EVALUATION OF GHALIB'S PERSIAN POETRY

Thesis submitted for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN PERSIAN

By
WARIS KIRMANI

Under the supervision of
Dr. Md. Shamoyn Israeli
Reader
Department of Persian
Aligarh Muslim University
Aligarh

March, 1965

Fed in Computer
ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The first two Chapters of this thesis are based on existing records of History and have nothing new to unfold, except, by way of short digressions to cover up and elucidate some literary point. The original work begins with the third chapter. This chapter gives a brief account of the Persian poetry produced during the Mughal period which served as a poetic heritage to Ghalib. Attempt has also been made to evaluate and assess the extent of Ghalib's own contribution to the rich legacy left to him by the poets of the preceding age. The fourth chapter provides a bird's eye-view of Ghalib's poetic works and makes an assessment of his command over all the five branches of poetry. The fifth and sixth chapters record my attempt to bring out the outstanding qualities of Ghalib's poetry. Its philosophy, style and diction have been discussed from a new angle. This, perhaps, is my original contribution.

I have summed up the contents of my thesis in the Introduction. The nature of my work and the reasons that prompted me to take it up, have also been explained therein. A chapterwise abstract, however, is being given here to indicate a brief outline of my work.
INTRODUCTION

Reasons for selecting the subject of thesis.
The value and significance of the subject.
Earlier attempts on the subject.
The scope and nature of the present work.
A brief introduction of all the chapters.
English as medium of the thesis and its implications.
Method adopted for critical evaluation.

Chapter I- THE AGE
General condition of the first half of the 19th century.
The Growing British Supremacy.
The Mughal Emperor.
The Age of Reformation.
The impact of Western education.
The Development of Urdu.

Chapter II- LIFE
Birth, Parentage and childhood of Ghalib.
Early education.
The House of Loharu and other relations.
The scholars of Delhi and their influence on Ghalib.
The pension dispute.
The Literary controversy at Calcutta and Masnavi Bad-i-Mukhalif
The Court of Awadh
The imprisonment and the related poem
Ghalib and the Mughal emperor
The war of Independence
Qate-i-Burhan
Ghalib's relation with the State of Rampur.

Chapter III - HERITAGE
The new school of poetry in India—Urfd, Faizi, Zuhuri.
Talib Amuli, Kalim, and Saib
The school of Bedil.
Ghalib's versatility and strength.
His intellectual development and Bedil's influence.
Comparison with Zuhuri, Urfd and Naziri.
Faizi's Hellenism.
The impact of Nizami and other Iranian poets.
The down-fall of Persian poetry in India.

Chapter IV - THE POETRY.
The Preface
Qitat
Masnawiyyat
Qasaid
Ghazalyyat
Rubaiyyat
Ghalib's excellence as Masnawi-writer

Chapter V - PHILOSOPHY
Ghalib - a poet of profound philosophy.
Reflection of contemporary life in Ghalib's poetry.
Realism.
Reason.
Higher conception of Ethics
Emotionalization of knowledge
The challenge of the Present
Physical beauty
The dynamic character of Ghalib's poetry.
The post-modern thinking.
The Intellectual theory of life.
The Greek influence and Hellenism
Mughaninama
The Progressive out-look.
Mysticism- a useless exercise of Ghalib.
Saginama
The Heathenism and Paganism.
The urge and struggle for life.
Ghalib's religious outlook.
Masnavi Abr-i-Guharbar- a pleader for mankind.
Psychological insight
The love-poetry.
The shrewd and unbending lover.
The character of Ghalib's mistress.

Chapter VI- STYLE AND DICTION.
Ghalib's aristocratic up-bringing.
The early stage of colourful and passionate life.
The economic deterioration and the inferiority complex.
Hatred against beaten track.
Affinity with the ancient Iranian creed.
The conflict of the dual personality.
The bitter experiences of life.
Satire.
Irony.
Wit and humour.
The burlesque.
Ghalib the Artist.
His craftsmanship
Similes
The image of Fire
The quest for the unknown and forbidden. Archaic words
and condensed expressions.

(Waris Kirmani)
CONTENTS

Introduction .......................... Pages 1
Chapter I
The Age ................................ 10
Chapter II
Life .................................... 17
Chapter III
Heritage ................................. 41
Chapter IV
Poetry .................................. 73
Chapter V
Philosophy ................................ 96
Chapter VI
Style and diction ....................... 135
Bibliography ............................. 156
System of Transliteration .......... 160

******
INTRODUCTION

It was not without a good deal of hesitation that I decided to select Ghālib's Persian poetry as the subject of my thesis. Among the many discouraging factors, one was the general attitude of apathy on the part of the Iranian scholars towards the Persian writers of India. Notwithstanding the magnificent contribution of the Indian writers to the store-house of Persian thought and learning, it has to be accepted that Persian was for them an alien language and we have to submit to the judgement of Iranians in respect of their use of language. I could, therefore, hope to achieve little by writing on an Indian poet whose very claim to the use of Persian, as a means of poetic expression, might be challenged by others. However, Persian has been, in India, the chief vehicle of expression in many branches of human knowledge including poetry. It has produced a number of eminent historians, biographers, lexicographers and of course, a few poets too whose works are held in esteem even today not only in India but also in Iran. With a glorious history of development across several centuries in India, the language inevitably developed a tradition and acquired a specific hue and texture, largely Indian in character, and capable of appealing mainly to the Indian mind. The works thus produced in the language reflect the urges and aspirations of the Indian people which, again, can best be
appreciated by the scholars of the soil. Now if we decide to neglect these works simply because foreigners have failed to see beauty and worth into them, we shall be guilty of causing an incalculable loss to our national wealth. I call it a loss to national wealth because Khusraw, Faizī, Bedil and Ghalib were products of the Indian soil as much as Kabīr, Malik Muḥammad Jāisī, Tulsīdās and Khān-i-Khānān were. In fact they were better representatives of Medieval Indian culture, since its composite, variegated nature manifested itself through their writings in Persian.

Ghalīb’s Persian poetry is the last great work of art produced in the context of this cultural pattern and as such, it deserves our close and respectful attention. Its influence on our culture and literature has been deep and far-reaching. In addition to being a masterpiece of artistic thought and expression and therefore, a thing of intrinsic value, it marks the transition from the Medieval period to the Modern age in India for it was in Ghalīb that, for the first time in the history of arts and letters in Medieval Indi, a deviation from traditional modes of thought took place, giving way to a scientific out-look. It was these considerations which impelled me to take up the work despite the discouraging factors. I do not claim that Ghalīb’s Persian be treated at par with that of the classical masters. But I do feel that the approach of the Īrānian writers to the Persian written outside Īrān, need not be as rigid and arbitrary as it has so far been. Persian is a great language and has held sway
over a large part of Asia for many centuries. Its spread and
growth were brought about by men of diverse religions and
nationalities. Due regard must, therefore, be paid to the
divergent styles of the language that resulted from the impact
of the varying geographical and historical conditions. It would
be unfair to expect the Persian written in Delhi to be strictly
of the Tehran or Tabriz pattern, particularly when no facilities
exist for the free interchange of ideas, as was the case in the
days of Ghalib. In writing on Ghalib's poetry, therefore, I
proceeded on the assumption that Persian was the language of
Medieval India and also anticipating readers who regard the
Persian works produced in India as their national heritage and
hence feel inclined to them.

We know that Ghalib's popularity in India rests mainly
on his Urdu poetry although he himself attached greater importance
to his Persian compositions, having devoted the major part of his
life and energy to his writings in Persian. His Urdu poetry when
compared to that produced in Persian, appears to be very small in
volume but it is more easily intelligible to Indians. Extensive
work has, therefore, been done on this poetry by our critics and
scholars and the minutest details regarding Ghalib's life and
his Urdu poetry have been brought to light. I have taken advantage
of all this in trying to understand and evaluate his Persian poetry
The nature of my work, therefore, has not been strictly one of
research, in the narrow sense of the word, as it does not aim at
digging out new facts about Ghalib's life. It has been, rather,
a work based on the informative material concerning Ghālib's life made available by research scholars. An attempt has been made to study his ideas against the background of this information, so as to give a fuller and more coherent picture of his intellectual achievements. In view of the colossal amount of work that Ghālib left in the Persian language, I feel that the real assessment of his contribution to human thought can never be made by confining oneself to his meagre poetry in Urdu. I also believe that no satisfactory work has so far been done on Ghālib's Persian poetry. The only notable examples of serious study in this connection are the works of Ḥālī, Ekrām and Khalīfā Ḥabīl. One might also mention a few more articles casually written by different scholars.\[1\] Even the three writers mentioned above have not devoted themselves exclusively to his Persian poetry. Ḥālī's *Yādgār-i-Ghālib* is by far the best of all the books written so far on Ghālib, but it has grown out of date now. Being the earliest work on Ghālib, and in such close proximity to his age as to be almost contemporaneous with him, it is both sympathetic and reliable. We can not, however, expect it to fulfil the requirements of modern criticism. The latest book written on the subject is 'Ghālib—his life and Persian poetry' by Dr. `Ārif Shāh C. Sayyid Gilānī and published lately in Pakistan. It is an honest attempt and speaks of the devotion that the author feels towards Ghālib but its character is more that of a comprehensive review of Ghālib's literary works than a critical appreciation of his poetry. The life of the poet, his

---

1. The names of Qāzī `Abdul Wadūd, Asad `Alī Anwārī, Niyāz Fatehpūrī and Imitāz `Alī Ārshī may be especially mentioned from amongst those who have contributed articles relating to Ghālib's Persian poetry.
character and the social environment then existing have been narrated in detail. The book then gives an exhaustive list of the poet's works together with the details of his qasīdās and maśnawīs. Ghazal has been ignored although it enjoys greater popularity and is more representative of Ghalib as a poet. After a thorough study of this book I felt that it had not covered the subject-matter which I proposed to take up. My aim, from the very beginning, has been to focus my attention upon the purely critical aspect of Ghalib's Persian poetry, thus limiting my work to a small sphere of treatment. Instead of arranging his entire poetry from A to Z, I wanted to probe into his vision and if possible, to reach its substance. What is the beauty of Ghalib's Persian poetry? What gives it such a profound appeal to our senses? How far is it the representative of our past culture and learning, and of what help and value is it to us in the present circumstances? What emotional truth and revealing power is there beneath its words that has not grown stale and stimulates our minds even today? It was in this quest that I read Ghalib's poetry for almost a whole year till at last the deeper currents of his thought began to appear in their mutual relationship. I then tried to catch the recurring ideas in Ghalib's poetry, the nature of his imagery and metaphor and the general pattern of his thought. For this purpose I had to look at his poetry as an integrated unit and not in separate divisions of ghazal, qasīdā and maśnawī. I do not think that such a division can ever be helpful in understanding the nature of basic ideas in his poetry. We can hardly afford to make watertight compartments of ghazals,
qasīdās and maṣnawīs when a final evaluation of poetry is aimed at. I have, therefore, refrained from dealing separately with these sub-divisions and have confined myself to making an assessment of the poetry as a whole. My task would have been considerably facilitated if his poetry had been available in a chronological instead of the alphabetical order but unfortunately no such collection of his works exists.

The first chapter of my study deals with a general survey of Ghalīb's age with special reference to the religious, social and political movements that were at work at the time and influenced the poet's thinking. The second chapter deals with the poet's life. I have based the account of his life mostly on Malik Rām's book 'Zīkr-i-Ghalīb' which is both short and authentic. In dealing with the poet's life, I have tried to emphasise its significant aspects only, leaving aside the necessary details. I have digressed, where necessary, to discuss poems that are related to some particular episodes of the life of the poet. In making a correct assessment of Ghalīb's achievement as a poet, it was imperative to determine the nature of the heritage on which he raised the structure of his art. This forms the subject matter of the third chapter. It entailed a wide range of study, covering almost the entire history of Persian literature with special reference to the Mughal poetry in India which immediately preceded Ghalīb. I have studied important poetical works along with the historical chronicles, biographies, memoirs and Tagkirās written during this period. I must, however, acknowledge my indebtedness to the fourth volume of Shīrūl 'Ajam, the best and most thrilling account of the poets of this period.
written by Shibli Numani. The fourth chapter is based on a
general survey of Ghalib's poetry comprising qiita, masnaviyat, qasaid and rubaiyat. I have tried to give the details of these
forms along with some of their critical evaluation. The fifth
and sixth chapters deal with the main subject. The frame-work
of Ghalib's thought and the technique of his art have been
examined in detail in these chapters.

I do not know how far I have succeeded in my attempt.
Critical appreciation in itself is not an easy job, for it
requires deep and prolonged thinking over the subject, followed
by a reconstruction of the whole imaginative set-up of a given
writer. Numerous difficulties are added to the task when it
has to be accomplished in a language different from the text.
Although the fundamental nature of poetry may be common, the
differences of form and modes of expression peculiar to the
native soil always exist in languages and can not be adequately
interpreted. No equivalent forms of Persian ghazal and qasida,
for instance, are found in the English language. Critics,
hitherto, have been giving the names of lyric to ghazal and
ode to qasida. Now a reader who is not familiar with the
Persian ghazal and qasida can hardly visualise their true nature
by these terms. I have, therefore used the original terms as
in Persian. Their English equivalents are, however, noted below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qita</td>
<td>Fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masnavi</td>
<td>Epic or long narrative poem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qasida</td>
<td>Ode</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The tradition of Persian poetry is also alien to the English reader. The extreme type of laudatory verses addressed to a patron in a Persian qaṣīda will appear monstrous when rendered into English. I have, therefore, translated only important pieces of poetry which were either too difficult to be understood by an average Persian-knowing reader or were indispensable for the illustration of an important point. As for the quotations from the prose, I have translated most of them. Attempt has been made to keep the translation as much literal as possible.

In a bid to examine and evaluate the text from all possible angles, I have tried to take a purely objective view of it, without following rigidly any particular school of criticism. It was, nevertheless, inevitable for me to work out my ideas on the lines of western criticism and to refer to its authorities in support of my arguments. Some of my readers might question the propriety of examining Ghâlib on the principles set by Coleridge or Arnold but I need hardly apologise for it as our own critical standards are backward and out of date now. Persian literature can, no doubt, lay claim to one of the highest places in the world literature but it has miserably failed to produce good criticism. But for one great book 'Chahâr Maqâlā' which is perhaps the oldest and one of the best books after "Poetics" in the entire range of world criticism, there is no other book of a high order in Persian language. Even today when literary
criticism has become a fairly advanced science, Iranian scholars are more inclined towards doing research over manuscripts and editing their classics. Few, for instance, have interpreted the philosophy of the great Hāfiz on the lines Bradlay has done in relation to Shakespeare. A wider interpretation of the standard Persian poetry on the lines of the knowledge achieved so far, will be, in my humble opinion, a valuable contribution. Let me not be misunderstood that I ever claim to have made this contribution. I have, no doubt, kept it in view as an ideal and have striven to make an identical attempt on one of India's best poets in the Persian language.
CHAPTER I

THE AGE

The first half of the 19th century which mainly forms the period of Ghalib's active life, is of great significance in the history of modern India. It saw the final collapse of the Mughal empire, the elimination of a number of states which had risen on the decline of the Mughal empire and the emergence of the English as a paramount power. It also saw, in consequence of the British impact, the beginning of those changes in the beliefs, practices, and ways of the life of the local people which laid the foundation of the Modern Indian Society. It was during these years that the development of Urdu and Bengali languages and the replacement of Persian by English, as the language of administration took place. It was also during these years that the strangulation of the Indian handicrafts was effected and India became the unchallenged market for the English manufactured goods. These social, political and economic changes eventually led, in 1857, to that violent outburst which is generally known as the Indian Mutiny.

It was during this period that the British established their political domination over India. It is true that by the end of the 18th century they had become masters of a considerable part of the country, but there were still large areas which were independent; and besides, even those principalities which had come under the British influence were in a state of uneasy dependence.
Furthermore, Delhi was in the hands of the Marāthās, and its Emperor, though a pensioner and shorn of all his political powers, still enjoyed great prestige.

When Delhi was occupied by the British in 1803, they became responsible for the administration and collection, but this was done in the name of the Emperor. Two courts were established, one revenue, and the other criminal; and in the latter, Muslim law was administered. The Emperor's authority was confined within the walls of the fort and the members of the royal family who lived within, enjoyed diplomatic immunity. The etiquette of the court was maintained, as under the great Mughals, and the Resident attended the Darbār in the Dīwān-i-Khāṣ regularly, and performed all the ceremonies like any other courtier. Thus, within the palace walls, the Emperor enjoyed the powers and dignities of a sovereign.

By the time Bahādur Shāh ascended the throne, even this limited status of the Mughal Emperor shrank down. Lord Canning decided to proclaim Mirzā Quwaish as Bahādur Shāh's successor, for the former agreed to accept the conditions namely, the title of king would be abolished and the head of the House of Tīmur would be called merely a Shāhzādā. Canning brought about this settlement under the wrong impression that no pro-Mughal sentiments existed even among the Muslims. How wrong he was, was shortly proved by the events of the first war of Independence, when not only the Muslims but also the Hindūs rallied round the Mughal throne. Though shorn of all political powers, the
Mughal Court still continued to be the centre of culture radiating its influence all over India. It was, to quote Spears "a school of manners" from which the Marathas, the Jats and the Sikhs learnt lessons. Mughal dress, etiquette, and forms of address were copied everywhere. In fact they were no longer regarded as of alien origin, but were looked upon as a part of Indian heritage, evolved by the blending of the Hindu and Muslim cultural traditions Hindus and Muslims participated in each other's religious festivals and lived in amity. The communal conflicts caused by the separatist movements, which began later on, were unknown during this period.

Ghalib's age can well be called to be an age of reformation and renaissance brought about by the impact of the West in India. Indian society was full of social evils like "Sati" and slavery. Female infanticide was quite common among the Jats, Rajputs and Mewats in the central and western India. The "Thugs" were spread all over the country and had made roads unsafe for travelling. It was the impact of the West that made Raja Ram Mohan Roy aware of the evils of the Indian society who turned his attention to social reforms. The Raja denounced image-worship, sacrificial rites, and took up arms against caste rules, concubinage and the prohibition of widow's remarriage. He summed up his views in Brahmo-Samaj movement which he founded in 1828. He urged for a return to the original principles of Vedântism and a total rejection of all social and religious evils that had crept into the Hindu society. Later on, Devendranath Tagore, the father of the great poet Rabindranath Tagore, joined it and infused new vigour into the
The impact of western ideas on the Muslims was different from that on the Hindus, because the former had for a long time stood away from English education. There were social and religious movements among the Muslims too, but they were not prompted by western ideas; they were a reaction either against the Hindu beliefs and practices which the Muslims had imbibed or against the growing religious cultural and political influence of the English. Muslims in Bengal were educationally backward, religiously degenerate, and culturally demoralized. Men like Mir Nāṣir ʿAlī and Hājī Sharīatullah aroused the Muslims of Bengal from their torpor so that they might appreciate the state they were in.

Saiyid Ahmad Shahīd of Rai-Bareilly was the founder of a religio-political movement which had many things in common with "Wahābism". Possessed of a deeply religious nature, he came under the influence of Shāh ʿAbdul ʿAzīz. His main objective was to restore Islām to its pristine purity and to cleanse it of all the superstitions and accretions of Indian and Īrānīan origin. Saiyid Ahmad was influenced by the ideas of Shāh Waliullah and Shāh ʿAbdul ʿAzīz, but unlike the Wahābīs, he held liberal views on Şūfism and Taqlīd. He regarded widow remarriage as necessary. Again, he denounced pilgrimages to the tombs of saints, fire-works on the occasion of Shab-i-Barāt and various other un-Islāmīc practices. However, it is important to note that Saiyid Ahmad not only desired the renaissance of the Muslims in the religious sphere but in the political sphere
as well. Anxious to revive a Muslim state, he was both anti-British and anti-Sikh.

Education, on a comparatively wider scale, also played a big role in reforming the society and modernizing the outlook of the people. Warren Hastings established the Calcuttā Madrasā in 1781 where Muslim law and other subjects relating to Islām were taught. Later on in 1792 a Hindū College was established at Benares. The Christian missionaries set up schools for European and Indian boys at Serāmpûr near Calcuttā; started a paper factory and a printing press, and began to print translations of the Bible into Bengālī. Thus these missionaries not only laid the foundation of English education in India but also of Bengālī prose literature. The Presidency College was also established during the period under review. It was the seat of secular learning and encouraged freedom of thinking in respect of religion. It played an important part in the social and intellectual life of Bengāl. In the meantime, Rāja Rām Mohan Roy and some important missionaries were constantly urging the Government to introduce the education of western sciences and learning through the English language. Macaulay, the President of the Public Instruction Committee, also favoured these demands. He presented a lengthy note in their support to the Government and suggested that it should do its best "to form a class of persons who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour
but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect. These masses, Macaulay thought would refine the vernaculars, enrich them with western scientific terms, and thus enable them to become the vehicles of conveying knowledge to the great bulk of the people. The result was that schools at the headquarters of districts, later known as High Schools, began to be established. The cause of English education was further advanced by the announcement made by Lord Hardinge in 1844 that candidates qualified in the knowledge of English, would be preferred for the public services. Voluntary efforts for such an education were supported by grants-in-aid. Female education was also encouraged, and Universities were established at Calcuttā, Bombay and Madrās on the model of the London University.

The first half of the nineteenth century also saw the development of Urdu language and literature. This was, to a great extent, due to the British impact. In 1800 Fort William College was founded in order to teach Indian languages to the English men, and John Gilchrist, who became its first Principal, played a vital role in developing Urdu prose. In his college, he gathered able men and encouraged them to write in simple and direct language, free from the cumbersome and ornate style hitherto employed under the Persian influence. In consequence of his efforts, books on Law and Medicine were written and works of history, fiction and ethics were translated from Arabic,
Persian and Sanskrit, Urdu grammar was written and dictionaries were compiled. The introduction of the printing press and the recognition of Urdu in 1833 as the court language in place of Persian, gave a great impetus to its development. The Christian missionaries of Serampur in Bengal published Urdu translations of the Bible in addition to a large number of pamphlets and papers. Since the object of all those publications was to take them to the masses, they were written in simple style.

The political, social and economic changes that took place during the first half of the 19th century, though led to the cataclysm of the Mutiny, also made possible the birth of Modern India. These years also brought into existence a middle class of businessmen, lawyers, doctors and government servants which later on, was to lead India to freedom. The destruction of village economy and textile industry, based on the handloom, and the spinning wheel, paved the way for the evolution of a new and better mode of production.
CHAPTER II

LIFE

Born in 1797 at Āgrā, Ghālib was a descendant of Aibaks, a clan of the Turks from Central Asia. The Aibaks were renowned for their valour and adventurous spirit. Ghālib's great-grandfather, Qūqān Beg migrated from Samarqand to India in the reign of Shāh Ālam and entered the royal service. His two sons have been mentioned by Hādī, Abdullāh Beg Khān and Naṣrullāh Beg Khān; the former being the father of Ghālib. 'Abdullāh Beg Khān, alias Mirzā Dūlhā was married to Izzatun-Nisā Begām, the daughter of Khwājā Ghulām Husain Khān, a respectable military officer and a grandee of Agra city. 'Abdullāh Beg Khān lived with his father-in-law at Āgrā and his two sons, Mirzā Asadullāh Khān Ghālib and Mirzā Yūsuf Khān, and a daughter Chhoti Khānam were also brought up at the same place. 'Abdullāh Beg Khān, while he was in the service of Rājā Bakhtāwar Singh of Alwar, received a bullet-shot in an expedition and died on the spot. He was buried at Rājgarh. Ghālib was still a minor when this tragic incident occurred. Consequently his uncle, Naṣrullāh Beg Khān had to look after Ghālib and his brother.

Ghālib is said to have spent his childhood in great luxury at Āgrā in the house of his maternal grand-father who was an aristocrat of the day. He played all day long with the sportive boys and lived an utterly uninhibited life with reckless companions of his age. References to his recklessness are to be
found in his letters which he wrote to his intimate friends later on. It was probably during this period that he seems to have acquired the habit of drinking and gambling and is even said to have made amorous advances to a "Domīnī" who lived in the neighbourhood. Later on, when he established himself as a poet of some eminence, he wrote an Urdu ghazal, perhaps in the memory of the same lady, who, by that time, was dead. His early marriage, therefore, when he was only thirteen years old, might have been forced on him by his relatives to bridle his amorous spirit. It was anything but congenial to him and we find him regretting it all through his life.

Ghālib was a learned man of his time. Apart from the literary achievements in which he was unsurpassed, his knowledge of astrology, philosophy, logic, music and the science of medicine was profound and some of his qasīdas speak eloquently of them. Addressing Bahādur Shāh he says:

The locality where Ghalib lived in Āgrā was also the residence of distinguished Persian scholars like Mulla Wāli Muḥammad, Mawlawī Muḥammad Čāmil and Mawlawī Muḥammad Muʿazzam. Ghalib received his early education from the last mentioned person who was a renowned scholar of Āgrā and well versed in all the branches of the current sciences. Mullā Čabdūs Samad,

1. Khutūt-i-Ghalib (see letters to Ḥātim ʿAlī Mehr) p. 228,229, also Urdu-i-Muʿalla p. 207.
a Zoroastrian convert, has also been referred to as one of Ghālib's teachers. ‘Abduṣ Šamad's existence has been doubtful from the very beginning but recently it has been almost disproved by Qāṣī ‘Abdul Wadūd's enlightening article published in the Ghālib number of ‘Alīgarh Magazine for the year 1948-49.

Ghālib's uncle, Mirzā Naṣrullāh Beg, was an officer in the British army at Āgra, getting Rs. 1700/- per month as his salary. In addition to this, he had received two parganas also for the maintenance of his Brigade which brought him an annual income of Rs. 150000/-. On his death, the said property merged with the estate of Fīrozpur Jhirkhā and his dependants were allotted a life-pension by the British Government, that was payable from the same estate. Since Ghālib was also a dependant of Naṣrullāh Beg, he too received an yearly pension of Rs. 700/-. In 1810, Ghālib was married to Umrao Begam, daughter of Khān Bahsh Khan Mārūf, who was a brother of 'Āhmād Bahsh Khān, Nawāb of Fīrozpur Jhirkhā. Earlier, the Nawāb's sister had also been married to Ghālib's uncle, Naṣrullāh Beg Khān. Thus we see that Ghālib's relationship with the House of Lohārū was both monetary and matrimonial. He started coming to Delhi frequently after his marriage and ultimately, in 1812, settled down permanently in this city. Delhi was a great seat of learning at that time. Ghālib's father-in-law was himself a learned man and was keenly interested in mysticism and poetry. He further introduced Ghālib to eminent scholars like Mawlānā Fażl-i-Haqq Khairābādī etc. Hence it was here at Delhi, that young Ghālib primarily came into contact with great
minds who exercised a healthy influence on the development of his personality and his future mode of thinking. Fazl-i-Haq Khairebadî warned him against the vague flights of imagination and brought about a restraint and refinement in his art. The Mawlana made Ghâlib conscious of the responsibilities of a great poet, with the result that his ideas began to be channelised and he got rid of many evils that had marked his youth. The artificial style and verbosity of his early writings, under the influence of Bedil, begins now to give way to a simple diction, more easily understandable by the common reader. Behind this change in style is really a change in outlook; Ghâlib, the man, has grown; he has definitely left behind his impressionable character and the desire to show off. He has developed a realistic outlook on life and a simpler and effective style of writing more in harmony with the new outlook. There is a growing awareness of the contradictions of experience reflected in the terseness of style.

One important event of Ghâlib's life was his journey to Calcutta which he undertook in connection with his pension dispute. Originally, the amount of pension that was required to be paid to the dependants of Nasrullah Beg was rupees ten thousand a year. But Nawab Ahmad Bakhsh Khan Fakhrud-Dawla secured another order from Lord Lake and this reduced the amount to rupees five thousand a year out of which Ghâlib's share came to rupees seven hundred per annum only. This amount did not meet Ghâlib's requirements and hence he was always in financial trouble. In the meantime,
Nawāb Ahmad Bakhsh Khān retired from active life leaving the estate to his eldest son, Nawāb Shamsud-Dīn Ahmad Khān, who was not on good terms with Ghalib. He penalised Ghalib by withholding the payment of the pension frequently. These were bad days for Ghalib. He had no money even to meet the bare necessities of life. The creditors had lost faith in his paying capacity and stormed his house to recover their dues. About this time, Ghalib's younger brother, Mirzā Yūsuf, turned insane, placing him in a serious mental and financial crisis. These mishaps coupled with the feeling of injustice meted out to him, impelled Ghalib to file a suit against the Nawāb in the Supreme Court at Calcutta. Ghalib was about thirty years old when he left for Calcutta via Lucknow and Benāres. He was accorded a warm welcome on his arrival in Calcutta. Mr. Stirling, the then Secretary to the Government of India, gave him a sympathetic hearing and promised to help him.¹ The matter was referred to Sir John Malcolm, the then Governor of Bombay, who happened to be the Secretary to Lord Lake at the time of the award of the pension in dispute. The report of the said Governor, unfortunately, went against Ghalib and the case was dismissed. Ghalib did not lose all hope and appealed to the court of Directors and subsequently sent a petition to Queen Victoria. All his efforts, however, ultimately failed and he gave up his struggle in 1844. Sixteen precious years of his life were thus wasted in litigation and he utilised the last drop of his energy in the struggle, with the only result that he spent the remainder of his life in paying off the heavy debts incurred during the litigation.

¹ Kulliyāt-i-Naṣr p. 167.
Ghâlib was forced to stay in Calcuttâ for about two years in this connection, where he got an opportunity to move in the literary circles of that place. A special Mushâirâ was arranged in his honour in the building of the Madrasa-i-Âlia, maintained by the East India Company. Some persons raised objections against the two verses of Ghâlib that were recited by the latter on that occasion. They further produced the authority of Qatîl in their support. This gave rise to a controversy between Ghâlib and his critics which ultimately culminated in the production of the famous masnawi, ‘Bâd-i-Mukhâlif’, by Ghâlib. This masnawi has been generally regarded as a sort of apology written by Ghâlib to appease his opponents at Calcuttâ. Dr. Ârifshâh C. Sayyid Gîlânî in his recent book on Ghâlib writes:

'Later to check the tide, his friends, particularly the Nawâb of Huglî and one Munshi Muhammed Husain advised Ghâlib to come out with some sort of apologia. Accordingly, he wrote the famous ‘Bâd-i-Mukhâlif’. This had the desired effect and the fury and rage subsided to a considerable extent'.

Authorities like Shaikh Muhammed Ekrâm and Malik Râm, too, seem inclined to create the same impression but the latter has nowhere expressly called it to be an apology. On the contrary, he has perceived the satirical vein in the masnawi and has pointed out its provocative nature. The misunderstanding seems to have originated from Ghâlib’s own concluding verses that ironically

1. Kulliyât-i-Nasr p. 170  
2. Ghâlib His Life and Persian Poetry p. 51
declare the poem to be an 'Ashtīnāma' and 'Maziratnāma'. Taking the maṣnawī as it is found in Ghālib's published Kulliyāt, I feel inclined to say that Ghālib was not in the least apologetic. He justifies the idioms used by him in the disputed verses and rejects the authority of Qatīl. He is prepared to recognize only the authority of those who are pure 伊朗ians and he professes to be a follower of 'Urfī, Nazīrī, Zuhūrī, Asīr, Tālib Amuli and Hazūn, whose names he mentions in the poem. He calls Qatīl to be an ignorant person:

After deriding Qatīl and his followers, he begins to praise the former, which becomes all the more damaging. As a grown-up person sometimes suspends his judgement to humour an obstinate child, so does Ghālib in the following verses:

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 99
2. Ibid p. 101
Reference might here be made to Ghalib’s own words regarding this masnavi that I have culled out from one of his letters. Writing to Mawlād Mūhammad ‘Alī Khān, Sa’dr-i-Ahmīd, Bāndā, during the period of his stay in Calcutta, Ghalib says:

"Hence at the direction of these two elderly persons (Nawāb Akbar ‘Alī Khān and Mawlād Mūhammad Muḥsīn) I have composed a masnavi, wherein, after expressing my modesty and humility, I have versified a reply to the objections and the masnavi has been approved by the lofty-minded."

This statement is quite in tune with the spirit of the masnavi. It professes to have been written in self-defence against certain objections and not as an apology whatsoever. Qāzī ‘Abdul Wadūd with his remarkable discerning capacity has appreciated this fact and has declared the masnavi to be a message of war (Pāyām-i-Jang) rather than an apology (Aṣhtīnāma). Qāzī ‘Abdul Wadūd has been able to find a copy of this masnavi in a collection of Ghalib’s Persian letters, preserved in the library of Ḥakīm Ḥabībur Rahman Khān of Decca. This copy is rather different from the one generally found in Ghalib’s Kulliyāt. A comparison of the two brings out that good

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 101
2. Kulliyāt-i-Nazm p. 170
many verses were primarily dropped and an equal number was added to it later on. Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd feels that the originally dropped verses are submissive in character and full of praise for Qatīl, although not without satirical touch, while those substituted, are openly disparaging. The Qāzī has also pointed out two verses found in the current version, containing derogatory remarks against Qatīl which are missing from the newly discovered copy. As for the change in the text, he says, that it must have been brought about by Ghālib after his return from Calcutta. His words are as follows:

"How the maṃnawī assumed the present form, only this much can be said in this respect that alteration and addition in it might have been made after his return from Calcutta."

Another relevant extract is as follows:

"In ( ) Qatīl's encomium clearly appears to be satire. The eulogic verses of ( ) too are not without irony. Since in Ghālib's time all kind of exaggeration in encomia

1. See the verses on page 22.
3. */ = Current version of the maṃnawī.
4. */ = The earlier version of the maṃnawī discovered by Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd.
was permissible, most of the readers would not have noticed as to why Ghālib declares Qatīl to be the equal of, or greater than the biggest masters of Iran when he does not recognize him even as an authority. Verses 82 and 136 of (J) openly disparage Qatīl. These verses, being against the fundamental objective of the mašnawī are not found in (J). These and some additions to this mašnawī entitle it to be called a message of war rather than a letter of peace.

These facts and figures can easily be construed to mean, and I am afraid Qāżī ʿAbdul Wadūd, suspicious as he generally is of Ghālib's intentions, means so by implication, that Ghālib modified the mašnawī immediately after his return from Calcutta to keep up his egoistic character and uphold his prestige. I, therefore, feel it necessary to submit that no personal motive can be attributed to the later modification of the mašnawī. This becomes clear when we look at the poem from the artistic point of view which Qāżī ʿAbdul Wadūd appears to have ignored. A poem cannot be treated like a piece of prose as the former has entirely a different creative process. It is hardly final and complete in the first attempt and the poet continues to devote his attention to the elements of form and content both, even after it has been produced in full. The first outcome of any creative impulse is predominantly emotional, and, therefore, refuses to be bound down by the artistic requirements. It is only in the second phase of the creative process, which sometimes occurs when the creation is out, that the intellectual and artistic considerations begin to work and the exuberance and over-growth of the poem is reduced to proportional limits.

Qāżī ʿAbdul Wadūd gives no evidence to show that Ghālib worked out the change after his return from Calcutta. His is a pure surmise.
On the contrary, it is quite reasonable to suppose that Ghalib, excited as he was at the moment, distributed the rough out-pour of his feelings in the shape of the version recovered by Qazi Abdul Wadud, but soon after, it was polished and chiselled in the final shape that is now included in his Kulliyat. A comparison of the discarded verses with those substituted, itself speaks of the artistic treatment that the poem has undergone. For instance, the following verses that were discarded are crude and artistically imperfect.

One who is familiar with Ghalib's craftsmanship and the high artistic excellence that he generally maintains, can easily notice the undeveloped form of these verses except the last one, and that too, had to be sacrificed for its logical connection with the preceding verses. Again we find the following verse having been dropped out.

This verse has no defect, prima-facie, but Ghalib probably cut it down because a factually more important verse immediately followed it.

The second verse being in the same rhyme and refrain would have created a technical defect in the masnavī if it was preceded by the first one. Apart from these verses, there are a number of minor changes in words which, of course, Qāzī Abdul Wadūd has very carefully noted down and which speak of an artistic improvement.

I now come to the second point made out by Qāzī Abdul Wadūd, namely, attributing a personal motive on the part of Ghalib in changing the text. Qāzī Abdul Wadūd finds the eulogic verses of the current form to be openly derogatory while those of the earlier form as merely ironical. I submit that a comparison of the two reveals the position as just the reverse and that the following verses discovered by Qāzī Abdul Wadūd are far more disparaging and bitter than those substituted later.

Students of Persian literature know that Qātī never deserved this tribute and I am unable to follow Qāzī Abdul Wadūd's

1. See the verses on page 23.
proposition that the intellectuals, about a hundred years ago, considered these verses, especially in the background of a bitter controversy, to be a solemn praise, as the audience of Anwarī and Khāqānī did.

It will not, therefore, be proper to call the masnawī 'Bād-i-Mukhālif', in its either form, an apology when so much scorn and irony pervades it throughout. The misunderstanding must also be removed in order to help make a proper assessment of the poem, for its intrinsic quality is marred by attributing a different motive to it. The masnawī should not be treated as a statement in a court of law where one might take Ghālib by his words. Its modesty and self-condemnation is only a part of oriental mannerism and nothing more. As a matter of fact, the masnawī has been discreetly designed to expose the ignorance and rudeness of Ghālib's critics. Ghālib praises Qatīl only to confound his followers and gives quite a different impression to the reader who easily understands the underlying meaning of the praise. The whole masnawī appears to be an out-burst of a mind that wanted to assert itself as the unrivalled monarch of Persian poetry in India. The same strong and unbending Ghālib is there. He has not submitted. The objections raised by the followers of Qatīl, whether right or wrong, were an open challenge to Ghālib's supremacy in Persian learning and his command over the poetry of that language. He felt extremely offended and hence hurled a strong attack against the rebels through the trenchant satire of this masnawī.
Ghālib stayed for about a year in Lucknow on his way to Calcutta. Naṣīrūd-Dīn Haider was the ruler of Awadh at that time. The intellectuals of Lucknow gave Ghālib a cordial welcome and a reception was proposed in his honour at the residence of Rashanud-Dawla, the chief minister. It did not, however, materialise for certain pre-conditions laid down by Ghālib. On his return from Calcutta, Ghālib despatched a qaṣīda to Naṣīrūd-Dīn Haider, who, in return, ordered rupees five thousand to be paid to Ghālib. Unfortunately, this amount was misappropriated by Rashanud-Dawla and the poet did not receive a single penny out of it. Later on, Nawāb Wajid 'Ali Shah sanctioned rupees five hundred yearly for him, but soon after the Nawāb was deposed and Ghālib was again deprived of the royal aid.

In the meantime, Ghālib’s reputation as a great Persian scholar had spread all over the country and he was offered Professorship of Persian at the Delhi College in 1842. But unfortunately, when Ghālib went to meet the employer, the latter did not come out to receive him. Ghālib took it to be an insult and returned home without an interview. The year 1847 brought in its wake a very unfortunate event for Ghālib. He was arrested on the charge of gambling and was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. two hundred to boot. His friends did everything possible to retrieve his lot and the Emperor personal intervened in the matter, but the conviction order could not be set aside. Other restrictions were, however, relaxed and his friends were allowed to visit him freely. Nawāb Muṭṭafā Khān Shīftā was very helpful during the days of imprisonment and he personally went
to see Ghalib on many occasions. In spite of all these relaxations
the conviction had an adverse effect on Ghalib's nerves. We can
very well visualise its reaction on a man of Ghalib's temperament
who was an aristocrat by birth and laid emphasis over his noble
birth so very often in his writings. Letters written during this
period speak of his deep disgust with life. This event, however,
sad and heart-rending though it was, impelled Ghalib to compose
one of his finest poems in the Persian language. The poem in
question was left over from inclusion in the Kulliyat by sheer
over-sight, but was subsequently incorporated in 'Sabad-i-Ghīn'
by Ghalib himself. It speaks of Ghalib's feelings on the life
of imprisonment. The alchemy of genius has transmuted personal
experience of deep agony and humiliation into a great work of art.
Unlike the general trend of his poetry, this poem is subjective
and embodies the poet's expression of strong personal grief. A
man of defiant and stubborn nature as he was, Ghalib seldom
allowed his real dejection to appear in poetry. He has correctly
described his nature elsewhere in the following verse

\[ \text{Even in the face of the worst circumstances, he kept up a}
\text{smiling face and laughed his miseries away. Based as the poem}
\text{is on the worst misfortune that ever befell Ghalib, its study}
\text{is of special interest to us as it reveals how a brave and}
\text{strong mind has reacted to the incident. Ghalib was, after all,}
\text{a man susceptible to the shocks of misfortune and this poem is}
\text{an out-burst of his inner feelings. His humour, so characteristic}
\text{of him in adversity, has failed him in this agony, giving way to a} \]

deep satire. His pride of noble descent and excellent poetry was razed to dust. He lay in the prison cell, crushed and humiliated, surrounded by the culprits and savages, brooding over the reward that he received from the world for his immortal literary services. Yet he did not bend, and by keeping his head high in the worst crisis of his life he saved the prestige of the creative art itself. The unbending spirit pervading the following verses is worth mentioning:

Ghālib entered the royal service in 1850. It was his age old dream but for one reason or the other, he had failed to win the royal approbation up to a certain time. Quite a good number of qasidas written in praise of Bahādur Shāh bears evidence to the fact that the king was not quite happy with Ghālib and hence, gave him little encouragement. This coldness in the King's behaviour has been generally attributed to the influence of Zawq over the king. Zawq was the Poet-laureate as well as the king's teacher and he maintained an inimical attitude towards Ghālib all over his life. Moreover, the king had other reasons, too, for not having developed cordial relations with Ghālib. Allusion may here be made to qasida no. 13 of Ghālib's Kulliyāt written in praise of Akbar Shāh II and prince Salīm, bearing the following verse

Shaikh Muhammad Ekrām has pointed out that Bahādur Shāh's estrangement from Ghalib might have been due to this qaṣīda which hails his brother prince Salīm, as heir-apparent to the throne, and neglects him altogether.1 Now when Bahādur Shāh ascended the throne, Ghalib tried to make amends by welcoming him (qaṣīda no. 14 of the Kulliyāt)

He furtherlavishes encomia on the king in exaggerated terms and yearns to win his favour, inviting his attention to his beautiful art:

Another qaṣīda (no. 15 of the Kulliyāt) is yet another desperate appeal to the ruling monarch to recognize the poet's merit and invite him to the royal court. It is really pitiful to note that a poet who considered himself superior to Naqīrī and was, indeed, in no way inferior to him, was compelled to live in utter penury, while the same court that rewarded Naqīrī, Urﬁ and Kālīm etc., patronized much lesser poets like Zawq. It was this sense of injury that provoked Ghalib to emphasise his greatness again and again. We cannot take his utterances as boastful declarations of a mediocre poet. These are in fact the out-pourings of a great though injured personality in the melodious form of poetry:

1. Ghālibnāma p. 89
2. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 217
Qasīda no. 16 openly refers to the king's displeasure and regrets it.

But all these moving appeals fell on deaf ears and in qasīda no. 17 at last, we find, the Turkoman of Central Asia is awakened in Ghalib. While praising the king, he addresses himself to the real enemy and lashes out, though indirectly, but with great force, at Zawq.

Mark the proud tone of the admonition that must have unnerved the pretentious enemy.

One more factor, responsible for the king's indifference to Ghalib seems to be the former's taste for pure, simple and spoken Urdu that was being made use of by Zawq. Zawq was highly

2. Ibid p. 220.
classical in temperament and so was his royal pupil. Both of them believed in 'what oft was thought but never so well expressed' a dictum put forward by Pope, the high priest of the neo-classical age of English literature. Zawq had a marvellous capacity for catching common place objects and versifying them in a proverbial style. This amused the king much more than Ghalib's deep metaphysical poetry. It had the stamp of the 'high seriousness' that does not generally appeal to kings and pleasure-seeking people. That is one reason why his discontent vis-a-vis the imperial attitude lingered on even though he got the assignment of writing the history of the House of Timur and was financially rewarded for the same. Addressing Bahadur Shah in the preface to Mehr-i-Nimruz he writes:

"Had I been in the excellent age of Jamshid, as I am in your times, Jamshid would have applauded the age and had I praised..."

1. Ghalib had planned to write the history in two parts. The first part, dealing up to the period of Humayun was completed and was entitled as Mehr-i-Nimruz. The second part entitled Mah-i-Nim Mān relating to the period between Humayun and Bahadur Shah Zafar was, however, never written.
Faridun, the fortunate, in the manner I praise your Majesty, Faridun would have soared high up to the skies and the stars. If I were present with my fiery breath, in the assembly where Zoroaster kindled fire and brought forth Zand, fire would not have flared up due to fear of me and nobody would have listened to the recitation of Zand because of my charming discourse. For me, any amount of pride that I feel, is justified on the good luck of having a lord and master like your majesty. May I be sacrificed for you; you should also feel proud of this warm entertainment, that you have an eloquent slave like Ghalib. If you desire to pay attention in consonance with the talent, set the pupils of your eyes on me and open the door of your heart before me. They say that in the reign of the Lord of the auspicious conjunction the 2nd, Kalim was weighed on the order of the same large-hearted monarch, against silver, gold, rubies and jewels a hundred times. I only desire that you allow the discerning ones not to feel offended by traction and trial and weigh my compositions against those of Kalim only once”.

Any way, after a pretty long time Ghalib succeeded in getting a job at the Red Fort through the good offices of Mawlana Naṣīrūd-Dīn, alias, Mīān Kāle Sahīb and Hakīm Ehsanullāh Khān. He was appointed on a salary of Rs. 50/- per month and assigned to write the history of the House of Timūr. The title of Najmūd-Dawla Dabīrūl-Mulk, Nīzāmī was also conferred on him on the same occasion. A few years later, that is in 1854, when Zawq died, Ghalib became the teacher of Bahādur Shāh Zafar
as well as of Mirzā Fakhrū, the heir-apparent to the throne. Financially, this period was auspicious for Ghālib for he was receiving money from the king, Mirzā Fakhrū and Nawāb Wājid Ḍālī Shāh of Awadh simultaneously. But unfortunately, this period proved to be rather short-lived, as Mirzā Fakhrū died in 1856 and Bahādur Shāh and Wājid Ḍālī Shāh were deposed and banished, with the result that Ghālib was again left without any source of income. The out-break of the first War of Independence further added to his financial worries, as his pension also stopped on account of the disturbances. Life all over the country was paralysed and Delhi was the worst sufferer. Ghālib was living at Ballī Mārān at that time. This locality was, fortunately, guarded by the soldiers of the Maharāja of Patiāla and Ghālib remained mostly confined to his house during the reign of terror. His expenses during this period were borne by his Hindu friends especially by Munshi Har Gopal Taftā. Nawāb Ziaud-Dīn Ahmad Khān also, in view of Ghālib’s financial crises, sanctioned Rs. 50/- per month to the latter’s wife, Umrao Begam, which she received till her death.

Ghālib’s book ‘Qāṭe-i-Burhān’ is a production of this period. He used to read ‘Burhān-i-Qāṭe’, the famous lexicon by Mawlawī Muḥammad Husain of Deccan, to while away his time during the disturbances and in the course of reading, he underlined and corrected many errors of this book which he later collected and published under the title of Qāṭe-i-Burhān in
1862. Authorities like Ḥāfīz Māhmūd Shīrānī and Qāżī ʿAbdūl Wādūd do not have a favourable opinion regarding this book. Asad ʿAlī Anwārī’s book ‘Qātīl Awr Ghālīb’ is also related to the same subject and openly accuses Ghālīb of victimising Qātīl and other Persian scholars of India. Qāżī ʿAbdūl Wādūd has written a lengthy article on its drawbacks and shortcomings which supplies us with a wealth of information about the whole affair. In fact, Ghālīb was always harsh and unfair to the Persian writers and scholars of Indian origin and was willing to recognize none except himself as an authority. We have already noticed the trouble that he created for himself in Calcutta on account of the same attitude. This time the spark again flared up and he took upon himself the correction and criticism of a lexicon of established reputation. In fairness to Ghālīb, we must admit that his Qāṭeʿ-ī-Burḥān is a negative work based on a desire to show off at the cost of other sincere scholars. The compilation of this book was bound to create great resentment among the people. Consequently, four books were written against Ghālīb’s Qāṭeʿ-ī-Burḥān, some of them full of harsh and indecent remarks against Ghālīb. The books are as follows:

2. Sāṭeʿ-ī-Būrḥān by Mawlawī Rāḥīm Bā ḡ ṣh of Sardhana.
4. Qāṭeʿ-ul-Qāṭeʿ by Mawlawī ʿAbdul ʿAmin of Fathāla.

---

Ghālib and his followers also retaliated by writing a number of booklets and pamphlets that have been examined in detail by good many writers. For a fuller knowledge of the literature produced following the publication of Qāṭe-i-Burhān, the reader might refer himself to articles written by 'Abdul Majīd Sālik, Mawlānā Maheś Prashād and Qāzī 'Abdul Wadūd, published in Alīgarh Magazine Ghālib Number of 1948-49.1 Ghālib brought a defamation suit also against one of his critics but he had to withdraw it later. 'Burhān-i-Qāṭe' was further enlarged and published in 1866 under the title of 'Dhafṣā-i-Kawīānī'.

Ghālib was advised by Mawlānā Faẓl-ī-Ḥaq Khairābādī to get in contact with the state of Rampūr, by writing a qasīda in praise of Nawāb Yūsuf ‘Alī Khān, the ruler. Ghālib acted accordingly and the Nawāb was pleased to appoint him his teacher in the art of versification and gave him financial help occasionally. Later on, the Nawāb sanctioned a monthly grant of Rs. 100/- which Ghālib continued to receive till death. Ghālib also used the good offices of the Nawāb for the restoration of his pension from the Government, as well as for improving his relations with the British officials who had grown suspicious about Ghālib's sympathies with the fighters for freedom in 1857. Ghālib also tried to become the Poet-laureate of Queen Victoria and requested for the publication of his book

1. Asad 'Alī Anwārī's book 'Qatīl Awr Ghālib' also deals with the subject.
'Dastanbū' at Government expense, but the requests were not acceded to, although his pension was restored in May 1860. Ghālib made two journeys to Rāmpūr, one at the invitation of Nawāb Yusuf Ālī Khān, in the beginning of 1860, and the other on the occasion of the Nawāb's death, in the autumn of 1865. Ghālib had undertaken the latter trip in the expectation that the new Nawāb would oblige him with a large amount on the occasion of his accession and thus he would be relieved of his age-old financial worries. The expectation did not materialize, and he returned to Delhī disappointed and exhausted by the tiresome journey.

Ghālib was a patient of chronic constipation right from his early life. His youth was marked by over-indulgence when he neglected his health. His life-long addiction to drinks had an adverse effect on his health, more specially in the declining age. His already deteriorating health, therefore, broke down in 1866 when he returned from the tiresome journey of Rāmpūr. From this time onwards he remained mostly confined to bed. He developed deafness and his eye-sight also grew weak. But, in spite of this confinement, his literary activities did not cease. He exchanged letters with friends and disciples and made corrections in their ghazals. He died in Delhī on 15th February, 1869, after a prolonged illness.
CHAPTER III
HERITAGE

In tracing the influences at work in Ghalib's Persian poetry and the heritage that he got from the past, we shall have to recall the style in versification which originated with Fughani in the Fifteenth century under the later Timurids and was brought over to India by Babar. It assumed a rather sophisticated form during the reign of the great Mughals and extended up to Deccan, taking into its orbit almost all the poets whether Indian or Iranian in origin. Abul Fa'iz has given, in his "AIN-I-AKBARI", a long list of such poets that flourished at that time. Prominent among them were 'Urfi, Naqiri, Faizi and Zuhurri who were the sponsors of a new school of poetry in India. The author of 'Maasir-i-Rahimi', a contemporary biographer writing on 'Urfi, refers to this phenomenon:

"He is the inventor of a fresh style which, at present, is regarded as authentic among people, and capable persons, weighers of words and appreciators of subtleties think it to be praiseworthy and good and emulate his example."

Another reference by the same author throws some light on the nature of poetry that was practised by this school. It

refers to Faizī too, as 'Urfī's fellow poet and to Ḥakīm Abūl Fateh as a patron of this poetry.

"And capable persons and assayers of verses of this age hold that the novelty in versification, which is laudable among poets in this age and Shaikh Faizī and Mawlānā 'Urfī Shīrāzī have composed verses on that line, is beholden to the hint and instruction of him (Ḥakīm Abūl Fateh).

Zuhūrī also claims this recognition by referring to the new style of his poetry in the following verse:

Hence it can be inferred that novelty in versification 'Tāza gū' was the main characteristic of this poetry. The poet must bring out some thing new whether he is singing the joys of union or bemoaning the pangs of separation. He should be able to confound his listeners with fanciful ideas and novel expressions. The tendency to hunt after quaint and uncommon ideas was further encouraged and patronized by the great nobles of the time like Abdur Ḥāfīm Khān-i-Khāna and Ḥakīm Abūl Fateh. The latter's role has already been referred to. This naturally led the poets to compete among themselves for novel ideas in order to humour their patrons. The conceit engendered by novelty and the delicacies of thought, therefore, came to be regarded as more important than the expression of genuine feelings, which had only a secondary role to play. The simple emotions of the

1. Shifrul Ijam p. 12
2. Diwān-i-Zuhūrī p. 11
earlier poets as reflected in the following verse of Sa'dī,

or in Khusraw,

or in Hāfiz,

were now replaced by the soaring flights of imagination and complex ideas. A homely emotion expressed in direct and simple words was not enough to evoke applause now. Besides this change in taste, the inadequacy of a simple style to meet the growing needs of an ever-increasing sphere of imagination was also keenly felt by the poets. Hence 'Urfī says:-

Zuhūrī, too, has the same complaint to make:

The poets of this period, therefore, resorted to a new form of diction that was artificial and ornate. They tried to introduce new metaphors and imageries and made use of the various types of figures of speech. Zuhūrī, for instance, describes the rolling of his tears in the following manner:

Again, Faizī gives expression to his intense feeling of love in these words:

'Urfī's quaint way of praising a horse seems to surpass the

1. Dīwān-i-'Urfī p. 11.
2. Dīwān-i-Zuhūrī p. 113.
exaggeration of all the qasīda-writers of the past.

Nazīrī depicts the beauty and charm of his beloved which is, at once, unique and fascinating:

This elaborateness gave birth to a new kind of lyricism that was more fanciful and less emotional in character. It abounds in the poetry of this period to a considerable extent and as such, can be declared to be its very hallmark. One finds it not only in verses dealing with love but also pervading the metaphysical and philosophical ideas. It would, therefore, appear that novelty of expression and lyricism are the general features of this poetry. I now turn, for a closer analysis, to look into the substance of it.

The first thing that strikes the reader's mind is that the love of these poets is not as real and sincere as that of their predecessors. It does not seem to spring from the recesses of the heart, as we find in Khusraw and Sādī; it gives one an impression of having been forcefully cultivated. The pathetic notes of tender emotions are few and far between. Its scope has been widened for its several aspects are highlighted, with the result that a larger phase of the beloved's personality comes into play, e.g. we find a more detailed account of her assembly along with her attendants and suitors, the colour and form of her dress and the manner of her conversation. The intrigues of the rival candidates resulting in the sad plight of the lover have also been dealt with at length.

1. Qaṣa'id-i-Urfī p. 54.
The following verses will amply bear out the nature of this artificial but colourful love, that later came to be named as 'Muhamma Bandi' in Urdu poetry.

**Nażirī:-**
1. کردار شیوا کچھ ہون میں دنیا پر
2. من نظم دیکھ کر نور کی نظر
3. میرہ از دوسرے نے بھگتی اور

**Urfī:-**
4. ہُسُرُو نئوں کی بھی دوڑ

**Zuhūrī:-**
5. دوڑاگا حسین میں زور دیتے

**Tālib Āmulī:-**
6. خوشمخت لما دوڑ ہو گئے

**Ṣāhib:-**
7. سر ہو نیا نہ رہاہ من چپِ

Mystical ideas received a set-back, although poets frequently employed them as a conventional theme. It was an age of territorial conquests and material prosperity. The youthful Mughal empire was in its full bloom and the urges of flesh and blood dominated the minds. The intellectuals and writers refused to be bound down by traditional beliefs and questioned even the propriety of some of the principles of religion. Faqī and 'Urfī represent this attitude in them. The former was openly accused of being an atheist by Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badayūnī, the famous

2. Ibid p. 105.
3. Ibid p. 82.
chronicler of the day. Some verses which exemplify free thinking are mentioned below.

Faizi:-

1. The age embodies a spirit of hope, adventure and optimism, finding expression in proud demeanour and defiant out-bursts.

Addressing his Patron, Ursi says:-

And Faizi describes his philosophy in a strong egotistical tone

---

1. Diwan-i-Faizi p. 71.
2. Diwan-i-Urshi p. 36.
3. Ibid. p. 10.
4. Qasaid-i-Urshi p. 54.
The optimism and youthfulness, so characteristic of the poetry of this period, lasted for about a century and poets like Talib Amuli, Sâib and Kalîm, with minor changes in the technique, followed the same line. Talib Amuli distinguished himself in the employment of fresh similes and metaphors and consequently, produced more appealing verses. Some are quoted here:

Similarly Sâib adopted the allegorical style that reached its perfection at his hands. Here is an example:

Kalîm's main contribution lies in refining the ghazal. He chiselled it with his remarkable craftsmanship leaving no room for further development in the school of Fughânî. This culminated in a radical change in style that was brought about by Bedil in the Alamgirî era. Bedil and his contemporaries, in fact, faced a poetical crisis, for the store-house of artificial devices and novel expressions had been exhausted by their time. It was due to this crisis that

1. Shîrûl ʿAjâm p. 54
2. M.A.Library, University No. 133, Fârsî, 1. Diwân-i-Talib Amuli
3. Kulliyât-i-Sâib p. 663
Bedil once remarked to Nasir Ali, a contemporary poet, that good verse is meaningless.

What he actually meant was this that most of the poetical ideas had already been captured by the earlier poets and hence their repetition was stale. Bedil and his followers, therefore, managed to overcome this situation in a very ingenious way. They gave a twist to the thought and started writing verses that might be compared, because of their vagueness, to the modern paintings. Bedil, in particular, managed to produce suggestiveness by using difficult phraseology, embodying vague metaphysical ideas. His poetry is also surcharged with mysticism and philosophical speculations and marks the end of the youthful spirit of the early Mughal poets. With him Persian poetry enters into a thoughtful and serious phase that has a dominant note of pessimism.

Listen to his voice, and you will be convinced of the radical change in the outlook. It will land you in a grim world and you will be forced to think with Bedil,

It was due to this serious temperament that Bedil was unable to get solace from physical love. He was much too thoughtful to be satisfied with the beloved's company. Hence the all-pervading note

of discontent in his poetry

Bedil was essentially a philosopher-poet and in his enthusiasm for expressing his ideas, he often distorted the language. His verses are sometimes highly condensed and we have to read too much between the lines to understand him. His lengthy constructions and far-fetched phrases earned him a bad name and since he was an Indian by birth, his diction came to be condemned as "Khārij Āhang" by literary critics.¹

Ghalib based his art on this heritage that he received from the Mughal period and accordingly his poetry, especially his ghazals have all the characteristics of the Mughal poetry that have been discussed and enumerated in the preceding pages. They have the same fanciful lyricism, novelty of expression and skill and elaborateness which marked the ghazals of the Mughal age. They are equally devoid of real and heart-felt emotions. Being nourished by artificial feelings, they lack the intensity and sincerity of true love that was found in the early masters' compositions and was even more recently exhibited in Mir's Urdu ghazals. But the urge for flesh and blood in Ghalib, his liberal outlook, his stamina, defiance and proud behaviour could all be traced back to the same heritage. This does not, however, mean that Ghalib was merely an imitator of Mughal poets and that he had no contribution of his own to make. Ghalib was a versatile genius and his poetry is a treasure-house of many experiences, rich, wide and manifold. We find a number of currents and cross-currents of Indian and Iranian origin converging together on the broad

¹ Bedil p. 130.
canvass of his poetry and transforming themselves into a higher form. He seems to have availed himself of the wisdom and craftsmanship of almost all the great poets of the Persian language but allowing none of them to over-power his mind. His poetry is, therefore, an admixture of divergent ideas, to which his rich and powerful mind has given a uniform shape. That is why, while referring to the heritage that he received from his predecessors, he does not fail to point out the hidden reservoir of his own genius. Writing in his preface to the 'Kulliyāt-i-Nāzī Fārsī', he says:-

"This is the last candle, kindled up by the heat of half-burnt candles. That is to say, it is not indebted to straw. These are old scars of frenzy scratched exclusively by the petulance of spirit. This is warm blood from inside that has dropped suddenly from the incurable wound because of the hidden flame of the heart."

Again, he tries to distinguish himself from his predecessors in the following words:-

"Undoubtedly, the departed ones are tipsy in repose and I am drunk. The predecessors were candles and I am the sun".

Ghālib was a learned man of his time and as such it was unlike him, as a poet, to get confined to a particular writer however great he might have been. He had read Nāzīrī,

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nāzī p. 2
2. Ibid p. 6
Zuhurî, 'Urfî, Tâlib Amûlî, Jalâl Asîr, Šâib, Hazîn and Bedîl with special interest as they were his immediate fore-runners. He has referred to them as his god-fathers in the famous masnawi 'Bâd-i-Mukhâlif'. His letters and ghâzals also contain glowing tributes to these poets but he was not their blind follower. He kept them in mind only as authorities on language and in this respect too, depended mostly on his own judgement. Writing to his beloved disciple, Har Gopal Tafta he says:-

"We are concerned with our own correction. Why should we go on hunting for authorities to justify mistakes. My dear, such occasions demand that we should not find faults with the writings of great men and do not ourselves follow them. This humble servant will neither approve plural of plural nor speak ill of his lordship Šâib".

Again we have a defying statement by him addressed to the same disciple

"In this opening verse of Hazîn, one 'Hanûz' is really superfluous and absurd. It can not be taken as authority for emulation. This is entirely wrong, a blemish and a defect. Who will emulate it?"

1. Kulliyât-i-Nezm p. 101
2. Khûtût-i-Ghalib p. 480
3. Ibid p. 126
4. Ibid p. 139
Hazīn was after-all a man if this opening verse had been even from Gabriel, do not take it as an authority and do not follow it."

But in spite of his independent nature, Ghālib had to follow the style that was current at the time when his poetic career began. The early nineteenth century that mainly forms the period of Ghālib's intellectual development had two main schools in Persian poetry, one which belonged to 'Urfī and Nazīrī etc. and the other was evolved by Bedil and his followers. Both the schools have already been broadly discussed in the preceding pages. Ghālib chose the latter school but later on, realizing its shortcomings, shifted over to the style of 'Urfī and Nazīrī. Ghālib himself bears testimony to this fact in a letter to 'Abdur Razzāq Shākir. He writes:'

Sir, in the beginning of my poetry, I wrote Urdu after the fashion of Bedil, Asīr and Shawkat. Hence the opening verse of a ghazal is as follows:

'O Asadullāh Khān, it is very difficult to write Urdu after the fashion of Bedil'.

From fifteen to twenty-five years of age I composed fantastic themes. A big collection was prepared within ten years. At last, when maturity came I dropped that collection'.

Let us then presume that Ghalib composed poetry in Bedil's style up to the age of twenty-five years but subsequently relinquished it. That is to say Ghalib had given up Bedil's style by the time he started writing Persian poetry, because its period comes definitely after he had reached the age of twenty-five years. This presumption is further strengthened when we find Ghalib's Persian ghazals much simpler, and therefore not in Bedil's style, than those found in the Urdu collection (Bhopal copy). It is, therefore, quite natural to suppose that in the beginning Ghalib's progress as an Urdu poet was retarded by what has been called as the baneful influence of Bedil but later on, he managed to escape it. How this escape was possible and what were the forces that impelled Ghalib to come out of this dungeon, we have again Ghalib's own words to explain:

"Although genius which is a divine angel, was in the beginning too, a select-speaker and seeker of the laudable, but formerly, due to extravagance it watched the steps of those who did not even

2. Kulliyāt-i-Naṣr p. 68.
understand the path and regarded their crooked walking to be the intoxicated stumble. Till in that running about, the fore-runners discovering the worth of my companionship were moved to compassion over my fatigue and their hearts pained out of love. They felt sorry over my wanderings and looked upon me as teacher. Shaikh 'Alī Ḥazīn, with his incipient smile, exposed my deviations before my eyes and the poison of the glances of Ṭālib ʿAmlī and the lightening of the eyes of ʿUrfī Shīrāzī burnt the matter of frivolous and inadmissible movements that marked my path-treading foot. Zuhūrī with his all engrossing attention fastened an amulet on my arm and tied up provisions with my waist and Nazīrī, the reckless walker, made me walk after his own typical style. Now due to the felicity and magnificence of the spiritual teaching of this group, having angelic pomp, my dancing pen is a partridge in walking, 'ā musīqār' in singing, a peacock in lustre and a phoenix in flight."

This statement of Ghalib leads us to think that he followed the line of ʿUrfī and Nazīrī etc. after deserting Bedil and accordingly it has been deduced by some of his critics that the source of his great poetry lay in the early Mughal poets whom he has mentioned as his reformers. This conclusion, although drawn from Ghalib's own statement does not, however, bear the whole truth. It is further disproved by his poetry which does not conform to these conclusions. It echoes Bedil again and again and bears his stamp even on the ghazals that were composed towards the end of his life. Comparison of a few verses of both
the poets will bear this out sufficiently.

Bedil

Ghālib

It will, therefore, not be correct to assume that Ghālib rejected Bedil in favour of 'Urfī and Nazīrī etc. What he actually did was that he renounced Bedil's diction in poetry that was tortuous and Indianized and set before himself as a model, the diction and style of 'Urfī and Nazīrī etc. who were pure Iranians. It is to be noted that Ghālib's subsequent objections to Bedil are directed against his language only. Being an Indian by birth, Bedil was rather unacceptable to Ghālib as an authority on the Persian language. Ghālib has, however, never decried him as a poet. Writing to Chāh Mīrzā Aḥmad Ghaffīr, he remarks:-
Again addressing himself to Tafta, he has openly ridiculed Bedil's Persian. He writes:

\[
\text{دشتروک اکلیل کالا} \quad \text{که بگم می‌گویم در روز سه مرد سه چندان نمی‌گویم حرف‌هایی را نمی‌گویند}
\]

Precisely speaking, Ghalib renounced Bedil's dictum at the age of twenty-five years when he had practically assimilated the ideas and the spirit of his poetry in full. Psychology tells us that what a man learns in the prime of his youth gets embedded in mind. Ghalib too drank deep from Bedil in his early life when he was actually a poet in the making. How could we, therefore, presume that he dissociated himself abruptly from Bedil and transformed his personality altogether. Such a presumption cannot be well-founded. Moreover, Ghalib has, in addition to the inheritance that he received from the early Mughal poets, a serious and thoughtful element in his poetry that reminds one of Bedil. It is wrapped up in complex imageries and metaphors that were coined only towards the beginning of the Eighteenth Century and cannot, therefore, be attributed to a poet of the earlier times. Broadly speaking, then, we can conclude that Ghalib's mysticism—conventional, no doubt—his philosophical inquisitiveness and his humanism, they all have their source in Bedil.

Ghalib came in contact with the early Mughal poets at a later stage. As a matter of fact, this contact and his subsequent renunciation of Bedil's so-called vague style was a long process spreading over many years. His association with some of the

learned men in Delhi also played an important part in bringing about the change. In addition to their learning, these persons were poets and had a well-developed literary taste. We can visualise the status of these people by the following reference in his ghazal by Ghālib:

\[ \text{Translation: } \]

These names include those who criticised Ghālib's poetry and gave him suggestions and advice. One of Ghālib's very helpful friends was Mawlānā Fāzī-ī-Haq Khairābādī who advised Ghālib to drop a large portion of his Urdu poetry from his collection which the latter was then compiling for publication. Reference has been made in the second chapter to the Mawlānā's disapproval of the vague and meaningless poetry that Ghālib had produced on the lines of Bedil. The result was that Ghālib subsequently exercised restraint in his art and he had to struggle for several years to bring his thoughts down to earth. The poetry of the early Mughal period was characterised by simpler and more earthly ideas than the one Ghālib followed. Naturally enough, therefore, he turned to the poets of that age for help and guidance. These poets have been discussed in the beginning of the chapter. The

2. Yādgar-i-Ghālib p. 179.
3. Ibid p. 102.
4. Kulliyāṭ-i-Naṣr p. 68. See also page, 53.
name of Mirzā Jalāl Asīr may also be added to the list already adduced, as he wrote in the same style and his optimism and aesthetic touch are reflected in Ghalib's verses. For our purpose it would suffice to make a comparison of Zuhūrī, Urfī and Nazīrī, the high priests of the early Mughal period—with Ghalib. I shall begin with quoting some verses of Ghalib that contain respectful references to Zuhūrī:

1. غلاب برصيد اخلاق طهري مبرق
2. خود مد زیست مورتیت درست
3. گُلم در درایت نام ام خلاب
4. گل لان در سر آرایان را
5. ژواکریل با بیروی زیر است

While referring to his god-fathers in the masnavī 'Bād-i-Mukhlīf,' Ghalib praises Zuhūrī much more than Ṭālib-i-Amulī, Urfī or Nazīrī.

We come across a number of verses in Zuhūrī that bear a close resemblance with Ghalib's style and his attitude towards love. Some verses from Zuhūrī are given below that can be cited as

1. Ghalib by K. Islam p. 44.
4. Ibid p. 368.
5. Ibid p. 389.
precursors of Ghalib's poetry.

The following verses, again, abound in Ghalib's typical ecstasy and remind one of his passion for sensuous pleasure.

Finally one ghazal each from Zuhūrī and Ghalib is reproduced here to show the close affinity which Ghalib had with Zuhūrī. The ghazals are not only in the same metrical form and refrain but also have a common note of strong lyricism. In fact, it is rather difficult to distinguish the style of one from the other.

---

2. Ibid p.318.
So far 'Urfinity and Naziri are concerned, Ghalib can be said to be their rightful successor in qasida and ghazal respectively. He has all the qualities of these poets, adding to them the philosophical depth of Bedil and above all a charm of his own rich personality. Like them, he has a strong predilection for novel which keeps him off the beaten track. Ghalib's grand style in qasidas, his impassioned lyrical out-bursts, his emotional ecstasies, and forceful expressions are all reminiscent of 'Urfinity and Naziri. His qasidas are resonant, musical and full of high spirit like those of 'Urfinity whom he followed in this particular line. One notable feature of 'Urfinity is this that his qasidas spe

1. Diwan-i-Zuhuri p. 549.
2. Kulliyat-i-Nazm p. 495
of self-praise. Even while writing in praise of the Prophet, he
could not resist this strong temptation in him. He declares:-

Ghalib also indulges in the same practice. Besides this common
trend, Ghalib wrote good many qaṣīdas in the metre and refrain
adopted by 'Urfī for his qaṣīdas. Ghalib's pride over his noble
birth and his feeling of superiority as a poet and aristocrat
could all be traced in 'Urfī to a considerable extent. 'Urfī
always kept a high ideal before him as is reflected in the follow­
ning verse

Ghalib goes still higher in this respect.

Both of them suffer from a strong egotism and intolerance as
poets. Both have an inherent aversion to commonplace things and
both of them are inclined to indulge in self-glorification at the
expense of their renowned predecessors. 'Urfī refers to the great
Sa'dī in these words:-

and he is repaid by Ghalib in the same coin:

1. Qasaid-i-'Urfī p. 4.
2. See page 89.
Lastly we can refer to the following verse of Ghalib that smacks of his close affinity with 'Urfī.

"Nazīrī was the most respected poet with Ghalib. He regarded Nazīrī as his master. We have a famous ghazal of Nazīrī with the following verse in it:

Ghalib too wrote a ghazal in the same form but with apologies, although the element of self-praise is still there:

Though it is just a passing reference, but it is a significant one since it shows Nazīrī occupying the same place in poetry as was held by Avicenna in science. This may not be a correct assessment, but it is what Ghalib thought and indeed Nazīrī is regarded as the unrivalled master of ghazal in India. It was more or less due to this reason that Ghalib set Nazīrī before himself as a model of perfection and yearned to emulate his example. A close analysis of his ghazals shows that Ghalib succeeded in his attempt to a great extent. The distinguishing features of Nazīrī's ghazal that seem to have been assimilated by Ghalib are noted.

1. Complexity of emotions  
2. Conflict of the dual personality.  
3. Psychological insight.  

The following verses of the two poets will go to illustrate the common features:

---

**Ghâlib**

(Verse numbers correspond to the provided literature references)

1. Complexity of emotions  
2. Conflict of the dual personality.  
3. Psychological insight.  

---

**Nazîrî**

(Verse numbers correspond to the provided literature references)

---

We find a number of ghazals composed by Ghalib and Naziri that have common metrical forms. It so appears that Ghalib took up Naziri's ghazals, that were his favourites, one by one, and composed his own in the same form. In isolated cases, he might be said to have reached Naziri's level, may even surpassed him, but in most of the cases he seems to have failed to achieve Naziri's level. Then there are ghazals written under the spell of an emotional mood that bear close resemblance with Naziri's ghazals of identical character. Reference might be made to a somewhat misleading statement of Hali regarding the influence of Naziri on Ghalib at this stage.

2. Ghazaliyat-i-Naziri p. 204.
7. See the statement on page 50.
Hali finds in Ghalib's ghazals the general impact of all the distinguished ghazal-writers of the Mughal age which is, of course, correct, because there was a uniform style of ghazal at that time which was, quite naturally adopted by Ghalib. But Ghalib could not be said to have been influenced by Naziri's mysticism. On the contrary, I am inclined to think that neither of them can be considered a mystic poet. Hali's argument, though otherwise not without substance, is fallacious in this respect. Although Naziri and Ghalib did actually write mystical verses but they are formal and conventional in character and do not represent their main field of composition. Hali, while making a comparative study of the elegies written by Naziri and Ghalib seems to have bypassed Faizi's elegy which is very akin to that of Ghalib. Written on the premature death of the son, Faizi's elegy is, of course, more pathetic, forceful and sincere than that of Naziri. Parts of the elegies from Ghalib and Faizi are reproduced below.

**GHALIB**

Ghâlib's estimation of Faizi has not come to us in unequivocal terms. He has referred to Faizi once or twice and that too, in not a very respectful language. In fact, Ghâlib was rather shy of showing his association with all the Indian-born poets of the Persian language except, of course, Amîr Khushraw who was acknowledged as a master even by the great Persian poets of Iran. Moreover, Ghâlib could not altogether reject the current conception of poetry that held it to be an art, based mostly on technique and craftsmanship. He was himself a great craftsman and hence, held in respect only those authorities who were Iranians and adept in the technique of poetry. Viewing poetry in this context, he took a great deal of pain in composing his own poems to achieve artistic perfection. It is because of this tendency that the poets and

writers who influenced his thinking profoundly have not received
due acknowledgement at his hand and have been referred to, if at
all, only casually. Faiz\i is one among such poets. Greek influence permeates his literary works and the reader finds his
Hellenism re-appearing in Gh\ii\i\ after two centuries. Gh\ii\i\'s
broadmindedness, his liberal outlook, his rational approach to
the various aspects of life including religion and above all his
intellectual culture can be attributed to no other poet except
Faiz\i in the entire range of Indo-Persian literature, although as
a writer of pure ghazal, Gh\ii\i\ does not seem to be his follower.

Gh\ii\i\ generally confined his ghazal within the domains of Mughal poetry but if we go through his ghazals a little care­
fully, we can detect the influence of the great H\ii\z of Sh\ii\ also. H\ii\z can not, however, be cited as a permanent source of
inspiration for Gh\ii\i\ as he appears occasionally, though distinctly in Gh\ii\i\'s ghazals. Such ghazals have a beautiful depiction of the
natural phenomena and embody the same optimism and freshness which characterize H\ii\z. Like H\ii\z, he too exhorts us to exercise our
faculties in deriving utmost pleasure from life. We feel the joy
and bliss of nature in every verse which smacks of H\ii\z. One
ghazal each from Gh\ii\i\ and H\ii\z is cited below to illustrate the
common quality.

GH\ii\i\

\begin{verbatim}

\end{verbatim}

1. Kulliy\i\at-i-Na\ii\m p. 379.
Ghalib's ghazals beginning with the following verses are also reminiscent of Hafiz.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ghalib's ghazals beginning with the following verses are also reminiscent of Hafiz.} \\
&\text{A close study of Ghalib's qaṣīdas further reveals that, in addition to ‘Urfī, he was at times influenced by other great qaṣīda-writers of Irān also. For instance one of his qaṣīdas seems to be influenced by Khāqānī. Apart from the common metrical form and refrain 'Bar Āwaram', it has a definite resemblance with Khāqānī's style. Another qaṣīda written in praise of Mirzā Fatḥul Mulk has a close resemblance, in style and thought pattern, with a qaṣīda written by Minūcherī in which he has compared wine to Jesus Christ. A large number of Ghalib's qaṣīdas have common }
\end{align*}
\]

1. Diwān-i-Hāfiz, Amir Kabīr Tehran p. 27.
refrain and metrical form with many great masters of the classical
age, to wit, Zahir, Salmin and Khåqånî. References to such qaṣīdås
have been wilfully avoided, as this alone could not be taken as a
proof of these poets' influence on Ghâlib. According to Hâlî,
Ghâlib happened to read Qaânî's qaṣīdås towards the end of his
life and tried to follow his style also but due to old age he was
unable to achieve much success in it.

Lastly, mention might be made of a very great poet of
Irân who exercised considerable influence on Ghâlib's masnawîs.
He is the great masnawi-writer Nizåmî. Ghâlib refers to Nizåmî
in the following words that speak of the great regard in which
Ghâlib held him. Addressing Chawhry 'Abdul Ghaftîr: he writes:

Nizåmî's 'Sikandarnåma' enjoyed great prestige and popular-
ity in India at that time and was prescribed as a text-book in
the courses of study. Ghâlib's masnawi 'Abr-i-Guhârbar' is
greatly influenced by this book. The thought pattern of the whole
'Hamd' is similar to that of Nizåmî. Some verses that have a
flavour of Nizåmî are given below:

1. Yadgâr-i-Ghâlib p. 386
2. Khuṭût-i-Ghâlib p. 481
Nizāmī's verses dealing with the subject of 'Hamd'
are also mentioned here for a comparative study:

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm pp. 118, 119
2. Sikandarnāma pp. 104, 108
3. Ibid pp. 2, 3.
Ghālib distinguishes himself from Nizāmī in the following words:-

The opening lines of 'Ṣaquinama' have again a sharp reference to Nizāmī. In its verses quoted below, Ghālib claims to be a true lover of wine, while Nizāmī's praise of wine, however, is only formal and conventional in nature.

To sum up then, we might say that Ghālib picked up the Persian ghazal from the Ālamgīr poets when it was like 'Ālamgīr's empire', vast and extensive though worn out and decaying from within. Ghālib infused his power and energy into its ailing body and thus rejuvenated it. It was, rather, unfortunate for Ghālib

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 160
2. Ibid p. 162
that the Persian language had run its course in the history of India by that time. Hitherto Persian had been the main artery of expression by the upper classes in India and these classes alone were the patrons of poetry. Community of language invariably pre-supposes community of aspirations and values. The poet and the public were hither-to united in a common bond of culture. By the time Ghalib appeared on the scene, this community of thought and sentiment had faded away and Urdu was rapidly taking the place of Persian as the vehicle of poetic expression. Those who continued to write in Persian could no longer be sure of sympathetic audience. Henceforth, the audience for which an Indian poet would write in Persian was not to be an Indian audience, but that of Iran. It is always a question whether a country would ordinarily accept a foreigner writing in their language as one of its own.
CHAPTER IV

THE POETRY

Ghalib's Persian poetry can be divided into four parts, whose order in almost every edition of his Kulliyat is as follows:

1. Qita'at
2. Masnawiyat
3. Qasid
4. Ghazaliyat
5. Rubaiyat

The book begins with a Preface in highly ornate and, at times, lengthy constructions that make the language obscure.

After praising God and the Prophet, Ghalib extols himself and his poetry and complains of its cold reception from the public. Emphasising his originality and deep power of perception he attacks those who think that the oracle of great poetry has dried up. He considers his own time to be the best in regard to poetry and declares:

"Oh yes, the wine of poetry in my days is strong and forceful due to oldness".

The same idea reappears in the following verse of a ghazal

Kulliyat-i-Nazm p. 5.
The poet has invariably described the pain of his creative process and its adverse effect on him. The images of fire, flame, candle and ashes come again and again to express the intensity of his thought. Further on, he grows satirical towards his own poetry and condemns himself for his amorous pursuits and avarice. He passes severe strictures on the business of writing qasidas and questions the propriety of publishing such trash matter. He accuses himself of attributing his unpopularity to the poor taste of the readers. It was more advisable, he feels, to shun the society and sit in isolation to examine his own conduct. Ghalib concludes his Preface by making a significant statement regarding his poetry that has been mentioned and discussed on page 97 and 98.

The Preface is followed by qitaat. There are, in all, sixty six qitaat, three tarkib-bands and one tarji-band excluding, of course, those found in the smaller collection of his poems named 'Sabad-i-chin'. A large number of them are chronogrammatic compositions on miscellaneous events and have little poetic value. The remaining ones are related to the contemporary events and deal with a wide range of subjects. Their poetry is nearer facts and is more personal and direct than that of other creations. For instance, qitaat 4 and 7 are addressed to the poet's rivals and are satirical compositions. Qitaat 15 and 16 are addressed to an English Officer, named Hawkins, who gave his report in favour of Nawab Shamsud-Din Ahmed Khan of Firozpur Jhirkha against Ghalib. They contain some very trenchant remarks against the addressee and speak of the poet's courage who was capable of exposing the
character of those whom he thought to be dishonest, however strong and dreaded they might be. Qità 25 is a nice poem in praise of Nawāb Zulfiqār Bahādūr. Qità No. 27 expresses the poet's love for his nephew, Ārif, and refers to Urdu as the latter's mother-tongue.

Qità no. 31 is addressed to a British Officer named 'Edmonstone Bahādur'. It was written in old age after the War of Independence was over, wherein the poet declares his innocence and assures the officer of his loyalty by refuting the allegations brought against him by the interested parties. Qità no. 41 is written in praise of Prince Fathul Mulk. It is a beautiful poem describing the pleasures of creative moments. Qità 62 to 66 are elegies on the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson, Imām Husain. They are marked by great sincerity and pathos that do not fail to impress the reader.

The tarkīb-band is an elegy on the sad and untimely death of Prince Farkhunda Shāh, son of Bahādur Shāh Zafar. The poet has tried to introduce pathos by intellectual force which, at times is, of course, effective but on the whole the elegy is artificial. It reminds one of Feizī's much superior elegy that he had written on his son's death in the same metre.¹

The qītāt are followed by the magnāwīyat which are eleven in number. Four of these magnāwīyat have achieved fame. They are entitled as 'Chirāgh-i-Dair', 'Bād-i-Mukhālif', 'Taqrīg-i-Āin-i-Akbarī', and 'Abr-i-Guhārbarī'. Detailed references to each of

¹ See page 66.
them will be found in other chapters. For the present, I will confine myself to giving a brief introduction of all of them.

The first masnawi entitled 'Surma-i-Binish' is a short poem in praise of the Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar. It was written in imitation of the famous masnawi of the Mawlawi and begins with the opening verse of the same. The second masnawi 'Dard-o-Dagh' is based on the following story.

Once upon a time, a farmer lived with his parents in utter penury. Being upset with the miserable state, he decided to migrate to some other place in search of better fortune and consequently, one day the whole family left the home. Unfortunately they came to a desert and in the course of their wanderings, they grew thirsty. After much roaming about, they reached a hermitage and asked for water from a saint who lived therein. After drinking the water, they narrated their woeful story before the saint and requested him to pray to God to grant each of them a boon. Taking pity on their miserable condition, the saint acceded to their request and informed them that, in response to his prayers, God had agreed to fulfil one desire from each of them. The poor fellows were overwhelmed with joy and first of all, the mother declared that she wanted to get back her youth. No sooner had she expressed the desire than her youth was restored to her and she was transformed into the gay young girl of the past. Her husband and son were spell-bound in wonder and excitement and taking her along with them, they hurried back to their home in order to ask for the remaining two divine favours also. On their

1. See page 117.
homeward march, the party came across a prince who was on a hunting expedition and had drifted away from his followers. The prince immediately fell in love with the mother, now a young girl, who also warmly reciprocated and requested the prince to take her with him. The prince set her on his horse and rode away. Looking at the treachery of his wife, the husband was so infuriated that he prayed to God to turn her into a sow, thus availing himself of the boon that was granted to him. As a result of the curse pronounced by the husband, the woman instantaneously turned into a sow. Now the prince was greatly frightened to find a sow seated behind him on horse back in place of the young girl that he had picked up. In utter disgust, he dropped her and galloped his horse away. The mother now in the shape of a sow, hurried back to join her husband and son. This time the son was moved to pity to see her mother's condition and prayed to God to restore her to her previous condition of an old woman. His prayer was also granted in consonance with the promise and she was restored to her original condition. Hence all the three boons that were promised to each of them were wasted. The moral of the story is summed up in the concluding lines that run as follows:

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 81, 82.
The masnawi opens with a note of home sickness. The poet recalls to his memory friends like Fażl-i-Haq Khaṁrābādī, Husāmud-Dīn Hyder and Aṁīnud-Dīn Aḥmed Khān whom he had left behind in Delhi. The loss of such friends and his separation from Delhi, his home town, is however compensated by the glittering city of Benāres which Ghalib declares to be the 'Kābā' of India.

Masnawi 4, entitled 'Kang-o-Bū' is based on an allegory which runs as follows:-

Once upon a time there lived in India a king who was very charitable and a great benefactor of mankind. One morning a wretched beggar came to him and declared that he wanted to sell away his cloak and gourd. The king purchased both the articles and deposited them in the royal treasury. The beggar got a handsome price for them and went away. On going to bed, the following night, the king saw in a dream a beautiful figure like a fairy who declared herself to be the king's wealth and asked him to bid her farewell as she was unable to stand the stink of the beggar's cloak. The king did not care to retain her and acceded to the request. Then appeared another figure, huge in size and frowning out of rage. Declaring itself to be the king's physical power, it also repeated the same complaint and deserted the royal master. The king did not still bother and acquiesced in. It was, however, immediately followed by a third figure which was extremely beautiful and brimming with life and energy. This figure too, declaring itself to be the king's prowess followed suit. This time the king could not resist his anxiety and began to implore it not to desert him.

1. See also page 119.
He pleaded that he had agreed to deprive himself from wealth and physical power just because he had prowess with him and so, if prowess, too, failed him he would find himself nowhere. The beautiful figure, prowess personified, was moved by the king's desperate appeals and promised to stand by him. The poet then draws himself to the moral of the story and regrets that his life had passed in recklessness. He holds his earlier conduct responsible for his present sufferings and warns himself against his ever-increasing avarice and selfishness. The poem ends with an advice to relinquish worldly pursuits that are false and misleading and to devote oneself more and more to communion with the all-pervading God.

Masnavī 5, entitled 'Bād-i-Mukhālif' is related to the well-known controversy that took place during Ghalīb's stay at Calcutta. For a fuller account of this masnavī and the researches that followed it, the reader is referred to page 22.

Masnavī 6 deals with the poet's observations on some religious beliefs and practices that were engaging the attention of religious thinkers and reformers of the day. It appears, there were two groups of opposite views, the Wahābis or rationalists and the other consisting of credulous persons. The former group did not approve of subservience and devotion to saints and other religious figures. They believed in worshipping God and paying due respect to his prophet only and condemned the superstitions and accretions of Indian and Īrānian origin. They denounced
pilgrimage to the tombs of saints, their birthday celebrations and other similar practices. Ghalib upholds these practices and argues in their favour by rationalizing the common emotions. He walks mid-way between the two groups and wants to bring about a via-media between them. Thus he justifies the devotion and prayer to the holy saints not because they are omnipotent but because they are nearer God and can influence His will.

The seventh masnawi entitled 'Tahniyat-i-'Id-i-Shawwal' is in praise of the Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shâh Zafer. It is a short qaṣida in the form of a masnawi describing the ancestral glory of the Emperor and his patronage of Ghalib's poetry. It was composed to felicitate the Emperor on the festival of 'Īd-i-Shawwal'.

The eighth masnawi, entitled 'Dar Tahniyat-i-'Id ba Wali-i-'Ahd', was also written on a similar occasion. It describes the pomp and glory of the heir-apparent, Mirzâ Fathul Mulk.

Masnawi no. 9 is a foreword on a book, named 'Bist-o-Haft Akhtar' written by the king of Awadh. Although Ghalib could not help praising the book and its royal author, he has nevertheless very discreetly alluded to the non-serious element of ' Lahw ' and 'Bâzi' that he found in it.

The tenth masnawi is also a foreword on the famous book 'Āın-i-Akbari' which was edited by Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan. It is an important piece of poetry, for it gives an insight into Ghalib's scientific out-look. A detailed reference to it will be found
The eleventh ma'nawi entitled Abr-i-Guharbār is the longest and the best ma'nawi written by Ghalib. Ghalib's own opinion regarding this ma'nawi, especially the munajāt is worth quoting.

"Tawḥīd, Munajāt, Manqibat, Sāqīnāma and Mughannīnīma came into existence. Many heart-ravishing and love-exciting words were spoken with the cup-bearer and the musician. Especially in the munajāt, verses in the original style were recited in such a licentious and reckless manner that pustules broke out upon the lips of the angels of Paradise due to the shouts of joy and festivity."

The ma'nawi comprises about eleven hundred verses and is sub-divided into the following parts:-

1. 'Ḥamd'
2. 'Munajāt' including a story
3. 'Nāţ' including the description of Mīrāj
4. Manqibat
5. Mughannīnīma
6. Saqīnāma

---

1. Ma'na'wi Abr-i-Guharbār p. 3.
Ghālib desired to write a long masnawi on the holy wars waged by the Prophet of which only the introductory part comprising the existing eleven hundred verses could be completed. Writing in the Preface to the earliest edition of this Masnawi, he says:

"In my impressionable mind, it so came that I should bring into writing the holy wars of the lord of Earth and Heaven, the Head of the prophets, be peace on him from God of the worlds."

Again writing to Șūfī Munirī, he declares,

"In early youth, when the river of disposition was in full swing, it came to my mind that I should versify the holy wars of Şāheb-i-Zulfiqār. Hamd, Nat, Manqibat, Sāqīnāma and Mughannīnāma were composed but the urge for story-telling was found missing. Consequently, I got only these eight or nine hundred verses published."

The following verses of Sāqīnāma also bear evidence to the same fact.

---

1. Maṣnawi Abr-i-Gūharbār p. 3.
The 'Hamd' is influenced by Nizāmī to which I have already referred in detail. Ghalib himself admits the influence of Nizāmī and Firdawsī in the Preface to the Maṣnavī. He declares:

"The idea to write the maṣnavī found way into the heart. They appointed Firdawsī Tūsī for guidance and Nizāmī Ganjāwī for promoting strength."

Ghalib might have kept Firdawsī in mind as he was intending to write an epic but the existing verses hardly seem to bear any resemblance with Firdawsī's style. In fact it has been difficult for any Persian poet to imitate Firdawsī, especially after the crowning achievement of Nizāmī who had set a lasting pattern in maṣnavī by refining the rough and robust legacy left by Firdawsī. Ghalib is also one of the faithful followers of Nizāmī in maṣnavī. I have, however, succeeded in noticing some verses of the maṣnavī under consideration that can be likened to Firdawsī's famous description of a dreary night in which he asks for candle and wine from a lady friend and then begins to compose the famous romance of Bīzhan and Munīza. Ghalib's verses are

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 167
2. Abr-i-Guharbār page 2,3
3. Shāhnāma p. 320
The 'Hamd' is a fine illustration of Ghālib's liberal outlook and broad-mindedness. The portion containing Munājāt can be considered among the best pieces of Persian poetry ever written. It begins with conventional ideas on the existence of God, his divine powers and benevolence. Ghālib affirms his belief in the universe being a manifestation of God. He then turns to expose his sins and sufferings and exaggerates them to the extent that they become too prodigious and formidable to be punished by the forces of Hell. He further digresses to narrate the story of a certain king, who, having compassion over a group of prisoners, had set them free. Ghālib implores God to pardon his sins and draws His attention to the merciful king who had done likewise in regard to his prisoners. If, however, that was not possible, Ghālib seeks permission to speak in self-defence when his conduct is examined before God. It is from this point that the masnawi takes a brilliant turn.

The portion containing 'Nāt' or the Prophet's praise has nothing of special significance. The description of the Prophet's heavenly journey 'Mīrām' is composed with elaborateness and is

1. See also page 122, chapter V, for full appreciation.
full of glowing images and metaphors. The mangibat is in praise of Hażrat ʿAlī for whom Ghalib had always a feeling of great devotion. Accordingly, he expresses his deep love and admiration for him. Envying ʿUrfī, whose mortal remains are alleged to have been taken to Najaf (the burial place of Hażrat ʿAlī) and buried there, Ghalib also yearns to be buried in the same holy city.

Mughannīnāma's importance lies in the emphasis that it lays on reason which has been the cornerstone of Ghalib's ideas. Further discussion of this poem will be found on page 110.

In Sāqīnāma, the poet describes his mystical conception of the world which is a little more than a repetition of the old and traditional ideas. It also bears evidence to the fact that the masnawī, or at least this part of it, was composed in old age. The following verses may be noted in this respect. The poet deliberately avoids to undergo the strain of better poetry, being too old to stand it.

The loss of youth, however, is compensated by the maturity of the poet's art.
In contrast to these verses, however, Ghalib's letter quoted on page 82 shows that the mašnawī was composed in extreme youth. Hālī's opinion, therefore, that this mašnawī was a production of old age seems to be based not on this letter but on the internal evidence of the verses just quoted. Shaikh Muḥammad Ekrām, however, ignoring the verses and the letter both, places the mašnawī in the third stage of Ghalib's poetry which runs from 1838 up to 1847, a period belonging to the poet's middle age. So far as I have been able to judge, the composition of this mašnawī seems to have taken place in different periods spreading all over Ghalib's active life. Some of its parts, perhaps Nat and Manqībat, more elaborate as they are in comparison to the other parts, might have been composed in early life as Ghalib's letter addressed to Sūfī Munīrī tells us. Then there are the mature and more powerful parts like the Munājāt and the Mughannīnāmā that seem to be a production of the middle age. The last part, Saqīnāmā, itself bears testimony that it was composed in old age but we must place it, at any rate, before 1857 as Ghalib tells us in the Preface to the first edition of this mašnawī, published in 1863, that he could not continue this mašnawī after the first War of Independence on account of his failing health and the nervous shock received during the catastrophe. Another reason which he gives for leaving the work incomplete is that the story

1. Yādgār-i-Ghalib, p. 313.
of the Prophet's holy wars was so well known to every class of people in India that its narration would have been stale and charmless. His words are as follows:

Ghālib's qāṣīdās have been regarded as his best compositions by some critics. Ghālib's own opinion regarding them was highest and might have influenced the later assessments of other writers.

Writing to Nabī Bakhsh Khan Haqīr, he remarks:

Dear Brother, you praise my ghazal and I feel ashamed of it. Nobody appreciates my Persian qāṣīdās which I am proud of.

Hālī thinks that Ghālib's qāṣīdās are distinctive in quality and quantity both. He wrote them more than any other form because they were supposed to be the main form of poetry in those days.

There are in all sixty-four qāṣīdās in the Kulliyāt, the details of which are given below:

Qāṣīda 1 in praise of God
Qāṣīda 2–12 in praise of the Prophet and the members of the House of the Prophet.

1. Mašnawī Abr-i-Guhārbar, p. 3.
2. Ghālib- His life and Persian poetry p. 98.
Qasida 13 in praise of Akbar Shah II and Prince Salim
Qasida 14 - 28 in praise of Bahadur Shah Zafar
Qasida 29 - 31 in praise of Queen Victoria
Qasida 32 - 45 in praise of British Governors and Officers
Qasida 46 - 48 in praise of Prince Fathul Mulk
Qasida 49 - 53 in praise of Nawab of Awadh
Qasida 54 - 56 in praise of Nawab of Rampur
Qasida 57 in praise of Wazirud-Dawla
Qasida 58 in praise of Shiv Dhan Singh
Qasida 59 in praise of Narendra Singh
Qasida 60 in praise of Nawab Mustafa Khan Shifa
Qasida 61 in praise of Sadrud-Din Azurda
Qasida 62 in praise of Ziaud-Din Ahmad
Qasida 63 in praise of Mukhtarul Mulk
Qasida 64 A long subjective poem.

A close study of Ghalib's qasidas reveals great skill. Motivated as they were by monetary requirements, the qasidas lack the impassioned out-pourings of the poet's heart. Ghalib, however, strove to make up this deficiency by his craftsmanship and spared no effort to make them musical, fluent and impressive. As we know, Ghalib is an artist of the highest order and it is in his qasidas that he has displayed his workmanship with the greatest care. By sheer intellectual force he makes his affectations appear like genuine feelings and we can not even detect this fact except under a very careful and shrewd analysis.

One special feature of these qasidas is the element of
self-praise. Ghalib, not infrequently, exalts himself and his
to poetry, apparently because he has the proud privilege of being
a panegyrist of great personalities, but in reality it is simply
self-glorification under the garb of praising high-ranking per-
sonalities. For instance, after describing the beauty of his
compositions in many verses in succession, he attributes it to
the Prophet's praise.

Again, addressing himself to the twelfth Imam, he declares:-

As has been referred to in the third chapter. Ghalib is
a follower of 'Urfī in this respect, as the latter, too, felt
great delight in extolling himself in qaṣīdās. As far the
fantastic type of laudatory verses and the demand for money,
Ghalib follows in the foot-steps of the common oriental poets,
and his poetry under this head is not very edifying and graceful.
He includes Lord Canning, the then Viceroy of India, among the
members of the famous Kayānī dynasty of Īrān and declares him
to be the fourth in succession to Kaiqubād, Kaikāūs and Kaikhu-
sraw. The qaṣīdal is all full of indecent flattery, comparing

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nāzīm p. 295
Lord Canning to even Jesus Christ. The concluding verses refer
to the first War of Independence condemning the national insurgents.
The poet assures the viceroy of his loyalty to the British crown
and requests for title, robe of honour and pension. The beauty of
Ghalib's qasidas, however, lies mostly in the exordia, where the
poet takes up serious subjects for composition and produces really
admirable verses. The exordium of qasida no. 49, written after
the pattern of the famous qasida of 'Urfi, can be quoted as an
example. It begins with verses of high excellence in the lyrical
style which, later on, take a subjective turn and the poet descri­
bes, in a beautiful and exquisite style, his coming out of Delhi
and the hardships that followed it. Mention may here be made of
another qasida addressed to Wazirud-Dawla that also has a nice
exordium describing the charm of autumn in India. In sharp con­
trast to the general practice of mentioning the seasons of Irān
and their flowers, Ghalib depicts a real picture of Indian
Geography, its climate and flora and fauna. Ghalib never felt
at home in composing encomia that required flattery and obsequious
behaviour. He once wrote to Tafta

'One's practice can not be given up. I am unfamiliar
with the fashion of the Persian writers of India who
begin to speak like 'Phāts' (professional flatterers).

2. Khutūt-i-Ghalib p. 120.
Look at my qasidas. You will find several verses of exordia and a few of encomia.'

In exordia, however, Ghalib did not have to flatter and hence his energy found a free outlet. His aversion to flattery is further proved by the qasidas addressed to Nawab Muṣṭaḥ Khan Shīfta, Sadrud-Dīn Āzurda and Ziaud-Dīn Ahmad which he wrote out of a feeling of love and devotion. These qasidas are strikingly elegant and sincere. In fact, they have a character different from those addressed to kings and governors for material gains and are inspired by the personal respect that the poet had for them. Āzurda was a great scholar of Persian language. Ghalib keeps this in mind and pays glowing tributes to his knowledge and learning and admits his own indebtedness to the latter. The language of the qasida is idiomatic and chaste and the thought content is high. An intellectual refinement is visible throughout, replacing the egotism and meaningless flattery that appears in other qasidas. Ghalib, unstintingly, admits the moral and educational influence exercised over him by Sadrud-Dīn in the following verses.

Ghalib can be easily distinguished in his ghazals from other forms of poetry, to wit, qasīda and masnawi. It is in ghazal that the poet refers to Zuhūrī, Nazīrī and Bedil, sometimes as his masters and sometimes as his equals. The peculiar
diction and highly sophisticated style of the school of Fughānī dominates them. It is not found in qasīdas and maṣnawīs. Full discussion of the influences at work in Ghālib's ghazal and its intrinsic qualities will be found in the third and fifth chapter. It may be added on this occasion that although Ghālib's ghazals can not be regarded as his best poetry, yet he produced some very fine ghazals that can be included among the standard Persian ghazals and Ghālib could have secured a distinguished place among the Persian poets even if he had not composed anything else except them.

The Kulliyāt ends with a collection of one hundred and four rubāiyāt. Commenting on the rubāiyāt Hālī writes:

"Mirzā's rubāiyāt are based on the theme of jollity, intrepidity, drinking, boastfulness, protests and bewailing. Some of them are mystical and a few deal with particular subjects. The wine poetry seems apparently to be an emulation of Umar Khayyām. Mirzā's rubāiyāt have more lucidity, bloom and warmth in comparison to ordinary ghazals".

In the light of these rubāiyāt, we can hardly attribute any excellence to the poet and it becomes difficult to agree

1. Yağgār-i-Ghālib p. 255.
with Ḥālī that Ghalib’s rubāiyāt are better than his ghazals. On the contrary, I feel that they have not been seriously and delicately composed. As Ḥālī himself admits, the rubāiyāt are written in imitation of Khayyām but even the imitation has not been carefully attempted. Here is an specimen of some of the best rubāiyāt.

1. Yā rāz dar aʿrāf kā dast dard  
   Ḥālī ba dar bālagh kā dast

2. Yā bāb bāb-i Kātīr  
   Baḥīra faqīr-Kātīr kā faqīr

3. Bāb tā bādak kā bādak  
   Bāb ghar dā rāni kā ghar

4. Qaft shiwa kā biqāyat  
   Ḥālī rāf-ī-āf-ī kā Ḥālī

5. Bādhi čaur-dā kā čaur-dā  
   Bādhi chowkār dā bak-shūn

Ghalib was a versatile genius. He wrote maṣnawi, qaṣida.

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 538
2. Ibid p. 542
3. Ibid p. 550
4. Ibid p. 547
5. Ibid p. 547
and ghazal with equal grace and his command over all the forms of poetry was so amazing that it becomes difficult to determine wherein he excelled. Mr. Gīlānī, however, being swept away by Ghalib's craftsmanship, declared his qaṣīdas to be his best work which I feel is not a correct assessment. On the contrary, I hold that if poetry is to be judged not merely by the technical skill at work in it, Ghalib's qaṣīdas stand lower than his ghazals and maṣnawīs. The ghazals are marked by originality and serious thinking although Ghalib could not be regarded as an inventor in this sphere. Being an off-shoot of the general legacy of the Mughal poetry, much of its thought pattern and workmanship, as we have noticed in the third chapter, belongs to the poets of that age. Ghalib only projected his personality and experiences in the given thought pattern of the ghazal and polished and refined its verses with great skill.

In maṣnawī, however, Ghalib stands on a different plane altogether. He received nothing from the Mughal poets that could serve as a stepping stone for him. Some maṣnawīs were, no doubt, written during that period, especially those by Zuhūrī, which exercised some influence on Ghalib but they are negligible in quality and quantity both. The spirit of the Mughal age predominantly expressed itself in ghazal and therefore resulted in its development. There is no continuity of this kind in maṣnawī. The last great maṣnawī writer is Jāmī who flourished four hundred years before Ghalib. During this vast span of time, considerable development in human knowledge took place which is evident from the subject matter of Ghalib's maṣnawīs.
Formerly, the maṣnawīs were used for the epic poetry dealing with heroic deeds, or as a vehicle of mystical ideas. Ghalib used it to convey his views over the current affairs directly as in the case of the tenth maṣnawī. He had to force the language of Jāmī and Nizāmī to suit the requirements of his own time. This was far more difficult than composing ghazals where the poet has a set language and rich store of symbols and other artistic devices to draw upon. The subject matter of ghazal has essentially remained unchanged upto the modern times which retained the old language for expression. Ghalib's contribution in maṣnawī therefore, is more original and fresh despite the fact that he rigidly followed the old pattern. Munajāt was always written by Persian poets. It was rather a convention to begin a long poem with Ḥamd which generally included munajāt. But nobody used it, like Ghalib, to give vent to the deep-rooted and suppressed feelings of human heart and turning it into a powerful satire on the moral set-up of the feudal civilization. In addition to this historic aspect, Ghalib's maṣnawīs are superior to his other creations mainly on account of their intrinsic quality. If 'Shāhnāma' of Firdawsī, the Maṣnawī of Mawlawī, 'The Hamlet' of Shakespeare and 'Paradise Lost' of Milton, to quote a few identical works, represent the best poetry of the human race, then certainly, Ghalib's maṣnawī 'Abr-i-Guhābar, being of an equal footing, deserves to be included among the classics of world literature. A considerable portion of it, like the Munajāt, Mughannīnāma and Sāqīnāma records a pattern of thinking which was almost unknown to the Eastern mind upto that time.
CHAPTER V
PHILOSOPHY

In the third chapter, we have already examined in detail the heritage received by Ghalib which served as the basis of his poetry. We have noticed in respect of ghazals that Ghalib mostly followed the line of the Mughal poets. In masnavi, however, he went far ahead of this period to seek guidance from the great classical masters, especially Nizāmī Ganjavi. He strictly adhered to the principles formulated by the great masters in regard to the language and the style of diction, and there is no gain saying the fact that he achieved greater command over the Persian language than any other Indian poet did, barring of course, Amīr Khusraw and Faizī. The musical setting of his words together with the use of appropriate phrases, apt similes and sprightly metaphors never fail to produce a melody that enchants us. The glamour of his embellished diction has sometimes dazzled the eyes of scholars and hence they could not appreciate the real value of his poetry. Dr. Ārif Shāh C. Syyid Gīlānī falls an easy prey to this diction. He writes:

"Unlike Firdausī, Rūmī, Hāfiz and Iqībāl, Ghalib had no pretentions to make. His primary duty it was to purify the language of all the weeds that had crept in with the passage of time."

"Ghalib did not consider poetry as the aureole of true philosophy and complete science. On the contrary, he was mainly

concerned with the culture of the language, the outer garb of thought. In

This conclusion is so grievously misleading that it renders the whole thesis unreliable. In the first place, it is absurd to suppose that a foreigner could 'purify a language of all the weeds that had crept in with the passage of time'. The Persian that Ghalib wrote had fallen away from the Persian that was current in Iran and had subsequently become artificial. We can not, therefore, impress anybody, much less an Iranian, by laying stress on Ghalib's language. Secondly, it would be a great injustice, I am inclined to call it rather an insult to Ghalib, to depict him as one mainly concerned with the 'outer garb of thought' and not with the thought itself. Notwithstanding the profound philosophy and the great thoughtcontent permeating Ghalib's poetry, I wish Dr. Gilani would have only cared to listen to Ghalib's unqualified words in this respect which bear out that he based his poetry on the fire of deep emotions and thoughts and held in scorn poets who wasted their energies over the subtleties of rhetorical devices and the figures of speech. Writing in a satirical vein, he says in his preface:

1. Ghalib, His life and Persian poetry p. 191
2. Kulliyat-i-Naṣr, p. 10,11
"0 yes, why should it not be so, because for the person of my skill there is no embellishment of the glory of learning, and the robe of my existence does not possess the fortune and decoration of excellence. I have neither the songs of grammar and etymology on my lips nor the chanting of logical terms on my tongue, neither the blood of Şurâh on my neck nor the dead body of Qâmûs on my shoulders. I am neither a blister on the foot that treads the path of figures of speech nor I fashion pearls in the string of marvels'.

He then refers to the fire that is the main motive force of his poetry.

'I am roasted by the heat of the smokeless fire of Persian and intoxicated by the bitterness of the strong wine of meaning. I am the salamander of the fire temple of the Magians of Irân; ask me alone about my burning. I am the nightingale of the flower-garden of the gardeners of Persia, seek my enthusiasm in me. The verdure is sprouted by the clouds and the flowers are shed by the wind. To

1. Title of an Arabic-Persian Dictionary
2. Title of a celebrated Arabic dictionary
3. Kulliyât-i-Nâzîm p. 11
pick them up and bind them together in a bouquet is an inferior art. Comrades are professionals. Yes, one should not live without an occupation. The breath is sowing the spark and the tongue is reaping the flame. To kindle up and to exploit one's own self is a unique condition and we are in that turmoil.

Ghalib, no doubt, took pains to refine his verses and was very careful about his diction. He also held poetry basically to be an art, but, paradoxical though it may seem, his greatness springs from the philosophy that is enshrined in his art. He might not have deliberately propounded it. He might not have been even conscious of the philosophy. That, however, matters little. Shakespeare was not in the least conscious of the philosophy he was giving to posterity. He had only the stage in view and wrote his plays for the common play-goer to make commercial gain. A number of instances from the world literature can be cited to show that many great poets, unlike Milton, Rumi and Iqbal, took to writing not to preach any particular gospel, yet they can not be regarded as mere artists without having any philosophy or message. 'Literature is criticism of life' says Matthew Arnold and when this criticism is expressed by a powerful genius it also embodies the freshness and originality of his outlook on life. It becomes a vision of one who can see more deeply into the truth and the beauty of life and can react more powerfully than the ordinary man. However great may be the
emphasis that is commonly laid on the aesthetic nature of Art, a great poet cannot escape the responsibilities of a philosopher and a teacher. However attractive, therefore, the form and the medium of expression might be, it must not be allowed to divert our attention from the substance or the vision of the artist that it embodies because it is there that the power of his thought and his moral strength reside.

Ghalib was living in a period of transition, of rapid changes in every sphere of life. The political, social and economic conditions pertaining to the period under consideration have already been reviewed in the first chapter. We have also noticed in the chapter dealing with Ghalib's life that he was an ambitious and energetic man with a wide sphere of activity and experience. Apart from the hardships and shocking set-backs of his own life, he saw the great political upheavals culminating in the extinction of the great Mughal Empire. He was well-acquainted with the ambitious plan of the western type of education that was being started by the British Government on a countrywide scale in India. The civilizing effects of the new education were already felt in Bengal before Ghalib's time where the Reformist Movement started by Rāja Rām Mohan Roy was in full swing and was heading towards Northern India. Ghalib had an additional opportunity to visit this westernised and advanced part of the country and compare it with the land of his birth. His poetry, therefore, quite naturally reflects this revolutionary fervour. The boredom of the out-grown feudal society, the crumbling of its moral and ethical set-up, the national mood of doubt and disillusion, the zeal for reform, the urge for a new mode of life and
the subsequent inquisitiveness into the general thinking result-
ing in the conflict of materialism and idealism—all have found
an eloquent expression in Ghalib’s poetry. But this depiction
alone, however faithful and interesting, could not have made
Ghalib’s poetry immortal. A great poet, apart from being a pro-
duct of his time, must also transcend it. Ghalib has both the
qualities to his credit. The experiences that he gained were,
no doubt, the outcome of the historical conditions of his time,
but the arrangement of those experiences in an artistic order
and on a higher intellectual plane was the master work of his
genius. He was able not only to express the diversity of our
‘indispensable’ nineteenth century but moulded its various
intellectual forces into a constructive shape and still further
added to it the charm of his personality and the practical wisdom
of his constructive outlook on life. It is mostly on this basis,
that his poetry, transcending its own time becomes of great value
and interest for us. It serves as a guide book for all those who
take a bold stand and struggle for the achievement of some ideal
amidst unfavourable circumstances. In going through its pages,
we feel the company of a great and experienced master who not only
attracts us by the charm of his personality but also teaches us
the art of living. He conjures up a busy world full of vigour
and energy and shot with turbulent movements. Unlike Thomas
More’s ‘Utopia’, where every thing is according to one’s wishful
thinking, it is a realistic world of contradictory forces—of
intrigues, conspiracies and violent outbursts on the one hand and
of resistance, defiance and indomitable courage on the other. It
is a world where ephemeral phases of hope and fear rise and
vanish in quick succession. We are sometimes lost in confusion. We hear life groaning in the mysterious clutches of death and disease and shudder back but suddenly a light comes to us and leads us on and before we are cowed down completely by the horrifying forces, we are equipped with the necessary arms to repel them. What are these arms? It is in answer to this question that we realize the unique and unparalleled quality of Ghalib's poetry that sets him apart from, and above all the oriental poets. Most of our poets, when they come face to face with the tragic aspect of life, suggest only two alternatives. In the first place, they suggest, like Khayyam and Hafiz, an escape from it by submerging the worries in a bowl of wine and to live an epicurean life. Thus Hafiz sings:

Secondly, those who are more serious minded, exhort us to adopt spiritual and idealistic methods like Rumi and Iqbal, thus bringing us in the orbit of religious and mystical thinking. Ghalib stands distinctly apart from both the groups. His approach to the problem of life is scientific and practical and his main weapon in this field is REASON, because he bases his philosophy on sound arguments that are neither emotional nor idealistic. This is again, paradoxically enough, only a proof of his greatness as a poet. Rejecting the inherited beliefs and traditional views, he utilized the fresh knowledge of his time in forming a modern and, therefore, higher conception of ethics and consequently bringing about what has been termed as 'emotionalization of knowledge'. Ghalib was himself fully conscious of this aspect of his poetry.
when he wrote:

"Do not dispute with me O father, look at Āzar's son. He who became a man of insight did not approve of the ancestral religion".

Ghālib's unique contribution, therefore, as a poet and subsequently the basis of his greatness, lies in the fact that he awakened and accelerated the contemporary feelings to keep pace with the development in the field of intellect which they otherwise seldom do. Few can fail to realize this quality of his poetry while reading the tenth maqānī of his Kulliyāt that will presently come under consideration. I will now try to illustrate, with the help of Ghālib's verses how he differs from other poets in answering to the challenge of life. In the first instance, he teaches us to take an objective view of reality, 'to see things as they are' and then by using our knowledge and resources, to force them to serve our purpose. It is significant that Ghālib seldom tries to give any wishful picture of the world that may lead to disillusionment. That is one of the reasons why some of his critics were led to call him a pessimist which may appear to be true, when such verses are seen as isolated reflections and not in the entire framework of his art. He looks at life in its broad historical perspective and cogitates upon the countless human beings that have vanished with the passage of time. It is, no doubt, a grim world but at the same time true also where the

---

The poet then feels disappointed with life and tries to console himself with death. Pitying the sad plight of Khizr, Idris and Christ, who are bound to live for ever, according to Islam, he exclaims:

"But this is only a passing phase and not the tailend of his thinking. Ghalib was gifted with an analytical mind and his analysis led him to the conclusion that happiness and haplessness are both in a state of transition in this world which is governed by the immutable law of change."

He, therefore, concentrates on this change and by concentrating on the ever-changing social and physical phenomena that surround him, he hits the mark. His attention is focused on the present, beckoning him with all its adventures and opportunities. On recognizing the real battlefield, he rejects irrelevant fears and exclaims:

"..."
This verse tells us that every breath of the Present is fraught with hundred calamities yet man is still afraid of the Future. In other words, it seems to suggest to us that we should take care of the Present because, by doing so, we shall not only be dispelling the fears of tomorrow but also setting the future aright. Ghalib knows full well that the best way to get rid of trouble is to face it with reason and courage. Most of our fears are the products of our own mind and subsist with us so long as we do not face reality. Hence he declares:

"It is better to plunge forthwith into calamity rather than be obsessed of it. The bottom of the sea is the spring of Paradise while its surface is fire."

Although Ghalib believes in reason as an effective weapon to overcome our difficulties but he does not compel us to apply our thinking to remote issues. Finding man incapable of solving the riddle of existence, Ghalib commends the use of our senses in enjoying the wonder and beauty of the world. He invites us to concentrate on physical beauty that would reveal the hidden meaning also.

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 385
2. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 377
meaning, is the splendour of the form any worse?

Acquire the curl of the lock and the fold in the rim of the cap.

In another ghazal, he repeats the invitation with a direct appeal to our senses.

The close resemblance of these verses to those of Ḥāfīz has already been referred to in the third chapter and hence needs no repetition on this occasion. Attention must, however, be drawn to an additional quality of these verses that even surpasses Ḥāfīz, namely the quality of stimulating our action. The dynamic character of this ghazal, especially of the last two verses is seldom found in Ḥāfīz but it is the central quality of Ghālib's poetry. His inexhaustible energy for action is felt throughout. In another ghazal he declares:

"I hardly distinguish the head from the foot on the path of endeavour while the sky all the time attributes the splendour of beginning to my acts of completion".

Enough has been said on the practical value of Ghālib's poetry

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nāẓm p. 379
2. Ibid p. 437
and its unique power of stimulating our thought and action on
the one hand and of creating confidence and will-power on the
other. A great poet as he is, I believe and hope that his
poetry will invariably serve as an unexplored ocean for new
generations that will continue to bring out fresh pearls of
meaning from its unfathomable depths. In face of growing .
pressure of the present age that has revolutionized the older
view of the whole cosmic order as well as our moral and theological
concepts, it is becoming more and more difficult to evolve a
Corresponding philosophy of life that could answer faithfully to
the changed situation and restore the earlier faith that had made
life 'transparently meaningful' to our ancestors. A number of
people from some of the most advanced countries are falling back
upon religion to escape the new challenge; and religion is now
dictating its own terms and demanding unconditional surrender from
these hard-pressed refugees. It gives no assurance. It commits
itself to nothing. "As Jesus walked on the water", writes Professor
Huston Smiths, "So must the contemporary man of faith walk on the
sea of nothingness, confident even in the absence of rational
supports." Looking forth at this crisis of the 'post-modern'
man', Ghālib seems to smile on his efforts when he says:-

"Fortune is never misplaced, regret the attempt
(Since) you could not be an unbeliever, be therefore a
Muslim per force."

The point that I am struggling to bring out is this, that in addition to satisfying the requirements of the modern age, Ghalib's poetry has positively a subterranean current of 'post-...' modern' thinking.

II

For a detailed study of Ghalib's poetry, we must determine the main current of his thinking in order to help us in understanding the nature of his art to which the various offshoots of his poetry may be traced. A passing reference has already been made to REASON while discussing Ghalib's approach to life. Now the basic fact that we have to note is this that just because Ghalib bases his philosophy mainly on reason, we can take him to be a Hellenist and an exponent of the intellectual theory of life as opposed to the moral theory. The factors responsible for this development can be noticed in Ghalib's environment that has been analysed earlier. Summing them up here, we can mention the influence of the contemporary Reformation Movement that was based on a rational approach to religion. Ghalib's own experience of his stay in Calcutta and his friendship with many British Officers there as well as in Delhi played a complementary role in transforming his general outlook. But over and above all these factors, Ghalib's own learning and genius were mainly responsible for the cultivation of a liberal and scientific temperament. A learned man as he was, we expect him to have imbibed the ancient Greek learning through the Eastern channels like Avicenna, Naṣīrūd-Dīn Ṭūsī, Jalālūd-Dīn Dawānī and ʿAbd al-Waṣīd al-Khaṭībī etc. Even in India, Faizī, a poet of recent
times and for that matter closer to Ghālib, had given a brilliant exposition of hellenistic ideas in his poetry that served as a guide to Ghālib. I will now devote myself to prove this assertion by citing internal evidence from Ghālib's poetry and then press it forward to account for the subsequent trends of his poetry.

Writing in praise of Mu'azzāmu-Dawla, he refers to the relation that exists between reason and his poetry.

"In art, I am the admirer of Reason, and in poetry Reason is my admirer. I am astounded by the grasp of Reason, and Reason is fascinated by my statement. Lo and behold, though far-sighted Reason is my companion in the path of praise, yet, on account of poetic jealousy it is concerned with its own gain and (seeks) my loss. I am continuously assaying Reason and Reason is engaged in testing me. Whatever is brought to my mind from the Invisible Reason claims it to be its own.

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nāẓm p. 34
Whatever Reason brings from the pen
I claim it to be a creation of my fingers.
I compose poetry and Reason disputes
that these goods belong to its shop.
Reason produces ideas and I cry
that this is a statement which belongs to my tongue.

His best and most pronounced view on reason is to be
found in Mughannināma. This poem lays great emphasis on reason
and gives a clear insight into Ghālib's ideas in this regard.
Singing the praise of reason, he looks at it from different
angles and brings into bold relief the various roles that it
can play in shaping the human destiny. There can be no stronger
proof of Ghālib's great faith in reason than the following
verses of Mughannināma.

It is, perhaps, for the first time that an Eastern poet
has given a sustained and conscious exposition regarding the
invaluable qualities of reason and has claimed it as a basic

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 156,158
guiding factor of his poetry. Yet in spite of his uncompromising devotion to reason, Ghalib does not lack the fire and passion of a great soul without which no real poetry can come into existence. He points out, simultaneously, the tragic role of a poet. His grief 'Gham' represents his ever increasing passion for justice, fairplay and better living for which human beings have been striving from the earliest times. While reason is always in the driver's seat, his grief (gham) is the motive force that keeps the struggle on and bids him put up the continuous set-backs with a smiling face. He goes on in the same poem:

The manner of life that has been depicted in the above-mentioned verses shows that Ghalib was gifted, in addition to poetic excellence, with the sterling qualities of a great statesman and a profound thinker in the practical field of life. He inspires us,

like a hero, to live a life of dedication to a noble cause, to fight for our ideals, to risk what is near and dear to us and if necessary, to lay down our lives in the pursuit. But all this is to be done under the guidance of reason. The main point to be noted, therefore, in his thought pattern is the intermingling of reason and grief. The line of action that he suggests is not emotional and desperate but flexible and prudent yet sustained and unfailing towards the final achievement. Even in moments of frustration, Ghālib does not look towards any divine power to set things right for him. He is self-reliant. After comparing himself to Nizāmī who had the advantage of Khīrī’s guidance and accordingly possessed divine inspiration, he says:

Ghālib can well be called to be a bridge between the ancient wisdom and the new knowledge. He stands for all the noble ideals that the ancients loved but differs from them in the manner of achieving those ideals. Here he is a hellenist, refusing to be misled by traditional views and dogmatic thinking. He does not believe in the passive role of the fatalists but depends on his own efforts and thinking. It is precisely on

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 161

---
this account that we find him welcoming the British regime and coming forward with warm tributes to its rulers. In fact, he saw no life in the Mughal empire. India required new blood that was being infused by the British capitalist order. Ghalib was fortunate to see Calcutta, the citadel of this 'Brave new world' with his own eyes. He was anxious to see the blessings of science and technology for his own people who were afraid to embrace new ideas and sought their salvation in turning to the past. We are simply amazed to read the masnavī written by him as a foreword to 'Āin-i-Akbarī' that was edited by Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khān. Sir Saiyid was an influential person even at that time and was holding a high post at Morādābād. Ghalib did not care for his high position and discouraged him on his work through this masnavī. He holds a high opinion of Sir Saiyid's talent but wants it to be channelised into healthier grooves for better and constructive purposes instead of being wasted on such occupation as editing the 'Āin-i-Akbarī', which was no more than 'Murda Parwardan', according to Ghalib. He invites Sir Saiyid's attention to the progress achieved by the British people and enumerates the amenities of science and technology like the steamship, the gramophone, the telegraph and the electricity. Rising above the national and geographical considerations, Ghalib pays glowing tributes to the British people on their contribution to the general welfare of human society and advises Sir Saiyid to popularise their knowledge among the countrymen rather than seek to revive out-of-date books. In the middle of the 19th century when the Indians were still in the after-glow of the great Mughal empire and were not emotionally prepared to accept the changed circumstances, Ghalib wonderfully adjusted himself to the
new set up. Not that Ghalib was ignorant of the glorious past; he was, on the contrary, one of the greatest admirers of all that was Eastern and had the greatest love and regard for the past glory, but he did not allow his emotions to subdue reason. Mark the courage and sincerity as well as the rational outlook reflected in the following lines that are unparalleled, in the history of Indo-Persian literature. Commenting on Sir Saiyid's editing of Aín-i-Akbarî, he declares:
It has been mentioned earlier that the Muslims had, for a long time stood away from the English education while the Hindus had responded to the call of persons like Rāja Rām Mohan Roy. The result of the Rāja's Reformation Movement was noticed by Ghalib in Bengal. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to think, when we read the maṣnawī, that Ghalib worked as an important vehicle in transmitting and popularising the new ideas among the Muslims of Northern India. The advice given by him to a great reformer, in the form of this maṣnawī, was bound to have fruitful results in future. Sir Saiyid's Reformation Movement and the subsequent formation of M.A.O. College Aligarh, the consequent change in the out-look of the people, more especially the Muslims in favour of the western type of education—all seem to have their roots in this advice.

An element that has been wrongly associated with Ghalib's poetry is mysticism and it requires to be brushed aside at the very outset in order to have a clearer view of his ideas and philosophy. Many writers, especially Ḥālī and Khalīfa Abdul Ḥakīm

have alleged that a notable part of his poetry was mystical. I have already expressed my difference of opinion with Ḥālī while comparing Nazīrī with Ghālib in the third chapter. As for Khalīfa Abūdul Ḥakīm's interpretation of Ghālib's verses, it is no doubt admirable in many respects and shows a keen insight into Ghālib's ideas. Unlike Ḥālī who was Ghālib's faithful disciple, Khalīfa Abūdul Ḥakīm has made a judicious and impartial assessment. It is, however, in respect of Ghālib's mystical verses that he too has stumbled down. Having a soft corner for Islamic mysticism, he fails to see, or wilfully avoids to point out its out-grown nature in Ghālib's time. He has, likewise, failed to notice the wholly unmystical and ambitious character of Ghālib and his own remarks disassociating himself from mysticism. In fact, while examining the work of a poet we must be able to distinguish clearly between the original ideas that form the main contribution of the writer and the formal and conventional element surrounding the original ideas. A writer, especially a poet, however great he may be, can not disengage himself wholly from the traditional ideas unless he makes a very conscious effort to indoctrinate his readers with a well-planned philosophy. Ghālib wrote a good deal of mystical poetry but it falls within the category of traditional ideas that the contemporary poets were much used to employ as a matter of convention. The poem 'Ṣāqī-nāma' gives an insight into this conventional mysticism, where Ghālib ridicules Niẓāmī over his celestial wine and warns the Ṣāqī not to be misled by the former's spurious claims in relation to drinking. He then
presents himself as a true drunkard.

It does not require any deep thinking to understand and recognize the conventional treatment of mysticism at Ghālib's hands. His poetry, on such occasions, falls short of the usual heights of its intellectual level and shrinks down into hackneyed symbols and poor expressions. His first masnawi entitled 'Surma-i-Bīnīsh' may be taken as an example. Written in imitation of the great masnawi of the Mawla, it is devoted exclusively to the mystical and saintly qualities of Bahādur Shāh Zafar. The poem is shallow and unpleasing and harps on the spiritual qualities that the king never possessed. He is depicted as instructing his disciples the method of divine love through the dead symbols that are elucidated by the poet in the following manner.

But very often Ghālib himself hits back on such poetry and

passes sneering remarks. In Sāqīnāma he gives a mystical conception of the world but soon after he throws aside the cloak of mysticism and comes out in his true colours.

A number of verses are found in Ghalib's ghazals and qasidas that contain mystical ideas. The opening lines of his qasidas often deal with a mystical theme but sooner or later he gives it up in distaste. Mention may here be made of some verses of another masnawi entitled 'Chiragh-i-Dair' that Ghalib wrote in his early age while he was on his way to Calcutta. It is based on the thrilling experience of the poet when he stayed for some time in Benares and is, therefore, a representative piece of Ghalib's true poetry. We can easily mark the difference of emotional power and ease of expression pervading such poetry and the one mentioned earlier. Being still young and susceptible to feminine charms, Ghalib depicts a lively and colourful picture of the fair maidens of the city and is enraptured in their enchanting surroundings. In describing their charm and attraction, he brings his poetic genius into full play and gives an exceedingly sensuous depiction that portrays him more a heathen than a mystic.

Then suddenly the poem takes a turn and Ghalib is reminded of his mission for which the journey was undertaken. He pledges to turn his face away from the alluring atmosphere and to follow the arduous path with greater determination and courage. The following lines mark the rising tempo of his ambition and restlessness which is the chief characteristic of his poetry. No greater and more fulsome expression of the intense feelings of an enterprising youth is possible than what is found in the following verses

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 84,85.
Another extract from a qasida that Ghalib wrote in 'Manqibat' may be reproduced here to illustrate his extremely ambitious and stubborn nature. In sharp contrast to stoical and mystical tendencies, it is a powerful expression of the poet's lust for life and his defiance of every challenge that springs from its rugged and rough path.

2. Ibid p. 199.
These extracts amply illustrate that Ghālib hardly possessed a mystical trend of mind. We, however, find occasional versification of mystical ideas that he did by way of convention or sometimes to humour the Mughal King. On the contrary, there are powerful and spontaneous pieces of poetry dealing with sensuous and concrete subjects that stand out in sharp contrast with his so-called mystical poetry. These pieces record the high water mark of the most voluptuous and intensely ambitious poetry that has ever been written in the Persian language. The mystic recedes in the background giving place to an excited pagan with ruffled passions.

Ghālib's religious out-look too, like his personality, is rather complicated. He was himself, at times, confounded by the strange and divergent predilections of his mind in relation to religion and we can use his own words to express an opinion.

\[\text{We are in strange difficulty with this mad person.}\]

Ghālib is neither a Muslim nor can he be called an unbeliever.

A channelisation of his religious ideas is, however, possible by co-relating his reactions and attitudes in this respect after a thoughtful study of his works. We can say that Ghālib was a religious man in the sense that he believed

\[\text{1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 398}\]
in God and loved the Prophet and his family. In addition to the devotional references to the members of the Prophet’s family that are scattered all over his verses, there are nine poems written on Ḥaḍrat ʿAlī and other Imāms. These poems are marked by true pathos and a tenderness of feelings that could spring from proven sincerity alone. But his attitude towards God can by no means be deemed to be that of a devout Muslim. Here he appears to be a sceptic or at best a Muslim whose religious outlook is of extremely matter-of-fact type and too liberal. For instance, he is unwilling to accept the universal theory propounded by almost every religion including, of course, Islām, that every person is to be held personally responsible for all his sins, sorrows and sufferings in all circumstances. He must, therefore, repent on his doings and beg mercy from Almighty God. Ghalib does not seem to follow this line of thinking. On the contrary, he looks upon man as an aggrieved and oppressed party and pleads on his behalf. The misuse and exploitation of talent, the unfulfilled desires of flesh and blood, the economic inequality and disorder of human society resulting in the moral and spiritual deterioration—all raise their heads before him and he comes forward as a champion to seek redress in the Divine Presence. Speaking with conviction and courage, he assails the kingdom of God, finding faults with the system of His administration and lashing out at its supposed loopholes. The following long extract which I am tempted to quote from his Munājāt, shows him as one making his complaints. We may or may not subscribe to his religious views but the case that he has so brilliantly put forward and

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 47-60
logically argued can hardly fail to elicit admiration and applause from all quarters. He seeks permission from God to speak in self-defence.
Ghālib gives vent to our suppressed feelings without fear of convention and boldly complains against the suppression of our instinctive urges. The love for physical beauty and the desire for physical satisfaction are generally curbed by conventional morality. Puritanic philosophies are an additional element working against the healthy and fuller enjoyment of life and diverting our attention towards ethereal pleasures. Ghālib prefers the physical pleasures to the ethereal pleasures of Paradise. By appraising God with his real feelings in a language that is respectful, yet hazardous, he gives a blow to the Hebrew conception of God that inspires awe and keeps us blind and mute with our heads downwards in His Presence. Ghālib’s God is merciful, patient and what is more important, can stand opposition and criticism. The God of Hebrew prophets, strictly awful and proud has become flexible, tolerant and graceful in Ghālib’s interpretation. There is no other poet except Khayyām—and he too only made casual remarks—who has so logically and boldly criticised the administrative set up of heaven for its drawbacks and failures to provide a fair deal to all human beings. Ghālib upholds and defends his own shortcomings and weaknesses and thus, he indirectly becomes a successful pleader of the oppressed peoples of all times. Addressing God he declares:

Here Ghālib’s sympathies are unmistakably with the sinner’s repentance and not with divine pardon.

Ghālib is a shrewd observer of human motives and actions

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 522
and his poetry is like an extremely sensitive instrument that records the inner-most vibrations of our sub-conscious mind with accuracy. Different types of character—wicked, opportunists and hypocrites throng the screen. Delicate tendencies of mind are placed, as it were, on a microscope and we see the vast and unexplored regions of human psychology. For instance, many a good that is done, is ill-intentioned but it generally passes unnoticed. The nature of such action is laid bare by Ghālib's revealing power. He remarks:

1. دید پریش و از ضمدم کر آنا
   نم در نفت خام سرا آن کر
   Yet another ugly feature of our social set-up has been depicted in the following verse. It indicates that law is distorted to suit the interest of the oppressor.

2. پر در بار پر فواست فرازمان بدوی
   فرامرز سکب کری دا آن
   Some verses showing Ghālib's amazing psychological insight and his keen observation of human impulses and behaviour are quoted below:

3. مسی و نیست مانند نماز جمع
   او مسئولیت دام دار نمی‌گذارست
   4. صحتی در زمینه، دو روزنامه‌ای
   می‌گویم که دارم روزنامه‌ای
   خوانند و می‌خورند از غیر رازخوان به
   کیم‌گویست به‌دیدن، در راه‌ست
   5. مسی و نیست مانند نماز جمع
   نمای کردن بی‌ذکات، چوبی

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 429
2. Ibid p. 429
3. Ibid 383
4. Ibid 427
5. Ibid p. 414
Ghâlib's inclination towards reason and his consequent habit of rationalisation had its undesirable repurcussions too. He developed a personality that could hardly be approved of as commendable in all respects. He became a little too realistic, practical and ambitious in life showing sometimes machiavellian tendencies. His pro-British attitude in the War of Independence and his admiration, partly genuine no doubt, of the British rulers were the outcome of the same trait. We find him unfair to his wife, relentless and unbending towards the enemies and proud and intolerant in controversies. His poetry is marked by the strength and diplomacy of his character, which, sometimes, as in the case of his love poetry, appear harsh and unpleasing but we must not overlook that it is precisely on account of certain otherwise good qualities that Ghâlib does not prove to be a faithful lover. In fact he was much too wise and strong to be a wholehearted lover. An additional factor responsible for this attitude might be the influence of the Mughal poets who practised artificial love themselves. The tender feelings of true pathos are as much absent in Ghâlib as they were in the Mughal poets but the absence of pathos in Ghâlib's poetry is due to his strong and self-respecting character while in the Mughal poets, its reason might be simply their artifice. Ghâlib sets a new and healthy standard of love by rejecting the meek and submissive

behaviour of the lover. It must be noticed that, as a lover, he does not altogether surrender himself before the beloved. He takes a bold stand to maintain his individuality and avails himself of all the means at his disposal, whether right or wrong, to resist outside pressure. He not only guards his honour and dignity but also asserts himself before the beloved. This should not, however, be regarded as lack of passionate feelings or emotions on his part. Ghalib was extremely sensitive too, and on that account a lover of feminine beauty but he was not prepared to surrender his self-respect or to subordinate other interests to its pursuits. Retrospecting over the blind love of his early youth, he repents over his desperate steps.


Again referring to the blazing fire of his passion he remarks:

2. Ibid p. 469.

Later on, with the development of his personality he was able to adopt a mature attitude towards love and instead of being a slave to passionate impulses, he began to use his head. This change must normally happen to all educated and experienced minds but in the East, it has, somehow, been regarded as unconventional and strange for poetry and therefore it is not allowed to find expression in the form of words. Thus we find almost every poet, irrespective of age and ideas harping on, and exaggerating about the sentiments of faithfulness and fidelity that makes him appear servile and even ridiculous in relation to his beloved. Ghalib himself not, of course, infrequently, falls a prey to this

2. Ibid p. 469.
conventional practice but that is not his characteristic attitude. As a whole, he does not approve of such cringing. He rather looks with disdain on the impoverished personalities of such lovers. Condemning too much faithfulness, he attacks Farhād, the fabulous hero of Persian romance

The idea reappears in an Urdu verse also

"It is silly that love should become a labourer in the luxury-palace of Khusraw. We do not approve of the fame of Farhād".

It follows, therefore, that being possessed of a mature mind, Ghalib looks upon the qualities of faithfulness and consistency from a different angle. He knows that sentiments of devotion and faithfulness in love spring from the frenzy of youth which is in itself a passing phase of life. Since the basic thing is the frenzy of youth, it must be given reasonable outlet instead of being hampered by conventional morality. Faithfulness, consistency and over-devotion to one's beloved are only a sort of idealization of biological urges on a lesser platonic plane. Since Ghalib was never conventional in thinking, he rejected the stereotyped and seemingly pious notions about love. This was his attitude right up to the old age. He was a great lover in his youth and had engagements with ladies, but rightly or wrongly he could never be consistent in love. Writing to Mirzā Ḥātim Ālī Beg, he declares:

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naḡm p. 336
2. Dīwān-i-Ghalib p. 186 (Arshi edition)
3. See page 135
"Others' death should be mourned by one who is not to die himself. Why shedding of tears and lamentation. Thank freedom and do not feel sorry. If, however, you are so pleased with your bondage then there is Munnajän in place of Chunnajän. Whenever I imagine Paradise and think, provided I am blessed by God, to get a palace as eternal abode with a virgin of Paradise to pass life with that pious figure alone, I get upset with the idea and feel my liver coming out. Oh that virgin of Paradise will turn out to be a drudgery. Why shall I not feel bored. The same emerald palace, the same single bough of 'Tuba' and the same virgin of Paradise, be the evil eye away from her.

Brother, come to senses, get yourselves interested elsewhere.

Marry a new woman in every spring 0 friend
For the old adjustment does not serve the purpose.

Ghalib's mistress is also highly intelligent and rather mischievous. We can have a full picture of her personality in Ghalib's verses although she hardly appears physically before us. Ghalib, perhaps, considers physical description to be a crude art

1. Khuṭūt-i-Ghālib p. 229
and uses his pencil in depicting the style and the expression only. This depiction is finer and more suggestive than the physical one. The beauty of the following verse can hardly be overestimated where a single stroke of pen serves to flash a highly colourful picture.


Again we are shown a restless figure like lightening ransacking heavens and earth. No physical description is supplied.

2. Ibid p. 378

There are, on the other hand, a number of verses that reveal the personality of the beloved. For instance, the following verse shows that even very great sacrifices from the lover fail to impress her.

3. Ibid p. 449

She has a very complex and colourful personality and can face delicate situations with confidence and ease. She can also give different meanings of one and the same behaviour to contending lovers.

4. Ibid p. 389

In addition to being cultured and smart, she knows how to deal with her suitors and keeps an eye on their motives and intentions. A seemingly sympathetic pose is depicted in the following verse when she gives patient hearing to the lover.

5. Ibid p. 386.
Being a bit of a diplomat in her dealings, she pays little attention to those, who falling blindly in love with her, surrender themselves and she devotes herself more to agitators and trouble-makers in a bid to pacify them or if possible, to win them over by her fascinating manners.

The fact that she accommodates Ghalib easily when he creates nuisance is sometimes baffling to Ghalib. Being unable to account for this apparently un-natural behaviour he exclaims:-

Thus we find in Ghalib's ghazal the personality of the lover and the beloved equally great and many-sided. Both of them want to assert themselves on each other to the extent that their mutual love-affair seems to take the shape of a cold war where tact and diplomacy are the common weapons. Hence Ghalib whispers to us:-

"I am not one who can be deceived a second time.
I befoil her by giving an impression that I can be befooled."

It follows, therefore, that we must always be suspicious of Ghalib's intentions. Every attitude that he puts on, is not necessarily the expression of his inner feelings. This may be

1. *Kulliyat-i-Nazm* p. 378
2. Ibid p. 408
3. Ibid p. 362
in answer to his mistresse's similar nature. Finding her clever and opportunistic, he suggests to her purely time-serving tricks to be employed against the rival lovers. For instance, he appeals to his mistress to join him after deserting other lovers on the following argument.

"You broke away from me and pledged with others. Come forth, for the pledge of fidelity is not strong, come forth."

Ghālib's other and more artistic verse in Urdu is also based on the same idea.

Sometimes we come across verses that have genuine pathos and sincerity.

But who can guarantee for Ghālib that his silence is not feigned but a real manifestation of heart-felt grief.

Ghālib's shrewd and dignified attitude in love might be said to miss the depth of feeling and pathos which is generally a characteristic feature of adolescence, but examined on a higher plane it has a broader meaning and is capable of wider application in life. With its arguments, haggling and diplomatic moves it teaches us the technique of effective dealings in life and has a practical bearing on our conduct. We learn to live like a strong

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 363
2. Dīwān-i-Ghālib, Arshī edn. p. 149
3. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 429
and practical man as Ghalib himself was. It is in such perspective that the power and grasp of Ghalib's love poetry can be fully appreciated. Notice his sense of dignity and self-respect so conspicuously absent in any other oriental poet.

"I am dying but I fear lest, due to suspicion, she might take the laying down of my life as an act of seeking refuge.

Chapter VI

Style and Diction.

I have already mentioned the fact that the early upbringing of Ghalib took place in the aristocratic environment. In addition to his affluent youth, he was gifted with a strikingly beautiful and impressive personality too. These two factors naturally paved the way for his aristocratic and assertive behaviour in relation to others including the fair sex. Like Byron, he must have been a hero of many a young admirer of the opposite sex. His poetry bears ample testimony to this assumption. Writing in a qaṣīḍa he exclaims:

[Verse 1]

"To me, who could not stand the coquetry of the fair ones, The world wronged in doing injury and oppression".

Reference may here be made to a striking ghazal which bears an allusion towards a certain lady, perhaps professional, who, on being summoned by the king, primarily came to Ghalib to make love with him.

[Verse 2]

"Uninvited she came at dawn with her garment unbuttoned, Carrying in her arm an unopened imperial mandate summoning her."

In the blindness of her passion she did not care for the king's

2. Ibid p. 484.
summons and Ghālib too, welcomed her like a bold man even at the cost of the king's rage. The last verse openly mentions the risk involved in the situation.

The ghazal records the most voluptuous description of Ghālib's love affair which again helps us to visualise the extremely colourful and passionate life that Ghālib once lived. Another ghazal beginning with the following verse

is also based on the pleasures of physical union with the beloved although it does not contain specific reference to any one. This ghazal embodies one of the finest ecstacies of the poet and can be regarded among his best ghazals. Unfortunately, this happy state of affair did not last very long. His early marriage had already overburdened him and he began to feel the economic pressure more and more. I need hardly recall the many set-backs of Ghālib's life that ultimately placed him in a permanent state of financial troubles. The gradual economic deterioration, however, affected his social status. He was a learned man and a genius of his time, and hence he allured persons from the highest rank and freely moved amongst them.

This made him all the more conscious of his pecuniary stringencies because he could not afford to maintain his living of a standard akin to that of his close friends. It was more or less this sense of economic and social inequality resulting in a sort of inferiority complex that led him to emphasise so frequently his genius and noble descent. He was very keen to keep close relations with the house of Lohārū that were rather not very warmly reciprocated. In fact, his whole life was rather a struggle for the restoration of his social prestige. The pension dispute, the demand for titles from the government, the ambition of becoming the Poet-Laureate of Queen Victoria, all these were manifestations of the same struggle. It resulted in his striving to become a great poet also and Ekrām has rightly pointed out that our poet aspired to achieve in the realm of letters what he failed to secure in the material world.\(^1\) In the literary domain, however, he found himself surrounded by a host of poetasters and verse-mongers claiming to be authorities with whom he never liked to identify himself. The result was that he strove to keep himself away from the beaten track by attempting to be more and more original, and this resulted sometimes in the production of verses having quaint ideas. This tendency manifested itself in other walks of the poet's life too, the extremity of which can be noticed in a letter that he wrote to a friend declaring that he did not like to die with the common people in an epidemic that had once broken out in Delhi.\(^2\) He could even give up a noble

\(^{1}\) Ghālib Nāma p. 41.

\(^{2}\) Muṭālā-i-Ghālib p. 10.
pursuit if it was taken up by those whom he did not like.

"In short, I am heartily inclined towards piety, but I fell upon unbeliever’s practices because of the infamy of the continent"

This tendency to hunt after uncommon and quaint ideas is found at its highest pitch in his early collection of Urdu ghazals known as 'Nuskha-i-Hamidiya'. Finding himself still belonging to the common stock of contemporary poets, he, at last, decided to take up the Persian language as the vehicle of his poetic ideas.

Henceforth, from 1822 onwards, he mainly wrote in Persian that was beyond the reach of ordinary poets. Thus he was able to hurl the bitter attack against Zawq who headed the stereotyped school of Urdu poetry.

Ghalib not only gained mastery over the Persian language but

1. Kulliyat-i-Nazm p. 361
2. Ibid p. 13
also imbibed the spirit of ancient Iran through it. It was only an affair of a few days back when his great-grandfather had migrated from Central Asia to India and the racial peculiarities were still latent in Ghālib. They were only resuscitated and sharpened by the study of Persian literature with the result that Ghālib developed a close affinity with the ancient Iranian creed. His deep reverence for Avestā which he rarely parted with, and kept under constant study, resulting in frequent references in his poetry to fire-temples, the religious practices of Zoroastrianism and the glorification of the legendary monarchs of Iran, can all be traced back to this predilection. We know that he felt partly retrieved in the shape of his poetic achievement for the material loss that he suffered as an aristocrat. He says—


The feeling of this change-over from riches to wisdom or poetry was made even more comfortable by identifying it with the corresponding change-over in the national history of Iran. The conquest of Iran by the Arabs brought about the extinction of the national Sassanian empire along with its wealth and splendour but it was Iran that ultimately triumphed over the Arab conquerors in the cultural and intellectual spheres. It was such over-all 'identification that had made Ghālib absolutely one with the spirit of Iran. One of his very characteristic ghazals bears unmistakable
It will not be out of place to point out that Ghalib too had a hidden aversion, if not open hostility like Firdawsī, against the Arab conquerors that occasionally appeared in an undertone in his verses. The following verse may be noted for instance:

"That brilliant banner which was brought over from the Irānian army during the period of Umar as a result of the plundering by the Arabs".

The mention of the mere name of the second caliph and the emphasis on the glory of the Irānian banner, in sharp contrast to the use of the word 'yaghmā', loot, for the Arab armies, all point towards

1. Kulliyāt-i-Nāṣrī p. 419
2. Ibid p. 335
the same leaning. Subsequently, however, when Ḡalib was planning to write an epic on the 'ghazwāts' of the holy Prophet he attacked on Firdawsi's anti-Semitic attitude in the following words.

But I feel that these verses do not represent the real poet in him. These lines were written by a genius on the decline, who, having lost all fire and frenzy of life, was now preparing ground for the last journey of his soul. Secondly, if such a plan was really intended and there was sufficient creative urge to support it, why did the poet flag and left it incomplete. It was because Ḡalib wanted to write something which lacked the backing of his inherent genius.

Ḡalib was never able to resolve his inner conflict—the

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naqsh p. 167
conflict of a proud mind and an empty purse that kept him slightly unbalanced throughout his life and resulted in the fluctuations of his mental attitude. The peculiar circumstances of his life had made him a man of dual personality—the one calculative and self-centered and the other idealistic and broadminded. Had he not been a poet and a thinker, he would have developed a strong machiavellian type of character without suffering any conflict. To be honest, we must admit that Ghālib had many of the representative vices of the decadent feudal class of his time. A careful observer of his life will not fail to see his opportunism, flattery and timeserving tricks, on the one hand and his proud, intolerant and vindictive nature on the other. But at the same time, he was gifted with an extraordinary awareness of the whole social atmosphere and an introspecting and self-realizing mind. This was due to the second aspect of his personality that had the divine spark of poetry and hence, in moments of creation, he was able not only to transcend himself but also to see the blemishes of his own character as well as those of the contemporary society. We find him, at times, frightfully intolerant and harsh towards others, yet, not infrequently, his ferocity is directed against his own self, passing severe strictures on his own conduct. Sometimes, it takes the form of pity, sobbing over his sad plight and feeling as if he was the most wretched and helpless creature. I do not mean that Ghālib was suffering from a conflict that does not occur in the lives of the common educated people but I do say that the reaction of the common people is not like that of Ghālib. Poets are generally hypersensitive. Moreover, They do
not have the advantage of the common people who are engaged in practical pursuits and can thereby channelise their emotional rufflings into some cheerful work. Their work is what Wordsworth describes as 'Emotion recollected in tranquillity'. So there is no question of forgetting the emotional experiences in some other pursuits. They form the main nourishment of poetry and the poet has to stand their fever and excitement. Hence Ghalib declares.

Being conscious of this tragic role, Ghalib might have reconciled himself to it, if his mind was not frequently disturbed by the external happenings. However popular he might have been in the limited circle of his friends and admirers, the wider intelligentsia made him realise his self-conceited behaviour that did not correspond with reality. For his own part, too, he was a painful observer of the social vices and felt intensely the contrast between the words and the deeds of those who held power and claimed to be ideal persons. All these features of the contemporary society, coupled with the bitter experiences of his own life, made Ghalib's poetry a protest against the then existing moral set-up. The following verse refers to the same pent up feelings.

"The secret that is hidden in the breast is not a sermon. It can be revealed on the gallows and not on the pulpit."

2. Ibid p. 398.
The overall impression, therefore, that one gets from Ghalib's poetry is that of satire. It has found expression in all forms of his poetry especially those addressed to his rivals. The nature of the satire on such occasions is strictly personal and has a narrow outlook. But, at the same time, it has the qualities of refinement and restraint. The language is urbane and as a whole, we feel a precision in emotional suggestion which is a high quality of the poetic expression. Qīṭā No. 4, beginning with the following verse is a fine specimen of this kind of satire:

Another qīṭā written on Mawlā ʿAlī Ahmad in connection with the controversy over Burḥān-i-Qāṭe is also a very interesting piece of satire. Some selected verses are as under:

---

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 12
The poem quoted on page 138 addressed to Zawq is also of the same character but more explicit and direct in treatment than the one discussed above. Ghalib's ghazals and qasids also have a remarkable capacity for satire. Unlike the poems mentioned above, the satirical verses of ghazals and qasids are not related with any personal affair. On the contrary, they have a certain amount of detachment and restraint that make them all the more superior. The following verses are a fine specimen of this kind.

1. Sabad-i-Chin p. 49
2. Kulliyat-i-Nazm p. 308
Satire has never been regarded as the highest quality of poetry and as such Ghalib cannot claim a high position among poets simply on the basis of a powerful idiosyncracy that expressed itself in the form of satire in relation to the particular episodes of the poet's life. What is more important and of lasting value in Ghalib's poetry is the accumulation of numerous perceptions and emotional experiences that form in their totality a picture of life in his mind and it is in relation to this picture that his personal idiosyncrasy comes into play, resulting in a highly impersonal satire. I am quoting some verses from one of his ghazals on this occasion that seem to me a wonderful example of this satire.

2. Ibid p. 392.
These verses carry one of the highest and most realistic interpretations of life. It is something that the poet has observed deeply and continuously and instead of expressing his isolated reactions outright, he has subjected them to a prolonged intellectual treatment and then fashioned them out into an organic whole. The poet's individual perceptions are subdued to contribute to the magnitude of a single emotional suggestion that encompasses our whole being. It is in this sense that satire, if I can use the word at all, becomes the highest quality of Ghalib's poetry. It has found a sustained expression in his magnavi 'Abr-i-Guhabbar', and in the tarkib-band that he wrote on his imprisonment. These poems have been discussed in detail elsewhere and hence I need not repeat them here.

An important aspect of Ghalib's satire is irony. The term applies to such a statement that conveys one meaning to the addressee but quite an opposite meaning to the reader or the listener. Ghalib has frequently used this device in his poetry. A notable piece of irony is his magnavi 'Bad-i-Mukhalif' that I have referred to in the second chapter. Many verses of his ghazals also have a strong ironical tone that puts a sharp edge on the idea. The following verse may be taken as a good example of such irony.

إِنَّمَا أَعْلَمُ شَرَابَةَ مَرْسَامٍ وَالَّذِينَ أَرْضَى بَيْنَ النَّافِضَينَ

1. Kulliyat-i-Nazm p. 450
The poet tells us that it will not be fair to conclude in respect of the beloved's cruelty that she does not believe in God. She has, on the contrary, great confidence in God's forbearance.

Another important feature of Ghalib's style is the quality of wit and humour that pervades his whole poetical work. It should be regarded as an off-shoot of his satire. The following verses are worth mentioning in respect of the poet'shumorous remarks over the abstinentstr and religious preachers:

1. Kulliyat-i-Naṣīm p. 426
2. Ibid p. 433
3. Ibid p. 466
4. Ibid p. 378

Even when some witty idea in connection with the beloved occurs to his mind, Ghalib does not fail to take pleasure in embarrassing her. Thus he remarks:

"She feigns disdain and I am a believer in her nature. It will not be surprising if my desire is increased by her displeasure."
Ghalib's humour very often assumes the form of burlesque. One cannot help smiling at the way he gives expression to certain features of love. The element of burlesque in Ghalib comes from the same legacy of the Mughal poetry. The poets of the decadent Mughal period exaggerated about the physical weakness of the lover and its resultant humiliation and suffering to monstrous proportions; but they did it seriously, as though, describing a very noble and brave aspect of the lover's story. Ghalib is different, although he follows in their footsteps and brings into versification the most hackneyed and decadent themes of love. Being extremely fantastic and grotesque, they appear rather strange in view of Ghalib's realistic temperament. He takes them up as traditional themes but, while doing so, he seems to make a mockery of them by magnifying them to yet larger proportions and making them appear still more ridiculous and burlesque. The following verses are especially notable in this connection.

The events of love are also described in a mock-heroic style that reminds one of Pope's 'Rape of the Lock'.

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naʾmā p. 389
2. Ibid p. 507
3. Ibid p. 371
"She has filed a complaint against me, accusing me of holding up lamentation. She deems the stealing of lamentation under the lips to be an act of impertinence."

The Shaikh (religious preacher) with his typical personality very often provoked the sense of humour in Ghalib who, like many other oriental poets, never missed the opportunity of passing some funny remark on him. The following verse depicts a long-drawn sketch of the shaikh that is at once realistic and burlesque.

The quality of wit and humour in Ghalib's poetry when related with the background of his difficult life, assumes a wider and more significant value. Like a heroic fighter, he laughed at his own misfortunes and faced them with a cheerful spirit. He is a sportsman amongst the poets. Amidst the most disappointing circumstances, he kept up the jollity of his spirit and translated it into poetry with an amazing capacity for humour and a peculiar gusto.

Ghalib has been unanimously held as a great master of technique. A close observation of his poetic work reveals a highly developed craftsmanship, but it does not give the impression of elaborateness and effort. 'Art lies in concealing the Art'. This saying can be fully applied to his poetry and it is the intensity of his emotions that brings the images and metaphors

from within with an effortless ease. Ghalib never imposes figures of speech on his language to decorate it like an artist who sets jewels on a piece of art. His poetry is an 'embellished thought' and its images have their roots deep into the emotional experiences. Hence, in addition to producing the visual effect, they are extremely suggestive. A man of keen senses as Ghalib was, he often utilized his sensuous perceptions in giving expression to such feelings as were not sensuous at all.

This process is sometimes reversed wherein the visual suggestion of images is replaced by the emotional suggestion.

Here the object compared is not sensuous. Plain and direct similes seldom appear in Ghalib's poetry except when they are unusually attractive or carry some additional aesthetic shade. The following verses can be noted for their simple yet exquisite similes.

---

1. Kulliyat-i-Nazm p. 424
2. Ibid p. 419
3. Ibid p. 316
Generally speaking, Ghalib is a follower of the Mughal poets in poetic diction which has been discussed threadbare in the third chapter. Being an Indian by birth, he had to confine his expression to the pattern of language that was used by the acknowledged masters. Consequently, he had to draw upon a conventional set of similes such as fire, candle, moth, ash, mirage, mirror and phoenix etc., that makes his language unfeeling. But an outstanding and most frequently used metaphor is that of fire which requires closer attention. It comes out from Ghalib's strong affinity with the ancient İrānian creed that I have referred to earlier. Fire stands for the poet's emotional upsurge during the creative process.

It is the intensity of inner feeling that surreptitiously consumes the body from within.

1. Kulliyyat-i-Nāzm p. 491
2. Ibid p. 395
3. Ibid p. 536
4. Ibid p. 402
It is the connecting link between the poet and other writers of fiery souls.

It blazes in the countenance of the mistress like a Zoroastrian spark and serves as her distinctive quality.

In view of Ghalib's supreme attachment to fire, it will not be wrong to call him a fire-worshipper in the garb of a muslim. Islam, or for that matter, any other religion, imposes discipline on man's thinking. Ghalib wants to expand his spirit and explore new regions in the sphere of thought by setting himself free from the discipline of Islam. Like a child, he has a quest and a curiosity for the very thing that is forbidden. He declares

In Ghalib's poetry, fire seems to me a constructive force simultaneously at work with the Supreme Power recognized as God by Islam. It aims at the ultimate good by adopting a purifying method that can burn away the superfluous elements from human life and can bring it to a state of savage beauty and strength.

1. Kulliyāt-i-Naẓm p. 420
2. Ibid p. 439
3. Ibid p. 450
We can call it a leftist wing of Ghalib's universe, protesting against the outgrown conventionalism of a Hebraic civilization, and agitating for a pagan system where love and beauty may be seen in their intensity, and therefore, in original, vivid and true form.

I have already referred to Ghalib's interest in ancient Persian. He used to read standard books of that language including Avestā. In a letter to 'Alāi, he called this book to be his very life-breath. Naturally enough, therefore, words belonging to ancient Persian, especially those used in Avestā, have found their way into his poetry. Deeply attached as he was to the spirit of ancient Iranian creed, he attempted to create the same spirit in his poetry by the skilful use of the archaic words which retained their old association on account of disuse. Like a great artist, Ghalib is very fond of expressing his ideas in a highly condensed form. In fact, there is evidence to prove that he deliberately made his verses vague by leaving some words as implied. Explaining one of his Urdu verses to Munshi Har Gopāl Taftā, he writes:

A verse having implied words is mentioned here.

2. Ibid p. 142.
Vagueness is a poetic quality. The more a poet is clear and direct, the nearer he is to prose. But it is very difficult to keep a verse meaningfully vague, because the poet thereby walks on the threshold and can easily be driven into the abyss of obscurity and even meaninglessness. Ghalib's early Urdu poetry is a poor example of this omission. The verses are almost like riddles, composed to display, as it were, a mental feat rather than poetry. His Persian verses, however, are free from this defect although his Persian prose is awfully tortuous and fantastic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PERSIAN BOOKS

Abr-i-Guherbär, Ghâlib, Akmalul Maṭâbi, Delhi 1863
Āin-i-Akerbâri, Abul Faţl, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow 1893
Akhlâq-i-Jâlâlî, Jalâ'ud Din Dawânî, Karîmî Press, Lâhore 1923
Akhlâq-i-Muhsînî, Mulla Hussain Waq-i-Kashîfî, Munshi Gulâb Singh
Press, Lucknow 1896
Akhlâq-i-Nâşîrî, Naṣîrûd Din Ṭûsî, Karîmî Press, Lâhore 1923
Asrâr-i-Khûdî, Iqâbîl, Kapûr Art Printing Works, Lâhore
Burhân-i-Qâţe, Mawlawî Muḥammad Ḥusayn, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1879
Ghâhar Maqâla, Niẓâmî ‘Arûzi Samarqandî, Qazwînî Edition
Dastanbû, Ghâlib, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1884
Dîwân-i-Bedîl, Bedîl, Newal Kishore Press, Kânpûr, 1886
Dîwân-i-Faţî, Faţî, Mufîdul Khâlîq Press, Delhi 1268 Hijrâ
Dîwân-i-Faţî MS. Faţî, Folio 108A, M.A. Library, Ālîgârh
Dîwân-i-Kalîm, Abû Ta‘lîb Kalîm, Newal Kishore Press, Kânpûr, 1879
Dîwân-i-Shawkat Bukhârî, Shawkat Bukhârî, Maṭbîtx-Khâṣî-‘Aṣâfî, Lucknow 1873
Dîwân-i-Ta‘lîb Âmûlî MS. Ta‘lîb Âmûlî, University No. 133 Farsi 1, Nażm
M.A. Library, Ālîgârh
Dîwân-i-‘Urfî, ‘Urfî Shîrâzî, Newal Kishore Press Kânpûr
Dîwân-i-Zûhûrî, Zûhûrî, Newal Kishore Press, Kânpûr 1897
Dirâfsh-i-Kâwîânî, Ghâlib
Ghâzaliyât-i-Nâẓîrî, Karîmî Press Lahore 1923
Kulliyât-i-‘Aṣâsir-i-Dawâvîn-i-Khusrâw, Amîr Khusrâw, Newal Kishore
Press, Kânpûr 1910
Kulliyât-i-Bedîl, Mirzâ Abdul Qâdir Bedîl, Newal Kishore Press, Kânpûr 1875
Kulliyât-i-Hâzîn, Shaikh ‘Alî Ḥazîn, Newal Kishore Press 1876
Kulliyât-i-Khâqânî, Khâqânî, Newal Kishore Press 1908
Kulliyât-i-Nâzîm-i-Fârsî, Ghâlib, Newal Kishore Press 1872
Kulliyât-i-Naṣr-i-Fārsī, Ghâlib, Newal Kishore Press 1888
Kulliyât-i-Sâib, Sâib, Newal Kishore Press 1880
Mâṣir-i-Râhîmî, Ābdul Bâqî Nâhâwandî, Calcutta edition 1931
Maṣnawî-i-Mawlawî, Jalâlud Dîn Rûmî, Bombay edition 1280 Hijrā
Mehr-i-Nâmrûz, Ghâlib, Fakhrul Maṭâbî 1268 Hijrā
Muntakhabut Tawârikh, Ābdul Qâdir Badâyûnî, Calcutta edition 1965
Nikât-i-Bedîl, Bedîl, Newal Kishore Press Kânpûr, 1875
Qasâid-i-Menûchehrî, Menûchehrî, Paris edition 1886
Qasâid-i-Urfî, Urfî Shîrâzî, Newal Kishore Press, 1830
Qasîdât-i-Zahir-i-Fârîyâbî, Zahir Fârîyâbî, Intishârât-i-Kawah
Rubâîyât-i-Ūmar Khâyyâm, Ūmar Khâyyâm, Châpkhâna-i-Kâwiânî, Berlin
Rumûz-i-Bîkhoûdî, Iqât, Kapûr Arts Printing Works, Lâhore
Sâbad-i-Chîn, Ghâlib, Maktabâ-i-Jâmiâ Delhi 1938
Selections from Qââni, Mîrzâ Hâbîb Qââni, Hablul Matîn Press, Calcutta 1967
Sikandarnâma, Nizâmî Ganjâwî, Mâbâ-i-Husainî, Lucknow
Shâhnâma, Firdawsî, Tehrân, 1311 Shamsî

URDU BOOKS

Afkâr-i-Ghâlib, Khalîfâ Ābdul Hakîm, Maktabâ-i-Muñânl Adab Lâhore 1854
Ahwâl-i-Ghâlib, Mukhtarud Dîn Aḥmad, Anjuman Taraqqî-i-Urdu, ʿAlîgarh 1963
Bedîl, ʿIbadullâh Akhtar, ʿIdârâ-i-Saqâfat-i-Islâmiâ, Lâhore
Dîwân-i-Ghâlib Jadid(Nuskhâ-i-Ḥamîdiyâ), Ghâlib, Muḥîd-i-lâm Press Āgrâ
Dîwân-i-Ghâlib(Ārshî edition), Ghâlib, Anjumani-Taraqqî-i-Urdu, ʿAlîgarh 1964
Dîwân-i-Ghâlib (Malik Râm), Ghâlib, Azâd Kitâb Ghar Delhi
Falsafâ-i-Kalâm-i-Ghâlib, Shawkat Sabzwârî, Qaumî Kutub Khâna Bareilly
Ghâlib, Khurshîdul Islâm, Anjumani-Taraqqî-i-Urdu, ʿAlîgarh 1960
Ghâlibnâma, Sh. Muḥammad Ekram, Sarfarâz Qaumî Press, Lucknow
Ilhâmât-i-Ghâlib, Prof. Malik Mohd. Inayâtullah, Mersentile Press, Lâhore
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intiqādiyat-i-Dūum, Niyyāz Fatehpūrī</td>
<td>Muktār Printing Works Lucknow</td>
<td>1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khūṭūt-i-Ghālib, Ghulām Rasūl Mehr</td>
<td>Kitāb Manzil Lāhore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulliyāt-i-Mīr, Mīr Taqī Mīr</td>
<td>Newal Kiśore Press, Lucknow</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāsin-i-Kalām-Ghālib, Ābdūr Rahmān Bijnorī</td>
<td>Anjuman Tārāqqī-i-Urdū</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muṭṭal’a-i-Ghālib, Jāfar Ālī Khān Āsār</td>
<td>Sarfarāz Qaumī Press, Lucknow</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naqd-i-Ghālib, Mukhtārūd Dīn Ahmad</td>
<td>Anjuman Tārāqqī-i-Urdū</td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ūdā:i-Hindī, Ghālib, Muslim University Press</td>
<td>Ālīgarh</td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatīl Aur Ghālib, Asad Ālī Anwārī</td>
<td>Maktaba-i-Jāmiā, Delhi</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirul ‘Ājam, Shibli Nūmānī</td>
<td>Muṭṭāb-i-Māsrī, Āzamgarh</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu-i-Mu‘alla, Ghālib, Muṭṭāb-i-Karimī</td>
<td>Lāhore</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zikr-i-Ghālib, Malik Rām</td>
<td>Maktaba-i-Jāmiā Ltd., Delhi</td>
<td>1955</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ENGLISH BOOKS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biographia Literaria, Coleridge</td>
<td></td>
<td>J. M. Dent 1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essays in Criticism, Mathew Arnold</td>
<td>edited by S. R. Littlewood</td>
<td>London, Macmillon, 1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghālib, S. A. Latif, Chandra Kanth Press</td>
<td>Hyderabad Dn. 1929.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghālib- His Life and Persian Poetry, Dr. ‘Ārif Shāh C.</td>
<td>Sayyid Gīlānī, ‘Azam Book</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Persian language and Literature at the Mughal</td>
<td>Ghālib, S. A. Latif, Chandra</td>
<td>Corporation Karachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamlet, Shakespeare, Edited by John Hempden</td>
<td></td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Persian language and Literature at the Mughal</td>
<td>Muhammad ʿAbdul Ghānī, Indian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to the Study of Literature, W. H. Hudson</td>
<td>London Harrap, 1955</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary History of Persia, E. G. Browne</td>
<td>University Press, Cambridge</td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradise Lost, Milton, edited by M. Macmillan, 1895-1906</td>
<td>Vol. 1 to 4</td>
<td>1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetics, Aristotle, edited by Gerald F. Else, Harvard</td>
<td></td>
<td>University Press</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirul ‘Ājam, Shibli Nūmānī</td>
<td>Muṭṭāb-i-Māsrī, Āzamgarh</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu-i-Mu‘alla, Ghālib, Muṭṭāb-i-Karimī</td>
<td>Lāhore</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yādgār-i-Ghālib, ‘Allī</td>
<td>Maktaba-i-Jāmiā Ltd., Delhi</td>
<td>1955</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rape of the Lock, Alexander Pope, Edited by George Holden 1930
The Mystics of Islam, R.A. Nicholson, London 1914, G. Bell and Sons Ltd.
Utopia, Thomas More, London Cassell, 1906

PERIODICALS
'Aligarh Magazine (Ghālib number)
Islamic Research Institute Miscellany
Span June 1962
The following system has been adopted in transliterating proper names and Arabic and Persian words:

**A Consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Letter</th>
<th>English equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ا</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ش</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ح</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ذ</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ش</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ș</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ض</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ط</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ع</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>غ</td>
<td>gh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ف</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ق</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Long vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ِ</td>
<td>as in ِبِرَ، ِمِبرُر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُ</td>
<td>as in ُبِرُر، ُمَرُر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُّ</td>
<td>as in ُّبِرُر، ُّمَرُر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُّّ</td>
<td>as in ُّّبِرُر</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Short vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ُ</td>
<td>as in ُنَقَرَ، ُنَزَر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُّ</td>
<td>as in ُّنَقَرَ، ُّنَزَر</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The names of well-known places and personages have been written in their current spelling. Final 'h' has been dropped except in proper names.
A CRITICAL EDITION OF

TABAKAT AL-SHAPI'IYAH

(written by Taki al-Din Ibn Kādi Shuhbah (779-961 A.H.)

(Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.)

BY

ABDUL ALEEM KHAN
M.A. (Aig)

Under the guidance of

Dr. Muktser-ud-Din Ahmed
M.A.D. Phil(Oxon)

Reader, Institute of Islamic Studies,
Aligarh Muslim University,
ALIGARH

Volume I

ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH.
1965