



## REHATSEK, EDWARD

---

**REHATSEK, EDWARD** (b. Ilok, 3 July 1819; d. Bombay, 11 December 1891), Hungarian-born Orientalist and translator of a number of Persian and Arabic works.

### **i. Life**

Edward Rehatsek, the son of a forest inspector, was born in Ilok (now in Croatia). As a child, he was sent to study Magyar in Pécs (Hungary), where he also studied Slavic and German and privately learned French and design. He eventually attended the university in Budapest (now the Budapest University of Technology), where he trained as an engineer and a surveyor. He was orphaned by the time he graduated and, unable to find work, decided to move to the United States. He spent some months in Paris, then departed from France in March 1843, and finally arrived at New Orleans on May 2. The passenger list of the port indicates that the 23-year-old Rehatsek (then spelled Rehatsck) arrived with only one bag and identified himself as a teacher (National Archives). Little is known about his time in the United States, but fragmentary evidence in newspapers suggests that he lived in or near Cincinnati (“Cincinnati Briefliche”) and a passing reference in a study of Hungarian immigrants suggests that he may have enjoyed a lucrative career as an engineer (Beynon). The 1840s witnessed the development of rail infrastructure in Ohio and other areas of the Midwest. They also witnessed an influx of immigrants from the Austrian Empire, including a large number of Hungarians, and it is likely that Rehatsek found work in railroad development



through social networks. Since there is no indication that he had studied English as a student, it is most likely that he learned it during his time in the United States.

Rehatsek left the United States for India in 1847, arriving in Bombay in December. He is said to have worked for a short time in the Public Works Department before turning to Oriental studies (Arbuthnot, p. 581). He is also said to have spent time traveling with the antiquarian Bhau Daji (1824-74; Goan-born doctor, archaeologist, and Sanskritist). Rehatsek eventually joined the faculty of the Free General Assembly's Institution in Bombay, a missionary school which had been founded as an English school for Indian youths in 1832 by John Wilson (1804-75; Scottish missionary, orientalist, and educator). The school was recognized by the University of Bombay in 1861, which meant that its students were permitted and specifically trained to take the university's examinations. Rehatsek taught mathematics, natural philosophy and physical science, and Latin. By 1865, he had obtained a Master of Civil Engineering degree (likely awarded by the University of Bombay, which offered the degree) and by 1871, he had been made examiner in Arabic and Persian at the University. Wilson had himself been examiner in Persian (as well as a handful of Indian vernacular languages) and had served as the Dean of Arts from 1863 to 1868, and it is likely that he helped to secure Rehatsek's position in the institution. In 1873, Rehatsek was made a member of the University Senate, where he was affiliated with the Faculties of Arts and Engineering (*The Bombay University Calendars*). While teaching at the Free General Assembly's Institute, Rehatsek studied Arabic, Persian, Sabaeen, and, apparently, Hebrew. The exact nature of his studies is unknown, but his publications suggest that he learned by translating orientalist philology and literary and historical texts related to Islam and India.

In 1871, Rehatsek retired from teaching to dedicate the remaining two decades of his life to research and translation. He was extraordinarily productive. He published a large number of book-length translations, mostly from Persian (see bibliography). He also participated in a handful of learned societies and regularly published in the leading orientalist journals and scholarly magazines of his time. From 1872 and until his death in 1891, he published research articles, translations, and book reviews in *Indian Antiquary*. He was made a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay in 1874. He read papers in the society's meetings and published regularly and extensively in the society's journal from 1874 to 1881. In 1877, he became a member of the Deutschen



Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (German Oriental Society). In 1879, he held the Wilson Philological Lectureship at the University of Bombay, in which he lectured on Hebrew and other Semitic Languages (see “Arabic” in the bibliography). From 1879 until his death in 1891, he published articles in the quarterly *Calcutta Review*. In 1886, he was made a Corresponding Member of the Anthropological Society of Bombay and contributed articles to its journal.

Rehatsek was also involved in the publications of the Kama Shastra Society, along with its founders Richard Frances Burton (q.v.; 1821-90; explorer, translator, Orientalist) and Foster Fitzgerald Arbuthnot (1833-1901; Orientalist, translator, publisher, and British-colonial administrator). Burton and Arbuthnot had engaged in conversation about publishing translations of Oriental literature when Burton visited Bombay in February 1876. Arbuthnot was Collector in the city at the time and had previously been Director of Public Instruction in the Madras Civil Service. The extent of Rehatsek’s involvement during the early stages of the project is unclear, but, in time, the group decided to publish unexpurgated translations of erotic literature as a way to revive the Translation Fund of the Royal Asiatic Society, which had been defunct since 1879. In 1883, the Kama Shastra Society published Burton’s now classic translation of the Kama Sutra. Rehatsek did not know Sanskrit, but it has been speculated that he rendered vernacular translations of the Sanskrit into English for Burton to use (Lovell, p. 621).

For the Kama Shastra Society, Rehatsek translated three Persian mirrors for princes (see [ADAB](#); [ANDARZ](#)). His translations of the *Bahārestān* of ‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmi (q.v, 1414-92) and the *Golestān* of Sa’di Shirāzi (ca. 1210-91/2; see [GOLESTĀN-E SA’DI](#)) were published as *The Behāristān (Abode of Spring) by Jāmi* (1887) and *The Gulistan or Rose-Garden of Sa’di* (1888). Both were published anonymously and presumed by some to have been completed by Burton himself, though Arbuthnot later attributed authorship to Rehatsek. In 1888, Rehatsek completed a translation of the *Negārestān* (completed 1334-35; dedicated to the Il-Khanid [q.v.] ruler Abu Sa’id [r. 1316-35]) by Mo’in al-Din Jovayni. The translation was never published. Arbuthnot eventually donated Rehatsek’s manuscript to the Royal Asiatic Society in London, where it is housed as of March 2019.

Rehatsek continued to translate until the end of his life. By January 1891, he had translated the Ebn Hešām recension of the biography of the Prophet Moḥammad by Ebn Esḥāq from Arabic. An abridgement of Rehatsek’s translation was published in 1964 (see bibliography).



When Rehatsek died, he was working on a translation of the universal history *Rawz'at al-ṣafā* by Mirḳ'ānd (1433/34-98; historian patronized by the court of the Timurid ruler Ḥosayn Bāyqarā [q.v.] in Herat). Rehatsek, with the support of Arbuthnot, published the first volume of his translation, which begins with creation and Adam and concludes with the death of Hārūn (Aaron), shortly before his death. Arbuthnot later edited and published the remainder of the translation, which comprises the first two books of Mirḳ'ānd's work (from creation through the four Sunni caliphs).

Rehatsek is said to have become interested in Theosophy in the final years of his life and to have corresponded with Theosophists in Europe (Editor, "Mr. Rehatsek," 159). Helena Blavatsky (1831-91) and Henry Steel Olcott (1832-1907), who had founded the Theosophy Society in 1875, came to Bombay in 1879 to lecture and promote their ideas. Bombay soon became a center of the movement, and it is likely that Rehatsek came into contact with the group then. The Theosophists drew inspiration from Hindu traditions and initially aligned themselves with the Hindu-revivalist and proselytizing Āryā Samāḥ, a Hindu reform movement, which had been established in Bombay since 1875. The groups eventually split, but the Theosophists continued to draw inspiration from Hindu concepts, symbols, and terminology. They attracted a large number of Europeans and Indians to the movement, encouraged the study of comparative (especially ancient) religion, and promoted research into the occult sciences. Rehatsek's interest in mysticism and the occult predate the emergence of Theosophy, and it is difficult to say what effect his reported interest in the group may have had on his work or his decision to be cremated at the end of his life.

By all accounts, Rehatsek spent the last years of his life living austere and in near seclusion. He never returned to Europe, having already determined by 1879 to spend the rest of his life in Bombay. Obituaries record that he lived in a small home, refused to keep servants, shopped for his own food in the market (which he visited on a tricycle), kept a bench for a bed and a bundle of dirty rags for a pillow, and subsisted on a (mostly) vegetarian diet comprising mainly bananas, yogurt, and bread (Arbuthnot, "Life and Labours of Mr. Edward Rehatsek;" Editor, "Mr. Rehatsek"). He never married, had no children, and apparently refused, at least in the last years of his life, to associate with Europeans. His closest social relationships seemed to be with his colleagues in the learned societies to which he belonged. He died on 11 December 1891 and was cremated in accordance with his instructions. He is



said to have been the first European to have been cremated in Bombay.

Rehatsek left behind some savings, which were reportedly bequeathed for scholarships for Indian students, and his sizable collection of books was reportedly donated to a public library in Bombay (Arbuthnot, p. 584). He also left behind a number of unpublished translations in manuscript. Some were published posthumously (see bibliography). Arbuthnot eventually donated the entire collection of his manuscripts to the Royal Asiatic Society in London (see annotated bibliography), where they remained uncatalogued until November 2018. Aside from his unpublished translations, no attempt has been made to collect his letters, though he is known to have corresponded with Arbuthnot (Wright, II, p. 283) and letters by him to leading scholars of his day are listed in archival catalogues at Yale and the University of Indiana. Arbuthnot tells us that Rehatsek corresponded with Theosophists, but no letters appear to have been published and he does not appear to have contributed to *The Theosophist* (the leading Theosophy journal of the day).

## **ii. Works. An annotated bibliography**

Rehatsek's output was extraordinarily large in size and broad in scope. A complete study of Rehatsek's career as a writer is yet to be undertaken, but a few observations may be made here, specifically with reference to his work as a translator, since it is in this capacity that he is chiefly remembered. Rehatsek's translations are characterized by a tendency toward literalism. At his best, Rehatsek renders the meaning and form of texts with a degree of fidelity, completeness, and readability that very few translators of his day managed to achieve. But his translations also suffer from idiosyncratic transliterations and mistakes apparently resulting from an ignorance of Persian meter. Heinrich Blochmann (q.v., 1838-78) accused him in print of failing to take meter into account when translating (p. 565), and it seems likely that Rehatsek did not know how to scan Persian verse (see bibliography). Other mistranslations suggest an uneven command of classical Persian conventions and insufficient knowledge of Islamic history.

Despite these shortcomings, Rehatsek's translations are outstanding for their commitment to accuracy and completeness at a time when translations of Persian into rhymed verse or archaic English were still favored by general readers and scholars alike, and when many translations of obscene material were either expurgated, censored, or rendered into Latin. Rehatsek himself



wrote in the prefaces to his translations that he strove for faithfulness and fullness, to translate into “as literal English as the language admits of without trenching too closely on the absurd” (*Amusing Stories* iii). His introductions to his translations also offer microcosmic glimpses of widespread attitudes among Orientalists about the role of translation in shaping cultural attitudes and the importance of access to primary sources. In the case of his last major undertaking, the *Rawzat al-ṣafā*, Rehatsek saw his translation as a means to overcome cultural bias, encourage acquaintance, and offer Christian and European readers an opportunity to “see with Moslem eyes.” Such reflections on method, while not unheard of, are not universal among translators of the day. Further, one might contrast Rehatsek’s aims to increase understanding through translations of history, in particular, with those of translators like Henry Miers Elliot (1808-53; historian and British administrator), who, in his multi-volume, posthumously-published *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* (1866-1877), viewed translation as a means to call attention to “defects in the national character [of Indians],” to denigrate the Mughals, and, thus, to legitimize British rule (I, p. xvii).

The sections that follow comprise a complete list of Rehatsek’s known published works. The annotations in parentheses contain further information about the scope, content, and context of some works. Articles attributed to Rehatsek by Arbuthnot that are not found in journals or journal catalogues have been omitted here.

#### 1. Monographs, book-length translations, and coauthored volumes:

*Epitome of Zend Grammar*, Bombay, 1862, is a translation from the French *Abregé de la Grammaire Zend* by Ignacy Pietrazewski (1796-1869; Polish scholar of the Avesta).

*The Emperor Akbar’s Repudiation of Esllám and Profession of his Own Religion, Called the “Tovohhyd Elahy Akbar Shahy” or “Akbar Shah’s Divine Monotheism,”* Bombay, 1866. The book is a translation of selections from *Montakab al-tawāriḳ* by ‘Abd-al-Qāder Bada’uni (q.v., 1540-ca.1615; man of letters at the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar). Rehatsek based his translation on the edition of Aḥmad ‘Ali (Calcutta, 1864). The translation is incomplete, but adheres more closely to the style, tone, and structure of Bada’uni’s prose than does the complete and widely-cited translation by William Henry Lowe (1884). Lowe’s translation suffers from inaccuracy, omissions and occasional interpolations in the form of interlinear glosses and



explanations.

*Fortune and Misfortune*, Bombay, 1870, and *Amusing Stories Translated from the Persian*, Bombay, 1871, are translated from the *Maḥbub al-qolub* (also called the *Sāmsa o qahqaha*) by Mirzā Bark<sup>v</sup>ardār Torkmān (q.v.; fl. 16th century). Some of Rehatsek's translations were later revised and republished by the folklorist William Alexander Clouston (1843-96) in *A Group of Eastern Romances and Stories from the Persian, Tamil, and Urdu*, Glasgow, 1889.

*Catalogue Raisonné of the Arabic, Hindostani, Persian, and Turkish Mss. in the Mulla Firuz Library*, Bombay, 1873, a detailed catalogue of the library of Mulla Firuz (also Firoz) (d. 1830; Zoroastrian scholar educated in Iran who later emigrated to Bombay). Mulla Firuz amassed a considerable collection of manuscripts, mostly of Persian works, and Rehatsek's catalogue remains an important record, though by 1901 errors and shortcomings in it had been noted (Beveridge, pp. 69-85).

*Prize Essay on the Reciprocal Influence of European and Muhammadan Civilization: During the Period of the Khalifs and at the Present Time*, Bombay, 1877, is a revision of a Persian-language essay which Rehatsek submitted in response to a call for Hindustani or Urdu essays on the influence of "Greek learning on the Arabs." Rehatsek submitted a Persian translation of his English to the committee, which should have disqualified him, but he was given half the award because only two pieces were submitted and his work, though parts of which were deemed "contrary to the tenets of Islam, ...irrelevant to the question, and... not true" (i-iii) by one reviewer, was still considered the superior submission.

*Târikh-i-Sorāth: A History of the Provinces of Sorāth and Hālār in Kāṭhiāwāḍ*, Bombay, 1882, is a translation of an account of conflicts in Kathiawar compiled by the divān (q.v.; minister) of Junagadh, Ranchodji Amarji, around 1825. Rehatsek based his translation on two Persian manuscripts, a Gujarati translation, and an English translation from the Gujarati. The published translation includes revisions by the editor.

*Persian Portraits: A Sketch of Persian History, Literature and Politics*, London, 1887. The book is an anthology of Persian literature compiled by Foster Fitzgerald Arbuthnot. It includes an abridgement of Rehatsek's translation of an essay on hospitality (see note on Rehatsek's unpublished manuscripts, pp. 144-47). Comments by Arbuthnot suggest that the book was published



before Rehatsek's translation of the *Behâristâh*.

*The Behâristâh (Abode of Spring) by Jâmî: A Literal Translation from the Persian*, Benares, 1887. Though published anonymously, it is the first work which Rehatsek produced for the Kama Shastra Society. The translation is unexpurgated, readable, and includes copious annotations, though it suffers from Rehatsek's irregular and occasional erroneous transliterations of names. The Persian text of the *Bahârestâh* had been published in two separate editions by 1887 (Vienna and India). Rehatsek appears to have based his translation chiefly on the Indian edition published by Nawal Kishore Press.

*The Gulistan or Rose-Garden of Sa'di*, Benares, 1888, is Rehatsek's second translation for the Kama Shastra Society. It, too, was published anonymously, and it was once believed that Richard Burton had been the translator (Yohannan, p. 185). The reception of this piece has been mixed. One critic describes it as "wooden" (Rice, p. 445); another, writing in the middle of the 20th century, as "dead, dead as Queen Anne, though accurate enough for the student" (Avery, p. 132). Others, however, praise it as "arguably the best nineteenth-century translation of a Persian work into English" for its "accuracy, fidelity to nuance, and shifts in authorial tone" (France and Haynes, p. 333).

*Notes on the Buildings and Other Antiquarian Remains at Bijapur*, Bombay, 1890. This volume, edited by Henry Cousens, includes a number of Rehatsek's translations of inscriptions.

*The Rawzat-us-Safa or Garden of Purity*, 2 vols., London, 1891-94, is a nearly-complete translation of the first part of the universal history by Mirḳvānd (1433-98). Rehatsek based his translation on the edition published from Bombay in 1854. Rehatsek was alive to see the publication of the first part of the translation in 1891. In his introduction, he writes that he undertook the translation in order to provide readers with a means to see "with Moslem eyes" and "a far superior and more accurate knowledge of what Muslims believe to be true than any book of European origin" (p. 2). A. J. Arberry (q.v.; 1905-69) was highly critical of the translation, calling it a "heroic but misguided enterprise" (p. 391). He followed the opinion of E. G. Browne (q.v.; 1862-1926), who called Rehatsek's translation "inaccurate and singularly uncouth," "needlessly grotesque," and "of no great value" owing to the lateness of Mirḳvānd's work. Browne recommended that students wishing to acquaint themselves with "the ideas of Muslims" should consult "earlier and more



trustworthy sources” (pp. 431-32). While it is difficult to agree with Arberry and Browne’s assessments, their disapproval may be due in part to portions of the translation in which Rehatsek strays considerably from the literal meaning of the Persian. An example chosen at random is that he translates the heading *dekr-e šarāyeti keh dar tadwin-e tāriḡ az ānhā čāra nist* (lit., mention of the conditions that are indispensable in the compilation of history) as “Qualities Necessary to an Historiographer” (p. 29).

*The Life of Muhammad, Apostle of Allah*, London, 1964, compiled by Michael Edwardes, is an abridged edition (just 177 pages) of Rehatsek’s 1,000-page translation of the biography of the Prophet Moḡammad by Ebn Hešām (see notes on the unpublished manuscript below). Edwardes judged Rehatsek’s translation to be “almost literal” and “suffer[ing] from somewhat scholarly pedanticism” heavily redacted it. Rehatsek’s translation seems to reflect the same sensibilities that he brought to his other works. It is literal and accurate, though Rehatsek tends not to be as literal as the later translation by Guillaume (Oxford 1955). In contrast to Guillaume, Rehatsek also uses archaisms and some of his choices are clearly reflections of his time. To take a random yet illustrative example, Rehatsek translates *ennake qad ḡamalte be-sayyede hādehe l-ommate* (Ebn Hešām, p. 180) as “Thou art pregnant with the prince of this nation” (*The Life of Muhammad*, p. 14) compared with Guillaume’s “You are pregnant with the lord of this people” (*The Life of Muhammad*, p. 69). Rehatsek’s gloss of *sayyed* as “prince” is misleading at best and no longer favored, but was regularly used by Richard Francis Burton and other nineteenth-century Orientalists. A detailed assessment of the full unpublished manuscript of Rehatsek’s translation, which should include an analysis of its sources and comparisons with the earlier German translation by Gustav Weil (which Rehatsek is likely to have used) and Guillaume’s sources and methods, is yet to be written.

## 2. Unpublished manuscripts:

Rehatsek left behind a considerable number of unpublished projects, a few of which were complete. In the years immediately following his death, the remaining volumes of his translation of *Rawziat al šafā* were edited and published by Arbuthnot in support of the Oriental Translation Fund series. Through Arbuthnot, Rehatsek had also sent his translation of the letters of Pietro Della Valle (q.v.; 1586-1652) to the Hakluyt Society in 1888 for publication. (The letters include descriptions of the Italian traveler’s



experiences in India.) The manuscript was initially rejected, then given in 1890 to Edward Grey for revision, but was ultimately never published because, as Grey wrote, the translation “would require too much revision and correction.” After being given to Grey, the manuscript of Rehatsek’s translation seems to have been lost (Shapland).

Arbuthnot reported soon after Rehatsek’s death that his manuscripts, along with his library, had been donated to the Native Free Library in Bombay. However, in September 1895, Arbuthnot bequeathed Rehatsek’s manuscripts to the Royal Asiatic Society in London, where they have been housed ever since. They were catalogued in November 2018 during (and in consequence of) the compilation of this entry for *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Here follows a summary of the manuscripts, which are yet to be studied in detail.

“A Translation of the Nigaristan by Muin Uddin Juwaini,” 1888. Rehatsek apparently translated the *Negārestān* (1334-35) for the Kama Shastra Society. The work had been noted by William Jones, and literary historians consider the *Negārestān* to be the second of three major works of moral advice literature in Persian, the first being the *Golestān* of Sa’di and the third the *Bahārestān* of Jāmi.

“Life of Muhammad by Ibn Hisham” is Rehatsek’s translation of the earliest biography of the Prophet Moḥammad written by Ebn Eshāq (d. ca. 760) and compiled by Ebn Hešām (d. 833). Rehatsek shipped the manuscript from Bombay on 16 January 1891, according to archival records, making his the first complete translation of the text into English. The manuscript of Rehatsek’s translation is over 1,000 pages long in his small handwriting. An abridgment of the translation was published in 1964 (see above).

Rehatsek also translated selections from Arabic and Persian advice literature: selections from *Al-Moṣṭatraḥ* (an Arabic encyclopedia of proverbs and didactic anecdotes, inter alia) by al-Ibšīḥi (1388-d. after 1446); *Serāj al-Moluk* (completed around 1121-25) by al-Ṭorṭoši (ca. 1059-1126; Andalusian traveler and scholar); *Nafḥat al-Yaman* (a compendium of Arabic literature and a textbook used for university examinations in Arabic in colonial India) by al-Šerwāni (fl. 19th century); and the *Marzbān-Nāma* (q.v., 1210-25; a collection of moral stories and fables) by Varāvini (a translator with ties to the Saljuq sultans of Iraq).

“Discussion between Man and Animals before the King of the Jinns,” is a



translation of a portion of the *Rasāʿel* by the Ekwān al-Şafaʿ (q.v., an anonymous body of rationalist philosophers writing in the 8th century). This section of the articles had been translated into Urdu under the title *Toḥfat-e Ekwān al-Şafaʿ* early in the 19th century; the manuscript labels the translation as being from the Arabic *Toḥfat...*, and it is unclear if Rehatsek translated from the Arabic or from the Urdu. A number of Orientalists, including the French Orientalist Garcin de Tassy (1794-1878), whose work Rehatsek admired, had translated the same passage before him.

Other translations from Persian include “A Persian Tract on the Mediterranean of the Zenanah” (written in or after 1878); “A Short Persian Manuscript on Physiognomies;” and “A Persian Essay on Hospitality and Etiquette of Eating and Drinking” (postmarked from Bombay 8 August 1881). Selections from the last-mentioned were published without attribution (but probably in collaboration with Rehatsek) by Arbuthnot in *Persian Portraits* (1887).

### 3. Journal Articles:

Rehatsek was a prolific scholar and translator, and the range of his work makes it difficult to categorize him. He worked with a large number of linguistic and literary traditions, including Arabic, Dari, English, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Persian, Sabaeen, and Zend (Avestan). His philological articles, mainly published in *Indian Antiquary* and the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, include grammars of Sabaeen and Dari, translations of Arabic, Sabaeen, and Persian inscriptions, and translations of European philology and Orientalism into English. Among his translations from Arabic and Persian literature, some of the most remarkable are excerpts from the *Ḥamaşa* by Abu Tammām, the *Matnawi* of Jalāl al-Din Rumi, a letter from the Mughal Emperor Akbar to the Jesuits requesting translations of Christian scripture, and a large number of translations of inscriptions and engravings. In addition to translations, he also published research articles on Islamic history and wrote a number of book reviews. Among the latter is a brief critical exchange with Blochmann, who had accused Rehatsek of neglecting Persian meter in his translations (see “Review” and “Correspondence”). Rehatsek’s historical research evinces an interest in the histories of Islam and Christianity; philology, travel; and, especially toward the end of his life, a preoccupation with the occult sciences in Islam. An article on the last subject, “On a Descriptive Alphabetical List of Twenty Occult Sciences of the Muslims” (25 July 1888) received popular attention in a number



of British and American newspapers from 1889-90.

Rehatsek's articles in the *Calcutta Review*, which ran from 1879 until his death, focus on the comparative study of civilizations, history, literature, and religions. Persistent subjects are the histories of Catholicism, the Jesuits, the Portuguese, and the Dutch in India, as well as travel and exploration, about which he published a series of articles starting in 1881. His articles in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, published from 1886, similarly evince a wide range of interests, from necrology in China to statistical analyses of suicide rates in Bombay.

Rehatsek also published occasionally in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (the leading German-language Orientalist journal of its day), and the *Journal of the National Indian Association*.

Here follows a detailed and complete list of Rehatsek's articles. Annotations are given in brackets.

1. In *Indian Antiquary*:

"A Persian Map of the World with an English Translation," *Indian Antiquary* 1, December 1872, pp. 369-70.

"An Embassy to Khatá or China A.D. 1419," *Indian Antiquary* 2, March 1873, pp. 75-83 (translation from the Persian from the Appendix to *Rawzát al-ṣafá* by Mirḳ<sup>v</sup>ānd).

"Review: *The Prosody of the Persians according to Saifi, Jámi, and other Writers* by H. Blochmann, M.A.—Calcutta, 1872," *Indian Antiquary* 2, April 1873, p. 119.

"Hindu Pronunciation of Greek, and Greek Pronunciation of Hindu Words," *Indian Antiquary* 2, May 1873, pp. 143-50 (translated from the German essay by A. Weber, "*Monatsbericht der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*," December 1871, pp. 613-32).

"On Attraction and Repulsion: From the Methnawy of Jellâl-al-dyn Rûmy, I-VI" *Indian Antiquary* 2, May-August, October-November, 1873, pp. 151, 182, 214, 241, 305-6, 337-38.



“Papers on Satrunjaya and the Jains III.—Translation from Lassen’s *Alterhumskunde*, IV. 755 seqq... and 771 seqq,” *Indian Antiquary* 2, July-September 1873, pp. 193-200, 258-65.

“Note,” *Indian Antiquary* 2, 1873, pp. 282-83 (translation of a Persian document appended to an article on the port town of Dabhol in India).

“Deri Phrases and Dialogues,” *Indian Antiquary* 2, November 1873, pp. 331-35 (according to Rehatsek, a survey of Dari spoken by the Zoroastrian immigrants from Yazd and “some other districts of Persia” living in Bombay; for unspecified reasons, the Orientalist Wladimir Ivanow later described the article as a “worthless note” [Wladimir Ivanow, “The Gabri Dialect Spoken by the Zoroastrians of Persia,” *Rivista degli studi orientali* 16/1, September 1935, p. 32]).

“Facsimile of the Inside of an Arabic Talismanic Cup,” *Indian Antiquary* 3, January 1874, pp.12-14.

“An Arabic Talismanic Cup, Used Chiefly in Cases of Parturition,” *Indian Antiquary* 3, February 1874, pp. 36-40.

“The Divine and Physical Light: From the Mesnavi of Jellal-aldyn Rûmi—2nd Duftur,” *Indian Antiquary* 3, February 1874, pp. 63-64.

“Moses and the Herdsman: Mesnavi of Jellâl-aldyn-Rûmi, 2nd Duftur,” *Indian Antiquary* 3, March 1874, pp. 90-92.

“The Establishment of the Royal City of Herât and its Dependencies: Translated from the Appendix to the *Rouzat-al-ssafa*,” *Indian Antiquary* 3, April 1874, pp. 117-22.

“Review: *La Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanies en 1873: Revue annuelle*. M. Garcin de Tassy,” *Indian Antiquary* 3, July 1874, pp. 203-5.

“Rock Inscription below Nicholson’s Monument in Mârgalâ Pass, Râwalpindi Zillâ, Panjâb,” *Indian Antiquary* 3, July 1874, p. 205.

“The Arab and His Two Bags: Translated from the Mesnavi of Jellâl-aldyn Rûmi,” *Indian Antiquary* 3, July 1874, pp. 207-8.

“A Sabaean Inscription,” *Indian Antiquary* 3, September 1874, p. 259.



“Correspondence,” *Indian Antiquary* 3, September 1874, pp. 265-66 (Rehatsek responds to a critical note by Heinrich Blochmann on Rehatsek’s “Rock Inscription” [July 1874; see above]; Blochmann accuses Rehatsek of “overlooking the meter” of the text).

“Some Persian Words in Arabic Disguise,” *Indian Antiquary* 3, October 1874, pp. 290-92.

“Silver Inkstand with Arabic Inscription,” *Indian Antiquary* 3, November 1874, pp. 323-24.

“Sketch of Sabaean Grammar,” *Indian Antiquary* 4, January-February 1875, pp. 23-45.

“Book Notice: *La Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanies en 1874: Revue annuelle*. M. Garcin de Tassy,” *Indian Antiquary* 4, April 1875, p. 120.

“The Lunar Mansions of the Muhammadans,” *Indian Antiquary* 4, May 1875, pp. 150-52. [A list of 28 Arabic names for stars and constellations.]

“Need or Purpose: From the Mesnavi of Jellâl-al dyn Rumi,” *Indian Antiquary* 4, June 1875, pp. 184-85.

“Lust of Dominion: Translated from the Mesnavi of Jellâl-aldyn-Rûmi,” *Indian Antiquary* 4, June 1875, pp. 185-86.

“Embryonic, Mundane, and Supramundane Life: From the Mensavi of Jellâl-aldyn-Rûmi, 3rd Duftur,” *Indian Antiquary* 4, July 1875, pp. 218-19.

“Biography of Jellâl-al-din Rûmi,” *Indian Antiquary* 4, October 1875, pp. 293-98.

“Sangamner Inscriptions,” *Indian Antiquary* 4, November 1875, pp. 349-50 (translations of three Persian inscriptions; two from the shrine of Moḥammad Şādeq, a Naqshbandi Şufi [the date in one of the inscriptions is mistranslated]; and one from a congregational mosque in the Sangamner [Maharasthra]).

“Book Notice: *La Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanies en 1875: Revue annuelle*. M. Garcin de Tassy,” *Indian Antiquary* 5, March 1876, pp. 83-85.

“The Twelve Emams,” *Indian Antiquary* 5, August 1876, pp. 225-29.

“Book Notice: *Allégories, Récits, Poétiques, et Chants populaires*: Traduits de



l'Arabe, du Persan, de l'Hindoustani et du Turc, by M. Garcin de Tassy, Membre de l'Institut &c. Paris, 1876," *Indian Antiquary* 5, November 1876, p. 327.

"Book Notice: *La Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanies en 1876: Revue annuelle*. M. Garcin de Tassy," *Indian Antiquary* 6, June 1877, pp. 160-61.

"On the Kṛishṇajanamâshṭamī, or Kṛishṇa's Birth-Festival by Prof. A. Weber, Berlin," *Indian Antiquary* 6, June 1877, pp. 161-80 (translated from a German speech read by Albrecht Friedrich Weber [1825-1901; Indologist] given at the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin on 17 June 1867).

"Book Notice : *La Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanies en 1877: Revue annuelle*. M. Garcin de Tassy," *Indian Antiquary* 7, August 1878, pp. 207-8.

"Necrology." *Indian Antiquary* 7, November 1878, p. 292 (obituary for Garcin de Tassy).

"Three Inscriptions from Raichor," *Indian Antiquary* 11, May 1882, pp. 129-31 (two translations from Arabic and one from Persian, 16th and 17th centuries).

"Aden Epitaph," *Indian Antiquary* 12, July 1883, p. 206 (translation from an Arabic epitaph dated 1168; a note on the discovery of the epitaph had been published in the March issue of *Indian Antiquary* [p. 88]).

"Did the Arabs Really Burn the Alexandrian Library?," *Indian Antiquary* 13, July 1884, pp. 208-12.

"Sabaean Inscription on an Incense-Burner," *Indian Antiquary* 14, April 1885, p. 97 ("Dug up" in Ma'reb; Rehatsek interprets the inscription as listing four substances used as perfumes).

"Russian Icons," *Indian Antiquary* 14, September 1885, pp. 236-38 (six Christian icons with Cyrillic writing).

"The Last Years of Shah Shuja'a, with an Appendix on the Affairs of Hirat: Translated from the *Târîkh Sulṭânî of Sulṭân Muḥammad Khân Bârukzâi*," *Indian Antiquary* 15, June, September-October 1886, pp. 162-70, 261-67, 289-99.

"The 'Iyar-i-Danish," *Indian Antiquary* 15, October 1886, p. 319 (a brief note to the editor calling attention to the availability of the text in print, which was



written by Abu al-Fazl 'Allāmi [q.v.; 1551-1602; secretary of the Mughal emperor Akbar]).

“A Letter of the Emperor Akbar Asking for the Christian Scriptures,” *Indian Antiquary* 16, April 1887, pp. 135-39 (translated from a Persian letter by Abu al-Fazl [his letters were published from Kanpur in 1849-50]).

“The Reign of Ahmad Shah Durrani: Translated from the *Tārīkh Sulṭānī of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khañ Bârukhzai*,” *Indian Antiquary* 16, September-October 1887, pp. 263-74, 298-303.

“A Notice of the Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh of Kanhayya Lal,” *Indian Antiquary* 16, October-November 1887, pp. 303-32, 334-40 (Rehatsek summarizes the work, which details the career of the Sikh ruler).

“A Notice of the Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh of Kanhayya Lal,” *Indian Antiquary* 17, January-April 1888, pp. 18-23, 54-60, 81-88, 98-100.

“A Notice of the Gulabnama,” *Indian Antiquary* 19, October 1890, pp. 289-303 (a detailed review of a Persian biography of Golab Singh [r. 1846-1857]).

“A Notice of the Gulabnama,” *Indian Antiquary* 20, February, June 1891, pp. 71-78, 212-21.

“A Notice of the ‘Umadatu’t-Tawarikh,” *Indian Antiquary* 23, March 1894, pp. 57-72 (a detailed summary of the Persian, which recounts the events of the reign of Ranjit Singh[r. 1801-1829; Sikh leader] by a member of his court).

2. In *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society [JBBRAS]*:

“Twelve Sabaean Inscriptions,” *JBBRAS* 10, 1871-1874, pp. 139-49 (paper read 21 March 1874).

“Explanations and Facsimiles of Eight Arabic Talismanic Medicine-Cups,” *JBBRAS* 10, 1871-1874, pp. 150-62 (paper read 21 March 1874).

“Facsimiles of Muhammadan Coins,” *JBBRAS* 10, 1871-1874, pp. 163-66 (paper read 21 March 1874).

“The Evil Eye, Amulets, Recipes, Exorcisation, &c.,” *JBBRAS* 10, 1871-1874, pp. 299-315 (paper read 8 August 1874).



“The Subjugation of Persia by the Moslems, and the Extinction of the Sásánian Dynasty,” *JBBRAS* 11, 1875, pp. 147-218 (paper read 9 January 1875; the essay is based at least in part on Hermann Zotenberg’s translation of Ṭabari, Mirḳānd’s *Rawzāt al ṣafa*, and Caussin de Perceval’s “Essai sur l’histoire des Arabes”).

“The Labours of the Arab Astronomers, and their Instruments, with the Description of an Astrolabe in the Mulla Firuz Library,” *JBBRAS* 11, 1875, pp. 311-30 (paper read 13 September 1875).

“Some Beliefs and Usages among the Pre-Islamic Arabs with Notes on Their Polytheism, Judaism, Christianity, and the Mythic Period of Their History,” *JBBRAS* 12, 1876, pp. 163-212.

“Contact of the Jews with the Assyrian, Babylonians, and Persians, from the Division of the Hebrew Monarchy into Two Kingdoms (B.C. 975) till the Entrance of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem (B.C. 333) and a View of Jewish Civilization,” *JBBRAS* 12, 1876, pp. 219-99.

“The Báw and Gáobárah Sephabuds along the Southern Caspian Shores,” *JBBRAS* 12, 1876, pp. 410-45.

“Christianity in the Persian Dominions from its Beginning till the Fall of the Sasanian Dynasty,” *JBBRAS* 13, 1877, pp. 18-108.

“Christianity among the Mongols till Their Expulsion from China in 1368: Comprising the Eastern Grand Khans or Emperors with the Western or Persian Khans,” *JBBRAS* 13, 1877, pp. 152-302.

“A Brief Notice of Two Arabic Manuscripts on the History of Yemen with Notes from Portuguese Sources by Dr. Gerson Da Cunha,” *JBBRAS* 13, 1877, pp. 317-24.

“A Punja of Yellow Brass in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,” *JBBRAS* 14, 1878-80, pp. 1-4.

“Early Moslem Accounts of the Hindu Religion,” *JBBRAS* 14, 1878-80, pp. 29-70. [Paper read 6 April 1876.].

“A Few Analogies in the ‘Thousand and One Nights’ and in Latin Authors,” *JBBRAS* 14, 1878-80, pp. 74-85.



“Some Parallel Proverbs in English, Arabic, and Persian,” *JBBRAS* 14, 1878-80, pp. 86-116. [Paper read 7 September 1878.]

“Wine among the Ancient Arabs,” *JBBRAS* 14, 1878-80, pp. 164-72.

“On the Arabic Alphabet and Early Writings,” *JBBRAS* 14, 1878-80, pp. 173-98.

“Magic,” *JBBRAS* 14, 1878-80, pp. 199-218.

“Notes on Some Old Arms and Instruments of War, Chiefly among the Arabs, with Drawings,” *JBBRAS* 14, 1878-80, pp. 219-63.

“The History of the Wahhabys in Arabia and in India,” *JBBRAS* 14, 1878-80, pp. 274-401 (a long essay ending in a survey of what Rehatsek considers “Wahhábý” viewpoints in sectarian literatures in Urdu [pp. 379-401]).

“The Doctrines of Metempsychosis and Incarnation among Nine Heretic Mohammedan Sects,” *JBBRAS* 14, 1878-80, pp. 418-38.

“Picture and Description of Borák,” *JBBRAS* 15, 1881-82, pp. 25-36 (paper read 19 July 1880).

“The Alexander Myth of the Persians,” *JBBRAS* 15, 1881-82, pp. 37-64 (a lengthy survey of various representations of Alexander in Persian literature, primarily with reference to Mirk<sup>v</sup>ānd, Nezāmi Ganjavi, and Ferdowsi).

“Specimens of Pre-Islamic Arabic Poetry: Selected and Translated from the Hamasah,” *JBBRAS* 15, 1881-82, pp. 65-108 (paper read March 17, 1881).

“Emporia: Chiefly Ports of Arab and Indian International Commerce before the Christian Era,” *JBBRAS* 15, 1881-82, pp. 109-49 (paper read 26 May 1881).

### 3. In *Calcutta Review*:

“Oriental Humour Illustrated by Anecdotes,” *Calcutta Review* 68/136, 1879, pp. 251-66 (translations from *Laṭāʿef al- ž arāʿef*; Rehatsek appears to have translated the text from a manuscript in the Mulla Firuz Library; he dates the text to 1532-33 and attributes it to Kamāl-al-Din Waʿež Kašefi [q.v.; ca.1436/37-1504/5]; the text may have been written by his son).

“Arabic,” *Calcutta Review* 69/138, 1879, pp. 294-331 (a portion of the Wilson Philological Lectures of the University of Bombay given by Rehatsek in



January and February, 1879).

“Gastronomical Anecdotes of the Earlier Khalifs,” *Calcutta Review* 70/139, 1880, pp. 499-516.

“Oriental Folklore,” *Calcutta Review* 70/140, 71/141, 71/142, 72/143, 1880-81, pp. 745-61, 76-105, 285-300, 76-89.

“Holy Inquisition at Goa,” *Calcutta Review* 72/144, 1881, pp. 311-53.

“Life of Jesus according to the Muhammadans,” *Calcutta Review* 73/145, 1881, pp. 16-34.

“Historical Sketch of Portuguese India,” *Calcutta Review* 73/146, 1881, pp. 321-62.

“How the Portuguese Obtained a Footing in the Island of Diu,” *Calcutta Review* 74/147, 1882, pp. 71-113.

“Mandelslo and Thevenot: Their Travels in India,” *Calcutta Review* 75/149, 1882, pp. 67-105.

“Monastic and Secular Clergy of Portuguese India,” *Calcutta Review* 75/150, 1882, pp. 317-43.

“Carvalho, Count of Oyeiras Better Known as Marquis of Pombal,” *Calcutta Review* 76/151, 1883, pp. 35-79.

“Adamoli’s Notes on a Journey from Perm to Tashkend,” *Calcutta Review* 76/152, 77/ 153, 1883, pp. 300-23, 129-44.

“Cabello and Ivens: Their Explorations in Africa – 1877-1880,” *Calcutta Review* 77/154, 1883, pp. 209-35.

“Vicissitudes of the City of Baghdad from its Foundation till Our Times,” *Calcutta Review* 78/155, 1884, pp. 74-122.

“ ‘La Nuova Italia Ed I Vecchi Zelanti’ of the Ex-Jesuit Curci,” *Calcutta Review* 78/156, 1884, pp. 234-69.

“Pre-historic Man of Caves and Lake-Dwellings,” *Calcutta Review* 81/161, 1885, pp. 1-18.



“Missionaries at the Mughal Court in Southern and in Portuguese India during the Reign of Akbar and after It,” *Calcutta Review* 82/163, 1886, pp. 1-26.

“Relations of Islam to Christianity, and of Christianity to Civilization,” *Calcutta Review* 85/169, 1887, pp. 1-36.

“Military Career of the Prophet Muhammad, which Began A.H. II, and Ended with his Death A.H. XI,” *Calcutta Review* 87/173, 1888, pp. 89-118.

“The Beginnings of Dutch Commerce in India,” *Calcutta Review* 91/181, 92/183, 1890, 1891, pp. 81-106, 84-114 (based chiefly on Constantin de Renneville, *Recueil des voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, formée dans les Provinces-Unies des Païs-Bas* [Chez P. Caillous, 1725]).

“Journey of Padre Mannel Godinho, S.F., from India to Portugal in the Year 1663 by Way of Mesopotamia,” *Calcutta Review* 93/185, 1891, pp. 63-97.

4. In *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* [JASB]:

“Religious Injunctions and Personal Vows with Respect to Sexual Abstinence,” *JASB* 1, 1886-89, pp. 199-202 (presented 23 March 1887).

“Veneration of the Dead in China,” *JASB* 1, 1888, pp. 304-28 (presented July 1887).

“Statistics of Suicides Committed in the City or Bombay During the Year 1886,” *JASB* 1, 1886-89, pp. 330-40 (presented 29 June 1887).

“On a Descriptive Alphabetical List of Twenty Occult Sciences of the Muslims,” *JASB* 1, 1886-89, pp. 415-24 (presented 25 July 1888; notices about Rehatsek’s article appeared in English newspapers in Britain and the United States, including *The Birmingham Daily Post* [Birmingham, U.K.], Monday, 30 December 1889, p. 3; *The Grenada Sentinel* [Grenada, Mississippi], 29 March 1890, n.p.; *Iowa County Democrat* [Mineral Point, Wisconsin], 30 May 1890, n.p.; *Jersey City News* [Jersey City, New Jersey], 20 February 1890, n.p.; *The Midland Journal* [Rising Sun, Maryland], 11 April 1890, n.p.; *Weekly Democrat* [Johnstown, Pennsylvania], 7 February 1890, n.p.; *Wood County Reporter* [Grand Rapids, Wisconsin], 5 June 1890, n.p.).

“Statistics of Suicides in Bombay for the Year 1887,” *JASB* 1, 1886-89, pp. 442-49



(presented 25 July 1888).

“On Hindu Civilization in the Far East, as Represented by Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions (With a Map),” *JASB* 1, 1886-1889, pp. 505-32 (presented 28 November 1888).

“On Superstitions of the Goa People from Portuguese Sources,” *JASB* 2, 1890, pp. 22-35 (presented 27 March 1889).

5. In *Journal of the National Indian Association [JNIA]*:

“Bombay a Hundred and Fifteen Years Ago: Translated by Professor Rehatsek from a Ms. By Niebuhr, Father of the Historian,” *JNIA* 112, 114, 115, 116, 117 (April, June, July, August, September 1880, pp. 188-96, 311-27, 405-10, 447-56, 514-30 (translated from a manuscript by Carsten Niebuhr [1733-1815; German explorer] describing Surat and Bombay in 1764).

“The Begums of Bhopal,” *JNIA* 122-126, February-June 1881, pp. 106-11, 164-71, 226-32, 293-302, 364-74 (the source of the article is the *Taḥ al-Iqbal Tārīkh-i Reyāsat-i Bhopāl* [Kanpur, 1873], a Persian biography of the Begam of Bhopal Sikandar Begam compiled by her daughter and successor, Shāh Jahān Begam).

“The Diamond Fields of India: Embracing Five Groups, Namely, Cuddapah, Nandial, Ellore, Sumbhulpur and Panna. (Translated by E. Rehatsek from “Ritter’s Erdkunde von Asien,” B. IV., Abth. II.)” *JNIA* 143-144, November-December 1882, pp. 672-77, 726-36 (translations from *Die Erdkunde von Asien* by the German geographer Carl Ritter [1779-1859]).

6. In other journals:

“Orientalische Rüstungsstücke,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 36/3-4, 1882, pp. 655-58.

With T.W. Rhys Davids, “Book of the King’s Son and the Ascetic,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, January 1890, pp. 119-55 (this contains a translation from an Arabic account of the Christian martyr-saints Belawhar o Yuḏāsaf [see [BARLAAM AND IOSAPH](#)], whose story was identified in the 19th century as deriving from the life of Buddha).



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

Arthur John Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, London, 1958.

Foster Fitzgerald Arbuthnot, "Life and Labours of Mr. Edward Rehatsek," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, July 1892, pp. 581-95.

Lavinia Mary Anstey, ed., *Index to Volumes I-L (1872-1921) Indian Antiquary Part I – Author's Index*, Bombay, n.d.

P.W. Avery, "Review: *The Gulistan or Rose Garden of Sa'di* by Edward Rehatsek, W.G. Archer," *Man* 65, July-August 1965, p. 132.

Erdmann Doane Beynon, *Occupational Adjustments of Hungarian Immigrants in An American Urban Community*, Michigan, 1937, p. 1.

*The Bombay University Calendar 1865-66*, Bombay, 1865.

*The Bombay University Calendar for the Year 1871-72*, Bombay, 1871.

*The Bombay University Calendar for the Year 1883-84*, Bombay, 1883.

Henry Miers Elliot, *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians*, 8 vols., London, 1866-1877.

Edward Granville Browne, *A History of Persian Literature Under Tartar Dominion (A.D. 1265-1502)*, Cambridge, 1920.

Gita Chattopadhyay et al., eds., *Classified Subject Index to Calcutta Review (1844-1920)*, Calcutta, 1974.

*Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov> (last accessed 10 February 2019).

"Cincinnati Briefliche," *Der Wahrheits-Freund* 6/48, Thursday, 3 August 1843, Cincinnati, Ohio, p. 383.

Council Minute of the Hakluyt Society: MSS Eur F/594/1/1 (30 November 1888, 6 February 1890).



Henry Cousens, *Notes on the Buildings and Other Antiquarian Remains at Bijapur*, Bombay, 1890.

Editor, "Mr. Rehatsek," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1892, pp. 157-60.

Ebn Hešām, *al-Sirat al-Nabawiyya I*, Beirut, 1990.

Peter France and Kenneth Haynes, eds., *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English 4*, Oxford, 2006, p. 333.

Angelo de Gubernatis, *Dizionario Biografico deola Scrittori Contemporanei: Ornato di Oltre 300 Ritratti*, Florence, 1879, p. 868.

Alfred Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, Oxford, 1955.

Kenneth Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India*, Cambridge, 1990.

*The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10-15, Bombay, 1871-82.

*The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1890-92.

*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* 1-2, Bombay, 1886-90.

*The Journal of the National Indian Association* 112-117, 122-126, 143-144, London, 1880-82.

C. P. Kejariwal, ed., *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay: A Comprehensive Index*, Delhi, 2004.

Mary S. Lovell, *A Rage to Live: A Biography of Richard and Isabel Burton*, New York, 1998.

The National Archives at Washington, D.C., *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1820-1902*, NAI Number 2824927; *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, Record Group 85.

"Papers of Edward Rehatsek," Royal Asiatic Archives,



<https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/dd6a8279-3aa1-3286-82bf-847330c9ff59> (accessed 2 February 2019).

Obituary, *The Colonies and India*, 16 January 1892, p. 22.

Edward Rice, *Captain Sir Richard Francis Burton*, New York, 1990.

Lesley Shapland (Cataloguer, India Office Records), Private Correspondence, November 2018.

Pietro Della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India: From the Old English Translation of 1664*, Bombay, 1892.

Thomas Wright, *The Life of Sir Richard Burton*, 2 vols., New York, 1906.

J. D. Yohannan, "Did Sir Richard Burton Translate Sadi's *Gulistan*?" *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain* 3/4, October 1950, 185-88.