

SOAS South Asian Texts

Christopher Shackle and Rupert Snell, *Hindi and Urdu Since 1800: A Common Reader*. London: SOAS, and New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1990

Rupert Snell, *The Hindi Classical Tradition: A Braj Bhāṣā Reader*. London: SOAS, 1991, and New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1992

Christopher Shackle and Zawahir Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia: An Introduction to the Ginans*. London: SOAS, 1992.

Michael Hutt, *Modern Literary Nepali: An Introductory Reader*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997

SOAS South Asian Texts

---

## HALI'S MUSADDAS

THE FLOW AND EBB OF ISLAM

Christopher Shackle  
and  
Javed Majeed

DELHI  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
CALCUTTA CHENNAI MUMBAI  
1997

Oxford University Press, Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford New York  
Athens Auckland Bangkok Calcutta  
Cape Town Chennai Dar es Salaam Delhi  
Florence Hong Kong Istanbul Karachi  
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City  
Mumbai Nairobi Paris Singapore  
Taipei Tokyo Toronto

and associates in

Berlin Ibadan

© Oxford University Press 1997

ISBN 0 19 564091 8

Printed at Pauls Press, New Delhi 100 020  
and published by Manzar Khan, Oxford University Press  
YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110 001

## Contents

SOAS South Asian Texts	vii
Preface	ix
Conventions and Transliteration	xi
Map A: The West	xii
Map B: The Middle East	xiii
Map C: India	xiv

## INTRODUCTION

### 1 Hali

1:1 Summary biography	1
1:2 Hali's poetic persona and his mentors	2
1:3 Distances and the negotiation of cultural worlds	4
1:4 Progress, morality and ruin	6

### 2 The *Musaddas*

2:1 The form of the <i>Musaddas</i>	8
2:2 The contents of the First Edition	12
2:3 The additional contents of the Second Edition	18
2:4 The style of the <i>Musaddas</i>	25
2:5 The impact of the <i>Musaddas</i>	36

### 3 Themes

3:1 Decline and progress	49
3:2 Smelting and historical refashionings	53
3:3 The economics of time and bodily illness	55
3:4 Deserts and gardens	59
3:5 Globalization, the written word and literary propriety	65
3:6 Carrion progress	73
3:7 Chaos and order	75
3:8 Conclusion	79

### Bibliography

1 Haliyat	81
2 General	83

TEXT, TRANSLATION AND HALI'S NOTES

First Introduction (1879)	88
Second Introduction (1886)	98
<i>Musaddas</i> with Hali's notes	102
Appendix: Hali's revisions	208

GLOSSARY AND INDEX

Glossary	218
Index of proper names	254

SOAS South Asian Texts

During the period of British colonial rule in India, members of the education services and others felt it to be a natural part of their duties to edit important works of South Asian literature, so as to make them more accessible to English-speaking readers. The initiative represented by these nineteenth century editions, which are now difficult to obtain, has sadly long since been allowed to lapse.

The present series of SOAS South Asian Texts represents an attempt to revive this tradition in such a way as to meet the rather different requirements and expectations of students of South Asian literature today. The series is designed for those who have a basic reading knowledge of the language, but require the assistance of explanatory material in English in approaching original literary texts.

All volumes in the series accordingly begin with an editorial introduction in English, followed by the text itself, which is accompanied by explanatory notes and a glossary. It has not been thought necessary to provide translations of modern prose, but older verse texts are accompanied by full English translations. Though these renderings are primarily designed to assist understanding of the original and themselves make no claim to any literary merit, it is hoped that they and the editorial introductions may serve to introduce some of the classics of South Asian literature to those unable to read them in their original language.

Christopher Shackle  
Rupert Snell

*Series Editors*

## Preface

The *Musaddas* is the poetic masterpiece of Altaf Husain Hali (1837-1914), the greatest Urdu poet of the generation between Ghalib (1797-1869) and Iqbal (1879-1938). Inspired by the reformist ideals of Hali's mentor Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) and taking as its grand theme 'The Flow and Ebb of Islam', the *Musaddas* was the most ambitious and original long Urdu poem to be composed in the half-century following the traumatic suppression of the uprising of 1857. First published in 1879, the poem's powerfully articulated and influential vision immediately excited widespread enthusiasm of a previously unparalleled kind, and has subsequently ensured its recognition as one of the major achievements of the Urdu literature of the British period.

While sometimes receiving passing mention in more general accounts of the period, Hali's *Musaddas* has, however, hitherto hardly received the attention which it deserves from scholars of Indian literature and history. It is also a text which deserves a more prominent place than it is at present accorded in comparative studies of the literature of Islamic reform during the period of colonial rule. Our purpose in preparing this edition has accordingly been both to assist readers wishing to study the poem in the original through the medium of English, and to bring this highly significant work before an audience extending beyond those able to read it in Urdu.

Our edition follows the usual arrangement of the SOAS South Asian Texts series, being divided into three principal units: introduction, text and translation, glossary and index.

The first part of the introduction consists of a short discussion of Hali's life and works. Given the existence of a number of other biographical and critical treatments of the poet, the aim here is more to highlight issues and themes relevant to the analysis and content of the *Musaddas*. The second part describes the differences between the original *Musaddas* of 1879 and the revised Second Edition of 1886, which has subsequently become the standard text. An analysis of the poetic form and highly innovative style of the *Musaddas* is then followed by illustrations of some of the many imitations which it inspired. The third part of the introduction contains a wider exploration of the significance and the ambiguities of the poem. This study particularly underlines the relevance of the *Musaddas* to many of the issues currently engaging the attention of historians of nineteenth century colonial India. The introduction is followed by a full bibliography of all works cited therein.

As explained in detail on p. 12 below, the Urdu text of the *Musaddas* is reproduced with a facing English prose translation which aims only to be a reasonably reliable guide to the meaning of the original. Hali's prose Introductions to the First and Second Editions are followed by the text of the 294 stanzas of the Second Edition of the poem, accompanied by translations of all Hali's original footnotes. These notes not only serve as guides to references

in the poem, but also cast light upon the sources and inspiration of the *Musaddas*. Asterisks in the translation indicate passages modified in the Second Edition, and refer the reader to the following appendix on pp. 208-216 which lists all these revisions with a brief commentary.

It should be noted that we have deliberately chosen to omit the extended verse Supplement of 162 stanzas which Hali added to his Second Edition. It would have added quite unprofitably to the size and expense of this edition to have reproduced, translated and commented upon this Supplement, which has always been rightly regarded as far inferior in quality to the original. An idea of its contents and character may be gained from the summary and illustrative examples provided in section 2:3 of our introduction on pp. 19-25.

The glossary lists all but the commonest words used in the poem, both to assist readers working through the Urdu text and to convey a sense of the text's poetic lexicon. We have, however, excluded from the glossary the very different vocabulary of the prose Introductions. Finally, an index of proper names refers to the maps at the beginning of the book, to our introduction, and to all occurrences of such names—also of quotations from scripture and of Hadith—in Hali's Introductions, in the *Musaddas* itself, and in Hali's notes.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Taj Company Limited, Lahore, for permission to reproduce the Urdu text of their edition of the *Musaddas*. We also wish to record our thanks to Dr S. Aiyar for comments on parts of the introduction, to Dr Stefan Sperl for kindly vetting the transliterations of Arabic quotations, and to Dr Rupert Snell for picking up many imperfections as our first reader. For those which remain, the responsibility is our own.

London  
March 1996

Christopher Shackle  
Javed Majeed

### Conventions and Transliteration

Bracketed numbers preceded by M (e.g. M105) indicate references to stanzas of the *Musaddas*. Other bracketed references are to works listed in the bibliography following the introduction, normally by author, year of publication and page number. The system of references used in the final index of proper names is explained in the prefatory note thereto on p. 254.

All dates are to be understood as AD, unless marked as BC, or as AH for Hijri years. Personal and geographical names are written in their most familiar standard form, with diacritics marked only in the index of proper names, also in the bibliographies for authors of Urdu and other non-English titles. Commonly understood words like 'Quran' and 'Hadith' are similarly spelt without diacritics. English translations of Quranic verses follow the version of Yusuf Ali 1938, while the Authorized version is used for Biblical quotations.

In keeping with the character of the *Musaddas*, the system of diacritics used in this book to transliterate Urdu and Arabic follows the conventions favoured by Islamicists, rather than the South Asianist systems employed in other volumes in the SOAS South Asian Texts series. The vowels are written:

*a ā i ī u ū e* (izafat -e) *ai o* (copula -o) *au*

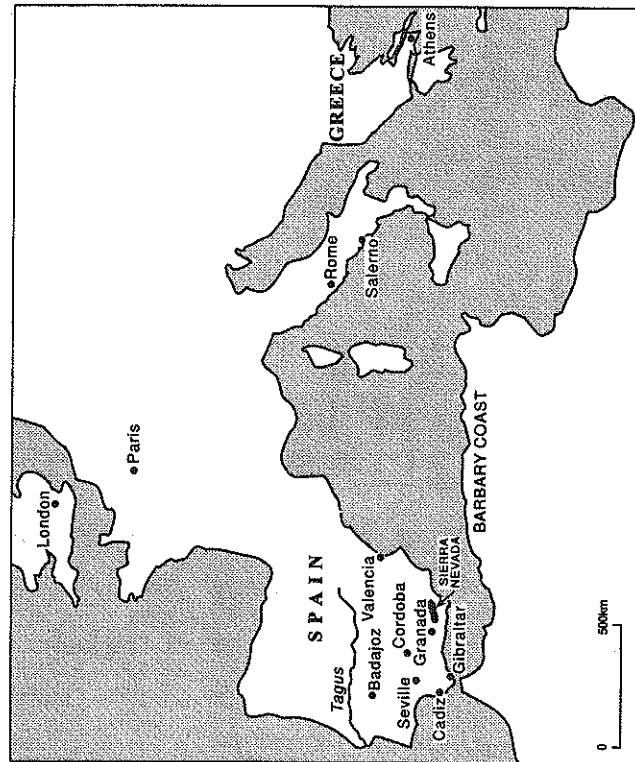
The following diacritics are used to distinguish the consonants of the Urdu alphabet:

*b t ṭ ḍ* (Arabic *th*) *j ch ḥ kh* (Arabic *kh*) *d ḍ z* (Arabic *dh*)

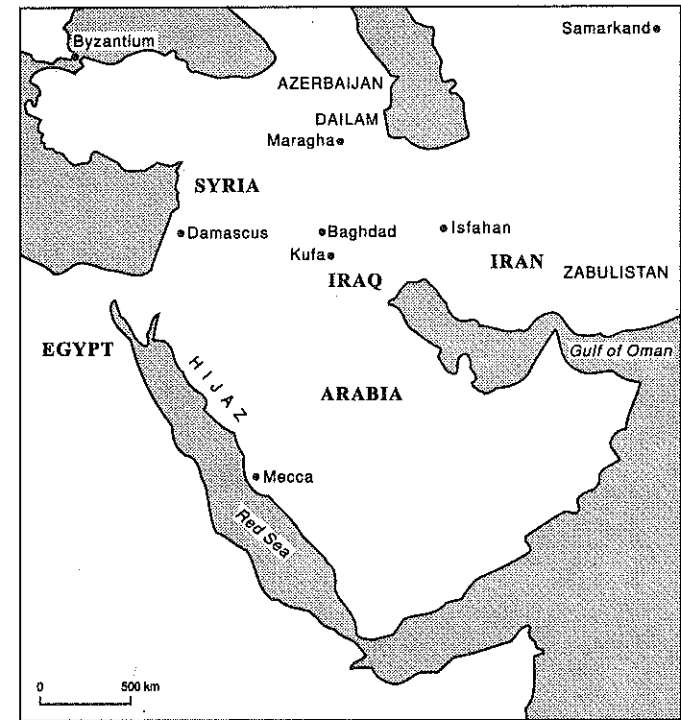
*r ṛ z zh s sh ṣ ž* (Arabic *d*) *t z ' gh* (Arabic *gh*) *f q*

*k g l m n* (nasalization *ṅ*) *v* (*w* for Arabic and after *kh*) *h ' y*

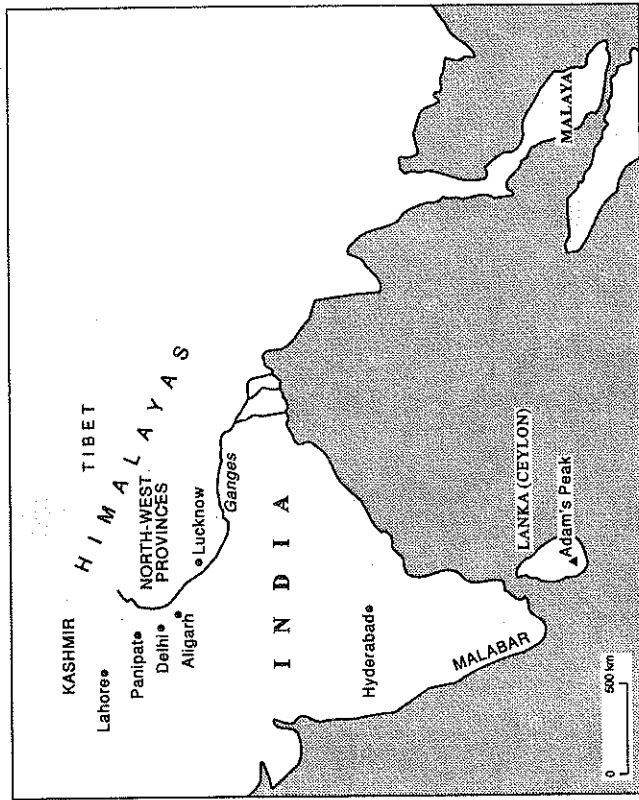
Final 'silent *h*' is omitted in all instances, including the common monosyllables here written as *pai, ki, na, vo, ye*. The Arabic definite article is written phonetically in names.



Map A. The West



Map B. The Middle East



Map C. India

## INTRODUCTION

## 1 Hali<sup>1</sup>

### 1:1 Summary biography<sup>2</sup>

Khawaja Altaf Husain, afterwards known by his pen-name or *takhallus* of Hali, was born into an impoverished family living in Panipat in south-east Punjab. His father died while he was a boy, and his mother was insane, so Hali was brought up by his elder brother and sister in Panipat, where he received an orthodox Muslim education. In 1854 he left for Delhi to pursue his studies further, but soon returned. In 1856 he got a minor job in the Collector's office in near-by Hissar, but again returned home because of the troubles of 1857. From 1863 to 1869 Hali was closely associated with the poet Navab Mustafa Khan Shefta (1806-69), whose son he tutored. Hali came to know the poet Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797-1869) well in the latter's last years through their mutual acquaintance with Shefta.

In 1871 Hali went to Lahore, where he found employment in the Government Book Depot; his task there was to correct Urdu translations made from English. In this way he became acquainted with a wide range of English literature, although he himself did not know English. While in Lahore he took part in the *mushā'iras* on serious Victorian themes organized by Colonel W.R.M. Holroyd, the then Director of Public Education.

In 1874 or 1875 Hali left to teach at the Anglo-Arabic College in Delhi, where he remained until 1887. During these years he became closely associated with the great Muslim leader, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98), upon whose recommendation he was granted an allowance by the government of Hyderabad State to enable him to devote his time to literary work. To this end he retired to Panipat, where he died in 1914, having been given the title of 'Shams al-'Ulema' in 1904 by the Government of India in recognition of his achievements.

Hali's output was considerable, both in prose and verse. His best-known prose works are his biographies of Ghalib, *Yādgar-e Ghālib* (1897), and of Sir Sayyid, *Hayāt-e Jāved* (1901). In verse his greatest achievement is the *Musaddas* (1879, 1886), which is discussed at length in the following sections of this introduction. When Hali published his *Divān* in 1890, he prefixed to it a long prose introduction, known as the *Muqaddama shi'r-o shā'iri* or 'Introduction: on verse and poetry'; this was published as a book in its own right in 1893. In the *Muqaddama*, he set out his views on the proper role of poetry, and in particular what he considered to be the way in which Urdu poetry should develop.

<sup>1</sup> This account draws on Saksena 1927, Bailey 1932, Abdul Qadir 1932, Hali 1964, Abdul Haq 1976, Steele 1981, Sadiq 1984, Minault 1986, Pritchett 1994.

<sup>2</sup> This section is taken virtually verbatim from Matthews and Shackie 1972:205-6.

## 1:2 Hali's poetic persona and his mentors

Hali could be described as the poet of the Aligarh movement. His cultural background was the *sharīf* milieu of the service gentry, whose position and aspirations in post-Mutiny colonial India were defended and articulated by the Aligarh movement (Lelyveld 1978:35-101). As noted above, Hali's father died when he was young, and because of his mother's insanity, he was raised by his older brother and sister (Hali 1964:282, Minault 1986:5). In this lack of a straightforward parental upbringing, Hali was also typical of those who were later to be closely involved in the Aligarh movement. David Lelyveld has emphasized that among both the older generation of the movement who grew up in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the first generation of Aligarh students in the second half of the century, there are relatively few cases of children brought up by their parents (Lelyveld 1978:39, 42)—and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was himself raised in the house of his maternal grandfather (cf. Shackle 1972). It is possible that this upbringing in unusual circumstances predisposed Hali and other leading figures of the movement to innovation.

In Hali's case, though, the lack of parental rearing may also have been of some relevance to his later relationships with his mentors. There are three contenders for the position of Hali's mentor. One was the great poet of the classical tradition, Ghalib, with whom Hali had significant contact during his second sojourn in the Delhi area from 1861 onwards. It was during this period that Hali sent his poetic efforts to the poet for his corrections and criticisms. Hali relates how he would also question Ghalib about the poet's difficult Persian and Urdu verses (Hali 1964:283). However, Hali's relationship with the great poet was mediated through the aristocratic patron-connoisseur and lesser poet, Navab Mustafa Khan Shefta, with whom he was closely associated for about eight years as tutor to his son. Shefta's influence on the younger poet has been discussed by scholars; Hali himself testified to being influenced not just by Shefta's taste for classical verse, but also by his dislike of hyperbole and his attempt at a simplicity of style based on the depiction of events (Hali 1964:284). The third significant figure was the thinker and leader of the Aligarh movement, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), to whom Hali attributed the inspiration for the *Musaddas* (Hali 1964:284). Sir Sayyid's letter to Hali of 10 June 1879 on the poem (cf. p. 35 below) is a clear expression of what might be called the Aligarh ideology of art (Ahmad Khan 1924:166-7). In brief, this consisted of a distrust of hyperbole, and a preference for 'natural' poetry, that is poetry which embodied an aesthetic of realism, whether in its depiction of history or the external world. Sayyid Ahmad Khan is a significant presence in the First Introduction to the *Musaddas*, and it is worth remembering that in his letter he promised to publish the *Musaddas* in the Aligarh movement's journal, *Tahzīb ul akhlāq*.

One of the themes of Hali's First Introduction is the poet's search for an appropriate mentor, through whose nurturing and disciplining presence the poem might be mediated and offered to the reading public. The tensions in Hali's work can be illuminated—in part at least—in terms of how he filtered his

artistic persona through his poetic and intellectual mentors. For the two most significant of these figures, Ghalib and Sir Sayyid, he was to write the two important biographies noted above. The latter, the famous *Hayāt-e Jāved*, has been described as 'the most important single book that has been written on the Aligarh movement' (Lelyveld 1978:xiii).<sup>3</sup> Hali's journey from Ghalib through Shefta to Sayyid Ahmad Khan can be seen in terms of a linear progression. On the face of it, his thinking seems to move from the classical poetic world of self-referential tropes, to a more muted poetry, and finally to a view of poetry as an instrument for moral and social uplift which rejected the classical poetic world. To a certain extent, this rejection of classical poetic praxis is developed in his *Muqaddama shī'r-o shā'iri* of 1893. It is for this reason that the *Muqaddama* is often cited as one of the first modern works of Urdu criticism (e.g. Minault 1986:13, Steele 1981:22); Schimmel goes so far as to describe Hali as the 'founder of literary criticism in Urdu' (Schimmel 1975:226).

It is probably closer to the truth, though, to view all three mentalities as simultaneously present (though in varying degrees) in Hali's work. Rather than seeing Sir Sayyid as displacing Ghalib in Hali's poetic affections, it is more useful to see both figures as representing the opposites of Hali's own dual poetic sensibility, with its roots both in the classical poetic world of pre-Mutiny Delhi, and in the progressive, forward-looking world of Muslim Aligarh in its British imperial setting (as suggested by Abdul Haq 1976:112, Steele 1981:16, and most fully by Pritchett 1994:43). As we shall see later on, something of these narrative structures of Hali's own life, a linear progression through stages, and a cyclical movement between polar opposites, was to be reproduced in the presentation of History itself in the *Musaddas*.

However, as so often with Hali's work, such oppositions can sometimes be more apparent than real. In this context, it is worth mentioning the poet's switch after the 1857 Rebellion from his earlier *takhallus* of Khasta 'the exhausted, the distressed, the heartbroken' to Hali 'the contemporary, the man of the present' (Steele 1981:7, Minault 1986:6). But this switch need not be seen in terms of a linear narrative alone. The First Introduction to the *Musaddas*, and the poem itself, abound in images of sickness, exhaustion, and heartbreak. These images reflect Hali's own bouts of illness which also serve as metaphors for the poor state of the Indian Muslim community's health. In fact, there are traces of both of Hali's artistic personas in the First Introduction and in the poem. It might be best to see both pen-names as having an equal purchase on his overall artistic persona, even after he had replaced the *takhallus* of 'Khasta' by that of 'Hali'. These apparent oppositions, far from remaining poles apart, blend into each other—and as we shall see later, this is another significant feature of his *Musaddas*.

<sup>3</sup> C.W. Troll has described this work as 'the outstanding biography of Sayyid Ahmad Khan' (Troll 1978/79:3).

## 1:3 Distances and the negotiation of cultural worlds

Hali's upbringing without direct parental guidance is thus partly reflected in his search for a poetic persona through his mentors. Equally important is the way in which he negotiated different historical epochs and cultural worlds in his work, from the brilliant world of Ghalib's Delhi in pre-1857 India, to colonial Aligarh's ideals of dutiful service to the Muslim community. Whilst Hali's early education was an orthodox Muslim training in Persian and Arabic, he himself described how he never got the chance for a 'regular and continuing education'.<sup>4</sup> This dissatisfaction led to him running away from his family home and his young wife—to whom he was married at the age of seventeen—to Delhi in 1854, then still an influential seat of Muslim learning and culture. This travelling between the provincial town of Panipat and the city of Delhi brings to the fore Hali's sense of his own provincial roots. Something of the provincial boy's sharp awareness of distant centres of political and cultural power comes across in the *Musaddas* itself, in which so many of the proper nouns signify place names resonant with historical power and glory. Equally revealing are Hali's own notes explaining the references to such place names in the poem. The very existence and style of these notes are evocative of a mentality unaccustomed to such power and glory, hence the need to explain and locate significant names. This might also be indicative of Hali's own position vis-à-vis the Aligarh group. Although in some ways he was typical of this small and exceptional group, in other ways he was not. His knowledge of English was limited, and his social antecedents could not compete with the impeccable genealogies of the likes of Sir Sayyid. Whilst this in turn enabled him to appeal to a wider audience (Smith 1985:37-8), it might also have prolonged a lingering feeling of his provincial status.

Hali's sense of his distance from centres of cultural and political power must have been considerably sharpened by the traumatic events of the 1857 uprising, which forced him to leave Delhi after his brief period of study there.<sup>5</sup> It was as though he witnessed Delhi becoming a historical place name evocative of past glories in his own lifetime, a place name to join other equally inaccessible centres of the past which were to be evoked in the *Musaddas* as signifying the decline of Islamic civilization in the world (Abdul Haq 1976:108). However, Hali's willingness to travel from Panipat to Delhi for the sake of learning—which he did twice, returning to Delhi in the early 1860s after the Mutiny—apparently contrasted with his fellow Muslims' reluctance to undertake journeys. Given the role of migration and pilgrimage as among the affirming moments of Islamic faith, the unwillingness of Indian Muslims to travel was seen by Hali as a sign of the decline of the Muslim community in India. As we shall

<sup>4</sup> Cited by Pritchett 1994:13. For a more general account, see Steele 1981:2-3, and for Hali's own account, see Hali 1964:282.

<sup>5</sup> The fullest account in this context of 1857 and its aftermath is to be found in Pritchett 1994:16-30.

see below, the theme of migration and travel was to form one of the strands of the *Musaddas*.

A similar sense of distance from sources of cultural power can be found on another level in Hali's education, particularly in his attitudes to the Arab and Persian strands of classical Islamic culture. It seems that in matters of Arabic Hali was something of an autodidact. He describes how, during the period at Panipat after his first sojourn in Delhi, he wrote pieces of Arabic poetry and prose without the benefit of anyone's guidance (Hali 1964:283). From 1875 to 1887 he was to teach at the Anglo-Arabic College in Delhi, and in 1914, the last year of his life, an edition of his Arabic prose and verse appeared. The cultural significance of Arabic looms large in Hali's work. In the First Introduction to the *Musaddas*, he writes of how poetry was bequeathed to Muslims as part of the legacy of Arabs, for the purpose of awakening the community. This might be taken as indicative of Hali's shift away from the Persianate strands of Indian Islam, towards an Arab legacy increasingly defined as central. Such a shift was in keeping with the wider changes of perception occurring in the Indian Muslim community (Smith 1985:78).

However, as an '*ajami*', a 'barbarian' unable to speak Arabic as a native speaker, Hali was necessarily at one remove from the sacred language of Islam, and his proficiency in the language is anyway difficult to gauge. Furthermore, Hali's interest in Persian literature remained strong. This is evident not just from his *Muqaddama* of 1893, but also from his biography of the famous Persian poet Sadi, the *Hayat-e Sa'di* (1886). Both these works display a concern to return to models of classical Persian literature. Hali's attitude to Persianate Islamic culture was thus not one of rejection; rather, he drew on Persian to redefine appropriate models for Urdu literature to emulate. So Hali's negotiation of the Persianate and Arab strands of Indian Islam is only partly about the relationship between polar opposites. More accurately, his aim was to regenerate Urdu literature through contact with classical models drawn from both Arabic and Persian.

Nonetheless, one is still left with the distinct impression of Hali living at one remove from sources of influence. This sense of being at one remove is neatly encapsulated in Hali's translation of a book of geology from Arabic into Urdu, which had itself been originally translated from French.<sup>6</sup> The case here of the translation of an already translated work on the relatively new Western science of geology—this amplifies Hali's description in 1964:285—is suggestive in relation to the *Musaddas*, where images of mining are used to illustrate the fulfilment of historical potential.<sup>7</sup> The use of geological and industrial imagery, combined with the role of translation in mediating distant textual nodes of power, helps to give us a glimpse into the complexity of Hali's poetic sensibility and the strategic concerns of his work.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hali 1964:285, also Saksena 1927:279. Neither give a date for this publication, although the former mentions that it was published by Punjab University 'during the time of Dr Leitner'.

<sup>7</sup> These images are elucidated in detail below, in 3:2 and following.

The importance of translation, particularly of the texts of culturally or politically powerful languages, became especially evident during Hali's years at Lahore. The whole question of translation as involving processes of cultural negotiation, transference, and appropriation is a subject in its own right, which it would be difficult to deal with fully in this introduction.<sup>8</sup> It is, however, important to point out here that while Hali could read and write Arabic and Persian, he knew little English, and so his relationship with it was more distant. During his time at the Government Book Depot in Lahore from 1870 to 1874, Hali's task in the department was to edit and amend textbooks which had been translated from English into Urdu. As a result, he became acquainted with a variety of work on English literature and criticism and European philosophy and science. Hali described how through this he developed a relationship with English literature, and how the prestige of Eastern literature, and especially Persian literature, declined 'in my heart' (Hali 1964:284). This relationship, at one remove and in a translated milieu, forms an important feature of the *Muqaddama*, where an attempt is made to re-present and reform Urdu literature partly in the light of critical formulations gleaned from English works. The question of Hali's references to English sources in the *Muqaddama* has been fully discussed elsewhere (Steele 1981, Pritchett 1994:145-54), and the style and nature of these references in the text is certainly a fascinating part of Hali's text on poetics. Elsewhere Hali mentioned how translations from English into Urdu, especially under the aegis of the Aligarh Scientific Institute and *Tahzib ul akhlāq*, transformed literary taste, with the result the status of Persian literature fell considerably, and 'the spirit of Western imaginings' was blown into Urdu literature (Hali 1890:2). However, it is important to note that Hali did not actually directly translate any works from English into Urdu; rather, as was mentioned above, he amended translations that had been made by others. English literature did not displace Persian and Arabic models in his poetics and his work generally. On the contrary, Hali's reformist poetics for Urdu literature drew on all three of the powerful linguistic presences in his life.<sup>9</sup>

#### 1:4 Progress, morality and ruin

It was at Lahore during this four-year period that Hali participated in the famous *mushā'iras* or 'poetry gatherings' organized by Colonel Holroyd (Pritchett 1994:34-9). According to Hali, the purpose of these gatherings was to broaden the scope of 'Asiatic' poetry, by weaning it away from its preoccupation with love and turning it towards 'facts' and 'events' (Hali 1890:1). He wrote four masnavis for these gatherings—*Barkhārut* 'The rainy season',

<sup>8</sup> But see Steiner 1992, Gentzler 1993, and Bassnett 1993:92-159.

<sup>9</sup> In some way, Hali's mediation of these three languages in his work reflects the larger processes surrounding the emergence of Urdu as a language in its own right in nineteenth century colonial India. For a discussion of these changing relationships between Urdu, Persian and English in this context, see Majeed 1995.

*Nishāt-e ummīd* 'The delight of Hope', *Hubb-e vatan* 'Patriotism', and *Munāzara-e rahm-o inṣāf* 'Dialogue between Mercy and Justice'. The titles of these poems reflect the twin shibboleths of Hali's poetics, namely 'nature' and morality. It was also during his Lahore period that Hali wrote a work of moral fiction, *Majālis un nisā* 'Assemblies of women' (1874), which has been described as a 'reformist tract' that made 'an eloquent and engaging plea for women's education' (Minault 1986:12). The work was adopted as a textbook for girls' schools in the Punjab and United Provinces for decades (Minault 1986:12). The *Musaddas* was also adopted in the schools of the area, as recorded in Hali's Second Introduction to the poem. Indeed, Hali's poems for the new style *mushā'iras* prefigure the *Musaddas*, with its imagery drawn from natural cycles such as the ebb and flow of tides, and its high moral polemic. As Hali himself put it in his 1890 preface to a collection of his verse, 'I have laid the half-finished and impermanent foundations of a new style' (Hali 1890:4).

Hali's residence at Lahore was thus a crucial phase in his intellectual development. His close contact with the colonial state, and his participation in Holroyd's gatherings, may have deepened his preoccupation with progress and decline in world history. Hali's birthplace of Panipat was the location of three battles which determined the rise and fall of Muslim power in India, and thus accorded well with the central theme of the *Musaddas* itself, namely the rise and fall of Islamic civilization in world history. The poet's sense of the plenitude of the past may have been reinforced by his own family history, since his ancestors had served the Sultans of Delhi and then the Mughals, who had granted them modest properties in the town and its environs (Hali 1964:281-2, Minault 1986:4-5). Far from being abstract notions, decline and progress were of personal relevance to Hali's life. The contrast between the fallen state of the Indian Muslim community, and the increasingly confident and aggressive British colonial state of the second half of the nineteenth century, were concrete and immediate cases of decline and progress for the poet.

It is difficult to predict how Hali would have responded to the First World War, had he lived to see it through to the end. He died in December 1914, after having spent the last period of his life living on the stipend granted to him by the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1887. Hali did not live to see a Europe racked by bloody war and revolution, nor the increasing challenges to the British colonial state in post-War India. But it is unlikely that this would have altered the presentation of progress—i.e. European progress—in his work. As we shall discuss below, the notion of progress in the *Musaddas* is highly ambivalent. The aim of our introduction is to explore such ambivalences, thereby doing justice to the complexity of a literary text whose significance has remained relatively neglected. But—prior to a further elucidation of the themes of the poem—its complexity needs to be grasped in relation to the literary form of the *Musaddas*, and it is to this that we now turn our attention.

## 2.1 The form of the Musaddas

Its formal organization must be a prime consideration in examining any poem produced within a tradition which takes form as seriously as did the highly sophisticated world of Persian and Urdu literary culture in India. Most discussions of that literary culture (e.g. Russell and Islam 1969; Pritchett 1994) tend naturally enough to focus upon the *ghazal*, the short monorhymed lyric whose central theme is love and which is generally considered to have been supremely treated in Urdu by Mir Taqi Mir (c.1722-1810) and Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797-1869). The enduring popularity of the semi-private *ghazal*—which was indeed the most intensively cultivated of all the traditional poetic forms—has long cast something of a critical shadow over the recognized forms of poetry of less ambiguously public content.

These longer forms notably included the *qasida* (Shackle 1996a), a monorhymed genre which had been the sole vehicle for classical Arabic poetry but which had come to be particularly associated in Persian with panegyric, whether dedicated to the Prophet (*na't*) or to the Imams (*manqabat*), or else to a royal or aristocratic patron (*madh*), the recognized master of the genre in Urdu being Mirza Muhammad Rafi Sauda (1722-80). A more widely cultivated form was the technically less exacting *magnavi*, the preferred genre of some of the greatest masters of classical Persian poetry, whose formal structure of rhyming couplets imposed no innate restrictions upon length, and whose use was sanctioned by ample precedent for so wide a range of themes—the personal, the romance, secular history or religious instruction and hagiography—that it would be hard, at least outside the romance, to list masters of the form in Urdu.

Although itself conspicuously public in intent, Hali's poem also presents itself as a conscious break with Urdu poetic tradition. Neither a *qasida* nor a *magnavi*—although it certainly arrogates to itself territory traditionally covered by both genres—the *Musaddas-e Hali* is named for its form, the *musaddas* stanza of six half-verses. Discussed in further detail in 2:4 below, the *musaddas* is one of the established if not especially frequently cultivated stanzaic forms of Persian poetry. In Urdu, the *musaddas* had come to be particularly associated with the Shia *marṣiya*, the distinctively Indian type of strophic elegy lamenting the epic suffering of Imam Husain and his companions at the battle of Kerbela (Sadiq 1984: 145-63). Composed primarily to excite feelings of pathos among the faithful through recitation at the Shia mourning ceremonies which reach their peak during the anniversary of Kerbela in Muharram, the Urdu *marṣiya* was intensively cultivated in Lucknow, capital of the Shia kingdom of Avadh until 1856. The greatest masters of the genre, Mir Babar Ali Anis (1802-74) and Mirza Salamat Ali Dabir (1803-75), fully exploit all the elaborately developed resources of traditional Perso-Urdu rhetoric in their creation over many decades of public poems on the grandest scale, formally consisting of a long set of *musaddas* stanzas, typically initiated by a single quatrain (*rubā'i*) which sets the tone for what follows.

It is precisely this formal sequence of the *marṣiya* which is followed in Hali's *Musaddas*, which is itself thereby clearly signalled to be a poem cast in a predominantly elegiac mode. This tone is also indicated in a less traditional way by its title *Madd-o jazr-e islām* 'The Flow and Ebb of Islam', an uncompromisingly modern heading whose plainness makes no concessions to formerly expected elegances of rhyme or chronogrammatic equivalence. Nor is this title the only plain thing about the initial format of Hali's *Musaddas*.

In terms of its content, the First Edition of 1879 (AH 1296) is indeed both a grand elegy and a stirring poetic call. In terms of its physical appearance, however, it is markedly dissimilar from the dense format that derives from traditional manuscript practices of making maximum use of paper, which is common in lithographed books of Urdu poetry of the period. In place of their central columns of text which then exuberantly radiates around the margins to fill all available space, the small pages of the First Edition—as illustrated here in the specimen reproduced overleaf on p. 10—lay out Hali's *musaddas* stanzas in neatly ruled boxes with uniform amounts of space around them, besides having subject headings carefully indicated vertically in the outer margins and numbered footnotes relegated to well-disciplined boxes below. The small size and sparseness of the layout—in whose design Hali would certainly have been closely involved—are less suggestive of those common in contemporary printed books of poetry than those typical of works of popular devotion. But it really resembles nothing so much as an Urdu textbook in the new Victorian style—unassuming, disciplined, and prosy.

This contrast between a poetic format powerfully suggesting a rather long established genre designed to move its audience to public tears and a physical format modestly suggesting the utilitarian functions of an educational text of a kind only recently introduced into the vernacular languages of India is but one of many tensions to be explored here, as revealed by careful reading of this only superficially self-assured poem.

Nor is Hali's *Musaddas* just a poem, or even just a poem with footnotes. No fewer than ten of the 84 pages of the First Edition are devoted to a lengthy prose introduction. This First Introduction is quite unlike the conventional introductions sometimes found in—though generally absent from—books of Urdu poetry of the period, which even at this date were as likely as not to be written in Persian. In contrast to their easily skipped grandiloquent eulogies—although not without mock-deference to their style in its sustained use of an elaborately patterned phraseology interspersed with choice verses—Hali's First Introduction is a powerfully composed mixture of autobiography with poetic manifesto. For an understanding of the genesis and overall purpose of the *Musaddas* as a whole, it is quite as necessary to read this Introduction as it is to use Hali's footnotes in order to understanding some of the references so painstakingly worked in to his verses from his wide reading both of traditional Islamic texts and of contemporary historical and scientific literature. Of course, both footnotes and Introduction are subsidiary to the poem, but their relative importance is some-

thing quite new in Urdu literature, where all poems before its appearance and most of those written since have been entirely self-standing in a way that the *Musaddas* just is not, quite, and—from today's much later perspective—perhaps did not entirely seek to be.

At the time, however, the *Musaddas* was an immense success, as Hali indicated seven years later in the briefer Second Introduction prefixed to the revised version issued as the Second Edition of 1886. This act of revision itself differentiates the *Musaddas* from most Urdu poetry of its own or—indeed—all other periods, which, once transferred to the printed page from the carefully amended private copybook that serves as an aide memoire to recitation, tends to be left as it is by the poet, though it is all too liable to alteration as a consequence of the notorious carelessness of many South Asian publishers. The Second Introduction indicates the scale of the changes made to the text of the First Edition. Besides a reduction of the original 297 stanzas to 294, these included many revisions of the original wording, some of which are rather significant. Anxious as to whether his criticisms of the Indian Muslims had not been too negatively expressed, Hali's major revision to his original text was to add a Supplement (*zamīma*) over half as long again as the original poem. Consisting of 162 verses in the same format and metre as the original, this strives to maintain a more upbeat note. A final modification was to clear the poem's pages of all their footnotes. Much of their substance was transferred to an alphabetically arranged Glossary (*farhang*) at the end of the book, which also included newly provided definitions of words which had been found difficult by readers, besides additional elucidatory material and definitions needed for the new Supplement.

Some years later—as is certainly attested for an edition of 1902—Hali added another poem to the *Musaddas*, echoing many of its themes but formally quite distinct from it. This is a *qaṣīda* of 63 monorhymed verses headed 'Arz-e hāl 'Petition', which calls upon the Prophet Muhammad to attend to the state of his community. Subsequent printings of the *Musaddas* normally include this Petition after the Supplement and immediately before the Glossary, which is itself now something of a canonical item apparently little susceptible to any subsequent editorial initiative.

It may be noted that the net effect of these changes to the First Edition, stemming from Hali's characteristic tendency towards having second thoughts, has been to diminish something of its challenging modernity by shifting the *Musaddas* back towards more comfortably familiar poetic territory. While modern editions often keep to the same sort of small format as those of Hali's time, this is now less suggestive of an up-to-date textbook than of a revered literary-cum-devotional text, which within the frame of the prose Introductions and the Glossary is now seen largely to consist of a very long poem—though its 456 stanzas are not normally numbered—plus a final invocation to the Prophet in the antique format of a *qaṣīda* which is nowadays largely reserved for conventional religious poetry.

۲۴

ہر ایک قبلہ کج سے سوزنا و نکاحا سوزا	اسدیلح دل و نکاحا ایک کج سے سوزا
خداوند سے رشتہ بند و نکاحا چورا	کجین ماسوسے کا علاقہ پنج پورا
دیئے سرچرکا اونکے مالک کے سہکے	کجی کے جو پھرتے تھے مالک سے بہکے
نشان گنج دولت کا ماتہ آگیا	بتا حاصل مقصود کا پانگیا جب
سمان اونپہ توحید کا چہا آگیا	محبت سے دل اونکا گر مانگیا جب
پڑے مانے تمدن کے سب باب اونکے	سکھائے معیشت کے آداب اونکے
دلانی اونہیں تکام کی حرص و غم	جنانی اونہیں وقت کی قدر و قیمت
ہوں فرزند وزن سین بیان	کہا، چہوڑ دیکھے سب آخر وقت
بہلائی میں جو وقت سننے گزارا	پچھوڑیگا پراسا تہر گر بہت سارا
فرغت۔ مشاغل کی کنز سے پہلے	غیبت ہے صحت علالت سے پہلے
اقامت۔ مسافری عادت سے پہلے	جوانی۔ بڑھاپے کی زحمت سے پہلے
جو کرنا ہے کرو کہ تہوڑی اہمیت	تھوڑی سے پہلے غیبت ہے نہ وقت

(۱) حدیث میں آیا ہے کہ قیام المیت ثلثۃ فرج نشان دیکھتے سواد احد . سیدنا اہل  
رواد و علم فرج اہلہ و مال دیکھتے علم

(۲) اس حدیث کے لفظ یہین اضمحمن قبل محسن . شہدایا قبل ہرک . و  
قبل شک . و خاک قبل فقرک . و فراتک قبل شکاک . و حیرتک قبل موتک

The format of the First Edition (p. 24: M39-M42)

Our text in this book is a compromise version, drawing upon both First and Second Editions. It begins with the First and Second Introductions, with Urdu prose text faced by English translation. For the poem itself, we give the standard Urdu text of the Second Edition, but omit the Supplement which has always been rightly regarded as a somewhat pale postscript to it, and the Petition which is a still less organic addition thereto. The facing English prose translation includes versions of Hali's marginal subject headings to the sections of the poem, which have been omitted for typographical reasons from the reproduction of the Urdu text. It is also accompanied by translations of Hali's footnotes to the First Edition, which are of greater utility in this form to readers approaching the poem through English than alphabetical end notes would be. The full text of the First Edition may be reconstructed through an appendix which provides a list with commentary of both original and revised versions of all changes made by Hali between the two Editions.

The summary following in 2:2 describes the contents of the First Introduction and the standard text of the poem itself (M1-M294). The next section 2:3 describes the contents of the Second Introduction, of the Supplement (S1-S162) and of the Petition (P). It should be noted that neither the Supplement—for the reasons already stated in our preface—nor the Petition thereafter receives further systematic attention in our introduction or elsewhere in this volume.

## 2:2 The contents of the First Edition

The First Introduction begins with a verse repudiating Hali's past as a poet in the traditional style:

I sing no longer with the nightingale,  
From poets and recitals now I quail...

This theme is developed at length, with a wealth of imagery to underline the false exaggerations of which he self-loathingly proclaims himself to have been guilty from youth to middle age. He awakens to the sight of reality stretching around him, but finds that his twenty years of mechanical poetic exercises have left him incapable of embarking upon its broad plain, until he sees an exhausted band of travellers stumbling towards a distant goal, whose leader is described as follows:

That man of noble resolution who was guide to them all still  
strode along, fresh and careless of the exhaustion of the  
journey or the loss of his companions, and untroubled by the  
distance of his goal. So powerful was the magic in his  
glance that whoever he looked at would close his eyes and

go along with him. One look of his was cast in my direction  
also, and this had its immediate effect.

Though nowhere named, this Wise Old Man is of course Hali's revered guide Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who urges Hali to set his talents to work for the enlightenment of the community, overcoming his protestations of weakness and pointing to the proud public role poetry once enjoyed among the Arabs of early Islam. Hali is at last sufficiently inspired by these words to overcome all his personal difficulties and start work on the poem. There then follows a sketch of the contents of the *Musaddas*:

After a prologue of half a dozen stanzas at the beginning of this *Musaddas*, I have given a sketch of the miserable condition of Arabia before the appearance of Islam, in the period known in the language of Islam as the Jahiliyya. I have then described the rising of the star of Islam, how the desert was suddenly made green and fertile by the teaching of the Unlettered Prophet, how that cloud of mercy at his departure left the fields of the community luxuriantly flourishing, and how the Muslims excelled the whole world in their religious development and worldly progress. After this, I have written of the state of decay into which they have fallen, and how with inexpert hands they have fashioned a house of mirrors for the nation, which they may enter to study their features and realize who they were and what they have become.

Finally, he warns his readers that many of them will be put off by the poem's dry plainness, since it lacks poetic artifice and 'contains only historical material or translations of Quranic verses or of Hadith, or an absolutely exact picture of the present state of the community.' But he asks that they should at least listen to its message.

In the traditional style of a *marṣīya*, the beginning of the *Musaddas* proper is now poetically signalled by a *rubā'ī* which successively conveys the essence of its theme, central image, and mood:

*Pastī kā ko'ī had se guzarnā dekhe*  
*Islām kā gir-kar na ubharnā dekhe*  
*Māne na kabhī ki mad hai har jazr ke ba'd*  
*Daryā kā hamāre jo utarnā dekhe<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> If anyone sees the way our downfall passes all bounds, the way that Islam, once fallen, does not rise again, / He will never believe that the tide flows after every ebb, once he sees the way our sea has gone out.

The short prologue (M1-M7) then cites Hippocrates' pronouncement that a patient's denial of his illness is the only complete impediment to recovery and applies this judgement to the Muslims. They are described as a people asleep in a boat on the verge of shipwreck, whose obliviousness contrasts shamefully with their religion. This leads to a description of the transforming power of true Islam, through a contrasting account of the pre-Islamic period of the Jahiliyya (M8-20). Arabia was then a cut-off area which was blighted by its lack of resources and culture, with inhabitants worshipping different gods, engaged in ferocious tribal wars, and practising such barbarities as female infanticide.

Eventually God is roused to send to the Arabs his Messenger Muhammad (M21-M26), who is praised in verses subsequently made very familiar through their adoption as a lyric for devotional singing (M23):

*Vo nabyoñ meñ rahmat laqab pāne vālā  
Murādeñ ghariboñ kī bar lāne vālā  
Musibat meñ ghairoñ ke kām āne vālā  
Vo apne parā'e kā gham khāne vālā  
Faqiroñ kā maljā za'ifoñ kā māvā  
Yatimoñ kā vālī ghulāmoñ kā maulā<sup>2</sup>*

This abstract tone is continued throughout the passage devoted to the Prophet's mission (M27-M54), which includes many verses indicated in Hali's notes as versifications of Hadith, naturally selected to reinforce Sir Sayyid's reformist interpretation of Islam. Thus the Hadith *Man talaba 'l-dunyā ḥalālan isti'fāfan 'ani 'l-mas'alatī wa-sa'yan 'alā ahlihi wa-ta'atūfan 'alā jārihi laqīya 'llāha ta'ālā yauma 'l-qiyāmati wa wajhuhu miḥla qamari lailati 'l-badri* 'He who seeks legitimate livelihood for himself and for the support of his family, to act properly towards his neighbour and to escape questioning, will come before Almighty God on the day of resurrection with a face shining like the moon on the night of its fullness' is paraphrased as (M48):

*Ghariboñ ko miḥnat kī raghat dilā'ī  
Kī bāzū se apne karo tum kamā'ī  
Khabar tā ki lo is se apnī parā'ī  
Na kamī pare tum ko dar dar gadā'ī  
Talab se hai dunyā kī gar yāñ ye niyyat  
To chamkoge vāñ māh-e kāmīl kī surat<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>2</sup> The one who has received the title of 'Mercy' among the prophets, the one who fulfils the desires of the wretched, / The one who comes to the help of others in trouble, the one who takes to his heart the sufferings of his own and other people, / The refuge of the poor, the asylum of the weak, the guardian of orphans and the protector of slaves.

<sup>3</sup> He gave the poor the urge to work hard, saying, 'Earn your living by your arm. / So long as you support your own and strangers, you will not have to beg from door to door. / If this is your purpose in seeking worldly goods on earth, you will shine like the full moon in heaven.'

The moral impetus provided by the Prophetic mission inspires the simple, just and egalitarian society of the early Caliphate (M55-M61). This is starkly contrasted with the darkness which had then befallen former civilizations (M61-M68), until the spread of Islam through the Arabs led not only to moral renewal but to cultural renaissance, with the Arabs' tireless explorations and physical transformations of all parts of the known world from Gibraltar to Malaya—as may be still seen from the monuments of that glorious period (M69-M81). The footnotes needed to explain the wealth of geographical and other references become still denser as Hali's memorial to the golden age of Islam flows to its high water mark, first with a passage on the Umayyad Caliphate of Muslim Spain (M82-M84), whose once flourishing Arab culture is movingly evoked for an Indian Muslim readership (M82):

*Huā Andalus un se gulzār yaksar  
Jahāñ un ke āsār bāqī haiñ aksar  
Jo chāhe ko'ī dekh le āj jā-kar  
Ye hai Bait-e Hamrā kī goyā zabāñ par  
Kī the Āl-e 'Adnān se mere bāñī  
'Arab kī hūñ main is zamīñ par nishāñī<sup>4</sup>*

This is followed by a more detailed evocation of the achievements of the Abbasid Caliphate of Baghdad (M85-M104), which led the world in sciences and arts—including astronomy, geography, history, literature and medicine—and thereby gave mankind cause to be eternally indebted to the Arabs.

The Muslims' loss of power along with their falling away from the true practice of Islam is described in a transitional passage (M105-M114), which is closely comparable in function to the *gurez-gāh* which links the two main parts of a formal *qaṣīda*. The relative status of Muslim decadence in the world is first described through an extended simile comparing it to a ruined garden, before reverting to the sea imagery which runs through the poem (M113):

*Vo dīn-e Hijāzī kī be-bāk berā  
Nishāñ jis kī aqṣā-e 'ālam meñ pahunchā  
Muzāhim huā ko'ī khatra na jis kī  
Na 'Ummāñ meñ thitkā na Qulzum meñ jhījkā  
Kī'e pai sipar jis ne sātoñ samandar  
Vo dūbā dahāne meñ Gangā ke ā-kar<sup>5</sup>*

<sup>4</sup> Through them Spain was entirely turned into a rose-garden, where many of their memorials remain. / Anyone who wishes may go and see them for himself today. It is as if these words were on the tongue of the Alhambra, / 'My founders were of the Umayyad clan. I am the token of the Arabs in this land.'

<sup>5</sup> That fearless fleet of the religion of the Hijaz, whose mark reached the extreme limits of the world, / Which no apprehension could obstruct, which did not hesitate in the Persian Gulf, or falter in the Red Sea, / Which traversed the seven seas—sank when it came to mouth of the Ganges.

With this abrupt bump, the poem moves from proud past to ignoble present. The poet addresses his community, the Muslims of the late nineteenth century (M115-M130), first reminding them of the imperial might they once exercised, then drawing attention to the state of dishonourably idle powerlessness into which they are now plunged. This state is contrasted first with that of the Europeans, whose efficiency has won them world domination (M131-M133), then with that of the Hindus, whose community spirit and readiness to adapt has won them deserved prosperity (M134-M137).

Unlike both these, the Muslims have been reduced to wretchedness by their general poverty (M138-M153), the proverbial 'mother of crimes' which has utterly subverted the values of the former elite and thus deprived the community of its natural leadership. The decline of the once mighty Muslim aristocracy is lamented (M147):

*Magar miṭ chukā jin kā nām-o nishān hai*  
*Purānī hu'ī jin kā ab dāstān hai*  
*Fasānon meṅ qisṣon meṅ jin kā bayān hai*  
*Bahut naṣl par tang un kā jahān hai*  
*Nahīn un kā qadr aur pūrsish kahīn ab*  
*Unheṅ bhīk tak ko'ī detā nahīn ab<sup>6</sup>*

Observing that one escape from poverty is the ignoble path of becoming a hanger-on of the rich (M154-M155), Hali is led to express strong criticism of the rich for their arrogance, selfishness and complete disregard for the sufferings of the less fortunate (M156-M169). Paraphrases of Hadith point to the principles of philanthropy enjoined by true Islam, but now practised by the peoples of the West for the betterment of their fellows. This practical civic spirit is quite unlike the habit of even those wealthy Muslims who do have some conscience, which is to waste money on traditional religious ceremonies (M170-M178).

The state of contemporary religious institutions and their leaders is next characterized in highly sardonic terms (M179-M195). Just as the clerics are criticized for their lack of learning, so too are the members of Sufi families for their lack of true learning. In the twentieth century, Iqbal was to reiterate—notably in *Panjāb ke pīrādōn se* (Matthews 1993:124-5)—such unfavourable contrasts of the Pirs of the present with the saints of old as those expressed here by Hali (M185):

*Bahut log pīron kā aulād ban-kar*  
*Nahīn zāt-e vātā meṅ kuchh jin ke jauhar*  
*Barā fakhr hai jin ko le de-ke is par*  
*Ki the un ke aṣṭāf maqbūl-e dāvar*  
*Kīrishme haiṅ jā jā-ke jhūṭhe dīkhāte*

<sup>6</sup> But those whose name and mark is now effaced, whose tale has grown old, / Who are told of in fables and stories, their descendants' resources in the world are very straitened. / They are nowhere valued or asked after now. None gives them so much as alms now.

*Muridoṅ ko haiṅ lūṭe aur khāte<sup>7</sup>*

The theologians are then fiercely attacked for their narrow and intolerant interpretation of Islam, in flagrant contradiction of the Prophet's own statement that 'Religion is easy' (*al-dīnu yusrun*). The readiness of the theologians to label their opponents unbelievers inspires harsh words from Hali on the general prevalence of bigotry and intolerance which has inspired such bitter sectarian divisions amongst the Muslims of India, in complete contrast to the reconciliation of so many diverse peoples once effected by Islam (M196-M213).

Hali's attack is now widened to cover the community's more general moral defects (M214-M225). Its formal profession of Islam is shown to be utterly belied by the practice of such vices as slander, envy, maliciousness, flattery, and the like. A particularly common target of Hali's moral and aesthetic disapproval, what he calls 'lies and exaggeration' (*kizb-o mubālagha*), is duly satirized here (M224):

*Rivāyāt par hāshiyā ik charhānā*  
*Qasam jhūṭe va'dōn pai sau bār khānā*  
*Agar madh karnā to ḥad se barhānā*  
*Mazallat pai ānā to ṭāfān uṭhānā*  
*Ye hai rozmarre kā yān un ke 'unvān*  
*Fasāhat meṅ be-mīṣl haiṅ jo musalmān<sup>8</sup>*

Final point is given to this hostile picture of the community's general wickedness by a reminder of the universal justice which prevailed under the Caliphs (M226-M230).

The last spurt of Hali's torrent of criticisms is directed against the cultural bankruptcy associated with the community's moral turpitude. The Muslims' blind traditionalism which obstinately turns its back upon contemporary knowledge in favour of the ancient 'wisdom of the Greeks' is satirically compared to the efforts of some monkeys to warm themselves before a firefly which they had mistaken for fire (M231-M245). Traditional medicine is cited as a particularly glaring instance of this refusal to get up to date (M246-M248). Perhaps the most vitriolic passage in the entire *Musaddas* is then inspired by the perceived degeneracy of contemporary Urdu poetry (M249-M256)—that same world from which Hali charts his painful emergence at the start of the First Introduction. The consequences of the modern Muslim poets' betrayal of the proud moral heritage of Arabic poetry are savagely described (M249):

<sup>7</sup> Many people make themselves out to be the descendants of Pirs, without having any excellence in their noble selves. / They take great pride merely in the fact that their ancestors were the favourites of God. / As they go about, they work false wonders. They eat by robbing their disciples.

<sup>8</sup> Adding supplements to the Traditions, swearing a hundred oaths in support of false promises, / If one has to give praise, then to do so beyond due limit, while unleashing a very tempest if one has to give censure, / These things here make up the daily practice of those Muslims who are unsurpassed in eloquence.

*Vo shi'r-o qasā'id kā nā-pāk daftar*  
*'Ufūnat men sandās se jo hai badtar*  
*Zamīn jis se hai zalzale men barābar*  
*Malak jis se sharmāte haiñ āsmān par*  
*Huā 'ilm-o dīn jis se tārāj sārā*  
*Vo 'ilmōn men 'ilm-e adab hai hamārā<sup>9</sup>*

An extended picture of the degeneracy of the younger generation of the aristocracy follows (M257-M274), satirically characterizing its members as wastrels and scoundrels.

The start of the prologue is then recalled with a final evocation of the symbol of the boat on the point of sinking. This leads to the report of how a wise man once pronounced that a man without wisdom, knowledge or wealth is better dead. Like the opening anecdote about Hippocrates, this is told in two verses, and is followed by the poet's appeal to his community to reform itself (M275-M281). The blessings of British rule are then evoked in a passage very much of its time (M282-M289). The loyalist tone is well caught by its opening verse (M282):

*Hukūmat ne āzādiyān tum ko dī haiñ*  
*Taraqqī kī rāheñ sarāsar khulī haiñ*  
*Sadā'eñ ye har simt se ā rahī haiñ*  
*Kī rājā se parjā talak sab sukhī haiñ*  
*Tasalluḥ hai mulkoñ men amn-o amān kā*  
*Nahīn band rasta kisī kārvān kā<sup>10</sup>*

A brief but powerful epilogue (M290-M294) emphasizes the inevitable passing of all worldly greatness into failure and decline, for God alone is free from death.

### 2.3 The additional contents of the Second Edition

Written some seven years later, Hali's Second Introduction first describes how, in spite of its novelty and outspokenness, the *Musaddas* immediately provoked an extraordinarily enthusiastic reception. Hali takes this as an indication that the Muslim community is at last on the move. The last part of the original

<sup>9</sup> The filthy archive of poetry and odes, more foul than a cesspool in its putridity, / By which the earth is convulsed as if by an earthquake, and which makes the angels blush in heaven, / Such is the place among other branches of learning of our literature, by which learning and faith are quite devastated.

<sup>10</sup> The government has given you all kinds of freedom. It has completely opened up the roads to progress. / From every direction these cries are coming, 'From prince to peasant, all men prosper.' / Peace and security hold sway in all the lands. No caravan has its way blocked.

*Musaddas* consequently seems too gloomy to encourage the further positive developments in the community's change of attitude:

The community itself may be unchanged, but its attitude is changing. So even if the time for praise is not yet come, disapprobation ought certainly to be diminished. Such thoughts have been strengthened by the inspiration provided by some friends, and a Supplement suitable to the requirements of the present situation has been added to the end of the original *Musaddas*. It was not the author's intention to make the Supplement a lengthy one, but once having embarked upon the subject, it proved to be as difficult to avoid dwelling upon it at length as it is to refrain from flailing about with arms and legs after jumping into the sea.

Slight modifications have also been made to the old *Musaddas*. Having become familiar with the old phrasing, readers may dislike some of these changes, but it was the author's duty not to offer the friends he had invited anything disagreeable to his own taste.

As these introductory remarks indicate, the Supplement (S) is a lengthy exercise in giving a more positive gloss to the criticisms earlier voiced so fiercely. Predictably enough, perhaps, its effect is conspicuously weaker than that of the original *Musaddas*, and it was therefore decided to confine our presentation and discussion of the Supplement in this book to the summary which forms the subject of this section. Some idea of its relative artistic weaknesses may be gained from the representative verses quoted as illustrations below.

Hali begins with an invocation to Hope (S1-S10), which quickly introduces a list of the Prophets. This use of a very familiar topos of traditional Persian and Urdu poetry already provides an indication that the Supplement is going to be less uncomfortable reading than the deliberately challenging first *Musaddas* (S2):

*Safīna pa-e Nūh tūfān men tū thī*  
*Sukūn-bakhsh-e Ya'qūb Kin'ān men tū thī*  
*Zulaikḥā kā ḡham-kḥwār hijrān men tū thī*  
*Dil-ārām Yūsuf kā zindān men tū thī*  
*Maṣā'ib ne jab ān-kar un ko gherā*  
*Sahārā vān sab ko thā ek terā<sup>11</sup>*

<sup>11</sup> You were the ark for Noah in the Flood, the one who gave ease to Jacob in Canaan, / Who gave sympathy to Zulaikha in her separation, who eased the heart of Joseph in prison. / When they were beset by troubles, you were the only support for all of them.

Many other achievements of Hope are then listed, with Hali's encyclopaedic enthusiasm for all things Western leading him to range as far as including its motivation of Columbus to discover the New World (S6):

*Navāzā bahut be-navā'ōn ko tū ne  
Tavangar banāyā gadā'ōn ko tū ne  
Diyā dast-ras nā-rasā'ōn ko tū ne  
Kiyā hādshah nākhudā'ōn ko tū ne  
Sikandar ko shān-e Ka'ī tū ne bakhshī  
Kulambas ko duniyā na'ī tū ne bakhshī<sup>12</sup>*

Even amongst the Indian Muslims, who have lost almost everything, there are still some grounds for hope (S11-S37). Even in their ruin, they maintain a certain spirit and style (S11):

*Nahīn qaum meñ garchi kuchh jān bāqī  
Na us meñ vo islām kī shān bāqī  
Na vo jāh-o hashmat ke sāmān bāqī  
Par is hāl meñ bhī hai ik ān bāqī  
Bigarne kā go un ke vaqt ā gayā hai  
Magar is bigarne meñ bhī ik adā hai<sup>13</sup>*

The community is compared to a sick youth with some energy in spite of illness, or to a lamp that still burns, however flickeringly. Every society contains good as well as bad people, and even among the Muslims of India there are some who dimly glimpse that all is not well, and heed the message of those leaders who try to draw the community's attention to what needs to be done (S20):

*Ye sach hai ki hain beshtar ham meñ nādān  
Nahīn jin ke dard-e ta'assub kā darmān  
Jahān meñ hain jo un kī 'izzat ke khwāhān  
Unhīn se vo rahte hain dast-o girebān  
Pai aise bhī kuchh hote jāte hain paidā  
Ki jo khair-khwāhoñ pai hain apne shaidā<sup>14</sup>*

It is their pride in the achievements of their ancestors which is one of the main factors helping to arouse some awareness of their present plight among the

<sup>12</sup> You have favoured many who were destitute, and made beggars wealthy. / You have given power to those who were incapable, and made ships' captains kings. / You granted the glory of the rulers of Iran to Alexander, and on Columbus you bestowed the New World.

<sup>13</sup> Although there is no life left in the community, nor that glory of Islam, / Nor that equipage of majesty and pomp, but even in this state there is left a certain spirit. / Although the time of their ruin has come, yet even in this ruin there is a certain style.

<sup>14</sup> It is true that most among us are ignorant, suffering from a bigotry for which there is no cure. / Those who desire their honour in the world are continually the subject of their attacks. / But there are also some being produced who are devoted to their well-wishers.

Indian Muslims. It is indeed this sense of self-awareness which offers the best guarantee that they may be rescued from their ruined state. The nautical image which underpins the *Musaddas* is here reintroduced to somewhat strained effect (S37):

*Agar bā-khabar hain haqīqat se apnī  
Talaḥ kī hu'ī aglī 'azmat se apnī  
Bulandī-o pastī kī nisbat se apnī  
Guzashta aur ā'inda hālat se apnī  
To samjho ki hai pār khevā hamārā  
Nahīn dūr manjdhār se kuchh kinārā<sup>15</sup>*

The point is then expanded in one of Hali's constructed dialogues (S38-S46), in which the Seljuk emperor Tughril Beg (d. 1063) asks his nephew and successor Alp Arslan which peoples are the best and most successful, and is told that it is those who are most self-aware.

A considerable part of the Supplement is next devoted to the expansion of a theme which has already been given some prominence in the *Musaddas*—the need for the community to exert itself through effort and hard work (*koshish-o mihnat*). The virtues of toil are first extolled in a general fashion (S47-S55), in a passage which points out how all human achievements are due to hard work. The theme of the playgrounds of the rich being constructed by the toil of the poor—which was to be much exploited half a century later in the Urdu Progressive poetry of the 1930s—is here foreshadowed by Hali (S52):

*Gulistān meñ joban gul-o yāsman kā  
Samān zulf-e sumbul kī tāb-o shikan kā  
Qad-e dil-rubā sarv aur nārvan kā  
Rukh-e jān-fazā lāla-o nistarān kā  
Gharībōñ kī mihnat kī hai rang-o bū sab  
Kamerōñ ke khūñ se hain ye tāza-rū sab<sup>16</sup>*

There follows an extended attack in familiar vein upon the vices of the lazy (S56-S72), how they beg instead of working, how they disparage the efforts of the industrious, and how their idleness destroys the community. The positive aims of the Supplement demand that this attack be answered by praise of the industrious, which is expressed at somewhat greater length (S73-S95). Much

<sup>15</sup> If we are aware of our reality, of the former greatness we have lost, / Of our relationship to exaltation and degradation, of our past and future condition, / Then consider that our boat is across, that the bank is not at all far from midstream.

<sup>16</sup> The blooming of rose and jasmine in the garden, the charming twist of the hyacinth's tendril, / The heart-stealing tallness of cypress and pomegranate, the life-enhancing check of tulip and eglantine— / All this colour and scent is due to the labour of the poor, all get their fresh appearance from the blood of labourers.

emphasis is laid upon the unceasing demands the industrious make of themselves in all circumstances (S77):

*Mashaqqat meñ 'umr un kī kaṭṭī hai sārī  
Nahīn ātī ārām kī un ke bārī  
Sadā bhāg daur un kī rahū hai jāri  
Na āndhī meñ 'ājiz na meñh meñ hain 'ārī  
Na lū jeth kī dam turāṭī hai un kā  
Na thir māgh kī jī chhurāṭī hai un kā<sup>17</sup>*

Their toil is devoted to the support of all, as they use their God-given strengths for the common good. So it is through industry that honour accrues to any community, and through industry that political power and security, besides scientific and intellectual skills are gained (S96-S98).

Amongst the Muslims, however, there is a sad dearth of skills (S99-S104). This is conspicuously true of the young men from good families (*sharīf nau-javān*), who are too fond of amusements to apply themselves to their studies. This hedonism prevents the proper development of their natural talents, which might otherwise guarantee the development from this class of intellects to rival such great Muslim thinkers of the past as Nasir ud Din Tusi (d. 1274) or Fakhr ud Din Razi (d. 1210) (S103):

*Yihī jo kī phirte hain be-'ilm-o jāhil  
Bahut in meñ hain jin ke jauhar hain qābil  
Razā'il meñ pinhān hain in ke fazā'il  
Inhīn nāqison meñ hain poshūda kāmīl  
Na hote agar mā'il-e lahv-o bāzī  
Hazāron inhīn meñ the Tūsi-o Rāzī<sup>18</sup>*

This leads to a series of verses on the necessity of knowledge to nations who are to make anything of themselves in the world (S105-S117). The Muslims of India are exhorted to exert themselves and remember the achievements of their forbears in this area (S118-122), how the Muslims of the golden age used to travel widely in search of knowledge, and how they set up colleges of higher learning all over the Islamic world. Here, as so frequently in the Supplement, a characteristic theme of the *Musaddas*—the association between travel and knowledge (cf. 3:5 below)—is not so much developed as simply reiterated (S121, cf. M78-M79):

<sup>17</sup> Their whole life is spent in hard labour, and they get no time to rest. / Their racing onwards remains ever in progress. They are not helpless in a dust-storm, nor incapable in the rain. / The burning wind of June does not make them catch their breath, nor does the frost of February make them lose heart.

<sup>18</sup> Among these ones who wander about unlearned and ignorant are many with natural ability. / Their vices conceal their virtues. Hidden among these worthless cases are real masters. / If they were not given to sport and play, thousands among them would be like Tusi and Razi.

*'Irāqain-o Shāmāt-o Khwāriṣm-o Tūrān  
Jahān jins-e ta'lim sunte the arzān  
Vahīn pai sipar kar-ke koh-o biyābān  
Pahuñchte the tullāb uftān-o khezān  
Jahān tak 'amal dīn-e islām kā thā  
Har ik rāh meñ un kā tāntā bandhā thā<sup>19</sup>*

This reiteration is extended in the next verse to include a sonorous catalogue of names which comes perilously close—again, like rather too many verses of the Supplement—to parodying a favourite device of the original *Musaddas* (S122):

*Nizāmiyya Nūriyya Mustansiriyya  
Nafsiyya Sittiyya aur Sāhibiyya  
Ravāhiyya 'Izziyya aur Qāhiriyya  
'Azīziyya Zainiyya aur Nāsiriyya  
Ye kālij the markaz sab āfāqiyon ke  
Hijāzī-o Kurdī-o Qibchāqiyon ke<sup>20</sup>*

The following verses deal with self help (S123-124, headed *Apnī madad āp*), thus reintroducing yet another key theme of the *Musaddas* (cf. section 3:7 below). Particular reference is here made to the absolute priority of education (S125-S135). Nothing could be worse than becoming a burden upon the state, however benevolent a regime the British Empire may be (S126):

*Sarāsar ho go saltanat faiz-gustar  
Ra'iyat kī khud tarbiyat meñ ho yāvar  
Magar ko'i hālat nahīn is se badtar  
Kī har bojh ho qaum kā saltanat par  
Ho is tarh hāthon meñ us ke ra'iyat  
Kī qabze meñ ghassāl ke jaise mayyat<sup>21</sup>*

The state provides security and justice, and has guaranteed equal access to education, eliminating previous inequalities of the kind which once distinguished Brahmin and Shudra, or aristocrat and commoner. It is education that fosters a true community spirit, education that guarantees the political ideals of

<sup>19</sup> In the lands of Iraq and Syria, in Khwarezm and Turan, wherever they heard that the wares of education were cheap, / They would boldly face mountain and desert, and surmount all obstacles to arrive in eager search. / Wherever the religion of Islam was in operation, there would be queues of them on every road.

<sup>20</sup> The Nizamiyya, Nuriyya, Mustansiriyya, Nafisiyya, Sittiyya and Sahibiyya, / The Ravahiyya, Izziyya and Qahiriyya, the Aziziyya, Zainiyya and Nasiriyya, — / These colleges were centres for people from all over the world, for Arabs from the Hijaz, for Kurds and for Qipchaq Turks.

<sup>21</sup> Even though the Empire is entirely benevolent, itself aiding the training of its subjects, / Yet there is no condition worse than the community becoming a complete burden upon the Empire, / And its subjects being in its hands like a corpse in the grasp of a body-washer.

Western liberalism (cf. 3:7 below) here denoted in characteristic style by Hali through use of the English loan words 'republic' and 'public' (S133):

*Sunī hai gharibon kī faryād usī ne  
Kiyā hai ghulāmī ko barbād usī ne  
Ripablik kī dālī hai bunyād usī ne  
Banāyā hai pablik ko āzād usī ne  
Muqayyad bhī kartī hai ye aur rihā bhī  
Banātī hai āzād bhī bā-vafā bhī<sup>22</sup>*

The sorry state of the Muslims is due to a lack of education (S136-S143), resulting in a general lack of skills. The consequent dearth of indigenous industry necessitates a reliance upon the imported goods and skills generated by British 'mechanics' (S140):

*Agar ik pahūne ko topī banā'ēn  
To kaprā vo ik aur dunyā se lā'ēn  
Jo sine ko vo ek sū'ī maṅgā'ēn  
To mashriq se maghrīb meṅ lene ko jā'ēn  
Har ik shai meṅ ghairoṅ ke muhtāj haiṅ vo  
Makāniks kī rau meṅ tārāj haiṅ vo<sup>23</sup>*

Since everything is imported, commerce too is adversely affected. Hence there is an urgent need to foster education in the community and to put the same proper value upon the acquisition of skills as the ancient Greeks did (S144-S151). These changes should usher in the hoped for revival in community spirit (S152-S158), for which the last of Hali's similes from everyday life provides an ideal example in the industriously selfless life of the anthill (S156):

*Zakhīra hai jab chiyuntā ko'ī pātā  
To bhāgā jamā'at meṅ hai apnī ātā  
Unheṅ sāth le le-ke hai yān se jātā  
Futūh apnī ek ek ko hai dikhātā  
Sadā un ke haiṅ is tarah kām chalte  
Kamā'ī se ek ik kī lākhon haiṅ palte<sup>24</sup>*

<sup>22</sup> It is education which has heard the cry of the poor, which has destroyed slavery, / Which has laid the foundation of 'republic', which has set free the 'public', / Which both confines and sets more free, which brings both freedom and faithfulness.

<sup>23</sup> If they make a hat to wear, they bring the cloth for it from another world. / If they need a needle to sew with, they go from East to West to get it. / In everything they are dependent upon others, and are destroyed by the onslaught of 'mechanics'.

<sup>24</sup> When any ant finds a store, he comes running to his community, / And, taking them with him, goes from there to show each of them his supplies. / This is how things ever proceed amongst them: from the earnings of each individual hundreds of thousands are nourished.

The Supplement ends with a prayer to God to look after the Prophet's community before it is too late (S159-S162).

The same mode of supplication is taken up in the final addition to the *Musaddas*, the Petition (P) whose appeal to the Prophet to attend to his community begins (P1):

*Ai khāsa-e khāsān-e rusul vaqt-e du'ā hai  
Ummat pai tirī ā-ke 'ajab vaqt parā hai<sup>25</sup>*

Many of the themes of the *Musaddas* are again reiterated more briefly in the Petition, which bewails the community's loss of all but its religion. As another gloomy picture is drawn of the ruin into which the once mighty Muslims have fallen, familiar images make their appearance (P40):

*Faryād hai ai kishī-e ummat kī nigahbān  
Berā ye tabāhī ke qarib ān lagā hai<sup>26</sup>*

In keeping with this poem's devotional nature, however, the Petition suggests that the ultimate solutions to the community's problems lie not so much in education and industrious self-help as in a renewal of that Islamic faith which is still so particularly expressed in passionate devotion to the Prophet (P50):

*Imān jise kahte haiṅ 'aqīde meṅ hamāre  
Vo terī muhabbat tirī 'irat kī vilā hai<sup>27</sup>*

While the community still loves the Prophet, there is still hope for it. Having enjoyed its turn of glory, it may now endure its disgrace, provided that its faith remains intact.

## 2:4 The style of the *Musaddas*

A critical reading of almost any poem will demand at least some cursory analysis of the inextricable link between its semantics and its form, of the relationship between its message and its medium. The overt message of the *Musaddas*, its poetic articulation of Sir Sayyid's aggressively formulated reformism, will have been sufficiently introduced through the preceding summaries. The verses already quoted in transliteration may also have conveyed some idea of the nature of its medium. But since it is by definition dependent upon both the

<sup>25</sup> O most noble of the noble messengers, it is the time for entreaty. Upon your community a strange time has come.

<sup>26</sup> The cry goes up, O guardian of the ship of the community, 'This fleet has begun its approach to destruction.'

<sup>27</sup> The faith which is said to reside in our belief is our love for you, our devotion to your family.

Urdu language and the poetic conventions associated therewith, more now needs to be said about the style of the *Musaddas*.

As is shown by his remarks at the end of the First Introduction, Hali was fully aware of the criticisms that his consciously new style was likely to attract from connoisseurs of the classical school of Urdu poetry:

Our country's gentlemen of taste will obviously have no liking for this dry, insipid, plain and simple poem... Flights of fancy or elegance of style are nowhere to be found in it, and it lacks both the seasoning of exaggeration and the flavouring of artifice. In other words, it contains none of the things with which the ears of my fellow countrymen are familiar and to which their taste is accustomed... This poem has not, however, been composed in order to be enjoyed or with aim of eliciting applause, but in order to make my friends and fellows feel a sense of outrage and shame. It will be a sufficient kindness on their part if they will look at it, read it, and understand it.

An extreme sensibility to language and its stylistic implications seems always to have been a strongly marked characteristic of the Urdu literary world, as the perhaps inevitable consequence of its situation in both the Persianate and Indic worlds. So it was hardly surprising that contemporary critics were indeed to be united in the view that the medium of the *Musaddas* was quite as revolutionary as its message. For supporters, the new style which Hali called 'natural poetry' (*necharal shā'irī*) was an essential and exciting concomitant of the new ideology. For opponents, the 'natural poetry' of the *Musaddas* was tarred with the same brush of infidelity to tradition as Sir Sayyid's rationalist attempt to bring Islam into conformity with 'natural law'—the heretical position for which he was widely execrated as a 'nature-ist' (*necharī*).

These conflicting contemporary reactions are vividly illustrated in the various imitations of the *Musaddas* discussed in section 2.5 below. To understand how its style was able to arouse such passions, it is first useful to take note of the established poetic standards against which its divergences were judged. For present purposes it is hardly necessary to go into detail about the historical evolution of these norms, whose function in the Urdu art-poetry of the mid-nineteenth century has been described elsewhere (e.g. Pritchett 1994:77-122; Shackle 1996a). From the critical perspective Hali later elaborated in his *Muqaddama*, which advocated the subordination of poetic structures to higher moral purposes, the trouble with contemporary Urdu poetry was that any message had become quite overlaid by layers of medium, as true art had come almost entirely to be replaced by mere artifice.

Although the contemporary taste for elaboration may be seen in the wider context of Islamic literary history as but one phase of a cycle regularly alternating over the centuries in Arabic, then Persian too, latterly also in Urdu poetry, to Hali it represented an absolute nadir, reached after a long process of

steady decline from the glorious simplicities articulated in the Persian classics, or still more effectively in earlier Arabic poetry. The artificiality Hali regarded as so degenerate was associated particularly with the so-called 'Lucknow school' centred upon the pupils of Shaikh Imam Bakhsh Nasikh (d. 1838), a remarkable figure who was extraordinarily influential in his day for his success in imparting to Urdu poetry all the glitter of the sixteenth century 'Indian style' of Persian poetry (Heinz 1973).

Like most artistic styles, this is less effectively captured through description than through brief example. A passage in a long *qasīda* by Hali's near contemporary Muhsin Kakoravi (1827-1905), a third-generation pupil of the Nasikh school, uses a characteristically elaborate rhetoric to play with contrasts between the clouds and the lightning of an Indian monsoon. In one verse, for instance, lightning and cloud appear neatly contrasted types of non-Muslims (Sperl and Shackle 1996b: no. 35, verses 6-7):

*Dhur kā tarsā-bacha hai barq liye jal meñ āg*  
*Abr choḡī kā birahman hai liye āg meñ jal*<sup>28</sup>

In the next, cloud and lightning are even more neatly contrasted as senior officials of the British Empire:

*Abr Panjāb talāṭum meñ hai a'lā nāzīm*  
*Barq Bangāla-e zulmat meñ gavarnar janral*<sup>29</sup>

These are verses which demand a sophisticated audience, able without commentary to appreciate the subtle aptness of *choḡī kā*, both 'supreme' and 'with a Brahmin's lock', or of *talāṭum*, whose 'turbulence' fits the cloud, and whose five letters in the Urdu script fit the Punjab, the Land of the Five Rivers. They also address an audience appreciating the devotion of such highly wrought art to serious purpose. Muhsin's *qasīda* of 1876 is an extended eulogy of the Prophet Muhammad, for any Muslim poet a theme of no less profound gravity than Hali's *Musaddas* of 1879.

Hali carefully denied himself such extended transmutations of reality in his own mature poetic practice, whose later codification in the *Muqaddama* condemned them as morally indefensible distortions and aesthetically unacceptable rhetorical tricks. While distinguished by its continual restraint from stylistic exuberance of this kind, much of Hali's poetry does, however, closely follow the same underlying rules. The Petition added to the *Musaddas*, for instance, is a quite traditional type of poem. Like Muhsin's, it is a *qasīda* addressed to the Prophet, albeit in supplication rather than in praise. The 'ground' (*zamīn*) of Muhsin's poem—the formal scheme of its rhyme and

<sup>28</sup> So outstanding a fire-worshipper is the lightning that in water it carries fire, so supreme a Brahmin is the cloud that in fire it carries water.

<sup>29</sup> The cloud is Governor in the Punjab of turbulence, the lightning is Governor-General in the Bengal of darkness.

metre—is precisely based on one cultivated by Sauda, the great master of Urdu *qasīda*, and he in turn derived it from the twelfth century Persian master Anvari's ode beginning *Jirm-e khurshīd chu az hūt dar āyad ba-hamal* 'When the disk of the sun enters Aries from Pisces.' So too does Hali's Petition use another metre which Sauda, in imitation of many classical Persian exemplars, particularly favoured for the *qasīda*. This comprises successive pairs of long and short syllables, although its symmetry is somewhat obscured by its analysis in traditional Urdu prosody (cf. Thiesen 1982) as a variety of *hazaj*, divided into four feet with the pattern *maf'ūlu maf'ūlu maf'ūlu fa'ūlun*. The scansion may be illustrated with the aid of the symbol ' to indicate an overlong syllable (P23):

- - - / - - - / - - - / - - -  
 'Ishrat-kade ābād' the jis qaum' ke har sū  
 - - - / - - - / - - - / - - -  
 Us qaum' kā ek ek' ghar ab bazm-e 'azā hai'<sup>30</sup>

For all its modernist emphasis on the familiar key term *qaum* 'community, people', there is nothing very revolutionary about this neatly composed verse, with its modestly Persianized vocabulary and its entirely traditional structure, governed by the placement of a phrase at its beginning ('*ishrat-kade* 'pleasure-places') chiasmically designed to contrast with the expression which forms the rhyme at its close (*bazm-e 'azā* 'assemblies of mourning'). The accepted poetic practice of the time might indeed be defined as a spectrum at whose most admired end lay works like Muhsin's *qasīda*, while Hali's Petition represented an extreme of simplicity at its other limit.

It was the deliberate flouting of this limit in the search for still more unadorned and barer expression which made the style of the *Musaddas* so controversial. As is clear from the *Muqaddama*, much of the inspiration for this revolutionary 'natural' style certainly came from Hali's understanding of English poetics, most obviously those articulated by Wordsworth (Pritchett 1994:166-7). But the *Musaddas* itself is chiefly concerned with staking out a new position for Urdu poetry in the literary tradition of the Islamic world. It does this in a whole variety of ways.

One of these is its prosodic form. An Urdu poem's choice of metre was traditionally an important self-statement, one of the main methods—along with direct and indirect quotation—which served to align it with recognized Persian or Urdu masterpieces of the past. The *mutaqārib* selected by Hali for the *Musaddas* is similar to that used in Persian in the great *Shāhnāma* (1010) by Firdausi, whose epic overtones he may have wished to suggest, although a likelier analogue would be another famous Persian poem in Firdausi's metre by the Persian poet whom Hali admired above all others, the highly instructional

<sup>30</sup> The pleasure-places of that community were flourishing on every side—but its every abode now houses assemblies of mourning.

*Bostān* by Sadi of Shiraz (d. c.1292). The following verse illustrates the metre and style of the *Bostān*, whose simplicity Hali was to capture more successfully than its elegance:

- - - / - - - / - - - / - - -  
 Ba-daryā marau guftam-at zīn'hār  
 - - - / - - - / - - - / - - -  
 Vagar mīravī tan ba-ūfān sipār<sup>31</sup>

It was, however, not only the more direct of the Persian masters who were Hali's models. It is significant that he ends the First Introduction with a quotation from Hafiz (1326-89), which might be regarded as valedictory in more senses than one, with an ambiguity entirely appropriate to the great master of the Persian *ghazal*. The only identifiable quotation in the *Musaddas* itself is not from Persian but from Arabic, the already mentioned Hadīth *al-dīnu yusrun* 'Religion is easy' (M192). The role of Arabic literature as a conscious historical model is emphasized in the First Introduction by Hali's description of how Sir Sayyid aroused his dormant inspiration by invoking the example of Arabic poetry:

It is true that much has been written, and continues to be written about this. But no one has yet written poetry, which makes a natural appeal to all, and has been bequeathed to the Muslims as a legacy from the Arabs, for the purpose of awakening the community.

It seems likely that the metre chosen for the *Musaddas* was intended to reflect Hali's general concern to direct the new poetry away from the perceived effiteness of Persianate rhetoric back towards the more virile model of Arabic. This metre is the full (acatalectic) variety of *mutaqārib*, not at all favoured for large-scale poems in Persian or in Urdu, including the Urdu *marṣiya* cited in section 2:1 above as the most obvious inspiration of the strophic form of the *Musaddas*. It is, however, one of the few Perso-Urdu metres at all commonly used in classical Arabic poetry, at least that of the Abbasid period (cf. Arberry 1965:11). It therefore seems quite likely that its Arabic associations helped determine the choice of this somewhat unusual metre, which was in Urdu to become so closely identified with the *Musaddas*. This full variety of *mutaqārib* has twelve syllables to the hemistich, with the pattern *fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun*, a highly symmetric four-square rhythm entirely in keeping with the revivalist character of the *Musaddas*. Six hemistichs in this unvarying metre are arranged in an *aaaabb* rhyme-scheme to constitute a stanza, as illustrated in the example which follows (M3). It may be noted in passing that the rhymes of the

<sup>31</sup> 'Beware!' I said, 'Do not go into the sea. And if you do, entrust your body to the storm.'

*Musaddas* are quite flexible, too flexible indeed for some of the critics alluded to in the following section below. They may vary in length from a single syllable up to five syllables, as in the final *-ar ahl-e kishū* below. Two-syllable rhymes are the commonest, like the opening *-ā hai* which is exactly the same as the undemanding monorhyme of the Petition:

~ - - / ~ - - / ~ - -  
Yihī hāl° duniyā meñ us qaum° kā hai

~ - - / ~ - - / ~ - - / ~ - -  
Bhañvar meñ jahāz ā-ke jis kā ghirā hai

~ - - / ~ - - / ~ - - / ~ - -  
Kināra hai dūr aur° tūfāñ ba-pā hai

~ - - / ~ - - / ~ - - / ~ - -  
Gumāñ hai ye har-dam ki ab dūb° tā hai

~ - - / ~ - - / ~ - - / ~ - -  
Nahīñ lete karvañ magar ahl-e kishū

~ - - / ~ - - / ~ - - / ~ - -  
Pare sote haiñ be-khabar ahl-e kishū<sup>32</sup>

While this simple rhythm was certainly a factor encouraging the popular diffusion of the *Musaddas* and its message, its aesthetic consequences were not always entirely happy, as will be further illustrated below. The keen awareness of these weaknesses on the part of contemporary critics is well captured in the satirical definition of 'natural poet' offered in the *Avadh Punch* of 1904 (quoted in Sandilavi 1960:288) as:

One who is unsophisticated in prosody and ignorant in rhyme, rampageous as a lion in braggadocio, whom his grubby creation fills with conceit.

While this is of course wildly unfair, the unvarying beat of Hali's *mutaqārib* certainly lacks the rhythmic flexibility offered by metres like *muẓāri* which have been generally preferred by Urdu poets of all periods (cf. Matthews and Shackle 1972:212-3).

Its metre is only one possible instance of the influence of Arabic example on the *Musaddas*. Others are more obvious, including its highly explicit reliance

<sup>32</sup> Precisely this is the condition in the world of that community, whose ship has entered the whirlpool and is surrounded by it. / The shore is far away, and a storm is raging. At every moment there is the apprehension that it is just about to sink. / But the people on the boat do not even turn over, as they lie asleep and unconscious.

on paraphrases from Arabic sacred literature, whose original texts are so carefully indicated in Hali's notes. The overt influence of Arabic poetry is less easy to establish, although mention here might be made of the device of establishing a framework for nostalgia through the citation of exotic proper names. Deployed at finely judged intervals throughout the magnificent elegy (Arberry 1965:72-81) on the ruined Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon in Iraq by al-Buhturi (812-97), this device is rather a favourite of Hali's, as is to be seen in his deeply felt—if rhythmically rather awkward—lament for the glories of Muslim Spain (M83):

Huvaidā hai *Gharnāta* se shaukat un kī  
'Ayāñ hai Bilansiyya se qudrat un kī  
Batalyūs ko yād hai 'azmat un kī  
*Tapakū* hai *Qādis* meñ sar hasrat un kī  
Naṣīb un kī *Ishbiliya* meñ hai sotā  
Shab-o roz hai *Qurtaba* un ko rotā<sup>33</sup>

Just as such lists of exotic names help to tilt the new Urdu poetry's whole frame of reference away from its Persianate past, so too does Hali's choice of vocabulary crucially define the 'natural' style by largely stripping it of the Persian phraseology which for many centuries suffused and defined all the poetic literatures of the Persianate tradition. This represents a quite radical break with the past, quite different from the paths followed from the later nineteenth century onwards in Persian (Karimi-Hakkak 1996) or in Arabic poetry, where the way forward seemed typically to lie rather in re-establishing fresh links with the literary past of their own languages. Such, for instance, was the case for the so-called neo-classicist movement in Arabic (Cachia 1990:180-4) led by Hali's contemporary al-Barudi (1839-1904), exiled by the British from Egypt to Ceylon, where much of his finest work was produced (cf. Arberry 1965:148-55). His greatest successor in the next generation too, Ahmad Shauqi (1868-1932), was able to derive fresh inspiration from great masters of the Abbasid period like al-Mutanabbi (d. 965), while also elaborating new references to the Pharaonic past of his native Egypt (Boudot-Lamotte 1977).

For would-be modernist poets in composite languages like Urdu or Ottoman Turkish, the choice was not so simple. In their desire to express an ideal future, there was no comparably unambiguous distant past for them to reclaim, in compensation for their rejection of what they commonly identified as the Persianate effete-ness of immediate past and their present. There were, of course, major differences between the political situation of the disempowered Indian Muslims and the Ottomans, a Muslim elite still in control of a multilingual and multireligious empire. But the mid-nineteenth century Turkish reformers (Andrews and Kalpaklı 1996) could identify neither with the highly

<sup>33</sup> Their majesty is manifest from Granada, their greatness is made apparent by Valencia. / Their glory is recalled by Badajoz, Cadiz throbs with longing for them. / Their fortune sleeps in Seville, and Cordoba weeps for them night and day.

Persianized Ottoman associated with the discredited regime nor with the simple Turkish of the uncultured Anatolian peasantry. The search undertaken by Young Turks like Namik Kemal (1840-1888)—another almost exact contemporary of Hali's—for an idiom which would one day match French (or English) as a language of modern culture accordingly led them to exploit the third strand of their complex linguistic heritage. This was Arabic, whose enormous resources of abstract vocabulary were drawn upon to fill the gap left by the now discredited rose and bulbul. The opening verse of the well known 'Freedom qasida' by Namik Kemal illustrates the typical consequences of this change to a poetic environment in which subtleties of the kind presented in Muhsin's poetry had previously dominated (Sperl and Shackle 1996b: no.26,1):

Görüp *ahkâm-ı 'asrı münharif sidk u selâmetden*  
Çekildik 'izzet ü ikbâl ile bâb-ı hükûmetden<sup>34</sup>

The effect of the verse is entirely dependent upon its plethora of Arabic words, which would be spelt for Urdu as *ahkâm-e 'asr* 'laws of the age', *münharif* 'turned', *sidq-o salâmat* 'honesty and decency', *'izzat-o iqbâl* 'glory and fortune', *bâb-e hükûmat* 'gate of government'.

Hali does exactly the same sort of thing in the *Musaddas*. Many of its verses rely for their structure on sequences of Arabic abstract nouns ending in *-at*. A large inventory of these may be found in our glossary, which also shows that only some of them belong to the technical vocabulary of Islam whose use is necessitated by the poem's theme. Typically consisting of three syllables, these nouns tend to coincide all too closely with the *mutaqarib* rhythm, just as—with the addition of Turkish suffixes—they do with the equally regular *hazaj* of Namik Kemal's poem. As an illustration, the rhythmic accents which fall on the first long syllable of each foot are marked in the following example (M42):

*Gha'nîmat hai 'sihhat 'a'lâlat se 'pahle*  
*Fa'râghat mâ'shâghil kî 'kasrat se 'pahle*  
*Ja'vânî bu'rhâpe kî 'zahmat se 'pahle*  
*Iqâmat mu'sâfir kî 'rahlat se 'pahle*  
*Fa'qîrî se 'pahle gha'nîmat hai 'daulat*  
*Jo 'karnâ hai 'kar lo kî 'thorî hai 'muhtat'<sup>35</sup>*

Neither Namik Kemal nor Hali can have derived this sort of Arabicized diction from classical Arabic poetry itself, which is famously so much more concrete in its vocabulary. Actually, the Islamicate patina which this consciously

<sup>34</sup> The laws of the age swerved before our eyes from honesty and decency; and so turned we, and glory turned and fortune from governance's gate.

<sup>35</sup> 'You have your opportunity in health before sickness, in leisure before abundant occupations, / In youth before the affliction of old age, in halting before the traveller goes on. / You have your opportunity in wealth before poverty. Do what you ought, for there is little time to spare!'

elevated diction so convincingly imparted to political or moralizing themes seems more likely to have been derived from contemporary prose. Especially in any official connection, modern trends were naturally more to the fore in prose than in poetry. Nineteenth century conditions in both Turkey and India encouraged the production of vast amounts of prose translation for legislative, administrative and educational purposes, necessitating the use of great numbers of neologisms, with Arabic as a prime source of loans and calques. It is hardly accidental that Namik Kemal did a youthful stint in the imperial Translation Bureau in Istanbul, a few years before Hali worked with Muhammad Husain Azad (1830-1910) under Colonel Holroyd in Lahore (Pritchett 1994:34-45). Nor, indeed, is it coincidental that Ismail Merathi (1844-1917), the other Urdu poet of the time most frequently mentioned in connection with the new 'natural' style (Husain 1935:109), should also have been a schoolteacher actively involved in the production of Urdu language-readers for classroom use.

Hali's life as a supervisor of translations would certainly have given him considerable awareness of the new bureaucratic norms, like the rigid numbering by sections of the Indian Penal Code of 1860. This was made widely familiar through the Code's Urdu translation by Nazir Ahmad (1830-1912), later famous as the author of improving prose tales whose style had their own distinctive relationship to Arabic (Naim 1984; Shackle and Snell 1990:133-6). His equal awareness of the simplified stylistic norms encouraged for utilitarian prose in Victorian India is reflected with considerable success in the lucid organization of his own prose style (Shackle and Snell 1990:105-8). It might also be very plausibly argued that the organization of the *Musaddas* itself—not just the way that its contents demand footnotes, as was indicated in 2:1 above—owes quite as much to those of British textbooks as it does to the structures developed for the old poetic genres. While the syntactic structure of each stanza is to a considerable extent determined by and within the 4 + 2 *musaddas* rhyme-pattern, the intrinsically freer relationship of the stanzas to one another is carefully disciplined by Hali's marginal subject headings. Although these too are of course unnumbered, their arrangement not infrequently suggests careful planning by section and subsection, e.g.:

- The first preaching of the Apostleship (M27-M30)
- The preaching of the Law (M31)
- How the Muslims were in error (M32-M33)
- The teaching of monotheism (M34-M39)
- Instructions on how to live (M40)
- Time (M41-M43)
- Compassion (M44-M45)
- Fanaticism (M46, etc.)
- The effect of his teaching (M53)

The neatness of such structures is entirely compatible with the extensive use of abstract Arabic vocabulary, besides suggesting profounder analogies with the rationalistic emphases characteristic of Sir Sayyid's strategy for reform.

The profundity of these influences from Western example upon the language and structure of the *Musaddas* are far more important than the few English loanwords Hali chooses to flaunt, which are confined to 'nation' (M62), 'liberal' and 'liberty' (M97), 'office' (M135), and 'chemistry' (M247). Together with a few more indicated in the foregoing summary of the Supplement, e.g. 'republic' and 'public' (S133) or 'mechanics' (S140), these are interesting for the semantic fields they indicate. They do not add up to a very long list, although a more detailed investigation would certainly add a larger number of calques to it, including Arabic abstract nouns of the type already mentioned, e.g. *falāhat* 'agriculture' and *siyāhat* 'travel' (both M75), besides those formed on other patterns like *tamaddun* 'civilization' and *taraqqī* 'progress' (both M8), and such compound phrases as *āzādī-e rā'e* 'freedom of opinion' (M273).

At the superficial level of vocabulary, therefore, English influences on the language and structures of the *Musaddas* are thus rather slight, however great their role in helping mould the new poetic rhetoric of the 'natural' style. So, in a highly typical reflection of local linguistic concerns (cf. Shackle and Snell 1990:6-11, 73), local critics have instead generally chosen to fasten on a phenomenon which might be regarded as exhibiting the reverse characteristics from those to be associated with English, namely Hali's use of 'Hindi' vocabulary. That wag in the *Avadh Punch* of 1904 described 'natural propoganda' as containing 'torrents of pure Hindi (*theth hindi*) and heaps of unfamiliar words' (Sandilavi 1960:289).

In order to understand the feelings aroused by this issue, it is helpful once more to recall parallels with Turkey, where the linguistic shifts introduced in the nineteenth century by the Young Turks were abruptly succeeded in the 1920s—after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire—by Atatürk's policies of linguistic nationalism. These resulted in a wholesale replacement of the Persian and Arabic components of Ottoman by 'pure' (*öz*) vocabulary of actual or fabricated Turkish or Turkic origin.

In India, where the beginnings of the later communal polarization of Urdu and Hindi were already well under way in the nineteenth century, a comparable strategy was never really feasible for those seeking to modernize Urdu by increasing the proportion of its indigenous vocabulary—here termed 'Hindi' in quotation marks to distinguish it from the Sanskritized modern standard Hindi in Devanagari script which is the national language of India. Urdu's indigenous Khari Boli base without its Perso-Arabic overlay looks less like modern Urdu than simple modern Hindi. It was, therefore, not just Hindu linguistic chauvinism which made it plausible to include a poem of Hali's in Devanagari script in an early anthology of Khari Boli Hindi verse (*Beva ki munājāt* in Ayodhya Prasad 1889:39-44, cf. McGregor, 1975:104-111) which was produced at a time when the emerging modern Hindi was fighting its own battles for recognition as a poetic language, only in its case against the established position of Braj Bhasha.

The controversy over the proper language for Urdu poetry was being fought in a different arena. Hali's linguistic experiments with 'Hindi' vocabulary were

undertaken partly in reaction to the linguistic purism of the Nasikh school, where much effort had been devoted to expunging the sorts of native words once freely employed by Sauda and his eighteenth century contemporaries, in favour of what were seen as chaster Persianisms. Since he was here venturing on long-abandoned stylistic territory, Hali's use of 'Hindi' is often rather unassured, as is indicated by the elimination of such words in many of the detailed textual revisions illustrated in the appendix to our translation. Some of those words which do remain might well be unfamiliar to many Hindi readers, let alone the Urdu public, e.g. *khet* 'moonrise' (M22), *khalbali* 'confusion' (M71), *kanauridā* 'indebted' (M104), *gaun* 'opportunity' (M125). Nor is such recondite vocabulary, with its strongly rustic overtones, always very happily integrated into the poem's predominantly Arabicizing diction. In the following verse, for instance, the obtrusively 'Hindi' item *darerā* 'hard rain' blends very awkwardly with the blandly Persianate *abr-e sitam* 'cloud of tyranny' (M65):

*Havā har taraf mauj-zan thī balā kī*  
*Galoñ par chhurī chal rahī thī jafā kī*  
*'Uqūbat kī had thī na pursish khatā kī*  
*Pañ lū rahī thī vadī at khudā kī*  
*Zamīn par thā abr-e sitam kā darerā*  
*Tabāhī meñ thā nau'-e insān kā berā<sup>36</sup>*

In fairness, though, it should of course be said such peculiar words constitute only a quite small proportion of Hali's 'Hindi' vocabulary. On the whole, Hali makes very successful use of this register of the language as an important tool in his strategy of reaching beyond the narrow circles of the literati in order to secure as wide an audience as possible for the 'natural poetry' addressed to the Muslim community as a whole. Everyday words are used to express many of the poem's core themes, e.g. *barhānā* 'to progress' and *barhānā* 'to advance', and to underpin many of the poem's core images—those deliberately simple similes, parables and metaphors whose fuller implications are explored in the third part of our introduction below. Often largely excluded in favour of their Persian equivalents from the Urdu poetic vocabulary of the day, these words include the recurring *nā'o* 'ship' and *berā* 'fleet', besides *dūbnā* 'sink' and *dubonā* 'drown', or *ghatā* 'raincloud', *khetī* 'field', and *gadaryā* 'shepherd'. There is certainly—as has been shown—much more to the poetic language of the *Musaddas* than such simple items, but there is no denying that its 'Hindi' component did form an important part of the poem's impact on Hali's contemporaries.

<sup>36</sup> Everywhere there raged the wind of calamity. Throats were being cut by the knife of cruelty. / There was no limit to torture, nor investigation into wrongdoing. God's trust lay being plundered. / The 'hard rain' of the cloud of tyranny pelted upon the earth. The fleet of mankind lay wrecked.

2:5 The impact of the *Musaddas*

The *Musaddas* certainly seems to have had the desired impact on its 'onlie begetter', to judge from the letter which Sir Sayyid wrote to Hali on 10 June 1879 from the Park Hotel in Simla, to thank him for sending five copies of the First Edition (Ahmad Khan 1924:166; trans. based on Naim 1981:111):

From the moment the book reached my hands I could not put it down till it was finished, and when it was finished I was sorry that it did. It would be entirely correct to say that with this *Musaddas* begins the modern age of poetry. It is beyond me to describe its elegance and beauty and its flowing quality. I am amazed that this factual theme, which is devoid of lies, exaggeration, and far-fetched similes—things that poets take pride in, has been expressed by you in such an effective and eloquent manner...

Modestly objecting only to the fulsome praises lavished upon himself in the Introduction, Sir Sayyid does go on to acknowledge his role in the poem's inspiration:

I was the cause of this book, and I consider that my finest deed. When God asks me what I have done, I will say: nothing, but I had Hali write the *Musaddas*.

The opening paragraph of Hali's Second Introduction describes the more general enthusiasm which the original *Musaddas* aroused so widely in the community in the early 1880s, in an excited summary account whose credibility is increased by Hali's natural modesty. Even the perhaps unlikely seeming claim of this quite abstract poem being acted out in dramatized performances is solidly confirmed by Sir Sayyid's report in his *Safarnāma-e Panjāb* of 1884 (Sandilavi 1960:263-4):

The Muslims of Amritsar had actually built a theatre like the Parsis. There is a dramatic representation of the Muslims' decline, one part of which is extremely affecting. A curtain is opened to reveal the sea moving and a ship with a sleeping crew caught in the storm and sinking. Then this passage of the *Musaddas* is sung 'There is a boat caught in the whirlpool...'

The man or woman who sings these stanzas (i.e. M275-M276) indicates at each point how the ship is on the point of sinking. Such an atmosphere is created that people burst into tears.

Although much work would be needed to establish just which groups of Muslims outside the immediate circles of Sir Sayyid's followers and admirers were affected by it, it does appear that for a few years at least a quite unprecedented phenomenon was unleashed in northern India. For this mass *Musaddas* mania to have spread as it did, in a way clearly quite different from the elite's reception of earlier Urdu poetry, many factors needed to be in place. They included the rather recent changes to the education system, to communications and to publishing, as well as the more general cultural and ideological shifts among the Indian Muslims in the decades immediately following 1857. But the mania would not have happened at all had the *Musaddas* not had for a new public the rare quality of articulating a whole new vision which is possessed by only a very few literary works in any generation. Some reflections upon this quality, which was indubitably possessed by the *Musaddas* for all its indubitable flaws, may be found in the pages briefly devoted to it from diverse, not always very sympathetic viewpoints by historians in English of Urdu literature.<sup>37</sup>

More vivid testimony to the impact of the *Musaddas* is yielded by the numerous parodies, imitations and parallel exercises which it inspired. These derivative poems—and very many more were certainly produced and published than the fourteen examples illustrated below—collectively demonstrate the extraordinary speed and power with which the *Musaddas* created an entire new poetic universe of its own, within which writers from often quite surprisingly diverse sections of Indian society felt it natural to explore issues which Hali had opened up in the verse format he had created. This inspiration continued for at least a quarter of a century, until the *Musaddas* finally became very dated, following the great changes in Indian political climate and concomitant literary fashions after the First World War.

The earliest imitations (Sandilavi 1960:277-85) in some ways remain the liveliest. They were produced as counterblasts to its 'nature-ism', the term so loaded at the time with both theological and aesthetic implications. Soon after the publication of Hali's poem, one Maulavi Salim ud Din Jaipuri 'Taslim' completed his own *Musaddas*, with the chronogrammatic titles *Hadiqat ul mazhab* 'The Garden of religion', '*Urij un nazm* 'The Zenith of poetry', etc. (all yielding the year AH 1301 = AD 1884). Published in 1887, this craftily mixes the old language of rhetoric with a parody of the new style which it criticizes (ibid.:278):

*Tasāmuh ke lafzōn meñ hai jā ba-jā bal*  
*Ma'ānī meñ hai phūke-pan kī lagī kal*  
*Adā bad-tavāra hai tarkīb mukhtal*  
*Tayaqqun nahīn hai to sunye mufassal*

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Bailey 1932:95-6; Saksena 1940:215-6; Schimmel 1975:226-7; Sadiq 1984:266-9; Matthews et al. 1985:100-3; Russell 1992:123-7.

*Ki har lafz-o misra' na'e rang par hai  
Har ik shi'r-o band jude dhang par hai*<sup>38</sup>

A similar stance is adopted in the anti-Musaddas published in 1901 by another cleric, Qazi Muhammad Faruq Chiryakoti. Entitled *Musaddas-e 'Avāli*, following the usual practice of naming these productions after their author's pen-name, this manages to work in a quotation (from M249) into a combined attack on Hali's understanding of both poetry and religion (ibid.:279):

*The shi'r āp ke peshkar silk-e gauhar  
Hu'e āj sandās se kyon vo badtar  
Jub āne lagī us meñ bad-bū-e nechar  
Hu'e ek dam meñ vo gande sarāsar  
Vo ash'ār ta'vīz-e dil hirz-e jāñ hain  
Jo islām ke vāsif-o madh-khwāñ hain*<sup>39</sup>

The *Musaddas-e Hāziq* of 1906 by a Professor Ghulam Hazrat Khan is on a much larger scale than either of these. Indeed, its 360 stanzas make it longer than Hali's *Musaddas* itself, and allow the poet to launch his attacks on 'nature' and all its execrated works across a very broad front. The 'nature-ists' are themselves mocked for their supposed mocking rejection of the basic practices of Islam (ibid.:280):

*Dimāghon meñ paidā huā ye khalal hai  
Ki kahtā har ik necharī mubtazal hai  
Tamashkur ke qābil namāz āj kal hai  
Muhazzab ko'ī us pa kartā 'amal hai  
Rukā'on meñ do hāth ghutnōñ pa dharnā  
Surīñ jāñib-e charkhī sijdon meñ karnā*<sup>40</sup>

When it comes to 'natural poetry', Hāziq is particularly scornful of Hali's disregard for the old niceties of rhyme. While rounding off a nicely contrasted pair of idioms, the clumsy rhyme of the final couplet is an unmistakable dig at the way so many of Hali's stanzas seem to end with this type of rather plodding and anticlimactic over-emphasis on weak rhyming phrases (ibid.:281-2):

<sup>38</sup> Words of uncertain meaning are awkwardly used everywhere, and the meanings are insipidly contrived. / The expression is clumsy and the construction confused. If you don't believe this, listen to it in detail: / Every word and hemistich is in a new style, every verse and stanza is in a manner apart.

<sup>39</sup> Before you arrived, verses were necklaces of pearls, so why have they today become worse than a cesspool? / It was when it became filled with the stink of 'nature' that they suddenly became so foul.— / Those verses which praise and eulogize Islam are a talisman of the heart and an amulet of the soul.

<sup>40</sup> Their brains have become deranged, so that every wretched nature-ist says, / 'Prayer is a joke these days. Does any civilized man perform it?— / Putting two hands on the knees in the actions of kneeling, and raising the bottom to heaven in the actions of prostration!'

*Qavāfi ki jin par madār-e sukhan hai  
Unhīñ se hu'ī in ko paidā jalan hai  
Qavāfi hain arvāh gar shi'r tan hai  
Na hon gar qavāfi to kyā khāk fan hai  
Jame khāk ash'ār meñ rang un kā  
Qavāfi se hai qāfiya tang un kā*<sup>41</sup>

Nor does the specific content of Hali's *Musaddas* escape attack. Hāziq uses Hali's own notorious infatuation with Western ideas to combat his criticism (in M235) of the way Muslim philosophy continues to be based on Plato and Aristotle, beginning with a few choice 'Hindi'-isms (ibid.:282):

*Sambhālo zarā chonch yārān-e nechar  
Na jā'o nikal pā'e-jāme se bāhar  
Falāūñ kā hikmat meñ thā kaun ham-sar  
Aristū se thā falsafi kaun barh-kar  
Unheñ sārā Yūrap bhī māne hu'e hai  
Jahāñ un ke rutbe ko jāne hu'e hai*<sup>42</sup>

Nor all Hali's early imitators were inspired by the wish to detract from his poem, although there was less pressure upon supporters to compose amplifications of its grand statement than there was on opponents to contradict or belittle it. Within the immediate Aligarh circle, one graceful supplement was penned by Sir Sayyid's younger disciple Shibli Numani (1857-1914). Appointed Lecturer in Persian and Arabic at Aligarh College in 1882, Shibli made a youthful name for himself as a poet with his *magnavī* entitled *Subh-e umīd* 'The Dawn of hope' (1884). At a public performance by Aligarh students in 1890, he followed this up with a short *Qaumī musaddas* delivered in the passionate and affecting style for which he was famous. This substitutes the rather longer lines of the familiar *ramal* metre (*fā'ilāun fā'ilāun fā'ilāun fi'lun*) for Hali's *mutaqārib*. Its conclusion fills a conspicuous gap in Hali's catalogues of the far-flung scenes of past Muslim glories with a mention of Delhi (Shibli 1892:18):

*Marv-o Shīrāz-o Safāhān ke vo zebā manzar  
Bait-e Hamrā ke vo aivān vo divār vo dar  
Mīsr-o Gharnāta-o Baghdād kā ek ik pathar  
Aur vo Dihli-e marhūm ke bosīda khandar*

<sup>41</sup> He has a burning hatred for rhymes, which are the basis of poetry. / Rhymes are the soul to verse's body, and if there are no rhymes, then where on earth is the art? / May his verses be covered with dust—such is his style, because rhymes are too much for him.

<sup>42</sup> Just watch your beaks, you friends of 'nature', and keep your trousers on. / Who was the equal of Plato in wisdom, and who was greater as a philosopher than Aristotle? / All Europe—even—honours them, and the world recognizes their rank.

*Un ke zarron meñ chamakte haiñ vo jauhar ab tak  
Dāstāneñ unheñ sab yād haiñ az-bar ab tak<sup>43</sup>*

As Shibli hands the stage over to the students, he takes his leave with a donnish reference to the 'endless tale' mentioned at the start of Hali's First Introduction (ibid.):

*Un se sun le ko'ī afsāna-e yārān-e vatan  
Ye dikhā dete haiñ ānkhoñ ko vuhī khwāb-e kuhan  
Terī hī nām kā ai qaum ye gāte haiñ bhajan  
Tere hī naghma-e pur-dard ke argan  
Pūchhū hai jo ko'ī un se nishānī terī  
Ye sunā dete haiñ sab rām-kahānī terī<sup>44</sup>*

Shibli's short poem is a far more graceful performance than that later achieved in the work of a former Aligarh student, the 92-stanza *Musaddas-e Khasta* published by Maulavi Muhammad Akramullah of Gujranwala in a cheap edition for the benefit of the general public. This author supplements Hali's catalogues of ruin with references to the rivers of his native Punjab and to the recent British victories in Egypt and Sudan (Khasta 1895:16):

*Na Gangā na Jamnā na Satluj na Jihlam  
Na Danyūb Tegās ke mālik rahe ham  
Judā ho ga'e ham se sab yār-o hamdam  
Huā Mīr-o Sūdān meñ kis kā ye chihlam  
Va kam-bakhtī ham hī musalmān haiñ yāro  
Ham apne ki'e par pashemān haiñ yāro<sup>45</sup>*

Even more provincial is the *Musaddas-e Ulvī*, published by Munshi Tahavvur Ali, a police inspector from Budaon. Couched very much in Hali's plainly Arabicizing style, the modest call to action issued in its 60 stanzas is to support the construction of a local madrasa, a project here imagined to enjoy angelic favour (Ulvī 1899:9):

*Parē phir nazar tum pai jinn-o bashar kī  
'Ināyat ho har ān khair ul bashar kī*

<sup>43</sup> Those fine vistas of Marv, Shiraz and Isfahan, those palaces, walls and gates of the Alhambra, / Every stone of Egypt, Granada and Baghdad, and the decayed ruins of our lamented Delhi— / All still have jewels glittering in their dust, all still remember their stories by heart.

<sup>44</sup> Hear from these some story of our dear fellow countrymen, as they display to us that ancient dream. / It is to you, oh community, that they sing their hymns, as the organs of your sorrowful tale. / If anyone asks them for a trace of you, they recite the whole of 'your endless tale'.

<sup>45</sup> Of Ganges and Jumna, of Sutlej and Jhelum, of Danube and Tagus we are no longer masters. / All friends and companions have parted from us. For whom is this mourning in Egypt and Sudan? / And it is just we Muslims who are wretched, friends, repenting what we have done, friends.

*Munavvar ho har khisht dīvār-o dar kī  
Khulī ānkheñ rah jā'ēñ shams-o qamar kī  
Malā'ik kahan phir to āpas meñ mil-kar  
Subh-o shām dekh ā'ēñ Oldan ko chal-kar<sup>46</sup>*

Another dimension of Hali's *Musaddas*, which tends to be played down by modern South Asian critics, is its outspoken loyalism to the British Empire. This loyalist sentiment remained widespread in Indian society until the First World War, during which it received crude expression in the little *Musaddas-e Ahmadi* published as a pamphlet by Sayyid Shah Ahmad Husain of Barh near Patna. This is itself a loyal demonstration of the vices of Hali's style at its most prosaic (Ahmad Husain 1916:3):

*Haqiqat meñ hai ye gavarmāñ 'ādil  
Ra'iyat-navāzī meñ hai fard-e kāmīl  
Yahāñ 'aish-o sāmān aisā hai hāsīl  
Kī hai jhopṛā bhī yahāñ 'aish-e kāmīl  
Piyēñ pānī ik ghāt par sher-o bakrī  
'Adālat hai aisī siyāsāt hai aisī<sup>47</sup>*

The same attitude governs the equally short *Musaddas-e 'Azīz*, by Mirza Aziz ud Din Ahmad of Ghazipur. Written in Shibli's *ramal*, though with none of his poetry, this stern warning to the Indian Muslims not to trust the Turks—the word is made to seem less friendly by here being spelt according to its English pronunciation—was published too late to affect the course of the war (Aziz 1919:4):

*Tark ke nām se ab sakhtī hameñ nafrat hai  
Kyon na nafrat ho ki Jarman se use ulfat hai  
Ham musalmānoñ meñ Tarkī kī kahāñ 'izzat hai  
Zer-aṣar ho gayā Jarman kā ye be-ghairat hai  
Bhā'īyo Tark ye Tarkī nahīñ Jarman hai ye  
Ham musalmānoñ ke ārām kā dushman hai ye<sup>48</sup>*

<sup>46</sup> May jinn and men look on you kindly, and may you continually experience the favour of the Best of Men. / May every brick of its walls and doors be filled with light, and may sun and moon keep staring at it wide-eyed. / Then may the angels gather together and say, 'Let us go and visit Oldan [?] every morning and evening!'

<sup>47</sup> In truth, this government is just, quite unique in looking after its subjects. / There is so much to enjoy here that even a hut here is a place of delight. / Lion and goat drink at the same watering-place, such is the justice, such is the policy.

<sup>48</sup> Now we have great hatred for the name 'Turk'. Why should we not feel hatred when he is friendly with Germany? / What honour does Turkey have amongst us Muslims? It is shamefully under Germany's influence. / Brothers, this Turk is nothing to do with Turkey but is German, hostile to the ease of us Muslims.

After the end of the war, when atrocities like the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in Amritsar helped destroy loyalism's former appeal, much of the spirit seems to have gone out of *Musaddas* writing too. The tradition is just kept alive by one or two last poems, like the *Musaddas-e Ni'mat*, a sustained anti-Shia polemic by Maulavi Nimatullah Amrohi of the Muradabad Anjuman-e Ishaat-e Islam. This subverts Hali's rhetoric to narrowly sectarian ends (Nimat 1920:29-30):

*Agar mazhab-e rafī ba-haq hai to hazrat  
Sivā chand shī'on ke nārī hai ummat  
Na mahfūz qur'ān na kāmīl risālat  
Na kuchh farz ham par na vājib na sunnat  
Imām aur qur'ān haiñ donoñ ghā'ib  
To bas dīn-o imān haiñ donoñ ghā'ib<sup>49</sup>*

The circle of inspiration surrounding the *musaddas* form, which began with Hali's transfer of Shiite elegy to a larger historical stage, here reaches its wretched close. An alternative route of influences is suggested by the *Musaddas-e Kausarī* (Kausarī 1903). This is not a true imitation at all, but a straightforward Shiite *marṣiya*—though written in Hali's *mutaqarib*—by one Daluram, a formerly fanatical Hindu converted to ardent Shiism while a veterinary student in Lahore.

A less complicated line of descent runs from the Hali of the Supplement to the last identified full-scale imitation. This is the *Musaddas-e Latīf* by Maulana Abdul Latif from Sonapat, not far from Hali's home town of Panipat. Its 250-odd verses are embellished with an ample panoply of footnotes to its copious Islamic references. A work of unselfconscious conservatism, it goes for such obvious targets as the Western headgear still then being sported by Indian Muslims to the disapproval of the orthodox (Latif 1936:8):

*Hu'e sāre Yūrap pai dil se shaidā  
Ṭarīq-e hudā chhor baithe sarāpā  
Libās aur sūrat ko badlā kuchh aisā  
Nazar sab lage āne bil-kul naṣārā  
Kamīs aur patlūn-o sūt ab liyā hai  
Bare fakhr se sar pai haiñ ik rakhā hai<sup>50</sup>*

<sup>49</sup> If the Shia school is right, sir, then apart from a few Shias the whole community is condemned to hellfire. / The Quran is no longer preserved, nor the perfect Apostleship, nor are duties, obligations and example laid upon us. / When Imam and Quran both disappear, then religion and faith both disappear.

<sup>50</sup> Their hearts have all been filled with passion for Europe, and they have entirely abandoned the way of True Guidance. / Their clothes and appearance have changed in such a way that they have all started to look just like Christians. / They have now put on a shirt, trousers and suit, wearing with great pride a hat upon their heads.

Although Hali too had much to say about Europe, albeit from a diametrically opposed perspective, his *Musaddas* had much less to say about India, whose Hindu inhabitants appear only as industriously charitable role models for their Muslim fellow countrymen (M134-M137). Some of these gaps were filled in the *Musaddas-e Yās* by Faqir Muhammad Ashiq of Jullundur Cantonment. Its extended plea for Hindu-Muslim unity finds room for suitable references to Indian history, like the religious tolerance of the Mughals (Yas 1916:12):

*Vo Akbar vo Shāh-e Jahān kī hukūmat  
'Adālat se jin kī thī khush-dīl ra'īyyat  
Na ghairōñ pai sakhtī na qaumī ri'āyat  
Barābar thī qānūnī sab par ri'yāsāt  
Vazīr un ke hindū musalmān the donoñ  
Mushīr un ke hindū musalmān the donoñ<sup>51</sup>*

Given the exclusively Muslim concerns of Hali's *Musaddas*, it is perhaps most surprising of all to discover the existence of analogues written from an exclusively Hindu perspective. The later rise of Hindi causes these poems now to seem something of a curiosity. Nevertheless, they do testify most interestingly to the once far more widespread cultivation of Urdu, even of so untraditional and so communally focused a poem as Hali's. At a traditionalist—and loyalist—Sanatan Dharm meeting held in the Chandni Chauk in Delhi in 1890, the year of Shibli's performance in Aligarh, Lala Kidari Lal 'Nirbhai Ram' recited to great applause a 100-stanza poem composed in the same *hazaj* metre as Hali's *Petition*. Later published as the *Musaddas-e Nirbhai prakāsh*, this offers the assembly a diagnosis of the ills of the Hindu community couched in thoroughly familiar terms (Nirbhai Ram 1890:3):

*Jalsa to khushī kā hai par afsos yihī hai  
Jo dharm kī hālat hai vo pazhmurda hu'ī hai  
Socho to sahī kaunsi vo bāt na'ī hai  
Jis vajh se ye bel harī sūkh ga'ī hai  
Ai bhā'īyo ghairōñ hī kā sab khoṭ nahīñ hai  
Apne bhī kalejōñ pai charj choṭ nahīñ hai<sup>52</sup>*

A much more ambitious production is the *Musaddas-e Kaifī* or *Bhārat-darpan* 'The Mirror of India' by the then well known Delhi poet Pandit Brij

<sup>51</sup> The government of Akbar and of Shah Jahan, whose justice made the hearts of their subjects happy, / When there was no harsh treatment of others or partiality shown to their own community, when there was a policy of legal equality for all, / Their ministers were both Hindus and Muslims, their advisers were both Hindus and Muslims.

<sup>52</sup> Although this is a happy event, one does nevertheless regret the feeble state of the Hindu faith. / So think to see what new thing has caused this flourishing vine to wither. / Brothers, all this is not just the fault of others, and our hearts did not receive this wound just like that.

Mohan Dattatreya 'Kaifi' who was associated with the Jullundur branch of the reformist Arya Samaj. Some 400 stanzas in length, this outdoes the *Musaddas* itself in the abundance of its additional materials, which include preface, marginal subject headings and notes embracing citations from Sanskrit, Gurmukhi and English sources, all reproduced in their original scripts. Closely modelled on Hali's poem, this *Musaddas* describes the past glory and the present ruin of India from an Arya Samaji viewpoint. Deploying the usual lists of evocative names to recall the golden age, the language is noteworthy for its mingling of the occasional Sanskritism (e.g. *dharmātmā* 'righteous') with a quite skilful imitation of Hali's style (Kaifi 1905:32):

*Jō rāje yahān ke the dharmātmā the  
Na zālīm the vo garchi jang-āzmā the  
Jahān-dār sach much vo zill-e khudā the  
Khalā'iq kī bihbūd par vo fidā the  
Bahut the yahān Bikram aur Ikshvākū  
Na thā ko'ī Zāhhāk yān aur Hulākū<sup>53</sup>*

In his treatment of less happy later times, Kaifi—just like Hali—particularly deplores the disunity of his community. The purpose here, however, is to establish the Arya Samaji agenda of restoring the modern multiplicity of castes and sub-castes to the fourfold class system of the Vedas (ibid.:45):

*Birahman na mihmān birahman ke ghar ho  
Na chhatrī hī chhatrī se shūr-o shakar ho  
Na do vaish kā mel bā-ham-digar ho  
Ho chaukā idhar ek to ek udhar ho  
To phir qaumiyyat kaisī aur qaum kis kī  
Barhegā vo kyā khāk ye gat ho jis kī<sup>54</sup>*

Fairly soon after Kaifi's poem, the equally long and heavily annotated *Musaddas-e Shafaq* by Munshi Lalita Prasad 'Shafaq' was published in Kanpur, towards the other end of the Punjab-United Provinces area where the *Musaddas* fashion remained chiefly centred. This too is an Arya Samaji poem, and is actually subtitled *Madd-o jazr-e Ārya*. Like Kaifi, Shafaq too uses quite a number of Sanskritisms, as in the second verse of his poem, on the language and cosmic function of the Vedas (Shafaq 1910:1):

<sup>53</sup> The kings here were righteous, not tyrannical although experienced in war, / Rulers who were truly the shadow of God, devoting themselves to the welfare of His creatures. / Here there were many Bikrams and Ikshvakus, here there was no Zahhak or Hulaku.

<sup>54</sup> When one Brahmin will not be a guest in another Brahmin's house, nor will a Kshatriya get on well with another Kshatriya, / When two Vaishyas will not join together, when if one cooking-square is on this side, the other will be over there— / Then what sort of community identity is this, and whose is the community? How can one who behaves like this hope to progress?

*Sirishī kī vedon kī ek ibtidā hai  
Zabān chāron vedon kī sab se judā hai  
Jise kul zabānon kā mākhaz kahā hai  
Vo hai dev-bānī kalām-e khudā hai  
Haq-o sulh āghāz-o anyām un kā  
Hai san'at ba-zāt-e khud ilhām un kā<sup>55</sup>*

Linguistic adaptation of a quite different kind is involved in translation, as opposed to adaptation. As a work with an urgent message conveyed in a straightforward style, Hali's *Musaddas* might appear ideal translation material. That more translations into other South Asian languages do not appear to have been issued—or at any rate to have survived—is doubtless a reflection of the very wide spread in India of Urdu at the time, particularly as a language for the propagation of Islamic themes. The free Muslims over the North-West Frontier were, however, just outside the reach of Urdu. This audience, which was always very much in the minds of nineteenth century Indian Muslim reformers, was designed to be reached by a translation into accentual Pashto verse in an *aabbcc* rhyme scheme by Hali's friend Maulavi Ghulam Muhammad Khan Popalzai, published in 1893 (Popalzai 1961). Hali sent this to the Amir of Afghanistan, along with copies of his other works and a letter which discounts any other achievements which may have come to the Amir's notice, claiming credit only for 'having made something useful of Asian poetry, which had been something quite useless' (Husain 1966:200-1).

A Gujarati translation of the entire Second Edition, including the Supplement, into *musaddas* stanzas was undertaken for the betterment of the Gujarati Muslims by Nana Miyan Rasul Miyan (Miyan 1907). Being so fully integrated into the Urdu cultural area, the Punjabi Muslims had less need of a version in their own language. There is, nevertheless, a Punjabi translation dating from about 1930 which is of quite some interest in its own right. Apparently the first such exercise to have been undertaken for mainly literary motives, it was the work of Chaudhari Sir Shihab ud Din (c.1865-1949), long-time Speaker of the Punjab Assembly and a great enthusiast for the Punjabi language at a time when it was generally unfashionable to be so. After alluding to the popularity of the *Musaddas* among Hindus and Sikhs as well as Muslims, his preface describes the translation as an act of service to the Punjabi language rather than as a means for awakening the Punjabi village population. A preliminary recitation of some verses at a meeting of the Lahore Anjuman-e Himayat-e Islam is said to have provoked the enthusiasm of Shihab ud Din's literary fellow knights, Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal and Shaikh Sir Abdul Qadir, who both continued to encourage him to complete his task (Shihab ud Din n.d.:4-5). Shihab ud Din's version is deliberately nativist in intent. It is

<sup>55</sup> The origin of creation and of the Vedas is one. The language of the four Vedas is quite separate from all others, / And is called the source of all languages, it is *dev-bānī*, the word of God. / Truth and peace are their alpha and omega, and creation is in essence inspired by them.

composed in the native *baiñt* metre, using three lines—divided by the caesura—per stanza, so that the rhyme scheme is now *-a-a-a*. It is also purist in its vocabulary, thus sometimes successfully avoiding the awkward juxtapositions of different registers in Hali's original, but only at the aesthetic cost of seeming to over-domesticate the challenge of Hali's message. An idea of the structure and style may be gained from the version of M3:

*Eho hāl is qaum dā vich duryā  
Berā vich ghumman jidhā gheriā ai  
Kandhā dūr te qahr ūfān jhulle  
Hune jāpdā pūr nigheriā ai  
Sutte ghūk muhāniān sane sārē  
Pāsā ik ne vī na pheriā ai*<sup>56</sup>

No literary translation into English appears to have been undertaken. In the preparation of our own academic version we were unable to consult an anonymous English translation published in Karachi in 1975 (Naim 1981).

Outside Urdu, therefore, the impact of Hali's *Musaddas* has been only somewhat feebly felt. Once it was articulated within its own literary tradition, however, the vision of the *Musaddas* ensured that the future would never be the same again. Hali's own later poetic oeuvre was inevitably greatly shaped by his most successful and original creation. If the artistic failure of the Supplement shows the crippling effect of too close an imitation, two other important poems show how Hali was able to return to the *musaddas* form to more powerful effect, in each case with the inspiration that comes from working in a different metre.

Artistically the finest is the elegy for Hakim Mahmud Khan of 1892, which broadens into a powerful lament for the old Delhi and which is substantively Hali's own poetic swansong. Its 86 stanzas are written in the longer form of *ramal* (*fā'ilātun fā'ilātun fā'ilātun fā'ilun*), whose stateliness is here put to fine effect (*Dīvān*, pp.218-9):

*Daur-e ākhir meñ ki terā tel thā sab jal chukā  
Bujhte bujhte thā kuchh ik tū ne sanbhālā sā liyā  
Khāk ne yāñ terī phir agle vo la'l-e be-bahā  
Jin se roshan ho gayā kuchh din ko nām aslāf kā  
'Ahd-e māzī kā samāñ āñkhoñ meñ sab kī chhā gayā  
Khwāb jo bhūlā huā muddat kā thā yād ā gayā*<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Precisely this is the state in the world of that community, whose boat is surrounded by a whirlpool. / The shore is far and a fierce storm rages. Just now, it seems, the whole crew is swallowed up. / Still all the sailors are fast asleep, not even one has turned over. (Compare the transliteration of the original stanza on p. 31 above.)

<sup>57</sup> In the last age, when your oil was all burnt, you just restored the dying flame. / Your earth again produced those former priceless rubies, lending a few days' lustre to the name of our forbears. / The whole period of the past again came before our eyes, and we remembered the vision we had so long forgotten.

Just as this elegy develops that aspect of the *Musaddas* which looks to the past with sadness, so too does the earlier *Nang-e khidmat* 'The Shame of service' build on the didactic side which is turned towards the present with anger. Written in 1887, this addresses more successfully than the Supplement the consequences for the community of relying upon state employment. Its refusal to shape up to the self-reliance demanded by its destiny leads it into a purely utilitarian view of education, and a spirit-destroying aping of Western manners. The metre this time is the lighter version of *ramal* used in Shibli's imitation (Sandilavi 1960:270):

*Haq ne shā'ista-e har bāb batāyā thā hamēñ  
Ek hī dām meñ phāñsnā na sikhāyā thā hamēñ  
Rasta har kācha-o manzil kā batāyā thā hamēñ  
Zina har bām pa charhne kā dikhāyā thā hamēñ  
Aisā kuchh bāda-e ghaflat ne kiya matvālā  
Tauq khidmat kā liyā aur gale meñ dālā*<sup>58</sup>

A quarter of a century later, exactly the same poetic form was to be used in the first major statement of a new articulation of their destiny addressed to the Indian Muslim community by the greatest Urdu poet of the generation after Hali's. This was the *Shikva* 'Complaint' recited by Iqbal at a meeting of the Anjuman-e Himayat-e Islam in Lahore in 1911. Just as the *musaddas* form of its 31 verses deliberately recalls Hali's masterpiece, so too does Iqbal's title echo that of yet another strophic poem by Hali, the *Shikva-e Hind* 'The Indian complaint' of 1887 in which he used the *tarkīb-band* form to explore once again the decline of the Muslims, this time in connection with the debilitating influences of the Indian climate. Iqbal's complaint, though, is an absolute one, grandly addressed not to India but to God (Matthews 1993:36-7):

*Kyōñ musalmānoñ meñ hai daulat-e duniyā nā-yāb  
Terī qudrat to hai vo jis kā na had hai na hisāb  
Tū jo chāhe to uñhe sina-e sahrā se hubāb  
Rah-rav-e dasht ho sili-zada-e mauj-e sarāb  
Ta'n-e aghyār hai rusvā'ī hai nā-dārī hai  
Kyā tire nām pai marne kā 'ivaž khwārī hai*<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> God made us capable of every occupation, and did not teach us to be caught in only one trap. / He taught us the route of every street and stage, and showed us the stair to reach every roof. / It is just the wine of obliviousness which has intoxicated us, taken the collar of service and put it round our necks.

<sup>59</sup> Why do the Muslims find the riches of the world unobtainable? Your power is, after all, without limit and beyond reckoning. / If You wish, You can make water bubble up from the desert, and the traveller of the sands is buffeted by the waves of the mirage. / We suffer the insults of strangers, infamy, impotence. Is this wretchedness the return we get for dying for Your name?

Here at last, it may be suggested, the impact of the *Musaddas* finds its truest resonance, not in more or less mechanical imitation or translation but in a wholesale re-creation. Iqbal's extensive stylistic remodelling of Hali's poetic idiom successfully allows a full place to the grander register of Persian vocabulary. He was thereby able to construct a viable post-Halian rhetoric for serious Urdu poetry, through which he was able to convey an even more ambitious vision than Hali's of the way in which an understanding of the Indian Muslims' past might hope to remove some of the uncertainties of their present by helping to reveal the grandeur of the divinely appointed destiny again awaiting them.

### 3.1 Decline and progress

In both his Introductions to the *Musaddas*, Hali makes explicit the hortatory character of the poem. He ends the First Introduction by defining the aim of his composition:

This poem has not...been composed in order to be enjoyed or with the aim of eliciting applause, but in order to make my friends and fellows feel a sense of outrage and shame.

The Second Introduction refers to the subject matter of the poem as consisting 'largely of criticism and blame'. Something of the didactic flavour of the poem is also conveyed by Hali's footnotes, which explain in textbook style locations, scenes, and references. Given this conception of the *Musaddas* as an instrument of reform, it is perhaps not surprising that the poem is in part structured around a series of contrasts or oppositions. The main opposition in the poem is between decline and progress, and Hali's vision of broad historical movements in the *Musaddas* is to a large extent based on this opposition. The depiction of time in the poem needs to be seen, at least in part, in terms of the interaction between the poem's moral rhetoric and its rhetoric of temporality.<sup>1</sup> It is to the latter that we now turn.

Something of the complexity of structure in the poem's depiction of temporality is suggested by Abdul Haq, when he notes how Hali at the very beginning of the poem provides a glimpse of the contemporary condition, thereby preparing us for the future sections, and then immediately takes the reader to the original home of the *millat*, that is, the pivotal period of the Jahiliyya and the rise of Islam (Abdul Haq 1976:114). These broad movements of progress and decline correspond to the sections into which the poem is structured. Thus the poem opens with a brief section on the degenerate state of contemporary Islam (M3-M6) and then shifts to the past achievements of Islam (M7-M104), but this latter section contains a sub-section on the barbaric state of pre-Islamic Arabia (M8-M22). The section on the past glories of Islam is followed again by a long section on the decay of Islam, with a particular emphasis on the decline of Indian Muslims (M105-M281). Once again, though, this section contains pieces on European progress (e.g. M131-M133, M171-M175), and on the progress of other Indian communities (M134-M137), as well as another point of contrast between early and contemporary Islam (M226-M228). The overall result is an interleaving of pictures of progress and its antithesis, the antithesis being either decline or the barbaric infancy of society. This interlocking of images of progress and decline is evocative of the

<sup>1</sup> We have taken the phrase 'rhetoric of temporality' from De Man (1983:187-228). For some illuminating discussions of 'Islamic' historical narratives in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Smith 1957:41-92, Ahmad 1967:77-102, and the brilliant exposition in al-Azmeh 1993.

poem's engagement with the broad movements of history as a whole. They are also suggestive of the relativity of decline and progress; progress in one epoch can become decline in another. The restless onward movement of history can rapidly turn a culture of advance into a backwater of history; similarly, areas of backwardness such as the Arabian peninsula can quickly become the centres of civilizations.

However, the structure of the poem is evocative of not just the broad movements of history, with alternating periods of progress and decline, but also hints at the cyclical character of history as a whole. The very title of the poem serves to underline this, calling as it does upon the cycle of tides to describe the rise and fall of Islam. This is reinforced by the concluding section of the poem, which is inaugurated by the re-introduction of the simile of the boat in danger (M275-M276), recalling the opening section of the poem on the degenerate state of contemporary Islam, where the same simile is employed (M3). Here it might also be worth adding that the simile's re-introduction is followed by another section on the sorry state of Indian Islam (M277-M281), then seven verses on progress—in particular, on the benefits of progress under British rule (M282-M289)—and then another brief reminder of the pitiful state of contemporary Islam with anticipation of worse to come (M290-M291). The poem concludes with three verses meditating on the passing of human greatness and on the contrasting eternity of the Divine (M292-294). This meditation reaches a powerful climax in the final verse of the poem (M294):

*Vuhī ek hai jis ko dā'im baqā hai*  
*Jahān kī virāṣat usī ko sazā hai*  
*Sivā us ke anjām sab kā fanā hai*  
*Na ko'ī rahegā na ko'ī rahā hai*  
*Musāfir yahān haiñ faqīr aur ghanī sab*  
*Ghulām aur āzād haiñ raftānī sab<sup>2</sup>*

In other words, the reintroduction of the boat simile is followed by a recapitulation of the entire preceding movement of the poem, but here there is not just a repetition of the interlocking of images of progress and decline; there is also a final release into a transcendental realm beyond the temporal cycles of decay and renewal.

The simile of the boat in danger is particularly apposite for Hali's expression of a sense of vulnerability in the face of historical cycles of progress and decline. The simile builds upon the image evoked by the title of the poem, suggesting as it does the negotiation by a fragile vessel of the tidal ebbs and flows of history. This fragility is pointed to in the First Introduction, when Sir Sayyid is presented as pontificating on the decline of the Indian Muslim community. The moral is that 'at such a time it is necessary that each man

<sup>2</sup> The life of God alone will never wane, this world's uniquely worthy Suzerain. / For life eternal others hope in vain: not one has yet, nor ever will, remain. / See, here are rich and poor but travellers all, departure is the rule for free and thrall.

should do what he can, for we are all embarked upon the same ship, and our welfare depends upon that of the whole craft.' The simile of the boat is therefore used here to suggest the necessity of co-operation for mutual benefit in the face of a common danger. This points to the poem's later concern with the patriotism of European nations, which is seen to be based on mutual effort and co-operation (M173), an example which the poet exhorts his readers to emulate. Whilst there is an explicit appeal for co-operation here, generally the emphasis is on impressing the reader with the reality of the dangers threatening the boat, rather than an exhortation to mutual help to keep the vessel afloat. In keeping with this, the image of the boat in danger and the sinking vessel is used in a variety of historical contexts as an image of the decline of communities, e.g. the ancient Romans (M63), or the Arabs and the Indian Muslims (M113, M199, M202, M212, M225, M276). In a more positive context, the change-around in the direction of history brought about by the Prophet's mission is depicted in terms of a sea vessel taking advantage of a favourable turn in the weather (M25). Similarly, when the glories of early Islam are evoked, the image of the boat is used at least once, and the Arabs are described as rescuing and repairing sinking ships (M70). But on the whole, the boat simile is employed to suggest the dangers of historical decline and the possibilities of extinction. This becomes especially effective when the vessel is described as being sucked into a whirlpool (M275), suggesting as it does the treacherous eddies of local history, which mirror the larger, cyclical movements of world history itself.

Abdul Haq has also suggested that the significance of the *Musaddas* lies in its attempt to disentangle an ethical realm (*akhlāq*) from the historical decline of a government, and by implication, the decline of a *qaum* (Abdul Haq 1976:116). This touches upon a number of general features of the *Musaddas*, particularly in relation to the way the moral polemic of the poem interacts with its depiction of time. To a certain extent, the move towards an ethical realm supposedly immune to the vicissitudes of history can be seen as synonymous with the general shift in the Indian Muslim community towards the central religious heritage of Arab Islam, which could not be taken away by British colonial rule (Smith 1985:65-7, 74-8, Shackle 1996a:238). This shift is evident in the *Musaddas*, with its extended hymn to the glories of classical Islam, and its general ambivalence towards the Perso-Urdu poetic past (Shackle 1996a:233). In this regard, it is perhaps interesting that Abdul Haq calls upon a stereotype of early Arab poets, itself evident in Hali's *Muqaddama* (Hali:136-8). Abdul Haq likens Hali to a typical Arab poet who is 'a critic of life, and a poet of the past and present' (Abdul Haq 1976:112). At any rate, Abdul Haq's view of the *Musaddas*, as hinting towards a moral realm immune to temporal cycles of progress and decline, can be seen in terms of the shift towards a heritage based on what was defined as the pristine simplicity of early Islam. In a sense, the *Musaddas* can be read in terms of M.G. Hodgson's later formulation of the role of conscience in Islamic history, which rests on making a distinction between Islam as personal faith and inner piety, and Islam as social system and historical force. In this scheme of things, the epoch of classical Islam becomes the only

period in Islamic history where inner piety is perfectly mirrored in external polity (Hodgson 1974:1:360, Turner 1994:53-66). Similarly, the powerful model of classical Islam in the poem becomes the unique historical counterpart of an inner piety and faith. The rest of the poem is an attempt to rescue that inner faith from the steady historical decline of Islam. As Hali himself puts it (M117):

*Adā kar chukī jab haq apnā hukūmat  
Rahī ab na islām ko us kī hājat  
Magar haif ai fakhr-e ādam kī ummat  
Hu'ī ādamīyyat bhī sāth us ke rukhsat  
Hukūmat thī goyā kī ik jhūl tum pār  
Kī urte hī us ke nikal ā'e jauhar<sup>3</sup>*

Whilst the tone of the last couplet is decidedly sarcastic, it is expressive of the general thrust of the poem: namely, its attempt to disentangle a culture's self-perceptions from its historical involvement with worldly power, so that the kernel of its identity might become self-dependent and insulated from the revolutions of political fortune.<sup>4</sup>

However, whilst the oppositions in the *Musaddas* try to clear a space for the centrality and transcendence of inner faith and ethical outlook as immune from the vicissitudes of history, nonetheless the ethical/religious realm of the poem is dependent on those very vicissitudes for its admonitory injunctions. So, in part at least, the series of contrasts in the poem and its didacticism need to be read in the context of its simultaneous dependence on history and the attempt to transcend history into a realm immune from those processes of decline. In part this inevitably results from the poem's drawing of imaginative strength from the pristine simplicity of classical Islam. Here Gustav von Grunebaum's view of classical Islam (cited in Turner 1994:69) might be illuminating: 'The classical represents a model. It is, in fact, a model whose reconstruction is by definition an obligation and an impossibility.' In some ways, the *Musaddas* labours under this obligation to reconstruct the classical, and it also reflects the impossibility of ever recreating that early pristine simplicity of the classical period. More importantly, the model of classical Islam is powerfully inspiring precisely because it cannot be recreated. The whole force of the classical model lies in its uniqueness, and so its resistance to historical duplication. Hence, too, Hali is mainly a poet of Islam's decline, a decline which in India at least, he himself was a witness to. As Abdul Haq has put it, Hali witnessed the final extinguishing of the flickering lamp of the Mughals, which had kept all sorts of fantastic hopes

<sup>3</sup> Now that government has performed its proper function, Islam has no need for it left. / But, alas, O community of the Glory of Man, humanity departed together with it. / Government was like a gilt covering upon you. As soon as it peeled off, your innate capacity emerged.

<sup>4</sup> Gustav von Grunebaum's later view of Islam (summarized in Turner 1994:72) as a fixed cultural form erecting defences around its sacral identity against external intervention is in some ways akin to aspects of the construction of Islam in the *Musaddas*. Cf. also von Grunebaum 1962:73-96 on the notion of 'cultural classicism'.

alive (Abdul Haq 1976:109). The decay of the Mughal empire in India and the contemporary condition of Indian Muslims is illuminated by the larger theme of Islamic history as a process of decline from the classical simplicity of early Islam. It is because the *Musaddas* is fused with the consciousness of decline that it is so elegiac in tone; Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan aptly described the poem as a 'mirror of the nation's condition and an elegy expressive of its grief' (Ahmad Khan 1924:167).<sup>5</sup> This preoccupation with decline is sharpened by the poem's equal concern with progress. Hence Sadiq's claim about the two moods of the *Musaddas*—and of Hali's poetry generally—as consisting of a retrospective and a forward-looking mood (Sadiq 1984:349). This idea might be developed further, to suggest a consciousness of the creative possibilities of the future while clinging to an idealized version of the past.

### 3:2 Smelting and historical refashionings

The alternating moments of progress and decline in the *Musaddas* are thus evocative of the way in which Hali's broad vision shaped the poem. Here it might prove useful to look at some key verses on the decline of Islam (M105-M108). These verses are indicative of the way in which the poem symbolically depicts processes of historical causality. Of particular interest here are the second and third couplets of M105, which typify the rhetoric of this section as a whole:

*Rahā mail se shahd-e safi musaffā  
Rahī khoṭ se sīm-e khālis mubarrā  
Na thā ko'ī islām kā mard-e maidān  
'Ālam ek thā shish-jihat meñ darafshān<sup>6</sup>*

On the face of it, this is an enigmatic way of depicting the decline of Islam. Two images are used, that of clear honey and pure silver, and their clarity and purity are seen to be dependent on each other, although no causal link between them is elaborated. To a certain extent, this is indicative of the mysterious opacity of the processes of historical decline, an opacity which is at odds with the clarity that the images of honey and silver evoke. More importantly, the link between pure metal and clear honey becomes a point in the poem where a mysterious interdependence in the symbolic realm becomes a trope for the holistic totality of history. In part, this totality consists of the concatenation of cause and effect that lies behind decline. In some ways, the couplet reproduces

<sup>5</sup> For *marṣiyas* in other parts of Hali's oeuvre, see Abdul Qadir 1932:28, Sadiq 1984:346, Saksena 1927:214, 216-7, and Sandilavi 1960:225-33.

<sup>6</sup> So long as the clear honey remained unpolluted by filth, the pure silver remained free of alloy, / There was none to take the field against Islam, and there was but one standard gloriously flying over the world.

in miniature the larger concern of the poem with carving out a realm immune from the forces of history, which is yet dependent on those very forces for its efficacy. The interdependence between the purity of silver and honey in the symbolic realm expresses a sense of that realm's self-referential totality, and yet it stands in a symmetrical and reflective relationship to the historical realm for which it serves as a trope. In this context, one can perhaps return to Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's description of the *Musaddas* as both a mirror and an elegy (cf. 3:1 above), in order to re-describe the *Musaddas* as an elegiac reflection both on and of historical processes of decline. In aesthetic terms, one might also see this couplet—and this section of the poem as a whole, as an attempt to create a balance between the self-referential poetic world of classical poetry, with its imaginary inner and timeless gardens, and the new world of modern poetry, with its depictions of the natural landscapes and seasons of the temporal world, one example of which is Hali's own poem on the rainy season, *Barkhānut*.<sup>7</sup> Here it might be worthwhile to touch upon the imagery of gardens which form one of the continuous threads of the *Musaddas*. The decline of Islam is figured as a ruined garden (e.g. M111-M112)—again, perhaps specifically, as a Persian garden complete with nightingale (M140):

*Chaman meñ havā ā chukī hai khizāñ kī*  
*Phirī hai nazar der se bāghbāñ kī*  
*Ṣadā aur hai bulbul-e naḡma-khwāñ kī*  
*Ko'ī dam meñ riḡlat hai ab gulistāñ kī*  
*Tabāhī ke khwāb ā rahe haiñ nazar sab*  
*Muṣibat kī hai āne vāñ sahar ab<sup>8</sup>*

The image of such a garden lying in ruins is particularly suggestive given Hali's own ambivalent views about classical poetic practice, for which Mir Taqi Mir's vision of an imaginative garden of fertile artifice was equally apposite (Pritchett 1994:59, Steele 1981:9-10).

The adjustment of the symbolic imagination in the *Musaddas* to history is indicative of that larger social and cultural adjustment to the forces of history for which Hali so often explicitly strove. This is entirely in keeping with his strategy of making the necessary adjustments in the entire gambit of Indo-Islamic postures vis-à-vis changes in historical circumstances. However, the reference to silver and honey discussed above can be explored even further in this context. Imagery of gold and silver, and ore and treasure, form a cluster of images in the *Musaddas*; to this cluster also belong allusions to the

<sup>7</sup> For the remark of the great eighteenth century Urdu poet Mir Taqi Mir on the superiority of inner gardens to external scenes, see Pritchett 1994:50-1, 59. Cf. *ibid.*:127 on the vision of classical poetry and its striving for timelessness. For Hali's natural poetry, see Saksena 1940:219.

<sup>8</sup> The wind of autumn has already come into the garden, the direction of the gardener's gaze has shifted. / The warbling nightingale's cry has altered. Now the garden is due to depart at any moment. / All the visions which are seen are of destruction. Now the dawn of catastrophe is about to break.

transmutations of alchemy. The changes wrought by the Prophet upon the culture of the Arabian peninsula are likened to alchemical transmutation. He is described as bringing with him an alchemical formula (*nuskha-e kīmiyā*), which transformed copper into the finest gold, and separated the counterfeit and the pure (M24-M25). This is expanded in the next verse, which combines the allusion to alchemy with the unearthing of valuable ore, in order to express further the magical means by which the potential buried in the Arab *qaum* was brought to the surface by the Prophet.

The image of unearthing treasure is used for similar purposes when the effect of the spread of Islam on learning is depicted. Learning under the Abbasid Caliphate is shown to uncover the hidden pearls (*durr-e maknūn* M87) of Aesop and Socrates, while the buried treasure of the tongue and pen (*Khazāna thā madfūñ zabāñ aur qalam kā* M100) was also revealed to the world. The impact of Islam on morality calls upon the image of smelting: virtues were strained off and vices melted (M96). It is typical of the complexity of the *Musaddas* that this image of buried ore is also used in the negative context of Islam's decline in India (M133):

*Magar ham kī ab tak jahāñ the vahīñ haiñ*  
*Jamādāt kī tarḡ bār-e zamīñ haiñ<sup>9</sup>*

The fact that the word *bār* 'burden' can also be translated as 'fruit', and *jamādāt* as either 'fossils' or 'minerals', reinforces the ambiguity of the image of buried mineral ore, ambiguous because it recalls those sections of the poem which dealt with the transformations wrought by Islam in its heyday. There is perhaps a suggestion here of potential waiting to be re-discovered for another smelting process; but at any rate, the ambiguity of this image points to the complexity of Hali's attitudes to progress and decline, which we shall explore further below in section 3:6.

### 3:3 The economics of time and bodily illness

The images of alchemy, treasure, and smelting woven together in the poem are illustrative of the poem's general concerns with the transformations and refashionings wrought by history. In attempting to educate Muslims about the ebb and flow of history, the *Musaddas* also tries to teach them about the very medium of history itself, namely time. Learning the value of time is associated with acquiring the desire to work; this is made clear by the Prophet's instructions as to the preciousness of time and the need for effort (M41-M42). However, perhaps the most interesting verses on time occur in the section on the 'utter

<sup>9</sup> But we, who are still exactly where we were, are a burden on the earth, like minerals.

degeneracy of the Indian Muslims' (M119-M130). Verse 127 uses images of wealth and treasure to evoke the preciousness of time:

*Vo be-mol pūrjī ki hai aṣl daulat*  
*Vo shā'ista logoñ kā ganj-e sa'ādat*  
*Vo āsūda qaumōñ kā rās ul bizā'at*  
*Vo daulat ki hai vaqt jis se 'ibārat*  
*Nahīñ us kī vaq'at nazar meñ hamārī*  
*Yuhīñ muft jāī hai barbād sārī<sup>10</sup>*

The decline of Muslims in India is in part measured by their indolent attitude to time. Their wastefulness regarding time is amplified in the next verse, where time is further described as the capital of religion and the world (*sarmāya-e dīn aur dunyā* M128), whose every moment is priceless. As with the verses on honey and silver and the decline of Islam, the verses on time as the very medium of history are expressive of the poem's rhetorical style. Particularly noteworthy here is the use of the term 'ibārat in the verse quoted above, which may be translated as a trope, i.e. a rhetorical figure by which a thing is denoted. Here it is used in the sense of being expressive of; but the significance of the hemistich describing 'that wealth by which time is expressed or denoted' is worth a little more comment. First, it is a reversal of a proposition which might have been more straightforward, that is, 'time denotes or signifies wealth.' Here the logical link seems to be 'wealth denotes time', so that time becomes the object which is denoted by wealth. Wealth becomes, as it were, a synecdoche of time, or put another way, wealth becomes a manifestation of time. Secondly, the diction of wealth in this poem, as elsewhere, encompasses both the specific senses of capital and stock, as well as a wider sense of value as a whole. This is particularly evident where attitudes to money or coins are contrasted with attitudes to time itself, so that different senses of value are juxtaposed with each other (M128). Thirdly, the depiction of time's value and the contrasting attitudes to it are linked to economic habits of frugality or profligacy. Time is described as a profitable investment, and careless use of it characterizes spendthrift ways; it is the latter which is a measure of the degeneracy of Indian Muslims.<sup>11</sup>

The way in which time becomes an object which is denoted by wealth is indicative of the extent to which a nexus of economic value and the rhetoric of temporality have penetrated the *Musaddas*. This fructifying intrusion of the outside world into the self-referential, self-contained world of Urdu poetry is completely in keeping with Hali's own poetic views. The sense of time as the very medium through which history is enacted, is highlighted by its association with economic value, while economic value becomes one of the manifestations

<sup>10</sup> That priceless capital which is real wealth, that noble treasure of decent folk, / That substance of well-off communities, that wealth which denotes time, / Has no value in our eyes, but is all dissipated uselessly and for nothing.

<sup>11</sup> See also M158-M162, where habits of decadent profligacy in the Muslim community are described.

of time, or even one of the tropes for time. Laurel Steele has pointed to Hali's comments on the Indian economic situation in his poetry, and briefly suggested ways in which this reflected wider changes in Indian society under the impact of imperial rule (Steele 1981:14-5). This can be explored further in the case of the *Musaddas*, e.g. M129:

*Agar sāñs dīn rāt ke sab gineñ ham*  
*To nikleñge anfās aise bahut kam*  
*Ki ho jin meñ kal ke liye kuchh farāham*  
*Yuhīñ guzre jāīe haiñ dīn rāt patham*  
*Nahīñ ko'ī goyā khabardār ham meñ*  
*Ki ye sāñs ākhīr haiñ ab ko'ī dam meñ<sup>12</sup>*

Even the very rhythms of the body are measured in accordance with an economic scale of values. In part, there is another dimension here of the pulses of the body harmonizing with the changing rhythms of history itself. The qasida which Hali composed for the Golden Jubilee of 1887 bears signs of the reach and scope of this colonization when Queen Victoria's power is contrasted to the power of previous conquerors (Sperl and Shackle 1996b: no. 36, verse 17):

*Taskhīr faqat agloñ ne 'ālam ko kiyā thā*  
*Aur tu ne kiyā hai dil-e 'ālam ko musakhkhar<sup>13</sup>*

The penetration of the body in this way falls under what David Arnold has called the 'corporeality of colonialism' in India, in which the body becomes a site of contestation between the colonized and colonizers (Arnold 1993:8-9). There are a number of ways in which what Arnold has called the 'political and cultural problematics of the body in a colonized society' (ibid.:6) are manifested in the *Musaddas*. It is metaphors of bodily illness that set the tone of the poem. In the First Introduction to the *Musaddas*, Hali employs images of fever and infection to describe the inner turmoil he underwent as he was torn between the poetry of the past and the demands of the present:

When I beheld the new pattern of the age, my heart became sick of the old poetry, and I began to feel ashamed of stringing together empty fabrications. The promptings of my friends gave me no encouragement, nor was I stimulated to rival my companions. Yet it was as if I was trying to close an open sore which would not rest without oozing in one way or another. And so I suffocated in the effort of suppressing the

<sup>12</sup> If we reckon up all the breaths of day and night, then very few will be left to be gathered for the next day. / Our days and nights are continually spent for nothing. / It is as, if no one among us was aware that these breaths will come to an end at some moment.

<sup>13</sup> The former ones only subdued the world, while you have subdued the heart of the world.

fevers raging within myself, racking my heart and brain, while seeking their outlet.

Hali goes on to describe how he went about setting his 'long-chilled heart and worn-out brain to work, after they had been rendered useless by uninterrupted attacks of illness.' The writing of the *Musaddas* becomes an attempted act of healing, a catharsis which rejuvenates a body exhausted by illness and infected wounds. From the early twentieth century onwards the link between community, health and nation, was increasingly to exercise the minds of those who sought both to rebut European notions of degenerate races, and to redefine a new sense of self on the basis of rehabilitated and reappropriated notions of medicine (Arnold 1993:280-88). In a more metaphorical mode, the poet's ill health here becomes a symbol of national illness, and the *Musaddas* is written to heal and rejuvenate the worn-out body of both the poet and the Muslim community in India.

In this way, there is a strong link between poetics and bodily health and the act of writing itself becomes an attempt to cure and re-establish control over a degenerate body. The association between personal health and national health was later reinforced in the Second Introduction to the poem, where the poet describes the potential for regeneration in the community in terms of ashes and sparks waiting to be rekindled, and then explains the despairing tone of the *Musaddas* in terms of the fading fire in his own heart. The poem opens with the metaphor of illness, when the poet relates an anecdote about Hippocrates and the incurable disease by which the Muslim community is afflicted (M1-M2). The potency of this image is sharpened by the way it blends into the simile of the boat in danger, so that the feverish maladies afflicted by decline are combined with a sense of historical vulnerability (M3). The image of disease in the poem is contrasted with the glories of Graeco-Islamic medicine in a classical and robust Islam, and the ignorance of practitioners of traditional medicine amongst the sick Muslims of contemporary India. The denunciation of the latter is of some interest, given the interplay and conflict between European and indigenous medicine in British India (cf. Arnold 1993:3-4, 12, 44-55). Hali's evocation of the glories of Graeco-Islamic medicine in a safely distant past, combined with a predictable denunciation of degenerate Indo-Muslim practices, neatly balances the demands of both colonial and indigenous medicine. But it also suggests how Hali himself might have been negotiating a path between the two, trying to appropriate what he could from colonial ideologies in order to rejuvenate an indigenous body of poetics, in a way perhaps foreshadowing a similar strategy to be employed in the more literal context of health and medicine (ibid.:289). It also parallels his later negotiation of European authors in the *Muqaddama* (cf. section 1:3 above). The association between bodily illness and degenerate poetics is reinforced later in the poem, when contemporary poets are described as afflicted by 'hectic fever' (M251). This recalls the First Introduction to the *Musaddas* when Hali described himself as suffering from a similar malady, thereby further adding to the poem's perception of itself as attempting to offer a cure for a malady which is responsible for the corruption of aesthetic as well

as moral senses. Such powerful images of psychosomatic illness, in which the personal and the national are conflated, are evocative of the effects of the historical forces of decline that the poem grapples with, forces transmitted through the medium of the colonial state and manifested in imprints left on the body of the poet and his community as well as society at large.

### 3:4 Deserts and gardens

The nexus of economic values and a rhetoric of temporality is also partially evident in Hali's use of images of cultivation and irrigation to signify civilization. This imagery is particularly clear in the verses depicting the civilizing effect of Islam on the Arabian peninsula and the Middle East generally, which Hali described in the First Introduction in terms of the fructifying effects of Islam on a physically and culturally barren landscape. In the poem, pre-Islamic Arabia is described as a barren, inhospitable geographical region (M10):

*Na khitton meñ ghalla na jangal meñ khetī*  
*'Arab aur kul kā'ināt us kī ye thī'*<sup>14</sup>

The dependence of the region on rain water, rather than any organized water supply, is also stressed (M9):

*Na sabza thā sahrā meñ paidā na pānī*  
*Faqat āb-e bārān pai thī zindagānī'*<sup>15</sup>

This picture of barrenness is transformed by the impact of Islam. The Arabs became unmatched and unique in agriculture (*Falāhat meñ be-misāl-o yaktā hu'e vo M75*) and they made every desolate land flourish (*Kiyā ja-ke ābād har mulk-e virān M76*). Images of greenery are also used in a more general sense to measure the fructifying impact of Islam; thus, the seeds of spring are brought by the Arabs into the world (M76):

*Bahār ab jo duniyā meñ ā'ī hu'ī hai*  
*Ye sab paud unhī kā lagā'ī hu'ī hai'*<sup>16</sup>

The effect of Islam is described as a rain cloud which transformed God's plantation into greenery (M69):

<sup>14</sup> There was no grain in the granaries, no cultivation in the wilderness. This was Arabia, and its whole world.

<sup>15</sup> No greenery grew in the desert. There was no water. Life was dependent solely upon rain water.

<sup>16</sup> The spring season which has now come into the world had its seedlings planted by them.

*Rahe us se mahrūm ābī na khākī*  
*Harī ho ga'ī sārī kheti khudā ki*<sup>17</sup>

Similarly, the coming of Islam is described as a wave of liberation that rendered the world's garden green (M57):

*Ye thī mauj pahli us āzādagi kī*  
*Harā jis se hone ko thā bāgh-e giū*<sup>18</sup>

Later, when the poet sums up the glories of early Islamic civilization, agriculture is again listed as among its achievements (M103), and the rain of the Arabs is described as having made all verdant (*Harā kar gayā sab ko bārān 'arab kā* M104). The Prophet himself is described as a gardener who had laid out a harmonious, egalitarian garden (M58):

*Lagāyā thā māli ne ik bāgh aisā*  
*Na thā jis meñ chhotā barā ko'ī paudā*<sup>19</sup>

However, the imagery of gardens is also extended metaphorically to include the cultivation of learning itself, so that the rediscovery of Greek learning under the Abbasid Caliphate is depicted in terms of the diffusion of fragrance from a beautiful garden (M87).

The importance of gardens, verdure, and barrenness to the imagery of the poem is also clearly signalled in the section entitled 'Simile of the nations as gardens' (M109-M112). Here the ruined garden of Islam is compared to other flourishing gardens, as well as gardens which although not actually flourishing, are ready to bloom. The decay of agriculture and of the garden of Islam forms a contrast not just with earlier glories, but also with the present achievements of British rule itself, amongst whose benefits is included a reference to cultivation (M285).

The use of garden imagery would have had Quranic resonances for Hali's Muslim readers. The garden in the Quran is used as an image of paradise. The abode of the Just is variously referred to as 'the Garden' (*al-janna* Quran 11:108), or as 'the Garden of Eden' (*jannat 'adn* Quran 18:32). Paradise is also described as a garden watered by running streams (Quran 2:25, 4:57). The Quran also contains a parable of the blighted garden, which is intended to warn mortals of the consequences of heedless arrogance (Quran 68:17-33). Whilst these resonances must be borne in mind, the use of garden imagery and images of cultivation and irrigation in the *Musaddas* is significant in a number of other ways. First, it is possible that schemes of agriculture, land reclamation, and irrigation in British India furnished Hali with a contemporary example of imperial power and its command over water for agricultural purposes. It was in

<sup>17</sup> No creatures of water or of earth remained in want of it. God's whole plantation became green.

<sup>18</sup> This was the first wave of the liberation by which the garden of the world was to become green.

<sup>19</sup> The Gardener had laid out a garden which did not contain any very large or small plant.

the decade after the *Musaddas* appeared that the economy of the Punjab was reshaped by unprecedented expansion in agricultural production brought about by canal colonization. This colonization signified an important experiment in social and economic engineering, which reflected an increasingly confident and interventionist colonial state.<sup>20</sup> However, prior to this, there were important developments in canal engineering concentrated in the Doab, with irrigation in the grand manner beginning with the Ganges Canal, which was opened in 1854 (Whitcombe 1972:8, 64). In 1875, one colonial observer, W.T. Thornton, was to describe this canal as 'the most magnificent work of its class in the whole world' (ibid.:85). Thus, even before canal colonization got seriously under way in the Punjab, there were a number of significant examples of colonial hydraulic engineering and its impact on agriculture. Such monuments of the colonial state's schemes of public works—and the *Musaddas* does depict the benefits of British rule at least partly under the heading of public works—may have sharpened Hali's interest in images of cultivation and irrigation. To a certain extent, too, the nexus of economic values in the *Musaddas* overlaps with the imagery of cultivation and irrigation, given that the transformation of agriculture and the changes in social structure in parts of British India which were wrought through irrigation, were a significant aspect of the colonial state's public works.

Secondly, it is also possible that the pitiful state of Mughal monuments and their once splendid gardens were a quite literal example of ruined gardens which reflected the decline of Muslim power in India. Since Hali spent some of the most intellectually formative years of his life in Lahore, it is worthwhile noting the Shalamar gardens in that city were a striking example of Mughal gardens fallen into ruin. The unkempt condition of the gardens and the ruined buildings was noted by both colonial and non-colonial officials in the nineteenth century (Kausar 1990:71-75). Furthermore, the Shalamar gardens in Lahore had themselves been constructed on the basis of Mughal feats of canal engineering (Wescoat 1990:45-8), so that the British works of engineering referred to above reinforced the anachronism of Mughal works. Whilst the *Musaddas* uses imagery of gardens to illustrate its themes in symbolic ways, it is useful to remember how these images might have been in part derived from the dilapidated remains of some Mughal gardens and monuments in north India which served as a poignant reminder of past glories and present ruin.

Thirdly, the weaving together of desert and garden in the poem evokes in part the imaginary landscape of Arabia and the symbolic geography of Persian gardens. Both can be seen to represent the two major strands of Islam, namely the now increasingly central strand of Arab Islam, and the soon to be marginalized Persianate heritage of Mughal India. The fading of the Persianate garden can be read variously as the decline of Mughal India as reflected in the ruined condition of its monuments, as the decay of the imaginary inner gardens of classical poetry alluded to above, and as Hali's own highly ambivalent attempt to distance himself from the ornate legacy of Indian Persianate Islam.

<sup>20</sup> Fully discussed in Ali 1988, the standard work.

One aspect of the imagery of cultivation in the poem needs to be explored further. This is the character of the cultivation which the poet uses to measure the impact of progressive, civilizing forces on culturally barren landscapes. What the poem sometimes seems to value is the cultivation of exotica in hitherto inhospitable environments. Thus, the barren pre-Islamic landscape of Arabia is partly described in terms of the absence of materials necessary for the cultivation of the 'lotus-flowers of the heart' (M9):

*Na kuchh aise sāmān the vāñ muyassar  
Kañval jis se khūl jā'en dīl ke sarāsar*<sup>21</sup>

This image of a lotus flower blooming in the desert makes abundantly clear the poet's identification between cultivation—both material and spiritual—and civilization generally. This identification occurs again, for example, when Spain is described as being turned into a rose garden by the Islamic conquests (M82):

*Huā Andalus un se gulzār yaksar  
Jahān un ke āsār bāqī haiñ aksar*<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, the image of cultivation in a jungle occurs twice, once in the context of characterizing pre-Islamic Arabia (M11), and once in the context of listing the benefits of British rule, where every corner of India's jungles are a rose garden (*Har ik gosha gulzār hai jangalon meñ* M285). At the same time, similar images of exotica are used to characterize the dissolute life of the rich in contemporary India (M168):

*Kamar-basta haiñ log khidmat meñ un kī  
Gul-o lāla rahie haiñ suhbat meñ un kī  
Nafāsat bhārī hai tabī'at meñ un kī  
Nazākat so dākhil hai 'ādat meñ un kī  
Davā'oh meñ mushk un kī uhtā hai dheroh  
Vo poshāk meñ 'ūr malte haiñ seroh*<sup>23</sup>

In this context, then, images of exotica are suggestive of precious over-refinement, which is one of the symptoms of decline. Here exotica are associated with dress and appearance, whereas the cultivation of lotus flowers and rose gardens in deserts or jungles is associated not just with work and effort, but also technological achievement.

<sup>21</sup> Nor were there obtainable there the requisite materials necessary for the lotus-flowers of the heart to open fully.

<sup>22</sup> Through them Spain was entirely turned into a rose-garden, where many of their memorials remain.

<sup>23</sup> People stand in attendance to serve them. The rose and the tulip remain in their company. / Their natures are filled with refinement, their habits are permeated with delicacy. / In their draughts masses of musk arise, their garments are steeped in pounds of rose perfume.

On the face of it, Hali's use of images of cultivation, and in particular, images of exotic cultivation, is somewhat surprising. This is because the usage seems to sit uneasily with the exaltation of 'natural' poetry later in the *Muqaddama*, and with the subsidiary sections which seem to support this elevation of 'natural poetry' into the main icon of Hali's poetics. In one such section, Hali explicitly states his preference for *amad* 'spontaneous inspiration' over *āvardagi* 'affected artifice' (*Muqaddama*:120-2). In European terms Hali's poetics might even be labelled 'neoclassical', given its aggressive doctrine of a return to natural simplicity.<sup>24</sup> The vagueness of Hali's use of the word 'nature' has been noted elsewhere (Steele 1981:19, Pritchett 1994:165-6).<sup>25</sup> This vagueness, as well as the contradictions and inconsistencies in Hali's argument in the *Muqaddama*, make it difficult to say precisely where the usage of cultivation imagery in the *Musaddas* might be in tension with the *Muqaddama*'s argument.

The wider significance of images of cultivation in the *Musaddas* needs to be explored in another context, rather than in the context of the possible tensions with the argument in the *Muqaddama*. Christopher Shackle has suggested that the reference to Muslim Spain in Hali's ode to Queen Victoria is indicative of a British textbook as a source, rather than any direct Muslim reminiscence (Shackle 1996a:245). It has been suggested by others that the growth of European scholarship on Islam and the increased activities of Christian missionaries from the late nineteenth century onwards began to have an impact on Muslim self-perceptions themselves (Smith 1985:47, Hardy 1972:61-7, 175-6). The nature of Hali's references to European authors in the *Muqaddama* has been discussed by others (Steele 1981:16, Pritchett 1994:148-53). The complex character of these references is compounded by the manner in which European literature was transmitted into Hali's milieu. Pritchett has pointed out that Hali's knowledge of the European authors he refers to was probably derived from brief or poorly translated excerpts (Pritchett 1994:147). Whatever the precise nature of Hali's engagement with European authors, it seems clear that references and allusions to their work were partially used to legitimize his own perceptions and arguments (Steele 1981:16, Pritchett 1994:149-51). What is important here is a complex sense of the interaction between self-perceptions and perceptions of others towards one's self. It is possible to place the imagery of exotica and cultivation in the *Musaddas* in the context of just such an interaction between Muslim self-perceptions and European Orientalist scholarship. In part, Hali's depiction of Islam in the *Musaddas* can be seen as a response to a general image of an exotic and mysterious Islam in European Orientalist scholarship at the time.<sup>26</sup>

However, there was another way in which Islam was being exoticized and rendered 'foreign' in India itself. The growth of Hindu revivalism from the late

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of the neo-classical in these terms, see Rosen 1976:171.

<sup>25</sup> For a similar vagueness in Sir Sayyid's use of the word, see Troll 1978/79:175-7.

<sup>26</sup> For which see Hardy 1972:175-6, Rodinson 1988. For popular cultural uses of such an image in Britain, see Mackenzie 1995:176-204.

nineteenth century onwards became a significant factor in Indian politics. This involved an increasingly militant characterization of Indian Islam as an alien imposition (Hardy 1972:139, Robinson 1974:77-8). This also began to affect perceptions of Urdu itself, especially with the movement for Hindi which culminated in the Nagari Resolution of 1900 (Brass 1974:119-69). The campaign spawned some polemical Hindi dramas, in which figures of Hindi and Urdu are used as personifications of indigenous Virtue and exotic Vice (King 1992:123-48). Added to this, there is evidence to show that some Muslim communities stressed their extra-Indian genealogies, thereby reinforcing the view that Islam in India was an exotic phenomenon, and not an indigenous one (Shaikh 1989:79-80). To a certain extent, these self-perceptions became more acute as the decline of Muslim power in India accelerated, as they became a way of remaining in touch with an imperial past.

Thus, parts of the *Musaddas* also reflect the various ways in which Islam was being exoticized in the subcontinent. This is especially the case with the imagery of exotic cultivation in inhospitable environments, which becomes an apt symbol of not just the increasingly alien nature of Islam in the subcontinent, but also the shallowness of its roots and therefore its fragility. This sense of historical fragility is reinforced by the poem's general concern with tracking clues and detecting traces and footprints of the past on the contemporary world (cf. M79, M103). There is a corresponding anxiety about the effacement and erasure of such footprints and traces. For example, when delineating the reduced state of the Muslim aristocracy in India, the poet refers to how their names and marks have been erased (*Magar mit chukā jin kā nām-o nishān hai* M147, cf. also M119). The sense of fragile roots combined with exoticism becomes a potent image of the way perceptions of Indian Islam were being constructed by a variety of processes from the late nineteenth century onwards.

It is perhaps of interest here that whilst Hali is highly critical of most of the genres of Urdu poetry in his *Muqaddama*, he singles out the *marṣiyya* generally, and particularly Mir Anis's work, for praise (*Muqaddama*:264-75). The main reason he gives to justify this praise is that the *marṣiyya* presents a set of characters who serve as moral emblems, and so the genre as a whole is amenable to the kind of moral instruction Hali felt should infuse and uplift Urdu poetry (*Muqaddama*:271-3). But Hali's affinity with the *marṣiyya* might also lie on a deeper level. Mir Anis's famous *marṣiyya* beginning *Jab qat' kā masāfat-e shab āftāb ne* ('When the sun had completed its nightly journey') abounds with images of exotic gardens in the desert (Anis 1968: verses 11-24, 49). The significance of these images is that they illustrate the magically transforming presence of the Prophet's family as they await martyrdom. However, since the *marṣiyya* is also a uniquely Indian genre in Islamic literature, and at the same time, since it is so obviously associated with the Persianate Shiite strands of Islam,<sup>27</sup> the images of exotic gardens in barren deserts might reflect the genre's awareness of its own uniqueness. In this way, Hali's leaning towards the genre

<sup>27</sup> For a full discussion of the genre and its features, see Naim 1983:101-116.

might be explained not just in terms of his explicit views on poetics, but also in terms of his general engagement with exotic images of Islam in the contemporary world of colonial India.

### 3:5 Globalization, the written word and literary propriety

To a certain extent, then, the *Musaddas* bears the signs of an exoticization of Islam which was part of Hali's own working out of Muslim self-perceptions in colonial north India. This strand of exoticism also has to be placed in the context of the poem's themes as a whole. The concern with the power and scope of European imperial expansion is obviously central to the theme of decline and progress in the *Musaddas*. The measurement of the Muslim community against other communities (e.g. M131 ff) also bears witness to the historical and globalizing forces unleashed by that expansion.

This concern with the historical and imperial forces of progress is illuminated by the subsidiary theme of the migration and travelling of learning, as in the description of the incorporation of knowledge from Egypt and Greece in the section on the achievements of the Abbasid Caliphate (M88):

*Harīm-e khilāfat meñ ūnton pai lad-kar*  
*Chale āte the Miṣr-o Yūnān ke daftar*<sup>28</sup>

The following verse describes the enrichment of Western libraries the 'stars of the East' (M89):

*Navishton se hair̄ jin ke ab tak muzayyan*  
*Kutub-khāna-e Paris-o Rūm-o Landan*<sup>29</sup>

This suggestion of the migration of learned texts is touched upon earlier with a brief picture of the state of India and Persia in the period which saw the rise of Islam. Here the 'tent of knowledge and skill' is described as having been loaded up and taken away (*Ki thā gyan gun kā ladā yān se derā* M64), before the arrival of Islam resurrected it (M64). In other words, the *Musaddas* is acutely aware of what imperial power can command in archival terms.

Secondly, the migration of learning is also part of the theme of travel which recurs throughout the poem. It is their readiness to travel and explore which distinguishes the Arabs of early Islam (M78-M79); they are even described as internalising their migrant mode of life, so that 'they reckoned their homeland and travel as the same' (*Vo ginte the yaksān vatan aur safar ko* M78).

<sup>28</sup> Loaded on camels, the archives of Egypt and Greece used to come into the precincts of the Caliphate.

<sup>29</sup> With whose writings the libraries of Paris, Rome and London are even now adorned.

Furthermore, one of the achievements of the early Islamic conquests was the construction of roads, so that not only were they themselves worthy travellers, they also made possible ease of travel for others (M77). The image of open roads is also used in the First Introduction to the poem, when Hali describes how he was trapped in fruitless circles, but when he looked up, he saw 'open roads in all directions'. It is precisely the ease and safety of travel in India which is counted as one of the major benefits of British rule (M283, M285), whilst the eagerness to travel which distinguished the early Islamic world is contrasted to the present disinclination amongst Indian Muslims to do so (M125-M126). There is an implied link between the status of the Muslim community as a subject population, and its indifference to travel. Furthermore, travelling is seen as one of the ways of not just broadening the mind, but of actually verifying the existence of things mentioned in books, and more importantly, of learning how to distinguish between legendary place and geographical fact (M126):

*Bihisht aur Iram Salsabil aur Kausar  
Pahār aur jangal jazire samandar  
Isī tarh ke aur bhī nām akṣar  
Kitābon meñ paṛhte rahe haiñ barābar  
Ye jāñ tak na dekhe kaheñ kis yaqīn par  
Kī ye āsmān par haiñ yā hañ zamīn par*<sup>30</sup>

There is thus also an implied link between the disinclination to travel and the Muslim community's ineptitude in what might be called 'scientific' habits of observation and verification.

Thirdly, as briefly mentioned above, comparisons are made between Muslims and other communities. The significance of this lies partly in the way this comparison implicitly accepts an imperial notion of placing cultures in a hierarchy, based on a mixture of racial and other factors.<sup>31</sup> The way the Muslim community might have slipped down just such a scale is only one obvious indication of their decline. More importantly, measurements against other communities, both in India and outside it, reflect the impact of European rule which enabled those very comparisons to be made. This is evident in a number of ways. Hali assumes in these comparisons, and indeed throughout the poem, a homogeneous all-Indian Muslim identity. To a certain extent, this conception reflects the way the category was defined in the Population Census of India from 1871 onwards. Religious categories were fundamental to the collection of data for the Census, and it was assumed that such categories indicated homogenous communities. Furthermore, some of the data, such as the tables on literacy and education, were broken down on the basis of religion and caste, so that

<sup>30</sup> Paradise and Iram, Salsabil and Kausar, mountain and jungle, island and ocean, / And many other such names, we have kept reading about in books, / But without seeing them, who can be sure whether they exist or not?

<sup>31</sup> For such notions in the context of India, see Washbrook 1982 and Omissi 1991.

comparisons were drawn between putatively homogenous communities (Jones 1981:78-84). Indeed, the poem's concern with how the Prophet welded the warring tribes of the Arabian peninsula into a *qaum* (M15-M19, M54) perhaps serves as a subtext for the polemic of the *Musaddas* itself, especially given Hali's sense of the sectarian and social divisions in the Indian Muslim community (Steele 1981:4). In fact, there is an implicit connection in the *Musaddas* as a whole between progress and the making of nations, through which the anarchic pursuit of self-interest is replaced by the pursuit of a common national interest.<sup>32</sup>

There is another way in which the concern with community in the *Musaddas* reflects the impact of European imperialism. The poem does not just assume the existence of an all-Indian Muslim community, bound together by a common historical experience of decline. The shift towards Arab strands of Islam, and the move away from Persian influences, signals an attempt to link the existence of an all-Indian Muslim community with a pan-Islamic one, whose centre of historical gravity is to be found in the Middle East. In some ways, this prefigures the crucial role which a pan-Islamic ideology was to play in bolstering the status of an all-Indian Muslim community as a political category from the early twentieth century onwards until 1947. This was to come to the fore in the Khilafat movement, as examined in Gail Minault's masterly study (Minault 1982). The link between pan-Islam and the increasing European penetration of the Middle East has been commented upon most recently by Jacob Landau, who has argued that emerging notions of pan-Islam reflected the way in which large parts of the world's Muslim population fell under European rule. Perhaps ironically, it was European imperialism which unwittingly bolstered a world-wide sense of Islamic solidarity (Landau 1990:7, 24-35). It is these parallel narratives of European imperialism and pan-Islamic consciousness which the *Musaddas* bears witness to, and which the early sections of the poem on the unification of warring tribes into a unified *qaum* prefigure.

It is possible to see in these themes of migration, travelling, and homogenous communities the incipience of what has been called 'globalization' (Giddens 1994:63-78). Giddens has identified the dialectical interaction between the local and the global as the defining process in globalization (ibid.:64), and it is clear from our discussion above that the networking across the earth's surface of connections between different regions is a figure that underlies the poem's concerns with migration, travelling, and homogenization. The grappling with these historical and globalizing forces in the *Musaddas* is condensed in two apposite images. The first occurs in the the section dealing with the achievements of the Abbasid Caliphate (M85 ff), and the second in the section depicting the benefits of British rule (M282-M289). Amongst the achievements of the Abbasid caliphate are advances in surveying and astronomy. The poet describes how geometers of the age gathered together and used their apparatuses to survey the globe (*Kure ki masāhat ke phailā'e sāmān* M90). The

<sup>32</sup> Cf. M173, where European nations are depicted as 'devoted to their country and community, and all fulfil the needs of everyone mutually.'

poet adds that thereby the value of the whole became evident from the part (*Hu't juzv se qadr kul kī numāyān* M90). This image of measurement of the globe, and the derivation of the whole from the part, is a symbolic reflection of the globalizing which is the result of the unifying conquests of empires, in which new relationships between different geographical regions are forged. It also combines an allusion to imperial power with a reference to the power of scientific endeavour, so that measurement in the poem encompasses both geometry proper, as well as a measuring of cultures through the definition of hierarchies. Here it might be worth again pointing to the roll call of place names in the poem, which are used to invoke a sense of historically significant geographical space, often redolent with memories of past imperial power (M79-M80, M83). An example occurs in M91, where geographical sweep is combined with an allusion to scientific power:

*Samarqand se Andalus tak sarūsar  
Unhī kī raṣad-gāheñ thīñ jalva-gustar*<sup>33</sup>

Thus, verses 91 and 92 combine allusions to imperial power, scientific endeavour, and geographical space. The image of the globe-measuring geometricians of verse 90 might also serve as a symbol of the shape the poem itself aspires to, in which each part stands in a synecdochic relationship with the whole. In terms of the interaction between the effects of global empire and the rhetoric of the poem itself, it is the trope of synecdoche (Baig 1940:161-3) which is central to the poem, as has been suggested above in the context of time and economics. The wide historical and geographical sweep of the *Musaddas* is indicative of Hali's concern not just with the way time and space are shaped in human history, but also with the increasingly close relationship between part and whole which was an inescapable result of processes of global imperialism from the late nineteenth century onwards.

The other arresting image of the impact of empire is an allusion to the speed with which information is transmitted and the resulting effect on our notions of the world. This is listed as one of the benefits of British rule and so is counted as one of the results of European technological progress as a whole. The verse is worth citing in full (M286):

*Pahuñchī haiñ mulkoñ meñ dam-dam kī khabreñ  
Chalī āī haiñ shādī-o gham kī khabreñ  
'Ayāñ haiñ har ik barr-e a'zam kī khabreñ  
Khulī haiñ zamāne pair 'ālam kī khabreñ  
Nahīñ vāqī'a ko't pinhāñ kahīñ kā  
Hai ā'ina ahvāl rū-e zamīñ kā*<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Right from Samarkand to Spain, it was their observatories that diffused their splendour.

<sup>34</sup> In all the lands, fresh news arrives each instant. News of joy and sorrow keeps coming in. / The news of every continent is openly published. The world's news is revealed to the world. / Nothing which happens anywhere is hidden. All that happens upon the face of the earth is like a mirror.

The reference to news here in part reflects the burgeoning of the vernacular press, and the increasingly important role it played in defining communities of language and new categories of readership.<sup>35</sup> Also of some importance here is the way in which sections of this press began to use statistical data from the population census to define and articulate political demands for representation. Indeed, the sense of a world becoming transparent unto itself might have much to do with the rigorous detail with which population data were collected in British India and made publicly available (Jones 1981:86). To a certain extent, the new forms of poetry which Hali himself was trying to articulate in the later *Muqaddama* might have been influenced by these changing and novel forms of public discourse which print culture was engendering (cf. Lelyveld 1988, Shackle 1996a). It is also possible to see the Aligarh movement itself as embodying new idioms of public discourse and activity (Lelyveld 1978:103, 220-6, 251). Of particular interest here is Hali's central argument that poets should eschew stylistic and rhetorical elaborations for their own sake, and instead fashion the medium as transparent as possible to the moral message. This argument is particularly sharp in his denunciation of hyperbole (*Muqaddama*:182-4). The slight naivety of this view might have something to do with the novelty of large scale printing at the time; hidden behind this conception of a transparent medium might be the belief that whatever is printed must perforce be 'true'. Also, the fast transmission of news (*khābar*) which the poet refers to might have something to do with the way in which the *khābariyya* or 'informative' mode was being privileged over the *inshā'iyya* or 'non-informative' mode in new conceptions of public poetry (Pritchett 1994:107-8). Poetry was now being fashioned in terms of transmitting information, rather than as highlighting those non-falsifiable, non-informative aspects of language captured by the predominantly metaphorical modes of classical poetry. In other words, the fine art of poetry was being assimilated into a notion of mechanical art, that is, art created for the purpose of conveying information.<sup>36</sup> It is the failure to distinguish between fine and mechanical art that lies behind much of Hali's argument in the *Muqaddama*.

The reference in the *Musaddas* to the way in which printed information made 'the face of the earth like a mirror' has been discussed above. However, there are a number of ways in which the *Musaddas* reflects the privileging of the inscribed over the spoken word. In contrast to the ruined architectural monuments of Islamic culture, Hali points to the Hadith as a complete body of learning that testifies to the intellectual glories of past Islam. The Hadith embodies laws of substantiation and invalidation, which prefigured the rules of investigation which researchers of Hali's day used (M92, M94). Indeed, Hali argues that it was these volumes of verified reports and attested collections which reawakened a sense of critical history that had been 'shadowed over with darkness' (M93). Furthermore, in the context of describing the independence

<sup>35</sup> For two excellent accounts, see Lelyveld 1988 and Robinson 1993.

<sup>36</sup> For the distinction between the two, see Crowther 1993.

of such verified reports, Hali also argues that the sense of critical history as exemplified in the collection of the Hadith also prefigured 'liberalism'. In one of those sardonic remarks that occasionally puncture Hali's apparent infatuation with 'European' values of progress, the poet writes 'Let those who are pre-eminent in liberty today say when it was they started to become "liberal"' (M97).<sup>37</sup> The concern with written testimony as vouchsafing the oral pronouncements and continued existence of a historical presence is yet another reflection of not just the glories of early Islam, but also of Hali's strong sense of the priority of the inscribed or written word over the uttered word. In this regard, it might be worthwhile to note Abdul Haq's description of how when asked to recite his poetry, Hali would often prevaricate, claiming that his memory (*hifz*) was weak. Abdul Haq comments here that although this claim was typical of Hali's modesty, there was some truth in this (Abdul Haq 1950:140). This seems to suggest that Hali himself saw his poetry as a written text first, and only secondly as something to be read aloud. It is probable that he saw *mushā'iras* as perpetuating the figure of the Urdu poet as braggadocio (as depicted in Abdul Haq 1950:140). Hali's modesty in this regard might have more to do with distancing himself from those dissolute and immodest aesthetic and performing habits which he felt characterized aspects of Urdu literary culture. It is interesting that in his letter on the *Musaddas*, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan refers to how the poem should be sung by courtesans in a *majlis*, as though the very act of performing the *Musaddas* in a setting supposedly typical of Urdu literary culture at the time, would offset the morally dubious nature of that setting (Ahmad Khan 1924:166).

It seems likely that for Hali the priority he gave to the written word was in part related to his views on morality. It was also amenable to his attempts to create a new sense of propriety in Urdu literary etiquette, a propriety which was partly based on the superior force of the written as opposed to the spoken word. Hali's strategies for creating this sense of literary propriety included the employment of traditional *ghazal* imagery to make moral points. As Matthews and Shackle have pointed out, classical *ghazal* writers drew upon a variety of stock images. Originality consisted in adding a distinctive touch to a stock image, or developing such an image to a level of refinement hitherto unachieved, rather than inventing new ones (Matthews and Shackle 1972:11-15). One set of images consisted of garden imagery, Hali's use of which has been discussed above in the context of the poem's meditations on cultural decline. Another set of images traditionally associated with the *ghazal* draws on wine, drinking, and intoxication, which Hali later discussed in the *Muqaddama* (190-91). In contrast to these images as figures of ecstatic experiences, Hali sometimes uses similar imagery to illustrate moral points about certain vices. For example, faults such as pride and slander are characterized in terms of the intoxicating effects of wine (M215-M216). Similarly, the way in which excessive wealth has corrupted

<sup>37</sup> It seems likely that Hali's characterization of the Hadith and his views on critical history were heavily influenced by Sir Sayyid's work in this field, for which see Troll 1978/79:100-43.

sections of the Muslim community in India is also depicted in terms of 'the intoxicating wine of conceit and arrogance' (M159). At the same time, in a later section attacking contemporary poets, the reader is reminded of the conventional ways in which such imagery had been and continues to be a part of Urdu poetry. Here the performance of Urdu poetry is associated with courtesans, singers, and taverns (M256). There is a third way in which images of wine and intoxication are used in the *Musaddas*. This is to characterize the monotheistic message which is at the heart of the Prophet's mission. Thus the wine of falsehood is contrasted to the wine of monotheism which is soon to replace it (M32). Similarly, when describing Islamic society under the first four Caliphs, the poet writes (M55):

*Rah-e kufr-o bātil se bezār sāre*  
*Nashe meñ ma-e haq ke sarshār sāre*<sup>38</sup>

Thus, the *Musaddas* associates Urdu poetry with conventional imagery of wine and intoxication, but places this in a moral context of disapprobation, so that this imagery becomes a sign of the degenerate state of Urdu poetry. The link between this type of imagery and moral disapprobation is reinforced by the depiction of such vices as pride, slander, and love of material wealth. At the same time, the imagery of intoxication is constrained and reformed by associating it with the monotheistic message at the heart of Islam, so that the poet seems to be setting an example of the proper uses of imagery of intoxication in Urdu literature. In this way, the *Musaddas* establishes its own standards of propriety in literary etiquette, while containing examples of impropriety as a foil. The poem includes conventional points of reference which the text undermines in its attempt to create new conventions of poetry. It undermines these conventions by depicting them as improper and degenerate. Put another way, the *Musaddas* dramatizes its originality by including within its narrative images of the conventions it tries to break with and seeks to replace with conventions of its own. Here Paul Crowther's discussion of innovation in art is illuminating:

Historical innovation in art has always been determined in the context of creative breaks with, or refinements of, what has already been given. We do not want new artefacts that are simply unprecedented—but rather ones whose unprecedentedness casts new light on the traditions of art... Artistic innovation, in other words, is a complex relation between art and its past... (Crowther 1993:196)

One might say that one of the aims of the *Musaddas* was to cast new light on the

<sup>38</sup> All were disgusted with the way of unbelief and falsehood. All were drunk with the intoxicating wine of truth.

literary conventions it sought to break with. Its innovative character can also be seen in the context of its own relationship to the images of the past it created.

The priority of the written word in the *Musaddas* is thus reflected in a number of ways, from the central place of the Hadith as a surviving monument of Islam's classical age, to the concern with the transmission of news rendering the world transparent. It was also bound up with Hali's attempt to create a new sense of propriety in Urdu literature. The image of self-reflexivity, of a world becoming transparent unto itself, is a potent one for the technological impact of British imperialism. Hali's deft use of this image to express both reflection and transparency captures perfectly the effect this had on notions of identity. Indeed, in the First Introduction Hali refers to the poem as a house of mirrors which Indian Muslims 'may enter to study their features and realize who they were and what they have become.' As points of comparison and contrast are multiplied in a world rendered increasingly transparent by news, identity necessarily becomes more self-reflexive. The *Musaddas* recognizes that this can have a destabilizing effect. In a section of the poem entitled 'The decay of Islam', the poet writes of how the Muslim community 'was now fashioned as if it had begun to break up' (M107). The sense of simultaneous fragmentation and construction is in part expressive of the poem's concern with historical possibilities—the Muslim community might go either way—but it also expresses the sense of continual self-renewal and fashioning which the age of modernity seems to demand for survival.<sup>39</sup> At one poignant moment of the poem, another historical possibility is faced, namely the extinction, or at least superseding, of the Muslim community (M230):

*Nabuvvat na gar khatm hoti 'arab par  
Ko'i ham pai mab'us hota payambar  
To hai jaise mazkur Qur'an ke andar  
Zalalat yahud aur nasara ki aksar  
Yunhi jo kitab is payambar pai a  
Vo gumrahiiyan sab hamari jatati*<sup>40</sup>

The distancing effect created by imagining this historical possibility fits in with the poem's general concern with historical possibilities and refashionings. These, in part at least, were made imaginable by the processes of imperialism and historical decline which Hali himself was witness to, and which were quite central to the changing self-perceptions which the poet was working through in the *Musaddas*.

<sup>39</sup> For a full discussion of the role of self-reflexivity in modernity, see Giddens 1994:36-45.

<sup>40</sup> If the office of Prophet had not come to an end with the Arabs, and if some prophet were to be sent to us, / Then, just as the general ruin of the Jews and Christians is recorded in the Quran, / So the Book which would be revealed to that prophet would make known all our acts of wickedness.

### 3.6 Carrion progress

As has been discussed in 3:1 above, the sense of historical decline in the poem is intertwined with the presentation of historical progress. However, while scholars have stressed Hali's ambivalent attitude to the world of classical poetics he sought to supplant (Steele 1981:12, Pritchett 1994:39, 43, 163, 182), less attention has been paid to his ambivalence towards the icons he created and lauded in his work. This is notably the case with the notion of progress in the *Musaddas*.

First, at one point in the poem progress is likened to the carrion corpse of a female dog (*murdar kutiya* M138). Although the context here is the failure of Muslims to recognize what progress is, to describe progress as 'carrion' is more suggestive of enervating decline than invigorating progress. This is a clear instance in the poem where the value system of the text, apparently so much weighted in favour of progress, becomes blurred. There is a sense in which throughout the poem Hali is offloading his own resentments against the carrion corpse called progress onto the Muslim community, rather than owning up to his resentments himself.

Secondly, the verses ostensibly praising the Europeans are sometimes ambiguous. For example, verses 102 and 104 are at pains to point out the debt that Europe owes to the achievements of classical Islam. In the section on medicine (M101-M102) the names of famous schools and physicians are listed, and the poet then adds that 'it was through them that the boat of the West got across' (*Unhi se huā pār maghrīb kā khevā* M102). The poignancy of this image is sharpened by the fact that the condition of the Muslim community at the commencement of the poem is represented in terms of a ship which is about to sink into a whirlpool, its crew asleep and oblivious to their impending doom (M3). The use of a similar image to illustrate the contrasting fates of Islam and Europe highlights the historical irony Hali draws attention to; namely that the Western ship got across with the help of the Arabs, while the Muslim ship itself sank. Hali might also be thinking here of the superior naval power of the British on which much of their empire rested, at least in part. More significantly, though, the general anxiety of the poem to gather up traces and signs of past Islamic achievements might also be explained by Hali's awareness of how the narrative of progress was being re-written as a European story which made no mention of the significant Arab contributions to important branches of learning (Turner 1994:31-2). This is reinforced by M104, in which the powerful nations of the time are reminded of their permanent debt to the Arabs.

Thirdly, some of the other verses apparently praising the Europeans are also ambiguous in the sense that they paint a slightly comic as well as a rather unappealing picture. This is the case with verses 131-2, where their restless energy and capacity for hard work are apparently lauded. For example, the description of European peoples racing so fast along the way as if they still had very far to go, carrying on their heads every kind of load and burden, is suggestive of an undignified and rather childish game. Furthermore, the addition of the qualification 'as if they had far to go' (*Bahut dūr abhi un ko jānā*

*hai goyā* M131) suggests that their destination might also be illusory. The next verse on their inexhaustible energy shows them as admirable, but also as a little heartless and narrow in vision (M132):

*Kisī vaqt jī bhar-ke sote nahīn vo  
Kabhī ser mihnat se hote nahīn vo  
Bizā'at ko aprī dūbote nahīn vo  
Ko'ī lamha be-kār khote nahīn vo  
Na chalne se thakte na uktāte haiñ vo  
Bahut barh ga'e aur barhte jāte haiñ vo*<sup>41</sup>

In contrast to this picture, the languorous pose of Indian Muslims can almost seem positively appealing (M133):

*Zamāne se kuchh aise fāriḡh-nishīn haiñ  
Kī goyā zarūrī thā jo kām karnā  
Vo sab kar chuke ek bāqī hai marnā*<sup>42</sup>

In part, too, this languorous pose seems to stem from a fatalism that the poem cannot entirely shake off. In many ways, the poem's apparent faith in progress is reflected in its endorsement of the values of self-help and hard work. Part of the Prophet's success lay in his imparting to the Arabs the 'keen desire and urge to work' (M41). Similarly, the poet describes a disinclination to work hard as one of the causes of the decline of any people (M153), while the verses on how the Muslim aristocracy of India has been reduced to beggary seem to further endorse the value of hard work (M144-M145, M150-M151). However, the poem's very title 'The flow and ebb of Islam' and its cyclical structure suggests a natural, cyclical process over which we have no power. There are in fact three images or senses of historical process in the poem; a cyclical image of natural tidal forces, a sense of the vicissitudes of fortune, and an image of linear progress. The sense of linear progress and development is only one of the senses of history in the poem, and its associated values of hard work are put into perspective, if not undermined, by the other images of history in the *Musaddas*.

Finally, there is one significant instance of where Hali uses a modified version of what Eleanor Shaffer in another context has called 'mythological doubling'. This refers to cases where one belief system represents the values or 'revelations' of other belief systems as disguised versions of its own unique revelation (Shaffer 1975:185). This occurs when the poet deals with the 'co-operative sympathy' of the people of Europe (*ahl-e Yūrap kī hamdardī*). Here the poet posits another historical irony, namely that the people of Europe

<sup>41</sup> They never sleep their fill, they are never sated by hard work. / They do not squander their substance, they do not waste an instant uselessly. / They do not tire or get weary of going along. They have advanced a long way and keep on advancing.

<sup>42</sup> We sit so careless of the world / That it is as if all necessary tasks had already been accomplished, and only death remains.

have got where they have because they, rather than Muslims, have followed the tenets which are implicit in the Shariat (M171):

*Shar'at ke jo ham ne paimān toṛe  
Vo le jā-ke sab ahl-e maghrīb ne joṛe*<sup>43</sup>

It seems that Hali's ambivalence towards the Persianate Muslim past in India was more than matched by his ambivalent attitude to the values of progress he lauds in the *Musaddas*. Furthermore, the bleak last section of the poem more than hints that the British, too, will meet the fate of decline. This is conveyed by the list of past civilizations in the penultimate verse of the poem, which refers to ancient Egypt, ancient Iran, the Chaldeans, and the Sasanians (M293). The verse before this expresses what the poet feels is the moral of the poem, namely that no people or community can escape the fate of decline. In a fitting image which concludes the thread of garden imagery running through the poem as a whole, the poet reminds his readers (M292):

*Bahut yān hu'e khushk chashmeñ ubal-kar  
Bahut bāḡh chhānte ga'e phul phal-kar*<sup>44</sup>

The final couplet ends by stressing the transitory nature of the world and life itself (M294):

*Musāfir yahān haiñ saqir aur ghanī sab  
Ghulām aur āzād haiñ raftanī sab*<sup>45</sup>

Whatever might have been Hali's attitudes to the classical poetry of the past, he had no hesitation reminding his present rulers in time honoured fashion of the transitoriness of worldly power; there is also a strong suggestion that the British, too, will meet the same fate that all other previous civilizations have suffered. In the final analysis, there is a sense in which the *Musaddas* gathers up the wisdom vouchsafed by historical decline, a wisdom as yet unavailable to the British as the foremost power in the world.

### 3:7 Chaos and order

This ambivalence towards 'European' values of progress is just one major instance of the ambiguities in the *Musaddas* at key points of its rhetoric and

<sup>43</sup> Those covenants of the Holy Law which we have broken, have all been firmly upheld by the people of the West.

<sup>44</sup> Many springs have welled up here only to run dry, many gardens have bloomed and blossomed only to be cut back.

<sup>45</sup> See, here are rich and poor but travellers all, departure is the rule for free and thrall.

narration. Such ambiguities are indicative of the way in which the oppositions on which the poem's rhetoric is based are shown to be dependent on each other—as exemplified for example in the interleaving of images of progress and decline—or are otherwise blurred by the poet's own ambivalences. The unravelling of the opposition between progress and decline leads us to consider a related opposition in the poem, namely that of chaos and order. This opposition is central to the moral polemic in the poem, and is exemplified in the contrasting images of pre-Islamic Arabia and the message of the Prophet, as well as in the images of the dissolute lives of Muslim aristocrats and the ideal moral life of responsibility.

In many ways, the rhetorical power of the constructed image of classical Islam in the poem is dependent upon the contrasting image of the chaos of pre-Islamic Arabia. This chaos encompasses in the broadest sense the lack of civil society. In the poem, this is seen to be obvious in the continual tribal conflict of the period, as well as the absence of any concept of law (M15-M17). The Prophet's main achievement was the inculcation of the values, both legal and moral, which made society possible.<sup>46</sup> The significance for the poem of welding warring tribes into a united *qaum* has been discussed above. In this context, the Prophet's message is associated with creating the order which made society and the existence of a *qaum* possible. It is this legal and moral order which forms a contrast both with pre-Islamic Arabia and the dissolute lives of Muslim aristocrats in nineteenth century India.

In this context, the figure of the Prophet embodies an idiom of reform which owes just as much to Victorian values as to any putative Islamic ones. This is evident in the stress on values of frugality, cleanliness, sobriety, self-discipline, and self-improvement (e.g. M51-M52). A particularly distinctive touch is the urging of the poor to improve their lot through hard work, and the encouragement of charity among the rich towards the poor (M48-M49). The benefits of—presumably free—trade also have a place in the Prophet's message (M52). Whilst the concern in the poem with details of personal moral conduct can be seen as a continuation of a trend which first became evident in the early nineteenth century (Robinson 1993:241), in part, at least, the Prophet's message in the *Musaddas* has a Victorian tinge to it. It is as though a Victorian idiom of reform is being legitimized and redeployed in the figure of the Prophet, who strikes the reader as somewhat akin to the stereotype of a Victorian social reformer. Much of the moral polemic of the poem stresses those very virtues which Samuel Smiles emphasized in *Self-help* (1859), an enormously popular text in Victorian Britain which promulgated the contemporary spirit of self-help and personal initiative in an idiom of political and social reform (cf. Dennis 1987:50-57). Just as the Shariat and Hadith are seen to prefigure significant aspects of the European rhetoric of progress and liberalism, so, too, the values

<sup>46</sup> See e.g. M31 on the teaching of the Holy Law, and M56 regarding obedience to (religious) commandments, also M41 on the value of hard work and self-discipline, and M48 on urging the poor to work hard.

of British imperial culture of the time are seen to be foreshadowed by the morality of the Prophet's message. At this level at least, the *Musaddas* appears to be rebutting the stereotypes of 'Orientals' as lacking those personal virtues of self-discipline which the Victorians so much prided themselves on, but it does so by reinscribing those virtues as part of the Prophet's original message, which Indian Muslims themselves need to be reminded of.<sup>47</sup>

It is important to note that in the works of thinkers as diverse as Hegel and James and John Stuart Mill, as well as Max Weber and Karl Marx, it was the purported absence of civil society in Islamic states which was used as a foil to the development of civil society and liberal individualism in Europe (Turner 1994:21-35). Whilst it is highly unlikely that Hali was directly acquainted with these works, he was at least aware of how the word 'liberalism' had become a term loaded with a sense of cultural superiority in a European lexicon. This is evident in the *Musaddas* when, in depicting the Hadith as creating a sense of critical history, he issued that challenge 'Let those who are pre-eminent in liberty today say when it was they started to become liberal' (M97). Here the terms 'liberal' and 'liberty' have been borrowed directly from English (cf. section 2:4 above), thus highlighting Hali's sense of both the importance of these terms in the cultural politics of the time, and their distinctiveness as embedded in European self-perceptions. The stress on the impact of the Prophet's mission in terms of creating the values necessary for the existence of a coherent society can thus also be seen as a reaction against the culturally supremacist views of European intellectuals at the time, as well as an internalization of those values, albeit in a redeployed and disguised form.

The moral rhetoric in the *Musaddas* can thus be read in terms of the redeployment of Victorian values in the guise of the Prophet's message. The *Musaddas* can also be seen to repackage through the model of classical Islam an ethic akin to the one Max Weber so famously described in *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* (1904-5). This is ironic, given Weber's own views regarding the sensuality of Islam (Turner 1994:98). A major feature of the Protestant ethic is its ascetic attitude to the world and its pleasures, an attitude which plays a key role in fostering the virtues necessary for successful capitalist practice: 'The ideal type of the capitalist entrepreneur [is characterized by] a certain ascetic tendency', as well as by a sense of duty (Weber 1930:71, 54). Similarly, an important characteristic of the polemic of the *Musaddas* is its anti-hedonism. As Schimmel has put it, there is no place for eroticism and flirtation in the new poetry (Schimmel 1975:227). Cantwell Smith has discussed the virtues with which Indian Muslim biographers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries invested the figure of the Prophet. In this context, he notes that these virtues are typical of 'early capitalist society' and that the 'entire axiology may be subsumed under the liberal conception of duty.' The Prophet of these biographies is a 'liberal Muhammad within a capitalist society' (Smith

<sup>47</sup> For a powerful indictment of such stereotyping, see Said 1978, but for some differing perspectives on this, see Majeed 1992 and Mackenzie 1995.

1985:74, 76).<sup>48</sup> So, too, the Prophet of the *Musaddas* is a liberal figure embodying moral and economic virtues.

The link between the order the Prophet brings to the Arabian peninsula and the order the British bring to the Indian subcontinent is reinforced by the overlap in the depiction of the Arabs of the Jahiliyya and contemporary Indian Muslims, particularly aristocrats, who have yet to avail themselves of the benefits of 'European' progress. One of the significant characteristics of both the personal morality of pre-Islamic Arabian tribes and the dissolute life of Muslim aristocrats in nineteenth century India, is the lack of a cautious attitude to pleasure. The vices of the pre-Islamic Arabs include gambling and a fondness for wine (M20):

*Juā un kī dīn rāt kī dīl lagī thī*  
*Sharāb un kī ghutūī meñ goyā parī thī*  
*Ta'ayyush thā ghaflat thī dīvānagī thī*<sup>49</sup>

Similarly, the degenerate young aristocrats of India fritter away their time in fairs and in assemblies where there is singing, dancing, and eating (M259, M265). Some members of this debauched group are also addicted to intoxicating drugs, such as hemp, cannabis, and opium (M257). Their aesthetic tastes are parodied by Hali, who uses the imagery of intoxication here as well to characterize these tastes, which supposedly reflect the dissolute nature of their lifestyles (M262). This use of imagery of debauchery to characterize aesthetic tastes is reinforced by an earlier verse which deals with poets themselves, where their artistic works are associated with courtesans and taverns (M256). In this way, the poem is careful to link literary styles and habits with dissolute lifestyles, just as it links lack of self-control with economic vices. In the aesthetic context, the assumption seems to be that literature and society are interdependent, that is, literature both shapes and reflects the nature of social life.<sup>50</sup>

This overlap between the degenerate state of pre-Islamic Arabia and contemporary Muslim India is further reinforced by the mention of female infanticide in the case of the former (M19), a practice which the Prophet succeeded in abolishing. Although female infanticide in India is not mentioned in the *Musaddas*, in his ode to Queen Victoria on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee, Hali does list the suppression of female infanticide in India as one of the benefits of British rule (Sperl and Shackel 1996b: no. 36, verse 9). Thus, the identification between the order which the Prophet brings and the order which the British brings touches upon not just moral virtues of self-control, but also the

<sup>48</sup> Commentators have discussed the increase in the number of biographies of Muhammad in nineteenth and twentieth century India (cf. Hardy 1982, Smith 1985:52-4, 71-4). It is clear that these biographies were in part a response to the polemic of Christian missionaries, who sought to represent the life of Jesus as exemplary (Troll 1978/79:39).

<sup>49</sup> Gambling was their favourite pastime, day and night. Wine, one might think, had first been used on them as a pacifier in infancy. / There was pleasure-seeking, there was obliviousness, there was madness.

<sup>50</sup> For this assumption in other works of Hali, see Steele 1981:19, Pritchett 1994:179.

abolition of iniquitous social practices.

However, there are other aspects to the depiction of pre-Islamic Arabia and the degenerate state of Indian Muslims which need to be highlighted. The hedonism of both can come across as bright and lively, in spite of the poet. There is a festive energy to the picture of young blades roaming around fairs (M259), visiting wrestling pits and taverns (M261), indulging in the sports of quail-fighting and pigeon-racing (M257), loitering around affecting the pose of languorous lovers (M263), and uttering curses in the 'gatherings of the base' (M258). There is a similarly energetic edge to the description of the anarchic state of pre-Islamic Arabia. One particular instance of this occurs where the quarrelsome energy of their habits is combined with an evocation of the appealing simplicity of a pastoral and tribal lifestyle, again in spite of the poet's moralizing (M18). The suggestion of cattle grazing, horse racing, sword wielding, and watering, has a freshness to it which the moral rhetoric of the *Musaddas* cannot suppress. This freshness is not undermined but rather enhanced by the poet's comment on the fractious nature of these activities, which injects a sense of energy to the description. Similarly, the lifestyle of the degenerate aristocrats in the poem has an energetically anarchic side to it which also cannot be smothered by the poem's anti-hedonistic polemic. Some of their favourite pastimes have been referred to above; the description of their affectations in dress and demeanour adds a dash of colour to this (M168). In effect, the sharply defined moral rhetoric of the *Musaddas* magnifies the ludic quality of the pleasurable activities it condemns. The poem tries to neutralize the ludic quality of pleasure as it is manifested in literature and life styles, but in this attempt to do, it flirts with that quality in such a way as to enhance the pleasure of reading the text itself. The resulting effect is a sense of frisson, which emerges from the intertwining of moral disapprobation with the fecund possibilities of pleasure in the text. Laurel Steele has argued that ironically the structure of Hali's *Muqaddama* is reminiscent of a *ghazal* (Steele 1981:18). Equally ironically, the opposition between tight—moral—control and loose—immoral—pleasure in the *Musaddas* seems to replay on a different level the combination of tightness of form and disunity of content which characterized the classical Urdu *ghazal* as a genre (cf. Russell 1992:26-52). The opposition between moral control and pleasure in the *Musaddas*, their interdependence, and their proximity, is yet another typical instance of how the scheme of oppositions in the poem is subverted by the poet's own ambivalences, as well as the complexities of its historical contexts, both the context it tried to create for itself, as well as the context which was imposed upon it by the historical forces of the time.

### 3:8 Conclusion

These oppositions and ambivalences were to be replayed later in the *Muqaddama*. In some ways, this later attempt by Hali at an explicit formulation

of his poetics in a work of prose brings to the fore the didactic aspect of the *Musaddas* itself. This aspect is clearly signalled by the footnotes to the poem, which explain locations, scenes, and references in a textbook style. It is therefore not surprising that the poem became a textbook in the schools of the North-Western Provinces, a fact which Hali points to in the Second Introduction as evidence of the popularity of the text. Hali himself spent his four years at Lahore dealing with translations of textbooks. Perhaps the writing of a work on poetics also reflects some atrophy of Hali's creative poetic impulse, which was now replaced by an attempt to codify and regulate in prose. Since Hali was both a critic and a poet, the prosaic aspects of his sensibility often seemed to closely shadow his poetic creativity. Sometimes these prosaic tendencies and his poetic creativity illuminated each other, but occasionally the former overshadowed the latter. This comes to the fore in the *Muqaddama*, which might be said to represent the triumph of Hali's prosaic side, a side which notably surfaces in the Supplement (cf. section 2:3 above), besides much of his other later poetry (cf. Shackle 1996a:240-1). On another level, though, the *Muqaddama* was to illuminate the complex poetic sensibility which produced the towering achievement in the *Musaddas*. The full story of that illumination must, however, be narrated on a later occasion.

## Bibliography

## 1 Haliyat

Editions of the *Musaddas*

The present book relies chiefly upon the following editions of the *Musaddas*. For the First Edition we have used *Musaddas-e Hāli, musammā ba Madd-o jazr-e islām* (Delhi: Maṭba'-e Muṭtabā'ī, 1879 [AH 1296]). The text of the Second Edition reproduced here is that of *Musaddas-e Hāli* (Lahore: Taj Company, n.d.). Earlier published versions consulted include *Musaddas-e Hāli, musamma ba Madd-o jazr-e islām, ba izāfa-e nau-tartīb va farhang* (Delhi: Maṭba'-e Armaghān, 1886); *Musaddas-e Hāli...ma'-e farhang va munāfāt* (Lucknow: 1902); and *Musaddas-e Hāli...ma'-e farhang va 'arż-e hāl*, 17th edn (Lucknow: Nāmī Press, 1922), with annotations by T. Grahame Bailey.

## Other works by Hali

Other works by Hali mentioned and referred to in our introduction have been consulted in the following editions:

*Āp-bītī* [n.d.] (Hali 1964): 'Hāli', in *Nuqūsh: āp-bītī nambar*, ed. Muḥammad Tufail (Lahore: Idāra-e Furogh-e Urdū, 1964).  
*Divān*, [1893]: *Divān-e Hāli* (Lahore: Ishrat Publishing House, 1964).  
*Kulliyāt-e naṣr*, 1967-1968: *Kulliyāt-e naṣr-e Hāli*, ed. Muḥammad Ismā'īl Pānipatī, 2 vols (Lahore: Majlis-e Taraqqī-e Urdū).  
*Majmū'a-e nazm*, 1890: *Majmū'a-e nazm-e Hāli* (Delhi: Maṭba'-e Murtaẓavī).  
*Muqaddama*, [1893]: *Muqaddama shi'r-o shā'irī*, ed. Vahīd Quraishī (Lahore: Maktaba-e Jadīd, 1953).  
*Shikva-e Hind*, [1888]: *Shikva-e Hind*, ed. Ishāq 'Alī 'Alavī (Lucknow: al-Nāzīr Press, n.d.)

## Studies of Hali

Our introduction draws upon the following studies of Hali, which may be consulted for more detailed treatments of particular points:

'Abd ul Haq, 1950: 'Hāli', in *Chand ham-'aṣr* (Karachi: Anjuman-e Taraqqī-e Urdū).  
 —, 1976: *Afkār-e Hāli* (Karachi: Anjuman-e Taraqqī-e Urdū).

- Ahmad, Aziz, 1971: 'Hālī', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn (Leiden: E.J. Brill), vol. 3, pp.93-4.
- Bausani, A., 1956: 'Altāf Husain Hālī's ideas on ghazal', in *Charisteria Orientalia (in honour of Jan Rypka)*, ed. Felix Tauer et al. (Prague: Csekoslovenká Akademie Věd), pp.38-55.
- Husain, Mian Tasadduque, 1935: *Hali as poet, critic, and biographer, and his influence on Urdu literature* (University of London: unpublished PhD thesis).
- Husain, Sāliha 'Ābid, 1966: *Yādgār-e Hālī*, 2nd edn repr. [1st edn 1955] (Lahore: Ā'ina-e Adab).
- Malik Ram, 1982: *Hali* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi).
- Matthews, D.J., and Qadiri, K.H. (trans.), 1979: *Hayat-i Javed* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i-Delli).
- Minault, G., (trans.) 1986: *Voices of silence, English translation of Khwaja Altaf Husain Hali's Majalis un-Nissa and Chup ki Dad* (Delhi: Chanakya Publications).
- Naim, C.M., 1981: review of *Musaddas-e-Hali* (Karachi: Peer-mahomed Ebrahim Trust, 1975), in *Annual of Urdu Studies*, 1, pp.111-2.
- Pritchett, Frances W., 1994: *Nets of awareness: Urdu poetry and its critics* (Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press).
- Sandilavī, Shujā'at 'Alī, 1960: *Hālī ba-hāsiyyat-e shā'ir* (Lucknow: Idāra-e Furogh-e Urdū).
- Steele, L., 1981: 'Hali and his *Muqaddamah*: the creation of a literary attitude in nineteenth century India', *Annual of Urdu Studies*, 1, pp.1-45.
- Ward, G.E. (trans.), 1904: *The quatrains of Hālī* (London: Henry Frowde).
- Zafar Hasan, 1990: *Sir Sayyid aur Hālī kā nazriya-e fitrat* (Lahore: Idāra-e Saqāfat-e Islāmiya).

#### Derivatives of the Musaddas

The following works have been referred to in section 2:5 of the introduction:

- Ahmad Husain, Sayyid Shāh, 1916: *Musaddas-e Ahmadi* (Patna: Bābā Rāj Kishor).
- 'Aziz, Mirzā 'Aziz ud Dīn Ahmad, 1918: *Musaddas-e muftid barā-e musalmānān ahl-e Hindustān* (Ghazipur: the author).
- Kaifi, Pandit Brij Mohan Dattatreya, 1905: *Bhārat darpan yā Musaddas-e Kaifi* (Jalandhar: Gulāb Singh and Sons).
- Kaugarī, Dalūrām, 1903: *Musaddas-e Kaugarī* (Lahore: Naval Kishor).
- Khasta, Maulavī Muḥammad Akram Allāh, 1895: *Musaddas-e Khasta* (Gujranwala: the author).
- Latīf, Maulānā Maulavī 'Abd ul Latīf Sonepatī, 1936: *Musaddas-e Latīf fi'l-tarḡīb ilā dīn al-ḥanīf* (Delhi: Muḥammad 'Uṣmān).
- Miyān, Nānā Miyān Rasūl (trans.), 1907: *Islām-no bharti-oṭ* (Ahmadabad).
- Nī'mat, Maulānā Maulavī Nī'mat Allāh Amrohī, 1920: *Musaddas-e Nī'mat* (Muradabad: Anjuman-e Ishā'at-e Islām).

- Nirbhai Rām, Lālā Kidārī Lāl, 1890: *Musaddas-e Nirbhai prakāsh* (Delhi: Matba'-'e Iftikhār).
- Popalza'ī, Ghulām Muḥammad Khān (trans.), 1961: *Musaddas-e Hālī*, ed. Maulānā 'Abd ul Qādir (Peshawar: Pashto Academy Peshawar University).
- Shafaq, Munshī Lālitā Prashād, 1910: *Madd-o jazr-e ārya, ma'rūf bi Musaddas-e Shafaq* (Kanpur: Arya Samaj).
- Shiblī Nu'mānī, Muḥammad, 1892: 'Qaumī Musaddas', in *Magnavī Subh-e ummīd* (Lahore: Munshī Faẓl ud Dīn), pp 18-20.
- Shihāb ud Dīn (trans.), n.d.: *Musaddas-e Hālī dā panjābī tarjuma*, ed. Muḥammad Afzal Khān (Lahore: Maktaba Panj Daryā [c.1960]).
- 'Ulvi, Munshī Tahavvur 'Alī, 1899: *Musaddas-e 'Ulvi* (Budaon: Faqīr-e Hind Press).
- Yās, Faqīr Muḥammad 'Ashiq, 1916: *Musaddas-e Yās, al-ma'rūf Gharīb Hindustān kā vāvelā* (Jalandhar: the author).

#### 2 General

- Abdul Qadir, 1932: *The new school of Urdu literature* (Lahore: Mubarak Ali).
- Ahmad, Aziz, 1967: *Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857-1964* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Ahmad Khān, Sir Sayyid, 1924: *Khuṭū't-e Sir Sayyid*, ed. Sayyid Rās Mas'ūd (Budaon: Nizāmī Press).
- Alī, Imran, 1988: *Punjab under imperialism 1885-1947* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Andrews, Walter G., and Kalpaklı, Mehmed, 1996: 'Across chasms of change: the kaside in late Ottoman and Republican times', in Sperl and Shackle, 1996a, pp 301-26.
- Anīs, Mīr Babar 'Alī, 1968: *Rūh-e Anīs*, ed. Hasan Sa'id Mas'ūd (Lucknow).
- Arberry, A.J., 1965: *Arabic poetry: a primer for students* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Arnold, David, 1993: *Colonizing the body: state medicine and epidemic disease in nineteenth century India* (Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press).
- Ashraf, Mujeeb, 1982: *Muslim attitudes towards British rule and western culture in India* (Delhi: Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Dilli).
- Ayodhyā Prasād, 1889: *Khari boli kā padya: the poetical reader of Khari boli*, ed. Pincott, F. (London: W.H. Allen).
- Azmeh, Aziz al-, 1993: *Islams and modernities* (London and New York: Verso).
- Baig, S.M., c.1940: *Tahsil ul balāghat* (Delhi: Sufi Baig).
- Bailey, T.G., 1932: *A history of Urdu literature* (Calcutta: Association Press, YMCA, and London: Oxford University Press).
- Bassnett, Susan, 1993: *Comparative literature: a critical introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell).

- Bausani, A., 1959: 'The position of Gālib (1796-1869) in the history of Urdu and Indo-Persian poetry: I. Gālib's Urdu poetry', *Der Islam*, 34, pp.99-127.
- Bell, R., 1970: *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, ed. Watt, W. Montgomery (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Boudot-Lamotte, Antoine, 1977: *Ahmad Šawqī, l'homme et l'œuvre* (Damas: Institut français).
- Bränd, Michael, et al., 1990: *Shalamar Garden Lahore: landscape, form and meaning* (Islamabad: Pakistan Dept. of Archaeology and Museums).
- Brass, Paul, 1974: *Language, religion, and politics in north India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Cachia, Pierre, 1990: *An overview of modern Arabic literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Crowther, Paul, 1993: *Critical aesthetics and postmodernism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- De Man, Paul, 1983: *Blindness and insight: essays in the rhetoric of contemporary criticism* (London: Routledge).
- Dennis, Barbara, and Skilton, David (ed.), 1987: *Reform and intellectual debate in Victorian England* (London: Croom Helm).
- Fayyāz, Maḥmūd (ed.), 1972: *Tārīkh-e adabiyāt-e musalmānān-e Pākistān-o Hind*, vol. 9: *Urdū adab, 4 (1857-1914)* (Lahore: Punjab University).
- Gentzler, E., 1993: *Contemporary translation theories* (London: Routledge).
- Giddens, Anthony, 1990: *The consequences of modernity* (Oxford: Polity Press, [1994]).
- Grunebaum, G.E. von, 1962: *Modern Islam: the search for cultural identity* (Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press).
- Hardy, P., 1972: *The Muslims of British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Heinz, W., 1973: *Der indische Stil in der persischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner).
- Hodgson, M.G.S., 1974: *The venture of Islam*, 3 vols. (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press).
- Jones, Kenneth W., 1981: 'Religious identity and the Indian census', in Barrier, G.N. (ed.), *The census in British India: new perspectives* (New Delhi: Manohar), pp. 73-102.
- Karimi-Hakkak, Ahmad, 1996: 'Preservation and presentation: continuity and creativity in the contemporary Persian qasida', in Sperl and Shackle, 1996a, pp 253-80.
- Kausar, Sajjad, et al., 1990: *Shalamar Garden Lahore: landscape, form and meaning* (Islamabad: Pakistan Dept. of Archaeology and Museums).
- King, Christopher R., 1992: 'Images of virtue and vice: the Hindi-Urdu controversy in two nineteenth century Hindi plays', in Jones, Kenneth W. (ed.), *Religious controversy in British India: dialogues in South Asian languages* (Albany: State University of New York Press), pp.123-48.
- Landau, Jacob M., 1990: *The politics of pan-Islam: ideology and organization* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

- Lelyveld, D., 1978: *Aligarh's first generation: Muslim solidarity in British India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- , 1988: 'Eloquence and authority in Urdu: poetry, oratory and film', in Ewing, Katherine P. (ed.), *Shari'at and ambiguity in South Asian Islam* (Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press).
- Mackenzie, John (ed.), 1995: *Orientalism: history, theory, and the arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Majeed, Javed, 1992: *Ungoverned imaginings: James Mill's The history of British India and Orientalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- , 1995: "The jargon of Indostan": an exploration of jargon in Urdu and East India Company English', in Burke, Peter, and Porter, Roy (ed.), *Languages and jargons: contributions to a social history of language* (Oxford and Cambridge: Polity Press), pp.182-205.
- Matthews, D.J. (ed.), 1993: *Iqbal: a selection of the Urdu verse* (London: SOAS).
- Matthews, D.J., and Shackle, C., 1972: *An anthology of classical Urdu love lyrics: text and translations* (London: Oxford University Press).
- , Shackle, C., and Husain, S., 1985: *Urdu literature* (London: Urdu Markaz).
- McGregor, R.S., 1974: *Hindi literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).
- Minault, Gail, 1982: *The Khilafat movement: religious symbolism and political mobilization in India* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Naim, C.M., 1984: 'Prize-winning adab: a study of five Urdu books written in response to the Allahabad Government Gazette notification', in Metcalf, B. (ed.): *Moral conduct and authority: the place of adab in South Asian Islam* (Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press), pp.290-314.
- Omissi, David, 1991: 'Martial races: ethnicity and security in colonial India 1858-1939', *War and Society*, 9, 1, pp.1-27.
- Robinson, Francis, 1974: *Separatism among Indian Muslims: the politics of the United Provinces Muslims 1860-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- , 1993: 'Technology and religious change: Islam and the impact of print', *Modern Asian Studies*, 27, 1, pp.229-51.
- Rodinson, Maxime, 1980: *Europe and the mystique of Islam*, trans. Veinus, Roger (London: I.B. Tauris, [1988]).
- Rosen, Charles, 1976: *The classical style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*, 2nd edn (London: Allen and Unwin).
- Russell, Ralph, 1992: *The pursuit of Urdu literature: a select history* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books).
- and Khurshid ul Islam, 1969: *Three Mughal poets: Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan* (London: Allen and Unwin).
- Sadiq, Muhammad, 1984: *A history of Urdu literature*, 2nd edn (Karachi: Oxford University Press).
- Sahar, Abū Muhammad, 1958: *Urdū meḥ qasīda-nigārī* (Allahabad: Khīyābān).
- Said, Edward, 1978: *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).
- Saksena, Ram Babu, 1927 [repr. 1940]: *A history of Urdu literature* (Allahabad: Ram Narain Lal).

- Saudā, Mirzā Muhammad Rafī', 1972: *Intikhāb-e Saudā*, ed. Rashīd Ḥasan Khān (New Delhi: Maktaba Jāmi'a).
- Schimmel, Annemarie, 1975: *Classical Urdu literature from the beginning to Iqbāl* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).
- Shackle, Christopher, 1972: 'English translation of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān's *Strat-e-Farīdīya*', *Islamic Culture*, 46, pp.307-36.
- , 1996a: 'Settings of panegyric: the secular qasida in Mughal and British India', in Sperl and Shackle, 1996a, pp 205-52.
- , 1996b: 'A Sikh spiritual epic: Vir Singh's *Rānā Sūrat Singh*', in Raeside, I.M.P., and Snell, R. (ed.), *Modern classics of South Asian literatures* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).
- and Snell, R. (ed.), 1990: *Hindi and Urdu since 1800: a common reader* (London: SOAS).
- Shaffer, E.S., 1975: '*Kubla Khan* and the fall of Jerusalem: the mythological school in Biblical criticism and secular literature' (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Shaikh, Farzana, 1989: *Community and consensus in Islam: Muslim representation in colonial India, 1860-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Smith, Wilfred Cantwell, 1957: *Islam in modern history* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- , 1985: *Modern Islam in India: a social analysis* (New Delhi: Usha Publications).
- Sperl, Stefan, and Shackle, Christopher (ed.), 1996a: *Qasida poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa: classical traditions and modern meanings* (Leiden: E.J. Brill).
- , 1996b: *Qasida poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa: eulogy's bounty and meaning's abundance, an anthology* (Leiden: E.J. Brill).
- Steiner, G., 1992: *After Babel: aspects of language and translation*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Thiesen, Finn, 1982: *A manual of classical Persian prosody, with chapters on Urdu, Karakhanidic and Ottoman prosody* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).
- Troll, C.W., 1978/79: *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: a reinterpretation of Muslim theology* (Karachi: Oxford University Press).
- Turner, Bryan S., 1994: *Orientalism, postmodernism and globalism* (London: Routledge).
- Washbrook, David, 1982: 'Ethnicity and racialism in colonial India', in Ross, Robert (ed.), *Racism and colonialism* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff), pp.143-81.
- Weber, Max, 1930: *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*, trans. Parsons, Talcott (London: Allen and Unwin).
- Wescoat, James L., Jr., et al., 1990: *Shalamar Gardens Lahore: landscape, form and meaning* (Islamabad: Pakistan Dept. of Archaeology and Museums).
- Whitcombe, Elizabeth, 1972: *Agrarian conditions in northern India: the United Provinces under British rule 1860-1900* (Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press).
- Yusuf Ali, Abdullah (trans.), 1938: *The Holy Qur-an: text, translation and commentary*, 2 vols. (Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf).

TEXT, TRANSLATION AND HALI'S NOTES

پہلا دیباجہ

۱۲۹۶ھ

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

حَامِدًا وَصَلِّیًّا

نیل کی چمن میں مسزبان چوڑی بزم شہر میں شعر خوانی چوڑی  
 جس کے دل تازہ ہوئے ہم کہ چوڑا ہم نے بھی تری رام کہانی چوڑی  
 چمن کا زمانہ جو کہ حقیقت میں دنیا کی بادشاہت کا زمانہ ہے ایک ایسے پُرس اور فیضی میدان میں گزرا جو  
 کے گوشہ خوار سے بالکل ایک تھما نہ والی دیکھنے کیلئے تھے نہ خاردار اچھڑائیں تھیں نہ آتش حین کے ٹوٹناں تھے نہ باؤنم  
 کی پٹ تھی۔

جب اس میدان سے کھیلنے کو گئے آگے بڑھے تو ایک اور صحرا اس پر بھی زیادہ دغریب نظر آیا جس کے دیکھنے  
 ہی ہزاروں ہولے اور لاکھوں انگلیں خود کو ڈول میں بیٹھ کر گھس گھس کر تھکنا اور تھکنا ہی قدر و حشرت خیز تھا۔  
 اس کی سرسبز چھاڑیوں میں ہونا ک دند سے چھپے ہوئے تھے اور اس کے ٹوٹنا ہواوں پر سناپ اور چھپے ہوئے تھے  
 جو کسی اس کی صبر میں قدم بکھا ہر گوشہ سے شہر و ملک اور دار و دروزم کل گئے باغ جوانی کی مبارک استقبال دیکھ کر گویا  
 کی کڑواہٹ سے دم لینے کی شہرت نہ تھی نہ خود آرائی کا خیال آیا۔ عشق و جوانی کی ہر گلی۔ نزول کی لذت اٹھائی نہ فرما  
 کا مزہ چھاسہ بہاں تھما دم آہستہ تیرا کیشیا نے کے اٹھنے نہ پائے تھے کہ گزرتا ہم بھولے

البتہ شہری کی بدولت چند روز غم و غما شہر بنا پڑا۔ ایک خیالی عشق کی چاچیں برسوں شہرت جنوں کی ہونک  
 اڑائی لگیں و فراد کو گور کیا کہیں نالہ نہ تھی ہی سب سکوں کو ہلا ڈالا کہیں شہر دربار سے تمام عالم کو ڈوبو یا آہ دنیاں کے شہر  
 سے کڑویوں کے کان ہرے ہو گئے۔ رشکاکتوں کی پوجھاڑ سے راز و سچ اٹھا طعنوں کی بھراو سے آسمان چلنی  
 ہو گیا جب رشک کا کاظم ہو تو ہماری خدائی کو قریب بھلا بہاں تک کہ آپ اپنے سے ہلکا ہو گئے جب  
 شوق کا دریا بہا تو شہر شہر ال سے جذب متاثر ہو گیا اور توٹ کر مانی کا کام لیا بار بار تیغ ازبوس سے شہر سے  
 اور بار بار ایک ٹھکر سے ہی اٹھے۔ گویا زندگی ایک پیرا میں تھا کہ جب جانا آتا دیا اور جب جانا پیرا میں لیا میدان چھا  
 میں کڑو نہ ہوا بہشت و دوزخ کی اکثر میر کی۔ بادہ نوشی پر آسے تو تم کے تم لہجہ جانی سے اور پھر بھی میر نہ ہوتے۔ کسی

First Introduction (1879)

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, to whom we offer our praises and our prayers

I sing no longer with the nightingale,  
 From poets and recitals now I quail.  
 For ever since you left me, living heart,  
 No more do I recount your endless tale!

The time of my youth, which is indeed the time when the world lies at our feet, was spent in a delightful and spacious plain entirely free from the dust of distress, where there were neither hills of sand nor thickets of thorn, and which was untouched by tempestuous dust-storms or searing desert-winds.

When I merrily went my way beyond this plain, I beheld another tract of open country still more entrancing to the eyes. As soon as I saw it, untold emotions and uncounted desires sprang up unbidden within my heart. But this country was as alarming as it was lovely. In its verdant thickets terrifying beasts of prey lay hidden, while upon its lush plants snakes and scorpions lay coiled. As soon as I stepped within its boundary, tigers, leopards, snakes and scorpions emerged from every corner. Although the spring-garden of my youth was indeed a sight to behold, I was granted no respite from the most odious aspects of worldly existence. Unthinking of proud self-adornment and unsmitten by the passions of youthful love, I neither enjoyed the delights of union nor tasted the sweet pains of separation:

A cruel snare lay hidden near the nest,  
 Which caught us ere we had the chance to fly.

It is true that through poetry I was briefly led to assume the false part of a lover. I raised such dust during my years of wandering across the plain of madness in my desire for an imaginary beloved as utterly to eclipse the fame of Qais or Farhad. Now I shook the inhabited quarter of the globe with my midnight lamentations, now drowned the entire world beneath the oceans of my tears. The ears of the angels were made deaf by the loudness of my complaints, and the heavens were perforated like a sieve by the endless repetition of my taunts. When buffeted by the waves of jealousy, I thought all mankind my rivals, even to the point of becoming suspicious of myself. When the river of my passion overflowed, my heart in its powers of attraction resembled magnets or pieces of amber. Falling martyr again and again to the eyebrows' sword, I was again and again revived by a kick, as if life were a garment which could be taken off and put on at will. I had frequently traversed the plain of the day of resurrection, and often made visits to heaven and to hell. When it came to wine-drinking, I would quaff flagon upon flagon, and yet remain unsated. Now

خاندان کی چوکت پر جبر سامی کی کبھی سے فروش کے دربار کی کنفر سے انوس سے ایمان سے میرا ہے  
 پیرنگل کے اتھ پر سمیت کی بزموں کے جیلے نے نہت پڑے۔ نہتا رہا ہوا قفقہ لگیا۔ زہدوں پھرتیا  
 کہیں۔ واطوں کا خاکہ اڑایا۔ درودت خانہ کی تنظیم کی کہہ اور حمد کی توہین کی۔ خدا سے شوق نہیں  
 نبیوں سے گت نہیں ہیں۔ اعجاز سچی کو ایک کھیل جانا نہیں پڑی کو ایک تراشا سماعتوں کی تو یک شہدوں کی  
 بولیاں بولیں۔ قصیدہ گھاتاوجھاٹ اور باتوں کے نر پھیرے۔ ہر شہت خاک میں کبیر عظم کے خواں سے  
 ہر خوب ننگ میں عصا نے ٹوٹی کے کرتھے دکھاتے۔ ہر زود وقت کو ہر سب سے جلا لایا ہر زور  
 سے سامان کو فادہ نطق سے جا بھرا جس کے فراغ سے اسے ایسا بائیں پڑھا یا کہ خود مدح کو اپنی تعریف میں  
 کچھ مانتا یا۔ غرض نامہ اعمال ایسا ہوا کیا کہ میں نے فیسی باقی نہ چھوڑی سے

چو پشش گنم روز خوشنواہ بود  
 ترکات گناہان نطق پارہ سنند

میں برس کی عمر سے چالیسوں سال تک تپتی کے بل کی طرح کی ایک بچریں چرتے سے اور اپنے نزدیک مارا  
 جہاں طے کر چکے جب آنکھیں کھلیں تو معلوم ہوا کہ جہاں سے چلے تھے اب تک وہیں ہیں۔

شکست بہ گنگ شہاب ہنوز زخانی  
 درساں دیار کہ زاوی ہنوز آخانی

نشاہ اٹھا کر کچھا تو دائیں بائیں آگے پیچھے ایک میدان زمین نظر آیا جس میں بے شمار باہیں چاروں طرف کھلی ہوئی

تعمیر اور خیال کے لئے کبھی ہر منہ ننگ نہ تھا ہی میں آیا کہ قدم آگے بڑھائیں اور اس میدان کی بیکریں گرجو قدم میں  
 برس تک ایک چال سے ٹوہری مجال نہ چلے ہوں اور جن کی دو ڈگر دو گز زمین میں مسدود رہی ہوں اس سے اس وسیع  
 میدان میں کام لینا آسان نہ تھا۔ اسکے سوا بیس برس کی بیکار اور کئی گردش میں اتھ پاؤں پھوڑے تھے لو طاقیت  
 وقار جو اب نے کئی تھی لیکن پاؤں میں پھر تھا اس لئے نہا جیسا ہی ڈنڈا تھا چند روز سی تڑوں میں حال ایک  
 قدم آگے چڑھنا تو دل سے پھٹنا تھا۔ ناگاہ کچھ ایک خدا کا بندہ جو اس میدان کا مدرسہ ہے ایک فضا گزارا ہے میں  
 وہ نور رہی ہر سے لوگ جو اسکے ساتھ چلے تھے تھک کر پیچھے رہ گئے ہیں۔ بہت سے ابھی اس کے ساتھ آفتان و  
 خیزل چلے جاتے ہیں۔ مگر بونٹوں پر پڑیاں ہی ہیں۔ پیروں میں جھالے پڑے ہیں۔ دم چڑھ رہا ہے چہرہ پر ہلکیاں اڑ  
 رہی ہیں۔ لیکن وہ اولو العزم آدمی جو ان سب کا رہنما ہے۔ اسی طرح تازہ دم ہے نہ سے رستے کی مکان کی نہ سارے پوں  
 کے چھوٹ جاتے کی پروا ہے۔ نہ منزل کی ڈوری سے کچھ ہراس اور اس کی چوں میں غصیب کا جادو پھیلے ہے کہ جس کی

I would rub my forehead on the threshold of the tavern, now beg at the gate of the wine-seller. Attached to unbelief, I was permanently disgusted with faith. I swore allegiance to the Magian elder, became the Brahmin's disciple, worshipped idols, wore the sacred thread, and drew the caste-mark on my forehead. I mocked the ascetics, and jeered at the preachers. I honoured the temples and the houses of idols, and scoffed at the Kaaba and the mosques. I was insolent to God, and disrespectful to the Prophets, thinking the miraculous cures of the Messiah to be a game, and considering the beauty of Joseph to be a spectacle. If I wrote a ghazal, I would reproduce the oaths of the lowest scoundrels; if I composed a qasida, I would disgust the coarsest bards and hacks. I endowed every handful of dust with the qualities of the philosopher's stone, and imbued every dry stick with the miraculous power of the staff of Moses. I likened every Nimrod of the age to Abraham the Friend of God, and made the status of every impotent Pharaoh resemble that of the Almighty Creator. I went to such ridiculous extremes in praising those I was supposed to laud that even they themselves took no pleasure in listening to their praises. In short, I so blackened the record of my deeds that no white space was left:

On Doomsday when my sins are asked and probed,  
 The files on others' sins will be destroyed.

From the age of twenty until my fortieth year I went on blindly round and round in the same circle, like the proverbial oilman's bullock, but I imagined that I had traversed the entire world. When my eyes opened, I realized that I was still exactly where I had started from:

Though youth is gone, you keep your youthful airs,  
 Still resting in the land where you were born.

When I looked up, I saw a broad plain stretching all around me, with open roads leading in all directions, imposing no restrictions on the imagination. I wanted to go out and explore this plain, but it was difficult to use my feet for such a purpose when for twenty years they had been unaccustomed to moving forward and had remained confined within the same yard or two of space. My limbs were moreover exhausted by the twenty years of going round in circles to no point or profit, and I had lost the power of motion. Yet after having been on the move for so long, it was difficult for me to sit still. For a while I was overtaken by such irresolution that I took one step back for every step I took forward. Suddenly, I beheld a servant of the Lord, a hero in that plain, who was travelling along a difficult path. Many of those who had set out with him had fallen behind in exhaustion. Many were still stumbling along with him, but with their lips caked with scales, their feet covered in blisters, their breath coming in gasps, and their faces now pale with fatigue, now red with exertion. Yet that man of noble resolution who was guide to them all still strode along, fresh and careless of the exhaustion of the journey or the loss of his companions, and untroubled by the distance of his goal. So powerful was the magic in his glance



طرح کے خیال گزشتہ سبب ہیں۔ ایک یہ کہ ہم کو نہیں کر سکتے۔ دوسرے یہ کہ کوئی کرنا چاہتا ہے۔ پہلے خیال کا نتیجہ ہے جو  
 کہہ کر نہ ہوا۔ اور دوسرے خیال سے لڑنا میں بڑے بڑے عجائبات ظاہر ہوئے۔

درخیز ست فیش انکرا شاق تا امید یار جا  
 بزمک اندازہ فضل می روید بکلید این جا

وَمَا كُنَّا فِي يَدَيْكَ أَكْفَىٰ أَهْلًا وَمَوْلًا وَأَنْتَ أَهْلٌ بِالنِّبَاتِ  
 اور وہ میرا اعلیٰ کعبہ گناہم جہنم تیرا پیرا اور انہی پر ہے  
 ہر چیز اس حکم کی بجا آوری شکل تھی اور نعمت کا بوجھ اٹھانا اور نواہی اور نکرانہ کی بناؤ بھی تیرا جی میں گھر کر گئی۔ دل سے ہی  
 نکلے تھی دل میں جا کر ٹھہری۔ جہوں کی بھی ہوئی طبیعت میں ایک لور پر یاد ہوا۔ اور باسی کو کسی ہیں باک لبا لبا یا انفسوں  
 پورے دلخ جو اراض کے تنواز حملوں سے کسی کام کے نہ ہے۔ تھے انہیں سے کام لیا تیرا روح کیا اور ایک مستحسن کی  
 نیاد ڈالی۔ دنیا کے کردہانت سے فرست بہت کہنی اور بیادوں کے جوہر کی انہیں بھی نسبت نہ ہوا مگر حال میں یہ  
 دُمن لگی ہی۔ بلکہ لہ نہ کہ بہت سی رتوں کے بعد ایک لے فی جیونی ظم اس عاجز بندہ کی بساا کے واقف تیار ہو گئی۔ اور ناصح  
 مشفق سے شہزادہ نہ ہوا پڑا عرف ایک تیر کے سہا سے پر راہ دور دورا تو لے کی گئی ہے۔ روز نازل کا شان نایب  
 بلا سے ہوا نہ آئندہ شے کی توقع ہے۔

خبر نیست که منزل گرفتار شود کیا است  
 این قدر بہت کہ باگب جس سے آید

اس منہس کے آقا میں بیان مسات بند تیر کے لکھ کر اول عرب کی اس اہم حالت کا خاکہ لکھتا ہے۔ جو ہو کر اسلام کے پہلے تھی  
 اور جس کا نام اسلام کی زبان میں باہت رکھا گیا ہے۔ پھر کو کعبہ کا طوح ہوا اور نبی اسی کی قیام کو جس کے گستاخ کا نقشہ  
 مشابہ ہو گیا اور اس اہمیت کا است کی کہتی کو ملت کے وقت ہر جہاں چھوڑ گیا اور مسلمانوں کا ذی ہر ذوی ترقیات میں تمام  
 عالم پر بقتلے جانا بیان کیا ہے۔ اسکے بعد ان کے تنزل کا حال لکھا ہے۔ دو قوم کہنے اپنے بے ہنگم ہاتھوں پر ایک آئینہ تازہ  
 بنایا ہے جس میں اگر وہ اپنے فضل و حال دیکھتے ہیں کہ ہم کون تھے اور کیا ہو گئے۔ اگرچہ اس جگہ انہوں نے ظم میں جس کی ڈھاریاں  
 لکھنے والے کا دل اور دلخ ہی خوب جانتا ہے۔ بیان کا حق بنو سے دا ہوا ہے اور نہ ہو سکتا ہے۔ مگر ان کے کہ جس قدر  
 گیا اتنی ہی اُس قدر تھی۔ پہلے سے نکاس کے اہل ذوق ظاہر اس مذہبی سہمی سادی ظم کو نہ کر سکتے۔ کیوں کہ اس میں تاریخی واقعات  
 ہیں۔ یا پھر انہوں کو حدیثوں کا ترجمہ ہے یا جو آج کل قوم کی حالت سے اسکا صحیح نقشہ لکھنا چاہیے۔ انہیں ناکر خیالی

such difficult circumstances as these by two types of thoughts: one, that we can do nothing, secondly, that we ought to do something. The outcome of the first has been that nothing has happened, but from the second many great and wonderful things have come to pass in the world:

Despair not! Bounty's door will open here,  
 For keys, like seeds, from every lock sprout here.

'He is the One that sends down rain even after men have given up all hope, and scatters His mercy far and wide' (Quran 42:28).

Although it was hard to carry out this command, and difficult to take up the burden of service required of me, yet the words of magical force uttered by my counsellor stayed in my heart. Having issued from one heart, they went and settled in another. Extinct for years, my inspiration was roused by a fresh outburst of energy, like the proverbial stale dish of lentils suddenly coming to the boil. I began to set my long-chilled heart and worn-out brain to work, after they had been rendered useless by uninterrupted attacks of illness, and I laid the foundations of a *Musaddas*. In spite of rarely being free from the disagreeable demands of worldly existence and never being granted respite from attacks of ill health, I continued throughout to be inspired by this passionate enthusiasm. At last, thanks be to God, and after many troubles, a rough-and-ready poem was prepared in accordance with the abilities of this feeble creature, and there was no need to feel ashamed of facing my kindly counsellor. I have travelled on my lengthy journey sustained by hope alone, since I have yet to discern any sign of the final goal, and have no expectation of discovering one in the future:

I know not where my destined goal will lie,  
 But simply hear the tinkle of a bell.

After a prologue of half a dozen stanzas at the beginning of this *Musaddas*, I have given a sketch of miserable condition of Arabia before the appearance of Islam, in the period known in the language of Islam as the *Jahiliyya*. I have then described the rising of the star of Islam, how the desert was suddenly made green and fertile by the teaching of the Unlettered Prophet, how that cloud of mercy at his departure left the fields of the community luxuriantly flourishing, and how the Muslims excelled the whole world in their religious development and worldly progress. After this, I have written of the state of decay into which they have fallen, and how with inexpert hands they have fashioned a house of mirrors for the nation, which they may enter to study their features and realize who they were and what they have become. The difficulties involved in composing this heartbreaking poem are properly known only to the heart and mind of its author. Although I have not done full justice to my theme, and am indeed unable to do so, yet I am grateful for what I have managed to achieve, since I had not hoped for even this much. Our country's gentlemen of taste will obviously have no liking for this dry, insipid, plain and simple poem, for it contains only historical material or translations of Quranic verses or of Hadith,



# دوسرا دیباچہ

معلق بہ ضمیمہ

۱۳۰۳ھ

حدیث درد دلاؤ زداستانے بہت

کہ ذوق، شیش دہچوں دراز تر کرد

مفسر مدویر اسلام اول ہی اول ۱۳۰۳ء میں چھپ کر شائع ہوا تھا۔ اگرچہ اس نظم کی اشاعت سے شاید کوئی مستند فائدہ ہوا نہ ہو، مگر اس پر برسوں میں جس قدر قبولیت و شہرت اس نظم کو اعتراف ہندوستان میں ہوئی وہ فی الواقع تعجب انگیز ہے۔ نظم بائبل غیر مانوس تھی اور مسنونہ ملامت پر مشتمل تھی۔ قوم کی لڑکیاں جن کو بظاہر کئی تیس اور زبان سے تخریب و تمان کا کام لیا گیا تھا۔ انہم کی نسبت قوم کے اکثر افراد و اہل انداز ہی شورش مکتے تھے۔ تعصب عمداً کلہ حق نمنے سے انہما تھا۔ بائبل اس قصور ہی ہی بہت میں یہ نظم ہر ایک اطراف و جوانب میں پھیل گئی۔ ہندوستان کے مختلف اضلاع میں اس کے سات آٹھ ایڑیوں سے پہلے شائع ہو چکے ہیں۔ بعض قومی مدرسوں میں اس کا انتخاب بچوں کو پڑھایا جاتا ہے۔ مولود شریف کی مجلسوں میں جا بجا اس کے بند پڑھے جاتے ہیں۔ اکثر لوگ اس کو پڑھ کر بے انتہا حیرت و آراؤں سے ہوتے ہیں۔ اس کے ہر بند ہمارے واقفوں کی زبان پر جاری ہیں۔ کہیں کہیں قومی ناہک میں اس کے مضامین ایکٹ کئے جاتے ہیں۔ ہر سس اس کی روش پر ہی ہر سس ترتیب دینے لگے ہیں۔ اکثر اخباروں میں موفقی و مخالف بیورو اس پر لکھے گئے ہیں۔ شمال مغربی اضلاع کے سرکاری مدارس میں علم قبولیت کی وجہ سے اس کو تعلیم میں داخل کر دیا گیا ہے۔ اور اسی قسم کی اور بہت سی باتیں ایسی ہیں جن سے مسکندم ہوتا ہے کہ قوم نے اس کی طرف کافی توجہ کی ہے۔ مگر اس پر مصنف کو کچھ فکر کرنے کا عمل نہیں ہے۔ اگر قوم کے دل میں متاثر ہونے کا مادہ نہ ہوتا تو یہ اور ایسی ایسی ہرزائیاں بے کاوتھیں پس مصنف کو اگر فریب سے تو عرف اس بات پر ہے کہ اس نے زمین شورش نظم پر ہی نہیں کی اور شورش جو ایک لگائی نہیں چاہی۔ اس نے ایک ایسی جہالت کو طبع کر دیا ہے جو بے راہ ہے۔ پر گراہ نہیں ہے۔ وہ دستے سے بھٹکے ہوئے ہیں مگر دستے کی تلاش پر چھپے راست گراں ہیں۔ ان کے ہر مفقود ہو گئے ہیں مگر قابلیت موجود ہے۔ ان کی صورت بدل گئی ہے۔ مگر یہ بولی باقی ہے۔ ان کے قومی مصلح ہو گئے۔ مگر زائل نہیں ہوئے۔ ان کے جوہرٹ گئے ہیں مگر واسے پھر نمودار ہو سکتے ہیں۔ ان کے عیبوں میں خوبیاں بھی ہیں مگر چھپی ہوئی۔ ان کے خاکستر میں چمکایا بھی ہیں مگر جہنی ہوئی۔

یہ نظم میں قوم کی گزشتہ اور موجودہ حالت کا صحیح صحیح نقشہ کھینچنا نظر آتا ہے اگرچہ مشرق کی عالم نظموں کی نسبت انہما سے خالی تھی۔ لیکن ان کا اثرات سے خالی نہ تھی۔ درست کی نگاہ سے یہ بین اور غور سے دیکھی

## Second Introduction (1886)

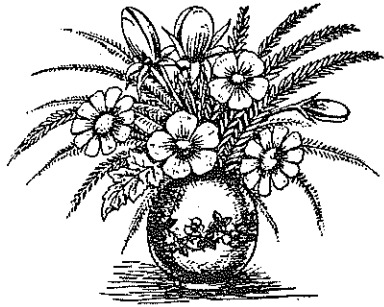
How entrancing a story is suffering's tale,  
Which becomes more delightful the longer it grows!

The *Musaddas on the Flow and Ebb of Islam* was published for the very first time in 1879. Although society has perhaps derived no significant benefit from its publication, the popularity and renown which the poem has won in all parts of India in six years is truly astonishing. It was of a quite unfamiliar type, and its subject matter consisted largely of criticism and blame. Evils in the community were picked on and exposed in turn, and the tongue was employed as a sword or a spear. Most of the pious and upright members of the community were suspicious of the poet on religious grounds, and bigotry generally acted to prevent the message of truth being heard. The poem has nevertheless spread in this quite brief period to all corners of the country and has already gone through seven or eight editions in various districts of northern India. Selections from it are being taught to the children in some community schools. Stanzas from it are recited in various places in the gatherings held on the Prophet's birthday. After reading it, most people are unable to stop themselves weeping and shedding tears. Many stanzas from it are current on the lips of our preachers. On several occasions its themes have been acted out in community dramatic performances. Many other *musaddas* poems have been composed in the same style and metre. Reviews, both favourable and unfavourable, have been written about it in most newspapers. Because of its general popularity, it has been introduced into the syllabus of government schools in the North-Western Provinces. These and many similar indications make it apparent that the community has given the poem considerable attention. But this does not in itself provide the author with the occasion for feeling any pride, for this poem and thousands like it would be useless if the community lacked in its heart the capacity to be affected. So, if the author does feel any pride, it is only because he did not cast his seed upon barren ground or vainly try to set a leech upon a stone. The community which he has addressed is off its path, but it is not utterly lost. Its members have strayed from the road, but in their search for it are looking in every direction. Their skills are missing, but their potential is still there. Their appearance may have changed, but their essential nature remains. Their powers may have declined, but they have not altogether passed away. Their shining virtues may have been effaced, but they may be burnished so as to appear once again. In their faults there are good points too, but they lie hidden. In their ashes there are sparks too, but they are buried.

The intention of the poem was to present as accurate a picture as possible of the community's past and present condition. Although free from hyperbole in comparison with the usual poems of the East, it was not free from failings of omission. Where criticism and censure are concerned, the look of a friend acts

میں وہی کام کرتی ہے جو دشمن کی نگاہ کرتی ہے۔ دونوں یکساں عیوب پر خوردہ گیری اور چشم پوشی کرتے ہیں۔  
 مگر دشمن اس غرض سے کہ عیب ظاہر ہو اور خوبیاں مخفی رہیں۔ اور دوست اس خوف سے کہ بُرا دلوں کو  
 کاغذ و طویل کی اصلاح سے بزرگے مستف بھی ہو کہ دوستی کا دم بہتا ہے شاید عزت اور وسوسہ ہی  
 سے قوم کی عیب جوئی پر خوردہ اور بزرگتری سے مستزور رہا۔ مگر یہ اسلوب جس قدر عزت دلانے والا تھا اسکی  
 قدر دایس کر نے والا بھی تھا۔ مستف کے دل کی آگ بھڑک بھڑک کر بج گئی تھی۔ اور اس کی افسردگی  
 الفاظ میں مرابت کرتی تھی۔ نظم کا خاتمہ اسے دل شکن اشعار پر نوازا جن سے نہام امیریں منقطع ہو گئیں  
 اور تمام کوششیں بایں گمان نظر آئے گئیں۔ شاید اس غزالی کا تدارک کچھ نہ ہو سکا اگر قوم کی توجہ مستف کے دل میں ایک  
 نئی تحریک پیدا کرتی اور قوم کو ایک نئے خطاب کا مستحق نہ ٹھہراتی۔ گو قوم نہیں بولی مگر اس کے توجہ سے جلتے  
 ہیں پس اگر تسمین کا وقت نہیں آیا تو نوزن ضرور کم ہونی چاہئے بعض اسباب کی تحریک سے ان خیالات کی  
 تائید کی اور ایک ضمیر متصفیٰ سے حال کے موافق عمل سرس کے اثر میں لاقی کیا گیا ضمیر کو طول و ریاضت  
 کا مضمون تھا لیکن اس مضمون کو چھوڑ کر طول سے بچنا ایسا ہی مشکل تھا جیسے مندریں کو رکھنا تھا پائل نہانا۔  
 قدیم مشن میں یہ عجزت تصوف کیا گیا ہے۔ شاید بعض تصرفات کو نافذ نہیں ہو سکا اور اسے کہہ کر اسلوب  
 ماؤں ہو گیا تھا پس نہ کر کے صرف کا فرض تھا کہ دوستوں کی نیابت میں کوئی ایسی چیز پیش نہ کرے  
 جو خود اس کے مذاق میں ناگوار معلوم ہو۔ نظم پہلے پندرہ کے قابل تھی اور ناب ہے مگر الحمد للہ درو  
 اور سچ پہلے ہی تھا اور اب بھی ہے امید ہے کہ درو پہلے کا اور سچ چمکے گا۔

رَبَّنَا تَقَبَّلْ مِنَّا إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ ط



in the same way as that of an enemy, since both are similar in their criticism and their overlooking of faults. But whereas the enemy is desirous that the faults should become apparent while the good points remain concealed, the friend acts from the fear that pride in the good points may inhibit the rectification of the faults. Perhaps the author, who proudly professes his friendship, was constrained to find fault with the community by his very love and affection, and proved incapable of publicizing its good qualities. But while this manner of expression was calculated to arouse a sense of shame, it was equally one to encourage despair. The fire which had blazed in the author's heart had finally died down, and his words had been profoundly affected by its extinction. The poem concluded with verses so gloomy as to terminate all hopes and as to make all efforts appear useless. Perhaps nothing could have been done to make up for this failing had the community's favourable attention not provided the author's heart with fresh stimulus and made him see that the community deserved to be addressed further. The community itself may be unchanged, but its attitude is changing. So even if the time for praise is not yet come, disapprobation ought certainly to be diminished. Such thoughts have been strengthened by the inspiration provided by some friends, and a Supplement suitable to the requirements of the present situation has been added to the end of the original *Musaddas*. It was not the author's intention to make the Supplement a lengthy one, but once having embarked upon the subject, it proved to be as difficult to avoid dwelling upon it at length as it is to refrain from flailing about with arms and legs after jumping into the sea.

Slight modifications have also been made to the old *Musaddas*. Having become familiar with the old phrasing, readers may dislike some of these changes, but it was the author's duty not to offer the friends he had invited anything disagreeable to his own taste. The poem did not deserve to be popular before, and does not deserve to be so now. But praise be to God that it did possess anguish and truth before, and does so still. It is hoped that the anguish will spread and that the truth will shine forth.

'Our Lord, accept this service from us: for Thou art the All-hearing, the All-knowing' (Quran 2:127).

## خَاتَمًا وَمَصَلِيًا

## رُبَاعِي

پستی کا کوئی حصہ سے گزنا نہ کیے اسلام کا گزند ابھرنا نہ کیے  
لے نہ کبھی کہہ ہے ہرگز کے بعد دیر کا ہمارے جو آرتا نہ کیے

## مُسَدَّس

کسی نے یہ تبت لاسے جا کے پوچھا مرض تیرے نزدیک ملک میں کیا کیا  
کہا دکھ جہاں میں نہیں کوئی ایسا کہ جس کی دوا حق نہ کی ہو نہ پیدا  
مگر وہ مرض جس کو آس ان ہمیں  
کے جو طیب اس کو نہ لیاں ہمیں

سبب یا علامت گران کو ٹھہریں تو تشخیص میں سو نکالیں خط ہیں  
دوا اور پرہیز سے جی چسپس ہیں یو نہیں رفتہ رفتہ مرض کو بڑھائیں  
طیبوں سے ہرگز نہ ٹوکس ہوں وہ  
یہاں تک کہ جینے سے سوا ٹوکس ہوں وہ

یہی حال دنیا میں اس قوم کا ہے! بھنوں میں جہاز آئے جس کا گھر ہے!  
گناہ ہے ڈورا اور ٹوٹو فال پاس ہے! گماں ہے یہ ہر دم کہ اب ڈوبتا ہے!  
نہیں لیتے کوٹ مگر مال کشتی  
پٹے سو تہیں بے خبراں کشتی

گناہ سے یہ آوارگی جھار ہی ہے فلاکت سماں اپنا کسلا ہی ہے  
نوحوت پس و پیش منگلا ہی ہے چپ اور استے یہ صد آ رہی ہے  
کہ کل کون تھے آج کیا ہو گئے تم  
ابھی جا گئے تھے ابھی سو گئے تم

\* Hali's revisions to asterisked stanzas are listed in the appendix on pp. 208-16 below.

## Ruba'i

If anyone sees the way our downfall passes all bounds, the way that Islam,  
once fallen, does not rise again,  
He will never believe that the tide flows after every ebb, once he sees the  
way our sea has gone out.

## Musaddas\*

## Prologue

- 1 Someone went to Hippocrates and asked him, 'In your opinion, which diseases are fatal?'  
He said, 'There is no ailment in the world for which God has not created the medicine,  
'Except for that disease which people think trifling, and about which whatever the physician says is nonsense.
- 2 'If you try to explain the cause or the symptom, they find a hundred defects in the diagnosis.  
'They set their face against medication and dieting, and heedlessly they little by little aggravate the disease.  
'On no account will they fall in with the physicians' suggestions, until the point is reached when they despair of life.'
- 3 Precisely this is the condition in the world of that community, whose ship has entered the whirlpool and is surrounded by it.  
The shore is far away, and a storm is raging. At every moment there is the apprehension that it is just about to sink.  
But the people in the boat do not even turn over, as they lie asleep and unconscious.
- 4 The rain-cloud of adversity is spreading over their heads. Calamity is showing itself.  
Inauspiciousness is hovering behind and in front. From left and right is coming the cry,  
'Who were you yesterday, and what have you become today! Just now you were awake, and now you have gone to sleep!'

1 Hippocrates died in Homs, the former capital of Syria, about 100 years before Alexander. His medical books were the first to be translated into Arabic.

2 The medical term 'cause' (*sabab*) means that which starts the illness, while 'symptom' (*al'amat*) is that from which it is recognized.

پراس قوم غافل کی غفلت وہی ہے تنزل پہلے نہ تھا رعایت وہی ہے  
 لے خاک میں پر رنجوت وہی ہے نبوتی صبح اور خواب راحت ہی ہے  
 زانوس انہیں اپنی ذلت پر ہے کچھ  
 نہ شک اور توہوں کی عزت پر ہے کچھ  
 بہانہ کی اور ان کی حالت ہے ہر جہاں کہ جس حال میں ہی کسی میں ہیں مثالوں  
 زذت سے نفرت نہ عزت کا اداں زدوزخ سے ترساں نہ بہشت کے نوابا  
 کیا نقل وہیں سے نہ کچھ کام انہوں نے  
 کیا دین برحق کو بد نام انہوں نے  
 وہ دین جس نے ادا کو انہوں بنایا دوشس اور بہانہ کم کر انہاں بنایا  
 دندوں کو خمیاری دوراں بنایا گدروں کو عالم کا سلطان بنایا  
 وہ خطہ جو تھ ایک فحوروں کا گھر  
 گراں کر دیا اس کا عالم سے پتہ  
 عرب جس کا چرچا ہے یہ کچھ وہ کیا تھا جہاں سے آگ کے حسرتیہ مذا تھا  
 زمانہ سے پونہ جس کا جسد تھا زکشورستان تھا نہ کشورک تھا  
 تمدن کا اس پر پڑا تھا نہ آیا  
 ترقی کا تھا واں ست دم تک نہ آیا  
 نہ آب و ہوا ایسی تھی نوح پرورد کہ قابل ہی بہت ہوں خود جس سے جوہر  
 پچھ ایسے سامان تھے واں پتھر کون جس سے سطل جائیں حل کے سر  
 نہ سبز و تھ صحرا میں یہ اربانی  
 فقط آسب بالہاں پہ تھی زمگانی  
 نہیں سنگلاخ اور ہوا آتش آتشاں لوہوں کی پٹ باہر مصر کے طوفان  
 پہاڑ اور ٹیپے سراسر اور بیاباں کھجوروں کے پھندے اور تازہ خیمہ لاناں  
 زگشتوں میں غم نہ جنگل میں کہتی  
 عرب اور گل کا ناناں اس کی کہتی

زمانہ جاہلیت

7 Cf. *Kuntum a' dā' an fa-allafa baina qulūbikum fa-asbahtum bi-ni' matihī ikhwānan* (Quran 3:103) 'For ye were enemies and He joined your hearts in love, so that by His Grace ye became brothers.'

8 The geographical term 'peninsula' (*jazīra-numā*) means an area of dry land surrounded on three sides by water and on one side by dry land. In Arabic, the word *tamaddun* has been used to translate 'civilization' (*tahzīb*), hence the Arabs term the European empires *daval-e mutamaddina* 'civilized states'.

- 5\* But the obliviousness of that heedless community is still the same. Their contentment with their decline is still the same. They have been reduced to dust, but their arrogance is still the same. Morning has come, and their comfortable sleep is still the same. They feel not the slightest sorrow at their degradation, nor envy of the prestige of other communities.
- 6 Their condition is similar to that of wild beasts, for they are content to be in whatever state they find themselves. They feel neither hatred for degradation nor desire for honour. They are neither fearful of hell, nor eager for paradise. They have not made use of intelligence and faith. They have brought discredit upon the true religion.
- 7 That religion which made foes brothers, which made savages and brutes men, Which made predators into kindly friends of the world, and which made shepherds into lords of the world— That region which had been just a herd of cattle was made to carry weight in the world. That region's side of the scales was made heavier than the rest of the world.

*The age of the Jahiliyya*

- 8\* What did Arabia, whose fame is all this, amount to? It was a peninsula, separate from the world. Its connexion with the world was severed. It neither conquered nor annexed territory. No shadow of civilization had fallen upon it. Not even one step of progress had come there.
- 9 Its climate was not so favourable to the spirit that able qualities might spontaneously arise from it. Nor were there obtainable there the requisite materials necessary for the lotus-flowers of the heart to open fully. No greenery grew in the desert. There was no water. Life was dependent solely upon rain water.
- 10 The land was rocky and the air fiery. There were hot blasts of simooms and tempests of piercing winds, Mountains and hills, mirages and deserts, clumps of date-palms and the Arabian thorn. There was no grain in the granaries, no cultivation in the wilderness. This was Arabia, and its whole world.

نہواں مصر کی روشنی جلوہ گرتی نہ یونان کے مسلم دفن کی قبر تھی  
 وہی اپنی عظمت پر طبع بشر تھی خدا کی زمین بنی تھی سر بر تھی  
 پہاڑ اور صحرا میں ڈیرا تھا سب کا  
 تھے آسمان کے سیرا تھا سب کا  
 کہیں آگ پختی تھی وہاں بے مابا کہیں تھا کوکب پرستی کا پیر چا  
 بستے تھے تھیلٹ پر دل سے شیدا بتوں کا مسل شو بو جا جب تھا  
 کرشوں کا راہب کے تھا صدی کوئی  
 طلسموں میں کاہن کے تھا قید کوئی  
 وہ دنیا میں گھر سے پہلا شدا کا غلیل ایک مسما تھا جس رہا کا  
 ازل میں شیتے تھے جس کو تاکا کہ اس گھر سے اُسے کا چشمہ پڑی کا  
 وہ تیر تھہراک بُت پرستوں کا گویا  
 جہاں نام حق کا نہ تھا کوئی جو یا  
 قبیلے قبیلے کا بُت اک جٹ تھا کسی کا پہل تھا کسی کا صفت تھا  
 یہ شترابہ وہ نامکد پرفلا تھا اسی طرح گھر گھرنے لگے تھا  
 نہاں انجلمت میں تھا سب لڑا  
 اندیشہ راتھا فاران کی چوٹیوں پر  
 ملن ان کے جتنے تھے سب شینا ہر اک لوٹ اور ماہیں تھت ایگانہ  
 فسادوں میں کشتا تھا ان کا زمانہ زینت کوئی فت ان کا تازیانہ  
 وہ تھے قتل و غارت میں جلا لایے  
 نرنے ہوں جنگل میں بے باکھے  
 نہتے تھے ہرگز اور بیٹھے تھے نہتے تھے بھگد بیٹھے تھے  
 جو دشمن آپس میں رہ بیٹھے تھے تو صد ہا قبیلے بڑھ بیٹھے تھے  
 بنڈا یک ہوتا تھا گرواں شہرا را  
 تو اس سے بڑک اٹھتا تھا ملک مارا

- 11 It is acknowledged that Egypt was more advanced than anywhere else in the world except for India and Persia, and so even Greece was illuminated by the splendour of Egypt.
- 12 The sect of the Sabaeans used to worship the stars, also to revere the sun. The Christians believed in the Trinity. The Christian ascetics who used to live in mountains and forests, renouncing worldly pleasures, were called 'monks' (*rāhib*). Those who claimed to have knowledge of the unseen and who used to delude people through their predictions of the future were called 'shamans' (*kāhin*). All these religious groups were present together in the Arabian peninsula.
- 13 By 'that house' is meant the House of the Kaaba, constructed 995 years before the foundation of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem by Sulaiman, and 2000 years before the birth of Jesus.

- 11 The light of Egypt did not shine there, nor was there any knowledge of the learning and art of Greece. Men's minds were simply in their natural state. God's land was utterly unploughed. Everyone's camp was on mountain and in desert, everyone's lodging lay beneath the sky.
- 12 In one place fire was worshipped there without restraint, in another star-worship was prevalent. Many were passionately devoted to the Trinity in their hearts, while everywhere the business of idols was carried on on all sides. Some were prey to the wonder-working of the monk, others were captivated by the shaman's enchantments.
- 13\* That first house of God in the world, of whose foundation Abraham was the architect, And which the Divine Will had marked out in pre-eternity as the house from which the spring of True Guidance would well forth, That house had become a pilgrimage-centre for idol-worshippers, where there was no seeker after the name of God.
- 14 Each tribe had a separate idol: one had Hubal, another Safa, This one was devoted to Uzza, that to Naila. In this fashion there was a fresh god in each house. The brilliant sun was hidden in the cloud of darkness. Darkness lay over the peaks of Faran.
- 15 All their manners were savage. Each one was unsurpassed in robbing and murder. Their time was spent in dissensions. There was no deterrent of law. They were as adept at killing and plundering as the wild beasts fearlessly roaming in the jungle.
- 16 Those who were stubbornly determined on something did not give way. Once they fell to quarrelling, there was no resolving their disputes. When two people fell out with each other, hundreds of tribes became angry. If a single spark flew up there, the whole country burst into flame because of it.
- 14 Hubal, Safa, Uzza, and Naila are the names of four idols. There were many idols besides these, like Lat, Manat, Asaf, etc., each particularly associated with one tribe. 'Faran' means the mountain of Mecca. The verse refers to the glad news of the sending of the Prophet announced by Moses in the Torah: 'The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them: he shined forth from mount Paran, and he came with ten thousands of saints: from his right hand went a fiery law for them' (Deuteronomy 33:2); and by the prophet Habakkuk in his book (3:3): 'God came from Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran. Selah. His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise.'

وہ بکر اور تغلب کی باہم لڑائی صدیوں میں آگے انہوں نے گھوٹی  
 قبیلوں کی کردی تھی جس نے صفائی تھی ایک ایک ہر شوہر سب میں لگائی  
 نہ جھگڑا کوئی ملک دولت کا تھا وہ  
 کتر کا ان کی جہالت کا تھا وہ  
 کہیں تھا مریشی پرانے چھبگرا کہیں پہلے گھوڑا اڑھانے چھبگرا  
 لب چھبگرا کہیں پانی پینے پرانے چھبگرا  
 یونہی روز ہوتی تھی بھرا ان میں  
 یونہی چھبگرا تھی تو ان میں  
 جو ہوتی تھی پیداکسی گرس خستہ تو خوف شامت سے بے رحم ہاؤر  
 پھر سے نکلتی تھی جو ہر کے تیرے کہیں زندہ گاڑائی تھی کس کو جا کر  
 وہ گودا بیسی نفرت سے کرتی تھی خالی  
 بنے رہا پیسے کوئی سنے دانی  
 جوان کی دن رات کی دل لگی تھی شراب ان کی گھنٹی میں گویا پڑی تھی  
 قہقہے تھا بغلت تھی، دیوانگی تھی غرض ہر طرح ان کی حالت بڑی تھی  
 بہت اس طرح ان کو گڑی تھیں بھیا  
 کہ جانی ہوئی نیکوں پر تھیں بھیا  
 بیکار ہوئی غیرت ہی کو حرکت بڑھا جانا بھو تھیں ابر حمت  
 ادا تاکہ جہالت کی وہ دو بیت چلے آتے تھے جس کی وہ بیت شامت  
 ہوئی پہلوئے آسنہ سے ہویدا  
 ڈھانے غیل اور نوید سیجا

ولادت رحمت اللعالمین

- 17 In the poems of the Jahiliyya, this war is called the War of Basus. It was caused by someone's camel wandering into a field. The woman who owned the field beat the camel, whose owner stabbed the woman in the chest. The war arising from this incident lasted continuously from 494 to 534. It was originally between the Bani Bakr and the Bani Taghlib, but gradually all the Arab tribes took part. From beginning to end, 70,000 men were killed in it.
- 21 Bu Qubais is a mountain to the east of Mecca, which is situated to its west. The Batha of Mecca is a place between Mecca and Mina, but 'Batha' is usually applied to the earth of Mecca itself. In Arabic, the word *bathā* is used to describe terrain in which there is an abundance of pebbles. Amina is the name of the noble mother of the Prophet.

- 17\* The civil war between Bakr and Taghlib, upon which they wasted half a century, And which brought about the destruction of whole tribes, spread a fire all over Arabia. It was not a dispute about sovereignty or wealth, it was a marvellous product of their barbarism.
- 18 Sometimes a dispute would arise over the grazing of cattle, sometimes over making a horse gallop home first, Sometimes over coming and going to the edge of a stream, sometimes over drinking and watering. Quarrelling used to go on amongst them for no good reason, for no good reason the sword used to be wielded amongst them.
- 19 When a daughter was born to anyone, the mother was made pitiless by her fear of others gloating. When she saw her husband's scowling face, she would go somewhere and bury her child alive. She would empty her lap with such loathing, as if she who had given birth had borne a snake.
- 20 Gambling was their favourite pastime, day and night. Wine, one might think, had first been used on them as a pacifier in infancy. There was pleasure-seeking, there was obliviousness, there was madness: in short, their condition was iniquitous in every respect. Many centuries had gone by for them like this, with their good qualities overshadowed by their vices.

#### The birth of the Prophet

- 21 Suddenly, God's sense of justice was stirred. The cloud of His mercy advanced to Bu Qubais. The earth of Batha discharged that trust to which they had always borne witness. From the side of Amina was made manifest the prayer of Abraham and the good tidings of Jesus.

The Prophet said, 'I am the prayer of my grandfather Abraham and the good tidings of my brother Jesus' (*Anā du'ā'u abī Ibrāhīmi wa-bashāratu akhī 'Isā*). For Abraham prayed for the Meccans to be sent a prophet from amongst themselves: cf. *Rabbanā wa 'b'ath rasūlan minhum* (Quran 2:129) 'Our Lord! send amongst them an apostle of their own.' And Jesus gave his people the good tidings, 'After me will come a prophet whose name shall be the Paraclete, that is Ahmad': cf. *Inni rasūlu 'llāhi... mubashshiran bi-rasūlin ya'ti min ba'dī* (Quran 61:6) 'I am the apostle of Allah, giving Glad Tidings of an Apostle to come after me, whose name shall be Ahmad'; and cf. the Gospel of John 'It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter (Paraclete) will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you' (John 16:7).

ہوئے موعالم سے آشیا نقلت کولمیع ہوا اور برج سعادت  
 زہشکی مگر طماننی ایک دست کہ تھا ایرتیں ماہتاب سالت  
 پہ چالیسویں سال لطف خدا سے  
 کیا چاند نے حکیت خاوصرا سے

وہ نبیوں میں رحمت لقب پانے والا مرادیں خیر ہوں کی بر لائے والا  
 طبیعت میں خیروں کے کام کرنے والا وہ اپنے رستے کا خم کھانے والا  
 فقیروں کا طب نصیحتوں کا ماوی  
 یتیموں کا والی غلاموں کا مولیٰ

خطا کار سے درگزر کرنے والا بداندیش کے دل میں گھر کرنے والا  
 مفسد کا زیر و زبر کرنے والا قبیل کو شیر و شکر کرنے والا  
 اتر کر حیرا سے ٹوٹے قوم آیا  
 اور اک نغمہ یہ کیسے تھایا

میں غام کو جس نے گنبدن بنایا گھرا اور گھونا لاک کر دکھایا  
 قدم جس پر ترفوں سے تھا جہل بیلا پٹ ہی بس راک ان میں اسکی کھایا  
 راڈرنہ بیزے کو موج بلا کا  
 ادھر سے اُدھر بھر گیا ٹیخ ہوا کا

پڑی کان میں دعوات تھی ایک نیچی نہ چوکت رہتی اور ذہنیت تھی جس کی  
 طبیعت میں جو اس کے جوہر تھے اسی نئے بے تھے مٹی میں لکھو مٹی  
 یہ تھا جنت علم قضا و قدریں  
 کہ بن جائے کی وہ ظلال لطف میں

وہ غم غم زہیب سرب و زہرا ست ام اہل مکہ کو ہر سارے نے کرا  
 گیا ایک دن جب سنہ رمان راور سٹے دشت اور چڑھ کے کو صفا پر  
 یہ فرمایا سب سے کہ اسے آل غاب  
 سمجھتے ہو تم مجھ کو سادق کہ کاذب؟

بقیہ تمام السیرین

رسالت کی پہلی تبلیغ

- 22 There is a cave in Mount Hira, situated three miles from Mecca, and the Prophet used to go there to meditate before his mission began. This cave is called the Cave of Hira, and it was here that the first divine revelation descended.
- 27 Safa and Marwa are two hills in Mecca. Pilgrims are commanded to run seven times between the two without stopping. It was here that Ismail's mother Hagar was overtaken by hardship and used to run about distractedly in her suffering; and this is why Muslims have been commanded to run here.

- 22 The signs of darkness were effaced from the world, for the moon arose in the house of its exaltation.  
 But for a long time the moon did not shine, for the moonlight of the Prophethood was clouded.  
 But in the fortieth year, by the grace of God, the moon arose from the cave of Hira.

*The sending of the Seal of the Prophets*

- 23 The one who has received the title of 'Mercy' among the prophets, the one who fulfils the desires of the wretched,  
 The one who comes to the help of others in trouble, the one who takes to his heart the sufferings of his own and other people,  
 The refuge of the poor, the asylum of the weak, the guardian of orphans and the protector of slaves,
- 24 The one who pardons the wrongdoer, who makes his abode in the heart of the ill-intentioned,  
 The one who destroys evils, and reconciles tribes with one other—  
 He came down from Hira and drew near his people, and brought with him an alchemical formula,
- 25 One which turned crude copper into gold, and clearly separated the counterfeit and the pure.  
 Arabia, which had been covered with ignorance for centuries, was transmuted in a single instant.  
 The boat had no fear left of the wave of disaster. The direction of the wind had quite changed about.
- 26 An ore had lain useless in the mine, and had no worth or value.  
 The real qualities which it naturally possessed had all been turned to dust through lying in the earth.  
 But in the knowledge of destiny and fate it had been irrevocably decided that it would become pure gold in the twinkling of an eye.

*The first preaching of the Apostleship*

- 27 That glory of Arabia, the adornment of niche and pulpit,  
 Taking with him all the people of Mecca, went out one day to the desert in accordance with God's command.  
 He climbed up to Mount Safa and spoke to them all, saying, 'Oh descendants of Ghalib, do you think I am truthful or a liar?'

The descendants of Ghalib include most of the tribes of the Quraish, especially the Hashimites (Bani Hashim) and the Umayyads (Bani Umayya).

کما ہے توں آج تک کوئی تیرا      کبھی ہم نے غمناک سنا اور نہ دیکھا  
 کس نے مجھے ہو تم نمک کو ایسا      تو باور کرو گے اگر میں کہوں گا؟  
 کہ فرخ گراں پشت کو صفت پر  
 پڑی ہے کہ کونے میں نکات پا کر  
 کما تیری ہر بات کا یاں نہیں ہے      کہ کہیں سے صادق ہے تو اور میں ہے  
 کما گری بات یہ دل نشیں ہے      تو سن لو خلاف اس میں اصلا نہیں ہے  
 کہ سب کا فلکیاں سے ہر جانے والا  
 ڈرو اس سے جو وقت سے آنے والا  
 وہ بجلی کا کڑکا تھا یا صوتِ ادا      عرب کی زمین جس نے ساری بلا دی  
 نئی ایک گل میں سب کے لگا دی      ایک آواز میں ہوئی بستہ جنگا دی  
 پڑا ہر طرف غل یہ سب نام حق سے  
 کہ گرج اٹھے دشتِ جبل نام حق سے  
 سبق پھر فریحت کا ان کو پڑھایا      حقیقت کا گر ان کا کسراک بتایا  
 زمانہ کے گڑھے پھڑوں کو بتایا      بہت دن کے سوسے پھڑوں کو بنگایا  
 کھلے تھے جو راز اب تک ہیں اس پر  
 وہ دکھلا دیتے ایک پروردہ آغا کو  
 کہی کہ ازل کا نہ تھا باوجود      بھلا تھے تھے بندوں نے مانگے نواں  
 زمانہ میں تھا وہ صہبائے کلاں      مٹے حق سے عہدِ زمینی جہم نواں  
 اچھا تھا توحید کا جام اب تک  
 ہم معرفت کا تھا شرف اب تک  
 نہ واقف تھے انساں آفتاب سے      نہ آگاہ تھے مبراؤ شرف تہا سے  
 لگائی تھی ایک رات کو اسواسے      پڑے تھے بہت دور زندے خلسے  
 یہ سنتے ہی ہمت را گیا کتھارا  
 راہی نے لگا کر جب چکا را

تین شریعت

صلوات اہل اسلام

- 28 They all replied, 'To this day, we have never heard nor seen you say anything false.'  
He said, 'If this is how you think of me, then will you believe me  
'If I tell you that a mighty army is waiting behind Mount Safa in ambush, waiting to plunder you?'
- 29 They replied, 'Everything you say finds credence here, for you have been truthful and trustworthy since childhood.'  
He said, 'If these words of mine have found acceptance, then listen, for in this there is absolutely no falsehood:  
'The whole caravan is going to depart from here. Be afraid of the time which is to come!'
- 30 Was it the crash of a thunderbolt or the voice of the Guide which shook the whole land of Arabia,  
Which implanted a new passion in the hearts of all, and aroused the sleeping population with a single cry?  
Such clamour was caused on all sides by God's message that desert and mountain echoed with His name.

#### The preaching of the Law

- 31 Then he taught them the lesson of the Holy Law. He explained to them each formula of the truth, one by one.  
He refashioned the ruined ones of the age, and aroused those who had been sleeping for many days.  
He raised a veil and revealed those secrets which had not till then been made manifest to the world.

#### How the Muslims were in error

- 32 No one had remembered the covenant of eternity without beginning. God's slaves had forgotten their Master's commands.  
It was the wine of falseness which was being passed round in the world then. The assembly of that age was unacquainted with the wine of truth. The cup of monotheism was still untouched, and the lid of the jar of divine knowledge was still unopened.
- 33 Men were not acquainted with God's judgment and requital, or aware of the beginning and the end.  
Each was devoted to 'all except God'. God's creatures had fallen very far from Him.  
The whole flock trembled as soon as they heard the shepherd challengingly cry:

- 33 The word *rāī* means 'grazer of sheep or goats'. It is often used to refer to the prophets.

کسے ذات واحد عبادت کے لائق زبان اور نزل کی شہادت کے لائق  
 اسی کے ہیں مندر لہاوت کے لائق اسی کی ہے سرکارِ قدرت کے لائق

لگاؤ تو تو اُس سے اپنی لگاؤ  
 جھکاؤ تو سر اُس کے آگے جھکاؤ

اُسی پر ہمیشہ بھروسہ کرو تم اسی کے سدا عاشق کا دم بھرو تم  
 اُسی کے غضب سے ڈرو گر ڈرو تم اُسی کی طلب میں سو گرو تم

میزان سے شرکت سے اُسی خدائی  
 نہیں اس کے آگے کسی کو بڑائی

خرد اور ادراک رنجور ہیں واں مہر اور فی سے مزبور ہیں واں  
 جہاندارِ سلوٹ و مقبول ہیں واں نبی اور صدیق مہجور ہیں واں

نیرکش ہے رہبانِ اجار کی واں  
 نپروا ہے اہلِ رواجِ سرار کی واں

تم آوروں کی مانند دھوکا کھانا کسی کو خرابا کا نتیجہ ماننا  
 مری حد سے رتبہ دیکھنا بڑھا کر بہت تم دیکھ کو گھٹانا

سب انسان ہیں واں جس طرح منگڑہ  
 اُسی طرح ہوں میں بھی ایک اُس کا بندہ

بنانا نہ تڑپت کو میری تم تم نکر نامی تیرے پر سر کو تم تم  
 نہیں بندہ ہونے میں کچھ مجھ سے کم کہ جیسا کہ میں برابر میں ہم تم

مجھے دی ہے حق نے جس اتنی بڑگی  
 کہ بندہ بھی ہوں اُس کا اور لہجی بھی

اسی طرح دل اُن کا ایک کسے توڑا ہر اک قبلہ کج سے منہ اُن کا جوڑا  
 کہیں ماسوسے کا علاقہ نہ چھوڑا خداوند سے رشتہ تہ بندوں کا جوڑا

کبھی کے چھپتے تھے مالک سے بھاگے  
 دینے سر جھکاؤں کے مالک سے آگے

36 The word *siddiq* means 'those who are the first believers in the prophets and who spend their whole lives in truthfulness'; *rahbān* 'the ascetics among the Christians'; *ahbār* 'those learned in religion among the Christians'; *abrār* 'virtuous men'; *ahrār* 'those who are free and independent of all things other than God'.

37 The words of the Hadith are: *Lā turāni kamā atrati 'l-nasāra ibna Maryam fa-innamā anā 'abduhu fa-qūlū 'abdu 'llāhi wa-rasūluhu* 'Do not praise me excessively as the Christians excessively praise the son of Mary, for I am His slave, so call me the slave of God and his messenger.'

## The teaching of monotheism

34 'It is the One Being who is worthy to be worshipped, who is worthy of the witness of tongue and heart.

'It is His commands which are worthy of obedience, and His court which is worthy of service.

'If you are to devote yourselves to anything, then devote yourselves to Him. If you bow your head, then bow your head before Him.

35 'In Him ever put your trust, for Him constantly profess your love.

'If you fear at all, then fear His wrath. If you are to die, then die in seeking Him.

'His divinity is untainted by partnership. No one possesses greatness before Him.

36 'Intellect and perception are upset there. The moon and sun are quite humble servants there.

'Emperors are vanquished and subdued there. The prophets and Siddiq are helpless there.

'There is no asking after monks and rabbis there. There is no concern for the holy and the unenthralled there.

37\* 'Do not be misled like others. Do not make anyone the son of God.

'Do not magnify my rank beyond its due limit. Do not demean me by over-glorifying me.

'Even as all men hang their heads there, I too am one of His humble slaves.

38 'Do not make an idol of my tomb, or bow your heads before my grave.

'In being His humble servants, you are no less than me. In helplessness, you and I are equal.

'God has granted me only this much greatness—that besides being His humble servant I am also His envoy.'

39 In this fashion he severed their hearts' attachment to their individual idols. He turned their faces away from each distorted direction of prayer.

Nowhere did he leave any connexion with 'all besides God'.

He cemented men's ties with their Master. He made those who had long been wandering about in flight from their Lord bow down their heads before Him.

38 Cf. *Qul innamā anā basharun mithlukum yūhā ilayya* (Quran 41:6) 'Say thou: I am but a man like you. It is revealed to me by inspiration.'

تیا اصل مقصود کا یاگ اب نشان گنج دولت کا ہاتھ آیا جب  
 جنت سے دل اُن کا گرا گیا جب سماں اُن پر توجیب کا چھا گیا جب  
 سکھائے سعادت کے آداب اُن کو  
 پڑھائے تمدن کے سبب اُن کو  
 بتائی انہیں وقت کی قدرت دلائی انہیں کام کی حرص و رغبت  
 کما چھوڑیں گے سب آخر نفات ہو فرزند و زن اس میں بیابان و دولت  
 نہ چھوڑے گا پر اب اللہ کرنا مارا  
 بھلائی میں جو وقت تمہارے گزارا  
 قیمت سے قیمت عداوت سے پہلے فراغت و شغل کی کثرت سے پہلے  
 جوانی بڑھاپے کی نرت سے پہلے اقامت و سفر کی حالت سے پہلے  
 فیزی سے پہلے غیرت سے دولت  
 جو کرنا ہے کر لو کھوڑی سے نہلت  
 یہ کہہ کر ایک علم پران کو شیدا گئیں دور رحمت سے سب اہل زینب  
 محروم ہیں ان سے جن کو ہر دم خدا کا ہے تعلیم کا یا سدا جن میں ہر چہ  
 انہیں کیسے یوں ہے نہت خدا کی  
 انہیں یہ ہے داں جا کے رحمت خدا کی  
 سکھائی انہیں نوع انساں پر شفقت کما ہے یہ اسلاموں کی علامت  
 کہ ہماری سے رکھتے ہیں وہ جنت شب و روز پہنچاتے ہیں انکو راحت  
 وہ جو حق سے اپنے لئے چاہتے ہیں  
 وہی ہر شے کیلئے چاہتے ہیں

41 Cf. the Hadith: *Yatba'u 'l-mayyita thalāthatun ahluhu wa-māluhu wa-'amaluhu fa-yarj'u 'ilmāni wa-yabqā wāhidun yarj'u ahluhu wa-māluhu wa-yabqā 'amaluhu* 'Three things follow a corpse, its family its wealth and its deeds, of which two return and one remains. Its family and its wealth return, and its deeds remain.'

42 Cf. the Hadith: *Ightanim khamsan qabla khamsin, shabābuka qabla haramika wa-sihhataka qabla suqmika wa-ghināka qabla faqraka wa-farāghaka qabla shughūka wa-hayātuka qabla mantika* 'Consider five things as opportunities before five others: your youth before your old age, your health before your sickness, your wealth before your poverty, your leisure before your occupation, and your life before your death.'

43 Cf. the Hadith: *Illā anna 'l-dunyā mal'ānatun mal'ānun mā fihā illā dhikru 'lāhi wa mā walāhu aw 'ālimun wa-muta'allimun* 'But the world is accursed, and accursed is all that is in it, except for the remembrance of God and what is close to that, or a learned person and one who teaches.'

## Instructions on how to live

- 40 Once they had realized the ultimate purpose, once they had acquired a clue to the rich treasure, Once their hearts were on fire with love, once they had been steeped in the atmosphere of monotheism, Then he taught them the proper ways of carrying on their lives, and instructed them in all the subjects of civilization.

## Time

- 41\* He made them realize the value and worth of time, and imparted to them the keen desire and urge to work. He told them, 'Everything will abandon your company at last, whether this comprises wife and children or wealth and property. 'But the one thing that will never leave your side is the time which you have spent in doing good.
- 42 'You have your opportunity in health before sickness, in leisure before abundant occupations, 'In youth before the affliction of old age, in halting before the traveller goes on. 'You have your opportunity in wealth before poverty. Do what you ought, for there is little time to spare!'
- 43 He made them passionately keen on learning, saying, 'The people of the world are all far removed from His mercy, 'Except those who ever meditate upon God, or those who are constantly engaged in imparting knowledge. 'It is to them that God has given blessings here, and upon them that His mercy will be when they go there.'

## Compassion

- 44 He taught them loving kindness to mankind, saying, 'It is the mark of Muslims that they bear love to their neighbour, and promote his welfare day and night. 'They desire the same thing for every man as they desire from God for themselves.
- 44 Cf. the Hadith: *Ahsin ilā jārīka takun mu'minan wa-ahibba lil-nāsi mā tuhibbu li-nafsika takun musliman* 'Do good to your neighbour so that you may be a believer; and desire for people what you desire for yourself that you may be a Muslim.'

خدا رحم کرتا نہیں اُس بے شرمندہ نہ اور دیکھ چوتے جس کے جگر  
 کسی کے گرفت گڑبٹے سر پہ پڑے غم کا سایہ نہ اس سے اتر  
 کرو مسبرانی تم اہل زمین ہو  
 خدا مسبریاں ہو گا کھرس برس ہیں پڑ

ذرا یا تعصب ان کو یہ کہہ کر کہ زندہ رہا اور مڑا جو اسی پر  
 ہوا وہ ہماری جماعت سے باہر وہ ساتھی ہم اراستہ ہم اسکے یاؤ  
 نہیں حق سے کچھ اُس جنت کو بہرہ  
 کہ جو تم کو اندھا کرے اور بہرہ

بچایا برائی سے ان کو یہ کہہ کر کہ طاعت سے ترک معاصی ہے تیر  
 تو نوح کا ہے ذات میں جن کی جوہر نہ ہونگے کبھی عابدان کے برابر  
 کہ وہ ذکر اہل دروغ کا جس ان تم  
 نلو عابدوں کا کبھی نام وال تم

فریوں کو منت کی رغبت لانی کہ باؤ سے اپنے کرو تم کو کمانی  
 خبر تاکہ لو اس سے اپنی پرانی نہ کرنی پڑے تم کو در در گدائی  
 طلستے ہے دنیا کی گریاں نینیت  
 تو چکھو گے وال باؤ کا ل کی شہرت

فقد

بہرہ نگاری

کمانی

45 This is a translation of two Hadith: *Lā yarhamu 'llāhu man lā yarhamu 'l-nāsa* 'God is not merciful to anyone who is not merciful to people'; and *Irhamū man fi 'l-ardi yarhamkum man fi 'l-samā'i* 'If you are merciful to whoever is on earth, He who is in heaven will be merciful to you.'

46 Cf. the Hadith: *Laisa minnā man da'ā ilā 'asabiyyatīn wa-laisa minnā man qātala 'asabiyyatan wa-laisa minnā man māta 'alā 'asabiyyatīn* 'None of us support him who cleaves to fanaticism, or who fights in the name of fanaticism or who dies in fanaticism.'

45 'God does not show His mercy to the man who does not feel the bruise of pain in his heart,  
 'To the unfeeling wretch who is not overcome by grief if disaster overtakes anyone.  
 'Be compassionate to all the people of the world, and God will be compassionate to you in His highest heaven.'

Fanaticism

46 He then made them afraid of fanaticism, saying,  
 'He who lives and dies for this lies outside our community. He is no companion of ours, nor are we his fellow.  
 'That love which makes you blind and deaf has nothing to do with the truth.'

The avoidance of evil

47 He saved them from evil, saying, 'The abandonment of disobedience is better than obedience.  
 'Those who have in themselves the virtue of fearing to do wrong will never be equalled by the pious.  
 'Wherever you mention those who fear to do wrong, do not speak of the pious.'

Earning a livelihood

48 He gave the poor the urge to work hard, saying, 'Earn your living by your arm.  
 'So long as you support your own and strangers, you will not have to beg from door to door.  
 'If this is your purpose in seeking worldly goods on earth, you will shine like the full moon in heaven.'

47 Cf. the Hadith: *Dhukira rajulun 'inda rasūli 'llāhi bi-'ibādatin wa-jūhādīn wa-dhukira ākharu bi-r'atin fa-qāla 'l-nabiyyu lā ta'dilū bi 'l-r'ati ya'nī 'l-wada'a* 'A man was mentioned to the Apostle of God for his devotion and zealously, and another man for his observance, and the Prophet said "Never consider observance—that is, piety—to be equal."

48 Cf. the Hadith: *Man talaba 'l-dunyā halālan isti'fāfan 'an al-mas'alati wa-sa'yan 'alā ahlihi wa-ta'atufan 'alā jārihi laqiya 'llāha ta'ālā yauma 'l-qiyāmati wa-wajhuhu mithla qamari laīlati 'l-badri* 'He who seeks legitimate livelihood for himself and for the support of his family, to act properly towards his neighbour and to escape questioning, will come before Almighty God on the day of resurrection with a face shining like the moon on the night of its fullness.'

ایسوں کو تنبیہ کی اس طرح پر کہ میں تم میں جو اعلیٰ اور تندر  
 اگر اپنے طبقہ میں ہوں سے بہتر بنی نوع کے ہوں مددگار و یاد  
 ذکر کرتے ہوں بے شورت کام ہرگز  
 اٹھانے نہ ہوں بے دھرم کام ہرگز  
 تو مردوں سے آئندہ ترسے وہ طبقہ زمانہ بیکارک نے جس کو ایسا  
 چھب اہل دولت ہوں بشر از دنیا نہ جو عیش میں جن کو اوروں کی پروا  
 نہیں اس زمانہ میں کچھ نیچے نہ کرت  
 اتنا تہ بہت ہے اس وقت حالت  
 دینے پھیر دل ان کے نکوریاں بھرا ان کے سینہ کو صدق و صفا  
 بچایا انہیں کذبے افترا سے کیا شر و مطلق سے اور کلام  
 رہا قول حق میں نہ کچھ باک ان کو  
 بس الٹ شوبہ میں کر دیا باک ان کو  
 کہیں حفظِ صحت کے آئیں کھائے سفر کے کہیں شوق ان کو دلانے  
 مفاد ان کو سوداگری کے سمجھائے اظہول ان کو فرائض دی کے بتانے  
 نشان راہ سنسزل کا ایک لک کھلایا  
 بنی نوع کا ان کو رہبر بنایا  
 ہوئی ایسی عادت یہ تسلیم غالب کہ باطل کے شیراٹھوئے حق کے طالب  
 مذاق سے بدلے گئے سب اسباب ہوئے روح سے بہرور اٹھنے کے طالب  
 جسے راج رد کر چکے تھے اودھ پتھر  
 ہوا جاکے آخر کو تلمیہ سر پہ

افنی

اخلاق

تمدن

ایمروتیت

49 Cf. the Hadith: *Idhā kāna umarā'ukum khiyārukum wa-aghniyā'ukum sumahā'ukum wa-umūrukum shūrā bainakum fa-zuhūru 'l-ardī khairun lakum min batnihā, wa-idhā kāna umarā'ukum ashirā'ukum wa-aghniyā'ukum bukhālā'ukum wa-umūrukum ilānisā'ikum fa-batni 'l-ardī khairun lakum min zahrihā* 'When your leaders are the best amongst you, when your rich men are the most generous amongst you, and when your affairs are wisely counselled, then the back of the earth is better for you than its belly; but when your leaders are the worst amongst you, when your rich men are the most miserly amongst you, and when your affairs are entrusted to your women, then the belly of the earth is better for you than its back.'

## The rich

- 49 He admonished the rich in this fashion, saying, 'Let those among you who are wealthy and powerful,  
 'If they are the best of their class, if they are helpers and assistants of mankind,  
 'If they never act without taking counsel, nor take any step precipitately—  
 50 'Then that class to whom such happy times come is more at peace than the dead.  
 'But when the rich are the worst people in the world, and in their selfish pleasure-seeking have no care for others,  
 'Then in those times there is no welfare and well-being, and then it is better to depart than to stay.'

## Morality

- 51 He turned their hearts away from deceit and hypocrisy, and filled their breasts with truth and purity.  
 He saved them from lying and slandering, and made them honourable in the eyes of God and man.  
 They shrank no more from the word of God. In just one washing he made them clean.

## Civilization

- 52 Now he taught them the rules of preserving health, now implanted in them the desire to travel.  
 He explained to them the benefits of trading, and told them the principles of government.  
 He showed them each sign along the road to their goal, and made them the guides of mankind.

## The effect of his teaching

- 53 His teaching so prevailed over habit that those who had been addicted to falsehood came to be seekers of the true God.  
 All their vices were changed into virtues. Their frames were endowed with the spirit.  
 The stone which the masons had rejected came at last to be set at the head.  
 53 This is a reference to the prophecy in the Gospel of Matthew: 'The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner' (Matthew 21:42), which Muslims take to refer to the prophet Ismail.

جب امت کو سب مل چکی تھی کی نعمت ادا کر چکی نہ مرض اپنا رسالت  
 ہی تھی یہ باقی نبیوں کی نجات تھی نے کیا خلق سے قصہ رحلت  
 تو اسلام کی وارث ایک تو ہے پھر ہی  
 کہ دنیا میں جس کی شایاں میں تھوری  
 سب اسلام کے حکم دار بندے سب اسلاموں کے وہ گار بندے  
 خدا اور نبی کے وفادار بندے تینوں کے دائروں کے خواہ بندے  
 رہو کفر و طغیانی سے بیزار سے  
 نشیں نے حق کے سرشار سے  
 جہالت کی زمین مٹا دینے والے کہانت کی بنیاد دھانسنے والے  
 سزا کا مہم دس پر بھگا دینے والے خدا کیسے گھر ٹٹا دینے والے  
 ہر آفت میں سینہ سپر کرنے والے  
 فقط ایک اللہ سے ڈرنے والے  
 اگر اختلاف ان میں باہم کر تھا تو بالکل مدار اس کا خلاص پر تھا  
 جھگڑتے تھے لیکن بھگڑوں میں نہ تھا خلاف آہستی سے خوش آئند نہ تھا  
 یہ تھی سوچ پسلی اس آواز کی  
 ہر جس سے ہوئے تو تھا باغ کیستی  
 نکھانوں میں تھی وہاں کھفت کی کلفت دی پوشش سے تھوڑی تھی زیب دینت  
 ایسا اور نکھار کی تھی ایک صورت فقیر اور غنی سب کی تھی ایک حالت  
 لگتا تھا مال سے رک باریغ ایسا  
 دھنسا جس میں چھوٹا بڑا کوئی پودا  
 غلیظ تھے اُس کے ایسے نگہریاں ہو گئے کا جیسے نگہریاں چوپایاں  
 سمجھتے تھے ذمی مسک کو کیاں دھنسا بعد دو عرض تفاوت نمایاں  
 کیز اور بانو تھی آپس میں ایسی  
 زمانہ میں ماں جانی بہنیں ہوں میری

رحمت تمام المرسلین  
 ہدیہ خلافت

## The passing of the Seal of the Prophets

- 54 When the community had received all God's bounty, when the apostleship had discharged its function, When there remained among men no argument to advance against God, when the Prophet decided upon departure from the world, Then he left behind as heirs of Islam a people which has few parallels in the world.

## The age of the Caliphate

- 55 All men were obedient to Islam. All men came to the aid of Muslims. Men were true to God and the Prophet. Men treated orphans and widows with compassion. All were disgusted with the way of unbelief and falsehood. All were drunk with the intoxicating wine of truth.
- 56 They were ready to destroy all the customs of their barbarism, to demolish the foundations of sorcery, To bow their heads before the commandments of religion, to strip their homes of goods for God, To confront every disaster bravely, to fear only the one God.
- 57 If there was disagreement amongst them with one another, it was based entirely upon sincerity. They used to dispute, but there was no viciousness in their disputes. Their discord was more agreeable than peace itself. This was the first wave of the liberation by which the garden of the world was to become green.
- 58 There no tedious excess of formality in their meals, nor was the purpose of their apparel a display of elegance. Commanders and soldiers had the same appearance. Poor and rich were all in the same state. The Gardener had laid out a garden which did not contain any very large or small plant.
- 59\* The Caliphs were guardians of the community in just the same way the shepherd in the guardian of the flock. They thought of non-Muslims and Muslims in similar fashion. There was no striking difference between slave and free man. Bondwoman and lady were like sisters born of the same mother are in the world.

رہ تھی نہیں دور اور بھاگ ان کی فقط حق پہنچی جس سے تھی لاک ان کی  
 بھڑکتی نہ تھی خود بخود آگ ان کی شریعت کے قہر میں تھی باگ ان کی  
 جہاں کر دیا نرم نرم گئے وہ  
 جہاں کر دیا گرم گرم گئے وہ  
 کفایت جہاں پاس ہے وال کفایت سخاوت جہاں پاس ہے وال سخاوت  
 بچی اور تکی ہر مشنسی اور بخت زبے و برفلت زبے و برفلت  
 بھٹکتی سے جو ٹھکے گئے اس پر وہ بھی  
 لگاتی سے جو لگے اس پر وہ بھی  
 ترقی کا جس دم نہ سال ان کو آیا ایک اندھیرے تھانے ہر سکون پر چھایا  
 برکت تو پر تھا تنزل کا سایا بندی سے تھا جس نے سب کو گرایا  
 ڈنیشن جو ہیں آج گردوں کے سار  
 ڈنڈے کے ہیں پستی کے نہاں تھے سار  
 نودہ دور دور تھا عربوں کا نہ بخت و اقبال نصیب انہوں کا  
 پرانستہ دست تھا یونانیوں کا پریشاں تھا شیرازہ ساسانیوں کا  
 ہمارا اہل روما کا تھا ڈنگ گاتا  
 چراغ اہل ایران کا تھا نمٹا سا  
 اُدھر ہند میں ہر طرف تھا اندھیرا کہ تھا گیان گن کا دلایاں سے ڈیرا  
 اُدھر تھا جم کو جہالت نے گھیرا کہ دل سے نیکش و کش سے تھا پھیرا  
 نہ بھگوان کا دھیان تھا گیاہوں میں  
 نہ یزدان پرستی تھی یزدانیوں میں  
 ہوا ہر طرف موجزن تھی بلائی گلوں پر پھیری ہیں یہی تھی جھنکی  
 عقوبت کی حد تھی پریشاں تھا کی پستی لٹ یہی تھی دولت تھی رکی  
 نہیں پر تھا اہرستم کا دہڑا  
 تباہی میں تھا فرخ انساں کا بیڑا

عام تاریخی کا زمانہ

62 I.e., the nations of Europe. The English word *neshan* means 'nation' (*qaum*).

63 By 'Hebrews' is meant the Jews. The Sasanians were kings descended from Sasan the son of Darius. Rome is a very famous city in Italy situated on the left bank of the river Tiber at a distance of 16 miles from the Mediterranean Sea. During the time of the Roman empire, this city was its capital. The appropriateness of the 'ship' for the Romans and of the 'lamp' for the fire-worshippers, i.e. the ancient people of Persia, is obvious.

65 For 600 years during the Middle Ages (which lasted from the time of Jesus to AD 1500), i.e. up until the time of Alfred and Charlemagne—the whole of Europe was covered in darkness. All the nations were overcome by oppression, anarchy, barbarism and dishonesty. Asia and Africa were in the same state. At that time only the Arabs, thanks to Islam, spread light in every corner of the old world.

- 60 Their course was run in the way of truth, and whatever they were attached to was based only upon truth. Their fire did not blaze up of its own accord. Their reins were held in the grasp of the Law. Where it made them gentle, they became gentle. Where it aroused them, they became aroused.
- 61 Where frugality was needed, they practised frugality. Where lavishness was needed, they practised lavishness. Their hostility and their affection were measured and weighed. There was no causeless cordiality or causeless hatred. They bowed down before him who bowed down before God, and stood aloof from him who stood aloof from God.

*The period of general darkness*

- 62 At the time that the idea of progress came to them, a darkness was spread over the inhabited quarter of the world. Over every people lay the shadow of decline, which had caused them all to fall from the heights. Those nations which are the stars of heaven today were all hidden in the twilight of degradation.
- 63\* The Hebrews did not possess their former dominion, nor the Christians their present good fortune and prosperity. The volume of the Greeks was scattered, and the binding of the Sassanians was undone. The ship of the Romans was listing, and the lamp of the Iranians was flickering.
- 64 Darkness lay in all directions here in India, for the tent of knowledge and skill had been loaded up away from here. There barbarism had engulfed Persia, where everyone had turned their hearts away from creed and temple. The gyani no longer meditated upon Bhagvan, nor was there any worship of Yazdan by his people.
- 65 Everywhere there raged the wind of calamity. Throats were being cut by the knife of cruelty. There was no limit to torture, nor investigation into wrongdoing. God's trust lay being plundered. The hard rain of the cloud of tyranny pelted upon the earth. The fleet of mankind lay wrecked.

کیا انہوں نے جہاں میں اُجالا ہوا جس سے اسلام کا بول بالا  
توں کو عرب اور عجم سے نکالا ہر اک ذوقی ناؤ کو جانسبہ الا  
زمانہ میں صیقلی توجیہ مطلق  
گلی آئے گھر گھر سے آواز حق  
ہوا غلبہ ذریعہ کیوں کا بدوں ہیں بڑی کھلبلی فکر کی جرحوں میں  
ہوئی آتشش اُشردہ آتشکدوں میں گلی خاک سی انے سب جہدوں میں  
ہوا کتبہ آباد سب گھر گھر کر  
سے ایک جا سارے دنگل بچھ کر  
وہ تو جس جو ہیں آج خوار اسان دنوں کی اور ان کی طینت تھی کیاں  
جہاں بدل کے آج جا رہی ہیں فرماں بہت ڈر پہنچا تھا والی ظلم و ظہا  
سے آج جو نگہ بال ہیں ہائے  
وہ تھے بیٹھے آؤمی خوار سارے  
ہنر کا جہاں گرم بازار ہے اب جہاں عقل و دانش کا ہوا ہے اب  
جہاں اب رحمت گھر ہے اب جہاں جن برستا لگا تار ہے اب  
تمہارے کا پیدلانہ تھا واں نشا تک  
سندھ کی آئی نہ تھی موج واں تک  
درستہ ترقی کا کوئی کھلا تھا نہ زینہ بندی پر کوئی لگا تھا  
وہ صہرا انہیں قطع کرنا پڑا تھا جہاں آتشیں پاتھا شور و راتھا  
جو نہیں کان میں حق کی آواز آئی  
لگا کرنے خود ان کا دل بہنمانی  
گھٹا اک پہاڑوں سے بھٹاکے اٹھی بڑی بیارٹو بیک بیک ڈھو جہاں کی  
کرک اور دک دور دور اس کی پہنچی جو نہیں پہ گرجی تو گنگا پہ بڑی  
سے اس سے محبت ہم آئی نہ نکالی  
ہری ہوئی ساری کھیتی شراکی

ترقی

سلمانوں کی ترقیات

69 The Tagus is the largest river in Andalus, i.e. Spain. Its length is approximately 550 miles. It starts from the borders of Aragon and enters the sea at Lisbon.

70 The word *ummī* means 'illiterate', and has been applied to the inhabitants of Arabia because there had from ancient times been no tradition there of education and study.

- 66 Those peoples which are today the well-wishers of humanity were similar in nature to savage beasts. Where the decrees of justice are current today, tyranny and rebellion extended far. Those who have today become our shepherds were all man-eating wolves.
- 67\* Where skill is now in keen demand, where a busy trade is now done in intelligence and learning, Where the cloud of divine mercy now rains pearls, where the golden rain now pours down continually, There was not even a trace of civilization to be found, nor had the wave of the sea reached there.
- 68 No way of progress lay open, no ladder was placed against the heights. They had to traverse a desert in which there was no footprint or sound of the caravan-bell. As soon as the voice of truth reached their ears, their heart began of itself to give them guidance.

*The advances of the Muslims*

- 69 A rain-cloud arose from the mountains of Batha, and its fame suddenly spread in all directions. Its thunder and lightning extended far. When it thundered over the Tagus, it rained over the Ganges. No creatures of water or of earth remained in want of it. God's whole plantation became green.

*The spread of monotheism*

- 70 The 'illiterate' Arabs kindled a radiance in the world, which made Islam prosper gloriously. They expelled idols from Arabia and the rest of the world. They went and set to rights every sinking ship. They spread pure monotheism over the world. The cry of 'He is the true God!' began to come from every home.
- 71 Virtues wreaked havoc among the evil. Unbelief was thrown into confusion within its frontiers. The fire died down in the fire-temples, and a sort of dust began to arise in all other places of worship. The Kaaba became flourishing, while all other houses fell into ruin. All gathered in one place, while all other assemblies dispersed.

لئے علم و فن ان سے نصرتوں نے کیا کسب اطلاق روحانیوں نے  
ادب ان سے سیکھا صفائیوں نے کہا بڑھ کے نیک زندانیوں نے  
ہر اک دل سے شہ جہالت کا توڑا  
کوئی گھرنہ دنیا میں تیار کیا چھوڑا  
ارسطو کے مردہ فنون کو جلا یا فلاطون کو زندہ چھپ کر رکھ گیا  
ہر اک شہر و دستر کو کوٹیاں بنایا مزا علم و حکمت کا سب کو چکھایا  
کیا بر طرف پر وہ چشم چھاں سے  
جنگا یا زمانے کو خواب گراں سے  
ہر اک بیکدہ سے بھرا جانے کے سفر ہر اک گھاٹے آتے برابر ہر اک  
گرنے شعل پر دانہ ہر روشنی پر گرہیں لیب بانہ حکم سمیت ہر  
کو حکمت کو رک گشت دل لال سمجھو  
جہاں پاؤ اپنا اُسے مال سمجھو  
ہر اک علم کے فن کے جو ہا ہوئے وہ ہر اک کام میں سے بالا ہوئے وہ  
فلاحت میں بے مثل دیکھنا ہوئے وہ سیاست میں مشہور دنیا ہوئے وہ  
ہر اک ملک میں ان کی پھیل عمارت  
ہر اک قوم نے ان سے کبھی تجارت  
کیا جانے کے آباد ہر ملک ویراں مینا کے سب کی راحت کے ماں  
خطرناک تھے جو پہاڑ اور بیاباں انہیں کرد یا رشک صحن گلستاں  
بہا راب جو دنیا میں آئی ہوئی ہے  
یہ سب پر وہ انہیں کی لگائی ہوئی ہے

تجربہ

احیائے علوم

طلب علم

تعمیر بلاد

- 72 By 'spiritualists' (*nihāni*) is meant those people who consider only spiritual teaching to be necessary. The followers of Yazdan (*yazdāni*) are the Zoroastrians.
- 73 Aristotle was one of the most famous Greek philosophers. He was the teacher of Alexander the Great and the pupil of Plato. He died in 322 BC at the age of 63. Plato was a native of Athens, the capital of Greece, and a pupil of Socrates. He too was an extremely famous philosopher. He died in 348 BC at the age of 81.
- 74 Cf. the Hadith: *Al-hikmatu dāllatu l-mu'mini fa-haithu wajadahā fa-huwa ahaqqu bihā* 'Wisdom is something lost by the believer, to which he is entitled wherever he finds it.'

*The spread of virtues*

- 72 The Christians took learning and art from them. The Idealists acquired morality. The Persians learnt manners from them. The Zoroastrians came forward and said, 'Here I am before thee at thy service.' They broke every heart's connexion with barbarism, and left no house in the world in darkness.

*The revival of learning*

- 73\* They resurrected the dead arts of Aristotle, and made Plato come to life again. They made every city and town a Greece, and let everyone taste the delights of learning and philosophy. They pulled aside the veil from the eye of the world, and aroused the age from its heavy slumber.

*The quest for knowledge*

- 74 They went and filled their cup from every tavern, and came sated from every watering-place. They fell like the moth on every flame. They guarded as precious the Prophet's command, 'Think of learning as a lost ruby. Wherever you find it, consider it to be your property.'
- 75\* They became seekers after every science and every art. They excelled everyone in every task. They became unmatched and unique in agriculture, and famous throughout the world in travelling. Their architecture spread into every land. Every people learnt trade from them.

*Public works*

- 76 They went and made every desolate land flourish. They prepared the material basis for everyone's comfort. Mountains and deserts were dangerous were turned by them into the envy of the rose-garden's enclosure. The spring season which has now come into the world had its seedlings planted by them.

یہ ہوا اسے مکس یہ راہیں مہکتا دو طرفہ برابر درختوں کا سایا  
نشاں جا بجایا سیل فرخ کے پرہا سرکہ کوئیں اور سرائیں ٹہینا  
انہیں کے ہیں سب نے یہ چربے لاکے  
اُسی قافلہ کے نشاں ہیں یہ سارے

سردان کو مرغوب سیر و سفر تھا ہر اک بڑ غنیمت میں اُن کا گزر تھا  
تمام اُن کا چھٹا ہوا بحر و بر تھا جو لٹکا میں ڈیرا تو بزرگ ہیں گھر تھا  
وہ گنتے تھے کس وطن اور سفر کو  
گھر اپنا سمجھتے تھے ہر شہت دور کو

جہاں کو سے یاد اُن کی قناریا تک کہ نقش قدم میں نمودار اب تک  
ظاہر ہیں اُن کے آثار اب تک انہیں دور اسے یہ سب بار اب تک  
ہمالہ کو ہیں واقعات اُن کے ازبر  
نشاں اُن کے باقی ہیں جسے لٹا رہا

نہیں اس طسب حق پر کوئی بڑ غنیمت نہ ہوں جس میں اُن کی عمارت محکم  
عرب ہند مصر اُردس و شام و یلم بناؤں سے ہیں اُن کی ہموں عالم  
سیر کو آدم سے تا کو حیف  
جہاں جاؤ گے گھون پیاؤ گے اُن کا

وہ سنگیں مل اور وہ اُن کی صفائی جہاں کے گنڈروں پر سے آج کا  
وہ مرتد گنبد تھے جن کے طوائی وہ مسجد جہاں جس کو تھی خدائی  
زمانے کو اُن کی برکت ثنائی  
نہیں کوئی دیر لہ پر اُن سے خالی

77 In his five year reign Sher Shah had a road built which covered a four month journey. At every seven leagues on this road there was a properly built sarai. Besides the road were constructed wells and mosques, to which imams and muezzins were appointed. Muslim and Hindu attendants were employed in every sarai for everyone's convenience. Trees were planted on both sides of the road. After each league (*kos*) a pillar was set up in order that the distance might be gauged.

78 I.e., the Arabs travelled through all three of the then known continents, Asia, Europe and Africa. The land to the north of the 3000 mile long Sahara desert in Africa is called Barbary.

79 Malabar is a country on the western coast of India. Descendants of the Arabs are still found in Ceylon and Malabar. Gibraltar is called Jabal Tariq ('Mount Tariq') and Jabal ul Fath ('Mount Conquest') by the Arabs. When Abu Abdur Rahman Musa ibn Nasir sent his slave Tariq to campaign in Spain, he first came to this mountain, which was, as it were, the door to the conquest of Spain. Hence it received both these names.

- 77 These level roads, these spotless highways with the shade of trees unbroken on both sides,  
The signs for mile and league set up at intervals, with wells and serais prepared by the roadside,  
In these things all made copies of them, and these are all marks which that caravan left.

*Travelling and voyages*

- 78\* Sightseeing and travelling were ever agreeable to them. They passed through every continent.  
All oceans and lands were thoroughly explored by them. If someone's tent was in Ceylon, his home was on the Barbary Coast.  
They reckoned their homeland and travel as the same, and considered every desert and valley their home.

- 79\* The world still remembers their travelling, for their footprints are still visible.  
Their vestiges are still to be found in Malaya, and Malabar still weeps for them.  
The Himalayas know their exploits by heart, and their traces remain on Gibraltar.

*The monuments of Islam*

- 80\* There is no continent upon this globe in which their buildings do not stand firm.  
Arabia, India, Egypt, Spain, Syria, Dailam, the whole world is filled with their foundations.  
From the summit of Adam's Peak to the Sierra Nevada, you will find their traces wherever you go.

- 81 Those palaces of stone and their brilliant purity, to whose ruins moss clings today!  
Those tombs whose domes were gilded, those mosques where divinity was gloriously manifest!  
Although time has robbed them of their perfection, yet there is no desolate spot empty of them.

80 'On this globe' refers to the upper hemisphere of the earth on which we are situated. Dailam is a mountainous country near Gilan to the south of the Caspian Sea. Both these countries used to lie within the frontiers of Iran, but are now under Russian rule. Adam's Peak is the highest peak in the range of mountains on Lanka. The Europeans call the Sierra Nevada (*Koh-e Baižā*) in Spain the Sierra Albeda. Because its peak is always white with snow, the Arabs called it the White Peak (*Qulla Baidā*); and its ancient name is Sierra.

ہوا اندھنس ان سے گلزار بیکسر  
 جہاں ان کے آثار باقی ہیں کھشور  
 جو چاہے کوئی دیکھ لے آج جا کر  
 یہ جہت مسرا کی گویا زباں پر  
 کہ تھے آل عدنان سے میرے بانی  
 عرب کی ہیں میں اس میں پریشانی  
 ہوید رہے غرناطہ سے شوکت ان کی  
 عیاں ہے بلنیر سے قدرت ان کی  
 بطنوں کو یاد ہے عظمت ان کی  
 پختی ہے قنادیں میں حسرت ان کی  
 نصیب ان کا آہستہ میں ہے ہوتا  
 شب و روز ہے قرطبہ ان کو روتا  
 کوئی تڑپہ کے کھنڈر جا کے دیکھے  
 مساجد کے محراب دور جا کے دیکھے  
 حجازی امیروں کے گھر جا کے دیکھے  
 نفاذت کو زبرد جا کے دیکھے  
 جلال ان کا کھنڈروں میں ہے چلنا  
 کہ ہوتا کی جیسے کنڈن دولت  
 دو ہندہ کہ فخر بلوچہاں تھا  
 ترو خشک پر جس کا سگر و ان تھا  
 گزرا جس میں ہنسا سیوں کا نشان تھا  
 عراق عرب جس سے زنگ جہاں تھا  
 اٹاے گئی بادین دار جس کو  
 ہما کے گئی سبیل تا ہمار جس کو

خلافت اندلس

خلافت بغداد

- 82 In Spain, the Christian community remained subject to the Muslims for seven hundred years. The Alhambra is a great memorial to the people of Islam in the city of Granada, called Ghamata by the Arabs. It was built in the reign of the second Umayyad Caliph, and was taken from the Muslims by the Spaniards in the reign of the eighteenth Caliph. Both the Umayyads and the Hashimites are descendants of Adnan, hence the Caliphs of Spain, who were Umayyads, are called 'people of Adnan'.
- 83 Granada is an extremely attractively situated and finely designed city in Spain, also giving its name to the Spanish province in which it is situated. Abu Ali Umar ibn Muhammad Shadibini the grammarian came from this province.

## The Caliphate of Spain

- 82\* Through them Spain was entirely turned into a rose-garden, where many of their memorials remain. Anyone who wishes may go and see them for himself today. It is as if these words were on the tongue of the Alhambra, 'My founders were of the Umayyad clan. I am the token of the Arabs in this land.'
- 83 Their majesty is manifest from Granada, their greatness is made apparent by Valencia, Their glory is recalled by Badajoz, Cadiz throbs with longing for them. Their fortune sleeps in Seville, and Cordoba weeps for them night and day.
- 84\* One may go and see the ruins of Cordoba, the arches and doors of the mosques, The houses of noblemen from the Hijaz. One may go and see the Caliphate overturned. Their glory shines forth in the ruins, like pure gold glittering in the dust.

## The Caliphate of Baghdad

- 85\* That city which was the glory of the cities of the world, whose coin was current on sea and land, In which the standard of the Abbasids was planted, because of which Lower Iraq was the envy of paradise, Which the wind of arrogance swept away, which the Tartars' flood washed away,

Valencia is a very fine city in the eastern part of Andalus, surrounded by gardens and canals. Badajoz is a very large city situated six days to the north-west of Cordoba. Here Mutawakkil ibn Umar Aftash had most magnificent buildings constructed. Ibn Falas wrote some very moving verses in memory of it.

Cadiz (the English name for Qadis) is a smallish island twelve miles long attached to the Gulf of Zaqaq, or Bay of Cadiz.

Seville is one of the capitals of Spain, situated four days from Cordoba. Cordoba is a very famous and great city of Andalus, with walls of stone, which used to contain 1600 mosques, 900 baths, 50 hospitals and 80 general schools in the time of the Umayyad Caliphs. Nasir Amwa constructed a city to the west of it on top of a mountain, which was called Zahra, and which is mentioned in the elegy by Yahya Qurtabi.

- 85 'The capital of the Abbasids', i.e. Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate from AH 132 to AH 656, situated on both banks of the Tigris in Iraq. The settlement on the western bank is called Karkh and that on the east Askar Mahdi and Rusafa. Arab Iraq is the country bordered on the west by the land of the Jazira, between the Tigris and Euphrates, on the east by the mountainous territory of Persian Iraq. Its best known cities are Qadisiya, Kufa, Baghdad, Mada'in, Nahrwan, Wasit, Basra, etc.

مئے گوشِ عبرت سے گرجا کے اسیں تو وہاں ذرہ ذرہ یہ کرتا ہے اعلان  
 کہ تھا جن دنوں ہر اسلام تاباں ہوا یاں کی تھی زندگی بخشش و دریاں  
 پڑی خاکِ ایتھنز میں جاں نہیں سے  
 ہوا زندہ پھر اسلام تو ایاں نہیں سے  
 وہ تھا ان وقت لڑا کے ڈر کموں وہ اس وقت لڑا و دریں فلاطوں  
 ارسطو کی تسلیم نمون کے قانون پئے تھے کہی قبر کھنڈ میں مدفون  
 ہیں آکے نہر نکوستاں کی ٹوٹی  
 اسی بارغِ ریح سے بڑاں کی بھونٹی  
 یہ تھا سلم پرواں تو جب کا علم کہ ہو جسے مجروح جو یا سے مرہم  
 کسی طرح پیاساں کی ہوتی نہ تھی کم بھجنا تھا آگ اُن کی باراں دشمن  
 حرمِ خلافت میں اوتھوں پہ لدر  
 چلے آتے تھے مصروفوں کے فتر  
 وہ تارے جو تھے شہرق میں لہنگن پہ تھا اُن کی کروں سے تاغیر و دشمن  
 نوشتوں سے میں جن کے لب تک سخن کتبِ خاندانِ پیرس و روم و ہند  
 پڑا غلط جن کا تھمت کشوں میں  
 وہ سوتے ہیں بغداد کے قبروں میں  
 وہ سنجا رکا اور کوفہ کا میدان فراہم ہوئے جس میں مسلح دوراں  
 کرہ کی مساحت کے پھیلائے ساں ہوتی ہر نو سے قدر گل کی نمایاں  
 زمانہ وہاں آج تک نوہ گر ہے  
 کہ رہتا سیوں کی بجا وہ کدھر ہے

86 Athens has been the capital of Greece since ancient times. It was the birthplace of many of the great Greek philosophers and lawgivers, and so was called the City of the Philosophers by the Arabs.

The Abbasid Caliphs did not bring only the name of Greece to life, but in their reign countless translations were made into Arabic from Latin, Persian, Sanskrit, Syriac, etc. Abu Ja'far Mansur sent an envoy to the Byzantine Emperor to ask for copies and translations of philosophical works, and had the writings of Euclid, Ptolemy's *Almagest* and the *Kalila wa Dimna* translated. Rashid had many large books dealing with numerous sciences translated. Mamun collected many works of Greek philosophy on the island of Cyprus, and ordered books from Europe wherever they came to his notice.

87 Aesop (Luqman) was a famous orator who lived in Greece about 600 BC. His stories, called *Amṣāl-e Luqman* by the Arabs, have been translated into scores of languages. European historians say that these are the stories which made savages civilized, the tyrannical merciful, and the rebellious obedient. In the end, he was charged at Delphi with being an atheist, and was killed by being thrown down from a mountain. Socrates was an Athenian, a very famous philosopher, and a guide and well-wisher of mankind. His preaching and counsel was renowned throughout Greece. His words have

- 86 If a man goes and listens with the ear of awareness, then every atom makes this proclamation there,  
 'In the days when the sun of Islam was shining, the air here was revivifying for the age.  
 'It was from here that life entered into the dust of Athens, it was from here that the name of Greece came to life again.
- 87 'Those hidden pearls of Aesop and Socrates, those mysteries of Hippocrates and those teachings of Plato,  
 'Aristotle's introduction and Solon's laws, all lay buried in some ancient grave.  
 'It was after coming here that their seal of silence was broken. It was from this fair garden that their fragrance was diffused.'
- 88 The state of attention to learning there was like that of a wounded man in search of a salve.  
 In no way would their thirst grow less. Neither rain nor dew would extinguish their fire.  
 Loaded on camels, the archives of Egypt and Greece used to come into the precincts of the Caliphate.
- 89 Those stars which were shining brilliantly in the East, but by whose rays even the West was illuminated,  
 With whose writings the libraries of Paris, Rome and London are even now adorned,  
 Whose fame was celebrated in all countries, they are sleeping in the graves of Baghdad.

#### Surveying and astronomy

- 90 That plain of Sanjar and of Kufa, in which the geometers of the age assembled.  
 They deployed their apparatus for surveying the globe. The value of the whole became apparent from the part.  
 The world is still lamenting there, 'Where has that Society of the Abbasids gone?'  
 been collected with great effort and care. He died through being given poison in 400 BC. Solon was also an Athenian. He and Lycurgus were the famous lawgivers of Greece.
- 90 Sanjar is an ancient and famous city in the area of the Jazira (between the Tigris and the Euphrates) known as Diyar Rabia. There is a very large level plain here, called Barriyya by the Arabs. Once in this plain and another time in the plain of Kufa geometers were gathered on the orders of Mamun ibn Rashid. They measured one degree of the circumference of the earth and deduced its total circumference to be 24,000 miles. The four sons of Musa ibn Sakir, i.e. Bu Ja'far, Muhammad, Ahmad and Husain, whose book the *Hiyal Bani Musā* is well known, were sent on this task.

سمرقند سے اندلس تک سراسر انہیں کی رصد گاہیں تھیں جو لوہے پر  
سواد مرند میں اور قاسیون پر نہیں سے صد آری سہ برابر  
کہ جن کی رصد کے بیانی نشان ہیں  
وہ اسکا ہیوں کے گھر میں ہیں  
موضوع جو ہیں آج تحقیق والے تفتیش کے ہیں جن کے آئیں نزلے  
جنہوں نے ہیں عالم کے دفتر لگائے نہیں کے طبع سدر بھان فلے  
عرب ہی نے دل ان کے جان اٹھائے  
عرب ہی سے وہ پھرنے سیکے ترکے  
اندھیرا تو آج پھر اترتا تھا ستارہ روایت کا گنار اٹھتا  
درایت کے شمع پر ابر اٹھتا شہادت کا میدان دھندلا رہتا تھا  
سرور چسپانہ اک عرب نے چلایا  
برالہ قافلہ کا نشان جس سے پایا  
گرد و ایک جو باقیہاں لہنی کا لگا پتا جس نے ہرستی کا  
نہ چھوڑا کوئی رشتہ کذب یعنی کا کیا تاقیر تنگ مسرتی کا  
کے مرجع و مقدر کے وضع تانوں  
نہ ملنے دیا کوئی باطل کا انوں  
ایسی باتیں ہیں آسماں کیا ہر سفر کو ایسی شوق ہیں طے کیا جس سفر کو  
سنا خازن مسلم ہیں جس بشر کو لیا اس سے جا کر خبر اور اثر کو  
پھر آپ اس کو کھٹا کوئی پرکھ کر  
دیا اور کو خود مزا اس کا چمکھ کر

- 91 The ruins of the observatories of Samarkand and Spain are still in existence. Maragha is a city in Azerbaijan founded by Marwan ibn Muhammad. On a hill outside this city an observatory was built by Khwaja Nasir ud Din Tusi and others on the orders of Hulaku Khan, during the latter's reign. Qasiyun is a mountain to the north of Damascus, famous as the site where Cain slew Abel. In AH 210 Mamun ibn Rashid began to have observatories constructed between Qasiyun and Baghdad by Khalid ibn Abdul Malik and others. When he died in AH 218, these observatories were all left incomplete. Then Sharaf ud Daula ibn Adad ud Daula had an observatory built in Baghdad by Daijan ibn Dastam.
- 92 I.e. the Europeans who are today superior to the whole of the world in the science of history, and who through linguistics, geology [sic] and the ancient religious books of different peoples have found out about the circumstances of ancient times. Their masters in this art were the Arabs, as they themselves have confirmed. It is a pity that the historical books of the Arabs are not found among the Muslims, while whole archives of them exist in the libraries of England, Germany, France and Rome. We have not seen a single work of Abu Rashid, Ibn Batuta, Ibnul Ashir, Makhriji, Mas'udi, Tabari, Hamza Isfahani, etc., etc., but all these priceless manuscripts exist here and there in the libraries of Europe.

- 91 Right from Samarkand to Spain it was their observatories that diffused their splendour. On the outskirts of Maragha and on Qasiyun, the cry is continually coming from the earth, 'Where are those astronomers of the Muslims, of whose observation these traces are left?'

## History

- 92 The historians who are such careful researchers today, who have such marvellous rules of investigation, Who have scoured the world's archives and have completely sifted through the earth's globe, It was the Arabs who went and inspired their hearts. It was from the Arabs that they learnt to rush on at full speed.
- 93 Histories were shadowed over with darkness. The star of historical tradition was eclipsed. A cloud was passing over the sun of knowledge. The plain of testimony was darkened. The Arabs lit a lamp on the road, from which the trace of every caravan was found.
- 94 There was a group which sought knowledge about the Prophet, which tracked down every fabricator. It left no chink for hidden falsehood, and put every pretender in difficulty. It fashioned laws for invalidation and substantiation, and did not allow the spell of falsehood to operate.
- 95 In this strong desire, it made every journey easy. In this passion, it traversed every ocean and continent. When they heard some man was a treasure-keeper of religious learning, they went and collected testimony and evidence from him. Then they put it on the touchstone and tested it themselves. After sampling its flavour themselves, they gave it to others.

- 94 By 'this group' is meant the Muslim specialists in Hadith, the Muhaddithin. In the technical language of the Muhaddithin, 'invalidation' (*jarh*) is to prove some transmitter of tradition to be guilty of carelessness, imperfect memory, untruthfulness or fabrication, while 'justification' (*ta'dil*) is to establish a transmitter to be accepted, having a good memory, truthful or trustworthy.
- 95 Testimony and Evidence (*khobar aur asar*) are types of Hadith.

کیا کاشس ماویں جو عیب پایا      مناقب کو چھپا انا شاب کرتیا  
 مشائخ میں جو صبح نکلا جتایا      اس میں جو دلخ و کھیا بتایا  
 طہم درع ہر تہہ سس کا توڑا  
 نہلا کو چھوڑا نہ صوفی کو چھوڑا  
 رجال اور اسانید کے جو ہیں فخر      گواہ اُن کی آزادی کے ہیں بکسر  
 نہ تھا اُن کا اسلاں نہ اک ایل ہیں      دہستے اس میں ہر قوم ہر نکتے رہبر  
 لہریں ہیں جو آج فائق ہیں سب سے  
 بتائیں کہ لہلہ بنے ہیں وہ کس سے  
 فصاحت کے دفتر تھے بگاڑ خور      باغیت کے رستے تھے سب ناپور  
 اور زوم کی شمع اٹھا تھی زور      اور آتشیں پاری تھی فشرور  
 چاکر جو برقی آگے تھی عرب کی  
 تھلی کی کھٹی رہ گئی آنگھ ب کی  
 عرب کی جو بھی وہ آتش زبانی      نسی بر محل اُن کی شیدا بیانی  
 وہ آتش لگی دل میں ریشہ روانی      وہ نظموں کی مانند درد پاروانی  
 وہ جاڑو کے ٹھے وہ دفترے ٹھوں کے  
 تو سمجھ لگا کہا جاوے کہ کسے کو کسے  
 سلیقہ کسی کو نہ تھا لوح و دہم کا      نہ ڈھب پار تھا شرح نہادی و غم کا  
 زندہ از مقین و وعظ و حکم کا      خزانہ تھا ادبوں زبان اور علم کا  
 نواں جہاں ان سے کھیل رہے تھے  
 زبان کھول دی سب کی لظن عرب کے

قصائد عرب

- 96 'Virtues' (*manāqib*) and 'vices' (*maṣālib*): in describing the circumstances of the transmitters, the Muhaddithin paid full regard to justice and freedom. If they saw a genuine fault amongst the abstemious, they would reveal it, and if they found some virtue in the vicious, they did not conceal it. This way of working too was learnt by the Europeans from the Arabs.
- 97 By *rijāl* is meant the '*ilm-e rijāl*, in which the circumstances of the learned and the transmitters of traditions are recorded with great accuracy. By *asānīd* is meant the science of Hadith, in which the name of each transmitter is mentioned together with the text of the Hadith. Dr Sprenger has written: 'The Muslims are entitled to be proud of the '*ilm-e rijāl*. No people of the past or present has, like the Muslims, written for twelve hundred years the biographies of scholars. In their books we can find reports of half a million scholars.' 'Liberty' is the English word for freedom, and 'liberal' means free.

- 96 They exposed whatever faults they found in a bearer of Traditions. They strained off virtues and melted vices. They made known the base qualities which emerged in revered Shaikhs and told of the blots they saw in Imams. They broke the spell of righteousness of every holy figure. They spared neither the Mullah nor the Sufi.
- 97 The volumes of verified reports and attested collections are complete testimony to their independence. They did not put just their co-religionists under an obligation. In this achievement they were the guides of every people and community. Let those who are today pre-eminent in 'liberty' say when it was that they started to become 'liberal'.

*The eloquence of the Arabs*

- 98 The archives of eloquence were all destroyed. The ways of rhetoric were in no one's care. On one side Byzantium's candle of composition was extinguished, on the other the fire of Persia had died down. When all of sudden Arabia's lightning came and flashed, everyone's eyes were opened, and remained open wide.
- 99 When they beheld the fiery eloquence of the Arabs, when they listened to their apt oratory, Those verses which rooted themselves in the heart, that river-like flow of their addresses, Those magic sentences and bewitching phrases, then they thought that it was as if they had been dumb until then.
- 100 None possessed the art of praise and blame, or remembered the method for expressing joy and grief, Or the style of instruction, preaching and philosophy. The treasure of the tongue and pen was buried. All learnt melodiousness from them. Everyone's tongue was loosened by the articulateness of the Arabs.

- 98 Eloquence and rhetoric were the natural genius of the Arabs. Through their speeches on the battlefield, soldiers' hearts were encouraged and their enemies' spirits downcast. In their wars it was their tongues which acted as their arrows and spears. John Davenport has written: 'Arab literature again put new life into the literatures of Rome and Greece.' It was admitted in the first recommendation of the Oriental Translation Committee that: 'In literature, especially in tales and stories, no one has surpassed the Arabs.' The custom of speech-making (*ispīch kā dastūr*) which still exists among the Europeans in ordinary gatherings, national assemblies and on occasions of war, etc., probably reached them from the Muslims of Spain.

زمانہ میں کبھی طب ان کی بدولت ہوئی ہر دور جس سے ہر قوم و ملت  
 نصف ایک مشرقی ہی تھی ان کی اہمیت مسلم تھی مغرب تک ان کی صداقت  
 سلرو میں تو ایک نامی مطلب تھا  
 وہ مغرب میں عطا دنگار عرب تھا  
 ابو بکر رازی علی بن سینا  
 حسین ابن اسی تقسیم دانا  
 انھیں کے میں مشرق میں سب نام لیا  
 انہیں سے ہوا پار مغرب کا کھیوا  
 غرض فن ہیں جو مادیہ دن و دولت طبیعی - آئی - ریاضی و حکمت  
 طب اور کیمیا - ہندسہ اور زمینست ریاست تجارت عمارت فلاحت  
 لگاؤ کے کھوج ان کا جا کہ جہاں تم  
 نشان ان کے قدوں کے پاؤں کے واں تم  
 ہر کو کو کہ پابل ہستیاں عرب کا  
 ہر اگر گیسب کو بلاں عرب کا  
 وہ قومیں جو ہیں آج سترج عرب کی  
 کونڈی رہیں گی ہمیشہ عرب کی  
 ہے جب تک انکان اسلام پر یا  
 طین اہل ہیں کارنا سیدھا سارا  
 رہا میل سے شہد صافی مصفا  
 رہی کھوٹ کے سیم ناص ٹبر  
 نہ تھا کوئی اسلام کا مزید ان  
 علم ایک تھا شش بہت ترع انشاں

- 101 Salerno is a famous Italian city in the province of Naples. There the Muslims had a famous university (*madrassa*), in which theoretical and practical training in medicine was given, and where people came from all over Europe to learn medicine (*Risāla Kos-most* by Hanbarli [?], vol.2).
- 102 Razi's writings numbered 113, most of which deal with medicine. He practised medicine for many years, first in Rayy, then in Baghdad. At the end of his life he became blind. He died in AH 320. Ali ibn Isa is reckoned among the most famous Muslim doctors in *Chambers Encyclopedia*. The *Qānūn* of Abu Ali al-Husain Ibn Sina has been taught in the universities of Europe for hundreds of years. His writings on various sciences have been numbered at about 40, some of which are very substantial, including the *Kitāb hāsīl wa mahsūl* in 20 volumes, the *Shifā* in 18 volumes, the *Qānūn* in 14 volumes, the *Kitāb al-insāf* in 20 volumes and the *Lisān al-'arab* in 10 volumes. He died in AH 428 at the age of 58, and is buried in Hamadan.

## Medicine

- 101 It was thanks to them that medicine spread throughout the world, by which every people and community benefited. Their fame was not confined just to the East alone. Their medical skill was acknowledged in the West also. A famous medical school which was established in Salerno was the dispenser of the musk of Arabia in the West.
- 102 Abu Bakr Razi, Ali Ibn Isa, the noble doctor Husain Ibn Sina, The learned priest Hunain Ibn Ishaq, Ziya Ibn Baitar the chief of physicians, It is their names which everyone mentions in the East, and it was through them that the boat of the West got across.
- 103 In short, all those arts which are the basic stock of religious and worldly prosperity, The natural, divine and mathematical sciences, and philosophy, medicine, chemistry, geometry, astronomy, Navigation, commerce, agriculture, architecture—wherever you go to track these down, you will find their footprints there.
- 104 Although the garden of the Arabs has been trampled, yet there is a whole world which lyrically recites their praises. The rain of the Arabs made everyone green. Black and white are under an obligation to the Arabs. Those nations which are today the masters of all will ever remain under obligation to the Arabs.
- 105 So long as the pillars of Islam remained standing, the ways of the faithful remained simple and unaffected. So long as the clear honey remained unpolluted by filth, the pure silver remained free of alloy, There was none to take the field against Islam, and there was but one standard gloriously flying over all the world.

Hunain was a Christian from Abadan and a very famous doctor. He has been counted as one of the doctors of Islam because he flourished under the Abbasid Caliphs, even becoming an officer in the translation department during the reign of Mutawakkil, and because he came from Iraq.

Ziya al-Din ibn Baitar was an outstanding botanist from Spain. In his botanical researches, he undertook distant journeys, and his works are the source of accounts of medicinal herbs. All the doctors of Egypt reckoned him their leader. He died in AH 642.

- 104 Famous European historians like Edward Gibbon, Henry Lewis, Dr Hailey, the Frenchman Sadliu [?], Alexander Humboldt, etc., etc., all admit that it was the Arabs who were the source of their excellence.

پہ کدلا ہوا جب کہ چشمہ صفا کا گیا چھوٹ مسرشتہ دین ہدی کا  
 رہا سب سے باقی نہ رہا یہاں کا تو پورا ہوا عہد جو تھا خدا کا  
 کہ ہم نے بگاڑا نہیں کوئی اب تک  
 وہ بگڑا نہیں آپ دنیا میں جب تک  
 بڑے اُن پر وقت آگے پڑنے لگے وہ دنیا میں کہ اُن نے لگے اب  
 بھرے اُن کے میسے بچنے لگے اب بنے تھے وہ جیسے بچنے لگے اب  
 ہری تھیں ابل گئیں اسلما کر  
 گشتا گشتا گئی سارے عالم پر چھاکر  
 نہ روت رہی اُن کی قبا نہ عزت گئے چھوڑا تھا اُن کا اقبال و دولت  
 ہوئے علم و فن اُن سے ایک ایک تہمت نہیں ڈھیلیاں ساری نوبت پر نوبت  
 رہا دین باقی نہ اسلام باقی  
 ایک اسم کا رو گیا نام باقی  
 بے کوئی نیکو کار ایا، چپ آتی ہوں سے نظر ساری دنیا  
 چڑھے اُس پر چوہاں غرور منہ دانا کہ قدرت کے نکل کا دیکھتے تاشا  
 تو قوموں میں مستحق اس قدر پانگیا وہ  
 کہ عالم کو زیر و زبر پاسے گا وہ  
 دور دیکھے گا ہر نو ہزاروں چین وں بہت تازہ تر صورت بہت بارغ خنداں  
 بہت اُن سے کتر بہت برتر خنداں بہت تنگ اور بے طاقت بگڑاں  
 نہیں لائے گو برگ و بار اُن کے پڑے  
 نظر آتے ہیں ہوتا اُن کے پڑے  
 پھر اک بار دیکھے گا ہر نو ہزاروں جہاں ناک آتی ہے ہر نو ہزار  
 نہیں تازگی کا کہیں نام جس پر ہری نہیں جگڑتیں جس کی گل کر  
 نہیں پھول پھل جس میں آئے کے تھال  
 ہوتے روکھ جس کے جلاسنے کے تھال

تمیز اہل اسلام

تمیز اقوام

تمیز امت اسلام

## The decay of Islam

- 106 But when the spring of purity became muddied, the practice of the religion of right guidance was forsaken, And the shadow of the phoenix no longer shielded their heads, then God's covenant was fulfilled: 'We have never ruined anyone yet, until he ruined himself in the world.'
- 107 Now evil times came and befell them. After dwelling happily in the world, they began to be ruined now. Now their full assemblies began to be dispersed. When they were formed, it was as if they had begun to break up. After flourishing, their fields were burnt. Black clouds spread over the whole world and opened up.
- 108 Neither their wealth remained intact, nor their prestige. Their fortune and prosperity forsook them. Sciences and arts took leave of them one by one. All their virtues were destroyed by degrees. Neither religion nor Islam was left. Only the name of Islam was left.

## Simile of the nations

- 109 If some hill could be found so high that from it the whole world might come into view, If then a wise sage were to climb up it to behold the spectacle of nature's amphitheatre, He would find such a difference among nations that he would find the whole world inverted.
- 110 There in every direction he would see thousands of gardens, many fresher like the garden of Rizvan, Many humbler than these, but verdant and flourishing, and many dry and moistureless, But even so, although their plants have not put forth leaf and fruit, they do appear ready to bloom.

## Simile of the community of Islam

- 111 Then he will see a garden utterly devastated, whence dust keeps flying in all directions, Which in no way bears even the name of freshness, whose green sprays have been scorched and have fallen off, In which no flower or fruit could possible come, whose trees have become fit for burning,

جہاں زہر کا کام آتا ہے بلبلں جہاں آگے دیتا ہے روبر نیلیاں  
 تڑوسے جو آور ہوتا ہے بریاں نہیں رہا جس کو غزل اور ہدا  
 یہ آواز پیسیم وہاں آ رہی ہے  
 کہ اسلام کا بلخ بریاں ہی ہے  
 وہ دین جہاں کا بس باک بڑا نشان جس کا اقصائے عالم میں پہنچا  
 مزہم نہ ہوا کوئی خطہ رہ جس کا نہ غل میں خشک کشت لوم میں جھکا  
 کئے تھے پر جس نے ساتوں بند  
 وہ ڈوبا دہائیں گنگا کے آگر  
 اگر کان دھر کر سنیں اہل عربت تو یوں سے تا پیشہ و تجارت  
 نہیں رڈھیں پھولیں ریت ریت یہ فریاد بکر ہے ہیں ہر حسرت  
 کہ گل فرقتا جن سے اہل جہاں کو  
 لگاؤں سے عیب آج ہندوستان کو  
 حکومت نے تم سے کیا لگتا ارا تو اس میں نہ تھک کچھ تہارا اہل ارا  
 زمانہ کی گردش سے جو کس کو چارا کبھی یاں کھنڈ کبھی یاں ہے ارا  
 نہیں بلاش ہی کچھ آفر خدائی  
 جو ہے آج اپنی تو گل ہے پرانی  
 ہوئی تھقی جب حکومت خدائی کہ تسلیم جاری ہو خیر اللہ ہی کی  
 پرے دوسروں عالم میں دین دہائی کی تو علم کی تم کو حکومت عطا کی  
 کہ چھبلاؤ دنیا میں حکم شریعت  
 کہ نہ تہندوں پہ بالک کی تجرت  
 ادا کر چکی جب حق اپنا حکومت رہی اب نہ اسلام کو اس کی عبادت  
 محض لے ختم آدم کی امت ہوئی آدیت بھی ساتھ اس کے خدمت  
 حکومت تھی گویا کہ اس جھول تہ پر  
 کہ اڑتے ہی اس کے نکل آئے جوہر

خطاب بسوئے قوم  
 میر تسلط اہل اسلام  
 ہماری موجودہ حالت

- 112 Where rain acts as a poison, where the cloud of spring comes and weeps, Which by anxious cultivation becomes still more desolate, which is suited neither by autumn nor spring. There this cry is continually raised: 'This is the ruined garden of Islam!'
- 113 That fearless fleet of the religion of the Hijaz, whose mark reached the extreme limits of the world, Which no apprehension could obstruct, which did not hesitate in the Gulf of Oman, or falter in the Red Sea, Which traversed the seven seas—sank when it came to mouth of the Ganges.
- 114\* If those who are ready to be admonished listen carefully, from Ceylon to Kashmir and Tibet, The earth, trees, forests, flowers, fruits, deserts and mountains are all lamenting in passionate regret, 'Those in whom all the peoples of the world took pride yesterday have today brought disgrace upon India.'

*Address to the poet's community*

- 115 Government may have drawn aside from you, but you had no monopoly over it. Who possesses a remedy against the vicissitudes of fortune? Sometimes one is an Alexander here, sometimes a Darius. After all, kingship is hardly divinity. What one owns today is someone else's tomorrow.

*The secret of the Muslims' dominion*

- 116 When God's wisdom demanded that the teaching of the Best of Scholars be set in force, And the religion of right guidance became famous in the world, He bestowed world dominion upon you, saying, 'Spread the ordinances of the Holy Law throughout the world, and bring to an end the Master's reasons for objecting to His creatures.'

*Our present state*

- 117 Now that government has performed its proper function, Islam has no need for it left. But alas, oh community of the Glory of Man, humanity departed together with it. Government was like a gilt covering upon you. As soon as it peeled off, your innate capacity emerged.

113 The Gulf of Oman lies between Arabia and Baluchistan. *Qulzum* is a name of the Red Sea.

نماندیں ہیں ایسی قومیں بہت سی تھیں جن میں تخصیص فرسزندی کی  
 پر آفت کھسیں ایسی آئی نہ ہوگی کہ گھر گھر پر پاں چھائی آسے کہ پستی  
 چکورا اور شہباز سب اوج پر ہیں  
 مگر ایک ہم ہیں کہ سبے بال و پر ہیں  
 وہ ملت کہ گروں پر جس کا ترم تھا ہر اک گنڈے میں جس کا پر پستل تھا  
 وہ فرقہ جو آفتاق میں مشتہم تھا وہ امت لقب جس کا خیمہ آرام تھا  
 نشان اس کا باقی سے صرف اہل تقدیر ہیں  
 کہ گنتے ہیں اپنے کو ہم ہیں مسلمان  
 وگرنہ ہساری رگوں میں لٹویں ہمارے ارادوں میں اور بستہ جو میں  
 دلوں میں نہانوں میں اور گنتہ گزریں طبیعت میں فطرت میں عادت میں خویں  
 نہیں کوئی ذرہ نجسیت کا باقی  
 اگر ہو کسی میں تو سبہ تعناتی  
 ہماری ہر اک بات میں بظاہر ہے کینتوں سے بترجمہ ارادوں ہے  
 لگا نام آبا کو ہم سے کمن سے ہمارا ترم نگاہ اہل وطن ہے  
 بزرگوں کی توقیر کھوئی ہو ہم نے  
 عرب کی شرافت نہ ہوئی ہو ہم نے۔  
 نہ قوموں میں عزت نہ مجلسوں میں وقت نہ زبانوں سے نفرت نہ غیروں سے بہت  
 نہ مزاجوں میں حسد نہ باغوں میں نخوت نہ خیالوں میں پستی نہ گالوں سے نفرت  
 عداوت نہ اس دوستی آشکارا  
 غرض کی تو اضع غرض کی مدارا  
 نہ اہل حکومت کے ہر لڑیں ہم نہ درباریوں میں سرفراز ہیں ہم  
 نہ علموں میں شایان اعزاز ہیں ہم نہ صنعت میں حرفت میں متاثر ہیں ہم  
 نہ رسکتے ہیں کچھ نہت نوکری میں  
 نہ حصہ ہمارا ہے سوداگری میں

118 These nations include the Parsis, Jews, Hindus, etc., while 'falcon' stands for the rulers.

- 118\* There are many nations in the world who do not possess the special quality of empire.  
 But nowhere can so great a calamity have come as here, where each house is overshadowed by abasement.  
 The partridge and the falcon, all are high up in the sky, it is only we who lack wing and pinion.
- 119\* That people who stood upon the firmament, whose standard was fixed in every quarter,  
 That sect which was honoured on the horizons of the world, that community whose title was Best of Communities,  
 Its trace only remains here to this extent that we do count ourselves Muslims.
- 120 Apart from this, in our veins and blood, in our intentions and ambitions, In our hearts, tongues and conversation, in temperament, nature, habit and custom,  
 There is not an atom of nobility left, and if there is any in anyone, then it is by chance.
- 121 There is meanness in everything we do. Our ways are worse than those of the most base.  
 Our forefathers' reputation has been eaten away by us. Our step makes our countrymen ashamed.  
 We have thrown away our ancestors' credit, and sunk the nobility of the Arabs.
- 122 We have no honour among peoples, no prestige in assemblies, no love for our own people, no sense of community with others.  
 We have sloth in our hearts, arrogance in our brains, baseness in our thoughts and hatred for all excellence.  
 Bearing malice within, but friendship on the surface, our considerateness is selfish, our courtesy is selfish.
- 123 We are not in the confidence of our rulers, nor are we exalted among the courtiers.  
 We are not worthy of honour in the sciences, nor illustrious in industry or craft.  
 We do not attain any rank in service, nor do we have any share in trade.

تیزل سنے کی ہے بڑی گت ہماری بہت دُور پہنچی ہے نجات ہماری  
گئی گذری دنیا سے عزت ہماری نہیں کچھ ابھرنے کی صورت ہماری  
پڑے ہیں ایک اُنید کے ہم سہاے  
تو قح پر جنت کی بیعتے ہیں سہاے  
سیاست کی گول ہیں زمر زمر میں خدا کی خدائی سے ہم نے خبر نہیں  
یہ دیواریں گھر کی جو پیش نظر ہیں یہی اپنے نزدیک خدا بشارت ہیں  
ہیں تالاب ہیں مچھلیاں کچھ فرام  
وہی ان کی دنیا وہی ان کا عالم  
بشت اور ام سلسبیل اور کوثر پہاڑ اور جبل جبر سے بلند  
ہی سس کے اور بھی نام مشہور کہاؤں زمین پر تھے رہے ہیں برابر  
چہ جب تک نہ دیکھیں کہیں کس کہیں ہے  
کہ یہ آسمان پر ہیں یا زمین پر  
وہ بے مول پونجی کہ ہے اہل دولت وہ شانت لوگوں کا گنج سعادت  
وہ آئو وہ قوموں کا راسخ البصاات وہ دولت کہ ہے وقت میں سے جہا آت  
نہیں اُس کی وقعت نظر میں ہماری  
یونہیں منت جاتی ہے براہِ ساری  
اگر ہم سے اسٹکے کوئی ایک پچیا تو جو کام و بیش بار اس کا دینا  
مگر ماں وہ سہا یا یہ دین و دنیا کہ ایک ایک لہے نکل جس کا  
نہیں کرتے منت لڑنے میں اُسکے  
بہت ہم بھی ہیں لٹانے میں اُسکے  
اگر سانس دن رات کے سب گتیں ہم تو نکلیں گے انفا سے ایسے بہت کم  
کہ جوڑن ہیں کل کیسے کچھ فرام یونہیں گزرتے جاتے ہیں دن رات پیہم  
نہیں کوئی گویا جسے درام ہیں  
کہ یہ سانس آخر میں سب کوئی دم ہیں

- 124 Decay has brought us into an evil plight. Our adversity is far-reaching. Our prestige has vanished from the world, and there is no likelihood of our revival. We lie supported by just one hope. We all live in the expectation of paradise.
- 125 We do not seize the advantages of travel, nor are we intrepid voyagers. We are unaware of God's creation. These walls of our home which lie before our eyes are, in our opinion, the limits for mankind. We are like fish gathered in a tank, that is their world, that is their universe.
- 126 Paradise and Iram, Salsabil and Kausar, mountain and jungle, island and ocean, And many other such names, we have kept reading about in books, But without seeing them, who can be sure whether they exist in heaven or on earth?
- 127 That priceless capital which is real wealth, that noble treasure of decent folk, That substance of well-off people, that wealth which consists of time, Has no value in our eyes, but is all dissipated uselessly and for nothing.
- 128 If someone asks us for a paise, we shall have to be more or less careful about granting him it, But that capital of religion and of the world, whose every moment is without price, In squandering that, we show no meanness, in being prodigal with that, we are most generous.
- 129 If we reckon up all the breaths of day and night, then very few will be left to be gathered for the next day. Our days and nights are continually spent for nothing. It is as if no one among us was aware that these breaths will come to an end at some moment.

گڈریے کا وہ عسکر بردار کشت کھینچوں کی ہر دم ہے رکھوال کرنا  
جو ریز میں ہوتا ہے پتے کا کھر دکا تو وہ شیر کی طرح پھرتا ہے پھرا  
گرا انصاف یہ کیجئے تو ہے ہم سے بہتر

کہ غافل نہیں فرض سے لپٹے دم بھر  
وہ قومیں جو برباد ہیں سڑکی ہیں ذخیرے ہر اک جنس کے بھونکی ہیں  
ہر اک بوجھ بالاپنے سر رکھتی ہیں ہنوں تب ہیں زندہ کہ جب مر گئی ہیں  
ہی طرح راہ طلب میں ہیں بویا  
بہت دُور اچھی اُن کو جانا ہے گویا

کسی وقت جی بھر کے سوتے نہیں وہ کبھی بر عزت سے ہوتے نہیں وہ  
بصاحت کو اپنی ڈبوتے نہیں وہ کوئی لہو بے کار کھوتے نہیں وہ  
نہ چلنے سے تھکتے نہ اکتاتے ہیں وہ  
بہت بڑھ گئے اور بڑھ جاتے ہیں وہ

مگر ہم کہ اب تک جہاں تھے وہیں ہیں جمادات کی طسج بار نہیں ہیں  
جہاں میں ہیں ایسے کہ گویا نہیں ہیں زمانہ سے کچھ ایسے فن و فنشیر ہیں  
کہ گویا ضروری تھا جو کام کرنا  
وہ سب کر چکے ایک باقی ہے مرنا

یہاں اور ہیں جتنی قومیں گرامی خود قبائل سے آج اُن کا اسلامی  
تجارت میں متاثر دولت میں نامی زمانہ سے کبھی ترقی کے حامی  
زنا رخ ہیں اولاد کی تربیت سے  
نہ بے فکر ہیں قوم کی تقویت سے

ٹکان اُن کی ہے اور بازار اُن کا بیچ اُن کا ہے اور بہوار اُن کا  
زمانہ میں پھیلے ہے بہوار اُن کا ہے بہرہ جوں برسرا کار اُن کا  
مدار الہنگاری کا ہے اب اُنہیں پر  
اُنہیں کے میں آتش اُنہیں کے میں فخر

ایلی یورپ کا ضبط اوقاات

ہندوؤں کی مزید قومیں

- 130 The dog obedient to the shepherd's command that he continually keep watch over the sheep,  
When there is the rustling of a leaf among the flock, goes about as furious as a tiger.  
In all fairness, he is better than us, for he never neglects his duty for an instant.

*The efficiency of the Europeans*

- 131 Those peoples who have now traversed all roads, who have laid up treasures of every kind,  
Who have placed on their heads every load and burden, only came to life after they were already dead.  
They are racing so fast along the way of searching as if they had still had very far to go.

- 132 They never sleep their fill, they are never sated by hard work,  
They do not squander their substance, they do not waste an instant uselessly,  
They do not tire or get weary of going along. They have advanced a long way and keep on advancing.

- 133\* But we, who are still exactly where we were, are a burden on the earth, like minerals.  
We exist in the world as if we did not. We sit so careless of the world That it is as if all necessary tasks had already been accomplished, and only death remains.

*The honourable communities of Hindus*

- 134\* As for the other, noble, peoples of this land, prosperity itself salutes them,  
Pre-eminent in commerce, famous in wealth, friends of the age, supporters of progress.  
They are neither neglectful of their children's upbringing, nor careless of the strengthening of the community.

- 135\* Theirs is the shop, theirs is the market, theirs is business and trade.  
Their commerce extends throughout the world. All of them, young and old, are busily employed.  
Officialdom has them as its basis, theirs are the offices, theirs are the bureaus.

مشرقیوں ہر ایک دربار میں وہ گرامی ہیں ہر ایک سے سزا میں وہ  
 نہ رونا ہیں عادات و اطوار میں وہ نہ بدنام گفتار و کردار میں وہ  
 نہ پیشہ سے حرف سے انکار انکو  
 نہ محنت مشقت سے کچھ عار ان کو  
 جو گرتے ہیں گر کر سنبھل جاتے ہیں وہ پڑے زد تو بچ کر نکل جاسکتے ہیں وہ  
 ہر اک سانچے میں جا کر جھلجھلاتے ہیں وہ جہاں رنگ بدلا بدل جاسکتے ہیں وہ  
 ہر اک وقت کا تقاضا جانتے ہیں  
 زمانہ کے تور و وہ پہچانتے ہیں  
 محو ہے ہر اسی نظر راتی اونچی کہ کیریاں ہے دل سے بند ہی ہوتی  
 نہیں اب تک اسلام بزم کو یہی کہ ہے کون موار کنت یا ترفی  
 چہر کھول کر آنکھ ہم دیکھتے ہیں  
 زمانہ کو اپنے سے کم دیکھتے ہیں  
 زمانہ کا دن رات ہے ہر مشارا کہ ہے آسٹھی میں مری یاں گوارا  
 نہیں پیری جن کو میری گوارا مجھے ان سے کرنا پڑے گا کنارا  
 سدا ایک ہی رخ نہیں ناچتی  
 چلو تم اُدھر کر جاو چہر سرتی  
 چمن میں ہوا چنگی بنے خستوں کی پھری ہے نظروں سے باغباں کی  
 صد اور ہے بلبل غنم خوں کی کوئی دم میں وطن سے باغباں کی  
 تباہی کے خواب آئے ہیں نظر سب  
 نصیبت کی ہے کٹنے والی سحراب  
 فلاکت ہے کتنے اتم جب اتم نہیں بستے ایمان پیدل جریں فوت اتم  
 بناقی ہے انسان کو جو بس اتم مصلحتی ہیں بدل جمع جس سے نہ صائم  
 وہ یوں اہل اسلام پہنچا رہی ہے  
 کہ کسلم کی گواہی ثانی رہی ہے

- 136\* They are honoured in every court, they are respected in every government.  
 They are not infamous in their manners and habits, nor notorious in their words and deeds.  
 They are not reluctant to enter profession or craft, nor ashamed of hard work and toil.
- 137 Those who fall later recover themselves. When they suffer a blow, they escape and get out.  
 They let themselves be poured into every mould. Where things have changed, they change too.  
 They know the demands of every occasion. They recognize the expressions of the age.
- 138 But our vision is so exalted that in it all heights and depths are equal.  
 We still do not have even the slightest idea as to what sort of carrion bitch progress is.  
 Wherever we open our eyes and look, we see the world as less than ourselves.
- 139 Day and night the age gives this signal, 'The way to get on here is by being reconciled with me.  
 'Those who do not find it agreeable to follow me will have to be bypassed by me.  
 'The ship does not sail forever in a single direction. Sail where the wind blows you.'
- 140 The wind of autumn has already come into the garden, the direction of the gardener's gaze has shifted.  
 The warbling nightingale's cry has altered. Now the garden is due to depart at any moment.  
 All the visions which are seen are of destruction. Now the dawn of catastrophe is about to break.
- 141 Poverty, which is called the Mother of Crimes, on account of which hearts cease to remain firm in faith,  
 Which makes men beasts, because of which neither he who prays nor he who fasts rests assured at heart,  
 Is so prevalent among the people of Islam that it is as if it was this that was the mark of a Muslim.

کہیں مکر کے گزرتی ہے ہم کو کہیں جھوٹ کی ٹونگاتی ہے ہم کو  
 خیانت کی چالیں بھاتی ہے ہم کو خوشامدی گھاتی ہے ہم کو  
 فٹوں جب یہ پاتی نہیں کار کردہ  
 تو کرتی ہے آخر کو دروازہ گروہ  
 یہاں جتنی قومیں ہوائے سواہیں ہزار ان میں بخشش میں تو دو بیواہیں  
 یہاں لاکھوں دو اگر بخشیاہیں تو سو نیم بسلسل ہیں باقی گداہیں  
 ذرا کام غیرت کو نہ فخریں گرام  
 تو سمجھیں کہ میں بستل کس قدم  
 جگت میں گردش نے جو خاندانی نہیں جانتے ہیں کہ روٹی کسانی  
 دل میں ہے یہ کھلم سب کے ٹھانی کیسے بسراگ کر زندگانی  
 جہاں قدر دانوں کا ہیں کھوج پاتے  
 پہنچتے ہیں وہاں مانگتے اور کھاتے  
 کہیں باپ دادا کا ہیں نام لیتے کہیں روستناسی سے ہیں کام لیتے  
 کہیں جھوٹے وعدوں پر ہیں نام لیتے یونہی ہیں وہ نے ٹیکے نام لیتے  
 بزرگوں کے نازاں ہیں بس نام پر وہ  
 اُسے پہنچتے پھرتے ہیں در بدر وہ  
 یہ ہیں ڈھنگ ان تازہ آفت زووں سے بہت کم زمانہ بوجہ جن کو بجز سے  
 ابھی ایک عالم ہے آگاہ جن سے کہیں کس کے بیٹے وہ اور کس کے پوتے  
 جنہیں دیکھیں پردیس سب جانتے ہیں  
 سب اور نسب جن کا پہچانتے ہیں  
 مگر مٹ چکا جن کا نام و نشان ہے پڑائی ہوئی جن کی اب داستان ہے  
 نشانوں میں قصوں میں جن کا بیاں ہے بہت نسل بڑنگ آئی جہاں ہے  
 نہیں ان کی قدر اور سزا نہیں اب  
 انہیں بھیک تک کوئی دیتا نہیں اب

- 142 Here it teaches us the formulas of deceit, here instils in us the love of lying. It explains to us the ways of perfidy, and tells us the opportunities for flattery. When it does not find these enchantments effective, it finally makes us into beggars.
- 143 In all the communities which exist here besides us, thousands are well off, while two are destitute. While in our case, in a hundred thousand, if two are wealthy, a hundred are half dead, and the rest are beggars. If we bring into operation the slightest sense of shame, we will realize how utterly abased we are.
- 144 Those men of good family whom the vicissitudes of fortune have ruined do not realize that all they must do is earn their daily bread. All have irrevocably decided in their hearts that they should subsist by begging. Wherever they discover patrons, they arrive, they beg, and eat.
- 145 Here they mention their forbears, here they operate by acquaintanceship. Here they raise loans by false promises. This is how they get their money, by wheedling entreaties. They go round from door to door, selling the name of their ancestors of which they are so proud.
- 146 Such are the ways of those newly struck by disaster, since whose ruin very little time has passed. The entire world still knows about them, and whose sons and grandsons they are. Everyone both here and abroad knows them, and is acquainted with their stock and lineage.
- 147 But those whose name and mark is now effaced, whose tale has grown old, Who are told of in fables and stories, their descendants' resources in the world are very straitened. They are nowhere valued or asked after now. None gives them so much as aims now.

بہت آگ چلوں کی ٹلکانے والے بہت گھاس کی گٹھڑیاں لانے والے  
بہت در بدر مانگ کر کھانے والے بہت فاقے کر کے مچانے والے

جو پوچھو کہ کس کان کے ہیں وہ جوہر  
تو نکلیں گے نسل ملک ان میں اکثر

انہیں کے بزرگ ایک ن بھلاں تھے انہیں کے پرستار پر و جواں تھے  
یہی امین عاجس زونا تو ان تھے یہی مریخ و یلم و اصفہاں تھے  
یہی کرتے تھے ملک کی نگہ بانی  
انہیں کے گھروں میں تھی صاحبزادی

یہاں قوم اسلام عہدت کی جا ہے کٹھ ہوں کی اولاد دروگر لہے  
بچے سٹے افلاس میں بست لہے بچے دیکھنے نکلس رہے تو ہے

نہیں کوئی ان میں کسانے کے قابل  
اگر ہیں تو ہیں ایک کھانے کے قابل

نہیں مانگنے کا طریق ایک ہی یاں گدا کی کی ہیں غمخیز نیت نبی یاں  
نہیں حصر کنگلوں پر گدہ گری یاں کوئی دے تو سنگتوں کی ہے کیا کی یاں

بہت ہاتھ پھیلائے زیر ردا ہیں  
چھپے اُبلے کپڑوں میں اکثر گدا ہیں

بہت آپ کو آمد کے مسجد کے بانی بہت بن کے خود مستی خاندانی  
بہت سیکھ کر نوحہ و سوز خوانی بہت مریخ میں کر کے بگڑیں بیانی

بہت آستانوں کے خدام بن کر  
پڑے مانگتے کھاتے پھرتے ہی ارد

نشقت کو محنت کو جو عار بھیں ہنس اور پیشہ کو جو عار بھیں  
تجارت کو کھیتی کو دشوار بھیں فسرگی کے پیسے کو دار بھیں

تن آسائیاں جا ہیں اور آرومی  
وہ قوم آج ڈوبے گی گر گم نہ ڈوبی

- 148 Many of those who light the charcoal in hookahs, of those who carry bundles of grass,  
Of those who eat by begging from door to door, of those who die from prolonged starvation,  
If you ask which mine these jewels come from, most of them will emerge as being of the stock of kings.
- 149 If was their ancestors who were once rulers, it was they whom young and old humbly served,  
They who were the shelter of the helpless and weak, they who were the asylum of Dailam and Isfahan,  
They who acted as shepherds of the realm, in their households that the conjunction of benefics occurred.
- 150 This, oh community of Islam, is an occasion for taking heed, that the descendants of kings are beggars from door to door.  
Whoever you hear of is immersed in poverty, whoever you see is destitute and without resource.  
None of them is capable of earning. If they are capable of anything, it is of eating by begging.
- 151 There is not just a single method of begging here. There are ever new ways of mendicancy here.  
Here mendicity is not restricted to the destitute. If anyone will give, there is no lack of mendicants here.  
Many have stretched out their hands beneath the cloak. Whether in secret or in open guise, most are beggars.
- 152 Many profess themselves to be founders of mosques, many make themselves out to be of Sayyid lineage.  
Many learn laments and passionate mourning, many exercise their brilliant style in encomium.  
Many become attendants at thresholds, and keep on begging for their food, going about from door to door.
- 153 Those who think hard work and effort disgraceful, craft and profession demeaning,  
Trade and agriculture difficult, the Franks' money carrion, who desire easy circumstances and honour besides,  
That people will sink today, if it has not already sunk yesterday.

کریں تو کئی بھی تو بے عزتی کی جو روئی کس تہیں تو بے عزتی کی  
 کہیں پائیں خدمت تو بے عزتی کی قسم کھائیے ان کی خوش قسمتی کی  
 ایروں کے ہتھے ہیں جب یہ صاحب  
 تو جانتے ہیں ہر کثرت سے تاب  
 کہیں ان کی صحبت میں گاہیجا کہیں حسدوں کے ہنستا ہنستا  
 کہیں پھبتیاں کہہ کے انہیں سپانا کہیں چھپ کر گالیان بکے کھاتا  
 یہ کام اور بھی کرتے ہیں پر نہ ایسے  
 شکرانہ جھانسی سے بن آئیں ایسے  
 ایروں کا عالم نہ پوچھو کہ کیسا ہے غیر ان کا اور ان کی طبیعت جوں ہے  
 منزل اور ہے ان کو جو ہا ستر ہے مولا ہے انہیں سب کہ جو نالہ ہے  
 شہیت ہوتی ہے کہ ہم ان سے  
 بہت فخر کرتا ہے اسلام ان سے  
 ہر رک بول پر ان کے جلس خدایہ ہر کس بات پر وہاں دست اور پیر ہے  
 قہقہا میں ان کی کوئی تخط ہے نہ کردار ان کا کوئی ہا ستر ہے  
 وہ جو کہہ کہ ہیں، کہہ کے کون ان کو  
 بنا یا نہ یوں نے فرعون ان کو  
 وہ دولت کہ ہے، ایہ زین و نیرا وہ دولت کہ ہے کوشہ راہ عقبتی  
 سلیمان نے کی جس کی حق سے تشا بڑھا جس سے آفاق میں نام سنی  
 کیا جس نے ماتم کو شہ نور و دریاں  
 کیا جس نے یوسف کو سجود انوار  
 بلا ہے یہ فخر اس کو ان کی بدولت کہ کبھی گئی ہے وہ اصل شقاوت  
 کہیں ہے وہ سرایہ جہل و خفالت کہیں لٹا ہواہ کہ روخت  
 جہاں کے لئے جو کہ آجبتا ہے  
 وہ اس قوم کے حق میں تہی دہا ہے

ایروں کے صاحب

مقدور مسلمان

*The hangers-on of the rich*

- 154 Even if they are employed, it is in a disgraceful capacity. The bread which they earn is that of dishonour. If they find any service, it is disgraceful. One should curse their 'good fortune'. When they become the boon-companions of the rich, they go abandoning all sense of honour.
- 155 Sometimes they play and sing in their company, sometimes they turn jester and laugh and amuse, Sometimes they make up nicknames and get a reward, sometimes in teasing they suffer general insults. They do other things too, but no such as to befit a fellow Muslim.

*The rich Muslims*

- 156 Do not ask what the state of the rich is. Their essence and their constitution are in a class of their own. What is unbecoming is fitting for them, all that is impermissible is permissible for them. The Holy Law has gained fair repute from them! Islam prides itself greatly upon them!
- 157 The whole company is beside itself at everything they say. Their every remark is followed by 'Quite so!' and 'Hear, hear!' There is no error in their speech, nothing unbecoming in their actions. No matter what they are, who can tell them? Their boon-companions have made them Pharaohs.
- 158 Wealth, which is the substance of religion and the world, wealth which is the provision for the journey to the next world, Which Solomon besought God for, on account of which the fame of Chosroes was spread to the ends of the world, Which made Hatim the most famous man of his age, and Joseph the object of his brothers' adoration,
- 159 Has, thanks to them, been invested with the 'glory' of being considered the root of disgrace. Now it acts as the capital of ignorance and oblivion, now as the intoxicating wine of conceit and arrogance. That which was the water of eternal life for the world is, in relation to this people, a poisonous draught.

ادھر مال و دولت نے یاں نڈو کھلایا اُدھر ساتھ ساتھ اُس کے ادبار آیا  
 پڑا آکے جس گھر پر ثروت کا سلیلا عمل وہاں سے برکت نے پناہ لیا  
 نہیں راس یاں چار پیسے کسی کو مبارک نہیں سبھیے پر چوٹی کو  
 سمجھتے ہیں سب عیب جن عادتوں کو بہانہ سے بنتے ہیں سب سیرتوں کو  
 چھپاتے ہیں اوباش جن نصلتوں کو نہیں کرتے اجلاف جن عرکتوں کو  
 وہ یاں اہل دولت کو ہیں شیر باد زخوفہ نہ لہے نہ شرم پیر  
 طبیعت اگر لوہ و بازی پہ آئی تو دولت بت ہی ایسی ہل سٹانی  
 جو کی حضرت عشق نے بہن سانی تو کردی بھرے گھر کی دم میں منسانی  
 پھر ترنگے مانگنے کو کھانے یونہی ہٹکے یاں ہزاروں گھرانے  
 نہ آغاز پر اپنے خوراک کو اصلا نہ انجام کا اپنے کچھ ان کو کھانکا  
 نہ کھان کو اولاد کی تربیت کا نہ کچھ دولت قوم کی ان کو پروا  
 نہ حق کوئی دنیا پر ان کا نہ وہیں خدا کو وہ کب اندھکھائیں گے جاگر  
 کسی قوم کا جب اٹھتا ہے دفتر تو ہوتے ہیں سچ ان میں پہلے تو گر  
 کمال ان میں سب سے ہیں باقی نہ چور نہ عقل ان کی ہادی نہ زمین ان کا ریسہ  
 نہ دنیا میں دولت نہ عزت کی پروا نہ عقلمندی میں رونخ نہ جنت کی پروا  
 نہ غفل قوم کی آہ و زاری سے ڈرنا نہ سب لوگ کے حال پر حسم کرنا  
 ہوا و بوس میں خودی سے گزنا قہقہے میں مینا نہ لاشس پہ نہنا  
 سدا خواب غفلت میں ہی پوشش بہنا دم نزع تک خود فراموش بہنا

- 160 As soon as property and wealth showed themselves here, they were accompanied by the arrival of misfortune. From any house where wealth came and spread itself, blessing removed its operation. Even four paises do no good to anyone here. They are as inauspicious for them as its wings are to an ant.
- 161 Those habits which all consider disgraceful, those qualities which are associated with beasts, Those features which riff-raff conceal, those actions which the lower orders do not commit, These are mother's milk for the wealthy here, who have no fear of God, nor shame before the Prophet.
- 162 If their desires turned to games and sports, they squandered plenty of money in this pursuit. When Sir Love acted as their guide, they cleaned out all their household wealth in an instant. Then at last they began to beg for their food. Thousands of families have been destroyed here just like this.
- 163 They pay not the slightest attention to their beginnings nor feel any concern about their end. They have no thought for their children's upbringing, nor any care for the community's disgrace. They have no rights in this world or the next. How will they go and face God?
- 164 When the record of any people is ruined, the first to be deformed among them are the rich. No excellence or skill is left in them. Their intelligence does not guide them, nor faith conduct them. They care neither about disgrace and honour in this world, nor about hell and paradise in the next.
- 165 They have no fear of the cries and laments of the oppressed, nor pity for the condition of the unfortunate. In their greed and concupiscence they abandon self-awareness. They live in luxury and die to make a show. They remain for ever unconscious in the sleep of oblivion, self-forgetful until their death-agonies.

پریشاں اگر قحط سے رک جہاں ہے تو بے فکر ہیں کیونکہ گھر میں سماں ہے  
 اگر بارخِ امانت میں فصل خزاں ہے تو خوش ہیں کہ اپنا چین گل خشاں ہے  
 بنی نوع انسان کا حق اُن پر کیا ہے  
 وہ ایک نوع - نوع بشر سے جدا ہے  
 کہاں بندگانِ ذلیل اور کہاں وہ بسر کرتے ہیں بے غم قوت نے انہ  
 پہنچتے نہیں جس زور و زور کے انہ وہ کہاں کہتے ہیں رنگِ خلدِ بنیاں وہ  
 نہیں پھرتے وہ بے سواری قسم ہم  
 نہیں رہتے بے غم و سازد ہم  
 کرب تیر ہیں لوگ خدمت میں اُن کی گل ہلا رہے تھے میں خدمت میں اُن کی  
 نفاست بھری ہے طبیعت میں اُن کی نزاکت سوداں ہے عادت میں اُن کی  
 دونوں میں خشک اُن کی کھٹا ہوا ڈھیر  
 وہ پوشاک میں عطرتے ہیں سروں  
 یہ ہو سکتے ہیں اُن کے ہم جنس کیونکہ نہیں ہیں جن کو زمانے سے ہم بھر  
 سواری کو گھوڑا ز خدمت کو نوکر نہ رہتے کو کھراور نہ سوسنے کو بستر  
 پہننے کو کپڑا دکھانے کو زنی  
 جو تیر سیرا ہٹی تو تیر رکھوئی  
 یہ پہلا سبق تھا کہ سب ہوئی کا کہ ہے ساری مخلوق کنسبہ خدا کا  
 وہی درست ہے خالقِ دو سرا کا خالق سے جس کو پرستہ دولا کا  
 یہی ہے عبادت ہی دینِ دایمان  
 کہ کام آئے دنیا میں انسان کے انساں  
 عمل جن کا ہے اس کا نام نہیں ہے وہ سرسبز ہیں آج رو سے نہیں ہے  
 تفتوح ہے اُن کو کس میں وہ ہیں ہے مدارِ آدینیت کا ہے اب انہیں ہے  
 شریعت کے جو ہم نے پیمان توڑے  
 وہ لے جا کے سب اہل نعرے نے جوئے

محبت خلق اللہ  
 اہل یورپ کی بھاری

170 Cf. the two Hadith: *Al-khalqu 'ayālu 'llāhi fa-ahabbu 'l-khalqi ilā 'llāhi man ahsana ilā 'ayālihi* 'Creatures are the family of God, and of God's creatures the dearest to Him is the one who does good to this family'; and *Al-dīnu al-naṣīhatu* 'Religion is good advice.'

171 I.e. the Europeans, who are superior to the whole world in sympathy with their nation, in supporting their country, and in aiding and helping all mankind.

- 166 The whole world may be distressed by famine, but they are careless, for they have provisions at home.  
 If the season of autumn comes upon the garden of the Community, they are happy, for their garden is in bloom.  
 What rights can mankind claim from them? They are of a separate species, quite different from humankind.
- 167 How can humble folk be compared with them? They live free from worry as to food and bread.  
 They wear nothing but furs and silks, they keep houses which rival paradise.  
 They do not go a step except in a conveyance. They do not remain for an instant without songs and music.
- 168 People stand in attendance to serve them. The rose and the tulip remain in their company.  
 Their natures are filled with refinement, their habits are permeated with delicacy.  
 In their draughts masses of musk arise, their garments are steeped in pounds of rose perfume.
- 169 How can these people be of the same species as those who are never at ease in the world, even for a moment,  
 Who have no horse to ride on, no attendant to serve them, no house to live in, no bed to sleep in,  
 No clothes to wear or bread to eat, and who, if their plans go wrong, have just their wretched luck to blame?

*Love for God's creatures*

- 170 This was the first lesson of the Book of True Guidance: 'All creatures belong to God's family.  
 'The beloved of the Creator of the two worlds is the one who maintains the ties of love with his creatures.  
 'This is devotion, this is religion and faith, that man should come to the service of his fellow man in the world.'

*The public spirit of the peoples of the West*

- 171 Those who act on the basis of this weighty utterance today flourish upon the face of the earth.  
 They are superior to all, high and low. They are now the central axis of humanity.  
 Those covenants of the Holy Law which we have broken have all been firmly upheld by the people of the West.

تسختے ہیں گمراہ جن کو مسلمان نہیں جن کو عقین ہیں امیسہ و عفران  
 نہ جن میں فردوس جن کے نہ رضوان نہقت میں جن جو جن کے نہ غلام  
 پس از برگ دوزخ تھکا کما ہے جن کا  
 مہیم آب و زقوم کھانا ہے جن کا  
 وہ ملک اور ملت پر اپنی فدا ہیں سب آپس میں ایک اسکے عبادت و ہیں  
 اولو اسلم ہر مان میں یا نہیں ہیں طلب گار بہبود شایع خدایں  
 یہ نفاقت گویا کہ حصہ انہیں کا  
 کر سب الوطن سے نشان مومنین کا  
 ہیروں کی دولت غریبوں کی ہمت ایروں کی انشا کیوں کی حکمت  
 قصیوں کے شطب شہانوں کی عزت پہاڑی کے تیار تار شہوں کی طاقت  
 دلوں کی مہرین انگوں کی توشیاں  
 سب اہل وطن اور وطن پر ہیں تسریں  
 عریض ان کا جو تم عیسایں دیکھتے ہو جہاں میں انہیں کامراں دیکھتے ہو  
 ملیت ان کا سارا جہاں دیکھتے ہو انہیں بتر آرا آسماں دیکھتے ہو  
 یہ ٹرے ہیں ان کی جو انڈیوں کے  
 نیچے ہیں آپس کی ہمدیوں کے  
 غنی ہم ہیں ہیں جو کہ ارباب بہت مسلم ہے عالم میں جن کی سہاوت  
 اگر ہے شہ رخ سے ان کو عقیدت تو ہے پر زادوں پر وقت ان کی دولت  
 نکتے ہیں دن رات داں میں کرتے  
 پہ نوکر ہیں جتنے وہ ٹھوس کہیں مرتے  
 عمل واعظوں کے اگر قول پر ہے تو بخشش کی امید بے موزن ہے  
 نماز اور روزہ کی عادت اگر ہے تو روز سب ان کو پھر کس کا بڑ ہے  
 اگر شہریش کوئی مسجد بنا دی  
 تو فردوس میں یہ اپنی جمادی

جمادی کا نتیجہ  
 ہمت والے مسلمان دولت مند

172 Hamim is the hot water which will be given to those in hell to drink, while zaqum is a kind of food which will be given to them to eat.

173 Cf. the Hadith: *Hubbu l-waṭani min al-īmān* 'The love of country is a part of faith.'

- 172 Those whom the Muslims think are lost and have no hope of pardon in the next world,  
 No paradise or Rizvan allotted to them, no houris or heavenly slaves granted in their fate,  
 Whose place after death is hell, whose water is hot and whose food is cactus,
- 173 Are devoted to their country and community, and all fulfil the needs of everyone mutually.  
 Those among them who possess learned skills or are wealthy seek the welfare of God's creatures.  
 It might be said that this was their trademark, for patriotism is the sign of true believers.
- 174\* The wealth of the rich, the energy of the poor, the compositions of the writers, the wisdom of the philosophers,  
 The speeches of the orators, the daring of the brave, the weapons of the soldier, the power of the kings,  
 The hopes of their hearts, the joys of their desires, all these are devoted to their fellow countrymen and their country.

*The results of their philanthropy*

- 175 Now you see their ascendancy manifest, you see them successful in the world,  
 You see the whole world obedient to them, you see them loftier than the sky,  
 These are the fruits of their acts of magnanimity, the results of their mutual fellow-feeling.

*The high-minded wealthy Muslims*

- 176 As for those rich people among us who are magnanimous, whose generosity is acknowledged throughout the world,  
 If they believe in Shaikhs, their property is given in pious bequest to the descendants of Pirs.  
 They uselessly spend day and night enjoying themselves, while all their servants are starving.
- 177 If they act in accordance with the preachers' words, they may hope for pardon without expenditure of gold.  
 If they are in the habit of observing prayers and fasts, then whom do they need to fear on the Day of Judgement?  
 If someone has built a mosque in the city, he has laid his foundation in paradise.

عمارت کی نسبت یاد اسی ہنصانی نہ کھلے کہیں تک میں جس کا ثانی  
 تماشوں میں شہوتِ نرہوں کی آرائی نماش میں دولتِ خدا کی لٹائی  
 چھٹی بیاہ میں کرنے لاکھوں کے ساہا  
 نہیں اُن کی خوشیاں یہ ہیں اُنکے اواں  
 مگر دینِ برحق کا بوسیدہ ایوان تزلزل میں ہوتے ہیں جس کے ارکان  
 زمانہ میں ہے جو کوئی دن کا مسلسل نہ پائیں گے ڈھونڈنا جسے پورے مسلمان  
 عزیزوں نے اُس سے توبہ اٹھائی  
 عمارت کا ہے اُس کی اللہ والی  
 پڑی ہیں سب اُتری ہوئی خانقاہیں وہ درویش و سلطان کی امید گاہیں  
 طعنے نہیں جہاں علمِ باطن کی راہیں فرشتوں کی پڑتی تھیں جن پر نگاہیں  
 کہاں ہیں وہ جذبِ الہی کے پھیندے  
 کہاں ہیں وہ اللہ کے پاک بندے  
 وہ علمِ شریعت کے اہلِ کرم ہیں وہ اخبار دین کے بھڑکے کرم ہیں  
 اُصولی کدھر ہیں مناظر کدھر ہیں مُحدث کہاں ہیں مُفسر کدھر ہیں  
 وہ مجلسِ چوکل سرسختی پر اُغلا  
 چراغ اب ہمیں نہ تانا نہیں وہاں  
 مدارس جو تسلیم دین کے کہاں ہیں مرہل وہ علم و تقیوں کے کہاں ہیں  
 وہ ارکانِ شریعتیں کے کہاں ہیں وہ وارثِ رسول ہیں کے کہاں ہیں  
 راکوئی اُمت کا علمنا نہ مارے  
 زوتِ حقہ ہی نہ ضوفی نہ غلاما

دینِ اسلام کی حالتِ فقیرانہ اللہ  
 فقیرانہ علماء دین

- 178\* To lay the foundations of a building that will have no rival anywhere in the land,  
To squander their forebears' wealth on spectacles, to waste God's goods in empty show,  
To provide lacs' worth of provisions for marriage and birth ceremonies, these are their pleasures, these are their desires.

*The state of the religion of Islam*

- 179 But as for that dilapidated hall of the true religion, whose pillars have been tottering for ages,  
Which will remain in the world only a few days more, and which the Muslims will not find again for all their searching,  
Our noble friends have withdrawn their attention from it. The only guardian of the building is God.

*The lack of holy men*

- 180 All the Sufi sanctuaries lie in ruins, those places of hope for the poor man and the king,  
Where the paths of esoteric knowledge were open, on which the glances of the angels used to fall.  
Where are those snares of divine longing? Where are those holy men of God?

*The lack of religious experts*

- 181 Where are those masters of the science of the Holy Law? Where are those expounders of religious Traditions?  
Where are those fundamentalists and controversialists, where are those teachers of Hadith and Quranic interpretation?  
In the assembly which was brilliantly lit throughout yesterday the lamp does not even flicker anywhere now.
- 182 Where are those schools of instruction in the faith? Where are those stages of knowledge and certitude?  
Where are those pillars of the firmly fixed Law? Where are those heirs of the trusty Apostle?  
The Community has no refuge of asylum left, no judge or jurisconsult, no mystic or theologian.

کہاں ہیں وہ دینی کتابوں کے منتسب کہاں ہیں وہ علمِ آسمیٰ کے منظر  
 جلی ایسی اس بنم میں بادِ مصر سے بھینٹھیں شعلیں نور حق کی سرا سے  
 رہا کوئی سماں نہ عین میں باقی صراحی نہ طرب نہ طرب نہ ساقی  
 بہت لوگ بن کر ہوا خواہ اُمت مفسدوں سے تنواریں اپنے نصیحت  
 سدا گاؤں درگاؤں نوبت بہ نوبت بڑے پھرستے ہیں کہتے تحصیل دولت  
 یہ ٹھہرے ہیں اسلام کے زیناب لقب اُن کا ہے وارثِ انبیا اب  
 بہت لوگ پیروں کی اولاد بن کر نہیں ذاتِ والا ہیں کچھ جن کے پیر  
 بڑا فریب ہے جن کو لے لے کے امرا کرتے اُن کے اسلاف مقبولِ داور  
 کرتے ہیں جا جا کے چھوٹے دکھاتے مریدوں کو ہیں ٹوٹتے اور کھاتے  
 یہ ہیں جاوہر پیاتے رہ طریقت مقام ان کا ہے ماورائے شریعت  
 انہیں پرستے تمام کشف و کرامت انہیں کے پر تقدس میں بندوں کی قدرت  
 یہی ہیں مُراد اور یہی ہیں مُرید اب یہی ہیں حسید اور یہی بائزید اب  
 بڑے جس سے نفرت و قہر کرتی بجز جس سے حق ہوں وہ تہر کرتی  
 گنہگار بندوں کی تختیہ کرتی مسلمان ہوائی کی تختیہ کرتی  
 یہ ہے عالموں کا ہمارے طریقہ یہ ہے اادیوں کا ہمارے طریقہ

خطباتِ دینیہ

مہمیانِ مسلم

مہمیانِ درویشی

علمائے زمان

## The lack of religious books

- 183 Where those archives of religious books? Where are those manifestations of divine science? Such a cold wind has blown upon this festive gathering that the torches of divine light are utterly extinguished. No furnishings nor company are left, no flask or instrument, no musician or cupbearer.

## Those who claim knowledge

- 184 Many people, making themselves out to be well-wishers of the Community, and getting the ignorant to acknowledge their excellence, Keep continually going round from village to village in turn, accumulating wealth. These are the ones who are now acknowledged as the leaders of Islam, these are the one who now have the title of 'heirs to the Prophet'.

## Those who claim to be holy

- 185 Many people make themselves out to be the descendants of Pirs, without having any excellence in their noble selves. They take great pride merely in the fact that their ancestors were the favourites of God. As they go about, they work false wonders. They eat by robbing their disciples.
- 186 These are the ones who journey on the mystic way, whose station lies beyond the Holy Law. It is with them that revelation and the power of miracles reach their apogee today. It is in their power that the fate of God's creatures lies. It is these who are the objects of devotion now, and these are their disciples. These are the Junaids, these are the Bayazids now.

## Contemporary theologians

- 187\* To make speeches through which hate may be inflamed, to compose writings through which hearts may be wounded, To despise God's sinful creatures, to brand their Muslim brothers infidels, This is the way of our theologians, this is the method of our guides.
- 186 In the technical language of Sufism, *murād* is a person who has chosen the Way after absorption into the divine, while *murīd* is one who who after following the Way attains the rank of absorption. Junaid of Baghdad and Bayazid Bistami were famous mystics, probably of the third century AH.

کوئی مسئلہ پوچھنے اُن سے جائے تو گردن پہ بارگراں لے کے آئے  
اگر بے نصیبی سے تنگ آئیں لائے تو قطعی خطاب اہل دفعہ کا پاسے  
اگر اعتراض اُس کی نکلا زبان سے  
تو آنا سلامت ہے دشوار داں سے  
کبھی وہ گلے کی گریں ہیں بھلا تے کبھی جھگڑ جھاگ ہیں منہ پہ لاس تے  
کبھی ٹوک اور ساگ ہیں اُس کو بتاتے کبھی ہارنے کو عصب ایں اٹھاتے  
سختوں پر ہم بددور ہیں آپ نہیں کے  
نوناہن حقیق رسول ایں کے  
جو پاسے کہ خوش اُن سے ل کر ہاں  
تو ہے شرط وہ قوم کا ہو سلسل  
نشاں جسدہ کا جو بیسیں پر نکالیں  
تشریح میں اُس کے نہ ہو کوئی نقصان  
بیس بڑھ رہی ہوں مذکور ہی چہ می ہو  
اذا راہی حد سے نہ آگے بڑھی ہو  
مقتدر میں حضرت کا ہم دستاں ہو  
ہرک اہل بیخ مسیح میں ہم نہاں ہو  
حریفوں سے اُنکے بہت بگلاں ہو  
مردوں کا اُن کے جراح خواں ہو  
گرا یا نہیں ہے تو مردود دیں ہے  
بزرگوں کو سننے کے قابل نہیں ہے  
شریعت کے احکام تھے وہ گوارا  
کشتیدار تھے اُن پر یو دا اور نصاریٰ  
گواہ اُن کی زبی کا قرآن ہے سارا  
خود اَلَّذِیْنَ یُبْتَغَوْنَ سَیِّئًا  
نکریاں کیسا ایشا دشوار اُن کو  
کہ مومن سمجھنے لگے بار اُن کو

- 192 Many verses of the Quran testify to the ease of the religion of Islam, e.g. *Yuridu 'llahu bikum al-yusra wa-la yuridu bikum al-'asra* (Quran 2:185) 'Allah intends every facility for you: He does not want to put you to difficulties'; *Lā yukallifu 'llahu nafsan illā wus'ahā* (Quran 2:286) 'On no soul doth Allah place a burden greater than it can bear'; *Mā ja'ala 'alaikum fi 'l-dini man harajin* (Quran 22:78) 'He has imposed no difficulties upon you in religion.' And countless Hadith to the same effect have been recorded, e.g. *Lā rahbāniyyata fi 'l-islam*

- 188 If someone goes to ask them about a problem, he will come away with a heavy burden laid upon him.  
If, unfortunately, he has some doubt about the matter, he will certainly be branded with the title of 'damned'.  
If he openly utters an objection, it will be difficult for him to get away from there unharmed.
- 189 Sometimes they make the veins in their neck swell, sometimes they foam at the mouth.  
Sometimes they call him 'pig' and 'dog', sometimes they raise their staff to strike him.  
They (may the evil eye be far!) are the pillars of our religion. They are the exemplars of the gentleness of the Trusted Apostle.
- 190 If a man wishes to be happy in their company, it is a necessary condition that he be a Muslim by community,  
That he should have the mark of prostration clearly visible upon his forehead, that there should be no shortcoming in his observance of the Law,  
That his moustaches should not be too long, nor his beard curled back, nor his trousers be cut beyond their proper length,
- 191 That in all matters of belief he should be of the same opinion as 'His Reverence', that he should speak with the same voice on every principle and point of the Law,  
That he should be most suspicious of his master's opponents, and utter the most fulsome praises of his disciples.  
If he is not like this, he is an outcast from his religion, unfit to associate with its revered elders.
- 192 The commands of the Holy Law were so agreeable that Jews and Christians were filled with love for them.  
The entire Quran is witness to their mildness. The Prophet himself proclaimed, 'Religion is easy.'  
But here they have made them so difficult that believers have come to consider them a burden.

'There is no monkey in Islam'; *Lā darara wa-lā darāra fi 'l-islām* 'There is no hurt and no causing of hurt in Islam'; *Idh umma ahadukum fa-li-yukhaffifa fa-inna fihim al-saghira wa 'l-kabira wa 'l-da'ifu wa 'l-maridu* 'If any one of you be made a leader, let him make things light, for among them are both the small and the great, the weak and the sick.' There is a tradition from Abdullah ibn Umar that during the season of the Pilgrimage a person came and said to the Holy Prophet that he had had his head shaven before the sacrifice. 'That doesn't matter,' he said, 'now perform the sacrifice.' Then another person came up and said he had sacrificed before throwing the pebbles. 'That doesn't matter,' he said, 'now throw the pebbles.' It is stated by the author of the *Mizān shi'rāni* that 'all the easy things in the Faith come from God and the Prophet, all the difficulties from the ulama.'

ذکی ان کی خصلتوں میں رہنمائی نہ باطن میں کی ان کے پیدا رفتاری  
 پر احکام تکبر کی لئے یہ بڑھائی کہ ہوتی نہیں ان سے دم جسے نہائی  
 وہ وہی جو کہ چشمہ تھا حقیقت کو کا  
 کیا نقلت میں اس کو غسل و وضو کا  
 سدا اہل تحقیق سے دل میں بل ہے حدیثوں پہ چلنے میں ہیں کامل ہے  
 فتادوں پر باطل مدائیس ہے ہر ایک سائے قرآن کا نعم البدل ہے  
 کتاب اور سنت کا ہے نام باقی  
 خدا اور نبی سے تمہیں کام باقی  
 جہاں مختلف ہوں روایات ہم کبھی ہوں نزدیک روایت سے خوش ہم  
 جسے عقل رکھے نہ ہرگز مسلم اُسے ہر روایت سے ہمیں مقتدم  
 سب اس میں کوفت اچھوٹے ہے ہیں  
 سب پر ہماری یہ چھتر پڑے ہیں  
 کہے ہو کہ سنت کی پوجا تو کافر جو ٹھہرے بیٹا خدا کا تو کافر  
 جھکے آگ پر ہر سجدہ تو کافر کو اکب میں مانے کرشمہ تو کافر  
 مگر مومنوں پر کشتادہ ہیں ماہیں  
 پرستی کریں شوق سے کی پائیں  
 نبی کو جو چاہیں خدا رکھیں اماموں کا ذریعہ نبی سے بڑھائیں  
 مزاروں پر دن رات تہذیب پڑھائیں شہیدوں سے جا جا کے ہمیں نماہیں  
 نہ توجہ میں پھل اس سے کہے  
 نہ اسلام بچنے سے نہ ایمان جائے  
 وہ دہرے جس سے توجہ پائی جہاں میں ہوا جملہ کرم حق نہیں دنیا میں  
 رہا شرک باقی نہ وہم و گمان میں وہ بڑا گیا آگے ہندوستان میں  
 ہمیشہ سے اسلام تھا جس پہ نازاں  
 وہ دولت بھی کھو بیٹھے آخر مسلمان

قلید  
 حال پسندی  
 شرک اور دعویٰ توحید

193 The Holy Prophet said *Bu'ithu li-utammima makarima 'l-akhlāqi*, i.e. 'I have been sent in order to bring moral virtues to a state of perfection.' He also said that good behaviour and virtuous habits are a twenty-fifth part of Prophethood. And he also said that he is no believer who has filled his own belly and left his neighbour hungry. From careful study of the Quran and Hadith it is apparent that the major purpose of the Prophet's mission was moral reform (*akhlāq ki tahzib*).

- 193\* They have given believers no guidance in morality, nor produced purity in their hearts.  
 But they have so increased external commandments that there is no escaping them even for a moment.  
 They have turned the religion which was the spring from which virtuous gentleness flowed into the dirty water left from bathing and ablutions.
- 194 In their hearts they continually bear hostility towards those who truly inquire, thinking that by relying upon the Traditions the Faith is injured. The whole basis of their practice lies in the fatwas. Their every opinion is an excellent substitute for the Quran. Only the name of the Book and Prophet's example remain. They have no further use for God and the Prophet.
- 195\* Where Traditions differ among themselves, we are never content with the straightforward Tradition. We consider the one which reason would never regard as sound to be superior to every other Tradition. Whether great or small, all are caught up in this, so weighed down has our understanding become.

*Polytheism and claims to monotheism*

- 196 If a non-Muslim worships idols, he is an infidel. Whoever attributes a son to God is an infidel.  
 If someone bows down before fire as an act of prostration, he is an infidel. If someone believes in the power of the stars, he is an infidel.  
 If for believers all paths are open—let them worship with enthusiasm whatever they please.
- 197 Let those who so please turn the Prophet into God. Let them exalt the Imams above the Prophet in rank.  
 Let them make offerings day and night at shrines. Let them keep going to offer their prayers to the martyrs.  
 Not the slightest injury will result to the belief in God's oneness. Their Islam will not be spoiled nor their faith leave them.
- 198 That religion, by which monotheism was spread throughout the world, by which the truth was made gloriously manifest in space and time, in which no trace of polytheism, superstition or idle fancy was left, that religion was changed when it came to India.  
 That upon which Islam had always prided itself, even that treasure was finally thrown away by the Muslims.

تغصب کسے دشمن نوح انسان بھرتے کھرنے بکڑوں میں نے ویراں  
 ہوئی بزم نمرود جس سے پریشاں کیا جس نے نفسِ سرخ کو نذرِ طوفان  
 گیا جوش میں بولسب جس کے کھویا  
 ابھیل کا جس نے بیسٹرا ڈبویا  
 وہ یاں اک عجیب بیس میں جلوہ گرہو چھپا جس کے پرنے میں اس کا ضرہ  
 بھرانہ جس جسم میں سرسبز وہ آبِ بیتِ ام کو آتا نظر سر  
 تغصب کو اک جزو ہیں سمجھے ہیں ہم  
 جو ہم کو خوش گدیریں سمجھے ہیں ہم  
 ہمیں واعظوں نے قیاسِ دہی ہے کہ جو کامِ دینی ہے یاد نبوی ہے  
 مخالف کی ریس اس میں کئی بڑی ہے نشانِ غیرتِ دینِ حق کا یہی ہے  
 مخالف کی اٹھی ہر اک بات سمجھو  
 وہ دن کو کسے دن تو ہر بات سمجھو  
 قدم کر رہ راست پر اس کا پاؤ تو تم سیدھے دستے کی کڑا کے جاؤ  
 بیٹیں اس میں جو دقتیں وہ اٹھاؤ لگیں جس قدر ٹھوکریں اس میں کٹاؤ  
 جو بچھے جہاز اس کا رخ کر بھٹورے  
 تو تم ڈال دو ناؤ اندر بھینورے  
 اگر رخ ہو جائے صورتِ تہناری بہا تم میں مل جائے سیرتِ تہناری  
 بدل جائے باطلِ طبیعتِ تہناری سراسر بچ جائے حالتِ تہناری  
 تو بھوکو کہ ہے حق کی اک شان یہ بھی  
 ہے اک جلوہ نور ایمان یہ بھی  
 نہ اوضاع میں تم سے نسبت کسی کو نہ اسلاق میں تم سے نسبت کسی کو  
 نہ حاصل یہ کھانوں میں لذت کسی کو نہ پیدا یہ پوشش میں زینت کسی کو  
 تمہیں فضلِ برِ مسلم میں بر ملا ہے  
 تمہاری ہر حالت میں بھی اک ادا ہے

## Bigotry

- 199 Bigotry, which is the foe of humankind, which has been the ruin of hundreds of prosperous homes,  
Which broke up Nimrod's merry feast, which offered Pharaoh up to the storm,  
By whose ferment Abu Lahab was destroyed, and which sank the fleet of Abu Jahl,
- 200 Appears here in a strange guise, under cover of which its harmful effect is concealed.  
The cup which is entirely filled with poison appears to us to be the Water of Eternal Life.  
We think bigotry to be a part of faith, and hell to be the highest heaven.
- 201\* This is the teaching our preachers have given us: 'No matter what task there be, religious or worldly,  
'It is bad to perform it in imitation of one's opponent. The mark of the real spirit of the True Faith is simply this:  
'Think of everything in the opposite way to your opponent. Think of whatever he calls night as day.'
- 202 'If you find his steps set on the straight road, then go off on a diversion from the direct route.  
'Endure whatever obstacles you may encounter upon it. No matter how much you suffer, let yourselves stumble on it.  
'If his craft gets safely out of the whirlpool, push your boat right into it.
- 203 'If your features are hideously transmogrified, if your conduct comes to resemble that of beasts,  
'If your nature completely alters, if your condition is utterly ruined,  
'Then consider that this too is a manifestation of God, that this too is a reflection of the light of faith.
- 204 'In manners no one resembles you, none can surpass you in morality.  
'No one can attain this same enjoyment in their food, nor discover the same elegance in dress.  
'In every branch of learning your attainments are plain. Even in your ignorance there is a certain grace.
- 199 Bigotry essentially means practising an excess of partisanship, but since this is usually accompanied by an excess of opposition and hatred, it encompasses both injustice and bias. Nimrod, because of his opposition to the prophet Abraham, Pharaoh because of his to the prophet Moses, and Abu Lahab and Abu Jahl because of theirs to our Prophet, were so destroyed that their ruin and destruction remain proverbial to this day.

کوئی چیز سمجھو اپنی جی تم رہو بات کو اپنی کرتے جی تم  
 حمایت میں ہو جب کہ اسلام کی تم تو ہو ہر وہی اور گنہ سے بری تم  
 ہی سے نہیں مومنوں کو نفرت  
 تمہارے گنہ اور اوروں کی طاعت  
 مخالف کا اپنے اگر نام بیجے تو ڈر کر اس کا دستے خواری کیجے  
 کبھی بھول کر طرح اکیں نہ بیجے قیامت کو دیکھو گے اسکے نتیجے  
 گنہ ہیں سے ہوتے ہو گویا ہستہ  
 مخالف پر کرتے ہو جب تم ہستہ  
 دشمنوں اور جہنمیوں پر لعنت نہ نعمانی و مشافعی میں ہو لعنت  
 وہابی سے ضوفی کی کم ہو نہ نفرت مستحکم کے نامتقد پر لعنت  
 ہے اہل قبلہ میں جنگ ایسی باہم  
 کہ دین حق پارہ بنے سارا عالم  
 کرے کوئی مسلح کا ارادہ تو شیطان سے اس کو بھونچا  
 جے ایسے منہ سے ہے استفادہ روق سے ہے برطرف اس کا جانا  
 شریعت کو کرتے ہیں برباد و دہلا  
 ہیں مرؤدش گرد و ستارہ و دہلا  
 وہ ہیں جس نے نفرت کی بنیاد ڈالی کیا بیخ و دریاں کو نفرت سے خالی  
 بنایا اجانب کو جس نے توانی ہر اک قوم کے دل کو نفرت نکالی  
 عرب اور حبش ترک تاجیک و یونان  
 جوئے سارے شہر و شکر کیل کے باہم  
 تھنے اس صاف چشمہ کو آکر کیا منہ سے غار جنس سے گندہ  
 بنے ختم جو تھے سنہ زیادہ زیادہ نفاق اہل قبہ میں پیدا سراسر  
 نہیں ہستیاب ایسے اب اس مٹلاں  
 کہ ہر ایک کو بھیس کر ایک شاداں

تالیف اسلام  
 تفریق تعصب

- 205 'Do not think that anything of yours is bad. Go on loudly proclaiming what you have to say.  
 'Since you stand in defence of Islam, you are free from any evil or sin.  
 'Evil does not cause believers to suffer harm. Your sins are the same as the obedience of others.
- 206 'If you speak of your enemy, then mention him with vilification and abuse.  
 'Never give ground unwittingly in this matter. You will see its results on the Day of Judgement.  
 'It is as if you were freed from sins when you curse your adversaries.'
- 207 When there is no love between Sunni and Shia, no sense of community between Numani and Shafii,  
 No abatement of the hatred between Wahhabi and Sufi, and when the Traditionalist curses his opponent,  
 There is such civil war being waged by the People of the Qibla that the whole world laughs at God's religion.
- 208 If anyone sets himself to the task of reform, consider him to be worse than Satan.  
 The path of anyone who seeks benefit from such a trouble-maker must have diverged from God.  
 Both destroy the Holy Law, and both, master and pupil, are accursed.

*The reconciliation effected by Islam*

- 209\* That faith, which laid the foundation of affection, emptied the world's nature of hate.  
 That faith, which made friends of strangers, eliminated ill-feeling from the heart of every people.  
 Arabs, Ethiopians, Turks, Tajiks and Dailamites all mingled together like milk and sugar.

*The divisiveness of bigotry*

- 210\* Bigotry came to this clear spring and befouled it with the thorns and weeds of ill-feeling.  
 Once relatives and brothers became foes, dissension spread everywhere among the People of the Qibla.  
 Now it is impossible to find ten Muslims who will be happy to see one another.

ہمارا حق تھا کہ سب یار ہوتے مصیبت میں یاروں کے غم ہوتے  
 سب ایک لکے باہم دنگا ہوتے عزیزوں کے غم میں دل افکار ہوتے  
 جب آفت میں یوں جھٹکتے ثابت قدم ہم  
 تو کہہ سکتے اپنے کو خیر الامم ہم  
 اگر جھوٹے ہم نہ قول ہمیشہ کہیں سب مشک ان اہم برادر  
 برادر ہے جب تک برادر کا یاد حسین اُس کا ہے خوف لاؤنداد  
 تو آتی نہ بیڑے پہ اپنے تباری  
 خیر ہی میں بھی کہتے ہم ہلاکت ہی  
 وہ گھر جس میں دل ہوں ہے سب کے باہم خوشی ناخوشی میں ہوں سب یار وہم  
 اگر ایک خوش دل تو گھر ارازم اگر ایک غمیں تو دل سب کے پر غم  
 جہاں ایک دل ہو گھر کسی سے  
 جہاں ایک دل ہو گھر کسی سے  
 اگر ہو مدار اس پر تحقیق دین کا کہ ہے دین والوں کا تارا کیسا  
 کھرا ان کا بازار ہے یا کہ کھونا ہے قول دستہ اران کا چھوٹا کھانا  
 تو ایسے نونے بہت شاذ ہیں یاں  
 کہ اسلام پر جس سے تادم ہو بریاں  
 مجالس میں نصیحت کا زور اس قدر ہے کہ آئوہ اس خون میں ہر شہر ہے  
 نہ بھائی کو بھائی سے یاں نہ گھر ہے نہ گھر کو صوفی کو اس سے سذر ہے  
 اگر شہر سے بے نصیبت میں ہیں یاں  
 تو ہر شہر یا پارے نہ کوئی شہر یاں

فضائل اسلام بیخبر تفرقہ

مخلافات

اخلاق اہل اسلام

عجبت

## The duty of Muslims

- 211\* It was laid upon us that we should all be friends, that we should feel for our friends in time of trouble,  
 That we should all mutually help each other, and that when our dear ones suffered we should be sore at heart.  
 Were we thus steadfast in love, we should be able to call ourselves the Best of Communities.

## The effects of disunity

- 212 If we had not forgotten the saying of the Prophet that 'All Muslims are brothers one of another',  
 And that so long as a brother goes to his brother's aid, the Just Lord helps him,  
 Then this ruin would not have befallen our fleet. Even in poverty we would have exercised authority.

## The effects of being united

- 213 That house in which the hearts of all are together, in which all are friends and close to one another in weal and woe,  
 Where if one heart is glad the whole house rejoices, if one is grief-stricken the hearts of all are filled with sorrow,  
 Is more blessed than the royal palace in which a single heart is vexed at anyone.

## The morality of the Muslims

- 214\* If the criterion of faith is based upon seeing how the adherents of that faith behave,  
 Whether their dealings are upright or crooked, whether their word and bond is true or false,  
 Then there are very few examples here from which the proof of our Islam may be established.

## Slander

- 215 Slander has reached such a pitch in our gatherings that every man is befouled by this murderous activity.  
 Brother does not pardon brother here. Neither Mullah nor Sufi shrinks from it.  
 If the intoxicating power of wine were concealed in slander, no Muslim would be found sober.

جنہیں چار سپیے کا حق دور چڑیاں سمجھتے نہیں ہیں وہ انسان کو ذلیل  
 موافق نہیں ہیں سے ایام دوراں نہیں دیکھ سکتے کسی کو وہ مشاواں  
 نشہ میں مجتہد کے ہے پھر کوئی  
 خرد کے مرض میں ہے کچھ کوئی  
 اگر چہ خست ہے ایک بھائی نہیں تک ہوا جس میں کوئی بُرائی  
 بھلا جس کو کستی ہے ساری خستائی برک دل پر عظمت ہے جس کی سرائی  
 تو پڑتی ہیں اس پر نگاہیں غضب کی  
 کھٹکتا ہے کانٹا نظروں میں سب کی  
 بجز تلے جب قوم میں کوئی ہنسر ابھی بہت واقف تھے جس کے یاد  
 ابھی گزریں بھگتی تھیں جس کے در پر مگر کرباب زمانے نے بے پر  
 تو ظاہر میں کھتے میں پریشانی ہیں  
 کہ ہمدردی آئی ایک مخلصی ہیں  
 اگر ایک جو اندر ہمدرد انسان کہے تو مہر دل سے جان اپنی ڈھرائیں  
 تو خود قوم اس پر لگتے یہ ہمتاں کہ ہے اس کی کوئی غرض اس پر ہمتاں  
 وگرنہ پڑی کیس کسی کو کسی کی  
 یہ چاہیں سراسر میں خود مصلحتی کی  
 نکالے گراؤں کی بھلائی کی صورت تو وہاں جہاں تکبے اس میں کمزورت  
 نہیں کامیابی میں گراس کی شہرت تو دل سے ترشیں کوئی تازہ ہمت  
 نہ ہوا ایک سبائی کا پر پول بالا

## Envy and arrogance

- 216 Those among us who are well off do not think of people as human beings,  
Nor can they bear to see those to whom the times are not favourable being happy.  
Some are steeped in intoxicating pride, others are smitten with the disease of envy.
- 217\* If some brother is one to whom everyone may turn, a man in whom there is apparently no evil,  
Whom everyone calls good, and whose greatness is enshrined in every heart,  
Then at him are furious looks levelled. In the eyes of all, he rankles like a thorn.
- 218 If one of our community, formerly flourishing, is ruined, a man who was supported a little while ago by fortune and success,  
At whose gate necks were bowed a little while before, but who has now had his wings clipped by fate,  
Then outwardly they mourn, but in their hearts are glad that they have gained someone to share the troubles of poverty with them.

## Blindness to good qualities

- 219 If some intrepid philanthropist make the heartfelt sacrifice of his life for his community,  
Then it is the community itself which lays this calumny against him: 'In this he has some hidden ulterior motive.  
'What other reason could anyone have for caring about anyone else? All these actions spring entirely from self-interest.'

## Selfish wickedness

- 220 If he reveals to them the way in which their welfare lies, they will as far as possible put obstacles in his path.  
If he succeeds and they hear of his fame, they fashion some fresh reproach in their hearts.  
Though they may be regarded as infamous in this world and the next, they will still stop any of their brethren surpassing them.

گر باتے ہیں دو دلوں میں صفائی تو ہیں ڈاستے اس میں طرح جسدانی  
 مضمی دو گروہوں میں جس دم لڑائی تو گویا تہمت ہادی برآئی  
 بس اس سے نہیں مشغلہ خوب کوئی  
 تماشا نہیں ایسا مرغوب کوئی

تقلب میں بنیستی میں دعا میں نمود اور بناوٹ فریب اور یہیں  
 سعادت میں بہتان میں خستہ میں کسی بزم بیگناہ و آشنا میں  
 نپاؤ گے رسوا و بدنام ہم سے  
 بڑے پھر تیر کیوں شان اسرار ہم سے

خوشامد میں ہم کو وہ قدر تھے محاسل کوشاں کو ہر طرح کرتے ہیں نائل  
 کہیں ہمتوں کو بناتے ہیں محاسل کہیں ہوشیاروں کو کرتے ہیں محاسل  
 کسی کو اٹھارا کسی کو چھڑھایا  
 یونہی سیکڑوں کو اسامی بنایا

روایات پر حاشیہ لکھ چڑھانا قسم چھوٹے وعدوں پر سو باکھانا  
 اگر طرح کرنا تو حد سے بڑھانا ذمت پر آنا تو طوفان اٹھانا  
 یہ ہے روزِ مزہ کا یاں اسکے عنوان  
 فصاحت میں ہے نکل ہیں ہوشمال

اُسے جانتے ہیں بڑا اپنا دشمن ہمارے کہے عیب جو ہم پر روشن  
 نصیحت کے نعرے ہمارے معائن کن سمجھتے ہیں ہم بہت اقل کو بہتر  
 یہی عیب ہے سب کو گھوڑا ہے جس نے  
 ہمیں ناگھبھرا کر ڈوبایا ہے جس نے

فقدانِ انگریزی

بدنامی و رسوائی

خوشامد

کذب و مبالغہ

خود پسندی

## Fomenting quarrels

- 221 If we find sincere feelings existing between two hearts, there we lay the foundations of separation.  
 The moment both parties are intent on quarrelling, it is as if our desire has been fulfilled.  
 There is, after all, no better pursuit than this, no spectacle so pleasing.

## Notoriety

- 222 In cheating, malice and deceit, in showing off, affectation, trickery and hypocrisy,  
 In calumny and slander in any gathering, whether of strangers or friends,  
 You will find no one more notorious and infamous than us, so how can the glory of Islam fail to be enhanced by us?

## Flattery

- 223 In flattery we have reached such a point that we can turn a man to our purpose in any way.  
 Sometimes we make wise men of dolts, at other times we make the sober thoughtless.  
 Some we abase while others we exalt, and thus make dupes of hundreds.

## Lies and exaggeration

- 224 Adding supplements to the Traditions, swearing a hundred oaths in support of false promises,  
 If one has to give praise, then to do so beyond due limit, while unleashing a very tempest if one has to give censure,  
 These things here make up the daily practice of those Muslims who are unsurpassed in eloquence.

## Conceit

- 225 We think our greatest enemy to be the man who reveals our faults to us.  
 Hating advice and at loggerheads with those who give it, we think our guides are out to rob us.  
 It is this fault which has ruined us all, which has wrecked the whole complement of our ship.

وہ عہد مبارکوں جو خیر القول تھا خلافت کا جب تک کہ نام مستحق  
توت کا سیاہی رہنوں تھا سماں سیر و برکت کا ہر دم سفر و  
عدالت کے زبور تھے سب مرن  
پھلا اور پھول لاف استمد کا گلشن  
مدت بڑی اس زمانہ کی یہ تھی کہ بھگتی تھی گردن نصیبت پر سب کی  
ذکر تھے خود قول حق سے شوشی زنگنی تھی حق کی انہیں بات کڑوی  
غلاموں سے ہو جاتے تھے بند آقا  
خفیہ سے لڑتی تھی ایک ایک بڑیا  
نبی نے کہا تھا انہیں فخر امت جنہیں خلد کی لپس کی تمی بشارت  
مسلم تھی عالم جن کی عدالت رہا شہنشاہ جن سے تخت خلافت  
دو پرتے تھے مدتوں کو چھپ چھپ کے در  
کوشہ راہیں اپنا کس عیب نہ کر  
مگر ہم کہیں دام و دوہم سے بہتر نڈھالہ کہیں ہم میں خوبی نہیں  
مناقران و امثال ہیں ہم ہوش نایاب اور اسان کے ہم ہیں ہوش  
نصیبت سے ایسا بڑا مانتے ہیں  
کہ گویا ہم اپنے کو پہچانتے ہیں  
نبوت نہ مگر ختم ہوئی عرب پر کوئی ہم پہ ہوش ہوتا ہے  
تو ہے جیسے ذکر قرآن کے اندر فضیلت بیوہ و نساہی کی اکثر  
یونہی ہوکت بس سپ بڑائی  
وہ گزریاں سب ہماری جتنائی

خلفاء کی انصاف پسندی

- 227 When Umar was Caliph, he addressed an assembly of Muhajirs and Ansar, asking them three times how they would behave if he were slack in performing the duties of the Caliphate. Bashir ibn Sa'd answered, 'We'd sort you out like a dog.' 'What can I say?' said Umar.  
Once Umar was banning the practice of giving large dowries, when an old woman got up and recited this verse: *In ālāitum ihdāhunna qintāran fa-lā ta'khudhū minhu shai'an* (Quran 4:20) 'Even if ye had given the latter a whole treasure for dower, take not the least bit of it back.' 'You are Caliph,' she said, 'and do not understand the Quran.' Umar replied, 'Everyone knows more than Umar, even old women,' and withdrew his ban.

## The Caliphs' love of justice

- 226 That blessed age, which was the best of eras, while the pillars of the Caliphate endured,  
While the shadow of the Apostleship still showed the way, while the atmosphere of welfare and auspiciousness was ever being strengthened,  
When all were bedecked with the ornaments of justice, when the rose garden of Ahmad was flourishing and in bloom,
- 227\* That age's happiest quality lay in this fact, that everyone's neck bowed before advice.  
When the truth was spoken, they did not for their part fall silent, nor did words of truth seem bitter to them.  
Masters were constrained by their slaves, and a single old woman would take issue with the Caliph.
- 228\* They whom the Prophet called the Pride of the Community, who had received the glad tidings of paradise,  
They whose justice was acknowledged throughout the world, and by whom the throne of the Caliphate was honoured,  
Used to go about secretly from door to door at night, in order that they might be put to shame by hearing of their faults.
- 229 But we, who are surpassed even by wild beasts, have no virtue in us, either manifest or concealed.  
Neither are we honoured among our contemporaries and equals, nor do we possess the excellence of our ancestors and forebears.  
So ill do we take advice that it is as if we recognized our real selves.
- 230 If the office of Prophet had not come to an end with the Arabs, and if some prophet were to be sent to us,  
Then, just as the general ruin of the Jews and Christians is recorded in the Quran,  
So the Book which would be revealed to that prophet would make known all our acts of wickedness.

- 228 Once during the reign of Umar some merchants came and camped outside the city. At night, in accordance with their usual custom, Umar and Abd al-Rahman ibn Auf went there. They heard a child crying three times during the night. Each time, Umar went to the tent and upbraided the mother. 'What sort of mother are you,' he asked, 'for your child to be restless from the beginning of the night?' Finally the woman said, 'Oh creature of God, you have troubled me all night. I am weaning him.' He persisted, however, and asked why. 'Because,' she said, 'a child allowance is not granted otherwise.' He wept greatly and said to himself, 'God knows how many Muslim children have been killed because of me.' Immediately he had it announced that no one was to wean their child too soon, and he sent orders throughout the land that an allowance was to be paid for every Muslim child as soon as it was born.

ہنرمیں جو ہیں دوسلم ہیں سب علوم اور کمالات سے مذہم ہیں سب  
 چلن اور اطوار مذہم ہیں سب فراغت سے دوست سے مذہم ہیں سب  
 ہمانت نہیں چھوڑتی ساتھ دم بھر  
 تعصب نہیں بڑھتے بیت قدم بھر  
 وہ تو ہم پارینہ یونانیوں کی وہ حکمت کہ ہے ایک سو کے کی ہفتی  
 یقین جس کو تھمہ لپکا ہے معنی عمل نے جسے کر یا آسے کے رزی  
 اسے وحی سے سمجھے ہیں ہم زیادہ  
 کوئی بات اس میں نہیں کم زیادہ  
 زبور اور توریت و انجیل و قرآن بالا جماع ہیں وقت الی نسخ و نسیان  
 محکمہ گئے جو اصول الی یونان نہیں نسخ و تب دہل کا ان ہیں نسیان  
 نہیں مٹتے جب تک کہ کتابا زینیا  
 مٹے گا کبھی کوئی شمشہ نہ ان کا  
 نتائج ہیں جو مغربی علم و فن کے وہ ہیں ہند میں جس لوہ کر سورس سے  
 تعصب ہے لیکن یہ واسے ہیں پرے کہ ہم حق کا جس کو نہیں دیکھ سکتے  
 دلوں میں نقشش اہل یونان کی ہیں  
 جواب وہی آتے تو ایمان نہ لائیں  
 اب اس فلسفہ پر جو ہیں مرنے والے شفا اور جیٹی کے دم بھرنے والے  
 ارسطو کی چوکت پر سر مہرنے والے فلاطون کی رقت مارنے والے  
 وہ تیلی کے کچھ دہل سے کم نہیں ہیں  
 پھر سے عمر بھرا وہ جہاں تھے وہیں ہیں  
 وہ جب کہ بچے نہ تم تحصیل حکمت بندگی سے پر دستا علم و فضیلت  
 اگر کہتے ہیں کچھ طبیعت میں بودت تو ہے سب کے ان کی بڑی بیباقت  
 گردن کو وہ رات کہہ دیں زبان سے  
 تو نہوا کے چھوڑیں اسے ک جہاں سے

فقدان علوم و فنون حکمت یونان

## Lack of worldly skills

- 231 The arts which we possess are all known. All sciences and skills are non-existent. All our ways and manners are despicable. We are deprived of affluent ease and wealth. Ignorance does not leave our side for an instant. Bigotry does not allow us to advance for a single step.

## The wisdom of the Greeks

- 232\* That out-dated almanac of the Greeks, their philosophy which is a screen for deception, Which true faith has proved useless, and which practice has come and rejected, Is considered by us, it may be said without exaggeration, superior to divine revelation.
- 233 The Psalms, Torah, Gospel and Quran are, by general consensus, deserving of abrogation and oblivion. But there is no possibility of abrogating or modifying those principles written down by the Greeks. As long as the foundation of the world remains intact, not one jot of their writings will be erased.
- 234\* The results of Western science and art have been apparent in India for a hundred years, But bigotry has put such blinkers on us that we cannot see the manifestation of Truth. The theories of the Greeks are implanted in our hearts, but we do not believe in the revelation presently granted us.
- 235\* Those who are now enamoured of that philosophy, who sing the praises of the *Shifā* and the *Almagest*, Who prostrate themselves at Aristotle's threshold, and who blindly follow Plato, Are just like the proverbial oilman's bullock. All their lives they go round and round, and are just where they were.
- 236 When they have completed their studies and tied the turban of learning and accomplishment on their heads, Then, if they naturally possess any intelligence, their greatest skill lies in this: If they proclaim day to be night, they will leave the world only after getting it all to agree with them.

ہوا اس کے جو آئے اس کو پڑھاویں انہیں جو کچھ آتا ہے اس کو بتاویں  
 وہ سیکھے ہیں جو بولیاں سب کھاویں یہاں خصوصاً اس کو بتاویں  
 یہ لے لیکھے جو علم کا ان کے حاصل  
 اسی پر ہے نفع دان کو بین الامثال  
 نہ سڑک کریں کام پانے کے تال مدد باہیں بے ہونے کے تال  
 نہ جگہ میں یزید چوسنے کے تال نہ بازار میں بوجھ اٹھانے کے تال  
 نہ پڑتے تو سطران کھاتے تکا  
 وہ کھوسے گئے اور تفسیر پا کر  
 جو بوجھ اور خدمت نے جو کچھ پڑھا ہے خدا آپ کی اس کے پڑھنے کو کیا ہے  
 معاد اس میں دنیا کا یارین کا ہے نتیجہ کوئی یا لہذا اس کے سوا ہے  
 تو بوجھ کی طرح سب کچھ نہیں گئے  
 جواب اس کا لیکن نہ پڑھے نہیں گئے  
 نہ حجت رسالت پر اسکے ہیں وہ نہ اسلام کا حق بتا سکتے ہیں وہ  
 نہ قرآن کی عظمت دکھا سکتے ہیں وہ نہ حق کی حقیقت بتا سکتے ہیں وہ  
 دلیلیں ہیں سب آج بے کاران کی  
 نہیں چستی تو پوں میں تو اران کی  
 پڑے اس مشقت میں ہیں وہ سارے تیرے نہیں ان کو معلوم نہیں کا  
 گئے بھول گئے کی بھی نہیں ہو بیٹا اسی راہ پر پڑ گیا سارا گلا  
 نہیں جانتے یہ کہ جاتے کہ جہ نہیں  
 گئے بھول رستہ وہ یا راہ پر ہیں  
 مثال ان کی کوشش کی جو صاف یہی کہ کھائی کہیں بندوں نے جو سردی  
 ادھر اور ادھر دیکھا آگ نہ ہونڈی کہیں روشنی ان کو پائی نہ اس کی  
 مگر ایک چمکتا چمکتا جو دیکھا  
 چمکتا آگ کا سب نے سمجھا

- 237 Moreover, if anyone comes to them, they teach him, and tell him whatever they know. They teach all the languages which they have learnt, and make him into a parrot like themselves. This, in sum, is the knowledge which they have acquired, upon which their standing amongst their peers is based.
- 238 Incapable of finding government employment or of moving their lips at court, Or of herding flocks in the wilds, or even of carrying loads in the market, Had they not studied, they could have earned their keep in a hundred ways, but they gained an education and were lost themselves.
- 239 Should you ask, 'Sir, what is the point of all this studying which you have done?' 'Is there any worldly or spiritual benefit in it? Does it lead to results, or is the opposite the case?' Then they will utter some nonsense like madmen, but will be unable to answer your question.
- 240 They can advance no argument to support the Apostleship, nor can they make known the truth of Islam, Nor reveal the greatness of the Quran, nor tell of God's truth. All their proofs are useless today. Faced with guns, their swords are of no avail.
- 241\* They are utterly engrossed in this toilsome labour, not knowing the result it will lead to. Like sheep which have lost their way and gone on ahead, leading the whole flock by the same route, They do not know where they are going, whether they have lost the way or are still on it.
- 242 Here is an obviously parallel illustration of their efforts. Some monkeys were once suffering from cold. For a long time they searched here and there for fire, but nowhere could they find its glow. But when they saw a firefly glittering, they all thought it was a spark of fire.

یہاں کے تمام اور سب نے اسی دم کیا گمانس پھوس اس پر لاکھ راہم  
 گئے اُس کو نہ لگے نہ سبیل کے ہم یہ پچھو آگ شعلی نہ سردی ہوئی ہم  
 یونہی اسات ساری انہوں نے نہ توئی  
 مگر اپنی محنت کی راحت نہ پائی  
 گذرتے تھے جو جانور اس طرف سے جب اس کٹھن میں انہیں دیکھتے تھے  
 ملاحت بہت سخت تھی ان کو کھتے کہ شرمائیں وہ عزم جہل سے اپنے  
 مگر اپنی کہ سے نہ باز آتے تھے وہ  
 ملاحت پر اور اُس نے غزلتے تھے وہ  
 نہ مجھے وہ جب تک نہ بوان نہ روشن اسی طرح جو ہیں حقیقت کے دشمن  
 نہ جھانیں گے گرد تو تم سے دامن پر جب ہو گا تو رہے رہے نہیں  
 بہت جلد ہو جائے گا آتش کار  
 کو نہ گنہگار کہے تھے وہ اک شکر را  
 وہ طب جس پیش میں ہاں لہنا کھتے ہیں جس کو بیابن سیم  
 بتائے ہیں بے گل جس کے بہت سا جے عیب کی طرح کرتے ہیں انفا  
 فقط چند نسخوں کا ہے وہ مفید  
 چلے آئے ہیں جو کہ سینہ بسینہ  
 نہان کو نہ مات سے آگے ہے نہ ہلا خیر بہ نجات کی ہے  
 نہ تشریح کی گئی کسی پر کھلی ہے نہ علم بیسی نہ کیمسٹری ہے  
 نہ پائی کا علم اور نہ علم ہوا ہے  
 مریضوں کا ان کے نگہاں خدا ہے  
 نہ قانون میں ان کے کوئی خطا ہے نہ غزن میں اہمیت رکھنے کی جا ہے  
 سیدی میں لکھا ہے جو کچھ ہوا ہے نفسی کے بقول پر جاں نسا ہے  
 سلف کھ گئے جو قیاس اور گمان سے  
 مصیبت میں آئے ہوئے سماں سے

- 243 Immediately they all went and grabbed it. They brought dry grass and heaped this over it. All together, they kept trying to light it, but no fire was lit, and the cold grew no less. Like this they wasted the whole night for nothing, without deriving any comfort from their labour.
- 244 The animals who passed by that way, when they saw them struggling, Upbraided them most bitterly, telling them to be ashamed of their stupid idea. But they did not give up their efforts, and only snarled the more at their reviling.
- 245 They did not realize until day dawned. In just the same way, those who are enemies of truth Will not shake their skirts free of the dust of idle supposition. But when the light of dawn gleams, it will very quickly be apparent that it was a firefly which they had thought to be a spark.

## Traditional medicine

- 246 The medicine with which our doctors are entranced, which they consider to be the Messiah's work-book, In expounding which they show considerable reluctance, as if they were concealing some fault, Is just a book containing a few prescriptions which have been haded down from father to son.
- 247 They have no acquaintance with botany, and utterly lack knowledge of mineralogy. None feel the urge to know about diagnosis. They have no medical science or chemistry. They have no scientific knowledge of water or air. God alone takes care of their patients.
- 248 There is no error in their *Qānūn*, and no room for objection in the *Makhzan*. Whatever is written in Sadid's commentary is correct, and every word in that of Nafis commands admiration. Whatever the ancients wrote down according to their ideas and suppositions are scripture which have descended from heaven.

وہ شمس اور قصائد کا پاک دستہ  
مخوفت میں منتاسی و جو ہے بدتر  
نہیں جس سے ہے زلزلہ میں برابر  
نکاب جس سے شمس آسمان پر  
ہو مسلم و دین جس سے تاریخ سارا  
وہ علموں میں علم اب ہے ہمارا

بڑا شمس نے کی اگر کچھ سزا ہے  
جسٹ جھوٹ بگناہ اگر ادا ہے  
تو وہ مسکریں گا تہی خدا ہے  
متر جہاں نیک بد کی سزا ہے  
گنہگاروں جھوٹ جلی گنگے مائے  
جہنم کو بھریں گے گشت اور ہائے

نہا نہیں جتنے تالی اور نفس ہیں  
کمانی سے پنی اور سب سرور ہیں  
گوئیے ایروں کے نور نفس ہیں  
ذوقانی بھی لے آئے کچھ ہنگ ہے ہیں  
مخواس تپتی ہی ہو بیتا ہیں  
خدا جانے وہ کس مرض کی دوا ہیں

جو شے نہ ہوں ہی سو جائیں گداز  
ہو سنا جہاں تم ہوں دھوئی اگر سب  
ہے دم پر گرتے جو ہیں نغمہ سب  
جو نظر حائیں متر و کندہ ہیں گھر سب  
پہ کر جائیں ہجرت جو شاعری ہے  
کہیں ل کے تیں کم جہاں کت ملے

عرب جتھے ذریا میں اس فن کے بانی  
نصرت کوئی آفاق ہیں عرب کا ثانی  
نہا نے بن کی فصاحت تھی بانی  
مناوی مسنیزوں نے ان کی نشانی  
سب ان کے ہزاروں کلامات کھمک  
لے ہے شاعری کو بھی آفت زور ک

اب سب میں پڑی جان ان کی زبان سے  
پلا دین نے بانی ان کے بیابان سے  
مناں کے لئے کام انہوں نے اس سے  
زبانوں کے کچے تھے بڑھ کر اس سے  
نئے نئے شعوں سے اخلاق مستقل  
پڑی ان کے خطوط سے عالم میں پھیل

ہمارے شعراء

## Our poets

- 249 The filthy archive of poetry and odes, more foul than a cesspool in its putridity,  
By which the earth is convulsed as if by an earthquake, and which makes the angels blush in heaven,  
Such is the place among other branches of learning of our literature, by which learning and faith are quite devastated.
- 250\* If there is a punishment for writing bad verse, and if it is impermissible to give tongue to vain lies,  
Then in that court of which God is the judge, where penalties for the good and the bad are determined,  
All sinners will be acquitted, while our poets fill up hell.
- 251 All labourers and menials in the world prosper through their own efforts.  
Singers are the favourites of the rich, while even tambourine players get something by begging.  
But God knows what disease they who are afflicted with this hectic fever are supposed to be a cure for!
252. If there were no water-carriers, all would depart this life. The world would get dirty, if all washermen disappeared.  
Things would collapse if all menials left the city. If there were a shortage of sweepers, all houses would become filthy.  
But if our poets should chance to make a collective exodus, it would be a case of 'less rubbish and a cleaned-up world'.
- 253 The Arabs, who were the founders of this art in the world, who had no equal throughout its length and breadth,  
Whose eloquence was universally acknowledged, have at last had all their traces wiped clean by our dear friends.  
After losing all their arts and skills, they have finished by submerging poetry itself.
254. It was they who imparted life to letters, their style which gave lustre to faith.  
They used their tongues as lances, and the thrusts of their tongues were more deadly than those of spears.  
Morals were burnished by their verses, and the world was stirred into tumult by their sermons.

غلف اُنکے ہاں جو کہ جاوہریاں ہیں فصاحت میں متوجہ ہوں یہ دعواں ہیں  
 بلاغت میں مشہور ہندوستان ہیں وہ کہیں تمہے دیکھ اس کوں کے ہاں ہیں  
 کرب شعریں عرساری گویاں  
 تو بھانڈاؤں کی غزلیں بھاس میں گائیں  
 طوائف کو ازبریں دیوان اُن کے گویوں پہ بے حد میں احسان اُن کے  
 نکتے ہیں بیکوں میں رمان اُن کے شناخواں ہیں بلعین شیطان اُن کے  
 کہ عقول پہ پرے دیئے خال اُنہوں نے  
 ہیں کر دیا غایغ البسال اُنہوں نے  
 شریفوں کی اولاد سے تربیت ہے تباہ اُن کی حالت بڑی اُن کی گتے  
 کسی کو بتر کٹانے کی گت ہے کسی کو بتریں اڑانے کی دھت ہے  
 چوں اور گانے بچے پر شیدا ہے کوئی  
 دگ اور چہ ڈوکار سیاہ ہے کوئی  
 سدا گرم انصاف سے اُن کی صحبت ہر اک زنداؤں پاس سے اسی بُت  
 پڑے لکھوں کے سایہ میں اُن کو دشت مدارس سے تعلیم سے اُن کو نفرت  
 کہینوں کے جہر گے ہیں عسریں گوانی  
 انہیں گالیب الہی اور آپ گمانی  
 نہ علمی مدارس ہیں اُن کو پاتے نہ شائستہ مجلسوں میں آتے جاتے  
 پیسوں کی مدد میں جا کر ٹھاتے پڑے پھرتے ہیں دیکھتے اور دکھاتے  
 کتاب اور نسل سے پھرتے ہیں ہالے  
 مگر نالچ گانے ہیں سے آگے  
 اگر کیجے اُن پاک شہدوں کی گتسی ہوا جن کے پہلو سے بچکر ہے ملتے  
 بی خاک میں جن سے عزت بڑوں کی زنی خاندانوں کی جن سے بڑوں کی  
 تو یہ جس مت درخانہ بر باد ہو گئے  
 وہ سب ان شریفوں کی اولاد ہو گئے

شریفوں کی اولاد

- 255 Their silver-tongued descendants here, popular amongst young and old because of their eloquence, And famous throughout India on account of their rhetoric, are on the whole capable only of this: That after wasting their whole lives on poetry, clowns should sing their lyrics at concerts.
- 256 Courtesans have their complete works by heart, and singers are under boundless obligation to them. The desires of the taverns are fulfilled by them. Iblis and Satan sing their praises, saying, 'They have so blinded people's minds that they have relieved us of all care.'

*The younger generation of the aristocracy*

- 257 The children of the aristocrats are badly brought up. Their condition is ruined and their ways are evil. Some have the vice of flying pigeons, others have a mania for quail-fighting. Some are addicted to hemp and cannabis, others are addicted to the delights of opiates.
- 258 On the closest terms with menials, they feel a sense of community with every wastrel and good-for-nothing. They are driven to distraction by even the shadow of the educated, and they hate schools and learning. All they do is waste their lives in the gatherings of the base, to curse them and to be cursed themselves.
- 259 We do not find them in institutions of learning, nor do they move in decent society. But they go and add lustre to fairs, where they wander about staring and eating. From books and teachers they flee, but are up in front of all where there is singing and dancing.
- 260 If one were to enumerate the utter scoundrels from whose side even the wind itself shies to save itself, By whom their ancestors' honour has been mingled with the dust, and by whom their families' lofty reputation has been destroyed, Then all those who are utterly depraved will be found to be the sons of noblemen.

ہوتی ان کی بچپن میں یوں پاسبانی کو قیدی کی سیسے کے زندگانی  
 ملی ہونے جب کچھ سمجھ بوجھ سیاسی چرخمی صورت کی طرح سر پر جوانی  
 بس اب گھر میں دشوار تھا ہے ان کا  
 اگھاڑوں میں تخیوں میں آنا ہے ان کا  
 نشیں سے عشق کے پود میں وہ صنف فرخ خزاں میں معمور ہیں وہ  
 غم چشم و ابرویں بگڑ ہیں وہ بہت بات سے دل کے بگڑ ہیں وہ  
 کریں کیا کہے عشق طینت میں انکی  
 عمارت بھری ہے طبیعت میں انکی  
 اگر شش بہت میں کوئی درج ہے تو دل ان کا نادیہ اس پر فہم ہے  
 اگر خواہ میں کچھ نظر آ گیا ہے تو یاد اس کی دن رات نام نہا ہے  
 بھری سب کی دشت سے روداد جو باں  
 جسے دیکھے تیس و فراد جو باں  
 اگر اس سے دکھیا تو ان کی بلا ہے اپناج ہے باوا تو ان کی بلا ہے  
 جو ہے گھر میں فائدہ تو ان کی بلا ہے جو مڑتا ہے کنیا تو ان کی بلا ہے  
 جنوں نے لگائی ہو نور زبا ہے  
 غرض پھر انہیں کیا رہی ماسوا ہے  
 نگانی سے دشمنام سے جو بگڑ ہیں نہ جوتی سے پرار سے بچک پائیں  
 وہیلوں میں جائیں تو بچیں دکھ میں جو بھٹل میں نہیں تو فتنے اٹھائیں  
 رزستے میں اوباش ان کی ہستی ہے  
 گزراں ہیں رہنماں کی ہر سائی ہے  
 سہوٹوں کو اپنے اگر بیاد دے تو ہونوں کا بوجھ اپنی گردن پہ لیے  
 جو بیٹی کے پوینڈ کی ہن کر کیجے تو میرا رہیں جس کے اور بھتیجے  
 یہی جھینگٹ کو ہر لوگ کو گھر ہے  
 ہو کو ٹھکانا نہ بیٹی کو بڑ ہے

- 261 In their childhood they received the close superintendence which governs the life of a prisoner. As soon as they began to mature somewhat and to attain discretion, and adolescence has bewitched them like a spirit, It immediately becomes difficult for them to be restrained at home, and their roving takes them to wrestling arenas and taverns.
- 262 They are utterly intoxicated by the wine of love. They are beset by the ranks of the eyelashes' army. They are tormented by suffering on account of the eye and the eyebrow. Their hearts lie completely helpless. What are they to do? Love is in their natures. Their very self is filled with burning passion.
- 263 If there is any heart-stealer anywhere in the world, their hearts are given up to her unseen. If they catch a glimpse of her in a dream, may God preserve its memory night and day. Here the life of all is filled with wild passion. Whoever you see here is a Qais or a Farhad.
- 264 If a mother is in distress, it is because of them. If a father is crippled, it is because of them. If there is nothing to eat at home, it is because of them. If the family is dying, it is because of them. What do those who are taken up with passionate love for their darling care about anything else?
- 265 They do not shy away from vulgar abuse or insults, or shrink from the shoe and the slipper. If they go to fairs, they display their shamelessness. If they go to social gatherings, they start disturbances. Ruffians tremble at their laughter. Wastrels flee from their vicinity.
- 266 If you have to marry off your worthy sons, take on yourselves the burden of your daughters-in-law. If you must worry about allying your daughter in marriage, you nephews are all evil-livers. This is the lament in every street, in every house: 'There is no shelter for a daughter-in-law, no match for a daughter.'

ز مطلب بخاری کا اُن کو سلیقہ      نہ دربار داری کا اُن کو سلیقہ  
 نہ اس درباری کا اُن کو سلیقہ      نہ خدمت گزاروں کا اُن کو سلیقہ  
 قلی یا نفع ہو تو کچھ کام آئے  
 مگر ان کو کس میں کوئی کھیلانے  
 نہیں تھی روٹی جنہیں پیٹ بھر کے      وہ گزارا کرتے ہیں سو عیب کر کے  
 جو ہیں اُن میں دو چار آسموہ گھر کے      وہ دن رات خواباں ہیں ہر گپ پر کے  
 نمونے یہ ایمان و اشراف کے ہیں  
 سلفان کے وہ تھے خلفان کے ہیں  
 وہ اسلام کی پودشاہی ہے      کہ جس کی طرف آنکھ سب کی لگی ہے  
 بہت سے آئندہ چشم ہی ہے      بقا منحصر جس پر اسلام کی ہے  
 یہی جان ڈالنے کی باغ میں ہیں  
 اسی سے ہمارے کی اس زمین ہیں  
 یہی ہیں وہ نسلیں مبارک ہمدانی      کہ بخشش کی جو دین کو استواری  
 کریں گی یہی قوم کی غم گساری      انہیں پر امیدیں ہیں ہر وقت ساری  
 یہی شیخ اسلام روشن کریں گی  
 بڑوں کا یہی نام روشن کریں گی  
 خلفان کے الحق اگر یاں یہی ہیں      سلف کے اگر فاتح خراں یہی ہیں  
 اگر یادگار عسکریاں یہی ہیں      اگر نسل شہسازان و امیال یہی ہیں  
 تو یاد اس قدر اُن کی رہ جائے گی ایں  
 کہ ایک قوم رہتی تھی سس نام کی یاں  
 سمجھتے ہیں شائستہ جو آپ کو یاں      ہیں آزادی راستے پر جو کہ نماں  
 چلن پر ہیں جو قوم کے اپنی خنداں      شمس ہیں سب جن کے نزدیک نماں  
 جو مضمونہ گے ہاروں کے ہمدرداں ہیں  
 تو نکلیں گے تھوڑے جو انہرواں ہیں

- 267 They do not have the knack of expressing ideas properly, nor of attendance at court, Nor of serving as apprentices, nor of being usefully employed. A labourer or menial is at least of some use, but how could anyone fit them under any head whatever?
- 268 Those who are unable to get bread to fill their stomachs get by through committing a hundred crimes. Those few among them who come from prosperous homes spend day and night longing for their fathers' demise. These are the representatives of our noblemen and aristocrats. Their ancestors were men of one kind, these epigoni are of quite another.
- 269 Perhaps this is the younger generation of Islam, upon which all eyes are fixed, From whom there are hopes of betterment in the future, and upon whom the continued existence of Islam depends. Will they put new life into the ancient garden? Will spring enter it through them?
- 270 Are these our happy progeny who will bestow strength upon the Faith? Are these the ones who will alleviate the community's distress? Are these the ones by whom all our hopes are bounded? Are these the ones who will light up the candle of Islam? Are these the ones who will add lustre to their forbears' name?
- 271 If these really are their descendants here, if these are the ones who offer prayers for their departed ancestors, If these are the present memorials of those revered figures, if these are the issue of nobles and aristocrats, Then they will be remembered here only by the fact that here a people of that name did once dwell.
- 272 Those people here who consider themselves civilized, who pride themselves on their freedom of thought, Who ridicule their community's manners, and in whose opinion all Muslims are ignorant, If you look among them for genuine sympathizers with their comrades, then few brave spirits will emerge.

نہیں ان کے افلاس کا ان کو اصلا  
نہیں ان کی تصنیف اور تربیت کا  
نہیں ان کی ہمت نہ دینے کو پسیا  
نہیں ان کی ہمت نہ دینے کو پسیا  
کہیں ان کی پرستش کو بظن کرنا  
کہیں ان کی خوراک کو نام دھنا

عزیزوں کی جس بات میں عیب پانا  
نشانہ ہے چہ تینوں کا بنانا  
شہادت سے دل بھانپوں کا دکھانا  
بیگانوں کو بیگانہ بن کر چھڑانا  
نہیں وہ رو کی چوٹ ان کے جب گریں  
نہیں وہ کوئی خون کا چشمہ تریں

جہاز ایک گرواب میں چھنس رہا ہے  
پڑا جس سے جو کھوں میں چھوٹا ہوا ہے  
بچنے کا راستہ نہ بچنے کی جا ہے  
کوئی ان میں تو کوئی جاگتا ہے  
جو سوتے ہیں وہ دست خواب گراں ہیں  
جو بیدار ہیں ان پر نشہ نہ رہا ہے

کوئی ان سے پوچھے کہے ہوش والو  
کس عیب پر تم کہتے ہو جس سے ہے جو  
بڑا وقت بڑے پر آئے کہ ہے جو  
نہیں چھوڑے گا سوتوں کو اور جاگتوں کو  
بچو گے نہ تم اور نہ تمہاری  
اگر نا تو ڈوبی تو ڈوبیں گے سارے

غرض عیب کیجئے بیان اپنے کیا کیا  
کہ جگڑا ہوا ہوا ہے آوے کا آوا  
فقیر اور جاہل ضعیف اور توانا  
تاسف کے قابل ہے احوال سب کا  
مرض ایسے ہی نہیں دنیا میں کہ ہیں  
بڑے کہ جسی جو نہ سب جلتیں وہ ہم ہیں

کسی نے یہ اک مردود نا سے پوچھا  
کہ نعمت ہو دنیا میں سب سے بڑی کیا ہے  
کہا عقل جس سے ملے دین و دنیا  
کہا گرنہ ہوا اس سے انسان کو بہرہ  
کہا پھر ہم سب سے علم و ہنر ہے  
کہ جو باعث افتخار بشر ہے

- 273 They are completely unmoved by the Muslims' destitution, care nothing for their education and upbringing, And have neither the will to make an effort nor a paisa to give, But they will freely offer caricatures of everyone, sometimes mocking their dress, sometimes jeering at their diet.
- 274 If they find their friends at fault in any matter, they make them a target for their quips. With their joy at others' misfortunes, they grieve their brethren's hearts. They make fun of their own people, turning them into strangers. Their hearts are untroubled by any twinge of feeling. Their moist eyes hold not a drop of heartfelt tears.
- 275 There is a boat being caught in a whirlpool, putting the lives of young and old at risk. There is no way out or room for escape. Some of them are asleep, while others are awake. Those who are asleep stay intoxicated with their profound slumber. Those who are awake mock the others.
- 276 Let someone come and ask them, 'What do you hope to gain by standing there laughing, you who are so aware?' 'The evil time which is about to befall the craft will spare neither those who are asleep nor those who are awake. 'Neither you nor your companions will escape. If the ship sinks, you will all be drowned.'

## General condition

- 277 Well, what kinds of faults are we to describe, when the whole community is so utterly ruined? The state of all, poor, ignorant, weak or mighty, can only be despaired of. Few are such hopeless cases in the world as those amongst us, who once ruined cannot right themselves.
- 278 Someone asked this question of a wise man, 'What is the greatest blessing in the world?' He said, 'Wisdom, by which this world and the next are gained.' The other said, 'If a man is not endowed with this?' He said, 'Then the most important things are knowledge and skill, which give a man cause for pride.'

کہا اگر نہ ہو یہ بھی افسس کو نہیں ترسے " کہا تامل دو دانت سے پھر سب سے بڑھ کر  
 کہا تو ہو یہ بھی اگر سب دانت پر " کہا افسس بے بسی کا گارنٹا ہے بہتر  
 وہ ننگ بٹھا کر ذلت سے چھوٹے  
 خلاق سب اس کی تہمت سے چھوٹے  
 مجھے ڈر ہے میرے ہم قوم بارو مبادا کہ وہ ننگ عالم تم میں ہو  
 اگر اسلام کی پوجہ عینت سے تم کو تو جلدی سے افسوا اور اپنی خبر لو  
 اگر نہ یہ قول آئے گا راست تم پر  
 کہ ہونے سے ان کا نہ ہونا ہے بہتر  
 دہو گے پو نہیں خانہ اقبال کب تک نہ بد لو گے یہ پال اور ڈھال کب تک  
 ہے کی تھی پود پال کب تک نہ چھوڑو گے تم بیڑیا پال کب تک  
 میں اس گلے فرسائے فراموش کرو  
 تقصیب کے شعلے کو فنا کر دو  
 حکومت نے آزویاں تم کو دی ہیں ترقی کی راہیں سرسبز کھلی ہیں  
 صدائیں یہ ہرست سے آ رہی ہیں کہ راجا سے پر جانگ بگ کسی ہیں  
 تسلط ہے ملکوں میں امن و امان کا  
 نہیں بند رستہ کسی کا رواں کا  
 نہ بدخواہ سہ دن دیہاں کا کوئی نہ دشمن حدیث اور قرآن کا کوئی  
 نہ ناقص ہے نیت کے انکاں کا کوئی نہ مانع شریعت کے فسراں کا کوئی  
 نمازیں پڑھو بے خطر مسجدوں میں  
 اذانیں دھرتے ہو دو مسجدوں میں  
 کھلی ہیں سفر اور تجارت کی راہیں نہیں نہ صنعت کی حرفت کی راہیں  
 جو روشن ہیں تحصیل مکت کی راہیں تو ہوا میں کسب دولت کی راہیں  
 نہ گھر میں غنیم اور دشمن کا کھٹکا  
 نہ باہر سے تشریق اور جن کا کھٹکا

نہ کا ایت نکوہت

- 279 The other said, 'If even these are not within his reach?' He said, 'Then wealth and property are the most important things.'  
The other said, 'If even this door be closed to him?' He said, 'It would be better if lightning struck him,  
'So that this disgrace to mankind might escape humiliation, and other men might be freed from his baneful influence.'
- 280 I fear, oh comrades of my community, lest you should be the world's disgrace.  
If you have any regard for the honour of Islam, then quickly arise and take stock of yourselves.  
Otherwise the saying 'It would be better if they had never been' will be truly fulfilled in you.
- 281 How long will you remain thus free from all care? How long will you keep these ways and customs unchanged?  
How long will the new generation remain untrampled underfoot? How long will it take you to abandon this sheep-like imitation?  
Enough! Forget these old tales. Silence those roaring flames of bigotry.

*The blessings of British rule*

- 282 The government has given you all kinds of freedom. It has completely opened up the roads to progress.  
From every direction these cries are coming, 'From prince to peasant, all men prosper.'  
Peace and security hold sway in all the lands. No caravan has its way blocked.
- 283 No one wishes your religion and faith ill. No one is hostile to the Traditions and the Quran.  
No one damages the pillars of the community. No one forbids observance of the Holy Law's commands.  
Pray without fear in your places of worship. Loudly proclaim the calls to prayer in your mosques.
- 284\* The routes of travel and commerce are open, nor are those of industry and craft closed.  
Just as the routes of the acquisition of learning are lit, so too are those the acquisition of wealth made level.  
At home there is no fear of the burglar or enemy, abroad there is no fear of the dacoit or highwayman.



یہ جو کچھ ہوا ایک شکر ہے اس کا کہ جو وقت یاروں پر ہے آنے والا  
 زمانے نے اونچے سے جس کو گرایا وہ آخبر کو نمی میں مل کر ہے گا  
 نہیں گرے کچھ قوم میں حال باقی  
 ابھی اور ہونا ہے پامال باقی  
 یہاں ہر ترقی کی غایت یہی ہے سر انجام ہر قوم و ملت یہی ہے  
 سدا سے زمانہ کی عادت یہی ہے طہم جہاں کی حقیقت یہی ہے  
 بہت دیاں ہوتے خشک چسے ایل کر  
 بہت باغ چھانٹے گئے پھول بھل کر  
 کہاں ہیں وہ اسرام صبری کے بانی کہاں ہیں وہ گزوان زابلستانی  
 گئے پیشدادی کھڑ اور کیانی مش کر جی سب کو ڈیاسے کافی  
 لگاؤ کس میں کھوج کلدانیوں کا  
 بتاؤ نشان کوئی ساسانیوں کا  
 وہی ایک ہے جس کو دایم بقا ہے جہاں کی دراشت اسی کو سزا ہے  
 سوائس کے انجام سب کا فنا ہے نہ کوئی رہے گا نہ کوئی رہا ہے  
 مسافر یہاں ہیں فقیر اور غنی سب  
 غلام اور آزاد ہیں فرشتہ سب



- 291 All that has happened is only a fraction of what is to befall our comrades. He who has been brought low from the heights will at last stay mingled with the dust. Although the people may have no resources left, they are nevertheless due soon to be trampled down still further.
- 292 The end of every movement of progress here is this. The conclusion of every people and community is this. The way of fate has always been this. The true state of this wonderful world is this: Many springs have welled up here only to run dry, many gardens have bloomed and blossomed only to be cut back.
- 293 Where are those builders of the pyramids of Egypt? Where are those heroes of Zabulistan? Where have the Peshdadi and Kayanian dynasties gone? The transitory world has destroyed them all. Can you track down traces of the Chaldeans anywhere? Can you tell of any memorial of the Sasanians?
- 294 The life of God alone will never wane, this world's uniquely worthy Suzerain. For life eternal others hope in vain: not one has yet, nor ever will remain. See, here are rich and poor but travellers all, departure is the rule for free and thrall.

- 293 The Egyptian pyramids are monuments with a square base and triangular shape (*musallag-numā chauphal minār*) situated in Egypt, five miles from the river Nile. One of them is reckoned to be one of the seven wonders of the world. By 'heroes of Zabulistan' is meant the family of Rustam. The Peshdadians were descendants of Hoshang, the eleventh king of Fars. The Kayanians were the four kings Kaus, Khusrau, Qubad and Luhrasp. Chaldeans means the people of Chaldea (*Kaldayā*), i.e. Babylon.

Appendix: Hali's revisions

This appendix lists all the revisions made by Hali to the text of the First Edition (I) when preparing the Second Edition (II). Divergences between the two editions are indicated by bold type in the transliterated verses. Besides comments on the significance of the revisions, full translations of the First Edition version are supplied wherever appropriate.

M5:2

I *Mazallat pai apnī qanā'at vuhī hai*

The strong *mazallat* 'ignominy' is toned down to *tanazzul* 'decline' (also used in M62, M124), which fits better with the theme of decline central to the *Musaddas*:

II *Tanazzul pai apnī qanā'at vuhī hai*

M8:1-4

I *'Arab kuchh na thā ik jazīra-numā thā  
Ki paivand mulkoñ se jis kā judā thā  
Na vo ghair qaumoñ pa charh-kar gayā thā  
Na us par ko'ī ghair farmān-ravā thā*

Arabia was nothing; it was a peninsula, whose connexion with other countries was severed.

Neither had it gone to invade other nations, nor did it have any alien ruler set over it.

An exceptionally clumsy piece of scene-setting is revised with some fairly successful retouching, which retains both the basic syntax and the rhyme. The dramatic effect has been enhanced by the rhetorical question inserted into the first line:

II *'Arab jis kā charchā hai ye kuchh vo kyā thā  
Jahān se alag ik jazīra-numā thā  
Zamāne se paivand jis kā judā thā  
Na kishvar-sitān thā na kishvar-kushā thā*

M13:5-6

I *Vo ik but-parastoñ kā tīrath banā thā  
Jahān tīn sau sāth but puj rahā thā*

It had become a place of pilgrimage for idol-worshippers, where three hundred and sixty idols were being worshipped.

The over-precise enumeration of the idols, followed by an awkward singular verb, is dropped to good effect, with a strengthening of the rhyme:

II *Vo tīrath thā ik but-parastoñ kā goyā  
Jahān nām-e haq kā na thā ko'ī joyā*

M17:1

I *Vo Bakr aur Taghlib kī nāmī larā'ī*

Perhaps expecting too much knowledge of pre-Islamic history, *nāmī* 'famous' is altered to *bā-ham* 'internecine', an adjective better emphasizing the perpetual state of civil war amongst the pre-Islamic Arabs:

II *Vo Bakr aur Taghlib kī bā-ham larā'ī*

M17A

This stanza, along with M136A and M250A, is one of the three which were dropped in the Second Edition:

I *Isī tarh ek aur khūn-rez baidā  
'Arab meñ laqab harb-e Dāhis hai jis kā  
Rahā ek muddat tak āpas meñ bar-pā  
Bahā khūn kā har taraf jis meñ daryā  
Sabab us kā likhā hai yih Asma'ī ne  
Kī ghor-daur meñ cheñd kī thī kisī ne*

In the same way, another bloody conflict—in Arabia given the title of the War of Dahis—

Raged amongst them for a long time, during which a torrent of blood flowed in all directions.

Asma'ī has written that it was caused by someone having cheated in a horse race.

Hali provides the following note to the stanza:

This war lasted from 568 to 631. Dahis was a horse who was about to go ahead in a race when someone came in front of him and startled him. This was enough to start a struggle in which whole tribes were slaughtered, and which ended only when some tribes accepted Islam. Asma'ī is the source for most stories of the Jahiliyya period.

All this adds little to the brief reference to horse-racing in the Jahiliyya preserved in M18:2. It may, however, be noted that both *baidā* 'conflict' and *cheñd* 'cheating' are 'Hindi' words of the type regularly employed by Hali in his search for 'natural' effects.

M37:1-5

I *Nasārā ne jis tarh khāyā hai dhokā  
Kī samjhe vo 'Isā ko beṭā khudā kā  
Mujhe tum samajhnā na zinhār aisā  
Mīrī had se rutbā barhānā na merā  
Sab insān hain jis tarh vāñ sar-figandā*

In the way that the Christians have been misled, so that they consider Jesus to be the son of God—

Beware that you never think of me like that. Do not magnify my rank beyond my true limit.

Even as all men hang their heads there,...

The very explicit reference to a central difference between Christianity and Islam is considerably toned down in II (where Jesus is at no point referred to by the Muslim name 'Īsā, only as *Masīḥā* 'Messiah', e.g. M21:6). Significant in view of the poem's later emphasis on the overlap between Muslim and European intellectual culture, this revision permits some polishing of the rest of the stanza, with a change to its initial rhyme:

- II *Tum auroñ kī mānind dhokā na khānā*  
*Kisī ko khudā kā na beṭā banānā*  
*Mirī had se rubā na merā barhānā*  
*Barhā-kar bahut tum na mujh ko ghaṭānā*  
*Sab insāñ haiñ vāñ jis tarah sar-figandā*

M41:4

I *Hoñ farzand-o zan us meñ yā māl-o daulat*  
 The plural verb goes less well with the alternative copular phrases than the singular:

- II *Ho farzand-o zan us meñ yā māl-o daulat*

M59:3

I *Musalmān-o zimmi ke sab haq the yaksān*  
 The rights of Muslim and non-Muslim were all the same.  
 This exaggerated claim is suitably toned down:

- II *Samajhte the zimmi-o muslim ko yaksān*

M63:1-2

- I *Na hangāma thā garm 'Ibrāniyoñ kā*  
*Na iqbal yavar thā Nasrāniyoñ kā*  
 Neither was the assembly of the Hebrews active, nor did fortune aid the Christians.

This is polished by the elegant use of *vo* and *ye* to contrast past Jewish glories with present Christian triumphs, in keeping with the poem's cyclical view of history:

- II *Na vo daur daura thā 'Ibrāniyoñ kā*  
*Na ye bakht-o iqbal Nasrāniyoñ kā*

M67:3

I *Jahān 'ilm-o hikmat kī bharmār hai ab*  
 Where there is now an abundance of science and learning,  
 Natural imagery is used to redefine the reasons perceived for the West's present success:

- II *Jahān abr-e rahmat guhar-bār hai ab*

M73:2

I *Falātūñ ko phir zinda kar-ke dikhāyā*  
 The rhythm is slightly improved:

- II *Falātūñ ko zinda phir kar dikhāyā*

M75:4

- I *Zirā'at meñ mashhūr-e duniyā hu'e vo*  
 The word *zirā'at* 'cultivation' overlaps very closely with the preceding *falāhat* 'agriculture', hence its replacement by *siyāhat* 'travelling':

- II *Siyāhat meñ mashhūr-e duniyā hu'e vo*

M78:3-4

- I *Khaṅgālā huā un kā sab bahr-o bar thā*  
*Jo Lankā meñ the un kā Barbar meñ ghar thā*  
 Every ocean and continent had been thoroughly explored by them. Those who were in Lanka had their home in Barbary.  
 One of Hali's more strained uses of 'Hindi' vocabulary, the opening *khaṅgālā* 'washed' is toned down to the more familiar *chhānā* 'sifted'. The alteration of the rhythmically awkward sequence ...*meñ the, un kā...* may be compared with similar adjustments made in the two stanzas. The changes seem to have been prompted by the desire to achieve a more natural rhythmic expression around the exotic geographical names which are so prominent a feature of this part of the poem:

- II *Tamām un kā chhānā huā bahr-o bar thā*  
*Jo Lankā meñ derā to Barbar meñ ghar thā*

M79:3

- I *Haiñ Sailūn meñ un ke āsar ab tak*  
 Here 'Ceylon' (which a note explains is synonymous with Lanka) merely repeats the 'Lanka' of M78:4, so the geographical range is extended eastwards at the same time as improving the rhythm:

- II *Malāyā meñ haiñ un ke āsar ab tak*

M80:5-6

- I *Tumheñ Koh-e Ādam se tā Koh-e Baiṭā*  
*Milegā jahāñ jā'oge khoj un kā*  
 The familiar second person pronoun *tumheñ* is dropped, and the rhythm is adjusted around the geographical names, thus maintaining a rather grander style:

- II *Sar-e Koh-e Ādam se tā Koh-e Baiṭā*  
*Jahāñ jā'oge khoj pā'oge un kā*

M82:6

- I *Main hūñ is zamīñ par 'Arab kī nishānī*  
 The same elements are rhythmically re-ordered:

- II *'Arab kī hūñ main is zamīñ par nishānī*

M84:4

- I *Vo ujrā huā karr-o far jā-ke dekhe*  
 Let him go and see that ruined glory and majesty.  
 The revised version dwells more tellingly upon Spain's vanished Islamic past:

- II *Khilāfat ko zer-o zabar jā-ke dekhe*

M85:1-6

- I *Vo mashhūr pā-takht 'Abbāsiyōn kā  
Lab-e Dījla urtā thā jis kā pharerā  
Tar-o khushk par jis kā partā thā sāya  
'Irāq-e 'Arab jis pai thā fakhr kartā  
Hu'ī sar-nigūn jis kī muddat se jhandī  
Hai jo āj kal ik tijārat kī mandī*

That famous capital of the Abbasids, whose standard flew on the banks of the Tigris,  
Whose shadow fell on sea and land, upon which Iraq used to pride itself,  
Whose flag has long been lowered, which is nowadays a commercial market.

The stanza (with its 'Hindi' words *pharerā, jhandī, mandī*) reads very awkwardly, with a descent into bathos in the last two lines. It has been successfully remodelled in a grander Persian style, now ending with an effective natural reference to the historical impact of the Mongol conquest as a 'flood':

- II *Vo balda ki fakhr-e bilād-e jahān thā  
Tar-o khushk par jis kā sikka ravān thā  
Garā jis men 'Abbāsiyōn kā nishān thā  
'Irāq-e 'Arab jis se rashk-e jinān thā  
Urā le ga'ī bād-e pindār jis ko  
Bahā le ga'ī saul-e Tātār jis ko*

M114:5-6

- I *Ki kal fakhr thā jin se Hindostān ko  
Hu'e āj sab nang-e Hindostān vo*

That those in whom India took pride yesterday have today become India's shame.

The contrast between the glorious past of Islam outside India and the inglorious present of Indian Islam is—tellingly—drawn more pointedly:

- II *Ki kal fakhr thā jin se ahl-e jahān ko  
Logā un se 'aib āj Hindostān ko*

M118:5

- I *Khuros aur shahbāz sab auj par haiñ*

It is explained in a note that 'cock' and 'falcon' mean the ruled and the rulers. Although a Persian word, *khuros* 'cock' lacks the poetic connotations of the *chakor*:

- II *Chakor aur shahbāz sab auj par haiñ*

M133:3

- I *Haiñ dunyā men aise ki goyā nahīn haiñ*

The rewording is rhythmically superior:

- II *Jahān men haiñ aise ki goyā nahīn haiñ*

M134:5-6

- I *Na fāriḡh haiñ ta 'līm-e aulād se vo  
Na ghāfil haiñ sustī-e bunyād se vo*

Neither are they careless of their children's education, nor are they heedless of the feebleness of their base.

The rather vague expression *sustī-e bunyād* is replaced by a familiar Muslim perception of the determined progress of the Hindus under British rule:

- II *Na fāriḡh haiñ aulād kī tarbiyat se  
Na be-fikr haiñ qaum kī taqviyat se*

M135:6

- I *Unhīn ke haiñ aūfis unhīn ke haiñ daftar*

The carefully pointed 'English' pronunciation is replaced by the usual Urdu spelling of the loanword:

- II *Unhīn ke haiñ āfis unhīn ke haiñ daftar*

M136A

Another stanza which was to be dropped, perhaps because Hali considered that a sufficiently stark picture had already been presented of the decline of the Muslims in relation to other Indian communities:

- I *Tabī'at men ek ik kī hai khāksārī  
Burā sun-ke karte haiñ vo burd-bārī  
Tavāzu' hai jis kī rag-o pai men sārī  
Dimāḡh un ke haiñ kibr-o nakhyat se 'ārī  
Na bāton men un kī ḡqārat kisī kī  
Na jalson men un ke mazammat kisī kī*

In their nature each one of them possesses humility. When they hear evil, they practise tolerance.

With humbleness in every fibre of their being, their brains are devoid of arrogance.

In their speech there is no contempt for anyone, nor is anyone reviled in their assemblies.

M174:5

- I *Dilon kī umangen umīdon kī khushyān*

There is a minor adjustment:

- II *Dilon kī umīden umangon kī khushyān*

M178:6

- I *Ye haiñ un kī armān ye haiñ un kī khushyān*

A similar minor adjustment:

- II *Ye haiñ un kī khushyān ye haiñ un kī armān*

M187:1-2

- I *Barhe jis se nafrat vo tahrir karni*  
*Jigar jis se shaq hon vo taqrir karni*

Another reversal of individual words:

- II *Barhe jis se nafrat vo taqrir karni*  
*Jigar jis se shaq hon vo tahrir karni*

M193:6

- I *Kiya us ko balu'a ghust-e vuzu ka*

The Arabic word *balu'a* 'washing sink', requiring the gloss *ja-e shust-o shu*, was perhaps felt to be too unusual a term, hence the rewriting as:

- II *Kiya qullatain us ko ghust-e vuzu ka*

M195:2

- I *Na hon sidhi sadi rivayat se khush ham*

The colloquial *sidhi sadi*, involving the Persian adjective *sada* being given a feminine ending, is eliminated for the maintenance of a more elevated style:

- II *Kabhi hon na sidhi rivayat se khush ham*

M201:5

- I *Na thik us ki hargiz ko'i bat samjho*  
 Never think anything he says is right.

This very flat expression is given more force:

- II *Mukhalif ki uli har ik bat samjho*

M209:4

- I *Har ik qaum ke dil se vahshat nikali*

Perhaps the word *vahshat* 'craziness' was felt to be inappropriate, even though *nafrat* has already been used earlier in the stanza:

- II *Har ik qaum ke dil se nafrat nikali*

M210:5

- I *Nahin dast-yab aise ab do musalmān*

Slightly softened in the revised version:

- II *Nahin dast-yab aise ab das musalmān*

M211:4

- I *Gham-e qaum men sina-afgar hote*  
 In grief for the nation our breasts should be wounded.

The word *qaum* is less affectively suggestive of closeness than '*azizān* 'dear ones':

- II *'Azizān ke gham men dil-afgar hote*

M214:3

- I *Hai bazar un ka kharā ya ki khoṭā*

A rhythmic re-ordering of the type noted under M78:3-4 above, the revision avoids too great a parallelism with the following ...*jhūtā ki sachchā*:

- I *Kharā un ka bazar hai ya ki khoṭā*

M217:6

- I *Khataktā hai kāntā sā ānkhoṅ men sab kā*

A minor alteration to:

- II *Khataktā hai kāntā sā nazroṅ men sab kā*

M227:6

- I *Khalifon se larī thī ek ek burhyā*

The quarrel was, strictly speaking, only with the one Caliph Umar, and the inflection of the word *khalifa* is also rather colloquial, hence:

- II *Khalifa se larī thī ek ek burhyā*

M228:1

- I *Nabī ne kahā thā jinhen fakhr-e ummat*

An unduly long sequence of relative clauses is avoided with:

- II *Nabī ne kahā thā unhen fakhr-e ummat*

M232-M256

The three parts of this passage originally appeared in a different order:

- |                     |                        |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| I 249-256 on poetry | II 232-245 on learning |
| 246-248 on medicine | 246-248 on medicine    |
| 232-245 on learning | 249-256 on poetry      |

This is Hali's most substantial revision to his first version.

M234:5

- I *Jamī hain dilon men Aristū kī rā'en*

The opinions of Aristotle are fixed in their hearts.

The name of Aristotle is dropped here, since it is more effectively introduced in the revised version of M235:3:

- II *Dilon men hain naqsh ahl-e Yūnān kī rā'en*

M235:2-4

- I *Shifā ke hain sab jin ko az-bar maqāle*

*Jinon ne Majisū pa dere hain dāle*

*Havāshī hain Tajrid ke sab khangāle*

Those who have all the treatises of the *Shifā* by heart,  
 Who have pitched their tents upon the *Almagest*, who have  
 gone minutely through the margins of the *Tajrid*.

Hali's note explains that the *Tajrid* is a work by Nasir ud Din Tusi. The reference to it is dropped in the revised version, where the rhyme of M235:1 is

used to develop a more symmetrical treatment, while dropping the 'Hindi' verb *khungālnā* (also dropped from M78:3, although retained in M92:3):

- II *Shifā aur Majistī ke dam bharne vāle*  
*Aristū kī chaukhat par sar dharne vāle*  
*Falātūn kī iqtidā karne vāle*

M241:4

- I *Usī rāh par par liyā galla sārā*  
 The rhyme is slightly strengthened by reversing the last two words:  
 II *Usī rāh par par liyā sārā gallā*

M250A

The third of the stanzas dropped in II, perhaps as having been felt too exaggerated, now that the section on poetry appears in a different place:

- I *Sukhan jo hai yahān āj hissa hamārā*  
*Nahīn qaum ko zāhirā jis se chāra*  
*Har ik kizb-o buhtān se jis meñ gavārā*  
*Mujassam ho us kā agar jhūt sārā*  
*Bane Hind meñ us se aur ik Himālā*  
*Himālā se jis kī choṭī dubālā*

From the poetry which is now our portion, which is clearly of no use to the nation,

In which very lie and slander is approved, even though it is entirely constructed of falsehood,

There has been built another Himalaya in India, whose peak is twice as high as the real Himalaya.

M284:6

- I *Na rastoñ meñ qazzāq-o rahzan kā khatkā*  
 Perhaps felt to be too mechanical a contrast with the preceding *Na ghar meñ...*, hence changed to:

- II *Na bāhar hai qazzāq-o rahzan kā khatkā*

GLOSSARY

## Glossary

This glossary lists most words which occur in the Second Edition of the *Musaddas* itself (as reproduced here on pp. 102-206), other than very common words which assumed to be familiar to all users, and proper names which are listed separately in the following index. It does not, however, list those words which occur only in the prose Introductions (pp. 88-100), or only in First Edition passages which were deleted in the Second Edition (pp. 208-216).

Headwords are given in Urdu script, followed by letters in small capitals indicating the language of origin. The great majority of words listed are from Arabic, marked as A. Words of Persian origin, including Perso-Arabic forms and those deriving from Turkic, are marked as P. It has not been thought necessary to provide Indo-Aryan etymologies for the 'Hindi' words, marked as H, which have been characterized above in section 2:4 of the introduction (pp. 34-5). The romanized transliterations of the headwords indicate the pronunciations required by the metre, which may differ from those of everyday speech. Singulars are given for all Arabic and Persian plurals. English definitions are deliberately very brief, and are intended only to indicate the actual range of meanings found in the *Musaddas*. Derived forms have been grouped wherever possible under the appropriate headword. Phrasal derivatives, including compound verbs, have been listed only where their meaning is not fully predictable. Wherever possible, words which are both etymologically and alphabetically closely related to a headword have been listed at the end of the entry, preceded by a colon plus hyphen.

## Abbreviations

A	Arabic	P	Persian
adj.	adjective	pl.	plural
adv.	adverb	ppn.	postposition
conj.	conjunction	pr.	pronoun
f.	feminine noun	prepn.	preposition
H	'Hindi'	sg.	singular
intj.	interjection	vi.	intransitive verb
m.	masculine noun	vt.	transitive verb
num.	numeral		

## Ā

آب *āb* m. water; *āb-e bārān* m. rain; water; *āb-e baqā* m. water of eternal life; *āb-o havā* f. climate: - *ābī* adj. watery; m. creature of water

آبا A *ābā* m.pl. (sg. *ab*) ancestors, forefathers

آباد A *ābād* adj. flourishing

آبرو P *ābrū* f. honour, dignity

آتش P *ātish* f. fire; *ātish-zabānī* f. fiery eloquence; *ātish-fishān* adj. fire-shedding; *ātish-kada* m. fire-temple

آثار A *āsār* m.pl. (sg. *aṣar*) signs, vestiges, traces; basis, foundation

آدمی P *ādmī* m. man; *ādmī-khwār* adj. man-eating: - *ādmīyyat* f. humanity

آزاد P *āzād* adj. free; m. free man: - *āzādī* f. freedom; *āzādī-ye rā'e* f. freedom of thought

آستانه P *āstāna* m. threshold (of shrine)

آسوده P *āsūda* adj. prosperous, well-off, in easy circumstances; *āsūda-tar* adj. more at ease

آشتی P *āshī* f. peace, concord

آشکاره P *āshkāra* adj. apparent, manifest

آشنا P *āshnā* m. friend

آغاز P *āghāz* m. beginning

آفاق A *āfāq* m.pl. (sg. *ufuq*) horizons, ends of the world

آفت A *āfat* f. disaster, calamity; *āfat-zada* adj. struck by disaster

آقا P *āqā* m. master

آگاه P *āgāh* adj. aware, knowing: - *āgahī* f. acquaintance, knowledge

آل A *āl* f. offspring

آلوده P *ālūda* adj. sullied, be-fouled

آن P *ān* f. moment

آوا P *āvā* m. brick-kiln

آه P *āh* f. sigh; *āh-o zārī* f. cries and laments, lamentation

آینده P *ā'inda* adj. coming, in the future

آئین P *ā'in* f. rule

آئینه P *ā'ina* m. mirror

## A

ابر P *abr* m. cloud

ابرار A *abrār* m.pl. (sg. *barr*) holy men, the pious

ابرو P *abrū* f. eyebrow

آبنا H *ubalnā* vi. to well up

ابلیس A *iblis* m. the devil, Satan

آبنا H *ubhāmā* vt. to cause to swell; to inspire

آپاہج H *apāhaj* adj. crippled

آپنا H *apnā* adj. own; *apnā parāyā* adj. own's own and others'

اتفاقی A *ittifaqī* adj. casual, chance

اجارا A *ijārā* m. monopoly

اجالا H *ujalā* m. light, radiance

اجانب A *ajānib* m.pl. (sg. *ajnab*) strangers

اجداد A *ajdād* m.pl. (sg. *jadd*) forbears

اجڑنا H *ujarṇā* vi. to be ruined

اجلا H *ujlā* adj. bright, clear, brilliant

اجلاف A *ajlāf* m.pl. (sg. *jilf*) lower orders, the common people

آچھوتا H *achhūtā* adj. untouched

اجبار A *ahbār* m.pl. (sg. *hibr*) rabbis

احرار A *ahrār* m.pl. (sg. *hurr*) the

- free, those free from worldly attachments  
 احسان A *ihsān* m. obligation  
 احكام A *ahkām* m.pl. (sg. *ḥukm*) orders, commandments  
 احمق A *ahmaq* m. fool  
 احوال A *aḥvāl* m. (sg. *ḥāl*) state, condition  
 اخبار A *akhbār* m.pl. (sg. *khābar*) traditions  
 اختلاف A *ikhtilāf* m. disagreement  
 اخفا A *ikhfā* m. hiding, concealment  
 اخلاص A *ikhlas* m. sincerity, sincere affection  
 اخلاق A *akhlaq* m. (sg. *khulq*) morality, ethics  
 اخوان A *ikhvān* m.pl. (sg. *akh*) brothers, brethren  
 ادا P *adā*<sup>1</sup> f. charm, grace  
 ادا A *adā*<sup>2</sup> f. fulfilment; *adā karnā* vt. to fulfil, discharge  
 ادب A *adab* m. manners, civility; literature  
 اديار A *idbār* m. calamity, misfortune  
 ادراك A *idrāk* m. understanding, perception  
 ادنا A *adnā* adj. mean, humble  
 اديب A *adīb* m. writer  
 اذان A *azān* f. call to prayer  
 ارادة A *irāda* m. intention, resolve  
 ارباب A *arbāb* m.pl. (sg. *rabb*) possessors; *arbāb-e ḥimmat* m.pl. men of lofty spirit  
 ارکان A *arkān* m.pl. (sg. *rukn*) pillars  
 ارمان P *armān* m. desire, longing  
 اُرْثَانَا H *urānā* vt. to cause to fly; to squander:- *urnā* vi. to fly  
 اُرْثَانَا H *arṇā* vi. to be stubborn, be obstinate  
 از P *az* prepn. from, than; *az bar* adv. by heart  
 ازبار P *azbār* f. trousers  
 ازلی A *azal* f. eternity without beginning  
 اسامی A *asāmī* m. person, client; *asāmī banānā* to make a fool of, to dupe  
 استفاده A *istifāda* m. seeking gain  
 استواری P *ustuvārī* f. strength  
 اسرار A *asrār* m.pl. (sg. *sirr*) secrets  
 اسلاف A *aslāf* m.pl. (sg. *salaf*) ancestors  
 اسلامی A *islāmī* m. Muslim  
 اشاره A *ishāra* m. sign, signal  
 اشعار A *ashrār* m.pl. (sg. *sharīr*) the wicked  
 اشرف A *ashraf* m.pl. (sg. *sharīf*) nobles, aristocrats  
 اشعار A *ash'ār* m.pl. (sg. *shī'r*) verses  
 اصل A *asl* m. root, basis; principle, main point:- *aslā* adv. not at all  
 اصلاح A *islāḥ* f. reform  
 اصول A *uṣūl* m.pl. (sg. *asl*) principles:- *uṣūlī* m. fundamentalist  
 اطاعت A *iṭā'at* f. obedience  
 اطباء A *aṭibbā* m.pl. (sg. *ṭabīb*) doctors  
 اطوار A *atvār* m.pl. (sg. *ṭaur*) habits, ways, manners  
 اعتراض A *i'tirāz* m. objection  
 اعدا A *a'dā* m.pl. (sg. *'adū*) enemies  
 اعزاز A *i'zāz* m. honour, esteem

- اعلان A *i'lān* m. announcement, proclamation  
 اعیان A *a'yān* m.pl. (sg. *'ain*) noblemen  
 اغنيا A *aghniyā* m.pl. (sg. *ghani*) the rich  
 افتخار A *iftikhār* m. pride  
 افترا A *iftirā* m. slandering  
 افسرده P *afsurda* adj. dying down, died down; depressed  
 افسوس P *afsūn* m. charm, spell  
 افلاس A *iflās* m. poverty, destitution  
 اقامت A *iqāmat* f. halting, stopping  
 اقبال A *iqbāl* m. prosperity, luck  
 اقتدا A *iqtidā* f. emulation, imitation  
 اقربان A *aqrān* m.pl. (sg. *qarīn*) contemporaries  
 اقصى A *aqṣā* adj. very far; *aqṣā-e 'alam* m.pl. extreme limits of the world  
 مرستانا H *uktānā* vi. to be weary, be fed up  
 اكثر A *akṣar* adj. many, numerous; adv. often, usually  
 اکهارا H *akhārā* m. wrestling arena  
 اُلْتَنَا H *ulatnā* vi. to be overturned, be ruined:- *ultā* adj. reversed  
 الحق A *al-ḥaq* adv. really, in reality  
 الزام A *ilzām* m. accusation, blame  
 اُلفت A *ulfat* f. cordiality, friendliness, love  
 الٰهِي A *ilāhī* adj. divine  
 اُم A *umm* m. mother; *umm ul jarā'im* (sg. *jarīma*) f. mother of crimes  
 اُمت A *ummat* f. the Muslim community  
 امثال A *amṣāl* m.pl. (sg. *maṣāl*) equals  
 امكان A *imkān* m. possibility  
 امن A *amn* m. peace; *amn-o amān* m. peace and security  
 اُمَنگ H *umang* f. eagerness  
 اُمِّي A *ummī* adj. illiterate  
 اُميد P *umīd*, *ummīd* f. hope; *ummīd-gāh* f. place of hope; *ummīd-vārī* f. apprenticeship, candidature  
 امير A *amīr* m. commander, emir; rich man  
 امين A *amīn* adj. trustworthy, faithful  
 ان بن H *an-ban* m. quarrel, enmity  
 انبيا A *anbiyā* m.pl. (sg. *nabī*) prophets  
 انجام P *anjām* m. end  
 انجيل A *injīl* f. the Gospel  
 انداز P *andāz* m. manner, style  
 اندھير H *andher* m. darkness:- *andherā* adj. dark  
 انشا A *inshā* f. writing, composition  
 انصاف A *inṣāf* m. justice, fairness  
 انعام A *in'ām* m. reward  
 انفار A *anfār* m.pl. (sg. *nafar*) menials, servants  
 انفاس A *anfās* m.pl. (sg. *nafas*) breaths  
 انكار A *inkār* m. refusal  
 انگشت P *angusht* f. finger; *angusht rakhnā* to place the finger on, to criticize  
 انمول H *anmol* adj. priceless

انوار A *anvar* adj. brilliant, resplendent

اوباش A *aubāsh* m. wastrel, lay-about

اوج A *auj* m. zenith

اوضاع A *auzā'* f.pl. (sg. *vaza'*) manners

اولاد A *aulād* f. (sg. *valad*) descendants, offspring

اولو A *ulū* m.pl. possessors; *ulū-ilm* m.pl. learned people

اوثق H *ūthq* m. camel

اهرام A *ahrām* m.pl. (sg. *haram*) the Pyramids

اهل A *ahl* m.pl. people; used with the izafat as *ahl-e* to form many m.pl. compounds; *ahl-e tahqīq* genuine inquirers; *ahl-e jahān* people of the world; *ahl-e hukūmat* the rulers; *ahl-e dunyā* people of the world; *ahl-e dozakh* the damned; *ahl-e daulat* the wealthy; *ahl-e dīn* the faithful; *ahl-e rūmā* the Romans; *ahl-e zamīn* people of the earth; *ahl-e 'ibrat* those prepared to be warned; *ahl-e qibla* people of the Qibla, the Muslims; *ahl-e kishtī* people on a boat, crew; *ahl-e maghrib* people of the West; *ahl-e vara'* the pious, those who fear to do wrong; *ahl-e vatan* fellow countrymen; *ahl-e yūnān* the Greeks; *ahl-kārī* f. business, service

اهم A *aham* adj. most important

ائمة A *a'imma* m.pl. (sg. *imām*) Imams

ايام A *ayyām* m.pl. (sg. *yaum*) days; *ayyām-e daurān* m.pl. the times

ايلچی P *elchī* m. envoy

ايمنى P *aimanī* f. security

ايوان P *aivān* m. hall

## B

باب A *bāb* m. chapter, subject

باد P *bād* f. wind

بادشاهی P *bādshāhī* f. kingship, authority

پادو P *bāda* m. wine

بار P *bār* m. fruit; burden

باران P *bārān* m. rain

باز P *bāz* adv. back; (se) *bāz ānā* vi. to give up

بازی P *bāzī* f. play, sport

باطل A *bātīl* adj. vain, foolish; m. vanity, falsehood

باطن A *bātin* adj. inner, esoteric; m. the inside, the heart

باعث A *bā'is* m. cause

باغبان P *bāghbān* m. gardener

باک P *bāk* m. fear

باگ H *bāg* f. rein

بالا P *bālā* adj. high, exalted; surpassing

بالاجتماع A *bī'l-ijmā'* adv. by general agreement

بانو P *bāno* f. lady

بانی A *bānī* m. founder, builder

باوا H *bāvā* m. father

باور P *bāvar* m. belief; *bāvar karnā* vi. to believe

باهم P *bā-ham* adv. together, with one another, amongst themselves; *bā-ham digar* adv. with one another; *bā-ham larā'ī* f. internecine warfare; *bā-ham milnā* vi. to be united

بیا P *ba-pā* adj. afoot; *ba-pā honā* to rage (of a storm)

بیمبرنا H *bipharnā* vi. to become furious

بت P *but* m. idol, image

بیا H *batyā* f. path, way

بیر H *bater* f. quail

بجا P *ba-jā* adj. correct

بجانا H *bajānā* vt. to play (an instrument)

بجلی H *bijlī* f. lightning

بجھانا H *bujhānā* vt. to quench, extinguish; *bujhnā* vi. to be extinguished

بچپن H *bachpan* m. childhood

بکھڑنا H *bichharnā* vi. to be dispersed, be scattered

بحر A *bahr* m. sea, ocean; *bahr-o bar* m. oceans and dry land

بخت P *bakht* m. good fortune

بخشش P *bakhshish* f. pardon, forgiveness; *bakhshnā* vt. to grant, to bestow

بخل A *bukhl* m. stinginess

بد P *bad* adj. bad, evil, ill; *bad-andesh* adj. ill-intentioned; *bad-tar* adj. worse; *bad-khwāh* adj. wishing ill, ill-disposed; *bad-rāh* adj. wicked; *bad-gumān* adj. suspicious; *bad-nām* adj. notorious; *bad-nasībī* f. ill-fortune; *bad-niyatī* f. malevolence; *badī* f. vice, bad quality

بدولت P (*kā*) *ba-daulat* ppn. thanks to

بر H *bar<sup>1</sup>* m. bridegroom

بر A *bar<sup>2</sup>*, *barr* m. dry land; *barr-e a'zam* m. continent

بر P *bar<sup>3</sup>* prep. on, up, etc.; used as the first element in various phrases and compounds: *bar ānā* vi. to be fulfilled; *bar-bād* adj. thrown to the winds, wasted, destroyed; *bar-pā* adj. established, set up, standing; *bar-tar* adj. higher, loftier; *bar-haq* adj. right, true; *bar-sar-e kār honā* to be busily employed; *bar-taraf* adj. aside, diverging; *bar-taraf karnā* vt. to put aside, to remove; *bar lānā* to

fulfil; *bar-mahal* adj. apt, to the point; *bar-malā* adj. public; adv. publicly

برابر P *barābar* adj. equal; level; unbroken, continuous, continual; adv. continually

برادر P *birādar* m. brother

برتاو H *bartā'o* m. behaviour

برج A *burj* m. zodiacal sign

برق A *barq* f. lightning

برکت A *barkat* f. blessing, auspiciousness; prosperity, well-being; perfection

برگ P *barg* m. leaf

برهان A *burhān* m. proof

بری A *barī* adj. free (from)

برھانا H *barhānā* vt. to increase; to magnify, exalt; to move forward; to race; *barhnā* vi. to increase; to advance; *barh-kar* adv. more

برھیا H *burhiyā* f. old woman

بزرگ P *buzurg* m. ancestor; *buzurgī* f. greatness, eminence

بزم P *bazm* f. feast, festive assembly, company

بستان P *bustān* m. garden

بستر H *bistar* m. bedding

بستی H *bastī* f. population

بسن H *basnā* vi. to dwell; *baserā* m. roosting, lodging

بشارت A *bashārat* f. glad tidings

بشر A *bashar* m. man, mankind

بضاعت A *bizā'at* f. capital; goods

بطلان A *butlān* m. falsehood

بغض A *bughẓ* m. ill-feeling

بقا A *baqā* f. endurance, survival; eternal life

بکنا H *baknā* vi. to babble, talk nonsense

بگونا H *bigūnā* vt. to ruin, spoil-

*bigarnā* vi. to be ruined, be spoiled; to quarrel

بَل H *bal* m. twist; hostility

بَلَا A *balā* f. disaster, calamity

بِلَاد A *bilād* m.pl. (sg. *balad*) cities; lands, regions:- *balda* m. city; land, region

بِلَاغَت A *balāghat* f. rhetoric

بُلند P *buland* adj. high; *buland honā* vi. to fly up:- *bulandī* f. height

بَن H *ban* m. forest

بِن H *bin* prepn. without; *bin-jutā* adj. unploughed

بِنَا A *binā* f. foundation

بِنَاوَت H *banāvāt* f. affectation

بِنَج H *banaj* m. trade, business

بِنْدَر H *bandar* m. monkey

بِنْدَه P *banda* m. slave, creature:- *bandagān* m.pl. creatures, people

بِنَا H *bannā* vi. to become; to make oneself out to be; to succeed, prosper; (*se*) *ban ānā* vi. to suit, befit

بَنِي A *banī* m.pl. (sg. *ibn*) sons; *banī nau'* m.pl. mankind

بِنِيَاد P *buniyād* f. foundation

بُو P *bū* f. smell, fragrance

بُوَجْج H *bojh* m. burden, load

بُوَسِيْدَه P *bosīda* adj. decayed

بُول H *bol* m. utterance, speech; *bol-bālā* m. prosperity, success:- *bolī* f. language; saying, song

بِ P *ba-* prepn. by, with

بِهَار P *bahār, bahārān* f. spring

بِهَاگ H *bhāg* m. racing, running:- *bhāgnā* vi. to flee, run away

بِهَانَا H *bahānā* vt. to cause to flow; to sweep away

بِهَانِجَا H *bhānjā* m. nephew

(sister's son)

بِهَانِم A *bahā'im* m.pl. (sg. *bahīma*) wild beasts, brutes

بِهِيود P *bih-būd* f. welfare

بِهَتِيَجَا H *bhatijā* m. nephew (brother's son)

بِهَر P *bahr-e* prepn. for, for the sake of

بِهَرَا H *bahrā'* adj. deaf

بِهَرَا P *bahrā'*, *bahra* m. share, part; endowment; *bahra-var* adj. sharing in, endowed with; benefiting, prospering

بِهَرَسَا H *bharosā* m. trust

بِهَرَاکِنَا H *bharaknā* vi. to burst into flame

بِهِيَشْت P *bihisht* m. paradise

بِهِيَاگَوَان H *bhagvān* m. (Hindu) God

بِهَلَا H *bhalā* adj. good; adv. well:- *bhalā'ī* f. goodness; doing good; welfare

بِهَانَوَار H *bhanvar* m. whirlpool

بِهَوُو H *bahū* f. daughter-in-law

بِهِيَوَار H *bihvār* m. trade

بِهِيَوَت H *bhūt* m. evil spirit

بِهِي P *bihī* f. welfare

بِهِيَرِيَا H *bherī* f. sheep:- *bheriyā'* *chāl* f. following one another like sheep

بِهِيَرِيَا H *bheriyā'* m. wolf

بِهِيَس H *bhes* m. guise, appearance

بِهِيَك H *bhik* f. alms

بِهِي P *be* prepn. without; usually as the first member of negative compounds: *be-aṣar* adj. unfeeling; *be-bāk* adj. fearless; *be-bāl-o par* adj. without wing or pinion; *be-par* adj. wingless; poor, destitute; *be-tarbiyat* adj. badly brought up; *be-chāragī* f. help-

lessness; *be-had* adj. boundless; *be-hurmaṭī* f. dishonour; *be-khabar* adj. unaware, unconscious; *be-khatar* adj. without fear; *be-dhārak* adv. rashly; *be-rahm* adj. pitiless; *be-zār* adj. disgusted, sick of; *be-tarāvāt* adj. moistureless, unfresh; *be-'izzatī* f. dishonour, disgrace; *be-fikr* adj. thoughtless, careless; *be-kār* adj. useless; adv. uselessly; *be-misl* adj. unmatched, unequalled; *be-muhābā* adj. unrestrained; adv. without restraint; *be-mashvarat* adj. without taking advice; *be-mol* adj. priceless; *be-navā* adj. indigent, destitute; *be-vajh* adj. causeless; *be-hosh* adj. unconscious

بِهِيَا بَان P *biyābān* m. desert

بِهِيَاض A *bayāz* f. notebook

بِهِيَان A *bayān* m. account, description, style

بِهِيَاه H *byāh* m. marriage, wedding; *byāh denā* vt. to give in marriage, marry off

بِهِيَاد P *bedār* adj. awake

بِهِيَرَا H *berā* m. fleet

بِهِيَاگَانَه P *begāna* m. stranger

بِهِيَاگ H *bail* m. bullock, ox

بِهِيَان A *bain* prepn. between, among; *bain al amāsil* (sg. *amṣal*) amongst their peers

بِهِيُو پار H *byopār* m. trade

## P

پَار H *pār* adv. across

پَارِيْنَه P *pārīna* adj. ancient, dated

پَارِيْسَبَانِي P *pāsbānī* f. guarding, watching over

پَاک P *pāk* adj. pure, holy

پَا مَال P *pā-māl* adj. trampled underfoot

پَاتَا H *patā* m. trace, clue; *patā*

*lagānā* to track down, follow up

پَاتَا H *patū* m. leaf

پَاتَانِگَا H *patangā* m. spark

پَاتَاکِنَا H *patāknā* vt. to dash on the ground, to beat

پُوچِنَا H *pujnā* vi. to be worshipped

پُوچِنَانَا H *pachhtānā* vi. to regret

پِدَار P *pidar* m. father

پِير P *par* m. wing

پِير P *pur* adj. full; *pur-ghām* adj. full of grief

پِيرَاگِنْدَه P *parāganda* adj. scattered

پِيرَايَا H *parāyā* adj. belonging to someone else, another's

پِير بَت H *parbat* m. mountain

پِير جَا H *parjā* f. the common people, subjects

پِرْدَه P *parda* m. veil, screen

پِير سَتَار P *parastār* m. worshipper, slave:- *parastish* f. worship

پِير سِش P *pursish* f. questioning, investigation; asking after

پِير کُهِنَا H *parakhnā* vt. to test, assay

پِير وَا P *parvā* f. care, concern

پِير وَا نَه P *parvāna* m. moth

پِير مِيز P *parhez* m. abstinence, dieting

پِير رِيْشَان P *pareshān* adj. disordered, ruined, undone

پَس P *pas* prepn. after; *pas az marg* adv. after death; *pas-o pesh* adv. behind and in front

پَسْتِي P *pastī* f. downfall, degradation, abasement, lowliness

پُسْت P *pusht-e* prepn. behind, at the back of

پِل H *pal* m. moment, second

پَلَه H *palla* m. pan on scales

پندار P *pindār* m. arrogance  
 پنهان P *pinhān* adj. hidden  
 پوتا H *potā* m. grandson (son's son)  
 پوجا H *pūjā* f. worship  
 پود H *paud* f. young plants, seedlings, offspring, progeny; - *paudā* m. plant  
 پوشاک P *poshāk* f. dress, clothes; - *poshish* f. dress  
 پونجی H *pūnjī* f. capital  
 پویا P *poyā* adj. racing, running  
 پھبتی H *phabtī* f. nickname; quip, joke  
 پھلانا H *phulanā* vt. to cause to swell  
 پھلنا H *phalnā* vi. to bear fruit; *phalnā phūlnā* vi. to bloom, flourish, thrive  
 پہلو P *pahlū* m. side  
 پھندا H *phandā* m. net, snare  
 پھنسننا H *phansnā* vi. to be caught  
 پھوٹنا H *phūtnā* vi. to burst out  
 پھولنا H *phūlnā* vi. to blossom; *phūlnā phalnā* vi. to bloom, flourish  
 پھیرنا H *phernā* vt. to turn away, avert  
 پھیلانا H *phailānā* vt. to spread, extend, stretch out; - *phailnā* vi. to spread, be spread  
 پے P *pai* m. foot; *pai sipar karnā* vt. to cross, traverse  
 پیٹ H *peṭ* m. stomach  
 پیر P *pīr* m. old man, elder; *pir*, saint; *pīr-zāda* m. descendant of a *pir*; *pīr-o javān* adj. old and young  
 پیراوی P *pairavī* f. following  
 پیراز P *paizār* f. slipper  
 پیش P *pesh-e* prepn. before; *pesh-e nazār* adv. before one's eyes

پیشہ P *pesha* m. profession, occupation

پیغام P *paighām* m. message  
 پیمانہ P *paimān* m. covenant, pact  
 پیغمبر P *payambar* m. prophet, the Prophet  
 پیوند P *paivand* m. connexion; marriage-tie  
 پیہم P *paiham* adv. continually

## T

تا P *tā* prepn. to, up to; adv. even; *tā-ba* prepn. up to; *tā-ki* conj. so that

تابان P *tābān* adj. shining  
 تاراج P *tārāj* m. devastation  
 تاریک P *tārik* adj. dark  
 تازگی P *tāzagī* f. freshness; - *tāza* adj. fresh  
 تازیانہ P *tāziyāna* m. whip, scourge  
 تاسف A *ta'assuf* m. lament, regret  
 تاکنا H *tāknā* vt. to gaze on  
 تالاب P *tālāb* m. tank, pool  
 تانا H *tānā* vt. to heat  
 تائب A *tā'ib* adj. repenting of, abandoning

تباہ P *tabāh* adj. ruined; - *tabāhī* f. ruin, destruction

تبدیل A *tabdil* f. changing  
 تبارا A *tabarrā* m. cursing  
 تب P *tap* f. fever; *tap-diq* f. hectic fever, tuberculosis  
 تثلیث A *taslīs* f. the Trinity  
 تجارت A *tajārat* f. commerce  
 تحریر A *tahrīr* f. writing  
 تحصیل A *tahsil* f. acquiring  
 تحقیر A *tahqīr* f. contempt, scorn  
 تخت P *takht* m. throne  
 تخصیص A *takhsīs* f. special quality,

speciality

تدبیر A *tadbīr* f. plan, scheme  
 تر P *tar* adj. moist, fresh; *tar-o khushk* m. sea and land  
 ترارا H *tarārā* m. rapidity; *tarāre bharnā* vt. to rush on at full speed  
 تراشنا P *tarāshnā* vt. to cut out, to fashion  
 تربت A *turbat* f. tomb  
 تربیت A *tarbiyat* f. upbringing, education  
 تردد A *taraddud* m. anxiousness  
 ترسان P *tarsān* adj. fearing  
 ترقی A *taraqqī* f. progress  
 ترک A *tark* m. abandoning  
 تزلزل A *tazalzul* m. shaking  
 تسلط A *tasallut* m. reign, sway  
 تشخیص A *tashkhīṣ* f. diagnosis  
 تشریح A *tasharru'* m. following the Law  
 تشریح A *tashrīh* f. anatomy  
 تعصب A *ta'assub* m. fanaticism, bigotry, religious prejudice  
 تعلیم A *ta'lim* f. education  
 تعیش A *ta'ayyush* m. pleasure-seeking, luxury  
 تغلب A *taghallub* m. cheating, taking advantage  
 تفاوت A *tafāvut* m. difference, distinction  
 تفحص A *tafahhus* m. investigation, inquiry  
 تفوق A *tafavvuq* m. superiority  
 تقدیر A *taqdīr* f. fate  
 تقریر A *taqrīr* f. speech  
 تقویت A *taqvīyat* f. strengthening  
 تقویم A *taqvīm* f. calendar, almanac  
 تکبر A *takabbur* m. pride

تکرار A *takrār* m. dispute, conflict  
 تکفیر A *takfīr* f. branding as an infidel

تکلف A *takalluf* m. elaboration, extravagance

تکیہ P *takya* m. tavern  
 تلقین A *talqīn* f. instruction, religious teaching

تلاک H *talak* (= *tak*) ppn. up to  
 تلتنا H *talnā* vi. to be weighed

تلوار H *talvār* f. sword  
 تلتلے H *tale* adv., ppn. below  
 تماشا P *tamāshā* m. spectacle, show

تمدن A *tamaddun* m. civilization  
 تمغا P *tamghā* m. mark, stamp  
 تمننا A *tamannā* f. wish; prayer, entreaty

تن P *tan* m. body; *tan-āsānī* f. physical ease, comfort

تنبیہ A *tanbīh* f. admonishment  
 تنزل A *tanazzul* m. decline, decay

تنگ P *tang* adj. narrow; difficult; hard-pressed

تواریک A *tavārikh* f. pl. (sg. *tārikh*) histories

تواضع A *tavāzu'* f. consideration, politeness

توانا P *tavānā* adj. strong  
 توپ P *top* f. cannon, gun  
 توجہ A *tavajjuh* f. attention

توحید A *tauhīd* f. monotheism, belief in one God  
 تورع A *tavarru'* f. piety, fearing to do wrong

توریت A *tauret* f. the Torah  
 توشہ P *tosha* m. supplies, provision for a journey

- توقیر A *tauqir* f. honour  
 توانگر P *tavangar* adj. wealthy, powerful  
 توہم A *tavahhum* m. idle thought, fantasy  
 تھامنا H *thāmnā* vt. to seize  
 تھراننا H *tharrānā* vi. to tremble violently, shudder  
 تھرننا H *thurnā* vi. to run short, be lacking  
 تھمننا H *thamnā* vi. to be restrained  
 تیرتھم H *tīrath* m. place of Hindu pilgrimage  
 تیلی H *tēlī* m. oilman  
 تیور H *tevar* m. look, expression
- T**
- ٹٹولنا H *ṭṭolnā* vt. to search, to examine by feeling  
 ٹٹلی H *ṭṭalī* f. screen  
 ٹٹلنا H *ṭṭalnā* vi. to withdraw, give way  
 ٹٹمانا H *ṭṭimānā* vi. to flicker  
 ٹٹاننا H *ṭṭānnā* vt. to decide, resolve  
 ٹٹکننا H *ṭṭiknā* vi. to shrink, hesitate  
 ٹٹکانا H *ṭṭikānā* m. place  
 ٹٹننا H *ṭṭannā* vi. to be determined, be decided  
 ٹٹنی H *ṭṭnī* f. branch, spray  
 ٹٹوگر H *ṭṭogkar* f. trip, stumble; *ṭṭokar khānā* to stumble  
 ٹٹراننا H *ṭṭhrānā* vt. to appoint, establish; to settle, prove; to make out  
 ٹٹلا H *ṭṭlā* m. ridge, hill

**S**

- ثابت A *ṣābit* adj. fixed; *ṣābit-qadam* adj. steadfast  
 ثانی A *ṣānī* m. match, equal  
 ثابت A *ṣabt* f. fixing; *ṣabt honā* vi. to be fixed  
 ثروت A *ṣarvat* f. wealth  
 ثقل A *ṣiql* m. weight, gravity  
 ثمره A *ṣamra* m. fruit  
 ثنا A *ṣanā* f. praise; *ṣanā-khwān* adj. singing the praises of

**J**

- جا P *jā* f. place; room; *jā ba-jā* adv. in every place  
 جادو P *jādū* m. magic; *jādū-bayān* adj. possessing a magical style  
 جاده A *jāda* m. road, way; *jāda-paimā* m. traveller  
 جاری A *jārī* adj. current, set in motion  
 جام P *jām* m. cup  
 جان P *jān*, *jān* f. life, heart, soul; *jān fidā honā* the heart to be sacrificed (in admiration)  
 جانب P *jānib-e* prepn. towards, in the direction of  
 جانور P *jānvar* m. animal  
 جاہل A *jāhīl* adj. ignorant, barbarous  
 جبل A *jabal* m. mountain  
 جبیں A *jabīn* f. forehead  
 جتاننا H *jatānā* vt. to point out, demonstrate; to show, make known  
 جچنا H *jachnā* vi. to be judged, be estimated; *jachā ulā* adj. measured and weighed  
 جدا P *judā* adj. separate, apart-  
 جدا H *judā* f. separation  
 جذب A *jazb* m. attraction  
 جرات A *jur'at* f. daring, courage

- جودت A *jaudat* f. intelligence, mental ability  
 جوش P *josh* f. ferment; passion  
 جوکھوں H *jokhoñ* f. danger, risk  
 جونہیں H *junhīñ* conj. as soon as  
 جوہر A *jauhar* m. jewel; quality, character; innate capacity; skill, virtue, good quality  
 جویا P *joyā* m. seeker  
 جھاننا H *jhānā* vt. to shake, brush, dust off  
 جہاز A *jahāz* m. boat, ship  
 جھاگ H *jhāg* m. foam, froth  
 جہالت A *jahālat* f. ignorance; barbarism  
 جہاں P *jahān* m. the world; *jahān-dār* m. ruler of the world, emperor  
 جھکننا H *jhīkknā* vi. to falter, recoil  
 جھرننا H *jharnā* vi. to drop, fall off  
 جھکانا H *jhukānā* vt. to cause to bow, to lower  
 جھکننا H *jhuknā* vi. to bow down, to be lowered  
 جھگڑنا H *jhagarnā* vi. to quarrel  
 جہل A *jahl* m. ignorance  
 جھنڈ H *jhund* m. clump  
 جہنم A *jahannum* m. hell  
 جھول H *jhūl* f. gilt covering  
 جھینکننا H *jhīknā* m. lament, grievance  
 جی H *jī* m. life, soul, self, mind; (se) *jī churānā* to try to get out of, shrink from, set one's face against
- CH**
- چارہ P *chārā* m. remedy
- جوگم P *jirga* m. band, company  
 جز P *juz* prepn. except, besides  
 جزا A *jazā* f. requital, reward  
 جزر A *jazr* m. ebb, falling tide  
 جزو A *juzv* m. part  
 جزیرہ A *jazīra* m. island; *jazīra-numā* m. peninsula  
 جستجو P *just-jū* f. search, inquiry  
 جفا A *jaṣā* f. cruelty, oppression  
 جگر P *jigar* m. liver, heart  
 جگنو H *jugnū* f. firefly  
 جلا A *jilā* f. lustre, splendour  
 جلال A *jalāl* m. glory, grandeur  
 جلسہ A *jalsa* m. assembly  
 جلوہ A *jalva* m. manifestation, display; lustre; *jalva-gar* adj. conspicuous, manifest; lustrous, splendid; *jalva-gustar* adj. lustre-shedding  
 جمادات A *jamādāt* m.pl. (sg. *jamād*) minerals, fossils  
 جماعت A *jamā'at* f. society, group, community  
 جمانا H *jamānā* vt. to fix, lay down  
 جملہ A *jumla* m. sentence  
 جمنا H *jamnā* vi. to be collected, gather; to stick to, cling to  
 جنت A *jannat* f. paradise:- *jinān* f.pl. gardens of paradise, paradise  
 جنس A *jins* f. kind, sort  
 جننا H *jannā* vt. to give birth to  
 جو P *jū* f. stream  
 جوا H *juā* m. gambling  
 جوان P *javān* adj. young, youthful; *javān-mard* adj. spirited; magnanimous, generous, beneficent; *javān-mardī* f. magnanimity:- *javānī* f. adolescence  
 جوتی H *jūtī* f. shoe

چال H *chāl* f. way, custom; action; stratagem, trick  
 چالاک P *chālāk* adj. clever, adept  
 چاندنی H *chāndni* f. moonlight  
 چپ P *chap* adj. left; *chap-o rāst* adv. left and right  
 چیتکن H *chitaknā* vi. to shine (of the moon)  
 چراغ P *chirāgh* m. lamp; *chirāghān* m.pl. lamps, illumination  
 چراننا H *charānā* vt. to graze  
 چرب P *charba* m. tracing paper, copy; *charba utārnā* vt. to copy  
 چرچا H *charchā* m. talk, report, fame; (*kā*) *charchā honā* vi. to be prevalent  
 چرس H *charas* m. a drug, hemp  
 چرانا H *chirānā* vt. to mock, make fun of  
 چشم P *chashm* f. eye; hope; *chashm-e bad dūr* may the evil eye be far!; *chashm-e bihī* f. hope of betterment; *chashm-e tar* f. moist eye  
 چشمه P *chashma* m. spring  
 چکور H *chakor* m. chakor, small Indian partridge  
 چکھنا H *chakhnā* vt. to taste; *chakhnā* vt. to cause to taste  
 چالچالو H *chal-chalā'o* m. bustling preparations for departure  
 چلم P *chilam* f. bowl of a hookah  
 چلن H *chalan* m. way, manner; behaviour  
 چمکن H *chamaknā* vi. to shine, glitter  
 چمن P *chaman* m. flower-garden  
 چند P *chand* adj. a few, some  
 چندو H *chandū* m. a preparation of opium

چوپان P *chaupān* m. shepherd  
 چوت H *choṭ* f. hurt, bruise; twinge  
 چوٹی H *choṭī* f. peak  
 چور H *chūr* adj. broken, in pieces; utterly overcome  
 چور H *chor* m. thief  
 چوکھٹ H *chaukhat* f. threshold  
 چھانا H *chhānā* vi. to spread over, overshadow  
 چھاننا H *chhānā* vt. to prune  
 چھاننا H *chhānā* vt. to sift, strain, filter; to explore thoroughly  
 چھتر H *chhattar* m. large umbrella  
 چھٹی H *chhaṭī* f. sixth day festival (after childbirth)  
 چھری H *chhuri* f. knife  
 چھوٹنا H *chhūṭnā* vi. to be abandoned; to be acquitted  
 چھیڑنا H *chheṛnā* vt. to tease, provoke  
 چین H *chain* m. ease, comfort  
 چینیٹی H *chīyuntī* f. ant

## H

حاجت A *hājat* f. need; *hājat-ravā* m. supplier of need, helper  
 حاشیہ A *hāshiyā* m. marginal note; *hāshiyā charhānā* vt. to supply marginal note, make an addition  
 حامی A *hāmī* m. supporter  
 حُبب A *hubb* f. love; *hubb ul vatan* f. patriotism  
 حبش A *habash* m. Ethiopians  
 حجت A *hujjat* f. argument; objection  
 حد A *hadd* f. limit, boundary  
 حدیث A *hadīṣ* f. Tradition, Hadith

حذارت A *hizāqat* f. medical skill  
 حذر A *hazar* m. caution, fear  
 حُر A *hur* m. free man  
 حرارت A *harārat* f. heat, passion  
 حرص A *hirs* f. eagerness, avidity  
 حرفت A *hīrfat* f. craft; *hīrfa* m. craft, skill  
 حرکت A *harkat* f. movement, stirring, action  
 حریف A *harīf* m. rival, opponent  
 حریم A *harīm* m. enclosure, sanctuary  
 حسب P *hasb-e* prepn. in accordance with  
 حسب A *hasab* m. pedigree, lineage  
 حسد A *hasad* f. envy  
 حسرت A *hasrat* f. regret, yearning  
 حصر A *hasr* m. confinement, restriction  
 حضرت A *hazrat* m. title of respect: 'sir', 'your reverence', etc.; *hazrat-e 'ishq* m. 'Sir Love'  
 حفظ A *hifz* m. preservation  
 حق A *haq, haqq* m. truth; God; right; duty; (*ke*) *haq men* ppn. in relation to, in respect of  
 حقیقت A *haqīqat* f. truth  
 حکم A *hukm* m. command, order; *hukm-bardār* adj. obedient; *hukm-rān* m. ruler  
 حکمت A *hikmat* (pl. *hikam*) f. learning; wisdom; philosophy  
 حکومت A *hukūmat* f. government  
 حکیم A *hakīm* m. doctor; wise man, philosopher  
 حمایت A *himāyat* f. defence  
 حمیت A *hamīyyat* f. sense of honour, regard for honour  
 حمیم A *hamīm* adj. boiling hot

حور A *hūr* f. houri  
 حیفت A *haif* intj. alas!

## KH

خار P *khār* m. thorn; *khār-e mughīlān* m. the Arabian thorn, a desert plant; *khār-o khas* m. thorns and sticks, rubbish  
 خازن A *khāzin* m. treasurer  
 خاک P *khāk* f. earth, dust; *khākī* adj. earthy; m. creature of the earth  
 خاکه P *khāka* m. caricature, sketch; *khāka urānā* vt. to ridicule  
 خالص A *khālīs* adj. pure  
 خالق A *khāliq* m. the Creator  
 خام P *khām* adj. raw, crude; untouched, unopened  
 خاموشی P *khāmoshī* adj. silent  
 خاندانی P *khāndānī* adj. by family, hereditary; m. one of good family, aristocrat  
 خانقاہ A *khānaqāh* f. khanqah, Sufi monastery  
 خانه P *khāna* m. house; *khāna-barbād* adj. ruined, depraved  
 خبر A *khābar* f. knowledge, awareness; news, report; *khābar-dār* adj. aware; (*kī*) *khābar lenā* vt. to take stock of  
 خدام A *khuddām* m.pl. (sg. *khādīm*) servants, attendants  
 خداداد P *khudāvand* m. master, lord; God  
 خدائی P *khudāī* f. divinity; creation, the world  
 خدمت A *khidmat* f. service; *khidmat-guzārī* f. readiness to serve  
 خرد P *khīrad* m. intellect, intelligence; *khīrad-mand* adj. intelligent, wise

تخرم P *khurram* adj. happy, rejoicing  
 خزان P *khizān* f. autumn  
 خزانة A *khazāna* m. treasure, treasury  
 خس P *khās* f. rubbish of sticks or thorns  
 خست A *khissat* f. stinginess, meanness  
 خشک P *khushk* adj. dry  
 خصلت A *khāslat* f. property, quality; habit  
 خصم A *khāsm* m. enemy  
 خطا A *khatā* f. fault, error, wrongdoing; *khatā-kār* m. wrongdoer; *khatā nikālnā* vt. to find fault  
 خطاب A *khutāb* m. title  
 خطبة A *khutba* m. sermon; address, oration  
 خطر A *khatar* m. danger; *khatar-nāk* adj. dangerous; *khātra* m. danger; fear, apprehension  
 خطه A *khitta* m. region, area  
 خفی A *khāft* adj. hidden  
 خلاف A *khilāf* m. falsehood; discord  
 خلافت A *khilāfat* f. the Caliphate  
 خلد A *khuld* m. paradise; *khuld-e barīn* m. the highest heaven  
 خلف A *khālaf* m. descendants  
 خلق A *khālaq* f. creatures, creation; mankind, people; *khālā'iq* f.pl. creatures, people  
 خلق A *khulq* f. courtesy, politeness  
 خلیل A *khālal* m. injury  
 خلیفه A *khālifā* m. Caliph  
 خم P *kham* adj. bent; m. bend; *kham karnā* vt. to bend, bow  
 خم P *khūm* m. large wine-jar

خمشوی P *khamoshī* f. silence  
 خمیر A *khamīr* m. composition, constitution  
 خندان P *khandān* adj. laughing, mocking; joyous, flourishing; *khanda* m. laugh; *khanda-zanān* adj. laughing  
 نحو P *khū* f. custom, habit  
 خواب P *khwāb* m. sleep; dream  
 خوار P *khwār* adj. disgraced, vile; *khwārī* f. disgrace  
 خواهاں P *khwāhān* adj. eager, desirous  
 خوب P *khūb* adj. good; adv. well; *khūbī* f. good quality, virtue  
 خود P *khud* pron. self; *khud ba-khud* adv. by itself, spontaneously; *khud-farāmosh* adj. forgetful; *khud-matlabī* f. selfishness; *khudī* f. selfhood; self-awareness  
 خوراک P *khōrāk* f. food, diet  
 خوش P *khush* adj. happy; *khush-āyanda-tar* adj. more agreeable; *khush-qismatī* f. good fortune; *khushāmad* f. flattery  
 خوک P *khūk* m. pig  
 خون P *khūn* m. blood; killing, murder  
 خیانت A *khīyānat* f. treachery  
 خیر A *khair* f. welfare; 'best' in Arabic compounds; *khair ul umam* (sg. *ummat*) f. best of communities; *khair ul qurūn* (sg. *qarn*) f. best of ages; *khair ul varā* m. best of men

## D

داستان P *dāstān* f. story, tale  
 داغ P *dāgh* m. mark, blemish  
 دام H *dām*<sup>1</sup> m. money  
 دام P *dām*<sup>2</sup> m. net, snare  
 دام P *dām*<sup>3</sup> m. animal; *dām-o*

داد m.pl. wild animals, beasts  
 دامن P *dāman* m. skirt  
 دانا P *dānā* adj. learned, wise; m. sage; *dānish* f. learning  
 داوڑ P *dāvar* m. God (as divine Judge)  
 دائم A *dā'im* adj. everlasting  
 دختر P *dukhtar* f. daughter  
 در P *dar* m. door; *dar ba-dar*, *dar dar* adv. from door to door  
 درر A *durr* m. pearl; *durr-e maknūn* m. rare pearl, precious pearl  
 دروا P *dirā* f. caravan-bell  
 درایت A *dirāyat* f. knowledge  
 دربار P *darbār* f. court; *darbār-dārī* f. attendance at court; *darbārī* m. courtier  
 درس A *dars* m. teaching, lesson  
 درست P *durust* adj. correct  
 درفشان P *darafshān* adj. splendid  
 درگذر P *dar-guzar* m. overlooking; *dar-guzar karnā* vt. to overlook, pardon  
 درنده P *darinda* m. beast of prey, predator  
 درویش P *darvesh* m. poor man, fakir, dervish  
 درلوزه P *daryūza* m. begging; *daryūza-gar* m. beggar  
 دربارا H *darerā* m. hard rain, driving rain  
 دست P *dast* m. hand; *dast-yāb* adj. available, to hand  
 دستار P *dastār* f. turban  
 دشت P *dasht* m. desert; *dasht-o dar* m. desert and mountain  
 دشنام P *dushnām* m. abuse  
 دشوار P *dushvār* adj. difficult  
 دغا P *daghā* f. deceit

دفتر P *daftar* m. volume, record; archive  
 دقت A *diqqat* f. difficulty  
 دکھانا H *dukhānā* vt. to grieve, distress; *dukhyā* adj. grieved, distressed  
 دل P *dil* m. heart; *dil-afgār* adj. heartbroken, sad; *dil-jam'* adj. with heart at rest, assured; *dil-rubā* adj. heart-stealing; m. darling; *dil-lagī* f. amusement, pastime; *dil-nishīn* adj. finding credence, accepted  
 دلیل A *dalīl* f. argument, proof  
 دم P *dam*<sup>1</sup> m. breath; moment, instant; *dam-bhar* adv. for an instant; (*kā*) *dam bharnā* vt. to sing the praises of  
 دم P *dam*<sup>2</sup> m. deceit; *dam denā* vt. to wheedle, inveigle  
 دمک H *damak* f. glitter, flash; *damaknā* vi. to glitter  
 دنگل H *dangal* m. assembly, arena  
 دنیوی A *dunyavī* adj. worldly  
 دوا A *davā* f. medicine  
 دور A *daur* m. circulation; *daur daurā* m. dominion, sway  
 دوران A *daurān* m. time, age; the world  
 دوڑ H *daur* f. running  
 دوزخ P *dozakḥ* m. hell  
 دو طرفه P *duṭarfā* adj. having on both sides  
 دولت A *daulat* f. wealth, riches  
 دهات H *dhāt* f. ore, mineral, metal  
 دهان P *dahāna* m. mouth  
 دھت H *dhat* f. mania, bad habit  
 دھرتا H *dharṇā* vt. to put, place  
 دھڑلا H *dharallā* m. sound of beating; *dharalle se* adv. fearlessly

دھن H *dhun* m. strong desire; diligent effort

دھندھلکا H *dhundhalkā* m. dim light (of dawn)

دھوبی H *dhobī* m. washerman

دھوکا H *dhokā* m. deceit, fraud

دھوم H *dhūm* f. fame, report

دھیان H *dhyān* m. meditation, contemplation

دیس H *des* m. country; *des pardes* adv. at home and abroad

دین A *dīn* m. faith, religion; *din-o-dunyā* f. religion and the world, this world and the next; *din-e-hudā* m. the religion showing the way to salvation, Islam:- *dīnā* adj. religious

دیوان P *divān* m. collected works of a poet, divan

دیوانگی P *divānagī* f. madness, frenzy:- *divāna* adj. mad

## D

دوبنا H *dubonā* vt. to drown, sink; to squander

دوفالی H *dafālī* m. tambourine-player

دوگانا H *dagmagānā* vi. to totter, roll, list

دوبنا H *dūbnā* vi. to sink, drown

دھال H *dhāl* m. manner, custom

دھانا H *dhānā* vt. to demolish

دھب H *dhab* m. method, proper way

دھلنا H *dhalnā* vi. to be cast, be moulded

دھنگ H *dhang* m. behaviour, manner

دھور H *dhor* m. cattle

دھونڈھنا H *dhūndhnā* vt. to seek

دھیر H *dher* m. heap, mass

ڈیرا H *derā* m. dwelling, camp, tent

## Z

ذات A *zāt* f. being, self; *zāt-e-vāhid* f. the Unique Being, the One God

ذخیرہ A *zakhīra* m. treasure, store

ذره A *zarra* m. atom, particle

ذکر A *zīkr* m. mention

ذلت A *zillat* f. disgrace, degradation; insult

ذلیل A *zalīl* adj. mean, humble

ذم A *zam* f. blame, reproach

## R

راج H *rāj* m. mason, builder

راجا H *rājā* m. ruler, king

راحت A *rāhat* f. comfort, ease, welfare

راز P *rāz* m. secret, mystery

راس A *rās*<sup>1</sup> m. head; *rās ul atībā* (sg. *tabīb*) m. chief of doctors; *rās ul bizā'at* m. capital, substance

راس P *rās*<sup>2</sup> adj. suitable, fitting:- *rāst* adj. right, correct

راعی A *rā'ī* m. shepherd

رانہ H *rānā* f. widow

راوی A *rāvī* m. transmitter of Tradition

راه P *rāh* f. way; *rāh-rau* m. traveller

راہب A *rāhib* m. monk, hermit

رائے A *rā'e* (pl. *rā'en*) f. opinion

ربع A *rub*<sup>1</sup> m. quarter; *rub'-e-maskūn* m. the inhabited quarter of the world

رتبہ A *rutba* m. rank

رحلت A *rihlat* f. departure

رحم A *rahm* m. mercy:- *rahmat* f. mercy

روح P *rukh* m. direction; *rukh phirnā* direction to change

رخصت A *rukhsat* f. leave; *rukhsat honā* vi. to take one's leave, depart

رختہ P *rakhna* m. gap, chink

رد A *rad* m. rejection; *rad karnā* vt. to reject

ردا A *ridā* f. cloak

رسالت A *risālat* f. the Apostleship, the office of Prophet

رسوا P *rusvā* adj. disgraced

رسول A *rasūl* m. the Apostle, the Prophet Muhammad

رسیا H *rasyā* m. pleasure-seeker, voluptuary

رشتہ P *rishat* m. relationship, tie

رشک P *rashk* f. envy

رصد A *rasad* m. observation, astronomy; *rasad-gāh* f. observatory

رعنا A *ra'nā* adj. lovely, fair

رعوت A *ra'ūnat* f. arrogance

رعبت A *raghbat* f. strong desire, urge

رفاقت A *rifāqat* f. companionship

رفتار P *raftār* f. going, moving:- *raftani* adj. obliged to depart:- *rafta* adj. gone; *rafta rafta* adv. little by little

رکھوال H *rakhvāl* f. protection

رگ P *rag* f. vein

رمنہ H *ramnā* vi. to wander

رنج P *ranj* m. sorrow, grief:- *ranjār* adj. upset, distressed, afflicted

رند P *rind* m. wastrel

رنجین P *rangīn* adj. brilliant; *rangīn-bayānī* f. brilliant style

رو P *rū* m. face; *rū-dād* f. account, proceedings; state; *rū-*

*shināsī* f. casual acquaintance; *rū-e-zamīn* m. face of the earth

روا P *ravā* adj. permissible, allowed

روان P *ravān* adj. current:- *ravānī* f. flowing, fluency

روایت A *rivāyat* (pl. *rivāyāt*) f. tradition; Tradition, Hadith

روح A *rūh* f. soul, spirit; *rūh-parvar* adj. fostering the spirit:- *rūhānī* m. idealist

روز P *roz* m. day; *roz-marra* m. daily practice

روشن P *roshan* adj. light, bright:- *roshanī* f. light

روشنی A *raunaq* f. lustre, glory

روکھ H *rūkh* m. tree

راه P *rah* f. way; *rah-bar* m. guide; *rah-zan* m. highway robber; *rah-numā* m. guide; *rah-numā'ī* f. guidance; *rah-numūn* adj. guiding

رہائی P *rihā'ī* f. deliverance

رہبان A *ruhban* m.pl. (sg. *rāhib*) monks

ریا A *riyā* f. hypocrisy

ریاضی A *riyāzī* f. mathematics

ریب H *ret* f. sand

ریس H *rīs* f. envy, rivalry

ریشہ P *resha* m. wound; *resha-davānī* f. inflicting wounds; power to move

ریوڑ H *revar* m. flock

## Z

زبور A *zabūr* f. the Psalms

زحمت A *zahmat* f. affliction, trouble

زد P *zad* f. blow

زر P *zar* m. gold, wealth

زعم A *za'm* m. presumption,

foolish idea

زقوم A zaqūm m. cactus

زلزله A zalzala m. earthquake

زمان A zamān m. time:- zamāna  
m. time, age; fortune; the world

زن P zan f. woman, wife

زندگانی P zindagānī f. life:- zindagī  
f. life; zindagī-bakhsh adj. life-giving,  
revivifying

زهر P zahr m. poison

زیب P zeb f. adornment, orna-  
ment; zeb-o zīnat f. elegance, display  
of fineryزیر P zer-e prepn. under; zer-o  
zabar adj. overturned, topsy-turvy;  
destroyed

زینت A zīnat f. elegance, beauty

زینة P zīna m. ladder

زیور P zavar m. ornament

## S

ساتھ H sāth m. company; (kā)  
sāth chhornā vt. to abandon the  
company, leave the side of:- sāthī m.  
companionساز P sāj m. harmony, music;  
musical instrument

ساعتر P sāghar m. cup

ساقی A sāqī m. cupbearer

سامان P sāmān m. material,  
material basis; provision, equipment,  
furnishing; apparatus

سانچا H sānchā m. mould

سانس H sāns f. breath

سایه P sāya m. shadow

سبزه P sabza m. greenery

سبقت A sabqat f. superiority

سبھا H sabhā f. society

سپر P sipar f. shield

سپوت H sapūt m. worthy son

سپید P suped adj. white

ستاره P sitāra m. star

ستم P sitam m. oppression

ستون P sutūn m. pillar

سجده A sijda m. prostration

سجھانا H sujhānā vt. to show,  
explain, point out

سحر A sahar f. dawn

سخاوت A sakhāvat f. generosity,  
lavishness:- sakhī adj. generous,  
lavish

سدا H sadā adv. always

سر P sar m. head; sar-afraz adj.  
exalted; sar ba-sar adv. completely,  
entirely; sar-e rah adv. on the road;  
sar-figanda adj. hanging the head,  
downcast

سرا P sarā f. serai, inn

سرا H sirā m. top, head

سراب A sarāb m. mirage

سراپا P sarāpā adv. from head to  
foot, totallyسراسر P sarāsar adv. completely,  
fully, entirelyسرا انجام P sar-anjām m. end, con-  
clusionسرتاج P sar-tāj m. chief, lord,  
master

سرهرد P sar-hadd f. frontier

سرخ P surkh adj. red; surkh-rū  
adj. honourableسر رشته P sar-rishta m. business,  
practiceسرسبز P sar-sabz adj. verdant,  
flourishing

سرشار P sarshār adj. intoxicated

سرکار P sarkār f. government

سرمایه P sarmāya m. capital, stock

سزا P sazā f. punishment; adj.  
worthy, deserving; sazā-vār adj.

becoming, befitting

سستی P sustī f. laziness, sloth

سعادت A sa'adat f. auspiciousness,  
good fortune; happiness

سعايت A si'ayat f. calumny

سفلہ A sifla adj. base; sifla-pan  
m. meanness, baseness

سفیנה A safinā m. notebook

سفیہ A safiḥ adj. foolish

سقا A saqqā m. water-carrier

سقر A saqar m. hell

سکوت A sukūt f. silence

سکه A sikka m. coin

سکھی H sukhi adj. happy, at ease

سگ P sag m. dog

سلامت A salāmat adj. unharmed,  
safe:- salāmī m. one who salutesسلیجنا H sulajhnā vi. to be settled,  
be resolvedسلف A salaf m. ancestors,  
ancientsسلیگانا H sulgānā vt. to light:-  
sulagnā vi. to be litسلیقه A salīqa m. method, knack,  
art, skill, tasteسہاں H samān m. condition,  
state; scene, atmosphere; plenty,  
abundanceسامانا H samānā vi. to fit, to be  
contained

سمت A simt f. direction

سمجھ H samajh f. understanding;  
samajh-būjh f. understanding

سمیر A samūr m. sable, fur

سمی A sammī adj. poisoned

سنان A sinān f. spearhead

سنت A sunnat f. Sunna, the  
example of the Prophet

سنبھلنا H sanbhalnā vi. to recover

سنداس H sandās m. cesspool,  
latrineسنگلاخ P sanglākh adj. stony:-  
sangīn adj. made of stone

سنتی A sunnī m. Sunni

سو P sū f. side, direction; sū  
ba-sū adv. on all sides; sū-e prepn. in  
the direction of, towardsسوا P sivā ppn. besides, except;  
adj. more

سواد A savād m. outskirts

سوارى P savārī f. conveyance;  
ridingسودا P saudā m. trade; saudā-  
garī f. trading, tradeسوز P soz m. elegy; soz-khwānī  
f. recitation of elegiesسہارا H saharā m. reliance,  
support

سیاحت A siyāhat f. travelling

سیاست A siyāsāt f. politics

سیانا H syānā adj. adolescent,  
grown-up

سیر H serī m. ser, two pounds

سیر P serī adj. full, sated; ser-āb  
adj. sated; well-wateredسیرت A sīrat f. conduct,  
behaviour; character, nature

سیل A sāl f. flood, torrent

سیم P sim m. silver

سینہ P sīna m. breast; sīna ba-  
sīna adv. from breast to breast,  
passed on from father to son; sīna

sīpar honā vi. to stand firm

سیہ P siyah adj. black

## SH

شادان P shādān adj. happy,  
cheerful:- shādī f. joyشاذ A shāz adj. uncommon,  
rare

شاعر A *shā'ir* m. poet:- *shā'iri* f. poetry

شان A *shān* f. condition, state; manifestation; glory, splendour

شاهنشاهی P *shāhanshāhī* adj. royal  
شائسته P *shā'ista* adj. decent, proper, civilized:- *shāyān* adj. worthy, deserving

شب P *shab* f. night; *shab-nam* f. dew; *shab-o roz* adv. night and day

شجاع A *shujā'* adj. brave

شر A *shar* m. evil, viciousness

شرار A *sharārā* m. spark

شرافت A *sharāfat* f. nobility

شرح A *sharḥ* f. explanation, description

شرط A *shart* f. condition

شرع A *shar'* m. Islamic law, Shariat

شرق A *sharq* m. the East

شرك A *shirk* m. polytheism:- *shirkat* f. partnership

شرمانا P *sharmānā* vi. to be put to shame, be ashamed

شریعت A *shar'at* m. Islamic law, Shariat

شریف A *sharīf* m. gentleman, aristocrat, noble

شش P *shish* num. six; *shish-jihat* adv. in all six directions, all over the world, everywhere

شعر A *shi'r* m. poetry

شعله A *shu'la* m. flame

شفقت A *shafqat* f. compassion

شق A *shaq* m. splitting; *shaq honā* vi. to be torn

شقاوت A *shaqāvat* f. disgrace

شک A *shakk* m. doubt

شامت A *shamātat* f. gloating over another's misfortune, Schadenfreude

شمع A *sham'* f. candle

شیشه A *shamma* m. particle, fraction

شوب P *shob* m. washing

شور P *shor* m. noise, sound

شوشه P *shosha* m. scrap, particle

شوکت A *shaukat* f. grandeur, majesty

شوهر P *shauhar* m. husband

شاه P *shah* m. king; *shah-bāz* m. peregrine falcon

شهادت A *shahādat* f. witness; testimony, bearing witness

شاهد A *shahd* m. honey

شهردا A *shuhdā* m. scoundrel

شهرت A *shuhrat* f. fame

شهید A *shahīd* m. martyr

شیدا P *shaidā* adj. madly in love, passionately keen

شیر P *shīr* m. milk; *shīr-o shakar* m. milk and sugar

شیرازه P *shūrāza* m. binding of a book

شیطان A *shaitān* m. the devil, Satan

شیراز P *shevā* m. manner; *shevā-bayānī* f. oratory, eloquence

## Ş

صاحب A *sāhib* m. lord, master; *sāhib-qirānī* f. auspiciousness

صادق A *sādiq* adj. truthful

صافی A *sāfi* adj. clear, clean

صائم A *sā'im* m. one who fasts

صحبت A *shuhbat* f. company

صحت A *sihhat* f. health

صحرا A *sahrā* m. desert

صحن A *sahn* m. area; lawn

صحیفه A *sahīfa* m. volume, book

صدا A *sadā* f. cry, call

صدق A *sidq* m. truth, sincerity

صدایا P *sad-hā* num. hundreds of:- *sadī* f. century

صراحی A *surāhī* f. flask, goblet

صرصر A *şarşar* m. cold wind

صرفت A *şarf* m. expenditure

صفت A *şaf* f. rank

صفا A *şafā* m. purity:- *şafā'ī* f. wiping out, obliteration; purity, brilliance; sincerity

صنعت A *şan'at* f. industry, manufacture

صنم A *şanam* m. idol

صوت A *şaut* f. voice, sound

صورت A *şurat* f. form; manner, way; likelihood; *şurat-e* prepn. like

صوفی A *şūfi* m. Sufi, mystic

صوبیا A *şahbā* f. red wine

صيد A *şaid* m. prey

صیقل A *şaiqal* m. burnishing, polishing

## Z

ضرر A *zarar* m. harm

ضعیف A *za'if* adj. weak

ضلالت A *zālāt* f. ruin, perdition

## T

طاعت A *tā'at* f. obedience

طالب A *tālib* m. seeker

طالع A *tālī* adj. rising

طب A *tib* f. medicine

طبیع A *tab'* f. character, nature, natural disposition

طبیق A *tabq* m. hemisphere:- *tabqa* m. class

طبیعی A *tabī'ī* adj. natural

طرح A *tarḥ, tarah* f. way,

manner; foundation; *tarah denā* vt. to overlook opportunity, to give ground; *tarah dālnā* vt. to lay foundation

طریق A *tarīq* m. way, method:- *tarīqat* f. the mystic way of Sufism:- *tarīqa* m. way

طعن A *ta'n* m. scoffing, mocking

طغیان A *tughyān* m. rebellion

طلا A *tilā* m. gold:- *tilā'ī* adj. golden, gilded

طلب A *talab* f. search, seeking; *talab-gār* adj. seeking, desirous

طاسم A *tilism* m. spell; magic, mystery

طنبور A *tanbūr* m. tambura

طوائف A *tavā'if* f.pl. (sg. *tā'ifa*) dancing-girl; also sg. dancing-girl, courtesan

طوفان A *tūfān* m. storm

طے A *tai* m. crossing; *tai karnā* vt. to cross, traverse

طیار P *tayyār* adj. ready

طینت A *tīnat* f. constitution, nature, disposition

## Z

ظاہر A *zāhir* adj. outward, external; evident, apparent; m. outside appearance; *zāhirā* adv. apparently

ظفر A *zafar* m. victory, success; profit, gain

ظلم A *zulm* m. oppression, tyranny:- *zulmat* f. darkness

عابد A *'ābid* adj. pious; m. devotee

عاجز A *'ājiz* adj. powerless, helpless

عادت A *'ādat* (pl. *'ādāt*) custom,

## habit

- عار A 'ār f. shame, disgrace  
عاقل A 'āqil adj. wise  
عالم A 'ālam m. the world; state, condition  
عالم A 'ālim m. theologian  
عبادت A 'ibādāt f. worship, devotion  
عبارت A 'ibārat f. composition  
عبرت A 'abaṣ adj. vain, absurd; m. absurdity  
عبد A 'abd m. slave  
عبراني A 'ibrānī m. Jew; f. Hebrew  
عبرت A 'ibrat f. warning, moral example, moral lesson; taking heed  
عجم A 'ajam m. non-Arab land; Persia  
عدالت A 'adālat f. justice, law  
عداوت A 'adāvat f. hostility  
عدل A 'adl m. justice  
عرب A 'arab m. Arabia; Arab, Arabs  
عرش A 'arsh m. heaven; 'arsh-e barīn m. the highest heaven  
عروج A 'urūj m. ascendancy  
عزيز A 'azīz (pl. 'azīzān) m. dear friend; relative; revered person; adj. respected, honoured  
عشق A 'ishq m. love  
عصا A 'aṣā m. staff, stick  
عطا A 'atā f. gift, present; 'atā kamā vt. to bestow, confer  
عطارد A 'attār m. dispenser of drugs or perfumes  
عطر A 'itr m. perfume, otto  
عظمت A 'azmat f. greatness  
عفونت A 'ufūnat f. putridity, rottenness  
عقائد A 'aqā'id m.pl. (sg. 'aqīda)

## articles of faith, matters of belief

- عقبی A 'uqbā f. the next world  
عقوبات A 'uqūbat f. torture  
عقیدت A 'aqīdat f. belief, truth  
علاقه A 'ilāqa m. connexion  
علامت A 'alālat f. infirmity, illness  
علامت A 'alāmat f. symptom; sign, mark  
علم A 'alam m. standard, flag  
علم A 'ilm (pl. 'ulūm) m. learning; science, scientific knowledge; 'ilm-e tabī'i m. natural philosophy, medical science; 'ilm-o fan m. learning and art:- 'ilmī adj. learned; scientific  
عمارت A 'imārat (pl. 'imārāt) f. building; architecture  
عمر A 'umr f. life; 'umr-bhar. adv. all one's life  
عمل A 'amal m. operation, action; practice; sway, rule  
عنوان A 'unvān m. heading; constituent element  
عهد A 'ahd m. covenant; time, age  
عیان A 'ayān adj. clear, apparent, manifest  
عیب A 'aib m. fault, defect; disgrace  
عیش A 'aish m. pleasure, pleasure-seeking, enjoyment

## GH

- غار A 'ghār m. cave  
غارت A 'ghārat f. plunder, pillage  
غافل A 'ghāfil adj. heedless, thoughtless, neglectful, oblivious  
غالب A 'ghālib adj. prevailing, overcoming  
غایت A 'ghāyat f. end

- غرانا P ghurrānā vi. to growl  
غرب A 'gharb m. the West  
غرض A 'gharaz f. selfishness, ulterior motive; concern; adv. in short  
غزل A 'ghazal f. ghazal; 'ghazal-khwān adj. ghazal-reciting  
غسل A 'ghusl m. bathing  
غش A 'ghash m. fainting; (par) 'ghash honā vi. to swoon over  
غضب A 'ghazab m. wrath, fury  
غفران A 'ghufrān m. pardon, forgiveness of sins  
غفلت A 'ghaflat f. heedlessness, obliviousness; oblivion  
غل P 'ghul m. outcry, clamour, tumult:- 'ghulghula m. tumult, havoc, clamour  
غلام A 'ghulām m. slave:- 'ghilmān m.pl. the youths of paradise  
غله A 'ghalla m. grain  
غم P 'gham m. grief, sorrow, suffering; 'gham-khwār m. sympathizer, wellwisher; (kā) 'gham khānā vt. to show sympathy for; 'gham-gusāri f. alleviation of grief; 'gham-gīn adj. grief-stricken  
غنی A 'ghanī adj. rich; m. rich man  
غنیمت A 'ghanīm m. plunderer, enemy  
غنیمت A 'ghanīmat f. good fortune, lucky opportunity  
غور A 'ghaur m. attention  
غیبت A 'ghībat f. backbiting, slander  
غیر A 'ghair adj. other  
غیبت A 'ghairat f. sense of shame, sense of honour, sense of justice; spirit

## F

- فاتحه A 'fātiha f. prayers for the dead; 'fātiha-khwān adj. offering prayers for the dead  
فارغ A 'fāriḡh adj. free; careless, neglectful; 'fāriḡh ul bāl adj. free from care; 'fāriḡh-nishīn adj. sitting without care  
فاسح P 'fāsh adj. apparent, manifest, revealed  
فاقة A 'fāqa m. starvation  
فانی A 'fānī adj. transitory  
فائق A 'fā'iq adj. superior, pre-eminent  
فتاویٰ A 'fatāvā m.pl. (sg. 'fatvā) fatvas, judgments  
فتنه A 'fitna m. disturbance; 'fitna uṭhānā vt. to create disturbance  
فخر A 'fakhr m. glory  
فدا A 'fidā m. sacrifice; adj. sacrificed, devoted; 'fidā honā vi. to be sacrificed, devoted; to be beside oneself  
فراغت A 'farāḡhat f. leisure, easy circumstances  
فراوش P 'farāmosh adj. forgotten  
فراهم P 'farāham adj. collected, gathered  
فردوس P 'firādaus m. paradise  
فرزند P 'farzand m. child  
فرسخ P 'farsakh m. league  
فرشته P 'firishṭa m. angel  
فرض A 'farz m. duty  
فرع A 'far' f. branch, subsidiary point  
فرقه A 'firqa m. sect, group  
فرمان P 'farmān m. order, command; 'farmān-dihī f. government, empire  
فراود P 'faryād f. lament

فريب P fareb m. deceit, trickery  
 فزول P fuzūn adj. increasing  
 فساد A fasād m. trouble, dis-  
 sension, quarrel  
 فسانه P fasāna m. tale, romance  
 فسوده P fasurda adj. died down  
 فسول P fusūn m. enchantment,  
 spell  
 فصاحت A fasāhat f. eloquence  
 فصل A fasl f. season  
 فصیح A fasiḥ adj. eloquent  
 فضل A faẓl m. excellence:-  
 faẓilat f. excellence; learning  
 فطرت A fīrat f. nature, natural  
 state  
 فقره A fiqra m. sentence, phrase  
 فقط A faqat adv. only, merely  
 فقير A faqir adj. poor:- faqīrī f.  
 poverty  
 فکرم A fikr f. worry  
 فلاحه A falāhat f. agriculture  
 فلاکت A falākat f. calamity, mis-  
 fortune  
 فلسفه A falsafa m. philosophy  
 فن A fan, fann (pl. funūn) m.  
 art  
 فنا A fanā f. death; adj. pass-  
 ing away, passed away

## Q

قابل A qābil adj. worthy, fit, de-  
 serving; qābil-e prepn. worthy of  
 قاضی A qāẓī m. judge, qazi  
 قافلة A qāfila m. caravan  
 قافية A qāfiya m. rhyme  
 قاب A qālib m. frame, body  
 قائم A qā'im adj. established,  
 set; intact

قبح A qubḥ m. baseness  
 قبر A qabr f. grave  
 قبضه A qabẓa m. grasp, power  
 قبله A qibla m. Qibla, direction  
 of prayer; object of devotion  
 قبيله A qabīla (pl. qabā'il) m.  
 tribe  
 قتل A qatl m. killing, slaughter  
 قحط A qahṭ m. famine  
 قدر A qadr f. worth, value;  
 appreciation; qadr-dān m. patron  
 قدرت A qudrat f. power, might;  
 nature  
 قدم A qadam m. step, pace;  
 qadam-bhar adv. so much as a step  
 قرار A qarār m. agreement  
 قربان A qurbān m. sacrifice  
 قرن A qarn m. century  
 قرية A qarya m. village, town  
 قزاق P qazzāq m. brigand, dacoit  
 قسم A qasam f. oath; (kī)  
 qasam khānā vt. to swear by  
 قسمت A qismat f. fate  
 قسيس A qissīs m. priest  
 قصائد A qasā'id m. pl. (sg. qasīda)  
 qasidas, odes  
 قصد A qaṣd m. intention, re-  
 solve, decision  
 قصر A qasr m. palace  
 قصه A qissa m. story  
 قضا A qaẓā f. judgment, justice;  
 qazā-o qadr f. fate, destiny  
 قطره A qatra m. drop  
 قطع A qat' m. crossing; qat'  
 karnā, vt. to cross  
 قطعی P qat'i adv. absolutely,  
 definitely  
 قلاتين A qullatain m. dirty water  
 قلی P qulī m. porter, labourer

قناعت A qanā'at f. contentment,  
 passive resignation  
 قوت A qūt f. food  
 قوت A quvvat f. power  
 قول A qaul m. word, saying;  
 qaul-o qarār m. compact, bond,  
 bargain  
 قوم A qaum f. people, nation,  
 community  
 قیاس A qiyās m. idea, opinion,  
 theory  
 قیامت A qiyāmat f. the day of re-  
 surrection  
 قیدی P qaidī m. prisoner

## K

کاذب A kāẓib m. liar; adj. false  
 کار P kār m. work; kār-gar adj.  
 effective  
 کاروان P kārvān m. caravan  
 کافر A kāfir m. unbeliever  
 کامران P kāmrān adj. successful  
 کامل A kāmīl adj. perfect; full  
 (of the moon)  
 کان H kān' m. ear; kān dharnā  
 vt. to listen attentively  
 کان P kān' f. mine  
 کائنا H kānā m. thorn  
 کاهن A kāhin m. sorcerer, sooth-  
 sayer, shaman  
 کائنات A kā'ināt f. stock, property  
 کالی H kā'i f. moss, mould  
 کایا H kāyā f. body, form; kāyā  
 palā'nā vt. to transmute  
 کبر A kibr m. pride, arrogance  
 کبوتر P kabūtar m. pigeon, dove  
 کتان P katān f. fine linen  
 کتب A kutub f. pl. (sg. kitāb)  
 books; kutub-khāna m. library  
 کترانا H katrānā vi. to move

aside, go in a roundabout way  
 کتیا H kutiyā f. female dog,  
 bitch  
 کتنا H katnā vi. to be spent,  
 take (of time)  
 کثرت A kaṣrat f. abundance  
 کج P kaj adj. crooked  
 کد A kad f. effort, labour  
 کذب A kizb m. lying, falsehood  
 کرامت A karāmat f. supernatural  
 power  
 کردار P kirdār m. action, deeds  
 کوشم P kirishma m. miracle,  
 wonder  
 کرن H kiran f. ray  
 کروٹ H karvat f. side; karvat lenā  
 vt. to turn over (in sleep)  
 کوره A kura m. globe  
 کروش H karak f. crash (of  
 thunder):- karḳā m. crash  
 کڑوا H kariyā adj. bitter  
 کڑھنا H kuḥnā vi. to grieve,  
 mourn, fret  
 کسب A kasb m. acquisition,  
 gaining  
 کسویط H kasauṭī f. touchstone  
 کش P kash f. pulling; kash-  
 makash f. struggle; difficulty  
 کشاده P kushāda adj. open  
 کشف A kashf m. revelation  
 کشور P kishvar m. country;  
 kishvar-sitān adj. conquering ter-  
 ritory; kishvar-kushā adj. annexing  
 territory  
 کفایت A kifāyat f. frugality, thrift  
 کفر A kufr m. paganism, un-  
 belief  
 کل A kul adj. whole  
 کلام A kalām m. word, utter-  
 ance

کلفت A *kulfat* f. trouble, tediousness  
کم P *kam* adj. little, few; adv. less; *kam-tar* adj. humbler; *kam-o besh* adv. more or less  
کمال A *kamāl* (pl. *kamālāt*) m. excellence, excellent quality; accomplishment, skill  
کمانا H *kamānā* vt. to earn: *kamā'ī* f. earning one's living  
کم P *kamar* f. waist, loins; *kamar-basta* adj. with girded loins, fully prepared  
کمینه P *kamīna* adj. mean, base  
کناره P *kināra* m. side; *kināra karnā* vt. to draw aside, pass by, keep aloof  
کنیا H *kunbā, kunba* m. family  
کندن H *kundan* m. pure gold  
کنش P *kunish* m. fire-temple; f. practice  
کنگال H *kaṅgāl* adj. destitute  
کنول H *kaṅval* m. lotus  
کنوئدا H *kanaundā* adj. indebted, under obligation  
کنیز P *kanīz* f. slave-girl, bond-woman  
کو P *kū* f. street; *kū ba-kū* adv. from street to street  
کواکب A *kavākib* m.pl. (sg. *kaukab*) stars; *kavākib-parastī* f. star-worship  
کواں H *kuān* m. well  
کوچه H *kocha* m. stab, thrust  
کوه P *koh* m. mountain, hill  
کهانات A *kahānat* f. sorcery  
کھپانا H *khapānā* vt. to absorb, fit into  
کھتا H *khattā* m. granary  
کھٹکا H *khatkā* m. fear, worry, concern: *khatkānā* vi. to rankle,

offend  
کھجور H *khajūr* m. date-palm  
کھرا H *khara* adj. pure, genuine; honest  
کھراکا H *kharkā* m. rustling  
کھلبلی H *khalbalī* f. alarm, confusion  
کھلنا H *khilnā* vi. to bloom  
کھلنا H *khulnā* vi. to open, be opened  
کھن P *kuhan* adj. old, ancient  
کھنڈت H *khandat* m. obstacle  
کھنڈر H *khandar* m. ruin  
کھنگالنا H *khaṅgālnā* vt. to wash, wash out  
کهنه P *kuhna* adj. ancient  
کھوٹ H *khoṭ* f. alloy, adulteration: *khoṭā* adj. false, counterfeit; bad  
کھوج H *khoj* m. trace, mark; (*kā*) *khoj pānā* vt. to discover; (*kā*) *khoj lagānā* vt. to track down  
کھونا H *khonā* vt. to lose, get rid of, ruin  
کھونٹ H *khūnṭ* m. direction, quarter  
کھیت H *khet* m. field; *khet karnā* vt. to rise (of the moon): *khetī* f. cultivation, farming; field  
کھین P *kihīn* adj. low, base  
کھیوا H *khevā* m. boat, ferry  
کیش P *kesh* m. faith; Zoroastrianism  
کیمیاء A *kīmiyā* f. alchemy; chemistry

## G

گاڑنا H *gārnā* vt. to bury  
گالی H *gālī* f. insult; *gāliyān denā* vt. to insult, utter abuse; *gāliyān*

*khānā* vt. to be insulted, suffer abuse  
گام P *gām* m. step  
گانا H *gānā* vt. to sing  
گاجیا H *gānjā* m. ganja, cannabis  
گاؤ P *gā'o* m. bull, ox; *gā'o-khurda* adj. destroyed  
گت H *gat* f. state, condition; plight  
گھڑی H *gathrī* f. bundle  
گدا P *gadā* m. beggar: *gadā'ī* f. begging  
گدلا H *gadlā* adj. muddy  
گدیہ گری P *gadya-garī* f. begging  
گداریا H *gadaryā* m. shepherd  
گدڑان P *gar* (= *agar*) conj. if  
گدر H *gur* m. formula, method  
گرمی P *girāmī* adj. revered, noble, great  
گراں P *girān* adj. heavy; mighty  
گراونا H *girānā* vt. to make fall, bring low  
گرجنا H *garajnā* vi. to thunder  
گرد P *gard* m. dust  
گرد P *gird* adv. around; *gird-āb* m. whirlpool  
گرداں P *gurdān* m.pl. (sg. *gurd*) heroes  
گردش P *gardish* f. change; change of fortune, vicissitude  
گردن P *gardan* f. neck; *gardan jhuknā* vi. the neck to bow  
گردوں P *gardūn* m. heaven, firmament  
گرفتار P *giriftār* adj. caught  
گرمانا P *garmānā* vi. to become hot, be heated  
گروه P *guroh* m. band, group  
گره P *girah* f. knot

گزران P *gurezān* adj. fleeing  
گربانا H *garnā* vi. to be buried, be planted  
گزر P *guzar* m. passage, pass, way  
گفتار P *guftār* f. speech  
گل P *gul* m. rose, flower; *gulzār* m. rose-garden, rose-bed; *gulistān, gulsitān* m. rose-garden; *gulshān* m. rose-garden; *gul-fishān* adj. strewn with flowers  
گلہ P *galla, gallā* m. herd, flock; *galla-bān* m. herdsman, shepherd; *galla-bānī* f. shepherding  
گم P *gum* adj. lost; *gum-rāh* adj. lost, gone astray; *gum-rāhī* f. error, depravity; *gum-shuda* adj. lost  
گمان P *gumān* m. doubt, apprehension; supposition, idle fancy  
گن H *gun* m. skill  
گنبد P *gunbad* m. dome  
گنتی H *ginī* f. counting, reckoning: *ginnā* vt. to count, reckon  
گنج P *ganj* m. treasure  
گنده P *ganda* adj. filthy  
گنوانا H *ganvānā* vt. to lose; to waste, squander  
گنه P *gunah* (= *gunāh*) m. sin; *gunah-gār* m. sinner; adj. sinful  
گو P *go* conj. although; *go-ki* conj. although  
گوارا P *gavārā* adj. agreeable, acceptable  
گواه P *gavāh* m. witness  
گود H *god* f. lap  
گوش P *gosh* m. ear  
گوشہ P *gosha* m. corner  
گوں H *gauñ* f. opportunity, occasion; purpose

- گوخندا H *gūnjā* vi. to resound, echo  
 گونگا H *gūngā* adj. dumb  
 گویا P *goyā* conj. as if, as it were  
 گویا H *gavayā* m. singer  
 گهاٹ H *ghāt* f. opportunity; ambush; *ghāt pānā* vt. to wait in ambush  
 گھاٹ H *ghāt* m. ghat, watering place  
 گھانس H *ghāns* f. grass, hay; *ghāns phūns* m. grass and straw  
 گھبرانا H *ghabrānā* vi. to be upset, to be agitated  
 گھٹا H *ghatā* f. raincloud  
 گھٹی H *ghuṭī* f. medicine given to infants  
 گھر H *ghar* m. house; *ghar ba-ghar* adv. from house to house; *gharānā* m. family  
 گہر P *guhar* m. pearl; *guhar-bār* adj. raining pearls  
 گھیرنا H *ghimā* vi. to be surrounded  
 گھرن P *guhan* m. wood-louse; *guhan lāgnā* vi. to be worm-eaten  
 گھنانا H *gahnānā* vi. to be eclipsed  
 گھیرنا H *ghernā* vt. to surround, engulf  
 گیان H *gyān* m. learning; *gyānt* m. *gyāni*, Hindu sage  
 گیتی P *gītī* f. the world
- L
- لاگ H *lāg* f. attachment  
 لال P *lāl* m. ruby  
 لاله P *lāla* m. tulip  
 لائق A *lā'iq* adj. deserving, worthy

- لب P *lab* f. lip; *lab-e jū* f. edge of stream; *lab hilānā* vt. to move the lips, to speak; *labēn* f.pl. moustaches  
 لپٹ H *lapaṭ* f. hot gust, withering blast  
 لات H *lat* f. bad habit, vice  
 لٹانا H *luṭānā* vt. to loot, strip; to squander, splurge; *luṭnā* vi. to be looted; *luṭerā* m. robber  
 لچپن H *luchpan* m. debauchery, shamelessness  
 لڈنا H *ladnā* vi. to be loaded; *ladvānā* vt. to cause to be loaded  
 لذت A *lazzat* f. pleasure  
 لرزنا P *laraznā* vi. to tremble  
 لسان A *lisān* f. tongue  
 لشکر P *lashkar* m. army; soldier  
 لطف A *lutf* m. favour, grace; pleasure  
 لعنت A *la'nat* f. curse  
 لقب A *laqab* m. title  
 لگن H *lagan* f. desire, passion  
 لکارنا H *lalkārānā* vi. to call out, challenge  
 لمحہ A *lamḥa* m. moment  
 لمعہ A *lam'a* m. brightness; *lam'a-afgan* adj. shining brilliantly  
 لو H *lū* f. hot wind  
 لو H *lau* f. devotion, love; (*se*) *lau lagānā* vt. to be devoted to; to instil devotion to  
 لہلہانا H *lahlahānā* vi. to wave (of corn); to bloom, flourish  
 لہو A *lahv* m. play, sport  
 لہو H *lahū* m. blood  
 لے H *lai* f. absorption, desire, urge; tune  
 لیاقت A *liyāqat* f. skill, ability  
 لینا H *lenā* vt. to take; *le de-ke* adv. taken all round, altogether, in

sum:- *levā* adj. taking

## M

- ما A *mā* pron. what?; *mā sivā* m. what is other (than God); *mā-varā-e* prepn. beyond  
 مادر P *mādar* m. mother  
 مال A *māl* m. wealth, riches  
 مالی H *mālī* m. gardener  
 مامن A *māman* m. shelter, refuge  
 مان H *mān* f. mother; *mān-jāyā* adj. born of the same mother  
 مانع A *māni'* adj. forbidding  
 مانند P *mānind-e* prepn. like  
 مانوس A *mānūs* adj. friendly, at ease with  
 ماوا A *māvā* m. asylum, resort  
 ماه P *māh* m. moon; *māh-tāb* m. moon, moonlight; *māh-e kāmīl* m. full moon  
 ماهر A *māhir* m. master, expert  
 مانائل A *mā'il* adj. inclining, inclined  
 مایوس A *māyūs* adj. desperate  
 مایہ P *māya* m. stock, capital  
 مبادا کہ P *mabādā-ki* conj. lest; may it not be that  
 مبارک A *mubārak* adj. blessed, auspicious, happy  
 مبتذل A *mubtazal* adj. contemptible, disgraced  
 مبتلا A *mubtalā* adj. afflicted, overtaken, caught in  
 مبداء A *mabdā* m. beginning  
 مبرا A *mubarrā* adj. exonerated, exempt, freed  
 مبصر A *mubasṣir* m. analyst, keen observer  
 مبعوث A *mab'ūs* adj. sent
- متین A *matīn* adj. weighty, firm  
 مٹنا H *mitnā* vi. to be destroyed  
 مثال A *miṣāl* f. likeness, parallel  
 مثالیب A *maṣālib* m.pl. (sg. *maṣlaba*) vices  
 مثل P *miṣl-e* prepn. like  
 مجبور A *majbūr* adj. helpless  
 مجزوب A *majzūb* m. madman  
 مجروح A *majrūh* adj. wounded  
 مجالس A *majlis* (pl. *majālis*) f. assembly, gathering, company  
 محترم A *muhtaram* adj. honoured  
 محدث A *muhaddiṣ* m. expert in Traditions  
 محراب A *mihrāb* f. niche  
 محرم A *mahram* adj. acquainted, familiar  
 محروم A *mahrūm* adj. deprived  
 محصور A *mahṣūr* adj. beset, encompassed  
 محفل A *mahfil* f. assembly, concert  
 محکم A *muhkam* adj. strong, firm  
 محکمہ A *mahkama* m. court  
 محنت A *mihnat* f. labour, hard work  
 محو A *mahv* adj. effaced  
 مخالف A *mukhālif* m. enemy, opponent  
 مخلوق A *makhluq* f. creation, creatures  
 مدد A *madd*, *mad* f. flood, rising tide; paragraph, heading  
 مدار A *madār* m. central axis; centre, basis  
 مدارا A *mudārā* f. politeness, entreaty  
 مدارس A *madāris* m.pl. (sg. *madrasa*) schools

- مدت A muddat f. long time  
مدح A madh f. praise, eulogy;  
madh-khwān adj. uttering praises  
مدد A madad f. help; madad-  
gār m. helper  
مدعی A mudda'ī m. claimant,  
pretender  
مدفون A madfūn adj. buried  
مدک H madak m. mixture of  
opium and betel leaves  
مذکور A mazkūr adj. mentioned  
مذمت A mazammāt f. censure,  
blame; satire:- mazmūm adj. blame-  
worthy  
مراحل A marāhil m.pl. (sg.  
marḥala) stages  
مراد A murād<sup>1</sup> f. desire; object,  
purpose, point  
مراد A murād<sup>2</sup> m. religious  
leader  
مرجع A marja' m. refuge, asylum;  
marja'-e khalq m. asylum of the  
people, one to whom all turn  
مرد P mard m. man  
مردار P murdār m. carrion; adj.  
impure  
مردود A mardūd adj. rejected,  
accursed, outcast  
مردہ P murda m. corpse; adj.  
dead, extinguished  
مرض A maraḥ m. disease  
مرغوب A marghūb adj. agreeable,  
pleasant  
مرقد A marqad f. tomb  
مرگ P marg f. death  
مرنا H marnā vi. to die; (par)  
marnā vi. to be madly in love with,  
swoon over  
مرہم A marham m. ointment  
مرید A murīd m. disciple

- مریض A marīz m. sick person,  
patient  
مراحم A muzāhim adj. obstruct-  
ing, acting as an obstacle  
مزه A maza, mazā m. delight  
مزین A muzayyan adj. adorned  
مژگان P mizhgan f.pl. (sg. mizha)  
eyelashes  
مساجد A masājīd f.pl. (sg. masjid)  
mosques  
مساح A massāh m. geometer,  
surveyor:- misāhat f. measuring,  
surveying  
مست P mast adj. intoxicated  
مسجود A masjūd adj. worshipped,  
adored  
مسخ A maskh m. transmogri-  
fication, being altered into a worse  
shape  
مسخره A maskhara m. jester  
مسلم A musallam adj. acknow-  
ledged, sound  
مسیح A masīh m. Messiah, Jesus  
مشائخ A mashā'ikh m.pl. (sg.  
shaikh) Shaikhs, religious elders, pirs  
مشعل A mash'al f. torch  
مشغله A mashghala (pl.  
mashghala) m. pursuit, occupation  
مشقت A mashaqqat f. toil, labour  
مشک P mushk m. musk  
مشهور A mashhūr adj. famous  
مشیت A mashiyyat f. God's will  
مصاحب A muṣāhib m. companion,  
crōny  
مصر A miṣr m. Egypt:- miṣrī adj.  
Egyptian  
مصفا A muṣaffā adj. clean,  
unpolluted  
مصلي A muṣallī m. one who  
prays

- مصیبت A muṣibat f. trouble  
مضرت A mazarrat f. harm  
مضممر A muzmar adj. concealed  
مطب A matab m. medical school  
مطرب A mutrib m. musician  
مطلب A maṭlab m. purpose, aim,  
sense; maṭlab-nigārī f. expression of  
ideas  
مطلق A mutlaq adj. absolute,  
pure  
مطيع A mutī' adj. obedient  
مظلوم A mazlūm adj. oppressed  
مواصي A ma'āsi f.pl. (sg. ma'siyat)  
sins  
معبد A ma'bad m. place of  
worship; mosque  
معادنات A ma'daniyāt m. minera-  
logy; f.pl. minerals  
معدوم A ma'dūm adj. non-existent  
معرفت A ma'rifat f. gnosis, divine  
knowledge  
معزز A mu'azzaz adj. honoured  
معلم A mu'allim m. teacher  
معمار A mi'mār m. architect,  
builder  
معمور A ma'mūr adj. filled,  
peopled  
معیشت A ma'ishat f. way of life  
معین A mu'in m. helper  
مغلوب A maghlūb adj. conquered,  
vanquished  
مفاد A mafād m. benefit  
مفاسد A mafāsīd m.pl. (sg.  
mafsada) evils  
مفتخر A mustakhir adj. glorious;  
taking pride  
مفتري A mustarī m. liar, fabricator  
مفتي A muftī m. mufti, juris-  
consult  
مفسد A muṣsid m. mischief-  
maker  
مفسر A mufassir m. commentator  
(on the Quran)  
مفلس A muflis adj. destitute:-  
muflisī f. poverty  
مفلوک A maflūk adj. ill-starred,  
unfortunate  
مقام A maqām, muqām m.  
place, station  
مقبره A maqbara m. tomb  
مقبول A maqbūl adj. accepted;  
pleasing, popular  
مقتضی A muqtazā m. demand  
مقتضی A muqtazī adj. requiring,  
demanding  
مقدس A muqaddas adj. holy  
مقدم A muqaddam adj. superior,  
preferable  
مقدور A maqdūr m. resources  
مقرر A muqarrar adj. fixed, de-  
termined  
مقصود A maqṣūd m. purpose,  
object  
مقلد A muqallid m. imitator,  
traditionalist  
مقهور A maqhūr adj. defeated,  
overcome  
مکدر A mukaddar adj. muddied,  
befouled; sullen, vexed  
مکر A makr m. deceit, cheating  
مکینون A maknūn adj. hidden  
ملا P mullā m. mullah, maulvi  
ملامت A malāmat f. rebuke,  
blame  
ملت A millat f. community;  
sense of community, friendship  
مالجا A maljā m. refuge  
ملک A malak m. angel  
ملنا H malnā vt. to rub

ملوک A mulūk m.pl. (sg. malik) kings  
 ممتاز A mumtāz adj. outstanding, illustrious  
 مناظر A munāzir m. controversialist  
 مناقب A manāqib f.pl. (sg. manqabat) virtues  
 منبر A minbar m. pulpit in mosque  
 منتها A muntahā m. end  
 منجم A munajjim m. astronomer  
 منحصر A munhasir adj. dependent  
 منزلانا H mandlānā vi. to hover  
 منزل A manzil f. stage (on a journey); inn:- manzilāt f. rank  
 منظر A manzar m. manifestation; view  
 منگتا H mangtā m. beggar  
 منوانا H manvānā vt. to cause to be acknowledged  
 موافق A muvāfiq adj. favourable  
 موالی A mavālī m.pl. (sg. maulā) friends  
 موج A mauj f. wave; mauj-zan adj. boisterous, raging  
 مؤرخ A mu'arrikh m. historian  
 موزنا H mornā vt. to turn  
 موقر A muvaqqar adj. honoured  
 موقوف A mauquf adj. fixed, bounded  
 مولا A maulā m. lord, master  
 مومن A momin (pl. mominīn) m. believer  
 مولیشی P maveshtī f. cattle  
 مه P mah (= mäh) m. moon  
 مهتر P mihtar m. sweeper  
 مهر P mihr m. sun  
 مهر P muhr f. seal

مهربان P mihrbān adj. kind, compassionate:- mihrbānī f. kindness  
 مهلت A muhlat f. time, respite  
 مهلك A muhlik adj. fatal  
 مهمان P mihmān m. guest  
 مهیبا A muhayyā adj. prepared, supplied  
 مهین P mihīn adj. mighty, great  
 مے P mai f. wine; mai-kada m. tavern  
 میان مٹھو H miyān mīṭhū m. 'Mr Sweetie' (pet name for a parrot)  
 میترا A muyassar adj. available, obtainable  
 میل H mail f. dirt, filth:- mailā adj. dirty  
 میلا H melā m. meeting, assembly; fair

## N

نا P nā adv. not; frequently used in negative compounds: nā-pāk adj. impure, filthy; nā-tavān adj. weak; nā-khushī f. unhappiness; nā-dān adj. ignorant; nā-dīda adj. unseen; nā-ravā adj. impermissible; nā-supurda adj. uncared for; nā-sazā adj. unbecoming, unfitting  
 ناچ H nāch m. dancing  
 نازان P nāzān adj. proud  
 ناصح A nāsiḥ m. giver of advice  
 ناقص A nāqis adj. pulling down  
 نام P nām m. name; nām-e khudā intj. in God's name!; may God preserve!; nām dharmā vt. to jeer at, mock; nām levā adj. praising:- nāmī adj. famous  
 نان P nān f. bread  
 ناو H nā'o f. ship; nā'o-bhar whole shipload  
 نباتات A nabātāt f.pl. (sg. nabāt)

plants; m. botany  
 نبوت A nabuvvat f. office of prophet, prophecy  
 نبی A nabī m. prophet, the Prophet  
 نتایج A natā'ij m.pl. (sg. natija) results  
 نت نیا H nit-nayā adj. ever new  
 نجابت A najābat f. nobility  
 نحوست A nuhūsat f. inauspiciousness; baleful influence  
 نخوت A nakhvat f. arrogance, haughtiness  
 ندیم A nadīm m. crony, boon companion  
 نذر A nazr f. offering; nazr charhānā vt. to make an offering  
 ترالا H nirālā adj. strange, rare, unequalled  
 نرماتا P narmānā vi. to become soft  
 نراکت A nazakat f. delicacy  
 نزدیک P (ke) nazdik ppn. in the opinion of  
 نزع A naza' f. death-agonies, last breath  
 نسب A nasab m. lineage, pedigree  
 نسبت A nisbat f. relationship, connexion; comparison  
 نسخ A naskh m. cancelling, abrogation  
 نسخه A nuskhā m. prescription  
 نسل A nasl f. race, stock; descendants  
 نسیان A nisyān m. forgetting, oblivion  
 نشان P nishān m. clue, sign; flag, standard:- nishāna m. target:- nishānī f. sign, token, trace

نش A nasha, nashsha m. intoxication; nashe meñ chūr honā vi. to be utterly intoxicated  
 نصارا A nasārā m.pl. (sg. nasrān) Christians:- nasrānī m. Christian  
 نصیحت A nasihat f. advice, counsel; nasihat-gar m. adviser, counsellor  
 نطق A nutq m. articulateness  
 نعم A ni'm intj. good!; ni'm al badal m. change for the better; excellent substitute:- ni'mat f. blessing, favour  
 نغمه A naghma m. song; naghma-khwān adj. singing, warbling  
 نفاست A nafāsāt f. refinement  
 نفاق A nifāq m. enmity, rancour  
 نفر A nafar m. servant, menial  
 نفرت A nafrat f. hatred  
 نقش A naqsh m. mark, impression; naqsh-e pā m. footprint; naqsh-e qadam m. footprint  
 نکانا H nikānā vt. to draw out; to invent, produce  
 نکبت A nakbat f. adversity  
 نیکو H nikammā adj. useless  
 نیکو P niko adj. good, virtuous; niko-nām adj. of good repute  
 نگاه P nigāh f. look; nigāh-bān m. watchman, guardian, protector  
 نمائش P numā'ish f. show, display  
 نمایان A numāyān adj. apparent, conspicuous  
 نمود P namūd f. show, showing off:- namūdār adj. visible  
 نمونه P namūna m. example; exemplar, representative  
 ننگ P nang m. shame, disgrace  
 نوا P navā f. sound, song; navā-sanjī f. musicality, musical utterance

نوبت A *naubat* f. time, turn; degree; *naubat ba-naubat* adv. by degrees; in turn

نوحه A *nauha* m. lamentation; *nauha-gar* adj. mourning, lamenting

نوشت P *navisht* f. writing, document

نوع A *nau'* f. kind, species; *nau'-e insān* m. mankind

نوکرى P *naukarī* f. employment, service

نويد P *navid* f. good news, 'gospel'

نهان P *nihān* adj. hidden

نیت A *niyyat* f. intention, intent

نیسان A *naisān* m. April

نیکی P *neki* f. virtue

نیم P *nīm* adj. half; *nīm-bismil* adj. half-slaughtered, half-dead

نیو H *nev* f. foundation

## V

واحد A *vāhid* adj. one, unique

وارث A *vārīz* adj. inheriting

واعظ A *vā'iz* m. preacher

واقعه A *vāqi'a* (pl. *vāqi'āt*) m. event, exploit

واقف A *vāqif* adj. acquainted

والا P *vālā* adj. noble

والى A *vālī* m. lord, guardian

وام P *vām* m. loan, credit

واں H *vān* (= *vahān*) adv. there

واتیره A *vātrā* m. way, custom

وحشت A *vahshat* f. distraction, madness; wild passion:- *vahshiyāna* adj. savage

وحوش A *vuhūsh* m.pl. (sg. *vahsh*) wild animals, savage beasts

وحى A *vahy* f. divine revelation

ودیعت A *vadī'at* f. trust, deposit

وراثت A *virāsat* f. inheritance, heritage

ورع A *vara'* f. fear of God, continence inspired by fear

وسيله A *vasila* m. means

وضو A *vuzū* m. ablution

وعظ A *va'z* m. preaching

وفا A *vafā* f. fidelity; *vafā-dār* adj. faithful, true

واقف A *vaq'at* f. weight, value; prestige, respect

واقف A *vaqf* m. pious legacy

وگرنه P *va-gar-na* conj. otherwise, apart from this

ولا A *vilā* m. friendship, love

وہم A *vahm* m. superstition

ویران P *vīrān* adj. desolate, ruined:- *vīrāna* m. desolate place, wilderness

## H

ہاتھ H *hāth*, *hāt* m. hand; *hāth ānā*, *hāt ānā* vi. to be acquired, to be got

ہادی A *hādī* m. leader, guide

ہتھیار H *hatyār* m. weapon

ہٹنا H *hatnā* vi. to shift

ہجرت A *hijrat* f. departure, exodus

ہچکچانا H *hichkichānā* vi. to draw back, shrink from

ہدی A *hudā* m. true guidance; (way to) salvation

ہڈیان A *hazyān* m. nonsense

ہرا H *harā* adj. green

ہردم P *har-dam* adv. all the time, ever

ہرگز P *hargiz* adv. ever; *hargiz na* adv. never, not at all

ہشيار P *hushyār* adj. sober

ہلچال H *hal-chal* f. stir, tumult

ہم P *ham* adv. with, together, as the first element of many compounds: *ham-jins* adj. of the same species; *ham-dāstān* adj. agreeing; *ham-dard* m. sympathizer; fellow-sufferer; *ham-dardī* f. sympathy, fellow-feeling; *ham-dam* m. close friend, intimate; *ham-rāz* adj. sharing confidence of; *ham-rāh* adv. together, with; *ham-zabān* adj. speaking with same tongue; *ham-sāyagī* f. neighbourhood; *ham-qaum* adj. belonging to the same people; *ham-vār* adj. level, smooth

ہما P *humā* m. phoenix

ہمایوں P *humāyūn* adj. blessed, auspicious

ہمت A *himmat* f. energy, spirit, will

ہن H *hun* m. pagoda, a gold coin; *hun barasnā* vi. wealth to rain down

ہندسه A *hindasa* m. geometry

ہنر P *hunar* m. skill, craft, art

ہنسنا H *haṅsnā* vt. to laugh:- *haṅsī* f. laughter

ہوا A *havā* f. wind; desire; *havā-khwāh* m. well-wisher; *havā-o havas* f. greed and passion

ہوش P *hosh* m. sense, awareness:- *hoshyār* adj. sober, sensible

ہونہار H *hon-hār* adj. budding, ready

ہویدا P *huvidā* adj. manifest, manifested

ہیئت A *hai'at* f. astronomy

## Y

یاد P *yād* f. memory; *yād-gār* f.

memorial

یاں H *yān* (= *yahān*) adv. here

یاور P *yāvar* m. companion, friend, helper

یتیم A *yatīm* m. orphan

یزدان P *yazdān* m. (Zoroastrian) God:- *yazdānī* m. Zoroastrian

یقین A *yaqīn* m. certainty, belief, faith; *yaqīn honā* vi. to be believed

یک P *yak* num. one; *yakāyak*, *yak bā-yak* adv. suddenly; *yak-tā* adj. unique; *yak-sān* adj. similar, alike; *yak-sar* adv. all at once, altogether, throughout; *yak-qalam* adv. totally, absolutely

یگانہ P *yagāna* adj. unrivalled; m. kinsman, friend

یوں H *yūn* adv. thus, so; *yūnhīn*, *yūnhīn* adv. thus; for no good reason

یونان A *yūnān* m. Greece:- *yūnānī* adj. Greek

یہودی A *yahūdī* (pl. *yahūd*) m. Jew; adj. Jewish

### Index of proper names

Names are here spelt with diacritics wherever appropriate. Where the conventional English forms are significantly different, the pronunciation of Urdu names is indicated in the transliterated forms supplied in brackets. References to the various parts of this book are indicated as:

- A, B, C marked on maps A, B or C (pp. viii-x);  
 1-80 page numbers of our introduction;  
 M189-M1101 page numbers of First and Second Introductions,  
 M1-M294 stanza numbers of the *Musaddas* (pp. 102-207),  
 M1n-M293n in Hali's notes to stanzas of the *Musaddas*,  
 M8\*-M250\* stanza numbers of the First Edition (pp. 208-216).

- Abadan, M112n  
 Abbasid Caliphate, 15, 31, 55, 60,  
 65, 67; M85, M86n, M102n  
 Abdul Haq, 1, 3-4, 49, 51-53, 70  
 Abdul Qadir, 1, 45, 53  
 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar, M192n  
 'Abd ur Rahmān b Auf, M228n  
 Abel (*Hābil*), M94n  
 Abraham (*Ibrāhīm*, *Khalīl*), M191,  
 M13, M21n, M199n  
 Abū 'Abd ur Rahmān, M79n  
 Abū Jahl, M199, M199n  
 Abū Lahab, M199, M199n  
 Abū Rāshid, M92n  
 Adam's Peak (*Koh-e Ādam*), C;  
 M80, M80n  
 'Adnān, M82, M82n  
 Aesop (*Luqmān*), 55; M87, M87n  
 Afghanistan, 45  
 Africa, M65n, M78n  
 Ahmad (the Prophet), M21n, M226  
 Ahmad, A., 49  
 Ahmad Husain, 41  
 Ahmad Khān: see Sir Sayyid  
 Akbar, 43  
 Alexander (*Sikandar*), 20; M1n,  
 M73n, M115
- Alfred, M65n  
 Alhambra (*Bait-e Hamrā*), 15, 40;  
 M82, M82n  
 Ali, I., 61  
 Aligarh, C; 2-4, 6, 39-40, 43, 69  
*Almagest* (*Majisī*), M86, M235  
 Alp Arslan, 21  
 Āmina, M21, M21n  
 Amritsar, 36, 42  
*Amsāl-e Luqmān*, M87n  
 Anatolia, 32  
 Andalus: see Spain  
 Andrews, W.G., 31  
 Anglo-Arabic College, 1, 5  
 Anīs, Babar 'Alī, 8, 64  
 Anjuman-e Himāyat-e Islām, 45, 47  
 Anjuman-e Ishā'at-e Islām, 42  
 Anvarī, 26  
 Arab(s), Arabia (*'Arab*), B; 5, 13-  
 15, 23, 51, 55, 59-62, 65, 67, 73-74,  
 76-79; M193, M195, M8, M10,  
 M12n, M17, M17n, M17A\*, M25,  
 M27, M30, M65n, M70, M70n,  
 M78n, M79n, M80, M80n, M82,  
 M82n, M86n, M87n, M92, M92n,  
 M93, M98, M99, M101, M104,  
 M113n, M121, M209, M230, M254

### Index of proper names

- Arabic, 3-6, 8, 17, 25, 31-32, 34-35,  
 39-40; M1n, M8n, M21n  
 Aragon, M69n  
 Arberry, A.J., 31  
 Aristotle (*Aristū*), 39; M73, M73n,  
 M234\*  
 Arnold, D., 57-58  
 Ārya Samāj, 43-44  
 'Arz-e hāl: see Petition  
 Asāf, M14n  
 Asia, M65n, M78n  
 'Askar Mahdī, M85n  
 Asma'ī, M17A\*  
 Atatürk, K., 34  
 Athens, A; M73n, M86, M86n, M87  
 Avadh, 8  
*Avadh Punch*, 30, 34  
 Avāli, Muhammad Fārūq Chiryākoti,  
 38  
 Ayodhyā Prasād, 34  
 Āzād, Muhammad Husain, 33  
 Azerbaijan, B; M91n  
 'Aziz ud Dīn Ahmad, 41  
 Azmeh, A. al-, 49
- Babylon, M293n  
 Badajoz (*Batālyūs*), A; 31; M83,  
 M83n  
 Baghdād, B; 15, 40; M85n, M89,  
 M91n, M102n  
 Baig, S.M., 68  
 Bailey, T.G., 1, 37  
 Bakr, Banī, M17, M17n  
 Baluchistan, M113n  
 Barbary (*Barbar*), A; M78, M78n  
 Barh, 41  
*Barkhārut*, 6, 54  
 Barriyya, M90n  
 Bārūdī, al-, 31  
 Bashīr b. Sa'd, M227n  
 Basra, M85n  
 Bassnett, S., 6  
 Basūs, M17n  
 Bathā, M21, M21n  
 Bāyazid Bistāmi, M186, M186n  
 Bengal, 26
- Beva kī munājāt*, 34  
 Bhagvān, M64  
*Bhārat-darpan*, 43  
 Bible (see Gospel, Torah):  
 quotations therefrom as  
 Deuteronomy 33:2 (M14n),  
 Habakkuk 3:3 (M14n), Matthew  
 21:42 (M53n), John 16:7 (M21n)  
 Bikram, 44  
*Bostān*, 28  
 Boudot-Lamotte, A., 31  
 Brahmin, 23, 26, 44; M191  
 Braj Bhāshā, 34  
 Brass, P., 64  
 Britain, 76  
 British Empire, 23-24, 40, 41, 72  
 British India, 3, 7, 18, 31, 61-62, 66-  
 69, 72, 78  
 Bū Qubais, M21, M21n  
 Budaon, 40  
 Buhturī, al-, 31  
 Byzantium (*Rūm*), B; M63, M86n,  
 M89
- Cachia, P.; 31  
 Cadiz (*Qādis*), A; 31; M83, M83n  
 Cain (*Qābil*), M91n  
 Caliphate, 14-15, 17, 55, 60, 65, 67,  
 71  
 Canaan (*Kin'ān*), 19  
 Caspian, M80n  
 Ceylon (cf. Lanka), C; 31; M79\*,  
 M114  
 Chaldeans (*Kaldā'ī*), 75; M293,  
 M293n  
*Chambers Encyclopedia*, M102n  
 Chāndnī Chauk, 43  
 Charlemagne, M65n  
 Chosroes (*Kisrā*), M158  
 Christians (*Naṣārā*), 42, 63, 72, 77;  
 M12n, M36n, M37n, M37\*, M63,  
 M82n, M230  
 Columbus, C., 19-20  
 Córdoba (*Qurṭaba*), A; 31; M83,  
 M83n, M84  
 Crowther, P., 69, 71

- Ctesiphon, 31  
Cyprus, M86n
- Dabir, Salāmat 'Alī, 8  
Dāhis, M17A\*
- Daijam b. Dastam, M91n  
Dalūrām, 42  
Damascus (*Dimishq*), B; M91n  
Danube, 40  
Darius (*Dārā*), M63n, M115  
Davenport, J., M98n  
De Man, P., 49  
Delhi (*Dihli*), C; 1-5, 7, 39-40, 43, 46; M197  
Delphi, M87n  
Devanāgarī, 34  
*Divān-e Hālī*, 1, 46  
Diyār Rabi'a, M90n  
Doab, 61  
Dome of the Rock (*Bait ul Muqaddas*), M13n
- East (and West), 24, 65  
Eastern poetry, 6  
Eden, 60  
Egypt (*Misr*), B; 31, 40, 65, 75; M11, M11n, M80, M88, M102n, M293, M293n  
England, M92n  
English (language and literature), 1, 4, 6, 23, 32, 34, 37, 43, 46; M62n  
Europe (*Yurap*), A; M62n, M65n, M78n, M92n  
Europeans, 6-7, 16, 58, 73; M8n, M87n, M98n  
European literature, 63  
European rule, 67  
European values, 70, 73, 75, 77-78
- Fakhr ud Din Rāzī, 22  
Fārān, M14, M14n  
Fārhad, M189, M263  
Fārs, M293n  
Firdausī, 27: see also *Shāhnāma*  
First Introduction, 3, 9, 11-12, 24, 28, 40, 49, 50, 58, 66, 72
- First World War, 7, 37, 41  
'Freedom qasida', 32  
France, M92n  
French, 5, 32
- Ganges (*Gangā*), C; 15, 40; M69, M113  
Ganges Canal, 61  
Gentzler, E., 6  
Germany, 41; M92n  
Ghālib, Asadullāh Khān, 1-4, 8  
Ghālib, Banī, M27, M27n  
Ghāzīpūr, 41  
Gibbon, E., M104n  
Gibraltar (*Jibrāltar*), 15  
Giddens, A., 67, 72  
Gilān, M80n  
Gospel (*Injil*), M233  
Government Book Depot, 1, 6  
Granada (*Gharnāta*), A; 31, 40; M82n, M83, M83n  
Greece, Greek(s) (*Yunān*), A; 17, 24, 58, 60, 65; M11, M63, M73, M73n, M86, M86n, M87n, M88, M98n, M232, M233, M235  
Grunebaum, G.E. von, 52  
Gujarāti, 45  
Gujranwala, 40  
Gurmukhī, 43
- Habakkuk, M14n  
*Hadīqat ul mazhab*, 37  
Hadīth, (*Hadīs*), 13, 14, 16, 28, 69-72, 76-77; M195, M94n, M95n, M97n, M181, M193n, M284: quotations thereof at M37n, M41n, M42n, M43n, M44n, M45n, M46n, M47n, M48n, M49n, M74n, M170n, M173n, M192n, M193n  
Hāfiz, 28; M197  
Hagar, M27n  
Hailey, Dr, M104n  
Hamza Isfahānī, M92n  
Hālī, Altāf Husain, *passim*: for individual works, see *Barkhārut*, *Beva kī munājāt*, *Divān-e Hālī*,

- Hayāt-e Jāved*, *Hayāt-e Sa'dī*,  
*Hubb-e vatan*, *Majālis un nisā*,  
*Munāzara-e rahm-o inšāf*,  
*Muqaddama shīr-o shā'irī*,  
*Musaddas-e Hālī*, *Nang-e khidmat*,  
*Nishāt-e ummīd*, *Shikva-e Hind*,  
*Yādgār-e Ghālib*  
Hanbarlt (?), M101n  
Hardy, P., 63-64, 77  
Hashimite (*Banī Hāshim*), M27n, M82n  
Hātim, M158  
*Hayāt-e Jāved*, 1, 3  
*Hayāt-e Sa'dī*, 5  
Hāziq, Ghulām Hazrat Khān, 38  
Hebrew (*Ibrānī*), M63, M63n  
Hegel, G.W.F., 77  
Heinz, W., 26  
Hijāz, B; 15, 23; M84, M113  
Himalaya (*Himāla*), C; M79, M250A\*  
Hindī, 34-35, 39, 43, 64  
Hindu(s), 43, 45, 63; M77n, M118n  
Hippocrates (*Buqrāt*), 13, 18, 58; M1, M1n  
Hirā, M22n  
Hissar, 1  
*Hiyal Banī Mūsā*, M90n  
Hodgson, M.G., 51-52  
Holroyd, W.R.M., 1, 6-7, 34  
Homs (*Hums*), M1n  
Hoshang, M293n  
Hubal, M14, M14n  
*Hubb-e vatan*, 7  
Hulākū, 44; M91n  
Humboldt, A., M104n  
Husain, 8  
Hyderabad, C; 1, 7
- Iblis, M256  
Ibn Baitar, Ziyā, M102, M102n  
Ibn Batūta, M92n  
Ibn 'Isā, 'Alī, M102, M102n  
Ibn Ishāq, Hunain, M102, M102n  
Ibn Qalās, M83n
- Ibn Sinā, Abū 'Alī Husain, M102, M102n, M235n  
Ikshvākū, 44  
Imāms, 8, 42  
India (*Hind*, *Hindostān*), C; 9, 25-26, 33, 34, 43, 65; M11n, M64, M79n, M80, M114, M198, M234, M250A\*  
Indian Muslims, 17, 20, 41-42, 45, 47-49, 51, 56, 64, 66, 74, 76-78  
Indian Penal Code, 34  
Indian style, 26  
Indo-Islamic, 54  
Iqbāl, Muhammad, 16, 45, 47-48: see also *Panjāb ke pīrādōn se*, *Shikva*  
Iram, 66; M126  
Irān, B; 20, 75; M63, M80n  
'Irāq, B; 23, 31; M85, M85n, M102n  
Isfahān, B; 40; M72, M149  
Islam, 5, 9, 13-16, 20, 25, 27, 32, 49, 52-53, 58-60, 65, 67; M195 *et passim*  
Islam, K., 8  
Ismā'il, M27n, M53n  
Ismā'il Merathī, 34  
Istanbul, 33  
Italy, M63n
- Jabal ul Fath, M79n  
Jabal Tāriq, M79n  
Jacob, 19  
Jāhiliyya, 13-14, 78; M195, M17n  
Jallianwala Bagh, 42  
Jazīra, M85n, M90n  
Jesus ('*Isā*: cf. Messiah), 77; M12n, M21n, M37\*  
Jews (*Yahūd*), 72; M63n, M118n, M230  
Jhelum, 40  
Jones, K.W., 69  
Joseph (*Yūsuf*), 19; M158  
Jullundur, 43  
Junaid, M186, M186n
- Kaaba (*Ka'ba*), M191, M71  
Kaifi, Brij Mohan Dattatreya, 43-44

- Katīla wa Dimna*, M86n  
 Kalpaklı, M., 32  
 Kānpūr, 44  
 Karachi, 46  
 Karkh, M85n  
 Karimi-Hakkak, A., 31  
 Kashmir, C; M114  
 Kā'ūs, M293n  
 Kauşar, 66; M126  
 Kausar, S., 61  
 Kauşarī, 42  
 Kayanian (*Kayānī*), M293, M293n  
 Kerbela, 8  
 Khālid b. 'Abdul Malik, M91n  
 Khaṛī Bolī, 34  
 Khasta (first pen-name of Hālī), 3  
 Khasta, Muḥammad Akramullāh, 40  
 Khilafat movement, 67  
 Khusrau, M293n  
 Khwārezm, 23  
 King, C.R., 64  
*Kitāb al-insāf*, M102n  
*Kitāb ḥāsīl wa-maḥsūl*, M102n  
 Kshatriya, 44  
 Kurds, 23
- Lahore, C; 1, 6-7, 42, 45, 47, 61, 80  
 Landau, J.M., 67  
 Lankā (cf. Ceylon), C; M78, M80n  
 Latīf, 'Abdul, 42  
 Latin (*Roman*), M86n  
 Leitner, Dr G.W., 5  
 Lelyveld, D., 2-3, 69  
 Lewis, H., M104n  
*Lisān al-'arab*, M102n  
 Lisbon, M69n  
 London, A; 65; M89  
 Lucknow (*Lakhna'ū*), C; 8, 25; M197  
 Luhrāsp, M293n  
 Lycurgus, M87n
- Mackenzie, J., 63, 77  
 Madā'im, M85n  
*Madd-o jazr-e ārya*, 44  
*Madd-o jazr-e islām*, 9
- Mahmūd Khān, 46  
*Majālis un nisā*, 7  
 Majeed, J., 6, 77  
 Maḵhrizī, M92n  
*Makhzan*, M248, M248n  
 Malabar, C; M79, M79n  
 Malaya, C; 15; M79  
 Ma'mūn b. Rashīd, M86n, M90n, M91n  
 Manāt, M14n  
 Mansūr, M86n  
 Marāgha, B; M91, M91n  
 Marv, 40  
 Marwa, M27n  
 Marwān b. Muḥammad, M91n  
 Marx, K., 77  
 Mary (*Maryam*), M37n  
 Mas'ūdī, M92n  
 Matthews, D.J., 1, 16, 30, 37, 47, 70  
 McGregor, R.S., 34  
 Mecca (*Makka*), B; M14n, M21n, M22n, M27  
 Mediterranean, M63n  
 Messiah (*Masīh*: cf. Jesus), MI91, M21, M246  
 Middle East, 58, 67  
 Mill, J.S., 77  
 Minā, M21n  
 Minault, G., 1-3, 7, 67  
 Mīr, Mīr Taqī, 8, 54  
 Miyān, Nānā Miyān Rasūl, 45  
*Mizān shi'rānī*, M192n  
 Moses (*Mūsā*), MI91, M14n, M199n  
 Muḥaddithīn, M92n, M96n  
 Mughal(s), 7, 43, 61  
 Muḥammad: see under the Prophet  
 Muharram, 8  
 Muḥsin Kākoraṁvī, 26-27  
*Munāzara-e rahm-o insāf*, 7  
*Muqaddama shi'r-o shā'irī*, 1, 3, 5-6, 25-27, 51, 58, 63-64, 69-70, 79-80  
 Muradabad, 42  
 Mūsā b. Sākīr, M90n  
*Musaddas* (see *Musaddas-e Hālī*), *passim*; MI95, MII99, MIII101  
*Musaddas-e Aḥmadī*, 41

- Musaddas-e Avālī*, 38  
*Musaddas-e 'Azīz*, 41  
*Musaddas-e Hālī*: see also First Introduction, *Madd-o jazr-e islām*, Petition, Second Introduction, Supplement  
*Musaddas-e Hāziq*, 38  
*Musaddas-e Kaiḫī*, 43-44  
*Musaddas-e Kauşarī*, 42  
*Musaddas-e Khasta*, 40  
*Musaddas-e Latīf*, 42  
*Musaddas-e Ni'mat*, 42  
*Musaddas-e Nirbhai prakāsh*, 43  
*Musaddas-e Shafaq*, 44  
*Musaddas-e 'Ulvi*, 40  
 Muslims, 13, 15-17, 22, 24, 26, 29, 31, 34, 41, 43, 45; MI93, MI95 *et passim*  
 Mutanabbi, al-, 31  
 Mutawakkil, M83n, M102n
- Nafis, M248  
 Nāgarī Resolution, 64  
 Nahrwān, M85n  
 Nā'ila, M14, M14n  
 Naim, C.M., 34, 46, 64  
 Namik Kemal, 32-33: see also 'Freedom qasida'  
*Nang-e khidmat*, 47  
 Nāsikh, Imām Bakḥsh, 25-26, 35  
 Nāsir b. Mūsā, M83n  
 Naṣir ud Dīn Tūsī, 22; M91n, M235n\*
- Nazīr Ahmad, 34  
 New World, 19-20  
 Nile, M293n  
 Ni'mat, Ni'matullāh Amrohī, 42  
 Nimrod (*Nimrūd*), MI91, M199, M199n  
 Nirbhai Rām, Kidāri Lāl, 43  
*Nishāt-e ummīd*, 7  
 Noah (*Nūh*), 19  
 North-West Frontier, 45  
 North-Western Provinces (*Shimāl maghribī azlā'*), C; 79; MII99
- Nu'mānī, M207
- Oldan (?), 41  
 Oman (*'Ummān*), B; M113, M113n  
 Orientalist, 63  
 Ottomans, 31, 34
- Panipat, C; 1, 4-5, 7, 42  
*Panjāb ke pīrādān se*, 16  
 Paris, A; 65; M89  
 Park Hotel, 36  
 Parsis, 36; M118n  
 Pashto, 45  
 Patna, 41  
 Persia, 65; M11n, M64, M86n, M98  
 Persian (language and literature), 2, 4-6, 8, 25, 27-28, 31, 34-35, 39, 54, 61, 64, 75  
 Persian Gulf, 15  
 Perso-Arabic, 34  
 Perso-Urdu, 8, 28, 51  
 Peshdādī, M293, M293n  
 Petition (*Arz-e ḥāl*), 11-12, 24-27, 30, 43  
 Pharaoh (*Fir'aun*), 31; M157, M199n  
 Pīrs, 16  
 Plato (*Falātūn*), 39; M73, M73n  
 Popalza'i, Ghulām Muḥammad Khān, 45  
 Pritchett, F.W., 1, 3-4, 6, 8, 25, 27, 34, 54, 63, 69, 73, 78  
 Progressive poetry, 21  
 Prophet, Muḥammad the (cf. also Ahmad), 8, 11, 13-14, 17, 24, 26, 51, 55, 64, 67, 71-72, 74, 76-78; MI95, M14n, M22n, M192n, M193n, M199n  
 Psalms (*Zabūr*), M233  
 Ptolemy, M86n, M235n  
 Punjab, 1, 7, 26, 40, 44-45, 61  
 Punjab Assembly, 45  
 Punjab University, 5  
 Punjabi, 45  
 Pyramids (*Ahrām*), M293, M293n
- Qādisiyya, M85n

- Qais, M189, M263  
*Qānūn*, M102n, M248  
*Qāsiyūn*, M91, M91n  
*Qaumi musaddas*, 39  
 Qibla, M207  
 Qipchak, 23  
 Qubād, M293n  
 Qur'ān, 13, 42, 60, 72; M195, M181, M193n, M230, M233n, M240, M284: quotations therefrom as 2:127 (M1101), 2:129 (M21n), 2:185 (M192n), 2:286 (M192n), 3:103 (M7n), 4:20 (M227n), 13:11 (M106n), 22:78 (M192n), 41:6 (M38n), 42:28 (M195), 61:6 (M21n)  
 Quraish, M27n
- Rashīd, M86n  
 Rāy, M102n  
 Rāzī, Abū Bakr, M102, M102n  
 Rebellion, 3  
 Red Sea (*Qulzum*), B; 15; M113, M113n  
 Rizvān, M110  
 Robinson, F.W., 64, 69, 76  
 Rodinson, M., 63  
 Romans, 51  
 Rome, A; 65; M63n, M92n, M89, M98n  
 Rosen, C., 63  
 Rusāfa, M85n  
 Russell, R., 8, 37, 79  
 Russia, M80n  
 Rustam, M293n
- Sabaeans (*Sābi'in*), M12n  
 Sa'dī, 5, 28: see also *Bostān*  
 Sadīd, M248  
 Sadiq, M., 1, 37, 53  
 Sadliu (?), M104n  
*Safā*, M14, M14n  
 Safā, Mount, M27, M27n  
*Safarnāma-e Panjāb*, 36  
 Sahara, M78n  
 Said, E., 77
- Saksena, R.B., 1, 5, 37, 53  
 Salerno, A; M101, M101n  
 Salsabil, 66; M126  
 Samarkand (*Samarqand*), B; 68; M90, M90n  
 Sanātan Dharm, 43  
 Sandilavī, S.A., 30, 34, 36-38, 39, 47, 53  
 Sanjar, M90, M90n  
 Sanskrit, 34, 43-44; M86n  
 Sasanian (*Sāsān*), 31, 75; M63, M63n  
 Satan (*Shaitān*), M208  
 Saudā, Muḥammad Rafī', 8, 26-27, 35  
 Schimmel, A., 3, 37, 77  
 Second Introduction, 11-12, 19, 36, 49, 79  
 Seljuk, 21  
 Seville (*Ishbiliya*), A; 31; M83, M83n  
 Shackle, C., 1-2, 8, 25-26, 30, 32, 51, 57, 63, 69-70, 78, 80  
 Shādibīnī, M83n  
 Shafaq, Lalitā Prashād, 44  
 Shaffer, E., 74  
 Shāfi'i, M207  
 Shāh Jahān, 43  
*Shāhnāma*, 27  
 Shalamar, 61  
 Sharaf ud Daula, M91n  
 Sharī'at, 74, 76  
 Shauqī, Ahmad, 31  
 Shefta, Mustafā *Khān*, 1-3  
 Sher Shāh, M77n  
 Shia, 8, 42; (*Ja'fari*), M207  
 Shibli Nu'mānī, 39-40, 43, 47: see also *Subh-e ummīd*  
*Shifā*, M102n, M235  
 Shihāb ud Dīn, 45  
 Shiite, 42, 64  
*Shikva*, 47  
*Shikva-e Hind*, 47  
 Shiraz, 28, 40  
 Shudra, 23  
 Sierra Nevada (*Koh-e Baizā*), A; M80, M80n  
 Sikhs, 45

- Simla, 36  
 Sir Sayyid Ahmad *Khān*, 1-4, 13, 24-25, 28, 34, 36, 39, 50, 53-54, 63, 70: see also *Safarnāma-e Panjāb*, *Tahzīb ul akhlāq*  
 Smiles, S., 76  
 Smith, W.C., 4, 49, 51, 63, 77  
 Snell, R., 34  
 Socrates (*Suqrāt*), 55; M73n, M87, M87n  
 Solomon (*Sulaimān*), M13n, M158  
 Solon, M87, M87n  
 Sonepat, 42  
 South Asia, 11, 41, 45  
 Spain (*Andalus*), A; 15, 31, 62-63, 68; M69n, M79n, M80, M80n, M82n, M83n, M91, M91n, M98, M102n  
 Sperl, S., 26, 32, 57, 78  
 Sprenger, Dr A., M97n  
 Steele, L., 1, 3-4, 6, 54, 57, 63, 67, 73, 78-79  
 Steiner, G., 6  
*Subh-e ummīd*, 39  
 Sudan, 40  
 Sufism, 16; M186n  
 Sultans, 7  
 Sunnī, M207  
 Supplement (*Zamīma*), 11-12, 18-25, 42, 45-47  
 Sutlej, 40  
 Syria (*Shām*), B; 23; M1n, M80  
 Syriac, M86n
- Tabarī, M92n  
 Taghlib, Banī, M17, M17n  
 Tagus, A; 40; M69, M69n  
*Tahzīb ul akhlāq*, 2, 6  
 Tājik, M209  
*Tajrid*, M235\*  
 Tāriq, M79n  
 Tartar (*Tātar*), M85  
 Taslim, Salim ud Din Jaipurī, 37  
 Thiesen, F., 27  
 Thornton, W.T., 61  
 Tiber, M63n
- Tibet (*Tibbat*), C; M214  
 Tigris (*Dijla*), M85n, M85\*, M90n  
 Torah (*Taurat*), M14n, M233  
 Tradition: see *Hadīth*  
 Translation Bureau, 33  
 Troll, C.W., 3, 63, 70, 77  
 Tughril Beg, 21  
 Turan, 23  
 Turk(s), 23, 41; M209  
 Turkey, 33-34  
 Turkish, 31-32, 34  
 Turner, B.S., 52, 73, 77
- 'Ulvi, Tahavvur 'Alī, 40  
 'Umar, M227n, M228n  
 Umayyad (*Banī Umayya*), 15; M27n, M82n, M83n  
 United Provinces, 7, 44  
 Urdu, 2, 5-6, 8, 11, 17, 21, 24-28, 30-32, 34-35, 37, 43, 45-46, 48, 64, 70-71, 79  
 'Urūj un nazm, 37  
 'Uzzā, M14, M14n
- Vaishya, 44  
 Valencia (*Bilansiyya*), A; 31; M83, M83n  
 Veda, 44-45  
 Victoria, 57, 63, 78  
 Victorian values, 9, 76-77
- Wahhabi (*Vahhābi*), M207  
 Wāsīt, M85n  
 Weber, M., 77  
 Wescoat, J.L., 61  
 Western knowledge, 39, 65, 73  
 Western science, 5  
 Western values, 34, 75  
 Whitcombe, E., 61  
 Wordsworth, W., 27
- Yadgar-e Ghālib*, 1  
 Yahyā Qurtabī, M83n  
 Yās, Muḥammad 'Ashiq, 43  
 Yazdān, M64, M64n  
 Young Turks, 32, 34

Hali's *Musaddas*

Zābulistān, B; M293, M293n

Zahhāk, 44

Zahrā, M83n

Zamīma: see Supplement

Zaqāq, M83n

Zoroastrians (*Yazdāni*), M64, M72n

Zulaikhā, 19