THREE MUGHAL POETS: MIR, SAUDA, MIR HASAN

RALPH RUSSELL AND KHURSHIDUL ISLAM

The three great Urdu poets presented here—Mir, Mir Hasan, and Sauda—lived in or near Delhi in the eighteenth century, while the Mughal Empire was crumbling externally from attacks by Marathas, Persians, and Afghans and disintegrating internally as the great feudal nobles fought for control of the emperor. In this atmosphere of misery, demoralization, and despair occurred the first major flowering of Urdu literature.

Sauda wrote poems in all the main classical forms, but he was an unequalled satirist in an age that cried for satire, and it is that portion of his work that is considered here. His poems are Rabelaisian, humane, astonishingly resourceful, and directly related to the events of his time.

Mir Hasan excelled in one particular form, the *masnavi,* a long narrative poem in rhymed couplets often telling a love story. His most famous poem in this form, *The Enchanting Story,* is examined here. Romantic, complex, dealing with magical and supernatural events, the poem is rich in imagery and similies and yet is written with such disciplined simplicity that the language remains fresh and current after two hundred years.

Mir, perhaps one of the great love poets of world literature, preferred the *ghazal,* which the authors discuss in detail, giving numerous examples. They also treat his *masnavis,* which are written in a more directly realistic vein than those of Mir Hasan.

The authors have let the literature speak for itself wherever possible, adding a minimum of comment. The Foreword was written by Annemarie Schimmel, Lecturer on Indo-Muslim Culture, Harvard University, who is well known to Islamic scholars both in the West and the East. Ralph Russell is Reader in Urdu at Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.

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This book has been accepted in the Indian translation series sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and by the National Academy of Letters of India (Sahitya Akademi).

Ralph Russell

Khurshidul Islam

GHALIB

LIFE AND LETTERS

Ralph Russell and Khurshidul Islam

GHALIB

GHALIB
1797-1869

VOLUME I: LIFE AND LETTERS

translated and edited by
RALPH RUSSELL
and
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Introduction

The modern literatures of the Indian sub-continent are comparatively young, and though there are in many of them figures who have for two centuries and more been recognized within their own language-communities as great writers, few of them have yet become widely known outside them even as names. The few that have are generally those who are so enthusiastically admired by the people in whose language they wrote that this very enthusiasm arouses the curiosity of others. In Urdu there have been two such writers—Iqbal and Ghalib. Their fascination for Urdu speakers is amply attested by the fact that these two—and, as yet, these two alone—have in the last few decades each become the subject of a whole literature of research, criticism and appreciation, and both have inspired attempts by Urdu speakers to win for them a wider audience through translations and studies in English. Iqbal's fortunes have prospered beyond this point, and there now exists a number of studies and translations in English, aimed at, and likely to appeal to, a world audience, and affording access to anyone who can read English to a widely representative range of his work; and translation and studies are also available in other European languages. This has not yet happened with Ghalib. Studies and translations in English of varying merit do indeed exist, but these are either not aimed at, or are not for one reason or another likely to appeal widely to, an audience outside the sub-continent. We hope that the present work may do so. We have for many years believed that if once the barrier of language could be satisfactorily surmounted and Ghalib's prose and verse made available to a world audience, his work would win him a place in world literature which historical circumstance has hitherto denied him; and it is this belief which has inspired us to undertake the present work.

Its plan, stated in general terms, is to present in translation a representative selection of his prose and verse set against a portrait of the man and his age. The present volume, devoted to Ghalib's life and letters, is the first of two. In a second volume we shall attempt the far more difficult task of presenting his poetry. To speak in more detail, we have attempted wherever possible in the volume now before the reader to let the story of Ghalib's life emerge from his own words; but this can become the predominant method only from the early eighteen-fifties, when the steady flow of Urdu letters which was to last nearly twenty years begins. For the earlier years we have drawn mainly upon the *Memoir of Ghalib* written by Ghalib's friend and younger contemporary Hali—a book which is in its own right a classic of Urdu literature. But this could not

supply all the materials necessary to our purpose, and we have supplemented Hali's account with material from other writers and with writing of our own. In the earlier chapters such supplementary writing amounts to a substantial part of the whole, but the proportion decreases sharply from the point where Ghalib's letters and other writings largely suffice to tell their own story. We have deliberately chosen not to put into separate compartments the different kinds of materials of which the book is composed. Where anything that Ghalib or Hali says requires elaboration if it is to be fully intelligible to the general reader in the English-speaking world, we have supplied it at once in the main text, believing that the general reader does not like having to refer to footnotes more than is absolutely necessary, and likes still less having to turn the pages and seek elsewhere for what he wants to know there and then. On the other hand we know that there are those who, so to speak, like to take their author neat, even where this impairs their awareness of exactly what is going on. For their benefit we have tried as far as possible to separate text from comment sufficiently clearly to enable them to do without the latter if they wish to try. Little more remains to be said. Naturally enough, Muslim names occur frequently throughout the book, and since these often cause confusion to those who are not familiar with them, we have thought it best to give a note about them at the outset. (In the same note we have dealt with our treatment of the problem of transliteration.) For those who may wish to refresh their memories of the thread of the narrative from time to time we have provided a chronology of Ghalib's life, and a note on the letters and some of Ghalib's correspondents follows the main text. For the benefit of our fellow-scholars (to whom we address ourselves briefly in the next paragraph) we then give full notes and references relating to what we have written. And finally we provide an annotated index—i.e. one in which we have, for example, under the entry for Alai, prefaced the list of page references by a brief account of who Alai was; the index also includes Urdu words used in the main text, which are given and explained at the point where alphabetical sequence places them. A single section containing all these things has seemed to us more convenient for the reader than a whole series of items—glossary, biographical notes, index and so on—supplementing the main text. Whatever else is provided is listed in the table of contents and calls for no comment here.

A book of this kind is, naturally, not intended primarily for those who can read Ghalib in the original, and still less for Ghalib scholars. All the same, we hope that it will not be devoid of interest even to them, and therefore add here a few remarks addressed primarily to them. We would first draw their attention to the way in which we have chosen to arrange our materials. Hali's biographical sketch of Ghalib is largely anecdotal, and the many incidents which it relates are not for the most part placed in any sort of historical order. Similarly the published collections of Ghalib's letters have always been arranged in such a way as to give all the letters to, say, Majruh, in a single block, all those to Tufta in another, and so on. We have chosen instead to follow a more

strictly historical order throughout, rearranging Hali's materials and taking Ghalib's letters (with occasional exceptions) in order of date, regardless of the correspondent to whom they were written. (Here we have made full use of the valuable—and often underrated—work of Ghulam Rasul Mihr, accepting his dating without question except in a very few cases where there seemed to be strong grounds for modifying his conclusions. We have likewise accepted the dating given by Afaq Husain in his collection *Nadirat i Ghalib*.) We are convinced that this chronological arrangement yields a clearer picture than the traditional arrangement can give, and we look forward to the day when editors of the Urdu and Persian texts of the letters will adopt the same principle. Our aim has been to include in our selection everything of significant interest in Ghalib's published Persian and Urdu prose writings, excluding only those elements in them—for example, the detailed discussions of the sins of the Indian lexicographers of Persian—which are meaningful only to those who possess specialised knowledge. To this end we have, between us, read all the relevant writings of Ghalib. Much of the material has been studied by both of us, but Ralph Russell is responsible for the final selection from Ghulam Rasul Mihr's *Khutut i Ghalib*—the most comprehensive collection of Ghalib's Urdu letters so far—while Khurshidul Islam has made the selections from *Nadirat i Ghalib* (the letters of 1848-59 to Nabi Bakhsh Haqir), from *Makatib i Ghalib* (the letters to the Nawwabs of Rampur), and from the Persian materials (of which *Mihr i Nimroz*, *Dastambu*, and the Persian letters in *Panj Ahang* are the most important). The English translation is primarily Ralph Russell's work, but the text was finalised only after thorough checking by Khurshidul Islam, after which discussion and consultation with him resulted in numerous modifications.

As we have already said, for the material on Ghalib's life our main source, after Ghalib's own writings, has been Hali's *Yadgar i Ghalib*. But we have made full use of the work of subsequent scholars and biographers, notably Ghulam Rasul Mihr's *Ghalib*, Mālik Ram's *Zikr i Ghalib*, (4th, revised edition) and *Talamiza i Ghalib*, and Shaikh Muhammad Ikram's books. To the last-named author's *Hayat i Ghalib* we owe a special debt. It is in our view the best short biography that has appeared in recent years, and certainly the one best suited to our present purpose. The author's arrangement of his material is, in general, admirable, particularly for the period to 1857, and up to that point we have not only adopted the arrangement as the basis for our own, but also drawn heavily upon the factual material which the book contains.

But it is not only he to whom we have a debt to acknowledge. One or other of us (in some cases both of us) has had occasion at various stages in our work to meet or correspond also with Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Imtiyaz Ali Arshi, Mālik Ram and Afaq Husain. We found them all very ready to help us, and we gladly take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to them all and also to the Raza Library, Rampur. We are especially grateful to Mālik Ram for his detailed criticisms of our manuscript, and particularly of the first half of the

book; we must add that he is in no way responsible for any errors which it may still contain, and would not necessarily agree with all of our judgements.

It remains to add a word about the notes and references section to which brief reference was made earlier. Since the main text is intended primarily for the general reader, we have not encumbered it with numbers indicating the detailed notes and references intended for the scholar. (Such numbers as are to be found in the main text indicate the few footnotes which we have felt it necessary to include on the pages where these numbers occur.) The scholar reading through the main text will generally know where a note is called for, and if, whenever he feels that a note or reference is needed, he will turn to the section which follows the main text, he will find, we hope, that we do not disappoint him.

We are under no illusion that our work represents anything approaching the last word, even on the limited ground which we have covered. In the first place, fresh materials are still being discovered. As we write these lines we are aware that a small but important collection of Ghalib's Persian letters which has quite recently come to light is being included by Imtiyaz Ali Arshi in an edition of the Persian letters which he is preparing; and it is in our view entirely probable that other letters may yet be discovered in years to come. Secondly, Ghalib's prose works have been, in general, very inadequately edited. Imtiyaz Ali Arshi is perhaps the only editor who has fully responded to the demands which Ghalib's greatness surely makes of his editors, and who has produced work distinguished both by a very high degree of textual accuracy and by scholarly and adequate annotation; and Arshi's work extends only to a relatively small proportion of Ghalib's letters. Even Ghulam Rasul Mihr, whose notes are valuable, has failed to achieve a satisfactory standard of textual accuracy. We are therefore, for the moment, obliged to operate with inaccurate and inadequately annotated texts. Thirdly, without undervaluing the work done by the scholars whom we have named above, it is still true to say that there is still considerable scope for the more detailed study of Ghalib's many associates and of the nature of his relationship with each of them. Only when all these deficiencies are made good will it be possible to produce work of definitive accuracy and to fill some of the gaps that must certainly be present in any work based upon the materials currently available.

Finally, we are well aware that mistakes are inevitable in any work of this length, no matter how much effort one makes to eliminate them. To any reader who will take the trouble to draw our attention to them, or indeed to any passage which arouses his doubts, we shall be duly grateful; for this will help us to improve the quality of our work and so to serve more adequately both Ghalib and the new audience of readers to whom we seek to introduce him.

RALPH RUSSELL
KHURSHIDUL ISLAM

Note on Muslim Names and their Pronunciation and Transliteration

Before we begin to mention names it will be as well to give some approximate indication of how they are to be pronounced—approximate, because the average reader will not be aspiring to complete accuracy and this could in any case not be imparted without lengthy and detailed descriptions which considerations of space do not allow. The main points to note concern the vowel sounds. These are much less numerous than in English, but also do not in most cases correspond completely to English sounds. However, the following are approximate equivalents:

'a' is like the 'a' in 'attire'
'ā' is like the 'a' in 'father'
'i' is like the 'i' in 'him'
'ī' is like the 'ee' in 'keen'
'u' is like the 'u' in 'put'
'ū' is like the 'u' in 'rule'
'e' is like the 'ay' in 'day'
'o' is like the 'o' in 'hole'
'ai' is like the 'a' in 'hat'
'au' is something like 'awe'

For the consonants the reader may use the sounds that the English letters indicate, though there are, in fact, substantial differences between the consonant systems of the two languages.

For the benefit of readers who are acquainted with Urdu or its script we have used accurate transliteration in the bibliography, in the notes and references where appropriate, and in the index.[1] Elsewhere, bearing in mind that all but the expert reader are apt to be intimidated by words dressed in their full panoply of diacriticals, we have confined ourselves to marking such long vowels as seemed necessary—for example, to distinguish Hāmid from Hamīd. Place names fairly widely known in traditional English dress have been

[1] We have followed with very minor modifications the system adopted by Platts in his dictionary (John T. Platts, *Dictionary of Urdu and Classical Hindi*, Oxford University Press, Fifth Impression, 1930) except that we have used the more usual *gh* where he uses *g*.

left in their familiar attire—e.g. Meerut instead of the correct Mīrath and Oudh instead of Avadh.

Hali begins his life of Ghalib with the words: 'Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib, known familiarly as Mirza Nosha, holder of the titles Najm ud Daula, Dabir ul Mulk, Asadullah Khan Bahadur, Nizam Jang, poetically named Ghalib in Persian and Asad in Urdu, was born in Agra on the night of the 8th of Rajab, 1212 AH.' Thus 'Ghalib' is only one element in a whole string of names and titles. In Ghalib's case the string is longer than in most, but the names of most of the men that occur in this book are quite long enough to make most readers feel, as an eminent British historian of India did, that 'the length of these Muhammadan names is terrible'. In this book we have done our best to state the names in a form that the reader will find it possible to cope with, and we shall explain presently how this has been done. But we should first describe the different elements that go to make up a Muslim name, and what these elements signify.

Besides their length, Muslim names have another feature that adds to the reader's difficulty. He is used to names made up of one or more forenames and a surname. But these concepts are unknown in Muslim society (except to those members of it who have had occasion to travel to countries where for official purposes they have been obliged to pick on one of their names and use it as a surname). In some families there is indeed a tradition of conferring upon a son the last element of the father's name; the noble Loharu family, to whom Ghalib was related by marriage, is a case in point. In this family the names end in 'ud Din Ahmad Khan'—Amīn ud Din Ahmad Khan, Ziya ud Din Ahmad Khan, and so on. But this is the exception rather than the rule, and there is often nothing in the names to show that fathers, sons and brothers are related. For example, in the present volume, one of Ghalib's correspondents is named Nabi Bakhsh; his sons' names are Abdul Latif and Nasīr ud Din. Another is named Mir Mahdi; his brother is named Mir Sarfaraz Husain. Incidentally, the same is true of Hindu names. Ghalib's best Hindu friend was named Hargopal; his son's name was Pitambar Singh.

Muslim names may be regarded as composed of three essential elements—prefixed styles of address (similar to our 'Doctor', 'Professor', 'The Reverend' and so on, but much more numerous than these), personal names (quite often consisting of a single word), and suffixed styles indicating ancestry, or local connections, or other things. Some examples of each will be given below. The use of the word 'Sahib' also calls for some comment. It is often said that it corresponds to the English 'Mr'; but the correspondence

is only a partial one, for the use of 'Sahib' suffixed to the name or style of the person addressed or referred to is appropriate not only in relationships of a rather formal kind, but also to familiar and informal relationships. For a lady the word 'Begam' is similarly used, sometimes prefixed, but more often suffixed, to the personal name.

Among the prefixed styles, Mirza (Ghalib's own style), Mir, Sayyid, Hakim, Qazi and Munshi occur commonly in this volume. Mirza is the style appropriate to a man of Mughal (or Turkish) descent. Mir generally implies that the man so addressed is a Sayyid, that is, one who claims direct descent from the Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima; and Sayyid itself is a common prefixed style of address. Hakim means one who is qualified to practise the traditional Greek system of medicine, which was inherited and modified by the Arabs and transmitted by them throughout the Islamic world. Qazi is one who dispenses Muslim law, conducts marriages and so on. Munshi has the root meaning of writer, or secretary, but as a title implies a person of somewhat higher consequence in the old Mughal administration. Maulvi and Maulana also occasionally occur. The first describes a man well-versed in Islamic learning, while the second, which literally means 'our master' has a similar, though perhaps less precise, connotation. Ghalib sometimes humorously confers these and other titles upon his correspondents' children. Any of these styles, with 'Sahib' suffixed, may be commonly used in address or reference without any element of the person's name being attached. Hali in his book nearly always refers to Ghalib simply as 'Mirza'. Where a man is addressed as 'Hakim Sahib', or 'Qazi Sahib' or 'Munshi Sahib', it does not always imply that he himself follows the profession in question; it may merely mean that one or more of his forebears did so. Among titles of men more exalted than these the most common is 'Nawwab', to which the English 'Lord' is an approximate equivalent. Its holder may be nothing more than a big landlord, or he may be the ruler of a vast province, for the root meaning of the title is something like 'one who exercises delegated powers', and an Emperor might entrust a man with powers over either a very small or a very large area.

The prefixed style is followed by the personal name. In Ghalib's case this is Asadullah. Like all Muslim names, this is meaningful. It means 'Lion of God', and was a title of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. Ghalib quite often plays upon the literal meanings of his name and the names of his correspondents in his letters to them.

The personal name is generally followed by one or more suffixed

styles. In Ghalib's case these begin with 'Khan', a style which may indicate one of two things; it shows either that its holder is a man of Afghan or Pathan stock, or else that he (or one of his ancestors) has been granted the title of Khan by some ruling power. 'Khan' is not a very exalted title. 'Khan Bahadur'—a title which Ghalib bore —is a grade above it. Other suffixed styles denote ancestry, either physical or spiritual. Yet others indicate a family connection with some famous place (for if it is not famous a man will not generally advertise his connection with it). One of Ghalib's correspondents is Safir Bilgrami. Safir is the personal name, and 'Bilgrami' means 'of Bilgram', a small township in the neighbourhood of Lucknow famous for its tradition of learning and scholarship. But generally the most significant of these suffixed styles is that of which 'Ghalib' is itself an example. 'Ghalib' is a takhallus—that is, an assumed, single-word name under which a poet writes his poetry. Every poet had to have one, for there are classical forms of Urdu poetry which require that the poet introduce his takhallus into the final couplet. And since in Ghalib's day almost every cultured man in Muslim society was a poet of sorts, there are not many of his friends who do not have a takhallus after their personal names.

Finally, some men have a familiar name by which their friends address them informally. Ghalib's was 'Mirza Nosha', and it was, incidentally, one which he very much disliked. One of his friends, Zulfaqar ud Din Haidar Khan was familiarly known as Husain Mirza.

In this book we have generally used the poetic pen-name alone in referring to Ghalib's many friends and acquaintances. Our first aim in doing so was to lighten the burden upon the reader's memory, for the single name is more easily remembered than a whole string of names, and in a society where poets abounded every man's takhallus was of necessity a reasonably distinctive one. But poets were (and are) in any case quite commonly referred to by their takhallus alone, or by their takhallus prefixed with some polite form of address—e.g. Mirza Ghalib, or Maulana Hali. Where this was not possible we have used the shortest acceptable form—e.g. Husain Mirza instead of Zulfaqar ud Din Haidar Khan.

All the same there are some for whom such conveniently short names are not available, and in such cases there was no alternative to using the longer and more difficult ones. Besides which Ghalib's own practice is sometimes confusing, for he uses more than one style in referring to people—e.g. Husain Ali Khan as well as Husain Ali, and Shihab ud Din Khan as well as Shihab ud Din Ahmad Khan. If in such cases the reader loses his bearings he can turn to the index for help.

Chronology of Ghalib's Life

(*based mainly on Ikram*)

1797	December 27th	Ghalib born in Agra.
1802		Ghalib's father dies. His uncle takes charge of him.
1803		British defeat the Marathas, occupy Delhi and establish virtual control of the Mughal Emperor.
1806		Ghalib's uncle dies. About the same time Ghalib starts writing Urdu verse.
1807-8		He begins writing Persian verse.
1810		Married to Umrao Begam, daughter of Ilahi Bakhsh Maruf. Shortly afterwards he moves to Delhi. Study under Abdus Samad during these years.
before 1822		A love affair.
1821		He compiles his first collection of Urdu verse.
1822		He starts writing almost entirely in Persian, and so continues for about thirty years.
1826		A year of misfortunes. His brother Yusuf goes mad. His father-in-law dies. He is pressed by creditors. Difficulties and disputes arise over his share in the hereditary pension originally granted by the British to his uncle.
1827		He leaves Delhi to go to Calcutta to pursue his pension claim. On the way, he stays for several months in Lucknow.
	June 27th	He leaves Lucknow.
1828	February 20th	He reaches Calcutta. The disputes over Persian usage. He compiles a selection of his Persian and Urdu verse and entitles it *Gul i Rana*.
1829	September	He leaves Calcutta.
	November 29th	He arrives back in Delhi.
		He prepares a revised collection of his Urdu verse.

1831	January 27th	His pension claim is finally rejected, and his share confirmed at Rs. 62 As. 8 a month.
1835	March 22nd	William Fraser, Resident of Delhi, murdered at the instigation of Ghalib's adversary Shams ud Din.
	October 3rd	Shams ud Din publicly hanged.
1837		Bahadur Shah Zafar becomes Emperor. Ghalib completes compilation of his collection of Persian verse.
1841		Police raid Ghalib's house. He is fined Rs. 100 on a gambling charge.
1842		He renounces a chance of employment as a teacher of Persian at Delhi College.
1847		He is imprisoned on a charge of keeping a gaming-house. Of all his friends, only Shefta stands by him.
		On his release he gains access to the Mughal Court.
1850		He is commissioned by Bahadur Shah, on Hakim Ahsanullah Khan's recommendation, to write a history in Persian prose of the Mughal dynasty; he is granted a stipend of Rs. 600 a year. He resumes writing verse in Urdu.
		He takes to Urdu as the usual medium of his letter-writing.
1851	December	Ghalib's prothalamion, Zauq's reply, and Ghalib's apology.
1852		Death of Arif, the nephew of Ghalib's wife. Ghalib adopts Arif's two boys, Bāqir Ali and Husain Ali as his 'grandsons'.
1854		British decisions to curtail Mughal powers still further when the present Emperor dies. Ghalib writes to Queen Victoria asking for a stipend in recognition of his standing as a poet.
		He is made *ustād* of the heir-apparent, at Rs. 400 a year.
		At about the same time he is granted Rs. 500 a year by Vajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh.
	October 16th	Zauq, the Emperor's *ustād*, dies. Ghalib is made *ustād* in his place.
1856		The British annex the state of Oudh.

1857	January	Ghalib receives a reply from London which encourages him to hope.
	February 5th	The ruler of Rampur becomes Ghalib's *shāgird*. Ghalib sends him a copy of his collected Urdu verse.
	May	The 'Mutiny' breaks out. Rebel sepoys occupy Delhi. The Emperor, under pressure, puts himself at their head. Ghalib is 'inwardly estranged, but outwardly friendly.' He begins his Persian diary *Dastambu* in which he recounts his experiences.
	September 14th	British assault on Delhi begins. Ghalib's street protected by Sikh soldiers.
	September 20th	British re-establish full control in Delhi. Mass expulsion of the Indian population.
	September 30th	Ghalib hears of British soldiers breaking into his brother Yusuf's house.
	October 5th	Ghalib questioned by Col. Burn.
	October 19th	Ghalib gets news of his brother Yusuf's death.
1858	January 1st	Hindu inhabitants of Delhi allowed to return to the city.
	March	Ghalib petitions the British for the re-issue of his pension.
	April	He hears that Shefta has been sentenced to seven years imprisonment, and Maikash hanged.
	August 1st	*Dastambu* completed.
	October	*Dastambu* printed, and copies presented to the Queen and the British authorities.
	November 1st	The Queen's proclamation of amnesty; transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown.
1859	early months	Ghalib writes *Qāte i Burhan*, his attack upon Indian lexicographers of Persian.
	January	Shefta is released on appeal. Ghalib travels to Meerut to visit him.
	March	Ghalib paid Rs. 100 grant in aid pending the settlement of his pension claim.
	June	Ghalib under suspicion of complicity in the 1857 revolt because of an inscription he is alleged to have composed for the King's coinage.

	July	The Nawwab of Rampur grants him a stipend of Rs. 100 a month.
	November	Muslims now allowed to re-settle in Delhi.
1860	January	General return of Delhi Muslims' properties.
	January 19th	Ghalib leaves Delhi for Rampur in response to the Nawwab's invitation.
	March 14th	He leaves Rampur for Delhi.
	March 25th	He arrives back in Delhi.
	April	The British authorities order the re-issue of Ghalib's pension.
1862	March	*Qāte i Burhan* published.
late 1862		The beginning of Ghalib's long illness, which continues intermittently for two years.
1863	March	The British restore Ghalib's former court honours.
1865	April	The Nawwab of Rampur, Yusuf Ali Khan, dies, and is succeeded by Kalb i Ali Khan. The new Nawwab continues Ghalib's monthly stipend.
	October	Ghalib visits Rampur for the celebrations of the Nawwab's accession.
1866	January	Mishaps on the return journey from Rampur. He reaches Delhi on January 8th.
	April	He writes of his failing health.
	September	He prepares a selection from his Persian and Urdu verse for the Nawwab of Rampur.
1867-69		Ghalib's requests to Rampur for financial help —for allowances for his 'grandsons', for help towards the expenses of Husain Ali's proposed marriage, and for money to clear off his debts before he dies—meet with little or no response.
1867	December-March 1868	Ghalib takes a critic of *Qāte i Burhan* to court for defamation, but is obliged to settle out of court. Anonymous letters of these months.
1868	October 27th	*Ud i Hindi*, the first published collection of Ghalib's letters, appears.
1869	February 15th	Ghalib dies.
	March 6th	*Urdu i Mualla*, a larger collection of Ghalib's letters, is published.