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SIR WILLIAM JONES AND ORIENTAL MYSTICISM

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Abstract

Oriental mysticism, religion, and science are all intertwined with literature; while proven to be fantastic for many scholars, this intermixture has made it challenging to extract mystical concepts from poetry. This difficulty has been one of the earliest sources of conflict between Oriental literary scholars, religious figures, and mystics. The situation becomes more complex should one attempt to compare Oriental mysticism with its Occidental counterpart. Arguably, the first Western scholar who conducted such a rigorous comparison was Sir William Jones (1746–1794), a linguist, translator, and poet who was also a Supreme Court Judge in Calcutta. His fascination with Persian mystical poets such as Rumi (1210-1273), Sadi (1210-1292), and Hafez (1315-1390) drove him towards Sufism. Due to his understanding of Persian mysticism and culture, Jones became one of the best interpreters of Indo-Persian literature. His works, founded on his fascination with Persian language and literature, gained him the title of 'Persian Jones' and established his international reputation as an Orientalist. Jones's publications highly impacted Romantic scholars, developing sympathetic representations of the Orient in the period's literature.

Jones's works, letters, Persian manuscripts, and the annotations he made on them have not been examined for his Persian mystical studies before this thesis. Therefore, this PhD research will investigate his works and library on Sufism and his comparative study of mystical schools. It intends to analyse Jones's findings in his comparative mystical studies and elaborate on his understanding of Sufism. This thesis investigates his essays, letters, and annotations in various texts; such texts are mainly available in the Royal Asiatic Society archives and the British Library's India Office Records and Private Papers. Moreover, in some cases, Jones has altered his English translations of Persianate Sufi texts; these alterations will be examined and compared with the original texts to demonstrate Jones's rationale behind them. This research will pursue the accuracy of Jones's interpretation of Sufism and Hinduism. In addition, it examines his development of the interpretations of Oriental mysticism, which he presented to eighteenth-century Europe. The findings of this research will contribute to the growing literature on Orientalism and shed a brighter light on the works of Sir William Jones and Indo-Persian literature and mysticism.

DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed: H.Baghaei-Abchooyeh (candidate)

Date: 28/06/2021

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

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Introduction

Sir William Jones (1746-1794) is arguably the very first Western scholar to conduct comparative studies between Oriental mysticism and Western schools of thought. In 1770, before he gained a reputation as an Orientalist, Jones attended the Middle Temple and studied law; in the meantime, Jones started to learn Arabic and Persian. His acquisition of the Persian language resulted in the composition of *Histoire de Nader Chah* (1770), a French translation of a Persian biography of Nader Shah (1688-1747), and *A Grammar of the Persian Language* (1771), the very first English grammar of the language. Due to Jones's deep understanding of the Oriental culture and his legal experience, in 1781 Edmund Burke (1729-1797) asked for his assistance in preparing a bill to protect the Muslims living in the subcontinent against the East India Company.[1] In line with the bill, Jones translated Arabic treatises on the Islamic laws of succession, published as *The Mahomedan Law of Succession to the Property of Intestates* (1782). Although *The Mahomedan Law of Succession* was relatively short, it immensely impacted the British legal system operating in India by making the Supreme Court of Judicature independent from untrustworthy local judges.[2] Due to Jones's knowledge of the Oriental culture, Burke also consulted him on some other Indo-Persian affairs, such as 'on the government, manners, and sciences of the Persians.'[3]

Jones's fascination with Persian poets, such as Ferdowsi (940-1020), Nezami (1141-1209), Rumi (1207-1273), Sadi (1210-1291), and Hafez (1315-1390), drove him towards Persian mysticism and Sufi metaphysics. His interest in the mystical poetry of Persians can be observed in his early works such as *A Grammar* and *Poems consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatick languages. To which are added two essays, I. On the poetry of the Eastern nations. II. On the arts, commonly called imitative* (1772). Due to the success of his Persian *Grammar*, his vast knowledge of the language – which was the language of the Mughal court of India at the time – and his legal expertise that granted Jones the appointment of puisne judgeship in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William. On 25 September 1783, Jones

[1] Garland Cannon, 'Sir William Jones and Dr. Johnson's Literary Club', *Modern Philology*, 63: 1, (1965), 20-37: 33.
[2] For further details on the book see Hadi Baghaei-Abchooyeh, 'William Jones', *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 12 (Asia, Africa and the Americas 1700-1800), D. Thomas, & J. Chesworth (eds.), (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 560-73: 562-5.
[3] Edmund Burke, *Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke: between the year 1744 and the period of his decease, in 1797.* (London: Francis & John Rivington, 1844), 2: 487.

arrived in Calcutta, where he centred his professional career on law and focused on defending the rights of the Indians.

In India, Jones met Warren Hastings (1732-1818), the first Governor-General of Bengal (1772-1785). Hastings was familiar with the cultures and languages of the subcontinent;[4] like Jones, he had great respect for the ancient Oriental scripture and believed in the concept of Hindus and Muslims being governed by their own laws. In 1784, Jones, and a few other British residents of Calcutta, founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal to investigate a wide range of Oriental knowledge systematically. Journals such as *The New Asiatic Miscellany: consisting of original essays, translations, and fugitive pieces* (1789) and *Asiatic Researches; Or, Transactions of the Society, Instituted in Bengal* (1789) were powerful media for publicizing the results of the Society's expedition into Oriental knowledge. Hastings and his circle attempted to govern under the mantle of Akbar Shah (1542-1605),[5] replicating his court, which had been bolstered by philosophical investigations and artistic collaborations between Muslims and Hindus. Eager to have researches submitted to the Society by both Muslims and Hindus, Jones suggested an annual award of a medal inscribed in Persian and Sanskrit to the author of the best paper.[6] Jones's award to the author of the best paper, which introduced Oriental sciences to the Society, resembles Akbar's reward to the scholars of his syncretic court. Please see below the gold and silver coins designed by Akbar:

Illustration 1; Akbar's gold and silver coins containing Hindu and Persian references.

[4] *The New Asiatic Miscellany*, (Calcutta: William Mackay, 1786), 2: 314.
[5] Michael J. Franklin, *Romantic Representations of British India*, (London: Routledge, 2006), 14.
[6] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 22.

On one side, the coins depict the Hindu deities Ram and Sita; on the other side in Persian, it is inscribed افروردین الهیand امرداد الهیrespectively meaning 'the Divine Farvardin'[7] and 'the Divine Mordad.'[8] The similarities between Jones's medal and Akbar's coins suggest the influence of Oriental pluralism on Jones's mind.

Jones's outstanding scholarship has made him famous to a variety of scholars depending on their respective fields of studies: linguists consider him as the father of modern linguistics since he was the first European who developed the theory of Indo-European languages. In his thesis on the affinity of languages, in 'Third Discourse' presented before the Society,[9] Jones proposed the affinity of Sanskrit to other languages by them sharing a common source. His significance to literary scholars is due to his works on Indo-Persian literature. He became one of the most remarkable translators and interpreters of Indo-Persian poetry, culture, philosophy, and mysticism; his publications significantly impacted Romantic poets such as Coleridge, Keats, Shelley and Byron to develop sympathetic representations of the Orient in the period's literature. It was Jones's literary publications such as the 'Essay on the Arts called Imitative'[10] which propounded an expressive theory of poetry that valorised expression over description and imitation:

> If the arguments, used in this essay, have any weight, it will appear, that the finest parts of poetry, musick, and painting, are expressive of the passions [...] the inferior parts of them are descriptive of natural objects.[11]

Therefore, Jones anticipated Wordsworth's founding poetry based on Romantic subjectivity.[12] His career as a puisne judge and the fact that Jones studied twenty-eight languages stresses his knowledge in the areas of translation, law, Indology, and Islamic studies. Hence, different scholars of different fields, depending on their perspective, have analysed Jones's research and presented his remarkable role in

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[7] Farvardin is the first month of the Persian calendar, starting from the first day of spring.
[8] Mordad is the fifth month of the Persian calendar; beginning in July and ending in August, Mordad is in the second month of summer.
[9] Sir William Jones, *Discourses Delivered Before the Asiatic Society: And Miscellaneous Papers, on the Religion, Poetry, Literature, Etc., of the Nations of India,* (London: Charles S. Arnold, 1824), 28.
[10] William Jones, 'Essay on the Arts called Imitative', *Poems*, 201-17.
[11] Jones, 'Essay on the Arts called Imitative', 216-7.
[12] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones',* 86; & Meyer H. Abrams, The *Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 88.

their respective field of studies. This echoes two lines in Rumi's 'The Song of the Reed' which Jones translated and published in his essay 'On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and the Hindus'[13] in 1792:

> Each in my fond affections claim'd a part
> But none discern'd the secret of my heart.[14]

From one perspective, the scholarship on Jones's diverse fields of study could be divided into two major groups: those who centred their work on Jones and those whose primary aim was to research one of the many fields Jones explored and consequently had to focus on him. Amongst the first group, two names stand out: Garland Cannon, who recorded most of Jones's communications in *The Letters of Sir William Jones* (1970) and *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones* (1991); the second one is Michael J. Franklin with his publication of *Sir William Jones* (1995), *Sir William Jones: Selected Poetical and Prose Works* (1995) and *Orientalist Jones: Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer, and Linguist, 1746-1794* (2011). Other than the books mentioned, Cannon and Franklin have published articles and scholarly editions which present an accurate portrayal of Jones and his works; due to the authority of these publications in understanding Jones's life and mind, this thesis majorly relies on them. However, since both scholars had a relative unfamiliarity with the Persian language, they mainly focused on Jones's material available in English. Also, as there is more English research available on the subcontinent's literary sources, generally, once researchers explore Jones's Oriental studies, more emphasis is placed on his inquiries into Indian cultures and traditions. Indeed, Jones's research on India's diverse cultures is remarkable, yet the shortage of research on Persian sources has kept a significant part of Jones's works relatively in the dark.

The Persian problem is more apparent amongst the second group of scholars who researched Jones's works with a focus on fields such as Indology, Orientalism, and Romanticism; some of the most notable scholars of this group and their works include Raymond Schwab's *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880* (1958), John Drew's *India and the Romantic Imagination* (1987), and James Watt's *British Orientalism, 1759–1835* (2019). Schwab's *Oriental Renaissance* is arguably one of the earliest works that explored Orientalism and Romanticism's interconnection; arguing that 'The

[13] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 211-36.
[14] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 230.

Orient served as alter ego to the Occident', he suggested that the two rather complemented than competed.[15] Schwab's primary focus is the Romantic period which he viewed as 'an oriental irruption of the intellect';[16] to him, Romanticism was an Oriental 'Renaissance'. Asserting that 'India had worked to reunite the human with a divine that is the Universe', Schwab sourced the Romantics' interest in mysticism in their fascination with the subcontinent;[17] also, although his book establishes Jones's influence on shaping European philosophers, such as Friedrich Schlegel,[18] it does not deeply engage with Jones's influence on the English Romantics such as Blake, Southey, and Shelley. Compared to Schwab's *Oriental Renaissance*, Drew's *India and the Romantic Imagination* is more thorough in analysing Jones's works and his influence on Romantics such as Coleridge and Shelley. As will be discussed in this thesis, in his works, Jones creates connections and associations between cultures distant from one another. To this aim, Drew explores Jones's utilization of Neo-Platonism, which was a common perspective during the eighteenth century, to introduce a representation of India to Europe. Drew's focus primarily is on Hinduism; in his analysis, India and Hinduism are to some extent interchangeable; this could be one of the shortcomings of his book as India has been home to a diverse range of religions – such as Islam, Buddhism, Sikhism, and Jainism – and cultures such as Persian, Arabian, and Turkish. Like Drew, Franklin is interested in Jones's syncretic methodology; yet unlike the former, Franklin examines Jones's pluralistic tendencies in the multiracial, multifaith, and multicultural environment of eighteenth-century India.[19] Such examination depicts a more accurate image of Jones and manages not to completely neglect the role Persians and Arabs played in the diverse subcontinent. This accuracy could be explained in an example, Jones was after creating links between the Orient and the Occident; as Drew explains, the Neo-Platonic view – which assisted him in introducing India to Europe – had Hindu and Vedantic counterparts. However, the Hindu pluralistic mysticism was not the only source for Jones to associate the East and the West. Neo-Platonism also had a Persian equivalent called the *vahdat-e vojōd*, which can be translated to 'the Unity of Being.' Drew is

[15] Raymond Schwab*, The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 4.
[16] Schwab*, The Oriental Renaissance*, 482.
[17] Schwab*, The Oriental Renaissance*, 483.
[18] Schwab*, The Oriental Renaissance,* 195.
[19] Michael J. Franklin, 'General Introduction and [meta]historical background [re]presenting "The palanquins of state; or, broken leaves in a Mughal garden"', *Romantic Representations of British India*, Michael J. Franklin (ed.), (New York: Routledge, 2006), 1-44.

aware of the Unity of Being, however, it only appears on two occasions in his book.[20] On the other hand, Franklin does not mention the concept directly, but he refers to one of its pragmatical aspects: the concept of *sulh-i kul*, which can be translated to 'peace with all', suggesting 'universal toleration.'[21] The Unity of Being and its deep connection to India and consequently Jones will be one of the themes of the fourth chapter of this thesis which will be discussed later.

The more recent scholarly research conducted on Jones is founded on the works of Franklin, Drew, and Schwab. One which focuses on Jones and examines his influence on the Romantics is Kurt Andrew Johnson's PhD thesis 'Sir William Jones and Representations of Hinduism in British Poetry, 1784-1812' (2010). Johnson's work explores the influence of the connections Jones created with Hinduism on Romantic poets. As his analysis rather leans toward Franklin's syncretic portrayal of Jones,[22] Johnson mentions the significance of Jones's Persian studies; after emphasizing 'the importance of the Persian language in Britain's colonial relationship', due to the language being the lingua franca of the Mughal court and consequently the language of law and commerce, Johnson reiterates Robert Irwin's point on Jones's Persian *Grammar* being a poet's grammar.[23] Following this trend, Johnson states:

> For Jones, the primary reason for Britons to learn Persian was not to make it easier for them to administer the colony, but rather to gain a better appreciation of 'Eastern' poetry. Jones seeks to foster that appreciation by demonstrating how European poetry resounded with aesthetic echoes from Persian poetry. [24]

Strengthening his argument on Franklin's *Sir William Jones: Selected Poetical and Prose Works* (1995), Johnson elaborates that Jones's works such as 'Essays on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations' (1772) were to demonstrate the 'very great resemblances between the works of writers such as the Persian poet Hafez and the epic Persian poet Ferdowsi, and, respectively,

[20] Once translated as 'the doctrine of the unity of all creation' in John Drew, *India and the Romantic Imagination*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 97 and once as 'unity of being' in Drew, *India and the Romantic Imagination*, 122.
[21] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 211; the term is mistranslated as *suhl-i kul* in Franklin's book.
[22] Kurt Andrew Johnson, 'Sir William Jones and Representations of Hinduism in British Poetry 1784-1812', (Unpublished thesis, University of York, 2010), 3.
[23] Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies,* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 122.
[24] Johnson, 'Sir William Jones and Representations of Hinduism', 45.

Shakespeare and Homer.'[25] Johnson's thesis presents a detailed analysis of Jones's works on Hindu literature, including his Hymns to the Hindu deities; in the meantime, he also points out that those very Hymns were 'misconceived' as translations. This was because Jones was already a well-established and reputable translator of Arabic and Persian poetry, as evinced by *Grammar of the Persian Language* (1771) and *Poems, consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatick languages* (1772). The thesis also examines Jones's influence on Romantics, including Blake and Shelley; when Johnson begins his analysis of Blake's *Milton* and the symbology of the 'Mundane Egg' in the poem,[26] he points out that Blake's 'adaptation of a Jonesian syncretism and cultural tolerance' was due to his 'engagement with Jones' work and his use of Hinduism to emphasize 'the unity of all human cultures.'[27] Johnson's statement is true, but not thorough: as it will be explained in this thesis, the unity of all human beings, their cultures, and religions is served as the cornerstone of almost every single mystical Persian text which Jones studied to learn the language or used as a source for his writings. James Watt's *British Orientalism, 1759–1835* is a diverse survey of literature and theory; it uncovers various genres, political and historical contexts for the period. Debating in a rich context, the work introduces a wealth of Romantic-period literature revolving around the Orient. The fourth chapter of the book, entitled '"In Love with the Gopia" Sir William Jones and His Contemporaries',[28] focuses on Jones and some of his Orientalist researches and works, including his Hindu Hymns, 'The Palace of Fortune'(1769), and the English translation of Kalidasa's *Sacontalà* (1789). Watt also draws attention to the variable ways in which Jones's work was absorbed by Romantic writers and concludes his chapter with a thoughtful reading of Sydney Owenson's (1781-1859) novel *The Missionary* (1811), which often could be seen as an example of Jones's perspective of tolerance and intercultural sympathy. An intriguing point which can be obtained from Watt's book, and the chapter on Jones within it, is the complexity of the relationship and the contrast between an individual Orientalist and the overall image of the British Empire; for example, Watt points out that Jones's works, such as his 'A

[25] Johnson, 'Sir William Jones and Representations of Hinduism', 45-6. *Sir William Jones: Selected Poetical and Prose Works*, Michael J. Franklin (ed.), (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), 332-4.
[26] Johnson, 'Sir William Jones and Representations of Hinduism', 124-43.
[27] Johnson, 'Sir William Jones and Representations of Hinduism', 124-5.
[28] . James Watt, *British Orientalism, 1759–1835,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 123-56.

Hymn to Lacshmi,'[29] can 'be seen as embedded in British abolitionist discourse as well as EIC Orientalism.'[30]

The influence of Persian mysticism, i.e. Sufism, or what Johnson calls the 'Jonesian syncretism and cultural tolerance,' on the Romantic poets has been examined in the works of the Iranian scholar Elham Nilchian.[31] She explored this influence on Byron and Shelly from a Lacanian psychoanalytical perspective in her PhD thesis 'Sufi-Romantic Self Loss: The Study of the Influence of Persian Sufism on English Romantic Poetry' (2011). Nilchian traces the source of the Romantics' inspiration in Persian poets such as Hafez, Rumi, and Nezami 'whose works were translated and adapted by the eighteenth-century scholars such as William Jones and Isaac D'Israeli.'[32] The second chapter of her thesis, 'A Persian Song of Jones,'[33] examines Jones's translation of Hafez's poem which he published in his *Grammar* and titled 'A Persian Song';[34] besides, the chapter accurately explores the Sufi notions of the Persian poem, its English translation, and the impact it made on later Romantics. Nilchian is one of the very few literary scholars who know Persian and has examined some of Jones's works; however, generally in her works, Jones could just be perceived as a cultural mediator between Persian muses and the British poets. Carl Ernst is another scholar familiar with Persian, some of whose works refer to Jones but centres on other topics. Like Jones, Ernst has researched Arabic, Persian, and Urdu philosophical and theological texts; his main interest is religious studies, and his writings focus on critical issues of Islamic studies, premodern and contemporary Sufism, and Indo-Muslim culture. With these research interests, Ernst is bound to refer to Jones. For example, in his article 'Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translations from Indian Languages' (2013), Ernst explores the long history of interaction between Islam and Hinduism;

[29] Watt, *British Orientalism*, 137-40.
[30] Watt, *British Orientalism*, 138.
[31] For example, Elham Nilchian, 'Gul and Bulbul: Persian Love in Byron', *The Byron Journal*, 40:2, (2012), 155-164. Elham Nilchian, 'Shelley's Quest for Persian Love', *The Comparatist*, 40, (2016), 222-244.
[32]Elham Nilchian, 'Sufi-Romantic Self Loss: The Study of the Influence of Persian Sufism on English Romantic Poetry', (Unpublished thesis of the University of Leicester, 2011), iii.
[33] Nilchian, 'Sufi-Romantic Self Loss: The Study of the Influence of Persian Sufism on English Romantic Poetry', 73-116.
[34] Jones, *A Grammar*, 133-6.

Jones is mentioned briefly in the article, yet Ernst points out that he has examined some of Jones's manuscripts and mentions some of Jones's verse compositions in Persian.[35] This makes Ernst arguably the first scholar who has closely examined Jones's Persian compositions; however, as Ernst's main interest lies in religious studies, he does not thoroughly focus on Jones and his Persian compositions.

As may be observed from the past few pages, Jones's ground-breaking Persian studies remain relatively under-researched, and the majority of it is virtually unexplored compared to the rest of his works. Therefore, this thesis will explore Jones's enquiries into Persian language, literature, and mysticism. Arguing upon the significance of the language, its philosophy, and its vast socio-political impact on the Orient, this thesis investigates Jones's published works and his annotation on his personal collection of the Persian texts he examined. Overall, this study seeks to portray Jones through his research on Persian literature and mysticism. Examining Jones's understanding and analysis of Persian texts will significantly improve upon the works of prior researchers who did not profoundly investigate Jones's Persian studies; such as Schwab, Cannon, Drew, Franklin, and Johnson. In addition, as the examination focuses on Jones, it will further elaborate on the Romantics as well as the eighteenth and nineteenth-century perception of the Orient, its culture, religion, mysticism, and literature; consequently, the findings of this thesis also complement the works of researchers such as Nilchian, Ernst, and Watt.

Furthermore, the overall approach of this thesis involves not just published primary sources, Jones's published works, but also a detailed examination of the texts he read and annotated; such an approach has not been taken on Jones's annotations by any other researcher to this date. Therefore, other than the novelty this thesis introduces to the prior studies on Jones's works, it sheds a brighter light on Jones's mind. To this aim, the thesis is divided into five chapters; although each chapter has its introduction, I briefly mention them in the following few pages so that the readers can have a comprehensive view of the framework of this thesis. Moreover, it should be pointed out that the translations and transliterations presented in this thesis are mine unless stated otherwise. Also, since there are many

[35] Carl W. Ernst, 'Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translations from Indian Languages', *Iranian Studies*, 36:2 (2003), 173-195: 187-8.

figures and illustrations – mostly images from Jones's manuscript folios – each chapter's figure numbering starts from one.

The first two chapters focus on his Persian studies whilst he was in Britain, and the remaining three chapters revolve around the development of his understandings of Oriental philosophy, culture, and mysticism when he was in India. The first two chapters centre on Jones's under-researched collection of papers available in the British Library catalogued as BL, APAC, MSS Eur. C 274. The collection consists of two different types of material; the first type, which is examined in the first chapter, entitled 'Sir William Jones's Collection of Papers, MSS EUR C. 274,' includes some loose folios of his early practising of the Persian language, some of them are dated 1785. In addition to the loose folios, the MSS Eur. C 274 collection includes a notebook bearing a contemporary Indian blind-stamped leather-bound book. While the loose folios centre on Jones's practice in Persian and Arabic, the *Notebook* instead revolves around verses in Persian and Rekhta[36] by many prominent Sufi poets. It also contains many marginal notes by Jones regarding his study and analysis of Oriental literature. The second chapter, entitled 'Sir William Jones's Collection of Verses', focuses upon Jones's annotations on the Persian verses available in his Notebook. The chapter aims to shed light on Jones's understanding of Persian and Sufi literature by 1786, when he acquired the *Notebook*. Other than discussing the Sufi and literary figures available in the *Notebook*, the aim is achieved by examining Jones's annotations on the poems; the annotations are primarily his translations of the poems and occasionally marginal notes regarding his analysis of them. While some of the loose folios in the MSS Eur C. 274 depict Jones during his earliest exposure to Persian language and culture, the *Notebook* is the earliest manuscript of Jones, which illustrates the well-established, Orientalist, 'Persian Jones'. Overall, the MSS Eur C. 274 collection demonstrates the transformation of Jones from sometime before he published *A Grammar* (1771), or even before the translation of *Histoire de Nader Chah* (1770), until 1786. Therefore, accordingly, the first two chapters of this thesis present Jones's transformation through his Persian annotations and the evolution of his thoughts demonstrated in the collection. It should also be noted that the collection, in some cases, contains some personal writings of Jones, which reveal a far more precise understanding of his life and mind.

[36] Rekhta is the language which modern Hindi and Urdu has derived from; it combines the dynamic vigour of Persian script, diction, and imagery with the sensuous Indian beauty of Urdu vocabulary.

The remaining three chapters of the thesis mainly focus on Jones's studies and works after arriving in India until he died in 1794. To this aim, the research data of these chapters have been gathered generally from the manuscripts he had whilst he was in India. Those manuscripts can be found in the British Library, catalogued as APAC, RSPA, 1-120, the Yale University's Beinecke Library, catalogued as Osborn c. 400, and the New York University's Fales Library, catalogued MSS 301, Box 1-2. The RSPA 1-120 contains manuscripts that either Jones bought, commissioned, or was gifted during his life in India; most of these manuscripts are in Persian, and Jones has extensively annotated twenty of them. The Osborn c. 400 collection is a notebook containing a hundred and fifty folios in Jones's hand; it holds notations on various subjects ranging from names of different individuals and books to lines of poetry. The Fales Library's MSS 301 are loose folios consisting of various types of documents related to his studies. Jones had a habit of annotating the manuscripts he was reading, and his annotations cover a vast range of subjects: explanatory remarks on the books, parts of the texts he was fascinated with, even annotations about his comparative studies. As Jones's various annotations on these manuscripts have been ignored by almost any scholar who has researched him, they will serve as a centre point for the final three chapters of this thesis.

Jones's essay 'On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and the Hindus' (1792) will be discussed in and examined in the third chapter entitled 'On the Pluralistic Traditions of the Oriental Mystical Poetry.' In addition, Sufism syncretic narratives and allegorical traditions, which Jones mentioned in the essay, will be analysed. The chapter explores these traditions' Indian counterparts and concludes with tracing them in Jones's writings. The fourth chapter of this thesis, entitled 'On the Philosophy of the Asiatics: Sir William Jones, Harmonious Metaphysics, and Unity,' focuses on the entanglement and complexity of the relationship between Sufi metaphysics, the Persian language, and their immense influence on the subcontinent, its politics and consequently how they shaped Jones's mind and influenced his writings. The fifth and final chapter of this thesis, entitled 'The Majnoon of India: Sir William Jones's Annotations on Nezami's *Treasury of Mysteries*,' centres on Jones's annotations on his personal copy of Nezami's *Treasury of the Mysteries*.[37] After discussing Jones's sources of interest in Nezami and his *Treasury*, the chapter describes the annotations Jones made on the

[37] BL, APAC, RSPA 32.

manuscript, analyses them, and concludes with presenting an autograph Persian poem Jones composed, on the manuscript, with reference to Nezami's text.

Chapter 1: Sir William Jones's Collection of Papers, MSS EUR C. 274

Introduction

The following chapter depicts Sir William Jones's early writings and research on oriental languages and literature. It investigates his learning of the oriental languages, specifically Persian; in addition, it examines several texts he composed whilst he was in Britain before arriving in India in 1783.

Jones is often recalled by his dramatic statement of similarities amongst languages based on their relationship with each other and their derivational relationship with earlier languages:

> The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists; there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanscrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family.[1]

This statement appeared in Jones's 'Third Discourse', which was presented to the Asiatic Society at their third annual meeting on 2 February 1786; it proposed that Sanskrit's affinity to other languages could be explained by all of them having an early common source. This brilliant thesis of language families, known today as the Indo-European languages, laid the groundwork for modern comparative linguistics. Jones is most famous for his philological research that gave rise to the development of modern attitudes toward language study and comparative linguistics, which could be called the dawn of modern linguistics. His interests and achievements, however, ranged far beyond solely the study of languages: his researches covered a vast area of subjects including astronomy, botany, history, law, literature, music, physiology, politics, religion, and mysticism. Although the statement mentioned above depicts the fruits of Jones's philological researches by 1786, it was his *A Grammar of the Persian Language* (1771) that presented the immediate result of his philological researches by being

[1] Sir William Jones, *Discourses Delivered Before the Asiatic Society: And Miscellaneous Papers, on the Religion, Poetry, Literature, Etc., of the Nations of India,* (London: Charles S. Arnold, 1824), 28.

one of the earliest and most famous grammars ever of an exotic language. His research on Oriental languages, particularly Persian, had a significant role in his founding of the Asiatic Society in 1784, which became the mother of all the other Asiatic Societies worldwide.

The establishment of the Asiatic Society played a significant role in the eighteenth century from many different aspects, one of which was by tackling the pseudo-Oriental literature and translations that were quite popular during the period. The pseudo-Oriental genre could be traced back to a century before the establishment of the Society: as early as Giovanni Paolo Marana's (1642–1693) eight-volume collection of fictional letters entitled *Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy* (1683), its French translation in 1684, and English translation in 1687, European writers had begun to impersonate the voice of the Orientals. Similar to Marana, they falsely claimed that they had translated texts from Turkish, Persian, Arabic, and many other Oriental languages, producing a pseudo-Oriental translation/literature. As another example, in the case of the Chinese language, until the nineteenth century, the pseudo-translations outnumbered genuine ones almost five to one;[2] the numbers were to some extent similar for Arabic and Persian translations. Sir John Eardley Wilmot (1709-1792), during his final year as the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (1766–1771), sent some peculiar characters to Jones in order to find their meaning. Wilmot was under the impression that the characters were Persian. In a letter dated the third of June 1771, when Jones was busy printing his *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, he responded to Wilmot's enquiry: 'I am sorry the characters you sent me are not Persian but Chinese, which I cannot decipher without a book...'[3] Not being able to distinguish between Persian and Chinese could provide a demonstrative image of the East's via the eighteenth-century European perspective.

The East India Company was among the first prominent European institutions which began mining Oriental knowledge. However, there is evidence available that the Company's performance with regards to extracting Oriental knowledge was not very efficient or accurate: for example, in 1792 Tipu Sultan (1750-1799) sent ambassadors to ignite uprisings against the Company and the British Government. In a letter to the Sultan, one of the ambassadors advises him against engaging the British in an open battle. The letter, however, is intercepted, translated from Persian to English, and is published in the Calcutta Review in 1856: 'upon the principle

[2]James St André, & Xiaoyan Peng, *China and Its Others: Knowledge Transfer through Translation, 1829-2010*, (New York, NY: Rodopi, 2012), 35.
[3] *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of Sir William Jones*, John Shore Baron Teignmouth (ed.), (London: Piccadilly, 1806), 98.

recommended by the sage and worthy Khanjeh Hafiz Shirazi, on whom the mercy of the Lord may forever rest, with friends cordiality, with enemies dissimulation.'[4] This extract contains two errors: first, the title of the poet is Khajeh, not Khanjeh, which could imply the translator's difficulty in reading Persian; the second error, which is quite significant, is within the translation of the quote: the correct translation is 'with friends cordiality, with enemies toleration'.[5] However, Oriental knowledge was not solely mined by institutions run directly by the Company or its administration. In 1784, under the patronage of Warren Hastings (1732-1818), Sir William Jones and a handful of other British residents of Calcutta founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Society was modelled on the Royal Society of London; it was located in the newly-built Court House standing at the heart of the imperial city. The Society became an extremely efficient body for the global diffusion of its intellectual productions on the Oriental knowledge; in Jones's 'Preliminary Discourse' he stated: 'If now it be asked, what are the intended objects of our inquiries within these spacious limits, we answer, MAN and NATURE; whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other'.[6] In other words, the society was on a quest to seek out Oriental knowledge ranging from humanities – such as linguistics, philology and antiquities – to sciences – such as botany, mathematics, astronomy, geography and economics. Journals such as *The New Asiatic Miscellany* and *The Asiatic Researches* were powerful media for publicizing the results of the Society's expedition into Oriental knowledge. The seven hundred copies of the first edition of the Asiatic Researches, which were shipped from Calcutta to England in 1789 sold out immediately, and of course, pirated editions were published and brought out within years.[7] Jones and other members of the Asiatic Society focused on languages aiming to gain Oriental knowledge in order to understand Hindu and Muslim culture and consequently remove the gap between the Orient and the Occident; this would have resulted in decreasing the friction between the British and the Indians and consequently, the stabilization of the society. A stable society would lead to an increase in financial benefits for the British in India, but it would have also improved the lives of the Indians living under British law. In addition, Hastings's Orientalist regime had initiated the concept of Hindus and Muslims being governed by their own laws, facilitating the

[4] Anonymous Reviewer, 'The Odes of Hafiz (1801) and Seven Related Orientalist Works', *Calcutta Review*, 26 (1856), 398-414; 399.
[5] The sentence is in fact a frequently used proverb amongst Persian speakers.
[6] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 5.
[7] Garland Cannon, 'Sir William Jones, Persian, Sanskrit and the Asiatic Society', *History Epistemology Language*, 6: 2, (1984), 83-94.

stabilization of the relationship between the British and Indian subjects. To this aim, during his time in India, Jones focused on composing digests of the Hindu and Islamic laws and published *Al-Surajiyyah or the Mohammedan Law of Inheritance* (1792) and *Institutes of Hindu Law; or, The Ordinances of Menu* (1794).[8]

In Jones's researches on the Orient, the readers discover different aspects of Oriental knowledge and culture: languages, literature, philosophy, religion, mysticism and even architecture; his researches attempt to portray the Orient for eighteenth-century Europe. However, the following chapter mainly focuses on Jones's research into the Persian language and examines the Oriental knowledge he gained through the language; it centres on his relatively under-researched collection of papers available in the British Library, catalogued as BL APAC, MSS Eur. C 274. Jones's collection of papers consists of two different types of material; the first type includes some loose folios of his practising the Persian language, some of which are dated 1785. In addition to the loose folios, the collection includes a red leather-bound *Notebook* that has a contemporary Indian blind-stamp. The *Notebook* contains transcriptions in Jones's hand of poems by the Sufi poets such as Amir Khosrow of Delhi (1253-1325), occasionally with English translations; the *Notebook* is also dated November 1785. I should also point out here that the loose folios centre on Jones's practice in the Persian language, its grammar, and script while the *Notebook* instead revolves around verses in Persian and Rekhta by many prominent Sufi poets.

The material available in the MSS Eur. C 274 represents Jones's process of learning Oriental culture over the course of at least two decades. While the *Notebook* and some loose folios belong to November 1785, about two years after he arrived in India, most loose folios almost certainly predate 1785. There are three types of supporting evidence for this hypothesis: firstly, comparing his Persian handwriting in the notes with his annotations in the *Notebook* and other manuscripts, such as his collection of Persian manuscripts available in the British Library,[9] shows that his Persian hand has improved significantly in the latter. In addition, Jones's handwriting in one of the manuscripts dated 1783 is similar to some of the folios of the MSS Eur C. 274; this is proof that the rest of the folios were annotated before 1783. In writing Persian, it is desirable to reduce the angles

[8] The books were part of a bigger project to compose a digest of Hindu and Muslim law which was left unfinished due to Jones's death in 1794.
[9] British Library, APAC, RSPA 1-119.

of the alphabetical letters; furthermore, the spaces left between the words should be equivalent so that the text becomes easily readable and aesthetically pleasing. By comparing his hand in illustration 1, two folios, both of which are Persian translations of verses 1-6 of Psalm 1 in the King James Version (KJV), it can be observed that the words on the folio on the left have more angles compared to the ones on the right; in addition, Jones has tried to maintain a similar distance between the words on the right folio. Therefore, the writings on the folio on the right have been made sometime after the one on the left.

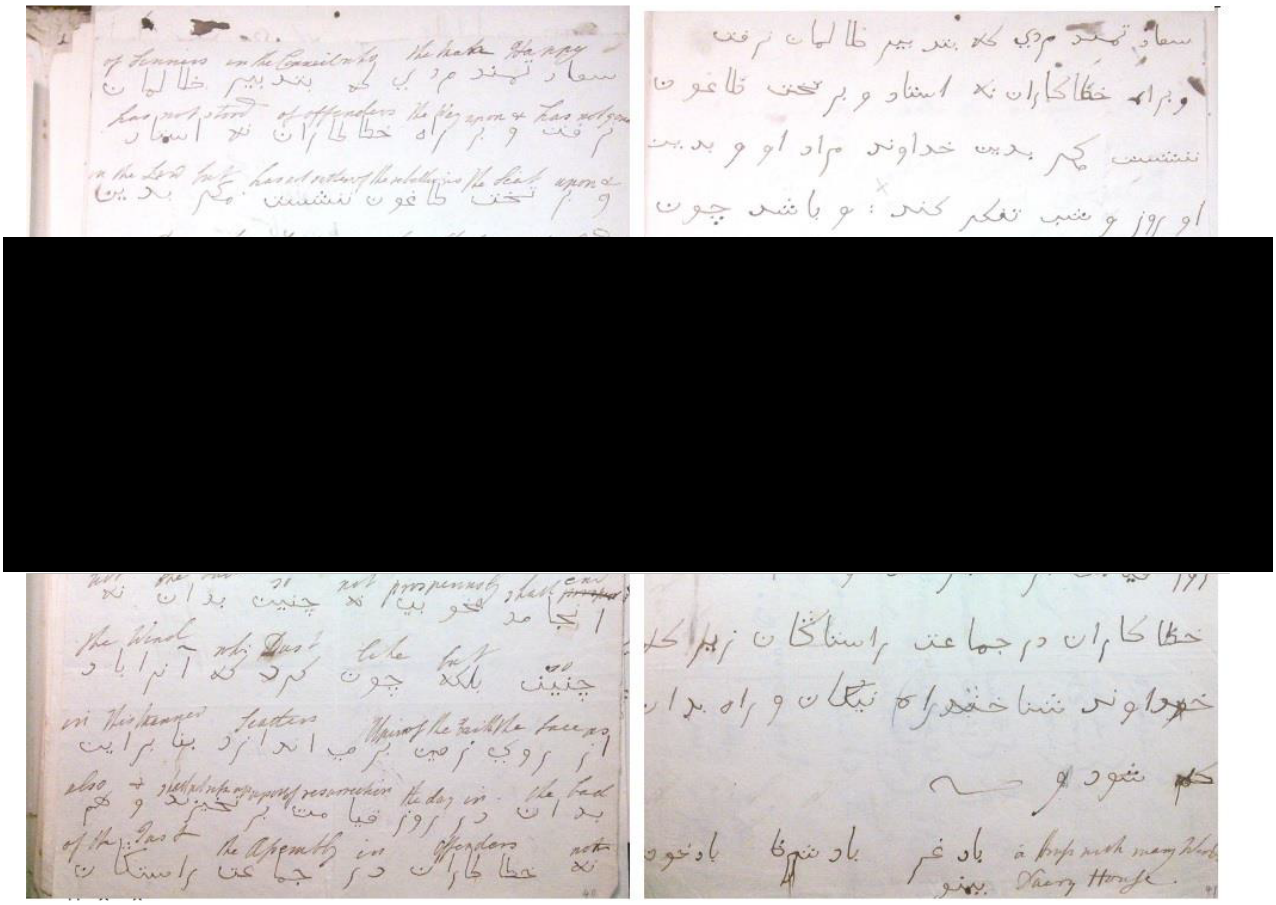

Illustration 1, BL, APAC, MSS Eur C. 274, f. 40-1; Jones's Persian translations of Psalm 1: 1-6 (KJV),

Secondly, Jones has made some grammatical mistakes on some of the folios, which were either corrected in his *Grammar* (1771) or were not repeated in other folios. For example, on one of the loose folios he is practising the verb آموزش *āmōzesh*, 'to learn / to teach', please see illustration 2.

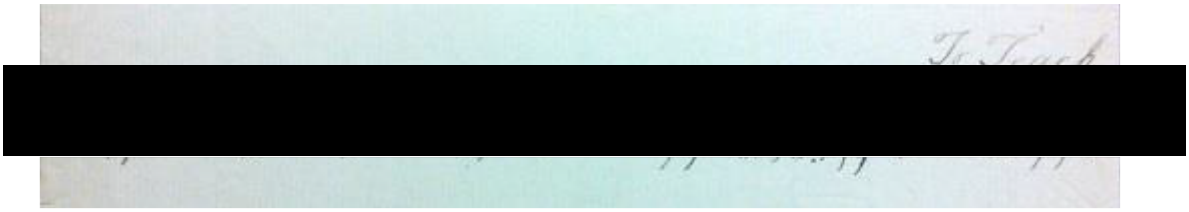

Illustration 2, BL, APAC, MSS Eur C. 274, f. 47; an extract, showing Jones practising the different tenses of 'To Teach' in Persian.

In the past tense, the verb is mutated to آموختن *āmōkhtan*, yet it would seem that Jones did not know about this at the time and used آموزیدن *āmōzidan*, which is not correct. Jones was indeed familiar with word mutations since they appeared in other languages he knew, for example, Arabic and Welsh. Intriguingly in the *Grammar*, Jones has mentioned the verb and its mutation as 'Irregulars that change خ into ز'[10] , demonstrating that he had learnt this grammatical mutation by 1771; consequently, the folio belongs to sometime before the publication of the *Grammar*. Thirdly, some of the folios themselves suggest that they were composed whilst he was in Britain; for example, please see illustration 3 on which Jones has written امسال شما در هندوستان خواهید رفت *emsāl shomā dar hendōstān khāhid raft*, 'This year, you shall go in India'.[11]

[10] William Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, (London: W. & J. Richardson, 1771), 65.

[11] More on this folio will be discussed later.

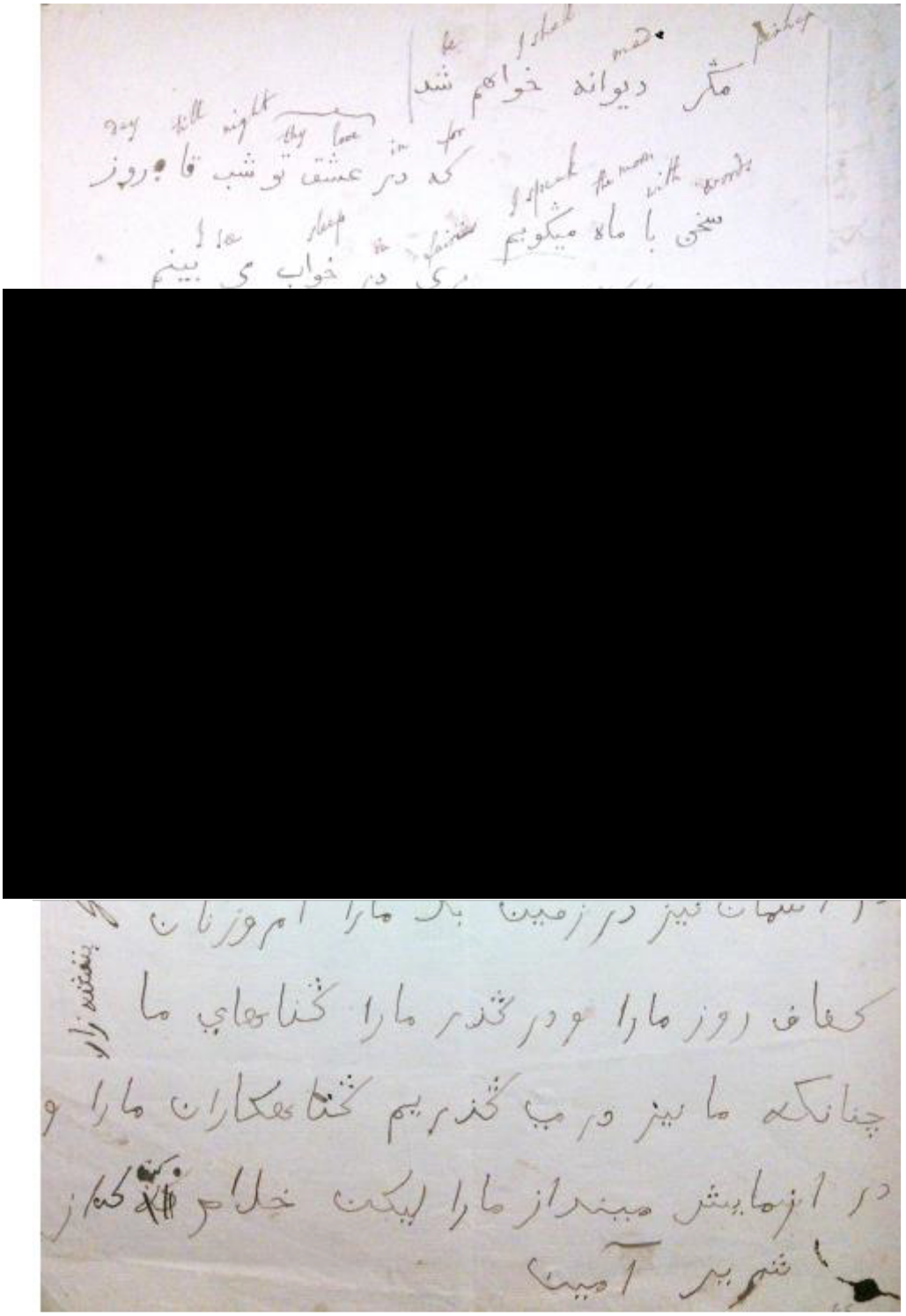

Illustration 3, BL, APAC, MSS Eur C. 274, f. 45; on top, a distich of Hafez and Jones's translation; on the bottom, recitation of the Lord's Prayer in Persian.

While some loose folios depict Jones during his earliest exposure to the Persian language and culture, the *Notebook* illustrates the well-established Orientalist, 'Persian Jones'. Overall, MSS Eur C. 274 demonstrates the

transformation of Jones from sometime before he published *A Grammar* (1771), or even before the translation of *Histoire de Nader Chah* (1770), until at least two years after he arrived in India, in 1785. Presenting Jones's transformation in such a manner is unique since most scholars working on him have not particularly focused on his life through his Persian annotations, and the evolution of his thoughts demonstrated in them. While Garland Cannon has recorded most of Jones's *Letters*[12] and Michael J. Franklin has presented an accurate portrayal of Jones in his works, they have mainly focused on Jones's English texts; this is due to their relative unfamiliarity with the Persian language. Other scholars such as Carl Ernst, who is familiar with Persian and Arabic, have not thoroughly focused on Jones and his annotations. The bulk of the available material from Jones's researches on Persian texts have been virtually unexplored. It should also be noted that the collection, in some cases, contains some personal writings of Jones, which reveal a far more precise understanding of his life and mind.

This chapter's structure will follow that of the collection; it will be divided into two sections. The first one, entitled 'Sir William Jones and Oriental Languages', presents a summary of Jones's exposure to Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit, in addition to his innovations in *A Grammar*, and the book's influences as a philosophically based work in a colonial situation. This section also presents some of the annotations and notes he composed in the loose folios as he practised and improved his Persian over the years. The collection holds eighty loose folios, sixty-one of them in Persian and nineteen in Arabic. After categorizing the different types of material available in the loose folios, considering the high number of the annotated folios and the wide variety of the annotation available on them, I have chosen some particular ones which represent at least one type of the annotations we see in the loose folios or shed light on Jones's character. It should be mentioned that the translations and transliterations presented here are composed by myself unless stated otherwise.

[12] Sir William Jones, *The Letters of Sir William Jones*, Garland Cannon (ed.), 2 vols, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

Sir William Jones and Oriental Languages

Language is commonly defined as a systematic means of communication; it has been the means to share ideas and knowledge to serve humankind. In Jones's day, given that anthropology and archaeology were not fully developed yet, the study of languages – which would lead to understanding the culture and history of the people who used the language – was a vital source of past knowledge. Therefore, he started studying Oriental languages at Oxford by examining Edward Pococke's collection of Arabic manuscripts at the Bodleian Library.[13] With the help of a Syrian named Mirza, he translated Antoine Galland's twelve-volume *Les Mille et Une Nuits, contes arabes traduits en français* (Paris, 1704-17), back into Arabic.[14] Jones's approach to learning was to write down the translation and Mirza's pronunciation of the Arabic version of Galland's book next to its text and then practise it. With Mirza's aid, Jones translated *Les milles et une nuits* and became able to speak the language to some degree. His innovation, ingenuity, and practicality become apparent once one considers that languages were commonly taught by the grammar-translation method when he had employed this method, which did not enable most learners to speak in the target language. Years later, he utilized the same method he had practised in his *Grammar* to enable the British to converse with Persian speakers in India.

Since Galland's *Les Mille et Une Nuits* was initially a French translation of an Arabic translation of a Persian work,[15] this book probably channelled Jones's attention towards Persian. Thus, after studying Arabic, Jones started to focus on

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[13] Pococke's collection of Arabic manuscripts helped Jones's career later, by providing him with the source material for *The Mahomedan Law of Succession to the Property of Intestates* (London, 1782).

[14] Michael J. Franklin, 'Welsh History Month: Persian Jones helped to build India's future on the Immensity and Pluralism of its Past', *Wales Online*, (15 Oct 2015), [https://www.walesonline.co.uk/lifestyle/nostalgia/welsh-history-month-persian-jones-10260468].
Cannon, 'Sir William Jones, Persian, Sanskrit and the Asiatic Society', 86.

[15] Ulrich Marzolph, *The Arabian Nights in Transnational Perspective*, (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2007), 183-5.
Marzolph, Ulrich. 'Arabian Nights'. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, & Everett Rowson (eds), (2007), [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912].

Persian since the two languages employed similar writing characters, shared many words, and grammatical structures. Furthermore, Persian was the language of the Mughal court in India which might have led to funding by the European companies, such as the East India Company (1600-1857), Dutch East India Company (1605-1825), Danish India (1620–1869), and Établissements français dans l'Inde (1668–1954), who had any financial interest in India. Enchanted by Persian poetry, Jones discovered new themes, plots, and metres that would have been helpful to rejuvenate the neoclassical traditions of Europe. Similar to his new language learning method, which contrasted the classical grammar-translation method by emphasizing on communication skills, the novel and exotic Persian literary devices would have been helpful to shape a new romantic tradition. Therefore, the scholar of languages gained a larger purpose: to explore, discover, and extract the ideas and cultural values of the Oriental people from their languages and thus, Jones's journey towards becoming a philosophical reformer began.

Persian and *A Grammar of Persian Language* (1771)

Jones published his *Grammar of the Persian Language* in April 1771, and Europe was introduced to a new realm: the شکرستان *shekarestān*, 'the Land of Sugar' as the grammar was titled in Persian. Well stocked with the beauties of 'the Persian Anacreon Hafez, the very first translated quatrains of Omar Khayyam and many other Persian poets, یونس اوکسفوردی *Yunus Oxfordi*, the 'Jonah of Oxford' began navigating his European readers through the sweet land of the Orient. Jones's Persian *Grammar* aimed not only to train the members of the East India company in the official language of the Mughal court but also inspired them to read, learn, and love Persian poetry and Sufi ethics. The book balances the aesthetic and the pragmatical aspects of language learning by simultaneously being a poet's grammar, introducing Sufi mystical thoughts, and being a self-teaching language text. The following few pages will first explore the *Grammar's* literary, philosophical, and aesthetical aspect; later, it focuses on the book as a self-teaching, pragmatical language learning text.

In the *Grammar's* preface, Jones challenged the Eurocentric prejudice of the time:

> We all love to excuse, or to conceal, our ignorance, and are seldom willing to allow any excellence beyond the limits of our own attainments: like the savages, who thought the

> sun rose and set for them alone, and could not imagine that the waves, which surrounded their island, left coral and pearls upon any other shore.[16]

The reason behind such a statement was that by the time the *Grammar* was published a stereotypical image portraying the Oriental other, literature, love, and beauties existed in Western drawing rooms. Jones's *Grammar* aimed to rearrange that image by enabling the Westerners to create a dialogue with the people of the East and broadening their perspective to be able to comprehend a different and novel kind of beauty that laid beyond their island and shores. Other than giving the eighteenth-century Europeans the means of communication, the poet's *Grammar* served that purpose through the examples it used for learning Persian; for example, in order to demonstrate the 'pronouns own and self', after stating their Persian equivalent خود *khod* Jones explains:

> ... self seems to have been originally a noun, and was, perhaps, a synonymous word for soul, according to Locke's definition of it; "Self is that conscious thinking thing, which is sensible or conscious of pleasure and pain, capable of happiness and misery:" if this observation be just, the Arabs have exactly the same idiom, for their نفس soul answers precisely to our self... [17]

The concepts of self, soul, and their definitions have an enormous significance in any ideological and philosophical worldview; as it is a vast and significant subject, it will be discussed in the third and fourth chapter of this thesis. Nevertheless, the intriguing argument Jones drew here is establishing similitude between the Eastern and Western definitions of the self and the soul. In order to provide an example for خود *khod*, 'self' to his readers, Jones used a beautiful line of the Sufi poet Sadi in which 'the term self seems to be redundant':

دانی چه گفت مرا آن بلبل سحری
تو خود چه آدمی کز عشق بیخبری

> Dost thou know what the early nightingale said to me?
> "What sort of man art thou, said he, that canst be
> "ignorant of love?" [18]

In addition to the example demonstrating the Persian literary aesthetics, since the line's literal translation is 'Do you know what did the nightingale told me in the morning? What kind of

[16] Jones, *A Grammar*, ii.
[17] Jones, *A Grammar*, 30.
[18] Jones, *A Grammar*, 31.

human are you if you are unaware of love', we can see that Jones has adapted his translation to be more poetic for an English speaker. Jones also points out the Latin and the Greek equivalents for self, which hints towards the shaping of the idea of the Indo-European languages in his mind as early as the book's composition.

The poet's *Grammar* also introduced the very first English verse translation of Hafez's Persian *ghazal*.[19] Jones's translation aimed to reimagine the role of an Orientalist as a cultural translator; if we consider the very first stanza, we can begin to appreciate Jones's subtle mastery of mediating techniques:

> Sweet maid, if thou wouldst charm my sight;
> And, bid these arms thy neck infold;
> That rosy cheek, that lily hand,
> Would give thy poet more delight
> Than all Bocara's vaunted gold,
> Than all the gems of Samarcand [20]

The literal translation of the *ghazal* is 'If that Shirazi Turk gains my heart, I will give Sarmaghand and Bokhara for her Indian mole'. Jones realized that the traditional Persian trope, 'Shirazi Turk', did not mean much for his eighteenth-century readers. Therefore, at first glance, it can be concluded that in his cultural versed-translation of the *ghazal* Jones has domesticated the *ghazal* of Hafez, erased the Turk/Hindu – white/black – juxtaposition, and has sacrificed the geographical and cultural connotations of the line. However, it can be argued that Jones ensured that the imagery he used in his translation was in accord with Hafez's images; what differentiates between the *ghazal* and its translation is due to the fact that one was aimed at, and based upon, the tastes of the fourteenth-century Persian speakers and the other for eighteenth-century English speakers. Of course, replacing 'Shirazi Turk' with 'Sweet maid' could be interpreted as deleting the 'local and geographic identity of Hafiz's poem' and replacing it with an image 'that to the eighteenth-century colonialists meant "European;"' as Alireza Anushiravani, and Laleh Atashi argue in 'Cultural Translation: A Critical Analysis of William Jones's Translation of Hafez'.[21] However, by studying the *Grammar*, one observes that Jones does mention Shiraz and Shirazi Turk on a couple of occasions: in one of the very first examples Jones presented in the chapter 'Of the Persian Syntax' in the *Grammar*, we see:

[19] Jones, *A Grammar*, 137-140.
[20] Jones, *A Grammar*, 137.
[21] Alireza Anushiravani, & Laleh Atashi 'Cultural Translation: A Critical Analysis of William Jones's Translation of Hafez', *Persian Literary Studies Journal*, 1: 1 (2012), 41- 58: 45.

> If that fair damsel of Shiraz would accept my heart, I would give for the black mole of her cheek the cities of Samarcand and Bokhara.[22]

In addition, two pages before his versed translation of the *ghazal*, Jones concludes his *Grammar* 'with a translation of the ode quoted in the section upon the Persian letters; see p. 12':

> If that lovely maid of Shiraz would accept my heart, I would give for the mole on her cheek the cities of Samarcand and Bokhara[23]

While Jones firmly heterosexualizes his translations of the *ghazal*, the original text is genderless. It is composed in Persian, a gender-neutral and genderless language; this change is justifiable should it be observed within the context of eighteenth-century Europe. However, it should be pointed out that any reader of the book was or is aware of Persian's gender neutrality as well as the fact that a Turk is not necessarily a 'maid': the gender neutrality of Persian is amongst the first matters Jones discusses in the book [24] and in the 'Index' presented at the end of the book, he states: 'a beautiful man or woman; a Turk...'.[25] Like Shiraz, Jones's versed translation omits the term 'Indian mole/beauty spot'; yet, the term 'mole' is provided in the literal translation. Jones's versed translation of the *ghazal* also contains 'Bocara's vaunted gold …[and] the gems of Samarcand': the qualities of the two cities, 'the vaunted gold' and 'the gems', are inserted and highlighted within the translation by Jones; it would be fair to argue that Hafez's intention was rather on the spiritual and artistic wealth of the cities. Therefore, Anushiravani and Atashi have concluded that by inserting the gold and gems in the translation, Jones is pointing out 'the material wealth of the areas [which] reveals the Benthamite endorsing of utilitarianism, and the consequent mammonistic outlook.'[26] However, firstly, we should keep in mind that the two cities are located on the Silk Road and consequently are known to the eighteenth-century Western readers mainly through travelling merchants and their accounts which were more centred on the wealth, rather than purely focusing upon the arts and spirituality. Secondly, it should not be forgotten that it was wealth that led to patronage and consequently the flourishing of arts. Thirdly, Jones's translation states that the poet would find more delight in the beloved than the wealth of the two cities, which is far from Mammonism.

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[22] Jones, *A Grammar*, 101
[23] Jones, *A Grammar*, 135.
[24] Jones, *A Grammar*, 17-8.
[25] Jones, *A Grammar*, 165.
[26] Anushiravani, & Atashi 'Cultural Translation: A Critical Analysis of William Jones's Translation of Hafez', 46.

In fact, in his essay entitled 'On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and the Hindus'[27] Jones's outlook on the Eastern poets and the Sufis is explicitly clarified: the Sufis, including Hafez, 'profess eager desire, but with no carnal affection, and circulate the cup, but no material goblet; since all things are spiritual in their sect'.[28]

Jones chose a singular measure for his versed translation, abcabc, to skilfully create a harmony between the Persian and the English cultural and poetical traditions while both display similitudes and differences. 'Contrary to the widespread impression that literal translation means close translation', Ahmad Karimi Hakkak argues, 'translators who go beyond lexical equivalence at times achieve greater proximity with their original texts'. He also argues that such translators 'stand a better chance of attracting attention among general readers of poetry.'[29] At this point in Jones's life, creating such attraction for the English-speaking readers towards the Persian language and literature played a significant role; it was to that aim that Jones made the alterations within the translations of the *ghazal*. Karimi Hakkak concludes that instead of emphasizing the 'unbridgeable chasms' which separates Hafez, and Persian poetry, from the eighteenth-century reader, Jones attempts to connect the reader to the text with his 'creative and transformative strategies'.[30] The overall reading of Jones's versed and literal translations of stanzas ensures that he has conveyed the main imageries of the original text. Jones's creative paraphrase of Hafez reveals his techniques of affirmative Orientalism.[31]

While reading 'Cultural Translation: A Critical Analysis of William Jones's Translation of Hafez' I discovered an intriguing argument,[32] in the third stanza of the versed translation of the *ghazal*; the stanza reads:

O! When these fair perfidious maids,

Whose eyes our secret haunts infest,

[27] The essay will be explored thoroughly in the third chapter of this thesis.
[28] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 211-34: 230.
[29] Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, 'Beyond Translation: Interactions between English and Persian Poetry', *Iran and the Surrounding World*, N. R. Keddie, & R. P. Matthee (eds.), (London: University of Washington Press, 2002), 36-60; 36.
[30] Karimi-Hakkak, 'Beyond Translation: Interactions between English and Persian Poetry', 48.
[31] Michael J. Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones': Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer, and Linguist, 1746-1794*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 72.
[32] Anushiravani, & Atashi 'Cultural Translation: A Critical Analysis of William Jones's Translation of Hafez', 47-9.

Their dear destructive charms display;

Each glance my tender breast invades,

And robs my wounded soul of rest,

As tartars seize their destined prey. [33]

By mentioning Inderpal Grewal's description of the way the East was viewed 'by the 18th-century European man'[34] as an 'area of darkness not only because it was unknown and perceived as mysterious but because it was believed that these lands were ruled by despotism',[35] Anushiravani and Atashi conclude that Jones:

> interprets [the] East as the opaque space which is inevitably infested. The two-word phrase "secret haunts", connotes an opacity feared by the 18th-century Europeans. Haunt refers to private moments that are probably beyond the jurisdiction of the panopticon, and the word "secret" connotes hidden truths, constipations and plots that may endanger the otherwise transparent society.[36]

Grewal's description of the eighteenth–century European man and his understandings of the East is accurate; an excellent example of Grewal's eighteenth-century European is James Beattie (1735-1803), who thought of the Easterners as 'unfriendly to liberty'.[37] However, as Michael Franklin explains, the actual reason behind Beattie's strange understanding of the East was the fact that he had not read much about the East.[38] What Anushiravani and Atashi missed in their train of thoughts is the fact that Jones was indeed no ordinary European man and consequently most certainly did not view the East like one. Jones was on course to defy any Westerner who had such views of the East; his illuminating approach, from 1770 to 1773, towards portraying a real Orient for the Europeans of the eighteenth century will be explored in the next couple of pages.

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[33] Jones, *A Grammar*, 134.
[34] Anushiravani, & Atashi 'Cultural Translation: A Critical Analysis of William Jones's Translation of Hafez', 49.
[35] Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and the Cultures of Travel*, (London: Duke University Press, 1996), 26.
[36] Anushiravani, & Atashi 'Cultural Translation: A Critical Analysis of William Jones's Translation of Hafez', 49.
[37] Sir William Forbes, *An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie LL.D*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1806), 1: 235.
[38] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 79.

In his *Grammar,* while Jones explores the indefinite tense of Persian verbs, firstly he establishes similitude between the Eastern and the European languages: the tense 'answers to the potential mood of other languages, and is governed by conjunctions as in Latin and English'.[39] Then, he presents an extract from the life of Nader Shah as an example of the tense:

> It is evident to the discerning and intelligent part of mankind, that, whenever the affairs of the world are thrown into confusion, and fortune favours the desires of the unjust, the great Disposer of events, in the effusion of his endless mercy, selects some fortunate hero, whom he supports with his eternal favour; and whom he commands to heal with the balm of benevolence the wounds of the afflicted, and to sweeten the bitter draught of their misfortunes with the honey of justice. [40]

Perhaps there was a reason for Jones choosing this particular extract from the life of Nader Shah: as the East India Company, and other similar private trading companies, including the Dutch East India Company, Danish India, and Établissements Français Dans l'Inde, morphed into a colonial power, there was a necessity for establishing the link between conquest and Orientalism. As Nader played a significant role in the power shifts occurring in the Middle East and India, he proved to be a beneficial character for the Western despots to justify the hegemony and conquest through the historiography of the Orient. Furthermore, the rise of Nader to power and his consequent conquest of India weakened both the Mughals and the Hindu rulers of the subcontinent; this was indeed an advantage to the East India Company. While it is easy to maintain that Nader was a pivotal part of the global process which assisted Jones's Indian adventure, in his *Grammar,* Jones used this extract from the life of the Oriental despot to reiterate the value of justice amongst the people of the Orient.

Before presenting another extract of Jones's *Grammar,* where the theme of justice and despotism in the Orient is mentioned, it is fit to briefly mention the themes in the texts he published before his *Grammar*. This is the *Histoire de Nader Chah* (1770),[41] and after it, *Poems consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatick languages. To which are added two essays, I. On the poetry of the Eastern nations. II. On the arts, commonly called imitative* (1772).[42] The *Histoire de Nader Chah* was Jones's very first published translation of a Persian text: a French translation of a Persian biography entitled تاریخ جهانگشای نادری *tārikh-e*

[39] Jones, *A Grammar*, 50.
[40] Jones, *A Grammar*, 51.
[41] William Jones, *Histoire de Nader Chah* (London: Londres, 1770).
[42] William Jones, *Poems consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatick languages. To which are added two essays, I. On the poetry of the Eastern nations. II. On the arts, commonly called imitative*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1772).

jahāngoshāye nāderi, 'The History of the World-Conquering Nader' by Mirza Mehdi Khan Astarabadi (d.1759). Jones's translation was commissioned by the absolutist king Christian VII of Denmark (1749-1808). Jones, however, reluctant to celebrate either the absolutist or the despot, appended 'Un traité´ sur la poesie orientale' to the *Histoire de Nader Chah*, which provided prose and verse translations of odes by Oriental poets including his beloved Hafez. He reluctantly bolstered the fame of the Persian despot in the main translated book; yet, the appendix, 'Un traité´ sur la poesie orientale', and Hafez's ode narrated another tale:[43]

Et quoiqu'autour de vous les caressans Zéphyrs, En agitant les Fleurs, invitent aux plaisirs, Prenez discrètement la Coupe enchanteresse; N'accordez point vos Luths, modérez vos désirs, Car le Censeur punit sévèrement l'Ivresse.	Although the wine spreads joy here, And although around you the Zephyr caresses, inviting pleasures, by waving the flowers, take this enchanting Cup discreetly; Do not take your Lute for granted; moderate your desires, Because the censorship [authority] severely punishes inebriation.
Si la vive couleur de ce Jus délectable Brille dans le Cristal, de son éclat jaloux, Et si vous jouissez du bonheur le plus doux Dans les bras d'un Objet aussi tendre qu'aimable; Laissez à la Prudence un juste droit sur vous, Car le temps est critique, et le péril palpable.	If the bright colour of this delectable juice Shines in the Crystal, with its envious lustre, And if you enjoy the sweetest happiness in the arms of an Object as tender as love; keep prudence close by, for in these dire times, the danger is palpable.
Loin, avec ce flacon, de vous laisser surprendre, Dérobez avec soin sa vue à l'œil malin; Car, en ces tristes jours, un barbare destin Exerce sa fureur rien ne peut vous défendre; Autant que vous versez de gouttes de ce vin, Autant de sang humain il se plaît à répandre. N'espérez pas jouir d'une tranquille vie, Et craignez la Fortune au Sein de ses faveurs: Elle n' offre à vos yeux que trompeuses douceurs; Cette Coupe en ses mains, qui vous paroît remplie Des plus excellens Vins, des plus riches Liqueurs, Ne vous présente, au fond qu'une insipide Lie.	Do not get caught surprised with this bottle Carefully steal its sight from the evil eye; For, in these sad days, the barbarous fate exert its fury, [and] nothing can defend you; Just like you like to pour drops of wine, [these cruel times] like to shed human blood. Do not expect to enjoy a quiet life, And fear the Fortune within its favours: It offers you only deceptive sweets; The Cup in his hands, which seems filled to you [of] the most excellent Wines, the richest Liqueurs, Presents to you, [nothing] but a tasteless lie.

[43] I have translated Jones's French translation to English.

Jones conjugated Hafez's fourteenth-century image for the eighteenth-century world: although Shiraz wine spreads joy, Zephyr caresses, and the lute can be heard, yet despotic censorship, danger, and bloodshed are also palpable. Not in favour of unconstitutional authority, its deceptive sweets, and tasteless lies, Jones wrote in the preface to his 1773 English translation of the *Histoire de Nader Chah*:

> Power is always odious always to be suspected, especially when it resides in the hands of an individual; and a free people will never suffer any single man to be more powerful than the Laws, which themselves have enacted or confirmed: but no kind of power is more licentiously insolent than that, which is supported by force of arms.[44]

Some pages later, in the same preface, Jones confessed 'that, had I been left to my own choice, it [The History of the Life of Nader Shah] would have been the last manuscript in the world, which I should have thought of translating'.[45] He continued his statement by tackling the European prejudice against the Orient, which caused the *censure* of some of the finest Oriental literature, by pointing out that:

> out of so many Persian books of poetry, ethicks, criticism, science, history, it would have been easy to have selected one more worthy of the public attention; and the works of Hafez or Sa'di might have been printed for half the expense, and in half the time.

By this time, in 1773, Jones was aware of the public's interest in Oriental literature as well as the expenditure and the efforts such works required for he had composed not only his *Grammar*, but also another work *Poems* (1772).

On a personal level, there is little doubt that Jones was touched by the Middle Eastern light; other than his publications, his annotations on the manuscripts he read provide evidence of this claim. However, at the same time, he understood that the tastes of the eighteenth-century Europeans must be educated with subtlety; translating the Oriental other required tactful politico-cultural manoeuvres towards the European 'Self'. One of the reasons behind the publication of the *Poems* was to 'create a public taste for the genuine ethnic commodity'.[46] In

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[44] Mahdī, Khān Astarabadi, & William Jones, *The History of the Life of Nader Shah, King of Persia: Extracted from an Eastern Manuscript, Which Was Translated into French by Order of His Majesty the King of Denmark. with an Introduction, Containing I.a Description of Asia, According to the Oriental Geographers. Ii. a Short History of Persia from the Earliest Times to the Present Century ; and an Appendix, Consisting of an Essay on Aiatick Poetry, and the History of the Persian Language. to Which Are Added Pieces Relative to the French Translations*, (London: J. Richardson & T. Cadell, 1773), ii.

[45] Astarabadi, & Jones, *The History of the Life of Nader Shah, King of Persia*, xxv.

[46] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 92.

order to create such a taste in his readers, firstly, Jones presented a more unified, or rather singular, and universal portrayal of the Orient: the Poems contains titles such as 'Solima, an Arabian Eclogue', 'The Palace of Fortune, an Indian Tale', 'The Seven Fountains, an Eastern Allegory', 'A Persian Song of Hafez', and 'An Ode of Petrarch'.

The first translation, 'Solima', was 'not a regular translation from the Arabick language; but modes of the figures, sentiments, and descriptions in it, were really taken from the poets of Arabia'.[47] The Indian tale of 'The Palace of Fortune' was not only translated to English from a Persian translation of the original Sanskrit text, but also in addition to some alterations, Jones 'added several descriptions, and episodes from other Eastern writers.'[48] Jones stated that although 'The Seven Fountains' is an imitation of Nezami's هفت پیکر *haft peykar*, 'The Seven Beauties', he has 'taken a greater liberty with the moral allegory' by inserting parts of a tale from *A Thousand and One Nights* as well as borrowing the general subjects of the poem from an Arab poet named Ibn Arabshah (1389-1450).[49] Following 'The Seven Fountains', Jones added his 'A Persian Song of Hafiz' and 'The Ode of Petrarch' for the readers to 'compare the manner of the Asiatick poets with that of the Italians' and observe the 'striking resemblance' between the two.[50] The second manner by which Jones's *Poems* attempt to create a public taste for Oriental literature and educate the readers is through the two essays appended to it. The first appended essay to *Poems*, entitled 'On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations', could be retitled 'A Defence of Oriental Poetry'; in the essay, Jones defends the frequently censured style of Oriental poetry, misjudged by eighteenth-century Europeans such as Beattie as being full of bombast, excessive ornament, and bad taste, against the European prejudice. While Jones left it to the readers to compare the composition of Petrarch and Hafez, he compares Hafez's *ghazal* 663 with Shakespeare's Sonnet 99. Jones maintains that the comparison of Shakespeare's 'The forward violet thus I did chide' and Hafez's 'O sweet gale, thou bearest the fragrant scent of my beloved' points out that the 'Eastern imagery is not so different from the Europeans as we are apt to imagine;'[51] however, it should be mentioned that in some sources this *ghazal* is only attributed to Hafez.[52] The following three photos, illustrations 4a, 4b, and 4c, belong to the

[47] Jones, *Poems,* viii.
[48] Jones, *Poems,* x.
[49] Jones, *Poems,* x-xi.
[50] Jones, *Poems,* xi.
[51] Jones, *Poems,* 'On the poetry of the Eastern nations', 173-199: 191-3.
[52] One available source of the *ghazal* attributing it to Hafez is BL, Add MS 7759, f. 129 and the other is available in Princeton University and accessible via: [https://libimages.princeton.edu/loris/pudl0032/62g/00000227.jp2/full/,7200/0/default.jpg].

loose folios available in the British Library's collection; they contain the *ghazal* 663 of Hafez, in Jones's hand, as well as his translations of the *ghazal* into Latin and English:

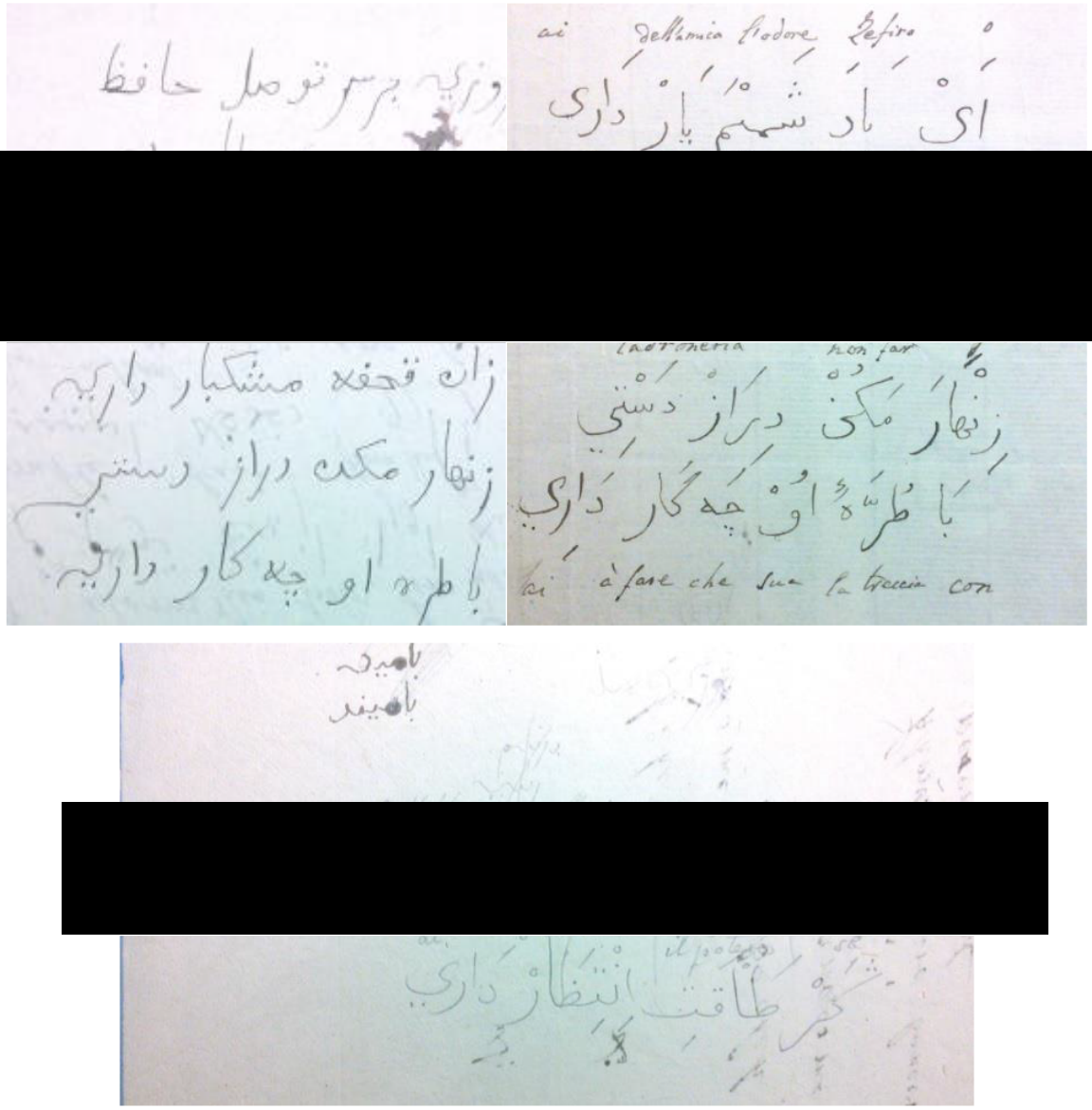

Illustration 4a, 4b, & 4c, BL, MSS Eur C. 274, f. 54-5, & 64; extracts showing Jones reciting and translating distiches of Hafez.

As Jones stated, the sonnet and the *ghazal* do contain similar imagery. After establishing similarities between the fourteenth-century Persian 'Tongue of the Unseen'[53] with the sixteenth-century English 'Bard of Avon', Jones moves his attention back to the racial and political stereotyping of the Easterners in Europe; thus, he presented an extract from Sadi's *Bostan* which is entitled 'The Advice of Anushiravan [the Just] to his son Hormuz':

[53] لسان الغیب *lessān ol-gheyb*, 'The Tongue of the Unseen' is Hafez's nickname.

> Be a guardian, my son, to the poor and helpless; and be not confined in the chains of thy own indolence. [. . .] Go, my son, protect thy weak and indigent people; since through them is a king raised to the diadem. The people are the root, and the king is the tree that grows from it; and the tree, O my son, derives its strength from the root.[54]

The quotation illustrates the Persian standards in two different periods of history: that of Anushiravan the Just (501-579 AD) and the thirteenth century when Sadi was living. Jones follows the quote by asserting: 'Are these mean sentiments, delivered in pompous language?' Refuting notions of Asiatic tyranny and Oriental unreason, he encourages his readers to relocate 'Oriental' despotism in the Occident; such poems: 'a century or two ago [...] would have been suppressed in Europe, for spreading with too strong a glare the light of liberty and reason'.[55] In order to illustrate the affinity between European and Eastern classical traditions, Jones compares Ferdowsi (940-1020) with Homer:

> …there is certainly a very great resemblance between the works of those extraordinary men: both drew their images from nature herself, without catching them only by reflection, and painting, in the manner of the modern poets, the likeness of a likeness; and both possessed, in an eminent degree, that rich and creative invention, which is the very soul of poetry.[56]

Jones's final remarks in the essay 'On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations' provides his readers with a very intriguing proposal:

> I cannot but think that our European poetry has subsisted too long on the perpetual repetition of the same images, and incessant allusions to the same fables: and it has been my endeavour for several years to inculcate this truth, That, if the principal writings of the Asiaticks, which are reposited in our publick libraries, were printed with the usual advantage of notes and illustrations, and if the languages of the Eastern nations were studied in our places of education, where every other branch of useful knowledge is taught to perfection, a new and ample field would be opened for speculation; we should have a more extensive insight into the history of the human mind, we should be furnished with a new set of images and similitudes, and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light, which future scholars might explain, and future poets might imitate.[57]

[54] Jones, *Poems,* 'On the poetry of the Eastern nations', 173-199: 194.
[55] Jones, *Poems,* 'On the poetry of the Eastern nations', 173-199: 194.
[56] Jones, *Poems,* 'On the poetry of the Eastern nations', 173-199: 195.
[57] Jones, *Poems,* 'On the poetry of the Eastern nations', 173-199: 198-9.

It is this proposal that establishes Jones's essay as a seminal work in the history of criticism: by sourcing Eastern images, allusions, and fables together 'with the usual advantage of notes and illustrations' to European scholars, Jones aimed to open a new and ample field for speculations for the European traditions to be rejuvenated. Besides aiming to find similitudes between the West and the East that aimed to help vanquish racial and political inequalities, Jones's proposal for rejuvenating the neoclassical European literature established him as a significant precursor of the Romantics.

His proposal at the end of 'On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations' is followed by his second essay appended to the poems entitled 'On the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative';[58] in the very beginning of the second essay, Jones states that 'poetry was originally no more than a strong and animated expression of the human passions'.[59] This statement demonstrates Jones's ingenuity should one consider that there are almost three decades between Jones's statement and Wordsworth's famous words: 'poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings'.[60] In the second essay, Jones provided his readers with 'some Eastern fables, some odes, a panegyrick, and an elegy';[61] they represent new sources for his readers to be furnished with a new set of images and similitudes to be able to explore, imitate, and consequently compose several excellent and new European works. This is how Romantic affirmative Orientalism was born within a London Welshman's Persian *Grammar* and his Oriental *Poems*;[62] Romantic writers such as Coleridge, Southey, Landor, Byron, Moore, Percy Shelley, Felicia Hemans, Charlotte Dacre, Sydney Owenson were yet to be born, but they would subsequently discover, explore, and imitate the Oriental 'new set of images and similitudes'. All of Jones's compositions, including *Grammar* and *Poems*, demonstrate his outlook on the East, elaborating that Jones most certainly did not fit into the portrayal of a common 'eighteenth-century European man'.[63]

A Grammar of the Persian Language as a Self-teaching Text

[58] Jones, *Poems,* 'On the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative', 201-217.
[59] Jones, *Poems,* 'On the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative', 201-217: 202.
[60] William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads, With Other Poems*, 2 vols, (London: T.N. Longman & O. Rees, 1800), 1: xiv.
[61] Jones, *Poems,* 'On the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative', 201-217: 212.
[62] Franklin, *'Orientalist* Jones', 73.
[63] Anushiravani, & Atashi 'Cultural Translation: A Critical Analysis of William Jones's Translation of Hafez', 49.

Jones initially desired to make the knowledge he gained from Oriental languages, including Persian, useful in the self-teaching of the language; therefore, he started systematically to collect and analyse Persian linguistic data. His sources were Persian literary works that contained Sufi thoughts; these Sufi works played a significant role later in Jones's life and career and will be addressed later in this thesis. A pedagogical grammar would have been able to act as a self-teaching text. However, by simultaneously edifying and entertaining with the data he collected from Persian works, which were the literary and moral examples interwoven in it, Jones's *Grammar* indeed went further than a philological or linguistic text. The book also shared the knowledge of the past Persian literary and scientific works. In the 'Preface' of *A Grammar*, Jones emphasized that Persian had a pivotal role in colonial India, the source of incredible wealth for Europe. The wealth, of course, was not rupees, but knowledge which was Jones's ultimate goal as he stated in a letter dated March 17, 1782, to Edmund Burke:

> I believe that the greatest part of my savings would be spent in purchasing oriental books and in rewarding (not as government has rewarded me for Nadir Shah) the translators and interpreters of them. I should remit part of my fortune in manuscripts instead of diamonds and my university would ultimately have the benefit of them.[64]

The language learning approach of Jones's *Grammar* was similar to his acquisition of Arabic: firstly the student learns to read the alphabet and their pronunciation by a native speaker model, similar to the Syrian Mirza; then, the student moves to the grammar, with supplemental help from Meninski's *Dictionary of the Asiatic languages*,[65] which acted in a similar role to Galland's *Les Mille et Une Nuits*.[66] Evidence found in the MSS Eur. C 274 shows that Jones himself had learned Persian through the same method. For example, on two of the loose folios in the collection, please see illustrations 5a and 5b, Jones has practised writing the following Persian proverbs taken from Sadi's *Golestan*:

سگ حق شناس به از آدم نا سپاس

هرکه سخن نسنجد از جوابش برنجد

[64]Edmund Burke, *Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke: between the year 1744 and the period of his decease, in 1797.* (Francis & John Rivington, 1844), 2: 457.
[65] Jones, *A Grammar*, viii.
[66] Franciszek Meninski, *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium, Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae ... et grammatica Turcica cum adjectis ad singula ejus capita praeceptis grammaticis Arabicae et Persicae linguae etc*, (Vienna, 1680).

A grateful dog is better than an ungrateful man.

He, who weighs not his question will receive an unpleasant answer.

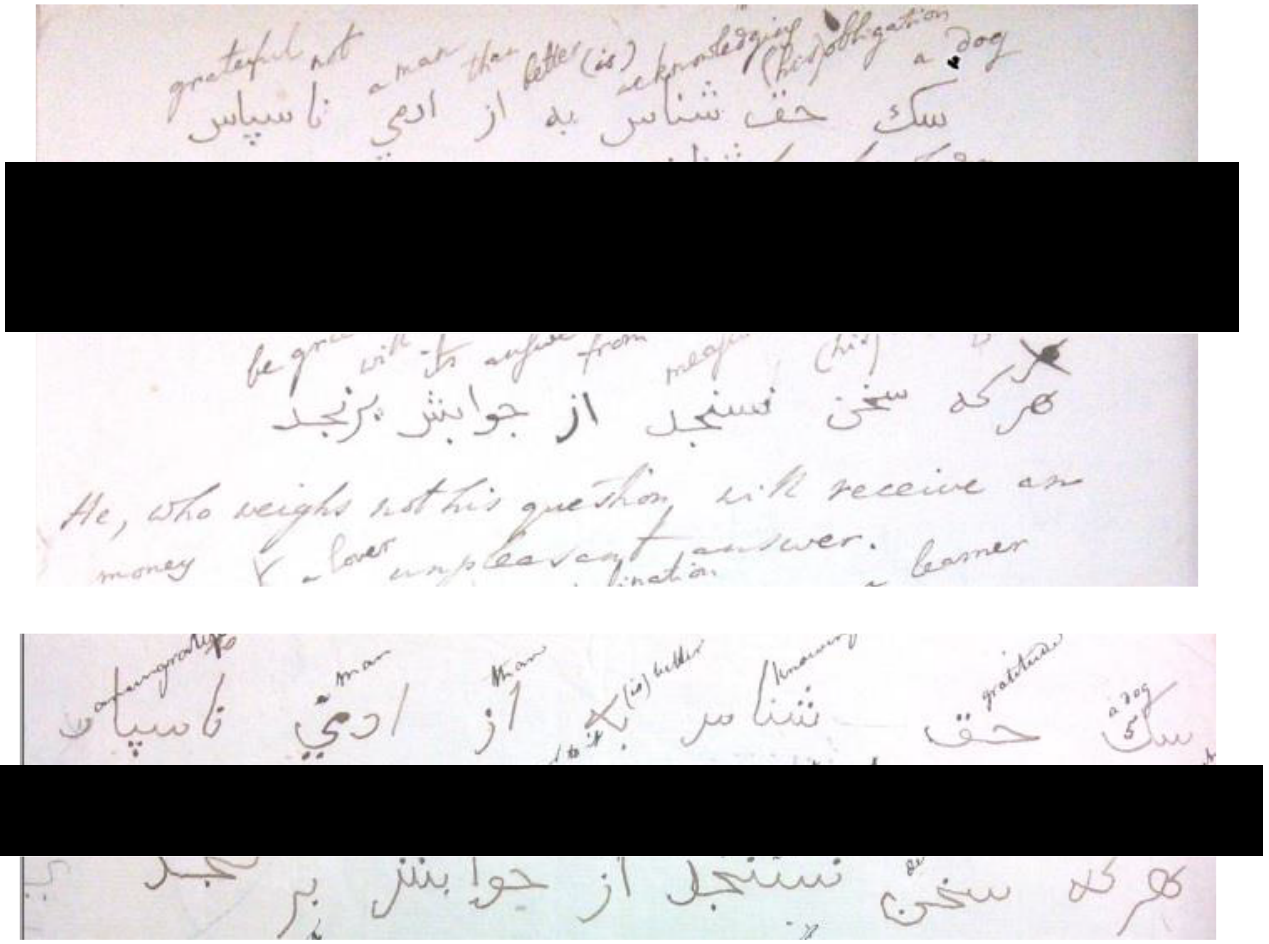

Illustration 5a & 5b, BL, APAC, MSS Eur C. 274, f.43-4; extracts of recitation and translation of a distich of Sadi by Jones.

In illustration 5a we see Jones's Persian teacher's hand, and illustration 5b shows his own Persian handwriting. The latter folio contains his word for word translation of the proverbs, while the former contains Jones's word for word translation and a paraphrased translation. In another instance, on two other folios, please see illustration 6, Jones has practised a line of Attar's *Pandnāmeh*, which is a book of maxims and morals attributed to Farid od-din Attar (1145-1221):[67]

[67] Attar's immense influence on Sufis and his consequent influence on Jones will be discussed in detail in the third chapter.
One of the copies of the *Pandnāmeh* which Jones purchased years later in India is available in the British Library and is catalogued under BL, APAC, RSPA 33.

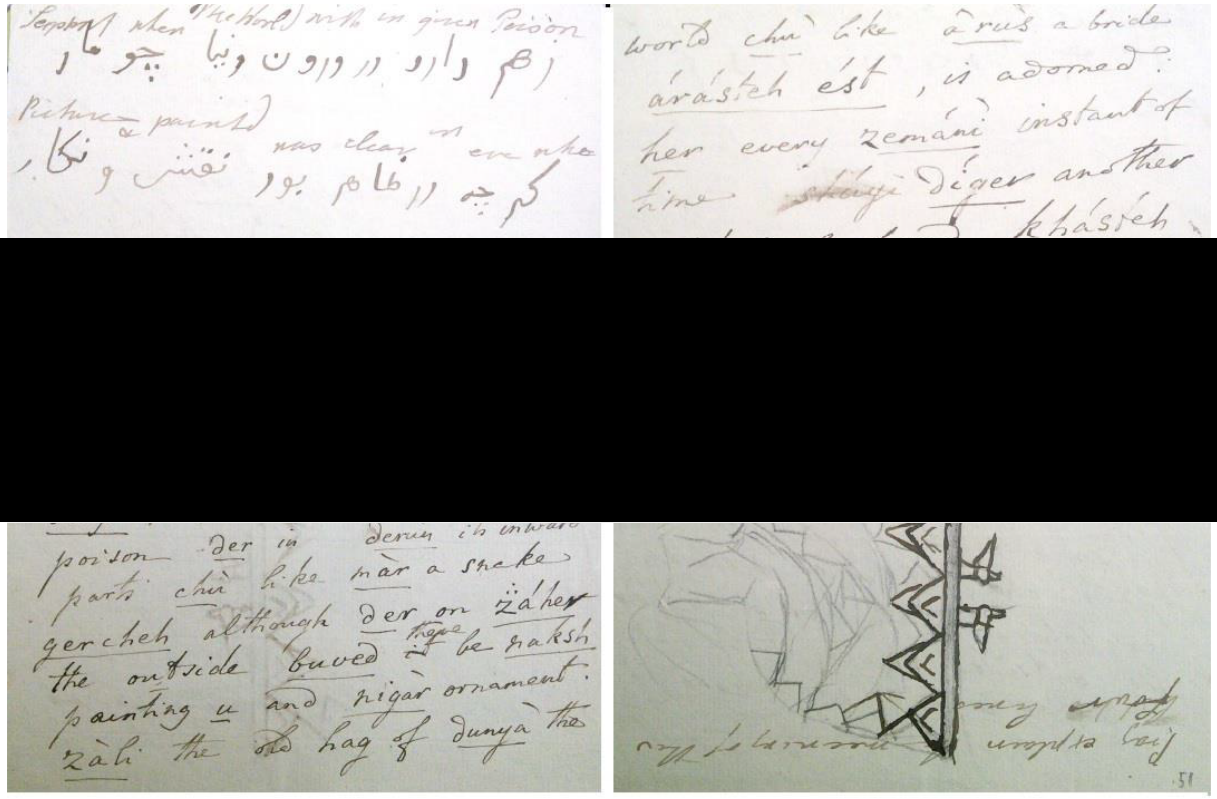

Illustration 6, BL, APAC, MSS Eur C. 274, f.51; recitation, transliteration, and translation of two distiches of Attar.

زهر دارد در درون دنیا چو مار گرچه در ظاهر بود نقش و نگار

زال دنیا چون عروس آراسته است هر زمانی شوی دیگر خواسته است

The world has poison inside like a snake, although it has paintings and ornaments on the outside.

The world is like an adorned bride, at every instance, she desires another husband.

Jones's Persian tutor's handwriting is not available in these two folios; yet, we see Jones transliterating the Persian text, which was an attempt to practise his Persian-speaking skills. The folios available in illustration 6 demonstrate the same teaching method he deployed in his *Grammar of the Persian Language*. The employees of the East India Company had to study Persian in order to read letters from Indian princes and potentates concerning important affairs of war and peace. Therefore, Jones stated the reason for choosing this particular approach was that: 'in less than a year [a learner will] be able to translate and to answer any letter from an Indian prince, and to converse with the natives of India, not only with fluency but with

elegance'.[68] Jones's elegant 'Preface' to his Persian *Grammar* also advised the students to work simultaneously with their *munshis* (secretaries, language teachers) not only to learn 'the phrases of common discourse, and the names of visible objects but also to read aloud Persian literature [...] to them'.[69] Such literary works included Sadi's *Golestan*, which is said to explore 'virtually every major issue faced by humankind, with both an optimistic and a subtly satirical tone',[70] Attar's *Pandnāmeh*, and Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh*. These texts were listed by Jones and presented as 'A Catalogue of the Most Valuable Books in the Persian Language'.[71] The catalogue contains almost every significant moral, ethical, philosophical, and historical work in Persian.

The MSS Eur. C 274 also contains evidence of Jones's seeking of 'the phrases of common discourse, and the names of visible objects' in 1785, two years after arriving in Calcutta in 1783. The following pages focus on the loose folios and some of Jones's compositions since his arrival in India until that date. The first point that should be made clear considering the loose folios is that the collection contains two different sets: one is 'Persian Vocabulary Nov. 1785 autograph of Sir William Jones', the date confirms that these folios belong to the time Jones was in India. Consisting of thirteen folios, the set was probably composed at Jones's request to further familiarize himself with colloquial Persian spoken at the time in India. The folios in the set follow a specific pattern: the Persian scribe has written a Persian phrase, and Jones has composed the English translation and transliteration. The following folio, please see illustration 7, is a typical example of the folios:

[68] Jones, *A Grammar*, xxi.
[69] Jones, *A Grammar*, xvi.
[70] Homa Katouzian, *Sadi, The Poet of Life, Love and Compassion*, (Oxford : One World, 2006), 31.
[71] Jones, *A Grammar*, 136-45.

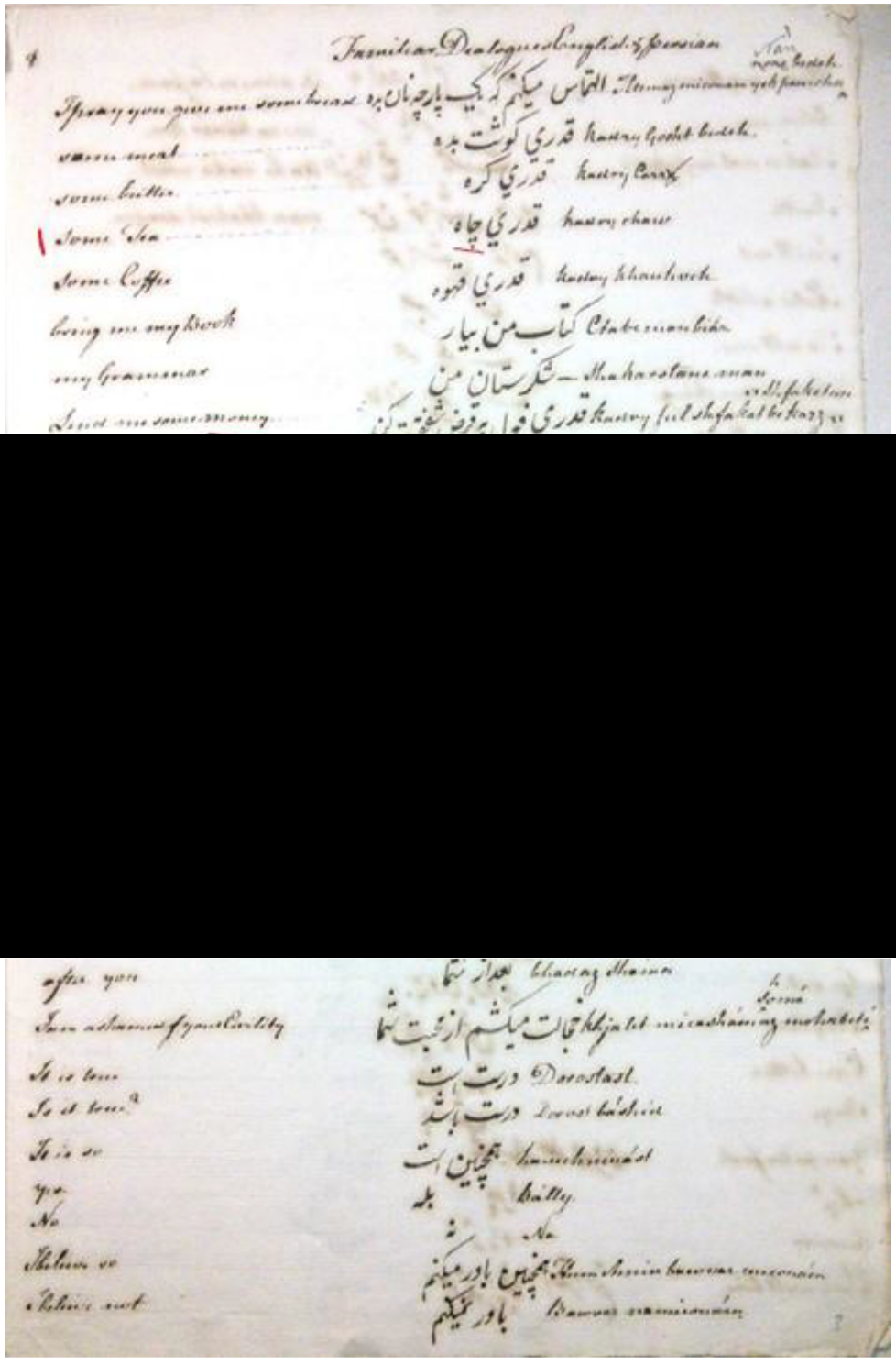

Illustration 7, BL, APAC, MSS Eur C. 274, ‘’Persian Vocabluary Nov. 1785’, f.3; daily used phrases in Persian and English translations.

These folios can be distinguished from the rest of the collection through their pattern and the fact that they do not display any personal annotations or marginal notes from Jones. They demonstrate selected Persian phrases used in daily life; for example, at the top of the folio seen above, which is entitled ‘Persian Vocabulary Nov. 1785’, we see the scribe’s handwriting التماس

میکنم که یک پارچه نان بده to its right Jones's translation appears 'I pray you give me some bread' and the English transliteration appears to the left. The scribe follows by replacing 'some bread' with 'some meat', 'some butter', and 'some tea'. Interestingly, the scribe has made some errors on his part which Jones corrected. Some of the mistakes could have been caused by the scribe's negligence: for example, in the same folio, we see 'some tea قدری چاه *kadri chaiu*'.[72] The scribe writes چاه *chāh*, 'a well, a pit' whereas he should have written چای *chāi*, 'tea'. However, four lines below the mentioned error, we see another one which suggests that Jones was not practising his Persian in India with a native speaker, at least before 'Nov. 1785'. The line is 'Assist me some money قدری فول به قرض شفقت کن *kadri ful be karz shafaghat kon*'. There is one particular folio in this set that proves more interesting than others; please see illustration 8:

[72] Marked in red.

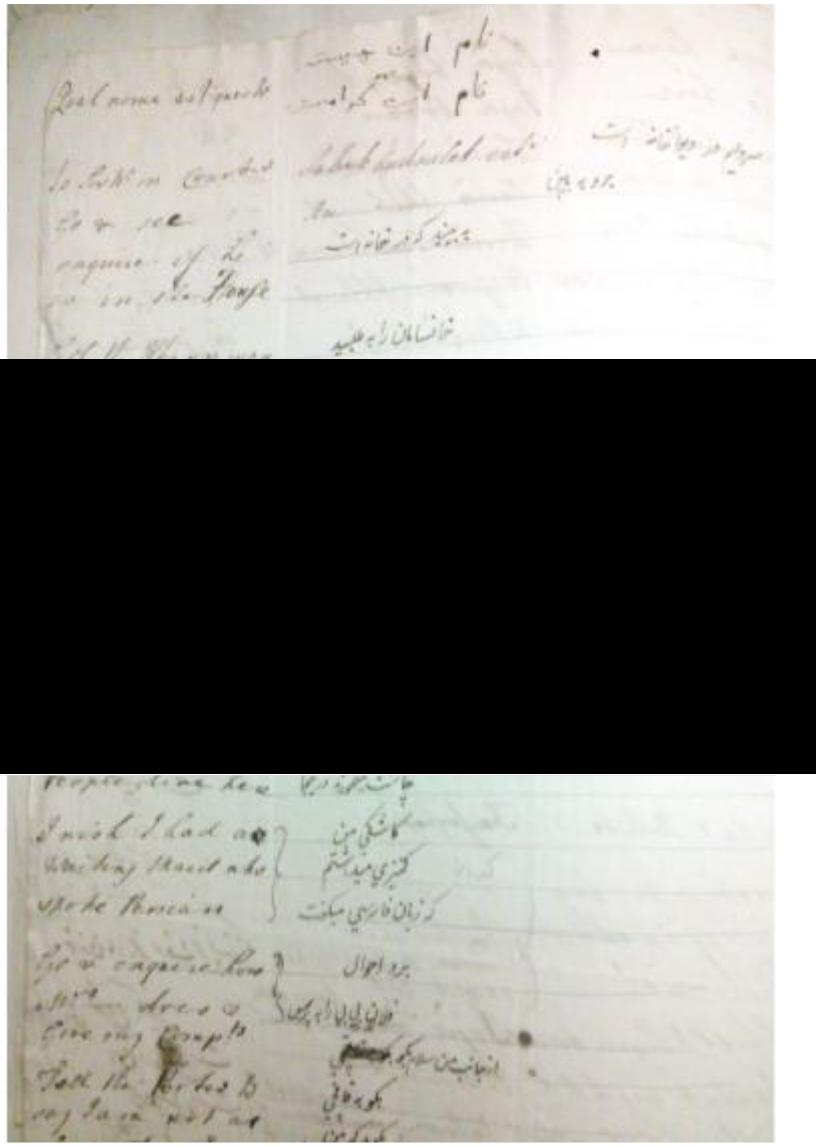

Illustration 8, BL, APAC, MSS Eur C. 274, f.38; daily used phrases in Persian and English translations.

On the top of the folio, we see 'Is Sir W in court … سر ولیم در دیوانخانه است' which indicates that the composition date of the folio is after 20 March 1783 when Jones was knighted. In addition, the folio contains Jones's Persian handwriting, نام این چیست or نام این کدامست meaning 'what is its name', which is significantly improved compared with phrases in many other folios of the collection. By comparing Jones's handwriting on the folio with his other Persian annotations on this set of folios, dated November 1785, it can be confirmed that Jones wrote the two Persian phrases sometime after that date. His passion for the Persian language and literature was still present at least about three years after his arrival to the subcontinent and is evident in his annotation at the bottom of the folio: he has separated a certain phrase 'I wish I had a waiting-maid who spoke Persian کاش من کنیزی میداشتم که زبان فارسی میگفت'. It should be pointed out here that there is another set of loose folios in the collection, which belongs to the time Jones was

learning Persian language in Britain; the examples mentioned previously, such as illustrations 5a, 5b, and 6 belong to this set. It is evident from his Persian handwriting and some grammatical errors Jones had made in the set that these folios belonged to when he started learning and practising Persian. The set is entitled 'Exercises and Institutes of Persian Grammar' and considering its place, in the MSS Eur. C 274, it can be confirmed that these folios are the earliest ones in the collection; the set predates the 'Persian Vocabulary Nov. 1785 autograph of Sir William Jones' and Jones's *Notebook* in which we see his improved Persian hand. However, the 'Exercises and Institutes of Persian Grammar' are far more intriguing than the 'Persian Vocabulary Nov. 1785 autograph of Sir William Jones' for several reasons: they are filled with his annotations not only regarding his Persian studies, but also his personal thoughts; in one case, a drawing which could be of his future wife, Anna Maria (Shipley) Jones (1748-1829).[73] In addition, while the 1785 set revolves around the Persian phrases Jones needed for his daily life in the Indian subcontinent and follows a certain system – on every folio, the scribe writes the Persian phrases and Jones translates or transliterates the phrase – the 'Exercises and Institutes of Persian Grammar' has no scribe nor any systematic approach. It consists of some folios in which Jones has focused on Persian syntax; however, the majority contains Jones's favourite texts – composed by Sufi poets such as Attar, Sadi, or Hafez – and his exercises of the language and translation through them.

By 1773, the *Grammar* was translated into German and reprinted twice in that language; by 1828, it had been reprinted nine times in English. The book's republication was due to the commercial need for a practical guide to the Persian language.[74] Jones's *Grammar* reviews and responses support its significance from a literary and linguistics perspective. As early as 1771, the *Grammar* influenced Orientalists to explore the languages of the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent; for example, Captain George Hadley's *Grammatical Remarks on the Practical and Vulgar Dialect of the Indostan Language: Commonly Called Moors. With a Vocabulary, English and Moors ... The Whole Calculated for the Common Practice in Bengal* (London, T. Cadell: 1772) and his later work *Introductory Grammatical Remarks on the Persian Language* (Bath, R. Cruttwell & G. Hadley: 1776). While Hadley hints towards using

[73] See illustration 6.
[74] Gernot L. Windfuhr, *Persian Grammar: History and State of Its Study*, (New York, NY, Mouton: 1979), 15.
Garland Cannon, *Sir William Jones: a Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources*, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1979), 11-3.

Jones as a model,[75] Nathaniel Brassey Halhed's *Grammar of the Bengal Language* (Bengal: Hooghly, 1778) praises Jones's *Grammar*.[76] Halhed, who like Jones had learnt Persian in Oxford, stated that '[B]y an adherence to his [Jones's] plan this language may be acquired so far as to open the way to conversation and short correspondence with the natives; after which the progress of knowledge will ever be proportionate to the affinity of the student.'[77] Although Halhed praised Jones's *Grammar* and emphasized the need for the British administrators to learn Persian, he also complained about the 'capital impediment' caused by the fact that the lingua franca of India is Hindustani – the language in which Hindus conduct their business and keep their accounts – while the summary of public business in India is kept in Persian.[78]

This capital impediment was the same reason Jones constantly emphasized learning Persian and occasionally Arabic rather than Indian languages, for it was those two languages that the Mughal emperors of India used. In fact, by the end of Akbar's reign in 1602, Persian became the language of fashion, diplomacy, and governmental administration.[79] Regarding Jones's stress on learning Arabic, it should be pointed out that it was that language that enabled him to help Edmund Burke in 1781-2, to prepare legislation that would have permitted Indians to be governed by their own laws and customs. It was Jones's command over Arabic which showcased his view of the use of language research. He enabled English judges to apply Islamic laws over Indian Muslims by translating a complex and rhymed legal tract. Intriguingly, in his *The Mahomedan Law of Succession to the Property of Intestates* (London, 1782), Jones applied the same scholarly teaching method as his *Grammar*: he presented an engraving of the Arabic text 'to habituate the student of Eastern languages to the reading of old Arabian manuscripts'[80] followed by a Roman transliteration based on the original principle 'so as to give every full sound its own specifick symbol' and then his translation of the text'.[81]

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[75] George Hadley, *Grammatical Remarks on the Practical and Current Dialect of the Jargon of Hindostan; with a Vocabulary (etc.*), (Cadel, 1784), 42.
George Hadley, *Introductory grammatical remarks on the Persian language, 1776* (Menston: Scolar Press, 1972), 49, & 189.
[76]Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, *A Grammar of the Bengal Language*, (Bengal: Hoogly, 1778), ix, xix, & xx.
[77] Halhed, *A Grammar of the Bengal Language,* xx.
[78] Halhed, *A Grammar of the Bengal Language*, xiv.
[79] David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969), 18.
[80] Jones, *The Works*, 8: 165.
[81] Jones, *The Works*, 8: 166.

In the same year of publishing his *Mahomedan Law of Succession to the Property of Intestates* (1782), Jones composed an essay entitled 'The Principles of Government' (1782).[82] The essay, through a dialogue between a Scholar and a Peasant, reminded the people that they had a legal right to bear arms, resist, and revolt against despotic royal power. In addition, the essay was printed and distributed by the Society for Constitutional Information: a British activist group founded in 1780 to promote parliamentary reform. Being campaigners for parliamentary reform and manhood suffrage, most members of the society were also opposed to the slave trade, and they promoted works such as Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* and other radical publications.[83] By publishing 'The Principles of Government', Jones portrayed his principles which were in line with the Society for Constitutional Information and anticipated the works of Thomas Paine and William Godwin: universal manhood suffrage, popular education, parliamentary reform, and co-operative association. The Society for Constitutional Information also published another composition of Jones, 'An Ode in Imitation of Alcæus' (1781):

> WHAT constitutes a State?
> ….men, high-minded men,
> …
> Men, who their duties know,
> But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain,
> Prevent the long-aimed blow,
> And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain:
> These constitute a State,
> …

The poem celebrates liberty: high-minded men know their rights, maintain them, and crush the tyrant while lamenting that Freedom no longer smiles on Britain. This prophetic image of a democratic state governing the rulers and citizens based on laws reappeared in a letter dated April 10, 1781, to Dr Samuel Parr, Jones's Greek classmate at Oxford; as Jones was printing a

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For more details on the work, see Hadi Baghaei-Abchooyeh, 'Sir William Jones', *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 12 Asia, Africa and the Americas (1700-1800)*, David Thomas, & John Chesworth (eds.), (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 560-73: 562-5.

[82] William Jones, *The Principles of Government*, (S.L.: The Society for Constitutional Information, 1782).

[83] Rory T. Cornish, 'Cartwright, John (1740–1824), political reformer.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (23 Sep. 2004), [https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4817].

copy of the poem for Parr, he described the poem as 'the last sigh of my departed hope for a renovation of our free Constitution'.[84] The poem itself also demonstrates his achievement in mediating a balance to maintain political ends by aesthetic means. Jones's 'An Ode in Imitation of Alcæus' and 'The Principles of Government' were frequently republished in America; his future brother-in-law William Shipley, dean of St Asaph, was amongst the people who were prosecuted for reprinting such 'seditious, treasonable, and diabolical' tracts composed by Jones [85] and others similar to him.

On March 17, 1782, since Jones was not able to see Burke, he sent a copy of *The Mahomedan Law of Succession to the Property of Intestates* to Burke with a letter.[86] After appreciating Burke for employing his 'humble pen, in drawing part of the bill for the further improvement of the English judicature in India', Jones complained to Burke about the fact that he had been waiting for a decision on his judgeship appointment in India for the past four years:

> I should still remain, like Homer's " Man in a Dream," pursuing without approaching and continue in a state of ruinous suspense, I shall certainly abandon all idea of the judgeship, and deep as ever plummet sounded, shall drown my Persian books…. my happiness depends on obtaining the appointment; … [the judgeship of Bengal] has very nearly been the golden apple which has made me lose the chase in my profession. … I should prefer that situation [becoming a Puisne judge] on account of the use which I could make in it, of Arabic and Persian, in explaining the Mahomedan law.

Jones's state of ruinous suspense was due to his radical compositions and speeches favouring universal suffrage and the American Revolution; such compositions, ideas, and speeches branded him as the 'Republican' Jones for many establishment figures.[87] In another letter dated January 27, 1783, Jones stated to Attorney General Lloyd Kenyon that his political ideas were founded on 'the true spirit of our constitution'; yet, he added: '[H]is Lordship may be assured that I am no more a republican than a Mahometan or a Gentoo'.[88] Intriguingly, in a Sufi context, this statement not only echoes a line from 'The Song of the Reed' by Rumi, which Jones translated and published in his essay 'On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and the Hindus'[89] in 1792: 'Each in my fond affections claim'd a part; But none discern'd the secret of my

[84] Jones, *The Letters*, 2: 466.
[85] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 2.
[86] *Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*, 2: 455.
[87] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 4.
[88] Jones, *The Letters*, 2: 601.
[89] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 211-36; the essay will be examined in detail in the third chapter of this thesis.

heart.'[90] But also, it resembles Amir Khosrow's following quatrain which Jones had written on his personal copy of Nezami's *The Treasury of Mysteries*:[91]

> If I am an infidel, fire or idol worshipper, I am! If I am a rend,[92] or a wanderer, I am!
>
> Different tribes have different assumptions of me; only my beloved and I know what I am! [93]

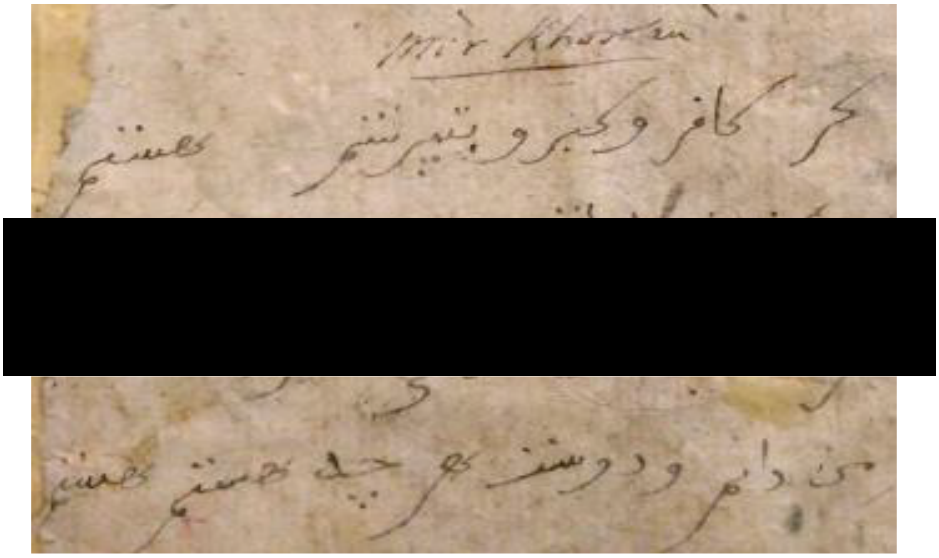

Illustration 9, BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. I; recitation of a quatrain Jones believed to be Amir Khosrow's.

In another instance similar to his letter to Lloyd Kenyon, on 4 September 1787, Jones wrote to Second Earl Spencer: 'I am no Hindu, but I hold the doctrine of the Hindus concerning a future state to be incomparably more rational, pious, and more likely to deter men from vice, than the horrid opinions inculcated by Christians on punishments without end.'[94] Some questions arise by juxtaposing Jones's letters and his annotations of Amir Khosrow's quatrain; what Jones

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[90] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 230.

[91] The work, Jones's manuscript, and his annotations in the manuscript will be analysed in the fifth chapter of this thesis, entitled: 'The Majnun of India: Sir William Jones's Annotations on Nezami's *Treasury of Mysteries*'.

[92] The term in Sufi literature signifies a witty trickster Sufi.

[93] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. i:

گر کافر و گبر و بت پرستم هستم
گر رند خراباتی هستم هستم
هر طایفه به من گمانی دارد
من دانم و دوست هر چه هستم هستم

gar kāfar o gabr o bot parastam hastam
gar rend kharābāti hastam hastam
har tāyefe be man gomāni dārad
man dānam v dōst har che hastam hastam

[94] Jones, *The Letters*, 2: 766.

truly was and what he believed in? Are we interpreting his English statements as him taking a page out of his beloved Sufi poets and being a *rend*?[95] Indeed, he was not a Muslim or a Hindu; he also stated that he was not a Republican; yet, his compositions and deeds significantly favoured Muslims, Hindus, and the eighteenth-century American republicans.

Jones's state of long suspense was eventually ended when he became appointed puisne judge to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Calcutta on 4 March 1783. He was knighted sixteen days after, on 20 March, and in April 1783, he married Anna Maria Shipley. One of the folios in the collection, please see illustration 3, records Jones's celebration of the events. He utilized Hafez to express his love to Anna Maria:

مگر دیوانه خواهم شد

که در عشق تو شب تا روز

سخن با ماه میگویم

پری در خواب میبینم

Jones's recitation of Hafez translates to:

> Perhaps I shall be mad, for day and night in thy love
>
> I speak with the moon; I see fairies in sleep [my dreams].

Directly below Hafez's line, Jones has written an anticipatory remark امسال شما در هندوستان خواهید رفت *emsāl shomā dar hendōstān khāhid raft*, 'This year, you shall go in India' which is followed by انشاالله تعالی *enshāllāh ta'ālā*, 'Allah Almighty Willing'. It is noteworthy to state that the seven lines of Persian that appear underneath 'Allah Almighty Willing' are Jones's Persian translation of the well-known Christian 'The Lord's Prayer'. The folio signifies Jones's affinity with Hafez's poetry, his fondness for the exotic languages, philosophies, and cultures and his pluralistic views that intertwined Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism. Furthermore, the folio demonstrates one of the significant trends of Jones's annotations: the first line of Hafez's original verse is 'Perhaps I shall be mad, for day and night in this madness...'[96] Jones used to

[95] The term in Sufi literature signifies a witty Sufi trickster.

[96] Hafez, *Divan*, 365:

مگر دیوانه خواهم شد در این سودا که شب تا روز

magar divāneh khāham shod dar in sodā ke shab tā sobh

alter the texts he was working on to make them more fitting for the situation he had; in this case, the text was changed in order to explain Jones's intense love for Anna Maria.[97]

Sir William Jones and India

On his long voyage to Calcutta, Jones recorded his thoughts, feelings, and views of Asia; travelling on the seas, having 'India before him, Persia on his left with the breeze from Arabia below nearly on his stern', Jones wrote:

> It gave me inexpressible pleasure to find myself in the midst of so noble an amphitheater, almost encircled by the vast regions of Asia, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions of men.[98]

Enthusiastic about cultivating Oriental knowledge, Jones was also reflecting on his means of cultivation: 'I have ever considered languages as the mere instruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itself: the attainment of them is, however, indispensably necessary.'[99] On December 4, 1783, the influential *European Magazine* foretold the fruits of Jones's efforts in India:

> His residence in that country may be considered as fortunate for the advancement of knowledge. There he will have an opportunity of enquiring, with great advantage, into the manners, customs, and literature of the Asiatic nations: and the humanity of his disposition will, in proportion to the sphere of his authority and influence, be a blessing to the natives of Indostan.[100]

In a vast geographical expanse such as India which was little known by the scholarly world, Jones's singular dynamic attempts of learning knowledge would have proven inadequate; a comprehensive investigation could have only been implemented through a systematic and well-coordinated formal research organization. Therefore, in Calcutta, he sought and found several British scholars who were familiar with the languages of the Indian subcontinent and shared the mutual interest of having a research body to facilitate their efforts. Amongst the people Jones had found were Governor-General Warren Hastings, Francis Gladwin, Richard Johnson,

[97] Other examples of Jones's alterations will be discussed throughout this thesis.
[98] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 2.
[99] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 7.
[100] *European Magazine*, (London: Philological Society of London, 4 December 1783), 4: 445.

Dr Francis Balfour, Sir Robert Chambers and his brother William, John David Paterson, and Charles Wilkins. On 15 January 1784, Jones and twenty-nine others formed the Asiatic Society.[101] Jones presented twenty-seven visionary and pragmatical essays, far more than any other member, to the Society over the next decade; after the publication of the essays in his *Works* they were also published separately on *Asiatick Researches or transactions of the Society, instituted in Bengal for inquiring into the history and antiquities, the arts, sciences, and literature of Asia* (1788).[102] In the following few pages, I will investigate the first three Discourses – 'Discourse I Delivered February 24, 1784',[103] 'Discourse II Delivered February 24, 1785',[104] and 'Discourse III Delivered February 2, 1786'[105] – as chronologically speaking, they coincide with some of the material available in the MSS Eur. C 274; particularly with the *Notebook* and some of the loose folios dated November 1785.

The first Discourse revolves around the 'Importance of Asia in the history of mankind – Advantages to be derived from cultivating its history, antiquities, &c.– for the foundation of the Society's objects and future views.' It was delivered to the Society on February 24, 1784, about a month after its foundation. Jones began his Discourse by mentioning the time he was journeying from Britain to India, had his first encounter with an Arab ruler in Mozambique, and perhaps was nurturing the idea of establishing a body to explore the East systematically. The pleasing situation of having India before him, Persia to his left whilst a breeze from Arabia blew nearly on his stern, took place shortly after the newly-wed Joneses had just left their stop in Anjouan on their passage to India. Positioned on an international trade route between southern Arabia and Western India, Anjouan was home to Arabs, Africans, Creoles, Malayo-Indonesians, and Iranians. The island enabled Jones to experience Eastern cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity. Jones enjoyed conversing with the inhabitants of Anjouan; he visited his first mosque in the island; the natives were impressed by seeing him taking part in the Islamic tradition of reciting Arabic prayers as entering the mosque: at the mosque's door, Jones read out the Arabic moral sentences engraved on the gateway 'signifying that the world was given us for our own edification, not for the purpose of raising sumptuous buildings; life, for the

[101] More on the gathering will be discussed in the third chapter of this thesis.
[102] *Asiatick Researches : or, transactions of the Society, instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the history and antiquities, the arts, sciences, and literature,* (Calcutta: Asiatick Society, 1788).
[103] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 1-10.
[104] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 11-24.
[105] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 25-47.

discharge of moral and religious duties, not for pleasurable indulgences; wealth, to be liberally bestowed, not avariciously hoarded; and learning, to produce good actions, not empty disputes'.[106] As part of the cultural exchange, Jones presented a *Quran* to the ruler, Shaikh Ahmed; in return, the Arab ruler offered him a little African boy. Shocked by the return offer, Jones presented the Shaikh with an anti-slavery lecture. Although Mohammad was against slavery,[107] the Muslim rulers of Anjouan justified slavery by arguing that'[I]f we buy them, they will live: if they become valuable servants, they will live comfortably; but, if they are not sold, they must die miserably'.[108] To this, Jones responded, 'There may be such cases; but you fallaciously draw a general conclusion from a few particular instances; and this is the very fallacy, which, on a thousand other occasions, deludes mankind. It is not to be doubted, that a constant and gainful traffick in human creatures foments war, in which captives are always made, and keeps up that perpetual enmity.'[109] When Jones's ship set course to India, the Shaikh saluted him with a single cannon to which, Jones waved his hat and said Allah Akbar![110]

In the first Discourse, Jones points out the core objectives of the Society: to inquire 'into the History and Antiquities, the Natural Productions, Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia'.[111] Therefore, the Society inquired into the history of Asia by investigating whatever is rare within the fabric of nature and by tracing the various traditions, forms of government, civil institutions and religions of Asia.[112] By inquiring into Asiatic history, the Society sought to 'correct the geography of Asia' and depicted a better vision of the continent for the West. Such a detailed portrayal of Asia would have helped Europe to improve its forms of government and civil institutions. Regarding the Asiatic sciences, Jones stated that the Society should examine the improvements and methods of Asia in arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, mensuration, mechanics, optics, astronomy, and general physics; furthermore, the Society investigated the systems of grammar, morality, logic, and rhetoric of the East as well as the Eastern surgery, medicine, anatomy, and chemistry in addition to agriculture, manufactures, and trade. Regarding the Society's inquiry to Asian art, it aimed to investigate music, architecture,

[106] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 274.
[107] This will be discussed in the third chapter; whilst exploring Jones's annotations on Rumi's *Masnavi*.
[108] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 290.
[109] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 290.
[110] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 306.
[111] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 3.
[112] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 6.

painting, and poetry in addition to any type of 'inferior arts by which the comforts, and even elegancies of social life are supplied or improved.'[113]

By this time in his life, Jones was aware of the significance of languages in order to be able to conduct such researches and presenting the Oriental values into European culture; previously, he had mentioned that the immediatae objective of education is 'to learn the languages of celebrated nations both ancient and modern.'[114] Yet, it is in this Discourse which he presents, perhaps the first, modern definition of language as a tool of communication:

> I have ever considered languages as the mere instruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itself: the attainment of them is, however, indispensably necessary.

As he praised God in the manner of Muslims while leaving Anjouan, Jones closed the Discourse by a *Nazr* or Islamic offering; he offered the seemingly pleasing or valuable fruits and flowers of his researches as a 'humble Nezr to the Society with as much respectful zeal as to the greatest potentate on earth.'[115] The first Discourse and the gathering of the Asiatic Society will be investigated in detail later in the second chapter of this thesis.

The Oriental knowledge which was to be extracted by the Society was aimed to adjust Western thought; yet, there was another socio-political dimension to this process. At the end of his *Grammar*, Jones compiled 'A Catalogue of the Most Valuable Books in the Persian Language';[116] other than sections designated to philosophy and poetry, the catalogue contained a section on historical books written in Persian. In the history section, Jones stressed the significance of a text called the *Ain-e Akbari* (1590); it contained 'a full account of every province and city in the dominions of the Mogul [Akbar], of his revenues and expenses, both in peace and war, and of all the customs and ceremonies in his palace; together with a description of the natural productions of his empire'.[117] Francis Gladwin, a Persian translator at the time and a future Society member, tells of Jones's 'high encomiums' to Warren Hastings, who sought to restore the Indian government under 'the original constitution of the Moghul

[113] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 6-7.
[114] Jones, *The Works*, 1:154:8, 155-6.
[115] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 9.
[116] Jones, *A Grammar*, 137-46.
[117] Jones, *A Grammar*, 138.

Empire'.[118] Hastings commissioned Gladwin to produce a translation of the text, and the first volume of *Ayeen Akbery, or, The Institutes of the Emperor Akbar* (3vols, Calcutta, 1783-6) was published as Jones arrived in India. Hastings had a novel analysis of the socio-political climate of eighteenth-century India, which was to some extent facilitated by Jones. In order to administer the vast subcontinent, Hastings believed Oriental knowledge and information would be more practical than using military force. Therefore, he introduced Orientalist government policies that would establish the British sovereignty in India as it was exercised in the manners of the natives; such policies required all available sources of information and knowledge of India. Consequently, to increase his understanding of the subcontinent and all its complexities, Hastings promoted the production of Orientalist knowledge; if he was to inherit the syncretic mantle of the preceding Mughals, such as Akbar (1556– 1605), it was essential for him to understand the Hindu and Mughal traditions. Akbar was a fierce warrior and the modernizing consolidator of the Mughals, yet at the same time, he was also a polymathic talent and a patron who supported Hindus and Muslims to work side by side, not only in battles but also in his court and ateliers. The red sandstone buildings, which cluster at the centre of his capital, Fatehpur Sikri, are standing monuments of Sufi pluralism: Perso-Islamic architecture built by Bengali and Gujarati architects.[119] In many respects, Akbar represented a symbol of syncretic and enlightened Mughal government with which Hastings sought to identify his British Indian despotism. Many Indians, both Hindus and Muslims, appreciated their legal and religious traditions being respected by the British in the tradition of Akbar. Hastings's Orientalist government policies, that Indians should be governed by their own laws, encouraged reconciliation in the subcontinent. The Asiatic Society was Jones's attempt to institutionalize Hastings's view on Oriental knowledge and its significance in the socio-political climate of the time. In a letter, dated 9 December 1784, Hastings wrote to John Scott (1751-1838), Lord Chancellor Eldon, that the production of such knowledge would not only free Company servants from accusations of 'moral turpitude' but also 'free the inhabitants of this country from the reproach of ignorance and barbarism' and consequently reconcile Indians with their imperial masters.[120] However, taking the Oriental knowledge from its original sources was a

[118] Francis Gladwin, 'Minutes of the Honourable the Governor General on the Intended Publication of a Translation of Ayeen Akberry by Mr. Francis Gladwin', *Ayeen Akbery, or, The Institutes of the Emperor Akbar,* (London: G Auld, 1800), xiii.
[119] For more information see Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi, 'Iranian Influence on Medieval Indian Architecture', *The Growth of Civilizations in India and Iran*, (London: Anthem Press, 2002), 127-49.
[120] BL, Add. MSS. 29, 129, f. 275.

significant difference between Jones's method and earlier British writers on India, such as Alexander Dow (1735-1779) or Zephaniah Holwell (1771-1798), who had relied on Persian translations and other secondary sources.[121] Jones expected much from 'learned natives, whether lawyers, physicians, or private scholars' and was quite eager to have researches submitted to the Society; therefore, he suggested an annual award of a medal inscribed in Persian and Sanskrit to the author of the best paper. Jones advised a notice to be printed in both Persian and Hindi to state the purposes of the Asiatic Society and encourage the natives 'to bring their latent science […] in a style accommodated to their own habits and prejudices'[122]. The Society's research programmes initiated a new scheme of ethical, cultural, and scholarly standards, which would have compensated for the colonial theft of the previous generation of the British in India. Just as the Society was to represent Indians to Europeans, it was to represent Europeans to the natives of the subcontinent.

The second Discourse presented before the Society on February 24, 1785, reflects 'on the history, laws, manners, arts, and antiquities of Asia' and provides a comparative research 'between the works and actions of the Western and Eastern world.'[123] By this time, the Society was displaying every sign 'of a healthy and robust constitution':[124] even though some of its members – including Hastings, Halhed, and Wilkins – had to leave India, the society's progress had far exceeded Jones's expectations; Jones, the Society's president, on the other hand, was in poor health and needed frequent recourse to physicians. Jones encouraged his fellow members to consult Sanskrit books; such researches would promote learning the language and saving the manuscripts in which the texts were held, despite 'a want of powerful invitation to study' Sanskrit.[125] However, despite the rationality of Indian medicine, Jones infamously declares: '[R]eason and taste are the grand prerogatives of European minds, while the Asiaticks have soared to loftier heights in the sphere of imagination.'[126] Yet, Jones's studies in Oriental materia medica was soon to make him abandon the simplistic Orient-Occident dualism. In the second Discourse, Jones stated that 'we can expect nothing so important from the works of Hindu or Muselman physicians, as the knowledge, which experience must have given them, of

[121] Peter Marshall, *The British Discovery of Hinduism in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 5-6.
[122] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 22.
[123] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 13.
[124] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 10.
[125] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 14.
[126] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 13.

simple medicines'; [127] whilst discussing the *Notebook*, we will see that he was to discover influential physicians such as Avicenna (980-1037) soon. Jones closed the second Discourse with a fascinating remark:

> Mahomedans have not only the permission, but the positive command of their law giver, to search for learning even in the remotest parts of the globe. It were superfluous to suggest, with how much correctness and facility their compositions might be translated for use, since their languages are now more generally and perfectly understood than they have been by any nation of Europe. [128]

In the first sentence of this extract, Jones does not directly mention who the law-givers of the Mohamedans are; yet, one of the apparent nominees is Mohammad, who had over forty *Hadiths* [traditions relating to Muhammad] encouraging his followers to search for knowledge. Intriguingly, one of those forty *Hadiths* is similar to the one Jones has quoted here: 'If knowledge was hung on the rich of the Pleiades, it would be reached by some of the Persians.'[129] Initially, Jones's remark demonstrates his exceptional understanding of Islamic traditions; yet, should we juxtapose the *Hadith* and Jones's remark, it could be asserted that Jones's understanding of a 'Mahomedan' is to some extent different from, or perhaps more accurate than, today's Western understanding of Muslims. In the eighteenth century, Jones understood that the Orient was ethnically, racially, and culturally diverse; its various religions also are as diverse as its people. However, after his arrival to India, in most cases, when Jones mentions a 'Mahomedan', he is, in fact, referring to Indo-Iranian Persian speakers who were followers of Mohammad. This is also due to the fact that he was in India and primarily dealt with such Muslims. The latter part of the same extract, on one level, points out the efforts of the European scholars, who, similar to Jones, understood such diversity and tried to educate the Europeans on the languages of Asia; on another level, it reiterates the significance of the vast knowledge which could have been gained from Oriental texts.

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[127] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 15.
[128] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 22.
[129] *An Introduction to Ibn Khaldun*, Mohammad Parvin Gonabadi (trans), (Tehran: The Translation and Publication Company, 1949), 2: 1148-52: 1148:
لوكان العلم معلّقا بالثّريّا لتناوله قوم من أبناء فارس

Sir William Jones and Sanskrit

Hastings managed to shift the official policy of the English administration to rule Hindus according to Hindu laws; however, such laws were written in Sanskrit manuscripts. Consequently, an English digest of the Hindu laws was needed since some of the Sanskrit legal texts were not translated into Persian, and those which were translated were unreliable. Preferring to continue to work with Persian, Jones hoped that Wilkins would do the needed work; in a letter dated April 24, 1784, Jones wrote to Wilkins that he had no intention of learning Sanskrit, but as he needed assistance with it, Jones would rely on Wilkins; yet, things were about to change soon, on 7 February 1785 Hastings sailed from Bengal and Wilkins left India for England in 1786. Consequently, it became Jones's new task to adjust the metropolitan perceptions of the Orient and its new Orientalist regime. As Jones became unable to secure Wilkins's help in Sanskrit, he began studying the language in 1786. Jones had to persuade Europe that when the European overlords lived in thatched huts, the Orient had advanced civilization and sophisticated culture. Jones was not only aware of Iran and India's syncretic and vibrant traditions of religious and cultural pluralism;[130] but also he had realized that the Orient had much to teach its latest invaders. However, there were a few problems, most texts covering the ancient history in the Persian language – for example, Old Persian, which was used between 730-300 BCE and Middle Persian, which was used between from 224 BCE to 651 AD – had been lost over time. Furthermore, by the eighteenth century, both Old and Middle Persian were not majorly used by the people for twelve centuries. Nevertheless, Old and Middle Persian's ancient sibling, Sanskrit, was accessible in eighteenth-century India and vastly used to convey Hindu knowledge. Even though Sanskrit was in Jones's grasp, learning it was not an easy task as there were only a few Sanskritic scholars in Calcutta before the nineteenth–century who would be willing to teach the language to the British.[131] Jones was not the first foreign scholar who faced this, about eight centuries before, Abū Reyḥān Birūni (973-1048), the Persian polymath and arguably the very first Indologist, recorded in his *History of India* (1017):

> They [the Hindu's] call them [the foreigners] *melecchа*, i.e. impure, arid forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship or by

[130] Various instances of Jones's work on such traditions would be discussed in the third and fourth chapter of this thesis.

[131] Kapil Raj, 'Mapping Knowledge Go-Betweens in Calcutta, 1770–1820', in *The brokered world: Go-betweens and global intelligence, 1770-1820*, Simon Schaffer (ed.), (Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications, 2009), 105-150: 143.

> sitting, eating and drinking with them because, thereby, they think, they would be polluted.[132]

It took centuries of pluralistic and syncretic governments, such as Akbar's, to establish familiarity and connection between Muslims and Hindus in the subcontinent to facilitate their cooperation. As mentioned previously, Hastings took such pluralistic and syncretic regimes as a model to make the natives and the British cooperate. Hence, when Sanskrit scholars such as Rādhākānta Sarman were presented to the governor-general, Hastings purchased land for them and yielded a decent annual revenue to them. In the case of Rādhākānta, this patronage resulted in 'one of the most significant collaborations between the Sanskritic literati and the British: the composition in Sanskrit of the *Purānārthaprakāsha* (a digest of Indian antiquities) and the supervision of its translation into Persian, which became one of Jones's primary sources for Hindu chronology.'[133] Jones was inspired to learn Sanskrit as a judge rather than as a lover of Hindu literature;[134] his reasons for learning Sanskrit were pragmatical matters, especially concerning his mistrust of some court pandits. Other than being able to represent India more accurately to Europe, learning Sanskrit would facilitate him in working with Indian scholars in order to compose a digest of Hindu law; such a digest would not only have been beneficial to Hastings's vision of Indians being governed by their own laws, but also it would legitimize British rule in the subcontinent by recovering the native traditions. Furthermore, knowing Sanskrit would help in the judiciary courts by making him independent of court pandits and their interpretations of the law; in fact, it was in the quest of the same independence, from Muslim law interpreters, that he composed *The Mahomedan Law of Succession to the Property of Intestates* (1782).[135]

Ramalocana, similar to other Hindu scholars, was reluctant to teach the 'language of the gods' to a *melecchа*; hence, Jones had to go under strict purification rules of *varna dharma*; their lessons took place in a separate room which was floored with white marble and cleansed only with the water of the Ganges. Maulana Abdul Haq Vidyarthi (1888–1977) recounts Jones's purification: 'Sir William was to receive instruction on an empty stomach; but

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[132] Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, *Ancient India*, (Benares: Motilal Banarsidass Publications, 1977), 499-500.
[133] Kapil Raj,'Mapping Knowledge Go-Betweens in Calcutta, 1770–1820', 105-150: 143.
[134] Franklin, '*Orientalist Jones'*, 34.
[135] Muḥammad ibn Ali, 'The Mahomedan Law of Succession to the Property of Intestates: In Arabick, engraved on copper plates from an ancient manuscript, with a verbal translation and explanatory notes', Jones, *The Works*, 8:161-99: 165.

occasionally when he humbly implored the pandit, he was allowed to take a cup of tea.'[136] Jones, on the other hand, referred to his strict teacher as 'a pleasant old man';[137] it could be argued that Jones's description of such a strict teacher was due to his previous lessons from Persian literature:

> A King sent his son to a school with silver tablets on the boy's lap.
>
> With gold inscribed on the tablets, "The severity of a teacher is better than a father's love".[138]

Less than a few months after beginning to study the new language, Jones made his famous announcement:

> The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious [having a large vocabulary] than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of the verbs and in the forms of the grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists; there is a similar reason ... for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic ... had the same origin with the Sanskrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family.[139]

As evident in Jones's dramatic statement, he analysed data from a vast number of languages based on derivation, rather than etymology, from one another.[140] In addition, similar to his study of Arabic and Persian, Jones used primary sources for his research on Sanskrit whenever possible. The statement on the Sanskrit language and his laborious attempt at learning it have led most researchers of Jones to conclude that his love of the Persian language and literature faded soon after he visited the Indian subcontinent and started to learn Sanskrit. Garland Cannon, for example, stated: 'the colonial situation soon forced Jones to shift his language focus and ultimately his preference.'[141] However, a close examination of the 'Third Discourse on the Hindus', in which the statement on Sanskrit is available, might prove that not only his

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[136] Abdul Haque Vidyarthi, *Mohammad in World Scriptures*, (Lahore: Dar-ul-Kutub Islamia, 1940), 11.
[137] Bodleian MS Sansk: C .34 Vopade ´va, *Mugdhabodha*, f. xiii.
[138] Mosleh Ibn Abdollah Sadi, *The Complete Text of Sadi*, Mohammad Ali Foroughi (ed.), (Tehran: Hermes, 2006), 244.
[139] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 34.
[140] Hans Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 115-161.
[141]Garland Cannon, 'Sir William Jones, Persian, Sanskrit and the Asiatic Society', 88.

preference did not change, but also the influence of Persian literature and philosophy on Indian literature encouraged Jones to learn the language; just as Sadi encouraged him to bear with the pleasant old man's severity.

The 'Third Discourse' was presented to the Society on February 2, 1786; as mentioned previously, many of Jones's Orientalist colleagues were soon to leave India and consequently, representing the Orient to Europe was entrusted to him. Therefore, he provided 'a series of short dissertations, unconnected in their titles and subjects, but all tending to a common point of no small importance in the pursuit of interesting truths.'[142] In the third Discourse, Jones outlines a plan for his upcoming discourses to investigate 'The five principal nations, who have in different ages divided among themselves, as a kind of inheritance, the vast continent of Asia':[143] the Indians, the Chinese, the Tartars, the Arabs, and the Persians. In each of these five essays, Jones not only explores their origins, connections, diversity, and culture, but also, most importantly, 'what advantage a more perfect knowledge of them all may bring to our European world'; the dissertations began with India not because Jones found 'it the true centre of population or of knowledge, but because it is the country now inhabit and from which we may the regions around us'.[144] After defining India to the Westerners as a land almost as large as all Europe, a space in which the 'religion and languages of the Hindus prevail … and in which the Nagari letters[145] are still used',[146] Jones introduced the fields in which he aimed to investigate Asia:

> [F]our general media of satisfying our curiosity concerning it; namely, first, their Languages and Letters; secondly, their Philosophy and Religion; thirdly, the actual remains of their old Sculpture and Architecture; and fourthly, the written memorials of their Sciences and Arts.[147]

It is in the first section, on the language of India, which the readers will find the most remarkable statement of Jones; I should point out here that just as Jones's *Grammar* emphasises the similarity and connections of Persian and European languages, the Sanskrit statement could be interpreted as him connecting the language of the subcontinent to its Western siblings.

[142] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 24-5.
[143] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 27.
[144] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 27-8.
[145] The *Nāgarī* script, known as the ancestor of the Devanagari script, was the earliest script used in writing Prakrit and Sanskrit.
[146] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 29.
[147] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 32.

However, his most fascinating argument in the essay appears during the parts in which he introduces the philosophy of the subcontinent to Europe. Jones seeks to find common ground between the Hindu philosophy and other schools of philosophy; therefore, he asserts that it is not

> possible to read the Vedanta, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of India. The Scythian and Hyperborean doctrines and mythology may also be traced in every part of these eastern regions Wod, or Oden, whose religion, as the northern historians admit, was introduced into Scandinavia by a foreign race, was the same with Buddha, whose rites were probably imported into India nearly at the same time, though received much later by the Chinese, who soften his name into FO.[148]

The argument is further elaborated on with Jones relating Buddha, 'the ninth great incarnation of Vishnu', to Krishna 'the Indian Apollo'. Then Jones asserts that he 'cannot but agree that one great spring and fountain of all idolatry, in the four quarters of the globe, was the veneration paid by men to the vast body of fire which 'looks from his sole dominion like the God of this world.'[149] With this assertion, the influence of Persian philosophy and Sufi ideology, particularly the *vahdat-e vojōd* or 'the Unity of Existence/Being', appears in the third Discourse. The Unity of Being, its influence on the subcontinent, and its traces in Jones's writings will be the central theme of the fourth chapter of this thesis. I should, however, mention it briefly here, it was this particular belief that interpreted the Hindu idolatry as a monotheistic practice and consequently promoted harmony and peace between the Hindus and Muslims. Furthermore, the Mughal rulers whom Hastings and Jones respected, for example, Akbar, openly promoted the Unity of Being. As we will see in the second chapter, when discussing Jones's *Notebook*, Jones was exposed to this particular perspective on idolatry through Persian Sufi poetry, including quatrains of Sufi poets such as Amir Khosrow.

There are other instances of Persian mediation available in the third Discourse. For example, while Jones is mentioning the most beautiful 'fables of Vishnuserman, whom we ridiculously call Pilpay', he points out that they were first translated from the Sanskrit 'by the order of Buzerchumihr, the Vezir, of the great Anushirevan';[150] this is the same king and vazir

[148] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 37.
[149] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 40.
[150] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 45.

[151] Jones refers to in his *Grammar* and 'On the Poetry of the Eastern nations' (1772).[152] Pages later, Jones introduces the *Purana* to Europe: '[t]heir Purana comprise a series of mythological Histories, in blank verse, from the Creation to the supposed incarnation of Buddha.'[153] Jones's research source for such description is available in the British Library's Royal Society Persian and Arabic manuscripts, catalogued as RSPA; the manuscripts RSPA 73-7 are all, respectively, Persian translations of *Bhagavata Purana*, *Ramayana*, *Arjen Gitā*, and *Shiva Purana*. In these Persian manuscripts, we occasionally see Jones practising his Sanskrit, in *Arjen Gitā*, we see his annotations which indicates his research on Hindu mythology; please see illustration below:[154]

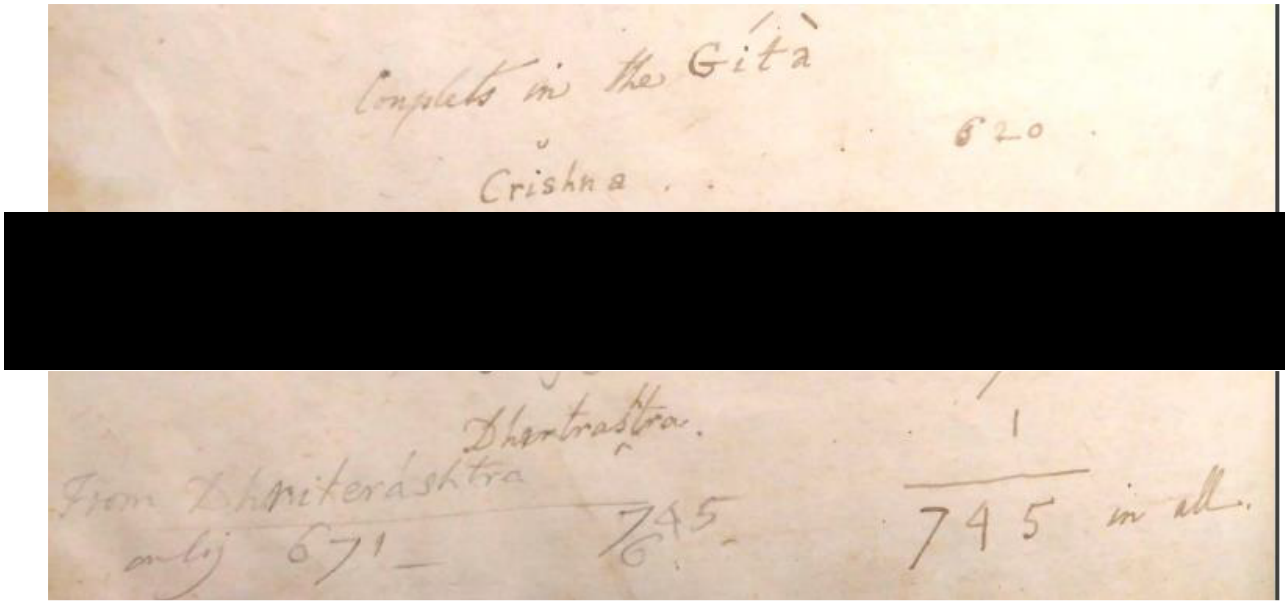

Illustration 10, BL, APAC, RSPA 76, f. 34; Jones's notes on Hindu mythology.

Other evidence suggests that Jones searched for sources to investigate the Asiatic antiquity regardless of their languages. For example, Jones's knowledge of Middle Persian, also known as Pahlavi, was not as much as Persian, Arabic, or Sanskrit; however, there is a letter available in Fales Library addressed to Jones in Persian, which proves he was also looking into Pahlavi, or Middle Persian, sources. Please see the illustration below:

[151] *Vazir* is a high-ranking political advisor or minister in the Middle East.
[152] Jones, *Poems*, 'On the poetry of the Eastern nations', 173-199: 194.
[153] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 44.
[154] BL, APAC, RSPA 76, f. 34.

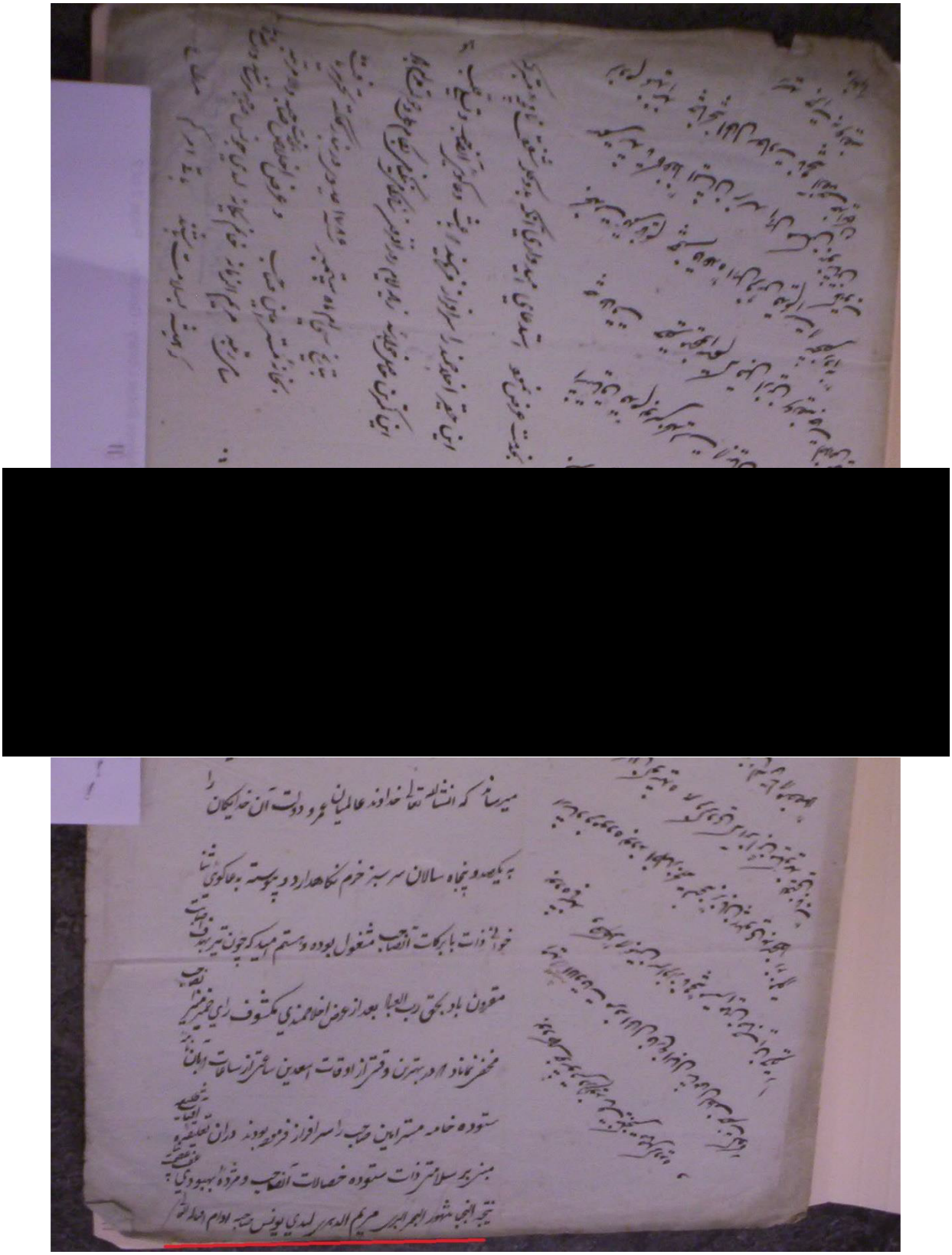

Illustration 11, Jones MSS: 2: 2; a letter from a scribe to Jones.

Dated 30 September 1786, the letter is from an unknown scribe working in Joseph Emin's (1726-1809) publishing house in Calcutta; it informs Jones that he does not have enough paper

to write the Pahlavi work which Jones commissioned him to write.[155] Although the scribe and the name of the Pahlavi work are not available in the letter, other than pointing out Jones's interest in a Pahlavi text, there is another fascinating point in the letter. It is a customary feature of Persian culture to finish a conversation or a letter by sending regards to the family of one another; it is pretty common to say or hear 'say hello to your family from me'. At the end of the letter, underlined with red in the bottom of the illustration, the scribe states in Persian عرض اخلاص بخدمت صاحب والامرتبه سامی رتبه مریم الزمانه خانم یگانه لیدی جونس صاحب رسانند 'please offer my piety in service, to that high ranked Mary of the Ages, the unique lady Jones.' Initially, I was under the impression that the scribe is referring to lady Jones as the 'Mary of the Ages' due to her name, Anna Maria, as well as the fact that Jones and his lady were Christians and Saint Mary shares a high stature both in Islam and in Christianity. However, there is another layer in this fine simile: should we consider the Mughal Indian context of the name, the term مریم الزمان *Maryam-oz-Zamān,* 'Mary of the Age' refers to the Hindu-Rajput princess (1542 –1623) who was Akbar's wife and Jahangir's (1569-1627) mother. Although the name she was given at birth is unknown, it is established that her marriage to Akbar was the source of Akbar's gradual shift in his religious and social policy; in fact, she exemplifies 'Akbar's and the Mughal's tolerance of religious differences and their inclusive policies within an expanding multi-ethnic and multi-denominational empire.'[156] Needless to say, if Anna Maria was referred to with the title of Akbar's wife, in the eyes of the scribe, Jones would not have been short of Akbar's stature.

In the same year as the Pahlavi-letter, 1786, Jones developed a Jonesian System of transliteration, expanding his original transliteration scheme to transcribe Persian in Roman orthography. This was because the existing transliteration schemes could not provide accurate and consistent transcriptions that were close to the actual pronunciation. In addition, different systems were providing different spellings of a word that were so varied that a single word would have been interpreted as two or more different ones. Jones's 'A Dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatick Words in Roman Letters'[157] contained Isfahani Persian, spoken in Iran, as well as Indian Persian. Other than presenting a refined and practical early International Phonetic Alphabet, the dissertation hints towards Jones's focus on mainland Iran and his

[155] New York, Fales Library, MSS 301, 2: 2 (Box 2 folder 2).
[156] Bonnie G. Smith, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1:656.
[157] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 253-318.

passion for the language spoken on the land. In addition to Jones's correspondence and his works in 1786, the Society Manuscript Proceedings [158] portray him strongly encouraging both Persian and Sanskrit. With the help of his Persian informant, who accompanied him even on vacations, Jones translated some of Nezami's significant works as a reading exercise. The translations were entitled 'Tales and fables by Nizami' and were published in Gladwin's *Asiatick Miscellany* [159] in 1786. Jones's advertisement of his translation reflects his language-teaching purposes as well as his love of Persian language, culture, and arts in their native form:

> In the translation of following fables, not only every attempt at elegance, but even the idiom of language and the usual position of our words, have been designedly sacrificed to scrupulous fidelity: the translator disapproves in general of such literal versions; but they are certainly useful to beginners. Those, who understand Persian, have need of any translation: those, who are learning it, will be assisted by a verbal one; however, inelegant; and those, who neither know nor intend to learn it, are at liberty, indeed, to say what they please of the images and sentiments, which such a preserves, but have no right to give an opinion of the original composition.[160]

Overall, it would be naive to consider Jones, who knew twenty-eight languages, choosing one language over the other. As it will be established in the fourth chapter, governmental administrations of the East, even Oriental kings, were required to know specific languages, including Persian, Arabic, and Turkish; depending on their geographical location, other languages would have been added to the three mentioned. For example, Mehmed II (1432 –1481), commonly known as Mehmed the Conqueror, knew Latin and Greek, as well as Persian, Arabic, and Turkish,[161] while Akbar knew Sanskrit and Urdu. This was also applicable to the literary intelligentsia, which contained figures such as Rumi, Amir Khosrow, Hafez, Sadi, and Jones. When Jones was in the subcontinent, he was dealing with Persian and Sanskrit daily. Jones was aware that the native speakers of languages descended from Sanskrit could provide him with better etymology or Sanskrit translations than English or Persian translators. Learning Sanskrit through Vedic texts was a time-consuming and challenging task, yet the goal

[158] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society: 1784-1800,* Sibadas Chaudhuri(ed.), (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1980), vol. 1.
[159] *The Asiatic Miscellany,* (Calcutta: William Mackay, 1786), 2: 191-266.
[160] *The Asiatick Miscellany*, 2: 192.
[161] Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople', *Muqarnas Online*, 29:1, (2012), 1-81: 5.

was to learn the language in which the Hindu laws were preserved. On 27 September 1787, in a letter to Thomas Caldecott, Jones stated:

> Sanscrit and Arabic will enable me to do this country more essential service, than the introduction of arts (even if I should be able to introduce them) by procuring an accurate digest of Hindu and Mohammedan laws, which the natives hold sacred, and by which both justice and policy require that they should be governed.[162]

In another case, on 19 March 1788, Jones wrote to the first Marquess Cornwallis (1738–1805), governor-general of India: '… a Digest of Hindu and Mohammedan laws would be a work of national honour and utility, I so cherish both, that I offer the nation my humble labour, as far as I can dispose of my time consistently with the faithful discharge of my duty as a magistrate'.[163] Thus, he worked tirelessly with a team of Hindu and Muslim legal scholars to produce an exhaustive digest of Hindu and Muslim law. The results of the collaboration were two books: *Al-Sirajiyyah: or the Mohamedan Law of inheritance; with a commentary* (1792) and *Institutes of Hindu Law, Or, The Ordinances of Manu, According to the Gloss of Cullúca, Comprising the Indian System of Duties, Religious, and Civil* (1794).

Just as Jones's Persian *Grammar* initiated Romantic Orientalism with illuminating Persian literature, his translations of Sanskrit literature, particularly *Sacontalá*,[164] reintroduced the subcontinent to Europe, inspiring philologists, ethnologists, and mythographers throughout the continent. Johann Gottfried von Herder, introduced it to Friedrich Majer, by whom Schopenhauer gained familiarity with Sanskrit culture.[165] Under the influence of Jones's *Sacontalá* that Friedrich Schlegel stated that 'In the Orient we must seek the most sublime Romanticism'.[166] In the same year as publishing *Sacontalá* Jones delivered his sixth Discourse before the Asiatic Society; on February 19, 1789, the Discourse was 'On the Persians'[167] and revolved around their ancient languages, Primeval religions and their connection with Persian philosophy; in addition, the Discourse investigated the architecture, sculpture and sciences of

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[162] Garland Cannon, 'Sir William Jones, Persian, Sanskrit and the Asiatic Society', 89.
[163] Jones, *The Letters*, 2: 799.
[164] Kālidāsa, *Sacontalá: or, The Fatal Ring, an Indian Drama by Cálidás, Translated from the Original Sanscrit and Prácrit*, Sir William Jones (trans.), (Calcutta: Joseph Copper, 1789).
[165] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 259-60.
[166] *Athenaum, eine Zeitschrift*, August Wilhelm Schlegel, & Friedrich Schlegel (eds), (Berlin, 1798–1800), 3: 320.
[167] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 103-37.

Persia. As mentioned previously, Jones began his representation of the East to Europe via India not because he believed India was 'the true centre of population or of knowledge, but because it is the country we now inhabit';[168] it is in fact in the sixth Discourse, delivered six years after he arrived in India and three years after his 'Discourse on the Hindus' and learning Sanskrit, that Jones reveals:

> We may therefore hold this proposition firmly established, that Iran, or Persia in its largest sense, was the true centre of population, of knowledge, of language, and of arts; which, instead of travelling westward only, as it has been fancifully supposed, or eastward, as might with equal reason have been asserted, were expanded in all directions to all regions of the world in which the Hindu race had settled under various denominations.[169]

The sixth Discourse does not chronologically belong to the period in which Jones composed the folios available in the MSS Eur. C 274, which is the central subject of this chapter, I will not go into the details of it. However, as Michael Franklin points out in his article ''I Burn with a Desire of Seeing Shiraz': A New Letter from Sir William Jones to Harford Jones': [170]

> '[Sir William] Jones is best known for introducing to Europe the disconcerting conception of classical India as the fons et origo of world understanding. Persia, however, had been his first love, and it remained a focal point of his linguistic and ethnological investigations. Persia's centrality in his research mirrors 'the central position of Iran, which is bounded by Arabia, by Tartary, and by India... Persia seems likely to have sent forth its colonies to all the kingdoms of Asia'.[171]

Franklin's article also introduces another letter of Jones which is further proof that he stayed loyal to his first beloved: dated '1 Nov. 1791', the letter is from Sir William Jones to Sir Harford Jones Brydges (1764-1847). In the letter, Jones states that although he is 'so busy at this season, that I can only write on business ... [and what has] the utmost importance to myself. I burn with a desire of seeing Shiraz'.[172] In addition to examining the letter and the sixth Discourse in detail, Franklin's article provides various reasons for Jones's desire to visit 'Persia, the most delightful, the most compact, the most desirable country of them all'. Furthermore, as Franklin points out Jones's interest in Indo-Persian Sufi poets such as Amir Khosrow has led him to

[168] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 28.
[169] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 135.
[170] Michael J. Franklin, "'I Burn with a Desire of Seeing Shiraz': A New Letter from Sir William Jones to Harford Jones," *The Review of English Studies*, 56: 227 (2005), 749-57: 751.
[171] Franklin, ''I Burn with a Desire of Seeing Shiraz'', 749-57: 754.
[172] Herefordshire Record Office, Kentchurch Court 8000.

translating some of Amir Khosrow's poetry in the *Notebook.* These translations will be discussed later in the second chapter. This demonstrates Jones's delight in intellectual and linguistic play and the pluralistic/ *vojōdi* reconciliation between Hindu and Muslim traditions. However, evidence suggests that his feelings towards India were changing after his arrival in the subcontinent; for example, the recently surfaced folios available in the Osborn c. 400 contain Persian quatrains in his hand in which he complains about the subcontinent. The collection's date suggests that the folios were composed after 1785, considering the fact that MSS Eur. C 274 covers until the same year; the Osborn c. 400 could complement the latter collection. The Osborn c. 400 contains many writings of Jones in both Persian and Sanskrit; his Persian handwriting is significantly improved in the Osborn c. 400, which, together with the fact that some of the folios contain his work on *Al Sirajiyyah or the Mohammedan Law of Inheritance: With a Commentary* (1792),[173] would lead to the assumption that these are among the last folios he composed before his death in 1794. There are many Persian and Arabic quatrains available in the collection; Jones has sometimes identified their authors. For example, an Arabic quatrain from Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi'i (767-820) [174] and a Persian one from Mīr Ali-Shir Navai (1441-1501).[175] However, there is one quatrain in both Sanskrit and Persian for which Jones does not record its poet; please see the illustration below:

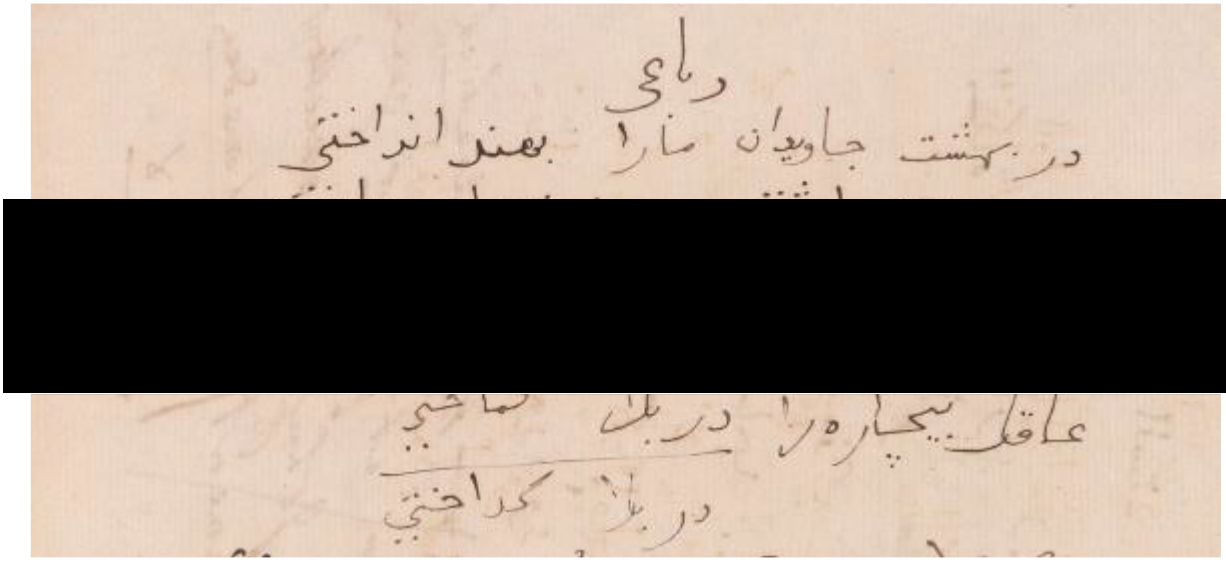

Illustration 12, Osborn c. 400, f.10; a quatrain in Persian and Sanskrit in Jones's hand.

The quatrain translates to English as:

[173] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400, f.35.
[174] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400, f.11.
[175] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400, f. 109.

We have been cast out your eternal heaven to India

why did you create hell if you already had India?

Its people are thieves, with indecent hearts and private parts

[why] this poor wise man has been assigned to burn in such a disaster?[176]

This particular quatrain is similar to another one found in Jones's *Notebook* in the MSS Eur. C 274; it will be examined at the end of the second chapter when discussing the *Notebook*. Both are in Jones's Persian handwriting – although the handwriting in the Osborn c. 400's folio is much better –, neither of them follows any Persian rhyming scheme, Jones has not verified who the authors are, and in both, the poet is complaining about the place he/she is living in as well as the other people who share that space with him/her. As mentioned, neither of the two contains a Persian rhyming scheme, and they sound strange to a Persian speaker; furthermore, the two quatrains cannot be found in any Persian literary sources and/or databases. This could raise the hypothesis of Jones himself being the poet of the two quatrains. Although with the current information, the hypothesis cannot be either rejected or accepted, considering the fact that Jones has written them in his own hand would suggest that he was not content, at least with parts of eighteenth-century India and its society. Indeed, the vision Jones gained from India through ancient Sanskrit books or Mughal Persian works was different from the society he experienced, and this would have led him to discontent; the case would not have been much different should he have visited Iran and compared it with the vision he had from the land through the love poetry of Hafez or the heroism of Ferdowsi. However, as he did not have the chance of visiting Shiraz, Jones burned with the anticipation of Hafez's city and never forgot his first love, Shiraz and Persia.

[176] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400, f.10:

در بهشت جاویدان ما را بهند انداختی
همچو هندی داشتی دوزخ چرا می ساختی
مردمانش دزد و قلب و عورتانش بی حیا
عاقل بیچاره را در بلا گماختی/گداختی

Dar beheshte jāvedān mārā behened andākhti
Hamcho hendi dāshti dōzakh cherā misākhti
Mardomānash dozd o ghalb o oratānash bi hayā
āghele bichāreh raa dar balā gomākhti/godākhti

Chapter 2: 'Sir William Jones's Collection of Verses'

Introduction

The following chapter of this thesis introduces Jones's early understanding of Sufism by analysing some of the Sufi literature he read and examined during his early years of studying the school. The chapter presents a more accurate image of Jones's understanding of Sufism and the reasons for his fascination with the school. In addition, the analysis provided in this chapter will elaborate on the various literary arrays, figures of speech, and symbology utilized in Persian Sufi literature. The literary features introduced in this chapter and the chapter's general analytical method will serve as a foundation for the analysis used in the rest of the thesis.

The British Library's collection catalogued as MSS Eur. C 274 contains papers and folios of Jones's Persian studies over almost two decades, shortly before the composition of his *A Grammar of the Persian Language* (1771) until late 1785. Should we consider the subject matter of the collection, the material available in it could be divided into two major categories: the first one includes the folios on which he has practised his Persian language and its acquisition; chronologically speaking, they are the earliest folios in the collection. This category can be divided into two sets: the first contains folios composed while he was in Britain and on which he practised the Persian used in eighteenth-century Iran. The second set of the folios containing Jones's language acquisition material includes the ones composed whilst he was in India; this set includes his practice of Persian used in the Indian subcontinent. The second major category of the contents of the MSS Eur. C 274 comprises a single-volume Indian blind-stamped leather-bound *Notebook* that does not contain any marginal notes of Jones's language practices. All of his annotations in the *Notebook* focus on his study and analysis of Oriental literature. Dated Nov. 1785, the *Notebook* contains sixty-six folios of verses written by many famous Sufi poets in Rekhta and Persian. Rekhta is the old name for modern Hindi and Urdu; it combines the dynamic vigour of Persian script, diction, and imagery with the sensuous Indian beauty of Urdu vocabulary. Originated from the Persian word ریخته *rikhteh*, meaning 'shed, scattered, and besprent', the language was called Rekhta because it is essentially Persian with other Indian languages scattered in it. By the mid-eighteenth century,

Rekhta was adopted by Indians who had been concentrating on Persian.[1] The language excited writers of the subcontinent as it reflected a syncretic background of combining the best of Perso-Islamic culture as well as Hindu culture. Its modern version, Urdu, still contains the 'indigenous base and syncretic qualities', enabling the language to act as a 'syncretizing role in a pluralistic, secular and democratic India'.[2] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the politics of reconciliation had been central to Warren Hastings's Orientalist government. He appreciated the Mughal policies, which encouraged the artistic and intellectual collaboration between the Persian-speaking Muslims and Hindus. Like the Mughals, such as Akbar (1542-1605), Hastings sought to integrate all cultures in the vast heterogeneous northern India.[3] Consequently, due to Rekhta's syncretic and pluralistic properties, its poetry was being read and translated by the Calcutta Orientalists and Company servants in the final quarter of the eighteenth century. Jones's *Notebook* contains twenty-seven folios of Rekhta poetry [4] and sixteen folios of Persian poetry.[5] The folios of Rekhta verses bear Jones's Latin annotations, and the Persian ones contain his annotations in English and Persian. I should point out here that there is no evidence suggesting how Jones has procured the *Notebook*; whether he selected each poem individually to be written in it, or he commissioned a scribe to select some poems from Sufi poets he was interested in. Nevertheless, Jones was indeed intrigued by the poets mentioned in the *Notebook* and had spent a significant amount of time researching them and examining their works.

This chapter focuses on the Persian verses available in the *Notebook*; the verses contain thirty-six quatrains, three single couplets, parts of a *ghazal* – love poem – and two complete *ghazal*s. All of the verses are composed by medieval Persian poets residing in Iran and India. Other than the first two quatrains, by Badrodin Jajromi (d.1287) and Shams-odin Jovayni, (d.1285),[6] the verses available in the *Notebook* contain typical Sufi rhetoric and themes. The three single couplets are composed by Amir Khosrow Dehlavi (1253–1325),[7] Bidel Dehlavi

[1] Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, 'A Long History of Urdu Literary Culture, Part 1: Naming and Placing a Literary Culture', *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, Sheldon Pollock (ed.), (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 805–63; 849.
[2] Gopi Chand Narang, *Urdu Language and Literature*, (New Delhi, 1991), vii.
[3] Muzaffar Alam, 'Persian in Precolonial Hindustan', *Literary Cultures in History*, 131–98: 171.
[4]BL, APAC, MSS Eur. C 274, 'Notebook', f. 1-15, & f. 33-45. From this point on, it will be mentioned as *The Notebook.*
[5] *The Notebook*, f. 16-32.
[6] *The Notebook*, f. 16.
[7] *The Notebook*, f. 27.

(1642–1720),[8] and Siraj-ud-Din Ali Khan (1687-1756);[9] the uncompleted *ghazal* also belongs to Amir Khosrow.[10] The two *ghazal*s appearing at the end of the Persian section of the *Notebook* were composed by Jami (1414-1492).[11] The section is concluded by a Persian quatrain composed by Sir William Jones in his Persian handwriting.[12] In the Persian section of the *Notebook*, Jones has annotated three folios:[13] the annotations are on seven quatrains: four by Amir Khosrow, one by Sarmad (1590-1661), one by Sadi (1210-1292) and one by Sahabi (d. 1609).

In this chapter, each poet whose compositions are available in the *Notebook* will be introduced, and the poems will be translated into English by myself unless stated otherwise. In addition to analysing the poems, their historical, political, and mystical context will be explored to investigate Jones's fascination with them. The chapter aims to shed light on Jones's understanding of Persian and Sufi literature by 1786, when he acquired the *Notebook*. Other than discussing the Sufi and literary figures available in the *Notebook*, the aim is achieved by examining Jones's annotations on the poems; the annotations are primarily his translations of the poems and occasionally marginal notes regarding his analysis of them. Unlike the translations available in the rest of the MSS Eur. C 274, which mostly revolve around language acquisition, Jones presents paraphrased translations of the verses in the *Notebook*. This suggests that these translations were aimed at the European readership of the time, and consequently, Jones might have had desired to publish them in his literary works. However, although the names of the poets in the *Notebook* appear in Jones's works, which will be explored in this chapter, only one of the quatrains of the *Notebook* appears in Jones's work; which leads to the assumption that his untimely death prevented him from publishing the English translations. The quatrain appears at the beginning of the *Notebook* 'A Quatrain in the Persian Form',[14] please see below:

[8] *The Notebook*, f. 25.
[9] *The Notebook*, f. 25.
[10] *The Notebook*, f. 28.
[11] *The Notebook*, f. 29-31.
[12] *The Notebook*, f. 32.
[13] *The Notebook*, f. 20, & f. 22-3.
[14] *The Notebook*, f. 2.

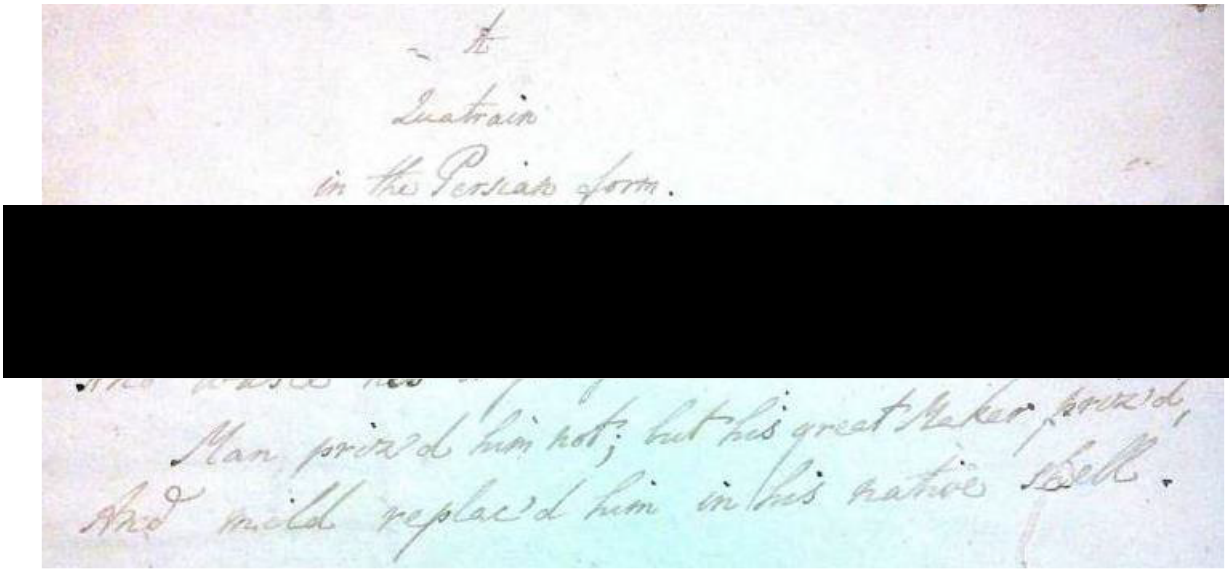

Illustration 1, *The Notebook*, f. 2; Jones's translation of a 'quatrain in the Persian form.'

The 'Persian Form', Jones refers to here, is originally called a رباعی *robāei*, often referred to as a quatrain in English. The form consists of four lines called مصراع *mesra*; which is the smallest unit in Persian poetry; two *mesra*s with similar meter are called a بیت *beyt* which is equivalent to a couplet in English. In his *Grammar*, Jones translated a مصراع *mesra* to 'a hemistich' and a بیت *beyt* to 'a distich;'[15] I will address the Persian units with Jones's English equivalents from this point onwards. Commonly, the poet uses the first hemistich to introduce a subject, the second and the third hemistich are used to explain and elaborate on it, and the fourth hemistich acts as the conclusion. The standard rhyming scheme of a Persian quatrain is AABA, or occasionally AAAA. Jones's Persian formed quatrain follows the AABA rhyming scheme:

> He was a pearl too pure on earth to dwell,
> And waste his brightness in this mortal cell:
> Man priz'd him not; but his great Maker priz'd,
> And mild replac'd him in his native shell. [16]

[15] William Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, (London: W. and J. Richardson, 1771), 127.
[16] *The Notebook*, f. 2.

However, the original quatrain itself was not composed in Persian; it is in Arabic. Jones initially mentions the same quatrain in his early Latin work *Poeseos Asiaticae* (1774)[17] as one of the fine, vibrant, and delightful compositions of a poet named 'Shabl o'ddoulah'.[18] Although very little has been written on this poet, the quatrain itself is an epigraph of Nizam al-Mulk-e Tusi (1018-1092), a Persian scholar and *vazir*[19] of the Seljuk Empire (1037–1194). Jones translated the quatrain to Latin, one literal translation and one poetic:[20] an English translation of Jones's Latin literal translation is:

> There was a Vizir Nozámo'l Molc as valuable as a pearl, the divinity formed him a noble man, from the divine mind of itself.
>
> [The people of] his age, did not know the price of his purity; therefore, he was gently placed it into the shell.

Jones's Latin translation can be translated to English as:

> He was a pearl of pure colour with pure shining light;
>
> how amazing was the price of passage? Becoming restored in a shell by the Divine parent.

Nizam al-Mulk-e Tusi was indeed worthy of such depiction: firstly, it was by his order that a committee of astronomers, including Omar Khayyam (1048–1131), gathered at the imperial observatory of Isfahan and created the Jalali calendar;[21] with this new calendar, the Pre-Islamic Persian zodiac system was restored. Secondly, Nizam al-Mulk commissioned scribes to

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[17] William Jones, *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentariorum Libri Sex, Cum Appendice; Subjicitur Limon, seu Miscellaneorum*, (London: T. Cadell, & W. Richardson, 1774).
[18] Jones, *Poeseos*, 312.
[19] *Vazir* is a high-ranking political advisor or minister in the Middle East.
[20] The original Arabic and Latin translations are available in Jones, *Poeseos*, 311-2. Joseph Dacre Carlyle (1759-1804) also translated the same quatrain in his *Specimens of Arabian Poetry, from the Earliest Time to the Extinction of the Khaliphat,: With Some Account of the Authors*, (Oxford: John Burges, 1796), 131 as:
'Thy virtues fam'd thro' every land, Thy spotless life, in age and youth, Prove thee a pearl, by nature's hand, Form'd out of purity and truth. Too long its beams of Orient light, Upon a thankless world were shed; Allah has now reveng'd the slight, And call'd it to its native bed.'
[21] Edward Sell, *The Faith of Islám*, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1907), 139.

produce thousands of copies of Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, which facilitated the revival of the Persian language. Thirdly, the *vazir* founded the Nezamiyeh schools in many cities, including Baghdad, Nishapur, Balkh, Herat and Isfahan; the schools were the first organized higher education institutions globally. Later prominent Persian figures whom Jones was interested in, such as Ghazali and Sadi, were educated in these schools. While both Nizam al-Mulk and Jones were fascinated by Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, the latter also enjoyed the writings of many scholars who were students of the *vazir*'s schools; furthermore, the former desired to revive the Persian culture, and the latter had the same desire for Oriental cultures. Perhaps, it was due to these similitudes that Lady Jones used the first couplet of this very quatrain of Shabl o'ddoulah as an epigraph to her editorial preface to *The Works of Sir William Jones. In Six Volumes* (1799)[22] to describe her late husband.

The Persian Verses and Annotations in Sir William Jones's *Notebook*

The first Persian quatrain[23] is composed by a poet named Badr-odin Jajromi in praise of Shams-odin Jovayni, a *vazir* of the Ilkhanate dynasty (1256–1353). In addition to being a skilful political and military leader, Jovayni was a poet and a patron of arts and sciences;[24] many other poets, including Sadi, praised him.[25] Jones was familiar with Jovayni as early as the time he was publishing his Persian *Grammar*; in his 'A Catalogue of the Most Valuable Books in the Persian Language', [26] Jones advised his reader, in order to get acquainted with Persian philosophy, they should study 'Negaristan, the gallery of pictures, by Jouini. A miscellaneous work upon moral subjects in prose and verse. There is a beautiful copy of this book in the Bodleian Library at Oxford Marsh 39'.[27] In the *Notebook*'s quatrain, Jajromi uses Jovayni's first name, شمس الدین *shams-odin*, 'the Sun of the Faith' as an image to praise him; depicting the *vazir* as the centre and the rest of the universe circulating him, growing, developing, and maturing:

[22]Sir William Jones, *The Works of Sir William Jones. In Six Volumes*, Lady Anna Maria Jones (ed.), (London: Robinson, 1799), 1: i.
[23] *The Notebook*, f. 16.
[24] Judith G. Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran: Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu 1220-1309*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 240, 382-5.
[25] Mohammad-Taghi Modares-Razavi, *Ahval va Asaare-e Khajeh Nasir-odin-e Toosi*, (Tehran: Bonyad-e Farhang-e Iran, 1975), 146-9.
[26] Jones, *A Grammar*, 141-53.
[27] Jones, *A Grammar*, 149.

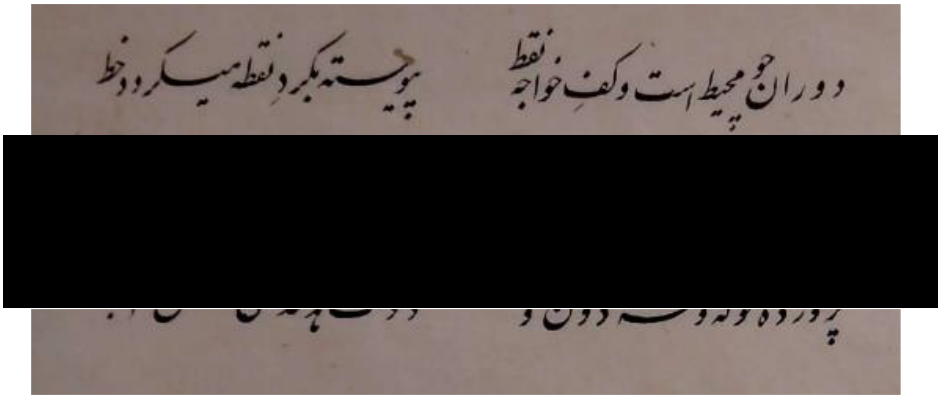

Illustration 2, *The Notebook*, f. 16; a quatrain by Badr-odin Jajromi.

The time is like circumference, and the generosity of the master is its centre;
continuously, the line circulates around the centre.
You mature all, the small and the great, the low and the middle; God does not mistakenly bestow good fortune and prosperity upon no one. [28]

Fascinated by Jajromi's quatrain, the *vazir* rewards the poet with three hundred white lambs from his own personal flock; furthermore, Jovayni composes a quatrain in response to Jajromi's. The vazir's quatrain, available in the *Notebook*, reads as:

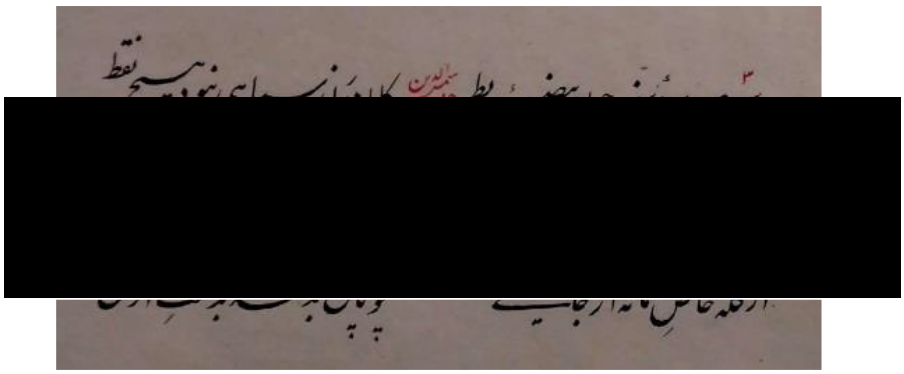

Illustration 3, *The Notebook*, f. 16; a quatrain by Khajeh Shams-odin.

Khajeh Shams-odin
Three hundred lambs as white as duck's egg, there is no spot of blackness in them;
From our special flock, not from anywhere else, the shepherd should give to the holder of this note.[29]

[28] *The Notebook*, f. 16:

دوران چو محیط است و کف خواجه نقط — پیوسته به گرد نقطه میگردد خط
پرورده تو که و مه و دون و وسط — دولت ندهد خدای کس را به غلط

[29] *The Notebook*, f. 16:

سه صد برهٔ سفید چون بیضهٔ بط — کان راز سیاهی نبود هیچ نقط
از گلهٔ خاص ما نه از جای غلط — چوپان بدهد بدست دارندهٔ خط

These two quatrains convey some significant aspects of Oriental culture; the first is the significance of poetry amongst the people of Asia. The type of correspondence displayed in the two quatrains, particularly Jovayni's response, was quite common in eighteenth-century India and Iran. Such correspondences commonly start with a person composing a poem, containing panegyric language and elaborated imagery, asking for a favour or patronage; sometimes, individuals hired poets to do so for them. In some cases, the poet does not explicitly mentions what he/she desires, such as Jajromi's quatrain or the three *ghasideh*s by Mir Qamar al-Din Minnat (d.1792/3), which were in praise of Richard Johnson (1753-1807), Sir William Jones, and Warren Hastings.[30] However, sometimes they mention precisely what they need from the addressee; for example, someone named صفدر Safdar claimed that he had composed thirty couplets, using extravagant hyperboles and panegyric language, to ask Sir William Jones for a meeting.[31] Jones annotated the folio stating, 'This letter of verses are compositions of Mere Hasan Haydar of Lucknow inhabitant', showing that the poem's composer was not Safdar but Mir Hassan Heydar, a poet whom Safdar hired to write on his behalf. The second aspect of Oriental culture conveyed within these two quatrains is the tradition of gift-giving. Jones had encountered this strange tradition previously; for example, on his voyage to India, when he arrived at the beautiful island of Hinzuan or Johanna, now Nzwani or Anjouan,[32] a slave was presented to him as a gift by the local ruler.[33] The two quatrains state that Jajromi is gifted three hundred white lambs for his four lines of praise. Jones and other members of the Asiatic Society respected and participated in similar gift-giving traditions: for example, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Persian Jones offered his researches as a 'humble Nezr to the Society

[30] A scholar of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, Richard Johnson became deputy to the Resident at the court of the vazir of Oudh in 1780. He commissioned the first printed edition of the *Divan* of Ḥafez which was published by Upjohn's Calcutta press in 1791. In a letter dated 11 August 1786, Jones wrote to him regarding the *Divan*: 'I hope some years hence to offer up a copy of it on the tomb of the divine poet near the crystal stream of Rucnabad.' See: Sir William Jones, *The Letters of Sir William Jones*, Garland Cannon (ed.), (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 2: 702. In Calcutta, Johnson helped Jones to study Hindu mythology and Persian literature. They made connections amongst the India's Persianate literary scholars such as Abu Taleeb Khan-e Isfahani, the editor of Hafiz, and Mir Qamar ud-Din Minnat; the latter dedicated his *Divan* to Johnson. The *ghasideh*s in Minnat's *Divan* are available in the British library, catalogued as BL, APAC, Or. 6633, f. 66-9.

[31] BL, APAC, MSS Eur. C 274, f. 12. The folio has been translated by myself and is appended to this thesis; appendix 1.

[32] For more details on Jones's experience in Anjouan see: Sir William Jones, 'Remarks on the Island of Hinzuan or Johanna', *Asiatic Researches; Or, Transactions of the Society, Instituted in Bengal*, 2, (1807), 77-107.

[33] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 290.

with as much respectful zeal as to the greatest potentate on earth.'[34] In return for his researches, 'Sanskrit Wilkins', Jones's fellow member of the Society, presented a *ghazal* of Hafez to him.[35] The tradition, however, was not only amongst the members of the Society, as they had to interact with Hindus and Muslims of the subcontinent; there were gifts exchanged between the British administration and the locals. As Michael J. Franklin points out, '[R]espect for the potential authority of this infant meritocracy, couched in a polite image of Mughal gifting, reveals Jones's shrewd understanding of how power is mediated by knowledge and knowledge mediated by power'.[36] However, the gift-giving tradition was not without notable downfalls for the administration: on February 6, 1785, about eight months before the composition of the *Notebook*, Hastings set sail for Britain, he was impeached on May 10, 1787, and put to trial on February 13, 1788, in Westminster Hall with members of the House of Commons seated to his right, the Lords to his left, and a large audience of spectators, including royalty, in the boxes and public galleries.[37] In the trial, Burke intended upon convicting Hastings primarily on charges of corruption; according to Burke, Hastings 'did not only give and receive bribes accidentally,'[38] he also had 'formed plans and systems of government for the very purpose of accumulating bribes and presents to himself.'[39] Consequently, Burke argued that Hastings had descended into 'the muck and filth of peculation and corruption.'[40] The impeachment of Hastings was not successful; yet, should we solely consider the two quatrains of the *Notebook* and many other Persian quatrains which refer to the tradition of gift-giving, alongside the fact that the quatrains date back to the thirteenth century, we might interpret at least some of Hastings's actions not as 'filthy' bribery but as a participation in Oriental gift-giving.[41]

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[34] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 9.
[35] The *ghazal* will be discussed in the details in the next chapter of this thesis.
[36] Michael J. Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones': Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer, and Linguist, 1746-1794*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 211.
[37] John Garrard, & James L. Newell, *Scandals in Past and Contemporary Politics*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 137.
[38] Edmund Burke, 'Speech in Opening the Impeachment (Feb. 18, 1788)', *The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke*, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1871), 10: 3.
[39] Burke, 'Speech in Opening the Impeachment (Feb. 18, 1788)', *The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke*, 10:7.
[40] Burke, 'Speech in General Reply (June 14, 1794)', *The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke* 12: 295.
[41] For more information on gift giving and its relation to the politics of colonial India see: Natasha Eaton, 'Between Mimesis and Alterity: Art Gift and Diplomacy in Colonial India', in *Romantic Representations of British India*, Michael J Franklin (ed.), (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 84-113.

The next poet whose quatrains are available in the *Notebook* is Abu-Saeed Abolkhayr (967-1049).[42] Born in Nishapur, Abolkhayr was amongst the most prominent Persian Sufi poets; most of the information available about his life is obtained from a book named 'The Mysteries of Unification', written by his grandson Muhammad Ibn Monavvar (d.1072/3).[43] Abolkhayr's significance in Sufi literature is due to his being one of the first Sufis who utilized the *ghazal*, or 'love poem' as a poetic form and medium to express and illustrate mystical concepts.[44] Abolkhayr's love for poetry can be comprehended through the fact that at his funeral, instead of the recitation of Quranic verses, which is a common Muslim tradition, he requested for Sufi poems to be recited. Generally focusing on the liberation of the self from worldly matters, he extracted the essence of earlier Sufi teachings, such as those of Bayazid Bastami (d.874) and Mansor Hallaj (858-922), reiterating them in a deeper yet simpler form. Abolkhayr also believed that taking the Sufi Path does not solely require the Divine Grace; the guidance of an experienced Sufi, usually referred to as a *pir*, 'old-sage' or *morshed* in Sufi literature, is as equally important as the Divine Grace.

Overall, Jones's *Notebook* contains eight quatrains composed by Abolkhayr;[45] the subject of the first quatrain revolves around his meetings and correspondence with Avicenna (980-1037), the Persian physician and philosopher; the rest of the quatrains display Abolkhayr's vision of the Sufi path which will be explained and discussed later. Abolkhayr's meeting with Avicenna took three days, and the two conversed privately. At the end of this face-to-face encounter, the mystic informs his followers that the physician knew everything he could see in his mystical visions. Avicenna, in return, informs his students that the mystic also observed everything he knew.[46] As established in the previous chapter, one of Jones's goals for gaining Oriental knowledge was that he thought that such knowledge might have been utilized to enrich Western culture. In Europe, during the Middle Ages, the development of sciences, particularly natural philosophy, was founded on Arabic translations of earlier Greek and Latin compositions. For instance, it was the Arabic translations of the works of Aristotle which

[42] *The Notebook*, f. 16.
[43]Zabih-alaah Safa, *Tarikh Adabiyat-e Iran*, (Tehran: Ibn-e Sina, 1963), 1: 448.
[44]Jahangir Mansoor, *Rubaeyaat-e Abu Saeed Abolkhayr, Khayyam, and Baba-Taher*, (Tehran: Nahid, 1999), 7-8.
[45] One of the quatrains is available on *The Notebook*, f. 16 and the other seven are on *The Notebook*, 24-7.
[46]Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Karl Jahn (ed.), (Dordrecht: Springer, 1968), 244.

facilitated the systematic and institutionalized expansion of reason in Europe;[47] yet, in the Middle Ages, European Christendom reason was considered subordinate to revelation. Although the faculties of natural philosophy and theology were separated in medieval universities, theological discussions were often not allowed to be undertaken by the faculty of philosophy.[48] In fact, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Age of Enlightenment, a series of dramatic revolutions in science, alongside the rise of Protestantism, challenged the Catholic Church's authority and Christian scriptures. With the advancement of sciences, literal interpretations of the Bible became 'increasingly untenable' and alternative interpretations, which were in accord with the spirit and authority of the scriptures, were presented.[49] However, as it can be obtained from Thomas Sprat's (1635-1713) *The History of the Royal Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (1667), most of the founders of the Royal Society in seventeenth-century Britain held conventional and orthodox religious views; in fact, many of them were prominent Churchmen.[50] Therefore, although many of the Royal Society fellows believed that their scientific researches provided support for traditional religious beliefs, theological issues with divisive potential were excluded from formal discussions of the early Royal Society.[51] Nevertheless, in the European Age of Enlightenment, the friction between sciences and religion still existed: Reverend William Stukeley (1687-1765), an elected fellow of the Royal Society in 1718, wrote about Martin Folkes (1690-1754), a distinguished mathematician and fellow Society member:

> He thinks there is no difference between us & animals; but what is owing to the different structure of our brain, as between man & man. When I lived at Ormond Street in 1720, he set up an infidel Club at his house on Sunday evenings, where Will Jones, the mathematician, & others of the heathen stamp, assembled. [. . .] From that time he has been propagating the Infidel system with great assiduity, & made it even fashionable in

[47] Dag Nikolaus Hasse, 'Influence of Arabic and Islamic Philosophy on the Latin West', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), (Spring 2020 Edition), [https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2020/entries/arabic-islamic-influence].
[48] Edward Grant, *God and Reason in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 193.
[49] William Bristow, 'Enlightenment', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), (Fall 2017 Edition), [https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/enlightenment].
[50] See: Peter Harrison, 'Religion, the Royal Society, and the Rise of Science', *Theology and Science*, 6:3, (2008), 255–71. The list and names can be found in Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge*, (London: Printed for T.R. by J. Martyn, 1667).
[51] Frank Turner, 'The Victorian Conflict between Science and Religion: A Professional Dimension', *Isis*, 49, (1978), 356–76.

> the Royal Society, so that when any mention is made of Moses, of the deluge, of religion, Scriptures, &c., it is generally received with a loud laugh.[52]

The 'heathen' mathematician 'Will Jones' mentioned here by Reverend Stukeley is, in fact, Jones's father; Persian Jones shared 'Longitude' Jones's religious deistic views. Through scientific methods, the likes of Folkes and Longitude Jones came to the assumption that 'there is no difference between us & animals.' Yet Persian Jones did not need to look further than the writings of the thirteenth-century Persian mystics: it was Rumi's *Masnavi* that states that 'We [animals] can hear, see, and think. With you strangers, we are silent!'[53] and Sadi's *Golestan* that asserted, 'This is not called humanity, when birds are praying and you are not!'[54] As Franklin points out, 'two generations of William Joneses endorsed Martin Folkes's sentiments as expressed to a Jewish friend: 'We are all citizens of the world, and see different customs and tastes without dislike or prejudice, as we do different names and colours.'[55] Yet, indeed, the most well-known Persian proverb by Sadi had influenced the second generation of Joneses: human beings are members of a whole, in creation of one essence and soul. If one member is afflicted with pain, other members uneasy will remain.

The first quatrain of the mystic Abolkhayr, which describes his meeting and intermingling with physician Avicenna in the *Notebook*, read as follows:

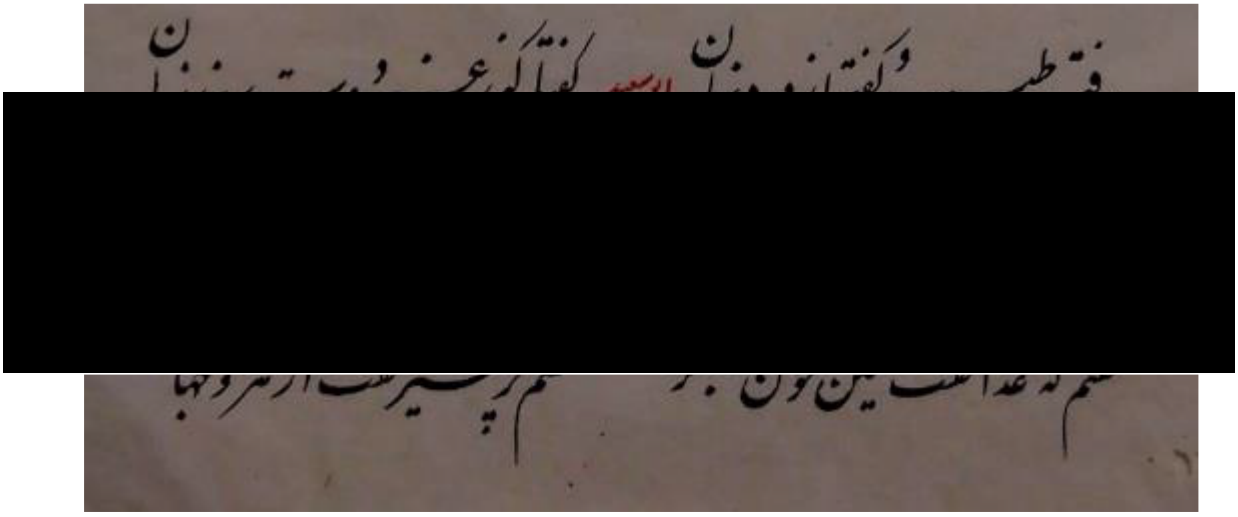

Illustration 4, *The Notebook*, f. 16; a quatrain by Abolkhayr.

[52] William Stukeley, *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley, M.D. and the Antiquarian and Other Correspondence*, (Durham: Society, 1882), 1: 100.
[53] Rumi, *Masnavi*, 3:37:

ما سمیعیم و بصیریم و هشیم با شما نامحرمان ما خامشیم

[54] Said, *Golestan*, 2: 4:

گفتم این شرط آدمیت نیست مرغ تسبیح‌گوی و ما خاموش

[55] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 47; also, John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, (London: John Nichols, 1812), 4: 637.

> I went to the physician and described my hidden pain; he said, 'hold your tongue for anyone but [your] Beloved.'
> I asked about food, he said 'just your liver's blood;'[56] I asked 'celibacy/avoidance?', he said 'from the world and the hereafter.' [57]

In the quatrain, the mystic states that he has gone to a doctor to seek a remedy for his pain; the doctor suggests that nothing would soothe the pain but the fulfilment of the Beloved's desires. The mystic asks if avoiding something would reduce the pain, to which the doctor responds 'the world and the hereafter.' The quatrain contains two allusions: the first one is in the second hemistich: '[the doctor] said hold your tongue for anyone but [your] Beloved'. The hemistich is an allusion to the life of Mansor Hallaj whose famous statement 'I am the Truth' was the cause of his execution. [58] The last hemistich, 'I asked "celibacy?", he said "from the world, and the hereafter" is an allusion to a quotation of Ali ibn Abi Talib (601-661), the first Shia Imam and the prophet Mohammad's son in law. In his نهج‌البلاغه *nahj-ol balāghe*, 'The Peak of Eloquence' Ali stated:

> 'A group worshipping God out of desire [for heaven] is a merchant's worship; a group worshipping God out of fear is a slave's worship; a group worshipping God for appreciating his Benevolence [and for God being worthy of worshipping] is a liberal's [free thinker's] worship.'[59]

Like Ali, the doctor advises Abolkhayr, who in turn advises the reader not to worship God merely because of fear or rewards in 'the world and the hereafter', but simply for the 'Benevolence' of the 'Beloved'. Jones did not miss this allusion as he was indeed interested in 'the placid and benevolent Ali'[60] not only for his researches in Islamic jurisprudence but also because of Ali's high stature amongst Sufis who call him 'the Cupbearer of the Kowsar.'[61] Jones was familiar with the significance of the fountain and its cupbearer through the Sufi

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[56] A bleeding liver is a metaphor for pain and suffering in Persian literature.
[57] *The Notebook*, f. 16:

رفتم به طبیب و گفتم از درد نهان　　گفتا که ز غیر دوست بر بند زبان
گفتم که غذا گفت همین خون جگر　　گفتم پرهیز گفت از هر دو جهان

[58] More details on Hallaj will be presented later in this chapter while examining Jones and his annotations on Sarmad's quatrain on *The Notebook*, f. 23.
[59] Ali Ibn Abi-Taleb, *Nahj al-Balagha*, Wisdom 273:

إنّ قوماً عبدوا الله رغبةً فتلک عبادة التّجار وإنّ قوماً عبدوا الله رهْبةً فتلک عبادة العبيد و إنّ قوْماً عبدوا الله شُكراً فتلک عبادة الأحرار.

Arabic to English translation was done by me.
[60] Jones, *The Works*, 8: 208.
[61] The Kowsar Fountain is a fountain in heaven. Ali is nicknamed ساقی کوثر *sāghi ye kowsar* in many Persian Sufi works.

poetry he studied. For example, one of the *ghazal*s he translated from Hafez states: 'Tomorrow perhaps the stream of Cuther and the girls of paradise will be prepared for us but today also let us enjoy a damsel bright as the moon and quaff the wine from the full cup'.[62] Jones also had a copy of a collection of poems entitled the *Diwan of Ali*;[63] he described it as 'the war song and some of the short pieces were written by the Prince of the Faithful, and, together with his Homilies, constitute all his works'.[64] Intriguingly Jones addresses Ali as the امیرالمومنین *amir al-momenin*, 'Prince of the Faithful'; this nickname is used exclusively by Shias and Sufis to refer to Ali. In addition, I should point out that Jones also considered Sufi as liberal 'free thinkers' similar to Ali, in the quotation mentioned, and Abolkhayr's quatrain.[65]

The other three quatrains of Abolkhayr in Jones's *Notebook*, which elaborate on his debate with Avicenna on Divine love, can be seen below:

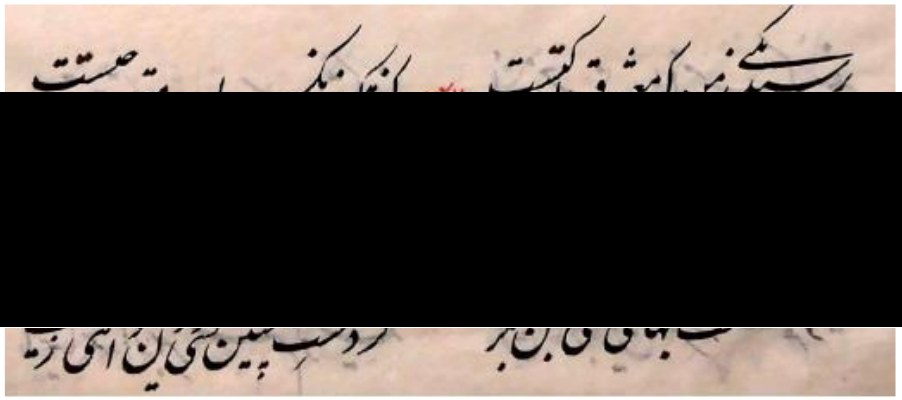

Illustration 5, *The Notebook*, f. 25; a quatrain by Abolkhayr.

He asked, 'who is your beloved?' I said, 'that person, why do you ask?'

He sat down and began to cry loudly for me; for how one can live with such a cruel beloved?'[66]

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[62] The *ghazal* and its translation appears in Jones, *The Works*, 5:410 & 440. The literal translation of the distich is: 'Tomorrow the wine of Kowsar and the Beauties of paradise will be ours; and today a moon faced cupbearer and a chalice of wine.'

فردا شراب کوثر و حور از برای ماست　　و امروز نیز ساقی مه روی و جام می

[63] BL, APAC, RSPA 108.

[64] BL, APAC, RSPA 108, f. i.

[65] *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of William Jones*, Charles John Shore, Lord Teignmouth (ed.), (London: J. Hatchard, 1806), 1: 49. The idea of describing Sufis as liberal free thinkers will be discussed in the third chapter of this thesis.

[66] *The Notebook*, f. 25:

پرسید ز من کسیکه معشوق تو کیست　　گفتم که فلانکس است مقصود تو چیست

بنشست و بهای‌های بر من بگریست　　کز دست چنان کسی تو چون خواهی زیست

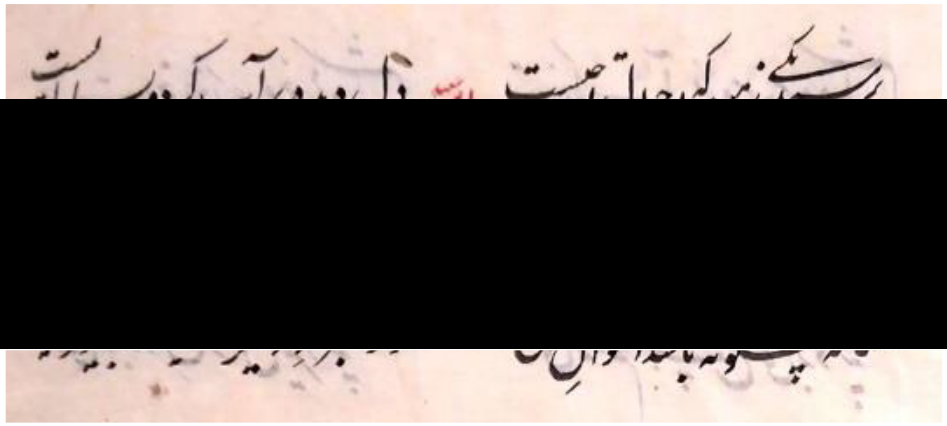

Illustration 6, *The Notebook*, f. 26; a quatrain by Abolkhayr.

He asked, ‘how is your life?’ My heart made my eyes full of tears.

He asked, ‘how can someone live, who deeply desires someone else?’[67]

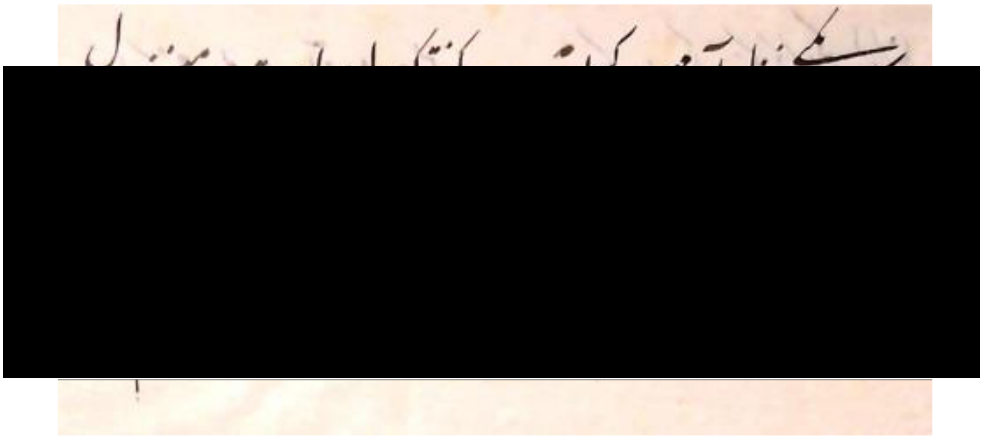

Illustration 7, *The Notebook*, f. 27; a quatrain by Abolkhayr.

He asked about the house of that affection-breaker; I said, ‘my heart is her abode.’

He said, ‘where is your heart?’ I said ‘by her’, he asked ‘where is she?’ I said ‘in my heart.[68]

[67] *The Notebook*, f. 26:

پرسید یکی ز منکه احوال تو چیست　　دل دیده پر آب کرد و بسیار گریست
گفتا که چگونه باشد احوال کسی　　کو را بمراد دیگری باید زیست

There is an alternative version of this quatrain which can be found in most modern sources Such as: Abu Saeed Abol Khayr, *Divan*, (Tehran: Iran-e Man), 22:

با دل گفتم که ای دل احوال تو چیست　　دل دیده پر آب کرد و بسیار گریست
گفتا که چگونه باشد احوال کسی　　کو را بمراد دیگری باید زیست

‘I asked my heart ‘how is your life?’ my heart made my eyes full of tears and cried; then said, how can one’s life be, who must live on someone else’s desire?’

[68] *The Notebook*, f. 27:

پرسید یکی منزل آن مهر گسل　　گفتم که دل من است او را منزل
گفتا که دلت کجاست گفتم بر او　　گفتا که او کجاست گفتم در دل

The remaining three quatrains of Abolkhayr available in the *Notebook* demonstrate his views on the path a Sufi has to take to reach unification with the ultimate beloved, or God. He interpreted the spiritual path in terms of warrior ethics: a Sufi wages war against his/herself as a warrior does; such interpretation was relatively novel in the tenth century; in fact, Abolkhayr was arguably the first Sufi who introduced the warrior ethic to Sufism. Many famous Sufis living after him have made frequent references to Abolkhayr's interpretation of the Sufi path; the most notable is the Persian Sufi poet Farid Al-Din Attar (1145-1221), who mentioned Abolkhayr as his spiritual guide. Attar also utilized Abolkhayr's spiritual warrior ethics in writing his منطق الطیر *Mantegh ol-tayr* 'The Conference of Birds', particularly his tale on 'The Sheikh of San'an and the Christian Girl'.[69] One of Abolkhayr's quatrains in the *Notebook* sublimely illustrates the intermingling of warrior ethics and the Sufi path of the Divine Love:

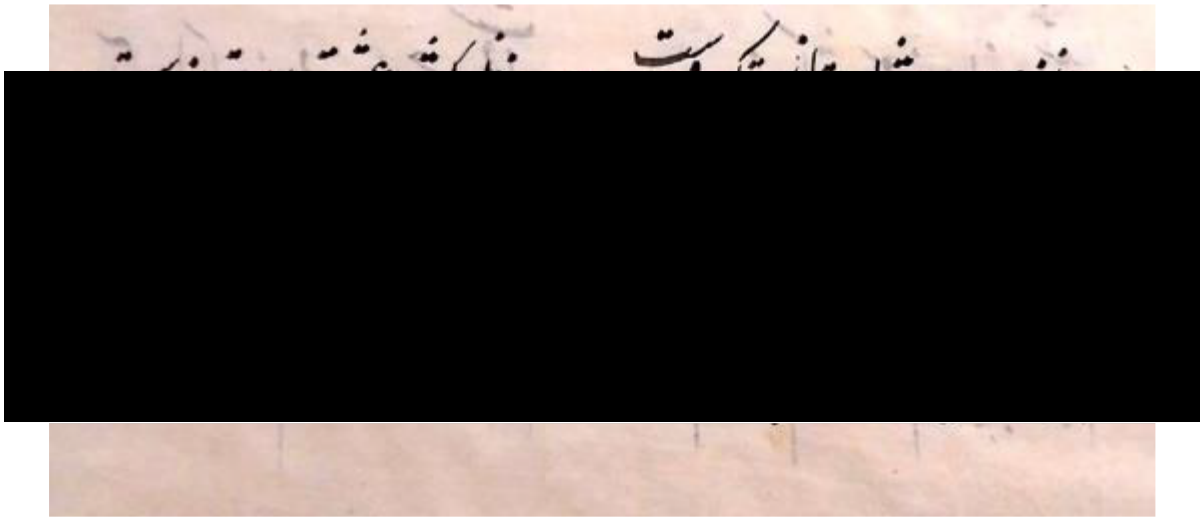

Illustration 8, *The Notebook*, f. 26; a quatrain by Abolkhayr.

> A warrior prowls in the path of martyrdom, unaware that a martyr of love is higher than him.
>
> In Judgment Day, this becomes clear, [as] one has been killed by an enemy and the other by a friend.[70]

Emphasizing that one who is annihilated in the path of Love has a higher stature compared to one who has died in a battlefield, in this quatrain, Abolkhayr is referring to the concept of جهاد اکبر *jahād-e akbar*, 'The Great Jihad' and compares it to the concept of جهاد اصغر *jahād-e*

[69] Jones also mentions Attar's 'The Book of Advices' as 'a book of moral sentences not unlike those of Theogonies in Greek' in *A Grammar*, 147 and BL, APAC, RSPA, 33. The works of Attar will be discussed in the third chapter of this thesis.

[70] *The Notebook*, f. 26:

غازی به ره شهادت اندر تک و پوست — غافل که شهید عشق بالاتر ازوست
فردای قیامت این بدان کی ماند — کین کشتهٔ دشمن است و آن کشتهٔ دوست

asghar, 'The Minor Jihad'. While the former is a battle with one's self and ego, the latter is a battle with other people who are against God; it is pivotal to mention that Islamic and Sufi teachings state that one should not start a war with others unless he/she has overcome his/her self and ego; hence, the Great Jihad is much more important than the minor one, and Abolkhayr tries to reiterate this point. Another significant aspect of this quatrain lies within the term Abolkhayr uses for a warrior: the term غازی *ghāzī* in the context of the tenth century referred to a mercenary and frontier fighter in Khorasan and Transoxiana. Historians explain the meaning of Ghazi as:

> A Ghazi is the instrument of the religion of Allah, a servant of God who purifies the earth from the filth of polytheism. The Ghazi is the sword of God, he is the protector and the refuge of the believers. If he becomes a martyr in the ways of God, do not believe that he has died, he lives in beatitude with Allah, he has eternal life.[71]

By order of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (971-1030), on 28 November 1001, up to twenty thousand Ghazis initiated the first Islamic campaign of India.[72] Yet, it was due to the initiative of Abolkhayr and later Sufis that the 'instrument of the religion of Allah' was morphed to the tolerance of the Mughals. The Sufis' efforts to reduce tensions between Muslims and Hindus in India are the central theme of the fourth chapter of this thesis. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Jones and his fellow Asiatic Society members were interested in Mughal tolerance and attempted to apply the same transformation for the British in India.[73] Another one of Abolkhayr's quatrains in Jones's *Notebook* also refers to the polytheism and idolatry that the Ghazis set to 'purify'. The quatrain is:

[71] Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire: Studies in the History of Turkey, thirteenth–fifteenth Centuries Royal Asiatic Society Books*, Colin Heywood (ed.), (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 44.
[72] T.A. Heathcote, *The Military in British India: The Development of British Forces in South Asia:1600-1947*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 6.
[73] Mughal's toleration policies as well as Jones and the Society's harmonizing attempts in India will be discussed in details in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

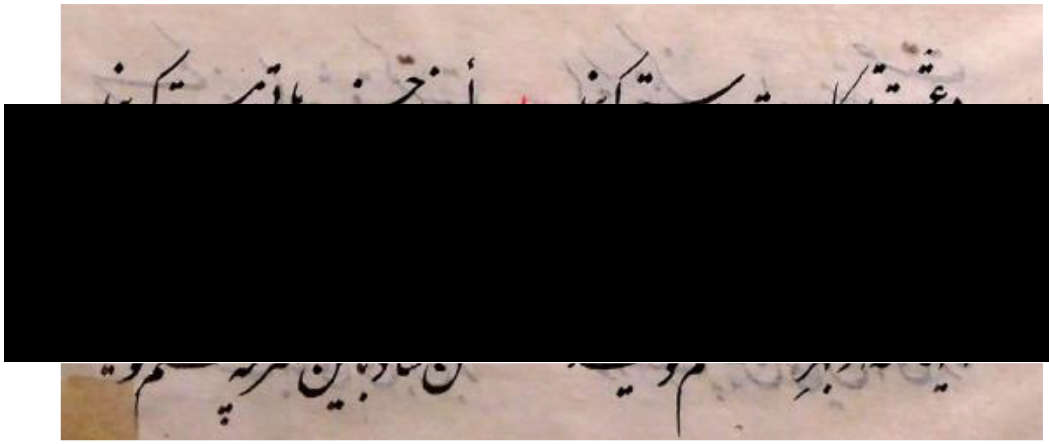

Illustration 9, *The Notebook*, f. 26; a quatrain by Abolkhayr.

> I am occasionally called an idolater in the path of your love; sometimes, I am called a drunk, rend, and kharābāti.
>
> All these were said to break me down, yet I am happy that I am whatever they say.[74]

One of the significant points which should be explained in this quatrain is the Sufis' view on Idolatry. بت *bot* and صنم *sanam* are respectively the most common Persian terms for 'an idol'; as Sadi stated, the 'literal and figurative usage [of an Idol] differs hugely'.[75] To Sufis, an idol in a literal sense, for example, a statue, is worthless. This interpretation finds its origin in some of the Quranic verses such as 'And recall when Abraham said to his father, Azar: 'Do you take idols for gods? I see you and your people in obvious error'.[76] Such Quranic imagery of the idol is also available in Sufi literature; for example, Daghighi (935-980) stated: '[T]hey have made idols from the mountains, and placed them in place of Azar's idol'.[77] Generally, the act of Idolatry in a literal sense has always been considered a negative action. An idol in the figurative sense, on the other hand, contains a completely opposite connotation of its literal sense. Figuratively, an Idol refers to a being which is the 'perfection of beauty, glory, and elegance' yet at the same time, that being 'is cruel and indifferent towards its lovers'.[78] Persian poets

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[74] *The Notebook*, f. 26:

در ره عشق تو گه بت پرستم گویند — گه رند و خراباتی و مستم گویند
اینها همه از بهر شکستم گویند — من شاد به اینکه هر چه هستم گویند

[75] Sadi, *The Complete Text of Sadi*, 484-7. Sanaei, *Divan of Sanaei*, (Tehran: Modares Razavi: 1988), 485, & 489.

[76] *The Quran* 6:74.

[77] Daghighi, *Divan of Daghighi Toosi*, (Tehran: Mohammad Javad Shariat, 1989), 84.

[78] Saeed Nafisi, *The Enviroment, Life, and Poetry of Roodaki*, (Tehran: Ibn-Sina Library, 1931), 530; Daghighi, *Divan of Daghighi Toosi*, 96, 103; Ali Ibn Ahmad Asadi, *Garshasp Nameh*, (Tehran: Habib Yaghmaei, 1987), 401; Khaghani, *Divan of Khaghani Shervani*, Ali Abdolrasooli (ed.), (Tehran: Saadat, 1937), 639; Sadi, *The Complete Text of Sadi*, 418, 457,

have used such figurative interpretation of an idol to depict a beloved, nature, or the world; for example, to Farrukhi Sistani (980-1037), the world during the springtime is a house of idols, and its beautiful creatures are the idols.[79] Nevertheless, the image of a cruel and indifferent beloved was later brought to Europe via the Maghreb and the Moorish kingdom of Al Andalus; the Sufi idol was named Fin'amor and influenced Western literature.

In Sufism, an idol is what the heart desires the most. If this desire is for anything but the Truth, the idol is considered to be a false one and consequently, worshipping it would be a negative act. However, should the desire be solely for the Path of Truth and the Beloved, paradoxically, there is nothing more worthy of worship than that idol.[80] An alternative figurative usage of the term is when one's self, or ego, becomes the most desired object of one's heart; Sufis refer to it as 'the inner idol', which is considered as the biggest idol and the hardest to break.[81] According to some Sufis, such as Aziz-odin Nasafi (d.1287), three idols are keeping human beings occupied: gluttony, lust, and love of one's kin.[82] However, most Sufis have used the following verse of the *Quran* to assert that any form of worship is worshipping the Truth for anything that exists, including idols, is the absolute manifestation of a monotheistic God.[83] The verse is:

> Whether they are the ones who believe (in the Arabian Prophet), or whether they are Jews, Christians or Sabians [star worshippers] – all who believe in Allah and the Last Day, and do righteous deeds – their reward is surely secure with their Lord; they need have no fear, nor shall they grieve.[84]

469, 596, 649; Rumi, *Masnavi Manavi,* Reynold A. Nicholson (ed.), (Tehran: Por Javadi, 1985), 3:313; Rumi, *Divan of Shams-e Tabrizi*, Badiol-Zaman Forouzan Far (ed.), (Tehran: Daneshgah, 1957), 620; Hafez, *Divan of Hafez*, 97, 597, 870.

[79] Abol Hasan Ali ibn Jologh Farrukhi Sistani, *Divan of Farrokhi Sistaani,* Ali Abdolrasooli (ed.), (Tehran: Saadat, 1937), 64, 307.

[80] Yahya Ibn Ahmad Bakherzi, *Orad-al Hobab va Fosoos-aladab*, (Tehran: Iraj Afshar: 1979), 246; Jafar Sajjadi, *The Encyclopedia of Islamic Law*, (Tehran: Koomesh, 1987), 381; Abbas Key Manesh, *The Radiance of Mysticsm*, (Tehran: Sadi, 1987), 227.

[81] Abdolah Ibn Mohamad Ansari, *Resale of Khajeh Abdolah Ansari*, (Tehran: Vahid Dastgerdi, 1968), 29; Aziz-odin Ibn Mohamad Nasafi, *Ensan-e Kamel*, (Tehran: Marizhan Moole, 1971), 54.
Rumi, *Masnavi Manavi,* 1: 267.

[82] Nasafi, *Ensan-e Kamel*, 53-4.

[83] Mohamad Ibn Yahya Lahiji, *Mafatih Al-ejaz fi Sharhe Golshane Raaz*, (Tehran: Zavvar, 1992), 639, 642; Mahmood Ibn Ali Khajooye Kermani, *Divan of Khajooye Kermani*, (Tehran: Ahmad Soheili Khansari, 1990), 403.

[84] *The Quran* 2:62.

Persian mystics and Sufis have considered an idol as a point of unification,[85] this belief can be considered as the basis of the Persian phrase صنم داشتن با کسی *sanam dāshtan ba kasi*. 'to have an idol with someone' which figuratively means 'to have similarities with someone'. Such figurative interpretation of Idolatry has formed the basis of the concept of the وحدت وجود *vahdat-e vojōd*, the 'Unity of Existence/Being' which promoted syncretic coexistence amongst followers of different faiths; the Unity of Being, its effect on India, and traces in Jones's works and manuscripts will be the central theme of the fourth chapter of this thesis.

Other than promoting idolatry and drunkenness, 'In the path of your love, occasionally I am called an idolater; sometimes I am called a drunk'[86] which would imply that the Sufi poet is not confining himself to strict and extreme Islam, Abolkhayr's quatrain [87] introduces two significant terminologies of Sufi literature: being a *rend* and *kharābāti*. I will briefly explain the two: رند *rend* literally means 'trickster, slicker, nimble, rogue, mulish, smart, shrewd, and insouciant'. Interestingly, although these characteristics are considered negative in Persian culture and literature, being a rend is considered a positive quality solely due to its Sufi connotation. For example, Sadi, who arguably had the characteristics of a *rend* more than any other Sufi, describes himself as 'Sadi, your name has become a legend of *rend*ness in the world'.[88] In another instance, Sadi states: 'I am a servant of the rends and the pious; since for their Love of the Friend, they are enemies of themselves.'[89] Sadi's *rend*ness is portrayed perfectly in one of his anecdotes: he met someone claiming to be a Darvish, a Sufi wanderer, debated with him for two days and defeated him with eloquence, logic, and reasoning. Then 'he [the self-proclaimed darvish] swore, I taunted in return; he tore my shirt's collar, I pulled his chin [beard]!'[90] Thus, generally, a *rend* in Persian and Sufi literature is a person whose inner self and psyche are healthier and cleaner than his or her outward appearance. The idea of being a *rend* is demonstrated in another quatrain of Jones's *Notebook* attributed to a poet named Gabriel. I have searched extensively to find who the poet was; yet, because Gabriel, the

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[85] Ansari, *Resale of Khajeh Abdolah Ansari*, 29; Lahiji, *Mafatih Al-ejaz fi Sharhe Golshane Raaz*, 639; Sadi, *The Complete Text of Sadi*, 434.
Khajooye Kermani, *Divan of Khajooye Kermani*, 403.

[86] *The Notebook*, f. 26.

[87] *The Notebook*, f. 26.

[88] Sadi, *The Complete Text of Sadi*, 599:
سعدیا نامت به رندی در جهان افسانه شد

[89] Sadi, *The Complete Text of Sadi*, 664:
غلام همت رندان و پاکبازانم که از محبت با دوست دشمن خویشند

[90] Sadi, *The Complete Text of Sadi*, 267:
دشنامم داد سقطش گفتم. گریبانم درید زنخدانش گرفتم.

archangel, is such a prominent figure in Islamic, Persian, and Sufi literature, my search has been fruitless. The quatrain is:

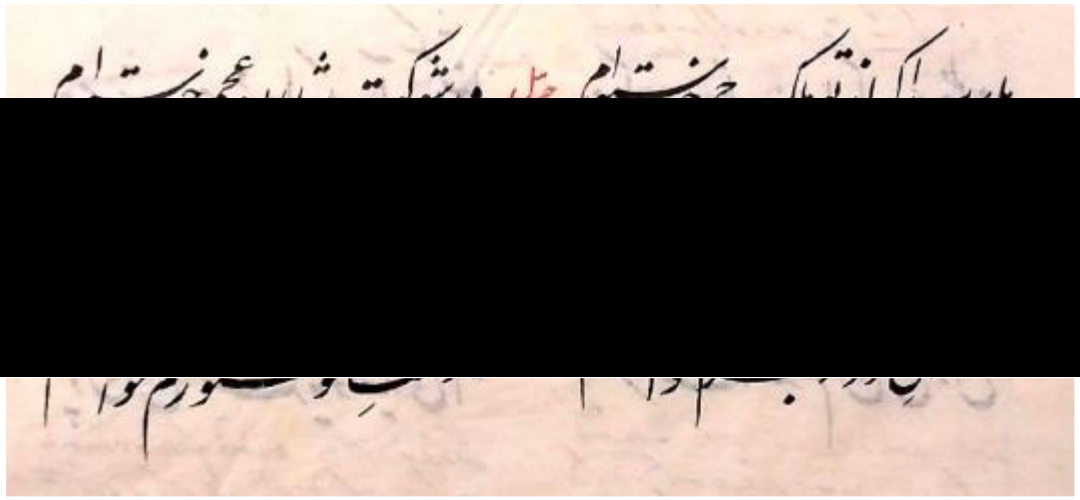

Illustration 10, *The Notebook*, f. 19; a quatrain by a poet named Jabreal.

> Lord, asking you for the kingdom of Jamshid [an Iranian mythological king] and the glory of the Persian kings
> is like asking the Sea for some dampness. It is due to my inferiority that I have asked so little of your Generosities.[91]

In the quatrain, although the poet is asking for huge favours, in order to be playful rather than self-important, he/she also states that all he/she asks is technically nothing, compared to the might and generosity of God.

The other significant Sufi term in Abolkhayr's quatrain, and Sufi rhetoric, is خراباتی *kharābāti* which means 'a person who lives or dwells in the *kharābāt'*. خرابات *kharābāt* literally means 'ruins' and figuratively refers to 'a tavern, a prayer room'. The term has a divine connotation in Sufism since Sufis believe that the Unity with the Beloved occurs in *kharābāt*. To Sufis, *kharābāt* is where a mystic starts the Path, goes through the seven valleys of Love and units with the Beloved. Hafez has used the term *kharābāt* quite frequently in his poetry; a distich of one of his most popular *ghazal*s points out the irony that takes place in the *kharābāt*: God, the Beloved, can be observed even in a Zoroastrian ruin: 'In the Magi's *kharābāt*, I see

[91] *The Notebook*, f. 19:

یا رب اگر از تو ملک جم خواسته ام ور شوکت شاهان عجم خواسته ام
از دونی خود ز بحر نم خواسته ام از همت تو هنوز کم خواسته ام

God's Light; it's a miracle that I see such a Light in such a place.'[92] As mentioned in the previous chapter, in the beginning folio of his copy of Nezami's *Treasury*,[93] Jones quoted a quatrain attributed to Amir Khosrow which contained the concepts of *rend* and *kharābāti*; please see the illustration below:

Illustration 11, BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. I; a quatrain in Jones's hand which he attributed to Amir Khosrow.

> 'If I am an infidel, fire or idol worshipper, I am! If I am a *rend*, or a *kharābāti*, I am!
>
> Different tribes have different assumptions of me; only my beloved and I know what I am!'

The final distich of Amir Khosrow's quatrain quoted by Jones implies that the poet does not concern himself with the accusations since only the beloved matters. On the other hand, Abolkhayr's final distich of his quatrain states 'yet I am happy that I am whatever they say'[94] which is a sign of contentment even though he feels broken due to the accusations. Intriguingly, another quatrain of Abolkhayr in Jones's *Notebook* explains the source of the Sufi's contentment:

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[92] Hafez, *Divan of Hafez*, 714:
درخرابات مغان نورخدامی‌بینم این عجب بین که چه نوری زکجامی‌بینم

[93] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. i:
گر کافر و گبر و بت پرستم هستم گر رند خراباتی هستم هستم
هر طایفه به من گمانی دارد من دانم و دوست هر چه هستم هستم

[94] *The Notebook*, f. 26:
من شاد به اینکه هر چه هستم گویند

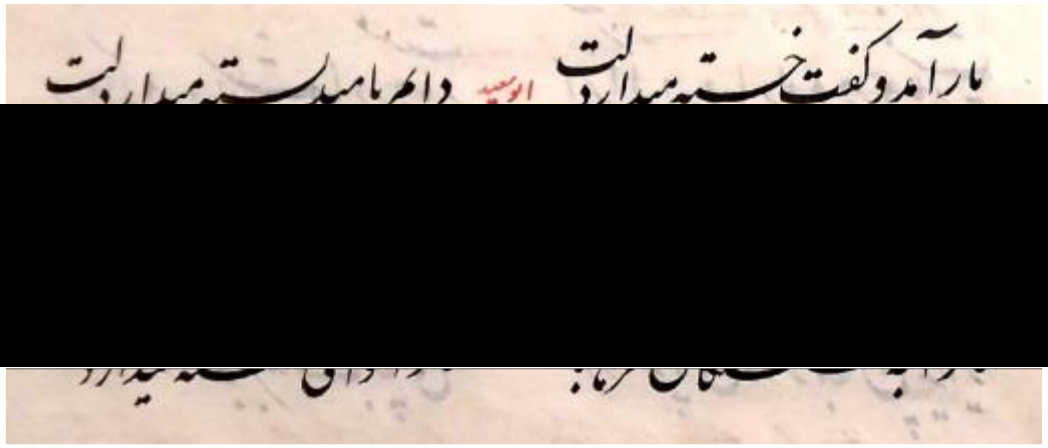

Illustration 12, *The Notebook*, f. 24; a quatrain by Abolkhayr.

The beloved came to me and said, 'keep your heart tired, yet always hopeful.

[For] I have my sight on the brokenhearted, so if you desire me to keep your heartbroken.[95]

As it will be explained in the third chapter of this thesis, the final stages of a Sufi's quest to unite with the Beloved is فنا *fanā*, 'annihilation' which leads to the Sufi's بقا *baghā* 'immortality' or eternal unity with the Beloved. Abolkhayr is content with being 'broken' as he has realized that it leads to the annihilation and consequently eternal unification with the Beloved. Another quatrain in Jones's *Notebook* is attributed to Sahabi, yet its tone and theme are similar to Abolkhayr's quatrains. The quatrain is:

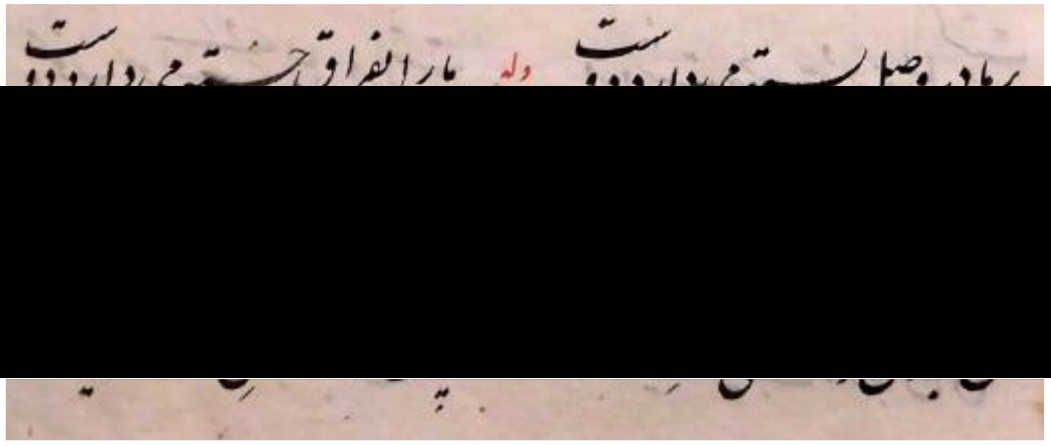

Illustration 13, *The Notebook*, f. 18; a quatrain by attributed to Sahabi.

The friend keeps the door of union closed on us; the friend burdens us with separation.

[95] *The Notebook*, f. 24:

یار آمد و گفت خسته میدار دلت — دایم به امید بسته می‌دار دلت
ما را به شکستگان نظرها باشد — ما را خواهی شکسته میدار دلت

Me, my ego, disappointment, and the friend's gate, since the friend likes the broken-hearted.[96]

In the last hemistich of the quatrain, 'since the friend likes the brokenhearted', the poet uses a pun: while the first دوست *dōst* in the hemistich means 'a friend', the second one means 'liking something'. Jones's *Notebook* might be the only manuscript that recognizes Sahabi as the author of the quatrain. However, it contains signs of being composed by Abolkhayr: other than the contentment the poet feels due to being broken in the path of union with the beloved, he is differentiating between one and one's self, which is another characteristic of Abolkhayr's mystical views.

The final quatrain of Abolkhayr in Jones's *Notebook* explains the Sufi's path to the Divine Love and the burdens a Sufi takes in order to be eternally united with the Beloved:

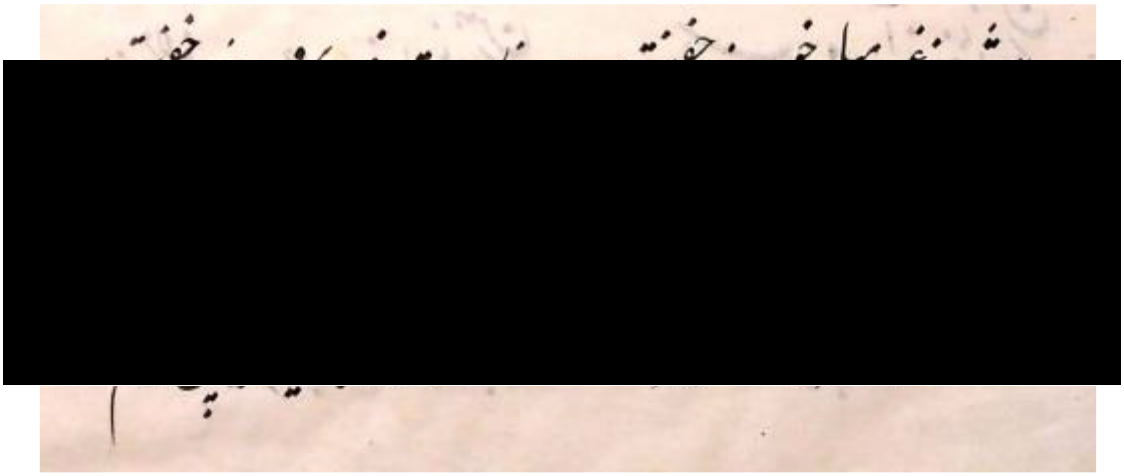

Illustration 14, *The Notebook*, f. 27; a quatrain by Abolkhayr.

From the pain [of your separation], tonight I shall sleep in blood, not in the bed of salvation and bliss.

If you do not believe me, send me a dream vision of yourself to see how I have slept without you.[97]

Another Sufi poet whose quatrains are available in the *Notebook* is Omar Khayyam:[98] a Persian philosopher, astronomer, mathematician, and poet who is considered one of the most

[96] *The Notebook*, f. 18:

بر ما در وصل بسته میدارد دوست ما را به فراق خسته میدارد دوست
من بعد من و شکستگی بر در دوست چون دوست دل شکسته میدارد دوست

[97] *The Notebook*, f. 27:

امشب ز غمت میان خون خواهم خفت و ز بستر عافیت برون خواهم خفت
باور نکنی خیال خود را بفرست تا در نگری که بی‌تو چون خواهم خفت

[98] *The Notebook*, f. 17-8.

influential Sufis and scholars of the Middle Ages. In Europe, Khayyam's significance as a philosopher and poet has not received the same attention as his scientific writings.[99] It is argued that Edward FitzGerald (1809–83) introduced Khayyam to Europe[100] by translating some of his quatrains and publishing them as *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam: the astronomer-poet of Persia: rendered into English verse* (1859).[101] FitzGerald's book attributes about a thousand quatrains to Khayyam; yet, according to some scholars, such as Saeed Nafisi, the number of his quatrains varies from twelve hundred to over two thousand.[102] On the other hand, many scholars such as Mohammad-Ali Foroughi and Sadegh Hedayat have selected a subset of the quatrains to be authentic; [103] some such as Hasan Nazarian believed that Khayyam had only composed a total of twelve quatrains.[104] The uncertainty regarding the number of Khayyam's quatrains is a result of them not being published during the poet's era due to the liberal subjects of the quatrains, the unstable socio-political situation of Iran, and the fanaticism of Khayyam's era.[105] Hedayat goes as far as stating that 'if one has lived for a century and has changed his religion and creed twice a day, he still will not be able to have such a diverse ideology'.[106] While publishers' and scribes' mistakes can be observed in different manuscripts, Khayyam's poetry was also deliberately changed to make it closer to Sufism.[107] Furthermore, Hedayat believes that whoever used to drink wine and compose quatrains has attributed his/her poetry to Khayyam so that he/she was not excommunicated from the society.[108] Another issue that makes identifying Khayyam's original quatrains more complex is that through time many poets followed and imitated his style, and after a while, the imitations became accepted as

[99]Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy from Its Origin to the Present: Philosophy in the Land of Prophecy*, (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2006), 165-83: 165.
[100] Jos Biegstraaten, "KHAYYAM, OMAR xiv. Impact On Literature And Society In The West", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, (2008), [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/khayyam-omar-impact-west].
[101] Omar Khayyam, *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam: the astronomer-poet of Persia: rendered into English verse.*, Edward FitzGerald (trans.), (London: Macmillan and Co., 1859).
[102]Omar Khayyam, *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, Saeed Nafisi (ed.), (Tehran: Poor-Shaad, 2006).
[103]Ali Reza Amir-Moez, 'A Paper of Omar Khayyám', *Scripta Mathematica* 26, (1963), 323-7.
[104] Hasan Nazarian, *Nineteen Articles on Omar-e Khayyam*, (Mashhad: Art and Culture Organization of Khorasan Razavi, 2000).
[105] Sadegh Hedayat, *The Lyrics of Khayyam*, 6th ed, (Tehran: Parastoo, 1974), 12.
[106]Hedayat, *The Lyrics of Khayyam*, 9.
[107]Hedayat, *The Lyrics of Khayyam*, 22.
[108]Hedayat, *The Lyrics of Khayyam*, 22.

Khayyam's poetry.[109] The oldest manuscript of Khayyam's quatrain is MS. Ouseley 140, copied in 1460 in Shiraz, it has 158 quatrains. The most notable contemporary collections of Khayyam are Sadegh Hedayat's *The Lyrics of Khayyam* (1934), consisting of a hundred and nineteen quatrains, Mohammad Ali Foroughi's *The Quatrains of Omar Khayyam* (1941), consisting of a hundred and seventy-eight quatrains, and Ahmad Shamloo's *The Lyrics* (1957), consisting of a hundred and twenty-five quatrains. The uncertainty over Khayyam's quatrains can also be observed in Jones's manuscripts: for example, the quatrain Jones attributed to Amir Khosrow and mentioned previously while explaining the term *kharābāti*,[110] is also attributed to Khayyam. Although most scholars do not agree on the number of Khayyam's quatrains, they agree on the themes commonly he has used in his quatrains; other than attacking hypocrisy which is a commonly used theme amongst Sufi figures, Khayyam's quatrains – or the quatrains attributed to him – generally revolve around: the dawn of Eternity, mysteries of the Creation, passage of time, pain of living, carpe diem, and the transience and futility of human beings, the world, and life. Although most of these themes can be observed in the four quatrains attributed to Khayyam in Jones's *Notebook*, the general ambiguity over Khayyam's authorship is evident in three instances; the first one is in the following quatrain:

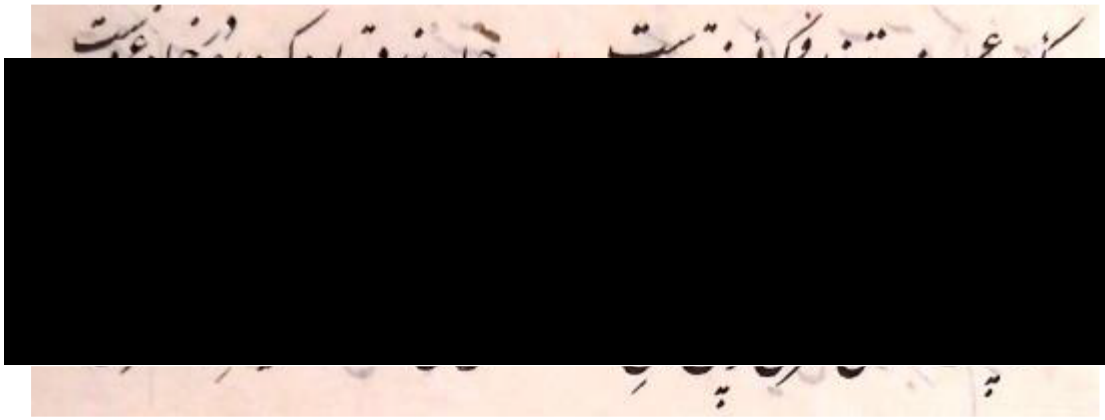

Illustration 15, *The Notebook*, f. 18; a quatrain by Abolkhayr.

In your misery, I cry, and you say it is dissimulation; how can it be dissimulation since my eyes are weltering in blood?
Do you assume that all hearts are like yours? No, no, my idol, there are differences amongst hearts. [111]

[109] Hedayat, *The Lyrics of Khayyam*, 23.
[110] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. i.
[111] *The Notebook*, f. 18:

گریم به غم تو زار و گویی زرق است — چون زرق بود که دیده در خون غرق است
تو پنداری که هر دلی چون دل تست — نی نی صنما میان دلها فرق است

The manuscript has attributed the quatrain to Khayyam, yet contemporary modern scholars have accounted Abolkhayr as its poet. It might be worth mentioning that the quatrain's theme and tone are quite similar to the rest of Abolkhayr's quatrains in the *Notebook*; particularly the pain and sorrow the poet feels due to the separation from the cruel beloved. The poet uses the image of 'to cry [shed] blood' in this poem which signifies the old Persian belief that tears are, in fact, one's blood purified and became clear and colourless through the misery of one's soul. However, when one is in too much pain, the blood cannot be purified completely, and thus one cries blood. To put this into scientific terms, when an individual cries so much, the blood vessels in his or her eyes are damaged, which causes the person to cry blood; such pain is abundant in Abolkhayr's quatrains and relatively uncommon in Khayyam's. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, the utilization of idolatry imagery is more common in Abolkhayr's poetry than in Khayyam's; consequently, the quatrain is more likely to be Abolkhayr's. The other two instances in the *Notebook* in which the quatrains' authorship is uncertain occur between Sahabi and Khayyam.[112] The following quatrain is attributed to Sahabi in the *Notebook*:

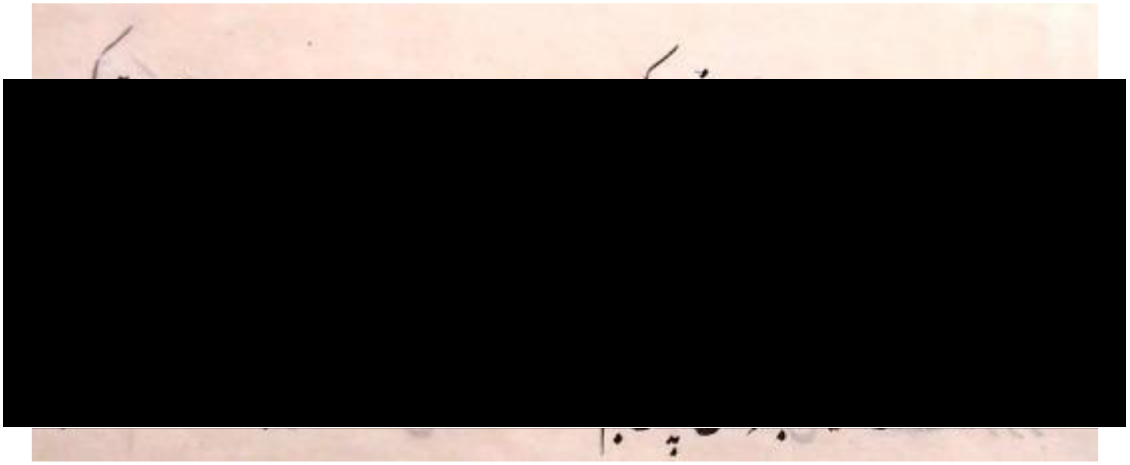

Illustration 16, *The Notebook*, f. 18; a quatrain attributed to Sahabi.

O heart, suppose that you have everything in the world; suppose that the garden of your joy is decorated with greenery.
Like dew in that green garden, for only a moment, assume that you are sitting since you will leave in the morning.[113]

[112] *The Notebook*, f. 18, & 22.
[113] *The Notebook*, f. 18:

ای دل همه أسباب جهان خواسته گیر — باغ طربت به سبزه پیراسته گیر
ونگاه بر آن سبزه شبی چون شبنم — بنشسته و بامداد برخاسته گیر

Most modern sources attribute this quatrain to Khayyam, mainly because of its theme of the futility of life and the world and its tone; the author of the manuscript, however, considers it as one of Sahabi's. The other case is the following quatrain:

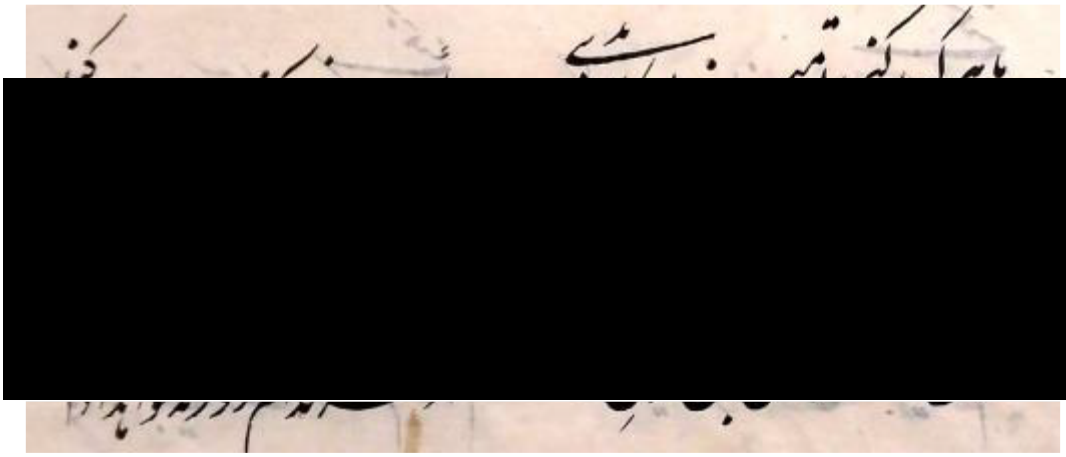

Illustration 17, *The Notebook*, f. 22; a quatrain attributed to Sahabi.

> Do not think that if you are vicious to anyone, the firmament will forget that vice and fate let go of it.
>
> The vices are like taking loans from fate [time], it might be collected on any day that fate desires.[114]

There is no conclusive answer about the authorship of this quatrain; some sources have attributed it to Attar, others to Hakim Shafaei (1587-1627). However, it should be pointed out that the quatrain also contains themes commonly associated with Khayyam's poetry, such as the passage of time, so it might be his.[115]

Although Edward Fitzgerald has been credited as the first translator of Khayyam's quatrains in his *Rubáiyát* (1859), it was, in fact, Jones who published the very first English translation of Khayyam in his *A Grammar* (1771); Europe became accustomed to Khayyam's quatrain with the following distich and quatrain:

---

[114] *The Notebook*, f. 22:

با هر بد که میکنی تو مپندار کان بدی گردون فروگذارد و دوران رها کند
قرض است کارهای بدشپیش روزگار در هر کدام روز که خواهد ادا کند

[115] There is also another version of the quatrain which is as follows:

هر بد که میکنی تو مپندار کان بدی ایزد فروگذارد و دوران رها کند
قرض است کرده های تو در نزد روزگار در هر کدام روز که باشد ادا کند

'Do not think that if you commit any vices, God will forget that vice and that fate lets it go;
your deeds are like taking loans from the fate [time], they might be collected on any day by fate.'

از آمدن بهار و از رفتن دی اوراق وجود ما همی گردد طی

By the approach of the spring, and the return of December the leaves of our lives are continually folded.[116]

هنگام سپیده دم خروس سحری
دانی ز چه روی هم کند نوحه گری
یعنی که نمودند در این آینه صبح
کز عمر شبی گذشت و تو بی‌خبری

At the time that the dawn appears, dost thou know for what reason the bird of the morning complains? He says, that it is shown in the mirror of the day, that a whole night of thy life is passed, while thou art lost in indolence.[117]

Two of the loose folios in the MSS Eur. C 274 collection contain Jones's works on this quatrain; the first one, as seen below, is him transcribing the quatrain:

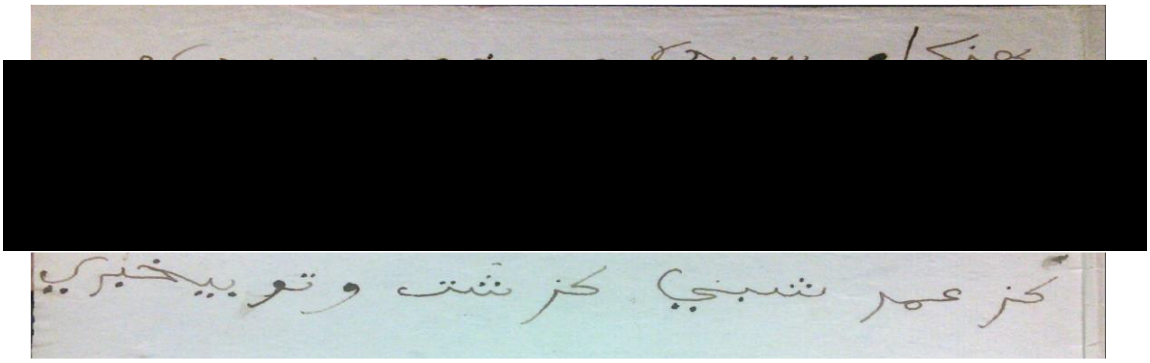

Illustration 18, MSS Eur. C 274, f. 48; a quatrain by Khayyam in Jones's hand.

The second folio contains the quatrain and Jones's word for word translation of it; please see below:

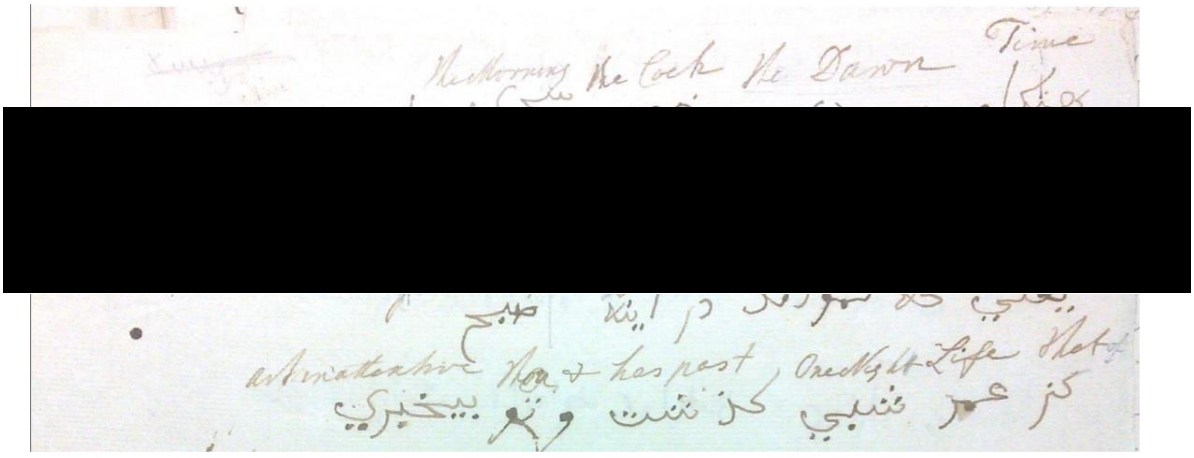

Illustration 19, MSS Eur. C 274, f. 49; Jones's word by word translation of a quatrain by Khayyam.

The Morning the Cock the Dawn Time

[116] Jones, *A Grammar*, 100.
[117] Jones, *A Grammar*, 138.

> complaint he makes cause what for don't thou know
> the Morning the Mirror will show, that that is to say
> art inattentive thou & has past One Night Life that is

Jones has not directly attributed this quatrain to Khayyam. While Hedayat attributed it to him, Shamloo and Foroughi attribute this quatrain to Abolkhayr. Years later, when Jones was in Bengal, he transcribed, transliterated and translated another quatrain, and gave it the title 'Quatrain on the Vanity of Kingly Grandiosity By Khiyya´m':

> I allow that thy throne, O King, may be formed of beryl & jasper: but he who has a discerning eye, esteems it a common stone: this royal seat of ermine & sable & precious fur appears in the sight of those who sit contented upon mats to be merely Vulgar Wool.[118]

Initially, reflecting on Jones's feeling towards arbitrary monarchy, he was attracted to this quatrain due to its questioning such 'Grandiosity'. The quatrain's translation also juxtaposes 'beryl & jasper' and 'ermine & sable & precious fur' with 'a common stone' and 'Vulgar Wool'. On one level, as Franklin suggests, 'the contrast drawn between ermine and wool there might be an allusion to the fact that Sufi derives from the Arabic word *suf* (wool), connoting the pious mystic wool-wearer, a dervish dress of radical renunciation.'[119] However, the juxtaposition also depicts the Sufis' denunciation of worldly and materialistic possessions and stature. Jones has mentioned such Sufi denunciations on multiple occasions in his work, and they will be mentioned in the third chapter of this thesis. However, there is a folio in the Osborn c. 400 collection which juxtaposes them with Khayyam; please see the illustration below:

[118] New York, Fales Library, MSS 301, 1: 19.
[119] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 349.

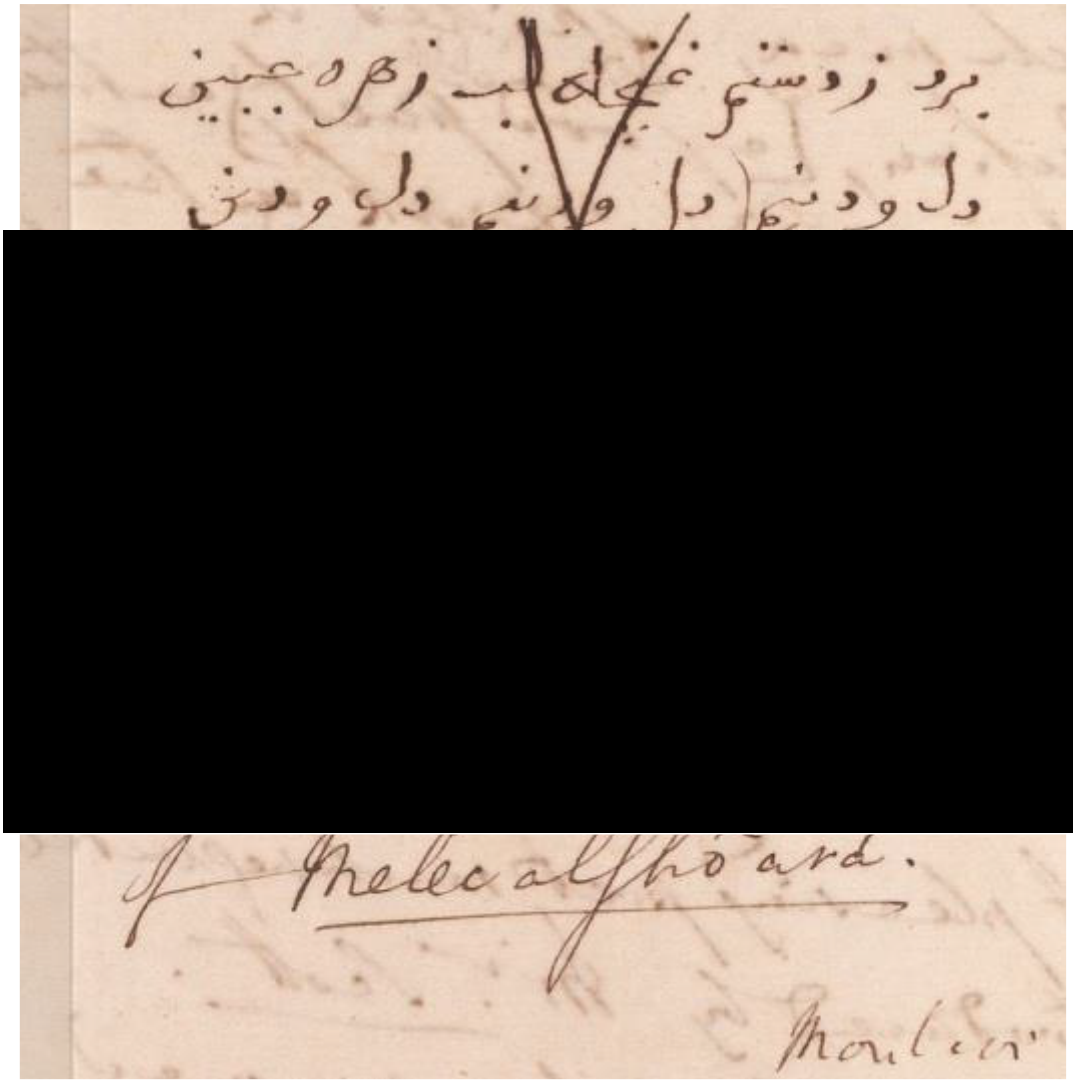

Illustration 20, Osborn c. 400, f. 28; a Persian quatrain in Jones's hand.

The quatrain can be translated to:

> [You with] Venus-liked cheeks and blossomed lips, leave me!
>
> My heart and faith, my heart and faith, my heart and faith!
>
> Why should I concern myself with Khayyam [alternatively Jones has written 'buy status'] in India?
>
> There is no remedy for the pain of love in that land![120]

[120] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400, f. 28:

برو ز دستم غنچه لب زهره جبین دل و دینم دل و دینم دل و دین
من چرا خیام زنم در هندوستان چاره نیست از درد عشق در آن زمین

The quatrain is not only in Jones's hand but also due to several reasons is most likely composed by him: firstly, there is no trace of this quatrain or any possible variations of it available; secondly, it does not thoroughly follow any Persian meter. Thirdly, it contains the repetition of the term دل و دینم 'my heart and faith,' while such phrasal repetitions are rare in Persian poetry. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Osborn c. 400 collection dates back to when Jones was in India. In the folio, Jones pays tribute to Khayyam not only by mentioning the poet's name in his quatrain, but also giving him the title of ملک الشعرا *Malek al-shoarā*, 'The King of Poets' as he has written below the quatrain: 'I obtained for him ye Title of Melec al Shoara'. In addition, Jones's hand quite literally depicts the Sufis and their denouncement of the worldly and materialistic by juxtaposing بخرم مقام 'buy status' and زنم خیام 'concern myself with Khayyam'; please see below:

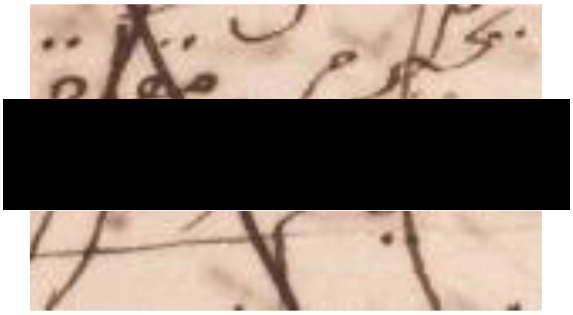

Illustration 21, Osborn c. 400, f. 28; an extract of a Persian quatrain in Jones's hand.

The first quatrain of Khayyam in the *Notebook* is:

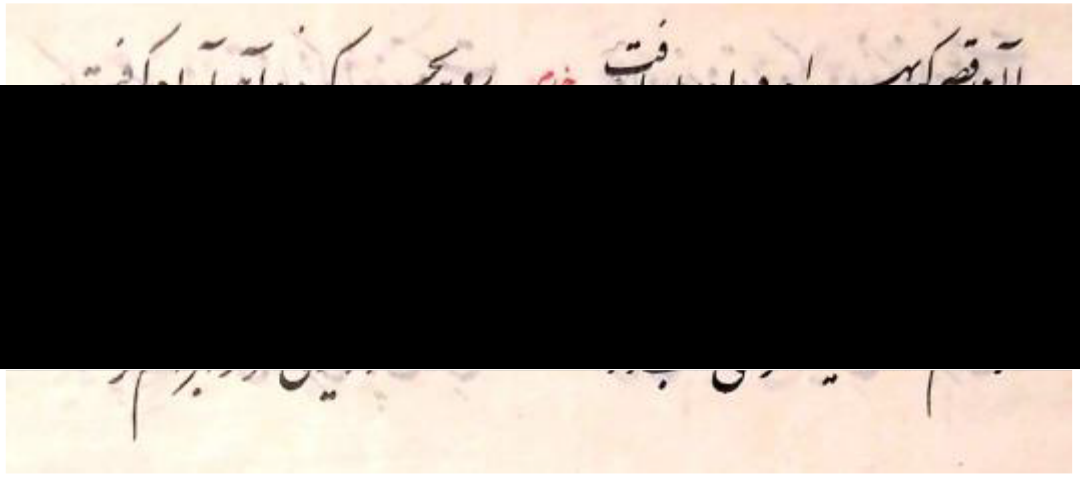

Illustration 22, *The Notebook*, f. 17; a quatrain by Khayyam.

That palace where Bahram took goblets in, became inhabited by a deer and a fox gave birth in.

Bahram, who hunted Onagers[121] all his life, did you see how a grave hunted him?[122]

Alternatively, in the first hemistich of modern versions of this quatrain, by Hedayat, Foroughi, and Shamloo, Jamshid is mentioned instead of Bahram; the alternative version of this hemistich is translated by Edward Fitzgerald as 'The Courts where Jamshýd gloried and drank deep.'[123] Jamshid was the fourth and greatest king in the Persian mythology; mentioned both in the *Shahnameh* as well as Zoroastrian scriptures, it is said that Jamshid had a magical seven-ringed goblet known as جام جم *jām-e jam*, 'the goblet of Jamshid' which allowed him to observe the universe. Furthermore, the place that is known today as the Persepolis in English is known as تخت جمشید *takht-e Jamshid*, 'the throne [palace] of Jamshid' in Persian. Since Khayyam mentions both a goblet and a palace in this quatrain, it is more likely that the first hemistich is about Jamshid, not Bahram. However, it is clear that in the second hemistich, Khayyam is mentioning Bahram V (400-438), known as *Bahram-e gōr*, who was the fifth Sasanian King of the Persian Empire. Many Persian poets have mentioned Bahram V in their works; the king appears in Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, Sadi's *Golestan*, Hafez's *Divan*, and Amir Khosrow's *Eight Heavens*. Nezami's *haft peykar*, 'The Seven Beauties', which inspired Jones to compose 'The Seven Fountains, an Eastern Allegory, written in the Year 1767',[124] is also known as بهرام نامه *Bahram nāmeh*, 'The Book of Bahram'. In a letter dated 26 March 1771, Jones describes the work to James Bate (1703–1775), the English scholar and writer: the book 'relates the story of King Bahram VI, whom Greeks with their usual incompetence call Varanes;'[125] Jones had made a mistake in his description of the book as it narrates the story of Bahram V, not Bahram VI. Khayyam has utilized Bahram's self-proclaimed title گور *gōr* as a pun in his quatrain: the term *gōr* means 'Onager or Zebra' and Bahram nicknamed himself Bahram-e *gōr* due to his skill in the hunting of the animal; the term *gōr* also means a 'grave' in Persian. Bahram's life ended with him drowning in a swamp as he was chasing after an Onager; thus, ironically, as the skilful hunter of the *gōr* 'Onager' was after one, he was hunted by his own *gōr*, 'grave'. In

[121] Also known as hemione or Asiatic wild ass, the Onager is a species of the family Equidae.
[122] *The Notebook*, f. 17:

آن قصر که بهرام در او جام گرفت — آهو بچه کرد و روبه آرام گرفت
بهرام که گور می‌گرفتی همه عمر — دیدی که چگونه گور بهرام گرفت

[123] Khayyam, *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam*, 4.
[124] William Jones, *Poems, consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatick languages. To which are added two essays*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1772), 39-69.
[125] Jones, *The Letters*, 1:92.

addition to presenting another Persian pun, Khayyam's following quatrain in the *Notebook* portrays the passage of time and the futility of life:

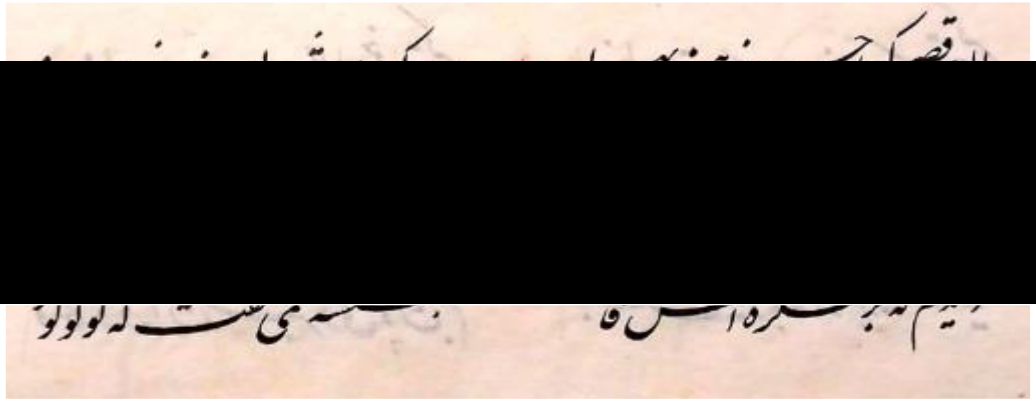

Illustration 23, *The Notebook*, f. 17; a quatrain by Khayyam.

> That palace, which was as glorious as the firmament, many kings were in its doorways and corridors;
> we saw a cuckoo sitting on its ramparts and continually sang Where? Where? Where? Where?[126]

In Persian literature, the cuckoo mentioned due to its sound, a repetition of *kō*; as the term *kō* in Persian means 'where?' cuckoo has become a cliché in the literature. However, the bird has another signification that is rarely used: it is known as an unfaithful bird; Sadi states: 'With the glory of a peacock and elegant manner of a partridge, your only flaw is that you are more unkind [unfaithful] than a cuckoo.'[127] Hence, by using a cuckoo, Khayyam uses the bird's sound and exploits its cultural significance to show that the world is not faithful to anyone. It might be worth mentioning that Hafez calls the world as عروس هزار داماد *arōse hezār dāmād*, 'a bride with a thousand grooms', a metaphor which is still used in Persian: 'Do not expect loyalty from this ill-founded world, since it is an old bride with a thousand grooms'.[128] Both Jones and Hafez have become familiar with the simile of the world as a bride with a thousand grooms through the writings of Attar.[129]

The last quatrain attributed to Khayyam in Jones's *Notebook* is as follows:

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[126] *The Notebook*, f. 17:

آن قصر که با چرخ همیزد پهلو — بر درگه او شهان نهادندی رو
دیدیم که بر کنگره‌اش فاخته‌ای — بنشسته همی گفت که کوکوکوکو

[127] Sadi, *The Complete Text of Sadi*, 549.

[128] Hafez, *Divan of Hafez*, (Tehran: Parviz Natel-Khanlari, 1983), 90.

[129] See 'Sir William Jones's Collection of Papers, MSS Eur. C 274', 34, and Illustration 6 which is Jones practising the following lines of Attar's *Pandnameh*:
'The world has poison inside like a snake, although it has paintings and ornaments on the outside. The world is like an adorned bride, at every instance she desires another husband.'

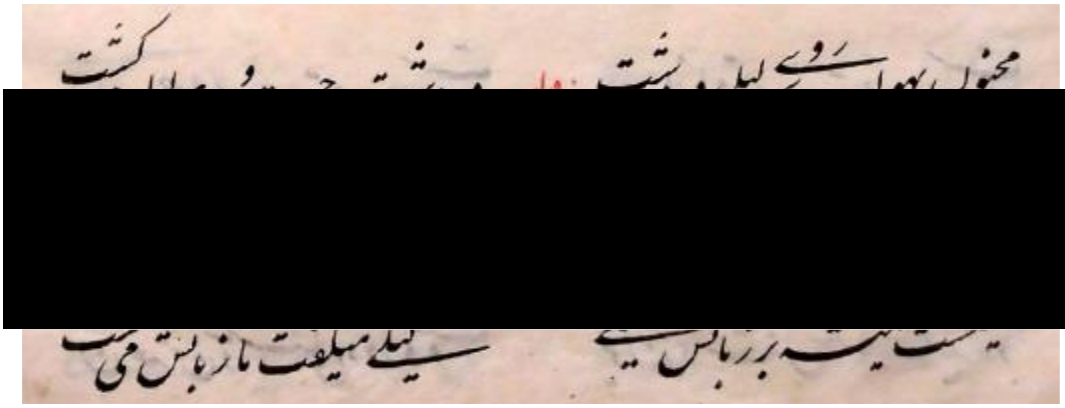

Illustration 24, *The Notebook*, f. 17; a quatrain by Khayyam.

> In a thicket, Majnoon with the desire of Leili's cheeks, was looking for Leili in the desert.
> [the word] Leili was always moving on his tongue; he was saying Leili as long as his tongue was moving.[130]

Jones's *Notebook* is one of the few sources that attributed this quatrain to Khayyam, but the quatrain does not offer much more than an alliteration of the sounds ش *sh* and ت *t* and an allusion to the famous love-story of 'Leili and Majnoon' (1192) which is part of *The Five Treasures* (1163-1197) by Nezami Ganjavi's (1141-1209). *The Five Treasures* consists of 'The Treasury of the Mysteries' (1131), 'Khosrow and Shirin' (1177–1180), 'The Seven Beauties' (1197), and 'The Book of Alexander' (1194/6-1202).[131] Jones's researches and translations of Nezami will be discussed in detail in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

Another Sufi poet who appears in Jones's *Notebook* is Sahabi, who was briefly mentioned previously since the authorship of some of the quatrains in the *Notebook* is debated. Born in Shushtar, Sahabi moved to Najaf and spent the last forty years of his life as a servant of Ali's shrine. Some accounts of his life state that he did not leave the shrine for thirty years.[132] There are numerous versions of his works; Sahabi quatrains are primarily famous for their Sufi aspect rather than their literary value and aesthetics.[133] Overall, the *Notebook* contains five

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[130] *The Notebook*, f. 17:

مجنون به هوای روی لیلی در دشت　　در دشت به جست و جوی لیلی می گشت
می گشت همیشه بر زبانش لیلی　　لیلی می گفت تا زبانش می گشت

[131] Charles-Henri De Fouchecour, 'IRAN: Classical Persian Literature', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, (2012), 8: 414-32. [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/iran-viii2-classical-persian-literature].

[132] Safa Zabih-alaah, *Tarikh Adabiyat-e Iran*, 4: 317-8.

[133] Hasan Poor-Hiva, 'The Stylistics of Sahabi's Quatrains', *The Persian Prose and Verse Stylistics*, 4, (2011), 43-56.

quatrains which indeed were composed by Sahabi, and Jones has translated one of them to English; please see the illustration below:

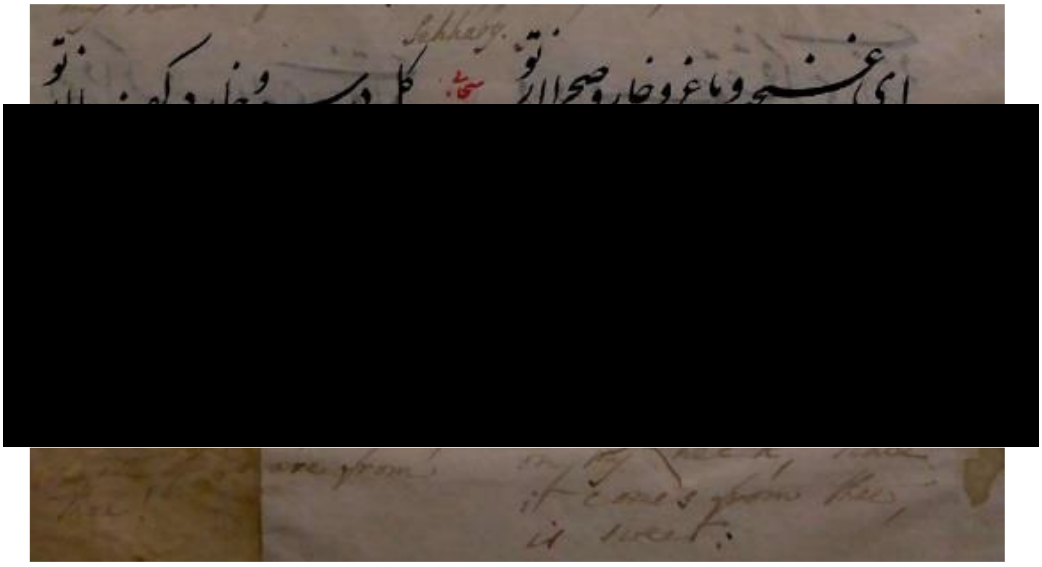

Illustration 25, *The Notebook*, f. 20; a quatrain attributed to Sahabi and Jones's translation.

> Oh! Thou, from whom proceeds the rose-bud and the thorn, the garden and the desert
>
> From thee proceed roses (of beloved objects) on the head, and thorns on the feet (of lovers)
>
> The collar of adversity on my neck, since it comes from thee, is sweet:
>
> The collar is from thee, the neck is from thee, and all of us are from thee![134]

The quatrain literally translates to:

> Oh! The flower-bud, the garden, the thorn, and the desert are yours; the flower on my head and the thorn in the bottom of my foot are yours;
>
> the collar of Balā on our neck is a blessing from you; the collar is from you, the neck is from you, and we are from you.

The gist of this Persian quatrain which also appears in Jones's handwritten English translation could be summarized in a common Persian proverb: هرچه از دوست رسد نکوست 'Whatever comes from the friend [beloved] is pleasant'. On a deeper level, in accord with the Unity of Being, Sahabi points out that whatever one experiences – whether 'roses (of beloved objects) on the head' which in Persian figuratively means the source of one's pride or the 'thorns on the feet

[134] *The Notebook*, f. 20:

ای غنچه و باغو خار و صحرا از تو — گل در سر و خار کفّ پا از تو
در گردن ما طوق بلا از تو خوشی است — طوق از تو و گردن از تو و ما از تو

(of lovers)' which figuratively means the source of one's pain – is originated from a singular unifying source. For Sufis, both the source of pleasure and the cause of pain are nothing but the love of the Beloved. Jones's translation demonstrates his understanding of this concept as he has distinguished between the two opposing manifestations of Love 'roses (of beloved objects) on the head and thorns on the feet (of lovers).'

In the third hemistich, Jones has translated the word بلا *balā* to 'adversity'; the word literally means a 'hardship, trouble, disaster;' hence, it can be argued that 'adversity' would be a good fit here. However, *balā*'s meaning in an Islamic and Sufi context is quite different from adversity: the *Quran* and the *Hadith* refer to *balā* as God's test for human beings; for example, Mohammad has used the word as a test: 'The people who are tested the most severely are the Prophets, then the righteous, then the next best and the next best.'[135] Such *Hadiths* led Sufis to interpret *balā* as the test or labours that the beloved sets for the lover; for example, Hafez stated: 'The beloved's locks is a trap on the path and his/her coquetry is an arrow of *balā*.'[136] Furthermore, the word طوق *togh*, 'collar' is another indication that *balā* here figuratively means love. In almost every Middle Eastern love story, including *Leili and Majnoon* as well *as Shirin and Farhad*, the lover is portrayed as the beloved's slave with the beloved's collar on his/her neck. Considering all of these, 'adversity' would not be the best choice for translating *balā* here.

There are four other quatrains of Sahabi in the *Notebook*; although Jones has not translated or annotated them, each conveys significant Persian-Sufi concepts. I will briefly discuss them in the following few pages; the first quatrain can be seen in the below illustration:

[135] Fath al-Bari, *Sahih al-Bukhari,* 7: 70, *Hadith* 551, [http://hadith.al-islam.com/Page.aspx?pageid=192&BookID=24&PID=5427].
أَشَدُّ النَّاسِ بَلَاءً الْأَنْبِيَاءُ، ثُمَّ الصَّالِحُونَ، ثُمَّ الْأَمْثَلُ فَالْأَمْثَلُ

[136] Hafez, *Divan of Hafez*, 352:
زلف دلبر دام راه و غمزه‌اش تیر بلاست

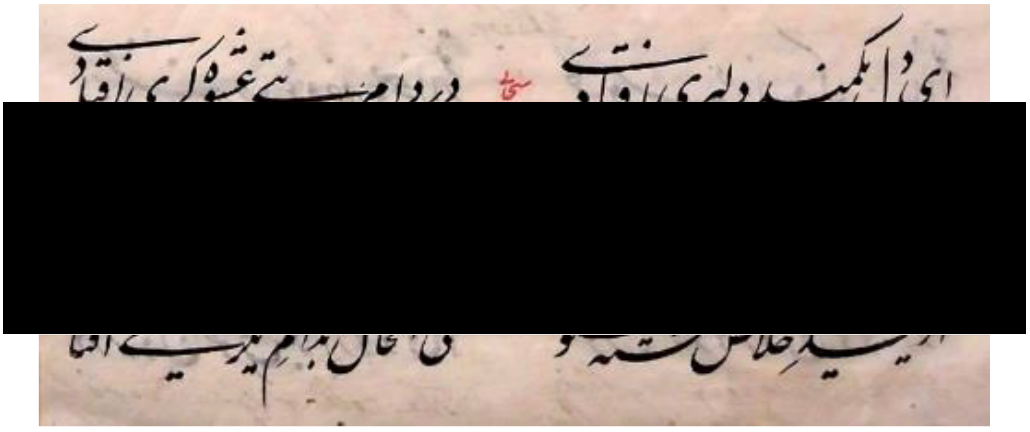

Illustration 26, *The Notebook*, f. 19; a quatrain by Sahabi.

> O heart, you have fallen in the lasso of a beloved, trapped by a coquettish idol.
> You have not released yourself from the previous one, yet now you have fallen into the trap of another![137]

Other than the idol metaphor discussed earlier, in this quatrain, Sahabi has used hunting imagery to depict falling in love; such relation is quite common in Persian literature. The act of hunting signifies the physicality, zest, and high spirit of the hunter as well as the bravery, skill, and stamina of the hunt; furthermore, it contains the relentless pursuit of the prey and its final capture, as well as the cruelty, bloodshed, and death that is accompanied by the hunt.[138] Since Persian lyrical, religious, and mystical poetry uses hunting as a metaphor, the physical aspect is almost faded, and the entrapment is enhanced. In the metaphor, the beloved becomes a چابـک سـوار *chābok savār*, 'nimble fierce rider', who baits the lover in the trap with a دانـه *dāneh*, 'a seed' which is sometimes the beloved's beauty spot, and finally the hunted lover is captured by a snare, or lasso, which is the tresses and locks of the beloved. Jones's *Notebook* contains three distiches of a *ghazal* of Amir Khosrow in which these images can be observed:

[137] *The Notebook*, f. 19:

ای دل به کمند دلبری افتادی　　در دام بتی عشوه گری افتادی
از قید یکی خلاص ناگشته هنوز　　فی‌الحال به دام دیگری افتادی

[138] William L. Hanaway, 'The Concept of the Hunt in Persian Literature', *Boston Museum Bulletin*, 69, (1971), 21-69: 22.

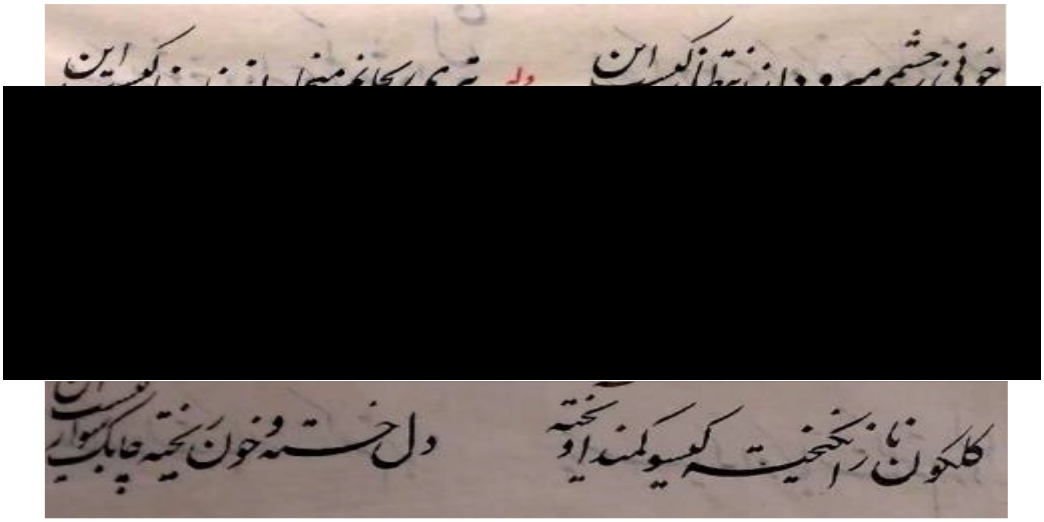

Illustration 27, *The Notebook*, f. 27-8; three distiches by Amir Khosrow.

> Blood is shedding from my eyes, whose anticipation is this for? An arrow is penetrating my life [soul], whose thorn is this from?
>
> The heart that I took back from the capricious idols has been stolen by someone else again, find out whose doing is this?
>
> That excited rowdy, has hung the lasso of her tresses, has made the heart exhausted and bloodstained, who is this nimble fierce rider?[139]

In these lines, Amir Khosrow has used three of the most common metaphors of hunting in Persian love poetry: تیـر *tir*, 'an arrow' a common metaphor for a beloved's eyelashes, کمنـد *kamand*, 'a lasso' a metaphor for a beloved's tresses, and چابـک سـوار *chābok-savār*, literally meaning 'nimble rider' and a common metaphor for the elegant behaviour of a beloved. In European literature, the usage of hunting imagery was not uncommon, particularly in medieval times; however, it should be mentioned that, although some of the Persian images are similar to the European ones, their meanings differ to some extent. For example, arrows, or sometimes spears, represent the beloved's eyelashes in Iran and the Persian culture, while the image commonly signifies Cupid (Eros) in Europe and Kama – an Indian deity of love – in India. In addition, while hunting is considered chiefly a masculine act, irony finds its way to the metaphor, since in Persian literature, the hunter represents

[139] *The Notebook*, f. 27-8:

خونی ز چشمم میرود از انتظار کیست این — تیری به جانم میخلد در خار خار کیست این این
دل کاز بتان بولهوس آورده بودم باز پس — بار دگر دزدید کس بنگر که کار کیست این این
گلگون ناز انگیخته گیسو کمند آویخته — دل خسته و خون ریخته چابک سوار کیست این

the beloved who is described with feminine imagery. Furthermore, on many occasions, the lover, the helpless prey in the snare of the beloved's locks, begs to be caught. The lover might be fortunate enough to get caught and suffer from love and separation, yet the result is Union with the Beloved, what Persian mystics believed to be فنا *fanā*, 'annihilation'; the moment when in the lover's self, there is nothing left but the beloved. The state of annihilation is further elaborated in the following quatrain in Jones's *Notebook*:

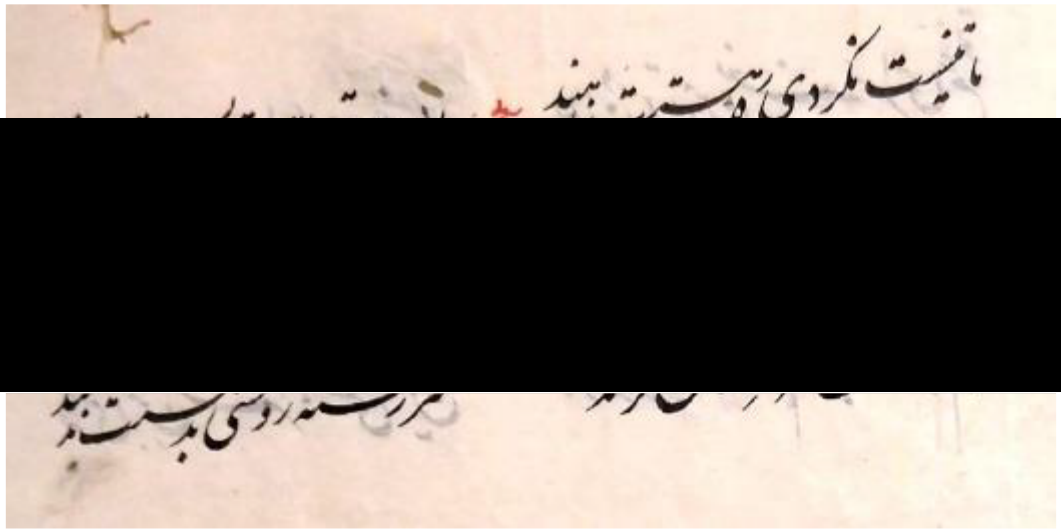

Illustration 28, *The Notebook*, f. 22; a quatrain by Sahabi.

> Until you are not annihilated, you will not be given the path to existence; this status will not be given to you with a low will [ambition].
>
> Should you not be willing to burn like a candle, the lead to the Light shall not be given to you.[140]

The *Notebook* attributes the quatrain to Sahabi, yet modern sources attribute it to Sheikh Bahaei (1547-1621),[141] a Shia philosopher, architect, mathematician, astronomer and poet. Sheikh Bahaei lived in Safavid Iran and is considered as one of the prominent co-founders of the Isfahan School of Islamic Philosophy. Jones had a copy of his جامع عباسی *jāme' e abbāsi*, 'The Abbasi Treaties' which is a popular exposition of the Shia Law.[142] Other than pointing out the immense significance of annihilation in the Sufi path, true Existence requires the annihilation

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[140] *The Notebook*, f. 22:

تا نیست نگردی، ره هستت ندهند — این مرتبه با همت پستت ندهند
چون شمع قرار سوختن گر ندهی — سر رشتهٔ روشنی به دستت ندهند

[141] Sheikh Bahaei, *Koliyat-e Sheikh Bahaei*, (Tehran: Chekameh, 2010), 65.

[142] BL, APAC, RSPA 5.

of the lover's self; in this quatrain, the poet utilizes the standard Sufi image and metaphor of 'a candle'. In Sufism, a candle represents the beloved, in the frequently used phrase of شمع و پروانه *sham'-o parvāneh*, 'the butterfly and the candle'. A Sufi's path is similar to that of a butterfly that falls in love with an illuminating candle, moves towards it, and eventually becomes annihilated in the flame of its beloved; this imagery is often used from the butterfly's, or lover's, point of view. In this particular quatrain, however, Sahabi uses the imagery from the candle's perspective: a beloved, who burns her/himself in order to enlighten its lover and surroundings. The remaining two quatrains of Sahabi in the *Notebook* revolve around the Sufi theme of the separation of the lover and the beloved.[143] Please see the illustrations below:

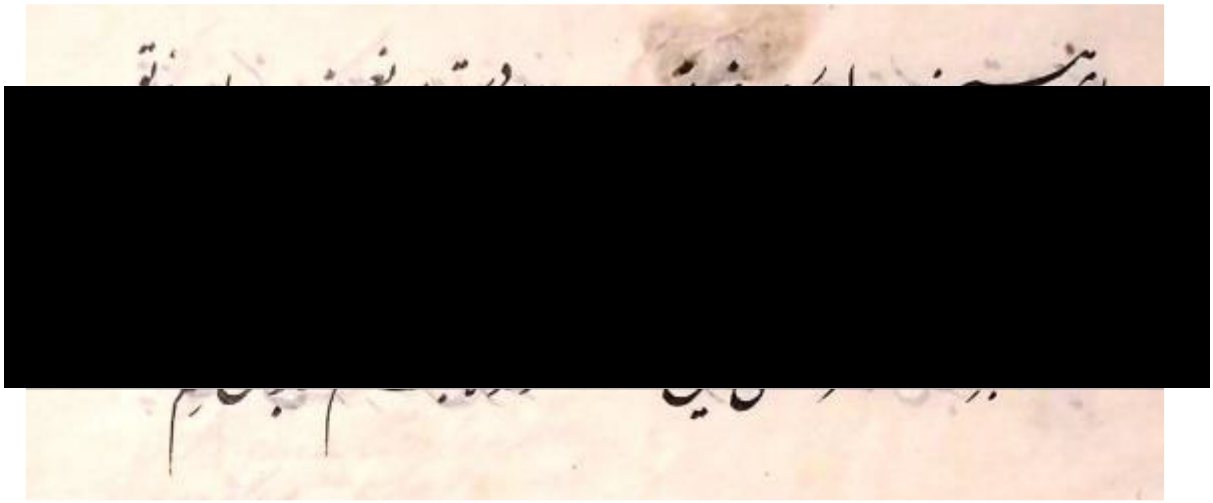

Illustration 29, *The Notebook*, f. 21; a quatrain by Sahabi.

My soul is a bard for your grievance, for nothing exists in my heart but it.

Do this downhearted one a favour, sometimes, so that I would be alive to grieve over you.[144]

[143] The theme will be discussed in detail in the next chapter of this thesis, while examining Rumi's 'The Song of the Reed' and Jones's translation of it.

[144] *The Notebook*, f. 21:

ای هیچ نه در دلم هوای غم تو — جان در تن من نغمه سرای غم تو
گاهی به من غمزده لطفی میکن — تا زنده بمانم از برای غم تو

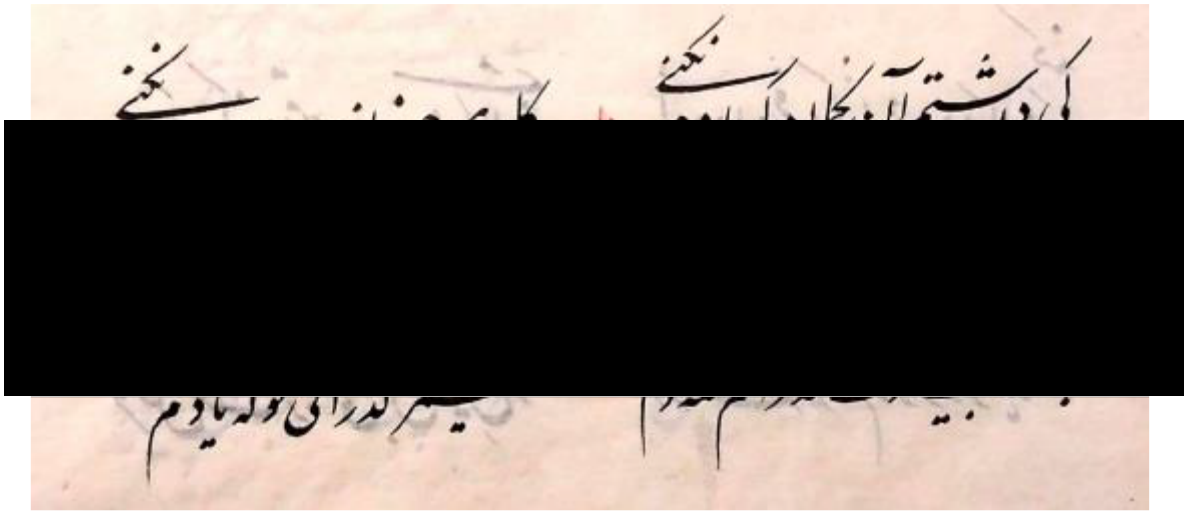

Illustration 30, *The Notebook*, f. 21; a quatrain by Sahabi.

When did I assume that you have forgotten me, like fate, you have forsaken my desires?

Although I spend every moment with your memory, you will spend a lifetime without remembering me.[145]

Jones's *Notebook* contains two quatrains of Sadi, who is most famous for his بوستان *Bōstān*, 'The Garden' and گلستان *Golestān*, 'The Garden of Flowers'. In the preface to his *Grammar*, Jones refers to Voltaire (1694-1778) to introduce Persian poetry and Sadi to the English readers: 'M de Voltaire […] acknowledges the beauty of the Persian images and sentiments and has versified a fine passage from Sadi whom he compares to Petrarch'.[146] In the *Grammar*, in order to familiarize his English readers with Persian poetry, Jones advises them to study the work of the Persian Petrarch: 'the works of Sadi containing گلستان or the bed of roses, بوستان or the garden, and ملمعات or the rays of light. They are all upon moral subjects and are written with all the elegance of the Persian language.'[147] Sadi's *Golestan* is evidence for the author's elegance: the work is a mixture of poetry and rhymed prose; furthermore, the bed of roses has Arabic and Persian intermingled so profoundly that a native speaker of either language could not read the book without the knowledge of the other language. It could be argued that Sadi's *Golestan* encourages Persian and Arabic speakers to learn each others' language; similar to

[145] *The Notebook*, f. 21:

کی داشتم آن گمان که یادم نکنی — کاری چو زمانه بر مرادم نکنی
با آنکه به یادت گذرانم همه دم — عمری گذارنی تو که یادم نکنی

[146] Jones, *A Grammar*, v-vi.

[147] Jones, *A Grammar*, 145.

the people who encouraged Sanskrit and Persian speakers to do so with composing Rekhta poetry. After travelling to India, Jones recognized another significance of Sadi to Persian speakers. In his 'The Eleventh Anniversary Discourse, on the Philosophy of the Asiaticks', delivered to the Asiatic Society on February 20, 1794, which explores the morality, 'ethicks and abstract laws' of Asia, Jones states:

> If conversion, therefore, of the Pandits and Maulavis [Sufi sages] in this country shall ever be attempted by protestant missionaries they must beware of affecting, while they teach the gospel of truth, what those Pandits and Maulavis would know to be false: the former would cite the beautiful Arya couplet, which was written at least three centuries before our era, and which pronounces the duty of a good man, even in the moment of his destruction, to consist not only in forgiving, but even in a desire of benefiting, his destroyer, as the Sandal-tree, in the instant of its overthrow, sheds perfume on the axe, which fells it; and the latter would triumph in repeating the verse of Sa'di, who represents a return of good for good as slight reciprocity but says to the virtuous man "Confer benefits on him who has injured thee" using an Arabick sentence and a maxim apparently of the ancient Arabs.[148]

The passage appears in Jones's 'On the Philosophy' (1794). His intention of the essay was to point out the similarities between the Eastern and Western schools of thought, which will be discussed in details in the fourth chapter of this thesis. However, the passage also signifies that in the Orient 'the popular teachers of moral wisdom have immemorially been poets' such as Sadi and Arya; in addition, it also implies the immense position of Sadi in the debates which took place from Arabia to India almost six centuries after his death. Intriguingly, the poet has composed most of the proverbs used in the Persian language;[149] this might be why Hafez nicknamed him 'The King of Speech.' We cannot assert that Jones was aware of the significance of Sadi's proverbs and quotations amongst Persian speakers; however, in his letter dated 26 March 1771, Jones has introduced Anushiravan the Just, one of the Persian mythological kings, to James Bate as follows:

> Anushiravan is continually praised also by other Persian poets of the first rank, such as Sa'di, Hafiz, Jami, others. One of these poets expresses the idea well: "For his justice, the name of Anushiravan lives on as a happy one, although very much time has passed since he himself lived on earth."[150]

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[148] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 229-53: 243-4.
[149] Franklin Lewis, 'GOLESTĀN-E SAʿDI', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 9: 79-86, [https://iranicaonline.org/articles/golestan-e-sadi].
[150] Jones, *The Letters*, 1:91.

This poet of the first rank whom Jones quoted was none other than Sadi.

As mentioned previously, Jones's *Notebook* has two quatrains of Sadi, and he has translated one of them; please see below:

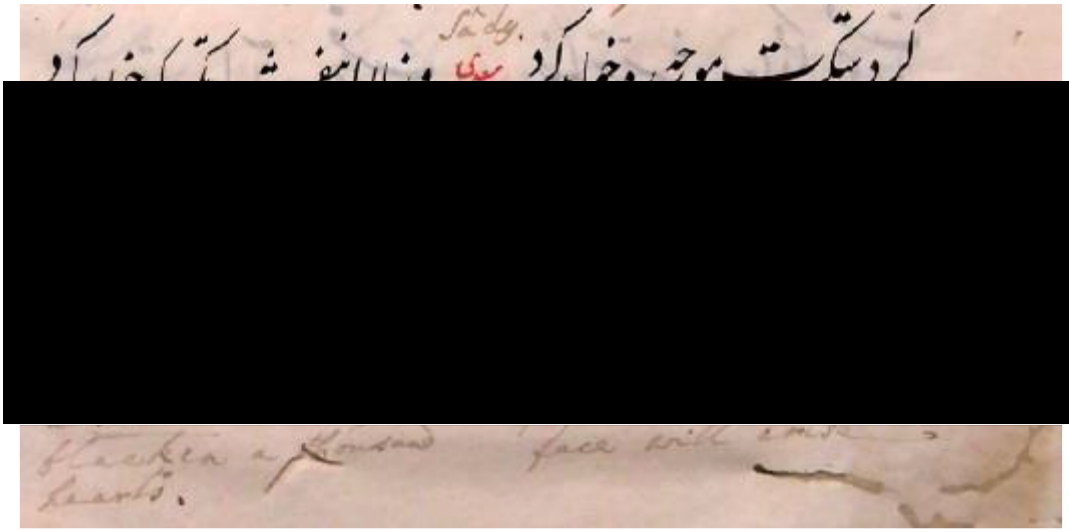

Illustration 31, *The Notebook*, f. 23; a quatrain by Sadi and Jones's translation.

'Around thy sugared lips little black ants will find a place;

And the dark violet will make a couch of thy cheeks red as poppies:

From the fire of thy face will arise

a smoke that will blacken a thousand hearts.' [151]

The quatrain's literal translation is:

> 'Ants will find a path around your sugar; the violet will rest its back on the tulip. From the fire that rises from your cheeks, smoke will rise that blackens a thousand hearts.'

The quatrain reminds the readers of death; the first image referring to death can be found in the first hemistich of Sadi's quatrain: sugar-loving insects are surrounding the beautiful lips. In addition بنفشه *banafsheh*, 'the violet' is considered as a symbol of a lover's remembrance of the beloved in Persian literature and لاله *lāleh*, 'the tulip' is believed to grow on graves.[152] The two flowers, one representing the grave of the lover and the other a symbol of the immortality of

[151] *The Notebook*, f. 23:

گرد شکرت مورچه ره خواهد کرد وز لاله بنفشه تکیه گه خواهد کرد
از آتش رخسار تو برخواهد خاست دودی که هزار دل سیه خواهد کرد

[152] The connotations of the tulip will be discussed in detail while examining Amir Khosrow's quatrains and Jones's translation of them in the notebook.

true love, are often depicted accompanying each other; for example, a quatrain attributed to Khayyam states: 'In any field that tulips grow, the lover's blood [grave] exists. Like the violets, growing on the ground, they resemble a mole on a beautiful face.'[153] The other quatrain of Sadi in the *Notebook* also revolves around the lover's pain, suffering, and eventual death caused by love; the quatrain also alludes to the tale of *Leili and Majnoon*:

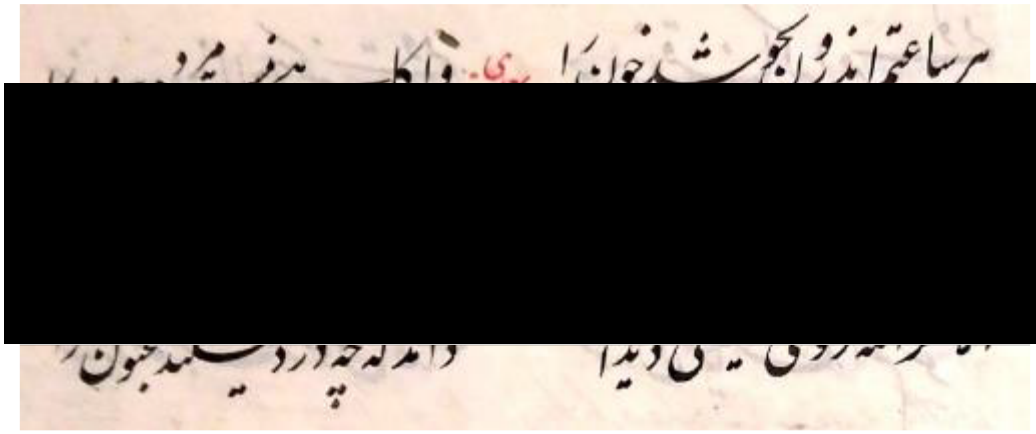

Illustration 32, *The Notebook*, f. 24; a quatrain by Sadi.

'Every moment the blood boils inside me, the outside people are not aware of this.
Only those who have seen the face of Leili knows what a pain Majnoon is in.'[154]

The *Notebook* contains five quatrains, two قطعه *ghat'e*. 'fragment',[155] and one distich belonging to Amir Khosrow of Delhi; the number of Amir Khosrow's poems in Jones's *Notebook* makes the poet the most quoted poet in the Persian section of the *Notebook*. Amir Khosrow's significance to Jones can also be demonstrated by the fact that Jones has translated four of his quatrains in the *Notebook*. In the following few pages, Amir Khosrow's life and writings will be discussed, and later, his quatrains in the *Notebook* and Jones's annotations on them will be examined.

[153] Hedayat, *The Lyrics of Khayyam*, 49:
در هر دشتی که لاله زاری بوده است — آن لاله ز خون شهریاری بوده‌است
چو برگ بنفشه کز زمین می‌روید — خالیست که بر رخ نگاری بوده‌است

[154] *The Notebook*, f. 24:
هر ساعتم اندرون بجوشد خون را — و آگاهی نیست مردم بیرون را
الا مگر آنکه روی لیلی دیدست — داند که چه درد می‌کشد مجنون را؟

[155] Jones, *A Grammar*, 128.

Amir Khosrow was a Sufi poet and musician, an iconic figure in the cultural history of India, he was born to a Turkish father and an Indian mother.[156] Although he was fluent in Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit, Turkish, and Arabic,[157] most of his literary output was composed in Persian; he represents an Indian personage of a multicultural, pluralistic identity.[158] Although Amir Khosrow is considered to be the forerunner of *sabk-e hendi*, the 'Indian-style poetry',[159] the style of his *ghazal*s are imitations of Sadi's: utilizing eloquent and straightforward language and tone in order to elaborate on the subjects such as love and mysticism;[160] this is the reason why he is occasionally referred to as the 'Sadi of India'. In addition, Amir Khosrow emulated Nezami's *The Five Treasures* and composed his own imitation of it. Entitled *Khamsah,* 'Pentalogy' (1298), Amir Khosrow's prelude to the work states, 'Nezami is the master of this profession; in this gathering, he is the illuminating candle. From the ruins of Ganje [Nezami's birth place], he became the measuring standard for treasures; he brought the treasures of speech to five. Whenever Khosrow grappled with the five [Nezami's *The Five Treasures*], the arms of his intellect were harmed.'[161] Amir Khosrow was also greatly influenced by Khaghani (1121/2-1190), with whom Jones was fascinated. Jones describes Khaghani's *Habsiyya*, 'Prison Poem' as 'the wildest and strangest poem that was ever written [. . .] The fire of Khakani's genius blazes through the smoke of his erudition'.[162] Amir Khosrow often imitated Khaghani, for example, Khaghani's *ghasideh* entitled مرآة الصفا 'The Mirror of Purity'[163] begins with 'My heart is a sage of knowledge, and I am a child, who knows its language'[164] while Amir Khosrow's imitation entitled مرآة النظر 'The Mirror of Opinions' begins with 'My heart is a child, and the sage of Love is its language master.' Amir Khosrow influenced many later Persian poets, yet his greatest Persian admirer was Jami, who always wished to be as skilful

[156] Iraj Bashiri, 'Amir Khusrau Dihlavi', [http://www.angelfire.com/rnb/bashiri/Poets/Dihlavi.html].
[157] Mohammad Habib, *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 2005), 4; G. N. Devy, *Indian Literary Criticism: Theory and Interpretation*, (Telangana: Orient Blackswan, 2002), 92.
[158] Marmaduke William Pickthall, *Islamic Culture*, Muhammad Asad (ed.), (Hyderabad: Islamic Culture Board, 1930), 4: 219.
[159]Mohammad Moein, 'Amir Khosro Dehlavi', *Mehr*, 1, (1952),12.
[160] Hermel Sedarnegani, *The Persian Speakers of India and Sind* (Tehran: Bonyad Farhang Iran, 1966), 27.
[161] Mohammad Moein, 'Amir Khosro Dehlavi', *Mehr*, 1 (1952), 19.
[162] Jones, *The Letters*, 2: 763.
[163] Khaghani, *Divan of Khaghani Shervani*, 1: 209-15.
[164] Khaghani, *Divan of Khaghani Shervani*, 1: 209.

and eloquent as him.[165] Jami believed that 'Khosrow has perfected *ghazal*, *ghasideh*, and *masnavi* forms: Jami asserts 'while he has followed Khaghani, Khosrow's *ghazal*s surpass Khaghani's…. No one has composed a *Khamse* in response to Nezami's better than Khosrow….';[166] as there are two *ghazal*s of Jami available in the *Notebook*, I will discuss him later in this chapter.

Poetry and the love of early Persian poets were not the only unifying points of Amir Khosrow's and Jones's interest; they both had a taste for philology and were keen on multicultural and pluralistic world views. Although the origins of Rekhtah and *sabk-e hendi* are debated amongst linguistic and literary scholars of precolonial India,[167] the crucial role of Amir Khosrow in their development is not disputed. Amir Khosrow's multicultural and multilingual background led to his writings which 'anticipated the cultural synthesis between Hindu and Muslim civilization later to flourish at the court of Akbar'.[168] Amir Khosrow's defence of Hinduism is evident in most of his poetry, including his quatrains in Jones's *Notebook*; Amir Khosrow's stress on the essential similarities between Hinduism and Islam can be found in Jones's works.[169] However, much of the poetry attributed to Khosrow is not written by him; for example, the quatrains Jones attributed to him in his copy of Nezami's *Treasury* [170] are believed to be Khayyam's. In Amir Khosrow's quatrains, Persian and Sanskrit are mixed; such intermingling symbolizes a cultural embrace, which was only apparent during the reign of Akbar.[171] Like Amir Khosrow and Akbar, Jones celebrated India's diversity; the works of the past Persian intellectuals such as Amir Khosrow played a pivotal role in developing his philological ideas. In 1318, Amir Khosrow composed a book entitled نه سپهر *noh sepehr*, 'The Nine Skies'; the book is composed in nine sections. The third section, or 'the third sky', presents a description of fourteenth-century India to non-native Persian speakers. After describing the geography and climate of India, Amir Khosrow moves to the people of the

[165] Saeed Nafisi, 'Amir Khosrow', *Armaghaan*, 8, (1929), 574.
[166] Abdol Rahmān Jāmi, *Baharestan*, Ismael Hakemi (ed.), (Tehran: Etelaat, 1989), 106.
[167] Conflicting accounts may be found in Amrit Rai, *A House Divided: The Origin and Development of Hindi-Urdu* (New Delhi, 1991) and Shamsur Rahman Faruqi's, *Early Urdu Literary Culture and History*, (New Delhi, 2001).
[168] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 352.
[169] Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 115.
[170] BL, APAC, RSPA 35, f. i.
[171] Akbar Shah's reign and its impact on the socio-political climate of the subcontinent will be discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

subcontinent: 'There are Brahmans whose logic and wisdom tear Aristotle's works apart;' [172] Pages later, he states: 'Firstly, in this land, sciences are abundantly found. However, others have no clue about the art and sciences of India.' [173] Intriguingly similar to Jones's 'Third Anniversary Discourse on the Hindus', after explaining the philosophy, arts, and sciences of India, Amir Khosrow's 'the Third Sky' focuses on the languages spoken in the fourteenth-century subcontinent:

> Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri and Karbi; Dhatki, Sambalpuri, Telugu and Gujarati.
> Mobri, Goori, Bengali and Odia; covers Delhi and its surroundings to the fullest.
> However, there is another language that is only chosen by all Brahmans.
> From ancient times, it is named Sanskrit; the commoners do not know its laws.
> The Brahmans know it, and they do not know any other like it.
> For in it exists Arabic patterns: in its alignments, syntax, definitions, and literature.[174]

Amir Khosrow's depiction of the ancient language of the Brahmans asserts that the élite caste of Hindu society does not know any other language as pleasant, practical, and valuable as Sanskrit. This depiction is also implied in Jones's description of the language in his 1786 'Third Anniversary Discourse.'[175]

Jones and Amir Khosrow emphasized the grammatical similarities amongst the Indo-European languages, and it could be argued that if the Indian poet was familiar with Latin and Greek, his portrayal of Sanskrit would have been even more similar to Jones's. There is yet another aspect of Amir Khosrow's poetry that captivated Jones; utilizing his knowledge of languages, Amir Khosrow composed some poetry that could be simultaneously interpreted in Persian and Hindi.[176] This linguistic pluralism appears in the first quatrain of Amir Khosrow in Jones's *Notebook*; please see the illustration below:

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[172] Amir Khosrow Dehlavi, *Noh Sepehr Masnavi*, Mohammad Vahid Mirza (ed.), (Lucknow: Calccuta Press, 1948), 162:

برهمنی هست که در عقل و خرد دفتر قانون ارسطو بدرد

[173] Amir Khosrow Dehlavi, *Noh Sepehr Masnavi*, 166:

اولش آن شد که درین ملک درون علم همه جاست ز اندازه فزون
لیک دگر جا ندارند خبر ز آنچه در هند علوم است و هنر

[174] Amir Khosrow Dehlavi, *Noh Sepehr Masnavi*, 179-80:

سندی و لاهوری و کشمیری و کبر دهور و سمندری و تلنگی و گجر
مبری و گوری و بنگل و اود دهلی و پیرامنش اندر همه حد
لیک زبانیست دگر کز سخنان آنست گزین نزد همه برهمنان
سنسکرت نام زعهد کهنش عامه ندارد خبر از کن مکنش
برهمنش داند و هر برهمنی نیز نداند حد زانسان سخنی
زانکه در و هست نمطهای عرب از علل و نحو و ز تعریف و ادب

[175] Jones, *The Works*, 2: 268.

[176] See Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, 116-7.

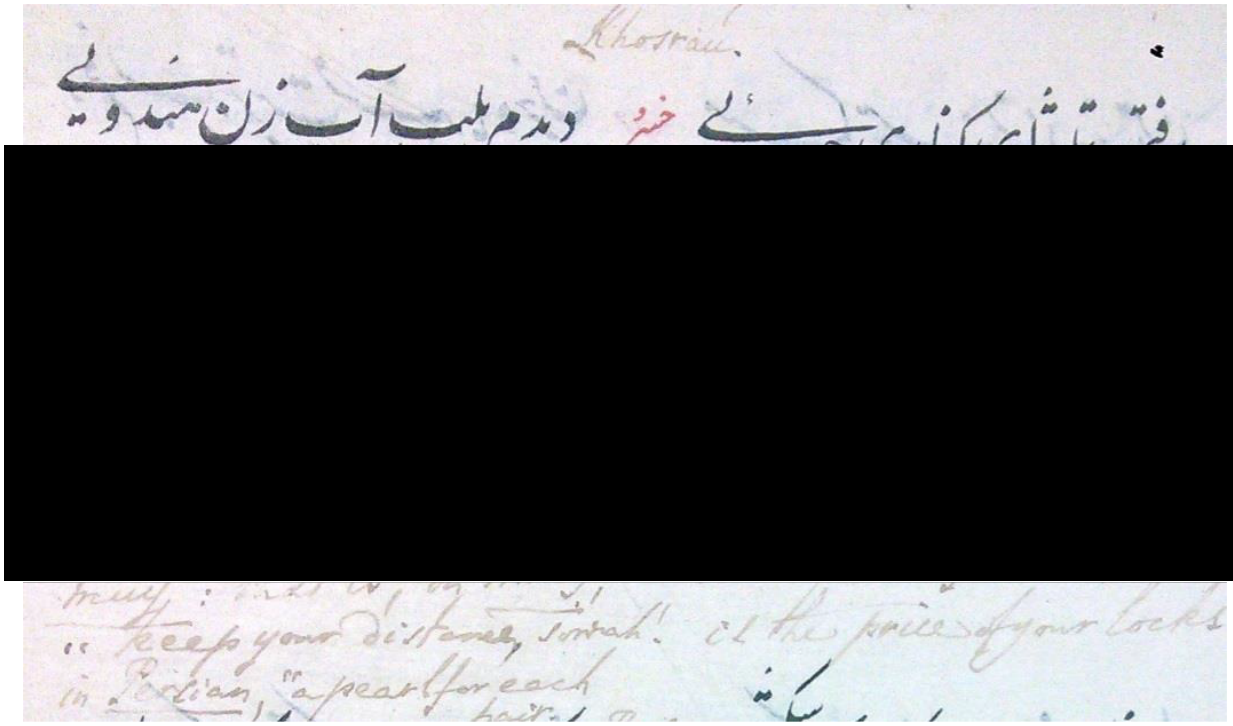

Illustration 33, *The Notebook*, f. 20; a quatrain by Amir Khosrow and Jones's translation.

I went to recreate myself on the bank of a rivulet.
I saw on the brink of the stream a Hindú woman.
I said: "My idol, what is the price of your locks?"
She cried out: "Durdurmúy": that is, in Hindy, "Keep your distance, sirrah! In Persian, "a pearl for each hair." [177]

The quatrain could literally be translated as:

'I went to the bank of a stream for sightseeing, at the brink of the stream, I saw a Hindu woman;
I said, O idol, what is the price of your hair? She shouted, 'a pearl for a tress!''

The quatrain appears in the Persian debate poetry genre; although similar to other quatrains of the genre, for example, Abolkhayr's quatrains in the *Notebook* which only emphasized on the similarities of mysticism and science, Khosrow's debate represents two different ideologies: where land meets water, the Muslim lover meets the beloved Hindu, love of the other becomes the unifying point, and consequently, a dialogue is created. The quatrain's setting, around a stream of water, contains a more profound significance: a common ground that is crucial to both the Hindu woman's and the Muslim man's survival as well as their respective rituals of

[177] *The Notebook*, f. 20:

رفتم به تماشای کناری جوی — دیدم به لبه آب زن هندویی
گفتم صنمابهای مویت چه بود — فریاد برآورد که دُر دُر مویی

cleansing. Imagery such as this might have been the source for later Muslims and Hindus to realize that they need to create a dialogue and coexist to survive.[178] Later Indo-Persian pluralists, such as the scholar prince Dara Shokoh (1615-1659), were inspired by such literature and attempted to close the gap between Hindus and Muslims. In the case of Dara Shokoh, perhaps, it was this very quatrain that inspired him to name his book, which is an effort to bring Hinduism and Islam closer to each other, *The Intermingling of the Seas*.[179]

As it can be observed in Jones's translation, he was fascinated by the bilingual pun which took place in Amir Khosrow's quatrain: "Durdurmúy": that is, in Hindi, "Keep your distance, sirrah! In Persian, "a pearl for each hair." The word mentioned in this quatrain is دُر *dor*; which in Persian generally means a 'gemstone, jewel'; in Hindi, on the other hand, دُر *dor* means 'a string' of any material. Through this interpretation, the Hindu woman could have either meant in Persian: 'a jewel for each of my hair' or in Hindi: 'my hair, string by string', figuratively meaning the price is so high that it is measured by each string of her hair. Jones has interpreted this pun differently: 'Keep your distance, sirrah!' This interpretation is perhaps due to his mistaking دُر *dor*, a jewel in Persian and a string in Hindi, with دور *dūr* which both in Persian and Hindi means 'far away' and can figuratively mean 'Away!'; yet, it is quite evident in the transcribed text that the word is دُر *dor*, not دور *dūr* and thus the only valid interpretation of the poem is the former. In fact, nowadays, this very quatrain is utilized to demonstrate the difference between a short vowel and a long vowel in Persian, i.e. دُر *dor* anddور *dūr*; either way, the general meaning of the speech would not change: the Hindu woman is out of the poet's reach. What makes this quatrain beautiful, and Amir Khosrow deserving of the title of 'the Sadi of India' and 'Indian parrot', is that regardless of considering the word as دُر *dor* or دور *dūr*, or even considering it in Persian or Hindi, the line conveys the meaning, the sublime beloved is out of the lover's reach. Franklin explains the linguistic pun of this quatrain beautifully:

> This is the semiotics of the syncretic. Its radical importance in terms of cultural interaction lies in its power to disconcert and re-create imaginative spaces (mirrored in Jones's choice of the Augustan-sounding term 'recreate myself') in the re-creation of reading/translating. Khosrow creates new interrelationships between words, seemingly identical but etymologically

[178] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 356.
[179] The work will be discussed later in the third and fourth chapter of this thesis.

discrete, within the diverse linguistic family, which—as a result of Jones's researches—would be grouped as Indo-European.[180]

Another quatrain of Amir Khosrow which Jones translated and annotated in the *Notebook* is:

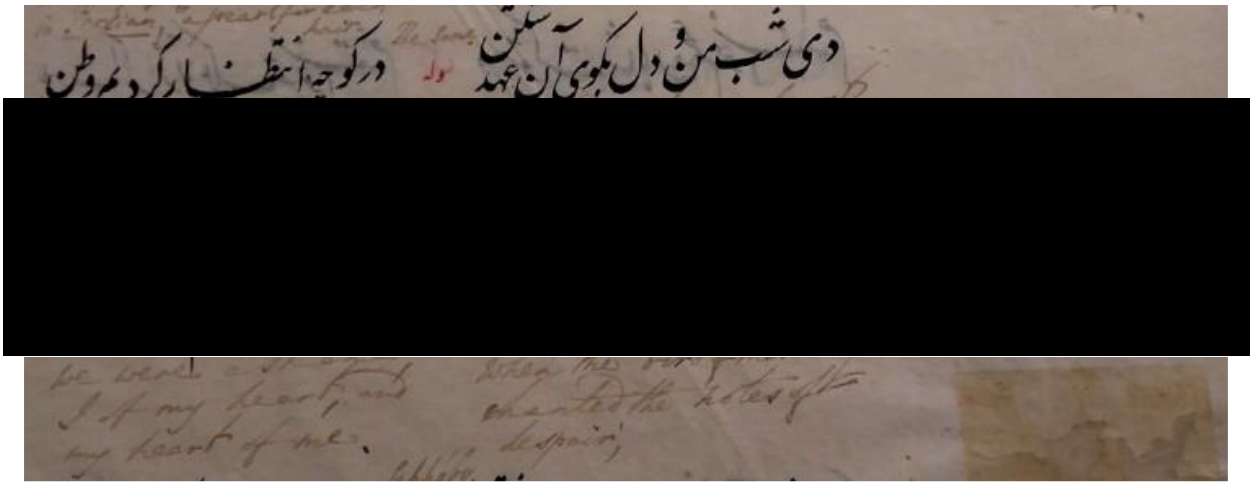

Illustration 34, *The Notebook*, f. 20; a quatrain by Amir Khosrow and Jones's translation.

Last night, my heart and I, in the street where that faithless maid dwells,

Fixed our abode in the alley of expectation.

When the bird of morning chanted the notes of despair

We were ashamed, I of my heart and my heart of me.[181]

The Persian quatrain's literal translation is:

'Last night, my heart and I settled in the alley of anticipation, in the neighbourhood of that oath-breaker.

When the morning bird whimpered the sign of disappointment, I was ashamed, me from my heart and my heart from me.'

While Jones's *Notebook* has attributed the quatrain to Amir Khosrow, various sources suggest that it is composed by Kamal o-din Hosein Esfahani (d.1565), who used the penname of Zamiri. The most prominent source that attributes the quatrain to Zamiri is Sheikh Bahaei's *Kashkul* (1583-99), a collection of his favourite writings by himself and other Sufi poets. [182] Intriguingly, Zamiri's skill in poetry had earned him the nickname of 'Amir Khosrow the

[180] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 356.

[181] *The Notebook*, f. 20:

دی شب من و دل به کوی آن عهد شکن　　در کوچهٔ انتظار کردیم وطن

چون مرغ سحر آیهٔ نومیدی خواند　　شرمنده شدم من ز دل و دل از من

[182] Sheikh Bahaei, *Kashkul,* (Tehran: Sabok-baran, 1390), 528.

second'. The events depicted in this quatrain occur at a conventional Sufi setting: 'Last night' and 'in the alley' of the beloved. One of the most prominent aspects of the term 'last night', either referred to as دیشب *dishab* or دوش *dōsh*, to Sufis is that it is the time in which the Sufi contemplates his/her love and experiences epiphanies which later on he/she shares with the readers; for example, Hafez stated: 'Last night, I saw angels knocking on the tavern's door; they made some human clay and poured it in a goblet ….The skies were not able to safe-keep this load [the human clay]; hence, they entrusted me, the insane, with it.'[183] The place in which such events take place is the beloved's کوی *kōy*, a 'neighbourhood' or an 'alley'. In Sufi literature, to have a slight chance of seeing the beloved, the lover would leave his/her abode and reside in the beloved's alley. In the tale of 'The Sheikh of Sanaan and the Christian Girl', which will be discussed in the next chapter, Attar states, 'The Sheikh started living in seclusion in his beloved's alley; he became a companion of the stray dogs in her alley'.[184] In another case, Rumi imitates the same image Attar has used: 'The Lions have lowered their tails, in front of the dogs of his/her [the beloved's] alley'.[185]

At first glance, such imagery combined with the quatrain's tone conveys the interpretation that the beloved, to whom the poet refers as عهد شکن *ahd-shekan*, 'oath breaker', or 'faithless' according to Jones, is cruel and does not care about the lover. Hence, the lover feels ashamed for letting his heart down. However, Jones has annotated next to the quatrain 'هذا الفراق بینی و بینکم Kor.' which sheds light on his interpretation of the quatrain as well as his vast knowledge of Islam, Sufism, and the way their literature should be interpreted. Jones's annotation is an Arabic phrase that means 'this is the parting between me and you'; the Kor. at the end of the annotation refers to the *Quran*. The Arabic phrase is a quotation from the *Quran* 18:78.[186] The verse to which Jones refers to appears in the concluding parts of the *Surah*; it narrates Moses's journey and his meeting with a mystic named خضر

[183] Hafez, *Divan of Hafez*, 374:

دوش دیدم که ملایک در میخانه زدند گل ادم بسرشتند و به پیمانه زدند
آسمان بار امانت نتوانست کشید قرعه کار به نام من دیوانه زدند

[184] Attar, *Mantegh-o Teyr of Attar e Neishapouri*, (Torbat-e Jaam: Cultural and Social Center of Torbat-e Jam, 2010), 58:

شیخ خلوت ساز کوی یار شد با سگان کوی او در کار شد

[185] Rumi, *Divan of Shams-e Tabrizi*, 2812:

شیران زده دم بر زمین پیش سگان کوی او

[186] The eighteenth *Surah* of the *Quran* is called اصحاب کهف *ashāb-e kahf*, 'The Fellowship of the Cave'. The story is known in Christian martyrology as 'The Seven Sleepers'.

Khezr. Although considered a prophet in Islam, Khezr has seen as equivalent to the Zoroastrian Sorūsh and Yazata Haoma,[187] Saint Sarkis the Warrior, Saint George, Levant, Samael, [188] and the Hindu Jhulelal.[189] In the Quranic tale, Moses follows Khezr for some time, during which Khezr does several unreasonable deeds and commits some crimes. Once confronted by Moses, Khezr asks him to be patient and not to question him as he is not aware of the reasons behind Khezr's doing so. Eventually, Moses loses his temper, and Khezr responds:

> [Khezr] said: 'This is the parting (time) between me and you. Now I shall impart to you the truth of the matters about which you have not been able to keep patience.[190]

Once Moses hears Khezr's reasoning, he realizes that the actions were justified for the greater good. The moral of the Quranic tale is that one who wants to follow the Path of mysticism should be patient and what Jones implies in his annotation, 'هذا الفراق بینی و بینکم Kor.', is a Quranic and Sufi interpretation of the Persian quatrain: the poet is ashamed of his/her heart, and the heart is ashamed of the poet not because of the faithless beloved, but due to his impatience which made him not pure enough to be visited by the Beloved, much like Moses who was not ready for understanding the truth of Khezr's actions in the Quranic tale.

Another quatrain of Khosrow in the *Notebook* is annotated and translated by Jones; the quatrain and its marginal notes read as follows:

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[187] Anna Krasnowolska, 'ḴEŻR', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, (2009), [https://iranicaonline.org/articles/kezr-prophet].

[188] Gürdal Aksoy, Dersim: Alevilik, Ermenilik, Kürtlük, (Ankara: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), 65-80.

[189] P. Pratap Kumar, *Contemporary Hinduism*, (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014), 121.

[190] *The Quran* 18:78:

قَالَ هَٰذَا فِرَاقُ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنِكَ سَأُنَبِّئُكَ بِتَأْوِيلِ مَا لَمْ تَسْتَطِع عَّلَيْهِ صَبْرً

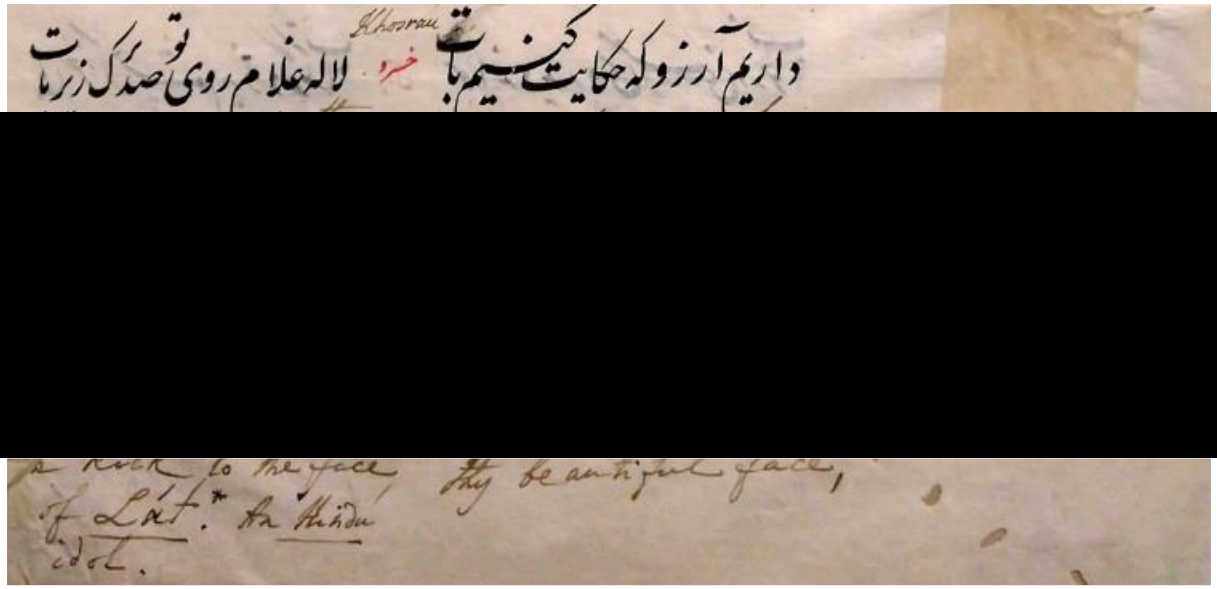

Illustration 35, *The Notebook*, f. 22; a quatrain by Amir Khosrow and Jones's translation.

> I am desirous of having a conversation with thee. (Bát in Hindi is the same with hhecāyat in Persian)
>
> The red poppy is the slave of thy cheek; the marygold is under thy feet (páta leaf in Hindi)
>
> Every Brahmin, O my idol, who sees thy beautiful face,
>
> Tears his Zunnar (or sacred cord) and gives a kick to the face of Lát (An Hindu idol)'[191]

The quatrain literally translates to:

> 'I wish to tell you a tale: the tulip is your face's servant, a hundred petals are under your feet.
>
> Every Brahman who saw your beautiful face, O idol, tore apart his Zunnar and kicked the *Lāt*.'

Before focusing on Jones's annotations, I will briefly discuss the quatrain as Amir Khosrow has utilized some words that convey specific literary significance in Persian literature. Apart from صنم *sanam*, an 'idol' which has already been discussed, the words لاله *lāleh*, a 'tulip', پرک parak, a 'petal', زنّار *zonnār*, and لات *Lát* need further explanation. A tulip is one of the most significant flowers in

[191] *The Notebook*, f. 22:

داریم آرزو که حکایت کنیم بات — لاله غلام روی تو صد پرک زیر پات
هر برهمن که دید رخ خوبت‌ای صنم — زنّار را گسست و لگد زد بر لات

Persian literature: due to its rich red colour, signifying blood, it resembles a lover's heart. The blackness in the middle of the flower is believed to be a burnt mark on the lover's heart caused by the separation of the beloved. Alternatively, in Persian literature, the red colour connotes wine, and since the flower's shape resembles a goblet, the tulip is also referred to as a goblet of wine. Yet, the imagery most associated with a tulip is death or, more specifically, martyrdom whether a martyr of war or a martyr of love. Jones was familiar with this image as in Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, tulips started to grow where the blood of Siavash – a pure, innocent, and beautiful boy – was spilt. In another case, Hafez alluded to Nezami's tale of *Shirin and Farhad*, stating: 'I still can see tulips rise from Farhad's bloody eyes, as he is still longing Shirin's lips.'[192] A tulip can also resemble the beauty and redness of a beloved's face, and the black spot at its centre represents the beauty spot on the face. The word پـرک *parak* literally means 'a petal' or 'a small feather', however figuratively, the word signifies 'a delicate body'. Considering the connotations of the tulip as well as the petal's figurative meaning, the quatrain's second hemistich could be read as 'the redness of the tulip fades in comparison with your cheek, the lives of a hundred beautiful lovers are beneath your feet.' The other two concepts, زنّـار *zonnār* and لات *Lát*, shall be discussed as we examine Jones's translation and annotation of the quatrain.

Jones's first two marginal notes on this quatrain appear on the first two hemistichs of the quatrain: '(Bát in Hindi is the same with hhecāyat in Persian)' and '(páta leaf in Hindi)'. The word بات *bāt* in the first hemistich is a short and colloquial form of با تو *bā to*, meaning 'with you' in Persian; Hindi speakers explain *bāt* as 'something which is said or written', it figuratively can refer to 'a story'. Jones's comment asserts that 'Bát in Hindi is the same with hhecayat in Persian'. The word he transliterated as 'hhecayat' is حکایت *hekāyat*; Jones probably transliterated the word with hh in order not to mistake the h as silent, in Persian it means narration of something or a story. Unlike *bāt*'s colloquial sense in Hindi, *hekāyat* has a more poetic sense in Persian. The other word Jones comments upon, which is in the second hemistich, is پات *pāt* which is used colloquially in Persian instead of پای تو *pā-ye to*, 'your foot'. While pāt has no meaning by itself in Hindi, पत्ता *pāti* and पत्ती *pāta* mean 'leaf' in Hindi. Hence,

[192] Hafez, *Divan of Hafez*, 210:
ز حسرت لب شیرین هنوز می‌بینیم که لاله می‌دمد از خون دیده فرهاد

considering Jones's comments, or the word's meanings in Hindi, in the first distich of the quatrain, can literally be translated as: 'I wish to tell a tale, a tale; the tulip is your face's servant, with a hundred petals under each leaf.' The annotations, on one level, signify the multilingual puns which fascinated Jones and were abundant in Amir Khosrow's poetry. On another level, they both imply the similarities between Persian and Hindi. Jones knew that Amir Khosrow was not only a multilingual poet but was also intrigued by philology. Jones's marginal notes on Amir Khosrow's poetry are aligned with his statement in 'The Third Anniversary Discourse: On the Hindus' (1786), which was presented to the Asiatic Society about three months after he purchased the *Notebook*: 'The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure [...] and the old Persian might be added to the same family'.[193] In fact, these two notes could be considered as some of the evidence on which Jones statement was founded on.

The word زنار *zonnār* which Jones describes as a 'sacred cord' was, in fact, a distinctive belt or girdle wore by Christians and Jews in Jerusalem in order to be differentiated from Muslims; it was noted in the Pact of Umar, which was a treaty between the Muslims and the Christians; the treaty specifies rights and restrictions for non-Muslims living under Islamic rule. Thus, a sacred cord or even a Brahmanical thread does not thoroughly convey Zunnar's meaning. The last word Jones commented on is لات *Lát* which he mentions as 'An Hindu idol'. *Lāt* is the Persian transliteration of the Arabic word اللات *al-lāt*, which connoted an Arabian goddess, one of the three main goddesses of Mecca, who was worshipped in pre-Islamic Arabia. She was the pre-Islamic consort of الله *allāh*, 'God' and the equivalent of *Elāt* the consort of the Semitic god el. It might be worth mentioning that she is equated with Athena and Aphrodite in Greece and the Indo-Persian goddess Mithra.[194] The idol and its shrine in Taif were demolished by Mohammad in 630 AD.[195]

Amir Khosrow's intention for the second hemistich could be 'any Brahman that sees the face of the Beloved, tears his/her Zunnar apart and [becomes as Muslim as Mohammad and like him] kicks Al-lát to the ground'. It would be quite far-fetched to assume that Jones did not have any knowledge about Al-lát; therefore, it can only be presumed that since the hemistich's literal meaning, a Brahman kicking an Arabic idol, is controversial, Jones decided to somehow

[193] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 34.
[194] Egerton Sykes, & Alan Kendall, *Who's Who: Non-Classical Mythology*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 8, 63, 97-98, 130-1.
[195] William Muir, *The life of Mohammad*, (Whitefish, MO: Kessinger Publishing, 1878), 207. Mosab Hawarey, *The Journey of Prophecy; Days of Peace and War*, (Selangor: Islamic Book Trust, 2010).

narrow the meaning down. One must consider that in Sufism, turning your back upon your own religion for the sake of love is widely praised; for example, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter of this thesis, the Muslim Sheikh of Sanaan tore the *Quran* apart and wore a Zunnar at his Christian beloved's request. Jones interpreted Amir Khosrow's quatrain as the Brahman who out of love tore his 'sacred cord', broke the false idol, and started worshipping the Beloved; this interpretation is of course in accord with the Sufi tone of the quatrain.

The last quatrain of Amir Khosrow in the *Notebook*, which Jones has annotated is:

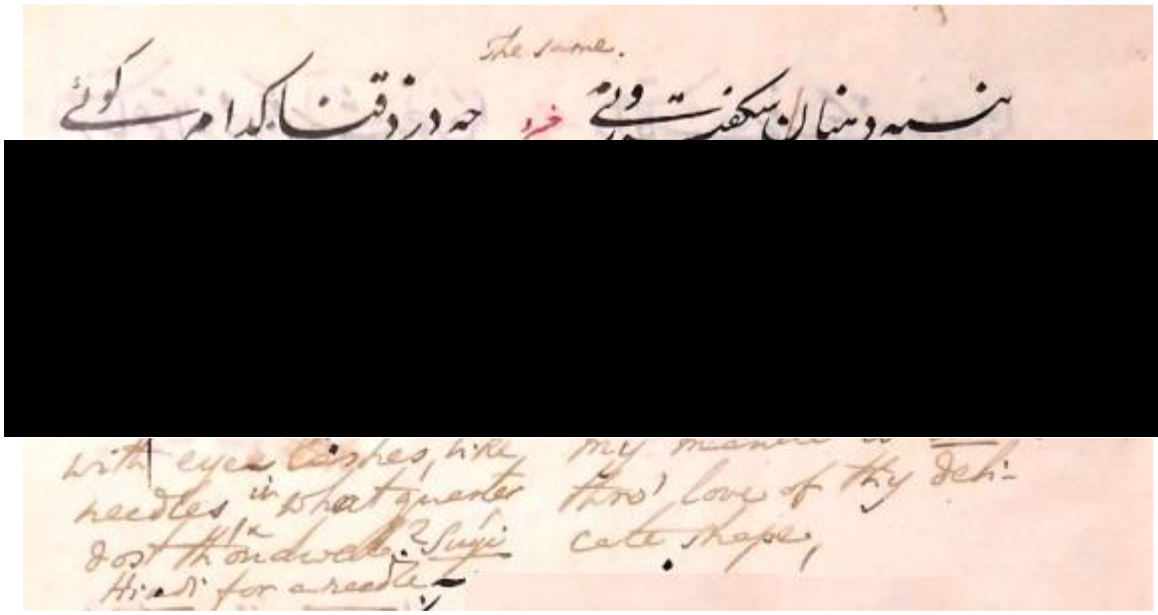

Illustration 36, *The Notebook*, f. 23; a quatrain by Amir Khosrow and Jones's translation.

O silent maid, (with cotton in your mouth) with a blooming face (rúy Hindi for pemba)

With a dimple in the chin, where is thy abode? (cúyi Hindi for chah)

My mantle is torn (kebí) through love of thy delicate shape,

With eyelashes like needles, in what quarter do you dwell? (suyi Hindi for a needle).[196]

Before discussing the quatrain and Jones's explanatory marginal notes upon it, it is worth pointing out a correction he has made in the manuscript. As you may see in the illustration, the first hemistich written as پنبه دهنان شکفته رویی, which can be transliterated as *panbe dahanān*

[196] *The Notebook*, f. 23:

پنبه دهنا شکفته رویی چه دزد قنا کدام کویی
شد جامعه قبا ز شوق قدت سوزن پلکا کدام سوی

shekofte rōee, Jones has changed the دهنان *dahanān* to دهنا *dahanā* by crossing out the ن. This change was to correct a mistake, perhaps by the scribe, which would have affected the meter of the quatrain. The quatrain literally translates as:

> ‘O, cottonmouth [silent one] with a blooming face; with a dimple on your chin, where do you live?
>
> My shirt became a cloak due to the delight of your height; O, with needle-like eyelashes, on which side [where] are you?’

Although it does not contain mystical notions, the quatrain has multiple bilingual puns. Accordingly, Jones’s annotations revolve around them: رویی *rōee* means ‘your face is’ in Persian and in Hindi रूई *rōee*, means ‘cotton’; کویی *kōee* ‘your alley is’ in Persian, in Hindi, कुंआ *kua*, means ‘a well’. The word सुई *sōee*, ‘a needle’ in Hindi, means a ‘side’ in Persian. Therefore, should one consider the Hindi meaning of the words, the English translation of the quatrain becomes:

> ‘O, cottonmouth with a blooming cotton; with a dimple on your chin, where is your dimple?
>
> My shirt became a cloak for the delight of your height; O, with needles like eyelashes, which needle are you?’

As it can be seen, unlike the previous quatrain by Khosrow, the Hindi substitutions do not fit well in the Persian quatrain. Regarding Jones’s last comment, on سوزن *sōzan*, meaning a ‘needle’ in Persian, the case becomes a bit more complex: Jones has divided the word into two parts سو *sō* and زن *zan*; then he related the first part to the Hindi word *sōee* meaning ‘a needle’ without mentioning the second part *zan* at all. While سو *sō* itself in Persian means ‘the eye’s ability to see’, in Turkish, another language Khosrow knew, it means ‘water’. Furthermore, by replacing the سو *sō* part of سوزن *sōzan*, one would be left with its second part زن *zan* which has a variety of meanings including a ‘woman’ and it is the stem to the verb ‘to hit’; again, unlike Khosrow’s previous quatrain, none of these meanings fit.

Amir Khosrow’s poetry in Jones’s *Notebook* is concluded with a quatrain, a distich, and the beginning distiches of two of his *ghazal*s; Jones has not annotated any of them. The quatrain is:

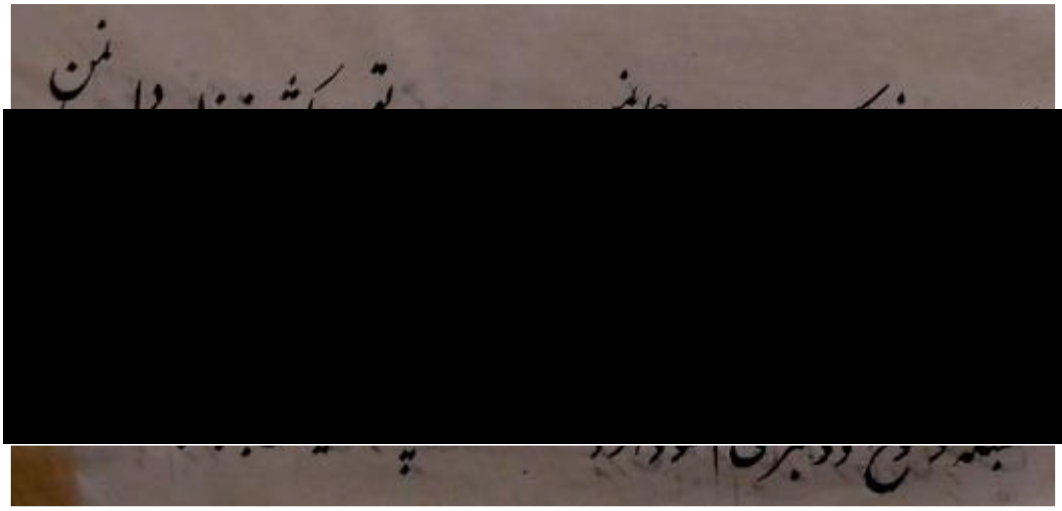

Illustration 37, *The Notebook*, f. 28; a quatrain by Amir Khosrow.

Although from your delicate trait my spirit has been burned, my compassionate heart pulls me towards you;

You are so beautiful and coquettish that if one's heart is lost, I would suppose it is you, although someone else has stolen it.[197]

The following line is the beginning distich of a *ghazal* composed by Amir Khosrow:

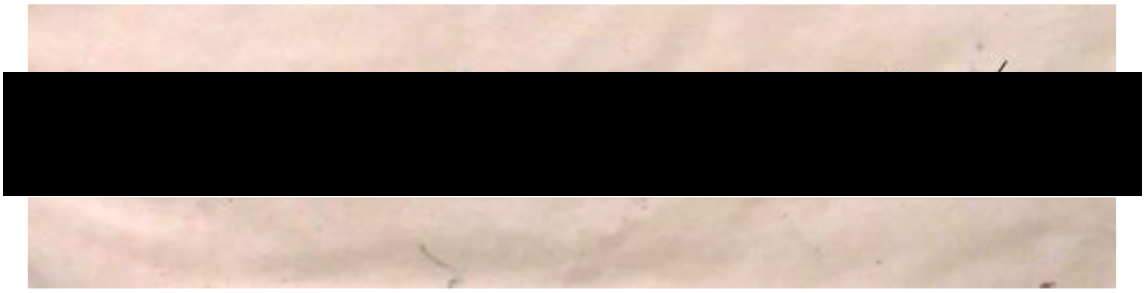

Illustration 38, *The Notebook*, f. 27; a distich by Amir Khosrow.

A month has passed and my awakened eyes have not slept; my forgetful beloved has not recalled the [his/her] friends.[198]

Moreover, the distich below also belongs to another *ghazal* of Amir Khosrow:

[197] *The Notebook*, f. 28:

گر چه ز خوی نازکت سوخته است جان من　　سوی تو می‌کشد هنوز این دل مهربان من

بسکه تو شوخ و دلبری گم شود ار دل کسی　　گرچه که دیگری برد بر تو بود گمان من

[198] *The Notebook*, f. 27:

ماهی گذشت و نخفت این دیده بیدار من　　یادی نکرد از دوستان یار فرامشکار من

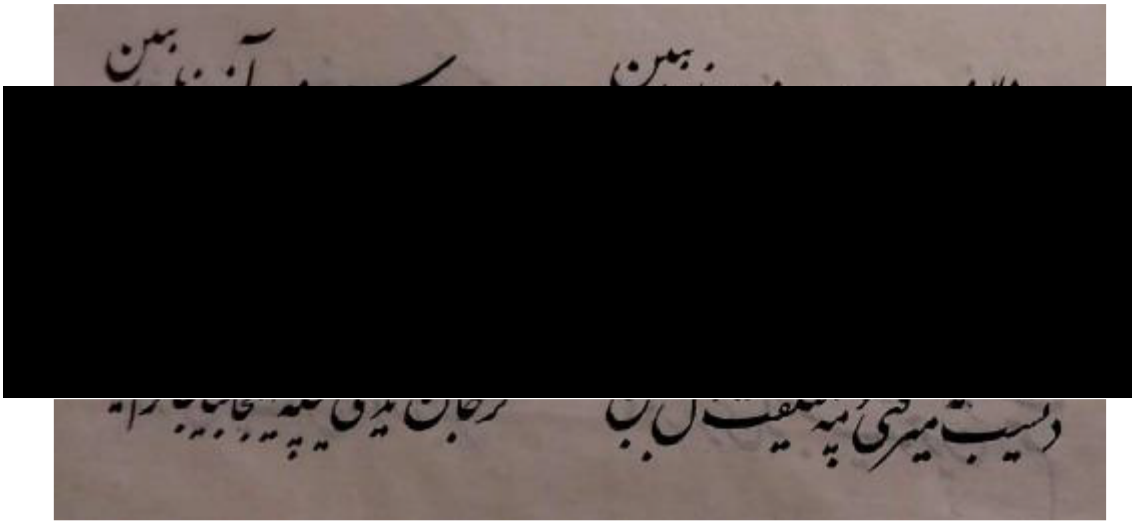

Illustration 39, *The Notebook*, f. 28; a quatrain by Amir Khosrow.

> O heart, should you wish the heaven of soul, look at the face of the beloved; should you wish to see the sarv-e ravān, look at the Lord of the virtuous.
>
> Last night, when you were walking like the moon, the heart was telling me on the road; if you have never seen the soul, come here and see it.[199]

The lines represent typical features of Persian literature; as you can see, Jones has not annotated them. The concepts Amir Khosrow has mentioned in the lines already have been discussed in this chapter; the only metaphor that needs a brief description is a سرو روان *sarv-e ravān*, 'walking Cypress'. The phrase is a typical Persian metaphor for the beloved, tall and well-figured as a cypress. In the fragment mentioned above, Amir Khosrow uses his innovation and creativity to portray his beloved's movement as a 'walking Cypress' and as elegant as the moon's movement in the sky.

As mentioned earlier, Amir Khosrow is considered to be the forerunner of the *sabk-e hendi*. Jones's *Notebook* contains quatrains of three other poets who composed in the same literary style; in the following few pages, those quatrains will be discussed. The *Notebook* contains a quatrain of a poet named Bazel (d.1711), who considered himself one of Khajeh Shams-o-din Jovayni's grandsons. Bazel's father moved from Mashhad, in Iran, to India during the era of Shah-Jahan (1628-1658) and became a member of the Mughal court. Thus, Bazel was born in Delhi and later became a courtier of Aurangzeb (1658-1707), Shah-Jahan's son

[199] *The Notebook*, f. 28:

خواهی دلا فردوس جان رخسار جانان را ببین ور بایدت سرو روان آن میر خوبان را ببین
دیشب که می‌رفتی چو ماه میگفت دل با من بره گرجان ندیدی هیچگاه اینجا بیا جان را ببین

and Prince Dara Shokoh's brother; after Aurangzeb's death, he was removed from the court.[200] His most famous work, *The Heydari Campaign*,[201] is a religious epic emulating Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, concerning the life of the prophet Mohammad and the three Khalifes after him. The quatrain reads as follows:

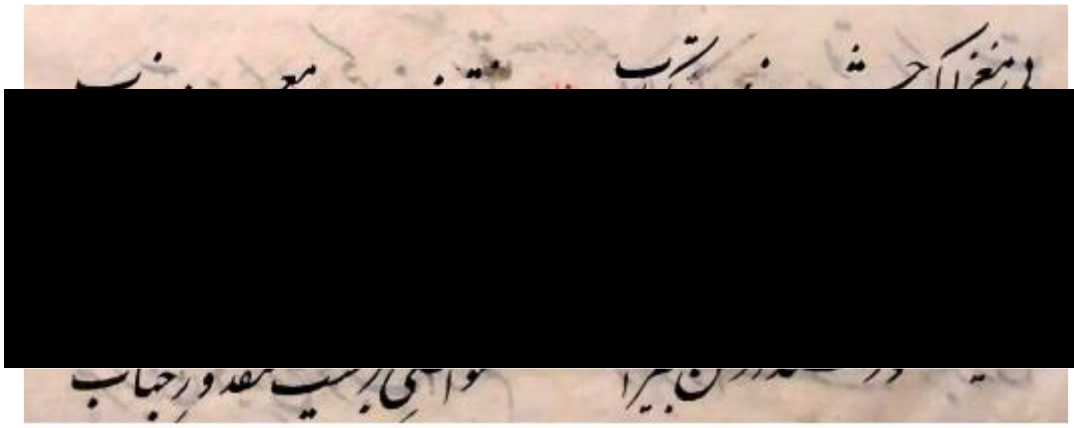

Illustration 40, *The Notebook*, f. 21; a quatrain by Bazel.

If a brainless person keeps looking at a book, he cannot see the real meaning;

When did the brainless contemplate in words? Diving in the sea is not possible for a bubble.[202]

Jones's *Notebook* also contains a distich and a quatrain composed by Bidel Dehlavi (1642–1720), centring on Sufi love, anticipation, and annihilation. Bidel is considered one of the prominent Persian-speaking poets and Sufis of *sabk-e hendi*.[203] Born in Azimabad, his native language was Bengali,[204] yet as the Mughal court's language was Persian, Bidel's poetry is primarily composed in Persian. Shafiei-Kadkani states that: 'One must consider Bidel as the true representative of Indian culture and tradition'.[205] As he was brought up in a pluralistic environment, Bidel was more tolerant than his contemporaries. Preferring free thought over accepting established beliefs, he usually sided with the ordinary people and rejected his time's

[200]Agha Bozorg Tehrani, *Al-Dhari'a ila tasanif al-Shi'a,* (Ghom: Ismailian and Tehran's Islamic Library, 1908), 7: 92-118.
[201] Charles Rieu, Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 2: 704-5.
[202] *The Notebook*, f. 21:

بی مغز اگر چشم بدوزد به کتاب نتواند دید روی معنی در خواب
کی غورکنند در سخن بیمغزان غواصی بهر نیست محدود حباب

[203] Gholam Hosein Mojadadi, *Bidel-Shenasi*, (Herat: Matboe Pohntoon, 1972), 1: 86-7.
[204] Moazzam Siddiqi, 'BĪDEL, ʿABD-AL-QĀDER', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, (1989), 4: 244-246, [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bidel-bedil-mirza-abd-al-qader-b].
[205]Mohammad Reza Shafie Kadkani, *The Poet of Mirrors: A Survey on Indian Poetry and Bidel's Poems,* (Tehran: Agaah, 2007), 10.

governing system, which he considered corrupt. Bidel's distich and the quatrain in Jones's *Notebook* can be seen in the below illustration:

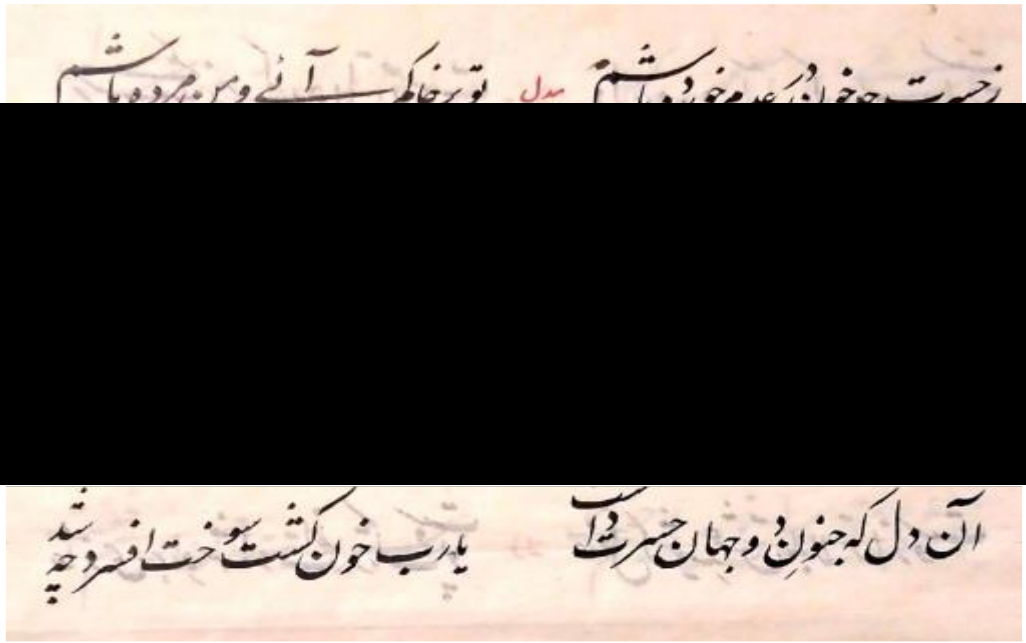

Illustration 41, *The Notebook*, f. 25; a distich and a quatrain by Bidel.

> Before coming to existence, I have suffered yearning for you; you shall come to my grave and I will be dead.[206]
>
> What happened to the anticipation that dies with the union's enthusiasm; what happened to the sigh that caused pain in the firmament?
>
> That heart which yearned the insanity of both worlds [the here and the hereafter],
>
> O God, turned into blood, burned, and depressed, what happened to it? [207]

Jones's *Notebook* contains two quatrains from a poet name Hazin (1692-1766). Born in Esfahan to a family originally from Lahijan, Hazin emigrated to India in 1734, where he began contributing to the Persianization of India's ruling elites.[208] Open-minded and tolerant, he sought out fellow scholars among other religions and was 'equally admired and esteemed by the Muselmān, Hindoo, and English inhabitants of India'.[209] Hazin's poetic lexicon is not as

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[206] *The Notebook*, f. 25:
ز حسرت چه خون در عدم خورده باشم تو بر خاکم آیی و من مرده باشم

[207] *The Notebook*, f. 25:
شوقی که به ذوق وصل میمیرد چه شد آهی که الم به چرخ می‌برد چه شد
آن دل که جنون دو جهان حسرت داشت یا ربّ خون کش سوخت فسرد چه شد

[208] The topic will be discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

[209] John R. Perry, 'ḤAZIN LĀHIJI', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, (2012) 8:1, 97-8 [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hazin-lahiji].

elaborate as his contemporary poets of *sabk-e hendi*. Remarkably simple and direct,[210] he is considered one of the last poets who composed his poetry in the genre. Hazin's first quatrain in the *Notebook* is:

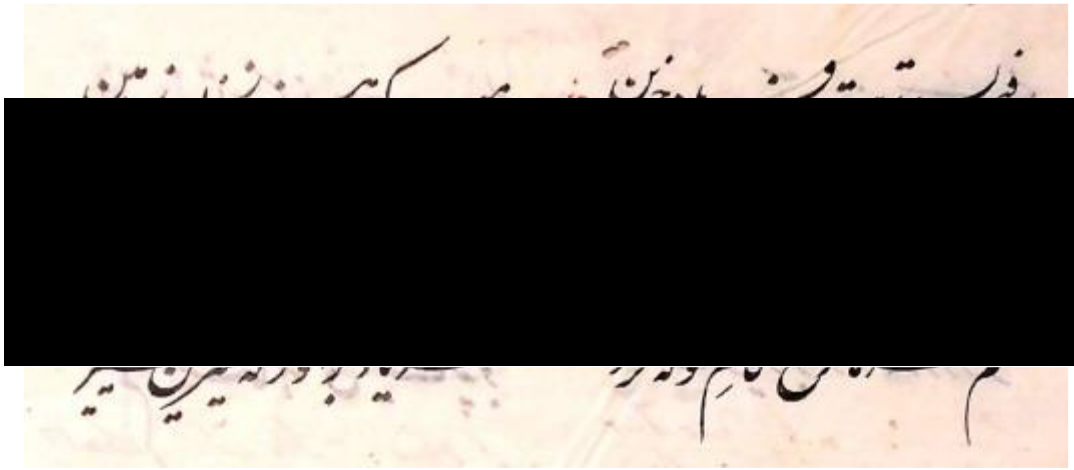

Illustration 42, *The Notebook*, f. 19; a quatrain by Hazin.

I went to the tomb of Farhad the sorrowful, he was still wailing under the ground;
I said, 'Farhad, who made you bitter?' He cried out, 'Shirin Shirin!'[211]

Hazin's quatrain narrates a Persian folklore story entitled *Shirin and Farhad*. Shirin was the beloved of Khosrow II (570-628); Khosrow orders a palace to be built for her, and Farhad oversaw the building of its water system. Farhad and Shirin see each other and fall in love but, although she loved Farhad, Shirin marries Khosrow, and Farhad commits suicide in despair. The tale and its pre-Islamic origins can be found in the *Shahnameh*;[212] many other Persian poets romanticized, imitated, and alluded to it, [213] the most famous of which is Nezami's version in his *The Five Treasures*. In the *Notebook*, Hazin alludes to the tale and adds three literary figures, which is a common feature of *sabk-e hendi*; the first appears in the very first hemistich: the line can also be read as 'Sorrowfully, I went to Farhad's tomb;' the poet also has used his pen name حزین *hazin*, which means 'sorrowful' in the line. The second pun is regarding the word کام *kām* in the third hemistich: the word means one's 'mouth', 'taste', or 'desire' in Persian. Considering the hemistich's literal translations which is 'I said "Farhad, who made your *kām* bitter?"' and *kām*'s meaning, it can be observed that any one of the word's meanings

[210] Mohammad-Taghi Bahaar, *Sabk-Shenasi*, (Tehran: Sepehr, 1943), 3: 304-5.
[211] *The Notebook*, f. 19:

رفتم بسرتربت فرهاد حزین — میکرد هنوز ناله در زیر زمین
گفتم فرهاد تلخ کام تو که کرد — فریاد برآورد که شیرین شیرین

[212] P. Chelkowski, 'Nezami's Iskandarnameh', *Colloquio sul poeta persiano Nizami e la leggenda iranica di Alessandro magno*, (Rome: Editori Vari, 1977),11-55: 17, & 19.
[213] Paola Orsatti, 'ḴOSROW O ŠIRIN', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, (2006), [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kosrow-o-sirin].

can be considered the right one in the hemistich's context. Finally, the word شیرین *shirin*, which was the name of Farhad's beloved, means 'sweet' in Persian; therefore, the sweet Shirin was the cause of Farhad's bitterness. This type of wordplay appears in the other quatrain of Hazin in Jones's *Notebook*:

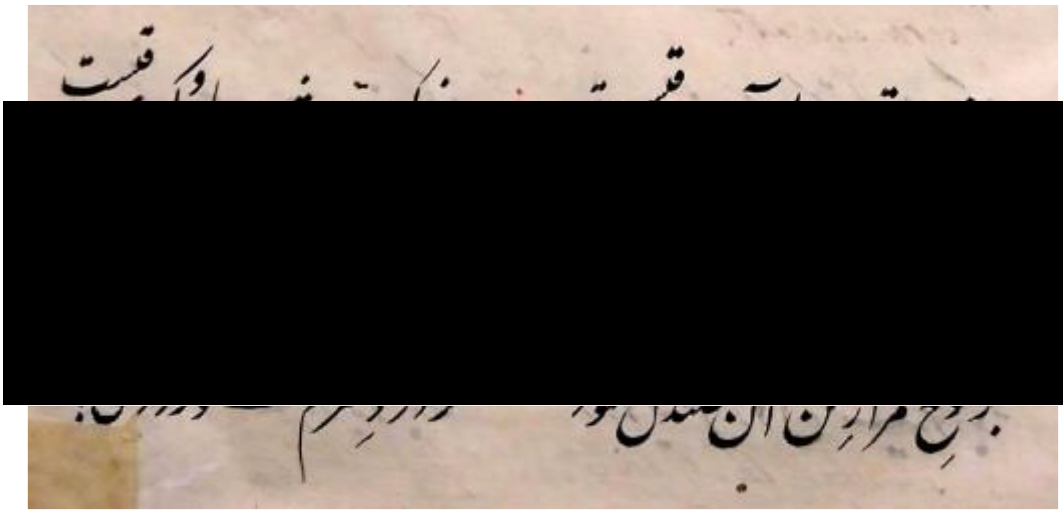

Illustration 43, *The Notebook*, f. 24; a quatrain by Hazin.

> Your pain has left a cold sigh in the heart, my clay has gone with the wind, and only some dust remains.
>
> Bring some Sandal to my gravestone, since from the pain in my head [my labours], still, some pain remains.[214]

The phrase درد سر *dard-e sar* literary meaning 'pain of head' or headache, is more commonly used by its figurative meaning in Persian as 'trouble'. This wordplay increases the ambiguity of the source of the poet's pain.

Hazin engaged in a literary feud over literary schools with Siraj-odin Ali Khan Arzu (1687-1756);[215] Arzu was a poet and linguist in the Mughal Empire.[216] Born in Agra to a soldier and officer of Aurangzeb's court, he was brought up as a bilingual speaker of Persian and Arabic. Later in his life, Arzu learned Hindi and Sanskrit[217] and, similar to Jones, embarked on finding the similarities between the languages. Jones knew the philological works of Arzu and

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[214] *The Notebook*, f. 24:

از درد تو در دل آه سردی باقیست خاکم همه شد به باد و گردی باقیست
بر لوح مزار من توان صندل سود کز درد سرم هنوز دردی باقیست

[215]Sarfaraz Khan Khatak, *Shaikh Muḥammad ʿAli Ḥazin: His Life, Times & Works*, (Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1944), 36-48.

[216]*Language in South Asia*, Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru, & S. N. Sridhar (eds.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 106.

[217]Abida Samiuddin, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Urdu Literature*, (New Delhi: Global Vision Publishing House, 2007), 1:75.

had studied his *Siraj-ul-Lught*, which explains the relationship and similarities between Persian and Sanskrit. In his copy of the Persian lexicon of Jamalodin Inju Shirazi (d.1625), entitled *Farhang-e jahāngiri*, Jones stated 'Many corrections of this valuable work, and many additions to it, may be found in the Siraj-ul-Lught by Sirajuddin Arzu, and in the Majman'lloyhah.'[218] In addition, Jones's *Notebook* attributes the following distich to Arzu:

Illustration 44, *The Notebook*, f. 25; a distich by Arzu.

> The cloth on the figure of the one who killed himself for your eyes is his shroud, grave, and coffin just like an almond ['s shell].[219]

The literary feud between Hazin and Arzu can be observed by comparing the former's quatrains and the distich of the latter: the quatrains are filled with literary figures and complex imagery, a common feature of *sabk-e hendi*. The distich, however, does not contain complex puns and delivers more straightforward imagery which represents *sabk-e hendi*'s successor poetry style called طرز تازه *tarz-e tāzeh*, 'A New Mode'.

Jones's *Notebook* contains a quatrain composed by Sarmad Kashani (1590-1661), a Persian poet and mystic. Born in Armenia to a Jewish Persian-speaking Armenian family of merchants,[220] Sarmad renounced his Judaism and adopted Islam.[221] He attended Sufi gatherings such as those held by Mir Fendereski (1562-1640) and Mulla Sadra (1571/2-1640); his poems, however, do not suggest his following any particular religion. Sarmad decided to go to India initially to sell artworks, yet he met a Hindu boy on his journey, gave him all his belongings, and started teaching the Sufi path.[222] Sarmad's reputation as a poet and mystic caused

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[218] BL, APAC, RSPA 20, f. i.

[219] *The Notebook*, f. 25:

کشتهٔ چشم ترا رختی که بر اندام بود هم کفن هم گور هم تابوت چون بادام بود

[220] N. Katz, 'The Identity of a Mystic: The Case of Sa'id Sarmad, a Jewish-Yogi-Sufi Courtier of the Mughals', *Numen*, 42, (2000),142-160, 148.

[221] Natalia Prigarina, 'Sarmad: Life and Death of a Sufi', *15th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies*, (Prague, 1998), 314-30: 317.

[222] V. N. Datta, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sarmad*, (New Delhi: Rupa Publication India Pvt. Ltd, 2012).

Dara Shokoh to invite him to Shah Jahan's court. It is speculated that Sarmad's Persian translation of the Torah is the source of the chapter on Judaism in *Dabestan-e Mazaheb* 'The School of Creeds'; in addition, it was Sarmad who facilitated Dara Shokoh in composing or commissioning *The Intermingling of the Seas*.[223] After Dara Shokoh's murder by order of his brother, Aurangzeb, Sarmad was arrested, tried for heresy, atheism, and unorthodox religious practice [224] and eventually beheaded in 1661.[225] Please see the quatrain and Jones's translation below:

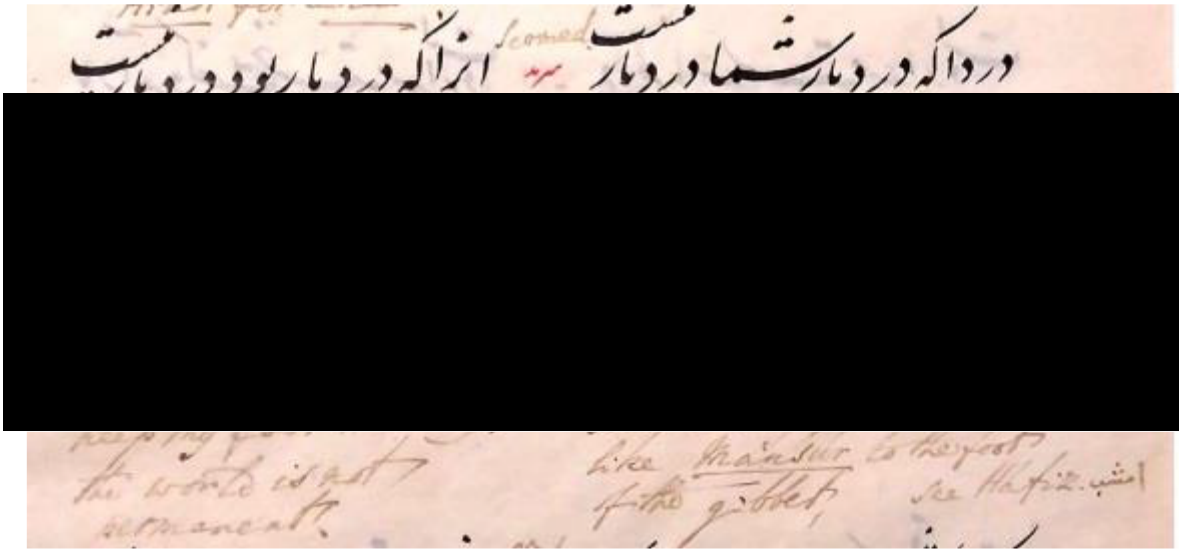

Illustration 45, *The Notebook*, f. 23; a quatrain by Sarmad and Jones's translation.

Jones's translation read as follows:

'Sermed

Alas, that in your country there is no care for a lover!

She, who has some care for her lover is not in your land.

Should they bear thee like Mansur to the foot of the gibbet (امشب See Háfiz)

Keep thy foot resolutely; the world is not permanent.'[226]

[223] Walter Fishel, 'Jews and Judaism at the Court of the Mugal Emperors in Medieval India', *Islamic Culture*, 25, (1948),105-31. The two works, *Dabestan-e Mazaheb* and *The Intermingling of the Seas*, their socio political significance, and influence on Jones, will be examined in the third and fourth chapter of this thesis.

[224] V. N. Datta, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sarmad*, 49.

[225] N. Katz, 'The Identity of a Mystic: The Case of Sa'id Sarmad, a Jewish-Yogi-Sufi Courtier of the Mughals', *Numen*, 47: 2 (2000), 142-160: 151-3.

[226] *The Notebook*, f. 23:

دردا که در دیار شما درد یار نیست — آنرا که درد یار نباشد دیار نیست

منصور وار گر ببرندم بپای دار — مردانه جان دهم که جهان پایدار نیست

The quatrain does not have any complex literary figures, and Jones has accurately translated it. The only allusion Sarmad makes here is to the life of Mansor-e Hallaj, who was a Persian Sufi most famous for dangerously stating انا الحق *ana-l-hagh*, 'I am the Truth'. During his time, the statement was interpreted as a claim to divinity by orthodox Muslims, yet Sufis have taken it as an instance of Sufi mystical annihilation of the ego that allows God to speak through an individual. Hallaj was hanged during the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258) on religious and political charges.[227] Intriguingly, many parallels can be found between Sarmad's world views and consequent trial and those of Hallaj. One of Sarmad's charges was that he used to state: 'there is no God' instead of 'There is no God but Allah;' Aurangzeb ordered his mullahs (Muslim clerics) to ask Sarmad the reason to which he responds that 'I am still absorbed with the negative part. Why should I tell a lie?' Thus, he sealed his death sentence'.[228] Sarmad's answer and its consequence were tragically similar to those of Hallaj's. Many Sufi poets have made various references to Hallaj, including Hafez whom Jones mentioned next to this quatrain 'Should they bear thee like Mansoor to the foot of the gibbet (امشب See Háfiz)'. Jones's self-reminding marginal note means 'Tonight See Hafez'. Hafez mentioned Hallaj in his *Divan* on two occasions: the first instance is 'Like Mansoor, those who have fulfilled their Desire are on the gibbet; they are asking for Hafez to join [them] and leave this throne [the world].'[229] The second one is: 'On the gibbet, Hallaj showed this point so beautifully; do not ask a Shafi'i[230] about matters of such [Sufi] nature.'[231] The latter distich of Hafez not only represents the rivalry between an Islamic theologian – referred to by Hafez as 'a Shafi'i' – and mystics but also elaborates on Hafez's point of view on the Shafi'i school of Islamic law. The rivalry between different sects of Islam, depicted in Hafez's line and the trials and executions of Hallaj and Sarmad, provided Jones with pivotal information for his judicial career. For example, in the case of Hallaj, the trial was basically a clash between the Hanbali creed of Sunnism versus

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[227] John Arthur Garraty, & Peter Gay, *The Columbia History of the World*, (New York City, NY: Harper & Row, 1981), 288.
Jawid Mojaddedi, 'ḤALLĀJ, ABU'L-MOḠIṮ ḤOSAYN b. Manṣur b. Maḥammā Bayżāwi', *Encyclopedia Iranica*, [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hallaj-1].

[228] Shahzad Z. Najmuddin, *Armenia: a Resumé: with Notes on Seth's Armenians in India*, (Bloomington, In.: Trafford Publishing, 2005), The Google books version is unpaginated.

[229] Hafez, *Divan of Hafez*, 194:
چو منصور از مراد آنان که بردارند بر دارند بدین درگاه حافظ را چو می‌خوانند می‌رانند

[230] A follower of the Shafi'i school of Islamic law in Sunni Islam.

[231] Hafez, *Divan of Hafez*, 307:
حلاج بر سر دار این نکته خوش سراید از شافعی نپرسند امثال این مسائل

Sufism and Shiism. The line of Hafez depicts the clash of Shafi's, one of the four major creeds of Sunni Islam, and the Sufis and Shias. As it will be discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis, the dispute between Aurangzeb and Dara Shokoh was essentially a clash between two interpretations of Sufism: the *vahdat-e shohōd*, ''Unity of witnesses' versus the *vahdat-e vojōd* 'Unity of Being'.[232] The sources of all these confrontations and rivalries were the different interpretations of Islamic philosophy and jurisprudence. The pluralistic writings of figures such as Hafez, Sarmad, and Dara Shokoh provided the Oriental philosophical material that reduced the friction between the various religious factions of the Orient. Jones had aimed to harmonize eighteenth-century India through the utilization of these pluralistic literatures. As mentioned previously, it was to that aim which Jones began compiling a comprehensive digest of Islamic law for the British to govern the Muslims of the subcontinent. Such poetry, for example Hafez's distich which is not in favour of the Shafi'i law, assisted Jones's search of authoritative and pluralistic sources for his digest.

The Persian section of Jones's *Notebook* is concluded with two *ghazal*s composed by Jami, a Sufi musician, poet, writer, and prolific scholar. Recognized for his eloquence as well as his analysis of metaphysics,[233] Jami was nicknamed خـاتم الشـعرا *khātam-ol shoarā*, 'the Seal to [or the Last of] all poets.' Apart from composing tens of books in Arabic and Persian, Jami reviewed and commentated on the work of other Sufis, philosophers, and theologians.[234] His *Divan*'s structure was an imitation of Amir Khosrow's: they are both divided into three sections: 'The Beginning of Youth', 'The Centre of Life', and 'The Conclusion of Life'. In addition, Jami composed another *Divan* which is known as بی‌نقـاط *bi noghāt*, 'The Dot-Less',[235] in which none of the eighteen letters of the Persian alphabet[236] containing dots appears. This demonstrated his sophisticated command of the Persian language. Jami's *The Seven Thrones* and *The Gift of the Freemen*

[232] These two world views and the conflict between the followers of them will be discussed in details in the fourth chapter of this thesis.
[233] Sajjad Rizvi, 'The Existential Breath of al-rahman and the Munificent Grace of al-rahim: The Tafsir Surat al-Fatiha of Jami and the School of Ibn Arabi', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 8: 1 (2006), 58-87: 60.
[234] Sajjad Rizvi, 'The Existential Breath of al-rahman and the Munificent Grace of al-rahim: The Tafsir Surat al-Fatiha of Jami and the School of Ibn Arabi', 60.
[235] Abdol Rahmani Jami, *Divan -e Bi Noghat* (Lahoor: Golzar, 1958).
[236] The letters that do not appear in the *Divan* are:
ب*b*, پ*p*, ت *t*, ث *s*, ج *j*, چ *ch*, خ *kh*, ذ *z*, ز *z*, ژ *zh*, ش *sh*, ض *z*, ظ *z*, غ *gh*, ف *f*, ق *gh*, ن *n*, ی *i*.

respectively emulated and re-narrated Nezami's *The Treasury of Mysteries* and *Khosrow and Shirin*. Jami's intricate knowledge of Persian and Arabic, as well as his fascination with Nezami and Amir Khosrow, made him the Sufi philologist who most attracted Jones. Evidence suggests that Jones was familiar with Jami at least three years before publishing his Persian *Grammar*: a letter, dated March 7, 1768, from the Hungarian Orientalist Count Károly Reviczky (1737–1793) to Jones states:

> With respect to Jami whose works I do not at present possess I remember enough of what I read at Constantinople to venture to assert that he is the most successful of the Persian poets. In the judgment of Sadi, Hafez is unequal; some of his odes are excellent others very inferior and some very tame whilst Jami preserves an equality throughout.[237]

The letter is concluded with Reviczki offering Jones his own prose Latin translation of the same *ghazal* of Hafez, which was to be entitled 'The Persian Song of Hafez' and published in Jones's *Grammar*. In a letter from Jones to Reviczki, dated March 1771, as the Persian *Grammar* was being published, Jones stated that he had engraved the 'poem of Hafiz' and speculated that 'if I have enough money I shall have the same done for all of Jami's work.'[238] Jones further elaborated that 'One [of Jami's work] I especially like is Jami's poem called Yusef va Zulaikha. Each couplet of the poem, which has about 4,070 of them, has the pure brilliance of a little star.'[239] The little stars of Jami did not reach Jones's *Grammar*, yet he included the works of Jami in 'A Catalogue of the Most Valuable Books in the Persian Language'[240] including Jami's most significant work بهارستان *bahārestān*, 'the mansion of the spring'. There is no further reference to Jami's masterpiece[241] in Jones's published works; however, Osborn c. 400 contains a quatrain taken from the book in Jones's hand, please see the illustration below:

[237] Jones, *The Works*, 1:103.
[238] Jones, *The Letters*, 1: 86.
[239] Jones, *The Letters*, 1:85.
[240] Jones, *A Grammar*, 141-53: 145-6.
[241] Jones, *Memoirs of the Life*, 1: 519.

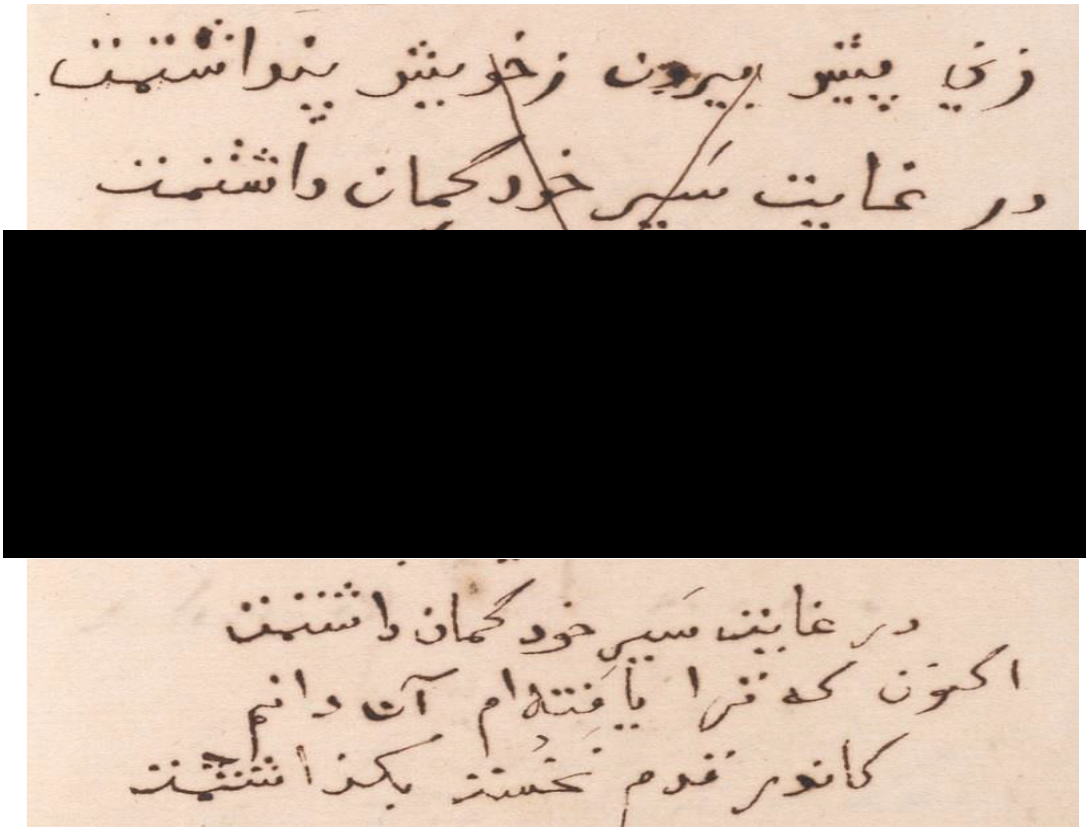

Illustration 46, Osborn c. 400, f. 35; a Persian quatrain in Jones's hand.

The quatrain translates to:

> Previously, I thought of you as an outsider; I presumed you [to be] the end of my journey.
>
> Now that I found you, I know that I had left you in the very first step [of my journey.] [242]

The first *ghazal* of Jami in Jones's *Notebook* is as follows:

[242] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400, f. 35:

زین پیش برون ز خویش پنداشتمت در غایت سیر خود گمان داشتمت
اکنون که تو را یافتم آنی دانم کاندر قدم نخست بگذاشتمت

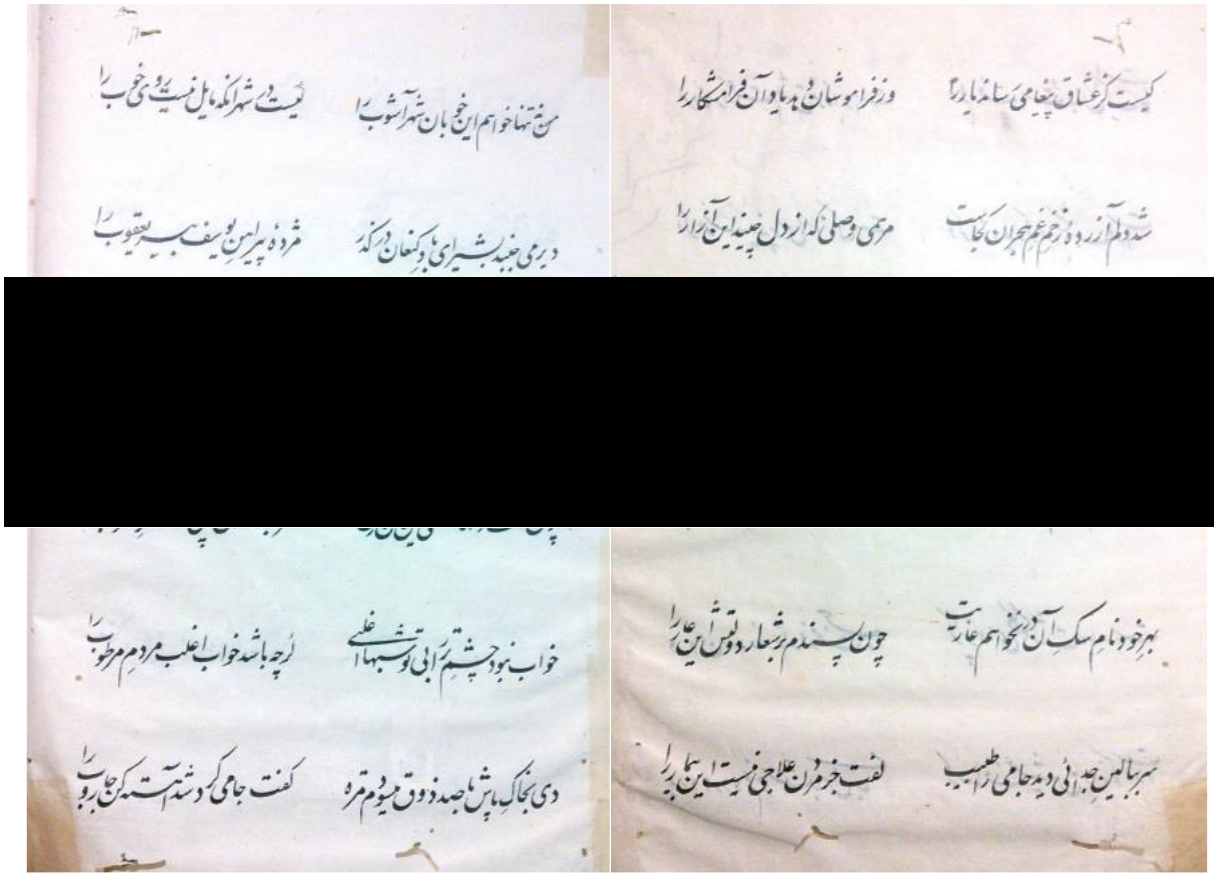

Illustration 47, *The Notebook*, f. 29-30; a *ghazal* by Jami.

I am not the only one who desires fair deceivers; there is no one in the city who does not desire a pretty face.

The harbingers move too slow, O wind of Canaan hurry; bring the good news of Joseph's shirt to Jacob.

My heart accepted the cruelty [of the beloved] just as I saw that tall figure; a wise man is much better to observe the branches of a tree.

You have broken a row of hearts, do not prepare the Rakhsh [a steed in Persian mythology] of disloyalty; it is not fair to chase a defeated army.

My wet eyes have no sleep without you, although humid people fall asleep easily.[243]

Yesterday, I eagerly rubbed my eyelashes on her footprint; she said, Jami, you are raising more dust, sweep slower.

Who is to bring a message from the lovers to the beloved; to remind the forgotten to that forgetful?

My heart is in pain from the wounds of sorrow and separation, where is it? Where is the remedy of reunion to remove this pain?

[243] The figurative meaning of this distich will be explained in the next page.

Her separation has drawn blood from my eyes; weltering in blood is better for an eye that does not deserve the honour of seeing the beloved.

Last year that moon told me that she would be more kind to me next year; thus, this year in my dreams I am seeking the beloved.

I do not wish to choose the title of her dog for myself; how can I be worthy of being her Excellency's belongings' guard dog.

A physician saw Jami in the bed of separation; he said there is no cure but death for this patient. [244]

In the third distich of the *ghazal*, Jami states 'a wise man is much better to observe the branches of a tree'. This figuratively suggests that one should pay close attention to the details and content of something; this advice is quite common in Persian and Sufi literature: for example, please see the lines of Vahshi Bafghi's (1532-1583) *Shirin and Farhad*, which have become a proverb amongst Persian speakers:

> You see her height and Majnoon sees a parade of affection, you see an eye and he sees an arrow-shooting sight. You see tresses and Majnoon sees the curls, you see an eyebrow and he sees the place the eyebrow is pointing at.[245]

The fourth distich of the poem has battlefield imagery such as صف دلها *saf-e delhā*, 'a row of hearts' which resembles a row of soldiers; also, it contains an allusion to Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* and the stories of 'Rakhsh and Rostam': Rostam was the

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[244] *The Notebook*, f. 29-30:

من نه تنها خواهم این خوبان شهر آشوب را — نیست در شهر آنکه مایل نیست روی خوب را
دیر میجنبد بشیرای باد کنعان در گذر — مژده پیراهن یوسف ببر یعقوب را
دل نهادم در جفا تا دیدم آن قد بلند — بر درخت آن به که بیند مرد عاقل چوب را
چون صف دلها شکستی زین مکن رخش جفا — شرط نبود رفتن از پی لشکر مغلوب را
خواب نبود چشم تر را بی تو شبها اغلبی — گرچه باشد خواب اغلب مردم مرطوب را
دی به خاک پاش با صد ذوق میسودم مژه — گفت جامی گرد شد آهسته کن جاروب را
کیست کز عشاق پیغامی رساند یار را — و ز فراموشان دهد یاد آن فرامشکار را
شد دلم آزردهٔ زخم غم هجران کجاست — مرهمی وصلی که از دل چیند این آزار را
خون ازآن گیریم زهجرا وگه درخون غرقه به — دیده کو لایق نباشد دولت دیدار را
پار گفت آن مه برآیم با تو خوش سال دگر — شد چنان امسال کاندر خواب جویم یار را
بهر خود نام سگ آن در نخواهم عاریت — چون پسندم بر شعار دولتش این عار را
سر ببالین جدایی دید جامی را طبیب — گفت جز مردن علاجی نیست این بیمار را

[245] Kamalodin Vahshi Bafghi, *Shirin and Farhad*, (Tehran: Ahmad Ranjbar, 1974), 14:

تو قد بینی و مجنون جلوه ناز — تو چشم و او نگاه ناوک انداز
تو مو بینی و مجنون پیچش مو — تو ابرو، او اشارت‌های ابرو

Jones was familiar with Vahshi Bafghi's *Shirin and Farhad* and uses a lengthy quote from the work in his eleventh Discourse 'On the Philosophy of the Asiaticks', presented before the Asiatic Society on 20 February 1794, to draw parallels between Neoplatonism, Sufi metaphysics, and natural sciences; see Jones, *The Works*, 3: 247. The essay will be discussed in detail in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

strongest hero of the Persian mythology and Rakhsh was his steed famous for his speed and spirit.

The last point that needs further elaboration in this quatrain is in the fifth distich; Jami states that although ‘humid people’ sleep often, he is unable to do so due to his wet eyes; by ‘humid people’ Jami refers to individuals with a humid temperament: those who have a mixture of sanguine and phlegmatic humour.

The second *ghazal* of Jami in the *Notebook* is:

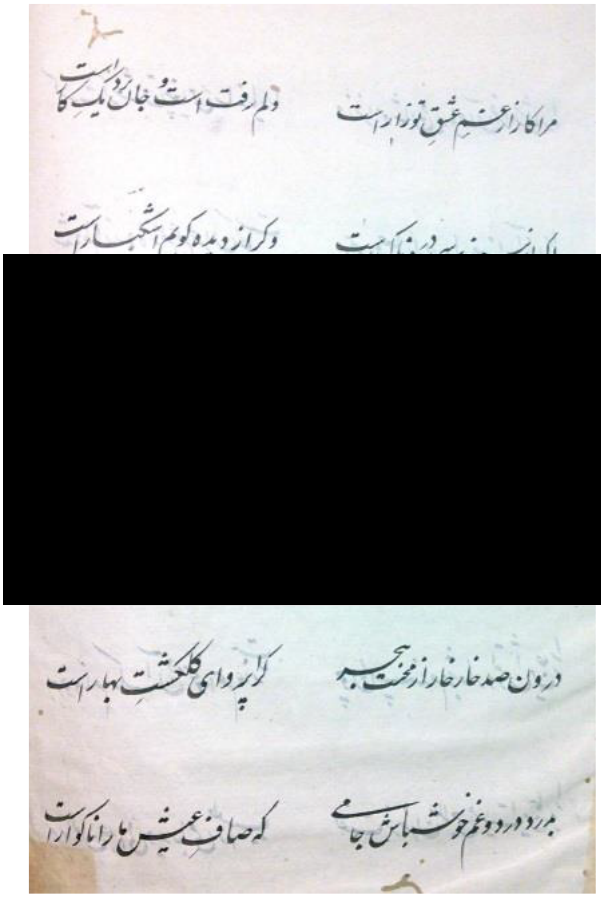

Illustration 48, *The Notebook*, f. 31; a *ghazal* by Jami.

For love I have become deplorable; my heart has departed, and my soul is about to depart.

Should you ask of my chest, it is in pain; should you ask of my eyes, they are in tears.

You killed your promise, but the restlessness is restless in me. [Alternatively, the hemistich translates to: ‘that broken promise is still kept by me’.]

My tear do not remove the dust from my pale face; it is a memento from that nimble hunter.

Hundreds of thorns are inside me because of the suffering of the separation; [in this state] who is in the mood for a promenade in the spring?

Jami, be happy for this pain and sadness since pure pleasures are unpleasant to us.[246]

Jami's *ghazal*s conclude the Persian section of the *Notebook*, yet there is one more Persian quatrain in the *Notebook* which is in Jones's hand. The quatrain appears after Jami's *ghazal*s and before the second set of the Rekhta verses in the *Notebook* begin. Please see it below:

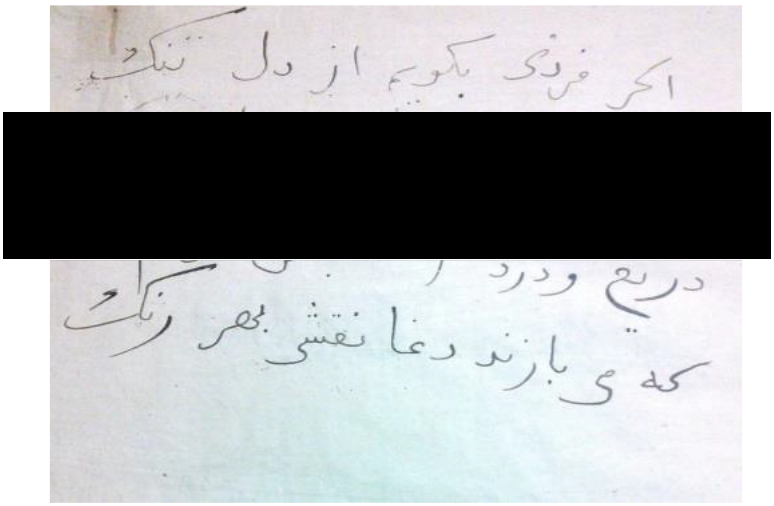

Illustration 49, *The Notebook*, f. 32; a Persian quatrain in Jones's hand.

The quatrain translates to:

Should I tell one about my sad heart, that person's heart will cry even if it is as hard as a stone.
Alas, pain and lament from ill-natured people, hypocrites who change their colour for anything.[247]

This quatrain is probably composed by Jones himself as there is no record of this quatrain in the works of any Persian-speaking poet. In addition, the quatrain does not follow any common

[246] *The Notebook*, f. 31:

مرا کار از غم عشق تو زار است — دلم رفت است و جان نزدیک کار است
اگر از سینه پرسی دردناک است — و گر از دیده گویم اشکبار است
تو گشتی از قرار خویش لیکن — مرا آن بیقراری بر قرار است
مبر گرد از رخ زرد من ای اشک — کزان چابک سوارم یادگار است
درون صد خار خار از محنت هجر — گرا پروایه گلگشت بهار است
بدرد درد و غم خوش باشی جامی — که صاف عیش ما را ناگوار است

[247] *The Notebook*, f. 32:

اگر فردی بگویم از دل تنگ — شود گریان به سختی هر دل سنگ
دریغ و درد از ناجنس مردم — که میبازند دغا نقشی به هر رنگ

Persian meter, and the words used in it are strange to a Persian speaker or reader. For example, the term بگویم *begōyam*, 'I say' is usually used in Persian prose; in verse, the term is always shortened to گویم *gōyam*. Another instance is the word دغا *dagh'ā*, 'ill-natured people/bastards' which is hardly ever used in the Persian language.

This quatrain, however, dovetails nicely with the other two Persian quatrains Jones composed in India; for example, Jones's other Persian quatrain, which was mentioned previously in this chapter states, 'Why should I concern myself with Khayyam [alternatively Jones has written 'buy status'] in India? There is no remedy for the pain of love in that land!'[248] The other Persian quatrain mentioned in the previous chapter stated: 'We have been cast out your eternal heaven to India; why did you create hell if you already had India?'[249] These three quatrains, which, to reiterate are not available in any other Persian poet's works, contain a sense of dissatisfaction that Jones probably experienced after arriving in India. However, these three quatrains also demonstrate Jones's improvement in Persian language and literature as well as his Persian handwriting. The one in the *Notebook,* Illustration 49, depicts Jones earliest attempt of composing Persian quatrains as its meter and lexicon are to some extent strange to native Persian speakers. Whereas the other two quatrains in the Osborn c. 400 collection, Illustrations 12 and 20, show his improved handwriting and his command over Persian meter and lexicon.

[248] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400, f. 28.
[249] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400, f. 10.

Chapter 3: On the Pluralistic Traditions of the Oriental Mystical Poetry

Introduction

The following chapter examines arguably the most significant published work of Sir William Jones on Oriental literary and mystical traditions, 'On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and the Hindus' (1792). Portraying Jones's most profound understanding of Oriental literature, the essay results from his research on a wide range of material similar to those found in the *Notebook*. 'On the Pluralistic Traditions of the Oriental Mystical Poetry' introduces the pluralistic philosophical and metaphysical concepts of Sufi literature and serves as a prelude to the fourth chapter of this thesis.

In his 'Third Anniversary Discourse' (1786), Jones had declared it impossible 'to read the Vedanta, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of India'.[1] Three years later, in the spring of 1789, Jones had learnt Sanskrit and translated the *Gitagovinda*,[2] or 'Song of Jayadeva', and sent a copy of it to his neighbour John Shore (1751-1834), the future governor-general of Bengal. On 8 December 1791, Jones appended the English translation of the Gitagovinda to his essay 'On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus'[3] and read both before the Asiatick Society. Composed by Jayadeva (b. 1170 CE), the *Gitagovinda* celebrates the pastoral god Krishna and his love for *Rādhā*, the most radiant *Gopi* (milkmaid) and the Goddess of Love, Compassion and Devotion. The narration of such love, between Krishna and a gopi, has been an ancient tradition in Indian literature, yet the Gitagovinda slightly differs from the rest of such works. *Rādhā* contrasts with the rest of the gopis as she is proud and ambitious; in addition, she is after an exclusive relationship with Krishna. Jayadeva's *Rādhā* appears as 'the god's union with *Prakriti* and symbolizing the infinite love that is the essence of Krishna.'[4] The work elegantly presents the love between the two, Krishna's faithlessness to Rādhā, and his subsequent return to her; the work is interpreted

[1] *Asiatic Researches: Or, Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia*, (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1798), 1: 425.
[2] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 236-68.
[3] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 211-34.
[4] Michael J. Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones': Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer, and Linguist, 1746-1794*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 275.

as an allegory of the human soul's straying from its true allegiance but returning at length to the God who created it.[5] Aware of the work's religious significance to eighteenth-century Hindus, Jones introduced his translation by concluding his essay with:

> Let us return to the Hindus, among whom we now find the same emblematical theology, which Pythagoras admired and adopted. The loves of CRISHNA and RADHA, or the reciprocal attraction between the divine goodness and the human soul, are told at large in the tenth book of the Bha´gavat, and are the subject of a little pastoral drama, entitled Gitagovinda: it was the work of JAYADE´VA, who flourished, it is said, before CALIDAS, and was born, as he tells us himself, in CENDULI, which many believe to be in Calinga.[6]

The reason why Jones held on to his translation of the Gitagovinda from the spring of 1789 to the winter of 1791 might have been to perfect the text. However, in the meantime, Jones also searched various Oriental sources to strengthen his hypothesis that the European classics drove 'their sublime theories from the same fountain' as the sages of the Orient. Some of Jones's findings in the quest for the sublime communal fountain are stated in 'On the Mystical Poetry'. In the essay, Jones argues upon his thesis on the common identity of the Platonic, Vedantic, and Sufi traditions. Such similarities between Islam, Hinduism, Judaism, and Christianity were noted as early as the tenth century by Persian Sufis such as Abolkhayr (967-1049); as discussed in the second chapter, Jones had studied some of these writings. This speculative syncretism flourished in the Indian subcontinent during the reign of Akbar's (1542-1605) liberal religious toleration. Aiming to convey his fascination with the diversity of the Orient to his readers, Jones's philosophy as cultural mediator is simply stated in the essay: 'if we think it worthwhile to read their poems, we must think it worthwhile to understand them'. [7]'On the Mystical Poetry' contains a lengthy quotation from the essay 'Of the Love of God' by Isaac Barrow (1630-1677), whom Jones refers to as the 'deepest theologian of his age', and another lengthy quotation from the philosopher Jacques Necker (1732-1804). After the quotations, Jones asserts that Western philosophy and Quietism 'differs only from the mystical theology of the Sufis and Yogis, as the flowers and fruit of Europe differ in scent and flavour from those of Asia, or as European differs from Asiatick eloquence; the same strain, in poetical measure, would rise up to the odes of SPENSER on Divine Love and Beauty, and, in a higher key with

[5] 'JAYADÉVA', *Encyclopedia Americana*, Alexander Hopkins McDonnald (ed.), (New York, NY: Americana Corporation, 1951), 15: 747.
[6] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 34-5.
[7] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 230.

richer embellishments, to the songs of HAFIZ and JAYADEVA, the raptures of the Masnavi, and the mysteries of the Bha´gavat.'[8]

In 'On the Mystical Poetry', Jones lists some of his favourite Sufi poets, which includes 'SAIB, ORFI, MIR KHOSRAU, JAMI, HAZIN, and SABIK, who are next in beauty of composition to HAFIZ and SADI', mentioning also 'MESI´HI, the most elegant of their Turkish imitators; [. . .] a few Hindi poets of our own times, and [. . .] IBNUL FA´ RED, who wrote mystical odes in Arabick.'[9] The essay contains a translation of a *ghazal* by Esmat Bokhari (d. 1436)[10] as well as the very first translation of Rumi's (1207-1273) 'The Song of the Reed'.[11] Throughout 'On the Mystical Poetry', Jones emphasized the contemporary relevance of the allegorical tradition within Muslim and Hindu cultures, referring to modern Sufis and 'Hindi poets of our own times.' The essay and the translations Jones included in it will be discussed in this chapter. The Sufi and 'Hindi poets' Jones mentions throughout his 'On the Mystical Poetry' have another common point that Jones does not state in the essay: they all have been greatly influenced by a poet named Farid-odin Attār (1145-1221).[12] For example, Rumi's *Masnavi Ma'navi,* which begins with 'The Song of the Reed' was inspired by Attar's اسرار نامه *asrārnāmeh*, 'The Book of Mysteries;' the *ghazal* of Esmat which Jones translated in the essay is a brief imitation of Attar's 'The Sheikh of Sanaan and the Christian Girl,' a tale in the poet's منطق الطیر *Mantegh ol-tayr*, translated to English as 'The Conference of Birds.' As discussed in the previous chapters, Jones was familiar with the works of Attar as the poet appears in his *A Grammar of Persian Language* (1771) and his collection of papers held in the British Library.[13] The Osborn c. 400 collection[14] contains further evidence of Jones's researches on Attar during his time in India, which will be mentioned later in this chapter. Attar's significance in Sufi literature has been under-researched in general, and the poet's pivotal role in expanding philosophical ideas which centre on toleration of the Other is even more neglected by modern researchers. However, as will be discussed in this chapter, the syncretic narratives and allegorical traditions introduced by Attar to Sufism were culturally relevant to Hindus and Muslims in India as well as the British in the subcontinent. Attar's

[8] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 216.
[9] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 232.
[10] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 228-30.
[11] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 230-1.
[12] While عطار *attār* literally means 'the perfumer' in Persian, the word generally used to refer to people practising traditional Iranian medicine and now is being used for people selling herbs.
[13] BL, APAC, MSS Eur. C 274 f. 51.
[14] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400.

syncretic tradition was present in the first gathering of the Asiatic Society on 15 January 1784, in a *ghazal* of Hafez gifted to Jones by his friend, the Sanskrit scholar, Charles Wilkins (1749-1836). Another case of Attar's significance in eighteenth-century India can be found in the 'Epistle to Sir William Jones' (1790)[15] composed by Captain John Horsford (1751-1817), one of Bengal's artillery commanders during the Third Anglo-Mysore War. The poem begins:

> Tho' haughty pow'rs against us turn their rage,
> let not the fate of war your mind engage,
> Be from your bosom such ideas far,
> To vet'ran meadows leave the cares of war:
> But ah! To Persian lore devote the hour.
> Your Lord in Poesy's inspiring bow'r:
> KHAKANI's thoughts t' admiring ears express,
> Or your lov'd HAFIZ bring in English dress:
> With KHOOSRU sing how gentle pangs t' assuage,
> And trace pure SADI thro' his moral page;
> But if fatigue'd in this too tender field,
> Then seek the joys GILLALIDEN can yield,
> With ATTAR join in philosophic taste,
> Th' enlighten'd ROCHFOUCALT of half the East:
> Their daring works to justly understand,
> I'd give thy wealth, O golden Samarcand.[16]

Horsford was an expert in cannon deployment, yet here he lists Persian poets who were significantly inspired by Attar's perception of loving and tolerating the Other. Attar's significance to the Oriental thinkers is compared to that of François VI, Duc de La Rochefoucauld (1613-1680) to the Europeans. Following Hafez's tradition of exchanging 'the

[15] John Horsford, *Collection of Poems, Written in the East Indies. With Miscellaneous Remarks, in Real Life. By J- H*, (Calcutta: Joseph Cooper, 1797), 29–32.
[16] Horsford, *Collection of Poems*, 29.

cities of Samarcand and Bokhara'[17] for the mole on the cheek of his plundering Shirazi Turk, Horsford spares the wealth of golden Samarcand to understand the Oriental Other justly. This enlightenment resulted from centuries of literary traditions that began with the composition of the tale of 'The Sheikh of Sanaan and the Christian Girl' by the 'Rochefoucauld of half the East.' The soldier who 'inured to blowing Muslims into little pieces… longs for peace and the "divine sublime" of Sufi poetry as revealed by Jones'.[18] Enchanted by Jones's cultural mediation philosophy, Horsford thinks Oriental poetry is worthwhile to understand. Intriguingly, Horsford shared the same fate as the Sheikh of Sanaan: he fell in love with an Indian woman and this love 'led him to deplore the discrimination against 'Eurasians' or 'East Indians', as persons of mixed ethnicity were called.'[19]

The extent of Jones's studies and research on the works of Attar is debatable: the poet appears in Jones's published works only on a few occasions, which makes one question if Jones had conducted any research on Attar. On the other hand, Jones's manuscripts held in the British Library and Beinecke Library contain several references to Jones's research on the works of Attar; the folios will be presented later in this chapter. The debate also stems from the fact that Jones's personal books are held within several libraries in the United Kingdom, United States, Germany, and India, making accessing all of his Persian manuscripts difficult. In addition, the information available in the libraries' catalogues are not accurate and contain some errors. For example, one manuscript, 'Presented to the Royal Society By Mr Burjojee Sorabjee Ashburner May 1865',[20] is catalogued as one of Jones's manuscripts; in another case, two separate books have been bound together and catalogued as one work which has led to readers ignoring one of them.[21] The British Library holds a copy of Attar's *Pandnameh*, 'The Book of Advices', which belonged to Jones.[22] As we have seen, Jones had a habit of annotating the books he read, but the manuscript's text contains no annotations. Jones had several copies of the works he read, for example, at least two copies of the first volume of Rumi's *Masnavi* catalogued in the British library as RSPA 34 and RSPA 35, containing many annotations of Jones. This gives

[17] William Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, (London: W. and J. Richardson, 1771), 135.
[18] Franklin, '*Orientalist Jones'*, 348.
[19] 'Sir John Horsford, *Anglophone Poetry in Colonial India, 1780–1913: A Critical Anthology*, Mary Ellis Gibson(ed.), (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2011), 46.
[20] BL, APAC, RSPA 72, f. i.
[21] These issues will be discussed in detail in the fifth chapter of this thesis, 'The Majnun of India: Sir William Jones's Annotations on Nezami's *Treasury of Mysteries*.'
[22] The manuscript is catalogued as BL, APAC, RSPA 33.

rise to the hypothesis that there is at least one more manuscript of Attar's *Pandnameh*, which contains Jones's annotations. As mentioned earlier, the extent of Jones's familiarity with Attar could be debated; however, the impact of the traditions Attar introduced to Persian and Sufi literature and its consequent influence in Jones's writings will be examined in this chapter. The chapter introduces Attar and examines some of his most influential writings; this is due to his pivotal role in Sufism and the Sufis' perception of the alien other. In addition, it explores the continuation, development, and amelioration of Attar's traditions by later Sufis such as Amir Khosrow (1253-1325), Rumi, and Esmat Bokharaei. More specifically, it will explore the influence of Attar on Rumi and analyses Jones's translation of Rumi's 'The Song of the Reed.' Furthermore, the chapter investigates the significance of Attar's tale of 'the Sheikh Sanaan and the Christian Girl' in shaping the concept of the Other in the latter Sufis; Jones's translation of Esmat's ode, which is an imitation of Attar's tale, will be examined. The chapter concludes by examining such traditions in Jones's writings as well as the *ghazal* Wilkins presented to him in the first gathering of the Asiatic Society. It should be mentioned that the translations presented in the chapter are mine unless stated otherwise. Moreover, a literal translation of Attar's 'the Sheikh Sanaan and the Christian Girl' is appended to the thesis.

The Life and Works of Attar

Attar was a Persian mystic poet and hagiographer; he lived in Nishapur, a city northeast of Iran. He was influenced by poets such as Ferdowsi (940-1020), Sanaaei (1080-1131), and Nezami (1149-1209); Attar was also influenced by Sufi mystics such as Bayazid Bastami (804-874),[23] Mansoor-e Hallaj (858-922), Abu-Saeed Abolkhayr (967-1049), and Khajeh Abdollah Ansari (1006-1088). His influence on the Persian and Sufi literature is so immense that many poets, including Rumi, Hafez (1326-1390), Jami (1414-1492), and Saib-e Tabrizi (1601-1677) praised, and more importantly, imitated him. Some scholars challenge Attar's influence on Persian mysticism and Sufism; for instance, B. Reinert states, 'It seems that he was not well-known as a poet in his own lifetime, except at his home town [of Nishapur], and his greatness as a mystic, a poet, and a master of narrative was not discovered until the 15th century.'[24] However, this idea can easily be disputed: firstly, poets such as Rumi, Hafez, and Jami, who lived before the fifteenth century, alluded on multiple occasions to Attar as a great master Sufi.

[23] Known as سلطان العارفین *Soltān ol-ārefin*, 'The King of Mystics', Bayazid Bastami is known for 'the boldness of his expression of the mystic's complete absorption into the Godhead.' He introduced and pioneered the concept of 'drunkenness' in Sufism.
[24] B. Reinert, 'AṬṬĀR, FARĪD-AL-DĪN', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 3:1, 20-25: 21, [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/attar-farid-al-din-poet].

Secondly, the statement can be disputed through Rumi's biography: by the time that Central Asia was being invaded by Mongols, sometime between 1215 and 1220, Rumi's father, Baha-odin Walad (1149–1232), set out Westwards with his family and some of his disciples in order to seek sanctuary from the Mongolian invasion. During their journey, they passed through Nishapur and, according to many accounts, they met Attar. Recognizing Rumi's spiritual eminence instantly, Attar gave his اسرار نامه *asrārnāmeh*, 'The Book of Mysteries', which is centred on the entanglement of the soul within the material world, to the young Rumi. Later in his life, Rumi praised the poet on many occasions: 'Attar was the spirit, Sanaaei his eyes twain, And in time thereafter, Came we in their train.'[25] In another instance, Rumi stated: 'One, facing this Path shall become acquainted with Bayazid;[26] should either face Sanaaei or analyse Attar's works in details'[27] and 'The Luminosity which Sanaaei described, was uniquely personified by Attar.'[28] After Jones introduced Rumi and his the 'Song of the Reed' to the West, in his essay 'On the Mystical Poetry', he stated 'A volume might be filled with similar passages from the Sufi poets; from SAIB, ORFI, MIR KHOSRAU, JA'MI, HAZIN, and SABIK who are next in beauty of composition to HAFIZ and SADI.'[29] Intriguingly, these poets are amongst the imitators of Attar. For example, Saib-e Tabrizi stated: 'Saib's stature might not reach Rumi's; just as Rumi's stature cannot reach Attar's.'[30] Hafez's poetry and mystical perspective also reveals the influence of Attar; for instance, in his *Divan* Hafez states: 'Come now, the foundation of the palace of ambition is extremely loose; bring wine, since the foundation of the life is on the wind [shaky and loose]'[31] which is an imitation of Attar's 'Come now, since the

[25]Arthur J. Arberry, *Sufism: An Account of the Mystics of Islam*, (Mineola, N.Y: Dover Publications, 2001), 141.

[26] Attar, *Muslim Saints and Mystics: Episodes from the Tadhkirat al-Auliya, (Memorial of the Saints)*, A. J. Arberry (trans.), (Ames: Omphaloskepsis, 2000), 119.

[27]Jalal-odin Mohamad Ibn Mohamad Molavi Rumi, *Divan of Shams-e Tabrizi*, (Tehran: Badi-ol Zaman Forozan Far, 1993), 42:

جانی که رو این سو کند با بایزید او خو کند یا در سنایی رو کند یا بو دهد عطار را

[28] Rumi, *Divan of Shams-e Tabrizi*, 1076:

آن سناجو کش سنایی شرح کرد یافت فردیت ز عطار آن فرید

[29] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 232.

[30] Saib Tabrizi, *Divan*, Mohammad Kahreman (ed.), (Tehran: Scientific & Cultural Publication Company, 1986), 3: 200:

خواهد رسید رتبه صائب به مولوی گر مولوی به رتبه عطار می‌رسد

[31] Shams-odin Mohammad Hafez, *Divan of Hafez*, (Tehran: Parviz Natel-Khanlari, 1983), 90:

بیا که قصر امل سخت سست بنیاد است بیار باده که بنیاد عمر بر باد است

corner of a tavern is our Qibla;[32] bring wine, since the lover is not a man of hypocrisy and pretence.'[33]

Although there are not many detailed reliable accounts of Attar's life, we know that his father was a medical practitioner, and Attar learned about medicine through him and replaced him after his death. This fact is quite pivotal since, unlike many other poets, particularly Persian ones, Attar did not need patronage.[34] Therefore, although eulogies are quite common amongst Persian poets, he did not compose even a single eulogy piece or praise poetry in his life. Another intriguing fact about him is that, unlike other Sufis, Attar did not follow one particular Sufi teacher; furthermore, in his early life, Attar was neither interested in the theological studies, schools of the time, nor Sufi monasteries.[35] His initiation to Sufism is the subject of much speculation; many literary scholars believe that he changed his life by encountering a Sufi wanderer.[36] While Attar was busy at his stall, a Darvish arrives and asks him for a donation in the path of God. Attar initially ignores him, yet the Darvish keeps asking. Eventually, the Darvish says: 'O Lord, how do you want to leave the world behind?' emphasizing Attar's love of wealth and worldly materialistic fortune rather than his spirituality. Attar responds: 'Just as you do!' The Darvish, doubting Attar's claim, asks: 'Can you really die the way I do?!' and Attar says 'Yes!' The Darvish lies down, puts his hat under his head and dies while pronouncing 'Allah'. This event dramatically impacts Attar; he leaves his shop behind and travels from Transoxiana to India and from there to Mecca. On his way, Attar begins to learn from other Sufis. Rumi alludes to this tale in one of his most famous *ghazal*s:

> O lovers! O lovers! Should one see the One's cheeks,
> their mind becomes corrupted, their temperament becomes chaotic.
> They will seek out the beloved, their stall becomes ruined;

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[32] قبلة *gheble*, 'the Qibla' is the direction in which Muslims face to pray. It is the same direction as the Kaaba in Mecca.

[33] Attar, *Divan of Ghasaayed and Ghazaliyaat*, (Torbat-e Jam: The Cultural, Social, and Information Site of Torbat-e Jam, 2008), 2:

بیا که قبله ما گوشه خرابات است بیار باده که عاشق نه مرد طامات است

[34] Abdolhossein Zarrinkoob, *Sedaye Paaye Simorgh*, (Tehran: Sokhan, 2000), 34.

[35] Zarrinkoob, *Sedaye Paaye Simorgh*, 46.

[36] Although most of Iranian sources state that the tale is mentioned by Jami, I personally could not find it in any writings of Jami regarding the matter. The oldest reliable source of the story is available in: Dolat-Shah Samarghandi, *Tazkerat ol-Shoara*, Edward G. Browne (ed.), (Leiden: Brill, 1900), 187-9. Samarghandi's book was originally written sometime between 1456-1491.

like water in a stream, one's mind and soul will seek the Beloved.[37]

While such an event is, to some extent, doubtful, different accounts do mention that Attar, at some point in his life, leaves his job and starts travelling. The most plausible theory regarding Attar's life and his initiation to Sufism is that from an early age, he became interested in Sufism, probably through his father's encouragement, and considered Sufi saints as his spiritual guides.[38] In the April of 1221, at the age of 78, Attar met a violent death in the Mongols' massacre at Nishapur.[39] Furthermore, all of his writings, held in his private collection, were burned by the Mongols. The texts available today, which were sent to other cities or given to other people before the Mongolian invasion, are considered to be only a fraction of his original writings. Attar's writings depict the evolution of one who sets course on a Sufi path as well as the whole Sufi movement. Starting with the idea of the soul trapped in a body, most of the times, his writings end with the reunion of the soul and its divine source through purification;[40] the soul's purifying agent always happens to be Love. Utilizing a simple language alongside allegories and fables, Attar perfected Persian literature's adoption of the Sufi perceptions, which Sanaaei started. In his works, Attar approached his predecessor philosophers, mainly of Aristotelian heritage, with scepticism.[41] Intriguingly, unlike any other poet, Sufi, or philosopher, Attar was neither interested in revealing the Truth nor the mysteries of nature; the fact becomes particularly remarkable should one consider that he was a medical practitioner. Attar never shared his knowledge of medicine in the manner customary amongst other Sufis;[42] he was more interested in evolving and sharing his spiritual knowledge.

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[37] Rumi, *Divan of Shams-e Tabrizi*, 2811:

ای عاشقان ای عاشقان آن کس که بیند روی او شوریده گردد عقل او آشفته گردد خوی او
معشوق را جویان شود دکان او ویران شود بر رو و سر پویان شود چون آب اندر جوی او

[38] Attar, *Tazkerat-ol Oliya*, Reynold A. Nicholson (ed.), (London: Luzac & Co., 1905), 1, 23, 55.

[39] B. Reinert, 'AṬṬĀR, FARĪD-AL-DĪN', 24.
Abdolhossein Zarrinkoob, *Sedaye Paaye Simorgh*, 45.

[40] F. Meier, 'Der Geistmensch bei dem persischen Dichter Attar', *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, 13, (1945), 283-353: 286.

[41] Attar, *Mosibat Nameh*, Abdol-Wahaab Noorani-Vesal (ed.), (Tehran: Zavar, 1985), 54.
Attar, *Asrar-nameh*, Seyed Sadeq Gohareen (ed.), (Tehran: Zavar Publications, 2005), 50.

[42] As an example, Rumi, who was not as knowledgeable as Attar in medicine, in one of his poems describes a princess who has become ill due to the separation from her beloved. Then he emphasizes the inefficiency of medicine to cure her illness stating: 'In fact, *Sekanjabin* caused her bile to enhance; the almond oil increased the dryness':

از قضا سرکنگبین صفرا فزود روغن بادام خشکی می‌نمود

The works of Attar which are currently available are his *Divan*, *Mokhtār-nāmeh, Tazkerat ol-owliā*, and *Elāhi-nāmeh*. Jones mentions Attar in *A Grammar* (1771):

'پند نامه

> Pendnāma, a book of moral sentences, not unlike those of Theogonies in Greek, by فریدالدین عطار Feridedin Attar, Lond. Oxf.'[43]

A further instance in which Jones mentions Attar is while introducing another Persian poet named Catebi (d.1496), a contemporary poet with Jami. While introducing Mohammad Ibn Abdollah Katebi Tarshizi [44] to his readers, Jones mentions a distich composed by the poet:

همچو عطار از گلستان نشاپورم ولی خار صحرای نشاپورم من و عطار گل

> Like Attar* I came from the rose garden of Nishapor; but I am only a thorn of that garden, and Attar was its most beautiful flower.[45]

The distich chosen by Jones also points out the significance of Attar to other Persian poets: Nishapor, the birthplace of both poets, is quite famous for its Turquoise, yet Katebi chooses to associate the city with its most precious jewel, which was Attar. At the bottom of the same page, again, Jones associates Attar only with *Pandnameh* '[*] … a Persian poet, author of the Pendnāma.' The intriguing fact about *Pandnameh* is that there are no indications of Attar being its author.[46] Furthermore, the first time that literary scholars mentioned the book and attributed it to Attar was in the fifteenth century, and there are no other references to the book or Attar, as its author, before that date. Moreover, *Pandnameh*'s text does not demonstrate any one of the characteristics of Attar's writings since it is 'a dry moral rule-book in abrupt and grammatically very simple language with trite wording.'[47] However, it should be mentioned

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Jones took interest in this line and translated *Sekanjabin* to 'Oxymel.' BL, APAC, RSPA, 36, f. 6.

[43] Jones, *A Grammar*, 147.

[44] In India, Jones had bought a copy of Katebi's *Divan;* the manuscript is available in the British Library, catalogued as BL, APAC, RSPA 45. This particular copy of the *Divan -e Katebi* has no annotations of Jones, however, Jones has quoted a quatrain on the poet in the copy of Nezami's *Treasury of Mysteries*, catalogued as BL, APAC, RSPA 35. Jones's annotations on Nezami's *Treasury* will be discussed in detail in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

[45] Jones, *The Works*, 5: 445.

[46] Hellmut Ritter, *Philologika: XVI, Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār. IV. 8. Mutārnāme: 9. Pandnāme*, (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 228.

[47] B. Reinert, 'AṬṬĀR, FARĪD-AL-DĪN', 24.

that Saeed Nafisi, one of the most prominent Persian literary scholars, is amongst the very few modern critics who attributed the book to Attar and considered it to be an authentic text.[48] Despite all these doubts, *Pandnameh* is quite popular amongst the Turks and has been translated into Turkish and reprinted in Turkey several times throughout the past five centuries.[49] Perhaps the Turks' interest in the book and possibly the information Jones gathered from Turkish sources was the reason for his attribution of the book to Attar and mentioning him always as the author of *Pandnameh* rather than any other works of his. However, one of the folios in Jones's Osborn c. 400 collection demonstrates the significance of Attar's *Pandnameh* to him. Please see the illustration below, Jones's 'Order of Persian Reading'[50] beginning with the *Pandnameh*.

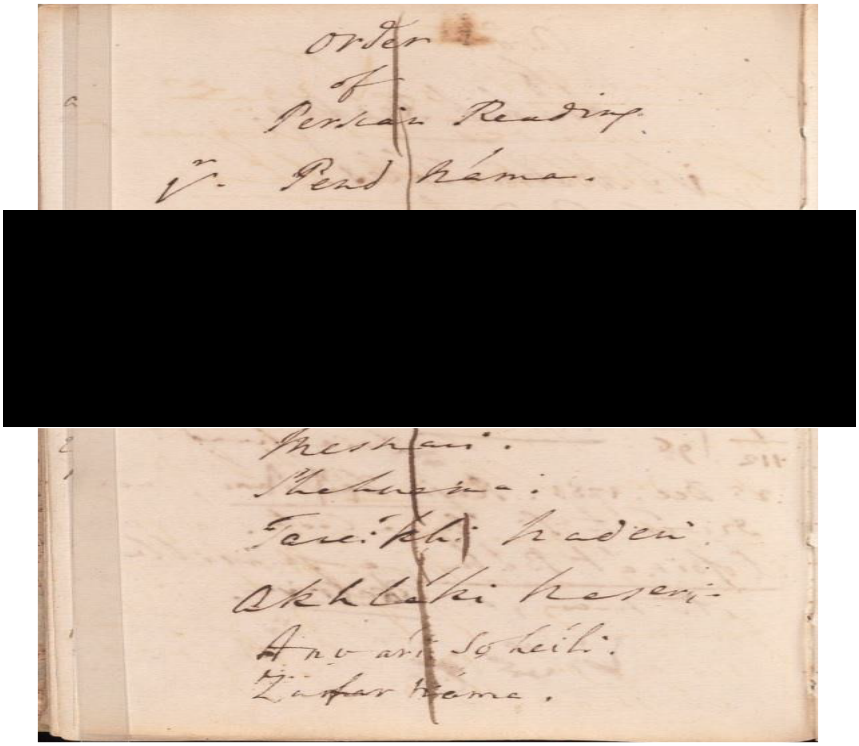

Illustration 1, Osborn c. 400, f. 20; Jones's 'Order of Persian Reading.'

Attar's 'The Book of Mokhtar'

As I mentioned while analysing Jones's *Notebook*, it is quite evident that Jones does not always mention the books he read explicitly in his works; for example, Abu-Saeed Abolkhayr and Sahabi (d. 1609) whose quatrains are available in the *Notebook* are not

[48] Saeed Nafisi, *Jostetoo dar ahvaal va ash'aar-e Attar*, (Tehran: Eghbaal, 1941),108.
[49] Hellmut Ritter, *Philologika: XVI.*, 228-38.
[50] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400, f. 20.

mentioned in Jones's works. In another case, while Jones does not mention Mansoor Hallaj [51] directly in his works, his comments on two of the quatrains in the *Notebook*[52] clearly demonstrate that he knew about Hallaj's life; therefore, it could be obtained that Jones was quite familiar with Attar, particularly with his book entitled *Mokhtār-nāmeh*, 'The Book of Mokhtar'. The book consists of four narrative poems each, nowadays, is considered as a separate book: *Khosrow-nāmeh*, *Asrār-nāmeh*, *Mantegh ol-tayr*, and *Mosibat-nāmeh*.

Attar's Book of Khosrow

The first factor that stimulated Jones's curiosity about *Mokhtār-nāmeh* is its first book, *Khosrow-nāmeh*, 'The Book of Khosrow'.[53] While Jones was interested in the Oriental romances, much like any Persian literature scholar, he found two particular stories surpassing any other Persian romance: the tale of *Khosrow and Shirin* and the tale of *Leili and Majnoon*, which were initially written by Jones's favourite Persian poet Nezami. Both Sufi romances have different versions, composed by different poets after Nezami, and we know that Jones studied some of them. However, Attar's creativity makes his version of Khosrow and Shirin, *Khosrow-nāmeh*, different from others. Firstly, Attar's version of the tale differs from the rest of his writings since it is not necessarily mystical but rather a courtly romance in nature. Secondly, Attar changes Khosrow's role in the tale, while in other versions, Khosrow[54] is one of the Persian emperors. In Attar's *Khosrow-nāmeh*, he becomes an illegitimate son of a Roman Emperor who was exiled to Ahvaz, Iran and was adopted by the gardener of the city's court. This transformation of a familiar figure to the reader, in this case a Persian emperor, to an alien, the illegitimate son of the Roman emperor, is one of the concepts introduced and commonly used by Attar in Persian literature. This transformation later was adopted by others, including Jones's favourite poet Amir Khosrow Dehlavi.[55] Furthermore, Jones himself has applied such tactics in his translations. For example, while translating a quatrain of Amir Khosrow's, Jones

[51] منصور حلاج *Mansōr-e Hallāj*, Mansor-e Hallaj (858-922) was a Persian Sufi most famous for stating انا الحق *ana-l-hagh*, 'I am the Truth'; this statement was interpreted by as a claim to divinity, while others took it as an instance of Sufi mystical annihilation of the ego that allows God to speak through an individual. He was hanged during the Abbasid Caliphate (750/1517) on religious and political charges.
[52] BL, APAC, MSS Eur. C 274, f. 16, & 23.
[53] Attar, *Khosrow-Nameh*, Farshid Eghbaal (ed.), (Tehran: Andishe Gostar, 2003).
[54] In Attar's version, originally his name is Hormoz and later on in the narrative he is renamed to Kosrow.
[55] More details on the self and the other will be provided while discussing about 'The Sheikh of Sanaan and the Christian Girl.'

introduced *Lát*, a famous pre-Islamic idol in Arabia known to all Muslims, as 'An Hindu idol'.[56] In Attar's narrative, Shirin is also renamed as Gol, the daughter of the king of Ahvaz. Khosrow and Gol fall in love with each other while neither one is aware of the other's love, and this ignorance causes many instances of self-denial and self-discovery for both. It should be mentioned that many thematic parallels stand out between Attar's tale and that of Nezami's: the lover's distress at the end of the very flustered courtship, the description of the lovers' reunion, and the girl's death due to the separation of her lover on his tomb.

Attar's Book of Mysteries, Rumi's *Masnavi*, and Jones's 'Song of the Reed'

Attar's second book of the *Mokhtār-nāmeh* is entitled *Asrār-nāmeh*, 'The Book of Mysteries' which was briefly mentioned while discussing the relationship between Rumi and Attar. This particular text has received less modern scholarly attention compared with the other three books in the *Mokhtār-nāmeh*. It might be due to the fact that the book is a set of twenty-two essays without any sort of literary frame. However, *Asrār-nāmeh* contains a certain conceptual and thematic structure; the book's main theme revolves around the separation of the soul from its origin and the soul's longing for a reunion through love. The book is the most significant piece of literature that influenced Rumi to compose his *Masnavi Ma'navi*. This gave rise to the story of Rumi's meeting Attar and receiving this book from him. It is told that as Rumi grow older and began conducting teaching sessions on the Sufi path, his disciples asked him to compose a comprehensive moral guide for them. Rumi reached his turban and brought out a piece of paper with a *Masnavi* written on it. After Rumi recited the poem, his disciples were ecstatic with it, asked for more, and hence, Rumi started to compose his six volumes of the *Masnavi*. While introducing the *Masnavi*, Jones states that it '[…] assures us, that they [the Sufis] profess eager desire, but with no carnal affection, and circulate the cup, but no material goblet'.[57] This description is quite close to a distich of Jones's beloved Hafez, which states: 'The courtier, minstrel, and cupbearer is all Him/Her; dreaming of the clay and the drink in the Path is an excuse.'[58] What Jones stated also fits well with not only Rumi's message of the *Masnavi* but also with the general theme of Attar's *Asrār-nāmeh*: the separation of the soul

[56] BL, APAC, MSS Eur. C 274, *The Notebook*, f. 22.
[57] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 280.
[58] Hafez, *Divan*, 428:

ندیم و مطرب و ساقی همه اوست خیال آب و گل در ره بهانه

from its origin and its longing for a reunion. Jones owned at least two copies of the *Masnavi*,[59] in its first volume, he describes the book as illustrated below:

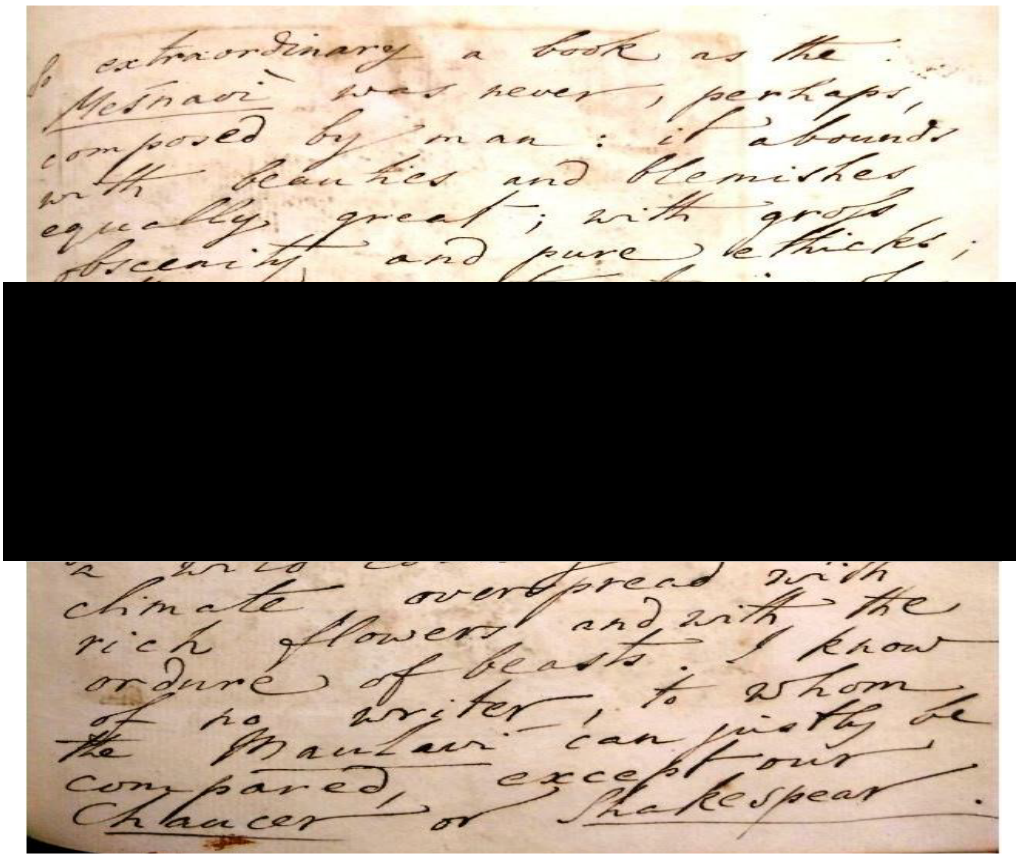

Illustration 2, BL, APAC, RSPA 35, f. 2; Jones's handwritten description of Rumi's *Masnavi*.

> So extraordinary a book as the Mesnavi was never, perhaps, composed by man. It abounds with beauties, and blemishes, equally great; with gross obscenity, and pure ethicks; with exquisite strains of poetry, and flat puerilities; with wit, and pleasantry, mixed with dull jests; with ridicule on all established religions, and a vein of sublime piety: it is like a wild country in a fine climate overspread with rich flowers, and with the odoure of beasts. I know of no writer, to whom the Maulavi can justly be compared, except Chaucer or Shakespeare.'[60]

Jones's vast knowledge of Sufism, his exposure to Persian and Turkish literature, as well as his extensive study of Rumi's *Masnavi* reaffirms his knowledge of the influence of Attar on Rumi. In fact, the influence was so immense that Rumi tried to interpret Attar on many different occasions. One example appears in the *Masnavi*, where Rumi decided to interpret Attar's following distich: 'Attar: 'You have an ego, ignorant one! Drink your own blood while on

[59] BL, APAC, RSPA 35-41; Jones's annotations on the *Masnavi* will be discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis.
[60] BL, APAC, RSPA 35, f. 2.

earth, for if mystics drink poison, it will become an antidote.'[61] These influences most certainly were not ignored by Jones. As you may see, Jones quoted Attar's line next to Rumi's interpretation, in his copy of the *Masnavi*: [62]

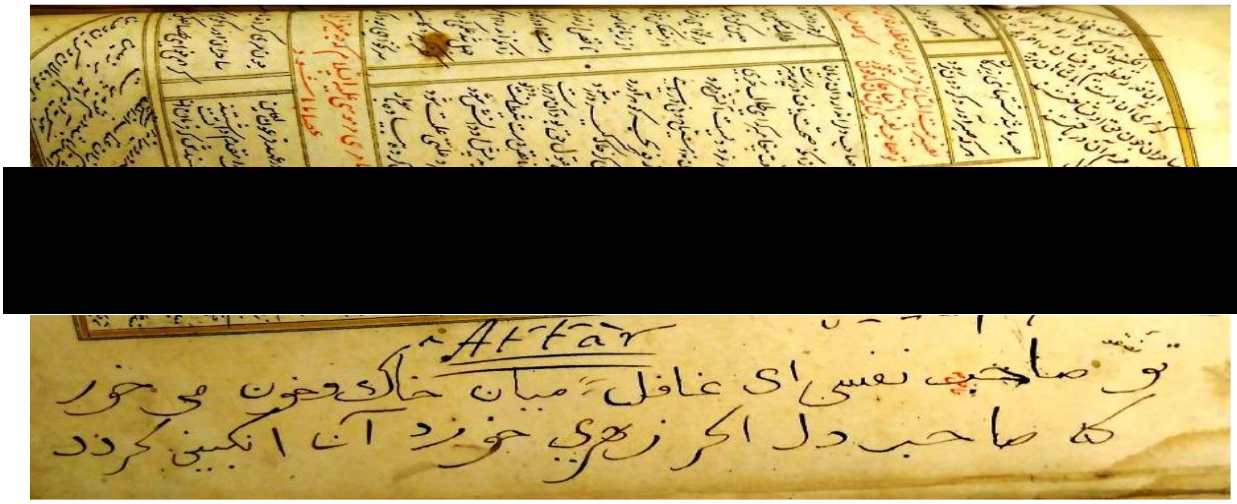

Illustration 3, BL, APAC, RSPA 34, f.25r; Jones's recitation of Attar's and a Persian distich of Rumi on his copy of *Masnavi*.

The Persian distich translates to 'Ignorant one! You are the holder of the self! Drink wine amidst this chaos;/ for if the holder of a heart has poison, it turns into honey for him!'

Comparable to none other than Chaucer or Shakespeare, Rumi's work is considered the most extraordinary mystical collection ever written;[63] it contains an elevated status in the rich Persian Sufi literature canon to the extent that many scholars have referred to it as the Persian *Quran*. Meaning 'the Spiritual *Masnavi*', *Masnaviye-Ma'navi* was entitled by Rumi himself as it was a composition on spiritual matters in the *Masnavi* poetic form. In the form, every hemistich follows the same metre, and each distich shares its own rhyming scheme:

----------A ----------A

----------B ----------B

----------C ----------C

[61] Rumi, *The Masnavi*, 1: 100:
تو صاحب نفسی ای غافل میان خاک خون می خور که صاحب دل اگر زهری خورد آن انگبین باشد
[62] BL, APAC, RSPA 34, f. 25r,
[63] Jalal al-Din Rumi, *The Masnavi, Book One*, (Oxford World's Classics), Jawid Mojaddedi (trans.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), xi.

This rhyming scheme is one of the key distinguishing factors of *masnavi*, for it enables the poet to compose very long poems, each with many verses. For example, Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, the world's longest epic poem written by a single poet, is sixty thousand distiches; another example is Attar's *The Conference of the Birds* which is about forty-five hundred distiches, and Rumi's *Masnavi* is about twenty-six thousand. By Rumi's era, many Sufis, such as Sanaaei and Attar, had already utilized the *masnavi* form for mystical poetry, and the form had proven to be well suited for composing didactics and narratives.[64] Rumi's disciples asked him to compose his own mystical *masnavi* in continuation of the works of Attar and Sanaei.[65] The first volume of the *Masnavi* covers a diverse range of subject matters, including narratives on a wide range of characters: from kings, prophets, and shepherds to tramps and beggars, from humans to animals. Much like Attar, Rumi utilized the *Quran*, the traditions of Mohammad, and the works of his predecessor Sufis as a source of inspiration for his poems. For example, in the third book of the *Masnavi*, there is a section that narrates a debate between Bohlool (d.810), a former judge and Sufi figure, and a dervish. The debate begins

> Bohlool asked a dervish, 'What is being a dervish like? Enlighten me.' The dervish responded: 'if you truly become one, you will be immortal; the universe acts on your wishes.'

The dervish argues that whatever happens is created by the Divine love; even 'the Inferno is a description to the [separation] from the Beloved.' The following illustration depicts Jones's fascination with the tale with a simple 'Fine':

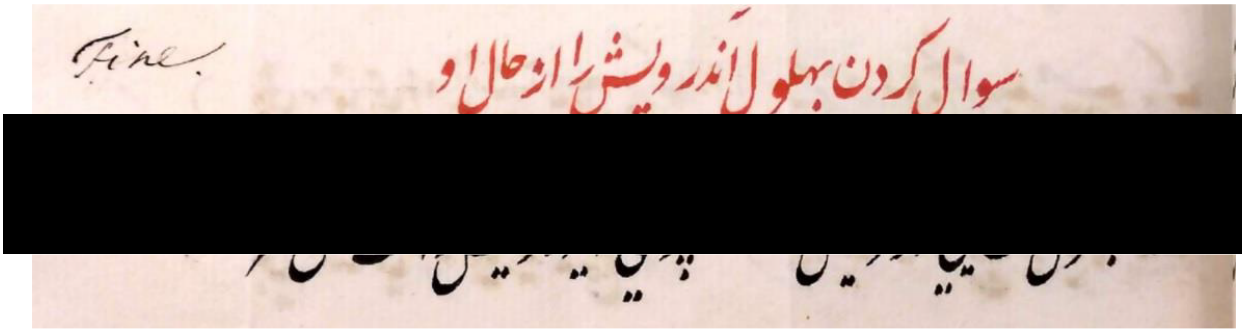

Illustration 4, BL, APAC, RSPA 37, f. 131; Jones's annotation on Rumi's *Masnavi*.

[64] Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*, A. Darbandi, & D. Davis (eds.), (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983).
[65] Rumi, *The Masnavi, Book One*, xx.

Some of the stories mentioned in the books are humorous, including jokes about sexuality, which Jones found 'Strange!' as well as ethnic and gender stereotypes; for example, please see the below illustration which describes a male prostitute carrying a knife for self-protection:

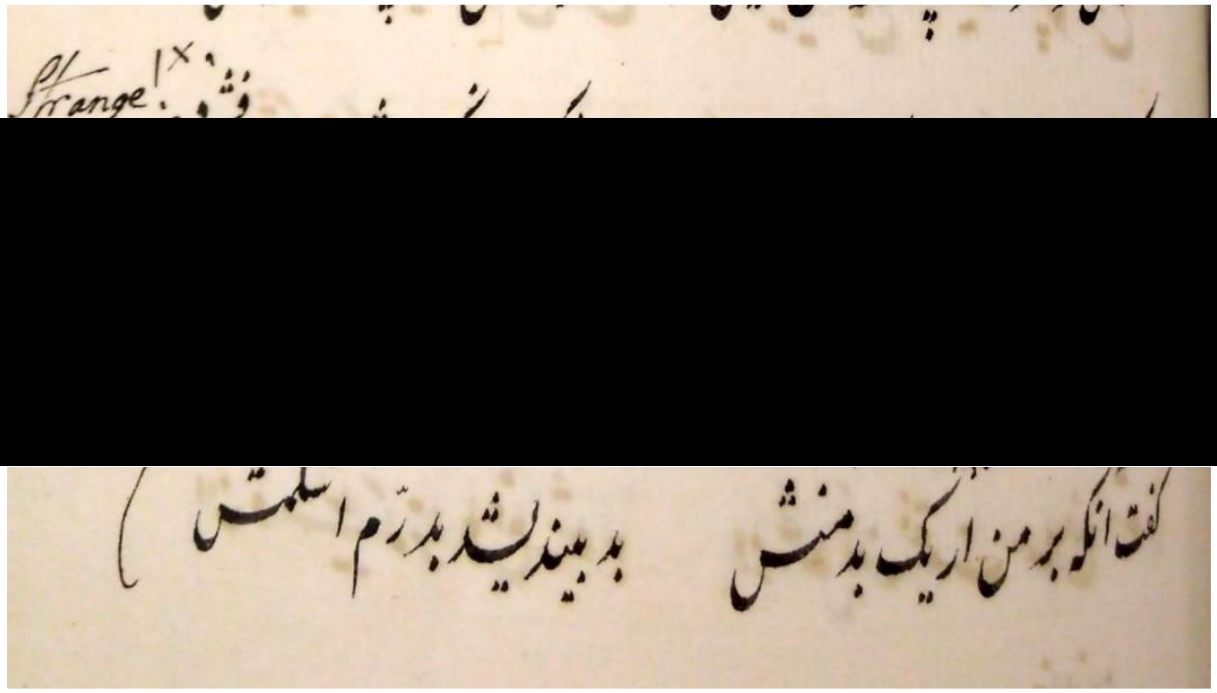

Illustration 5, BL, APAC, RSPA 39, f.182; Jones's annotation on Rumi's *Masnavi*.[66]

Like Sadi, Rumi utilized humour and *rend*ness[67] in order to deliver his point to the readers as memorably as possible. Another point which is shared between Rumi's *Masnavi* and the works of Attar is that Rumi chose the رمل ramal metre for his *Masnavi*, (- ˘- -/- ˘- -/- ˘-/); Attar also utilizes the meter in his *Conference of the Birds*.[68]

As mentioned previously, the six volumes of Rumi's *Masnavi* were composed due to the captivation caused by a single *masnavi* which the poet held in his turban; that *masnavi* is known as نی نامه *Ney-nāmeh*, 'The Letter of the Reed'. As Dick Davis has pointed out, the poem is highly innovative and does not follow the established convention of any work written in Persian or Sufi poetry. While typical Persian or Sufi texts start with an invocation of God and

[66] The lines translate to: 'A thug brought a sodomite to his house/ pinned him down and pressed it in him./ That damned person saw a dagger with him/ so he asked "why are you carrying this?"/ The sodomite said "if some has bad intentions with me/ I shall rip him apart with this dagger."' This folio will be discussed in detail in the fourth chapter of this thesis.
[67] The word رند *rend* literally means 'trickster, slicker, nimble, rogue, mulish, smart, shrewd, and insouciant'.
[68] The work will be discussed later in this chapter.

the Prophets, Rumi focuses on the reed-flute and addresses the reader in the second person, 'Listen!'[69] A parallel could be observed here between the *Masnavi* and the *Quran*, which no scholar has mentioned before: based on the mainstream conventional Islamic tradition, the very first time that the archangel Gabriel appeared before Mohammad was when he was contemplating in the Cave of Hira, in 600 AD. Gabriel commands Mohammad: 'Read!' Mohammad replies: 'I am unable to read.' The angel holds and embraces Mohammad three times and then commands him:[70]

> Read! In the name of your Lord, who Created (1) Created man, out of a clot of congealed blood (2) Read! And your Lord is the Most Bountiful (3) Who taught by the pen (4) Taught man what he did not know (5) … In Fact, you shall go back to your Lord (8)[71]

Rumi, while writing his 'Persian *Quran*', clearly had the very first verses of the 'Arabic' *Quran* in his mind: while Gabriel commanded Mohammad to read what is written by the pen, reminding him of his return to his Lord, Rumi commanded his readers to hear what the reed narrates, reminding them of their return to their Source. In addition, many scholars believe that the initial eighteen distiches of 'the Song of the Reed' contain the gist of the entire work of the *Masnavi*.[72] Intriguingly, according to the Islamic belief, the *Quran* was first descended to Mohammad when the angel Gabriel recited to him the verses mentioned before,[73] and Muslims believe that those verses contain the gist of the *Quran*. Another point that should be addressed here regarding the *Masnavi* and the *Quran* is that the latter asks people who doubt its Divinity

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[69] Dick Davis, 'Narrative and Doctrine in the First Story of Rumi's *Mathnawi*',in *Studies in Islamic and Middle Eastern Texts and Traditions in Memory of Norman Calder*, G. R. Hawting, & J. A. Mojaddedi, & A. Samely (eds.), (Oxford, 2000), 93–6.

[70] Muhammad Mustafa Al-A'zami, *The History of The Qur'anic Text: From Revelation to Compilation: A Comparative Study with the Old and New Testaments*, (Leicester: UK Islamic Academy, 2003), 25, & 47–8.
Edward Sell, *The Life of Muhammad*, (London: Christian Literature Society for India, 1913), 29.
Daniel W. Brown, *A New Introduction to Islam*, (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2003), 72-3.

[71] *The Quran* 96:1–8:

اِقۡرَاۡ بِاسۡمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِىۡ خَلَقَ (1) خَلَقَ الۡاِنۡسَانَ مِنۡ عَلَقٍ (2) اِقۡرَاۡ وَرَبُّكَ الۡاَكۡرَمُۙ (3) الَّذِىۡ عَلَّمَ بِالۡقَلَمِۙ (4)عَلَّمَ الۡاِنۡسَانَ مَا لَمۡ يَعۡلَمۡؕ(5) …إِنَّ إِلَى رَبِّكَ الرُّجۡعَى (8)

[72] For example: E. Turkmen, *The Essence of the Masnevi* (Konya: Misket Ltd., 1992).

[73] *The Quran* 2:185, 44:3, & 97:1.

to compose a similar text.[74] Considering this, the very fact that Rumi's book is entitled 'the Persian *Quran*' alongside its parallels with the *Quran* can be interpreted as an act of heresy and blasphemy. One of the aspects of Persian Sufi literature that fascinated Jones was its infusion with blasphemy and heresy; for example, the usage of Idolatry imagery in the literature which equated an Idol with a beloved. The fascination also appears in Jones's early days of Persian studies; a letter dated February 24, 1768, from his Hungarian Orientalist friend Károly Reviczky (1737-1793) expresses the bewilderment one has by reading such poetry, including Hafez's:

> As to myself, although I am disposed to believe, that when Hafez speaks of love and wine, he has no recondite meaning, I am equally willing to declare, that his writings are not disgraced by those obscenities, nor those gross and filthy expressions, which so frequently occur in Sadi. Nor can I avoid considering him a free thinker: and a hundred passages might be quoted, in which the poet ridicules the prophet and his Coran;[75]

The fascination with unorthodox, heretical, or perhaps blasphemous views available in Persian literature and Sufism helped Jones and his circle to develop a keener relationship with the Hindu natives of the subcontinent, which will be discussed in the next chapter of this thesis.

Jones was the first English translator of Rumi's 'The Letter of the Reed'. He entitled his English translation of the poem 'The Song of the Reed' and published it in his essay 'On the Mystical Poetry'.[76] After Jones's translation, the poem has been translated into English many times. An analysis of Jones's translation would fit here, yet it is pivotal to understand the poem itself before that. In 'the Song of the Reed', the reed mourns its separation from its source, the reed-bed, or its 'native banks' in Jones's words. This separation can be interpreted as a mystic's self feeling a strong sense of 'exile from his parent bow'r', and therefore he/she longs to return. Love intensifies this longing in the mystic, "'Tis love, that fills the reed with warmth divine/ 'Tis love, that sparkles in the racy wine," reshaping and enhancing his understanding

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[74] For example: *The Quran* 10:38: 'Or do they say [about the Prophet], "He invented it?" Say, "Then bring forth a surah like it and call upon [for assistance] whomever you can besides God, if you should be truthful." Another instance is *The Quran* 17:88: 'Say, "If mankind and the jinn gathered in order to produce the like of this Qur'an, they could not produce the like of it, even if they were to each other assistants."'

[75] Sir William Jones, *Memoirs of the life, writings and correspondence of Sir William Jones*, Charles John Shore Teignmouth (ed.), (London: Piccadilly, 1806), 1: 49.

[76] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 211-36, 230-1.

of reality from which he/she is veiled. Rumi emphasizes the power of the Divine Love with his reference to the tale of God appearing to Moses as a burning bush in Mount Sanai: 'Love warms this frigid clay with mystick fire, / And dancing mountains leap with young desire', portraying the annihilation of the self to reach the Other. The Divine Love cleanses the lover's self and only the Beloved, God, remains: 'All is the Beloved and the lover is veiled; the Beloved is alive and the lover [without the beloved] is dead.' Rumi has described human beings and their relationship with God through the Islamic theological and philosophical perspective; from his perspective, God is an Absolute Being, while humans are not and therefore 'With forms imperfect can perfection dwell?' For human beings to become cleansed, they must fall in Love, annihilate their self, and recognize their non-existence so that they would be able to exist through God truly.

The most significant concept in Rumi's poem is the idea of the self in Persian-Islamic Sufism: the human being was created imperfect, without wisdom, only possessing 'animalistic' instincts. The mind, wit, or intelligence, sometimes referred to by the Sufis as 'the awareness', was created and bestowed upon man later, after the time that the instincts already captured the heart. Therefore, there is this constant struggle within one's self between the wit and the instincts. Rumi depicts this struggle in one of his quatrains:

> If you choose to go on the path of lust and desire, I will inform you, you shall pass [through life] miserably.
>
> Should you choose to reject this [the path of lust and desire] you will realize why are you here and where you are heading.[77]

The lust and desire are represented by من *man*, the 'I' in Sufism, while the wit and intelligence, 'the architect' that destroys ignorance, is called من برتر *man-e bartar*, the 'better-I'.[78] The I is associated with basic animalistic instincts and effrontery, ignorance, pride, vanity, misery, violence and brutality; on the other hand, the better-I is associated with knowledge,

[77] Rumi, *Divan of Shams-e Tabrizi*, 4415:

گر بر سر شهوت و هوا خواهی رفت　　از من خبرت که بینوا خواهی رفت
ور درگذری از این ببینی بعیان　　کز بهر چه آمدی کجا خواهی رفت

By stating 'where you are heading', Rumi reminds the reader of the goal: a reunion with the Beloved.

[78] It is important to mention that the same words من *man*, the 'I' and من برتر *man-e bartar*, the 'better-I' have been used in translating Sigmund Freud's concept of the id and the superego. However, the function of the Freudian concepts differs from the mystical Persian ones.

contentment, courage, compassion, benevolence, kindness, good manners and morals. The Sufi path aims to battle with the I, annihilate it, and ensure that the better-I rules the heart. This duality within oneself is one of Sufism's core concepts; as will be discussed later, the pluralism and syncretism within Sufism depend on it, as Rumi stated: 'Division lies within the animalistic soul; the Unity of self is the soul of humanity.'[79]

The idea of the self to Sufis is quite similar to the Romantic's perception of the self: the self-conscious self and the self within the self.[80] One, in order to find the latter, must eliminate the former through self-annihilation. The self-conscious self, like the better-I, alienates one from one's self within the self. To the Romantics, this alienation manifests as a desire to become one with the Other, generating a longing to return. Geoffrey H. Hartman believes that the Romantic longing of return to the bliss of Union, through getting rid of the self-conscious self, is 'the product of a division in the self'.[81] Similar to the Sufis, the only path for the Romantics is to abolish alienation; the Sufis' Separation is through losing their self-conscious self, their I, with the help of love. This loss leads to the death of the self, I, uniting the self with the other, or the Beloved. To Sufis, the human being '… was of an undifferentiated unity [that became] interrupted by material creation which resulted in the separation of humanity (as a lover) from God (as Beloved).'[82] This separation and alienation of the human being from God, the lover from the beloved, creates a longing to return to his/her Origin or beloved;[83] Rumi's 'The Song of the Reed' starts with the reed and its separation from the beloved and narrates its longing to reunite.

For Sufis, the path to the reunion with the Beloved goes through the love of the other. Rumi portrays the other in one of the most well-known tales of the *Masnavi*. In the first book

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[79] Rumi, *Masnaviye-Ma'navi*, (Torbat-e Jam: The Cultural, Social, and Information Site of Torbat-e Jam, 2008), 199:

تفرقه در روح حیوانی بود نفس واحد روح انسانی بود

[80] Geoffrey H. Hartman, 'Romanticism and Anti-Self-Consciousness', *The Geoffrey Hartman Reader*, Geoffrey H. Hartman, & Daniel T. O'Hara (eds.), (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 180-90: 184.

[81] Hartman, 'Romanticism and Anti-Self-Consciousness', 183.

[82] Hamid Dabashi, 'Ayn al-Qudat Hamadani and the Intellectual Climate of his Times', *History of Islamic Philosophy*, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, & Oliver Leaman (eds.), (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996), 1: 374-419: 381.

[83] The following PhD thesis discusses the similarities and differences between the Romantic self and the Sufi self in more detail: Elham Nilchian, 'Sufi-Romantic Self Loss: The Study of the Influence of Persian Sufism on English Romantic Poetry', unpublished PhD diss., University of Leicester, 2011, 41-6.

of the *Masnavi*, a lover knocks on the door of his beloved's house. She asks, 'Who is it?' and he responds, 'It is I!' consequently, his beloved turns him away. After the lover becomes 'cooked by the flame of separation', his experience makes him aware of his mistake and opens his eyes to reality. The lover returns to the house and knocks again on the door; this time, when the beloved asks, 'Who is it?' he replies, 'It is you!' admitting that two selves, Is, cannot coexist in one. In a subsequent story of the *Masnvai*, someone is invited to be hosted by Joseph; the best gift the guest can think of offering Joseph is a mirror, for only a mirror can represent Joseph's beauty. A mirror is one of Rumi's common metaphors for the soul; he finishes his 'Song of the Reed' with an image of a mirror incapable of 'revealing' the Truth, for it is blackened by the rust of attachment to phenomenal existence. The rusty mirror can only become renewed through burnishing and breaking its attachments through Love, and only when it has become thoroughly clear, it becomes capable of receiving and reflecting the Light of God. Rumi adopts the image of a mirror being burnished by the love of the Other from Attar, which I will discuss later in this chapter.

Rumi's 'Song of the Reed' depicts the longing of the Sufi self for a reunion with the godhead, and Jones portrays this feeling in his translation; please see the poem's complete text,[84] Jones's translation of it; and a literal translation of the poem below. The distiches have also been numbered to make addressing, discussing, and analysing them easier.

	Literal Translation	Jones's Translation	Persian Text
1.	Hear as the reed narrates, of Separation it complains.	Hear, how yon reed in sadly pleasing tales; Departed bliss and present woe bewails!	بشنو این نی چون شکایت می‌کند از جداییها حکایت می‌کند
2.	Since I have been cut off from the reed-bed by my outcry, men and women lamented.	With me, from native banks untimely torn, Love-warbling youths and soft-ey'd virgins mourn.	کز نیستان تا مرا ببریده‌اند در نفیرم مرد و زن نالیده‌اند
3.	I seek a breast, torn by Separation; to convey the description of the pain of Aspiration'.	O! Let the heart, by fatal absence rent, Feel what I sing, and bleed when I lament;	سینه خواهم شرحه شرحه از فراق تا بگویم شرح درد اشتیاق

[84] The text is obtained from: Rumi, *Masnavi Manavi*, Reynold A. Nicholson (ed.), (Tehran: Por Javadi, 1985).

4. Whoever is away from their Source [Origin] shall seek after the times spent with it.	Who roams in exile from his parent bow'r, Pants to return, and chides each ling'ring hour.	هر کسی کو دور ماند از اصل خویش باز جوید روزگار وصل خویش
5. Lamenting in many gatherings, I became acquainted with the vicious and the virtuous.	My notes, in circles of the grave and gay, Have hail'd the rising, cheer'd the closing day.	من به هر جمعیتی نالان شدم جفت بدحالان و خوش‌حالان شدم
6. Whoever became my companion in his/her mind, the secrets buried in me did not find.	Each in my fond affections claim'd a part, But none discern'd the secret of my heart	هر کسی از ظن خود شد یار من از درون من نجست اسرار من
7. The Secrets do not lie far from my lament; yet, the eyes and the ears do not have the Light.	What though my strains and sorrows flow combin'd! Yet ears are slow, and carnal eyes are blind.	سر من از نالهٔ من دور نیست لیک چشم و گوش را آن نور نیست
8. The body is not separated from the Soul; yet, no one is Ordered to see the soul.	Free through each mortal form the spirits roll, But sight avails not. Can we see the soul?'	تن ز جان و جان ز تن مستور نیست لیک کس را دید جان دستور نیست
9. The reed notes are fire, not simple wind; whoever not having this Fire should not exist.	Such notes breath'd gently from yon vocal frame: Breath'd said I? no; 't was all enliv'ning flame.	آتشست این بانگ نای و نیست باد هر که این آتش ندارد نیست باد
10. The Fire which has fallen in the reed is of Love; the burning sparkle of the wine is of Love.	Tis love, that fills the reed with warmth divine; 'Tis love, that sparkles in the racy wine.	آتش عشقست کاندر نی فتاد جوشش عشقست کاندر می فتاد
11. The reed is the compotator and companion of those separated from their beloved; its melody tore apart our veils.	Me, plaintive wand'rer from my peerless maid, The reed has fir'd, and all my soul betray'd.	نی حریف هرکه از یاری برید پرده‌هایش پرده‌های ما درید
12. No one has seen anything as poisonous yet soothing as the reed; no one has seen anything as eager and intimate as the reed.	He gives the bane, and he with balsam cures; Afflicts, yet sooths; impassions, yet allures.	همچو نی زهری و تریاقی کی دید همچو نی دمساز و مشتاقی کی دید
13. The reed narrates the tale of a Path full of bloodshed; it recalls the love story of Majnoon.	Delightful pangs his am'rous tales prolong; And Laili's frantick lover lives in song.	نی حدیث راه پر خون می‌کند قصه‌های عشق مجنون می‌کند

14. None is the confidant of this Wisdom but the insane; none but the ear buys what the Tongue sells.	Not he, who reasons best, this wisdom knows; Ears only drink what rapt'rous tongues disclose.	محرم این هوش جز بیهوش نیست مر زبان را مشتری جز گوش نیست
15. My days have faded in grief; days have become accompanied with burns of the Separation.	Nor fruitless deem the reed's heart-piercing pain: See sweetness dropping from the parted cane.	در غم ما روزها بیگاه شد روزها با سوزها همراه شد روزها
16. If the days are passed, fear not! Let them leave; You, the most Unique and Pure, abide.	Alternate hope and fear my days divide; I courted Grief, and Anguish was my bride.	روزها گر رفت گو رو باک نیست تو بمان ای آنک چون تو پاک
17. Anyone's thirst can be satisfied, but the fish. It would be a long day in misery for one without their daily bread.	[Jones has not translated this distich.]	هر که جز ماهی ز آبش سیر شد هرکه بی روزیست روزش دیر شد
18. The inexperienced cannot comprehend the state of the experienced; therefore, keep your speech short [for those unable to understand]; the end!	[Jones has not translated this distich.]	در نیابد حال پخته هیچ خام پس سخن کوتاه باید والسلام بند
19. Boy! Tear apart your chains! Be free! For how long do you want to be enslaved by silver and gold?	Vig'rous youth! Be free; be nobly bold: Shall chains confine you, though they blaze with gold?	بگسل باش آزاد ای پسر چند باشی بند سیم و بند زر
20. Suppose that you have exploited the reaches of the seven seas in an urn, how much of it will be your pittance?	Go; to your vase the gather'd main convey: What were your stores? The pittance of a day!	گر بریزی بحر را در کوزه‌ای چند گنجد قسمت یک روزه‌ای
21. The urn of the miser's eye never has become filled; a discontented shell has never been filled with a pearl.	New plans for wealth your fancies would invent; Yet shells, to nourish pearls, must lie content.	کوزهٔ چشم حریصان پر نشد تا صدف قانع نشد پر در نشد
22. One, whose garment becomes torn by love, becomes pure of greed and fault.	The man, whose robe love's purple arrows rend Bids av'rice rest, and toils tumultuous end.	هر که را جامه ز عشقی چاک شد او ز حرص و عیب کلی پاک شد
23. O our exalted love, O our Healer, be happy!	Hail, heav'nly love! True source of endless gains! Thy balm restores me, and thy skill sustains.	شاد باش ای عشق خوش سودای ما ای طبیب جمله علتهای ما

24. O the remedy of vanity and pride, you [love] are our Plato and our Galen.	Oh, more than Galen learn'd, than Plato wise My guide, my law, my joy supreme arise!	ای دوای نخوت و ناموس ما ای تو افلاطون و جالینوس ما
25. The earthen body is elevated to the heavens, by love; the mountain began to dance nimbly [for love.]	Love warms this frigid clay with mystick fire, And dancing mountains leap with young desire.	جسم خاک از عشق بر افلاک شد کوه در رقص آمد و چالاک شد
26. O lover, the love became the soul of Mount Sinai; it became drunk while Moses fell unconscious.	[Jones has not translated this distich.]	عشق جان طور آمد عاشقا طور مست و خر موسی صاعقا
27. Since I [the reed] was matched harmoniously with sympathizing lips, I am able to speak of what the reed speaks of.	Blest is the soul, that swims in seas of love, And long the life sustain'd by food above.	با لب دمساز خود گر جفتمی همچو نی من گفتنیها گفتمی
28. One, separated from the companion, although harmonious, will become voiceless.	With forms imperfect can perfection dwell? Here pause, my ring; and thou, vain world, farewell. [85]	هر که او از همزبانی شد جدا بی زبان شد گرچه دارد صد نوا
29. When the flower is gone, and the garden dies, the nightingale will not chant.	--- [From this point forward, Jones has not translated the rest of the poem.]	چونکه گل رفت و گلستان درگذشت نشنوی زان پس ز بلبل سر گذشت
30. All is the Beloved and the lover is the veil; the Beloved is alive and the lover [without the beloved] is dead.	---	جمله معشوقست و عاشق پردهٔ زنده معشوقست و عاشق مردهای
31. Should one not be concerned for it [Love], one becomes like a flightless bird separated from it [unable to fly].	---	چون نباشد عشق را پروای او او چو مرغی ماند بی پر وای او
32. How could I have maintained in my past and will maintain my future if the Light of my Beloved did not or will not be shining upon me?	---	من چگونه هوش دارم پیش و پس چون نباشد نور یارم پیش و پس
33. The Love desires for this advice to be heard; otherwise, [even something as revealing as] a mirror cannot reveal the advice.	---	عشق خواهد کین سخن بیرون بود آینه غماز نبود چون بود

[85] This is the last line in Jones's translation.

34. Do you know why your mirror does not reveal it? For its surface is not as reflective as Love.

‘’

آینت دانی چرا غماز نیست
زانکه زنگار از رخش ممتاز نیس

Regarding Jones’s translation of the poem, two points should be mentioned: first, Jones has translated twenty-seven distiches for the poem while it is commonly believed to have thirty-four distiches. Also, the distich that Jones translated as number twenty-five is commonly considered the seventeenth distich of the Persian text. It is quite probable that the manuscript Jones initially used as the primary source of this translation contained twenty-seven distiches. Furthermore, considering the nature of Persian poetry and its forms, mainly the order of the distiches does not bear a considerable significance apart from in a few cases,[86] and therefore, usually, the scribes did not pay enough attention to the ordering. By the time Jones was in India, he had owned at least two copies of the first volume of Rumi’s *Masnavi*: an illustrated copy that is now catalogued as RSPA 34 by the British Library and another copy catalogued as RSPA 35. Both the copies contain many annotations by Jones, either analysing the verses or simply stating his opinion. In both manuscripts, the ‘Song of the Reed’ is scribed as its modern canonical version: with thirty-four distiches and in the order I translated. However, the eighteenth distich of the modern version of the poem, which Jones has moved to the end of his translation – stating ‘therefore keep your speech short; the end!’ – can serve as the finishing line of the poem. This fact, alongside the fact that the distiches Jones did not translate, serve as more poetic reiterations of what already has been discussed in the poem is the reason for Jones’s not publishing a complete translation of the poem. The second matter that should be discussed is that in his translations, Jones quite often interpolated the poem through omissions and insertions of phrases. However, he always stayed faithful to the spirit of the poem. The changes in his translations were generally made to introduce a completely foreign and alien idea or image, usually from the Orient, to his readers in the Occident. After all, he was ‘a far-seeing man who seeks to connect the unknown to the known’[87] as Goethe described him. In some cases, Jones’s translational interpolations explicitly state what was implicitly stated in the source text or to further explain a concept to his readers. In addition, those interpolations

[86] For example in the *ghazal*s, the first and the last distich of the poem are quite important for the first one sets the rhyming scheme of the whole poem and the last one is where the poet mentions his own pen name.
[87] Franklin, ‘*Orientalist Jones*’, 37.

sometimes changed the Oriental imagery of the poem to something more familiar to the Occidental reader. Most importantly, Jones's interpolations made his translations more poetic for the eighteenth-century European taste. His interpolations in Rumi's 'Song of the Reed' will be examined in the following few pages.

The first instance of explicitly mentioning an implied concept of the poem occurs in the first distich of the translation; Jones inserted that the reed's tone is both 'sadly-pleasing' and 'bewailing'; furthermore, Jones uses 'departed bliss' for Separation. In the first part of the second distich, Jones uses 'native banks' for نیستان *neyestān*, literally meaning 'the land of the reed', signifying a canebrake or a reed-bed; this change probably has been made to enhance the poetics of the translation. In the second hemistich of the second distich, Rumi states that the 'men and women', who have heard the song of the reed, have lamented the separation; in Jones's translation, he states that 'Love-warbling youths and soft-ey'd virgins have mourned' the separation. While Jones's phraseology enhances the poetics of the translation, it undermines the universality of the population Rumi is referring to. Since the Sufis believe that Love is the essence of all beings and for all beings, therefore Rumi uses مرد و زن *mard o zan* '[every] man and woman'; however, while Jones sacrifices this aspect for enhancing the poetics, he associates purity, through the usage of the words youth and virgins, with the audience of the reed. An intriguing fact is that one of the theories about the etymology of the word Sufi traces it to the word صفا *safā*, 'purity' and therefore Sufi means a 'pure person'. Although scholars do not have a firm stance on the meaning and etymology of the word Sufi, the theory relating the word to 'purity' is widely discussed by scholars from an early age; for example, Al-Qushayri (986-1073) mentions the theory in his writings.[88] Jones's awareness of the theory is not for certain; he mainly considered Sufis as free thinkers rather than 'pure individuals'. Another reason for Jones's undermining of the population of the listeners of the reed, which is highly probable, lies within the sixth distich of the poem in which Rumi explicitly states that not everyone who has become a companion to the reed has comprehended its true message: 'Whoever became my companion in his/her mind, the secrets buried in me did not find.' Jones has translated the distich to 'Each in my fond affections claim'd a part, But none discern'd the secret of my heart'.

[88]Al-Qushayri, *Resaleye Ghoshiriyye*, Badiozzaman Forouzanfar (ed.), (Tehran: Elmi-Farhangi Publications, 1995), 467.

Arguably, one of the most well-known distiches of the poem amongst Persian speakers is the third one; while it literally means 'I seek a breast, torn apart by the Separation, to convey the pain of the Aspiration', Jones translated it as 'O! Let the heart, by fatal absence rent, Feel what I sing, and bleed when I lament'. A very delicate fine point is hidden in the first hemistich of this distich which does not seem to have been mentioned by anyone before: Rumi states that the reed asks for a breast which has become شرحه شرحه *sharhe sharhe* by Separation. شرحه *sharhe* literally means 'piece, shred'; the first interpretation of the line, which all scholars agree on, is that Rumi has utilized visceral physicality to depict the pain a separated lover feels from the beloved: 'I seek a breast, shredded by Separation.' However, there is an alternative interpretation of the line: in addition to the Quran, Rumi was familiar with different languages, particularly Arabic. While narrating the story of Moses, the Quran states that he asked God:

> [Moses] said, 'My Lord, expand for me my chest (25) And ease for me my task (26) And untie the knot from my tongue (27) That they may understand my speech (28)'[89]

In this passage, Moses asks God to اشْرَحْ *eshrah*, 'expand' his chest in order for him to be able to convey God's message, and Rumi's reed uses the exact same words and imagery as Moses. The fact that Rumi quite often used Moses in his poetry alongside the fact that there are two other distiches in 'The Song of the Reed' which contain allusions to the tale of Moses further validates the idea that Rumi is alluding to the Quranic passage by using the term شرحه شرحه *sharhe sharhe*. Considering this alternative meaning, the hemistich can be translated to 'I seek a breast, expanded by Separation;' Although Jones's copy of the *Masnavi*, RSPA 35, does not contain any annotations about this particular pun and allusion, he was interested in puns and particularly puns that had separate meaning in two different languages. As discussed in the previous chapter, one of the reasons for Jones's admiration of poets such as Jami, Sadi, and Amir Khosrow was their command over language as well as their usage of puns in two different languages. What Rumi did in this distich is a pun between Arabic and Persian as well as making an allusion to the Quran. Surely if Jones had noticed this, his fascination with Rumi would have been further increased. Regarding the second part of the distich, Jones's translation, 'Feel what I sing, and bleed when I lament', somewhat differs from the Persian text, which literally states, 'to describe of the pain of the Aspiration'. Jones's translation could have been inspired by one of Sadi's most famous lines: 'When a member [of a body] is in pain, other members shall not

[89] *The Quran* 20:25-8:
'قَالَ رَبِّ اشْرَحْ لِي صَدْرِي (٢٥) وَيَسِّرْ لِي أَمْرِي ﴿٢٦﴾ وَاحْلُلْ عُقْدَةً مِنْ لِسَانِي (٢٧) يَفْقَهُوا قَوْلِي ﴿٢٨﴾

be in peace'.[90] The concept Sadi and Jones refer to here is called وحدت وجود *vahdat-e vojōd*, the 'Unity of Existence/Being' which asserts that همه اوست *hame ōst*, 'All is Him/Her'. Many poets who believe in the concept have used the metaphor of a body for the universe since everything is One and Connected. While Rumi mentions the Unity of Being in his poetry, this line does not bear any sign of it; however, Jones inserts the concept implicitly in his translation.

The fourth distich of Jones's translation utilizes visceral physicality, 'Pants to return', like Rumi's third distich, 'a chest torn apart'. Through this insertion, Jones conveyed the significance of Rumi's stylistic usage of the figure of speech. It might be worth mentioning that Rumi has used the same image, panting out of separation, which Jones inserts; as an example, Rumi states: 'Pant, Pant, I have lamented your separation.'[91] The other divergence within Jones's translation of the fourth distich is his usage of the phrase 'parent bow'r' while Rumi's text uses the word اصل *asl*, meaning 'root, source, origin, principle' in Persian. Rumi depicts the longing of the mystic lover for the Beloved, the Ultimate Source of Existence. An intriguing fact about the word اصل *asl* is that it refers to 'predecessor, parent' in Arabic. As was discussed in the first chapter, Jones had learned Arabic before Persian and probably had considered the Arabic meaning of the word while translating the distich. Although familiar with the word's meaning in Persian, Rumi's intention of using it, and its significance in Sufism, Jones assumes the word's Arabic meaning through which he portrays an Abrahamic image of the Garden of Eden for his Western readers. Jones's depiction fits perfectly with the message of the line: the separated lover seeks a reunion with the Beloved, the Source of Existence. Another phrase Jones inserted to his translation of the distich is 'chides each ling'ring hour'; the phrase, blaming the passage of time in Separation, is harmonious with the picture both poets are depicting and can be suggested from the poem; however, it is not available in the Persian text explicitly. A reason for Jones's insertion of a blaming sense into this distich could probably be his misinterpretation of the phrase باز جوید *bāz jōyad*. The term comes from the stem بازجستن *bāz jostan*, which generally and literally means 'to re-search'; however, sometimes the term gains a negative connotation signifying an unpleasant search such as frisking or interrogating, for example, بازجو *bāz j*ō, means 'an interrogator'.

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[90] Sadi, *Koliyat-e Sadi*, Mohammad Ali Foroughi (ed.), (Tehran: Hermes,1961), 31:
چو عضوی به درد آورد روزگار دگر عضوها را نماند قرار

[91] Rumi, *Divan of Shams-e Tabrizi*, 4108:
نفس نفس زده‌ام ناله‌ها ز فرقت تو

In the second part of the seventh distich of Jones's translation, he stated 'ears are slow, and carnal eyes are blind' rather than Rumi's text which is 'the eyes and the ears do not have the Light [to perceive]'. Through the changes Jones makes here, he tries to elaborate the implicit connotation of نور *nōr*, literally meaning 'light' and/or 'luminance'; it figuratively signifies the spiritual ability of the perception of the metaphysical, which is a frequent metaphor in Eastern and Islamic writings. This attempt is made in order to foreshadow the next distich, number eight, where Rumi states that having the ability to perceive the Divine is not 'Ordered'; Jones conveys this by stating, 'Free through each mortal form the spirits roll, But sight avails not. Can we see the soul [with carnal eyes]?'

The next Jonesian interpolation occurs in the thirteenth distich: by changing حديث *Hadith*, a 'narration' to 'delightful pangs', Jones creates a parallel with the 'sadly-pleasing' phrase he already inserted in the first distich. Although this change makes Jones's translation more poetic, it undermines Rumi's personification of the reed. In addition, through this change, Jones introduced a Westernized 'fin'amour' oxymoron, where the adjective seems to be opposed to the noun, to describe the joyous sorrow of being in love. Here, as elsewhere, he is attempting to find points of contact between West and East. In another case, the fifteenth distich, Rumi states: 'Days have faded in our grief; times have become a companion of our pain', Jones condenses the whole line into half of his distich 'Nor fruitless deem the reed's heart-piercing pain'. In the second hemistich, Jones added, 'See sweetness dropping from the parted cane' to reiterate the 'sadly pleasing' 'joy of the pain of the Aspiration' caused by the Separation. In the thirteenth distich, Jones also changes 'Majnoon' to 'Laili's frantick lover;' The reason for this change is due to the fact that if Majnoon had not fallen in love with Laili, he would not have been immortalized in the Persian and Sufi literature; in other words, Majnoon would not have been Majnoon if he was not Laili's frantick lover. Through switching Majnoon to 'Laili's frantick lover', Jones tries to emphasize that Majnoon, or the lover's Self, is nothing without the Love of Laili, the Beloved Other.

The nineteenth distich of Jones's translation is 'Go; to your vase the gather'd main convey: What were your stores? The pittance of a day!' Rumi's Persian distich associated with the translation literally translates to 'Suppose that you have stored the seven seas in an urn, how much of it you need to use daily?' Rumi uses the metaphor of the 'seven seas' to demonstrate the material riches and spoils of the world, notably those achieved through conquering, exploitation, and possibly colonization. It can be asserted that considering 'main' in connection with the mainland, main sea, or the Spanish Main makes the imagery utilized in

Jones's translation and the Persian distich similar. In his translation, Jones has utilized a poetic periphrasis for the sea, 'main', which was common in literature during the Augustan period. Rumi intends to convey to his readers that no matter what one collects, at the end of the day, one is not able to use more than his/her needs; in other words, one should have contentment. Rumi's distich also reiterates this point by stating that a shell can only produce a precious pearl when it is content to tolerate the invasion of an irritant grain of sand. This interpretation is in accord with mystical beliefs, the burdens and irritations of love act as a purifying agent. Jones's translation of the nineteenth distich could convey another meaning: you have not gathered more than the pittance of a day [so, you should probably gather more!]. Although Jones's translation, in this case, seems contradictory to Rumi's poem, in fact, he states the same point as the poet. For Jones, while introducing his translation, states that the Sufis' desire is to 'circulate the cup, but no material goblet;' since 'all things are spiritual in their sect.'[92] and therefore, one's 'gather'd main convey' which according to Jones will not suffice 'the pittance of a day' is one's spiritual gathering, rather than wealth and materialistic goods. In addition, Jones's translation of the twentieth distich, 'New plans for wealth your fancies would invent; Yet shells, to nourish pearls, must lie content', explicitly mentions Rumi's point; moreover, later in the translation, Jones clarifies that 'heav'nly love! Is the true source of endless gains.' Thus, while Rumi advises his readers to be content in the nineteenth distich, Jones advises them to be content only in materialistic goods but not in spiritual matters. Intriguingly similar to Jones, Rumi on many different occasions has prescribed the same:

> 'I was making sacks, burning in the greed of gold; I stopped this begging when I saw the Treasure[93] waiting to ambush me!…[then he describes the treasure as:] the inebriation of life and the universe, the beloved of the eye and the mouth; the destructor of merchants and markets, the pillager of reverence and religion!'[94]

[92] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 230.
[93] The treasure Rumi speaks of here will be mentioned while discussing the tale of 'The Sheikh of Sanaan and the Christian Girl'
[94] Rumi, *Divan of Shams-e Tabrizi*, 2339:

من کیسه‌ها می دوختم در حرص زر می سوختم ترک گدارویی کنم چون گنج دیدم در کمین

…

سرمستی جان جهان معشوقه چشم و دهان ویرانی کسب و دکان یغماچی تقوا و دین

As mentioned earlier, Rumi's first reference to Moses is an implied allusion to the prophet's Quranic tale in the third distich of the 'Song of the Reed;' the subsequent references to Moses, however, are quite explicit appearing in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth distiches:

> 'The earthen body is elevated to the heavens, for love; the mountain began to dance nimbly [for love.]
> O lover, the love became the soul of Mount Sinai; yet, while the mountain was drunk, Moses fell unconscious.'

Jones has translated the following as:

> 'Love warms this frigid clay with mystick fire,
> And dancing mountains leap with young desire.'

Jones's translation of the distich is shorter than Rumi's original, yet by using 'clay', the translation maintains a specific biblical connotation to 'Then the Lord God formed the man of dust from the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living creature.'[95] Therefore, although the translation is much shorter than the original text, Jones has not only managed to convey the religious connotations of the original, but also he established a connection between the Sufi's elevating divine love, which is the source of life and the Biblical Lord's 'breath of life.' The second distich of Rumi's poem, which Jones has encapsulated in the lines mentioned above, contains another allusion to the Quranic tale of Moses and a quotation from the Quran:

> When Moses came to the appointment, his Lord started speaking to him; Moses asked: Lord, show yourself to me so that I can look at you. [God] said: you can never see me; however, look at the mountain, if it could stay still you will be able to see me soon. Then, his God manifested himself to the mountain and it was demolished, and Moses had fallen unconscious.[96]

The Arabic Qur'anic phrase خَرَّ مُوسَى صَعِقًا *kharra Mōsā sāeghā*, 'Moses had fallen unconscious' is quoted by Rumi in the Persian distich; it also serves as the rhyme of the distich. Furthermore, Moses is one of the prophets who was mentioned quite often by Rumi, and as will be explained in the next chapter, Jones was interested in Rumi's conceptions of the life of Moses. Yet,

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[95] *Genesis* 2:7.

[96] *The Quran* 7: 143:
'وَلَمَّا جَاءَ مُوسَى لِمِيقَاتِنَا وَكَلَّمَهُ رَبُّهُ قَالَ رَبِّ أَرِنِي أَنْظُرْ إِلَيْكَ قَالَ لَنْ تَرَانِي وَلَكِنِ انْظُرْ إِلَى الْجَبَلِ فَإِنِ اسْتَقَرَّ مَكَانَهُ فَسَوْفَ تَرَانِي فَلَمَّا تَجَلَّى رَبُّهُ لِلْجَبَلِ جَعَلَهُ دَكًّا وَخَرَّ مُوسَى صَعِقًا …'

although Jones has removed the allusions, his translation conveys the whole point of Rumi's distiches which is the lover's inability to perceive the Ultimate Beloved in all its glory. To do so, Jones has added 'With forms imperfect can perfection dwell?' in addition to using the same imagery as Rumi: the leaping and 'dancing mountains'. Jones was quite familiar with the life of Moses and its Quranic narration; as I mentioned in the analysis of Jones's *Notebook*, he quotes a phrase of Moses's story from the Quran.[97] The reason behind Jones's omission of the references to Moses could be sourced from the fact that his translations were aimed at European readers in the second half of the eighteenth century: an era of secularization and deistic views. Jones's deistic views and emphasis upon reason could be observed while he was studying Sanskrit. He fostered one of his most outstanding achievements, the idea of a common source for all Indo-European languages, in his philologer passage in the 'Third Anniversary Discourse.'[98] One of the many impacts of Jones's linguistic theory, all Indo-European 'languages sprung from some common source', was replacing the religious and mythological approaches to linguistics for a more scientific one; a similar approach can be observed in his translation of 'The Song of the Reed'. Apart from removing the religious/mythological image of Moses while still conveying the moral of the poem, he also removes other references to God and makes the entity as well as the poem more earthly. For example, in the eighth distich, Rumi literally states that: 'yet no one is Ordered to see the soul.' Jones has removed the 'Order' from his translation: 'But sight avails not. Can we see the soul?'

Attar's *Conference of the Birds* and Sufi Poetics

The third book in Attar's *Mokhtār-nāmeh*, *The Conference of the Birds*, is arguably its most famous narrative; the work presents a more detailed picture of the journey of the Sufi/Romantic self. The narrative is a fable about birds, led by the hoopoe, which set forth on a quest to search for the King of the birds, Simorgh. The Conference of the Birds intermingles two significant themes: the first is the assembly of the birds to choose the worthiest as their leader; through this, Attar introduces a set of standards for an individual worthy of being a spiritual leader. The second theme is the birds' journey, or the path a Sufi has to take, to the

[97] On BL, APAC, MSS Eur. C 274, f. 15, Jones annotates هذا الفراق بینی و بینکم *hāz-alfarāgh beini va beinekom*, 'this is the separation between me and you'. It is a quotation from *Quran* 18:78, which is about Moses's journey and meeting a mystic named خضر *Khezr*..
[98] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 34.

distant seat of the bird-king, or the Beloved. The quest takes the birds through seven valleys with hundreds of difficulties; undergoing many trials, the birds try to free themselves of what is precious to them and empty their hearts from anything but the Beloved, some even lose their lives in the journey. Eventually, thirty birds survive the labours and reach their destination. However, they become aware of Simorgh's Unreachability; at this point, Attar brings an affirmation of his beliefs to the epic narrative: one shall reach the Sought-Supreme-Being only and only within one's self; he expressed this idea through a simple yet ingenious pun: the سی مرغ *si morgh*, 'the thirty birds' realize that سیمرغ *Simorgh,* 'the bird-king' is none other than themselves. It is pivotal to consider that this very concept that human beings united manifest God is one of the main reasons extreme religious zealots and ascetics consider the Shias and the Sufis as heretics and have oppressed them throughout history. As I was analysing the 'Song of the Reed', its thirty-first distich caught my eye in which Rumi has used the same method of punning which Attar used. Furthermore, like Attar, Rumi utilized the image of a bird in the distich: 'Should one not be concerned for it [Love], one becomes like a featherless bird separated from it [unable to fly].' The pun lies within the phrase بی پروای او *bi parvāye* ō, 'concerned for it' and بی پر وای او *bi-par vāye* ō, 'featherless separated from it'. In many different cases, Rumi has used the ideas of Attar's *Conference of the Birds*; as an example, Rumi identifies himself with the hoopoe: 'In the Solomonic Love, I am the mate [sympathizing leader] of the birds.'[99]

Scholars such as Forouzanfar have traced the themes of Attar's The *Conference of the Birds* to other Persian Sufis such as the *Resālat ol-ṭayr*, 'The Treatises of the Birds' of Avicenna (980-1037) and the writings of Ghazali (1058-1111).[100] However, contrasting Ghazali's version, in Attar's The *Conference of the Birds* the leader of the birds, or their sage in Sufi terms, is a hoopoe which can be interpreted as an allusion to the Quranic tale of Solomon and his messenger, the hoopoe.[101] The other contrasting factor between Attar's version of the narrative and that of others, which is quite essential, is that Attar states that the birds are not of

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[99] Rumi, *Divan of Shams-e Tabrizi*, 1927:

در عشق سلیمانی من همدم مرغانم

[100] Badiozzaman Forouzanfar, *Biography, Criticism, and Analysis of the Works of Attar,* (Tehran: Dehkhoda Book Store, 1961), 336-45.

[101] *The Quran* 27: 22:

فَمَكَثَ غَيْرَ بَعِيدٍ فَقَالَ أَحَطتُ بِمَا لَمْ تُحِطْ بِهِ وَجِئْتُكَ مِن سَبَإٍ بِنَبَإٍ يَقِينٍ

'But the hoopoe stayed not long and said, 'I have obtained what you [Solomon] have not, and I have come to you from Sheba with certain news'.

the same feather or an anonymous flock, but instead they are portrayed as individuals with different characteristics, vices, and virtues who are concerned with problems of the journey from their own perspective. In the *Conference of the Birds*, Attar has utilized numerous anecdotes and tales into the main plot of the narrative to explain more about the Sufi path and develop the various themes of the narrative. One of the anecdotes is about a King who was so beautiful that no one could bear looking at him; therefore, people have to look at him through a mirror. Perhaps Rumi was influenced by this tale to use the same image in the final two distiches of his 'Song of the Reed'. Another narrative of The *Conference of the Birds* is 'The Tale of the Sheikh of Sanaan and the Christian Girl'; in the following few pages, this tale will be analysed, and its immense significance for Sufis will be examined.

The Sheikh of Sanaan was an eminent ascetic living in Mecca for fifty years with four hundred disciples, practising abstinence and penance; he had never transgressed any of the traditional Islamic moral codes and laws. One night he dreams of himself in Rome bowing down to an idol. Therefore, with his disciples, the Sheikh embarks on a journey to Rome in order to find the interpretation of his dream. In Rome, he sees a Christian girl and the very moment that the girl removes the veil from her face, every layer of the Sheikh's body and soul burns with love and desire. His disciples try to convince him not to pursue this love; yet, when love enters one's heart, there would seem to be no place left for logic and reason, and as a result, the Sheikh's disciples desert him. The girl eventually notices him and proposes a set of labours for him: he has to renounce Islam by burning his cloak, wearing a Zunnar,[102] herding swine, converting to Christianity, burning the *Quran*, and drinking wine. In order to reach his beloved other, the Sheikh transgresses all of the cultural, moral, and religious boundaries of Islam. These labours strip him of his social, cultural, and religious status, making him ready to be remoulded. Through them, much like the birds in the main plot of the book, the Sheikh loses what is precious to him: the vanity and pride of his social and religious status; by this loss, the Sheikh's self is eliminated. Eventually, owing to the prayers of one of his most loyal disciples, who did not accompany him on this particular journey, since he was on a journey of his own,

[102] A distinctive belt or girdle wore by non-Muslims in order to differentiate themselves from Muslims which was noted in the Pact of Umar. The pact contains a list of rights and restrictions on non-Muslim whom through abiding it were granted security of their lives and possessions. For more details see: *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History (600-900*), David Richard Thomas, & Barbara Roggema (eds.), (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 359-61.

the prophet Mohammad intercedes[103] and removes the rust from the Sheikh's soul.[104] The Sheikh regains his senses, converts back to Islam, and returns to Mecca. At this point of the story, he is remoulded into a true believer: he is not a Muslim hermit anymore: he has experienced the love of the other, transgressed from his rigid beliefs, and consequently has reached a perception which unifies all religions and faiths. After the Sheikh sets course back to Mecca, the same fate happens to the Christian girl. She dreams that the Sun commands her to follow her beloved. Having fallen in love with the Sheikh, the girl frantically follows him and injures herself on her path towards her lover. In the meantime, the Sheikh hears a divine voice, telling him to go back to his beloved. She finally meets him in a desert, somewhere between Mecca and Rome, reunites with him, converts to Islam, and dies immediately.

The importance of this particular tale is firstly due to the part it plays in the general theme of the *Conference of the Birds*: narrated by the hoopoe, it is the very last tale that convinces the birds to pursue their journey to find their King. Secondly, consisting of four hundred distiches, it is the most protracted tale of the book. Thirdly, it has been not only alluded to but also reused by many Persian-speaking Sufis. To mention some examples of the allusions to the tale, one can mention Hafez, whose poetry was described by Jones as 'a higher key with richer embellishments' than 'odes of SPENSER on Divine Love and Beauty',[105] stated: 'Do not think of infamy, if you are a traveller on the Path of Love; the Sheikh of Sanaan pawned his clock to the tavern.'[106] In India, Jones had purchased a copy of a commentary on the *Divan* of Hafez; the manuscript is available in the British Library, catalogued as RSPA 57. Please see the illustration below, which shows Jones marking the distich in which Hafez has alluded to the tale of the Sheikh of Sanaan:

[103] The idea of intercession is one of the major causes of tension between current Muslim Sunnis, who believe that no one but God can help a person and asking anyone but Him/ Her is blasphemy, and Shias and Sufis, who believe in intercession of the prophets and the saints.
[104] This event could be another source of inspiration for Rumi's image of a rusty mirror in the 'Song of the Reed'.
[105] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 216.
[106] Hafez, *Divan of Hafez*, 174:
گر مرید راه عشقی فکر بدنامی مکن شیخ صنعان خرقه رهن خانه خمار داشت

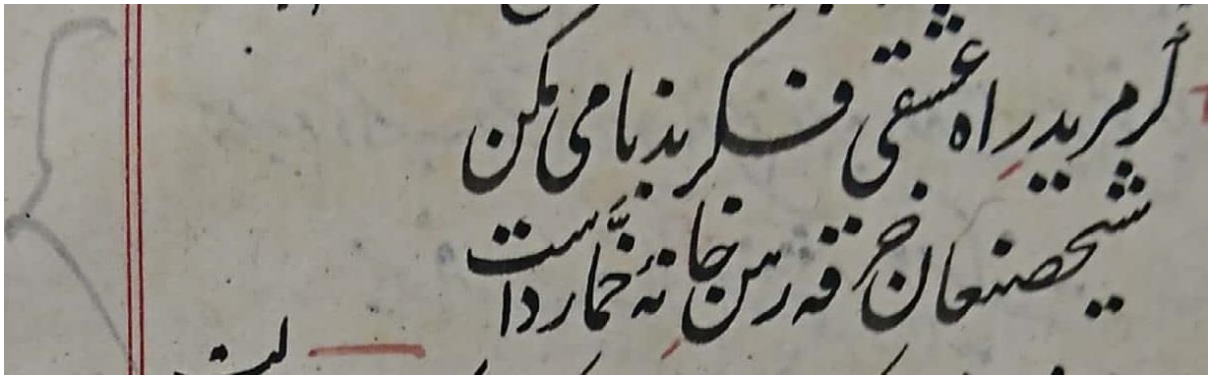

Illustration 6, BL, APAC, RSPA 57, f. 66; Jones's annotation on his 'Commentary on the *Divan* of Hafez.'

Vahshi Bafghi (1532 – 1583), whose tale of *Shirin and Farhad* reminded Jones of himself and his wife,[107] stated: 'The Sheikh of Sanaan, whose heart was stolen by the Christian Idol, will not exchange the ecstasy of the house of idols with hundreds Hajs.'[108] Saib Tabrizi, whom Jones mentioned in his essay 'On the Mystical Poetry' [109] and whose *Divan* was in Jones's library,[110] stated: 'My religious struggle is no less than the Sheikh of Sanaan; [hence,] I shall not rest until I find an Infidel.'[111] In addition, Shaikh Abu al-Faiz ibn Mubarak (1547-1595), the King of Poets in Akbar's (1542-1605) Mughal court, recounts the emperor's offer to the court and his eagerness in a *ghazal* as: 'The desire remains in my twiddling imagination; just like the locks of the Christian girl in the heart of the sage of Sanaan.'[112] After Attar, Sufi poets immortalized the tale of 'The Sheikh of Sanaan and the Christian Girl' to the extent that poets contemporary with Jones still mentioned the tale.[113] For example, Forooghi Bastāmi (1798 - 1857) stated: 'The sage of Canaan [Jacob] has been told of the virtues of Josef; the Sheikh of Sanaan has become ecstatic by the Christian love.'[114]

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[107] Franklin, '*Orientalist Jones'*, 325.

[108] Vahshi Bafghi, *Divan*, Saeed Nafisi (ed.), (Tehran: Saales, 2013), 78:

ندهد طوف صنمخانه به سد حج قبول شیخ صنعان که دلش را بت ترسا ببرد

[109] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 211-236, 232.

[110] Jones, *The Works*, 13: 418.

[111] Saib Tabrizi, *Divan*, 3: 400:

هیچ کم از شیخ صنعان نیست درد دین من به که ننشینم ز پا تا کافری پیدا کنم

[112] Abu al-Faiz ibn Mubarak Faizi, *The Koliyate Faizi*, E.D Arshad, & Vazir-al Hasan Abedi (eds.), (Lahore: Punjab University, 1967), 80:

هوس مانده در پیچ و تاب خیالم چو در زلف ترسا دل پیر صنعان
گرت این تمنّای واالست در سر بیا معتکف شو به درگاه سلطان

[113] It might be worth mentioning that the tale is still being used in contemporary Iranian media.

[114] Forooghi Bastāmi, *Divan*, Hosein Nakhaei (ed.), (Tehran: Amirkabir, 1957), 103:

پیرکنعان راقرارازحسن یوسف دادهاند شیخ صنعان راطرب ازعشق ترسا کردهاند

In order to thoroughly understand the impact of the tale on Persian culture and Sufism, a detailed analysis of it would prove helpful. The most significant matter that should be mentioned is that based on the tale, to an Oriental reader, the Sheikh represents the familiar Self: a male Muslim ascetic who resides in Mecca and is highly respected due to his social and cultural stature. The first exciting matter that comes to mind considering Attar's portrayal of the self is that although the Sheikh is a Muslim, some Abrahamic images are utilized to describe him. For instance, he was able to heal the sick; Attar has used the term Messianic exhalation, which is attributed to Jesus amongst Muslims, for him: 'Whoever was ill or weak, would have regained full health from his breath.'[115] The distich is also an allusion to the story of Jesus breathing life into statues mentioned in the *Quran*[116] and the New Testament.[117] On the other hand, the Christian girl represents the alien Other: a female Christian residing in Rome who is naturally beautiful and adored by society. Similar to the description of the Sheikh, although the girl is a Christian, Zoroastrian and pagan imagery is used for her. For instance, terms such as Magi and the act of going to a temple, which is generally considered non-Abrahamic, are attributed to her.

The narrative speaks of medieval Muslim society and its understanding of religious transgression as well as the power of love. Through the transgression and crossing of barriers, the Sheikh will be provided with the opportunity for an alternative identity and spirituality. Therefore, he is provided with the possibility of accepting the other and the reconstruction of the Self. Since the reason for the Sheikh's aberration is love, Attar welcomes the Sheikh's

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[115] Attar, *Mantegh ol-tayr*, Garcin de Tassy (ed.), (Paris: Publié en Persan, 1857), 46:
هرکه بیماری و سستی یافتی از دم او تن درستی یافتی

[116] *The Quran* 5:110:
اذْ قَالَ اللَّهُ يَا عِيسَى ابْنَ مَرْيَمَ اذْكُرْ نِعْمَتِي عَلَيْكَ وَعَلَىٰ وَالِدَتِكَ إِذْ أَيَّدتُّكَ بِرُوحِ الْقُدُسِ تُكَلِّمُ النَّاسَ فِي الْمَهْدِ وَكَهْلًا وَإِذْ عَلَّمْتُكَ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَالتَّوْرَاةَ وَالْإِنجِيلَ وَإِذْ تَخْلُقُ مِنَ الطِّينِ كَهَيْئَةِ الطَّيْرِ بِإِذْنِي فَتَنفُخُ فِيهَا فَتَكُونُ طَيْرًا بِإِذْنِي وَتُبْرِئُ الْأَكْمَهَ وَالْأَبْرَصَ بِإِذْنِي وَإِذْ تُخْرِجُ الْمَوْتَىٰ بِإِذْنِي وَإِذْ كَفَفْتُ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ عَنكَ إِذْ جِئْتَهُم بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ فَقَالَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْهُمْ إِنْ هَٰذَا إِلَّا سِحْرٌ مُّبِينٌ

'Then Allah said: "O Jesus, the son of Mary! Recall My favour to you and to your mother. Behold! I strengthened you with the Holy Spirit, so that could speak to the people in cradle as in maturity. Behold! I taught you the Book and Wisdom, the Torah and the Bible. Behold! You made the figure of a bird out of clay and by My leave you exhaled into it and it became a bird by My leave; you healed those who were born blind, and the lepers, by My leave. And behold! you brought forth the dead by My leave. And behold! I did restrain the Children of Israel from [violence to] you when you showed them the clear Signs, and the unbelievers among them said: "This is nothing but evident magic."'

[117] Christ's raising of Jairus's daughter, see Matthew (5: 22–24; 35–43) and Luke (8: 41–42; 49–56) and for the youth of Nain, see Luke (7: 11–16).

subversion. His acceptance of the Sheikh's transgression is because of Attar's Sufi beliefs. Any type of true love, even earthly and ordinary love, can be a gateway to Divine Love. Many scholars of Sufism, including Leonard Lewisohn, believe that the love that occurs in the tale transgresses both erotically and religiously; therefore, the hierarchy of the faithful believer and the unfaithful infidel becomes subverted.[118] This subversion enables the Self, the Sheikh, to face the Other, the Christian girl, and through transgressing the boundaries established by the religion, culture, and society transforms an ascetic Self into a true Sufi, a mystic of love. It transforms asceticism to mysticism and the earthly love to the Divine Love and consequently unites the Oriental Self with the Occidental Other. The question that comes to mind is whether Jones had any other goal but to 'profess eager desire, but with no carnal affection, and circulate the cup, but no material goblet'; to reunite the Occidental Self with the Oriental Other.

Although there has been no explicit evidence of Jones's familiarity with the tale in the *Conference of the Birds*, Jones was familiar with its influences and effects on other poets as well as on Oriental society. As the Persian language spread throughout India, the literature gained its place in the Indian courts, and as a result, the Indians became familiar with the story of 'The Sheikh of Sanaan and the Christian Girl' or the stories which imitated it. Jones was an avid reader of Amir Khosrow Dehlavi (1253-1325), known as 'the Sadi of India' and 'the Indian Parrot'; many aspects of Amir Khosrow's life attracted Jones. On many different occasions, Amir Khosrow alludes to the tale in his poetry; for example: 'Last night, our preacher took the path to the house of the idols and the religion of wanderers again; the heart which was bound to a rosary, became tied to a Zunnar; the head which was in a Mihrab (Muslim altar), was brought to a cross.'[119] Amir Khosrow's ingenuity was founded on his syncretic background: the different languages he knew and the various cultures he experienced while growing up. This ingenuity enabled him to juxtapose different Selves and others to convey his points, similar to what Attar did in his *Khosrow-nāmeh*. Jones also did the same in his poetic translations to convey Oriental morals and concepts to his Occidental readers. A prime example of this can be found in Jones's *Notebook*, where Amir Khosrow introduces the self as a

[118] Leonard Lewisohn, 'Sufi Symbolism in the Persian Hermeneutic Tradition: Reconstructing the Pagoda of 'Attar's Esoteric Poetics', *Attar and the Persian Sufi Tradition: The Art of Spiritual Flight*, Leonard Lewisohn, & Christopher Shackle (eds.), (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 255-308: 292.

[119] Amir Khosrow Dehlavi, *Divan*, 799:

زاهد ما دوش باز در ره بت پا نهاد　　دین قلندر گرفت، خانه یغما نهاد
دل که به تسبیح داشت در خم زنار بست　　سر که به محراب بود پیش چلیپا نهاد

Brahman, who has fallen in love with a Muslim Other, and therefore, much like Mohammad, kicks down an idol.[120] Attar's pluralistic perception not only influenced poets and mystics but also through poetry and mystical writings impacted upon Indo-Persian emperors such as Akbar Shah, who used its message to promote the Sufi perception of the Self and the Other and the idea of tolerance in their era. The verses of Hafez, advocating human sympathy and liberal outlooks, influenced Akbar's policy of tolerance in religious matters. Furthermore, his childhood tutors, two Iranian Shias, made a significant contribution to his inclination towards religious tolerance.[121] Prince Dara Shokoh (1615-1659), Akbar Shah's great-grandson, became a scholar of mystical religious speculation and a poetic diviner of syncretic cultural interaction among people of all faiths. Influenced by his Sufi tutors' perception of the Other, Dara Shokoh sought common mystical ground between Islam and Hinduism. With the assistance of Brahman pandits in the holy city of Banaras, he translated fifty *Upanishads* (1657), and in the introduction, he hypothesized that what is referred to as the كتاب المكنون *Ketāb al-maknōn*, 'The Hidden Book' in the *Quran* is none other than the Hindu sacred treatises, the *Upanishads*. Jones was attracted to this work as he aimed to reconfigure the binaries of imperialism by emphasising pluralism, cultural synthesis, and syncretism. Following Dara Shokoh, in order to elaborate on the compatibility of Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism, Jones introduced his own translation of the *Isavasyam* or *Isa-Upanishad* from Sanskrit. However, Jones reviews Dara Shokoh's Persian version of the *Upanishad* in the following terms:

> [T]hough sublime, and majestick features of the original were discernible, in parts, through folds of the Persian drapery; yet the Sanscrit names were so barbarously written, and the additions of the translator has made the work so deformed, that I resolved to postpone a regular perusal of it till I could compare it with the Sanscrit original. [122]

Franklin argues that although 'such comments have been viewed as reflecting hostile condescension towards Persian and Indo-Persian scholarship, … [t]hey simply reveal the linguist's enthusiastic desire to study the original'.[123] There is, however, another point behind Jones's statement, which we will discuss later. Dara Shokoh's most famous work, مجمع البحرين *Majmaʿ ol-baḥrayn*, 'The Intermingling of the Two Seas' was also devoted to a revelation of the Sufi mystical and pluralistic affinities between Islam and Hinduism. Dara Shokoh's *Majmaʿ*

[120] BL, APAC, MSS Eur. C 274, f. 15. The quatrain was analysed in the second chapter of this thesis.
[121] Irfan Habib, *Akbar and His India*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 81-5.
[122] Jones, *The Works*, 13: 366.
[123] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 346.

ol-baḥrayn argues that the fundamental tenets of Hinduism are identical with those of Islam, and consequently, Hinduism is essentially monotheistic. Another book which Dara Shokoh probably commissioned is entitled دبستان مذاهب *Dabestān-e mazāheb*, 'The School of the Creeds.' It should be mentioned that Jones and his contemporary scholars believed that the *Dabestan* was composed by an author named Mohsen Fani, yet this hypothesis has been rejected.[124] Jones's fascination with the *Dabestan* can be observed in a letter he wrote to John Shore, on 24 June 1787, from Garden Reach near Calcutta:

> [T]he Dabistan also I have read through twice with great attention; and both copies are ready to be returned, as you shall direct. Mr. R. Johnson thinks he has a young friend who will translate the Dabistan, and the greatest part of it would be very interesting to a curious reader, but some of it cannot be translated. It contains more recondite learning, more entertaining history, and more beautiful specimens of poetry, more ingenuity and wit, more indecency and blasphemy, than I ever saw collected in a single volume; […] On the whole, it is the most amusing and instructive book I ever read in Persian.[125]

About two years after this letter, in delivering the 'Sixth Anniversary Discourse: On the Persians' to the Asiatic Society, on 19 February 1789, Jones acknowledges both his reliance upon, and excitement with, the *Dabestan*: 'A fortunate discovery, […] has at once dissipated the cloud, and cast a gleam of light on the primaeval history of Iran and of the human race, of which I had long despaired, and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter.'[126] Shortly after Jones's statement, Francis Gladwin (d. 1813) translated and published parts of the *Dabestan* in his periodical, *The New Asiatic Miscellany*.[127] The intriguing fact about such literary works, which includes Dara Shokoh's *Upanishads*, *The Intermingling of the Two Seas*, and the *Dabestan* is that while they discuss different religions and creeds, the idea of the familiar and the alien concepts, the Self or the Other, are slightly changed or adapted in order to synchronize better with each other. These small changes and adaptations, as mentioned earlier, were introduced to Persian literature by Attar with the portrayal of the Muslim Sheikh and the Christian girl. Due to these minor deformities, Jones preferred the Sanskrit *Upanishads* to Dara Shokoh's Persian translation; yet, at the same time, it was the Persian 'drapery' that facilitated the intermingling and coexistence of Hinduism and Islam. The idea of different

[124] Walter Fishel, 'Jews and Judaism at the Court of the Mugal Emperors in Medieval India', *Islamic Culture*, 25, (1948),105-31.
[125] Sir William Jones, *The Letters of Sir William Jones*, Garland Hampton Cannon (ed.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 2: 739.
[126] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 110.
[127] *The New Asiatic Miscellany*, (Calcutta: Joseph Cooper 1789), 1: 86–136.

religions and schools of thought intermingling like the seas was held close to Jones's heart, helping to shift the emphasis from the Occidental Self to the Oriental Other and promoting cultural toleration, syncretism, and pluralism. Jones's admiration for Dara Shokoh was due to his study of Ghulam Husain Khan Tabatabai's (1727-1793) *Sëir Mutaqharin*, [128] which testified to the Muslim prince's 'approbation, and even preference, to some tenets of the Gentoo law'.[129] While Tabatabaei is describing Dara Shokoh's execution, in the book, he is referred to as 'the unfortunate prince;'[130] intriguingly, Jones uses the exact phrase in his 'On the Mystical Poetry' when he is elaborating on his sources of Sufism: 'detail of their metaphysicks and theology to the Dabistan of MOHSANI FANI, and the pleasing essay, called the Junction of two Seas, by that amiable and unfortunate Prince, DA´RA´ SHECU´H'.[131] Indian pluralist works and Jones's research and writing on them will be discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis in detail.

A Most Extraordinary Imitation of Attar

In 'On the Mystical Poetry', Jones presents a literal translation of another Sufi poet: 'I cannot refrain from producing a most extraordinary ode by a Sufi of Bokhara, who assumed the poetical name of Esmat: a more modern poet'.[132] Jones's translation of a *ghazal* by Esmat Bokhari may shed a brighter light on Jones's understanding of Sufism and its influence from Attar's 'Sheikh of Sanaan'. On the right column, you can see the canonical text of the poem in Persian; Jones's translation is printed in the middle column, and on the left column, you can see a more literal translation of the same poem, translated by myself. The distiches have also been numbered to address, discuss, and analyse easier for the readers.

[128] Jones's copy of the work is available in the British library and catalogued as BL, APAC, RSPA 13. The manuscript ends with 'This Book is the Property of Sir William Jones & was lent to Francis Gladwin Esq. 8 March 1788.' and contains Gladwin's letter sent to Jones with returning the book.
[129] Ghulam Husain Khan Tabatabai, *A Translation of the Seir Mutaqharin; or, View of Modern Times, being an History of India, from the Year 1118 to the Year 1195 (this year answers to the Christian year 1781–82)*, 3 vols. (Calcutta,1789/90), 3: 348.
[130] Tabatabai, *A Translation of the Seir Mutaqharin*, 3: 349.
[131] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 211-236: 232.
[132] Jones, *The Works*, 2: 228.

Literal Translation	Jones's Translation	Persian Text
1. Last night, joyfully, I passed by the alley of the tavern; looking for a Christian born who sold wine.	'Yesterday, half inebriated, I passed by the quarter, where the vintners dwell, to seek the daughter of an infidel who sells wine.	سرخوش از كوي‌خرابات گذر كردم دوش به طلبكاري ترسا بچة باده فروش
2. A fairy-faced [one] came to me, in the alley. An infidel, a coquette whose tresses were like a Zunnar on her shoulders.	At the end of the street, there advanced before me a damsel with a fairy's cheeks, who, in the manner of a pagan, wore her tresses dishevelled over her shoulder like the sacerdotal thread	پيشم آمد بسر كوچه پري رخساري كافري، عشوه‌گري، زلف چو زنّار بدوش
3. I said "What alley is this? Where is your house? The moon is enslaved by the curve of your eyebrow."	I said: O thou, to the arch of whose eyebrow the new moon is a slave, what quarter is this and where is thy mansion?	گفتم اين كوي چه كويست و ترا خانه كجاست اي مه نو خم ابروي ترا حلقه بگوش
4. She said "Throw away your Tasbih[133] and wear a Zunnar; throw a stone at the glass of piety and drink wine.	She answered: Cast thy rosary on the ground; bind on thy shoulder the thread of paganism; throw stones at the glass of piety; and quaff wine from a full goblet;	گفت تسبيح بخاك افكن و زنّار ببند سنگ در شيشة تقوي‌زن وپيمانه بنوش
5. After that, come towards me and I shall tell you something; this is my word, if you listen to my word."	After that come before me, that I may whisper a word in thine ear: thou wilt accomplish thy journey, if thou listen to my discourse.	بعد از آن پيش من آ، تا بتو گويم سخني راه اينست اگر بر سخنم داري گوش
6. With a lost heart, drunk and insane, I ran; I reached a place where neither the faith nor the wit remained.	Abandoning my heart and rapt in ecstasy, I ran after her, till I came to a place, in which religion and reason forsook me.	دل ز كف داده و مدهوش دويدم در پيش تارسيدم‌به مقامي كه نه دين ماند و نه هوش
7. At a distance, I saw some people, all drunk and out of their mind; by the heat of the wine of love they were in a state of commotion.	At a distance I beheld a company, all insane and inebriated, who came boiling and roaring with ardour from the wine of love;	ديدم از دور گروهي همه ديوانه و مست وز تف بادة عشق آمده در جوش وخروش

[133]A Muslim rosary or set of praying beads.

8. Without a Daf (a Sufi drum), a cupbearer, or a musician, they all were dancing and chanting; all were drinking, without wine, cups, or pitchers!	Without cymbals, or lutes, or viols, yet all full of mirth and melody; without wine, or goblet, or flask, yet all incessantly drinking.	بي دف و ساقي و مطرب همه در رقص و سماع بي مي و جام و صراحي همه در نوشانوش
9. Since I lost the restraint of virtue, reputation, and honour; I decided to ask her a question, yet she said “silence!	When the cord of restraint slipped from my hand, I desired to ask her one question, but she said: Silence!	چون سر رشتة ناموس برفت از دستم خواستم تا سخني پرسم ازو،گفت خموش
10. This is no Kaaba[134] to walk around it without feet and head[135]; this is no mosque to roar in it without awareness!	This is no square temple, to the gate of which thou canst arrive precipitately: this is no mosque to which thou canst come with tumult, but without knowledge.	اين نه كعبه است كه بيپا وسرآيي به طواف وين نه مسجد كهدرو بيادب آيي به خروش
11. This is the ruins of the Magi’s! Drunks are in it; unconscious, ecstatic, from the dawn of eternity to the day of resurrection!”	This is the banquet-house of infidels, and within it all are intoxicated; all, from the dawn of eternity to the day of resurrection, lost in astonishment.	اين خرابات مغانست و درو مستانند از دم صبح ازل تا به قيامت مدهوش
12. ---	Depart then from the cloister, and take the way to the tavern; cast off the cloak of a dervise, and wear the robe of a libertine.	[The distich is not available in any of the available Persian sources of the *ghazal*.]
13. If you are honest and faithful in this Path; similar to Esmat, sell the faith and knowledge for a drop of wine.’	I obeyed; and, if thou desirest the same strain and colour with Esmat, imitate him, and sell this world and the next for one drop of pure wine.’ [136]	گر ترا هست درين شيوه سر يك رنگي دين و دنيا به يكي جرعه چو عصمت بفروش

It is safe to assert that Esmat’s ode is no more than a compressed paraphrase of Attar’s ‘Sheikh of Sanaan.’ Apart from the Sufi message that the two poems share, Esmat has literally used the same imagery and lexicon which Attar used; for example: ‘the new moon has your eyebrow’s ringlet on its ear’ literally appears in both poems.[137] While Jones’s translation does

[134] The *Kaaba*, where Muslims pray towards or go for pilgrimage and circulate around it seven times.
[135] Figuratively meaning ‘to roam around it without both body and mind present.’
[136] Jones, *The Works*, 2: 228-30.
[137] Attar states:

ابرويش بر ماه طاقی بسته بود مردمی بر طاق او بنشسته بود

not particularly follow these images, it stays quite faithful to the moral of the poem. The changes Jones made in his translation do not simply serve a poetical purpose: for example, ترسا بچه *tarsā bacheh*, the 'Christian child/born' is changed to 'the daughter of an infidel'. Jones was very well aware of the meaning of *tarsā*, 'Christian' since the word is mentioned in the *Dabestan*, a book he had 'read twice with great attention'.[138] Since Jones's translation was composed for a Christian audience – the Other to the poem's narrator's Self – he changed 'Christian' to 'infidel.' This changed occurred because to his eighteenth-century English readers, being Christian identified with the Self and an 'infidel' with the Other. Furthermore, Jones changed بچه *bacheh*, meaning a 'child or young person' to 'daughter', probably because the love of two men or a man and a younger person might not have been appealing to his readers. This change is quite remarkable as it brings Esmat's image of the Other, a Christian young person, closer to Attar's 'daughter of an infidel'.

Jones also changed the word Zunnar, a belt signifying non-Muslim status, to a 'sacerdotal thread.' While a Zunnar could have been worn by any non-Muslim, by changing it to a 'sacerdotal thread', which also embraces the *Yajñopavīta*, i.e., the sacred thread worn by high-caste Hindus, Jones has increased the pluralism of this poem. In the translation, the female other 'wore her tresses dishevelled over her shoulder like the sacerdotal thread' and instructs the aspiring lover to 'bind on thy shoulder the thread of paganism;' yet, in Esmat's poem, the other simply asks the narrator to 'wear a Zunnar.' Therefore, Jones's depiction of the other becomes closer to Attar's other: the religious virtues of both are demonstrated through their natural beauty. The interpolations found in Jones's translation of this distich are another demonstration of the Sufi beliefs portrayed in Attar's tale: there is no difference between a true Muslim, Christian, or pagan, and therefore those terms are interchangeable.

Jones's translation departs from Esmat's poem at the point when the poet asks the 'damsel 'where is thy mansion?' While the word used in Esmat's poem is خانه *khāneh*, 'home or house', Jones selected the 'mansion' out of his other options; intriguingly, the same image, a mansion rather than a house, is portrayed in Attar's 'Sheikh Sanaan.' Another fascinating alteration that Jones introduces to his translation is 'This is no square temple' instead of 'This is no Kaaba', which could be perceived as another attempt to shift what might be alien to the

'Her eyebrow was the arch to the moon [her face], with lots of people living beneath that arch.'

[138] Jones, *The Letters*, 2: 739.

translation's readers to something relatively familiar to them, alongside the interchangeability I mentioned before. The switch brings up a famous line by the renowned Sufi Sheikh Bahaei (1547-1627) [139] to mind: 'You are the [my] Intention, the Kaaba and the house of idols [a temple] are just excuses.' [140]

A fascinating feature of Jones's translation appears in its tenth stanza:

> 'Depart then from the cloister, and take the way to the tavern; cast off the cloak of a dervise, and wear the robe of a libertine.'

It is of significant importance to note that several sources[141] of this particular *ghazal* have been checked to find the Persian distich, which was Jones's source for these lines. However, these lines are not available in any one of the sources. Furthermore, the *ghazal*'s Persian text does not contain any morals or images, remotely pointing towards the subject of the distich cited above. In addition, the tone in which this line is written is too straightforward and frank compared to most of the Persian poetics; particularly, to the followers of *sabk-e hendi*, who are renowned for their excessive usage of literary figures. Moreover, the act of casting off the cloak of a dervish is considered to be unSufi; given the fact that dervishes were Sufi wanderers, stating something against them did not fit for the moral of the *ghazal*. In order to analyse the stanza more accurately, it would be better to divide it into two parts. In the first part, 'Depart then from the cloister, and take the way to the tavern;' Jones portrays a prevalent theme in Sufism: distance yourself from asceticism and move towards mysticism. Like the stanza, Attar's tale of 'Sheikh of Sanaan' is arguably the first narrative to deliver the same idea. The juxtaposition of mysticism and asceticism is echoed throughout Attar's tale, starting from the very first distich. We see that the Sheikh, who has practised mortification for more than fifty years and has reached an ascetic's perfection, to the extent that he can heal the sick, has never experienced earthly love. The love towards the Christian girl is sent to the Sheikh by the Truth to test his spiritual Path. Both the Sheikh and the Christian girl are repellent to each other, for he is a Muslim ascetic, and she is a female Christian. The opposition of mysticism and

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[139] Jones's familiarity with Sheikh Bahaei was addressed in the previous chapter.

[140] Sheikh Bahaei, *Kashkul*, (Tehran: Sabok-baran, 1390), 7:
مقصود تویی کعبه و بتخانه بهانه

[141] The manuscripts of his *Divan* available in the Library, Museum and Document Centre of Iran's Parliament: 2656/4, 2329/14, and 1/7 معيري.
Esmat Bokhari, *The Divan of Esmat Bokharaei*, Ahmad Karami (ed.), (Tehran: Ma, 1986), 56. The *ghazal* can also be found in Ali Akbar Moshir Salimi, *The Eloquent Women of the Past Millennium*, (Tehran: Elmi Publishers, 1956), 327. However, this one also does not contain the distich.

asceticism is depicted wonderfully in a conversation between the Sheikh and his disciples. The disciples who are mere ascetics themselves can be viewed as the former selves of the Sheikh; an extract of the tale would fit here to portray the contrast between mystics and ascetics:

> A disciple said: 'Don't you have regret and shame? Don't you care for the Muslim faith?' The Sheikh replied: No one can be more regretful than I am; regretful of not being in love before today!' […] Another one said: 'Compromise with your friends; let us return together to the Kaaba tonight.' He said: 'If the Kaaba is not here, there is a convent; I'm the vigilant of the Kaaba yet the drunk of a convent.'[…] Another one told him: 'The inferno is at the end of this path! A knowledgeable person will not become a being of hell!' He said: 'If the inferno is at the end of my path, my sigh [of separation] shall burn seven levels of it!'[142] One said: 'Hope for heaven; return and repent of this wrong deed.' He replied: 'There is a heavenly-born beloved here; should there be a heaven, it is her mansion!' Another one told him: 'Be shameful of the Truth! The Lord almighty only deserves such sayings!' He said: 'The Truth has bestowed this fire upon me! Therefore, I cannot reject this responsibility.'[143]

The Christian girl is the Sheikh's divine means to ponder the Divine Presence on earth, and he owes his transformation, from an ascetic to a mystic, to his Christian Other and her subversive love. Many modern Persian scholars, such as Jalal Sattari and Claudia Yaghoobi, believe that asceticism without love is nothing but mere vanity, which creates nothing but an illusion of a union with the divine.[144] To Sufis, as I mentioned while discussing Jones's *Notebook*, the vanity and egoism created by asceticism is the worst type of idolatry and the only agent capable of annihilating the idol of the Self, guiding one towards Perfection, is love. Therefore, being truly in love with the Beloved, or even a mortal beloved, causes a lover to free his/her self from everything, self-conceit, egoism, social, and material concerns, but the Beloved. In other words, the first part of Jones's addition to Esmat's poem – 'Depart then from the cloister, and take the way to the tavern' – reiterates Attar's moral of 'Sheikh of Sanaan' and Rumi's 'Song of the Reed': '[…] Tis love, that fills the reed with warmth divine; 'Tis love, that sparkles in the racy wine. […] Not he, who reasons best, this wisdom knows: Ears only drink what rapt'rous tongues disclose.'[145] 'On the Mystical Poetry' was published in 1792, but Jones's perception

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[142] The distich means that since the Sheikh's state is worse than being in hell, his sigh burns more than the fires of hell; figuratively, he has no fears of hell since he has experienced worse by being separated from his earthly beloved.

[143] Attar, *Mantegh ol-tayr*, 55-6.

[144] Jalal Sattari, *A Study of the Story of Shaykh of San'an and the Christian Girl,* (Tehran: Markaz Publications, 1999), 75-7.
Claudia Yaghoobi, '*Subjectivity in 'Attār's Shaykh of San'ān Story in The Conference of the Birds.*', *Comparative Literature and Culture*, 16:1 (2014), [http://dx.doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.2425].

[145] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 211-236, 231.

of Sufism and the idea of love annihilating the ego and ignorance and therefore uniting the Self and the Other can be traced in his writings two decades before the date. In his *Grammar* (1771), he had addressed his fellow Europeans, asking them to annihilate their ignorance and experience the love of the Oriental Other:

> Some men never heard of the Asiatick writings, and others will not be convinced that there is anything valuable in them; some pretend to be busy, and others are really idle; some detest the Persians, because they believe in Mahommed, and others despise their language, because they do not understand it; we all love to excuse, or to conceal, our ignorance, and are seldom willing to allow any excellence beyond the limits of our own attainments: like the savages, who thought that the sun rose and set for them alone, and could not imagine that the waves, which surrounded their island, left coral and pearls upon any other shore.[146]

The extract points out that to Jones, the Europeans who never saw any other land beyond their island resembled the orthodox hermit Sheikh of Sanaan who had not travelled to the Roman shores to see the pagan coral and the Christian pearls.

Returning to the stanza that Jones added to his translation of Esmat's poem, its second part, which is left to analyse is 'cast off the cloak of a dervish, and wear the robe of a libertine.' Jones lived during Iran's Afsharid dynasty (1736-1796), and his position in India required him to know the socio-political status of Iran. Sufism was intermixed with politics during the Afsharid dynasty and their predecessors, the Safavid dynasty (1501-1736). Consequently, it transformed from a marginal point of view to a dominant political and religious ideology of the time. However, this shift occurred at the price of the very factor which distinguishes Sufism from many other schools of thought: its syncretism and pluralism. At the time, in Turkey, fierce military factions were associating themselves with Sufism; in Iran, there were dervishes and servants with Sufi views who would cannibalize or decapitate anyone who did not follow or openly praise their view of Sufism.[147] Aware of these facts, due to his profession in India, it is feasible that Jones added this stanza to the poem in order to reiterate the true essence of Sufism, syncretism and pluralism, to the European readers. When the dervishes were not the

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[146] Jones, *A Grammar*, ii.

[147] Karim Najafi Barzegar, *Mughal-Iranian Relations: During Sixteenth Century*, (New Delhi: Indian Bibliographies Bureau, 2000), 211.
Stewart R. Sutherland, *The World's Religions*, (Boston, MA: G.K. Hall, 1998), 362.
Rula Jurdi Abisaab, *Converting Persia: Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire*, (London: I.B.Tauris, 2004), 91.

freethinkers they used to be, Jones reminded his readers that the very concepts distinguishing a true Sufi and dervish from others is freethinking.

The Oriental Sheikh and the Jihadist Society

Another point connecting Attar's tale and philosophy with Jones and his circle lies in the fact that scholars of Persian literature consider the tale of 'the Sheikh of Sanaan' as a Sufi epic; the efforts of Jones and his circle can be explained through defining certain aspects of Sufi thought which are represented in Attar's epic. The importance of the perception of the Self in mystical Islam, Shi'ism, and Sufism becomes particularly pivotal when one considers the path a mystic has to take to reunite with the beloved Other. The most important feature of this path is the annihilation of the Self, particularly the I or what is called نفس اماره *nafs-e amāreh*, 'The self-inciting self'.[148] This struggle between one and his/her self-inciting Self is mentioned on different occasions in various Islamic and Sufi texts; for example, the *Quran* states: 'And those struggling in Our Path, will definitely be Led in their own ways. [...]'[149] The intriguing fact about the latter verse is that the *Quran* uses the term جاهد *jāhed*, 'one who struggles or Jihads'. Perhaps a *Hadith* from Jafar al-Sadegh (702-765), the sixth Shia Imam and one of the most significant ones in the faith, might shed a brighter light on the situation:

> The prophet sent an army [to somewhere], upon the armies' return he said: "I welcome those who had done the minor Jihad [, however] the greater Jihad still remains." [Someone] asked, "The messenger of God, what is the greater Jihad?" He responded, "The Jihad with the self."[150]

Jones was very well aware of Jafar-Sadegh, his status amongst the Shias and Sufis, as well as his writings. Persian Jones had studied at least one of Jafar-Sadegh's books, given to him probably by the pioneering Sanskrit scholar Charles Wilkins (1749-1836). Wilkins's gift to Jones, which contains the *Hadith*, is entitled رساله مفضل از امام جعفر صادق, 'The Mofazal Treatises from Imam Jafar Sadegh;' it is translated from Arabic to Persian by Allameh Majlesi (1616-

[148] The different types of self, including the 'self-inciting self' will be mentioned in the next chapter of this thesis.

[149] *The Quran* 29:69:

'وَ الَّذينَ جاهَدُوا فينا لَنَهْدِيَنَّهُمْ سُبُلَنا .... '

[150] Allameh Majlesi, *Bihar al-Anwar*, (Noroohi, Qom: 2009), 328-93: 336.
Mohammad Mohammadi Reyshahri, *Mizan-ol Hikmah*, (Darl-ol Hadith, Qom: 2010), 2: 332:
إنَّ النّبيَّ صلى الله عليه و آله بَعثَ بسَرِيّة، فلَمّا رَجَعوا قالَ: مَرْحَبا بقَومٍ قَضَوُا الجِهادَ الأصْغَرَ و بَقِيَ الجِهادُ الأكْبَرُ. قيلَ يا رسولَ الله، و ما الجِهادُ الأكْبَرُ ؟ قالَ: جِهادُ النَّفْس

1698) and catalogued as RSPA 6 in the British Library. It might be worth mentioning that the authenticity of the *Hadith* mentioned above is questioned by many Sunni scholars, including Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328), one of the highly influential figures of Wahhabism, an orthodox and puritanical interpretation of Islam to restore pure monotheistic worship by devotees. While Sunni hardliners do not provide any reasons for rejecting such *Hadiths*, the concept of waging a jihad against the Self's desires existed from the earliest ages of Islam. Ali (601-661), the first Shia Imam and Sufi sage whom Jones called 'the placid and benevolent',[151] stated: 'The highest of jihads is the jihad against the desires of the self and the worldly pleasures.'[152] The Sufis and Shias highly respect figures such as Ali and Jafar-Sadegh; the Sufis notably utilized the concept of the greater Jihad in their literature. In a Sufi path, the traveller faces his/her own demons and desires to annihilate their self-inciting self; furthermore, the concepts of a Sufi's journey through such battles and as a warrior are quite common in Persian literature. Jones was familiar with this comparison as it appears in the thirty-third Persian quatrain of his *Notebook* by Abu-Saeed Abol Khayr. The quatrain makes this comparison and concludes that a Sufi or one who annihilates his/her Self in the path of Love, commits the great Jihad, is far more appreciated and respected in the eyes of God rather than one who commits the minor Jihad and is a martyr of a war.[153] The battles and struggles a Sufi undertakes to annihilate the self with love require specific codes similar to the warrior ethic. One of the fundamental concepts in Sufi warrior ethics is the utilization of the intellect and knowledge to overcome the battles with the self-inciting Self; as Ali stated: 'Using knowledge in the jihad with the self is the first step to [epigraph of] the path of Wisdom.'[154] Intriguingly, the significance of knowledge that leads to the annihilation of ignorance is evident in the seventh distich of Jones's translation of 'the Song of the Reed': 'What though my strains and sorrows flow combin'd! Yet ears are slow, and carnal eyes are blind.' In other words, to Sufis, the enlightenment, or the ability of one's ears not to be slow, and eyes not to be blind, eliminates the ignorance of the self, leading to its annihilation and, consequently, makes the Sufi ready to be remoulded and united with the other.

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[151] Sir William Jones, *Al Sirajiyyah, or The Mohammedan Law of Inheritance, with a Commentary*, (Calcutta: Joseph Cooper, 1839), XI.

[152] Reyshahri, *Mizan-ol Hikmah*, 2: 332:

أَفْضَلُ الجِهادِ جِهادُ النَّفْسِ عنِ الهَوى ، و فِطامُها عَن لَذّاتِ الدُّنيا.

[153] BL, APAC, MSS Eur. C 274, f. 17; the quatrain's literal translation is: 'A warrior prowls in the path of martyrdom, unaware that a martyr of love is higher than him;/ in the Judgment Day this becomes clear, one has been killed by an enemy and the other by a friend.' The quatrain has been analysed previously in the second chapter.

[154] Reyshahri, *Mizan-ol Hikmah*, 2: 332:

جهاد الَّنفسِ بالعلم عنوان العقل

The concept of knowledge that Ali mentions played a significant role in Warren Hastings's (1732-1818) system of government in India, who, sharing the same views on knowledge as Ali, believed 'that every application of knowledge attracts and conciliates distant affections.'[155] For a short time, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, some of the East India Company's administrators realized that it was crucial to learn about India's various religious, social, and legal customs in order to govern it. Hastings, an Englishman familiar with Indian culture, Urdu, and Persian,[156] became the first Governor-General of Bengal (1772-1785). His Orientalist government attempted to govern under the mantle of Akbar Shah,[157] replicating his court, which had been bolstered by philosophical investigations and artistic collaborations between Muslims and Hindus. The replication of Akbar's court fitted well with Jones, for he was profoundly interested in Persian Sufi poets such as Hafez and Sadi. Furthermore, Jones demonstrated in his theories of linguistics as well as his translations, what might be termed a deistic emphasis upon reason, wit, and knowledge. Much like the court of Akbar, seeking similitude and harmony between the Self and the Other, the Orient and the Occident, was part of a project aiming to construct a dome under which various faiths and beliefs could have gathered. Perhaps a dome or a house, resembling the north dome of the Jameh Mosque of Isfahan where one can see crosses, stars of David, Swastikas, verses of the *Quran*, gathering under a pentagram:

[155] *The Asiatic Miscellany*, 1786, 2: 314.
[156] Patrick Turnbull, *Warren Hastings*, (London: New English Library Ltd, 1975), 19-21.
[157] Michael J. Franklin, *Romantic Representations of British India*, (London: Routledge, 2006), 14.

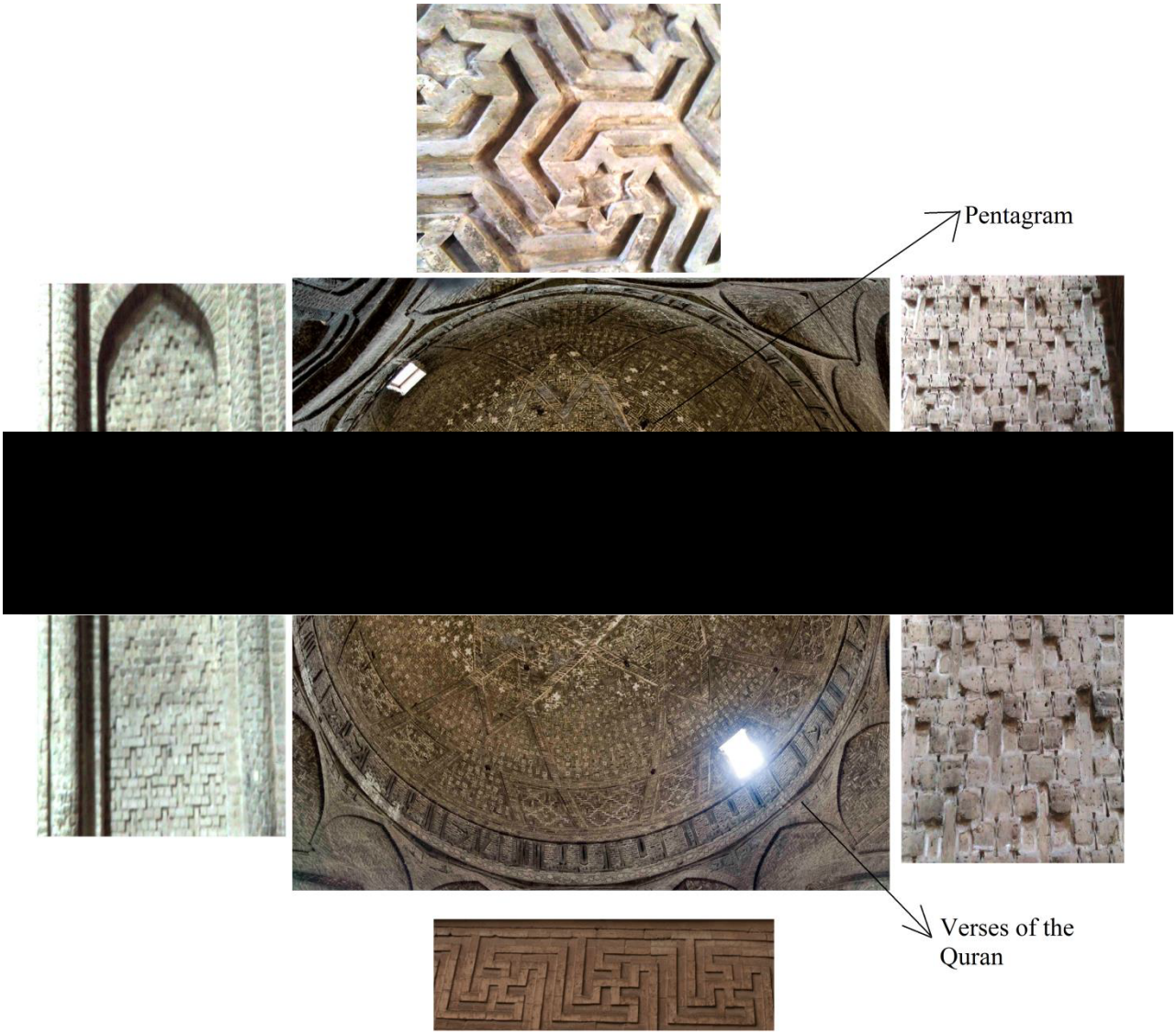

Illustration 7, the dome of Masjed Jameh of Isfahan.

In 1785, Hastings emphasized his Oriental political rationale in his letter to Nathaniel Smith (1730-1794), a naval officer, director of the East India Company, and a member in the House of Commons; the letter later was fittingly prefixed to Charles Wilkins's translation of *The Bhagavad Gita* (1785):

> The curious and useful information it contains, must stamp its value in any literary compilation, and its reasoning on Asiatic composition, gives it a peculiar estimation in this—whilst the liberal sentiments it breathes, the handsome compliment it pays to the Company's servants in Bengal, and the pleasing contrast it shows between the Mahommedan and Christian conquerors of India, claim universal approbation, and cannot be too generally diffused.[158]

[158] *The Asiatic Miscellany*, 1786, 2: 306.

Replicating the northern dome of Isfahan's Masjed Jameh was no easy task; the Supreme Council in Calcutta and the Court of Directors in England were concerned with 'the pittance of a day', in Rumi's words, rather than the main convoy. However, Hastings managed to delineate an Orientalist regime based on enlightenment and cultural empathy. In the same letter, he stated:

> [Every application of knowledge] attracts and conciliates distant affections; it lessens the weight of the chain by which the natives are held in subjection; and it imprints on the hearts of our own countrymen the sense and obligation of benevolence. Even in England, this effect of it is greatly wanting. It is not very long since the people of India were considered by many, as creatures scarce elevated above degree of savage life; nor, I fear, is that prejudice yet wholly eradicated, though surely abated. Every instance which brings their real character home to observation will impress us with a more generous sense of feeling for their natural rights, and teach us to estimate them by the measure of our own. But such instances can only be obtained in their writings: and these will survive when the dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist, and when the sources which once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance.[159]

Hasting and his circle utilized the knowledge, honouring Hindu and Muslim texts; they admired the potential these texts possessed to override differences of birth, culture, and religion, and to eclipse anything that makes one an Other. However, it should be mentioned that an imperialist ideological side existed in the efforts of Hastings; the syncretic pluralism aligned the regime's need to appear both neo-Brahmanical and neo-Islamic. Through this appearance and the translations of Hindu and Islamic texts, the regime's authority was bolstered, and socio-political stability was almost achieved. Jones emphasized and capitalized on Hastings's view on knowledge and its political applications. Like Hastings, Jones was never satisfied 'if, in traversing the sea of knowledge, [he] had fallen in with a ship of your rate and station, without striking my flag.'[160] This echoed Rumi's 'What were your stores [main convey]? The pittance of a day!'

Hastings's Jihad with the self illustrated the cultural empathy of the Orientalist governance; therefore, the rights of the conquest of the Occidental self became balanced by the natural rights of the Oriental Other. In 1784, the Shias' and the Sufis' jihadist ideology alongside Hastings's and Jones's colonial perception of knowledge led to the establishment of an institution similar to the northern dome of Isfahan's Jameh mosque: a jihadi-colonial body

[159] *The Asiatic Miscellany*, 1786, 2: 314.
[160] Jones, *The Letters*, 2: 629.

called the Asiatic Society and under which various faiths and creeds gathered. On 24 February 1784, Jones addressed the Asiatic Society, emphasizing the society's goal and the nobility of its purpose:'I may confidently foretell, that an institution so likely to afford entertainment, and convey knowledge to mankind, will advance to maturity by slow, yet certain, degrees.'[161] Later in the same speech, Jones stated: 'One thing only, as essential to your dignity, I recommend with earnestness, on no account to admit a new member, who has not expressed a voluntary desire to become so; and in that case, you will not require, I suppose, any other qualification than a love of knowledge, and a zeal for the promotion of it.'[162]

The long-term results of the efforts of Hastings and Jones, alongside other Asiatic Society Orientalists such as Francis Gladwin and Sir Charles Wilkins, involved the collection and translation of the most prominent Oriental texts. Wilkins translated the *Bhagavad Gita*, one of the critical texts of the Vedanta, one of the mainstream schools of Hinduism, into English in 1785.[163] The Sufi perception was intertwined within the Asiatic Society; in the preface of his *Bhagavad Gita*, Wilkins argued that it was written to encourage a monotheistic Unitarianism to move Hinduism away from polytheism. This argument resembles Dara Shokoh's arguments in his translation of the *Upanishads*. In line with his career as a judge, Jones composed the *Al Sirajiyyah: Or the Mahommedan Law of Inheritance* (1792) and *The Institutes of Hindu Law, or the Ordinances of Manu* (1796).[164] Furthermore, as discussed earlier, the *Majma'al Bahrein* and *Dabestān-e Mazāheb* were translated to English by other members of the Asiatic Society; the establishment of these texts helped increase the authority of the colonial regime and encouraged socio-political stability.

Many Orientalists such as Charles Hamilton (1753–1792), the translator of *The Hedaya, Or Guide: A Commentary on the Mussulman Laws* (1791), Gladwin, and the Sanskritist Wilkins were amongst the founder members of the first meeting of the Asiatic Society.[165] In the gathering, Jones offered the 'fruits' of his researches as a نذر *nazr*, an Islamic

[161] *Asiatic Researches*, 1: x.
[162] *Asiatic Researches*, 1: xvi.
[163] Charles Wilkinson, *Bhagvat-geeta, or Dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon* (London: Nourse, 1785).
[164] For more details on the works see Hadi Baghaei-Abchooyeh, 'Sir William Jones', *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 12 Asia, Africa and the Americas (1700-1800)*, David Thomas, & John Chesworth (eds.), (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 560-73: 565-9.
[165] See Michael J. Franklin, '"The Hastings Circle": Writers and Writing in Calcutta in the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century', in *Authorship, Commerce and the Public: Scenes of*

tradition of gift-giving, to the Asiatic Society. In return, Wilkins offered a *ghazal* of Hafez to him, representing 'the Sufi pluralistic and syncretic concept, suggesting universal toleration as the Society's keystone as it had been of Akbar's Fatehpur Sikri.'[166] On June 3rd, Gladwin published a 'free translation' of the *ghazal* in the *Calcutta Gazette*:

[5]

gard to it's object. Indeed the Preſident poſſeſſes claims upon the gratitude of this ſettlement, which no compliments can ever repay, as he formerly promoted Aſiatick knowledge by his elegant writings, and now proſecutes the ſame laudable deſign with more zeal and effect in perſon, and unites in himſelf the me-

غزل حافظ شیراز

افسر سلطان کل پیدا شد از طرف چمن
مقدمش یارب مبارک باد بر سرو سمن
خوش بجای خویشتن بود این نشست خسروی

ODE OF HAFIZ.

The crown of the king of the flowers has appeared from the border of the garden;
O God! may its approach be auſpicious to the Cypreſs, and Jaſmine.
Fortunate was this acceptance of a ſeat of pre-eminence in the aſſembly;

[redacted]

require numerous comments for the expoſition of all its beauties, but this needs only one explanation to render it intelligible, which is that a Demon is ſuppoſed to have acquired the ring of Solomon, and diſpoſſeſſed him of his kingdom, which depended upon the powers of this Taliſman. The ring is now comforted by an aſſurance that this misfortune will never again happen to it, or in other words that the kingdom of this monarch will never be diſturbed by the Demons of Injuſtice or Vice.

We ſhall only add, that as the expreſſions of Hafiz are ſuppoſed to have a prophetick virtue, we hope his prayer that *the houſe may be ever inhabited*, or, that the Society may ever flouriſh, will be accompliſhed.

خنگ چوگان خرامت رام شد در زیر زین
شهسوارا خوش بمیدان آمدی گوی برن

بعد ازین بشکفت اگر باغ بهشت خلق خوشت
خیزد از صحرای آن روی نافهٔ مشک ختن

گوشه گیران انتظار جلوهٔ خوش می کنند
برشکن طرف کلاه و برقع از رخ برفکن

مشورت با عقل کردم گفت حافظ باده نوش
ساقیا می ده بقول مستشار و مؤتمن

The ſteed, on which thou gracefully proceedeſt with the mall, is obedient under the ſaddle;
Thou haſt advanced on the plain with the excellence of an accompliſhed horſeman——ſtrike then the ball.

If afterwards thy bud ſhall expand, diſcloſing the fragrance of thy amiable diſpoſition,
The odour of the muſk of Tartary ſhall ariſe from the plain of thy cheek.

The Hermits are in anxious expectation of thy ſplendid appearance;
Raiſe up the border of thy cap, and throw off the veil from thy face.

I conſulted with Reaſon, who ſaid, Hafiz, drink wine,
O Cup bearer, give me wine, upon the ſtrength of the words of my adviſer, and guardian.

Illustration 8, Calcutta Gazette, 1784, 1:5; the *ghazal* Wilkins gifted to Jones on the first gathering of the Asiatic Society.

Please see the *ghazal*'s Persian text, its English translation published in the paper, and a literal translation of the poem below.

Writing, 1750–1850, Peter Garside, Caroline Franklin, & Emma Clery (eds.), (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 186-202.

[166] Franklin, *'Orientalist* Jones', 211.

Literal translation	Published translation	Persian text
1. The king of the flower's crown has appeared from the line of the lawn; Lord, may this arrival be fortunate to the cypress and the lawn.	The crown of the king of the flowers has appeared from the border of the garden; Oh God! May its approach be auspicious to the Cypress, and Jasmine.	افسر سلطان گل پیدا شد از طرف چمن مقدمش یا رب مبارک باد بر سرو و سمن
2. This royal gathering was so pleasant for by it, now, anyone can take to his/her proper place [seat].	Fortunate was this acceptance of a seat of pre-eminence in the assembly; As every associate may now occupy his respective place with honour.	خوش به جای خویشتن بود این نشست خسروی تا نشیند هر کسی اکنون به جای خویشتن
3. Impart the good news of the happy conclusion to Jam's seal; for the Tetragrammaton has shortened the Ahriman's hand from it.	Impart to the ring of Solomon the joyful news of a successful conclusion; As the most powerful name of God has restraind from the hands of Demons.	خاتم جم را بشارت ده به حسن خاتمت کاسم اعظم کرد از او کوتاه دست اهرمن
4. May this house be eternally prosperous for from its threshold; at every moment, with the scent of basil, the wind of Yemen spreads.	May this house be forever inhabited, from earth of whose threshold; Is continually wafted the breeze of prosperity fraught with the fragrance of the sweet basil	تا ابد معمور باد این خانه کز خاک درش هر نفس با بوی ریحان می وزد باد یمن
5. The glory of the son of Pashang and his world-conquering sword; has become the tale of every assembly in every king's chronicles.	The terror of the son of Peshung (Afrasiab) and his world-conquering scimitar, furnish every Epic Poem with a tale for banquets, and emulations for Heroes.	شوکت پور پشنگ و تیغ عالمگیر او در همه شهنامه ها شد داستان انجمن
6. Your flowing sword, is the brook of your realm; plant the tree of justice and eradicate the root of ill-wishers.	The flowing current of thy protecting sword is a river for fertilizing the country; Plant thou the tree of Justice, and eradicate evil-disposed persons.	جویبار ملک را آب روان شمشیر توست تو درخت عدل بنشان بیخ بدخواهان بکن

7. Your graceful polo horse is tamed under its saddle; Your Highness, you are already in the field, strike the ball.	The steed, on which thou gracefully proceedest with the ball, is obedient under the saddle; Thou hast advanced on the plain with the excellence of an accomplished horseman---strike then the ball.	خنگ چوگانی چرخت رام شد در زیر زین شهسوارا چون به میدان آمدی گویی بزن
8. From now on, no rose shall bloom without your good temper; from your cheeks, the odour of the Hotani musk shall rise in any dessert.	If afterwards thy bud shall expand, discloesing the fragrance of thy amiable disposition, The odour of the musk of Tartary shall arise from the plain of thy cheek.	بعد از این نشکفت اگر با نکهت خلق خوشت خیزد از صحرای آن رخ نافه مشک ختن
9. The hermits are in exception of a splendid representation; Raise up the edge of your hat and remove the veil from your face.	The Hermits are in anxious expectation of thy splendid appearance; Raise up the border of thy cap, and throw off the veil from thy face.	گوشه گیران انتظار جلوه خوش می‌کنند برشکن طرف کلاه و برقع از رخ برفکن
10. I consulted with my wit who said 'Hafez, drink wine'; cupbearer! Give me wine, for the command of my trusted advisor.	I consulted with Reason, who said, Hafiz, drink wine, O Cupbearer, give me wine, upon the strength of the words of my adviser, and guardian.	مشورت با عقل کردم گفت حافظ می بنوش ساقیا می ده به قول مستشار مؤتمن

The *ghazal* was carefully selected for the occasion; even its translation was interpolated to some extent to be more fitting for the first gathering of the Asiatic Society. For example, while the first hemistich of the second distich is 'This royal gathering was so pleasant', it is translated to 'Fortunate was this acceptance of a seat of pre-eminence in the assembly', as if Hafez has composed the poem in order to depict the 'assembly' of the Asiatic Society. The translation of the distich's second hemistich is slightly altered to rise to the occasion: Hafez literally states 'so that anyone can sit at his/her own place', which does not necessarily mean a joyful event for everyone. The phrase نشستن جای خود *neshastan jā*ye *khod*, 'to sit at one's own place' quite often signifies knowing one's boundaries and not usurping another's place; as we will see, this image dovetails nicely with the allusion to the tale of Solomon in the third distich. While Hafez reiterates the usurping aspect of the phrase in the third distich by using the image of a demon stealing the belongings of a king, Gladwin, through inserting 'with honour', has altered the image to make it more apt for the gathering of 'the associates' of the Society. After all, the members of Hastings's circle, who treated the cultures of the Orient with respect, were in

charge of the seat rather than people who only cared about commerce and colonizing. Most certainly, similar to the virtue of Jamshid's seal and/or Solomon's ring, the Society through knowledge was to provide the power to subdue the demons 'who thought that the sun rose and set for them [in the Occident] alone' and only had carnal/colonial affections.

In the third distich of the *ghazal*, خاتم جم *khātam-e jam*, 'The ring of Jamshid' is changed to 'the ring of Solomon' as well as اهرمن *ahreman*, 'Ahriman' to 'Demons'. In order to explain this change, a comparative understanding of Solomon and Jamshid could help: Jamshid was the fourth Persian mythical king, and he reigned for about three hundred years. During his reign, knowledge, wit, arts, and sciences flourished to the extent that no one died from any disease, people lived harmoniously, roads were built, and the knowledge of melting iron was achieved. Similar to Solomon's flying carpet, Jamshid's throne was airborne; in addition, they both could command demons. Jamshid's downfall was due to his ego, out of which he declared himself as the Creator. On the other hand, according to the Old Testament, Solomon's downfall was initiated by his practice of polytheistic rituals.[167] Thus, Jamshid could be interpreted as the Persianized version of Solomon. Two essential points should be mentioned here: the Solomon that mystics and Sufis mention is quite different from those mentioned in the Holy Scripture. To mystics, much like Jamshid before his downfall by his ego, Solomon represents wit and knowledge. Aziz-odin Nasafi (d.1287) in his book انسان کامل *ens*ā*ne kāmel*, 'The Perfect Human' considers Solomon as 'the mind and soul which rules the universe and the being upon whom, Mercy and Compassion is Bestowed.'[168] Attar's hoopoe in the *Conference of the Birds* is an allusion to Solomon's hoopoe; in addition, the story of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba has similarities to the tale of 'the Sheikh of Sanaan and Christian Girl'. Sohrevardi (1154-1191), one of the most eminent Sufi philosophers, in his book فی الحقیقه العشق *fel haghighat al-eshgh*, 'On the Truth of Love' pardons the polytheism of Solomon, for he was in love while committing it;[169] much like the Sheikh who was pardoned for his transgression, in the eyes of God, due to his love of the Christian girl. The second significant point is that Sufis generally preferred to use Solomon rather than Jamshid in their poetry; as Khaghani pointed out: 'The tongue of a panegyrist of the throne of Mustapha [Mohammad] is better to be concerned with

[167] The *Quran*'s version of the tale does not validate this.
[168] Aziz-odin Nasafi, *Ensan-e Kamel*, (Tehran: Tahoori, 2015), 67-8.
[169] Shahab o-Din Yahya Ibn Habash Sohrawardi, *Dar Haghighat-e Eshgh*, (Tehran: Mola, 1994), 7.

Solomon than the zephyr.'[170] Gladwin's alteration brings another level of meaning to the poem. In the Persian text of the *ghazal*, there are three references to Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*: 'Jam', 'Son of Pashang', and '*Shahnameh*'. However, the assembly in Calcutta was not solely concerned with Persian and its literature. Therefore, by changing Jamshid to Solomon and Ahriman to a demon, Gladwin has included an Abrahamic image in the poem. Another reason for changing Jamshid to Solomon was perhaps the translator's extensive familiarity with Hafez and Islamic literature. According to the *Quran*, Solomon had power over wind, and in his poetry, Hafez has continuously associated Solomon with the wind; for example, 'If you do not lose your heart to anything, you shall command the wind / even in a situation [so dire] that deposes the throne of Solomon!'[171] Perhaps Hafez's reference to wind, in the fourth distich of the *ghazal*, could further justify the shift from Jamshid to Solomon.

Gladwin points out one of the main reasons for Wilkins's choice of *ghazal*: 'We shall add that as the expressions of Hafiz are supposed to have a prophetick virtue, the house may ever be inhabited, or that the Society may ever flourish, will be accomplished.'[172] He is referring to the fourth distich of the *ghazal*, in which another fascinating change has occurred. Firstly, the modern canonical version of the *ghazal* is slightly different from the one published in the *Calcutta Gazette*; the canonical verison is 'May this house be eternally prosperous for from its threshold; at every moment, with a breeze, the scent of Beneficent with the wind of Yemen spreads.' Two crucial concepts lie in this distich: the first one is the allusion Hafez has made to نفس رحمانی *nafse* rahmāni literally meaning 'the Beneficent Breeze' and the second one is باد یمانی *bād-e yamāni* which means 'the wind of Yemen'. Both of these two references have been removed either purposefully, by Wilkins's choice of this specific version of the *ghazal*, or simply unintentionally. It is possible that Wilkins chose this particular version of the *ghazal* because the ideas of the Beneficent Breeze and the wind of Yemen do not fit in well with Jones and the Society's emphasis on knowledge and reason. Nevertheless, figures such as Jones, Wilkins, or Gladwin were familiar with the concepts, notably Jones, who loved Yemen. Surprisingly enough, in his first Discourse presented to the Asiatic Society, Jones hints towards the pleasing wind of Yemen: 'I found one evening, on inspecting the observations of the day,

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[170] Khaghani, *The Divan of Khaghani Shervani*, Ali Abdolrasooli (ed.), (Tehran: Sa'aadat, 1937), 6:

زبان ثناگر درگاه مصطفي خوشتر که بارگیر سلیمان نکوتر است صبا

[171] Hafez, *Divan of Hafez*, 208:

بادت به دست باشد اگر دل نهی به هیچ در معرضی که تخت سلیمان رود به باد

[172] *Calcutta Gazette*, 1784, 1: 5.

that India lay before us, and Persia on our left, whilst a breeze from Arabia blew nearly on our stern. A situation so pleasing […]' [173] The pleasing breeze of Yemen is a familiar image in the Middle East, and its usage dates back to the time of Mohammad who stated: 'I have found the *nafs-alrahman* [breezing] from the direction of Yemen's.'[174] Scholars estimate that Mohammad's reference to *nafs-alrahman* either meant a delightful wind that blows from Yemen to Arabia, or a Muslim Yemeni named Ovais al-gharani (594-657). Ovais lived contemporary to Mohammad, and although the two never met due to his love of the prophet, Ovais changed his religion to Islam. Some of the Sufis, particularly poets whom Jones was familiar with, used the relationship of Ovais and Mohammad as a metaphor for Divine Love.[175] For example, Abol Khayr stated:

> If you are in Yemen [physically], yet your heart is with me, [it is as if] you are with me; if you are with me [physically], yet your heart is not with me, [it is as if] you are in Yemen.
>
> I am with you in this manner, O my Yemeni beloved; I wonder if you are me or I am you?[176]

In his *Tazkerat ol-oliya*, Attar described Ovais as 'The Kabaa of the followers, the Arch-grace, the hidden sun, the nafs-alrahman, the Yemeni Canopus'.[177]

There is yet another interpretation for 'the Beneficent Breeze': Oriental mystics and Sufis believe that everything represents a Unifying Truth. To them, the very first representation of the Unifying Truth is referred to by names such as نفس رحمانی *nafas-e rahmāni*, 'the Beneficent Breeze' وجود منبسط *vojōd-e monbaset*, 'the Expanding Being', and تجلی ساری *tajaliye sāri*, 'the infectious representation.' While Persian mystics mostly use these terminologies, Islamic philosophers equate 'the Beneficent Breeze' with عقل اول *aghl-e avval*, 'the first intelligence.' The first intelligence is similar to the primal intelligence in Aristotelian philosophy. What should be pointed out here is that the members of the Asiatic Society were

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[173] *Asiatic Researches*, 1: ix. The Discourse and the quotation have been discussed previously in the first chapter of this thesis.

[174] Ali Akbar Dehkhoda, *Lughat'nāmah*, (Tehran: Tehran University, 1998), 3: 3979:
انی وجدت نفس الرحمن من الیمن

[175] The Ovaisi/ Uwaisi order of Sufis is also named after Ovais, as it refers to the transmission of spiritual knowledge between two individuals, Mohammad and Ovais, with no need of physical interaction between them.

[176] Jahangir Mansoor, *Rubaeyaat-e Abu Saeed Abolkhayr, Khayyam, and Baba-Taher*, (Tehran: Nahid, 1999), 33:
گر در یمنی چو با منی پیش منی — گر پیش منی چو بی منی در یمنی
من با تو چنانم ای نگار یمنی — خود در عجبم که من توام یا تو منی

[177] Attar, *Tazkerat-ol Oliya*, 81.

quite familiar with the concept's mystical and philosophical terms. For example, in the ode Mir Qamar al-Din Minnat (d. 1792/3) composed in praise of Hastings, the governor-general has been given the stature of 'the First Intelligence', or 'the Beneficent Breeze.'[178] The distich literally translates to 'The difference between your status and the intellects, is similar to the difference between the animals and the first intellect.'[179] The distich's translation in the Aristotelian terminology is 'The difference between your status and the universal intelligence is similar to the difference between the primal intelligence and the three kingdoms.' The intriguing matter is that many Sufis, including Ibn Arabi (1165-1240), the most well-known Andalusian Sufi and poet, believed that 'the Beneficent Breeze' is/acts the same as the Tetragrammaton (the Seal of Solomon). They used the following verse of the *Quran* as evidence to their claim: 'Call by the name of Allah or call by the name of the Beneficent …'[180] Intriguingly, the image of the Tetragrammaton is available in the text of the *ghazal* and is translated to 'the most powerful name of God.' Given the Asiatic Society's extensive knowledge of Islamic and Sufi concepts and narratives, it would not be plausible to assume that they did not know about 'the Beneficent Breeze' and/or Ovais al-Gharani. However, there is not much evidence to suggest whether this version of the *ghazal* was deliberately chosen in order not to mention 'the Beneficent Breeze'.

In India, Jones procured a copy of a commentary on the *Divan*-e Hafez, available in the British Library.[181] The manuscript is highly annotated by Jones and contains many marginal notes written by him; as it can be seen below, the distich in Jones's Commentary on *Divan* -e *Hafez* has the distich as:

تا ابد معمور باد این خانه کز خاک درش

هر با بوی رحمان میوزد باد یمن[182]

[178] BL, APAC, Or.6633, f. 67r.
[179] BL, APAC, Or.6633, f. 67r:

آنقدر فرق ز قدر تو بود تا به عقول که بود تا به مواليد زعقل اول

[180] *The Quran*, 17:110:

قُلِ ادْعُوا اللهَ أَوِ ادْعُوا الرَّحْمنَ...

[181] BL, APAC, RSPA 57.
[182] BL, APAC, RSPA 57, f. 117.

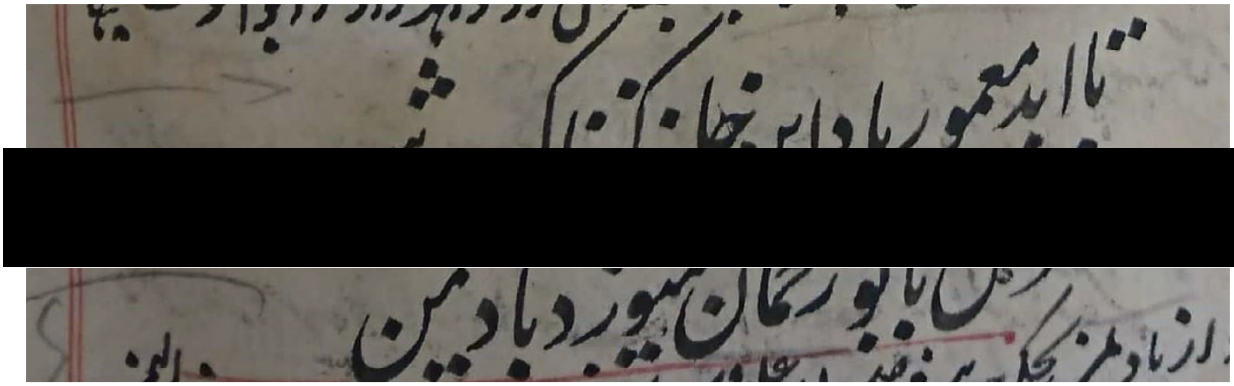

Illustration 9, BL, APAC, RSPA 57, f. 117; Jones's annotation on his 'Commentary on the *Divan* of Hafez.'

The distich translates to: 'May this house be eternally prosperous for from its threshold; at every moment, the scent of Beneficence, the wind of Yemen spreads;' as it can be observed in the translation, Jones has underlined the second hemistich. However, the same hemistich in the version chosen for the first gathering of the society literally means 'at every moment, with the scent of basil, the wind of Yemen spreads.' Furthermore, it has been translated to 'continually wafted the breeze of prosperity fraught with the fragrance of the sweet basil'. The Persian hemistich could also be interpreted as an allusion to Rumi's: 'The Prophet told his avid companions not to cover their bodies from the spring breeze.'[183] In Arabia, during the spring, a breeze comes from Yemen. It should also be stated that Yemen is well-known for its fragrant basil, particularly Ocimum spicatum and Ocimum serpyllifolium. Although Yemen is mentioned explicitly and implicitly, through basil and breeze in the Persian hemistich, it is wholly omitted in the translation. Another consideration of the translation is the insertion of the word 'prosperity' describing the breeze. On the one hand, in the Persian text of the *ghazal* printed next to the translation, there is no reference to the breeze bringing prosperity; on the other hand, another version of the *ghazal* contains 'the Beneficent Breeze' which to some extent implies the prosperous aspect of the breeze. While adding 'prosperity' to the translation somewhat validates the idea that 'the Beneficent Breeze' is intentionally omitted, the word prosperity does not thoroughly convey the idea and concept of 'the Beneficent Breeze'.

The fifth distich of the poem presented to Jones can be translated as 'The glory of the son of Pashang and his world-conquering sword; has become the tale of every assembly in every king's chronicles'. Gladwin has translated it to 'The terror of the son of Peshung

[183] Rumi, *Masnavi*, 110:

گفت پیغمبر به اصحاب کبار تن مپوشانید از باد بهار

(Afrasiab) and his world-conquering scimitar, furnish every Epic Poem with a tale for banquets, and emulations for Heroes.' The first matter that should be discussed here is about the word شوکت *shokat*. The word means 'glory and grandeur', yet Gladwin translated it to 'terror', which is a bit problematic. Perhaps knowing the owner of the 'glory and grandeur' might shed a brighter light on the matter: Hafez attributes it to 'the son of Pashang'. In Persian mythology, there are three individuals named Pashang: 1) Pashang the first who was the father of Manuchehr, the very first king in the Persian mythology, 2) Pashang who was the founder of Turan and the father of Afrasiab, and 3) Pashang who was the son of Afrasiab and had a son named Shideh, a minor character in the mythology. It is unlikely that Shideh is the person Hafez refers to, for aside from being a minor character, he neither achieved any glory nor caused any terror. Afrasiab was a formidable Turani warrior and a skilful general; he was also an agent of Ahriman, who appears in the *ghazal*, and Gladwin translated him to 'the demon'. In addition, Afrasiab was endowed with magical powers, which are considered demonic in Persian mythology, to destroy Iranian civilization, and clearly, there is not much 'glory' in the act. Jones was, in fact, aware of the enmity between the Turani Afrasiab and Iranians; in his essay 'The History of Persian Language,'[184] Jones introduced Ferdowsi as a 'learned man' who found a copy of Persian history and used it to compose Heroic poems. To Jones, 'the most ancient part of it [the *Shahnameh*] and principally the war of Afrasiab and Khosru, or Cyrus, seemed to afford an excellent subject form on Heroick Poem which he [Ferdowsi] accordingly began to compose.'[185] However, the published English translation of Hafez's *ghazal* in the Calcutta Gazette asserts that the distich refers to Afrasiab by inserting the mythological character's name in the text, 'the son of Peshung (Afrasiab)…'.

The last distich of the *ghazal* that requires some explanation is number nine:

The hermits are in anxious expectation of thy splendid appearance;

Raise up the border of thy cap, and throw off the veil from thy face.

[184] Jones, *The Works*, 5: 409- 46.

[185] Jones, *The Works*, 5: 424. Later in the same essay, in order to demonstrate the beauty of the Persian language, Jones translated an extract of Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*; the extract recounts the romance of Bijan, an Iranian hero captured during the Iran-Turan war. Bijan falls in love with his own other: Manijeh, the daughter of Afrasiab. Jones recounts Bijan as 'a young amorous hero [...]; who had reason to repent for his adventure with the daughter of Afrasiab, for he was made captive by the Turks, and confined in a dismal prison, till he was delivered by the valour of Rostam', Jones, *The Works*, 5: 429.

Gladwin presents an accurate translation for the distich, maintaining a balance between Oriental imagery and Occidental perception. It is worth mentioning that generally, in Persian literature, one's cap signifies the religious, social, and cultural status of that person, similar to wigs that represented social status in Europe. In Attar's tale of 'The Sheikh of Sanaan and the Christian Girl', the Sheikh's love and transformation from an ascetic, or 'Hermit', to a mystic, was started at the very moment the Christian girl unveiled her face. In this respect, scholars such as Wilkins and Jones might be seen as unveiling Oriental poetry to new Europe-wide audiences.

This pluralism, which was arguably introduced into Sufism by Attar, demonstrates itself in a poem written in Persian by Jones:

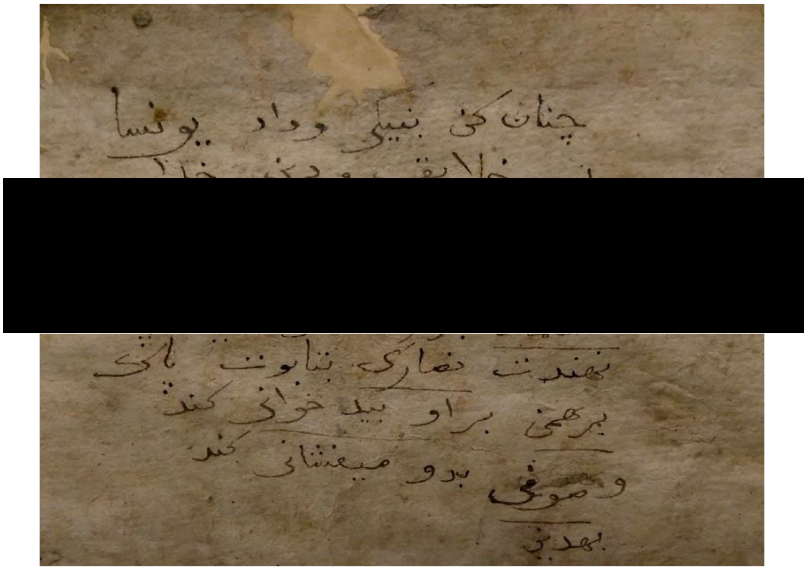

Illustration 10, BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. 40; a Persian poem by Jones and in his hand on his manuscript of Nezami's Treasury

The poem can be translated to English as follows:

> O Jones! Act justly and virtuously for the love of the creatures and the religion of the Creator;
>
> so that after your passing in China and India all of the Creations praise you.
>
> Mourning Muslims tear their chest apart, burying you like Christians in a clean coffin.

The Brahmans recite the Vedas at it, and the Sufis scatter wine over it.[186]

The very fact that Jones underlines the words مسلمان, نصاری,صوفی, and برهمن 'Muslims, Christians, Sufis, Brahmans' in his hand-written poem shows that while he was structuring his poem, he considered the pluralism in Persian Sufism. In other words, he composed the poem based on his pluralistic ideas, the same ones that were introduced by Attar through the anonymity of the birds and later on were adopted by various Persian and Indian Sufis. Jones's Persian poem and Sufi pluralistic metaphysical tenets will be discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis. Yet, it should be pointed out here that Jones depicts a valedictory image of himself in the poem, his death being mourned by four different faiths in each of their individual cultures. The image Jones depicts echoes the death of the Christian girl in Attar's tale. As stated earlier, each of the Sheikh's disciples represents a stage of one's journey to understand the Truth, which leads to each one having their own interpretation of the Truth. At the end of the tale, the Christian girl falls in love with the Sheikh and dies amongst the circle of Sheikh and his disciples, who each in their own way mourn her death.

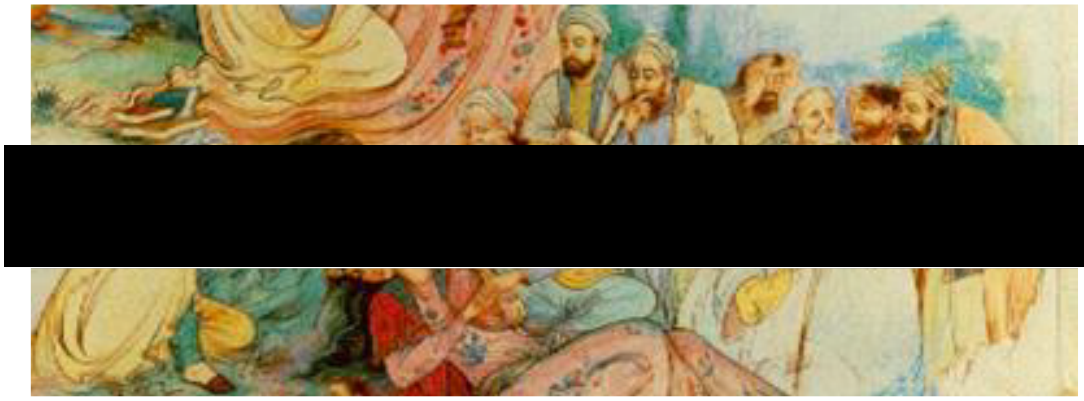

Illustration 11, the death of the Christian girl by Ali Asghar Tajvidi.

[186] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. 40:

چنان کن به نیکی و داد یونسا به مهرخلایق و دین خدا
که بعد از وفاتت بهند یا بچین همه خلق برتوکنند آفرین
نهندت نصاری به تابوت پاک مسلمان به زاری کند سینه چاک
برهمن بر او بیدخوانی کند و صوفی بدو میفشانی کند ‘

Chapter 4: On the Philosophy of the Asiatics: Sir William Jones, Harmonious Metaphysics, and Unity

Introduction

As the literary traditions of Sufism and Jones's study of them were discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis, the following chapter focuses on the philosophical and metaphysical aspects of the school. The fourth chapter will discuss Jones's writings on oriental pluralistic philosophy; in addition, it examines the annotations he made during his study of Oriental pluralism. Furthermore, the chapter investigates the entanglement of Oriental pluralism with Persian literature. Moreover, it explains the impact of Persian Sufi literature and its pluralistic views on India.

Before landing in India in 1783, Jones had already established himself as an Orientalist in Europe. His research on Oriental languages, culture, and law are showcased by the works he composed while he was residing in Britain; mainly through his translation of *Histoire de Nader Chah* (1770), which took him two years to complete, *A Grammar of the Persian Language* (1771), and *Poems consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatick languages. To which are added two essays, I. On the poetry of the Eastern nations. II. On the arts, commonly called imitative* (1772). Due to Jones's deep understanding of Oriental culture and his legal experience, in 1781 Edmund Burke (1729–1797) asked for his assistance in preparing a bill to protect the Muslims living in the subcontinent against the East India Company.[1] Subsequently, Jones compiled *The Mahomedan Law of Succession* (1782)[2] and presented a copy of it to Burke.[3] Although the legal treatises Jones provided, *The Mahomedan Law of Succession*, was relatively short, it had an immense impact on the branches of the British legal system operating in India.[4] Before the book's publication, the Supreme Court of Judicature was unacquainted

[1] Garland Cannon, 'Sir William Jones and Dr. Johnson's Literary Club', *Modern Philology*, 63: 1 (1965), 20-37: 33.
[2] Muhammad ibn Ali, *The Mahomedan law of succession to the property of intestates, in Arabick, engraved on copperplates from an ancient manuscript, with a verbal translation and explanatory notes by W. Jones. Arab. & Engl*, trans. W. Jones, (London, 1782).
[3] *Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke; between the year 1744 and the period of his decease, in 1797*, 4 vols., Charles W. Fitzwilliam, & Sir Richard Bourke (eds.), (London: F. & J. Rivington, 1844), 2: 454.
[4] For further details on the book see Hadi Baghaei-Abchooyeh, 'William Jones', *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 12 (Asia, Africa and the Americas 1700-1800), D. Thomas and J. Chesworth eds., (Leiden: Brill, 2018,), 560-73: 562-5.

with the Islamic laws of succession and inheritance, making the court reliant on untrustworthy local judges called Qazis. Jones's expertise in law, languages, and deep understanding of the society and culture of the Orient, on one level, made the court more independent and objective; and, on another level, helped to protect the rights of the natives of the subcontinent. Due to Jones's knowledge, Burke consulted him on some other Indo-Persian affairs, such as 'on the government, manners, and sciences of the Persians', while he was still in London.[5] After reaching Calcutta, Jones became acquainted with Warren Hastings (1732–1818) and was further encouraged to extend his pursuit of Oriental knowledge and institutionalize it through forming the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784.

During his life in Britain and becoming 'Persian' Jones, William had become fascinated by Sufi metaphysics. The metaphysics can be divided into two major branches, the first one is the وحدت وجود *vahdat-e vojōd*, 'the Unity of Being' or the 'Unity of Existence' and the second branch is the وحدت شهود *vahdat-e shohōd*, 'the Unity of Witnesses'. The former, the Unity of Being, was already well established in the Orient by the eighteenth century; yet the latter was a response to the former, designed mainly by Indian critics during the sixteenth century.[6] Considering the depth of Jones's Persian studies, it is virtually impossible for him not to have become familiar with the Unity of Being, as the doctrine was one of the significant dominant philosophical trends in the Orient by his time. In addition, the Sufi poets, authors, and saints Jones studied or mentioned in his writings are the same figures who facilitated the school's transformation from being a marginal aspect of Islamic mysticism to its becoming a central tenet of Sufi metaphysics. Many other poets and philosophical writers whom Jones admired – such as Attar (1145-1221), Amir Khosrow (1253-1325), Rumi (1207-1273), Sadi (1210-1292), Hafez (1326-1390), Jami (1414-1492), Sarmad (1590-1661), and Dara Shokoh (1615-1659) – were all heavily influenced by the doctrine. The campaign of such Sufi figures to promote the doctrine was so successful that it can safely be asserted that in Iran, or canonical Persian literature, the term عارف *āref*, 'a mystic' has become synonymous with Sufi and a Sufi is synonymous with one profoundly believing in the Unity of Being, otherwise called *vojōdi*. Other than the immense influence the doctrine had on the writers Jones admired, he would have been attracted towards it for another reason: the Islamic doctrine not only had Oriental pluralism and perennialism embedded in it, but also it was the driving source behind the efforts

[5] *Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*, 2: 487.
[6] Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy from Its Origin to the Present*, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), 76.

of Oriental scholars who sought a harmonious Orient. Therefore, it was only natural for Jones or others like him who were on a quest to stabilize India, to be attracted to a doctrine that promoted pluralism and had roots amongst the natives of the land they were trying to govern. Shortly after the arrival of Islam in the land of the Hindus, about ten centuries before the British landed, the Muslim rulers had faced a discordant socio-political climate similar to the one the British were dealing with in the eighteenth century. A character like Jones was quite familiar with the history of the Orient, the subcontinent, and the interactions between the two faiths. Consequently, he was indeed aware of the historical fact that after a significant power struggle, the Muslims residing in India decided to see the natives of the subcontinent through a *vojōdi* perspective; this will be discussed in this chapter. This shift of perspective was welcomed by the natives and consequently reduced the tensions between the Muslims and Hindus of the subcontinent. Furthermore, through his study of Persian literature, Jones knew that India was not the first place which became more peaceful through the utilization of the Unity of Being; for the doctrine was the result of the interaction between Islam and the various faiths it came in contact with after the Arab conquest of Iran.

Jones was remarkably familiar with the history, mysticism, religion, literature, and philosophical thoughts of the Orient; also, he was aware of the immense influence of those elements in the region's political climate. In addition, it would be quite superficial to think that with such knowledge, he was blind to the means which would bring him his goal of a more stable subcontinent. Furthermore, all his works could be perceived, defined, and justified from the perspective of his being a Sufi who followed his predecessor sages and saints to gather different faiths and races under the umbrella of coexistence. However, an intriguing fact still remains: he did not directly mention the Unity of Being or any one of its parallel terms used in eighteenth-century India. At first glance, this could be because the open promotion of the doctrine could have caused friction between different factions of Muslims and Hindus. During his time, Jones already introduced many novel treasures of the Orient to Europe; considering the nature of the Unity of Being, if he were to address it directly, he might have received criticism from ultra-orthodox religious groups both in Europe and in the subcontinent. Due to the nature of the doctrine, it is quite easy to accuse its followers of apostasy, heresy, blasphemy, and similar defamations. After all, as will be discussed, throughout history, many *vojōdi*s, such as the unfortunate Prince Dara Shokoh or Hallaj (858-922), suffered persecution and death due to such accusations; Jones was indeed aware of this. During Jones's time in India, openly supporting the Unity of Being might have caused significant socio-political consequences.

Since Dara Shokoh's era, the dominant Indian theological view shifted towards the Unity of Witnesses, and the *vojōdi*s became highly marginalized.[7] Therefore, directly addressing and openly promoting either of the doctrines would have either resulted in further marginalization of a pluralistic view or opposing the status quo of the natives. Neither of these two scenarios would have been helpful to further stabilize India.

The following chapter focuses on the entanglement and complexity of the relationship between Sufi metaphysics, the Persian language, their immense influence on the subcontinent, its politics, and consequently, how they shaped Jones's ideas and influenced his writings. The Sufi doctrine of the Unity of Being, alongside its Hindu counterparts, played a significant role in constructing a more stable and pluralistic India. This chapter introduces the doctrine and examines its evolution through its journey from Mesopotamia and Iran to the subcontinent and India. Jones believed that the most effective way of gaining knowledge was to obtain it from its source. In his 'On the Philosophy of the Asiaticks', delivered before the Asiatic Society on 20 February 1794, he asserted his belief that 'all nations in the world had poets before they had mere philosophers'.[8] 'On the Philosophy' further elaborates on the significance of poets in Asia and the role they played in Oriental philosophy, ethics, and moral standards by stating:

> The moralists of the east have in general chosen to deliver their precepts in short sententious maxims, to illustrate them by sprightly comparisons, or to inculcate them in the very ancient form of agreeable apologues: there are, indeed, both in Arabick and Persian, philosophical tracts on ethicks written with sound ratiocination and elegant perspicuity: but in every part of this eastern world, from Pekin to Damascus, the popular teachers of moral wisdom have immemorially been poets, and there would be no end of enumerating their works, which are still extant in the five principal languages of Asia.[9]

Therefore, in order to convey the tenets of Sufism and the Unity of Being, I have utilized verses and anecdotes from Sufi *vojōdi* poets. The quotations utilized throughout the analysis are all from the poets Jones had studied, mentioned, or was familiar with. In addition, while examining the doctrine, the Sufis, and Jones's familiarity with them, the annotations on the manuscripts Jones has made on the *vojōdi* works will be analysed. The annotations are mostly retrieved from Jones's personal manuscript collection, currently held in the British Library as

[7] This will be discussed fully later in the chapter.
[8] Jones, *The Works*, 1: 229.
[9] Jones, *The Works*, 1: 242.

the Royal Society Persian and Arabic manuscripts, RSPA 1-120. In the collection, the poet who has composed the highest number of texts is Rumi.[10] As the six volumes of Rumi's *Masnavi Ma'navi* in the collection are all annotated by Jones, Rumi is the poet whom Jones has most annotated in the collection. The lengthy description found at the beginning of the first volume of Rumi's *Masnavi* concludes with Jones stating: 'I know of no writer, to whom the Maulavi can justly be compared, except Chaucer or Shakespeare'.[11] Jones's affinity with Rumi becomes more significant by an example, one of the distiches the poet has used to explain the Sufi desire of reunion states, 'While travelling if you see Rome or China; the love of homeland shall not depart from your heart.'[12] There are many distiches in Rumi's works that advise the reader to travel to East and West; however, this particular one is amongst the very few distiches that state that your homeland's love stays with you. Rumi resided in the Middle East and thus wanted to visit East and West, yet Jones was born in the West: hence he slightly changed the distich to better dovetail with his circumstances; please see the illustration below:

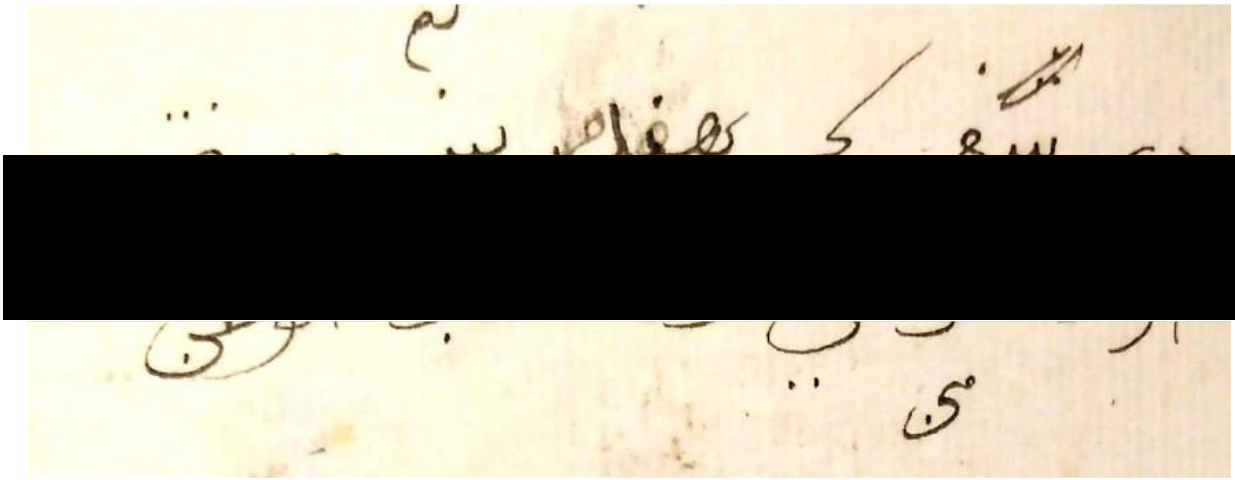

Illustration 1, BL, APAC, RSPA 35, f. I; Jones reciting and altering a distich of Rumi.

Jones has partially erased the word روم rom, 'Rome' and has written هند hend, 'India' in its place. In addition, he has juxtaposed م and من 'I' instead of ی and تو 'You' which alters the distich to 'While travelling, if I see India or China; the love of homeland shall not depart my heart.'

[10] BL, APAC, RSPA 34-41. It should also be mentioned that BL, APAC, RSPA 56 is a commentary on Rumi's *Masnavi Ma'navi* by someone named Obeidollah Khoishki Hendi (Unknown).
[11] BL, APAC, RSPA 35, f. ii.
[12] Rumi, *Masnavi*, 2: 64:
در سفر گر هند بینی ور ختن از دل تو کی رود حب الوطن

Given that the Persian language is considered the most poetical language of the Middle East, it is natural that the poet in Jones would have been interested in it. However, the poetical power of the language solely, I suppose, was not enough to encourage the philologist, polyglot, lawyer of Oxford – who sought to gain the knowledge conveyed by languages – to become Persian Jones. The language had a significant role to play in Jones's life and in nurturing the Unity of Being from its early stages as well as the politics of the subcontinent; Persian was the earliest and most major medium of the doctrine. It is safe to assert that Jones was fascinated with the language and its companion: pluralistic literature and mysticism. After introducing the Unity of Being and Jones's annotations on Rumi's *Masnavi*, this chapter will focus on the Persian language, its role in the politics of the subcontinent, its provision of a platform for both Muslims and non-Muslims to intermingle, and its path to become the language of the Mughal court. In discussing the Mughal period, the chapter will focus on the *vojōdi* attempts of Akbar (1542-1605) and his court, which lead to the writings of authors such as Sarmad and Prince Dara Shokoh.

According to Hafez's famous saying 'a conversation should be placed at its own time and place;'[13] Jones was highly practical and pragmatical, therefore it is quite sensible for him to leave philosophical and mystical matters out of his legal treatises or botanical research. However, it can be argued that his three legal publications – *The Mahomedan Law of Succession* (1782), *Al Sirajiyyah or the Mohammedan Law of Inheritance: With a Commentary* (1792), and *The Institutes of Hindu Law, Or, The Ordinances of Manu* (1794) – were the result of the pluralism he discovered in Oriental literature. Nevertheless, the appropriate place to find *vojōdi* influences in Jones's published works is in the texts he composed on mysticism and literature. Therefore, this chapter will focus on finding the signs in his published works on literature, religion, philosophy, and mysticism. Overall, the chapter will focus on the doctrine of the Unity of Being, its language, political aspect, and its relationship to Jones's mind. The chapter starts with introducing and examining the doctrine, revolving around the *vojōdi* Sufis with whom Jones was fascinated; it analyses the annotations Jones made on the works of such Sufis. Then, it investigates the influence of Unity of Being on the politics of the subcontinent and is concluded by researching Jones's writings which contain signs of the doctrine.

[13] Hafez, *Divan*, 125:

هر سخن وقتی و هر نکته مکانی دارد

The Unity of Being

Arguably the most influential doctrine of Islamic mysticism is the Unity of Being; it revolves around the idea that nothing exists but God. The concept implies that every entity that exists represents and is God. More precisely, the essence of existence is of a unique singular entity exemplified as the Truth; whatever exists apart from the unique singular existence itself is nothing but its appearance, manifestation, and emanation. In other words, when God – the unique singular entity – bestows its essence to something, it becomes manifested in the universe just as colours manifest themselves when light shines; thus, given the fact that objects in this universe do not have any existence other than what we perceive of them, according to the doctrine whatever we perceive is nothing but the essence of God.[14] Perhaps the best way of further elaborating the concept is through using a rainbow as a metaphor: the existence of different colours is not in contrast with the existence of a singular light beam, the existence of the colours indeed depends on it; in addition, the differences between yellow, blue, or red are just different manifestations, emanations, or appearances of the light beam. We might consider the very famous quote of the *Quran,* 'God is the Light of the skies and earth',[15] Sufis state that the Creator is the Existence and the Truth of the cosmos. Based on the quotation, there is no abstract being in the universe, but God and It is the source of whatever exists. It should be added that to many Sufis, the Unity of Being is not simply a philosophical concept, but it is rather the fundamental Truth; to them, the cosmos is not a separate entity from God or the Truth. This is because a philosophical view is derived through wisdom and the mind; furthermore, a philosophical view is changeable. On the other hand, the Unity of Being is derived through love and the heart; furthermore, it is an immutable fact.[16] Jones presents a view similar to the Unity of Being when he is describing 'the divine spirit' in his 'On the Philosophy':

> The very nature and essence of the divine spirit, ... [is] that all spirit is homogeneous, that the spirit of GOD is in kind the same with that of man, though differing from it infinitely in degree, and that, as material substance is mere illusion, there exists in this universe only one generick spiritual substance, the sole primary cause, efficient,

[14] William C. Chittick, 'The Spiritual Path of Love in Ibn al-'Arabi and Rumi', *Mystics Quarterly*, 19: 1 (1993), 4-16, 4-5.

[15] *The Quran* 24: 35:

اللَّهُ نُورُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ

[16] Javad Nurbakhsh, *Forty Words and Thirty Messages*, (Tehran: Yalda Publication, 2002), 11.

> substantial and formal of all secondary causes and of all appearances whatever, but endued in its highest degree, with a sublime providential wisdom and proceeding by ways incomprehensible to the spirits which emane from it;[17]

Jones had gathered his description of the divine spirit from a range of different sources 'admitted by Hindus, Arabs, and Tartars, by Persians, and by Chinese.' [18] He explained in the essay that the 'splendid enumerations of his attributes, or more beautiful descriptions of his visible works' could be obtained from Sanskrit works, particularly the 'four Vedas and many parts of the numerous Puranas,' Arabic works, 'especially in the Koran,' as well as the poems of Persian poets including Sadi, Nezami, and Ferdowsi.

It is widely considered that it was Ibn-Arabi (1165-1240) who first introduced the doctrine to Islam and Islamic mysticism, yet this can be challenged by the fact that Ibn-Arabi never used the term in his writings; in addition, the idea of the Unity of Being is available in the works of many Muslims and Sufis who lived before him. For example, Ahmad Ghazali (1061-1123/26) stated: 'There is no existence but God … [and] existence only belongs to God;'[19] in Ghazali's words, the fruit of a Sufi's spiritual path is for him/her to be able to 'testify that there is no existence'.[20] The first Sufi who used the term the 'Unity of Being' was Saeed od-din Forghani (d.1300).[21] Regardless of the debate on who introduced or used the term first, the concept of the Unity of Being spread through the writings and teachings of many Sufis in different parts of the Orient. Kamal Khujandi (d.1400) in Khujand, Tajikistan, Jami in Khorasan, Iran,[22] and Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi (1165-1240) in Konya, Turkey are among the many who preached the doctrine. With the expansion of Islam through time, the Unity of Being travelled to different continents and Sufis such as Muhammad al-Hashimi al-Tilimsani (1881-1961) in Tlemcen, Algeria further expanded its influence on the Islamic and non-Islamic world.[23]

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[17] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 251; this extract will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.
[18] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 250.
[19] Nasrollah Pourjavady, *The Sultan of Tariqa: The Life and Works of Ahmad Ghazaali*, (Tehran: Agaah Publication, 1979), 104.
[20] William C. Chittick, 'Rumi and Wahdat al-Wujud', *Poetry and Mysticism in Islam: The Heritage of Rumi*, Amin Banani, Richard G. Hovannisian, & Georges Sabagh (eds), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 70-121: 71.
[21] William C. Chittick, *Ibn 'Arabi: Heir to the Prophets*, (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005), 105.
[22] For Jones's studies on Jami see the second chapter of this thesis, 'Sir William Jones's Collection of Verses' on BL, APAC, MSS Eur. C 274, *Notebook*, f. 20.
[23] Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy from Its Origin to the Present*, 76.

As Islam reached India, the Indians proved that they were not an exception in embracing the concept: Muhammad Ashraf Semnani – the son of Ashraf Jahangir Semnani (1287-1386), the founder of Ashrafi Sufis in Kashmir – preached the doctrine widely.[24] Semnani wrote many discourses on the doctrine, yet his most influential dedication to Sufism, mainly to Indian Sufis, was the universalization of the term همه اوست *hame ōst*, 'All is Him/Her/It'. Before Semnani, many Persian Sufis – such as Rumi, Attar, and Sanaei – used the word او *ō*, which in Persian is the third person singular pronoun, in their *ghazal*s to signify the Beloved; for example, one of Rumi's quatrains states:

> Inside and outside of my heart, *hame ōst*; in my body, life, vein and blood *hame ōst*.
>
> How can faith and blasphemy be contained here? For other than this, my existence *hame ōst.*[25]

However, Semnani's phrase 'All is Him/Her/It' concentrated upon the religious aspect of the Beloved: an idol, a star, or a tree was the Beloved, for nothing but It exists. The famous theologian Moheb-ollah Allah-Abadi (1587-1648) heavily supported it in the subcontinent;[26] even during the eighteenth century, many significant poets of the subcontinent, such as Sachal Sarmast (1739-1827) and Bulleh Shah (1680-1757), were avid adherents of the Unity of Being. The reasons why it was widely accepted amongst the Indian Sufis will be discussed later in this chapter.

The most common criticisms of the Unity of Being – by many orthodox Muslims whom Sufis generally refer to as زاهد *zāhed*, 'preacher' – is that the Sufis who believe in the concept, maintain that every being which exists in the universe is God. They forget – perhaps misunderstand or misinterpret – that the Unity of Being states that existence is intrinsically limited to God and, therefore, whatever exists is solely a representation of God. In order to avoid misinterpreting that the Unity of Being means every being which exists in the universe is God, the Sufis of Iran and the subcontinent further clarify the doctrine by using another metaphor: the waves belong to the sea, and the sea consists of many waves, and therefore the sea is the waves. However, it should be mentioned that these sorts of misinterpretations are not farfetched from the writings of the Sufis; for instance, in his 'The Bezels of Wisdom' Ibn-Arabi

[24] For more information, see Mohammad Riyaz, 'Seyed Muhammad Ashraf Semnani and his Services to the Subcontinent', The *Journal of Islamic Education*, 26, (1976), 59-68.
[25] Rumi, *Divan of Shams-e Tabrizi*, Badiol-Zaman Forouzan Far (ed.), (Tehran: Daneshgah, 1957), 172.
[26] Hadi Nabi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*, (Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1995), 427.

states that: 'The perfect gnostic is one who regards every object of worship as a manifestation of God in which He is worshipped. They call it a god, although its proper name might be stone, wood, animal, man, star, or angel'.[27] Due to the figurative nature of Oriental poetry, the Unity of Being would be more prone to misinterpretation if the form is utilized to convey the concept. Particularly, the misinterpretation becomes amplified should the poet utilize the Persian language as a medium for the verse in which the Unity of Being is being conveyed. This happens due to two aspects of Persian: one related to the language's semantics and syntax and the other related to its cultural aspect and connotation in the Middle East. Regarding the former, in the previous chapters, it has been mentioned that Persian is generally quite prone to ambiguity; on one level, this is caused by the language's gender neutrality which results in the fact that a poem is open to describe God – the divine Beloved – or an earthly beloved, whether male or female. On another level, Persian poets and Sufis – people who intended to convey the Unity of Being – are known to exploit this aspect of the language.[28] This aspect of Persian language attracts poets, Sufis, and literary scholars such as Amir Khosrow, Rumi, and Jones; on the other hand, by providing grounds for misinterpretations, the ambiguity of Persian gives further excuse and justification to the zealot preachers to discriminate against the language and the Sufis. Let us not forget that Jones's beloved Hafez, allegedly, had to run away from an angry crowd who could have killed him for composing a mere distich of such nature.[29] Another instance indicating Jones's awareness about this conflict can be found in Sarmad's quatrain in his *Notebook* and the annotations on it.[30] As discussed in the second chapter, the quatrain and Jones's annotation refer to Hallaj and his persecution on the accounts of heresy and apostasy by Orthodox Muslims. Jones was indeed aware of this conflict which most of the time was due to misinterpretation and misunderstanding. He dedicated his essay 'On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and the Hindus' (1792) to explain this 'figurative mode of expressing the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created spirits towards their beneficent Creator' which had prevailed 'among the Persian theists, both ancient Húshangis [an ancient Iranian religion] and modern Súfis.' [31] Jones's efforts, including the composition of his essay, will be discussed later in the chapter. The other aspect of Persian which further enhances the issue is the language's

[27] Ibn al-'Arabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom*, R. W. J. Austin (trans.), (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1980), 247.
[28] Some examples of this will be mentioned in the following pages.
[29] Ahmad Shamlou, 'Introduction of Hafez Shirazi', *The Divan of Hafez Shirazi*, Ahmad Shomlou (ed.), (Tehran: Morvardi, 1975), 6-8.
[30] BL, APAC, MSS Eur. C 274, *Notebook*, f. 23.
[31] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 211.

cultural connotation in the Middle East: while Arabic is Islam's language, Persians were called العجم *al-ajam* and their language العجمی *al-ajami*. Ajam literally means 'illiterate, silent, or mute', and over time, the term became a racial pejorative used by Arabs for others, particularly Persians.[32] Another cultural aspect of Persian, which was challenging to the orthodox Arabic – speaking Muslims is due to the fact that people using the language – in Iran, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, India, and other places – were those who were initially non-Muslims and were conquered and submitted to Islam. In other words, Persian speakers were the pagan others who did not have any desire to maintain Islam, let alone the mainstream Arabian reading of it. Regardless of all these issues, Persian speakers nurtured the Unity of Being from its earliest stage: Sadr al-Din Qunawi, Ibn Arabi's pupil and adopted son, [33] who elaborated much on the doctrine, was not only of Persian descent but also generally used the language.[34] Qunawi also became very close to Rumi and participated in Rumi's spiritual circles; they influenced each other profoundly. Qunawi's pupil, Fakhr al-Din Iraqi (1213-1289), was another Persian Sufi poet and writer who played an influential role in introducing Ibn Arabi into Persian.[35] After the expansion of Islam to India, the Unity of Being travelled through the same language to the subcontinent. Even today, Hindi – or Urdu – speaking Sufis of the subcontinent use the phrase همه اوست *hame ōst*, 'All is He/She/It', which is a Persian phrase, signifying the Unity of Being. More on this subject will be discussed later in this chapter while investigating the influences of Persian and the Unity of Being on the politics of India.

Observing different religions from the Unity of Being's perspective results in a syncretic and pluralistic perspective: all religions, regardless of their difference – within their names, rituals, or any other religious matters – worship only one God. However, it should be

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[32] Abd Al-Husain Zarrinkoob, 'The Arab Conquest of Iran', *The Cambridge History of Iran*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 4: 46. However, it should be clarified here that Mohammad himself was against such discrimination of others; in his Farewell Sermon – also known as Muhammad's Final Sermon – he explicitly stated:

> لا فرق بين عربي و لا أعجمي و لا أبيض ولا أسود إلا بالتقوى
>
> 'There is no difference between Arab and Ajam, white or black except [each individual's] piety'.

[33] William C. Chittik, 'Sadr al-Din Muhammad b. Ishak b. Muhammad b. Yunus al-Kunawi', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, &W.P. Heinrichs (eds.), (Brill: Brill Online, 2007).

[34] F. E. Peters, *The Monotheists: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Conflict and Competition*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), xvii, & 330.

[35] Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages: Avicenna, Suhrawardi, Ibn 'Arabi*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 118-9.

mentioned that the idea of different religions worshipping one singular entity was not a novel concept in Islam and its mystical aspect; for the *Quran* states:

> Those who believe (in Islam), or Jews, Christians or Sabians [Star worshipers], all who believe in God, the Judgment day, and do righteous deeds, their reward is surely secure with their Lord; they need have no fear, nor shall they grieve.[36]

There are two other occasions in which verses with a similar narrative are available in the *Quran.* [37] Jones has openly recommended reading the book, particularly the verses from which Islamic laws can be obtained. For example, in *The Mahomedan Law of Succession* (1782), he urged the British lawyers and judges dealing with Islamic law to read the *Quran* should they need any further clarification of Islamic laws and manners. Since the arithmetic of Muslims was similar to the Christians, Jones recommended the British lawyers dealing with inheritance to read the book, stating: 'The fourth chapter of the Alcoran may throw light, if any be wanted, the doctrine of the fourth or portions; and, as to the arithmetical part, seems of little consequence, as our rules of three, and those for of fractions, are common and familiar to all.'[38] Therefore, if Jones were to write treatises on the similarities of the different faiths, he would have instructed the readers to read the *Quran*; since, on three different occasions, the book openly states that there are no differences between different faiths. However, what is intriguing is that most of the orthodox Muslims, the preachers, seemed to have forgotten about these verses and the syncretic and pluralistic aspects of Islam.

Jones's prescription for the Occidental lawyers dealing with Islamic law, to read and understand the Oriental texts, is quite similar to what the Sufis and *vojōdi*s believed in: understand the beliefs of other faiths and emphasize the similarities between them. The *vojōdi*s developed this belief since they either belonged to the marginalized groups of various faiths or lived in multireligious societies; consequently, it was in their favour to reiterate the idea of a Sabian (star worshipper) being 'rewarded' by the Islamic God. The wave of new Muslims relied heavily on the Unity of Being and, depending on their heritage or living environments,

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[36] *The Quran*, 2: 62:
اِنَّ الَّذِيۡنَ اٰمَنُوۡا وَالَّذِيۡنَ هَادُوۡا وَالنَّصٰرٰى وَالصّٰبِـئِيۡنَ مَنۡ اٰمَنَ بِاللّٰهِ وَالۡيَوۡمِ الۡاٰخِرِ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا فَلَهُمۡ اَجۡرُهُمۡ عِنۡدَ رَبِّهِمۡ وَلَا خَوۡفٌ عَلَيۡهِمۡ وَلَا هُمۡ يَحۡزَنُوۡنَ

[37] *The Quran* 5:69, & 22:17.

[38] Jones, *The Works*, 8: 165.

were more religiously tolerant of other marginalized religions of the region. The diverse environment the Sufis lived in played a pivotal role in nurturing their pluralistic views rooted in the Unity of Being. For example, Mahmoud Shabestari (1288–1340), born in a small town in the northwest of Iran, was more exposed to Christianity and or paganism which existed during the time in Armenia. When he was asked if 'Idols, girdles, and Christianity... [a]re all infidelity' in a *vojōdi* discourse, Shabestari responded:

> Here [the] idol is the theatre of love and unity; Girdle [the Zunnar] is the binding of the bond of service.
>
> Since infidelity and faith are both based on being, true union is essentially idol worship.
>
> Since things are the manifestation facets of being, what is now the one will become the other.[39]

It should be noted that the translation mentioned above was done by Edward Henry Whinfield (1836-1922), a barrister-at-law. Following a path similar to Jones's, Whinfield composed the first translations of the works of Hafez and Rumi, which contained a detailed commentary, as well as five hundred quatrains of Khayyam. Winfield's comment on Shabestari's distiches, True union is essentially idol worship, is particularly intriguing for it signifies his shared interest with Jones: not only in comparative studies of Oriental literature but also in revealing the subject of the Unity of Being:

> Compare Hafiz (Brockhaus), Ode, 79. Between the love of the cloister and that of the tavern there is no difference, for wherever love Is, there is the light of the face of the beloved. Wherever the pious works of the cloister display their beauty, there are the bells of the monastery and the name of the Cross. Where is there a lover whose state the beloved regarded not? O master, there is no pain for which there is no physician.[40]

Hafez's *vojōdi* ode, to which Whinfield refers, reads as follows:

[39] Maḥmūd ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Shabistarī, *The Gulshan Ráz*, Edward Henry Whinfield (trans.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1876), 104.
[40] Shabistari, *The Gulshan ráz*, 104.

> Love is a church where all religions meet;
>
> Islam, or Christ, or Tavern, it is one;
>
> Thy face of every system is the sun
>
> O Sun that shines in the Beloved's street.
>
> Where Love is there's no need of convent bell,
>
> And holy living needs no holy frocks;
>
> Time ticks not to your monastery clocks;
>
> Where goodness is there God must be as well.[41]

Whinfield's books, whether on law or Persian literature, were published in both Calcutta and London less than a century after Jones's death. In the preface to Shabestari's *The Gulshan ráz*, perhaps following Jones's footsteps, he asserted that:

> This view they [Sufis] developed with the aid of the Greek and especially the Neoplatonic metaphysics, which had been popularised by […] Farabi, Ghazzali, Ibn Roshd and Ibn Sina. Under these influences they identified the Allah of the Koran with the Neoplatonic Being, the One, the Necessary Being, the only Reality, The Truth, the Infinite, which includes all actual being, good and evil, the First Cause, source of all action, good and evil alike.[42]

The statement simply refers to the connection of the tenets of the Oriental pluralistic views, such as the Unity of Being, and Neoplatonism, the same connection that Jones had emphasized upon at the beginning of his 'On the Mystical Poetry' and 'On the Philosophy.' Whinfield argues that the Sufis developed their views with the aid of Greek Neoplatonic metaphysics; however, in his essay, Orientalist Jones asserted that such syncretic views had not been sourced from 'Italy nor in Egypt ... but in Persia or India:'

> A figurative mode of expressing the fervour of devotion or the ardent love of created spirits towards their beneficent Creator has prevailed from time immemorial in Asia

[41] Hafiz, *Odes from the Divan of Hafiz : freely rendered from literal translations,* Richard Le Gallienne (trans.), (London: Duckworth, 1905), 50.
[42] Shabistari, *Gulchan i raz: The mystic rose garden. The Pers. text, with tr. and notes, chiefly from the comm. of Muhammad bin Yahya Lahiji,* E.H. Whinfield (ed.), (Oxford: Oxford University, 1880), vii.

> particularly among the Persian theists both ancient Húshangis and modern Súfis who seem to have borrowed it from the Indian philosophers of the Védánta school and their doctrines are also believed to be the source of that sublime but poetical theology which glows and sparkles in the writings of the old Academicks. 'PLATO travelled into Italy and Egypt' says CLAUDE FLEURY to learn the Theology of the Pagans at its fountain head,' its true fountain however was neither in Italy nor in Egypt though considerable streams of it had been conducted thither by PYTHAGORAS and by the family of Misra but in Persia or India which the founder of the Italick sect had visited with a similar design. [43]

In his 'On the Philosophy,' Jones reiterated his hypothesis concerning the chief fountains of such views. Although some 'branches of science in Persian and Arabick, [are] partly copied from the Greeks,' the Sufis' doctrine 'anciently prevailed, and still prevail in great measure over this Oriental world, and which the Greeks themselves condescended to borrow from Eastern sages.'[44]

Regarding the relationship of the Unity of Being and the Sufis' living environment, it should be noted that, for example, in Attar's case, who was more in contact with Christianity, the Unity of Being meant the unity of Islam and Christianity, which is portrayed in 'The Sheikh of Sanaan and the Christian Girl'. To Indian figures such as Amir Khosrow Dehlavi or Dara Shokoh, due to their exposure to Hinduism, the Unity of Being came to mean that Islam and Hinduism are the same. Although the case of Indian Sufis will be discussed in detail later in this chapter, I should point out that a European living in the Orient, who was influenced by the Sufi–*vojōdi* tenets, would most certainly seek the similarities between the European and Oriental philosophy and culture; which Jones was eager to research. It should also be mentioned that the doctrine and its religious or racial application can be observed, with varying degrees, through the life and writings of almost every Sufi mystic. Even those who had lived before Ibn-Arabi, who allegedly founded the perception, or Forghani, who first used the term. For example, the quotations of Mohammad, mentioned previously, stating that all humans are one – regardless of their religions, gender, or race – implies their belief in the concept, signifying racial and religious toleration; yet, as time passed, the idea of tolerating the other faded to some extent. The Sufis, however, used various tactics in order to convey the doctrine to future generations. An example of the Unity of Being shrouded within Sufi literature is the famous distich by Sadi: 'The children of Adam are limbs of each other; Having been created

[43]Jones, *The Works*, 4: 211-2.
[44]Jones, *The Works*, 1: 235.

of one essence.'[45] Another example would be found in Rumi's *Masnavi Ma'navi*; the book is entitled as the 'market of Unity' by the author: 'Our *Masnavi* is a market of Unity; but the One, whatever you see [perceive], is an [false] idol.'[46] This distich of Rumi's re-entitling caught Jones's eye as it can be seen in the following image;[47] Jones, in his own way, marked the hemistich stating 'but the One, whatever you see [perceive], is an [false] idol':

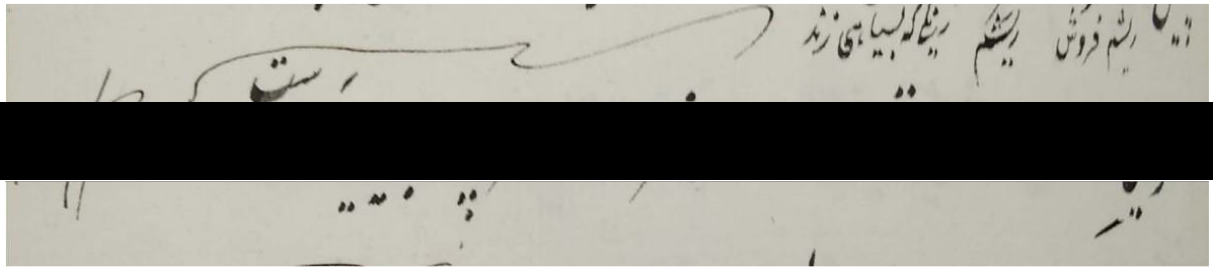

Illustration 2, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 106; Jones's annotation on Rumi's *Masnavi*.

Many annotations of Jones can be found in his personal manuscripts of Rumi's *Market of Unity*. On one of the folios, which served as a prelude to the re-entitling of the *Masnavi* as the *Market of Unity*, Rumi presents some examples, demonstrating his *vojōdi* views, to convey the true meaning of the unity he had in mind. One of the distiches was designed to signify the unity of Christians and Muslims, which was more intriguing for Jones and thus, he translated it to:

> Hail, O table of the Messiah without deficiency!
>
> Hail, O fruit of Mary, without a cultured garden!

[45] Sadi, *Koliyat-e Sadi*, Mohammad Ali Foroughi (ed.), (Tehran: Hermes,1961), 31:
بنی آدم اعضای یکدیگرند که در آفرینش ز یک گوهرند

[46] Rumi, *Masnavi*, 6: 160: BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f.106:
مثنوی ما دکان وحدتست غیر واحد هرچه بینی آن بت است

[47]BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 92:
حبذا خوان مسیحا بی کمی حبذا بی باغ میوه مریمی

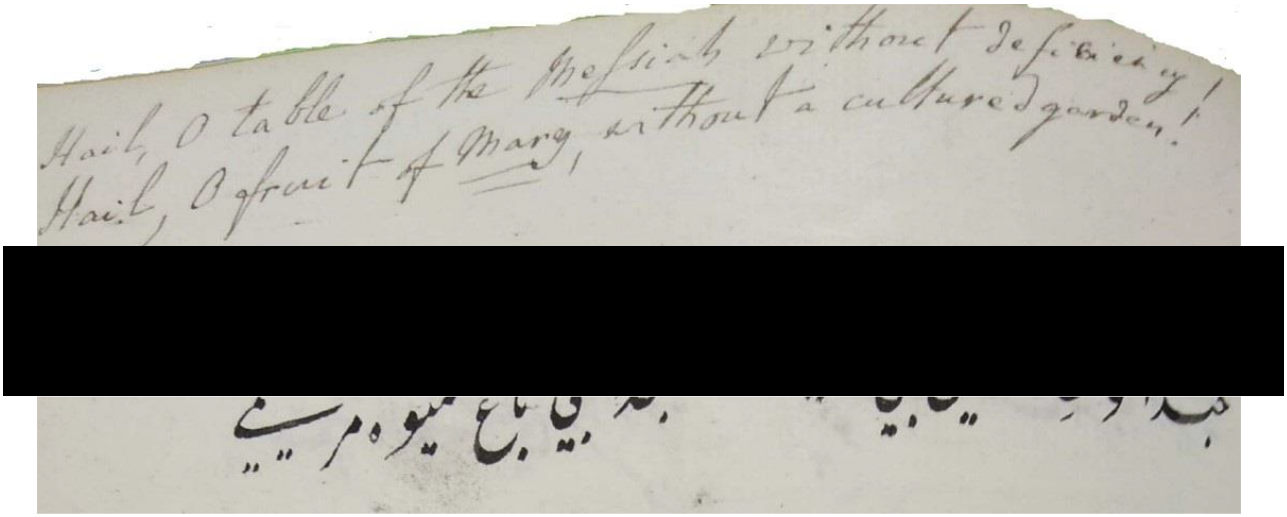

Illustration 3, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 92; Jones translating a distich of Rumi's *Masnavi*.

This distich is also fascinating from a poetical point of view, but let us not forget the role poetry and verse have played and still play in the legal and political discourses of the Orient. Since a versed form aids the reader in memorising the texts, many Oriental scientific, philosophical, or legal texts were composed in the form. Aware of this, Jones emphasized the significance of the form in Muslim culture; in his *Mahomedan Law of Succession* (1782), Jones reiterated that 'the Alcoran itself, the great source of Mahomedan law, is composed in sentences not only modulated with art, but often exactly rhymed.'[48] Therefore, Rumi's distich, in the Persian *Quran*, could have been utilized by anyone to provide a firm ground for arguing against Christian-Muslim conflict. Jones was aware of the significance of poetry in Oriental law and politics; he knew that many Eastern or Muslim scholars had utilized the form to convey knowledge and science. Pluralistic Sufi distiches were widely utilized in eighteenth-century India in order to avoid conflict. For example, in one case, Tipu Sultan's vazir[49] , who advised the sultan not to wage war against the British, utilized the following distich of Hafez to strengthen further his argument: 'The tranquillity of this world and the hereafter is in these two points: kindness with friends, toleration with foes.'[50]

[48] Jones, *The Works*, 8: 164.
[49] A *Vazir* is a high-ranking political advisor or minister in the Middle East.
[50] 'Anonymous review of 'The Odes of Hafiz (1801) and seven related Orientalist works', *Calcutta Review*, 26 (1856), 398-414: 399:
آسایش دو گیتی تفسیر این دو حرف است با دوستان مروت با دشمنان مدارا

Jones's Annotations on the Market of Unity: 'Moses and the shepherd'

One of the most well-known anecdotes of Rumi's *Masnavi* is the tale of Moses meeting a shepherd who was addressing God in a worldly and, to some extent, blasphemous manner:

> Where are you so that I can become your servant? I shall repair your shoes and brush your hair.
>
> I shall wash your clothes and kill its lice; I will bring you some milk.
>
> I shall kiss your hand and massage your feet; nighttime comes, I shall make your bed to sleep.[51]

Hearing this, Moses becomes angry and urges the shepherd to stop, stating that 'The stench of your blasphemy has rotted the universe!' Later in the poem, we see: 'A vision came to Moses from God [saying] you have separated my servant from me! You have been sent to Connect, not to disconnect!'[52] To the disciples of the path of the Unity of Being, the virtuous were here to end the separation of the disconnected and connect them to the Source. This brings to mind Goethe's description of Jones as a man who desired to connect the known to the unknown.[53] Jones was not only familiar with the tale of Moses and the shepherd, but also he did some comparative research on it. While his second volume of Rumi's *Masnavi* [54] contains many annotations, the remark he made on this particular poem stands out: 'See the Tale of the Stonecutter and Moses'.[55] The annotation is written directly by the Persian title 'The Denial of Moses, peace be upon him, on Shepherd's Psalm' as seen in the image below.

[51] BL, APAC, RSPA 36, f. 114:

تو کجایی تا شوم من چاکرت　　چارقت دوزم کنم شانه سرت
جامه‌ات شویم شپشهاات کشم　　شیر پیشت آورم ای محتشم
دستکت بوسم بمالم پایکت　　وقت خواب آید بروبم جایکت

[52] BL, APAC, RSPA 36, f. 115:

وحی آمد سوی موسی از خدا　　بندهٔ ما را ز ما کردی جدا
تو برای وصل کردن آمدی　　نی برای فصل کردن آمدی

[53] Michael J. Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones': Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer, and Linguist, 1746-1794*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 37.

[54] BL, APAC, RSPA 36.

[55] BL, APAC, RSPA 36, f. 114.

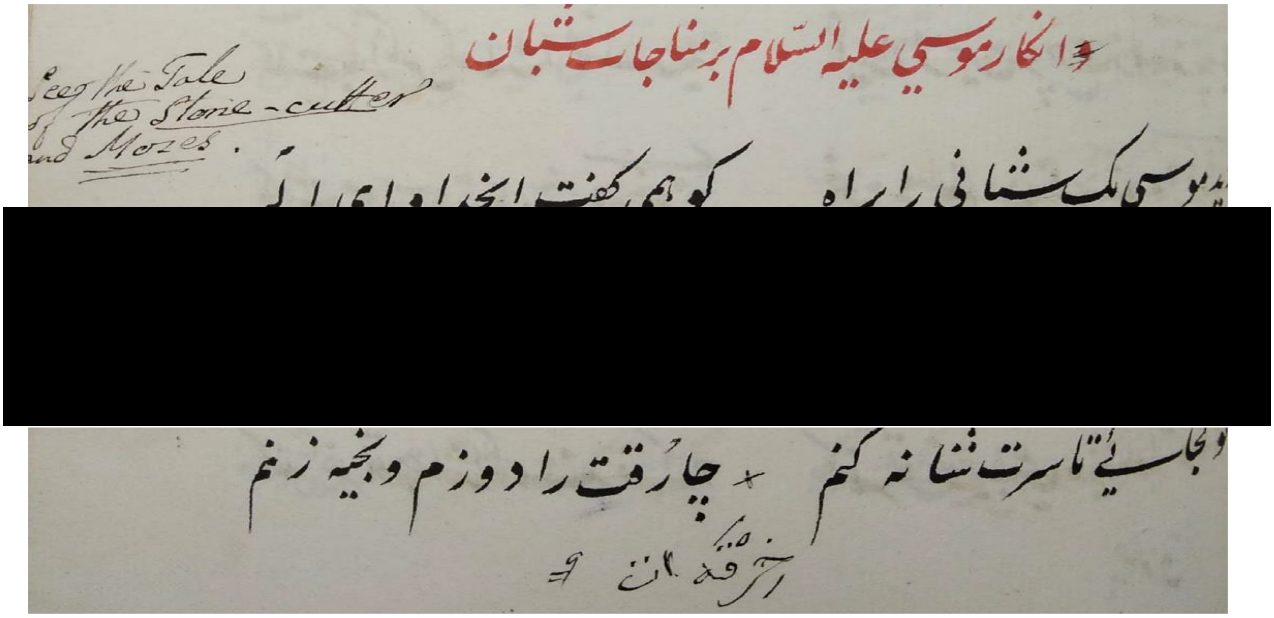

Illustration 4, BL, APAC, RSPA 36, f. 114; Jones's annotation on Rumi's tale of 'Moses and the shepherd'.

The story Jones refers to here is a poem by an unknown author which was taught in Persian-speaking schools, commonly known as مکتب *maktab*, similar to the madreseh. 'The Tale of the Stone-Cutter and Moses' is heavily inspired by Rumi's tale of 'Moses and the Shepherd', with their difference being that the stone-cutter is even more blasphemous, or one might say *vojōdi*, than the shepherd. The tale speaks of a stonemason who built a stone-house up in Mount Sinai for God to reside in, perhaps similar to the one Abraham built in Mecca. While building the house, the mason states:

> I'll make you fire if you are cold or fan you if it's too warm.
> I'll make you a pillow to lean on; I'll get you a reed and a harp.
> Should you need a beautiful woman, again, I'll bring you one without question.[56]

After this, the mason goes to a shepherd to buy a sheep to sacrifice and make kebab for God. It is easy to observe that the mason, much like the shepherd, shares a servant-master relationship with God, but the intriguing fact is that in both cases, the relationship, unlike most servant-master relationships, is not out of fear but is grounded in Love. The driving source of

[56] Unknown Author, 'Moses and the Stonecutter', *The Eight Books and the Tale of the Shepherd and Moses*, Hosein Ketabforoosh (ed.), (Tehran: Sangi, 1960), 3-4:

سرد باشد، بهر تو آتش کنم — گرم باشد، هر زمان بادت زنم
بالشی سازم ز بهر تکیه ات — چنگ و نی خواهی همه پیش آرمت
گر تو می خواهی زن صاحب جمال — همچنان آرم ز بهرت بی سئوال

this relationship is in accord with a saying of Ali ibn Abi Talib (601- 661), whom the Sufis call 'the Cupbearer of Paradise':

> Some people worship Allah to gain His Favours, this is the worship of traders; while some worship Him to keep themselves free from His Wrath, this is the worship of slaves; a few who obey Him out of their sense of gratitude and obligations, this is the worship of free [thinkers] and noblemen.'[57]

Perhaps Jones's awareness of the true tenets of Islam and its mysticism compelled him to warn the European readers not to mistake the Oriental mystical poetry of the free thinkers with simply carnal and erotic literature. Alternatively, perhaps it was the idea of worshipping and serving out of love, which was already embedded amongst the Muslims and Hindus of the subcontinent, that suited him to weather the Indian storms and encourage liberal thinking.

The tale continues with a man going to Moses and telling him about the Stonemason's blasphemy; Moses goes to the house the mason has built and destroys the furniture he has put there for God to use during his residence. When the mason arrives and confronts Moses, the same events of 'Moses and the Shepherd' occur, resulting in the mason quoting the shepherd: '[He] said, Moses, you have sewn up my mouth; and burnt my life with regret.' The rest of the tale contains God appearing as a vision to Moses, telling him that he is here to Connect the separated, and he should pursue the stonemason. However, there are two differences between Rumi's tale and this one which would have been intriguing for Jones and his comparative studies. The first one is that in the case of the mason, who was more of a libertine than the shepherd, God makes Moses convey a message to him:

> You will send him Our Greetings and tell him Our Message.
> Tell him that the Truth will become your guest and will follow as you command!
> Give him the good news that he will be reunited, the Truth shall be his Guest at dawn.[58]

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[57] Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Peak of eloquence = Nahjul Balagha: sermons, letters, and sayings of Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib*, Mohammad Askari Jafery (trans.), (Accra, N.Y: Islamic Seminary Publications, 1984), 28.

[58] 'Moses and the Stonecutter', *The Eight Books*, 10:

می رسانی می دهی از ما سلام — می دهی او را ز نزد ما پیام
باز گویش حق به مهمان آمده — هر چه خواهی تو به فرمان آمده
مژده وصلش بده تو سر بسر — حق به مهمان آیدت وقت سحر

This happens, and God appears as a light in the house the mason has built. The other difference between the two tales is that the mason, similar to the Christian girl in Attar's tale, will be annihilated and consequently united with God after hosting Him / Her in the house.

Jones's annotation referring to 'the tale of the Stonecutter and Moses' unveils some underlying facts. Firstly, the tale contains a highly figurative language even for an Oriental taste; this could have been why Jones does not mention it directly while trying to point out the abundance of figurative speech in Oriental literature to the European readership of the time. Secondly, the exaggerated figurative language of this particular tale would have served Jones far better, compared to the Sufi routine 'blasphemy', for the portrayed picture of God is more physical and/or humanistic. While God's desire for a beautiful woman is quite rare in the Persians' mystical poetry, many instances of it could be found in the literature of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and the Hindus; this rare similarity was quite helpful in further connecting cultures between the Orient and the Occident. Thirdly, one of the significant aspects of the tales lies within the fact that it is considered to be a مکتبی *maktabi* text; such texts were an equivalent of today's standard school syllabus. In other words, any person who was literate at the time knew this tale. Therefore, the tale would have proved extremely helpful for anyone who desired to de-escalate a situation between a Muslim and a non-Muslim.

Jones's Annotations on the Market of Unity: The Sixth Volume

Jones's manuscript of Rumi's sixth volume of *Masnavi* sheds a brighter light on understanding the Unity of Being, the probability of Jones's interactions with the concept, and his general views on Persian Sufi literature. The manuscript is available in the British Library and is catalogued as RSPA 40; on its very first folio, Jones mentions some of the most prominent figures of Persian literature:

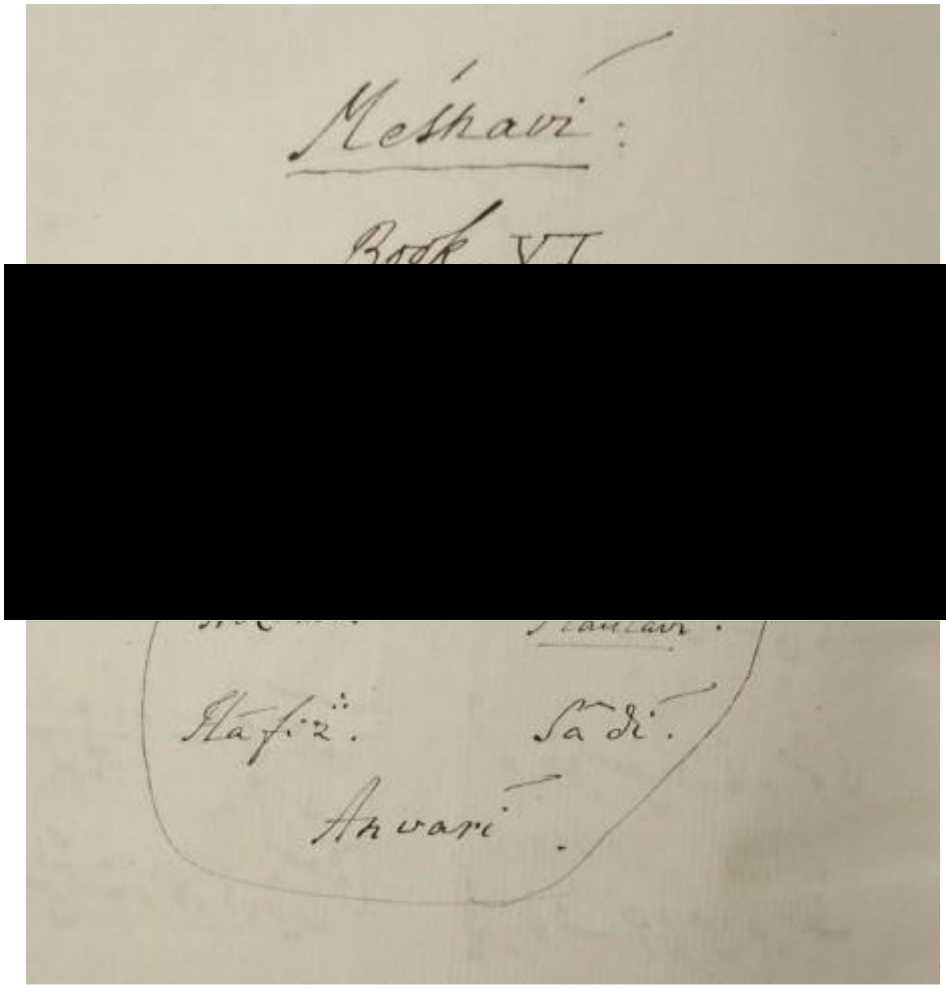

Illustration 5, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. I; Jones's list of Persian poets annotated on Rumi's *Masnavi* volume six.

It can be argued that while writing this, Jones had an ordering in mind: Ferdowsi (935-1020), the only poet in the circle who was not a Sufi, was the person who revived the Persian language and its poetical traditions. Anwari (1126 – 1189) was amongst the very first poets, if not the very first, who blended Arabian poetics, traditions, and philosophy with Persian verse. In between, Jones placed Nezami (1141–1209) and Hafez on one side and Rumi, 'Maulavi', and Sadi on the other. This positioning could have been due to the character and style of the poets: Sadi and Rumi could easily be considered as libertines and rends compared to Nezami and Hafez, who presented a contrastingly conservative portrayal of themselves. Rumi's sixth volume of *Masnavi* contains one hundred and forty chapters, and references to the Unity of Being can be found from the very beginning of the book. In the fourth chapter, Rumi elaborates 'On Free Will', stating: 'You have bestowed upon me the very first tide; otherwise, O Glorious

One, my sea would have been stagnant.'[59] Rumi's argument in the chapter is that there is no free will since all is God's Will; he further discusses his argument and later, echoing Attar's 'Sheikh Sanaan and the Christian Girl', states:

> There is no path to the Great Divine Court for one who has not been Annihilated.
> The Divine ascension is nothing but this; lovers have no religion and creed.[60]

As it can be seen below, the line 'lovers have no religion and creed' was highlighted by Jones:

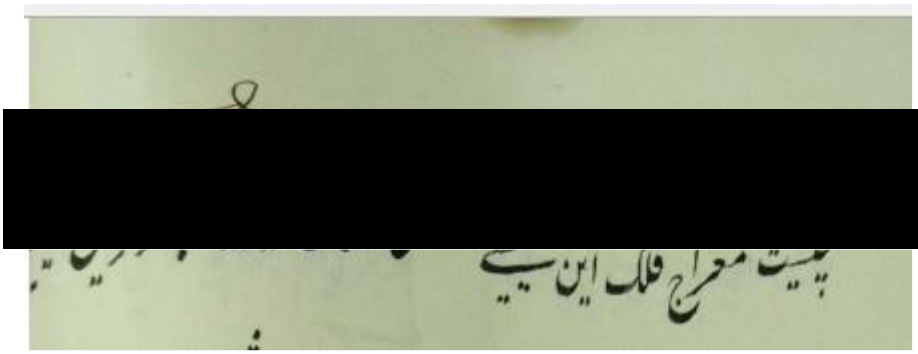

Illustration 6, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 18r; an extract showing Jones's annotation on a distich in Rumi's *Masnavi*.

By the book's twentieth chapter, the Sufi's blasphemous *vojōdi* intentions, Jones's enthusiasm, and the unrivalled Persian qualities of the verse all become evident. The chapter features a conversation between Mohammad and his wife, Aisha:

> As a test, the Prophet said, 'He can't see you, stop hiding!'
> Aisha responded, 'I see Him even if He doesn't see me!'
> Wisdom protects the virtue of the soul; these lines are full of metaphors and similes!
> Considering the concealability of the soul, why the mind is being envious of the soul?
>
> O jealous one, who are you hiding from? From the one who has concealed its face with the Light?
> This Sun is moving without any cover; its illuminating light acts as its veil![61]

---

[59] Rumi, *Masnavi*, 6: 4:

اولم این جزر و مد از تو رسید ورنه ساکن بود این بحر ای مجید

[60] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 17l, 18r:

هیچ کس را تا نگردد او فنا نیست ره در بارگاه کبریا
چیست معراج فلک این نیستی عاشقان را مذهب و دین نیستی

[61] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 48:

گفت پیغمبر برای امتحان او نمی‌بیند ترا کم شو نهان
کرد اشارت عایشه با دستها او نبیند من همی‌بینم ورا
غیرت عقل است بر خوبی روح پر ز تشبیهات و تمثیل این نصوح

As it can be seen below, in Illustration 7, Jones has marked the first two distiches of the poem, ‘As a test, the Prophet ... full of metaphors and similes.’ In addition, Jones has labelled the last two distiches, ‘O jealous one, who are you hiding from? ... its illuminating light acts as its veil!’ as ‘Fine’:

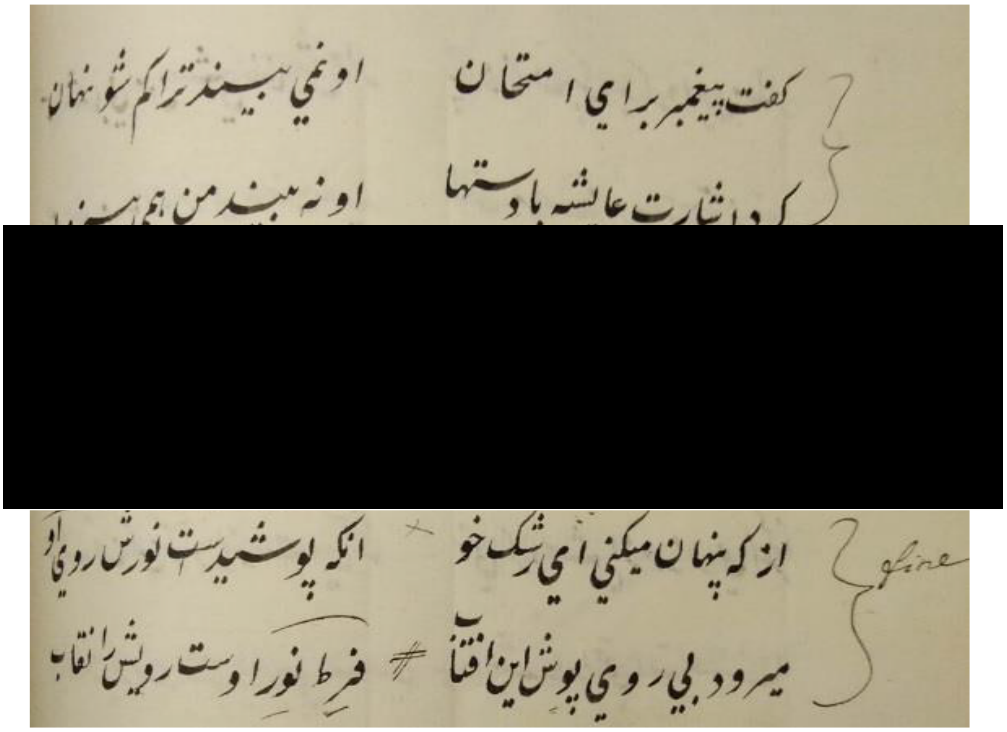

Illustration 7, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 48; Jones’s annotations on Rumi’s tale of Mohammad and Aisha.

In the last two distiches, Rumi is alluding to Attar’s tale of ‘the Beautiful King’, whom no one could look directly at, in his *Conference of the Birds*. However, the point Rumi is trying to prove through the metaphors and similes is that although the beloved sometimes hides him/herself from the lover, the lover’s soul is aware of the beauty and existence of the beloved through its manifestation and emanation, which at the same time act as the beloved’s veil. Later in the same poem, Rumi addresses the reader, the lover, or the Sufi who tries to describe the Beloved to others:

> O nightingale, do not sing of the flower to engage the people’s attention to its scent. Engage their ears to yourself, so that the beauty of the flower does not astonish [annihilate] them!

با چنین پنهانیی کین روح راست — عقل بر وی این چنین رشکین چراست
از که پنهان می‌کنی ای رشک‌خو — آنک پوشیدست نورش روی او
می‌رود بی‌روی‌پوش این آفتاب — فرط نور اوست رویش را نقاب

As it can be seen in the illustration below, [62] Jones found these lines ‘Sweet!’ for in a sense he was acting as the nightingale who was singing of the Orient, its philosophy, mysticism, and his Beloved:

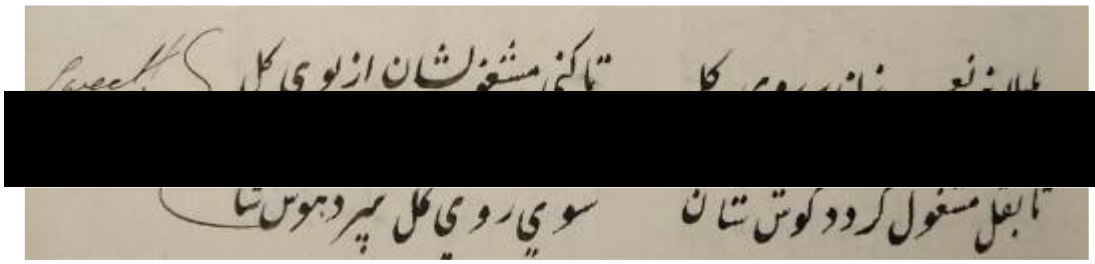

Illustration 8, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 50; Jones’s annotation on a distich of Rumi’s *Masnavi*.

By the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth folios of the manuscript, Rumi’s intention of composing the sixth volume of the *Masnavi* becomes more apparent. Some of the earliest examples of utilizing a dialogue-formed verse to criticize orthodoxy can be observed in these folios. With more challenging topics, Jones reveals his enthusiasm for Rumi’s critical poetry:

> A mystic asked a sage-priest ‘Sir, which one is older? You or your beard?’
> [He] said, I was born before it; I have seen quite a lot of this world without the beard.’
> [The mystic] said ‘Your beard has become white [pure and clean], yet your Self is still quite ugly [and dark]!
> What came out of you has grown and progressed; yet you are still dry, desiring only a piece of bread!’[63]

The illustration below shows Jones’s annotations on these folios:

[62]BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 50:

بلبلا نه نعره زن در روی گل — تا کنی مشغولشان از بوی گل
تا به قل مشغول گردد گوششان — سوی روی گل نپرد هوششان

[63] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 54-5:

عارفی پرسید زان پیر کشیش — که توی خواجه مسن‌تر یا که ریش
گفت نه من پیش ازو زاییده‌ام — بی ز ریشی بس جهان را دیده‌ام
گفت ریشت شد سپید از حال گشت — خوی زشت تو نگردیدست وشت
وا پس تو زاد و از تو بگذرید — تو چنین خشکی ز سودای ثرید

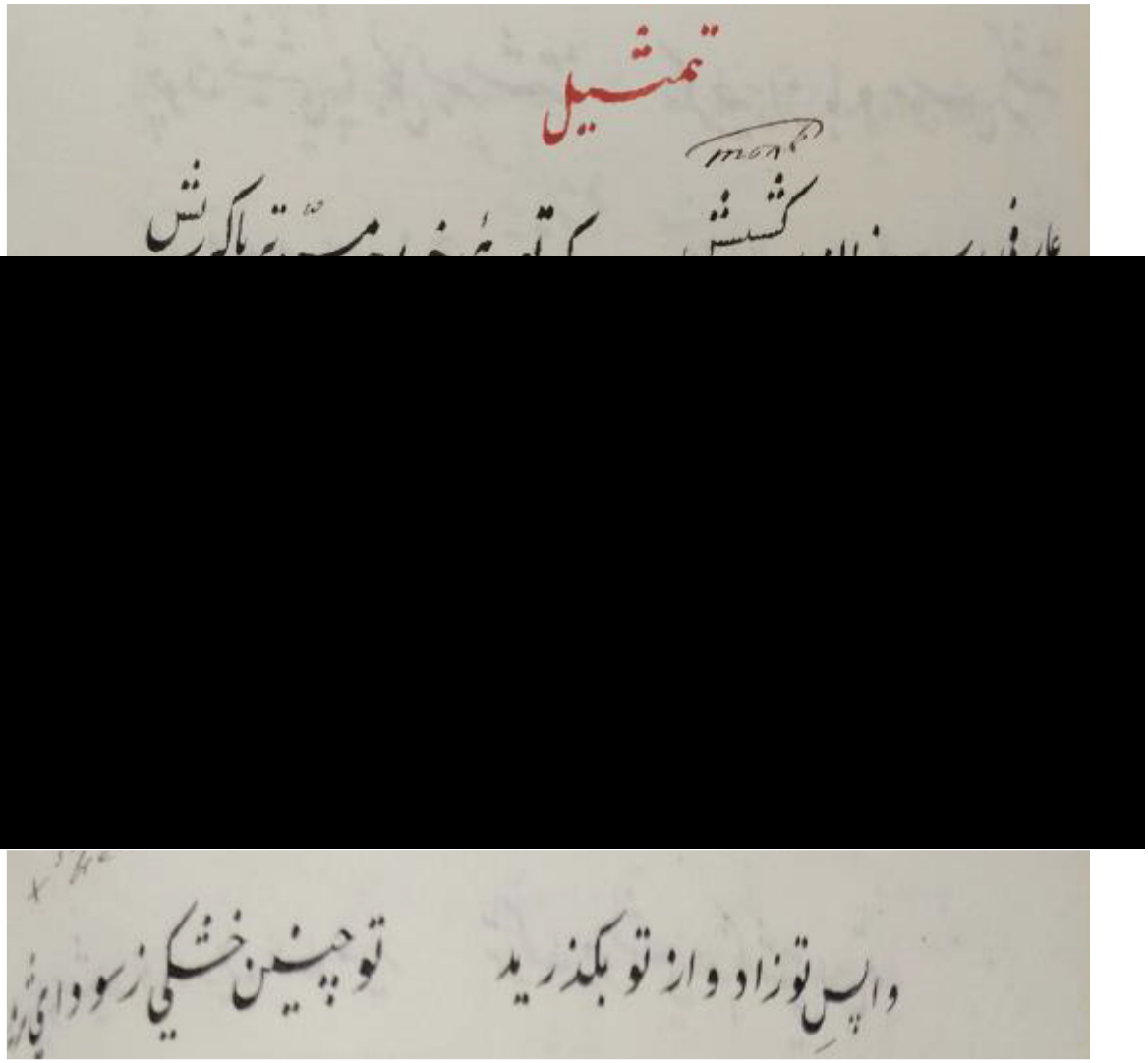

Illustration 9, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 54-5; Jones's annotation on Rumi's *Masnavi*.

As it may be observed from the folio, to Jones, a پیر کشیش *pir-e keshish*, 'old/sage priest' is not much different from a simple 'monk'; yet what initially intrigued him was the progress which the Sufis seek: to purify the dark Self. It should be mentioned that Rumi points out the growing of a 'beard' since in many Middle Eastern cultures having a beard primarily signifies having high religious affinities or social rank. Jones was aware of such cultural significances, on November 1, 1791, when he was planning his journey back to Britain through Persia, he consulted Sir Harford Jones Brydges (1764-1847), the East India Company's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Persia:

> Now my good Sir, you are the only man in the world, who can instruct me what sort of presents I should carry for the Khan of Shiraz and his Vazir: they should be such as a man of letters should present to personages of their rank, and I should presume, that the best English watches would be most acceptable. In this and other circumstances, have the goodness to be my instructor; that I must let my whiskers grow and wear a Persian

> dress will, I conclude, be necessary, and in that dress, I hope to have the pleasure, in the spring of 1794 of assuring you in person how truly and thankful I am.[64]

Brydges advised: 'You may begin to suffer your Beard to grow on the Passage from Bombay. Nobody in Persia thinks of bereaving the face of what they are pleased to term its greatest Ornament.'[65] However, what Rumi refers to in this poem is different: the priest's beard signifies high religious affinity, which leads to religious extremism and narrowmindedness; this is referred to in the poem by being 'dry.' While Jones found Rumi's satirical metaphor 'good', to a modern reader, Jones's annotation 'sliced bread' on 'What came out of you has grown and progressed; yet you are still dry, desiring only a piece of bread' could demonstrate the particular enthusiasm he had for the witty Sufi *rend*.

Jones's Annotations on the Market of Unity: The Sixth Volume, 'The Freedom of Bilal'

Another part of the book which caught Jones's detailed attention is where Rumi relates the tale of Mohammad buying a black slave from a Jew. During Mohammad's time, Ethiopians were enslaved by the natives of Arabia, and slavery was one of the many issues Mohammad tackled as soon as he became a prophet. One way Mohammad stood against slavery before establishing a governing body in Medina (624 AD), which resulted in anti-slavery laws, was to buy slaves from the merchants or owners and grant them freedom. Before moving to Rumi's tale, it is relevant to point out that Jones, in his 'Charge to the Grand Jury' in Calcutta on June 10, 1785, stated:

> I have slaves, whom I rescued from death or misery, but consider them as other servants, and shall certainly tell them so, when they are old enough to comprehend the difference of the terms. Slaves, then, if so we must call them, ought not to be treated more severely than servants by the year or by the month; and the correction of them should ever be proportioned to their offence: that it should never be wanton or unjust, all must agree.[66]

Jones made 'no scruple to declare' his 'opinion'[67] that echoed Mohammad's tradition as well as some of the events occurring in Rumi's tale. The tale recounts Bilal's (580-640 AD) story, who came to be one of the prophet's most trusted and loyal companions and the first reciter of

[64] Michael J. Franklin, "'I Burn with a Desire of Seeing Shiraz': A New Letter from Sir William Jones to Harford Jones," *The Review of English Studies*, 56: 227 (2005), 749-57: 751.
[65] Franklin, "'I Burn with a Desire of Seeing Shiraz'", 751.
[66] Jones, *The Works*, 7: 15.
[67] Jones, *The Works*, 7: 14.

the Islamic ‘call to prayer’. The tale starts with Bilal’s conversion to Islam, which his Jewish master was not happy with. Since Muslims were prosecuted when Bilal converted to Islam, he was being tortured for his unruly conversion and the fact that he was a black slave. [68] The torture images echo Christ’s passion and the last living days of Hallaj, perhaps the earliest *vojōdi* Sufi who was prosecuted for blasphemy. In response to the torture, Bilal was shouting احد احد *ahad ahad*, ‘One! One!’. The news reaches Mohammad, and he instructs one of his companions, Abu Bakr (573-634 AD), to go there, buy Bilal, and release him from slavery. Rumi restates Mohammad’s instructions to release the slave at any cost; if the asking price is too much, they will share it! When Abu Bakr arrives at the master’s place, he asks to buy Bilal, and the master responds that due to the torture, Bilal’s bones are broken, and he will not be a good slave ever again. To which, reiterating what Mohammad said to him, Abu Bakr responds:

> The bones and the wind [physical aspects] are just a cover.
> In this world and the hereafter, there is none but God.[69]

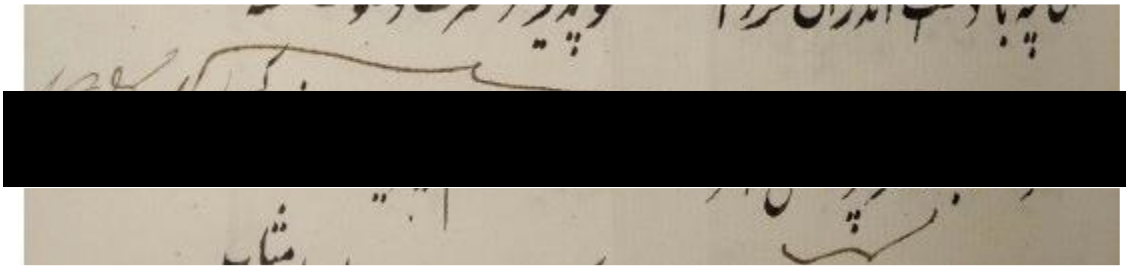

Illustration 10, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 87; Jones’s comparative annotation on Rumi’s ‘Freedom of Bilal’.

Jones wrote the marginal comment ‘Vedanta’ by Abu Bakr’s *vojōdi* response. This comparative annotation is entirely accurate since, according to the Vedanta philosophy, mainly Advaita Vedanta and Shuddhadvaita, there is nothing but Brahma. Jones referred to this aspect of Vedanta in his ‘On the Philosophy:’

> The fundamental tenet of the Vedanti school […] consisted, not in denying the existence of matter, that is, of solidity, impenetrability, and extended figure (to deny which would be lunacy), but, in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending, that it has no essence independent of mental perception, that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearances and sensations are illusory, and would

[68] Sir William Muir, *The Life of Mohammad From Original Sources*, (Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1923), 59.
Muhammad Abdul-Rauf, *Bilāl Ibn Rabāh: A Leading Companion of The Prophet Muhammad (SAW)*, (Indianapolis, IN: American Trust Publications, 1977), 5.
[69] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 87:
استخوان و باد روپوش است و بس در دو عالم غیر یزدان نیست کس

vanish into nothing, if the divine energy, which alone sustains them, were suspended but for a moment;[70]

In the essay, Jones further elaborates that such a relationship between the existence and the Divine, which has been demonstrated in Rumi's distich, has been adopted from Vedantic schools by Epicharmus (d. 448 BC) and Plato. Jones follows his statement by pointing out that such views, whether called Neoplatonism, Vedantism, or the Unity of Being, have 'been maintained in the present century with great elegance but with little publick applause.' This is where he reiterates that such syncretic views have partly 'been misunderstood' and/or have been 'misapplied by the false reasoning of some unpopular writers, who are said to have disbelieved in the moral attributes of GOD, whose omnipresence, wisdom, and goodness are the basis of the Indian philosophy'.[71] It is these misunderstandings that led to prosecutions of the *vojōdi* Sufis such as Hallaj. Later in this chapter, the application of such syncretic views and the misunderstanding they caused in Mughal India will be discussed.

In Rumi's tale, after Abu Bakr buys Bilal, the Jewish master laughs at him for he has paid too much for a 'broken black slave'. Abu Bakr responds by saying that what he has purchased is beyond material goods and worldly possessions. Rumi's Abu Bakr concludes his argument by saying: 'This is yours and that is mine, [therefore] we have both gained profit./ O Jew! For you is your religion, and for me is my religion.'[72] The distich's second line, 'For you is your religion, and for me is my religion', is Rumi quoting from the *Quran*'s hundred and ninth *sūrah* [chapter] entitled 'On the Infidels.'[73] The *Surah* itself has many significances: firstly, it is one of the four sūrahs which starts with Allah commanding Mohammad to 'Say …' something. There are three other *Surah*s in which God commands the readers to 'Say' something; two of them are recommended by Mohammad's tradition to be recited in the

[70] Jones, *The Works*, 1: 239.
[71] Jones, *The Works*, 1: 239.
[72] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, 91:

این تو را و آن مرا بردیم سود　　هین لکم دین ولی دین ای جهود

[73] *The Quran* 109:1-6:

قُلْ يَا أَيُّهَا الْكَافِرُونَ ﴿١﴾ لا أَعْبُدُ مَا تَعْبُدُونَ ﴿٢﴾ وَلا أَنْتُمْ عَابِدُونَ مَا أَعْبُدُ ﴿٣﴾ وَلا أَنَا عَابِدٌ مَا عَبَدْتُمْ ﴿٤﴾ وَلا أَنْتُمْ عَابِدُونَ مَا أَعْبُدُ ﴿٥﴾ لَكُمْ دِينُكُمْ وَلِيَ دِينِ ﴿٦﴾

> 'Say, "O Infidels, (1) I do not worship what you worship. (2) And you are not worshippers of what I worship. (3) And I will not be a worshipper of what you worship. (4) And you will not be worshippers of what I worship. (5) For you is your religion, and for me is my religion. (6)"'

Muslim daily prayer, known as Salah, while the third one is a mandatory part of the Muslim prayer. Another significance of this particular *Surah* is that it is the only one in the *Quran* which does not start with 'In the name of Allah'. This is due to the fact that this *Surah*, as its name suggests, is addressed to the كافرون *kāferōn*, 'infidels', people who are against Allah. This could be interpreted as Allah's trying to convey a message to people who are against him/her in the *Surah*; the message is: people against Allah should follow their path, and the followers of Allah should follow their own. In order not to cause any further dispute between the two, the *Surah* does not start with 'In the name of Allah;' since the 'infidels' disagree with the phrase. It also should be pointed out that considering the *Surah*'s content, a Muslim should not seek retribution against the 'infidels' who only follow their own religion or path. Jones gave particular attention to Rumi reciting this Quranic verse,[74] even when the scribe who composed the manuscript has forgotten to put the vowels of the Arabic text. As it can be seen below, Jones adds the vowels to the text himself:

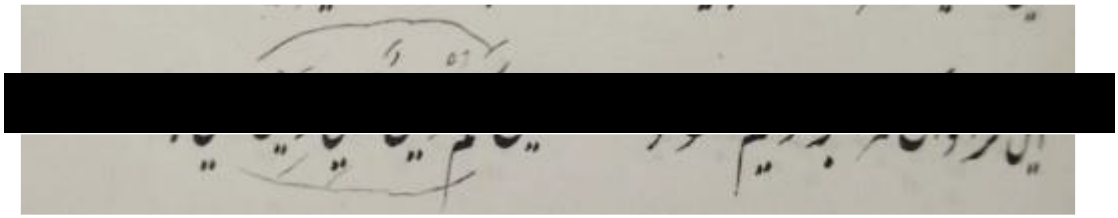

Illustration 11, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, 91; Jones's correction on Rumi's *Masnavi*.

Jones's handwriting over the Quranic text points out a few key facts about this line; firstly, I must mention that Muslims consider it highly disrespectful or even a sin to write on the *Quran* or alter its text in any manner. Jones was indeed aware of this, and consequently, even though he had a habit of annotating the texts he read, he did not write a single annotation on his personal manuscript of the *Quran*.[75] Jones's annotations on this hemistich, correcting a forgetful Persian-speaking scribe and recreating what Rumi had intended, is yet another evidence of his respect for the faith and its beliefs. Another vital point that might have caught Jones's attention is the circumstances in which Rumi has used his Quranic quotation. According to Islam, there is much difference between a كافر *kāfer*, 'infidel' and the اهل الكتاب *ahl al-ketāb*, 'People of the Book': Jews, Christians, Sabians, and sometimes other religions such as Zoroastrians.[76] However, in this case, the terminology in which an infidel has to be

[74] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 91.
[75] BL, APAC, RSPA 82.
[76] 'Ahl al-Kitab', *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10.

addressed is used for a Jew; the rationale behind this is mentioned implicitly in Mohammad's instruction to Abu Bakr, the instruction was: the Jewish slaver is unable to comprehend the true worth of Bilal, all he cares for is money, and thus if he asks for an unreasonable amount we, Mohammad and Abu Bakr, should share it. The implied point surfaces when Abu Bakr is negotiating over Bilal; at first, the slave master says that this particular black slave is not worth anything, to which Abu Bakr responds: 'If you truly believe in your religion, how could you torture one who speaks of the Truth? / [So] you are only Jewish in a material way [on the surface]; hence, you are torturing a faithful prince!' In this extract, firstly, Rumi emphasizes one of the fundamental similarities of Judaism and Islam: they are both monotheistic; however, as the Jew is torturing a fellow monotheist, Rumi questions his belief in the tenets of Judaism. Consequently, Rumi concludes that the Jew is not, in fact, a proper Jew, as he does not care for others who share Jewish/monotheistic beliefs, and therefore he is an infidel.

In the tale's conclusion, Bilal is bought from the slaver and released; however, the slaver who only had a passion for money noticed that Abu Bakr had his eyes only on Bilal and therefore sold him to Abu Bakr for a high price. Abu Bakr pays all the money by himself, which was not in accord with Mohammad's instructions of sharing the price. Thus, the finale of the tale contains the reunion of Bilal with Mohammad as well as the prophet enquiring about the reason behind Abu Bakr's unwillingness to share the price of the slave's freedom:

> [the prophet] said: 'my friend, I told you to share this great virtuous deed with me.'
> [Abu Bakr] said: 'both of us [Bilal and himself] have become the slaves of your mansion; just for thy beautiful cheek, I released him.
> I will not ask for freedom, as long as you keep me your slave and companion.
> Your service is my freedom; without you, all is burden and unjust for me.'[77]

It should be pointed out that in this tale, the Jewish slave-master represents نفس عمّاره *nafs-e amāreh*, 'the self-inciting self', Bilal is represented as نفس مُلهَمه *nafs-e molhameh*, 'the self-inspiring self' who eventually is released from the inciting self, and Abu Bakr represents نفس لَوّامه *nafs-e lavāmeh*, 'the self-accusing self' who takes orders from نفس مُطمَئنّه *nafs-e motmaeneh*, 'the content self', which has been reunited with God and thus it is God; Rumi

[77] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 91-2:

گفت ای صدیق آخر گفتمت — که مرا انباز کن در مکرمت
گفت ما دو بندگان کوی تو — کردمش آزاد من بر روی تو
تو مرا می‌دار بنده و یار غار — هیچ آزادی نخواهم زینهار
که مرا از بندگیت آزادی است — بی تو بر من محنت و بیدادی است

represented the content self as Mohammad. While establishing whether Jones was thoroughly aware of the depth of the symbols of slavery in this story or not, it can be strongly asserted that he knew some of these terminologies as well as how Sufis used symbolism and philosophical tenets in their poetry; for example, symbolism with similar nature was used in Minnat's panegyric verses dedicated to Jones and Hastings.[78] Another example which could signify his proper understanding of the verse could be found in his annotation on the line in which the self-accusing self, Abu Bakr, addresses the content self, or Mohammad: 'Your service is my freedom; without you, all is a burden and unjust for me.'[79]

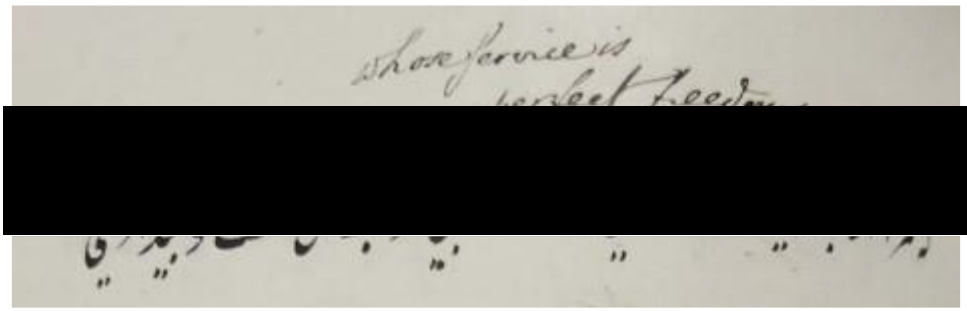

Illustration 12, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, 92; Jones's comparative remark on Rumi's *Masnavi*.

By writing 'whose service is perfect freedom', Jones draws a parallel between Rumi's line, in the *Market of Unity*, and the Book of Common Prayer of the Anglican church:

> O God, who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom; Defend us thy humble servants in all assaults of our enemies.[80]

While Rumi's distich to an ordinary reader is simply Abu Bakr addressing Mohammad, to one with some knowledge of Sufism, or enough imagination, it could be interpreted as a lover addressing a beloved. At first glance, one might think that the prayer has nothing in common with the line, for one is addressed to God and the other to Mohammad, who is not God. However, should one consider the complete image portrayed in the verse Jones has referred to,

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[78] For example, in BL, APAC, Or. 6633, f. 67r:

آنقدر فرق ز قدر تو بود تا به عقول که بود تا به مواليد زعقل اول

The distich literally translates to 'The difference between your status and the intellects, is similar to the difference between the animals and the first intellect.' Its translation in Aristotelian terms is: 'The difference between your status and the universal intelligence is similar to the difference between the primal intelligence and the three kingdoms.'

[79] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 92:

که مرا از بندگیت آزادی است بی تو بر من محنت و بیدادی است

[80] *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, C. Hefling, & C. Shattuck (eds.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 143.

specifically ‘O God, … Defend us thy humble servants in all assaults of our enemies’, the pieces dovetail: Jones indeed was aware of Rumi’s utilization of Mohammad as ‘the content self’, for it is the self which has become one with God. Consequently, to Jones, the assaulting enemies, much like the torturing slave master, was nothing but the self-inciting self; while he acted as the servant self-accusing self, or Abu Bakr, to save the enslaved self-inspiring self, or Bilal.

Jones’s Annotations on the Market of Unity: The Sixth Volume, ‘The Tale of the Wretched’

Another extract of Rumi’s *Masnavi* which caught Jones’s attention is found in the ‘Tale of the Wretched’: a person becomes quite sick, and in a wretched state, a doctor instructs him that in order to be healed, he should not suppress any of his desires. As the wretched one comes out of the doctor’s surgery, he sees a Sufi sitting by a river. Suddenly, seeing the back of the Sufi’s neck, the wretched man feels the strongest urge to slap it! At first, he decides to suppress the urge, yet he recalls the doctor’s prescription! He proceeds and slaps the Sufi on the back of the neck; the Sufi turns around to see who was responsible and possibly to return the blow. However, as soon as he sees the poor state of the wretched, he debates whether or not he should hit him back. During the Sufi’s debate with himself, he realizes that he should forget about immediate revenge and take the wretched to court since the other person is not healthy. The following extract is where he realizes that in life, people should be patient and not look for an immediate outcome:

> Observe. A wise person will spend days and nights seeking nothing.
> [Similar to] a beggar who does not expect [immediate] generosity; [or] a shopkeeper who is not after immediate profit.
> There is no one expecting immediate greenery in a [new] garden, there is no place for a [fully grown] palm tree in farms.
> There is no one in the Madrasas seeking instant knowledge, no one in the convents seeks after wisdom.
> They have put what exists behind them; serving and seeking what does not exist.
> I have already disclosed the mystery to you: see both [what exists and what does not] as one, do not count them as two. [81]

[81] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 115:

این ببین باری که هر کش عقل هست — روز و شب در جستجوی نیست هست
در گدایی طالب جودی که نیست — بر دکانها طالب سودی که نیست
در مزارع طالب دخلی که نیست — در مغارس طالب نخلی که نیست

Most of the lines in the passage are quite straightforward to comprehend; as it can be seen below, Jones took notice of the whole passage:

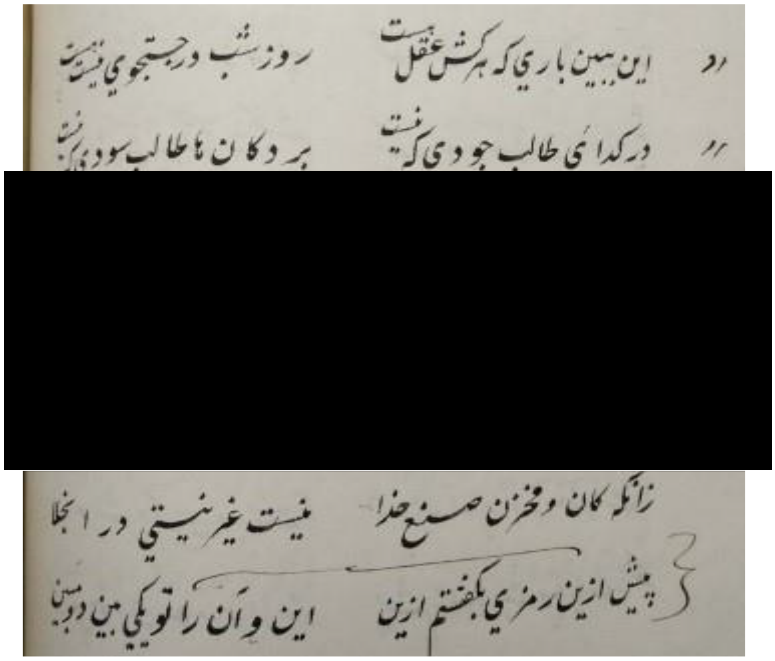

Illustration 13, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 115; Jones's annotations on Rumi's 'Tale of the Wretched'.

However, he put specific emphasis on the fourth distich, 'There is no one in the Madrasas seeking knowledge, no one in the convents seeks after wisdom.' The distich is open to be interpreted as a criticism on the orthodoxy of mainstream Islam and Christianity, as well as the last line which is one of the fundamental tenets of the Unity of Being: 'I have already disclosed the mystery to you: see both as one, do not count them as two.' It might seem rather strange for the tale's Sufi, or Rumi for that matter, to utilize a poem revolving around the theme of patience in order to convey pluralistic messages. However, as it can be observed, of all the lines in the passage, Jones was keener on two which had *vojōdi* and pluralistic significance.

Jones's Annotations on the Market of Unity: The Sixth Volume, 'The Tale of the Three Travellers'

The following tale of the book which aroused Jones's attention is entitled 'The Tale of the Three Travellers'. Rumi starts the tale with:

در مدارس طالب علمی که نیست — در صوامع طالب حلمی که نیست
پیش ازین رمزی بگفتم ازین — این و آن را تو یکی بین دو مبین

Observe that Jew and Christian, who in a journey, became companions of a Faithful one [Muslim].
Two Infidels[82] became companions of a Faithful, just like the Self and the Self-Inciting Self [who accompany] Wisdom.
People of the East, the West, and the Beyond settled in a Caravanserai to spend the night.[83]

After describing the setting of the story, a Caravanserai secluded from the rest of the world, and stating the obvious differences between the travellers, Rumi emphasizes their similarities: 'Observe your own body: see where [and how] the different parts gathered in it: / water, earth, air, and fire; divine, carnal, black and white.'[84] Quite similar yet very different, the three travellers faced a challenge: during their journey and their settlement in the caravanserai, they had limited food resources. While the Jew and the Christian did not want to have the food right away, the Muslim who had been fasting all day was hungry. This challenge causes a debate between them, resulting in them agreeing on not having the food immediately. They decide to sleep first, and whoever has had the most intriguing dream will have the food. After waking up, the Jew recalls that in his dream, he saw Moses on Mount Sinai while conversing with God through the burning bush; the Jew joins the conversation and consequently becomes aware of God's messages to Moses. The Christian, attempting to present a superior challenge, says that he has dreamed that Jesus took him to heaven and many divine matters were revealed to him. Unbeknown to the Jew and the Christian, the hungry Muslim had woken up earlier than either of them and eaten all the food. However, following the other two, the Muslim shares his dream using a sarcastic tone to point out that the two have lied. Mohammad appears to him in his dream, saying that one of your companions has travelled to Mount Sinai and is busy talking to Moses and God; the other is spending his time with Jesus and learning all of the divine secrets. In order for you not to fall behind, you must wake up and eat the food! Eventually, the Jew and the Christian agree that one must obey the direct order of a prophet. Jones has made various annotations on the tale, and it is quite fascinating that all of them are on the lines that are either

[82] The word Rumi uses here is گمراه *gomrāh*, 'astray.'
[83] Rumi, *Masnavi*, 6: 80; also, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f.162:

آن جهود و مؤمن و ترسا نگر — همرهی کردند با هم در سفر
با دو گمره همره آمد مؤمنی — چون خرد با نفس و با آهرمنی
...
کرده منزل شب به یک کاروانسرا — اهل شرق و اهل غرب و ما ورا

[84] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 163:

در تن خود بنگر این اجزای تن — از کجاها گرد آمد در بدن
آبی و خاکی و بادی و آتشی — عرشی و فرشی و رومی و گشی

Jones took interest in this distich and has translated گشی *gashi*, which figuratively means 'black.'

pluralistic and *vojōdi*, or they can be interpreted as such. One of the earliest annotations is on a line in which Rumi is talking about the morning after; he states that the travellers in the Caravanserai woke up, washed, and started to pray, each in their own colour:

'Jews, pagans, Christians, and the Magis became homochromatic by the Great One.'[85]

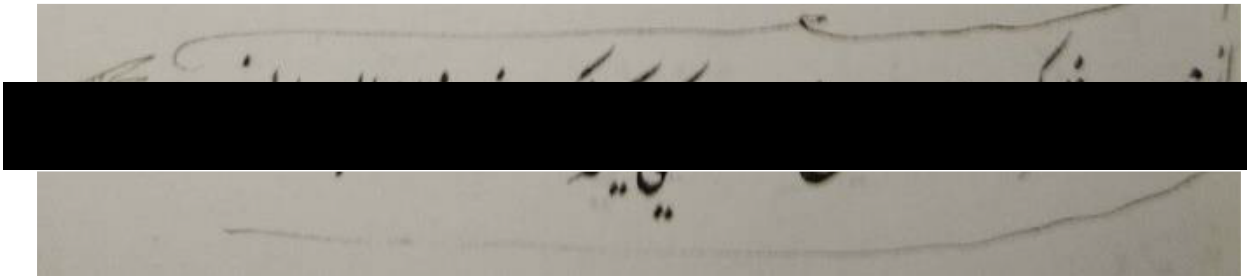

Illustration 14, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 150; Jones's annotations on Rumi's *Masnavi*.

As can be seen in the photograph above, Jones uses the device of a pointed finger to direct attention to Rumi's line, stating that although different religions appear in different colours, they are all of one source. Looking for resources in a very colourful subcontinent, Jones was indeed seeking a homochromatic unifying light. It is not hard to grasp that Jones indeed had realized that he could find the Great One's illuminating and unifying light in the Sufis' poetry and Vedantic philosophy.

In the *Bhagavad Gita*, the Goddess of the Vedic Mantra, the poetic metre and form of Hindu hymns, is named Gáyatrí; according to Jones and the Vedic texts, Gáyatrí is also 'the holiest hymn in the Veda'.[86] In his notes for the Discourse, 'Extract of a Dissertation on the Primitive Religion of the Hindus'[87] which he was unable to finish due to his tragic death in 1794, Jones provided a translation of Gáyatrí as the 'holiest hymn':

> Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun, the godhead who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress toward his holy seat. What the sun and light are to this visible world, that are the Supreme good and truth to the intellectual and invisible universe; and, as our corporeal eyes have a distinct perception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus our souls acquire certain knowledge, by meditating on the light of truth, which emanates from the Being of beings; that is the light by which alone our minds can be directed in the path to beatitude. [88]

[85] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 150:
از جهود و مشرک و ترسا و مغ جملگی یکـرنگ شد زان الپ الغ
[86] Jones, *The Works*, 13: 365.
[87] Jones, *The Works*, 13: 365-84.
[88] Jones, *The Works*, 8: 365.

In his *The Institutes of Hindu Law* (1796), Jones further explains that Gáyatrí is not the worship of the 'visible material sun,' yet it is that of the 'divine and incomparably greater light…which illuminates all…and which alone can irradiate (not our visual organs merely, but our souls and) our intellects.'[89] Intriguingly, Jones's *Institutes of Hindu Law* (1796) also elaborates that by 'the sole repetition of Gáyatrí, a priest may indubitably attain beatitude, let him perform, or not perform, any other religious act'; since by such repetition, one becomes 'united to the Great One'.[90] The Osborne c. 400 collection contains Jones's repetition of Rumi's Gáyatrí in his own Persian handwriting: 'The faithful, Christian, Jew, Geber, and the Magi; all head toward that Great King.'[91] Please see the illustration below:

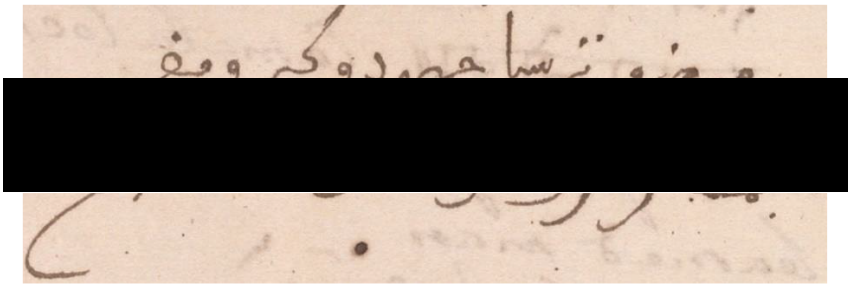

Illustration 15, Osborn c. 400, f. 96; Jones's recitation of Rumi's distich.

Jones both invokes and enunciates Gáyatrí in his 'Hymn to Súrya' (1787), a fitting invocation to the Hindu illuminating Sun-god:

> FOUNTAIN of living light
> That o er all nature streams,
> Of this vast microcosm both nerve and soul;
> Whose swift and subtil beams, Eluding mortal sight,
> Pervade attract sustain th' effulgent whole,
> Unite, impel, dilate, calcine, [92]

[89] Sir William Jones, *Institutes of Hindu law, or, The Ordinances of Menu, according to the gloss of Cullúca: comprising the Indian system of Duties, religious and civil: verbally translated from the original Sanscrit: with a preface, by Sir William Jones*, (Calcutta: East India Company Press, 1796), xvi.
[90] Jones, *Institutes of Hindu law*, 125-6.
[91] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400, f. 96:
مومن و ترسا جهود و گبر و مغ جمله را رو سوی آن سلطان الغ
[92] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 281.

In this poem, Jones uses the hymn as a translational form to allow Hindu religious tradition and theology to find a 'consonant mode of expression' in English; also, the holiest religious act of Hinduism one can perform.[93]

The Great One's illuminating and unifying light is evident in another part of Rumi's *vojōdi* poetry and philosophy; where the Jew recalls his dream, he states that: 'Moses, the Mount Sanai, and I have all became lost [annihilated] in that luminating light! Eventually, from Mostafa [Mohammad]'s illuminating light, hundreds of thousands of dark places became illuminated.'[94] Further anticipating the moral and rationale behind the 'Tale of the Three Travellers', Jones came across the following part, at the end of the Jew's dream, in which Rumi states:

> All prophets were assembled, [therefore] I comprehended the unity of all prophets. That Jew continued this trail, a Jewish trail that was leading to Mohammad. Do not humiliate infidels; perhaps there is the hope of his/her dying a Muslim. What news do you have of the end of their life? [How can you] at once, turn your face from them?

Below, you can see the folio of Jones's manuscript, which contains the part of the poem I mentioned above:[95]

[93] For further analysis of the Hymn, see: Kurt Andrew Johnson, 'Sir William Jones and Representations of Hinduism in British Poetry 1784-1812', (September 2010), 59-62 [https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/1236/1/Final_Thesis.pdf].

[94] Rumi, *Masnavi*, 6: 64:

هم من و هم موسی و هم کوه طور هر سه گم گشتیم زان اشراق نور

...

آنچنان کز صقل نور مصطفی صد هزاران نوع ظلمت شد ضیا

[95] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 155:

انبیا بودند ایشان اهل ود اتحاد انبیاام فهم شد

...

زین نسق می‌گفت آن شخص جهود بس جهودی کآخرش محمود بود

هیچ کافر را به خواری منگرید که مسلمان مردنش باشد امید

چه خبر داری ز ختم عمر او تا بگردانی ازو یک‌باره رو

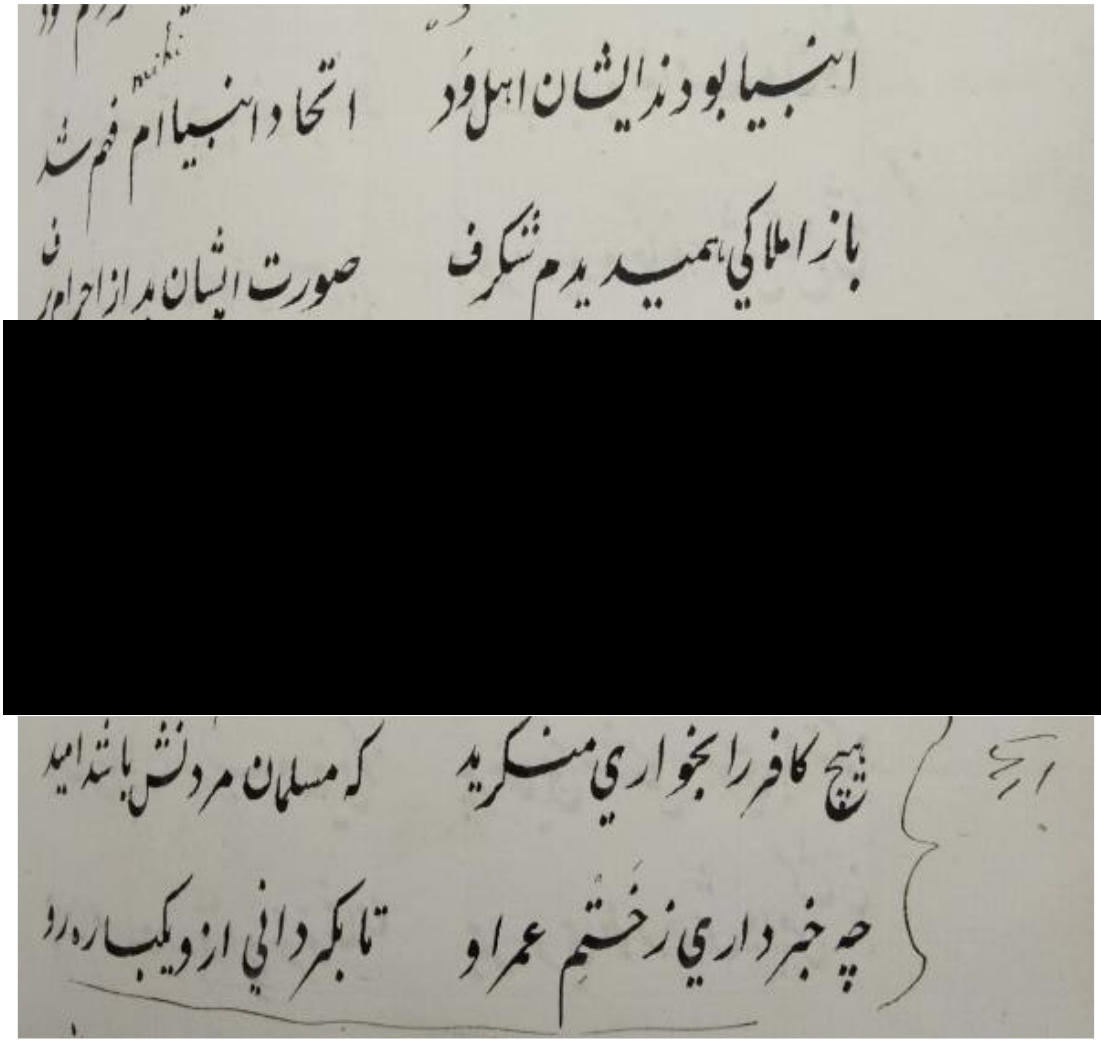

Illustration 16, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 155; Jones's annotation on Rumi's *Masnavi*.

Although this folio does not have as many annotations as some of the other folios in the manuscript, it can indeed be asserted that it contains the most remarkable annotation of the manuscript, if not the whole Royal Society Persian and Arabic collection. The first annotation of Jones is apparent on the top of the folio, where Rumi states: 'All prophets were assembled, [therefore] I comprehended the unity of all prophets.' Jones has written 'mihi', the Latin translation of the Persian ام am, 'I/me'. At first glance, what naturally comes to mind is that either Jones simply translated the Persian pronoun or, considering his views on the languages, he intended to point out the phonetical similarity of the term in both languages. Both interpretations are plausible and valid; however, a question may arise: in his collection of personal papers MSS Eur. C 274, which contains many Persian verses alongside Jones's notes of practising Persian and in one hundred and nineteen volumes of the Royal Society Persian and Arabic manuscripts, the term ام am, 'I/me' appears numerous times. The question is, considering the fact that he obtained the manuscript, RSPA 40, while he was in India, why

should he choose to write *mihi* only once and only over a *vojōdi* line which states that 'I comprehended the union of the prophets'? Could this 'mihi' suggest Jones's own mind and its reflection upon the pluralistic text as well as Rumi's significant influence on Jones? This is similar to his treatment of another verse of Rumi, which was mentioned earlier: 'While travelling, if I see India or China;/ the love of homeland shall not depart my heart.'[96] Another aspect of the exceptional nature of this folio is apparent in Jones's annotations on the bottom of it. Jones quite regularly used brackets to highlight the text; he would often use underlining as well as drawing a pointing finger, similar to writing 'NB', close to the parts of the text he was interested in. However, usually, Jones did not write any explanations about why that specific line was highlighted. Sometimes he has written hints, such as 'See Chaucer' or 'See Ferdowsi', but he never wrote why the highlighted line was significant to him apart from this folio. On the bottom of the folio, where Rumi states: 'Do not humiliate an infidel; perhaps there is the hope of his/her dying Muslim./What news do you have of the end of their life? [How can you] at once, turn your face from them?' Jones writes 'Toleration', which could be viewed as evidence of his altruism and significant interest in Sufi *vojōdi* and pluralistic conceptions.

Rumi concludes the tale in the next folio; he asserts that not only different religions, but also different beings that exist, even inanimate objects in the universe such as stones, soil, mountains, and water, have an interaction with God:

> The faithful, Christian, Jew, Virtue and Vice, all are heading toward the One.
> The faithful, Christian, Jew, Geber and Magus, all are heading toward the Great One.
> Even stones, soil, mountains, and water have some hidden interaction with God.[97]

This part of the text, which is also similar to Vedanta, as mentioned previously, did not escape Jones's keen sight; please see below:

[96] BL, APAC, RSPA 35, f. i.
[97] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 156:

مومن و ترسا، جهود و نیك و بد جملگان را هست رو سوي احد
مومن و ترسا، جهود و گبر و مغ جمله را رو سوی آنسلطان الغ
بلک سنگ و خاک و کوه و آب را هست واگشت نهانی با خدا

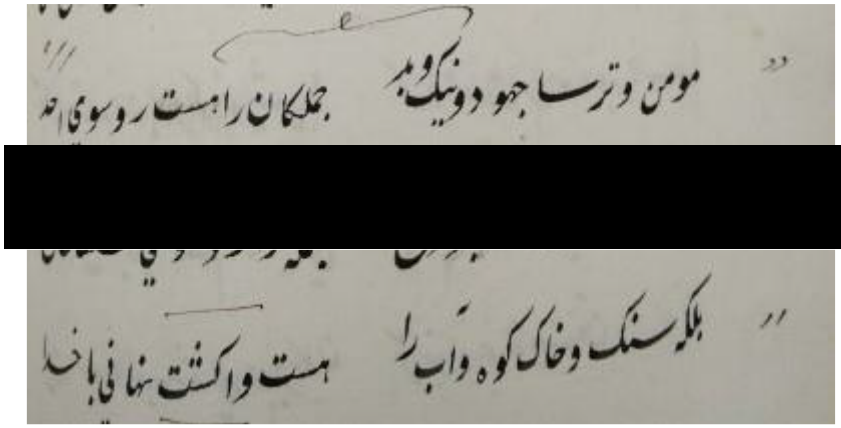

Illustration 17, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 156; Jones's annotations on Rumi's *Masnavi*.

It can be observed that Jones was familiar with Sufi philosophy and metaphysics in addition to knowing that the utilization of such points of view alongside their Hindu equivalents would promote 'Toleration' and consequently make the subcontinent more harmonious. Although his efforts, for example, translating Islamic and Hindu legal texts, were in accord with such pluralistic views, the question of why he did not directly address or mention the 'Unity of Being' remains. One must consider some points if he/she seeks an answer to that question. Firstly, it should be considered that many of Jones's letters and manuscripts are still under-researched; for example, the Royal Society's manuscripts or the three letters of Jones, which were 'discovered' quite recently.[98] Secondly, due to the nature of the 'Unity of Being' and the fact that most of its followers were and are being prosecuted, it was likely that addressing it directly at the time of Jones in India would have been more tumultuous than harmonizing; in Jones's words such acts would meet 'with little publick applause'.[99] Thirdly, the *vojōdi* masters had advised against challenging the orthodoxy of the masses. For example, in one of the concluding parts of the sixth volume of the *Masnavi*, Rumi advises the reader not to try to convince an ignorant person, no matter how righteous the reader is. In order to further validate his argument, Rumi utilizes a debate between Abraham and Nimrod; after that, Rumi states that even if the reader travels to China, signifying a foreign land, he/she should not argue with or try to change the beliefs of the natives, no matter what those beliefs are:

> Do not seek scandal [audacity] in China, use your wit, do not exclude it!
> The Plato of times' advice is to leave such challenges and [pretend] to be on the same path as them!
> In China, everyone strongly claims that 'the King has not been born [like any other

[98]Joshua Ehrlich, 'Empire and Enlightenment in Three Letters from Sir William Jones to Governor-General John Macpherson', *The Historical Journal*, 62:2, (2019), 541-51.
[99] Jones, *The Works*, 1:239; This will be addressed later in this chapter.

human being’].
Our King did not have any children either, for he did not consort with any woman!’
Whoever states anything other than this about the King, a blade will become consort to their neck!
The King will say ‘now that you have such claims, you have to prove that I have a wife!
Should you be able to prove such a girl exists, I will grant you safety.
Otherwise, without any doubts, I will cut off your throat! I will take away, your worthless Sufi life!’[100]

Given the fact that Jones paid extra attention to the poem, as seen in the folio below,[101] he might have taken Rumi’s advice in order not to cause scandal, audacity, and turmoil in a foreign land.

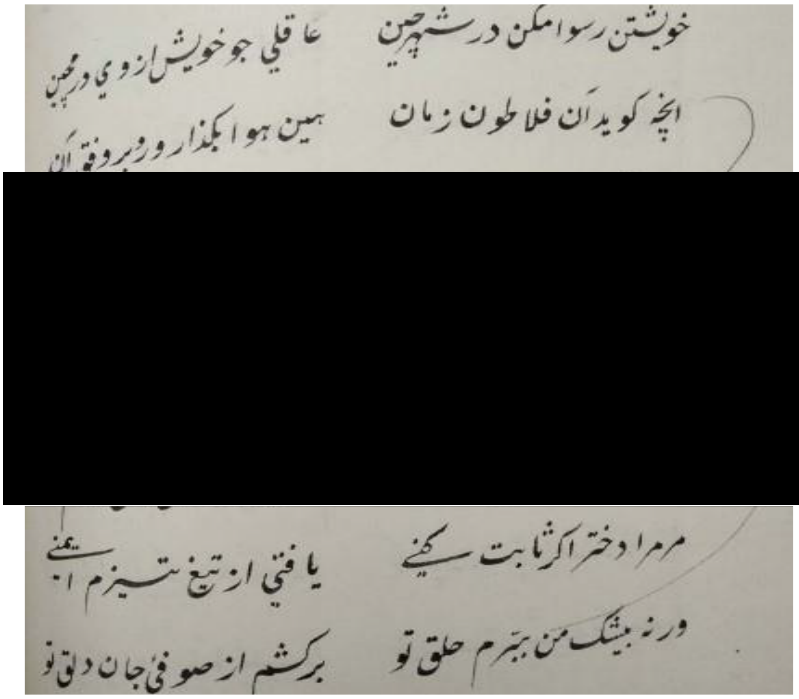

Illustration 18, BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 180; Jones’s annotation on Rumi’s *Masnavi*.

[100] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 180:

خویشتن رسوا مکن در شهر چین — عاقلی جو خویش از وی در مچین
آن چه گوید آن فلاطون زمان — هین هوا بگذار و رو بر وفق آن
جمله می‌گویند اندر چین به جد — بهر شاه خویشتن که لم یلد
شاه ما خود هیچ فرزندی نزاد — بلک سوی خویش زن را ره نداد
هر که از شاهان ازین نوعش بگفت — گردنش با تیغ بران کرد جفت
شاه گوید چونک گفتی این مقال — یا بکن ثابت که دارم من عیال
مر مرا دختر اگر ثابت کنی — یافتی از تیغ تیزم آمنی
ورنه بی‌شک من ببرم حلق تو — برکشم از صوفی جان دلق تو

[101] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 180.

The third and fourth distiches of the extract represent an allusion to the *Quran*; as mentioned previously, there are four *Surah*s which start with 'Say...', Rumi quotes parts of one of the fourth *Surah*s at the end of the third line and translates the other parts of it in the fourth line.[102] Rumi's verse, which is addressed to Sufis, could be interpreted as a criticism of the ignorance which was presented in Islamic orthodoxy: should one realize that in Persian, the terms شاه *shāh*, 'king' and خدا *khodā*, 'God' were interchangeable until two or three centuries ago. Hence, the ignorant masses of the far-away land were literally repeating what the Muslims say about Allah. It is quite likely that Rumi has utilized the lexical interchangeability and only changed the settings of such orthodox beliefs while stating some of the fundamental Islamic, or Abrahamic, views. The circumstances that Rumi describes in the poem are quite similar to Jones's situation in India, as discussed later.

The Unity of Witnesses

Before moving to the next part of the chapter, it is fitting to briefly mention another doctrine of Islamic mysticism which played a massive role in India: وحدت شـهود *vahdat-e shohōd*, 'the unity of witnesses'[103] which in some respects opposes the former doctrine. The Unity of Being has had many critics from the beginning of its existence, some of whom were amongst the Sufis. The Sufi critics of the Unity of Being substituted the role of subject for the object in the Unity of Being, and the new doctrine was called 'The Unity of Witnesses'. According to the new doctrine, any type of Unification between the Creator and the creation does not have any manifestation, emanation, or appearance in the material world. Furthermore, the Union is purely subjective and depends on the mind of the individual. One of the major results of this particular point of view is that the Creator and the creation are not identical but entirely separate from each other; the creation is more of a shadow or reflection, not a manifestation and portrayal, of the Divine's Attributes. A tale from Rumi's *Masnavi* is quite helpful in understanding the doctrine of the Unity of Witnesses: an elephant was in a dark room, different people went inside and tried to describe the elephant. One, touching the elephant's trunk, described the elephant as an animal like a downpipe; another one, touching its ear, described it

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[102] *The Quran*, 112: 1-4.

قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ ﴿١﴾ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ ﴿٢﴾ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ ﴿٣﴾ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ ﴿٤﴾

'Say, "He is God, the One. God, the Absolute. He begets not, nor was He begotten. And there is none comparable to Him."'

[103] The term's Arabic transliteration is *Wahdat al-Shuhud*.

as a flag-like animal. So on and so forth, people described the elephant as pillars – its feet – or even a bed – its back.[104] In this tale, the witnesses described a singular unity, and although their description was true, it was according to their subjective perception of the object. The difference between the two doctrines arises from the point that the Unity of Being states that the people have similarities – and are one – with the elephant, while the unity of witnesses states that there are no similarities between the people and the elephant. Many scholars have stated that the difference between the two doctrines is merely semantics due to the ambiguity of their metaphors and language. Others believe the Unity of Witnesses acts as an introduction to the Unity of Being. However, the debate on the subject of the relationship between the Creator and creation is still ongoing. In fact, this relationship – between the Creator and the creation – causes the turmoil between different sects of Islam and its mystical schools, i.e. Sufism; the debate, depending on what one believes, could result in accusations of blasphemy and/or heresy by another. The leading Sufi who founded the doctrine of the Unity of Witnesses was Ala o-dole Simnani (1261-1336), an eminent saint of the Chishti Order, who had moved to India from Iran. Simnani wrote many critical texts and marginal notes on Ibn-Arabi's *The Bezels of Wisdom*. The annotations attracted a huge number of followers, particularly in the sub-continent; among those followers were Ahmed Sirhindi (1564-1624)[105] and Aurangzeb (1615-1704), also known as 'the world conqueror', who will be mentioned later in this chapter while discussing the role which the Unity of Being played in Akbar's court.

Sufism and Politics in Medieval India

The earliest centres of Sufism in the subcontinent were built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, during the Ghaznavid dynasty's rule over Punjab. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, through the establishment of the Sultanate at Delhi, Sufi orders expanded their power and domain in the subcontinent. This expansion was well-received mainly by the Hindus since

[104] Rumi, *Masnavi*, 3: 49.
The tale is traceable to a Buddhist text entitled *Udana*, composed sometime during the first millennium BCE, however it could have been originated from older Buddhist text; see John D. Ireland, *Udana and the Itivuttaka: Two Classics from the Pali Canon*, (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 2007), 9, & 81–84. Other than Buddhism, the tale is shared by many different religions such as Hinduism, Jainism, Islam, and Christianity.
[105] Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy from Its Origin to the Present*, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), 76.

the Sufis' Unity of Being promoted multicultural society's different and diverse beliefs and encouraged harmonious coexistence. The Sufis had a perceptive attitude towards Hindu cults and creeds; they even admired the Hindus. In the words of early Sufis – which again were in accord with the Unity of Being – faith, infidelity, heresy, and orthodoxy were all only expressions, signifying a Unifying Entity. During the period, many Sufis conversed and conducted ideological discussions with *yogi*s and *bhakta* – Indian mystics – in order to expand the foundation on the mutual perception of an 'Ultimate Existence'; the early result of these discourses was the translation of many significant Hindu texts – such as the *Amrita Kunda* which is on *Hatha Yoga* principles – into Persian and Arabic in the thirteenth century.[106] The translations of such texts demonstrate the mediation of Sufism in the society and social orders as well as the politics of the time. The sultans of Delhi sought legitimacy from the Sufis, who demonstrated that the truth of one's religion was not bounded to the pages of any book, whether Islamic or Hindu. With Hastings's circle in India, Orientalists such as Jones, Gladwin, and Wilkins used the same method to stabilize British India.

The Muslim sultans supposedly attempted in establishing links with Sufis; developing such connections ended up in the composition of somewhat exaggerated anecdotes about the Sultans and Sufi saints. For example, Shams ud-Din Iltutmish (d.1236) – the consolidator of the sultanate in the Indian subcontinent – recounted many incidents and mentioned them to the public, which concluded that a Sufi predicted or even prophesized the acquiring of his kingdom.[107] In this manner, Iltutmish began to build a significant capital for a new Persian Sufi Islam in India. On one level, this was in favour of Sufis because their beliefs were expanding; this was also why the Sufis supported Iltutmish explicitly. For example, Nizam o-din Auliya (1238-1325) – an eminent saint of the Chishti Sufi order – utilized Iltutmish's first name, شمس الدين *Shams o-din*, 'The Sun of Religion', as a pun stating: 'The light of his power was illumined with the light of Divine Support.'[108] On another level, the foundation of the Sultanate in Delhi further challenged the Arabian theoretical Islam through expanding the usage of the Persian

[106] Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *History of Sufism in India*, (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978), 1: 335.
[107] For these stories see Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture*, (Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1966), 8-15.
Minhaj-i-Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, (Calcutta: Bibliotheca indica, 1863), 167.
[108]Amir H. Dihlavi, *Fawâ'id al-Fu'âd: spiritual and literary discourses of Shaikh Nizâmmudin Awliyâ,* Ziya-Ul-Hasan Faruqi (ed.), (Delhi: DK Printworld, 1996), 121.

language as well as establishing a more stable place for all Ajams, whether Persian, Hindu, or Turk.

In order to reduce the hostility between Hindus and Muslims, the Sultans of Delhi affirmed that their conflict would only be with those challenging their authority, not with the rest of the natives. As a result, Delhi became a sanctuary for Muslim immigrants with a tolerant and flexible view of the various social and religious practices, particularly Hindus. This is evident from a reported comment from Jalal o-din Khalji (d. 1296), the founder and first Sultan of the Khalji dynasty (1290-1320):

> Every day the Hindus [...] pass below my palace, beating cymbals and blowing conch shells to perform idol worship [...] while my name is being read in the *khutbah* [Islamic sermons] as the defender of Islam [...] They beat their drums and other musical instruments and perpetuate their practices.[109]

Many Sufis – similar to Orthodox Muslim theologians – were also interested in expanding and consolidating Islamic power; yet, unlike Orthodox Muslim theologians, the Sufis worked towards this dissemination via persuasion, interaction, and establishing a dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims. Consequently, Sufi traditions in India merged with Hindu features. Therefore, like many other heterodox groups in non-Arabic countries,[110] the Hindu-influenced Sufis were much less interested in mainstream Islamic rituals, traditions, and prayers, practised by orthodox Muslims. However, it should be mentioned that transgressing the Islamic norms and demonstrating prominent anti-Islamic features were frowned upon.[111] Nonetheless, there emerged amongst the Sufis a great interest in writing Hindu-themed poetry, which later helped

[109] Ziya al-Din Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Sayyid Ahmad Khan (ed.), (Calcutta: W.N. Lees & Maulavi Kabir al-Din, 1862), 217. The translation here is taken from Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam*, 88.

[110] For a detailed discussion on the intermingling of the Sufis with other religions in different parts of the Orient see: Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Gods Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200-1550*, (London: Oneworld Publications, 2006).

[111] Details and examples can be found in the followings: Simon Digby, 'Qalandars and Related Groups: Elements of Social Deviance in the Religious Life of the Delhi Sultanate of the 13th and 14th Centuries', *Islam in Asia: Volume 1: South Asia*, Yohanan Friedmann (ed.), (New York, NY: Avalon Publishing, 1984), 60-108. Katherine Ewing, 'Malangs of the Punjab: Intoxication or Adab as the Path to God', in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, Barbara Daly Metcalf (ed.), (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 357-71.

to popularize Sufism in India. The *Madhumalati*, 'Night-Flowering Jasmine' (1545) of Mir Sayyid Manjhan Shattari Rajgiri (unknown dates), the *Padmavat* (1540) of Malek Muhammad Jayasi (1477-1542), and the *Mrigavati* (1503) of Kutban Suhrawardi (unknown dates) are some of the most well-known Sufi-composed Hindu-themed texts.[112] Such works internalized Sufi themes of separation, longing, the transformation of the lover, and the union of the lover and the beloved into subcontinental literature. For example, the *Madhumalati* is a mystical romance between prince Manohar and the beautiful princess Madhumalati. The two meet, become separated, endure the sufferings of separation, long for each other, and eventually transform into new selves to be reunited and experience true happiness. The *Padmavat* is much more fascinating as it contains further Sufi connotations: the love story of Padmavati, the beautiful princess of the Singhal kingdom, the modern Rajasthan, and Ratansen the ruler of Chittor, nowadays known as Sri Lanka, echoes Attar's 'Sheikh Sanaan and the Christian girl.' Ratansen falls in love with Padmavati without seeing her, travels to her abode, tries to win her hand by various acts, including performing austerities. Eventually, the intervention of the Hindu deities Shiva and Parvati leads to the union of the two. The major differing point between Attar and Jayasi's tale is that Mohammad intervened on behalf of the Sheikh in the former, whereas Hindu deities performed the act in the latter. Indeed, there are other minor differences between the two which is simply due to Indian flair: for example, the Sheikh travelled to Rome with four hundred disciples while Ratansen 'crossed the seven seas' to Rajasthan with 'sixteen thousand vassals and princes;' in addition, unlike Attar's work, Jayasi's does not end with the union of the two lovers. A banished Brahmin of Ratansen's court goes to Alaud-Din Khalji (1267-1316) and tells him of Padmavati's beauty. Lusting over Padmavati, Alaud-Din attacks Chittor, which results in the death of Padmavati and Ratansen. The tale ends with Alaud-Din reflecting on his Pyrrhic victory over Chittor and realizing that he has lost Padmavati.[113] In his 1944 English translation of the tale, A.G. Shirreff describes Jayasi as follows:

> His broad tolerance and understanding made him, above all, a prophet of unity. If we could meet him now in the Elysian fields, and could ask him whether he had approached

[112] For some comments on these Sufi poets of Hindavi, see: Rashid, *Society and Culture in Medieval India*, 216-60.

[113] For further details on the tale see: Thomas de Bruijn, *Ruby in the Dust: Poetry and History in Padmâvat by the South Asian Sufi Poet Muhammad Jâyas*î, (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012).

> his theme from the Muslim or the Hindu standpoint, he would, I imagine, answer with a smile that he did not know, and that he had never seen any difference between them.[114]

The prophet of unity's Padmavati also portrays the misunderstandings of *vojōdi* works, resulting in the long-lasting conflict between pluralistic Sufi views and Orthodox religious groups. Such conflict remains relevant today in the East: in 2017, it was announced that a film adaptation of the work would be made in India. Ironically, although the original work and its film adaptation aimed to unite the Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs in the subcontinent, they became divisive tools. In response to the film's production news, several Rajput caste organisations, for example, Shri Rajput Karni Sena, claimed that the work depicts a Rajput queen in a bad light. Consequently, protests against the making of the film began, which resulted in the director being assaulted and the film set being vandalized on several occasions.[115] On the other hand, several Muslim leaders protested against the representations of Alaud-Din Khalji.[116] Consequently, before the film's release, there were violent riots in several parts of India, [117] as orthodox Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus were all offended by the visualization of a work that initially intended to unite them.

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[114]Malek Muhammad Jayasi, *Padmavati of Malik Muhammad Jaisi*, A.G. Shirreff (trans.), (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1944), ix.

[115] Times of India Reporter, 'Sanjay Leela Bhansali assault: 'Padmavati' actors Deepika Padukone, Ranveer Singh and Shahid Kapoor break their silence', *The Times of India*, (29 January 2017).
[https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/entertainment/hindi/bollywood/news/sanjay-leela-bhansali-assault-padmavati-deepika-padukone-breaks-her-silence/articleshow/56832864.cms].
Ray Saptarshi, 'Bounty placed on Bollywood actress' head after Hindu-Muslim film outrage.' *The Telegraph*, (17 November 2017), [https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/11/17/bounty-placed-bollywood-actress-head-hindu-muslim-film-outrage].

[116] Jaipur, 'More trouble for Padmavati: Ajmer Dargah Deewan urges PM to ban release', *Business Standard*, (16 November 2017), [https://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/more-trouble-for-padmavati-ajmer-dargah-deewan-urges-pm-to-ban-release-117111600673_1.html].

[117] Ray Saptarshi, 'Violent protests spread across India as controversial Padmaavat film finally released', *The Telegraph*, (25 January 2018),
[https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/01/25/violent-protests-spread-across-india-controversial-padmaavat].
Agence France-Presse, 'Bollywood epic about Hindu queen provokes mobs rioting in streets', *South China Morning Post*, (24 January 2018),
[https://www.scmp.com/news/asia/south-asia/article/2130408/bollywood-epic-padmavati-about-14th-century-hindu-queen-has].

The Unity of Being played a pivotal role in facilitating Sufi-Hindu texts; it already had provided the basis to reach religious pluralism and synthesis as well as cultural intermingling across the conquered realms of Islam. In India, the doctrine initially did not face many obstacles sheltering the different versions and interpretations of life presented by the Indian philosophers, yogis, and bhakta.[118] The Unity of Being synchronized harmoniously with Nirguna Bhakti which believes in devoting to and worshipping the Divine as a formless entity. An example of this synchronization could be observed in the fifteenth-century poet Kabir (1398-1518), whom Jayasi imitated.[119] Kabir sought similarities even in the terminologies used in Islam and Hinduism. He believed that Rama and Ram are the same as رحمان *rahmān* and رحیم *rahim* – other names of Allah – or Hari is حضرت *hazrat* and Krishna is the incarnation of کرامت *kerāmat*, 'the Munificent'. To Kabir, Mohammad was Mahadeva which is another name of Ŝiva.[120] Kabir's poetry intriguingly distinguishes the yogis as a different identity from Hindus and Muslims: 'The Yogī cries: "Gorakh, Gorakh!" The Hindu invokes the name of Rām. / The Musalmān cries: "Khudā is One!" But the Lord of Kabīr pervades all.'[121] The verse asserts that Kabir's perception, i.e. the Unity of Being, pervades Yogis, Muslims, and Hindus. Here are four more quatrains composed by Kabir which illustrates the same perception:

> The Hindu meditates in the temple, the Muslim in the Mosque
> The Yogī meditates on the supreme goal, where there is neither temple nor a mosque.[122]
> Neither the Vedas nor the [Muslim] books, neither the khānīs nor the bānīs. All these appear as a cover. The [true] word is manifest in the mountain peak in the sky. There, one perceives knowledge of the Ineffable.
> Neither the Vedas nor the Shastras, neither the books nor the Koran, [the goal] is not read about in books. / Only the exceptional Yogī knows that goal. All others are absorbed in their daily tasks.[123]
> The Hindu calls on Rām, the Muslim on Khudā, the Yogī calls on the Invisible One, in whom there is neither Rām nor Khudā.[124]

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[118] Rizvi, *History of Sufism in India*, 1: 322-96.
[119] Rizvi, *History of Sufism in India*, 1: 1:413.
[120] The full text of Kabir's poem with such assertions can be found in: David N. Lorenzen, 'Who Invented Hinduism?', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41: 4, (1999), 630–659: 650-1.
[121] Charlotte Vaudeville, *Kabīr: Volume I*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 88.
[122] David N. Lorenzen, 'Religious Identity in Gorakhnath and Kabir: Hindus, Muslims, Yogis and Sants', *Yogi Heroes and Poets: History and Legends of the Nāths*, David N. Lorenzen, & Adrian Munoz (eds.), (New York: SUNY Press, 2011), 19-50: 22.
[123] Lorenzen, 'Religious Identity in Gorakhnath and Kabir', 23.
[124] *Gorakh bānī*, Pitambardatta Dutt Bharthwal (ed.), (Prayag: Hindi Sahitya Sammelan 1994), 25.

Kabir's compositions echo those of the *vojōdi* Sufis Jones was fascinated with, for example, the distich of Sheikh Bahaei (1547-1627): 'You are the Intention, the Kaaba and the house of idols [a temple] are just excuses'[125] dovetails well with the first one. The other three are in line with Jones's recitation of Amir Khosrow's quatrain in the first page of his copy of Nezami's *Treasury* as follows: 'If I am an infidel, fire or idol worshipper, I am! If I am a *rend*,[126] or a wanderer, I am! / Different tribes have different assumptions of me; only my beloved and I know, what I am!'[127] Jones was very much aware of Kabir's poetry and his philosophical *vojōdi* perceptions: Kabir's Rekhta verses are available in Jones's *Notebook*;[128] in addition, two of the folios contain Jones's Latin annotations on Kabir's verses.[129] However, Kabir's name is not mentioned in Jones's published works and/or letters, much like other Sufi *vojōdi*s such as Abolkhayr. Peter Gaeffke (1927-2005), the linguist and Indologist, describes Jones's encounter with Kabir's 'heretical' verses as: 'When it was shown to William Jones, he read it but suppressed it because of the many heretical statements in it. In the time of Jones, it was not advisable to discuss Kabir in Muslim circles.'[130] Gaeffke's hypothesis is indeed valid since, as of the mid-sixteenth century, after the death of Dara Shokoh, Sufis with *vojōdi* perceptions began to be persecuted in the subcontinent. In addition, as stated previously, we should bear in mind that Rumi had advised his readers not to challenge the ignorant beliefs of the masses in a foreign land. [131]

In the sixteenth century, the influence of the Unity of Being became stronger in north India. For instance, Shaikh Abdol Ghudus Gangohi (1456-1537) composed his رشد نامه *Roshd Nāmeh*, 'The Book of Flourishment' which was on monotheism. It contained verses in Persian and Hindavi which were composed by himself and other Sufis, including Attar. Founded on the Unity of Being, Gangohi's book describes and analyses Sufi beliefs through the practices and philosophy of Śaivite Gorakhnath. Abd al-Wahid Bilgrami (1510-1608) exemplified this sympathetic approach to Hinduism in the mid-sixteenth century. His book, حقایق هندی *Haghāyegh-e Hendi*, 'The Indian Truths' heavily contained Vaishnava symbols, terminology,

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[125] Sheikh Bahaei, *Kashkul*, (Tehran: Sabok-baran, 1390), 7:
مقصود تویی کعبه و بتخانه بهانهست

[126] The term in Sufi literature signifies a witty trickster.

[127] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. i. The quatrain will be examined in the next chapter of this thesis.

[128] *The Notebook*, f. 8-13.

[129] *The Notebook*, f. 8-9.

[130] Peter Gaeffke, 'Kabir in Literature by and for Muslims', *Images of Kabir*, Monika Horstmann (ed.), (Delhi: Manohar, 2002), 158.

[131] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 180.

and perceptions used in religious Hindu songs with orthodox Islamic beliefs. [132] Bilgrami asserted that the names used in the songs, including Krishna, were symbols signifying Mohammad, or even the notion of the Singular Unity of the Divine Essence known as احدیت *ahadiyat* to Muslims, Gopis, the cow herding maidens devoted to Krishna, become angels, and so on and so forth.[133]

During the sixteenth century, the Gorkani dynasty – known to the West as Mughals – succeeded the Afghan sultans of north India. The Mughals showed exceptional interest in promoting Persian literary culture. Babur (1483-1530) introduced Persian gardens to India; Aram Bagh in Agra is among the first examples of this cultural/architectural intermingling, while the Taj Mahal is the most famous one. By the time of Humayun (1508-1556), the Persian language had established itself in north India as the language of the Mughal elite.[134] In Humayun's era, the distich of Jones's beloved Hafez had come into reality in north India: 'The Indian parrots have become eloquent / due to the Persian sugar which has gone to Bengal'.[135] Although the Persian language and culture were influential before the Mughal period, the dynasty escalated extraordinarily due to different converging elements. Perhaps the most pivotal element, which further paved the way for the Persian language and culture to strengthen its position in India, was Iran's political and military support of the Mughals; for example, when Afghans defeated Humayun in 1540, he took refuge in Iran with his wife Bega Begum, her maid, and no more than forty men. Shah Tahmasp (1514-1576), the Safavid king of the time, offered Humayun substantial support in return for his conversion from Sunnism to Shi'ism.[136] Therefore, in 1555, large numbers of Iranians escorted Humayun back to India and assisted him in regaining his position in Hindustan. Humayun knew he could have relied on the Persians because they were the ones who helped his father, Babur, during his campaign

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[132] For more information on the work and Bilgrami's arguments in the *Haghāyegh-e Hendi*, see: Francesca Orsini, 'Krishna is the Truth of Man Mir 'Abdul Wahid Bilgrami's Haqā'iq-i Hindī (Indian Truths) and the circulation of *dhrupad* and *bishnupad*', in *Culture and Circulation*, Thomas de Bruijn, & Allison Busch (eds.), (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[133] Mir 'Abd al-Wahid Bilgrami, *Haqā'iq-i Hindi*, S.A.A. Rizvi (trans.), (Varanasi: Nagari pracarini Sabha, 1957).
See also Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries*, (Agra: Agra University, 1966), 60-2.

[134] Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam*, 13.

[135] Hafez, *Divan*, 225:
شکرشکن شوند همه طوطیان هند زین قند پارسی که به بنگاله می‌رود

[136] John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire. The New Cambridge History of India*, Gordon Johnson (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1, 5, & 11.

against the Uzbeks in 1511.[137] Another example of Iranian support of the Mughals occurred during the 1560s when Akbar joined forces with Iranians to overcome the Chaghatay nobles. The Iranian political and military support to the Mughals contributed to the further expansion of the Persian language in Mughal India.

The Mughals sought stability in India at a time which there was a widening gap for more opposition and conflict; consequently, they employed the policy of صلح کل *sulh-i kul*, 'the universal peace'. Being able to be perceived as one of the political implications of the Unity of Being, the *sulh-i kul*, could be compared to the ecumenism of the Christian churches; they both seek to develop better understandings and closer relationship with different traditions, religions, and sects in order to achieve a visible organic unity between them. Amongst all of the Mughal kings, Akbar had the most interest in promoting pluralism by expanding cultural, intellectual, and social connections with Iran.[138] Akbar's accomplishments in establishing such connections and promoting pluralism were, in fact, quite significant and pragmatical, and due to this fact, Jones and Hastings designed their ruling system based on his. During the time of Akbar, many Persian writers and poets came to India; some, such as Sarmad Kashani, whose quatrains are available in Jones's *Notebook*, moved to India in search of better fortune. Many other Iranian figures fled the religious and political persecution which was occurring in Iran by the Safavids.[139] Jones was aware that most Sufis shifted their views from the Unity of Being to the Unity of Witnesses and started persecuting people of different faiths whom their predecessors, such as Rumi, Attar, and Abolkhayr, had adored. Jones, echoing his beloved Sufis, criticised this through the insertion of the following lines in his translation of Ismat's poem: 'Depart then from the cloister, and take the way to the tavern; / cast off the cloak of a dervise, and wear the robe of a libertine.'[140]

Unlike Safavid Iran, Akbar's India was described as 'the place of safety [sanctuary] and the country of the wise.'[141] Migrating to this sanctuary resulted in high social positions and riches for the wise, elite, but persecuted Iranians; therefore, increasing numbers of Iranian

[137] Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, 1, 5, 11, & 19.
[138] Riazul Islam, *A Calendar of Documents on lndo-Persian Relations, 1500-1750*, (Karachi: Iranian Culture Foundation 1979), 2: 106-7, & 117-20.
[139] For further details see: Aziz Ahmad, 'Safavid Poets and India', *Iran*, 14 (1976), 117-32 & Hadi Hasan, *Mughal Poetry: Its Culture and Historical Value*, (Madras: Aakar Books, 1952).
[140] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 229.
[141] Abdol-nabi Ghazvini, 'Molana Hayati Gilani', *Tazkereye- Meykhaaneh*, Ahmad Golchin Ma'aani (ed.), (Tehran: Eghbal, 1961), 809-17: 809.

nonconformists and dissidents took refuge in India.[142] Akbar was competing against the Iranian Shah and intended to nullify the Shah's hold over the Mughal household, which was gained by helping Babur and Humayun. So, the migration was favourable to Akbar, and he took further advantage of the situation to expand his authority over the Safavid domain. The Mughal king was eager to bring 'the exalted [Persian] community close to him spiritually and materially'.[143] Hence, Persian talents started to further flourish in Mughal India than in Safavid Iran. As an example of the exalted Persian community who moved from Iran to India, one could mention Mir Jamāl-al-Din Ḥosein Enjū Shirāzi (d.1626). Born in Shiraz, Inju moved to Akbar's India and composed his *Farhang-e Jahangiri* there. The book is the very first digest of the Persian lexicon and one of the most authoritative dictionaries of the language up to date. Jones had studied the book, and his personal copy can be found in the British Library.[144] In this text, Inju argued at length that Persian and Arabic are the languages of Islam; he gives accounts of many different sources of Mohammad's life that 'the Prophet' knew and spoke Persian as well as Arabic. This does make sense for firstly, Mohammad, at some point in his life, was a merchant and had to travel to Persian-speaking areas; secondly, one of his most prominent followers, Salman the Persian (d. 656), was a Persian speaker. According to Inju, Mohammad had high respect for the merits of the Persians.[145] Inju was one of the many immigrants who went to Mughal India, through whom India drew further away from Iran politically, yet closer to it culturally, which led to Persian becoming the first language of the Mughal court.[146]

Akbar did not receive any formal education; therefore, he had people reading important books aloud; although his library contained hundreds of Arabic, Persian, Hindi, and even Greek books in prose and verse, the emperor was keen to hear the ones in Persian repeatedly. Some

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[142] Riazul Islam, *Calendar*, 1: 101-2.
See also: Riazul Islam, 'Akbar's Intellectual Contacts with Iran', *Islamic Culture and Society: Essays in Honour of Aziz Ahmad*, Milton Israel, & N.K. Wagle (eds.), (Delhi: Manohar, 1983), 351-73.
[143] Riazul Islam, 'Akbar's Intellectual Contacts with Iran', 356.
[144] BL, APAC, RSPA 20-1. Jones has translated the books' chapter headings which suggests that he has read the books. The first volume of the book, BL, APAC, RSPA 20, contains a section entitled 'Appendix.' Jones has extensively annotated the section and pointed out the similarities between Sanskrit and Persian words.
[145] Mir Jamal al-Din Husain Inju Shirazi, *Farhang-e Jahaangiri*, Rahim Afifi (ed.), (Mashhad: Ferdowsi University, 1972), 1: 14-22.
[146]Riazul Islam, 'Akbar's Intellectual Contacts with Iran', 356.

accounts also mention that he composed poems in Persian as well.[147] One of the fascinating quatrains of Akbar echoing the long tradition of Sufis, such as Attar, Hafez, and Ismat, is:

> Last night in the alley of the wine sellers, I gave gold and bought wine.
>
> Now, I wander and hungover, I gave gold and bought burdens.[148]

Another quatrain of Akbar resembles the quatrains of Khayyam and Amir Khosrow, quoted by Jones in his copy of Nezami's *Treasury of Mysteries*.[149] It reads as follows:

> The weight of sin has bent my back, what should I do? With no path to the mosque or the temple, what should I do?
>
> I have no place in the queue of infidels nor Muslims; I don't deserve hell or heaven, what should I do? [150]

Whilst Akbar was stabilizing India and consolidating his authority, many literary texts were translated from other languages to Persian, such as the *Babur Nameh* by his court. He also instructed the scribes and the royal historians to compile the Mughal achievements and the new court's history in Persian. In north India, Akbar became the first Indo-Islamic king to declare Persian as the primary language of his administration,[151] while naturally, most of the administrators were from the indigenous Hindavi-speaking communities. Therefore, Akbar assigned منشی *monshi*s, '[Iranian] clerks or secretaries' to teach Persian to those communities. Years later, Akbar's policy inspired Francis Gladwin to write *The Persian Moonshee* (1795)[152] for every civil servant in order to 'be ascertained that he is sufficiently acquainted with the Laws and Regulations enacted by the Governor-General in Council, and the Several Languages, the knowledge of which is requisite for the due discharge of the respective

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[147] Abul Fazl, *Akbar-Nameh*, Maulawi 'Abd-ur-Rahim (ed.), (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873), 1: 271.

[148]Zabih-olaah Safa, *The History of Literature in Iran*, (Tehran: Authors and Translators of Iran Co., 1985), 5: 444:

دوشینه به کوی میفروشان پیمانه می به زر خریدم
اکنون ز خمار سرگرانم زر دادم و دردسر خریدم یا از

[149] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. i.

[150] Safa, *The History of Literature in Iran*, 445 :5:

بار گنه خمیده پشتم چه کنم نی راه به مسجد نه کنشتم چه کنم
نی در صف کافر نه مسلمان جایم نی لآیق دوزخ نه بهشتم چه کنم

[151] Ghulam Husain Khan Tabatabai, *A Translation of the Seir Mutaqharin; or, View of Modern Times, being an History of India, from the Year 1118 to the Year 1195 (this year answers to the Christian year 1781–82)*, (Calcutta,1789/90), 1: 200.

[152] Francis Gladwin, *The Persian Moonshee*, (Calcutta: Chronicle Press, 1795).

functions of such Offices'.[153] Akbar's Persian reform in India contained a more profound level: through his enlightenments, a new secular theme was introduced in the syllabi of the schools of the time known as مدرسه, *madreseh* which 'stimulated a wide application to Persian studies.'[154] Before Akbar's time, as mentioned previously, the natives of the subcontinent were learning Persian mostly to be able to learn and perceive various concepts, practices, and rituals of Islam and/or Sufism; yet, through the emperor's reforms, new waves of students joined the schools to gain excellence in the Persian language and literature in order to achieve a position in the royal court. Therefore, in Akbar's era, the *madreseh* students became more familiar with Persian classics such as Ferdowsi, Sadi, and Hafez; the religious scriptures were also translated into and delivered in Persian by various Hindu translators in order not to be forgotten.

Akbar also introduced another tradition of the Iranian courts to the subcontinent by giving the title of ملک‌الشعرا *Malek ol-Shoara*, 'The King of Poets' to the best poet of his time. As discussed in the second chapter, Jones followed this tradition by giving the title to Khayyam.[155] In 1588, the title of *Malek ol-Shoara* was given to Shaikh Abu al-Faiz ibn Mubarak (1547-1595), commonly known by his pen name, Faizi.[156] The poet recounts Akbar's offer to the court and his eagerness in a *ghazal*:

> The desire remains twiddling in my imagination; just like the locks of the Christian girl in the heart of the sage of Sanaan.
>
> [Akbar said to me] 'if you fancy sublimity, come and reside in the Sultan's court.'[157]

Perhaps it was due to Faizi's familiarity with *vojōdi* Persian literary works, such as Attar's 'Sheikh Sanaan and the Christian Girl,' that Akbar appointed him to tutor his sons. Such was

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[153] Francis Gladwin, *The Persian Moonshee*, William Chambers (ed.), (Calcutta: Chronicle Press, 1801), xi.

[154] Muzaffar Alam, 'Persian in Precolonial Hindustan', *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, Sheldon Pollock, & Arvind Raghunathan (eds.), (University of California Press, 2003), 131-69: 163.

[155] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400, f. 28.

[156] Abu'l-Fazl Allami, *The Ain-I Akbari*, H. Blochmann, (trans.), (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1927), 1: 548–50.

[157] Abu al-Faiz ibn Mubarak Faizi, *The Koliyate Faizi*, E.D Arshad, & Vazir-al Hasan Abedi (eds.), (Lahore: Punjab University, 1967), 80:

هوس مانده در پیچ و تاب خیالم　　چو در زلف ترسا دل پیر صنعان
گرت این تمنّای واالست در سر　　بیا معتکف شو به درگاه سلطان

the situation that resulted in Akbar's successor son, Jahangir (1569-1627), not to be accomplished in Turkish or Arabic but to write his memoirs in elegant Persian prose. Furthermore, like his father, Jahangir composed some verses and *ghazal*s in Persian and became a noteworthy critic of the poetry.[158] By this time, Persian became so infused with the administration that even ordinary literate soldiers were expected to read in it. The Indians helped Persian as well; they compiled many comprehensive lexicons and digests on the idioms of the language such as بهار عجم *Bahār-e Ajam*, 'The Ajam Spring' of Tek Chand Bahar (d.1766) and مرات الاصطلاح *Merāt al-Estelāh*, 'The Mirror of Proverbs' of Anand Ram Mukhlis (1699-1750). Much like Jones's Persian *Grammar* (1771), these books are poets' grammars demonstrating their authors' admirable research, interest, and engagement in developing Persian in India. Whilst I was researching what these authors thought of the Persian language, I came across a passage from Tek Chandra Bhar addressing his son about the language:

> Although the science of Persian is vast, and almost beyond human grasp, in order to open the gates of language one should read the Gulistān, Bostān, and the letters of Mulla Jami, to start with. When one has advanced somewhat, one should read key books on norms and ethics, as well as history books such as the […] Tārīk̲h-i Tabarī, Zafar-nāma, Akbar-nāma, and some books like these that are absolutely necessary. The benefits of these will be to render your language elegant, also to provide you knowledge of the world and its inhabitants. These will be of use when you are in the assemblies of the learned. Of the master-poets, here are some whose collections I read in my youth, and the names of which I am writing down.[...] They are Hakim Sana'i, Mulla Rumi, Shams-i Tabriz, Shaikh Farid al-Din 'Attar, Shaikh Sa'di, Khwaja Hafiz, […] Mulla Jami, and Unsuri, Firdausi, […] Anwari, Amir Khusrau, […] Nizami.[159]

Chandra Bhar's passage is very similar to the listing of essential poets Jones inserted in his 'On the Mystical Poetry': 'A Volume might be filled with similar passages from the Sufi poets; from Sa'ib, Orfi', Mi'r Khosrau, Ja'mi, Hazi'n, and Sa'bik, who are next in, beauty of composition to Ha'fiz and Sadi'.[160] However, it can easily be recognized that the originally Welsh Persian Jones had understood the Oriental self and culture, which was not much different

[158]For some examples of the poetry, see: Jahangir, *Tarikh-e Jahangiri*, Sayyid Ahmad Khan Aligrah (ed.), (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1864), 103, 245, 303, 316, & 341.
[159] The translation is taken from Muzaffar Alam, & Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'The Making of a Munshī', Forms of Knowledge', *Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500–1800*, Sheldon Pollock (ed.), (Duke University Press, 2011), 185-210: 188-9.
[160] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 371-2.

from the Oriental literary figure. After mentioning the literary figures, Jones referred to his audience '… for a particular detail of their metaphysicks and theology to the Dabistan of Mohseni Fani, and the pleasing essay, called the Junction of two Seas, by that amiable and unfortunate prince, Da'ra' Shecu'h'; these texts will be discussed later in this chapter.

Pluralism and the Unity of Being in the Mughal Court

In any place that the Persian language travelled to and further flourished in, its mystical views, particularly the Unity of Being, followed it; Akbar's court was no exception. For example, Abolfazl Allami (1551–1602) – the court's Grand *vazir*, most noted scholar, and the author of the *Akbar-nameh* – openly demonstrated aspects of the doctrine.[161] The influence of the Unity of Being can also be observed in many of the measures taken by Akbar or his son Jahangir. Displaying keen attentiveness to the local traditions, cultures, and various mystical perceptions, Akbar not only invited yogis and Hindu scholars to his court, seeking knowledge of their philosophical, religious, and mystical views, but also he dedicated an independent quarter to them in Agra called Jogipura.[162] Some accounts state that Akbar took his admiration of the Hindu religion even further to the extent of reporting that he and his close companion used to go to the yogis in Jogipura to practise Hindu meditation and rituals. In addition, Akbar had regulated his personal lifestyle following the Yogi perceptions: he had the centre of his head shaved and stopped eating meat.

The support of the Unity of Being and similar or associated doctrines promoted cultural and religious pluralism was pursued through the seventeenth century by Jahangir, Akbar's son, through maintaining the connections his father established with yogis and Hindu scholars; in fact, Jahangir respected the sentiment of the non-Muslims to the extent that he appointed Sri Kant Kashmiri (dates unknown), a scholar reputed for his knowledge of Hinduism, as a judge specifically to deal with the disputes amongst Hindus according to their own religion.[163] The author of the *Dabestan* describes Sri Kant as a well-reputed scholar in Indian sciences, law,

[161] For further details, see: Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History· of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign*, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1975), 339-73.
[162] Badāoni, Abd al-Qadir, *The Muntakhabu-'rūkh*, W. H. Lowe (trans.), (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1884), 2: 334-6.
[163] M Athar Ali, *Mughal India: studies in polity, ideas, society, and culture*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), 193.

poetry, dialectics, medicine, and astrology: 'His Majesty Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir appointed Sri Kant to the office of Qazi (judge) of the Hindus so that they might be at ease and be in no need to seek favour from a Muslim.'[164] The *Dabestan* also explains that Sri Kant's appointment was in accordance with Akbar's Law which stated that all people, regardless of their faith, were to be extended royal favour and protected in their mode of worship and conduct. In another instance in 1621, on his way to Jammu and Kangra, Jahangir stopped at Haridwar, located on the banks of Ganga Ma. Then, he described it as 'one of the most famous places of worship of the Hindus' and, out of charity, he gave money and goods to the Brahmans worshipping there.[165] Every year on the anniversary of the death of their relatives, the Hindus prepared food and incense, inviting others to commemorate the dead. Similar to the Hindu tradition, Jahangir performed the ceremony on Akbar's anniversary; yet, on the same occasion, he also gave 10,000 rupees to be distributed amongst the needy, [166]similar to a Muslim Nazr. One last example, testifying to Jahangir's promotion of pluralism and the Unity of Being worth mentioning here: he often held discussions on religious and/or spiritual matters with Vaishnavites at Ujjain and Mathura. These discussions resulted in Jahangir's belief that Islamic mysticism and Vedantic philosophy were identical and compatible.[167] Many of the Mughal elite and nobles followed Jahangir's footsteps, going to the yogis in Jogipura, seeking their views on various matters. For example, some accounts mention that Abdul Rahim Khan-e-Khanan (1556–1627) – poet, minister, and astrologist who served both Akbar and Jahangir and translated the *Babur Nameh* to Persian for Akbar – prostrated before the yogis, which of course was an act of heresy and blasphemy to the zealous Muslims yet an act of respect among the Hindus!

Hastings's circle attempted to replicate the tolerant conditions found by Akbar and his descendants in India; amongst them, Jones was particularly interested in Prince Dara Shokoh. Distinguished and enlightened, Dara Shokoh is the touchstone of syncretism, pluralism, and harmonious coexistence of various traditions of the natives of the subcontinent. His tendencies towards Sufism and the Unity of Being led him to analyse and explore Hindu mysticism and

[164] *Dabistān- i Maẕāhib*, Ibrahim b. Nur Muhammad, (ed.), (Bombay: Dar al-Ḥukūmat, 1875), 153-4.
[165] Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; or, Memoirs of Jahangir*, Alexander Rogers (tarns.), Henry Beveridge (ed.), (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2006), 1: 218.
[166] Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; or, Memoirs of Jahangir*, 2: 246-7.
[167] Sri Ram Sharma, *The Religious Policy of The Moghal Emperors*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), 83.

religion deeply; in addition, he not only translated Hindu texts such as *The Upanishads* but also gave patronage to scholars in order to translate various other texts – including the *Bhagavadgita*, the *Yoga Vasistha*, and the *Prabodha Chandrodaya* – into Persian.[168] Dara Shokoh devoted most of his endeavours to seeking a universal theme and language between Hinduism and Islam. Therefore, after translating fifty of the *Upanishads* from Sanskrit to Persian, he named it سر اکبر *Ser-e Akbar* 'The Great Secret' and in its introduction, he strongly asserted that what the *Quran* refers to as کتاب المکنون *Ketāb al-Maknōn*, 'The Hidden [Sacred] Book'[169] is nothing but the Hindu *Upanishads*. For him, both the *Quran* and the *Upanishads* contained the essence of the secrets which led to unity.[170] Jones followed Dara Shokoh's footsteps in studying the Vedas and the *Upanishads*; in a letter dated April 24, 1784, Jones wrote to Sanskritist Wilkins:

> A version of the Jōg Bashest [another name for the Yoga Vasistha] was brought to me the other day, in which I discovered much of the Platonick metaphysicks and morality; nor can I help believing, that Plato drew many of his notions (through Egypt, where he resided for some time) from the sages of Hindustan.[171]

In addition, Jones introduced the first English translations of the *Upanishads* from Sanskrit, entitled the 'Isa vasyam. or an Upanishad from the Yajur Veda'.[172] One of the major themes of the *Yajur Veda* is the doctrine that one's soul makes a repeated return to the body until it finds ultimate release; the same theme that most Sufi literature, such as Rumi's the 'Song of the Reed', circulates around. John Drew points out that 'the doctrine of metempsychosis remains peripheral to Greek thought and is unknown in Egypt, in India it is not only known before the time of Pythagoras, arising out of a world-view which is developed in the Yajur Veda and in the Brahmanas.' In addition, Drew points out that *Yajur Veda*'s 'central importance' is 'the fact that it is virtually the only Vedic doctrine which Buddha did not question.'[173] The Veda predating Greek philosophy and its authority in the Orient could be Jones's reasons for

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[168] Members of the Asiatic Society translated these works; for example, John Shore (1751-1834), Jones's biographer and the Society's president after Jones, translated the *Yoga Vasistha*. See Michael J Franklin, '"Harmonious" Jones and "Honest John" Shore: Contrasting Responses of Garden Reach Neighbors to the Experience of India', *European Romantic Review*, 27:2, (2016), 119-142: 130-4.
[169] *The Quran*, 56:78.
[170] Gyani Brahma Singh Brahma, 'Dara Shukoh - The Prince who turned Sufi', *The Sikh Review*, 44:511, (1996), 24-7:26.
[171] Jones, *Letters*, 2: 646.
[172] Jones, *The Works*, 13: 374-8.
[173] John Drew, *India and the Romantic Imagination*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 122.

choosing this *Upanishad* to translate. Jones described Dara Shokoh's Persian *Ser-e Akbar* as sublime, discernibly majestic 'in parts, through folds of the Persian drapery; yet the Sanscrit names were so barbarously written, and the additions of the translator has made the work so deformed'. [174] Dara Shokoh's drapery leads to the deformity of his translation because his major aim for the translation was to equate Hinduism with Islam. It was to that aim that Dara Shokoh altered his translation. Jones refers to these deliberate alterations on another occasion: 'a man, who knows the Hindus only from Persian books, does not know the Hindus.'[175] This was because the depiction of Hindus, available in Persian books, was different from actual Hindus; for in the Persian works, Hindu religious practices, traditions, and culture were altered to suggest that Hinduism and Islam are identical and stem from a singular source.

Dara Shokoh's *Majma al-Bahrein* revolves around the Vedantic mystical and religious concepts and terminologies, aiming to justify them through Islamic perception. In his 'On the Mystical Poetry,' Jones presents a lengthy extract of the 'pleasing' work of Dara Shokoh, which describes the Hindus as follows:

> They disregard life through affection for its giver; they abandon the world through remembrance of its maker; they are inebriated with the melody of amorous complaints; they remember their beloved, and resign to him both this life and the next. Through remembrance of God, they shun all mankind: they are so enamoured of the cup-bearer, that they spill the wine from the cup. No panacea can heal them, for no mortal can be apprized of their malady; so loudly has rung in their ears, from eternity without beginning, the divine word alest, with belì, the tumultuous exclamation of all spirits. They are a sect fully employed, but sitting in retirement; their feet are of earth, but their breath is a flame: with a single yell they could rend a mountain from its base; with a single cry they could throw a city into confusion: like wind, they are concealed and move nimbly; like stone, they are silent, yet repeat God's praises. At early dawn their tears flow so copiously as to wash from their eyes the black powder of sleep: though the courser of their fancy ran so swiftly all night, yet the morning finds them left behind in disorder: night and day are they plunged in an ocean of ardent desire, till they are unable, through astonishment, to distinguish night from day. So enraptured are they with the beauty of Him, who decorated the human form, that with the beauty of the form itself, they have no concern; and, if ever they behold a beautiful shape, they see in it the mystery of God's work.
>
> The wise take not the husk in exchange for the kernel; and he, who makes that choice, has no understanding. He only has drunk the pure wine of unity, who has forgotten, by remembering God, all things else in both worlds.[176]

[174] Jones, *The Works*, 13: 366. These two comments of Jones have been discussed in detail in the first chapter of this thesis.
[175] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 181.
[176] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 372-4.

Jones, drunk by the pure wine of unity and sympathizing with Dara Shokoh's aim of the text, juxtaposes it masterfully with his translation of Rumi's 'The Song of the Reed.' Thus, for example, Dara Shokoh's statement about the Hindus 'they are inebriated with the melody of amorous complaints; they remember their beloved, and resign to him both this life and the next' echoes Rumi's:

> Hear how yon reed in sadly-pleasing tales
> Departed bliss, and present wo bewails!
> With me from native banks untimely torn,
> Love-warbling youths and soft-ey'd virgins mourn.[177]

Another intriguing part of the passage is where Dara Shokoh, the Muslim Prince with *vojōdi* views, attempts to convince other Muslims of his time that the Hindu's idolatry is, in fact worshipping the One God:

> So enraptured are they with the beauty of Him, who decorated the human form, that, with the beauty of the form itself, they have no concern; and if ever they behold a beautiful shape, they see in it the mystery of God's work.

In the first part of the quotation, Dara Shokoh reiterated the Sufi tenets of the Unity of Being; while, through the second part, he referred to the famous 'So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him ...'[178] The second part further served Jones to demonstrate the common grounds of Islam, Hinduism, and Christianity. One reading the *Majma al-Bahrein* and not familiar with the Vedantic texts might conclude that Vedantism is a monotheistic view quite similar to Islam. This is due to the fact that Dara Shokoh's works and translations contain certain interpolations to emphasize the compatibility between the two religions. These interpolations are another common feature between the two cultural interpreters; needless to say, for both of them, Islam's true and most pure form was Sufism.

The Unity of Being, the most syncretic mystical aspect of Sufism, was inherently valuable to Hastings's Orientalist regime for its goal was to bring Muslims and Hindus closer together; just as the intercultural tradition of Dara Shokoh's *Majma al-Bahrein* aimed to facilitate the intermingling of the two seas of Hinduism and Islam. In the same path as Dara Shokoh, Jones set a course to establish a connection between Sufi politics, the politics of Advaita Vedanta, the most mystical aspect of Hinduism, and Western philosophies. Jones's 'A

[177] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 370.
[178] Genesis 1: 27.

Hymn to Narayena' (1785), 'the most powerful poem he ever wrote'[179] according to Franklin, explores 'the metaphysical relationship between the variegated veil of nature and the Supreme Mind that continuously creates it'.[180] 'A complete introduction' to the Hymn, Jones stated, 'would be no less than a full comment on the VAYDS and PURANS of the Hindus, the remains of Egyptian and Persian Theology and the tenets of the Ionick and Italick Schools.'[181] Connecting Platonic and Vedantic views, Jones continued his pluralistic transcultural synthesis in his prefatory argument to 'A Hymn to Narayena':

> [T]he whole Creation was rather an energy than a work, by which the Infinite Being, who is present at all times in all places, exhibits to the minds of his creatures a set of perceptions, like a wonderful picture or piece of musick, always varied, yet always uniform; so that all bodies and their qualities exist, indeed, to every wise and useful purpose, but exist only as far they are perceived; a theory no less pious than sublime, and as different from any principle of Atheism, as the brightest sunshine differs from the blackest midnight. This illusive operation of the Deity the Hindu philosophers call Maya or Deception;[182]

This Hymn to the Hindu deity is composed in English with Miltonic resonances and long Pindaric stanzas; simultaneously, it has eighteen lines that symbolise the number of the Puranas and the number of Hymns Jones intended to compose. For example, in the second stanza, Jones states:

> Before Heav'n was, Thou art:
> Ere spheres beneath us roll'd or spheres above,
> Ere earth in firmamental ether hung,
> Thou satst alone; till, through thy mystick Love,
> Things unexisting to existence sprung,
> And grateful descant sung. [183]

While 'Before Heav'n was, Thou art' is 'a revisioning of the opening of the Lord's Prayer,' [184] Jones is also depicting the creation of the universe according to the *Bhagavata Purana*.[185] In the *Purana*, Brahma is depicted as the one who rises from the 'Ocean of Causes.' Emerging at the moment in which time and universe are born, Brahma combines nature and matter, called Prakriti, with spirits and souls, called Purusha, to bring a dazzling variety of unexisting entities into existence. The creation of Maya is attributed to Brahma in the *Bhagavata Purana*, as he

[179] Franklin, '*Orientalist Jones'*, 229.
[180] Franklin, '*Orientalist Jones'*, 231.
[181] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 302.
[182] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 302.
[183] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 305.
[184] Franklin, '*Orientalist Jones'*, 230.
[185] BL, APAC, RSPA 73-4.

alone creates the creation ‘imbuing everything with both the good and the evil, the material and the spiritual.’ [186] Jones’s Hymn affirms that before anything existed, the creator ‘satst alone; till, through thy mystick Love, Things unexisting to existence sprung.’ It is fascinating that Dara Shokoh’s *Majma al-Bahrein* also asserts that the creation occurred through Love: ‘The first thing to come out of chid akas [annihilation/unexistence] was Love (or ‘Ishk), which is called Maya in the language of the Indian monotheists.’ [187] Instead of revisioning the Lord’s Prayer, Dara Shokoh states the following *Hadith* (a divine Islamic narration) to ‘proof’ his statement: ‘I was a hidden treasure, then I desired to be known; so, I brought the creation into existence.’[188] To Sufis, the *Hadith* explains God’s reason for creating the universe: the Love and recognition of its manifestation.[189] The hypothesis Dara Shokoh introduced in his *Majma al-Bahrein*, the Sufis’ eternal Love is the Hindu’s Maya, is available in Jones’s handwritten notes in the Osborn c. 400 collection; please see the illustration:

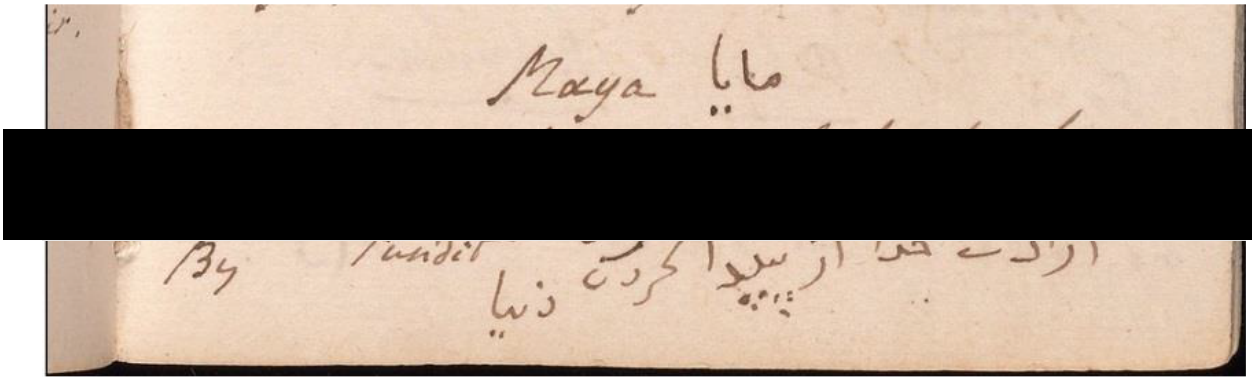

Illustration 19, Osborn c. 400, f. 55; Jones’s comparative notes on Oriental mysticism.

The first line in the image is ‘Maya مایا Commonly عشق ازلی [the eternal love] by the Muslems.’ Below the 'عشق ازلی', ‘the eternal love’, next to ‘ By Pundit,’ Jones has written ‘ ارادت خدا ازپیدا کردن/نمودن دنیا’ which is a quotation of Dara Shokoh's *Majma al-Bahrein*: ‘the will of God for creating the world.’

[186] Richard Anderson, ‘Hindu Myths in Mallarmé: Un Coup de Dés’, *Comparative Literature*, 19: 1, (1967), 28-35: 31-3.
[187] Prince Muhammad Dara Shikoh, *MAJMA' UL BAHARAIN or The Mingling of Two Oceans*, M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq (trans. & ed.), (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1929), 39.
[188] Mohammad Bagher Majlesi, *The Oceans of Lights: A Compendium of the Pearls of the Narrations of the Pure Imāms,* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Wafāʾ, 1983), 84:199:
كنت كنزاً مخفياً فأحببت أن أعرف فخلقت الخلق لكى أعرف
[189] Peter Koslowski, *The Concept of God, the Origin of the World, and the Image of the Human in the World Religions*, (New York: NY, Springer, 2001), 99.

One year after the composition of the 'Hymn to Narayena', in his 'Third Anniversary Discourse' (1786), Jones declared that it is impossible 'to read the Vedanta, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of India.'[190] It was almost six years later that in his 'On the Mystical Poetry' (1792), Jones presented his understanding of the common identity of the Platonic, Vedantic, and Sufi traditions utilizing Dara Shokoh's *vojōdi* Majma al-Bahrein. Another folio of the Osborn c. 400 collection demonstrates Jones's reliance on the book to connect Sufism and Vedanta:

Illustration 20, Osborn c. 400, f. 58; two extracts showing Jones's comparative mystical studies.

On the top of the folio, Jones noted to himself to 'See مجمع البحرين [the *Majma al-Bahrein*] by داراشکوه [Dara Shokoh]' on 'One of the Vaids.' In the bottom of the same folio, he has written 'Vedanty's and Neays [Naya is one of the doctrines of Jainism]'; on the top of Vedanti Jones has written بیدانیت *bidāniyat* which is his Persian transliteration of the word and next to it he has written تصوف *tasavof*, 'Sufism.'

Dara Shokoh's views and attempts of uniting Hinduism and Islam resulted from the influence of two figures he admired: the first one was a Persian mystic named Sarmad Kashani, [191] an Armenian Jewish poet and merchant who converted to Islam and had deep pluralistic convictions. Jones was familiar with Sarmad; firstly, the familiarity could have been obtained through Jones's studies of the *Dabestan*. Thus, Jones probably would have known that the author's chapter on Judaism was probably composed by Sarmad. Secondly, Jones's *Notebook* [192] contains a quatrain composed by Sarmad; the quatrain alludes to the life of the *vojōdi* Sufi

[190] Jones, *The Works*, 13: 269.
[191] N. Katz, 'The Identity of a Mystic: The Case of Sa'id Sarmad, a Jewish-Yogi-Sufi Courtier of the Mughals', *Numen*, 47, (2000), 142–160.
[192] *The Notebook*, f. 23.

Hallaj, and Jones's translation of it contains 'امشب [tonight] See Háfiz.' The quatrain and Jones's translation of it have been discussed in the second chapter of this thesis; however, it is noteworthy to reiterate that Jones's comment, relating Sarmad to Hafez, suggests that Jones was indeed conducting a comparative analysis between the writings of the *vojōdi* Sufis, Sarmad and Hafez, as well as the life of Hallaj.

The second person who influenced Dara Shokoh was a Sufi saint of the Qadiri order named Hazrat Mian Mir (1550-1635).[193] Mian Mir was quite influential in Dara Shokoh's life – particularly regarding his relationship with the Sikhs and Hindus – and consequently, Mian Mir would have been an exciting figure for Jones to study. Immensely respected amongst communities of different faiths, like Sarmad, Mian Mir had significant pluralistic tendencies; the Sikhs, for example, invited Mian Mir to lay the foundation of their Golden Temple in Amritsar. Through Mian Mir, Dara Shokoh established a close relationship with Guru Har Rai (1630-1661), the seventh Sikh guru, who supported him in the conflicts which occurred in the years to come. Although the conflicts were over the Mughal throne – between the prince and his brother Aurangzeb (1618-1707) – it would be superficial to consider Aurangzeb's hunger for the throne as the only source of the conflict. Dara Shokoh's interactions with the other faiths, his quest on finding a unifying source for all religions, patronage of fine arts, dancing and music were not desirable traits to his younger brother. These acts portrayed Dara Shokoh as a blasphemer and heretic in the eyes of Aurangzeb – the orthodox Sunni Muslim – and many of the Mughal elites who either had an eye for the throne or simply gained more benefit from overthrowing the prince. The conflict of the brothers had a deeper - yet much simpler – level: Dara Shokoh, associating himself with figures such as Sarmad and Mian Mir, was following the Unity of Being, while Aurangzeb decided to follow the likes of Ahmed Sirhindi and Khawja Baqi Billah (1563-1603), and thus tended more towards the unity of witnesses. Sirhindi and Baqi Billah were amongst the most prominent Sufis of the Naqshbandi order. Putting forward the unity of witnesses before Aurangzeb's initiation into the order and supporting it openly, they were initially against the liberal Sufis and the policies of Akbar and other Mughal emperors.[194]

[193] *The empire of the great Mughals: history, art and culture*, Burzine K. Waghmar (ed.), (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 135.
[194] Roshen Dalal, *The Religions of India: A Concise Guide to Nine Major Faiths*, (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2010), 261.

After assassinating Dara Shokoh in 1659, Aurangzeb did everything possible to erase the unfortunate prince's pluralistic achievements. Dara's collection of fine arts, demonstrating his syncretic views, which he dedicated to his wife Nadira Banu (1618-1659) in the early 1640s, was deliberately vandalized.[195] Aurangzeb's enmity did not stop at mutilating Dara Shokoh's body,[196] or art collection, his ignorant and fossilized interpretations affected others who followed the *vojōdi* views. Although Aurangzeb and his company did everything in their power to eradicate every trace of the Mughal's rich pluralistic and syncretic history, their attempts failed. This was caused by the variety of the literature, promoting the Unity of Being, produced from Akbar's era to Dara Shokoh's, emphasizing the similarities between Islam and Hinduism. The consistent promotion of such literature, up until the time of Dara Shokoh, in the seventeenth century, created an environment in which various Hindu Vedantists began to call most of the views found in Rumi's *Masnavi* as well as Sufism, in general, their own. The celebrated seventeenth-century Hindu poet Chandra Bhan 'Brahman' (d.1662-63) compiled the *Mokālamāt-e Dārā-Shokoh va Bābā Lāl*, 'The Dialogues of Dara Shokoh and Baba Laal' which was a mystical discourse between the Prince and a Brahman; needless to say, it asserted that the Muslim Prince has the same beliefs as the Hindu ascetic. Like the Hindus, Muslim theologians – such as Shaikh Muhibullah and Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahman Chishti (d. 1683) – began to believe that the Hindus were not idol worshippers but monotheists with deep pantheistic beliefs. Shaikh Muhammadi, one of Muhibullah's most eminent disciples, openly started training in yoga from Brahmans.[197]

So far, many books and literary-theological figures have been mentioned who aimed to bring harmony to India before the British rule, all of whom have influenced Jones in shaping his pluralistic views – whether directly or indirectly – and consequently the picture he had in mind for a harmonious India. I decided to leave one of the most critical texts Jones had read, examined, and was influenced by, to the last as there is uncertainty surrounding the book's authorship. The book is called دبستان مذاهب *Dabestān-e Mazāheb*, 'The School of

[195] Jeremiah P. Losty, 'Ascetics and Yogis in Indian Painting: The Mughal and Deccani Tradition', (July 2016), 14. [https://www.academia.edu/27189427/ASCETICS_AND_YOGIS_IN_INDIAN_PAINTING_THE_MUGHAL_AND_DECCANI_TRADITION].

[196] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor; or, Mogul India 1653-1708*, William Irvine (trans.), (London: John Murray and Albemarle Street, 1907), 1: 340-1.

[197] Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, & Mohammad Habib, *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1995), 340.

Religions/Creeds' which is a digest of the religions and sects existing in South Asia during the mid-seventeenth century. The *Dabestan* is written in Persian by an anonymous writer who calls him/herself as نامه نگار *nāmeh-negār*, 'the [letter] writer' or کردار گذار *kerdār-gozār*, 'the servant [of the acts]'. Based on the autobiographical references in the book, apparently, the author was born in Patna around 1617 and moved to Agra around the age of seven in 1624. The book was probably composed during the reign of Shah Jahan, sometime between the years 1645 and 1658. In his essay, 'On the Mystical Poetry', Jones suggested a Mohsen Fani (d. 1670-1), an Indo-Persian scholar and poet, [198] to be the author of the *Dabestan*,[199] while modern scholars reject his hypothesis.

Containing twelve chapters, dedicated to a faith and the faith's sects and creeds, each chapter of the *Dabestan* raises more debates about the book's authorship. For example, the fourth chapter, which is on Judaism, is 'learned from the Sufi Sarmad, who was born a Jew'; which makes one doubt if the book was genuinely written during the time of Akbar and/or Jahangir. In some manuscripts of the *Dabestan,* its author is identified as موبد شاه *Mowbad-shāh* (1617-70), a Zoroastrian-cleric who was born in a Persian Shia family and started to follow the Azar-Kayvani – a Zoroastrian sect – at a very young age.[200] Nevertheless, the *Dabestan*'s description of Zoroastrianism cannot be taken as thoroughly reliable either. The chapter on Zoroastrianism consists of fifteen subchapters: the first three solely describe sects close to Azar Kayvani.[201] The primary source that the author uses for these subchapters is a book entitled دساتیر آسمانی *Dasatir-e Asemani*, which has been proven to be fabricated during the time of Akbar in order to synchronize Persian Shia philosophers such as Avicenna and Sohrevardi (1154-1191) with Zoroastrian philosophers. Modern research has proven that the *Dabestan* and the *Dasatir* to be the compositions of the Azar Kayvanis, who were a heterodox Zoroastrian sect amongst the Persians who lived in Patna during the Seventeenth century; both works sought to legitimatize the Azar Kayvani views as well as other heterodox religious traditions

[198] For more details on Mohsen Fani see: Sharif Husain Qasemi, 'FANĪ KAŠMĪRĪ', *Encyclopedia Iranica*, (4), 2: 207. [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fani].
[199] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 372.
[200] Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, (London: Piccadilly, 1879-83), 1: 142.
[201] Azar Kayvan (1530 – 1618) was a Persian Zoroastrian high clergy who went to India and founded a Zoroastrian-Illuminationistic school. For more information on Azar Keyvan see: H. Corbin, 'ĀẒAR KAYVĀN', *Encyclopedia Iranica*, (3) 2: 183-187, 183. [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/azar-kayvan-priest].

of India. Therefore, they invented the primordial prehistory that aroused Jones's enthusiasm;[202] thus, it definitely can be asserted that Akbar's mission for finding an 'ecumenical religion [had] encouraged religious invention'.[203] Furthermore, the description of Azar Kayvani's teachings in the *Dabestan* has led some scholars to state that the 'author's proselytizing attitude is especially apparent in the section on Islam, which is filled with distortions, fabrications, unwarranted interpretations, and even outright lies.'[204] However, from another perspective, the invented religion or the fabrications and unwarranted interpretations can be observed as an extreme mode of the other's domestication, which prior Persian *vojōdi* Sufis used. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Christianity of Attar's Christian girl contained a high level of Judaism, Paganism, and Zoroastrianism; in other words, it was a fabricated view on Christianity with many unwarranted interpretations. Such inventions were later expanded by the Indian *vojōdi*s, such as Dara Shokoh, in his *Majma al-Bahrein*. The *Dabestan*'s next ten subchapters explore and focus purely on the Zoroastrian beliefs which are close to the ancient Greeks and Hindu philosophers who fascinated Jones. However, only the last two subchapters on the Zoroastrians deal with common Zoroastrianism: the two are derived from a twelfth-century text called ملل و نحل *melal va nehal*, 'The Book of Sects and Creeds'[205] written by an Iranian Muslim named Muhammad Shahrastani (d. 1153).

Despite all the uncertainty and criticism revolving around the authorship and its authenticity, the *Dabestan* contains historical merit and holds valuable information about seventeenth-century India and its intellectual and social climate. For example, its tenth chapter which is an accurate description of a syncretic creed, introduced by Akbar, called الٰهیه *elāhiyeh*, also known as دین الٰهی *din olāhi*, 'the God's religion'. The other feature of the *Dabestan* which makes it outstanding – and perhaps was another reason for drawing Jones's attention to it – is that each of its chapters is derived from the original literature of the examined religion. For example, the interpretation of the Prophet Mohammad's ascension at the end of the eleventh

[202] Bruce Lincoln, 'Isaac Newton and Oriental Jones on Myth, Ancient History, and the Relative Prestige', *History of Religions*, 42:1 (2002), 1-18: 13.
[203] Fath-Allah Mojtaba'i, 'DABESTĀN-E MAḌĀHEB', *Encyclopedia Iranica*, (3) 5: 532-4, 533. [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/dabestan-e-madaheb].
[204] Mojtaba'i, 'DABESTĀN-E MAḌĀHEB', 533.
[205] A book quite similar to the *Dabestan*; *melal va nehal* is a digest for various religions present the Middle East. For more information on the book, see: David Thomas, 'Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal', *Christian-Muslim Relations 600 - 1500*, David Thomas (ed.), [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-i/kitab-al-milal-wa-l-nihal-COM_24627].

chapter was extracted from the *Merāj-nāmeh* attributed to Avicenna.[206] This was in accord with Jones's view that anyone examining a culture or religion should start with its original texts. Furthermore, in some cases, traditions, folklore stories, and anecdotes of each religion or culture are mentioned, such as the fifth chapter on Christianity. These anecdotes and traditions had travelled from other cultures to seventeenth-century India; on the one hand, they are highly syncretic and pluralistic, while on the other hand, they paved the way for anyone, like Jones, who aimed to conduct a comparative study on such matters.

Francis Gladwin was the first person who translated parts of the *Dabestan* into English and published it in 1789.[207] In 1843, the whole book was translated to English and published in Calcutta;[208] the *Dabestan* has been reprinted many times ever since in Iran and India. Based on the various references Jones made to the book, it is apparent that he was heavily influenced by it. Other than mentioning the *Dabestan* in his 'On the Mystical Poetry', which juxtaposes the book with Dara Shokoh's *Majma al-Bahrein*, Jones refers to the book in his fifth and sixth Discourses presented to the Asiatic Society. In the fifth Discourse, 'On the Tartars' delivered on February 21, 1788,[209] Jones has used the book as a source to understand the Tartars living under the rule of Genghis Khan (1158-1227): 'We are assured, however, by the learned author of the *Dabestan* that the Tartars under Chengiz and his descendants were lovers of truth and would not even preserve their lives by a violation of it.'[210] Jones's sixth Discourse, 'On the Persians' delivered on February 19, 1789,[211] further demonstrates his reliance on the *Dabestan*. Described as a 'rare and interesting tract on twelve different religions,' Jones uses the work to signify the heterodox background of Oriental pluralism as well as the conflict between the pluralistic views and orthodox Islam:

> the wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of Hushang which was long anterior to that of Zeratusht but had continued to be secretly possessed by many learned Persians even to the author's time and several of the most eminent of them dissenting in many points from the Gabrs [fire worshippers] and persecuted by the ruling powers of their

[206] For more information and an English translation of the book see: Peter Heath, 'Part III: The Mi'râj Nâma', *Allegory and philosophy in Avicenna (Ibn Sînâ): with a translation of the Book of the Prophet Muḥammad's ascent to heaven*, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 107-45.
[207] 'The Dabistan or School of Manners', *The New Asiatic Miscellany*, Francis Gladwin (trans.), (Calcutta: Joseph Cooper, 1789), 1: 86-137.
[208] Muḥsin Fānī, *The Dabistán, or School of manners: translated from the original Persian, with notes and illustrations*, David Shea, & Anthony Troyer (trans), (Paris: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1843), 3 vols.
[209] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 71-103.
[210] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 92.
[211] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 103-37.

> country had retired to India where they compiled a number of books now extremely scarce. [212]

Hushang was the discoverer of fire in Persian mythology; his discovery led to mankind's uncovering of iron and ironworking principles, which consequently led to the development of agriculture.[213] Other than some references to its name in the *Shahnameh*, there is not much known about Hushang's religion in Persian literature. All we know for sure was that his discoveries were aimed to comfort humanity, and he argued upon principles such as reason, wisdom, and justice. Later in the Discourse, Jones relied 'on the authorities adduced by Mohsani Fani' on the primaeval religion of Iran: 'we learn from the Dabistan that the popular worship of the Iranians under Hushang was purely Sabian [worshipping stars].' The author of the *Dabestan*'s aim for the hypothesis was to enable people such as gabrs, 'fire worshipers' or those who worshipped anything else to argue that their religion is like the Sabian's and consequently, using verses of the *Quran*,[214] justify their practices against orthodox Muslims. As the Discourse was aimed at an eighteenth-century European audience, Jones intermingled information from the *Dabestan* with Isaac Newton's (1643-1727) understanding of the ancient Persian religion as 'the oldest and noblest of all religions':

> A firm belief that One Supreme God made the world by his power and continually governed it by his providence, a pious fear love and adoration of him, a due reverence for parents and aged persons, a fraternal affection for the whole human species, and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation.[215]

The author of the *Dabestan* and Newton have both used broad and positive terminologies to describe the other; the devil is in the details. Such descriptions have been common amongst Oriental pluralistic mystics to minimize the differences between diverse Oriental cultures; to facilitate the connection between the known and the unknown by emphasising the similarities between the two. Following Newton's description of ancient Persian religions, Jones explains that 'the modern philosophers' of Hushangi persuasion are called Sufis:

> their fundamental tenets are, that nothing exists absolutely but God: that the human soul is an emanation from his essence, and, though, divided for a time from its heavenly source, will be finally re-united with it; that the highest possible happiness will arise from its reunion, and that the chief good of mankind in this transitory world, consists

[212] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 110.
[213] Donna Rosenberg, *Folklore, Myths, and Legends: A World Perspective*, (Lincolnwood: NTC Publishing Group, 1997), 116-8.
[214] For example, *Quran*'s 2:62 which was mentioned earlier in this chapter.
[215] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 125.

> in as perfect a union with the Eternal Spirit as the incumbrances of a mortal frame will allow; [216]

This short extract is arguably one of the very first, if not the first, accurate description of the Sufis and their metaphysics: 'Such in part (for I omit the minuter and more subtle metaphysics of the Sufis which are mentioned in the Dabistan)'. Jones elaborates that Sufism is 'the wild and enthusiastick religion of the modern Persian poets, especially of the sweet Hafiz and the great Maulavi [Rumi]'. Emphasizing the Indo-Persian connection in his sixth anniversary Discourse entitled 'On the Persians,' Jones clarifies the affinity between Sufi mystics and 'the Vedanti philosophers and best lyrick poets of India; as it was a system of the highest antiquity in both nations, it may be added to the many other proofs of an immemorial affinity between them'.[217] Jones's connecting link between the philosophy of the two Oriental nations and modern Europe can be found in the theory of Emanationism, all are derived from the first reality or perfect God, by the Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus (205-270). In his *Enneads*, Plotinus described all things phenomenal and otherwise are an emanation from the One. He also argued that emanation is a diffusion from the One, of which there are three primary hypostases, the One, the Intellect, and the Soul.[218] Plotinus's supreme One 'is before all existents,'[219] transcendent, and contains no division, multiplicity, or distinction; without the supreme One, nothing could exist.[220] The emanationist metaphysics asserts the absolute transcendence of the One as the source of all beings.[221] The understanding of the Neoplatonic scholar dovetails nicely with the *vojōdi* Sufis' and the Vedanti philosophers: whatever exists is part of a unique singular existence or an appearance, manifestation, or emanation of it. Jones's 'On the Philosophy' addresses this connection at length:

> but supplication and praise would not satisfy the boundless imagination of the Vedántì and Sufi theologists, who blending uncertain metaphysics with undoubted principles of religion, have presumed to reason confidently on the very nature and essence of the divine spirit, and asserted in a very remote age, what multitudes of Hindus and Muselmans assert at this hour that all spirit is homogeneous, that the spirit of God is in kind the same with that of man, though differing from it infinitely in degree, and that, as material substance is mere illusion, there exists in this universe only one generic

[216] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 130.
[217] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 130.
[218] Plotinus, *The Essential Plotinus: Representative Treatises From The Enneads*, S. J. Elmer O'Brien (trans.), (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 1964), 90-136: 90-2.
[219] Plotinus, *The Enneads*, Stephen MacKenna (trans.), B. S. Page (ed.), (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books: 1991), 487.
[220] Plotinus, *The Enneads*, 617-20.
[221] Plotinus, *The Enneads*, 92-3, & 98-9.

> spiritual substance, the sole primary cause, efficient, substantial, and formal of all secondary causes and of all appearances whatever, but endued in its highest degree, with a sublime providential wisdom, and proceeding by ways incomprehensible to the spirits which emane from it.[222]

Earlier, in his sixth Discourse 'On the Persians,' Jones elaborated on the mystical views of the Sufis:

> that, like a reed torn from its native bank, like wax separated from its delicious honey, the soul of man bewails its disunion with melancholy musick, and sheds burning tears, like the lighted taper, waiting passionately for the moment of its extinction, as a disengagement from earthly trammels, and the means of returning to its Only Beloved.[223]

Jones suggested his fellow Asiatic Society members should 'borrow such expressions as approach the nearest to our ideas, and speak of Beauty and Love in a transcendent and mystical sense'. Three years after 'On the Persians', in his 'On the Mystical Poetry' (1792), Jones recounted the sadly pleasing notes of 'reed torn from its native bank.' In the eleventh Discourse 'On the Philosophy' (1794), Jones revised the opinions he stated in the previous Discourses:

> I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the never-fading laurels of our immortal Newton,—that the whole of his theology and part of his philosophy may be found in the Vedas and even in the works of the Sufis: that most subtle spirit, which he suspected to pervade natural bodies, and, lying concealed in them, to cause attraction and repulsion, the emission, reflection, and refraction of light, electricity, calefaction, sensation, and muscular motion, is described by the Hindus as a fifth element endued with those very powers;[224]

Jones elaborated that the Vedantic 'fifth element', the 'force universally attractive', is mainly ascribed to the Sun and is called 'Aditya, or the Attractor a name designed by the mythologists to mean the child of the Goddess Aditi.' In Neoplatonic terms, the One is compared to light, the Divine Intellect – first will towards Good – to the Sun, and the Soul – whose light is merely a derivative conglomeration of light from the 'Sun' – to the Moon.[225] Therefore, Jones's statement compares the Vedantic Aditya to the Divine Intellect and the Neoplatonic One to Aditi. Regarding the Moon, Jones utilized 'the most wonderful passage on the theory of

[222] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 250-1.
[223] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 130.
[224] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 246.
[225] Plotinus, *The Enneads*, 417.

attraction' from Nezami's *Shirin and Farhad,* which he re-entitled 'the Divine Spirit and a human Soul.' Later in the Discourse, he summed up the fruits of his syncretic research:

> [T]he general corollary, admitted by Hindus, Arabs, and Tartars, by Persians, and by Chinese is the supremacy of an all creating and all preserving spirit, infinitely wise, good, and powerful, but infinitely removed from the comprehension of his most exalted creatures. nor are there in any language [...] more pious and sublime addresses to the being of beings, [...] than in Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit, especially in the Koran, the introductions to the poems of Sadi, NIZAMI, and FIRDAUSI, the four Vedas, and many parts of the numerous Puranas.[226]

In other words, he asserted that Oriental perception of God, for example, Rumi's Great One, is no different from the Occidental, Neoplatonic Supreme One. Jones, who knew twenty-eight languages, also added that he could not find 'more pious and sublime addresses to the being of beings' than in Oriental languages. This addition to his understanding of the East-West philosophy brings his view on the differences of the East-West mystical poetry to mind; they differ 'as the flowers and fruit of Europe differ in scent and flavour from those of Asia:'

> the same strain, in poetical measure, would rise up to the odes of SPENSER on Divine Love and Beauty, and, in a higher key with richer embellishments, to the songs of HAFIZ and JAYADEVA, the raptures of the Masnavi, and the mysteries of the Bha´gavat.[227]

In the meantime, as Jones was conducting his comparative research in India, he also worked on composing a short verse which, in line with many *vojōdi* Sufis, promoted toleration. The verse depicts Jones's moment of extinction, his passionate 'disengagement from earthly trammels,' and reunion with the 'Only Beloved', the supreme 'all preserving spirit, infinitely wise, good, and powerful' creator. The verses are in Persian, one of the languages of the Orient in which 'more pious and sublime addresses to the being of beings' is abundant. It is in the meter of Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* (U-U-UU--U-U-UU-) and available in Jones's personal copy of Nezami's *Treasury*: [228]

[226] Jones, *The Works*, 3: 250.
[227] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 216.
[228] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. 40.

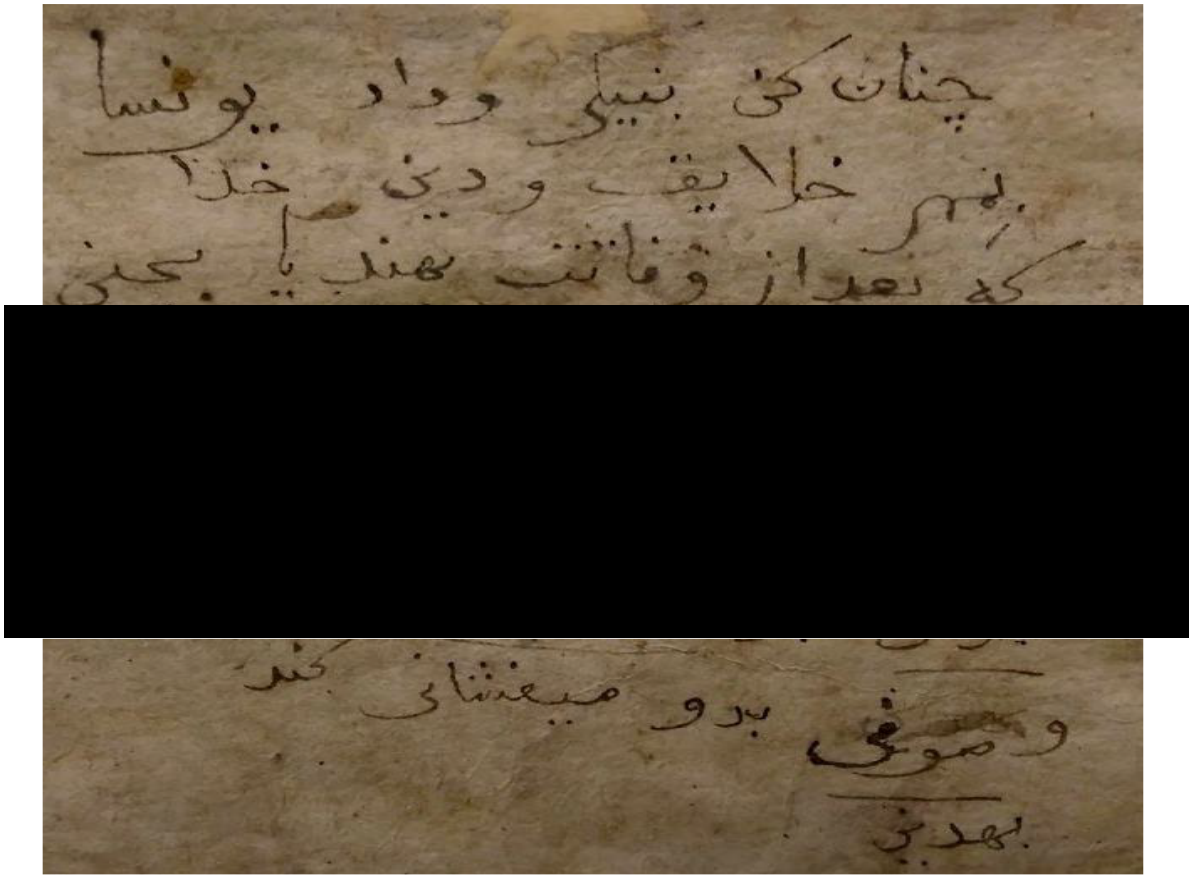

Illustration 21, BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. 40; a Persian poem by Jones and in his hand on his manuscript of Nezami's *Treasury*.

The verses translate as follows:

> Jones! Act justly and virtuously for the love of the creatures and the religion of God.
> So that after your passing, every being in China and India praises you.
> Mourning Muslims tear their chest apart, burying you like Christians in a clean coffin.
> The Brahmans recite the Vedas at it, and the Sufis scatter wine over it.[229]

In the first distich, Jones has omitted the subtle details of the qualities of a life worthy of the reunion with the Beloved; he has encapsulated them in justice, virtuous acts, and love of the other beings, as well as not forgetting the Beloved. The second distich asserts that by maintaining such standards in life, one would be praised by all creations; in Rumi's words, one

[229] See the original Persian text and transliteration of the verse below:

چنان کن به نیکی و داد یونسا — به مهر خلایق و دین خدا
که بعد از وفاتت بهند یا بچین — همه خلق بر تو کنند آفرین
نهندت نصاری به تابوت پاک — مسلمان به زاری کند سینه چاک
برهمن بر او بید خوانی کند — و صوفی بدو میفشانی کند

Chenān kon be niki o dād younesā — *be mehr-e khalāyegh o dine khodā*
Ke ba'd az vafātat be hend v be chin — *hame khalgh bar to konand āfarin*
Nehandat nasāri be tabōte pāk — *mosalmān be zāri konad sine chāk*
Berahman bar ō bid khāni konad — *va sōfi bed ō mey feshāni konad*

should not seek scandal, audacity, and turmoil in the foreign lands of China and/or India.[230] The remaining two distiches gather every major religion of the subcontinent, which Jones believed to share his view of the Beloved and the path to it. The intriguing fact is that the followers of these four religions – Muslims, Christians, Brahmans, and Sufis – each are mourning Jones's separation from them and celebrating his union with the Beloved in their own culture and customs; just as the travellers in Rumi's tale worshipped the Great One in their own manners.[231] As it can be seen in the illustration, Jones has underlined the words: نصاری, مسلمان, برهمن, بید خوانی, and صوفی which respectively mean 'Christian,' 'Muslim,' 'reciting the Vedas,' and 'Sufi;' the underlinings point out the significance of the four religions and the Vedas to Jones. In addition, below the underlined word صوفی 'Sufi,' Jones has coined a Persian word: بهدین *beh-din*, 'better/best-religion', which demonstrates his respect for its pluralistic, tolerant, all-pervading views.

Before moving to the final chapter of this thesis, it is fit to mention an essay written by Lieutenant James William Graham, the linguist of the first battalion in the sixth regiment of Bombay Native Infantry. Entitled 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', the essay was initially composed 'in a cursory manner at the desire of Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm in 1811 […] to throw a light upon this mysterious system.'[232] Jones's influence is apparent on both Graham, the military's linguist, and Malcolm, the intellectually curious Brigadier-General. To briefly mention Malcolm's achievements, it should be stated that he travelled to Iran several times and composed the *History of Iran* (1815); his book was the very first English book on the history of Iran which was derived directly from Persian sources. Another intriguing instance which points out Malcolm's understanding of Iranians occurred when Haji Khalil Khan Malek ol-tojjar (d. 1802), the Extraordinary Iranian Envoy and Plenipotentiary Minister to the East India Company, was killed in Bombay. Malcolm was left in charge of dealing with the situation and his understanding of the Iranian culture, which was obtained from the works of Jones and other Asiatic Society members, as well as his diplomatic skills, led to the defusing of the situation. Iranian historical sources report 'years later [after the situation], in Shiraz, people said 'if the British are this generous, they can kill ten of our

[230] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 180.
[231] Beinecke Library, Osborn c. 400, f. 96; BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 150.
[232] Lieutenant James William Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Literary Society of Bombay*, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster Row; and John Murray, 1819), 1: 89-120.

envoys!'[233] In the next few pages, Graham's 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism' will be critically examined for the first time since its publication.

Graham, like Jones, was after 'the real knowledge; the beauty, as it always is, is in the original.'[234] Therefore, in the essay, he presented translations of Sufi texts which were discovered through his 'colloquial intercourse with natives [...] accepted by the orthodox Mussulmans (Sunnis) and also by the Shiahs.'[235] The essay complements Jones's 'On the Mystical Poetry' and 'On the Philosophy;' as after Jones's death, there existed

> an ample field for further discussion on this curious and important head, more especially as the illustrious President has written professedly on their poetry only; and though his discourse explains a number of their tenets, yet it does not fully convey the notions of this peculiar sect, which could not have been done without much digression, nor was primarily intended.[236]

Graham's Neoplatonic view is evident in the 'Treatise on Sufism:'

> So many passages from the Holy Scriptures seem to speak in the language of Sufism […] 'God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him'; and of the mystical union; 'But he that is joined into the Lord is one spirit.'[237]

Graham provides an etymological definition of the term Sufi; stating the word could have been 'derived from suf, wool,'[238] he traces it back to earlier scholars, such as Al-Qushayri (986-1073) and Sohrevardi (1154-1191), who hypothesized that the word was generated from the term صفا *saf*ā, 'purity.'[239] Also, he points out that amongst Muslims, Sufism and its tenets is equivalent to 'mysticism or quietism' amongst Christians. Graham's image of Sufi becomes more similar to Jones's while he is discussing 'the different States and Stages' a Sufi passes through in his path 'approaching Divinity':

> In fine, the present free-thinker or modern philosopher of Europe would be esteemed a sort of Sufi in the world, and not the one retired therefrom. This has occasioned another.

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[233] Dehkhoda, *Lughat'nāmah*, 13: 18986.
[234] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 108.
[235] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 89.
[236] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 89.
[237] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 100.
[238] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 90.
[239] Al-Qushayri, *Resaleye Ghoshiriyye*, Badiozzaman Forouzanfar (ed.), (Tehran: Elmi-Farhangi Publications, 1995), 467.

> hudees nebooi, or tradition of the Prophet, As Sufi lu yemuzhiboo, 'The Sufi has no religion'.[240]

Although no evidence can be found to suggest Jones knew the *Hadith*, verses of Rumi and Amir Khosrow, which Jones annotated, certainly portrayed a Sufi as someone with no particular religion. In addition, as it was discussed earlier, Jones's Hungarian Orientalist friend Károly Reviczky (1737-1793) had a similar conception of Hafez:

> As to myself, although I am disposed to believe, that when Hafez speaks of love and wine, he has no recondite meaning, I am equally willing to declare, that his writings are not disgraced by those obscenities […] Nor can I avoid considering him a free thinker: and a hundred passages might be quoted, in which the poet ridicules the prophet and his Coran.[241]

Jones's beacon is also apparent in another part of Graham's Treatise; when the essay explains the Sufi's views on 'the Inefficacy of Practical Worship,' the reader is presented with some examples. One is a distich in Rekhta or 'Hindoostany', which according to Graham states:

> A jogue [Yogi] has elapsed in turning over the rosary, and the mind (or chaplet of beads) has turned likewise—Put by the wooden rosary, and turn over the beads of the mind.[242]

The Hindoostany couplet is, in essence, the same as the distich in Ismat's poem, which Jones translated to: 'She answered: Cast thy rosary on the ground; bind on thy shoulder the thread of paganism; throw stones at the glass of piety; and quaff wine from a full goblet.'[243] The difference between the two distiches lies in the fact that one is about a yogi and the other is about a Muslim or Monotheist. The same message could also be found in the distich Jones added to his translation of Ismat's *ghazal*: 'Depart then from the cloister, and take the way to the tavern; cast off the cloak of a dervise, and wear the robe of a libertine.'[244] After mentioning some other Indian specimens from Kabir, Graham moves to some Persian distiches which were 'never hitherto printed; I received them orally with some explanations.' One of the distiches is:

> If that lovely youth of Turkistan would yield his intoxicated heart to me,
> I would give for the black mole on his cheek the country of Hindoostan as a tribute.[245]

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[240] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 96.
[241] Sir William Jones, *Memoirs of the life, writings and correspondence of Sir William Jones*, Charles John Shore Teignmouth (ed.), (London: Piccadilly, 1806), 1: 49.
[242] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 103.
[243] Jones, *The Works*, 2: 228.
[244] Jones, *The Works*, 2: 228.
[245] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 106.

As it can be observed, the distich is an imitation of the same *ghazal* of Hafez which Jones translated in 1771: 'If that lovely maid of Shiraz would accept my heart, I would give for the mole on her cheek the cities of Samarghand and Bokhara.[246] The difference between the original Persian and the Indian imitation only consists in the Sufi's offering to the Beloved: the Shirazi Hafez gave away Samarghand and Bokhora, while the Indian poet offered the whole of Hindoostan. It should be mentioned here that Jones's *Grammar* also delivered a more poetical translation of 'A Persian Song':[247]

> Sweet maid, if thou wouldst charm my sight;
> And, bid these arms thy neck infold;
> That rosy cheek, that lily hand,
> Would give thy poet more delight
> Than all Bocara's vaunted gold,
> Than all the gems of Samarcand. [248]

Although Graham fails to acknowledge Jones's translation, he notes the significance of Jones's 'On the Mystical Poetry' in interpreting Sufi rhetoric:

> The meaning of these odes [...] will be clearly understood when I refer the reader to the Discourse already mentioned on the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus. (Asiatic Researches, vol. iii.) Suffice it for the present to observe, that they are not to be taken in the bacchanalian or libertine sense, but, like Solomon's Song, in the mystical one; but this lies with the opinions of those who read such works as Hafiz, &c. All do not possess the same disposition or way of thinking. [249]

The 'Treatise' reiterates the significance of Jones's 'On the Mystical Poetry;' in addition, like Jones's 'On the Philosophy,' it explores the compatibility of the Oriental and Occidental philosophy; however, the 'Treatise' does not mention Jones's 'On the Philosophy' which could have been due to the fact that Graham's focus was mainly upon Sufis rather than Oriental philosophy in general. Since this chapter mainly revolved around Jones's understanding of Sufism and its relationship with other faiths, the following few pages discuss those sections of Graham's 'Treatise on Sufism', which deal with the same subject.

Graham divided his 'Treatise' into eleven sections: in the first ten sections, he introduces and defines an aspect of Sufism, then presents the reader with a high number of

[246] Jones, *A Grammar*, 135.
[247] Jones, *A Grammar*, 137-140.
[248] Jones, *A Grammar*, 137.
[249] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 107.

biblical verses to reiterate that 'So many passages from the Holy Scriptures seem to speak in the language of Sufism […] 'God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him'; and of the mystical union; 'But he that is joined into the Lord is one spirit'.[250] For example, when the reader is being introduced to the religion or doctrine of Sufism,[251] Graham juxtaposes the Sufis' rejection of worldly matters with Job saying, 'Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord.' (Job 1: 21.) Graham explains that the Sufi's rejection of the world is sourced from the Quranic quote 'Be, and it is';[252] he also points out the Neoplatonic, and most certainly *vojōdi*, connection:

> The Sufi conceives himself and all nature to be an emanation from the Deity; the soul to be a portion or ray of his own blessed divine essence; animation to be the effect thereof, and matter to be produced from the Almighty.[253]

This chain of Islamic, Sufi and Biblical quotations is dovetailed with 'the words of a great poet' Alexander Pope: 'Slave to no sect, who takes no private road, / But looks through Nature up to Nature's God.' The chain is prolonged with other links of references to 'the fathers or saints of the third and fourth centuries, such as St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Anthony' to assert that 'God is in all and that "ye are the temples of the living God"'. In addition, Graham states that Greek philosophers such as Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, and Plotinus were 'not ignorant of this in the very height of idolatry.'[254] Eventually, Graham's chain is concluded with verses of the *Quran*: 'O thou soul which art at rest, return into thy Lord, well pleased with thy reward, and well pleasing unto God: enter among my servants and enter my paradise.'[255] The verse echoes Rumi's reed, which in Jones's words, 'roams in exile from his parent bow'r, / Pants to return, and chides each ling'ring hour.[256] By establishing these connections, Graham achieves a key goal: firstly, in line with Jones's 'On the Mystical Poetry' and 'On the Philosophy', this chain signifies the similarities between Oriental philosophy and the allegorical traditions with the Occidental ones. Secondly, Graham lays the groundwork for his assertions in the next section

[250] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 100.
[251] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 90-4.
[252] *The Quran*, 2: 117, 3: 47, 3: 59, 6: 73, 16: 40, 19: 35, 36: 82, & 40: 68.
[253] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 92.
[254] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 93.
[255] *The Quran*, 89: 27-30.
[256] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 230.

of the essay entitled 'Elucidation of the foregoing or on the different States and Stages towards Perfection attainable by Man as approaching Divinity:'[257]

> It may not be unworthy of remark, especially in this place, that we are, generally speaking, at least in this country, looked upon as a species or one kind of Sufi, from our non-observance here of any rites or forms, conceiving a worship of the Deity in mind, and adherence to morality, sufficient. In fine the present free thinker or modern philosopher of Europe would be esteemed a sort of Sûfi in the world and not the one retired therefrom. [258]

The ultimate goal of the chain, which of course is in accord with the essay as well as Jones's works, is that it closes the supposed cultural gap between the West and the East.

Graham's 'Treatise' becomes particularly remarkable in its fifth section 'On the different kinds of Sufis.'[259] His categorization is not found in the works of Jones or prior Europeans; dividing Sufis into three types: سالک *sālek*, 'traveller', مجذوب *majzōb*, 'fascinated or attracted', and مجذوب سالک *majzōb-e sālek*, 'fascinated by the traveller.' Graham's categorisation is in accord with many Sufi writers, including Ghazali, Sohrevardi, and Jami;[260] however, Graham does not fully explore this categorization. This could have been because, firstly, the categorization was relatively novel in eighteenth-century European texts. Secondly, he provided enough proof for his point – that Sufism is compatible with and similar to Christian mysticism and many other European philosophical schools – by only mentioning these three 'types of Sufis'. The remarkability of 'On the different kinds of Sufis' resides in the fact that it facilitates the overall point of the essay by defining each type of Sufi with verses of the Christian scripture and quotations from Western philosophers. For example, Graham defines the سالک *sālek* as 'the traveller, or one in the right road and path of purity;' then he identifies the *sālek* to the Christians with 'Unto the pure, all things are pure (vide St. Paul's Epist. to Titus, chap, i., ver. 15)' and concludes the familiarization with Plato's:

> Such a man, taking all these things into his consideration, living in quietness and tranquillity (like one who takes shelter when the storm is raging), occupied wholly in

[257] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 94-7.
[258] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 95-6.
[259]Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 98-100.
[260] For further reading see: Shihab al-Din 'Umar al-Suhrawardi, *The Awarif ul Maarif*, (Beirut: Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1983), 1:87; Nasrolah Poorjavadi, *Soltan-e Tarighat*: The Life and Works of Ahmad Ghazali, (Tehran, Agaah, 1980), 208-9; Mahmoon ibn Ali Ezodin Kashani, *Mesbahol Hedaya va Meftahol Kefaya*, (Tehran: Homaei, 1986), 108; & Abdol Rahman Jami, *Nafahat al-Uns*, (Tehran: Abedi, 1992), 517.

> his own concerns, and seeing the world around him filled with all manner of iniquity, is contented to pass the time of his sojourning here in peace, himself free from all unrighteousness and works of unholiness, and with calm confidence expects his dismission and departure in all fulness of hope.[261]

When Graham explains the *majzōb*, he points out that this type of Sufi 'signifies attracted, drawn or carried away, abstracted, allured.' Then Graham presents descriptions of such a person with references to St. Paul and verses of the *Quran*. Also, he points out that:

> those who are said in Scripture to be carried in the spirit or thrown into a trance, as Enoch, Elisha, and Elijah were in the former instance [*sālek*s], and Ezekiel in the latter [*majzōb*s] —or again, those who are called the violent, and said to take the kingdom of heaven by force (vide St. Matt., chap, xi., ver. 12, also St. Luke, chap, xvi., ver. 16).[262]

Later, in the sixth section of the 'Treatise', 'On those who are accounted Sufis, and the double distinction of Salik and Mejezoob'[263] Graham provides a list of *sālek*s and *majzōb*s. The list of *sālek*s includes figures such as Amir Khosrow and Sadi; the *majzōb*s' include Shams Tabrizi (1185-1248),[264] Hallaj, and Hafez.[265] These lists and Graham's identification of the distant Oriental Sufis – Amir Khosrow and Sadi with Enoch, Elisha, and Elijah as well as Shams, Hallaj, and Hafez with Ezekiel – is a further step in portraying the mystics of the land far away similar to Christian saints. An intriguing point that should not be forgotten here is that Graham's juxtaposition of Sufi and Christian saints, or rather Oriental and Occidental figures, echoes the great connections Jones made – both in his published works as well as his annotations in the manuscripts – between the East and West.

The same pattern of argument is found in the eighth section of the 'Treatise', 'Comparison of the Holy Trinity with the Sufis' three Hypostases.'[266] Graham provides Biblical verses to suggest:

> In Scriptural language Christ is called the beloved, and beloved son: vide St. Luke, ch. iii. ver. 22. Now in the first light and splendour (that of God the Father) for the sake of the king of the beloved and elect (the Son), the Love (the Holy Ghost) which was

[261] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 99.
[262] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 100.
[263] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 101-2.
[264] Shams was Rumi's the spiritual instructor; he is referenced with great reverence in Rumi's poetic collection. Rumi's final work, the *Divan-e Shams-e Tabrizi*, which contains his *ghazal*s was composed and named in the honour of Shams.
[265] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 102.
[266] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 108-11.

> overcome (and lay dormant in the Father) rose up and became victorious between the beloved (the Son) and him who loves all (the Father).[267]

This statement is followed with a *Hadith*, which he translated to 'This treasure (the universe and all created things) lay in secret and concealed (in the nature of God); afterwards, Love arose, that I (the Lord) should be known.' As it was discussed earlier, this is the same *Hadith* which Dara Shokoh used in his *Majma al-Bahrein* to establish that 'The first thing to come out of chid akas [annihilation/unexistence] was Love (or 'Ishk), which is called Maya in the language of the Indian monotheists.'[268] Graham's chain of Scriptural and Islamic quotations is prolonged with 'a tetrastich stanza in Persian' by an unknown poet:

> This jot of unity arose from out of him at once;
> Then the beloved, Love itself, and he who loves all, became manifest.
> The light and glory descended and became visible in the nature of man,
> That treasure which was latent became enlightened by that glory.[269]

The Persian verses are printed in the essay, however, as they cannot be found in any Persian literary source, the poet's identity cannot be verified. Yet, the message and figures of speech used in these distiches can be found in the works of many Sufi poets such as Rumi, Sohrevardi, and Shabestari. Graham juxtaposes the third and fourth distich with 'Saint John in his Gospel, ch. i. ver. 14, and third verse of the same chapter' and concludes that 'The beloved, Mahboob, is the Son; Love itself, Mohbut, is the Holy Ghost; and he who loves all, Mohib, is evidently the Father.' Also, continuing Jones's hypothesis of the similarity and compatibility of Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism, Graham pays tribute to Dara Shokoh's Majma al-Bahrein, stating that this trend reminds him of 'the doctrines of the Veidant philosophy on the creation of the world.'[270]

The ninth section of the 'Treatise', 'Anecdotes or Narrations promised in the Introduction',[271] includes three narrations from Mansoor Hallaj, Shams-e Tabrizi, and an unknown Sufi. Graham's aim of this section is to distinguish and depict the conflict between those whom he calls 'Observers of the Law' and Sufis. He explains the differences between the two in the tenth section, yet there is a subtle point in the narrations chosen that should be

[267] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 109.
[268] Dara Shikoh, *Majma' ul Bahrain*, 39.
[269] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 109.
[270] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 110.
[271] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 111-6.

discussed here to elaborate upon Graham's understanding of a Sufi: all three narrations presented revolve around *vojōdi* Sufis. Moreover, the quotations he chose for these narrations also belong to *vojōdi*s. For example, after presenting the reader with the account of Hallaj's life and execution, Graham states:

> There is a distich or two made upon this occasion by one Shibli a poet and Sûfi of the same order that is Mějězoob; he is down in the small list of Mějězoob Sheikh Aboobeker Shibli;—he is represented asking the Almighty why Munsoor suffered; and the reply is annexed thus:
>
> > Question Shibli put this question to the palace of the gracious lord
> > –Why did the prince put Munsoor on the impaling stake?
> > Answer. Munsoor was acquainted with everything but was a friend who discovered secrets and mysteries:
> > Whoever makes public mysteries and hidden things this is his punishment.[272]

Leonard Lewishon introduced Abu Bakr al-Shibli (d. 945) as follows:

> Since he was of Persian derivation (aslish Irani bud) and spent some time in Iran as an official holding a post with the government of his day, he became acquainted with the philosophy and the ethics of the Persians (ba falsafa va akhlaq-i Irani), which consists of the unity of being (wahdat-i wujud), love of God and divine Reality ('ishq bi-Haqq va haqiqat), chivalry and kindness to all living beings.[273]

Consequently, it can be seen from the narrations and quotations Graham presents that to him, Sufis and *vojōdi*s are interchangeable. Graham's view provides proof that in Persian literature, a mystic is synonymous with a Sufi and a Sufi is synonymous with a *vojōdi*. This interchangeability is also apparent in the tenth section of the 'Treatise' entitled 'An Inference drawn on a Difference between the Sufis and Observers of the Law, from a peculiar saying of each.'[274] Graham describes the difference between the Sufis and the orthodox Muslims as: 'the Sufis say, Aun hemeh o est, "That all is He;" and the observers of the law, Hemeh azōest, "All is from him." He further elaborates on the difference between these two phrases by:

> 1st, The observers of the law say that 'All is from Him', without being in the least connected with, either by nature or essence, but wholly and solely dependent on him, and produced by his almighty fiat. […] 2nd. Now the Sufis, on the other hand, say that

[272] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 113.
[273] Leonard Lewishon, 'Persian Sufism in the contemporary West: reflections on the Ni 'matu'llahi diaspora', in *Sufism in the West*, Jamal Malik, & John Hinnells (eds.), (London Routledge: 2006), 49-70: 67. Lewishon has translated the extract from: Javad Nurbakhsh, *Shibli Mast-i haq va majdhub-i haqiqat*, (Tehran: Yalda, 1997), 3.
[274] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 116-7.

> the power, energy, or latent spirit of the Deity is in all matter, substance, and form, without which that matter could not perform its functions or exist.[275]

As described at length in this chapter, what Graham refers to as a Sufi is identical with a *vojōdi*; alternatively, his description of the Law observers exactly corresponds with the *shohōdi*s. However, although Graham's 'Treatise' delves into Sufism, just like Jones's works, there is no mention of the Unity of Being.

The 'Treatise' is concluded with 'the Analogy drawn between Sufism and Christian Spiritualism.'[276] The conclusion contains references to the second chapter of the First Epistle of St. Paul, the *Quran,* as well as quotations from the British poet Edward Young (1683-1765) and the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1720-1778). Graham points out that to him

> [T]he Mussulman Shiryât in its feature very much resembles the Jewish dispensation from which together with some parts of the Christian faith it was evidently borrowed through both greatly interpolated and misinterpreted.[277]

He reiterates that the grand and mutual factor between Christianity and Sufism 'is to know one's self;' the understanding of the self occurs with contemplation. When a Sufi contemplates 'the image of his Maker', he finds in 'every object around him; he conceives himself united with him, and changed into his essence.' Graham states that this contemplation, which leads to the Divine union, is not only apparent in Sufi works such as Nezami's 'Leila and Mijnoon (the Romeo and Juliet of the East)' but also in St. Paul's tradition: "But we all, with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." He also asserts that God is indifferent towards the various religions and contentions; although Jones found this view in Rumi's homochromatizing *Masnavi*, Graham uses the following 'Persian distich and beautiful simile:'

> He who is maddened to the heart with the arrow of love knows not the infidel or believer; What does the precious signet know of the engraving thereon, whether it is reversed or not? [278]

[275] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 116.
[276] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 117-9.
[277] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 118.
[278] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 119.

In some respect, Graham and his 'Treatise' represent another example of a Briton who has gone native in the subcontinent; under Jones's spell, and intriguingly similar to him, Graham aimed to reduce the gap between the Occident and the Orient by emphasizing the similarities between the two:

> we are, generally speaking, at least in this country, looked upon as a species or one kind of Sufi […] In fine the present free thinker or modern philosopher of Europe would be esteemed a sort of Sûfi in the world and not the one retired therefrom.[279]

Graham's 'Treatise' showcases the result of enlightenment Jones and his Asiatic Society introduced to eighteenth and nineteenth-century Britain. Franklin has traced Jones's enlightenment to June 22, 1784, [280] when in a letter he announced to Richard Johnson that he is 'in love with the Gopia, charmed with Crishen, an enthusiastick admirer of Ram, and a devout adorer of Brimha-bishen-mehais [Brahma, Vishnu, Siva: the trimurti].'[281] However, Jones's Persian verses in which he instructed himself to 'act justly and virtuously for the love of the creatures and the religion of God' to be praised by all beings[282] echoes Lewisohn's description of Abu Bakr al-Shibli, the tenth-century Sufi whom Graham mentioned in his 'Treatise':[283]

> Since he […] spent some time in Iran as an official holding a post with the government of his day, he became acquainted with the philosophy and the ethics of the Persians, which consists of the unity of being, love of God and divine Reality, chivalry and kindness to all living beings.[284]

The manuscript of Nezami's *Treasury*, which contains Jones's Persian verses, was purchased on November 4, 1783, [285] less than forty days after he arrived in India and will be examined in the next and final chapter of this thesis.

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[279] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 95-6.
[280] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 19.
[281] Jones, *The Letters*, 2: 652.
[282] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. 40.
[283] Graham, 'A Treatise on Sufism or Mahomedan Mysticism', 113.
[284] Leonard Lewisohn, 'Persian Sufism in the contemporary West: reflections on the Ni 'matu'llahi diaspora', 67.
[285] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. iii.

Chapter 5: The Majnoon of India: Sir William Jones's Annotations on Nezami's *Treasury* of Mysteries

The thesis's fifth and final chapter centres on Sir William Jones's marginalia and annotations on his copy of Nezami Ganjavi's (1141–1209) *The Treasury of Mysteries*. *The Treasury* is one of the few Sufi-themed works of Nezami which presents different tales revolving around spiritual and practical matters. Expanding upon the previous chapters' findings, 'The Majoon of India' presents a summative image of Jones's research on Sufi mysticism. In line with the previous chapters, this chapter examines Jones's annotating habits, cultural translation method, and comparative studies of the manuscript. Jones's copy of Nezami's *Treasury* is available in the 'Royal Society Persian and Arabic manuscripts' collection of the British Library, catalogued as RSPA 32. This chapter begins with providing a vision of the RSPA collection and assesses the previous research which was conducted on it before this thesis. Then, focusing on the RSPA 32, it discusses Jones's sources of interest in Nezami and his *Treasury* and describes and analyses Jones's annotations on the manuscript. The chapter, and the thesis, concludes with presenting an autograph Persian poem Jones has composed on the manuscript. It should also be mentioned that Jones's Persian annotations are translated by myself, while a verse translation of the *Treasury of Mysteries* [1] is used for Nezami's text.

The RSPA collection, alongside many other Oriental manuscripts of Jones, was entrusted to Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820); in a letter accompanying the manuscripts, dated 29 January 1792, Jones advised Banks 'should I die, you will deposit them in the Royal Society, so that they may be lent out, without difficulty, to any studious man who may apply for them.'[2] After his premature death in late April 1794, the manuscripts were presented to the Royal Asiatic Society by Jones's wife, Anna Maria, and by 28 June 1798, Sir Charles Wilkins (1749-1836) composed the very first catalogue of the manuscripts; [3] years later, the collection was transferred to the British Library, in 1826. About seventy-six years after the collection's arrival to the library, it was catalogued [4] by Edward D. Ross (1871-1940) and Edward G. Browne

[1] Nezami Ganjawi, *Treasury of Mysteries, translation of Makhzanol Asrar*, trans. Gholam Hossein Darab (trans.), (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1945).
[2] Jones, *The Works*, 13: 399.
[3] Jones, *The Works*, 13: 401-26: 416-22.
[4] Edward D. Ross, & Edward G. Browne, *Catalogue of two collections of Persian and Arabic manuscripts preserved in the India office library*, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902).

(1862-1926); they were partially catalogued again in 2020 by Jonathan Lawrence.[5] As it was established in the previous chapters, Jones had a habit of annotating the manuscripts he was reading, and his annotations cover a vast range of subjects: explanatory remarks on the books, parts of the texts he was fascinated with, even annotations about his comparative studies. In addition, given that by the time Jones died in India, he could speak English, Latin, Arabic, Sanskrit, Turkish, and Persian, the collection contains annotations in all those languages. Although the Ross-Browne catalogue mentions a few of Jones's annotations, it is mainly centred around the Oriental manuscripts themselves; even the few annotations printed in the catalogue are Jones's explanatory remarks regarding what the manuscript is, and how he obtained and read it. For instance, in the case of RSPA 23, which is a copy of Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, the only mention of Jones in the catalogue is 'Sir William Jones says in a note at the beginning: "I finished the reading of this book a second time, 3 Nov, 1787. Calcutta'.[6] However, the manuscript contains various marginal notes and annotations by Jones, ranging from his translations or explanations of the text to simply highlighting sentences in it. Another case is RSPA 32, Jones's copy of Nezami's *Makhzan al-Asrār*, which translates to 'The Treasury of the Mysteries'. The manuscript is filled with Jones's reiteration of Persian poetical compositions in his own hand; yet, there is no mention of the compositions and annotations in the catalogue.[7] As the main objectives of a catalogue are 'to enable a person to find a book, show what the library has, and assist in the choice of a book',[8] it can be argued that a catalogue should not necessarily mention the annotations of the manuscripts. However, as I spent some time researching the collection, another issue was noticed: RSPA 72 is catalogued as the *Tarjuma-i-Pārjātk*, the 'Translation of a Sanskrit work on Indian Music'.[9] Although the manuscript is not dated, Jones's English handwriting is available on it: he has translated the title of each chapter from Persian to English; furthermore, Jones has translated two short extracts of the work: one on the Hindu rituals and ceremonies before opening an amphitheatre; Jones annotated the manuscript with: 'The theatre is one of a circular form and wd. be furnished with benches for the accommodation of the Spectators so that all may be seated according to

[5] Jonathan Lawrence, 'Building a Library: The Arabic and Persian Manuscript Collection of Sir William Jones', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 31:1, (2021), 1-70.
[6] *Catalogue of two collections*, 20.
[7] *Catalogue of two collections*, 28.
[8] These objectives are cited by Charles Ammi Cutter, *Public Libraries in the United States of America then History, Condition, and Management*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), 10.
[9] *Catalogue of two collections*, 57.

their degree and be able conveniently to view ye Performance.'[10] The other annotation of Jones is on the 'Nat'[11] , which is his transliteration of the Natya, a Sanskrit word for drama that encompasses dramatic narrative, virtuosic dance, and music.[12] In addition to that particular text, another text bound into RSPA 72 has not been recorded in the catalogue. The text is entitled حسن عشق درعلم تصوف و عشق الهی *Hosen-e Eshgh dar Elm-e Tasavof va Eshghe Elāhi*, which can be translated to 'On the Virtues of Love in Sufism and the Divine Love'. The book is by an unidentified author and explains the significance of love in natural sciences, metaphysics, philosophy, and Sufism. Please see the following illustration:

[10] BL, APAC, RSPA 72, f. 44. I would like to thank Professor Franklin for helping me with reading this annotation.
[11] BL, APAC, RSPA 72, 47.
[12] E.J. Westlake, *World Theatre: The Basics*, (London: Routledge, 2017), 7.
Kamlesh Kapur, *History of Ancient India (portraits of a Nation)*, (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 2010), 483.

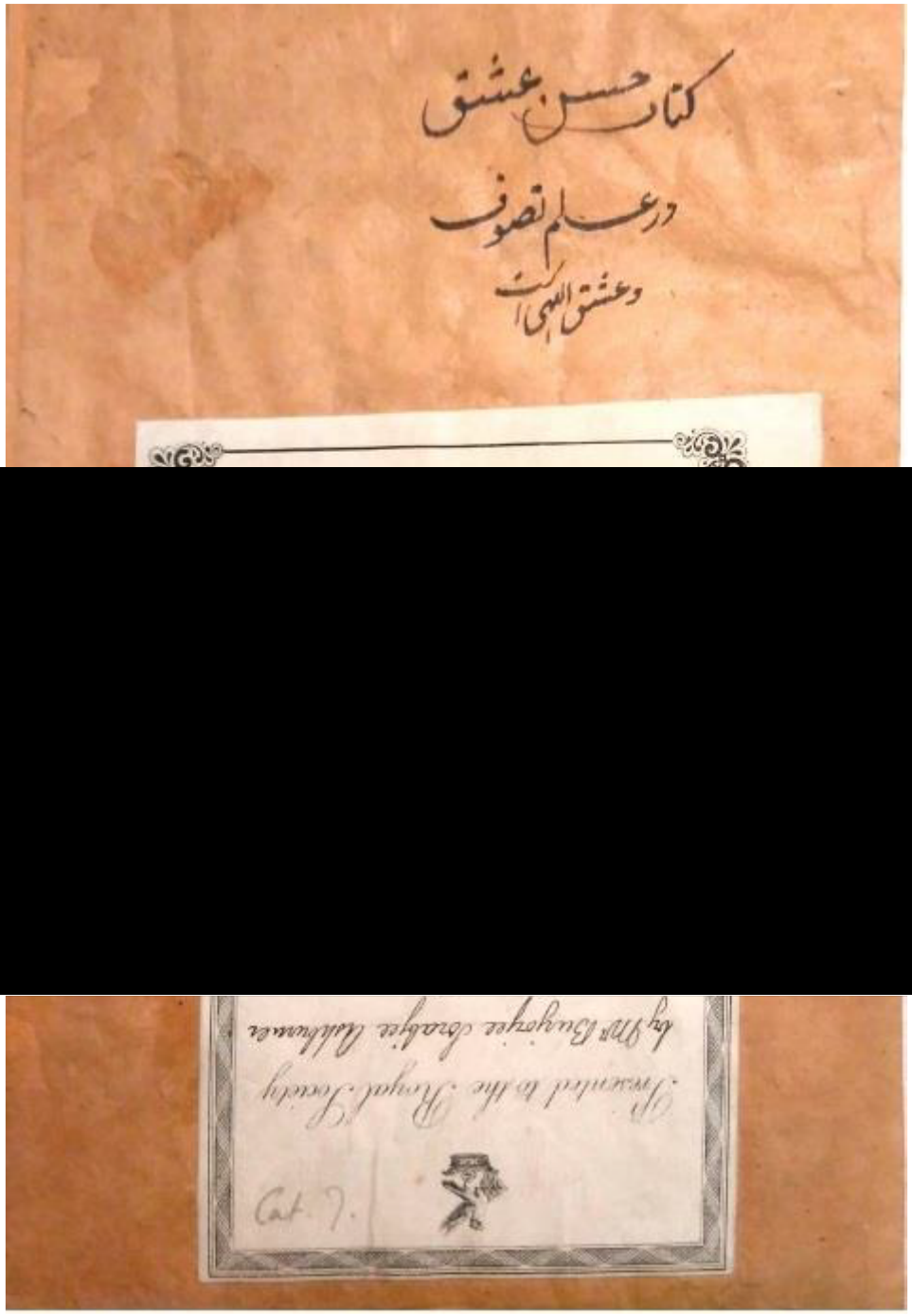

Illustration 1, BL, APAC, RSPA 72, f. I; the manuscript of 'On the Virtues of Love in Sufism and the Divine Love'.

The note on the bottom of the front page of the manuscript suggests that it was 'Presented to the Royal Society By Mr Burjojee Sorabjee Ashburner May 1865'. The note, alongside the fact that there is no annotation in the manuscript referring to Jones, suggests that the text of 'On the Virtues of Love in Sufism and the Divine Love' was not part of Jones's collection. Ashburner's name also comes up in the Catalogue of *Two Collections of Sanskrit Manuscripts Preserved in*

the India Office Library,[13] which also contains Jones's Sanskrit manuscripts; in both of the catalogues, he is mentioned as a collector who has presented some of the manuscripts to the Royal Asiatic Society. However, neither of the catalogues mention the manuscript of 'On the Virtues of Love in Sufism and the Divine Love'. Overall, to conclude the assessment of the catalogues, it is safe to assert that although the catalogue has its own merits, it does not present a highly accurate description of the collection, especially if one considers Jones and his annotations on the manuscripts.

Jones is the first person who introduced Nezami to Europe; among his published works, there is a translation of the twenty stories from the twenty sections of Nezami's *Treasury of Mysteries*. In the prefatory advertisement to his translation, entitled 'Tales and Fables of Nezami',[14] Jones introduced Nezami as follows:

> NIZAMI holds a distinguished rank among the Persian poets of the first class. Inferiour to Firdausi, alone in loftiness of thought and heroick majesty, to Maulavi Rumi, perhaps, in variety and liveliness, and to SADI in elegant simplicity, he surpasses all others in richness of imagery and beauty of diction. With ANVARI, HAFIZ, and KHAKANI, he is not to be compared; because he wrote neither odes, elegies, nor satires; but confined himself to the composition of Mesnavī or verse in couplets; on which account he is said by the Persian Criticks to have attained supreme excellence in that species of versification'.[15]

After a brief introduction to the book which he called 'The Treasury of Secrets', Jones remarks that 'the warmest admirers of Nezami cannot but allow that the sententious brevity of his couplets often renders them obscure'. Jones warned those without any knowledge of Persian not to judge his version of the merits of the original text. As Jones admits in the advertisement, in his translation and rendering of the *Treasury*: 'every attempt at elegance, but even the idiom of our language and the usual position of our words, have been designedly sacrificed to a scrupulous fidelity'.[16] In other words, the 'Tales and Fables of Nezami' were intended to assist students of Persian language and possibly Jones had intended to include them in his Persian *Grammar*. Jones's 'Tales and Fables of Nezami' received a positive reception in eighteenth-century Europe; it became a source of inspiration for future European poets. For example, the

[13] Charles Henry Tawney, & Frederick William Thomas, *Catalogue of Two Collections of Sanskrit Manuscripts Preserved in the India Office Library*, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1903).
[14] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 385-432.
[15] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 383.
[16] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 384.

tenth tale of Nezami which Jones translated to 'On Candour and Detraction. The BENEVOLENCE OF JESUS'[17] was later rendered into German by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856), in his *Geschichte der schönen redekünste Persiens: mit einer blüthenlese aus zweyhundert persischen dichtern* (1818). Later, this tale was versified by William Rounseville Alger (1822-1905), retitled to 'Charity's Eye',[18] and published in Alger's *The Poetry of the Orient* (1856). The 'Tales and Fables of Nezami' was not the only work of Jones which Nezami inspired, 'The Seven Fountains, an Eastern Allegory, written in the Year 1767'[19] was a pastiche of Nezami's هفت پیکر *haft peykar*, 'The Seven Beauties'. Jones was fascinated with Nezami and his works for several reason. The first is that Nezami utilized Persian as the language of his compositions even though he was familiar with Arabic and Kurdish as well as Turkish and Pahlavi. Nezami was born of a Kurdish-speaking mother who lived in Ganja, in the Caucasus region, which was a predominantly Pahlavi and Turkish-speaking area. By the time Jones was in India, Persian was the language of the Mughal courts, Turkish was the language of the military, while Arabic and Sanskrit were the languages of religion. In addition, Nezami had a prominent influence on the development of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Kurdish and Urdu poetry amongst many other languages in the subcontinent on which Jones had centred his researches.[20] The second reason lies within the style of Nezami's poetry; similar to many other poets of the Caucasus, he quite often used colloquial expressions and daily used lexicon in his poetry.[21] The utilization of vernacular expressions would indeed help Jones or any other learner or teacher of the language in order to improve their comprehension

[17] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 385-432, 408-9.
[18] William Rounseville Alger, *The Poetry of the Orient*, (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1865), 189.
[19] Jones, *Poems, Consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatick languages*, 39-69.
[20] For more information on Nezami's influence on other poets see:
Domenico Parrello, 'ḴAMSA OF NEẒĀMI', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, November 10, 2010, [Retrieved from http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kamsa-of-nezami 13-06-2019].
Paola Orsatti, 'ḴOSROW O ŠIRIN', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, June 27, 2006, [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kosrow-o-sirin 13-06-2019].
Moḥammad Amin Riāḥi, 'NOZHAT AL-MAJĀLES', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, December 15, 2008, [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/nozhat-al-majales 13-06-2019].
Paola Orsatti, 'ḴAMSA-ye JAMĀLI', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, April 20, 2012, [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kamsa-ye-jamali 13-06-2019].
Anna Livia Beelaert, 'ḴĀQĀNI ŠERVĀNI i. Life', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, December 15, 2010, [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kaqani-servani-poet 13-06-2019].
Moḥammad Amin Riāḥi, 'Nozhat-al-Majales', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, December 15, 2008, [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/nozhat-al-majales 13-06-2019].
[21] Moḥammad Amin Riāḥi, 'Nozhat-al-Majales', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, December 15, 2008, [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/nozhat-al-majales].

skills.[22] Another source of Jones's fascination, particularly with Nezami, could be their mutual interests in pluralistic literature and views on matters such as governance. To shed light on the similarities between the two, an opinion of a well-established scholar would be helpful. Goethe (1742-1839) portrays Nezami as a poet who aimed to intertwine intimate love with the epic genre of Ferdowsi. 'A sensitive, highly gifted mind, who, as Firdusi had exhausted all the traditional stories of heroes, chose the most charming exchanges of intimate love as subject matter for his poems'.[23] Goethe further elaborates on Nezami's subject matter and the heroes of his works: 'He presents Mejnun and Laila, Khusrau and Shirin, loving pairs destined for each other by intuition, skill, nature, habit, inclination, and passion; firmly in each other's good graces; but then parted by caprice, obstinacy, contingency, necessity, and force'.[24] Jones was familiar with the works Goethe mentions; he had also studied and analysed them in addition to advising others to read them'[25] In other words, it was Jones who introduced the Oriental works to European scholars such as Goethe. In addition, Goethe's portrayal of Jones as 'a man who seeks to connect the unknown to the known'[26] hints towards the heroes' quests in Nezami's narratives to overcome separation and become connected with their beloved. While Nezami's Khosrow o Shirin focuses on the conflict of Logic and Love, his tale of *Layli o Majnoon* is directly relevant to Jones and his era. Both of the characters in the tale, like Jones, were dedicated to closing cultural and social gaps in a divided society. In the tale, the young lovers become separated because of their different castes, Layli was from a wealthy family while Majnoon was poor. Nezami portrays a divergent and unharmonious society in which the people are orthodox, violent, and fixated on outdated traditions such as old tribal feuds and caste systems, the polar opposite of the society he portrays in *Khosrow o Shirin*.[27] This depiction of the society is quite similar to eighteenth-century India, in which there was turmoil not only due to the British presence but also because of the rivalries and power struggles amongst the various

[22] William Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, (London: W. and J. Richardson, 1771), 147.
[23] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *West-East Divan: Poems, with "Notes and Essays": Goethe's Intercultural Dialogues* Martin Bidney (trans), (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010), 200.
[24] Goethe, West-*East Divan*, 200.
[25] Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, 137-145.
[26] Goethe, *West-East Divan*, 272.
[27] Fazl-alaah Rezai Ardaani, , 'A Comparative Analisys of Nezami's "Khosrow and Shirin" and "Leyli and Majnun"', *Ghanaei Literary Journal*, 11, (2008), 80-106: 99.

native ethnic and religious factions.[28] In the tale, the only character with a humanitarian approach towards the Other is Majnoon, which is due to his love of Layli. Majnoon defends the members of Layli's tribe, the Other, from his own family. On account of his love of India, Jones translated the Islamic and Hindu laws to bring justice amongst the native populations and defend their rights against the British in a tumultuous India.

There are also several reasons behind my choosing this manuscript, RSPA 32, with the most prominent one being the fact that it contains almost every type of annotation Jones used to make on the manuscripts he read. His annotations, whether in the process of translating the text, writing his thoughts upon it, indicating his agreement, or highlighting especially relevant words and imagery, all reflect an engrossed reader. In addition, the text itself is quite a prominent composition for it is the first and one of the few Sufi-themed works of Nezami: The *Treasury of Mysteries* is heavily influenced by Sanai's (1080-1131) حدیقه الحقایق *Ḥadighat al-Haghāyegh*, 'The Garden of Truth'[29] one of the earliest and most remarkable books in which Sufism was integrated into Persian poetry. Furthermore, although Nezami himself acknowledges the influence of Sanai, he considers The *Treasury* to be a more elegant and fashioned ethico-philosophical book.[30] Unlike *Layli and Majnoon* or *Khosrow o Shirin*, Nezami's *The Treasury of Mysteries* does not focus on a single narrative. Instead, it presents differing tales which deal with spiritual and practical matters; particularly divine and kingly justice; the admonition of vanity and hypocritical piety; the futility of the world; and the necessity to prepare for the afterlife. During the discourses, Nezami argues that the ideal way of life can be achieved by 'remembering the supreme rank of man among God's creatures and approaching of the end life and the necessity of man becoming aware of his spiritual destination.'[31] Under the influence of this Neo-Platonic/*vojōdi* argument, Jones has composed a remarkable poem in Persian, which is available in the manuscript and will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

Generally, Jones's first annotations on the manuscripts are some introductory remarks that usually state the book's price and the date he bought or finished reading the book. In some

[28] The rivalry and power struggles of different religious and ethnic factions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century India have been discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis.
[29] J.T.P de Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry: an introduction to the mystical use of classical Persian poems*, (Surrey: Curzon, 1997), 97-8.
[30] P.J Chelkowski, 'Nizami Gandjawi', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 8: 76-81.
[31] de Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry*, 98.

rare cases, however, Jones has written an introductory passage regarding the manuscript: for example, on his personal copy of Rumi's *Masnavi Ma'navi*:

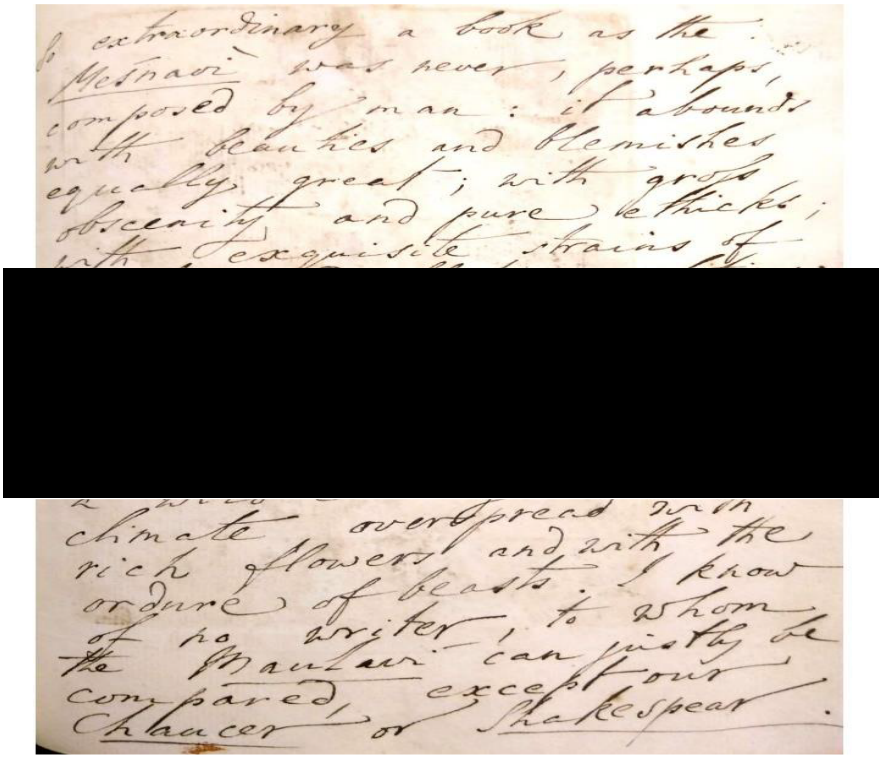

Illustration 2, BL, APAC, RSPA 35, f. ii; Jones's description of Rumi's *Masnavi*.

As can be seen in the image, Jones wrote:

> So extraordinary a book as the Mesnavi was never, perhaps, composed by man: it abounds with beauties and blemishes equally great; with gross obscenity and pure ethicks; with exquisite strains of poetry and flat puerilities; with wit and pleasantry mixed with dull jests; with ridicule on all established religions, and with a vein of sublime piety: it is like a wild country in a fine climate, overspread with rich flowers and with the ordure of beasts. I know of no writer to whom the Maulavi can be compared except for Chaucer and Shakespeare.[32]

Other than hinting towards his comparative studies on Eastern and Western texts, the annotation indicates Jones's passionate interest in that 'extraordinary' book, as well as the reasons for his interest in Sufi pluralistic rhetoric. However, the title page of Jones's manuscript of Nezami's *Treasury* begins differently; as it can be seen in the image below, the first annotation seen on the manuscript is Jones's quoting a quatrain of Amir Khosrow of Delhi

[32] BL, APAC, RSPA 35, f. ii.

(1253-1325), one of the Indian-Sufi poets who emulated many works of Nezami,[33] and with whom Jones was fascinated. The quatrain reads as:[34]

گر کافر و گبر و بت پرستم هستم　　گر رند خراباتی هستم هستم
هر طایفه به من گمانی دارد　　من دانم و دوست هر چه هستم هستم

> 'If I am an infidel, fire or idol worshipper, I am! If I am a *rend,*[35] or a wanderer, I am! Different tribes have different assumptions of me; only my beloved and I know, what I am!'

Please see the illustration below:

[33] T. Moharramov, 'The Khamsas of Nizami and Amir Khusrau', *Life, Times, & Works of Amir Khusrau Dehlavi*, Z. Ansari (ed.), (New Delhi: National Amīr Khusrau Society, 1975),103-18: 105.
[34] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. i.
[35] The term in Sufi literature signifies a witty trickster Sufi.

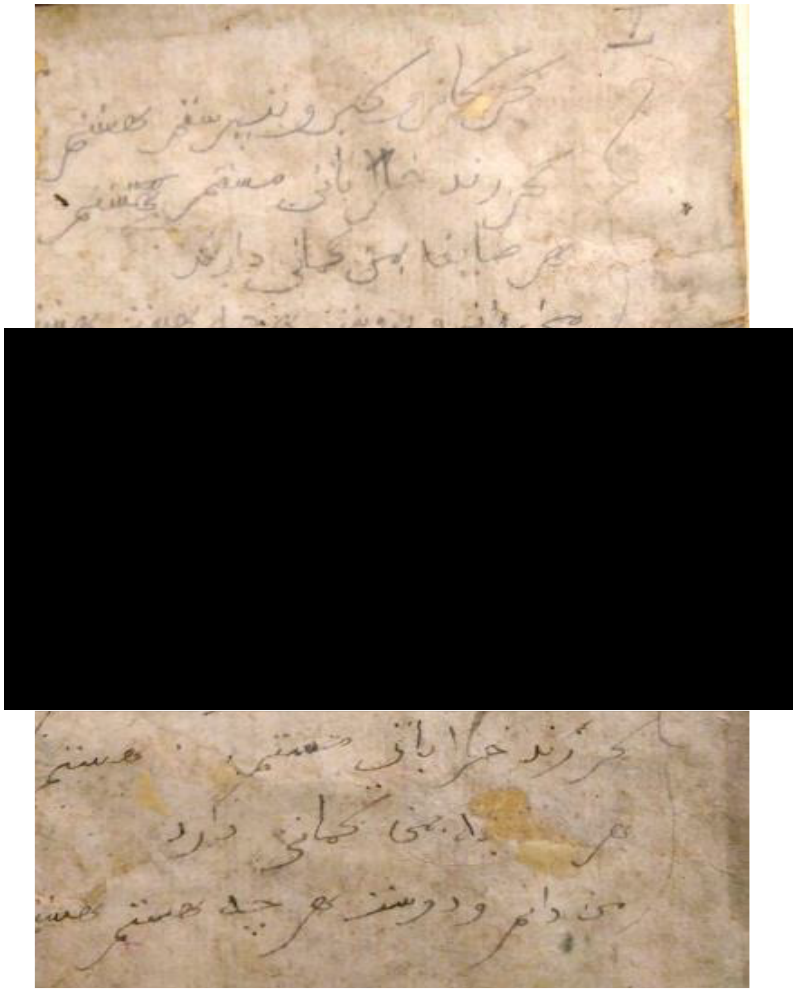

Illustration 3, BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. i; on top and the bottom of the folio Jones has recited a quatrain attributed to Amir Khosrow, in the middle, he has written a distich in Persian.

It can be asserted that Amir Khosrow's aim in composing the quatrain was to pay tribute to, or imitate, a quatrain which belonged to another Sufi poet, Khayyam (1048-1131):

گر من ز می مُغانه مستم، هستم　　گر کافِر و گَبْر و بت‌پرستم، هستم
هر طایفه‌ای به من گمانی دارد　　من زانِ خودم، چُنان‌که هستم هستم[36]

'If I am drunk by a Magi's wine, I am; if an infidel, fire or idol worshipper, I am.
Different tribes have different assumptions of me; I am, for myself, the way I am.'

Initially, Jones was interested in Amir Khosrow due to his comparative study of the languages; apart from Sanskrit and Hindi, Amir Khosrow had a good command of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish in addition similar to Nezami, he utilized the languages through various figures of speech in his poetry but used Persian as the primary medium for his poetry. Amir Khosrow and Jones both celebrated India's astonishing multicultural and multilingual aspects; therefore, it

[36] Sadegh Hedayat, *The Lyrics of Khayyam*, 6th ed. (Tehran: Parastoo, 1974), 80.

can be maintained that this annotation was due to the pluralistic views of the Sufis, Amir Khosrow in this case, which sometimes led to their ridiculing all established religions and criticizing the vanity of sublime piety. However, although Jones has quoted Amir Khosrow's quatrain twice, there are two other lines available in the folio:

آری آری پنداری که دنیا زان توست
غافل غافل ندانی که دنیا بگذرد[37]

Yes, yes you think that the world is yours;
fool, fool you do not know that the world shall pass!

The theme of these two lines is the futility of the world, which, although not uncommon in Persian literature, reflects a central theme in the quatrains of Amir Khosrow, Khayyam, and as mentioned previously, Nezami's *Treasury*. However, the intriguing matter regarding these two lines is the fact that they do not appear in the works of any other Persian poet; in addition, they do not contain any specific Persian meter or rhyme. While the two lines could have been composed by Jones, at this moment, there is insufficient evidence to prove his authorship of these lines. They indeed indicate Jones's comparative research and understanding of the themes of Nezami's *Treasury*. The lines also reappear in the following folio of the manuscript; please see the illustration below: [38]

[37] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. i.
[38] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. iii.

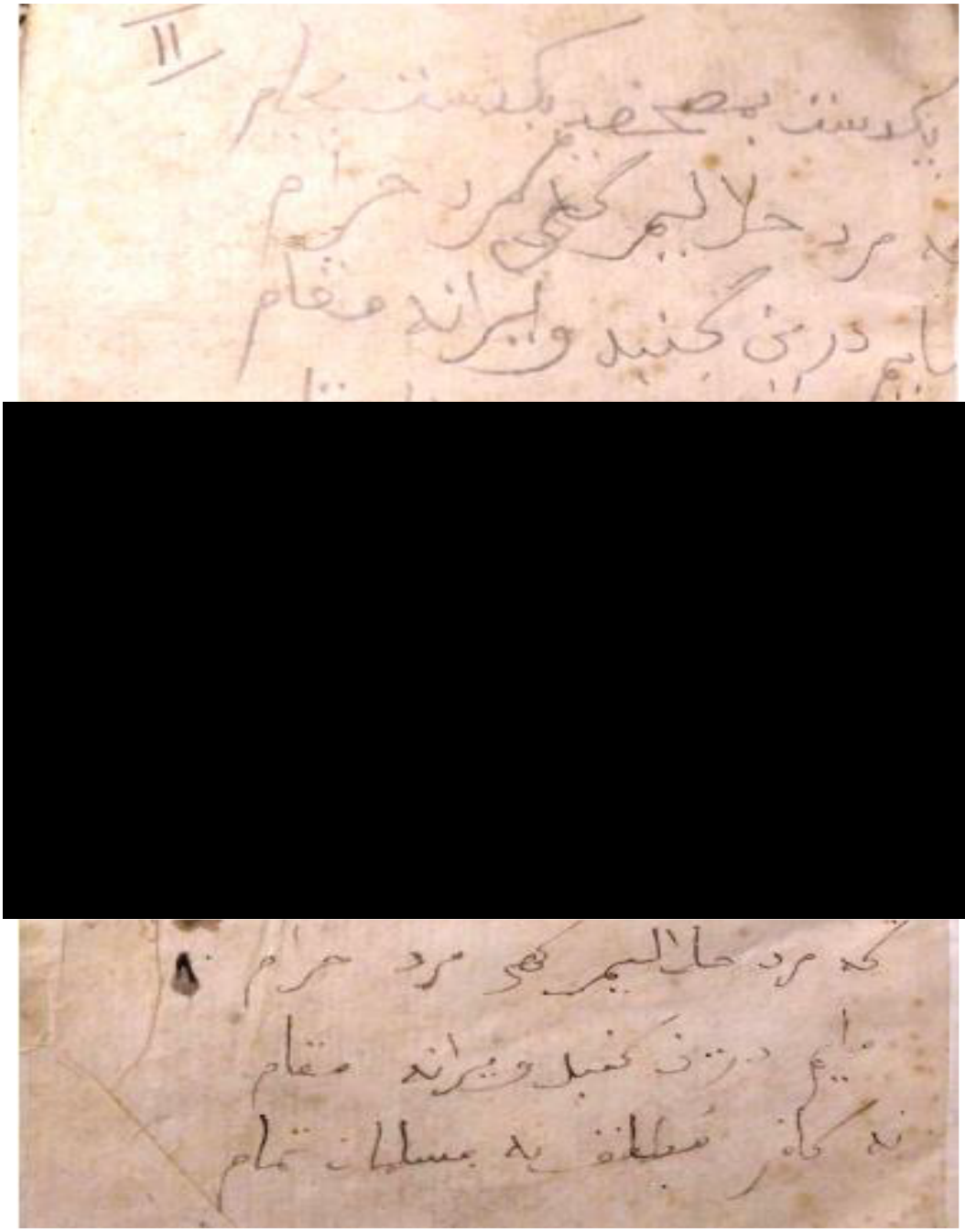

Illustration 4, BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. ii; on top and the bottom of the folio Jones has recited a quatrain by Mahasti Ganjavi, in the middle, he has written a distich in Persian.

However, Jones has replaced Amir Khosrow's quatrain with that of another poet. The quatrains, which are placed symmetrically to Amir Khosrow's in the next folio, contain the same theme of criticizing the orthodoxy:

یک دست به مصحفیم و یک دست به جام گه مرد حلالیم وگهی مرد حرام

ماییم در این گنبد نا پخته و خام نه کافر مطلق نه مسلمان تمام[39]

‘The Holy text in one hand, a goblet of wine in the other, sometimes we are men of *Halāl* and sometimes *Harām*.[40]

Beneath this dome,[41] we are the inexperienced, neither an absolute infidel nor fully a Muslim.’

Unlike Amir Khosrow’s quatrain, Jones does not mention the poet of the quatrain cited above. By some scholars such as Edward Browne, it is believed that the quatrain has been composed by Mahsati Ganjavi (1089-1159): a female poet of Ganja.[42] Browne mentions that Mahasti had connections to both Nezami and Khayyam. Although Mahasti was an eminent poet of her time, few details of her life have been accounted for; she was esteemed in the court of Soltan Sanjar Saljuqi (1086-1157). Most of the available modern sources mention no more than sixty quatrains of Mahasti, which are based on the account of the *Nozhat al-Majales*, a thirteenth-century anthology;[43] however, some other scholars speculate that she composed one hundred and ninety-one quatrains.[44]

Jones’s version of the quatrain, which does not mention the poet’s name, states that ‘Sometimes we are men of *Halāl* [مرد حلالیم] and sometimes *Harām*’ while in all other versions we see ‘Sometimes we are accompanied by the *Halāl* [نزد حلالیم] and sometimes *Harām*’. The poet’s name is not mentioned on the folio; in addition, Mahasti was a woman. However, the poet uses the term مرد *mard*, ‘man’ in the quatrain. Therefore, it cannot be maintained if Jones knew her or considered her the composer of this quatrain. However, regardless of the questions over the quatrain’s authorship, Jones’s familiarity with Mahasti, or the authorship of the two lines between the two quatrains on each folio, there is a thematical consistency and textual symmetry in the first two folios of the manuscript.

[39] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. ii.
[40] Meaning ‘forbidden’ in Arabic, the term is the opposite of ‘Halal’.
[41] A common metaphor in Persian literature for the universe.
[42] Edward Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1969), 2: 344-5.
[43] Jamal Khalil Shervani, *Nozhat al-Majaales*, Mohaamad Amin Riahi (ed.), (Tehran: Mahaarat, 1996), 53-9.
[44] Recorded in the book: *Robaeiyat-e Mahasti Ganjavi*, Rafael Hoseinof, and Mohammad Agha Soltan Zadeh (eds), (Baku: Yaazchi, 1985).

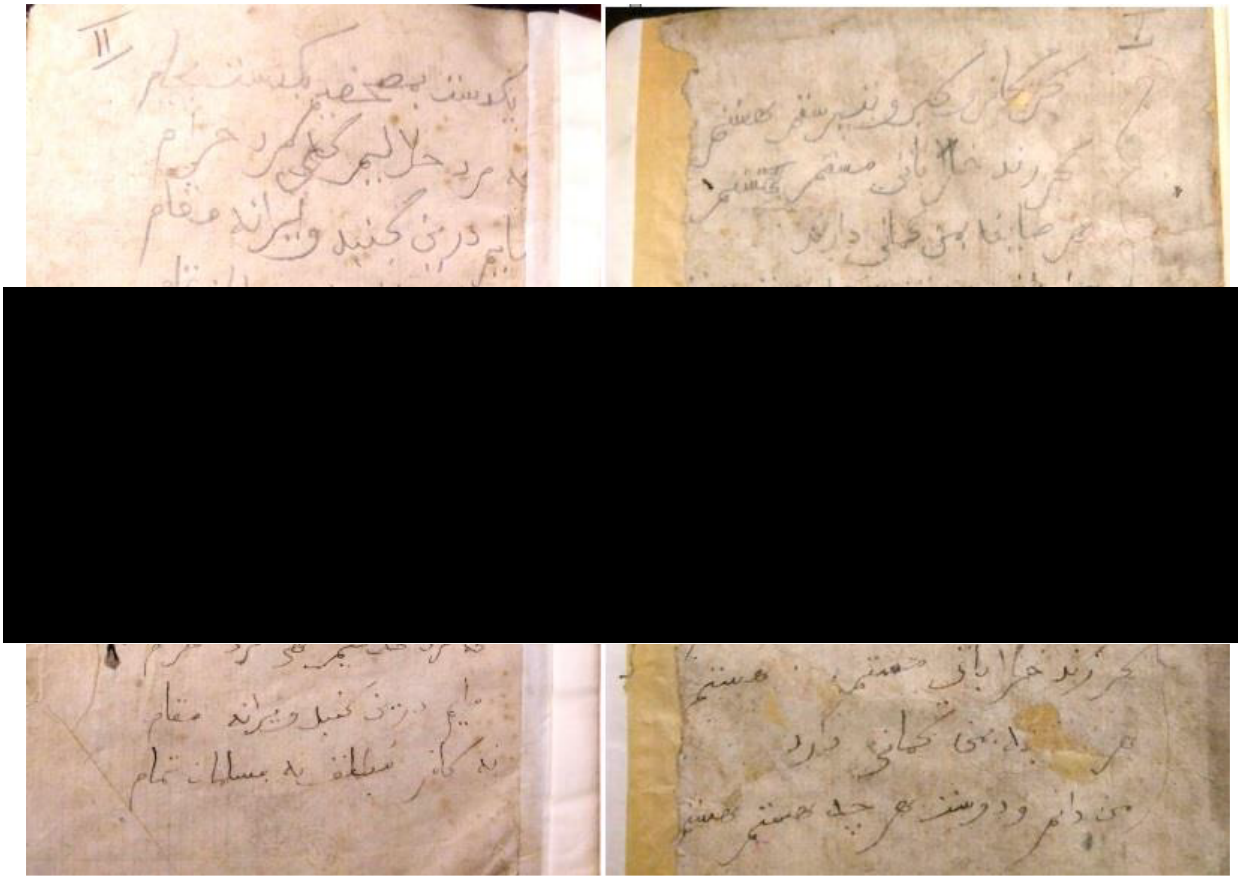

Illustration 5, BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. i-ii; Jones's writings on the first two folios of Nezami's *Treasury*.

As can be seen in the above illustration, the quatrains Jones quoted and the two lines which he probably has composed are in accord with parts of the message Nezami aimed to convey in the *Treasury*: they centre on the admonition of vanity and hypocritical piety as well as the futility of the world.

As mentioned previously, Jones's introductory remarks and annotations on Rumi's *Masnavi* [45] and Nezami's *Treasury* are not very common in the collection; however, most of Jones's manuscripts in the collection start with his noting the date and the origin of the particular manuscript. In the *Treasury*'s case, Jones mentions that he procured the manuscript for eleven Rupees in Calcutta on 4 Nov 1783; please see the illustration below.[46] Less than forty days after he arrived in India, on 25 September 1783, he certainly wasted no time in visiting the bookstalls of Calcutta.

[45] BL, APAC, RSPA 34-40.
[46] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. iii.

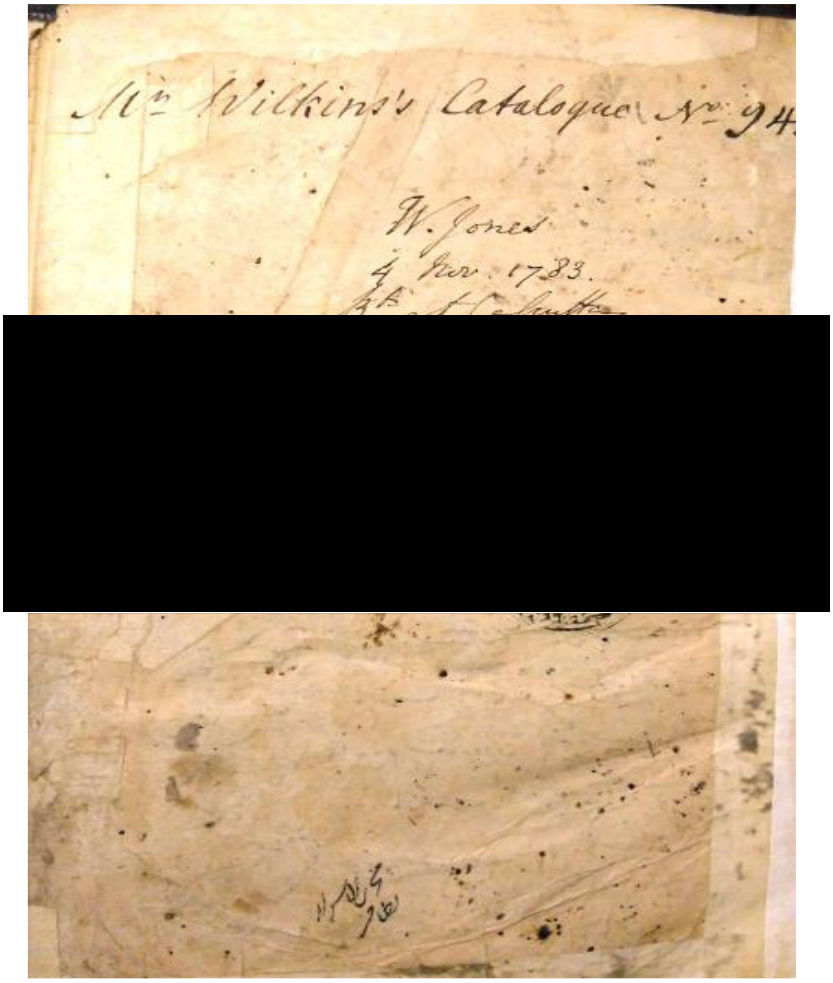

Illustration 6, BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. iii; Jones's remarks on Nezami's *Treasury*.

On the main text of the *Treasury*, the first annotation that catches the reader's eye is a translation and recital of four lines of a poem that Jones believes to be composed by a poet named 'Caucabi'.[47] Please see the illustration below:

[47] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. 1.

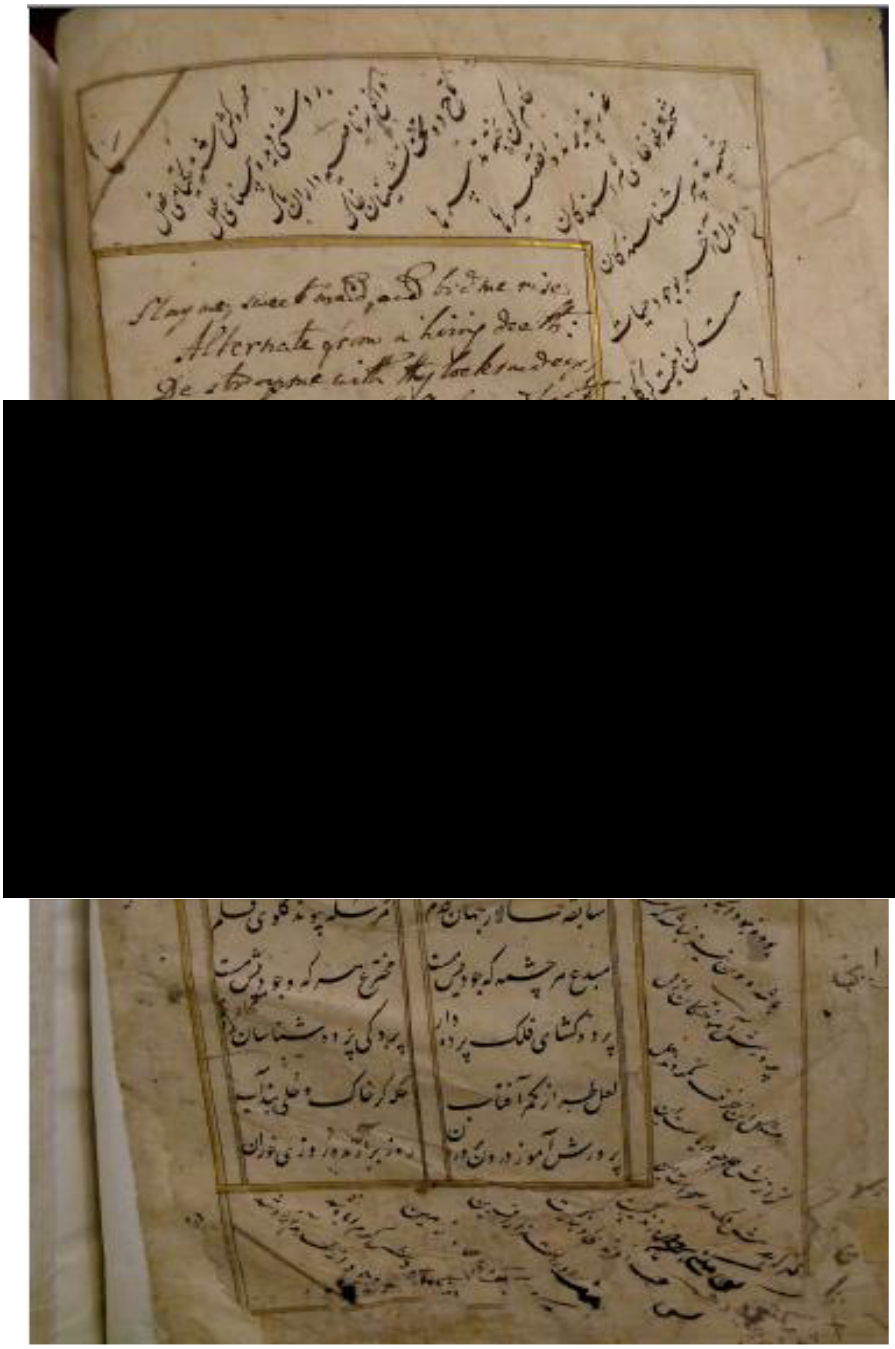

Illustration 7, BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. 1; Jones reciting and translating two distiches from Caucabi.

Very little is known of this Sufi poet; he was born in Qazvin, 150 km (93 miles) northwest of Tehran, Caucabi moved to India, resettled in Hyderabad, and died in 1624. Caucabi's lines, which are quoted and translated by Jones, are:

Slay me, sweet maid, and bid me rise
Alternate from a living death:
Destroy me with thy locks and eyes
Restore me with thy lips and breath.

می کش ومی زیان مرا زین روشی که هر زمان

جعد تو جان همی برد لعل تو باز میدهد

The literal translation of the quatrain is:

> Kill me and bring me to life
> This is your manner every time.
> The curl of your tresses takes the life away
> Your ruby brings it back.

As can be observed, Jones's translation is more appealing to an English speaker than the literal Persian one. Although Jones stayed remarkably faithful to the meaning of the source material, he made some changes: inserted 'sweet maid', 'thy locks and eyes', and omitted the line in which the poet states that the beloved is used to destroying and resurrecting him in such manner; in addition, he has replaced the ruby metaphor with 'lips and breath'. These changes that are common in Jones's translations result from his efforts to, in Goethe's words, 'smuggle'[48] the poem and its translation into the conception of an eighteenth-century English-speaking reader. Hence, to provide a 'cultural' translation of the poem, although Persian is a genderless and gender-neutral language, the beloved becomes a female, sweet maid. In the literature, the ruby is a conventional metaphor for a kiss; it becomes 'lips and breathe' while the curl of the tresses become 'locks and eye'. It should be mentioned that Jones had successfully tested his smuggling method more than a decade before this annotation; when he translated Hafez's *Tork-e Shirazi* he presented two different translations, a literal one and a 'cultural' one which he entitled 'A Persian Song'.[49]

Similar to Mahasti, Caucabi is a minor poet unbeknown to most modern scholars; as a matter of fact, the only trace of Caucabi is a concise biography of him which can be found in Siraj-ud-Din Ali Khan Arzu's (1687-1756) *Majma al-Nafães*, 'The Collection of People'.[50] Jones was familiar with Arzu, for he was keen on discovering interrelationship between Persian and Sanskrit.[51] For example, in the illustration below, Jones has written the phonemes of

[48] Goethe, West-*East Divan: Poems, with "Notes and Essays"*, 223.
[49] Jones, *A Grammar*, the literal translation is available on 131-3 and the cultural translation is available on 133-6.
[50] Siraj-ud-Din Ali Khan Arzu, *Tazkereye Majma al-Nafães*, Muhammed Safaraz Zafer, & Zeinab al-Nesa Ali Khan (eds.), (Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies: Islamabad, 2006), 3: 1359-60. The book's title can roughly be translated to 'The Collection of People'; it is a survey of Persian literature and poets.
[51] It should be mentioned that Jones's philological comparative examination of Persian and the languages of the subcontinent is available in the *Treasury*, BL, APAC, RSPA f. 32.

Persian, ‘Pers’, and Indian, ‘Hind’, the alphabet in two lines side by side to compare them together, please see the illustration below:

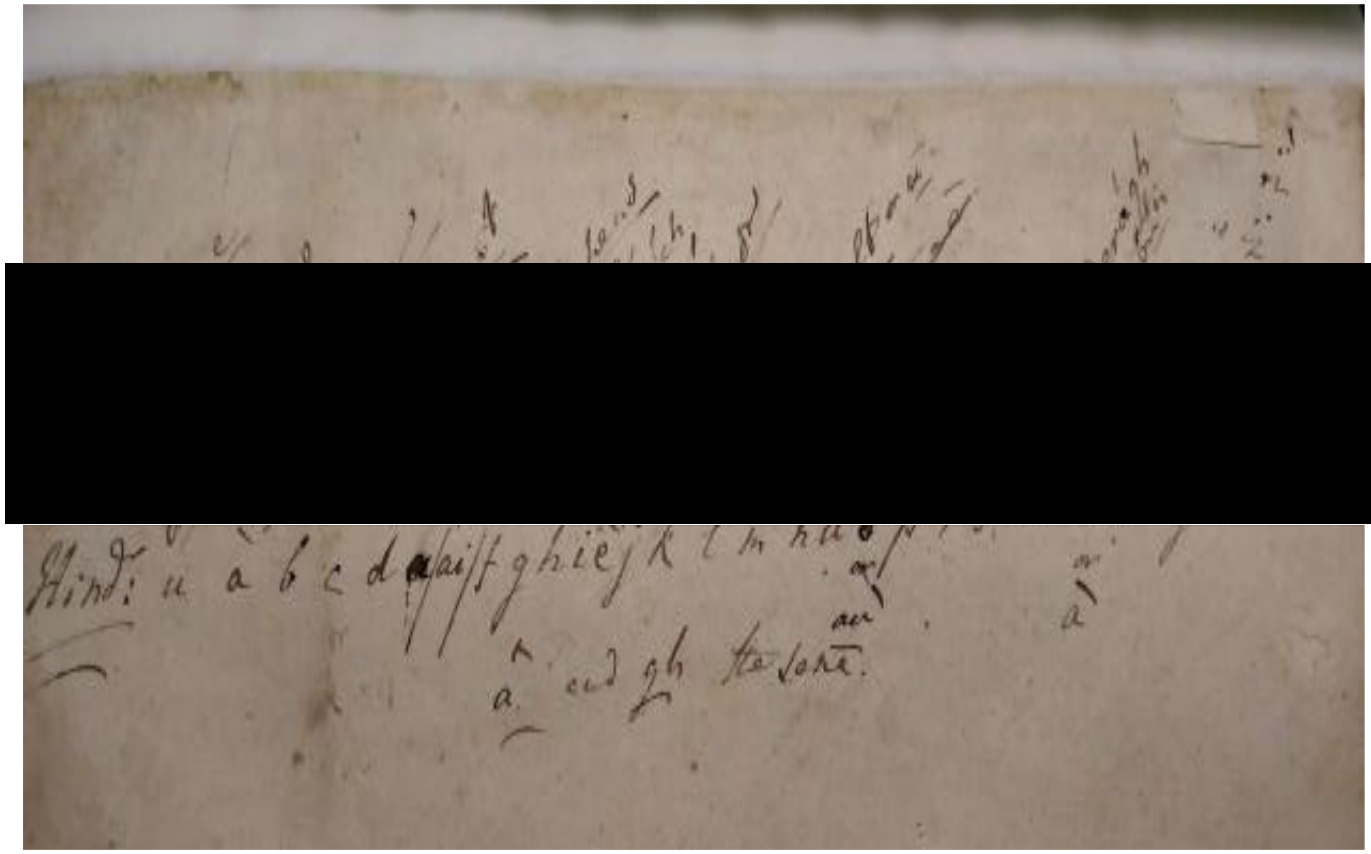

Illustration 8, BL, APAC, RSPA, f. 32; Jones’s comparative philological study on Persian and Hindi alphabets.

Jones’s introductory note to *Farhang-e jahāngiri* (1608), a Persian dictionary by Jamal Inju Shirazi (d.1625) which was gifted to Jones by his fellow Asiatic Society member Charles Boddam (1762–1811) on 16 Feb. 1788, states:

> Many corrections of this valuable work [the *Farhang-e jahāngiri*], and many additions to it, may be found in the Siraj-ul-Lught , ‘The Light of Words’ which is a lexicon of Persian which also discusses the relationship between Persian and Sanskrit, by Sirajud'din Arzu.[52]

Please see Jones’s note below:

[52] BL, APAC, RSPA 20, f. iii.
The work also appears in Wilkins’s catalogue of the manuscripts of Jones. See Jones, *The Works*, 13: 419.

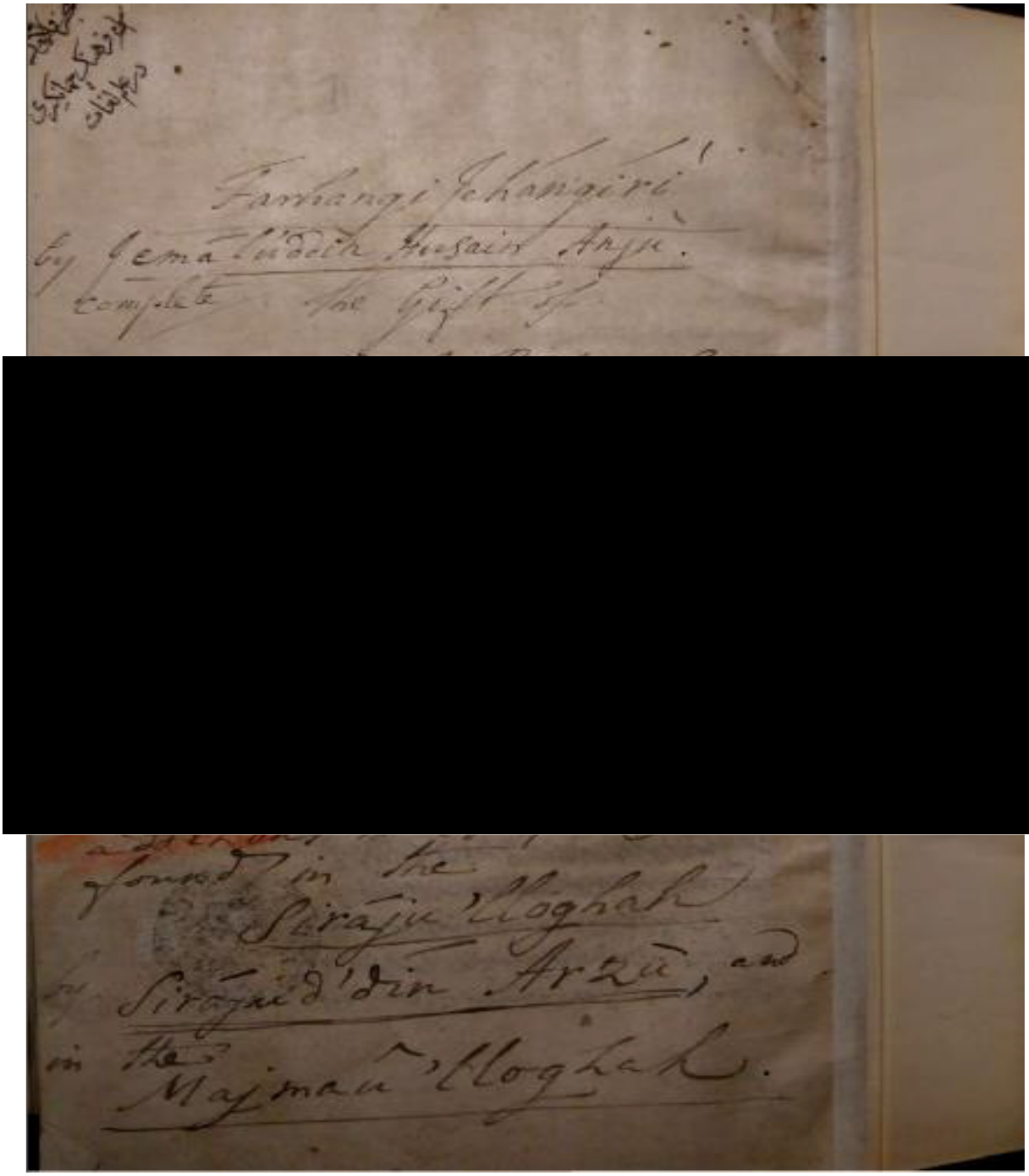

Illustration 9, BL, APAC, RSPA 20, f. iii; Jones's remarks on the *Farhang-e jahāngiri*.

In addition to the سراج اللغة *Siraj-ul-Lught*, 'The Light of the Words' which is a lexicon exploring the relationship of Persian and Sanskrit, Jones had studied other works of Arzu[53] and therefore,

[53] Franklin, *'Orientalist Jones'*, 354.

it is safe to assert that Jones became familiar with Caucabi, another Persian-speaking intellectual of India, through his researches on Arzu.[54]

The *Treasury*'s manuscript, RSPA 32, itself starts in the same way as any other modern canonical version with Nezami saluting God and Ferdowsi, whom he refers to as حکیم *hakim*, 'the wise': 'In the Name of God, the Most Merciful and Compassionate" is the key to the door of the treasury of the wise'.[55] The text continues with the praise of God, stating:

> Beginning and end of existence and life,[56] Creator and Destroyer of creation,
> Compared with His Majesty which is greater than both worlds, our time from its beginning to its end is but an instant.
> His eternity has no beginning; neither has it any end.[57]

RSPA 32 contains one of the most common annotations of Jones on the lines mentioned above: as it can be seen in the folio's image, [58] he has used brackets to separate these lines from others. Other than using brackets, Jones occasionally used to quote parts of Nezami's text with which he was fascinated; please see below:

[54] Some scholars have questioned the Oriental sources and figures which Jones had conducted his researches on; for example, Abdul Azim stated 'Sir William Jones who postulated a single source for Sanskrit, Persian, and the classical languages of Europe was not aware of Khan-i Arzu's discovery.' The statement appeared in 'Khan-i Arzu's Observations on the Relationship of Sanskrit and Persian', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 119: 2, (1969), 261-9: 269. Yet, the evidence found in the BL, APAC, RSPA 20 and BL, APAC, RSPA 40 shows Jones's works on Arzu.

[55] *Treasury of Mysteries, translation of Makhzanol Asrar*, 89:

بسم‌الله الرحمن الرحیم هست کلید در گنج حکیم

[56] In Jones's manuscript, the word حیات *hayāt*, 'life' is used while in other versions of the book, including the translated ones, the word *صفات sefāt*, 'attributes' is used.

[57] *Treasury of Mysteries, translation of Makhzanol Asrar*, 90:

اول و آخر بوجود و حیات هست کن و نیست کن کاینات
با جبروتش که دو عالم کمست اول ما آخر ما یکدمست
اول اول بی ابتدا آخر آخر بی‌انتها

[58] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. 1.

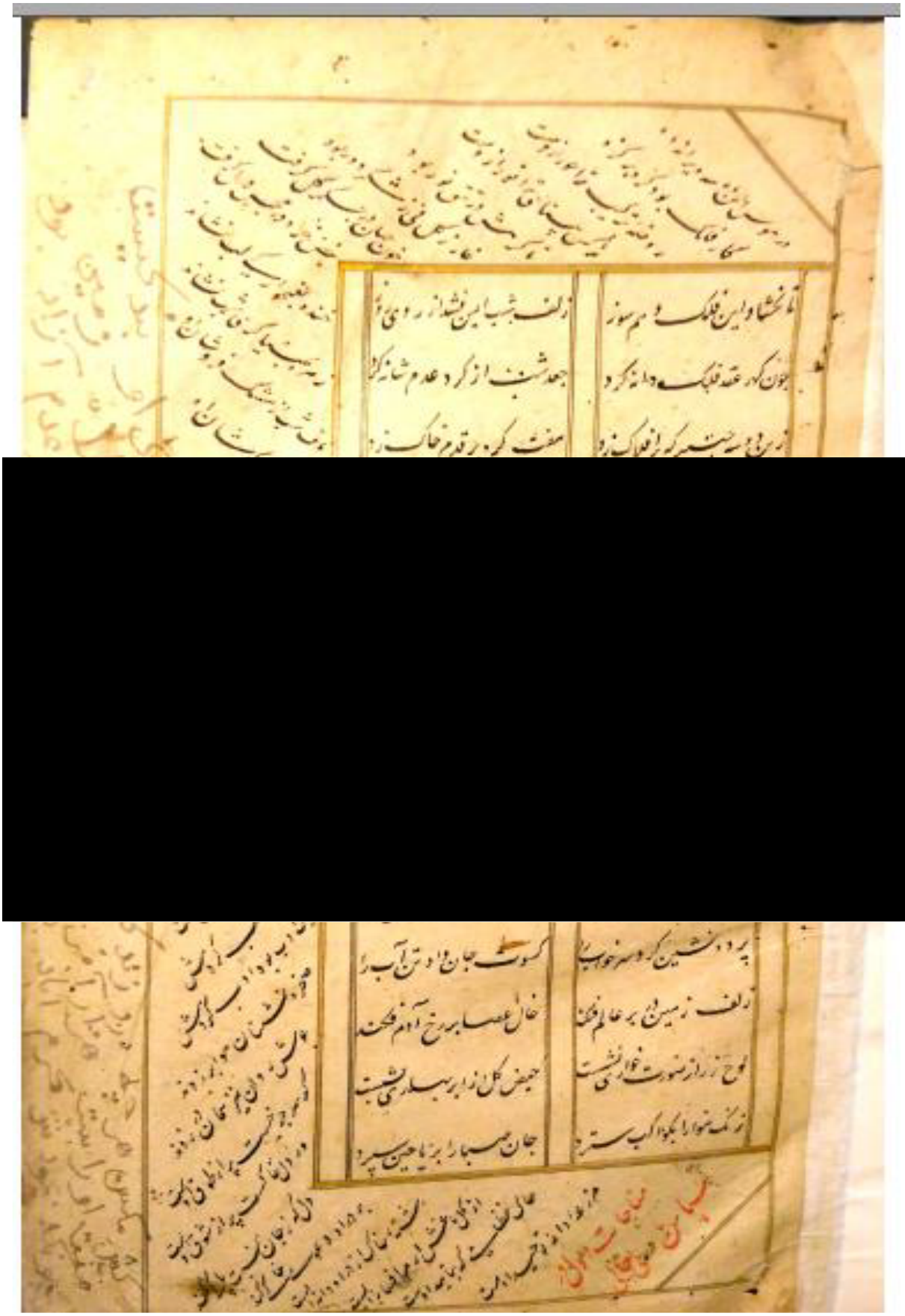

Illustration 10, BL, APAC, RSPA 32. f. 2; Jones's recitation of Nezami's *Treasury*.

Within the triangular shape above the Persian text quoted by Jones, he has written 'from page 1.' The quotation can be translated to:[59]

> The struggle of every living being is to do service to His Godhead.
> His Existence alone has permanence; He is sanctified who is not transient.
> When by His liberality He created generosity, existence was freed from the bondage of non-existence.[60]

Almost every distich Jones has singled out, whether with brackets or through reiteration, including the ones mentioned above, contains a recurring theme: God is all. The theme and Jones's attention to it is apparent and evident in the *Treasury*, as well as his personal manuscripts of Rumi's *Masnavi*,[61] as discussed in details in the previous chapter. The distiches Jones has mentioned above particularly resonate with his comment 'whose service is perfect freedom' – from The Book of Common Prayer – [62] on Rumi's 'Your service is my freedom; without you, all is a burden and unjust for me.'[63] Years after the death of Nezami and Rumi, their idea of 'God is all' was entitled وحدت وجود *vahdat-e vojōd*, the 'Unity of Being' or the 'Unity of Existence' by a Sufi named Saeed od-din Forghani (d.1300).[64] Given that India's political climate was in turmoil during the eighteenth century, the Unity of Existence had an immense significance for Jones since it promoted cultural, ethnic, and religious pluralism. The Mughals of India had already attempted to utilize the idea to reduce the religious tensions between Muslims and Hindus in India; most prominently, Akbar (1542-1605) who propounded a universal religion entitled the دین الهی *Din-i-Ilahi*, 'the Divine Religion', which was a syncretic creed derived mainly from Islam and Hinduism as well as some parts of Zoroastrianism and Christianity. With the same pluralistic views, influenced by the Unity of Existence, Akbar's great-grandson, Prince Dara Shokoh (1615-1659), asserted that what the *Quran* refers to as کتاب المکنون *Ketāb al-Maknōn*, 'The Hidden [Sacred] Book'[65] is nothing but the Hindu

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[59] BL, APAC, RSPA 32. f. 2:

کشمکش هر چه در و زندگیست　　پیش خداوندی او بندگیست
منت او راست هزار آستین　　بر کمر کوه و کلاه زمین
چون که به جودش کرم آباد شد　　بند وجود از عدم آزاد شد

[60] *Treasury of Mysteries, translation of Makhzanol Asrar*, 90.
[61] BL, APAC, RSPA 35-40.
[62] *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, C. Hefling, and C. Shattuck (eds.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 143.
[63] BL, APAC, RSPA 40, f. 92:

که مرا از بندگیت آزادی است　　بی تو بر من محنت و بیدادی است

The comment and Rumi's tale has been discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis.
[64] William C. Chittick, *Ibn 'Arabi: Heir to the Prophets*, (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005), 105.
[65] *The Quran*, 56:78.

*Upanishad*s. For Dara Shokoh and other followers of the *vahdat-e vojōd*, Hindu idolatry was nothing but a pluralistic way of worshipping Allah, for the Idols are different manifestations of Him. Jones had translated and studied the works of Dara Shokoh in detail [66] and shared the same views as Dara Shokoh and his great-grandfather.

The moral codes of Nezami's *Treasury of Mysteries* constitute preparation for the afterlife, love for other beings, divine justice, and a pluralistic religion. These elements are reflected in Jones's concluding annotation on the manuscript. On the very last folio, which is the back cover of the manuscript,[67] Jones composes a Persian poem in his own hand:

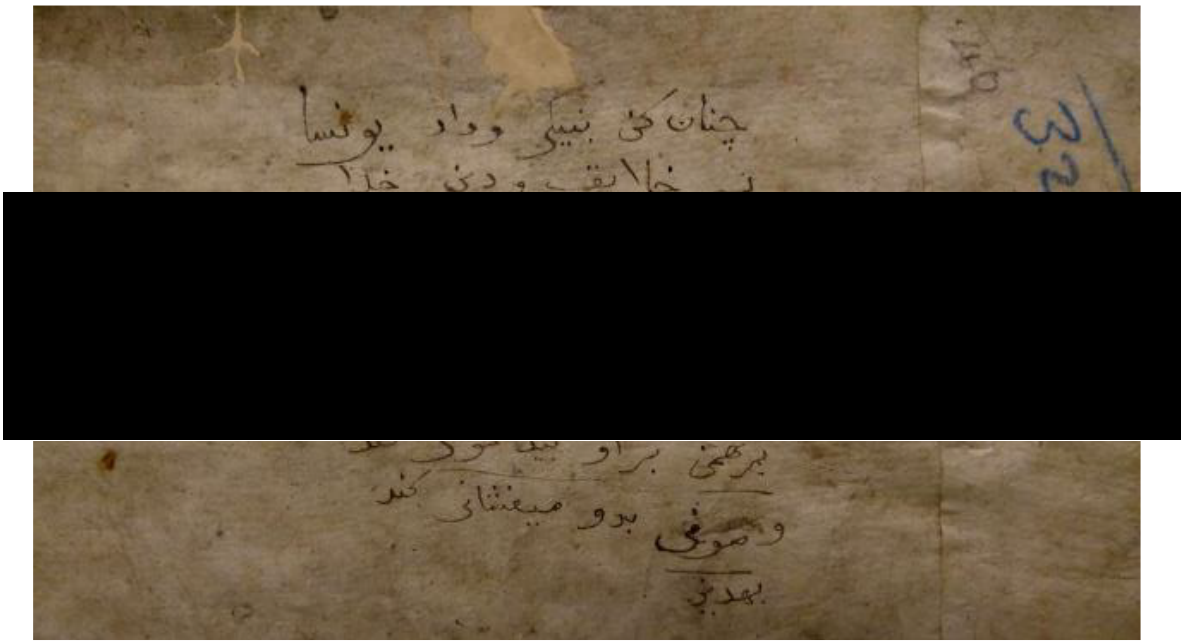

Illustration 11, BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. 40; a Persian poem by Jones and in his hand on his manuscript of Nezami's *Treasury*.

Just as Nezami started his work with paying tribute to Ferdowsi 'the wise', Jones choses to compose the poem in the meter and rhyme of Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, a book which Jones had read twice.[68] The Persian text of the poem is:

چنان کن به نیکی و داد یونسا — به مهرخلایق و دین خدا
که بعد از وفاتت بهند یا بچین — همه خلق برتوکنند آفرین
نهندت نصاری به تابوت پاک — مسلمان به زاری کند سینه چاک
برهمن بر او بیدخوانی کند — و صوفی بدو میفشانی کند

[66] Jones, *The Works*, 4: 211-236, 232-4.
[67] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. 40.
[68] *Catalogue of two collections*, 20.

It can be translated to:

> O Yunus! act justly and virtuously, out of love for the creatures and the religion of the Creator;
> so that after your death, in China and India, all of the Creation praise you. Mourning Muslims tear their chest apart, bury you in a clean coffin like Christians. The Brahmans recite the Vedas at it, and the Sufis scatter wine over it.

The Persian poem is so skillfully composed that if Jones's Persian pen name یونس *Yunus*, as he calls himself in his *A Grammar of the Persian Language* (1771), and the Arabic words خلایق خلق and *khalgh* and *khalāyegh* the 'Creation' and 'creatures', were not present in the poem, it would have been quite challenging to believe that an English speaker is the poet and not Ferdowsi himself. The usage of the Arabic terms could be related to the fact that Jones, like Nezami, had aimed to compose his poem in colloquial Persian, in which Arabic words are used more frequently. Jones's concept of virtue in such a manner was shaped as early as the time when he read his very first Persian Sufi texts, such as Nezami's *Leyli o Majnoon*, in order to learn the language. It can be traced back to when he became confident in the language and published his very first translation of a Persian work*: Histoire de Nader Chah, connu sous le nom de Thahmas Kuli Khan, empereur de Perse* (1770). In his preface to this work, Jones stated that 'the nature of true Virtue consists, not in destroying our fellow-creatures, but in protecting them, not in seizing their property, but in defending their rights and liberties, even at the hazard of our own safety'.[69] This statement was indeed in accord with Majnoon, who protected Leyli's tribe and gave up his armour to save a stag's life from a hunter.

Another matter that should be considered about this poem is that another version of it is available in a collection held in Berlin.[70] The manuscript itself is a Persian translation of the *Laws of Manu*, 'at the request of S' W. Jones'; it is not dated, and Jones describes it as 'on the whole accurate, but disfigured by some gross errors'.[71] The Berlin version of the poem is also in Jones's handwriting and follows the same theme, meter, and rhyme as the version available in the British Library; however, the intriguing fact is that some of the words differ. Professor Carl W. Ernst has translated the poem as follows:

> Act thus with goodness and justice, Yunus, with compassion for creatures and fear of God,

[69] Jones, *The Works*, 12: 313-4.
[70] Wilhelm Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, (Berlin: A.Asher & Co., 1888), 1029-30.
[71] Wilhelm Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften*, 1029.

> so that after your death, all humanity, in Indian and China, will bless you.
> Your companions will lament over your bier, the Musulman wailing with lacerated breast,
> the Brahman reciting the Veda over it, and the Sufi scattering wine over.[72]

Although the translator, like Jones in Goethe's description, smuggles 'creation' as 'humanity', it can be seen that in the version of the poem available in the *Treasury*,[73] 'fear of God' and 'companions' have been replaced with the 'religion of God' and 'like a Christian'. This change indicates that Jones had been working on this poem for a while and has revised it at least once. In addition, in the British Library's version of the poem, we see that Jones has underlined the words مسلمان, نصاری , صوفی , and برهمن respectively 'Muslim', 'Christian', 'Sufi', and 'Brahman'. The underlinings indicate the fact that Jones structured his poem in order to contain every major religion present in India, as well as Jones's pluralistic views regarding the subcontinent.

[72] Carl W. Ernst, 'Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translations from Indian Languages', *Iranian Studies*, 36:2 (2003), 173-195: 187-8.
[73] BL, APAC, RSPA 32, f. 40.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Someone named صفدر Safdar claimed that he had composed thirty couplets, using extravagant hyperboles and panegyric language, to ask Sir William Jones for a meeting. Jones annotated the folio stating, ‘This letter of verses are compositions of Mere Hasan Haydar of Lucknow inhabitant’, showing that the poem’s composer was not Safdar but Mir Hassan Heydar, a poet whom Safdar hired to write on his behalf. Please see below the folio containing the verse:

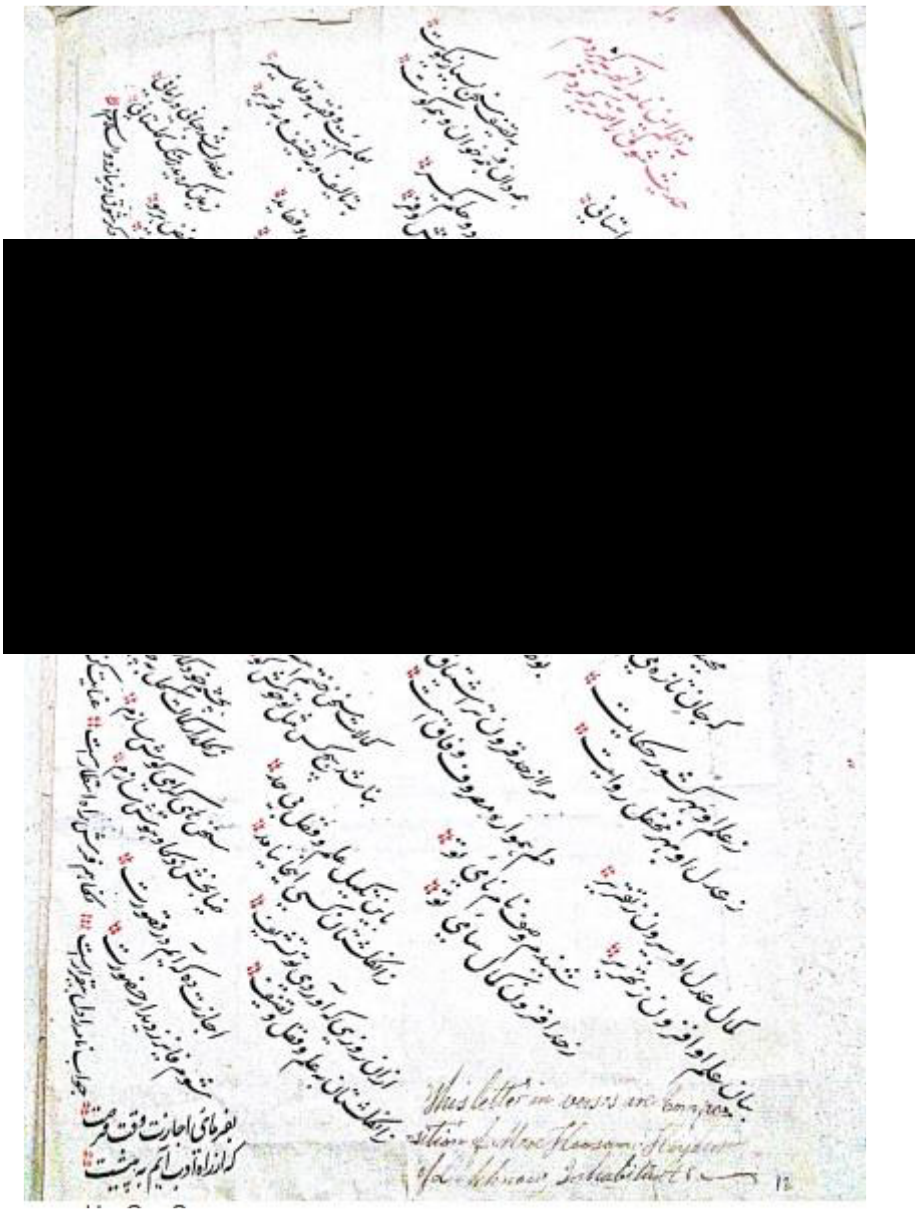

Illustration 1, MSS Eur. C 274, f. 12; a letter in verse to Sir William Jones.

Jones has inscribed in the bottom of the folio, ‘This letter in verses is the Composition of Hare Hossein Hyder of Lukknow Inhabitant.’ Please see the letter’s Persian text and an English translation below:

به نظم این نامه را تحریر کردم — حدیث شوق را تحریر کردم
بیا ای خامه سر کن داستانی — رقم کن نامه شیرین بیانی
به سوی صاحبی فرخنده اختر — نویس این نامه روشن چو گوهر
محیط فیض ویلیام جونز نامش — که جان تازه می بخشد کلامش
ز علم او به هر کشور حکایت — ز عدل او به هر محفل روایت
کمال عدل او بیرون ز تقریر — بیان علم او افزون ز تحریر
به تصنیف سخن بسیار نیکوست — همه دان و همه خوان و همه کوست
محیط لطف و جود و کرم یکسر — سپهر علم و فضل و دانش و فر
ز صفدر ... بادا سلامی — به عالی خدمت آن نیک نامی
حدیث آرزو مکشوف بادا — به وصف نامیش موصوف بادا
مرا از حد فزون تر اشتیاق است — دلم همواره معروف وفاق است
شنیدم وصف نام نامی تو — ز حد افزون کمال سامی تو
به علم هیات و فقه و تفاسیر — به تالیف وبه تصنیف و به تحریر
ز نظم و نثر واز غزل و قصاید — ز صنعت های هر گونه که شاید
کمالات سخن هر گونه گفتی — هزاران گوهر شیوار سفتی
گرامی دیده ام من — از آن گلشن بسی گل چیده ام من
کمالات سخن ختم است بر تو — نباشد هیچ کس مثل تو خوش گو
به این تکمیل علم و فضل بی حد — ز انگلستان کسی اینجا نیامد
از آن روزی که آوردی تو تشریف — ز انگلستان به علم و فضل و تصنیف
ز عدلت شد جهانی در امانی — زمین گردید رشگ گلستانی
بنای علم و عدل وفیض هر سو — هزاران گونه رونق یافت از تو
جهانی را ز عدل آباد کردی — دل عالم ز بختش شاد کردی
دلم دارد هزاران آرزوی — که در بزم تو آیم روبروی
به چشم خود کمالات تو بینم — ز گلدار کمالت گل بچینم
سخن های گرامی گوش سازم — ضیا بخش ذکا و هوش سازم
اجازت ده که آیم در بصورت — شوم فایز ز دیدار حضورت
بفرمایید اجازت وقت فرصت — که از راه ادب آیم به پیشت
جواب نامه را دل بیقرار است — نگاهم فرش راه انتظار است
عنایت کن جواب نامه ام زود — که گردد این دل مشتاق خوشنود
خموشی بهتر اکنون از کلام است — دگر شوق ونیاز و والسلام است

I have composed this letter in verse, to express the story of a strong desire.
O pen come and tell the story, write a well-expressed letter.
Write a letter as bright as jewels, to a blessed and auspicious Saheb.
Of source of Beneficence, with the name of William Jones, whose speech reincarnates.
Many tales are told about his knowledge in every country, many narratives are told of his justice in different gatherings.
His perfect justice is beyond description [indescribable], his knowledge [is so vast] it's unprintable.
He is an excellent composer of words, and knows, reads, and questions everything .
The source of kindness, munificence and meekness, the sky of science, excellence, knowledge, and splendour.
Greetings from Safdar, to whom you have a good reputation.
The tale of my desire becomes revealed and remains discovered, it is related to Your High repute.
My eagerness is much more than my endurance, my heart desires to reach a consensus.
I have heard the praise of your famous name; your perfection is much more than my expectation:
your knowledge in astronomy, jurisprudence, and interpretations; in authorship, composition, and writing;
From verse to prose and from *ghazal* to *ghasideh*, from any type of literary style in existence,
Your status in any style you have touched is perfection, you have pierced thousands of royal jewels.
I have seen many honourable compositions [of you]; I have picked many flowers from that garden.
The perfection of lexicon ends with you, there is no one as eloquent as you.
No one so perfect, with unlimited knowledge, and excellence has come here from England.
From the day you arrived from England, with your knowledge, excellence, and composition, the world has been safe, for your justice, the Garden [of Eden] has become jealous of the earth.
The foundation of knowledge, justice, and beneficence has prospered in thousands of different ways because of you.
You exalted the world by your justice; you have made the heart of the world happy.

Thousands of times, my heart has wished to be in your banquet in person for once
to see your perfections by my own eyes, to pick a flower from the garden of your perfections,
to listen to your honourable speeches, to brighten my intelligence and sagacity.
Please allow me to come to your palace to regenerate myself by seeing you.
If you let me know when you are free, I will come to you politely.
My heart is restless for your response, impatiently, looking forward to hear [literally the line translates to ‘my sight is like a carpet on the road of anticipation to hear from you’].
An early reply would be a favour, which makes this eager heart happy.
Now keeping my silence is much better than talking, the rest is eagerness, desire, and that is all.

Appendix 2

The tale of ‘the Sheikh Sanaan and the Christian Girl’ is the final and most extended narrative of Attar’s *The Conference of the Birds* (1177). The text you are about to read is the first literal translation of the tale by myself.

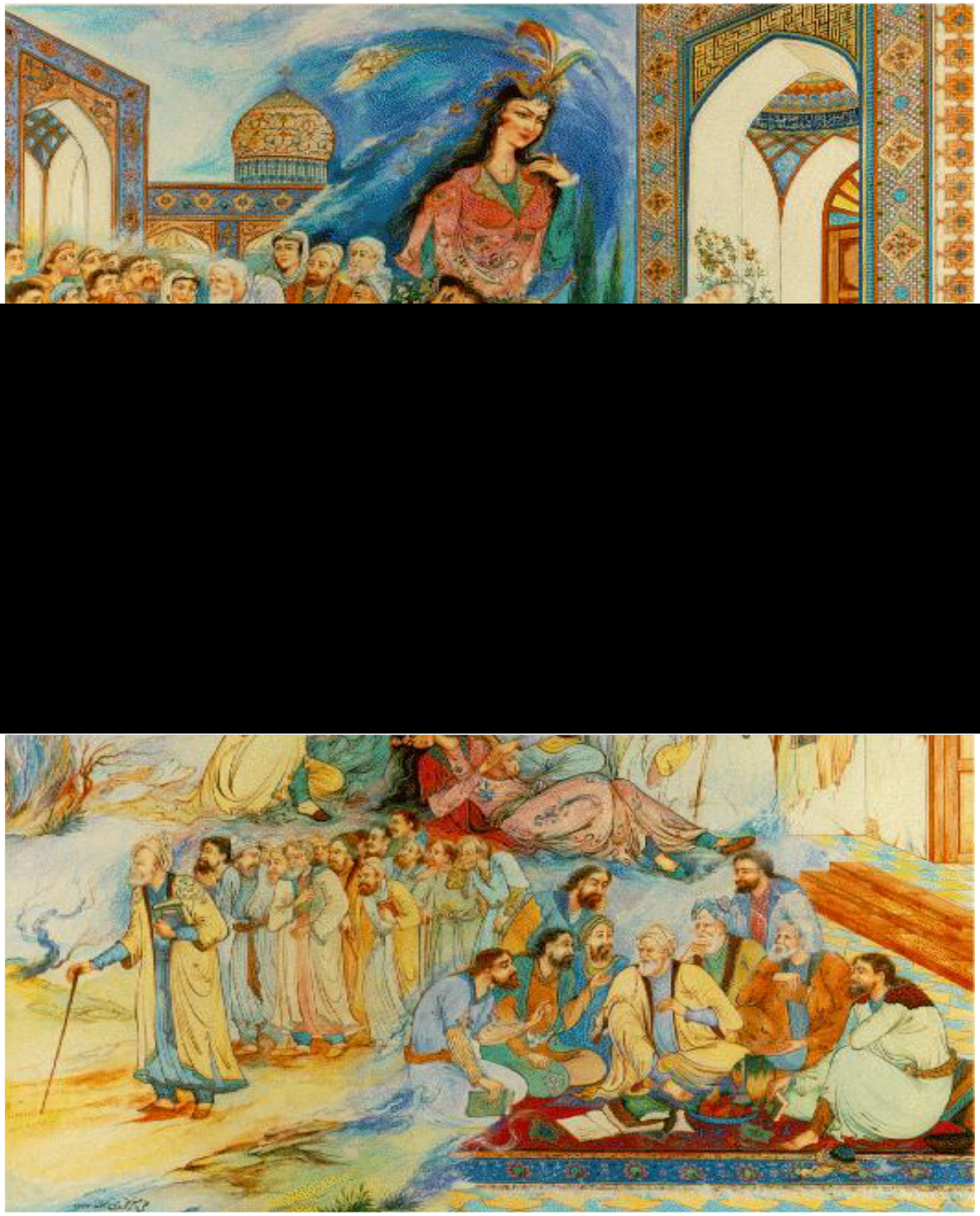

Illustration 1, a miniature depiction of the tale of ‘The Sheikh of Sanaan and the Christan Girl’ by Ali-Asghar Tajvidi.

The Story of the Sheikh of Sanaan and the Christian Girl

Taken from Attar's *Mantegh ol-tayr*

The Sheikh of Sanaan was the arch-sage of his time; in perfection, he had achieved more than anyone [could have imagined].

A cleric he was, in a shrine for fifty years; accompanied by four hundred perfected disciples.

In happiness as well as the sorrow of all creations, he was the world's standard-bearer.

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[1] سنت *sonnat*, Mohammad's path, manner, and tradition; the way he and his companions lived their lives.

[2] موشکافی *mō shekāfi*, 'to split a hair' is used when something or someone is so precise that they can split and analyze something as small and tiny as a hair.

[3] An allusion to دم مسیحایی *dam-e masihāei*, 'the Messiah's exhale'. The story of Jesus breathing life into statues is mentioned in the *Quran* 5:110 as follows:
'Then Allah said: "O Jesus, the son of Mary! Recall My favour to you and to your mother. Behold! I strengthened you with the Holy Spirit, so that could speak to the people in cradle as in maturity. Behold! I taught you the Book and Wisdom, the Torah and the Bible. Behold! You made the figure of a bird out of clay and by My leave you exhaled into it and it became a bird by My leave; you healed those who were born blind, and the lepers, by My leave. And behold! you brought forth the dead by My leave. And behold! I did restrain the Children of Israel from [violence to] you when you showed them the clear Signs, and the unbelievers among them said: "This is nothing but evident magic."'

While he considered himself as the leader of his disciples, suddenly, he started to have a dream for several nights continuously.

In the sky of beauty, she resided in the highest tower of charm; she was the sun, yet without a decline [dusk].

[4] The word used here is منظر *manzar*, which generally means something that is pleasant to one's eyes.
[5]The original word here is معرفت *ma'refat*, 'knowledge, science, understanding' and figuratively 'gnosis'.

The sun was so envious of her appearance that [in her presence] the sun was paler than the

Her mouth was like a needle's eye;[13] her long locks were like a *Zunnar* on her waist.

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[6] زنار was a distinctive belt or girdle wore by Christians and Jews in Jerusalem in order to be differentiate from Muslims. It was noted in the *Pact of Umar*.

[7] سر *sar*, 'head' normally metaphorically means sanity.

[8] The word originally used here is فتنه *fet'ne*, 'Fitna'. While the word means 'tumult and chaos', it is romanticized by Persian and Arab poets. Sadi describes his beloved as: 'Your eyes are the Original [very first] Sorcery, you are the Fitna of the End of Days'. Sadi, *The Complete Text*, 2:592.

[9] The original word used in this line is طاق *tāgh*, 'arch'. Metaphorically it means eyebrows; her eyebrows were unique and beautifully connected to each other.

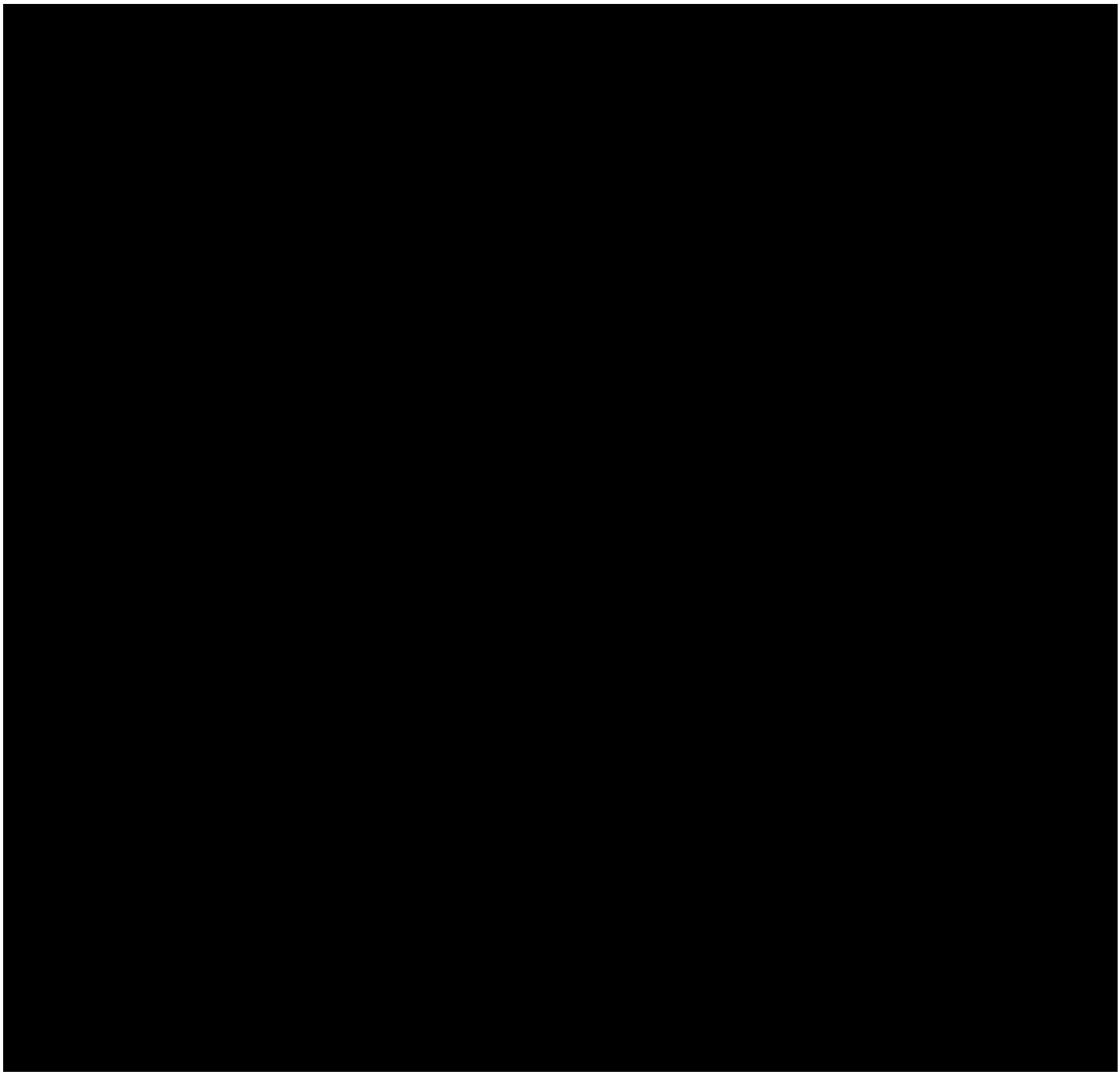
[10] In Persian poetry, the act of falling in love has been similized to being hunted by a hunter [the beloved]. The distich figuratively means that if the girl showed her eyes to people, hundreds of people would have fallen in love with her.

[11] لعل سیراب *la'l-e sirāb*, literally meaning 'the ruby needless of water' is a metaphor for the beloved's lips. The lover is in need of them yet the beloved is needless.

[12] نرگس مست *narges-e mast*, 'drunken narcissus' is a common metaphor for the beloved's eyes.

[13] Having small lips used to be considered a beautiful feature in Persian literature; thus, her lips are compared to a needles' eye in smallness and being well-shaped.

She had a silver dimple[14] on her chin; her speech resembled that of Jesus.



In vain, they advised and consulted him; yet, since there was nothing achievable, no solution was achieved.

[14] The original word used here is چاہ *chāh*, well; this would later on be linked to the tale of Joseph.
[15] In the original بند بند *band band*, which could be translated as ‘string by string’ or, ‘every string’.

Whoever advised him, he did not obey, as his pain received no salve.

Will a distressed lover heed reason? Can a treatment-spoiling pain be treated?[16]

The day was still far from the night; he kept his eyes on the mansion with an open mouth.[17]

Like a dark night, in a dark poem, his blasphemy became hidden beneath the sin.

Any light[18] that appeared in that night's sky, originated from the heart of that sorrowful old man.

His Love was increased a hundred times that night, and inevitably he lost himself.

He cut off his heart both from his self and the world; he mourned and scattered soil on his head.[19]

[16]Attar has similized the love that distresses lovers to درد درمان سوز *dard-e darmān sōz*, 'a remedy-burning pain'. One in pain takes remedies for it, yet love is such a painful pain that it even destroys or 'burns' the remedy that is used for it.

[17] Out of astonishment, he was unable to close his jaws.

[18] The word in the original text is چراغ *cherāgh*, 'lamp'; metaphorically meaning a star.

[19] خاک بر سر *khāk bar sar*, 'soil on head' is a phrase commonly used in Persian when someone is in a really bad situation that makes him rather die; in such situation, one scaters soil on his head in order to bury himself. The act is also a sign of mourning.

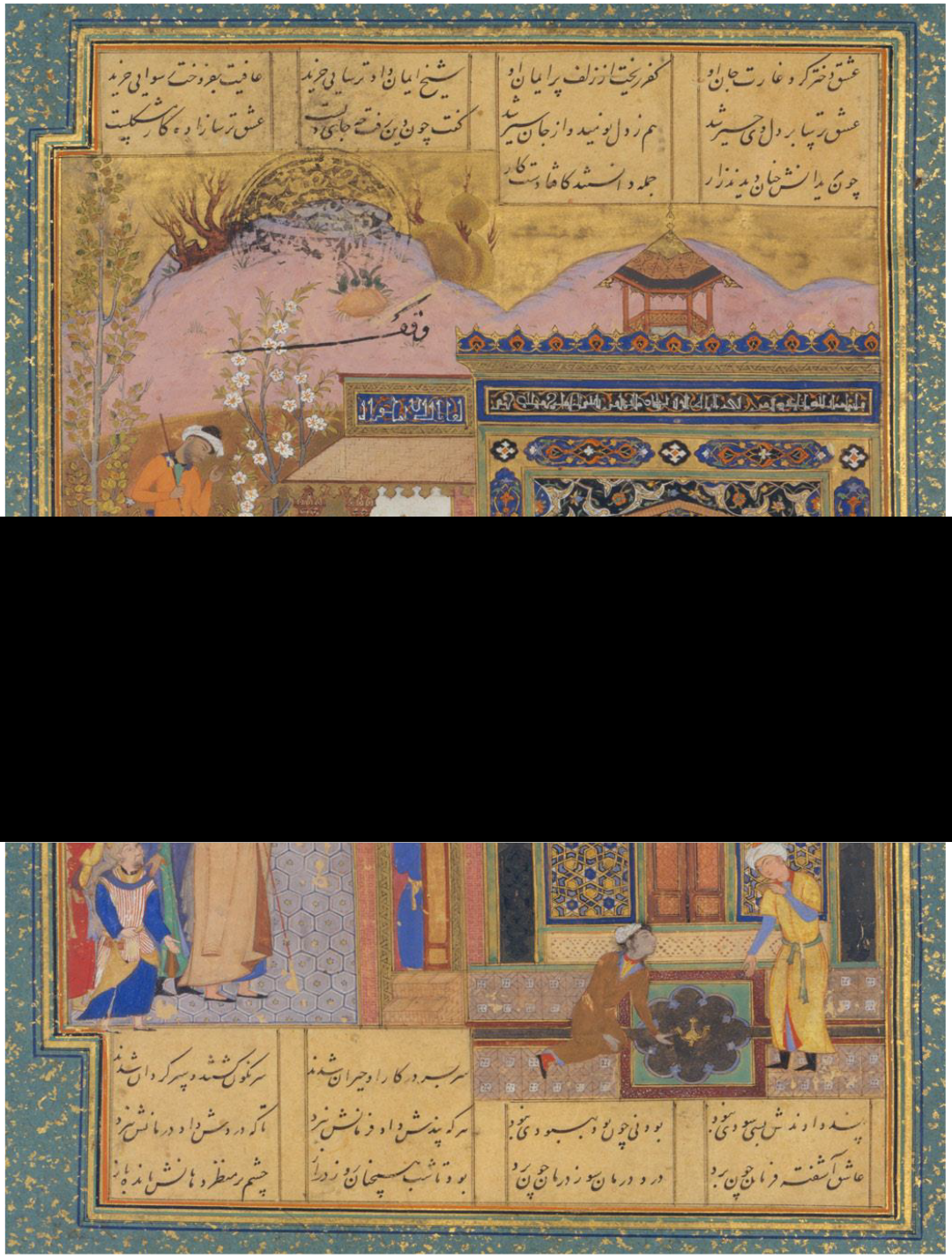


Illustration 2, an Illustrated Manuscript of Mantiq al-Tayr in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[20]

Sleepless and restless, he throbbed from Love and whimpered bitterly.

He said,

[20] Obtained from Yumiko Kamada, 'A Taste for Intricacy: An Illustrated Manuscript of Mantiq al-Tayr in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.', *Orient*, 45 (2010), 129–75.

O' Lord, is not there a day after this night? Is not the candle of the sky going to burn

O Lord, many signs I have seen tonight, is the judgment day coming after tonight?

[O Lord] has the candle of the sky died by my sigh? Or has it been veiled by the bashfulness of my beloved?

[21] The night-raids here refers to the spiritual tests an ascetic passes during his/her nights.
[22] جگر سوز *jegar-sōz*, 'something that burns liver' is a metaphor for something that causes pain in the worst possible manner. جگر *jegar*, 'liver' is a metaphor for the dearest and most precious possession of someone.

The night is long and dark as her hair; this is why hundreds of people cannot see her [23]

The wit, the patience, and the Beloved are all gone; what is this Love, this pain, and this event?

His disciples rushed to console him for his lament through the night.

One of them said,

O great Sheikh, stand up and perform ablution, get rid of this obsession!

[23] Similezing the girl's face to the moon.
[24] The phrase خاک و خون *khāk-o khōn*, 'soil and blood' is commonly used to describe the utmost dire situations. For example, in a war when a city is attacked and all of the residents are killed it would be said that the city was dragged to *khāk-o khōn*.
[25] دست گیری کردن *dast-giri kardan*, 'to take one's hand' metaphorically means to help someone. The phrase is used widely in this poem.

The Sheikh replied

with my liver's blood,[26] O unaware one! I have performed ablution a hundred times!

Another one said,

[27]

Another one said,

how long are you going to say such things? Then, stand up, prostrate yourself to nothing but God!

He replied,

[26] خون جگر *khōn-e jegar*, 'the liver's blood' metaphorically means huge sadness and sorrow; as I mentioned the significance of the liver before, the phrase here signifies the pain and sorrow caused by seeing something precious in pain.
[27] تسبیح *tasbih*, a Muslim praying bead.
[28] نماز *namāz* is a Persian word used for Islamic prayers. The Arabic word is صلاة *salāt*.
[29] نگار *negār* the word literally means 'an image' or 'a portray'; its metaphorical meaning is 'an idol' and signifies a beautiful beloved.

my idol-face is here; prostrating is only beautiful in front of her!

The other one said,

Don’t you have regret and shame? Don’t you care a moment for the Muslim faith?

He said,

suffering of others!

Another one said,

compromise with your friends; Let us return together to the Kaaba tonight.

[30] گمراه *gomrāh*, ‘one who has lost his way, astray’; the word commonly connotes the spiritual aspect of being lost.

He said,

> if the Kaaba is not here, there is a convent; I am the vigilant of the Kaaba yet the drunk of a convent.

One said,

He replied,

> there is a heaven-born beloved; should there be a heaven, it is her mansion!

Another one told him,

> be shameful of the Truth![32] The Lord almighty only deserves such sayings!

He said,

[31] The distich means that since the Sheikh's state is worse than being in hell, his sigh is more firey than the fires of hell; figuratively, he has no fears of hell since he has experienced worse by love on earth.

[32] حق *hagh*, literally meaning 'the truth' is a consistent entity which one cannot reject. To Sufis, *hagh* is an Absolute Entity, boundless of any bound; in other words, to them *hagh*, the Truth is the Essence of God.

the Truth has bestowed this fire upon me! Therefore, I cannot reject this responsibility.

The other one said,

settle yourself down, bring your faith back and stay a devotee to God.

thread of hair.

In her alley, days and nights for about a month, the Sheikh waited to see his sun.[35]

Eventually, he became ill for the separation from the beloved; yet, he did not remove his sight from her mansion.

[33] This distich has been translated in its thorough literal sense; figuratively, it means that the night was passed and the day came up.
[34] The word used here is معتکف *mo'takef,* one who does the act of اعتکاف *e'tekāf*. It is when one to confines oneself in a certain place, usually mosques, for a certain amount of time to pray and to leave the worldly activities behind. Thus, *mo'takef* is a devotee to praying and letting go the worldly affairs.
[35] A metaphor for the girl.

The idol's alley's soil was his bed, and her mansion was his bedside.

Since he was unable to leave her alley, the girl realised that he loved her.

She made her beautiful self-pretend ignorance;[36] [went to the Sheikh and] said,

O Sheikh, why have you become restless?

betterment;

Stop making me restless with your curled tresses for a moment, and make my dream with your beautiful drunken eyes in the next moment!

[36] The word in the original text is اعجمی *a'ajami*, 'illiterate or ignorant' in Arabic. It is worth mentioning that after Iran was conquered by Muslims, Persians were called *ajam*; the tradition still lives to some extent.
[37] The word used in the original text is بساز *besāz*, literally meaning 'make it' and figuratively meaning 'to bear with something'.
[38] The original word is مناز *manāz,* meaning 'do not be proud' and 'do not behave coquettely'.
[39] The original phrase is سر دار آر *sar dar ār*, 'bring your head out'; the term figuratively means get closer to me or sympathize with me.

My heart is fire; my eyes are rainy clouds by you! I am kinless, friendless, and restless by you.

Without you, I sold the universe for my soul. Look, I am lining my own pockets from your Love.

Although, from anxiety, I have become a shadow; you are the sunshine, I shall reshape to anything for you.

I will bring the seven skies under my plumage; if you accept this vagrant one![41]

[40] Figuratively meaning 'stop disrespecting and undermining me and all I have achieved.'

[41] The original phrase is سرفرود آوردن *sar forōd āvardan*, literally 'to bring one's head down.' It figuratively means to bow down, obey, and submit. However, in some situations the term also means agreeing to or accepting something, which is more acceptable given the situation depicted in this part of poem.

I will go to soil[42] with a burnt soul; the universe has been burnt from the fire of my soul.

For your Love, my feet are stranded in the clay; longing you, my hand cannot detach my heart.[43]

The girl said,

if you are firm in your decision, you have to do four things:

Prostrate to an idol, burn the *Quran*; drink wine, and shut your sight to your faith.

The Sheikh replied,

[42] Figuratively means 'I will be buried.'
[43] Figuratively means my heart beats so fast that I have to use my hand to keep my heart in my chest.
[44] Figuratively meaning, 'you are old and you need to make you funeral arrangements.'
[45] The original phrase is کفن کردن ترا *kafan kardan to ra*, 'putting or wrapping you in a shroud.'

I will choose to drink wine; I have nothing to do with the other three.

I will drink to your beauty and virtue; yet, I will not do the other three.

The girl said,

The fire of Love had taken away his reputation; the Christian's tresses had stolen his fate.

No wit and intellect were left for him; he [was astonished and] remained in that place silently.

[46] The original phrase used here is رنگ و بویی بیش نیست *rang va bōei bish nist*, literally means 'it is nothing more than a mere colour and scent'; figuratively means it is not genuine.
[47] The original phrase used in the poem is حلقه در گوش *halghe dar gōsh*, 'a ring in/on one's ear'. The phrase figuratively means being someone's slave or servant; it is widely used in the sense that a lover has his/her beloved's ring on his/her ear.
[48] It was customary to put ringlets in hair in order to give them form and make them look more beautiful.
[49] The original word is فغان *feghān*, shouting and moaning.

He took a drinking goblet from his beloved's hand; he drank and cut away his heart from his self.[50]

Whatever he knew escaped his mind; when the wine came, his wit was gone like a wind.

Whatever his primal purpose was, the wine washed away from his soul and mind;

only that beloved's formidable Love remained; everything else was purely gone.

[50] The phrase used in the original text is کار خویش *kār-e khish*, literally meaning his/her occupation; the term could figuratively refer to all one cares about and in this case, his self.
[51] Metaphorically: became more chained in her slavery.

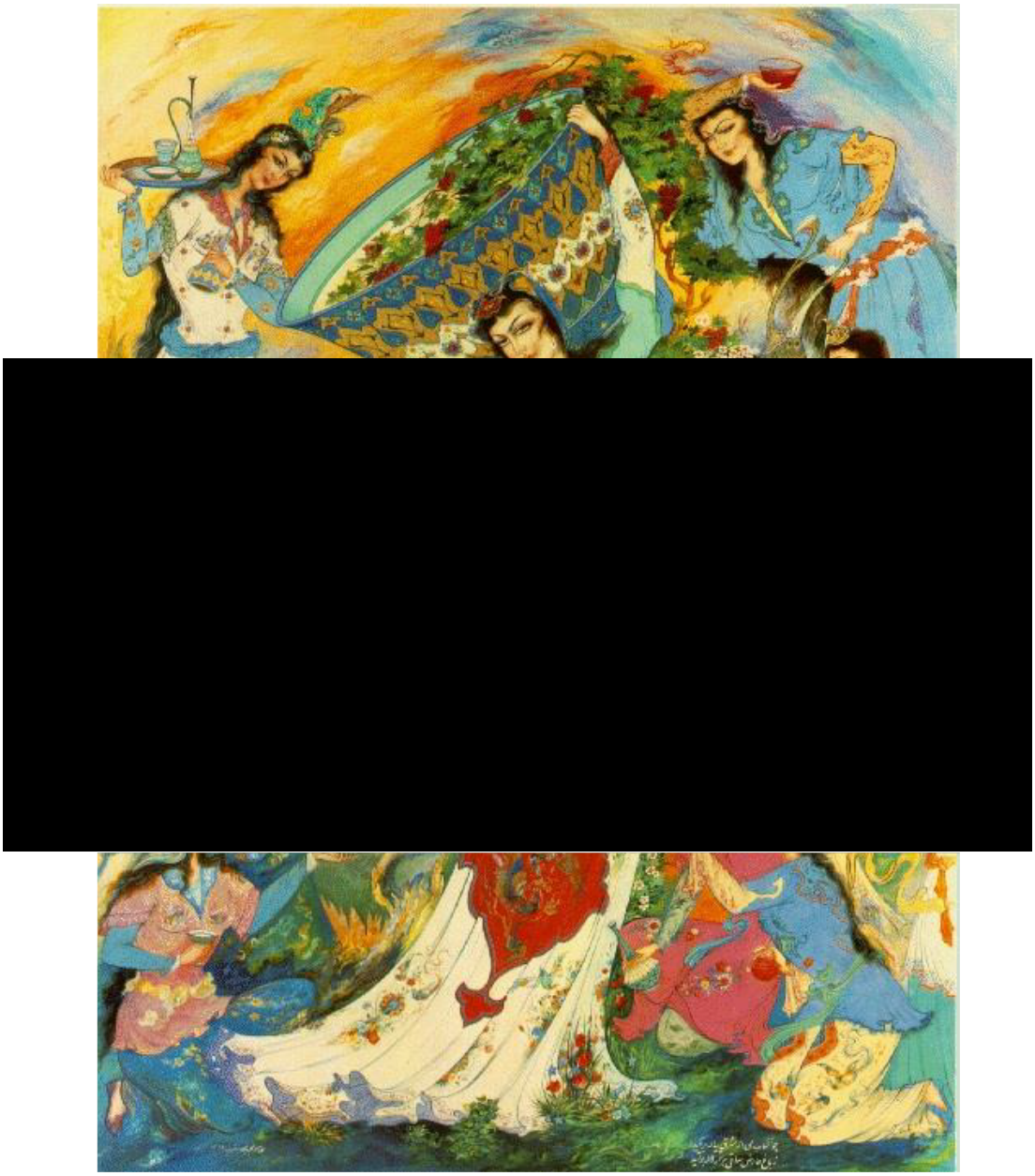


Illustration 3, ‘only that beloved’s formidable Love remained; everything else was purely gone.’ Painting by Ali-Asghar Tajvidi.

When the Sheikh became drunk, his Love became stronger; his soul became like a wild sea of passion.

He saw that idol drunk with a goblet of wine in her hand; at that moment, the Sheikh lost himself completely.

For drinking wine, he lost his heart and control; he was tempted to fold his arms around her neck.

The girl said,

> you are not on the right Path yet; you cannot claim a genuine love yet.
>
> If your steps are firm in Love; if you have accepted the faith of my twisted tresses;

Set your steps, as my twisted tresses, to blasphemy; since Love is not something casual!

Comfort and Love are not harmonious; Love is a result of blasphemy, remember!

Should you follow my blasphemy, you will be able to take me in your arms right now;

Should you not follow me at this point, stand up and leave; here is your staff and cloak.

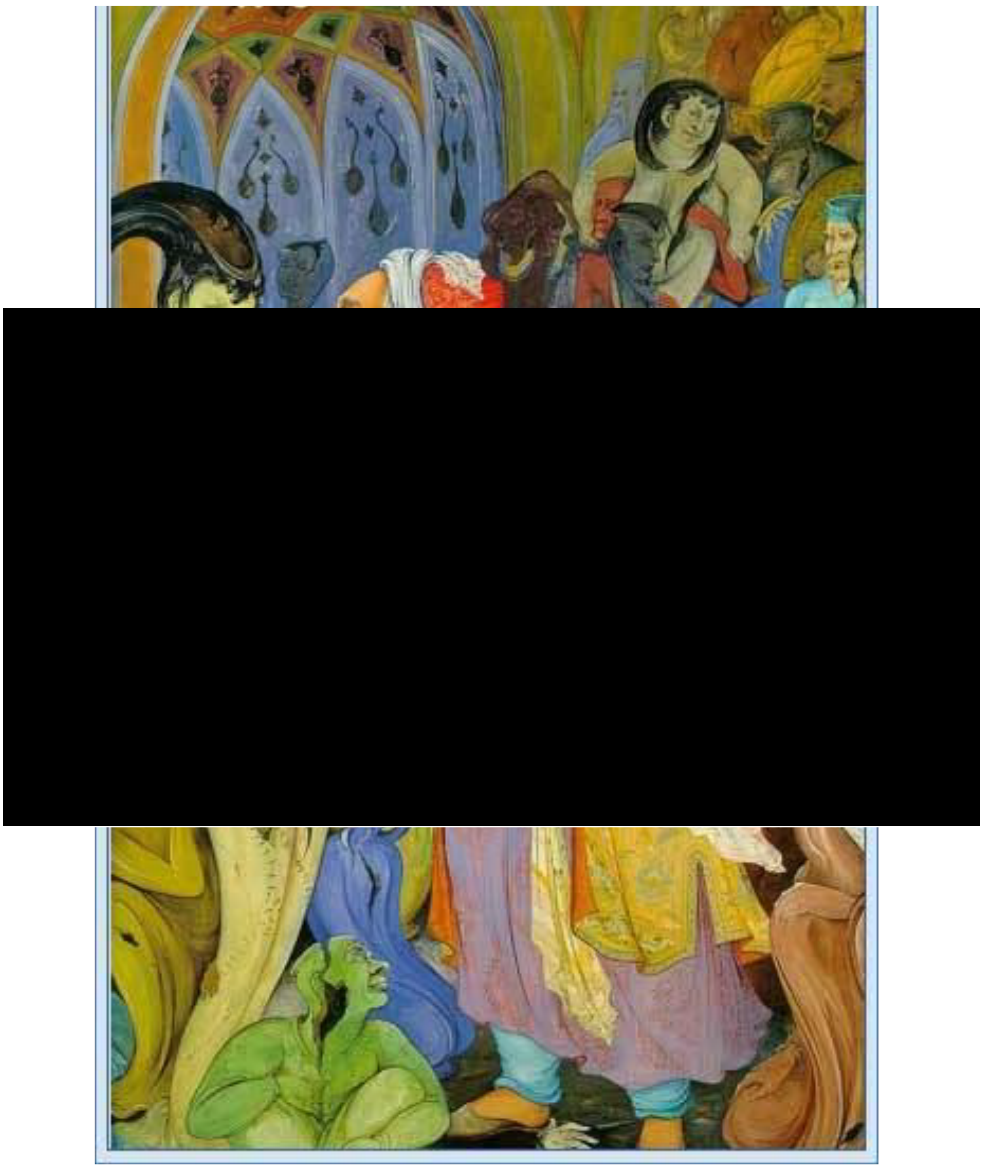


Illustration 4, 'For drinking wine, he lost his heart and control; he was tempted to fold his arms around her neck.' Painting by Mahmoud Farshchian.

The lovelorn Sheikh had fallen so much that; he relied on fate due to his negligence.

When there was no drunkenness in his mind, he never cared about worldly existence for a moment.

But now, since he had become in Love and drunk, he was on his knees and became utterly lost.

they brought him to a monastery[53] drunkenly; then, they ordered him to wear a *Zunnar*.

When the Sheikh tied the *Zunnar*, set his cloak on fire and restarted his life:

freed his heart from his self and his religion,[54] he never recalled the Kaaba or being a Sheikh.

[52] The original word here is مصحف *mas'haf*. The word's general translation is 'a corrected, edited, published version of a manuscript;' commonly refers to the *Quran*. While many scholars believe that this distich asserts the Sheikh's willingness to burn the *Quran* on his beloved's demand, Sufis such as Ain-al Quzat Hamedani (1098–1131) argue that the first word written on the soul is محبت *mohebat,* 'kindness and love.' Through living and experiencing life, the word could be changed to محنت *mehnat,* 'plight'. What love does is by figuratively burning the self, it reveses and corrects the error of محبت *mohebat* to محنت *mehnat*. The process which occurs in making a مصحف *mas'haf* is exactly the same as love changing محبت to محنت. That is why it is unlikely that the Sheikh is willing to burn the *Quran* and what he refers to is his soul.

[53] The word used in the original text is دیر *dair*, means a Christian or Zoroastrian 'monastery'.

[54] The distich could also be read as 'freed his heart from his personal religion.'

Many years of solid beliefs were washed away with something novel.
He told himself,

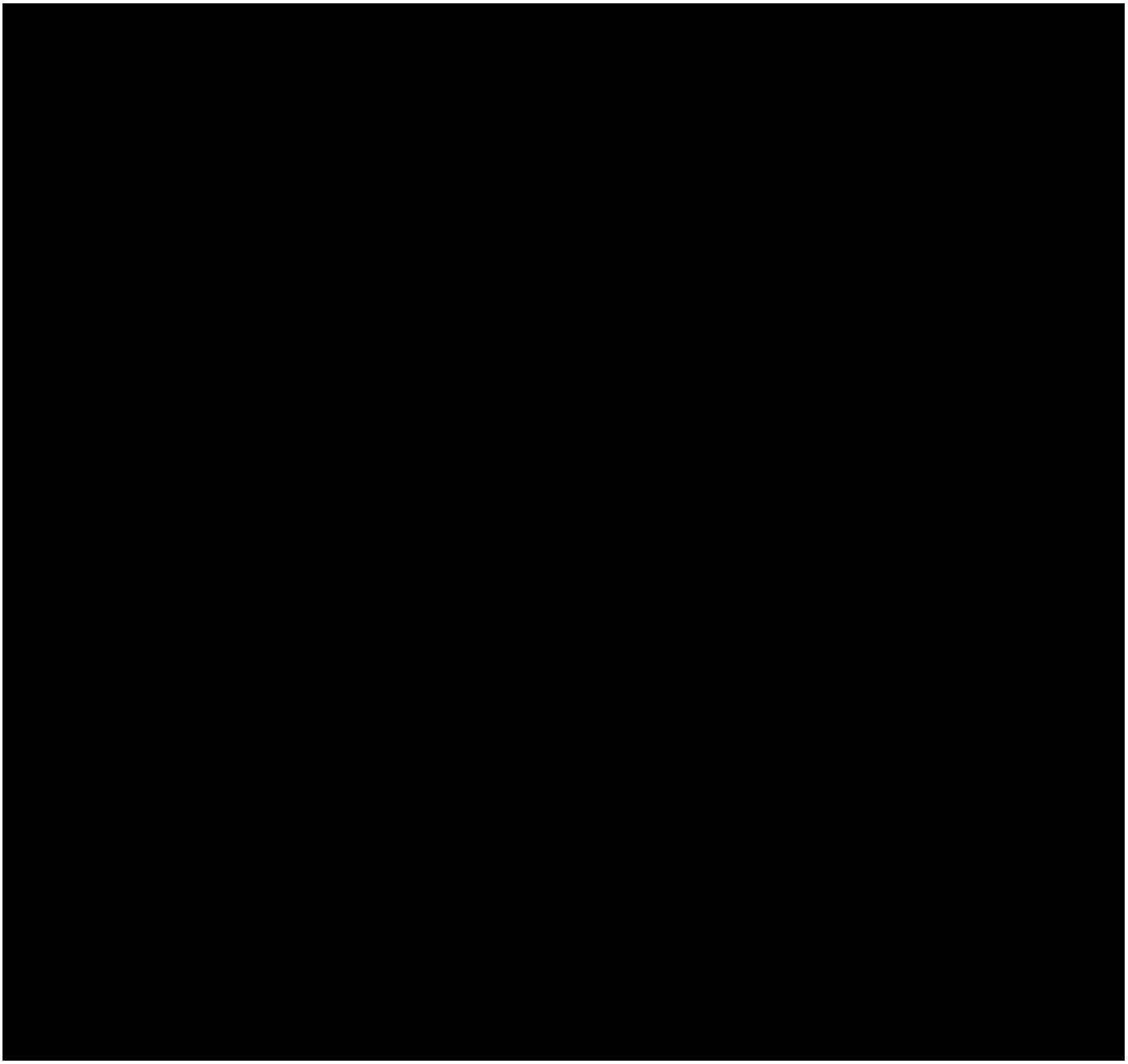
> forlornness and infirmity has affected this Darvish; the Love of the Christian-born has done its job;
>
> from now on, whatever she says, I shall obey; what can be worse than what I have

> The plank of the Kaaba is a starting point in the Path of Love; one, knowledgeable of the supernatural, becomes a vagrant while facing Love.
>
> All these have occurred, now tell me simply, when you will be one with me?

[55] 'The mother of all vices' is a term used by Mohammad to refer to wine.

Since the primary purpose was uniting with you, whatever I have done was in the hope of that union.

I desire unity and familiarity; for how long shall I burn in separation?'

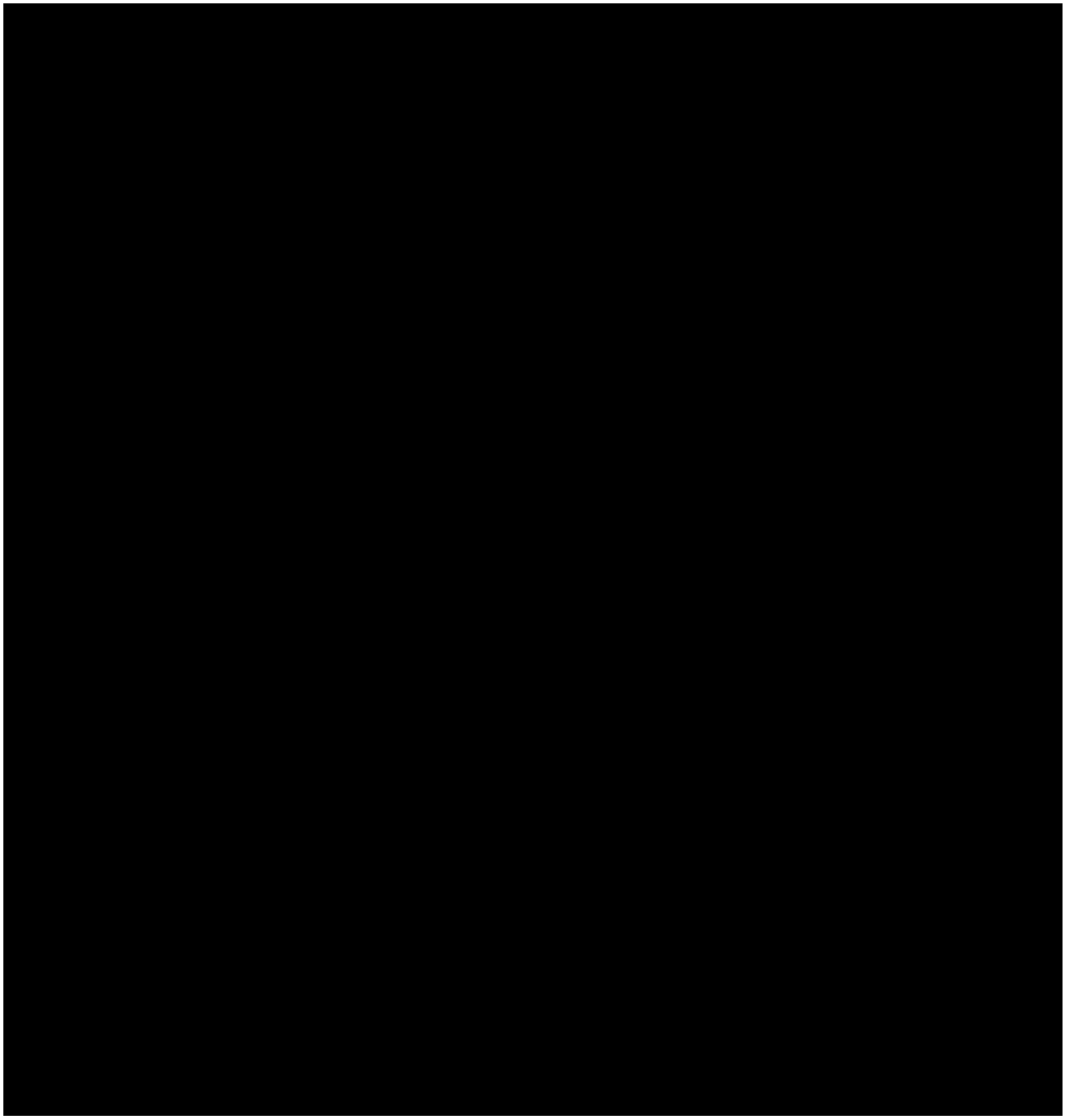


O exalted-natured one I would prefer, to be in hell with you than without you in heaven.'

Eventually, since the Sheikh had become her man, that moon felt sorry for his pain. She said,

O’ immature one, instead of paying my jointure, look after my pigs for a whole year;
And after one year, we shall spend our life in happiness and sorrow together.

The Sheikh did not disobey the beloved’s order; whoever has disobeyed the beloved did not gain a happy life.



The Sheikh replied,

my soul is full of pain; wherever you wish to go, move soon.
Whilst I am alive, the monastery is enough for me; the Christian girl is enough to be

my animator.
You did not perceive [the events thoroughly, thus] you are free yet, since all of you are being captives here.

If you were feeling my troubles for a moment, you would have commiserated with me

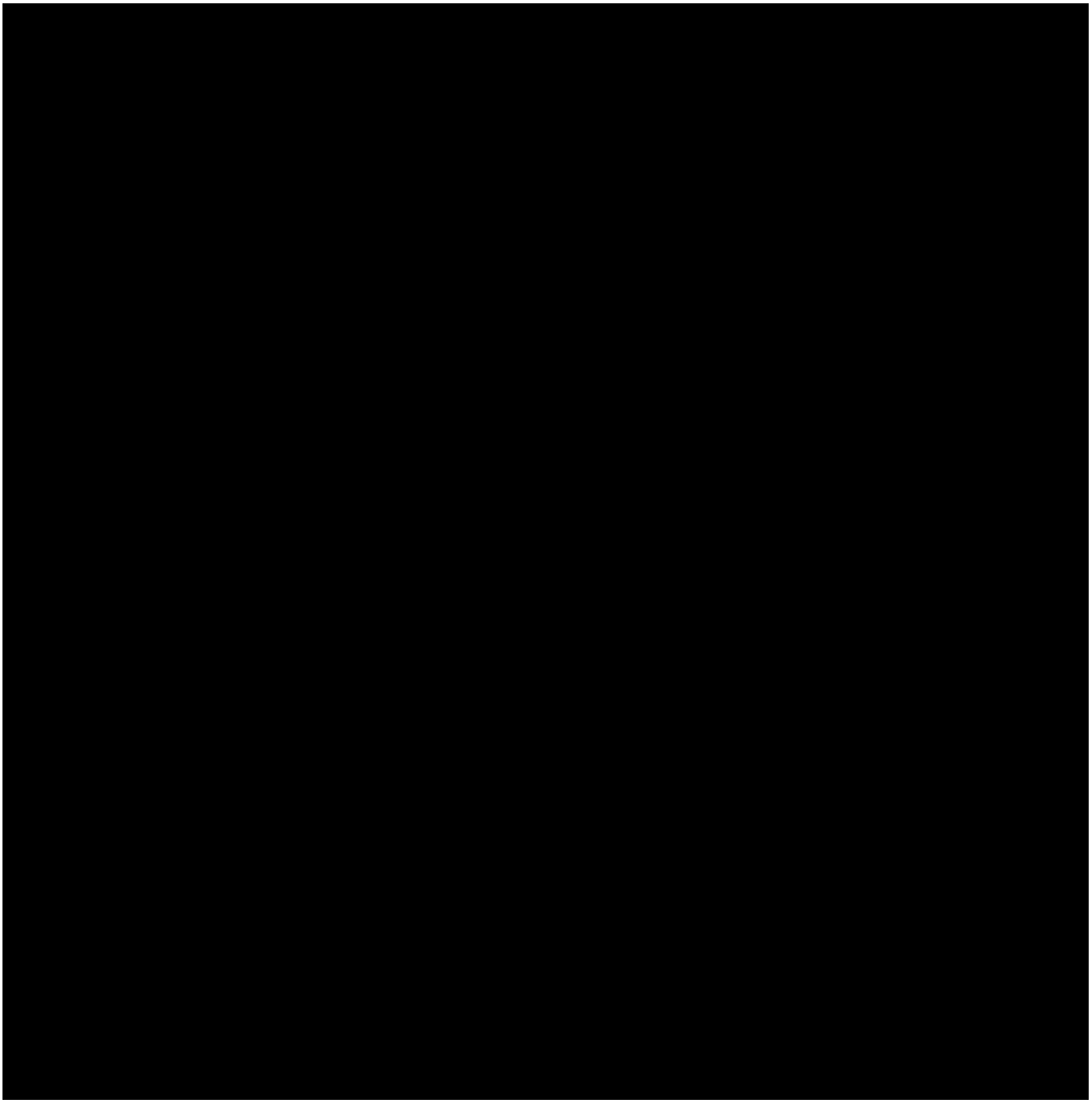
melting.
Their Sheikh had remained alone in Rome; had given up religion on his Path of Christianity.
From shame, they felt astonished; each was hiding in a corner.
Yet, the Sheikh had a witty and nimble friend in the Kaaba, who had washed his hands of all for his Devotion.

He was such a meticulous observer and great guide that no one was more knowledgeable about the Sheikh than him.

When the Sheikh was leaving the Kaaba for the journey, he was not present there.

When that disciple returned, he found the court empty and his Sheikh absent.

He asked the other disciples about the Sheikh, and they told him all about the Sheikh's fate;



an infidel!

A friend is recognised at times of frustration and failure; there are hundreds of thousands of friends at the time of success and happiness!

[56] گبر *gabr*, in Persian means 'a Zoroastrian'; after the Arab conquest, in some places it became synonymous with 'an unbeliever'.

When the Sheikh had fallen in the mouth of the beast,[57] all of you escaped to keep your honour and avoid shame?

Love is based on infamy! Therefore, whoever disobeys this mystery [the ignominy

Since you have left your Sheikh alone, what do you expect from the gate of the Truth?

When they heard those words, they understood that they have failed; none could have kept his head high.

[57] The original word used here is نهنگ *nahang*, 'whale' which is an allusion to the story of Jonah and the beast.
[58] The distich could also be read as 'the gates of the Truth was the only place for you to be.'

The man told them,

> now, there is no gain in shame; what is done is done, we must rise again immediately.
>
> Consistently, in the presence of the Truth we should be; pleading for justice, we should scatter soil.[59]

After spending forty nights that devoted pure disciple was lost in his private quarters;
A musk-scented wind was blown early in the morning, and the hidden universe became apparent to his heart.

[59] The image of scattering soil could figuratively mean to take any desparate masures.
[60] پیراهن کاغذی *pirāhan-e kāghazi*, 'a paper shirt' is a metaphor for seeking justice. In the past, someone who was oppressed used to wear a shirt made out of paper. While wearing the shirt of paper, the person would have been brought to the king in order to seek justice.
[61] This is not a physical act of moving. With having an *e'tekāf*, they focused on Rome and the Sheikh.
[62] In Islamic culture, Green is a colour associated with Mohammad and his bloodline. Here, 'green wearer' means that bloodline or simply Holy Beings.
[63] The term used here is کبود *kabōd*, which is a type of purplish blue. To be precise, the colour of a bruise.

He saw Mustafa [64] walking to him like a moon, with two black plaits over each side of his shoulders;
The shadow of the Truth was the sunshine of his face; a single hair of him was endowed with a hundred worlds.

[Mohammad] was walking gracefully and smiling; one seeing him would have lost one's self [in wonder].
The disciple was surprised by seeing him; he stood up and said,

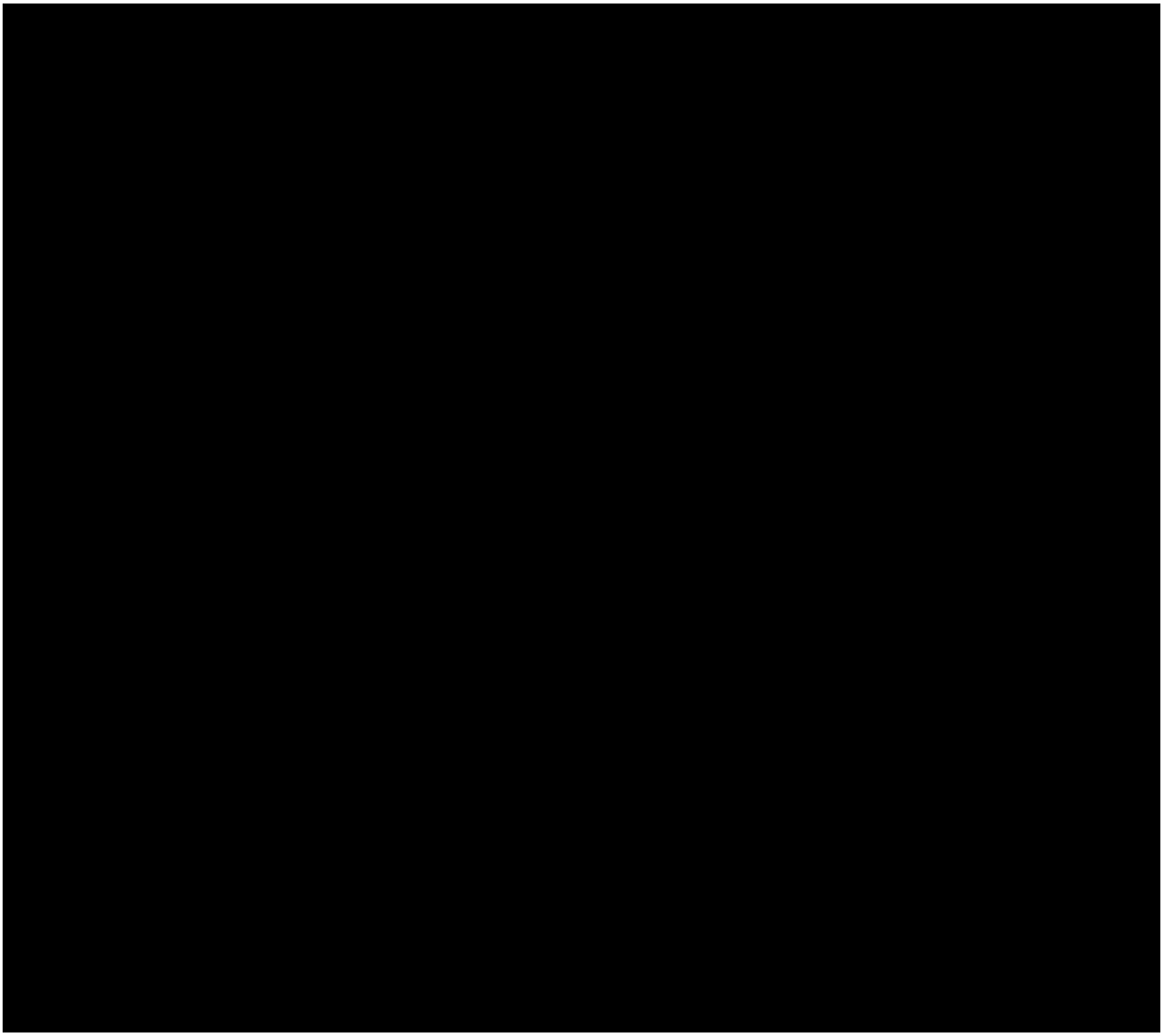
of repentance.

When the sea of Beneficence becomes wavy, it will cleanse the guilt of every man and woman.

[64] One of the nicknames of Mohammad.
[65] The term دم نزدن *dam nazadan* literally means 'not to breathe' and figuratively means 'not giving up'. Hence, the disciple's will did not even wasted time to breath in order to save his Sheikh.

From joy, the man became ecstatic; he roared so loudly that the sky became restless.
He made all of his companions aware of what happened, gave them gifts for this evangel and decided to leave;

all tearfully started to run; till they reached where the Sheikh was herding the swine.



this miracle].

They said to the Sheikh,

O the discoverer of the secrets, the cloud has stopped blocking your sun;

[66] ناقوس مغان *naghōs-e moghan*, literally meaning 'the bell of the Magis'; however, in some Persian dictionaries it is mentioned that it is a bell that was used by Christians during mass.

the blasphemy has been removed, and faith is settled down in the Path, the idolater of Rome has become a God worshiper.

The sea of Acceptance waved suddenly; the Messenger became your intercessor.

At this moment, your gratitude should be as immense as the world; be thankful to the

You were his bandit, be his travelling-mate for a while; stop your ignorance, become aware and enlightened!

When the Christian girl woke up, her heart was shining like a sun!

[67] Hejaz is a region in the west of Arabia. Its largest city is Jeddah, it is better known for the Islamic holy cities of Mecca and Medina. As the site of Islam's holiest cities, Hejaz has a prominent significance in the Islamic historical and political landscape.

[68] Metaphorically meaning ‘you should be his humble servant.’

She felt a surprising pain in her heart; that pain and eagerness made her restless.
A fire had fallen in her joyous inebriated soul, she put her hand on her heart, yet her heart fell from her hand![69]

She had no idea what was implanted in her restless soul!

It was done, yet she had no one to talk to about it; she saw herself in a strange new world!
A world with no signs, roads, and paths; there is no place for a tongue where one becomes speechless.

> Please show mercy for what this poor one has done; I have accepted religion, please you take my hand [help me]!

[69] Figuratively meaning that 'her heart started to beat so fast and hard that although she tried to keep it in her chest, it fell out of her chest.'
[70] The line is پای داد از دست بر پی میدوید *pāy az dast dād bar pey midavid* which literally means 'lost her grip over her feet, [hence she] ran on her foundation'. The hemistich tries to depict the state in which one is unable to do something, perusing love in this case, physically, yet is not able to give up the act either.

Should I die, no one cares [help me]; my share of honour is nothing but humiliation and abjectness.

An internal message revealed to the Sheikh that

the girl has left Christianity.
She has gained familiarity with Our Throne; her efforts are in Our Path now.

When that beloved looked at the Sheikh, tears started to fall like a spring cloud,
She observed his faithfulness, his loyalty to his oath; she lay down at his feet and asked for forgiveness.

She said,

my soul burnt from the shame I brought you; I could not bear to burn more secretly.
I have repented; I want to become enlightened;[71] present Islam to me so that I could have a Path.

[71] The original word is آگاه *āgāh*, meaning 'aware.'

The Sheikh presented Islam to her; a tumult occurred among all of the disciples.
When that idol face became one of the *ahl-e ayān*,[72] a rain of tears waved amongst them.
Eventually, when that idol found the Path, the joy of faith appeared in her enlightened heart.
Although her heart became restless from the joy of faith, the sorrow [of her past] was still

Whenever the battle between the heart and the self becomes rigorous, one should sing laments since mourning has become harder.

[72] *Ahl* can generally mean 'people or companions', *ayān* means 'an obvious fact.' In Islamic philosophy, one the paths which lead to knowing God is through شهود *shohōd* 'logic and sense;' followers of this path are called اهل شهود *ahl-e shohōd*. The other path which is not through logic, is called *ayān.* اهل عیان *ahl-e ayān* are those who had persived the Presence of God through revelation and epiphany.
[73] خاندان پر صداع, *khāndān-e por sedā'*, 'the troublous tribe' as is metaphor for the world.

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