. It contains an account of Sultan Alaaddin Khilji's coronation in the year 695 A. H. (1296 A. D.) and the victories of his reign.

(19). *Afzal-ul-Faraid*. This is a collection of the sayings of Hazrat Mahbub Subhani Sultan Nizamuddin Auliya. It is regarded as an important work in the literature of Sufism.

(20). *Ijaz-i-Khusrawi*, called also *Rasail-i-Ijaz*. It is a bulky volume and is an excellent example of Amir Khusrau's ornate rhymed Persian prose and of his skill in handling various rhetorical figures and artifices. This book has been printed by the Firm of Messrs. Newal Kishore and

Sons, Lucknow. The editing, etc., of this book will be attended to when the books named above have been finished.

(21) & (22). *Khaliq Bari* and *Qissa Chahar Darwish*.

These books, ascribed to Amir Khusrau, are already well known. If any reliable and correct editions can be obtained, they will also be included in the collected works of Amir Khusrau.

In addition to the books already named, Amir Khusrau wrote the following works of which we have hitherto been unable to procure copies :—

- (۱) تغلق نامہ - (۲) مناقب ہند - (۳) شگرف بیان - (۴) ترانہ ہندی
(۵) انشاء امیر خسرو - (۶) تاج الفتوح - (۷) احوال امیر خسرو
(۸) تاریخ دہلی - (۹) مکتوبات امیر خسرو - (۱۰) جواہر البکر
(۱۱) مقالہ (حالات خلفاء اربعہ) - (۱۲) راحت المعینین - (۱۳) رسالہ
ایات بحث (خسرو جامی) - (۱۴) مناجات خسرو —

It is extremely regrettable that, in spite of diligent search, no traces can be discovered of the *Tuglak Nama* in any of the libraries of India. With one or two exceptions, the Persian memoirs are also silent on the subject. Sir Gore Ouseley has, however, given a short account of the work in his Memoirs, which embody some interesting matter regarding the lives of thirty famous Persian poets. These Memoirs were probably written about the year 1800 A.D., though they do not appear to have been published in a complete form before the year 1844. This book is very rare now, and the first time I had occasion to read it was in my college days. My tutor, the late Maulana Altaf Husain Sahib Hali of Panipat, was then writing the life of Saadi, and I was able to place at his disposal some interesting extracts from these Memoirs regarding the life of this poet. I have now had occasion to read this book a second time, in connection with the collection of Amir Khusrau's scattered works, and I am much obliged to Mr. Jones, the Principal of the Agra College, for very kindly lending me the book from the

College Library and enabling me to go through it once again. In his Memoirs Sir Gore Ouseley states on the authority of Amin Ahmad Razy's *Haft Iqlim* that the *Tuglak Nama* is a historical poem dealing with the reign of Tuglak Shah and consisting of 3,000 couplets. In order to obtain further details regarding this book, I went personally to the mausoleum of Sultan-al-Mashayikh Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, where Amir Khusrau's tomb is also situated, but could only learn that there had been a copy of this book in the possession of the family of the Imam of the mosque of the mausoleum, by whom it had been presented to the late Nawab Ziauddin Khan Sahib of Loharu, from whose library again it had been borrowed by the late Mir Majruh, one of the famous poets in the latter period of Delhi's greatness. After this no further trace of the book can be found, nor is it mentioned in the catalogues of the Libraries of the British Museum and the India Office. If the treasures of our literature had not been lost to us through our neglect, we should not to-day have been reduced to such sorry straits when attempting to collect the works of this incomparable author and poet whose name will endure and be a source of pride so long as there are people left in India who know and appreciate the Persian language.

According to Sir Gore Ouseley, Amir Khusrau was a veritable sovereign among the poets of his age, and his fame even induced the great poet Sheikh Saadi Shirazi to undertake a journey to India in order to make his acquaintance. Although some authorities do state that Sheikh Saadi's visit to India was due solely to his desire of making Amir Khusrau's acquaintance, most of the historians and biographers are silent on this point, while some have regarded this event as altogether apocryphal. But Sir Gore Ouseley, who was for a time British Ambassador in Persia, expressly says on the authority of Maulana Sheikh Aziri's *Jawahir-ul-Asrar* that, when Amir Khusrau's fame spread throughout Asia, Sheikh Saadi made a journey to

India in his old age, specially in order to make Amir Khusrau's acquaintance. Indeed, says Sir Gore Ouseley, Amir Khusrau was justly proud of the distinction that so great a Sufi and poet should, for the sake of making his acquaintance, have undertaken in his old age a tedious journey which might well have deterred a young man.

Sir Gore Ouseley is one of a group of eminent Europeans who, in the earlier period of British Rule in India, took a deep interest in oriental letters and produced interesting works of research. But even this progressive people is now beginning to display signs of apathy in this direction and their interest in oriental matters is vanishing.

Whatever may be the cause, it is beyond doubt that there was a period in the history of the world when people of all classes both in Europe and Asia alike, were deeply interested in poetry and literature, but the present age is so tainted with materialism that it has become insensible to the charm of beautiful expression. Though art, poetry, and literature hold a less conspicuous place to-day, still even now the most materialistic minds cannot altogether resist their charms, and their effect on various natures is the same as that of the captivating eyes which have been praised in the following couplet :—

آمی ہلاہل مدھ بہرے سیت شام رقتار
(آبکیات) (زہر) (نشر)
جیت مروت جہک جہک پرت جم چتوت اکبار
(فعل امی) (فعل ہلاہل) (فعل مدھ)

After this digression, I wish to speak of a figure of rhetoric which was used by Amir Khusrau and which has been described at length by Sir Gore Ouseley. There is no doubt that Amir Khusrau himself was the inventor of this figure, which consists in using words which have one meaning in Persian and another in Hindi. He was the only poet of his time to make use of this figure. As an

illustration, Sir Gore Ouseley has quoted the following quatrain :—

رفتہ بہ تماشاے کنارے جوے دیدم بہ لب آب زن ہندوے
گفتم ضما بہائے زلفت چہ بود آواز بر آورد کہ در در موئے

The point of these lines lies in the last words of the quatrain, “در در موئے,” which, in Persian, mean “each hair is worth a pearl,” while, in the Hindi women's idiom, they mean “begone, you rogue,” and are used in angrily driving away an intruder.

In a couplet of the “*Mathnawi Qiran-us-Sadain*,” Amir Khusrau has used the word جوہری in a peculiar sense. The Persian word means a jeweller, but the two constituent parts of the word (جوہری and جوہری) taken apart mean in Hindi “green barley.” Both these senses are applicable in the same couplet.

Similarly Amir Khusrau has written a *Qasida* exemplifying another remarkable figure, in which the rhyming word of each verse, while used in a legitimate Persian sense, is also a Hindi translation of a word preceding it in the same verse. Two couplets of this *Qasida* run thus :—

داریم آرزو کہ حکایت کنیم بات

(بات is the Hindi translation of حکایت, while in Persian it stands for باتو).

لالہ غلام روئے تو صد برگ زیر پات

(پات is the Hindi translation of برگ and at the same time in Persian it stands for پائے).

ہر برہمن کہ دید رخ خوبت اے صنم ز ناز را گسست و لکد زد بروی لات
(لات is the Hindi translation of لکد while in Persian it is the name of an idol).

It appears from Sir Gore Ouseley's statements that the language commonly spoken in the Peninsula during his sojourn in India from 1792 to 1810 A. D. was then

called Hindustani. This, in my opinion, is but an earlier name for Urdu. If the question is carefully considered, it will be found that, in substance, Urdu has sprung from a mixture of the various languages that were spoken in the different parts of India, and it is already an established fact that, besides the languages peculiar to the various provinces, there was also spoken in India a common language, called formerly Hindustani, or shortly Hindi, which, becoming more cultivated and refined, came later on to be termed Urdu, and which has since been further enriched and adorned by the genius of such writers as the poets Mir and Ghalib.

When compared with modern Urdu, the Urdu language of the earlier period can say with the poet : “وگرنہ من ہماں خاکم” ; and this claim of Urdu to be the universal language of India cannot fairly be regarded as in any measure unreasonable. For it is clear from Amir Khusrau's various writings that in his age, which is now removed from us by some six hundred years, the language that was spoken commonly in India was the same as that which, even to-day, forms the greater portion of our modern Hindustani (or Urdu, as it is now called), and even in its idiom no marked change has crept in since. Those who are fully conversant with the merits of the question can decide whether, under such circumstances, the language which has now come to be called Urdu should not be recognised as the principal language of India ! Is not Urdu, which has come into disfavour simply because its present name happens to be Urdu, entitled to say “I am the same language that was spoken in this country eight or nine hundred years ago ; and now endeavours are being made most unfairly to stifle my existence ! Do not be unjust : remove all bias from your minds. Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Bhasha, Marhati, Gujrati, Latin, Greek, and English recognise familiar expressions in me and in me are embodied words from all these languages. *Fiat justitia ruat caelum !*”

I now beg leave to close this discursive dissertation of mine with a couplet of Amir Khusrau which the great poet, in his passionate grief, sang at the sepulchre of his mentor and preceptor, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya :—

گوری سوئے سیچ پر مگر پر دالے کیس جا خسرو گہر آئے سانچہ یہی چوندیس

Among the Sufis this couplet of Amir Khusrau is highly appreciated.

I earnestly request those who may read this note of mine not to view it too critically and to overlook its blemishes and defects.

تو ہم اربدی بینی اندر سخن بخلق جہاں آفرین کار کن

Having said what I had to say on the subject I now close my note, but it would remain incomplete if I did not make special mention of the very valuable services which Mr. Idris Ahmad, B.A., Assistant Secretary of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, has rendered in connection with this work. From the very commencement he has given practical proof of his enthusiasm for our undertaking and has assisted me in the work of supervision and control with a sympathy and ability for which I gratefully acknowledge my obligation to him.

MOHAMMAD ISHAK KHAN.

ALIGARH:

Dated 23rd December, 1915.

For the Registrar

The Honorary Secretary of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, submits the prospectus of a scheme for the publication of the complete ~~etc~~ works of the Indian poet Amir Khosrau and also a copy of the first volume of the series. He requests patronage of the publication and also pecuniary help for the completion of the work.

2. The W.P. I. states that it is unusual to give any contribution from provincial funds, particularly in advance towards the cost of publications of this kind. He suggests that the question of patronage may be considered when sample copies ^{further} ~~are~~ ^{of} the works, when published, submitted for inspection. ~~The~~ Govt. has not hitherto given contributions in advance.

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towards ventures of this kind. ~~except in special~~
~~circumstances~~. Since there are only very few
wishikuhis in this Presidency in which Persian
is taught, the Govt. are not in a position
to patronize the publication to the extent
desired by the applicant. In these circum-
stances the Govt. may agree with the D.P.I. and
the Applicant may be informed accordingly.
The D.P.I. suggests the purchase of 3 copies
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wishikuhis. This may be approved.

3. A Draft order is submitted for
approval

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May
17/4/08

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M.A.O. College, Ali Garh, that Govt. cannot consider regret
their inability to give any donation for the publication of the work.

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With reference to his letter No. 6251 dated the 11th Jan 1918, the Honorary Secy of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, is requested to furnish the D.P.I., Madras with two additional copies of the ^{newer} "Majma-e-Layla" first volume of the series of which a specimen copy was forwarded with his letter, with a bill of costs for the three copies. The Secretary is informed that ^{the} Govt. regret their inability to give any donation towards the publication of the work, but ^{that} the question of ^{further} patronage will be considered when sample ~~copies~~ copies of the remaining volumes of the series are submitted.

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